D. H. Lawrence's Confrontation with Eugenics:
From Encounter with the Pre-Darwinian Theories

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in English Literature

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September, 2014

Preface

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is outcome of work done in collaboration.

This dissertation is 77,954 words in length, which therefore exceeds the minimum word limit of 50,000, established by the Faculty of English's Degree Committee.

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to focus initially on the English novelist D. H. Lawrence's (1885-1930) awakening interest in evolutionary ideas in his early writing period, and then to examine how he accepts and reacts to the idea of eugenics, a scientific discourse derived from evolutionary theory in the late nineteenth century. The thesis finally investigates how he understood eugenics and evolved himself as a novelist by assimilating scientific knowledge, including evolutionary thought and eugenics.

Part I observes how pre-Darwinian theories of evolution are represented in Lawrence's works such as *Sons and Lovers*, *Women in Love* and *The Rainbow*. Considering Charles Lyell and Herbert Spencer as early pioneers of evolution theory, and Alfred Tennyson as an early responder to it, this part examines the ways in which early evolutionary theories are reflected in Lawrence's early novels. Part I establishes the ground for the subsequent exploration of Lawrence's response to eugenics.

With his remarks expressing agreement with negative eugenics, Part II reveals Lawrence's new understanding of 'inferiority' and 'degeneration.' This part discusses three stereotypes about what was considered to be 'unfit' for eugenicists: homosexuality, non-white races and disease. It then attempts to understand how Lawrence interpreted the degeneration of modern society or redefined the meaning of 'inferiority,' apart from its definition from the eugenic perspective.

Part III analyses Lawrence's reaction to eugenic discourse in his later years, after considering the definition of 'degeneracy' of human beings, which finally shows his personal development through assimilating knowledge of science and the discourse of eugenics. Taking up three topics which are inevitable in the eugenics discussion and Lawrence's understanding of eugenics: motherhood, birth control and politics, this part explores how he formed his own philosophy of life.

Throughout the examination of Lawrence's acceptance of pre-Darwinian evolutionary theory to his response to eugenic discourse, this thesis recognizes his own 'evolution' as a novelist and a man, as he contemplated the value of human life.

論文要旨

本論文は英国作家 D. H. Lawrence (1885-1930) における生物進化論から諸々に派生した科学、及び言説の受容を考察するものである。具体的には、ダーウィン以前、すなわち 19 世紀前半までにすでに成立しつつあった進化説から、世紀末、ダーウィン理論から派生する形で興隆した優生学思想を整理、提示し、科学思想に対する作家の文学的反応を読み取る試みである。

第一部は、後に本論で焦点を置くことになる「優生思想」の前段階として、まずは初期進化論と社会有機体論の影響をロレンスの初期作品において考察する。第 1 章では、英国社会学者 Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) がダーウィン進化論を基に提唱した社会有機体論に対するロレンスの反応を *Sons and Lovers* (1913) を取り上げ分析する。ロレンスとスペンサー理論における「個（個人）」に対する認識とのずれに焦点を当てる。第 2 章は、*The Rainbow* (1915) と *Women in Love* (1920) における度重なる Alfred Tennyson (1809-92) からの引用語句をもとに、19 世紀詩人がダーウィン以前の進化論に対し示した葛藤に満ちた反応と、20 世紀作家の「進化」に対する憂思を観察する。第 3 章では、Charles Darwin (1809-82) の生物進化論の着想に大いに貢献したと言われる地質学者 Charles Lyell (1797-1875) とロレンスの類似性を検証する。ライエルが主張した斉一説における「過去」と「現在」という時間軸の捉え方や、連続と断絶、神学と科学、などという二項対立を成す概念の捉え方においてロレンスとの類似点が発見されることを前章に続き *The Rainbow*、*Women in Love* において示す。

第二部では、1900 年代から 20 年代に渡るロレンスの優生思想を支持するかのような発言を数々取り上げることにより、ロレンス研究における優生学の重要性を強調する。消極的優生学 (negative eugenics) への賛同、延いては人間嫌いとも取れる発言の多くは、作家の帝国主義、及びヨーロッパ文明に対する批判と否定に端を発するものであるが、本パートでは優生学上においては頽廃、退化、もしくは「不適者 (unfit) 」と見なされる以下の三つの現象＜同性愛、非白人人種、病＞についてロレンスはどのように対峙したかということに着目する。第 4 章では、1912 年からの作家の度重なるイタリア訪問が男同士のホモソーシャルな結びつきを肯定し、以後の作風に大きく影響したと位置づけ、イタリア旅行記三部作 *Twilight in Italy* (1916)、*Sea and Sardinia* (1921)、*Sketches of Etruscan Places and Other Italian Essays* (1932) を解読する。第 5 章でも引き続き作家が 1920 年代に訪れたイタリア、アメリカ、メキシコでの土着民族やインディアンとの出会いが *The Lost Girl* (1920) や *The Plumed Serpent* (1926) における

非白人（英国人）人種への再評価に繋がることを示す。第 6 章では、Thomas Hardy (1840-1928) による *Jude the Obscure* (1895) に潜む世紀末を代表する病「梅毒」と *Sons and Lovers* と比較しロレンスの描く 20 世紀的現代の「病」がどのように表象、定義されているか検討する。

第三部では、優生学的見地に囚われることなく作家自身が 20 世紀現代社会における「不適者 (unfit) 」を再定義した後、最終的にロレンスが優生学に対し下した是非を論じる。第 7 章は、*The Plumed Serpent* はロレンス作品の中でも男性優位を誇る小説 (leadership novel) として認識されているが、本作は実は母性文化に根付いた小説である可能性を心理学的、及び宗教的背景から示唆する。母性文化の発達は優生学支持者が歓迎する社会の在り方であるが、それはロレンスが支持するものとは異なる。作家の理想は「母性」ではなく「女性性」の回復と実現であることを論じる。第 8 章では、ロレンス自身、性を言語化する際、当時の性の言説から解放されることはなかったが、優生学とは、詰まるところ「性」の干渉と管理を正当化する学問であることについて、最終小説となる *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) においてどのような抵抗を示したか考察する。第 9 章は、最終的にはロレンスと優生学思想は相容れないことを論証するが、彼が優生学支持者と捉われかねないような過激な発言を繰り返した背景には「平等」概念への不信感があったことをエッセイ "Democracy" (1919) や "Education of the People" (1920) から分析する。ある意味、作家が生命の「不平等」を前提とした優生思想への傾倒は自然なことなのである。しかし、本章後半では、いかに作家が「労働」という人間の生命の根源を担う原始的な行為に重きを置き、社会的弱者である労働者に寄り添う立場を明らかにしたかということに焦点を当てる。

作家人生始まって間もない頃からおよそ 20 年に渡りロレンスは折に触れ、優生学的であると解釈されるような発言を繰り返してきたが、それは決して彼の人生哲学を表すものではない。確かに、本論文、前半の考察の通り、初期作品においては、生命の神秘を視覚化し「進化」という概念を確信させる科学を肯定する姿も見受けられた。作家は労働者階級出身という自身の境遇から、生命には強弱が存在するのだということを痛感している。しかしながら、最終的に D. H. Lawrence という作家は科学や国家により生と性が管理されることに反発し、「進化」よりも「原始」を重んじ、強者よりも弱者の立場に立ち戻った。本論文は、この進化思想とはまるで逆行する原点に回帰する姿勢に、彼の作家としての、また人間としての「進化」と「成長」が認められると結論付ける。

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Acknowledgements

I would like first of all to acknowledge Professor Kaoru Mizoguchi, my supervisor, who always gave me prompt and useful feedback. Her continuous interest in and generous praise of my work motivated me throughout this thesis process. Professor Setsuko Wake provided me with substantial comments about Tennyson, which helped me identify the effect of pre-Darwinian theories on nineteenth century English literature. Dr Mineo Takamura recommended several books on bio-politics which I found very useful for organizing the final part of my thesis. I also must thank Professor Hiroko Uno, who was willing to supervise me immediately after the death of my first supervisor and kept encouraging me. A special mention must be made of the contribution of the late Professor Masako Hirai. She taught me the pleasure of reading literature and opened the way up for me to study at Clare Hall, at the University of Cambridge.

I acknowledge three Lawrencian scholars: Theresa Thompson, Garry Watson and Pamela Wright. They provided several sources of inspiration and shared their critical insights about studying Lawrence from the eugenic point of view. During my research at Cambridge, many friends and individuals made my academic life easier and happier. Dr Mikiko Ashikari encouraged me until I completed this thesis; her warm comfort and friendship was incredible. I am also grateful for the generous help from librarians and staffs at Kobe College. My beloved and funny friends gave me massive moral support. I cannot express my appreciation enough for their long-term friendship.

Finally, I sincerely want to thank my family. My parents, Mikiko and Hiroyuki Sumitani raised me with a lot of love and patiently supported me for many years. If my grandparents, Masaharu and Fumiko Sumitani, were alive, they would be immensely proud of me. The days that I spent with my great-aunt, Fusae Ueno, in my childhood left me with happy memories. My uncle, Shoji Sumitani, taught me the most important lesson in life: consideration for others. Ken and Meg were a great support to me while I was writing this thesis. This dissertation stands as a testament to all of their unconditional love and encouragement. Thank you.

Abbreviations

Works of D. H. Lawrence

AP	*Apocalypse and the Writings on Revelation*. Ed. Mara Kalnins. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980)
Etruscan	*Sketches of Etruscan Places and Other Italian Essays.* Ed. Simonetta De Filippis. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002)
Hardy	*Study of Thomas Hardy and Other Essays*. Ed. Bruce Steele. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985)
Intro	*Introductions and Reviews*. Ed. N. H. Reeve and John Worthen. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005)
K	*Kangaroo*. Ed. Bruce Steele. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994)
LG	*The Lost Girl.* Ed. John Worthen. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981)
*MS*3	The Third Manuscript of *Sons and Lovers*
PM	*Paul Morel*. Ed. Helen Baron. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003)
PS	*The Plumed Serpent.* Ed. L. D. Clark. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987)
Late	*Late Essays and Articles*. Ed. James T. Boulton. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004)
LCL	*Lady Chatterley's Lover: A Propos of "Lady Chatterley's*

	Lover." Ed. Michael Squires. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1993)
Mexico	*Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays*. Ed. Virginia Crosswhite Hyde. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009)
Poems, i.	*The Poems.* Ed. Christopher Pollnitz. Vol. 1. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013)
Poems, ii.	*The Poems.* Ed. Christopher Pollnitz. Vol. 2. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013)
Psychoanalysis	*Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious: And, Fantasia of the Unconsciousness.* Ed. Bruce Steele. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004)
RB	*The Rainbow*. Ed. Mark Kinkead-Weekes. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989)
REF	*Reflections of the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays*. Ed. Michael Herbert. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988)
Sardinia	*Sea and Sardinia*. Ed. Mara Kalnins. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997)
SL	*Sons and Lovers.* Ed. Helen Baron et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002)
TW	*Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*. Ed. Paul Eggert. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994)
WL	*Women in Love*. Eds. David Farmer, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987)

Letters of D. H. Lawrence

Letters, i.	*The Letters of D. H. Lawrence. Vol. 1.* 1979. Ed. James T. Boulton. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002)
Letters, ii.	*The Letters of D. H. Lawrence. Vol. 2.* Eds. George J. Zytaruk, and James T. Boulton. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981)
Letters, iii.	*The Letters of D. H. Lawrence. Vol. 3.* Eds. James. T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984)
Letters, iv.	*The Letters of D. H. Lawrence. Vol. 4.* 1987. Eds. Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton, and Elizabeth Mansfield. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002)
Letters, v.	*The Letters of D. H. Lawrence. Vol.5.* Eds. James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989)

Others

Archetypes	Jung, Carl Gustav. *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*. 1959. Princeton UP, 1981. *Google Books*. Web.
DCP	University of Cambridge. "Darwin Correspondence Database." *Darwin Correspondence Project*. U of Cambridge, 2014. Web.
DHL	Worthen, John. "Bibliography." *D. H. Lawrence*. U of Nottingham, 2005. Web.

EES	Eugenics Education Society
EY	Worthen, John. *D. H. Lawrence: The Early Years, 1885-1912*. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992)
First Principles	Spencer, Herbert. *Synthetic Philosophy: First Principles*. *Vol. 1*. (New York: D. Appleton, 1883)
Geology	Lyell, Charles. *Principles of Geology*. Ed. James A. Secord. (London: Penguin, 1997)
History	Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality. Vol. I: An Introduction*. Trans. Robert Hurley. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978)
Jude	Hardy, Thomas. *Jude the Obscure*. 1895. (London: Penguin Books, 1998)
NI	Aristotle. *The Nicomachean Ethics*. Trans. H. Rackham. (London: William Heinemann, 1956)
RH	Aristotle. *The Rhetoric and The Poetics of Aristotle*. Trans. W. Rhys Roberts and Ingram Bywater. (New York: Modern Library, 1954)

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to focus initially on D. H. Lawrence's awakening interest in evolutionary ideas in his early writing period, and then to examine how he accepts and reacts to the idea of eugenics, a scientific discourse derived from evolutionary theory in the late nineteenth century. The thesis will finally investigate how he understood eugenics and evolved himself as a novelist by assimilating scientific knowledge, including evolutionary thought and eugenics.

Part I observes how Pre-Darwinian theories of evolution are represented in Lawrence's works such as *Sons and Lovers*, *Women in Love* and *The Rainbow*. Taking Charles Lyell and Herbert Spencer as early pioneers of evolution theory, and Alfred Tennyson as an early responder to it, this part will focus on the ways in which early evolutionary theories are reflected in Lawrence's early novels. Part I establishes the ground for the subsequent exploration of Lawrence's response to eugenics in the following parts of this thesis; eugenics is regarded as a scientific idea which was founded in the late nineteenth century by Francis Galton, who was a cousin of Charles Darwin and greatly influenced by Darwin's theory of evolution.

Part II will demonstrate that his interest in eugenics is shown clearly by at least two remarks on the subject: one occurs in his early career in 1908, expressing agreement with eugenics; the other remark occurs in 1926, four years before his death, and in which he continues to regard eugenics positively. Although he does not directly use eugenic terms in his remarks, these statements nonetheless stand as clear evidence of Lawrence's interest in and positive regard for eugenics over his lifetime. The eighteen years between 1908 and 1926 is not a short period, considering Lawrence's lifespan of forty-four years. This part of the thesis questions what happened to Lawrence during this period. Between 1908 and 1926, he went through a variety of changes in his life: elopement, marriage, travelling, writing, publication, banning, illness and encounters with many exciting people. Part II proposes that his first twenty years in the twentieth century gave him the opportunity to reconsider his view of the

eugenicists' concepts of 'degeneration' and 'unfitness.' This part deals with the three issues of 'degeneration' which eugenicists attempted to eliminate from society: homosexuality, non-white races and disease.

First considering Lawrence's trip to Italy as a significant event for him in thinking about homosexuality, this part examines the depiction of homosexuality or homo-society in his three Italian travel books, *Twilight in Italy*, *Sea and Sardinia*, and *Etruscan Places*, as well as *Women in Love*. Subsequently, by examining at his presentation of the non-white and non-English in the novels *The Lost Girl* and *The Plumed Serpent*, Chapter 2 explores how he challenges racial boundaries in opposition to the white supremacy which supports eugenic ideas. The conclusion to this part, comparing his *Study of Thomas Hardy* and *Sons and Lovers*, reveals how Lawrence redefined 'disease' or 'illness' in the context of modern society in his reading of Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*.

The purpose of Part III is to analyse Lawrence's reaction to eugenic discourse in his late years, after considering the definition of 'degeneracy' of human beings—in other words, to show his personal development through assimilating knowledge of science and the discourse of eugenics. This part explores how Lawrence formed his own philosophy of life, which valued instinct and sensuality more than knowledge or intelligence. For this purpose, this part takes up three topics which are inevitable in the discussion of eugenics and Lawrence's understanding of eugenics: the culture of motherhood, birth control and politics. These topics illustrate what kind of humanity Lawrence hopes will survive for the future, and his own definition of what 'superiority' can mean for human beings.

The first chapter of this part discusses maternal culture both in the realm of eugenics and in *The Plumed Serpent*. The second chapter analyses the discourse on sex and birth control, both central concerns of the eugenic movement, in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. This examination reveals how the discourse of eugenics influences his work without his explicit acknowledgement, and how Lawrence tactfully avoided open discussion of eugenics. The final chapter, focusing on his essays "Democracy" and

"Education of the People," develops the analysis of Lawrence's alignment with eugenics, and his simultaneous rejection of it in his novels. This chapter interrogates *Kangaroo* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* to establish Lawrence's political stance in his late career.

This study is intended to show the evolution of D. H. Lawrence as a novelist by examining scientific discourse derived from evolutionary theory. Beginning with tracing the effect of early evolutionary theory on Lawrence's early works, this thesis investigates the hiatus between the first and the last time he touches on eugenics in his works, and bridges the gap between them by examining the difference between his early and late novels and other writings.

The research employed in this thesis is based on the many previous studies of the relationship between science and literature, evolutionary theory and nineteenth-century English literature, eugenics and fin-de-siècle fiction, and eugenics and Lawrence's work. These challenging but exciting studies nonetheless prompt further investigation, leading to a new approach to Lawrence's complex and layered world. This thesis offers an original presentation of his development, establishing his philosophy of life by capturing the stream of evolutionary thoughts that emerged from the early nineteenth century and gradually escalated into eugenics in the works of Lawrence, a twentieth-century modernist novelist. This interdisciplinary research will contribute to the elucidation of connections between different ages and fields in the work of D. H. Lawrence, whose writings have always suggested this possibility.

Before commencing this investigation, I would like to introduce previous studies that inform an examination of the effects of pre-Darwinian theories and eugenics on Lawrence. Some have suggested the great influence of science on literary works and revealed the connection between them. Gillian Beer's prominent 1983 work, *Darwin's Plots*, reviews the substantial effect on literature of Charles Darwin's evolutionary theory published in 1859, one of the biggest scientific discourses to shake the world of nineteenth-century thought. Beer recognises the narrative structure and literariness of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, which focuses on genetic variation through time. Beer's study admits that Darwin's evolutionary theory is a fact which is "not quite a scientific

fact at all" when she explores some of the ways in which evolutionary theory has been assimilated and resisted by Victorian novelists such as Charles Kingsley, George Eliot and Thomas Hardy (2).

Following Beer's illustration of Darwin's influence on Victorian and contemporary novelists, Earl G. Ingersoll's 1992 study explores the twentieth-century novelists concerned with scientific fields such as evolutionary theory. In relation to Lawrence, Ingersoll regards Hardy as "a valid starting point" since "no other writer had as profound an influence on Lawrence" (21). Beginning with Hardy, Ingersoll expands the discussion to the scientific influence on modern novelists such as Joseph Conrad, George Bernard Shaw, E. M. Forster, Virginia Woolf and Lawrence. Although he later discusses *Lady Chatterley's Lover* from an industrial perspective, Ingersoll mainly focuses on Lawrence's early works including *Sons and Lovers*, *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* in order to show appreciation for Lawrence's personal background: his father was a coal miner and his mother the daughter of an engineer (100).

The trend for literary critics to scrutinise the traces of scientific influence on Lawrence has continued into the twenty-first century. Ronald Granofsky published *D. H. Lawrence and Survival: Darwinism in the Fiction of the Transitional Period* in 2003; followed by Jeff Wallace's *D. H. Lawrence, Science and the Posthuman* in 2005. Granofsky explains the transition from Lawrence's early 'marriage' works to his late 'leadership' novels by arguing that Lawrence's ideas are based on evolutionary theory. Although Lawrence is generally viewed as "immune to Darwin's influence" because of several comments repudiating Darwinism in his essays and letters (13), Granofsky reveals Lawrence's engagement with Darwinism in fiction, emphasising that Lawrence's roots lie in "the time immediately following Darwin's publication of *The Origin of Species*, a full century earlier than the Lady Chatterley trial but only a single generation before Lawrence's birth" (14). His conviction that Lawrence's work is deeply ingrained with the nineteenth century supports the present study, which begins with the examination of the relationship between Lawrence and pre-Darwinian theories in the nineteenth century. Wallace reassesses Lawrence's engagement with science by

dealing with the relationship between humans, animals and machines. It is particularly worth noting that Jeff Wallace proceeds further than Lawrence's engagement with technology and science; in discussing the relationship between humans and animals he employs the idea of eugenics based on evolutionary theory and human heredity. Accepting that "eugenics was a pervasive discourse" in the early twentieth century, Wallace suggests that "the availability to Lawrence of advanced critical perspectives on it [eugenics]" (154).

Lifestyles and modes of thinking have changed dramatically since the development of technology and science in the late eighteenth century. The establishment of evolutionary theory in 1859 ushered in a new era, which served as a foundation for the future development of social Darwinism, genetics and eugenics. Nevertheless, just as Granofsky expresses his regret that "Lawrence's anomalous failure to engage with Darwinism in his fiction" has not piqued much critical interest, it is to be regretted that critics have not examined the eugenic legacies bequeathed to twentieth-century British novels, focusing instead on the influence of evolutionary theory (13). Although Takao Tomiyama suggested in 1995 that Lawrence and his contemporaries were resigned to the presence of eugenics, recent studies tend to remain confined to the examination of eugenic influence on eighteenth-century and late-nineteenth-century fictions, making little mention of Lawrence.[1] Meanwhile, Makoto Kinoshita's pioneering study keenly focusing on eugenics and *St. Mawr* was published in 1999, and Donald J. Childs discusses Lawrence's response to eugenics in his letters (10) and David Bradshaw refers to *Lady Chatterley's Lover* as "the culmination of his lifelong espousal of hereditarian eugenics" (43). Kinoshita follows the development of the story of *St Mawr* in the context of social Darwinism and eugenics, to clarify that the novel's and Lawrence's longtime theme—the extinction of instinct by civilisation—shares a philosophy with eugenics. It is instructive to note that Kinoshita classifies Lawrence as a novelist who responds sensitively to contemporary social discourse (225).

As is argued by several critics, the fact that Lawrence left in letters or essays a negative comment on eugenics or evolutionary thought does not prove that he did not

engage with them. Hidenaga Arai describes Lawrence as “a novelist who can intentionally and tactically avoid or sidetrack the contemporary discourse,” which supports my research (126). This thesis will illuminate Lawrence’s conceptual development of evolutionary ideas in his early works, in the context of very early evolutionary thoughts which have not been fully examined in studies of Lawrence. I will then develop previous research on Lawrence and eugenics by contemplating his conflicting principles over eugenics and evolutionary theory as expressed in his writing, or sometimes in vague and enigmatic passages from a variety of his works.

This thesis will begin with an examination of Lawrence’s engagement with pre-Darwinian evolutionary theory and ultimately focus on the effect of eugenics on Lawrence and his works, whether it be consciously or not. Before beginning this study, it is necessary to look back on the history of eugenics as there is such a gap between twenty-first-century and early twentieth-century perspectives on eugenics. It is vital to understand how eugenic thought, manifested in the Holocaust, was established as one of the strongest ideologies of the twentieth century. Daniel J. Kevles, in his *In the Name of Eugenics*, states that “Acquisition of the knowledge and techniques for human genetic intervention would pose challenges which, while different in kind from those of the nuclear revolution, may be comparable in magnitude, and it is none too soon to examine them in historical context” (“Preface to the Original Edition” xiii).

The term ‘eugenics’ was coined by Francis Galton as the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of living beings. Inspired by his reading of *The Origin of Species*, published in 1859 by his first cousin, Charles Darwin, Galton published the article “Hereditary Talent and Character” in *Macmillan’s Magazine* in 1865. Galton concluded that “mental traits were more the product of heredity than of environment, more the product of nature than of nurture,” (“Hereditary Talent” 158) and in which, “Galton disproved Darwin’s theory of pangenesis, which held that inheritance could be affected by environmental conditions because heredity particles were carried in the circulatory system” (Cowan par. 9). It should be remembered here that the establishment of Mendel’s law of heredity was one of the great spurs to the movement

of eugenics. Gregor Mendel, an Austrian botanist, born in 1822, the same year as Galton, bred and analysed garden peas in order to study the distribution from generation to generation of alternative characters, such as tall or short plants and wrinkled or smooth seeds. Mendel published his results in 1866, in the *Proceedings* of the Brunn Natural Sciences Society, "only to have the significance of his work go unrecognised for the rest of the century" (Kevles 42). Since Mendel was rediscovered in 1900 by botanists and geneticists in Germany, Austria and Holland, Mendelism was immediately embraced by a number of students of evolution in the United States and England. Heredity became the darling of the scientific world in the twentieth century.

Returning to eugenics, a society was founded in London in 1907 as the Eugenics Education Society, and branches of the society sprang up in Birmingham, Cambridge, Manchester, Southampton, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Sydney, Australia (Kevles 59).[2] Local eugenics groups sprouted across the United States and The Second International Congress of Eugenics was hosted by the American Museum of Natural History in New York in 1921, which led to the formation of the American Eugenics society in 1923. After the turn of the century, eugenics—often called "race hygiene"—received an enthusiastic response not only in an immigrant nation, the United States, but also in Sweden, Norway, Russia, Switzerland, Germany, Poland, France, and Italy. In the 1920s, the movement spread to Japan and Latin America (Kevles 63). Attempting to indoctrinate their citizens with the idea of eugenics, England and the United States asserted the righteousness of their eugenic movements, for the former had agonised over the London poor since the late nineteenth century, and the latter strove for the restriction of immigration from Europe. Human genetics, anthropometry, criminology and the birth control movement were all based on the idea of eugenics and the persuasion of the public of the rightness of eugenics.

British eugenicists marvelled at the extent to which the first state sterilisation law was enacted in 1907, in Indiana. Kevles observes that comparatively few British eugenicists agitated for immigration restriction in this period because non-white immigration to Britain from the Empire was negligible, and among the variety of other

issues with which British eugenicists concerned themselves, one above all—the control of the mentally deficient—engaged their political energies (98). Between 1907 and 1917, sterilisation laws were enacted by fifteen American states. Despite the difference of regulatory criteria in each state, they were given the power to forcibly sterilise habitual or confirmed criminals, rapists, epileptics, the insane, mentally disabled, and drug addicts. Aided and abetted by the Great Depression of the 1930s, the British and American eugenicists insisted that "sterilisation was humane as well as practical" (Kevles 114).

It was 1933 when Adolf Hitler's cabinet enacted a Eugenic Sterilisation Law, which went far beyond American law. The German law aimed at all people, "institutionalised or not, who suffered from allegedly hereditary disabilities, including feeblemindedness, schizophrenia, epilepsy, blindness, severe drug or alcohol addiction, and physical deformities that seriously interfered with locomotion or were grossly offensive" (Kevles 116). The aim of the Nazi sterilisation programme was to prevent the poisoning of the entire bloodstream of the race for future generations, and to foster the breeding of an Aryan elite, a Caucasian race not of Jewish descent. Mainstream eugenicists in the United State and Britain could not predict that the sterilisation law of 1933 would eventually lead to the holocaust centred at Auschwitz.

The atrocious genocide perpetrated by the Nazis provoked a powerful anti-eugenic reaction. Opposition came from diverse sources including academics and religious sects. Catholic dissent resolutely proclaimed that in God's creation, children of God were all blessed with immortal souls even if they were biologically 'unfit' to the eugenicist mind. In the various social sciences, anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists gathered evidence against eugenics. The leading and most powerful anti-eugenic scientists were British biologist J. B. S. Haldane (1892-1964), Julian Huxley (1887-1975), Lancelot Hogben (1895-1975), and their American colleague, Herbert S. Jennings (1868-1947). These four scientists, whose achievements were later acknowledged as an enormous contribution to the fields of genetics and evolutionary biology, coincided with the recognition that mainstream eugenics expressed race and

class prejudice. During the interwar years, enlightening the public by adequate and sound knowledge of biology, they undermined the authority of mainstream eugenics.

Among the various vicissitudes undergone by eugenics from the late nineteenth century onwards, one of the most intriguing is the anti-eugenic reaction of humanists. Kevles holds up Stephen Dedalus in James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) as an example of a humanist's criticism of new science. Quoting Dedalus's notion of beauty, Kevles points out that Joyce rejects the idea that "every physical quality admired by men in women is in direct connection with the manifold functions of women for the propagation of the species" (119).[3] Humanists were developing an aversion to the authority of eugenics, as were the public.

Furthermore, there was an intellectual circle in central London whose members were mostly opposed to eugenics: the Bloomsbury group, a collection of writers, artists and philosophers in the early twentieth century. Members included Virginia Woolf, Lytton Strachey, Vanessa Bell, Duncan Grant, Roger Fry and E. M. Forster. This feminist group promoted the emancipation of women and the importance of female sexual satisfaction. They opposed political intervention in reproduction in the name of eugenics. It is remarkable that Lawrence had many direct and indirect connections with the Bloomsbury group and that he was acquainted with both Haldane and Huxley, the leading scientists in the anti-eugenics assault.[4] Though Lawrence later rejected his friendship with its members, it is worth examining the influence of this group on Lawrence's position on eugenics.

As it turned out, Galton could not discover any law, enunciate any theory, nor reveal any body of facts which were later considered valid; therefore, eugenics may well be regarded as a legacy of past pseudoscience and a curse of eccentric racism. Nonetheless, I entirely agree with Kevles' conviction that "eugenics held a rich variety of opportunities for historical investigation" and regret the viewing of eugenics exclusively through the lens of the Holocaust ("Preface to the Original Edition" xiii). The genocide of the 1930s was not the goal of eugenics. The idea of eugenics has not become obsolescent; eugenic thinking has percolated through to society and its issues

have continued to be earnestly discussed in the field of medical genetics. Eugenics should not be dealt with in only a few countries such as England and America, where it was most mainstream, nor was it entirely confined to a certain age. Its merits and demerits should be viewed from various perspectives, throughout the ages and in a cross-disciplinary field. The present research does not provide justification of eugenics or its history, nor does it seek a revival. Following an understanding of all that was said and done in the name of eugenics, and the dislocation of present and past reactions towards the discourse of eugenics, this study merges the history of science, centred on evolutionary theories, with the stream of D. H. Lawrence's thinking and development both in his works and his life.

PART I

Pre-Darwinian Theories and Social Darwinism

Chapter 1

Herbert Spencer in *Sons and Lovers*

By selecting Herbert Spencer as one of the principal proponents of evolutionary theory in the mid-nineteenth century, I would like to begin Part I by analysing Lawrence's response to Herbert Spencer in *Sons and Lovers*. Herbert Spencer was well known as a Victorian biologist and one of the early social philosophers, and he coined the terms 'evolution' and 'survival of the fittest' in *The Principles of Biology* in 1864. It was not Charles Darwin but Spencer who used these terms for the first time. He was born in 1820 and was educated at home because he was sickly in his youth. He studied mathematics, natural science, history, English, and some other languages, and then he joined Derby Philosophical Society, founded by Erasmus Darwin, a grandfather of Charles Darwin, where he became familiar with pre-Darwinian concepts of biological evolution including Lamarckism. From 1848 to 1853, Spencer worked as a writer and sub-editor for *The Economist*, an important financial weekly journal for the upper-middle class. As a result, he came into contact with a number of political controversialists such as George Henry Lewes, Thomas Carlyle, and Marian Evans, later known as George Eliot, with whom he developed a very close friendship, and talked of marriage, although they never actually married.[5] Spencer's interests spread to many fields, and he applied the idea of evolution to biology, psychology, sociology, and ethics. He developed an agnostic-evolutionary philosophy, which was widely accepted by intellectuals at the turn of the century. One of his main achievements was that he provided systematic theory to the rapidly developing fields of biology and social science.[6]

Lawrence was familiar with the various philosophers such as Thomas Carlyle, Arthur Schopenhauer, Herbert Spencer, Ernst Haeckel, Charles Darwin and Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche. He was stimulated by Carlyle's denunciation of mammon and self-consciousness, by Schopenhauer's theory of the preservation of species, and by Haeckel's monistic view of the universe. However, it is regrettable that there has been

little discussion about the intellectual relationship between Spencer and Lawrence, which I think is important especially in view of the development of Lawrence's fiction and his social and scientific ideas of life. Among the nineteenth century thinkers, even more than Darwin, Spencer may have shaped Lawrence's understanding of man, nature and social history as he responded both positively and negatively to Spencer's ideas. In this chapter, while investigating Spencer's theory, I would like to demonstrate his great familiarity with and interest in Spencer by showing his direct remarks on Spencer in *Sons and Lovers*. I will then consider how Lawrence uses Spencer's biological and sociological theories and how he modifies them in *Sons and Lovers*.

According to Jessie Chambers, Lawrence's first girlfriend, he "read also Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill and William James" from 1906 to 1907, before he started to write *Paul Morel*, the predecessor of *Sons and Lovers* (E.T. 113). Lawrence also wrote to Reverend Reid, in 1907, that "Reading of Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Renan, J. M. Robertson, Blatchford and Vivian. . . has seriously modified my religious beliefs" (*Letters*, i. 36-7). In addition, in 1908, Lawrence admitted in an essay "Art and the Individual" that "It would be a good idea, too, to take a book—socialistic essays, an Essay of Mill or Spencer or anybody" for intellectual discussion (*Hardy* 229). There is also a note indicating that Lawrence "had read as a student, for instance, Herbert Spencer's *Education* (1861) which began with a distinction between living 'in the mere material sense only' and 'in the widest sense'" (*Hardy* 255). These facts show that Lawrence was already very familiar with Spencer's ideas before he began writing *Sons and Lovers* in 1911.

In fact, Lawrence in 1911 directly mentioned the name of Spencer in *MS 3*, which is the third manuscript of *Paul Morel*, the predecessor of *Sons and Lovers*. He describes how Paul and Miriam liked to talk about books, painting and philosophy: "They read together Schopenhauer and Herbert Spencer and Nietzsche, authors who hurt her inexpressibly, and delighted him" (*PM* 231). Reading this paragraph, Jessie Chambers handed *MS 3* back to Lawrence with the following the notes. She pointed out that it was too early for Paul and Miriam to like to read the books of philosophers like

Schopenhauer, Herbert Spencer or Nietzsche: “You write ‘First Love’ from the standpoint of twenty-six instead of that of seventeen. For instance, Schopenhauer, Herbert Spencer—Nietzsche are hard stuff for a boy and girl of seventeen and sixteen!” (*PM* 243).

Receiving the notes from Jessie, Lawrence thought over the plot of the story and revised *MS 3* in 1912. He naturally inserted the name of Spencer into the conversation between Mrs. Morel and Paul. Mrs. Morel, out of jealousy, irritatingly asks Paul why he so often sees Miriam and what they talk about: “What things—?” Mrs Morel was so quiet, so cold and hopeless, Paul began to pant. . . . “Why—music—Schubert—and books—*you* don’t care about Herbert Spencer—” (*PM* 102; emphasis in orig.). This conversation still remained in *Sons and Lovers*; he did not delete it, but just made a minor change (*SL* 251). In conversations in both *Paul Morel* and *Sons and Lovers*, the role of the name of Spencer was just to offer an example of the kind of intellectual conversation which would not interest Mrs Morel. However, no matter what the intention was, the mention of the name of Spencer remained from the first manuscript to the last version of *Sons and Lovers*, which makes it possible to assume that Lawrence was too attached to Spencer to omit his name when writing a biographical novel and that Spencer’s ideas formed the core theme of *Sons and Lovers*.

Concerning the relationship between Lawrence and Spencer, Baron writes in the explanatory notes to *Paul Morel*: “Many of Spencer’s ideas are embedded in the text of *Sons and Lovers*” (281). Baron sees the influences of Spencer’s ideas upon Lawrence much more in *Sons and Lovers* than in *Paul Morel*. John Worthen also notes how often the young Paul Morel’s thinking in *Sons and Lovers* touched on Spencer (*EY* 183). For example, Worthen claims that Paul’s remark about “shimmering protoplasm” in Chapter 7 of *Sons and Lovers* was influenced by Spencer’s remarks on “living protoplasm” in his *Principles of Biology*, and that Paul’s following remark is supported by Spencer’s influential analysis of society as a “social organism”: “And people matter. But *one* isn’t so very important” (*SL* 193). Besides, Worthen argues that when Paul describes “the force of gravitation” as “the great shaper,” he echoes Spencer’s *System of Synthetic*

Philosophy, and that when Paul insists on nature's "correct geometrical line and proportion," he repeats Spencer's *Principles of Biology* again (Worthen, *EY* 183). The analyses of both Baron and Worthen confirm that Lawrence was truly affected by the biological and sociological theories of Spencer in *Sons and Lovers*. I would like to advance my study further than them by discussing how Lawrence interpreted and modified Spencer's ideas in *Sons and Lovers* and what differences existed between Spencer's and Lawrence's ideas.

Spencer published as many as ten volumes of *Synthetic Philosophy* between 1851 and 1893. In *First Principles*, originally published in 1862 as the first volume of *Synthetic Philosophy*, he enunciates the theory of force. For example, he notes that the shapes of plants are manifestly modified by gravitation and that the direction of each branch is decided by the pull exercised by the Earth. Even in animals, though less affected than plants, the orientation of their flexible organs is in great measure determined by gravity. Spencer concluded, "throughout the whole organism the forms of parts must be affected by this [gravity's] force" (*First Principles* 234).

Later, in Vol. 2 of *The Principle of Biology*, published in 1867 as the second and third volumes of *Synthetic Philosophy*, Spencer returned to his theory that the force of gravitation greatly affects the course of growth of plants. After he examined how habitat, light, air and nutrients can be forces influencing plant growth besides the gravity of the earth, he invented the theory of the general law of organic symmetry. Regarding the shapes of plants, giving the leaves of plants as an example, he argued that their degree of symmetry and their geometrical lines and proportion depend on the forces that bear upon the plant (*Principle of Biology* 28-46).

Spencer's theory of force went far beyond an explanation for the growth of plants. I would like to introduce more about Spencer's theory of force because I think it was closely related to Lawrence's later ideas. Spencer devoted part two of *First Principles* to his theory that space, time, matter, motion, and indeed mental and emotional activity, are the products of forces. Spencer tried to answer the question of whether all phenomena in the world are due to the differently conditioned working of a single force,

or due to the conflict of two forces. His answer was the latter: the absolute cause of changes lies in the duality of two actions. He thought that in every motion there are co-existent forces of attraction and repulsion, which result in the general law of direction of all movements. His main argument was that a motion is not caused by a single force of either attraction or repulsion but by the combined forces of the two. He noted, "Motion then, we may say, always follows the line of greatest traction" (*First Principles* 226). Spencer insisted that the cause of movement, change and evolution of animals, plants and all phenomena, lies in the conflict between two opposite forces.

We can find in *Sons and Lovers* that Lawrence seems conscious of Spencer's idea of forces. In Chapter 9, when Miriam calls on Paul, he is creating designs for decorating some material and also for embroidery. She asks him if he likes that design and he answers, "I love it. I've got a passion for conventionalizing things just now" (240). The conventionalizing design here is a stylized and geometric design based on birds and plants, especially roses, which had been made popular by pre-Raphaelite paintings at the turn of the century. Miriam continues asking why conventionalizing things fascinates him so much. Paul, struggling, begins to explain "the theory that the force of gravitation is the great shaper, and that if it had all its own way, it would have a rose in correct geometrical line and proportion—and so on" (240). Paul explains a very similar theory to the force of gravitation enunciated by Spencer, which shows Lawrence's recognition of gravitation as a great shaper that can modify the shapes of plants. He should know that both plants and animals grow by taking the balance between the attractive force of gravitation and the repulsive force to extend upward, and that the conventional design of plants is a model to show what nature should be. Therefore, Paul might have been fascinated by conventional designs because he found in them some natural beauty following the law of nature.

What differs from Spencer is that Lawrence believes that there are forces which have a great effect on the growth of human beings and on the relationship between people, while Spencer finds them in organic creatures. Lawrence discovers forces in human relationships and describes what becomes of the characters in *Sons and Lovers*

affected by the forces which exist in human relations. They live to survive the conflict between the two forces of attraction and repulsion like the plants and animals in the theory of Spencer. People grow through the conflict with each other; at one time, we are attracted by someone or something, or other times, we fight with that person or thing. In addition to finding forces in human relationships, what is more characteristic of Lawrence is his view of human beings as sexual. As H. M. Daleski points out, "Lawrence sets out his concept of duality in terms of the 'male' and 'female' principles, insisting that all creativity is dependent on the fruitful interaction of the two principles," the dichotomy of male and female is central to Lawrence's dualism (13). I am adding the point that Lawrence seemed to employ that dichotomy of male and female when he analysed the effect of various forces upon human begins. When Lawrence considered the influence of forces on human beings, his thoughts focused on their sexual differences, while Spencer saw human beings as entities shaped by society, and did not divide them into man and woman.

In *Sons and Lovers*, opposing forces between men and women are repeatedly represented. First of all, Mr. and Mrs. Morel form a clear contrast. Lawrence devotes the part of *Sons and Lovers* mainly to the description of how the married life of Mr. and Mrs. Morel gets corrupted and observes how each of them grow under the force of marriage in *Sons and Lovers*. What is emphasized about the difference between Mr. and Mrs. Morel is their characteristics. Mr. Morel is a physical man and sensual, not spiritual. He has "the dusky, golden softness of this man's sensuous flame of life, that flowed from off his flesh like the flame from a candle, not baffled and gripped into incandescence by thought and spirit," by which young Gertrude, later Mrs. Morel, is extremely fascinated (*SL* 18). Soon after the marriage, however, she realizes that there is nothing behind all his show and the fearful battle between them begins. They are too different from one another to really understand each other. Brought up by her stoic father, George Coppard, Gertrude grows up to be an intellectual and high-minded woman who is a puritan like her father: "She was clever in leading folk on to talk. She loved ideas, and was considered very intellectual. What she liked most of all was an

argument on religion or philosophy or politics, with some educated man" (17). Between Mr. and Mrs. Morel, such different kinds of forces work, which ruins their married life; however, at the same time, we know they are attracted to each other at the beginning.

After finding opposing forces in Mr. and Mrs. Morel, what is characteristic of Lawrence is the way he describes how the forces affect their married life. He expresses how sensuality and physical attraction, Mr. Morel's strong points, decay as he grows old: "Physically even, he shrank, and his fine full presence waned. He never grew in the least stout, so that, as he sank from his erect, assertive bearing, his physique seemed to contract along with his pride and moral strength" (37). The man whose confidence derives from just physical attraction is vulnerable if his physical fascination is diminished because of his age. The deterioration of the body undermines his mentality, too. Regarding the limitation of man's sensuality, Worthen notes, discussing George Saxton in *The White Peacock*, that "Lawrence is intensely aware of how limited such a man is, in spite of his sensuality" (*EY* 150). George Saxton, a young farmer, is a typical manly type like Walter Morel and the limitation of sensuality seems to be one of Lawrence's favourite themes in his early works.

In contrast, Mrs. Morel's nature, expressed through her intellectual and spiritual characteristics, does not decay or diminish as she grows old. Here is a symbolic scene in *Sons and Lovers*: Mrs. Morel quarrels with her drunken husband and receives an injury to the brow when he flings a shallow drawer at her. The reactions of Mr. and Mrs. Morel to this happening are interesting to analyse. After the corner of the drawer catches her brow and hurts her, Mrs. Morel, with an effort, "brought herself to. . . . She balanced her head to keep equilibrium, so that the blood ran into her eye" (*SL* 53). Mr. Morel, baffled, asks "'Did it catch thee?' He swayed again, as if he would pitch onto the child. With the catastrophe, he had lost all balance" (54). The contrast between the expressions, "lost all balance" and "balanced her head," shows the psychological relationship between Mr. and Mrs. Morel in marriage. Mrs. Morel, whose confidence depends on her intellectual and spiritual power rather than her physical power, can bear the physical damage and keep her balance of mind. However, Mr. Morel, who depends on his physical strength

and attraction, as a result of using violence, loses his balance of mind and confidence, and his pride as a man is broken into pieces.

In *Sons and Lovers*, Lawrence presents forces which attract and conflict with each other, and another force: the force of marriage life which means to fulfil the obligation to take care of one's family and to take responsibility for life. Mr. Morel abnegates his responsibility as a husband and father in the family and succumbs to the pressure of marriage like a flower or plant which cannot bear the force of gravitation and becomes distorted or withered as a result if Spencer's explanation is employed. Mrs. Morel, though disappointed by her husband, but not desperate, finds her own pleasure in devoting her love to children and contributing to society by joining the Women's Guild, for example. In the case of Mr. and Mrs. Morel, they are fascinated by and conflict with each other because of the different forces of their characters, and eventually Mr. Morel is crushed by the gravity of marriage, which I think expresses Lawrence's dualism of male and female divisions. It is not only Mr. Morel who falls down under the force of gravity; his sons, Paul and William are squashed by the gravity of love as well.

William's death is a symbolic accident which indicates that the force of woman is so strong that he cannot bear it. Firstly, his girlfriend, Lily causes William to suffer financially and mentally because she is a big consumer and very demanding: "All his strength and money went into keeping this girl. He could scarcely afford to take his mother to Nottingham, when he came over" (*SL* 148). Mrs. Morel can see quite clearly that William frets about Lily and is withering like "a big, raw-boned man" (162). What is worse, this relationship causes a split between William's body and mind; he needs Lily physically, but his mind still rests with his mother. Although William expects that if he got married to Lily the result would be a fine mess, he repeatedly insists to his mother that he cannot give her up now: "Oh well—I've gone too far to break off now," he says. "And so I shall get married as soon as I can" (161), and again, "But I can't give her up, now, it's gone too far," he continues. "And besides, for *some* things, I couldn't do without her—." (162; emphasis in orig.). The repeated phrase, "gone too far" should be noted, because it has a double meaning. One of the implications, perhaps is that

William has “gone too far” by having a sexual intercourse with Lily and it is too late to discard her. Another implication is that the phrase expresses his struggle between body and mind, Lily and Mrs. Morel. Tension and frustration can be seen in William’s repeated remarks, “gone too far.” However, he has a mental understanding that the marriage to Lily will turn out to be a failure because he cannot feel spiritual intimacy with her, although his flesh needs her. His mentality needs his mother: “He was accustomed to having all his thoughts sifted through his mother’s mind” (161). William leads himself to self-destructive conflict. What makes him suffer is the conflict between the desire for pleasure of the flesh and that for spiritual intimacy. He is torn apart between two women, Lily and Mrs. Morel. His soul and mind rest with Mrs Morel but his flesh has “gone too far,” in seeking Lily. The problem with William is that his physical satisfaction is not accompanied by mental satisfaction. The discordance of mind and body brings him death in the end. William is another man who cannot grow up with the forces of the relationship between a man and a woman.

In Paul’s relationship with Miriam, the primary interest in the novel, Paul seems to be distorted by the force of love. It is often discussed that the relationship between Paul and Miriam does not work because Miriam is too spiritual and lacks sensuality, but this is doubtful. While Miriam is about take further steps with Paul so that their relationship becomes more than friendship, he is afraid of it and denies it. Paul seems to pass over or turn a blind eye to her sensual attraction and yearning. Paul, though recognizing she is “very beautiful, with her warm colouring, her gravity, her eyes dilating suddenly like an ecstasy” (*SL* 175), always gets restless, fretful and finally begins accusing her of being too spiritual because he does not realize that his fretting is coming from sexual frustration. Whenever she “gazed” not “seeing”, and “touched” him (192), or even let him kiss her (227), he just switches the topic of conversation to algebra or poetry. Miriam shows him again and again the passion and strong desire that lies deeply inside her like “the shimmering protoplasm”(183)—Paul explains to Miriam about his drawings with this term which was used by Spencer in *The Principles of Biology* when demonstrating the mechanism of how life has progressed by the continual

adaptation of inner relations to outer ones. Although Paul's remark that "Only shimmeriness [of protoplasm] is the real living" indicates his high evaluation of "protoplasm," a fundamental component of every living organism, he hesitates to accept it and runs away from the organic life and flees to the inorganic world of philosophical discussion when actually Miriam presents her "shimmering protoplasm" (183). They break up because of Paul's refusal of Miriam's passion, rather than her refusal to accept Paul physically. After the relationship ends, Paul suffers from depression more than Miriam. She knows "She held the key to his soul" (262) and that "she would not lose so much" (265), while Paul is "unstable" and has "no fixity of purpose, no anchor of righteousness that held him" (256) and finally "gradually realized where he was wrong" (267). Paul totally loses out, overwhelmed by the force of his love for Miriam.

Behind the successive failures in love of the sons, there is always the force of the relationship between mother and sons, which works as a more effective force than that of their desire to get into a relationship with a woman. The children, William and Paul, feeling their mother's expectation, live to serve her determined not to disappoint her like their father. As a result of this, the sons seem too much conscious of her force. If their lives are compared to trees, as Spencer observes, their tree of life does not develop straight but yields to the weight of the burden and pressure on them. Mrs. Morel's life is energized and vitalized by watching her children grow up and by successfully sending them into society, while what happens to the children are the death of William and Paul's failure in love. Paul is completely shattered by Mrs. Morel's death: "Paul felt crumpled up and lonely. His mother had really supported his life. He had loved her, they two had in fact faced the world together. Now she was gone. And forever behind him was the gap in life, the tear in the veil, through which his life seemed to drift slowly, as if he were drawn toward death" (*SL* 451). Whimpering "mother" repeatedly, Paul takes the direction to "the darkness, to follow her. He walked toward the faintly humming, glowing town, quickly" (464). In *Sons and Lovers*, as the title suggests, the daughters' contribution or sacrifice to the family is out of the question. What is always highlighted is male characters as victims of the force in human relationships, as seen with Mr. Morel,

William and Paul.

Thus, Lawrence observes how the force of life works in human relationships; sometimes it works as repelling force, sometimes as an attracting force. Lawrence describes in *Sons and Lovers* how in marriage, in love and in mother-child relationships, male characters are decaying under the force of female characters. For men, the power of woman cannot be a great shaper like the force of gravitation affecting the growth of plants healthily as Spencer enunciated. They cannot keep straight and in symmetry. The forces that men feel in the relationship with women cause too much suffering for them to endure and hinder their self-realization in life. By contrast, women feel the fulfilment of life and excitement of love at some crucial points in life, by making the best use of the force in human relationships.[7] Lawrence's uniqueness lies in his ability to employ Spencer's theory of force and develop it in an analysis of how the force of the great shaper works on men and women in human relationships in *Sons and Lovers*.

I have analysed Lawrence's use of Spencer's biological theories regarding 'force' and have shown how much he was absorbed by Spencer's biological theory of force and how he modified it in *Sons and Lovers* by adding the important element of sexuality to theories of force. Now I would like to turn to Spencer's theory of the social organism which may be more familiar with the public. I will demonstrate how Lawrence reacted to it. We can find that Lawrence did not always agree with Spencer and was afflicted by value conflicts between Spencer and himself.

As a sociologist, Spencer held an organic view of society. He considered society as a living organism, believing that it develops, functions, sometimes dysfunctions and finally grows old, similar to the process of biological life. Spencer enunciated the analogy and the difference between society and biological organisms in *First Principles* and in *Principles of Sociology*. Seeing society through an organic analogy, firstly, he analysed the analogy between them in that both society and biological organisms grow during most of their existence; baby to adult, town to city. Secondly, as they grow, both society and organisms become increasingly complex. Thirdly, the progressive differentiation of structure is also accompanied by progressive differentiation of

function.

Spencer also admitted that there are fundamental differences between society and organisms. The first difference is that the parts of an organism form a concrete whole, whereas different areas of society are free and relatively dispersed. The second is that parts of the organism invariably exist to benefit the whole, whereas in society, the whole exists merely for the benefit of the individual. The third is that parts of the organism cannot usually be cut off from the whole without severe damage, while in society the part can be cut off the whole. Spencer's conclusion may not be persuasive because he does not seem to give a logical answer to the issue of human community. He just concludes that people who survive are stronger and thus improve the population, for example, we have survival of the fittest. As the term, 'survival of the fittest,' seemed to fail to convey the complex nature of natural selection, modern biologists came to prefer to use the term, 'natural selection.' However, it is true that the evolutionary theory of society advanced by Spencer promoted the spread of Social Darwinism.

There are passages in *Sons and Lovers* which reflect the influence of Spencer's theory of social organism. In Chapter 7, "Lad-and-Girl Love," walking side by side in the rain from the library, Paul and Miriam begin to think about the meaning of the individual among the whole:

> "It seems as if it didn't matter, one more or less, among the lot," he said.
>
> "No," she replied, gravely, questioning.
>
> "I used to believe that about a sparrow falling—and hairs of the head—"
>
> "Yes," she said. "And now?"
>
> "Now I think that the race of sparrows matters, but not one sparrow: all my hair, but not one hair."
>
> "Yes," she said, questioningly.
>
> "And people matter. But *one* isn't so very important. Look at William."
>
> "Yes," she pondered.
>
> "I call it only wasted," he said. "Waste, no more."
>
> "Yes," she said, very low. (193)

This conversation is meaningful. Readers have to be sceptical of whether Paul or Lawrence is really satisfied with Spencer's social organism, taking into consideration Lawrence's religious point of view. Look at the plot: this is the conversation after William's death. If it were not for his death, Paul may have thought that the individual was important and that, therefore, not one of them was forgotten by God as is indicated in the allegorical story of the sparrow written in Matthew and Luke in the New Testament. However, seeing his brother's death, Paul begins to doubt the importance of the individual. This feeling of Paul might resemble that of Lawrence himself. He lost the members of his family one after another: his elder brother, Ernest, died in 1901 and Worthen writes that "Lawrence may well have had in mind such mysterious challenges to faith as the fact of his sister Emily's baby being born dead on 30 September 1907" (*EY* 176). When Lawrence started to write *Paul Morel* in 1910, he might already have been haunted by suspicion about the existence of God after the succession of misfortunes in his family. However, it is a hasty interpretation to ascribe the purpose of Paul's remarks quoted above to his personal history and to consider them an expression of his disbelief in the God of Christianity.

Yet, at the same time, it does not seem right to interpret the conversation between Paul and Miriam as an indication of Lawrence's agreement with Spencer's theory of the social organism. Paul, having experienced the loss of a brother, begins to think about the importance of the individual. It is true that no matter how much they suffer through grief at the death of William, the other family members survive and the Morel family will persist. Although one person has been lost, the family, the company and the society will go on. As Paul realizes that the power of the individual is trifling in the society, he may be saying that one is not as important as suggested in the idea of Spencer, in which part of an organism cannot be cut off from the whole; an individual can easily be cut off from society with no damage to the whole. Lawrence understands Spencer's theory; however, the remarks of Paul should be taken as a question regarding both religious belief in the Bible and scientific belief in Spencer's philosophy rather than as the true voice of Lawrence because several points of contradiction are revealed between

Lawrence's thinking and Paul's remarks in *Sons and Lovers*.

The contradictions are exposed when the whole of the novel is read as an organism. If this novel is read according to the theory of Spencer's social organism, what Paul says seems correct. One could be easily cut off from society, and society will operate without any trouble. In fact, however, what happens in the novel is that the death of William results in the family suffering much damage and stress, though physically they seem to operate without any change. The death of William leaves an incurable scar on the other family members. Mrs. Morel, feeling deprived of a part of her flesh and blood, cannot regain her previous bright interest in life and remains shut off. Mr. Morel's lament is described as "But never in his life would he go for a walk up Shepstone, past the office where his son had worked, and he always avoided the cemetery" (*SL* 172). What is more, it is possible to assume that if William had survived as the eldest son of the Morels, Mrs Morel would not have doted on Paul so much, therefore, Paul could have loved somebody. If so, the lives of Miriam and Clara and even their family would have been different from what they were in the novel. His death, involving the people around him, influences their lives like a chain reaction, as well as leaving an incurable scar on his family.

Besides William, Mrs. Morel also dies at the end of the novel, which is a shattering blow to Paul and kills his heart. Even seeing her dying, his body and mind are undermined: "He felt as if his life were being destroyed, piece by piece, within him" (*SL* 430). Mrs. Morel was part of his life and flesh, part of everything. Paul lived for her. Losing his best support in life, he can neither decide what to do nor feel joy or sorrow. He has a big empty hole in his mind.

Sons and Lovers is clearly saying that the individual is an irreplaceable existence, and the loss or birth of one person is very important if human relationships are observed as organisms. Paul's remark that the individual is not so important is not the true voice of Lawrence. It does not matter that the race or the blood of family survives at the level of society. In the family, between the lovers, the role of an individual is like the paw of a dog or a cat, an organism. It cannot be separated. Cutting it off from the body is

associated with deadly aches and pains. Through Paul's remarks in the novel, Lawrence questions the righteousness of applying Spencer's social theory to real human relationships.

Another contradiction between Spencer and Lawrence is presented in Lawrence's letter, in which he observes how civilized society influences the individual, while Spencer analyses how the individual evolves into the society through several processes. On 19 November 1912, when Lawrence finished the last version of *Paul Morel*, he wrote to Edward Garnett, the editor, and clearly explained the main theme of the novel as follows: A female character who has no satisfaction with her own life comes to put her heart into her sons like a lover, first the eldest, then the second. When the sons grow older, they cannot love women because their mother holds their souls. Whenever the sons have sex with a woman, there emerges a split, which hurts them. Lawrence tells Garnet that this split kills William in the novel. Lawrence adds his opinion on what happens to the sons in the novel: "It is a great tragedy, and I tell you I've written a great book. It's the tragedy of thousands of young men in England—it may even be Bunny's [Garnett's son] tragedy. I think it was Ruskin's, and men like him. —Now tell me if I haven't worked out my theme, like life, but always my theme" (*Letters*, i. 477). Lawrence warns that the stories of William and Paul could happen to any young man in England, including even Bunny, the son of Edward Garnett. In fact, in this letter, Lawrence mentions the names of Ruskin and Goethe as examples of men who led tragic lives like William and Paul in *Sons and Lovers* because he thought that Ruskin and Goethe were also men whose souls were held by their mothers.

What should be noted is that Lawrence depicted the victims of this tragedy only as modern young men. The time he referred to was between the late Victorian Era and Lawrence's contemporary society, roughly from 1850 to 1915. In the Victorian age, the woman was an angel at home, submissive to her husband, and did all the housework. Women, though had had little power in society in the nineteenth century, and began to be empowered through education and work in the early twentieth century. Regarding the shift in women's power, Ira Bruce Nadel's view is that from the later Victorian era to the

Edwardian era, the authority of the mother took the place of that of the father at home (221-28). Women gained power and came to take the initiative in raising and disciplining children. Lawrence also might have speculated that the number of sons resembling William and Paul was increasing in the early twentieth century because the bond between the mother and the son became stronger than that between the father and the son, which was why he warned that the tragedy of William and Paul was shared with every young man of his time. Spencer's interest was in observing the process of development from an individual into the society, the social organism, whereas Lawrence's interest was in seeing the influence of the developed social organism upon the individual. Looking at the interaction between the individual and society, Spencer and Lawrence take different angles: the former's direction of observation is from micro to macro, the latter's from macro to micro, which can be regarded as one of the characteristic points of difference between the novelist and the sociologist.

Here is another letter to suggest what Lawrence meant by the individual. Lawrence wrote to his friend Gordon Campbell, the barrister, in March, 1915. He begins:

> You see we are no longer satisfied to be individual and lyrical—we are growing out of that stage. A man must now needs know himself as his whole people, he must live as the centre and heart of all humanity, if he is to be free. It is no use hating a people or race or humanity in mass. Because each of us is in himself humanity. You are the English nation. That which exists as the ostensible English nation is a mass of friable amorphous individualities. But in me, and in you, is the living organic English nation. (*Letters*, ii. 300-01)

Then he continues to develop the idea of the individual:

> I *wish* I could express myself—this feeling that one is not only a little individual living a little individual life, but that one is in oneself the whole of mankind, and one's fate is the fate of the whole of mankind, and one's charge is the charge of the whole of mankind. Not *me*—the little, vain, personal D. H. Lawrence—but that unnameable me which is not vain nor personal, but

> strong, and glad, and ultimately sure, but so blind, so groping, so tongue-tied, so staggering. (302; emphasis in orig.)

He had finished *The Rainbow* by this time, but we can recognize that he had already tried to express what the individual was that he referred to in *Sons and Lovers*. The individual is not personal. The individual's happiness and sorrow are shared by all mankind. Paul's joys, sorrows and sufferings are not only Lawrence's but those of everyone who lived in his generation. The miner's life is condensed into Mr. Morel, the suffering of a miner's wife into Mrs. Morel, the worries of young men into Paul and William, and also the warmth and beauty of the nature of England into the Willey Farm. The character in the novel is universal, not just individual, not limited to the experience of a certain person. Lawrence sees in a person a microcosm of history and society. His definition of the individual might have been above or beyond the speculation of Spencer.

What fundamentally differentiates Lawrence from Spencer is that unlike Spencer, Lawrence does not swear by the employment of the evolution theory for an explanation of the scheme of things, the structure of society, and how the world works. Lawrence maintains the view that human beings have something which cannot evolve. In a "Foreword to *Sons and Lovers*" (467-73), he expresses his profound thoughts on the creative life energy of the universe, beginning with his argument about the New Testament. Lawrence feels that as the creative life-energy is unknowable, one cannot recognize or control it with the human mind, and, concerning the holder of its power, he concludes that woman is more familiar with this creative energy than man. According to the introduction to *Son and Lovers*, "At a deeper level, the 'Foreword' articulates the unspoken belief which underlies the novel: that the physical life of man and nature is far more important than the values of civilization," and this concept in Lawrence's "Foreword," written in Gargnano in 1913, would be repeated in his later works including "The Crown" (1915), *Twilight in Italy* (1916), "The Reality of Peace" (1917), *Studies in Classic American Literature* (begun 1917), *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* (1920), *Sketches of Etruscan Places* (1932), and even *Lady Chatterley's*

Lover (1929) (“Introduction” to *SL* lii-liii).

Although, in “Foreword,” Lawrence avoids asserting what the creative life-energy of the universe is, it could be speculated that it is his understanding of God or “the Father,” “the Flesh.” He thinks that man, nature and civilization are products of the creative life-energy of the universe which is God, the Father or the Flesh. This means that what is invisible is converted into tangible forms. That is why Lawrence turns the text “The Word was made Flesh” upside down (John. 1.14): “The Flesh was made Word” (“Foreword to *SL*” 467). He disputes the New Testament reinterpretation of Genesis, “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God” (John. 1.1).

Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious in 1920 expresses Lawrence’s objection about the New Testament: “‘In the beginning was the Word’ This is the presumptuous masquerading of the mind. The Word cannot be the beginning of life. It is the end of life, that which falls shed” (36). The text of John runs counter to Lawrence’s opinion that the Word cannot be the beginning because the Word is just the production of God. The Word, the production, should not have the whip hand and hold life in it. The Flesh should not be contained in the Word, because the Word comes out of the Flesh.

When he thinks about the relationship between the Creator and the created, God and human beings, the Father and the Word, he explains it by the words “utter” and “unutterable”: “The Father was Flesh—and the Son, who in himself was finite and had form, became Word. For form is the Uttered Word, and the Son is the Flesh as it utters the Word, but the unutterable Flesh is the Father” (“Foreword” 467). The difference between the Creator and the created is whether it can “utter” or not, and according to the “Explanatory Note” to *Sons and Lovers*, Lawrence’s use of “utter” means “produce” or “bring forth into existence” (576). The Son became the existence that was temporarily able to utter the Word as the formed thing of the unutterable Father. The Father and the Son differed in whether what they represented could be uttered or not. Lawrence undoubtedly feels there is a bottomless mystery surrounding the moment when the Father, who is invisible and indescribable, creates the Son, who is visible and

describable, and brings him into the world.

Lawrence's philosophy in *Sons and Lovers*, and also in the "Foreword" to it is inclined to be more religious than scientific. Let us take childbirth as an example: if it is explained biologically, it is for the propagation of the race or the preservation of the species, but for Lawrence, it is more than that. He believes the act of procreating is based on a man's instinct and cannot be excused by science. He sees it as profound and awesome, and at a deeper level, what he suggests is that every man comes from a woman, a mother, or in other words, the Flesh; therefore, it is natural that man should go to woman, seeking the source of life for renewal, just as all human beings go back to heaven after death. He does not think of human reproduction as simply a chain of life from one generation to another by giving birth to a child. In the human's continual life cycle since ancient times, he visualizes the image of a loop or an everlasting round circle, not a straight and developing vertical line, and he believes there is repeated attraction towards the source of life, woman. Unlike Spencer, Lawrence does not find any evolution or development in the life of humans and how they exist in society. Spencer believed in the evolution of an individual towards society, while Lawrence focused on the unchanging course of birth, which never evolved and just was repeated instinctively from the ancient times until now, and definitely forever.

Paul's remark's about the individual raises the question of whether the role of the individual and Lawrence himself follows Spencer's theory of social evolution. I have revealed how Paul's remark in the novel and Lawrence's true voice behind it are different, and how Lawrence can be distinguished from Spencer. Spencer's biological and sociological theories of evolution provided Lawrence with the opportunity to review the relationship between man and society, without employing what in those days was the trendy theory of evolution. Although Spencer established both biological and sociological evolution theories, sociological theory was more analysed and developed by science and intellectuals in the late nineteenth century. In the "Introduction" to *Sons and Lovers*, it is noted that Lawrence does not present an explicit observation on the novel in the "Foreword," but attempts to account for "the relationship between Man,

Nature and God." Lawrence, confronting twin interests—Christian doctrine and early twentieth-century scientific inquiries into the structure of the natural world—tries to "sketch a new religious cosmology which would not conflict with scientific discoveries about the mature of matter" (li). It is hard to grasp his purpose in the "Foreword" because he was simultaneously doing two things: "assimilating the post-Darwin understanding of Nature into a religious framework, while using the new science to challenge New Testament cosmology in its assertion of the primacy of spiritual and ethical values" (li). He does not dispute that the world can be explained both by the Darwinian theory and by religious views, though he does not like it to be accounted for by only one of them, and we must remember that the religion he refers to does not mean Christianity. The reason why he recedes from Christianity seems to lie in its refusal of the Flesh. In Christianity, the word 'flesh' is associated with a metaphor to indicate sinful tendencies especially related to sexual sins or lust; however, Lawrence finds the source of every creature and living things in it. We can see that Lawrence, in *Sons and Lovers* and the "Foreword" to it, is on the way to finding the balance between religious and scientific interferences in thinking about the relationship between man, nature and god, but not Christ. In other words, the created and the Creator of the world. Alternatively, perhaps he is trying to present a different and new solution for grasping the meaning of life and the world, without being fettered by conventional ways of thinking about existence, though at this stage he avoids coming to a precise conclusion or definition regarding these matters.

Also, Worthen presents a clue to Lawrence's view on the relationship between science and religion as follows: "Lawrence was also convinced that it was one of his tasks as a writer to rescue human consciousness . . . from the clutches of merely scientific understanding, be it evolutionist, materialist or pantheist. He found himself wanting to argue for man's religious nature and experience, but not from a Christian standpoint" (*EY* 183). It is not a matter of science *or* religion, but it is more appropriate to think that Lawrence tried to break off from both of them when he struggled with the matter of the human consciousness; he tried to "rescue" it from the stifling effects of

both science and religion.

Lawrence must have been saturated with Spencer from his reading of his book and speculating about his theory when writing *Sons and Lovers*. As far as Spencer's biological thinking is concerned, Lawrence is satisfied with Spencer's theory of forces and finds similarities and something in common between Spencer's theory of force and the characters or the relationship among them that he would try to express later in the novel. Analysing the power relationship in *Sons and Lovers*, we would like to conclude that Lawrence, finding what is equivalent to the force of gravitation in Spencer's theory and that people grow under the effect of that force, seems to develop Spencer's theory of forces to describe the relationship between the characters, but adds a gender distinction. Recognizing the attracting and repelling forces in human relationships, he describes how they affect the growth and life of human beings. Male characters, in his novel, are always defeated by female ones because their forces and gravities are too great for them to bear. The "Foreword" to *Sons and Lovers* shows the reason: it is the law of nature. Since men come from women, men cannot prevent themselves from coming back to women and the mother of earth in the end, which supports Lawrence's reaction to the biological theory of Spencer.

Here, another struggling Lawrence should not be forgotten, who was drawn to but not content with Spencer's social organism when dealing with human consciousness. In his opinion, the human consciousness of an individual would not evolve in the development from a man to a family, from a family to a community, and from a community to a society as Spencer conceived. Though the consciousness of a man is always connected to the society, has an effect on it and is affected by it, the consciousness fundamentally remains the same, moving through the same primitive cycle from birth to death, rather than evolving chronologically. Let us have a look at the opening scene from *Sons and Lovers* where Lawrence describes people ranging from those who lived in the coal-mining town, "Hell Row" in the late nineteenth century to people who lived in "The Bottoms" in the early twentieth century, such as Mr. and Mrs. Morel. What we feel is that their consciousness of life has not fundamentally changed at

all. Both the people who live in Hell Row and The Bottoms share the same consciousness of life, in which they experience every gradation of feeling from joy to grief, even though the degree and cause of these vary depending on the times. Lawrence encountered the ideas of Herbert Spencer in his adolescence, a period of personal sensitivity and vulnerability, during an era of significant change throughout society at the turn of the century, with people's belief in God shaken by the advances in science and technology. In the form of responding to Herbert Spencer in an autobiographical novel, Lawrence, must have been torn between sticking to his belief in God and supporting the knowledge of science. He presented in *Sons and Lovers* the struggling consciousness of an individual, which transcended the time but could not be explained either by science or by religion.

Chapter 2

Lawrence and Tennyson: From *The Rainbow* to *Women in Love*

The effect of Spencer's Darwinian theory on Lawrence has been discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter, not directly dealing with the effect of pre-Darwinian evolutionary theory on Lawrence, explores how he interprets the poet who was influenced by pre-Darwinian theory. From now on, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 deal with Lawrence's two successive novels *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*. First of all, in this chapter, Tennyson's reception of proto-evolutionary theory chiefly in his poem *In Memoriam* is examined in Lawrence's two novels. For the study and comparison of the two different time periods of the writers Tennyson and Lawrence I employ a micro-level analysis, which means to pay close attention to the choice of vocabulary and expression that Tennyson and Lawrence used in their works in order to estimate the difference between Tennyson and Lawrence along with the stream of time—between a Victorian poet who absorbed pre-Darwinian evolutionary idea and a twentieth-century novelist who was ready to accept it as a fact. After that, Chapter 3 will take an approach of macro-level analysis, which means that apart from a close analysis of expression and vocabulary, the story development from *The Rainbow* to *Women in Love* is examined with Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*. Analogies between Lawrence and Lyell are revealed in the next chapter.

What is required before launching a micro-level analysis on vocabulary in Tennyson's and Lawrence's works is to sort out a common recognition of the emergence of evolutionary idea before Darwin. Evolutionary theory is not an idea brought by Charles Darwin that abruptly burst onto the scientific world, but as early as 1794, Erasmus Darwin, the grandfather of Charles Darwin, already advocated early evolutionary theory against Creationism, which definitely brought about the subsequent growth of Charles Darwin's indescribably refined analysis of biological evolution. In *Zoonomia, or, the Laws of Organic Life in Three Parts*, which appeared in the form of long poems from 1794-96, Erasmus Darwin "implicitly postulates that the direct

creation of life is one infinity, and the capacity to cause the generation of life is another infinity. He then pronounces the second kind of infinity greater than the first, because it subsumes the first kind into itself" (Hart par. 2). Erasmus Darwin's belief that "salvation is possible by one's own efforts" is showing his optimism, but still he deserves credit for suggesting the possibility of the development of species (ibid.).

A French naturalist, Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, follows as a prominent forerunner of evolution. His accomplishment, though it received little attention in his time, was "dividing and subdividing the organisms according to type set the standard for later systems of invertebrate taxonomy" and he announced a "tendency to progression" in *Philosophie Zoologique*, published in 1809; it was an innate quality of nature that organisms constantly "improved" by successive generation, too slowly to be perceived but observable in the fossil record (Clifford pars. 8-9). The other important component of Lamarckian evolutionism is what is known as the inheritance of acquired characteristics. Although it has not been substantiated, this theory "described the means by which the structure of an organism altered over generations. Change occurred because an animal passed on to its offspring physiological changes it had undergone in its own lifetime, and those changes came about by its responding to its survival needs" (ibid. par. 10).

Charles Lyell, a Scottish geologist, perhaps most famously influenced a number of important men of science in Victorian Britain including young Charles Darwin, was obsessed with the implication of the evolutionary theory of Lamarck. He published his geological opus called *The Principles of Geology: Being an Attempt to Explain the Former Changes of the Earth's Surface, by Reference to Causes Now in Operation* from 1830 to 1833, and advocates a uniformitarian view of geology. John Van Wyhe summarizes that this theory assumed the constancy of natural laws first of all and that the kinds of causes that affected the earth in the past must be assumed to have been exactly those we see in operation today such as erosion, sediment deposition, volcanic action, and earthquakes. Furthermore, these causes must be assumed to have been of the same intensity in the past as we observe them today (par. 1).

Based on the premise that the emergence of evolutionary theory was already almost complete in the early nineteenth century, I would like to focus on Lawrence's frequent citation of a certain phrase from Alfred Tennyson in his works. The phrase is "an infant crying in the night" from Tennyson's *In Memoriam* published in 1850, nine years earlier than Darwin's *Origin of Species*. Tennyson, one of the most favoured British poets, published *In Memoriam* in 1850, his feature-length masterpiece composed of 131 sections, plus prologue and epilogue, which commemorates his closest friend, Arthur Henry Hallam. According to Erik Gray's introduction, Tennyson met Arthur in the spring of 1829 at the University of Cambridge and they spent their college life at Trinity College. Thanks to having a newfound friend, Tennyson, who had been dark and unquiet, flourished. Hallam is sensitive and a brilliant man and often encourages Tennyson to publish his poems. The engagement of Hallam and Emily, Tennyson's younger sister, made their friendship continue even closer, when Hallam, all too soon, passed away from apoplexy in Vienna in early October 1833 during a long tour of the Continent with his father. Since Arthur's death, prostrated with sorrow, Tennyson began to compose his elegies for Hallam, and by 1845 the poem had already reached nearly its present length, but he was reluctant to publish it. Seventeen years since he began to compose, he eventually printed it early in 1850 (Gray xi-xiii). *In Memoriam* is soon deeply admired by most reviewers and even Queen Victoria and Prince Albert as a masterpiece to depict the bottomless grief over losing a loved one and well describes 'the way of the soul,' which Tennyson had considered as a possibility for the title of the elegy. This well-beloved Victorian masterpiece still attracts numerous readers and critics not only because it brings great consolation to people in any age but also because it depicts the poet's complex emotions toward science and evolutionary theory, which is very close to completing.

In this lengthy poem, *In Memoriam*, expressions related to 'child' can be found scattered one after another, such as children, baby, infant, or babe, and the number of times they appear is more than a dozen (Lanestedt and Landow par. 1). Among them, "an infant crying in the night" seen in Lawrence's frequent references is used in Section

54 of *In Memoriam*:

So runs my dream: but what am I?
An infant crying in the night:
An infant crying for the light:
And with no language but a cry. (54: 17-20)

By the time the story proceeds to this section, the poet gradually begins to recover from helpless grief of losing a friend and foster a hope for seeing him in the afterworld again. From Section 50, having a yearning for his friend being with him, the poet inadvertently doubts whether he can win his friend's perfect, infinite love that exists in the ideal world because he is nothing but the imperfect, living in the human world.[8] Even so, he bounces back from restless anxiety by taking up a quite optimistic view of life that:

Oh yet we trust that somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill,
To pangs of nature, sins of will,
Defects of doubt, and taints of blood;

That nothing walks with aimless feet;
That not one life shall be destroy'd
Or cast as rubbish to the void,
When God hath made the pile complete, (54: 1-8)

Here, the poet asks himself "what am I", who conceives such an optimistic idea, and describes himself as "an infant crying" for the night and for the light. "The crying infant" in Tennyson's *In Memoriam* is the emotional imagery of man's conflict over the Providence of God; he devotes his struggling soul to God.

It was Lawrence's letter to E. M. Forster of January 1915 when Lawrence cited Tennyson's "the infant crying in the night" for the first time:

> I am tired of class, and humanity, and personal salvation. What care I whether my neighbour feels he is saved or not—saved, completed, fulfilled, consummated? I am tired to death of the infant crying in the night. (*Letters*,

ii. 266)

Lawrence's employ of "the infant crying in the night" does not reflect anxiety such as shown in Tennyson's *In Memoriam* and is not sentimental. He just tries to express his hatred against "class, humanity, and personal salvation." "The crying infant" stared at with Lawrence's eyes, signifies his satiety of Victorian concerns for class, humanity or salvation, the concepts from the Middle Ages, and he is eager to turn away from such an old conflict of the nineteenth century.

The next time Lawrence employs Tennyson's "infant" again is eight months later after a letter to Forster, in *The Rainbow*, published in September of 1915. Describing three generations of the Brangwens, its story develops from 1840 to around 1900. Lawrence's citation of "the infant" expresses the suffering of Ursula, of the third generation, when she declines a proposal of marriage from her little brother's friend, Anthony, an innocent man like a child of nature:

> He was an animal that knows that it is subdued. Her heart flamed with sensation of him, of the fascinating thing he offered her, and with sorrow, and with an inconsolable sense of loneliness. Her soul was an infant crying in the night. He had no soul. Oh, and why had she? He as the cleaner. (*RB* 386)

Ursula's aching soul and restless mind, which are similar to regret after refusing his proposal, are "crying" like a child. Ursula, described as the only woman experiencing the twentieth century in the novel has a strong sense of self, and is not satisfied with the marriage, nothing more than formality. The main cause of her suffering comes from the modern complicated mind that cannot peacefully settle down in the relationship with others because of too strong an ego and her soul is crying out of loneliness and despondency, but not from the religious conflict Tennyson experiences in the previous century.

Furthermore, "the crying infant" is taken over by *Women in Love*, in which the development of Ursula, the third generation from *The Rainbow*, continues to be told. Out of two couples, Ursula and Rupert Birkin manage to marry after quarrelling and

conflicting with each other, while the relationship of Gudrun and Gerald Crich ends in failure. Gudrun, who is tired of Gerald's restriction and control over her, is infuriated by his childish and selfish behaviour:

> What then! Was she his mother? Had she asked for a child, whom she must nurse through the nights, for her lover. She despised him, she hardened her heart. An infant crying in the night, this Don Juan.
>
> Yes, but how she hated the infant crying in the night. She would murder it gladly. She would stifle it and bury it, like Hetty Sorrell did. No doubt Hetty Sorrell's infant cried in the night—no doubt Arthur Donnithorne's infant would. (*WL* 466)

"The infant crying in the night," which Gerald is compared to, is violently hated by Gudrun. The hatred towards "the infant" of this time is infinitely stronger than ones in Lawrence's quotations before. Tennyson's original image of "an infant" screamingly crying in the night is completely dispelled here, and "the infant" turns into an object of hatred to irritate his or her mother. It is interesting to examine the apparent difference between two "infants" who are conceived by Tennyson and Lawrence, which can be resolved by observing their responses to evolutionary theory.

According to Robert Bernard Martin, Tennyson has often been praised "for the exactness of his knowledge of evolution in its pre-Darwinian stages, which came from his voluminous if unsystematized reading," but he doubts applause for Tennyson's scientific ability:

> . . . but it is praise that might have been extended to thousands of other educated Victorians, for he remained only an intelligent amateur of science, as he did at theology, philosophy, and politics. Where he was never anything but totally professional was in the analysis of his own perceptions through the use of exact language. (344)

I think, however, Martin too much underestimates Tennyson's expertise in science; in 1865, Tennyson was nominated for a fellowship of the Royal Society, which is the oldest and most prestigious scientific society in Britain.[9] The previous century study of

Dennis R. Dean's "Tennyson and Geology" points out that Charles Lyell's influence upon him began years earlier than hitherto suspected and that Tennyson was more widely read in geological literature than we knew. Recently published in 2013, Valerie Purton's *Darwin, Tennyson and Their Readers: Explorations in Victorian Literature and Science*, going back to the crucial fact that Darwin (1809-82) and Tennyson (1809-92) were exact contemporaries, provides a critical clue to Tennyson's abandoned knowledge and intense curiosity on evolutionary theory, while it also traces Tennyson's effect on Darwin.

This remarkable research on Darwin and Tennyson organizes the information on Tennyson's reading of evolutionary discussion including Darwin's and pre-Darwinian theory. Purton, in the "Introduction" to *Darwin, Tennyson and Their Reader*, clarifies that they became exposed themselves to discussions suggesting biological evolution and development (viii-xiv). Tennyson had certainly read Lyell by 1836, for in his letter, he paraphrased a section from Book II of Lyell's *Principles of Geology*. In 1844, both Darwin and Tennyson read Robert Chambers' *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, which was first published anonymously in 1844, proposing the existence of "natural laws" and natural progression of the emergence of species fifteen years before Darwin. Right after Darwin's *Origin of Species* was published in November in 1859, *A Tennyson Chronology* traces that Tennyson was reading it "with intense interest" for a whole month (Pinion 87).

As well as reading experience, an encounter with people stimulated Tennyson's scientific interest. It is noteworthy that there was a lifelong friendship between Tennyson and Thomas Huxley since they met in London in the 1860s. Huxley, who was a surgeon and leading supporter of Darwinism known as 'Darwin's bulldog,' quickly recognized Tennyson's ability to synthesize the new ideas of science into lines of poetry; Huxley, in a letter, called him "the first poet since Lucretius who has understood the drift of science" (qtd. in Purton x). In fact, it was Huxley who nominated him for a fellowship of the Royal Society. Although there is no record of Tennyson's response to Darwin's *Descent of Man* published in 1871, Tennyson already in 1865 mentioned and

attributed the notion of man's descent from apes to Huxley, rather than Darwin (Purton x). These facts prove that Tennyson was so professional in science that he could discuss expertise in biology on an equal footing with Huxley.

Reading and discussion with his companies excited and matured him enough to practice his accumulated knowledge in private life and work. The Sedgwick Museum of Erath Sciences, which belongs to the University of Cambridge, provides a clue to what fascinated Tennyson's scientific curiosity in private life. The Sedgwick Museum of Erath Sciences has an interesting collection; it exhibits approximately over a hundred million fossils collected over the last 350 years, showing that as well as geologists such as Lyell, intellectuals of other fields and even ordinary people collected fossils and rocks for different reasons and in different ways. Some were interested in researching a particular group of animals or the fossils from a particular area, others collect to make a living. Among the scientific collectors such as Adam Sedgwick, Charles Darwin, Thomas Henry Huxley, Harry Govier Seeley, John Henslow, the name of Tennyson is listed as a collector. When he was an undergraduate at Cambridge and studied under William Whewell, Professor of Mineralogy (later of Moral Philosophy), Tennyson collected these fossils from around his home on the Isle of Wight and presented them to the Museum.[10] What is meant by the name of Tennyson, only a person of humanity among scientists, is the early nineteenth century people's high interest in palaeontology and eagerness to know the birth of the world regardless of their fields of study.

On the other hand, when putting evolutionary thought into his work, Tennyson was careful about dealing with it and found it difficult to adapt himself to such a completely new idea. In Purton's examination, Tennyson, at an early stage in *Idylls of the King*, published in the same year as *On the Origin of Species* in 1859, was actually working with the notion of progressive evolution he had found in Jean-Baptiste Lamarck and in Chambers' *Vestiges* in 1844; she points out that Tennyson adumbrated this same theory in *In Memoriam*, written in the late 1840s (xi). In addition, *In Memoriam* suggests the poet's conflict between his belief in God and science; it is impressive that his poem "The Kraken" is exhibited besides the fossil collections at The

Sedgwick Museum of Erath Sciences. This is a short poem, which is composed of fifteen lines, published in *Poem, Chiefly Lyrical* in 1830. “Kraken,” the poem’s subject, is supposed to be an enormous mythical sea monster said to appear off the coast of Norway. By combining the terms which associates the enormous nature and wildness of the ancient such as “His ancient, dreamless, uninvaded sleep” (3), “he lain for ages” (11), and scientific terms such as “millennial growth and height” (6), “secret cell” (8), and “enormous polypi” (9), the poet tries hard to balance the world of the Bible and natural history, literature and mythology, and the tradition of Christian faith and the theories of science. Its last line, “In roaring he shall rise and on the surface die” (15) seems to express the poet’s struggle to find out the origin and extremity of our life.

This is why unfortunately Martin’s argument has to be disregarded that Tennyson’s knowledge on evolution was still at an amateur level. His acquaintance with geology, archaeology, and biology was much more adequate than just common people’s interest in them. The more he learned about the origin of life, the more his mind was afflicted between his belief in God and his reading, conversation with scientific friends, and the fossils that he excavated by his own hand. He knew what his experience and knowledge meant but the idea was so new that he could not prepare himself to be ready for it.

Darwin struggled from internal debate about theology and science as well. As students at Cambridge, Tennyson and Darwin had both encountered theological books such as William Paley’s *Natural Theology*, which was published in 1802 to prove the existence of God from the evidence of the beauty and order of the natural world (Purton ix). Darwin, like others, did not want to blaspheme against God; he knew the amazing beauty of nature and that the world is all holy.

Right after Darwin published *The Origin of Species*, he replied to Leonard Jenyns, who was a naturalist clergyman and wrote to him about his impression on Darwin’s book. This letter of 1860 conceals Darwin’s significant confessions: his conviction on the emergence of human beings and wavering about disclosing it. Darwin writes: “No one has yet cast doubt on my explanation of the subordination of group to group, on

homologies, Embryology and Rudimentary organs; and if my explanation of these classes of facts be at all right, whole classes of organic beings must be included in one line of descent" (*DCP* No. 2644)[11] Before he published *The Descent of Man* in 1871, he already had the "belief of probability of all beings having descended from *one* primordial form;" but Huxley alone supported him at that time and he himself was "not willing to strike it out" (emphasis in orig.). He concludes his letter to his clergyman friend with a prudent remark that "Of course it is open to everyone to believe that man appeared by separate miracle, though I do not myself see the necessity or probability" (*DCP* No. 2644).

This letter reveals how much at an early stage he was already convinced about the descent of human beings and how long it took to announce it in public. It was five years between 1831 and 1836 when Darwin went on the Beagle voyage. Since he began taking notes on the adaptation of species to environmental changes in 1837, it took twenty-two years until the publication of *The Origin of Species*. At this moment he must have noticed about the descent of human being, but another twelve years he spent on publication of *Decent of Man*. Even though he spent many years studying the adaptation of species, he published it because he thinks it is "dishonest to quite conceal his opinion" as he confessed in the letter of 1860 quoted earlier (*DC* No. 2644). This long silence means that he knew what was implied by his circumspect study would be terrifying to his contemporaries and even himself—we are distantly related to other animals, sharing the same ancestor. There is nothing worse than this notion; this viewpoint of evolution evoked instinctive dislike in the minds of the Victorian people because they were exclusively preoccupied with the conviction that human beings were traditionally superior to any other animals because of our reason and language.

Tennyson was also among his contemporary intellectuals who could not adapt himself to what pre-Darwinian evolutionists suggested for a long time although he could consider the possibility in his mind. Therefore, at the early stage of *In Memoriam*, scientific Tennyson stands up for his idea of the superiority of human beings. Against insistence on the similarity of the origin of human beings and animals, he visibly shows

the difference between us and other living creatures:

I trust I have not wasted breath:
I think we are not wholly brain,
Magnetic mockeries; not in vain,
Like Paul with beast, I fought with Death,

Not only cunning casts in clay:
Let Science prove we are, and then
What matter Science unto men,
At least to me? I would not stay.

Let him, the wiser man who spring
Hereafter, up from childhood shape
His action like the greater ape,
But I was *born* to other things. (120: 1-12; emphasis in orig.)

In Section 118 begins one of the most important subjects dealing with the implications of recent scientific discoveries for contemporary religious and moral creeds (Ross 78), and "*born*," italicized by the poet, expresses his distinctive pride that human beings are *born* as a human, not developed from an "ape." Behind asserting the supremacy of humans, there must have been an instinctive dislike of being distantly related to animals and religious belief that human beings are creations of God.

On the other hand, a certain degree of his positive understanding toward evolution is also indicated in the poem. Tennyson adds an epilogue to celebrate the wedding of his sister, Cecilia, as follow:

No longer half-akin to brute,
For all we thought and loved and did,
And hoped, and suffer'd, is but seed
Of what in them is flower and fruit; (Epilogue: 133-36)

This epilogue for their future child, especially, "No longer half-akin to brute," suggests

the poet's part acknowledgement of our derivation from "brute" and even yearning for our development in the future. Robert H. Ross analyses this passage claiming that "Tennyson again asserts his belief not only in human development but in the progress of the race to ever higher forms, and he anticipates some far-off time when man will in fact have evolved into a species 'no longer half-akin to brute'" (90). Tennyson is about to digest the idea of 'progress' of human development and is even fascinated by a possible further development. *In Memoriam* serves as a shield to protect the poet against a terrifying scientific idea and proclaim his rejection of it, but at the same time, behind it, we can find a man having a peep at it with a longing eye. "An infant crying in the night" in Section 54 reflects his ideal of human beings with innocence and emotion, no trace of brutality, while the future "child" in the epilogue symbolizes hope of further human development.

Meanwhile, even though more than fifty years have passed since evolutionary theory was firmly established by Darwin's *Origin of Species*, Lawrence's work still does not seem to welcome an arrival of new science. Like Tennyson did, Lawrence also fully confirms the existence of the Creator, for Ursula, the third generation of *The Rainbow*, not particularly religious, suddenly has a revelation in biology class at college:

> For what purpose were the incalculable physical and chemical activities nodalised in this shadowy, moving speck under her microscope? What was the will which nodalised them and created the one thing she saw? What was its intention? To be itself? Was its purpose just mechanical and limited to itself?
>
> It intended to be itself. But what self? . . . . She only knew that it was not limited mechanical energy, nor mere purpose of self-preservation and self-assertion. It was a consummation, a being infinite. Self was a oneness with the infinite. To be oneself was a supreme, gleaming triumph of infinity. (408-409)

No matter how passionately a woman doctor of physics lectures on life that there does not seem to be a special order for life, Ursula, looking at the plant-animal under her

microscope, realizes that there is something that cannot be accounted for by science. She instinctively sees “the will” in the unicellular whose purpose is absolutely not only “self-preservation” and “self-assertion” that is favourably employed by evolutionists. Life is not the same as electricity, light and heat, as the doctor suggests, and has “the will” which is continuously toward “the infinite”.

When it is compared with Tennyson, it is noteworthy that Ursula does not mean disgust at a close affinity between humans and animals or plants. Unlike Tennyson, Lawrence, later in *Kangaroo,* denies superiority of human beings and challenges the human-centred world as it is by confessing, “People mattered so little. People hardly matter at all. They were there, they were friendly. But they never entered inside one. It is said that man is the chief environment of man. That, for Richard, was not true in Australia. Man was there, but unnoticeable” (*K* 345). He continuously accentuates how tiny and powerless a man is in mighty nature. Ursula simply recognizes cells of a plant as the origin of life and is simply impressed by its mystery that infinitely tries to extend to her life. What she conceives in front of a cell is the fundamental understanding of the world of “a oneness with the infinite,” in other words, unification of all living creatures, or a so-called “organism,” not the world of the human-centred world to praise its ascendancy.

On the other hand, what makes a difference between Lawrence and Tennyson is that even though Lawrence shows some understanding of evolutionary theory as a twentieth-century man, he never possesses a hidden longing for the development of human beings as Tennyson does. Rather, in his remarks, Lawrence leans towards a pessimistic tone about human development whose negative aspect was indicated by Darwin’s theory of natural selection.

Darwin, in his *Origin of Species*, raises an example of extinction and degeneration through the process of natural selection:

> Natural selection acts solely through the preservation of variations in some way advantageous, which consequently endure. But as from the high geometrical ratio of increase of all organic beings, each area is already fully

> stocked with inhabitants, it follows that as each selected and favoured form increase in number, so will the less favoured forms decrease and become rare. Rarity, as geology tells us, is the precursor to extinction. (84)

His theory of natural selection is based on the idea that as new species are produced it is inevitable that many old forms become rarer and rarer and finally become extinct. Darwin was actually annoyed with the result that development was often accompanied by degeneracy. This fact might come as a shock for Darwin and his contemporary readers including Tennyson; Tennyson, indeed, explored the idea of evolutionary reversion from the point of Spencerian 'degeneration' in his poem.[1 2]

Although it is poignant to accept a concept presented in extinction of species, this negative but profound reaction in the process of biological development is attractive for Lawrence because it would emphasize his insistence on the loss of ancient instinct in modern people. Lawrence, in *Apocalypse*, shares the same idea with Darwin. He begins Chapter 7 stating, "What we have now to admit is that the beginning of the new era (our own) coincided with the dying of the old era of the true pagans or, in the Greek sense, barbarians" (90). Lawrence's *Apocalypse* is a searching examination of our civilization and a radical criticism of Christianity and scientific technology that shaped it. He applies similar rhetoric to Darwin's: they are building up the argument under the agreement of the law of progress based on the extinction of the old. Lawrence writes "every rising civilization must fiercely repudiate the passing civilization," while he ponders the gains we got instead of losing the old—that is, in Darwinian terms, what we see after extinction caused by natural selection (91).

He is not optimistic about what has been gained by human beings as an outcome of the development of civilization. We have more technology and higher civilization than those two or three thousands year ago, but it does not mean that we are more vitally conscious than they were, far from it: "Our conscious range is wide, but shallow as a sheet of paper. We have no depth to our consciousness" (*AP* 90). Our knowledge is broadened by education; we know thousands of things but lack the preservation of crucial knowledge. Knowledge, which is vital for us, is "the wisdom of the old races"

that used to be seen in old cult-lore (91). Lawrence insists that more or less the old nation was religious—for example, a church or a vast cult-unit; then from cult to culture it developed. Culture we have now is chiefly "an activity of the mind", while cult-lore that the old nation had was "an activity of the senses" which would enable human beings to learn the wisdom of life (91). In the cult-lore of the old community, there was something mysterious but nobody required an explanation by words and logic; they would fully appreciate and relish the world with their finely-honed senses.

Looking at cultivated modern people, he argues that culture—"an activity of the mind"—killed the senses which had been latent deep inside us:

> …we have not the faintest conception of the vast range that was covered by the ancient sense-consciousness. We have lost almost entirely the great and intricately developed sensual awareness, or sense-awareness, and sense-knowledge, of the ancients. It was a great depth of knowledge arrived at direct, by instinct and intuition as we say, not by reason. It was a knowledge based not on words but on images. The abstruction was not into generalisations or into qualities, but into symbols. And the connection was not logical but emotional. The word "therefore" did not exist. Images or symbols succeeded one another in a procession of instinctive and arbitrary physical connection… (*AP* 91)

The development of civilization and acquiring knowledge corrodes our sensuality and instinct by complicating our "great" thing in us inherited from the ancient. The cost of civilization seems to be considerable high. His argument here reaches accordance with Darwin on the point that there is no newness without losing oldness. Lawrence applies Darwin's biological theory into the understanding of culture, and shifts his focus to the source of loss and degeneration a few steps further from glorious evolution.

The message and meaning of 'an infant' appearing in Lawrence's works vary from time to time. "The crying infant" in *Women in Love*, a metaphor for Gerald irritating Gudrun, conveys Lawrence's understanding of biological evolution. An infant mercilessly crying in the night is like an irrational baby to waste his or her mother's

energy, and seems to convey the process of human development from an ape. Lawrence might see, in its image, brutality and cruelty derived from an ape, and admits a kin to it. Ursula, taking a biological class at college in *The Rainbow*, resists science, but at the same time, when her personal fear of love is projected onto the image of 'an infant,' it presents Lawrence's concern about something crucial but lost in the process of human development. His pessimistic interpretation of the development of human beings is reflected in Ursula, only a woman living in the twentieth century in the novel. Although the first and second generation of the Brangwens can succeed in marriage and the prosperity of descendants, it is ironic that Ursula, the third generation, can cultivate her knowledge through education and establish herself; therefore, she cannot be satisfied with unity with others because of deterioration and weakening of instinct and communication ability, which makes her anxious.

Among the Victorian poets and Pre-Raphaelites in the middle of the nineteenth century, there are some who became aware of dissatisfaction in the world, which is explained only by Creation. Tennyson is one of them and expresses "the remediable insufficiency of Art in isolation" and "inadequacy of Art" in "The Palace of Art" and "The Lady of Shalott" (Meisel 311). Evolutionary thinking achieving a peak when it was most desired disabused them of the world created by God and enabled them to interpret the progress of the world and humans freely. Some employed evolutionary theory for its interpretation, and others not. Lawrence takes over a minor image of an innocent "infant" which is loved by Victorian poets including not only Tennyson but also his previous Poet Laureate, William Wordsworth—seen in the seventh line, "The child is father of the Man" from his poem "My Heart Leaps up When I Behold". He develops a "child" which used to be a popular image in the Victorian era in the twentieth-century novel. The infant in the twentieth century is crying out beyond the conflict between religion and science. The Victorian poets might never imagine but it would keep on crying over the loss of instinct and sensitivity because of being obsessed with science, knowledge and too strong an ego, which are all results of civilization through the development of human beings.

Chapter 3

Charles Lyell and Lawrence

As I have taken a micro image of an "infant" in the previous chapter, now I would like to analyse *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* with a bird's-eye view. Charles Lyell is introduced in my research of the two successive novels, which I hope will be a new interpretation of Lawrence's works. No reviewers have focused on Lyell in discussing Lawrence partly because no remark on Lyell is left in Lawrence's writings, but this might be regrettable. James A. Secord, in his introduction of Lyell's *Principle of Geology*, notes, "The reception of the *Principle* is poorly understood, so that it is hard to see why the book had such a significant impact on literature and the arts" (x). Secord actually admits Lyell's impact on Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, George Eliot's *The Mill on the Floss*, and Edward Fitzgerald (xxxviii-xxxix). As suggested by other studies such as John Wyatt's *Wordsworth and the Geology* and J. M. I. Klaver's *Geology and Religious Sentiment: The Effect of Geological Discoveries on English Society and Literature between 1829 and 1859*, it cannot be denied that geology had an enormous impact on Victorian literature.

However, I think it is never irrelevant to determine the effect of geology upon twentieth-century literature because "though the marginalization of sacred history of the earth…was largely complete *within* science by the end of the nineteenth century, the controversy at the level of popular understanding was still joined at the end of the twentieth" (Greene 170-71). One of the reasons why geology has not been discussed in relation to twentieth-century literature is that geology began to be investigated at every level from the microscopic to the global: "geology was transformed in the first decade of the twentieth century by the emergence of three fields of study, appearing in rapid succession: radiometric dating, seismology, and gravimetric geodesy" (Greene 179). Geology's application for other fields reduced the number of purely academic studies of geology and literature in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, what should be noted is the high evaluation for the way and style of the study of geology. Mott T. Greene admits

that the style of explanation, or approach to the study of earth, we call “geology” amounts to an extension of late Enlightenment conceptions of natural philosophy and historical explanation to the understanding of the earth and its component phenomena (168). Geology’s way of approaching the earth tightly holds on to those who have something unknown that they want to present to the world and I think this truth is timeless. I myself cannot forget the sense that I seemed to find an unexpected analogy between Lyell and Lawrence when I first saw several diagrams of the earth’s surface showing the order of the formation of strata in Lyell’s book, which influenced this study to examine and reconsider Lawrence’s *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* in light of Lyell’s geology.

When it comes to Lyell, the famous story is that a young Charles Darwin was given Volume 1 of Lyell’s *Principle of Geology* just before the voyage of the *Beagle* set out in 1831. Lyell’s achievement generally seems to be confined to only a precursor to Darwin’s *Origin of Spices*. However, Darwin’s remarks on Lyell confirm that his publications are more than that for his contemporaries:

> . . . . I cannot say how forcibly impressed I am with the infinite superiority of the Lyellian school of Geology over the Continental. I always feel as if my books came half out of Lyell's brains and that I never acknowledge this sufficiently, nor do I know how I can, without saying so in so many words—for I have always thought that the great merit of the Principles, was that it altered the whole tone of one’s mind and therefore that when seeing a thing never seen by Lyell, one yet saw it partially through his eyes. . . . (*DCP* 771)[13]

Lyell published three volumes of *Principles of Geology* from 1830 to 1833 going through ten editions, and the target of the first edition is, rather than ardent evolutionists, “a conservative and respectable readership, made up of gentlemen and ladies who feared that geology was anti-Bible and anti-Christian” in order to persuade them “that science had nothing to do with materialism” (Secord xiv). Geology in the 1820s was dealing with lively debates about how to interpret the biblical account of the Flood with

geological findings. Learning geology led many to fear being impious and that the new science undermined the truth of the Mosaic narrative in Genesis. Lyell adopted an opposing position against diluvial catastrophe and to demonstrate that a gradual process could be responsible for great changes on the earth; he showed the results of many years of excavation.

At this point, it may well be doubted that it is practical to compare a nineteenth-century geologist and a twentieth-century novelist: the former's object of observation is nature, while the latter is human. Furthermore, no correspondence, no connection, and no critics have been found. Lyell and Lawrence are, admittedly, in sharp contrast to each other in their fields and interests. For instance, the subject of Lyell's research is an incalculably long period of time as he points out the error of previous geologists that they might have "misinterpreted the signs of a succession of events, so as to conclude that centuries were implied where the characters imported thousands of years, and thousands of years where the language of nature signified millions" (*Geology* 30). On the contrary, the time period seized by Lawrence is infinitely shorter than that of Lyell as the change over roughly at most seventy years is narrated in *The Rainbow*, from 1840 to 1900, plus ten years after that in *Women in Love*. Lyell is seeing nature through a wide-field telescopic lens, while Lawrence is shooting humans with a narrow-angle one.

Additionally, there is a striking contrast in their pattern of thinking. Lyell's way of research and thinking is, in a word, inductive and empirical as Secord admits (xxi). He always thought highly of fieldwork; therefore, he kept excavating fossils with his own hands because he insisted that he should only believe those things that he could see with his own eyes to establish a firm position of geology in the scientific world. He deliberately deduced from innumerable fossils and collected results or data, which were acquired by climbing volcanoes, hammering chalk cliffs, and measuring ancient sites. On the other hand, collection is not Lawrence's main business. He cherishes momentary sensation and sudden inspiration, though not trying hard to collect as many samples as he can, but tends to generalize them into a shared awareness and a feeling of the

common person, which may not apply only to Lawrence, but to every other writer. Lawrence, as a novelist, aptly makes an induction from someone's particular experience and revelation, such as Ursula in a biology class in *The Rainbow*, which enables his readers to share a single fate and relive the life of the characters in the novel whether it is happiness or grief. The differences between them are countless, nevertheless, analogies can be found between Lyell and Lawrence in the following three points: the purpose of their work, their motivation to work, and the backbone of their works.

First of all, Lyell's purpose of publishing *Principles of Geology* is to separate geology from religious matter and restore it to its rightful place, science. Lyell begins *Geology* with an affirmative sentence: "Geology is the science which investigates the successive changes that have taken place in the organic and inorganic kingdom of nature; it enquires into the causes of these changes, and the influence which they have exerted in modifying the surface and external structure of our planet" (5). Geology in the early nineteenth century had not established its position as science; hence, he was in desperate need of dispelling the myth that geology was merely a superstition or an antireligious notion. He believed that geology or science was never antagonistic to Christian authority; therefore, he dedicated his time and energy to draw a line between them. However, Lyell could not compromise about the Flood. Concerning the Flood, he discusses in Chapter 8 of Volume 3 in *Geology* under the title "Whether Signs of Diluvial Waves are Observable on Etna." Lyell expresses his disapproval of some geologists' notion that "the sudden elevation of large continents from beneath the waters of the sea, have again and again produced waves which have swept over vast regions of the earth, and left enormous rolled blocks strewed over the surface" (*Geology* 419). Although he admits the fact that "there are signs of local floods of extreme violence, on various parts of the surface of the dry land" is incontrovertible, citing a lack of conclusive evidence that a devastating wave passed over the forest zone of Etna, he denies "the denuding action of a violent flood" described in the Bible (ibid.).

According to Secord, the intensity of the debates about the Flood in 1820s was equivalent to that of electoral reform taking place in Parliament when he achieved his

greatest theological triumph within the Geological Society. Lyell succeeded in dishabituating former opponents' use of the Flood "as a middle way between Genesis and geology" by winning Sedgwick's confession, the chair of the Society:

> Having myself been a believer [of the Flood], and to the best of my power, a propagator of what I now regard as a philosophic heresy, and having more than once been quoted for opinions I do not now maintain, I think it right, as one of my last acts before I quit this Chair, thus publicly to read my recantation. (qtd. in Secord xxix)

The *Geology* brought a definitive end to a long time dispute between science and theology.

As the name of his theory, later called uniformitarianism, suggests, Lyell moderately presented plausible deniability against diluvial theory without rushing and forcing his radical thinking because above all Lyell, a devout Christian, feared most to take criticism from reviewers for being an atheist. People in general from children to adults, from the intellectual to working people got too used to the Creation of Genesis and the world of the Bible to shatter the religious interpretation of the earth history overnight and it was not what he wanted. Secord sees that "In arguing these points Lyell saw no inherent conflict between science and theology; rather, he wished to redefine their respective domains" (xxiv). The purpose of *Geology* is not to defeat Christian belief nor discard it, given evidence that Lyell successfully parried Lamarckian evolution. Although as far as the Flood was concerned, he only gave collateral meaning to it in spite of good proof of a deluge, he denied assuming any need of the idea of progress within the history of life. In early reviews Lyell "had agreed with their advocacy of progress—invertebrates giving way to fish, reptiles, mammals and then man," later, however, he maintained that the earth "exhibited no such sign of progress" (Secord xvii, xviii). Volume 2 of the *Geology* begins with the declaration of his attitude towards species. In Chapter 2, "Theory of the Transmutation of Species Untenable," Lyell consistently boasts the position of human beings in the living world and disagrees with everything Lamarck thought, for instance, by taking an example of Lamarck's

disapproval of the wolf as the ancestor of the dog.

Most importantly, in this chapter, what Lyell wants to confirm is the existence of the Creator. Pointing out that the species are able to survive under all circumstances, Lyell argues:

> We must suppose, that when the Author of Nature creates an animal or plant, all the possible circumstances in which its descendants are destined to live are foreseen, and that an organization is conferred upon it which will enable the species to perpetuate itself and survive under all the varying circumstances to which it must be inevitably exposed. (*Geology* 200)

Following that, a paragraph from "Concluding Remarks" is most impressive in the *Geology*, and expresses his principles clearly:

> In vain do we aspire to assign limits to the works of creation in *space*, whether we examine the starry heavens, or that world of minute animalcules which is revealed to us by the microscope. We are prepared, therefore, to find that in *time* also, the confines of the universe lie beyond the reach of mortal ken. But in whatever direction we pursue our researches, whether in time or space, we discover everywhere the clear proofs of a Creative Intelligence, and of His foresight, wisdom, and power. (437; emphasis in orig.)

As a geologist, after having observed that "it is not only the present condition of the globe that has been suited to the accommodation of myriads of living creatures", Lyell, after all, could not but conceive "a perfect harmony of design and unity of purpose" (437-38). He ended his mighty work with remarks filled with veneration for God, which might remind Lawrence's readers of the scene when Ursula in *The Rainbow* has a revelation in a biology class at college. Some may be confronted with the question whether Lyell was restrained by the era and could not do nothing but class human beings with their reason and morality as most of his contemporaries did. However, we should not underestimate him just as a defender of religion who tried to attack it but could not go beyond the bounds of religion. He is a true scientist who divides science

from religion and produces a proper balance between them. In order to establish a secure position of geology in science, what he desires is not a formula of geology vs. theology but respects each other's independence. Independence, balance, and equilibrium: the things Lyell seeks in what used to be a dichotomy, and here we can recognize the analogy between Lyell and Lawrence in the way of attempting to strike compromise between two completely different things.

When the successive two novels, *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*, are examined, we can understand that Lawrence is also a novelist who emphasizes equilibrium between men and women. Yoshio Inoue admits that the couples in *The Rainbow* matured by collision with other, which is inevitable for each generation of the characters in the novel (266). As Inoue points out, the "foreign element" stands out in men and women in *The Rainbow*. For instance, the difference in nationality is literally shown in the first generation of the Brangwens: Tom Brangwen, an English farmer is fascinated by a Polish widow, Lydia Lensky. Compared to the other couples, only the first generation may be presented as a good example of the difference the couple has that makes their commitment stronger.

The second generation, Will and Anna Brangwen conflict on religious conviction. Will believes in Christian mystics and seeks spiritual fulfilment in concepts such as immortality and the absolute, while Anna is paganish and worships life in nature and human beings. Visiting Will's beloved Lincoln Cathedral reveals the existence of a wide gap in a sense of worship for religion. Ursula is irritated that Will calls the cathedral "she." It is merely "a big building, a thing of the past" (*RB* 186). Her soul too is astonished in reverence and fear and joy, but looking at a carving which seems to be a monk's face for Will, she violates sacredness within it by insisting it is a woman's face carved by her husband with a personal hatred toward her. His vital illusion is destroyed and he can never again keep the cathedral absolute. The difference between Anna and Will is more destructive than that of Tom and Lydia Brangwen and they maintain the chasm in the rest of their married life.

Then, *The Rainbow* focuses on the story of the eldest daughter of Anna and Will,

Ursula and Anton Skrebensky. Ursula has a strong sense of independence from her childhood, while Anton lacks assertiveness and seems to devote and sacrifice himself to a social frame such as the military, nation and duties, which irritates Ursula and makes her break their engagement. When she finds herself pregnant, Anton had already got married and was posted in India. Ursula, after having a fearful experience of being surrounded by horses she bumps into in the forest, falls into a coma for a while and ends in miscarriage. Thus, in *The Rainbow*, with each passing generation, the difference between the couple generates conflict and becomes so decisive that the couple cannot resolve it.

Women in Love describes a couple who eventually overcomes the conflict and finally develops into marriage. It is notable that Lawrence already established the idea of equilibrium when he finished writing *The Rainbow* in 1915 and began *The Women in Love* in 1916. Since 1914, Lawrence had formed a friendship with Bertrand Russell, a British philosopher, mathematician and social reformer who affects his thought greatly in his life. Lawrence met one of the best intellectuals, admired Russell and they agreed on the necessity of social reformation; however, soon Lawrence broke away from him because Lawrence detested Russell's rationalistic theory of civilization.[14] While Lawrence was closely associated with Russell between 1914 and 1915, John Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy*, borrowed from Russell, formed the theme of his essay, "The Crown" first published in 1915 (Kuramochi, *Thomas Hardy* 367). In this essay, by allegorizing the lion (Royal coat of arms of England) and the unicorn (that of Scotland) battling for the Crown, he represents the polarities and antagonism between the two. Lawrence thinks "if the lion really destroyed, killed the unicorn; not merely drove him out of town, but annihilated him! Would not the lion at once expire, as if he had created a vacuum around himself? Is not the unicorn necessary to the very existence of the lion, is not each opposite kept in stable equilibrium by the opposition of the other" (*REF* 253). He recognizes the existence of the opposition as "the *raison d'être* of each of them" and demonstrates the importance of the existence of the opposition and balance between polarities (ibid.); later this idea of equilibrium is expressed in the form of an ideal male

and female relationship in *Women in Love*, published in 1920.

Ursula, failed in love in *The Rainbow*, finds a partner named Rupert Birkin and marries him, although her sister, Gudrun loses her lover, Gerald, to suicide in the Austrian Alps. Ursula's and Birkin's secret of succeeding in love is an idea of "equilibrium." Birkin and Ursula often come into conflict over relationships between men and women because of their strong sense of self when Birkin hits upon the idea of ideal love which does not bruise each other's ego. He admits that "What I want is a strange conjunction with . . . not meeting and mingling . . . but an equilibrium, a pure balance of two single beings:—as the stars balance each other" (*WL* 148). He presents a consummate love relationship by taking a constellation as an analogy that does not interfere with each other and sparkles in the night sky. At first, it is not easy for Ursula to understand what he meant by an allegorical story of stars and they still have a spirited quarrel over the nature of the relationship, but finally they come to a compromise and can find the way to peaceful love. Ursula sits "in a fullness and a pure potency that was like apathy, mindless and immobile. She as next to him, and hung in a pure rest, as a star is hung, balanced unthinkably", while Birkin "too waited in the magical steadfastness of suspense . . . Now she would know him, and he too would be liberated. He would be night-free, like an Egyptian, steadfast in perfectly suspended equilibrium, pure mystic nodality of physical being" (*WL* 319). Ursula would blame a patriarchal idea in Birkin, and Birkin a desire of possession in Ursula; however, they quit persisting in their own beliefs and accept opinions of the other, which does not mean there would not be a difference or a conflict between them anymore. Recognizing each other's different perspective, they find a compromise that satisfies them in peaceful love to liberate them, not bind them.

In addition, to emphasize the importance of equilibrium in a relationship, Lawrence articulates a distinction between men and women:

> The man is pure man, the woman pure woman, they are perfectly polarized. But there is no longer any of the horrible merging, mingling, self-abnegation of love. There is only the pure duality of polarization, each one free from

> any contamination of the other. In each, the individual is primal, sex is subordinate, but perfectly polarized. Each has a single, separate being, with its own laws. The man has his pure freedom, the woman hers. Each acknowledges the perfection of the polarized sex-circuit. Each admits the different nature in the other. (*WL* 201)

Birkin's thought reflects Lawrence's opinion that men and women differ so greatly that they are perfectly "polarized," but that each has the same freedom and is independent of each other. In Lawrence's case, he advocates that men and women should be understood as a completely "separate begin," which evokes the spirit of Lyell, who engaged in a constant effort to divide science from religion. Being convinced that trouble starts when geology is confused with theology, Lyell spent a lifetime trying to draw a line between the two fields, both of which he believed in. Lawrence, believing that men and women are equal having the same power and right, suggests to us or convinces himself that the key to success in a relationship is to admit a crucial difference of the nature of sex and to respect each other's independence and freedom.

Another analogy between Lyell and Lawrence is that they have a similar concept of time. From the viewpoint of the nature of his work, one of the important tasks for Lyell is to determine how to perceive time and observe it. Lyell considered time as divided into three periods as Fig. 1 shows: the primary, the secondary, and the tertiary period.[15]

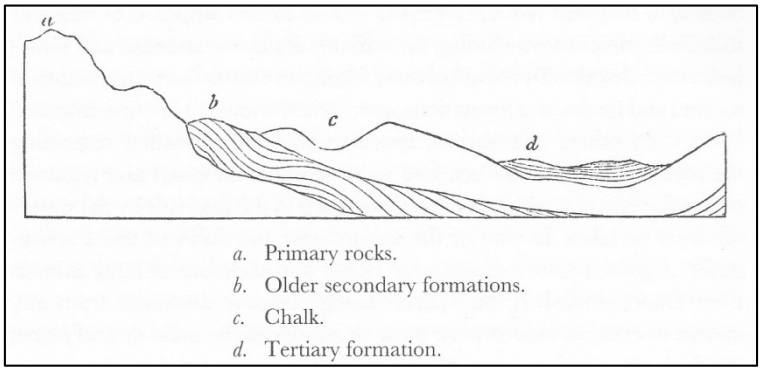

Fig. 1. Diagram Showing the Relative Position of the Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Strata, *Principle of Geology* (1830); rpt. (London: Penguin, 1997) 363.

Lyell divided time into three periods between 570 million and 65 million years ago for convenience of explanation, but he added "*The distinctness of periods may indicate our imperfect information*" (*Geology* 398; emphasis in orig.). He emphasizes the lines that separates different tertiary epochs are quite unconnected and allows the possibility of necessity to intercalate other periods when new deposits are found in the future.

In addition to the periodization of time, Lyell's other distinctive concept of time is the emphasis on gradual change. Pointing out possible errors of geologists who "have misinterpreted the signs of a succession of events, so as to conclude that centuries were implied where the characters imported thousands of years, and thousands of years where the language of nature signified millions," he raises an alarm over "undervaluing greatly the quantity of past time" (*Geology* 30). According to Lyell, "It was contrary to analogy to suppose, that Nature had been at any former epoch parsimonious of time and prodigal of violence" (38). He confirms that every single change in nature should require enormous time and the importance of "carefully considering the combined action of all the causes of change now in operation" (372). In consideration of a short life span and the fact that humans are not amphibious, Lyell thought that "humans were not ideally placed to be good geologists" as a witness of natural changes since the world's creation (Secord xxii).

Lyell's philosophy of the *Geology*, the time-consuming record of crustal movement over millions of years, is often summed up as "the present is the key to the past." However, Secord observes that "this slogan is unspecific and indeed almost meaningless: causal keys can function in many ways" (xxi). Lyell did not like to conclude by reasoning—he thought analogism and speculative theory had hindered geology from establishing itself as science—and believed that we could rely only on induction from the evidence of our eyes in order to extend our inferences into the past. The past should not be told, viewed or tortured from the present perspective, but we should listen to what the past tells and observes what happened in the past. Contemplation of the past is the key to explain the presence, rather than the present is the key to the past. This is Lyell's way of capturing the time and history of crustal

movement.

The similarity between Lyell and Lawrence, which is most easily noticed is periodization. *The Rainbow* shows that the Brangwen family has lived at Marsh Farm for many generations and suggests the family has a long established connection with the earth. Lawrence chooses and depicts roughly sixty-five years from the 1840s to 1905 and divides into three periods or generations, for only this period can be told by Lawrence himself by his experience and most drastically shows changes of time, people's way of living and thinking as far as he can tell. By presenting three generations in this novel, he succeeds in showing the gradual change of time and the characters' minds, which might not be accomplished if he depicted only two generations. Even if he tells a story about three generation of a family, it is only sixty or seventy years, which cannot be compared to Lyell's observation of time. In *The Rainbow*, society has been changed over sixty years or more: industrialization, urbanization, suffragette movement, women's social advancement, and the Boer War, all of which are interspersed in the whole story and should not be told only in a short period of time such as one or two generations. Lyell and Lawrence's division into three periods might reflect their insistence on gradual change. For Lyell, it is necessary to divide the history of crustal movement into three periods not to be interrupted by crustal movement. He would never want geological history to be told by the world before the Deluge. He needs to present undeniable evidence of the principle of uniformity in a straightforward manner by showing geological strata divided into three periods as a matter of convenience. Lawrence also needs to describe three generations because he wants his readers to realize the gradual changes in the minds of each generation. If he tells a parent-child story, what is emphasized is difference, not change. It is not a comparison but a stream of time that Lawrence wants to highlight in *The Rainbow*.

Furthermore, we should remember that it is not separation of generations that Lawrence presents in *The Rainbow* in narrating the story of three generations of the Brangwens chronologically. Rather than segregation, the connection and the influence between generations can be found, though *The Rainbow* is often examined by each

generation. The way of life and thinking, and a relationship between men and women has been changing with the times, but there is no clear line to divide each generation. Beginning with the strong connection between Tom (first generation) and his step-daughter Anna (second generation), after Anna and Will get married, the bond between mother (second generation) and child (third generation) becomes much stronger than father and child. “Anna was absorbed in the child now, she left her husband to take his own way. She was willing now to postpone all adventure into unknown realities. She had the child, her palpable and immediate future was the child. If her soul had found no utterance, her womb had” (*RB* 191-92). Will seems to develop a strong bond with baby Ursula by controlling her, but it is inevitable that Ursula grows up to be an independent woman like her mother partly because Will begins to spend most of his time away from home to meet other women as his daughters grow up. In this way, it is clear that the influence of parents is a major force in the development of character. The Brangwen family at the Marsh is inseparable in each generation. It seems like Lyell denies the distinctness between strata and patiently observes sediment layers to scientifically verify the history of geology by connecting millions of years ago and his time.

The following episode confirms that he considers the whole story of three generations in *The Rainbow* as inseparable and closely interwoven with each other. Reading *The Wedding Ring*, the predecessor of *The Rainbow*, the editor Alfred Kuttner, complained to the publisher, Mitchell Kennerley, about *The Wedding Ring* in November 1914 arguing that Lawrence should begin with the story of Ursula because “The real story is concentrated in the lives of Ella [Ursula] and Gudrun and the novel does not strike its best pace until we deal with them.” Kuttner advises “the whole story of Tom Brangwen’s courtship of the Polish woman as well as Anna’s marriage could be told in retrospect” (*RB* 483).[16] Nevertheless, Lawrence finally keeps on drawing up a chronology of events. The reason why he rejects the style of memoir might be similar to Lyell’s policy for his work of excavation. As well as Lyell, he believed that the present can be explained and proved only by examining cause, Lawrence also might not like the

style and attitude of looking at the past from the present. Lawrence begins a story from the beginning as far as he can tell to convince us that the past is the cause of the present, which seems to follow Lyell's belief that the past and history should not be inferred, but just presented to us and examined.

By narrating in chronological order, in *The Rainbow* Lawrence might show us the so-called the collapse of the 'grand narrative,' introduced by Jean-François Lyotard, a French philosopher and literary theorist. According to Lyotard, he decides in *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge,* to call "the condition of knowledge in the most highly developed societies" postmodern and thinks this condition "designates the state of our culture following the transformations which, since the end of the nineteen century, have altered the game rules for science, literature, and the arts" (xxiii). Lyotard continues to explain the definition of postmodern, saying that "I define *postmodern* as incredulity toward metanarrative. This incredulity is undoubtedly a product of progress in the sciences: but that progress in turn presupposes it" (xxiv; emphasis orig.). What he calls metanarrative is "some grand narrative" which may be explained by a term of discourse, concept, or something taken for granted: narrative of 'enlightenment,' 'justice' and 'truth' (xxiii-xxiv). The disappearance of discourse or disbelief in a grand narrative is the condition of postmodernity, he presents. Lawrence's *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* may represent the postmodern condition: disappearance of the grand narrative.

What collapses in Lawrence's sequential novels? It can be happiness, fulfilment, love or marriage. There is a certain amount of 'fulfilment' in Tom and Lydia Brangwen of *The Rainbow* when they feel satisfaction from sexual life even though their marriage is distant and silent because they cannot understand each other owing to cultural difference. The second generation, Anna and Tom are seemingly happy blessed with children from marriage out of passion; they are not, especially Tom, at least. Ursula, well educated, having a passionate love affair with Skrebensky, and even offered marriage, fails to find her fulfilment in a relationship with him. Next appear Gudrun and Gerald in *Women in Love*, which may be the best example of the collapse of the grand

narrative. Passion, intelligence, a strong sexual connection, and money: they have it all, but only to end up with the tragic death of Gerald.

Love, fulfilment, or a happy marriage was supposed to be there and was narrated as if they could obtain them if they could fulfil certain conditions such as mutual understanding, economic, and social independence before what Lyotard calls postmodern. We realized, by reading a story of three generations in *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*, that "happiness by marriage," a grand discourse and narrative between men and women, totally disappears in the twentieth century, which is the result of Lawrence's chronological narration style. If he began *The Rainbow* with the story of Ursula, we might not realize a collapse of the grand narrative. We can feel something is missing between the first half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century thanks to Lawrence's presentation of the Brangwens family in order; therefore, we find it is a grand discourse that is missing.

Regarding the point of the disappearance of the grand narrative, Lyell's geological establishment by publishing *The Principle of Geology* over three years from 1830, can be regarded as a very early sign of the condition of postmodernity, as Lyotard points out incredulity of the metanarrative is a product of progress in the sciences and that "Science has always been in conflict with narratives. Judged by the yardstick of science, the majority of them proved to be fables" (xxiii). What Lyell has done by his long toil is a challenge to the metanarrative of creationism in the early nineteenth century. It can be said that by demonstrating how the history of earth is clarified scientifically, Lyell destroyed the "metanarrative" of creation and proved it to be a "fable" if Lyotard's terms are employed. Accordingly, Lawrence and Lyell, in a similar manner, brought to literature and geology a new world subverting old traditions and beliefs.

The last thing that I have to present as a similarity between Lawrence and Lyell is that both of them consider travelling as helpful in life and stimulates their work. Lyell was not a person who played with desk theories and actively went exploring. He travelled a lot and especially, excavation at Mt. Etna enormously contributed to his work even after first publishing the *Geology*. Lyell visited Etna in 1824, 1857, and 1858,

which enabled him to submit an important monograph to the Royal Society and to give a visionary account of the geology of the mountain that remains today an important document for any student of Etna (Chester 29). Secord introduces an episode that "Lyell had three pieces of advice for aspiring geologists, and had followed them at every opportunity: travel, travel, travel" (xxi).

Lawrence likes travelling no less than Lyell. In Lawrence's case, sometimes he had to move with his German wife, Frieda Lawrence, because of war and his health. As if he tried to escape from the traumatic experience of WWI, Lawrence began what he called his 'savage pilgrimage,' a time of voluntary exile.[17] After leaving England in 1912, his wanderlust took him to Germany, Italy, Mexico, Ceylon, Australia, America, Switzerland, France, and Spain, and finally died in Vence in France in 1930. He admits the importance of travelling in his essay, "The Crown," saying that "we must travel away, roam like falling fruit, fall from the initial darkness of the tree, of the cave which has reared us, into the eternal light of germination and begetting, the eternal light, shedding our darkness like the fruit that rots on the ground" (*REF* 256). In another essay, "Love," comparing love to travel, he notes "love is strictly travelling" and expresses "a belief in absolute love" by quoting Robert Louis Stevenson's words, "It is better to travel than to arrive" (*ibid.* 7). He is such a person who appreciates travelling and above all, as well as Lyell, visiting Italy provided crucial momentum to his writing and life, which is proven by the fact that in Italy he was provided with the inspiration for *The Rainbow* and he left three travel books on Italy, *Twilight in Italy*, *The Sea and Sardinia*, and *Etruscan Places*. I would like to discuss later in the next chapter how Lawrence was fascinated by Italy and what brought him after and while staying in Italy.

What I would like to note finally is that both Lawrence and Lyell presented the new form of life, the world or universe which must have been strange at first and hard to accept, but tried hard to liberate the conventional way of thinking of earlier times, and surprisingly enough, despite the difference of their fields and times, they did it in a very similar way: they both thought highly of the flux of time and divided it into several fractions, actually three periods, not recognizing broad distinctions between them but

just to characterize for each age, and these concepts occurred to them while travelling all around the world. I have examined Lawrence's interest in pre-Darwinian evolutionary theories and its influence on his early works so far. There is a gap between the ages and fields of Lawrence and pre-Darwinian evolutionists. I have spent Part I of this dissertation recognizing the similarities between Lawrence and precursors of evolution theory, and such an idea occurred to me: it could be fettered by convention to think that there exists a clear distinction in different ages and fields. We may live in the same discourse that succeeded from a previous age, adding a little change or a new definition to it. Lawrence's travelling has just begun. I would like to examine how and why Lawrence is forced to create a new definition and meaning in or outside a discourse of eugenics; in other words, how to transcend it during and after travelling in the end.

PART II

Eugenics and Degeneration

Chapter 4

Lawrence, Italy and Homosexuality

I have examined Lawrence's interest in Pre-Darwinian theory and its effect on his works in Part I. Now, I would like to introduce his reaction to eugenic ideas. Among the huge number of his letters, one in 1908 seems to show his earliest response to eugenic ideas even without using the term 'eugenic':

> Concerning Daisy Lord, I am entirely in accord with you. If I had my way, I would build a lethal chamber as big as the Crystal Palace, with a military band playing softly, and a Cinematograph working brightly; then I'd go out in the back streets and main streets and bring them in, all the sick, the halt, and the maimed; I would lead them gently, and they would smile me a weary thanks; and the band would softly bubble out the "Hallelujah Chorus" (*Letters*, i. 81)

Daisy Lord, he mentions, was a woman who was sentenced to death for the murder of her illegitimate child. Pointing out that this letter shows Lawrence's complete approval of the death sentence, John Carey finds in him a strong desire of eliminating the mass existence of the general public which derives from Nietzsche, who blames the corruption of the European races on the preservation of sick and suffering specimens. (12).

By showing Lawrence's letters and remarks, Carey emphasizes that hatred of mankind and the wish to exterminate the public arose in Lawrence, which well accorded with the ideology of eugenics in the twentieth century (11). In 1915, in a letter to Lady Ottoline Morrell, an English patron of writers and artists, he wrote that "I wish I was a blackbird, like him [a thrush]. I hate men. . . It would be nice if the Lord sent another Flood and drowned the world" (*Letters*, ii. 339). Then, in 1917, when the Lawrences attempted to go to America, although they could not obtain passports because of Frieda's German nationality, he confessed he loathed humanity and "the thought of the earth all *grass* and trees—grass, and no works-of-man *at all*—just a hare listening to the

inaudible—that is Paradise" and declares "To learn plainly to hate mankind, to detest the spawning human-being, that is the only cleanliness now" (*Letters*, iii. 160; emphasis in orig.).

In the 1920s, Lawrence, not only in private letters, but openly in essays, began to express his hatred of mankind and desire for its annihilation. In 1923, he asserted in Chapter 6, "The Vicious Circle," of *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious and Fantasia of the Unconsciousness*, that "the little devil will grow up and beget other similar little devils of his own" and concluded that "Once we really consider this modern process of life and the love-will, we could throw the pen away, and spit, and say three cheers for the inventors of poison-gas" (*Psychoanalysis* 162).

After that, in 1927 in *Mornings in Mexico*, Lawrence preferred to believe in "what the Aztecs called Suns" rather than in evolution, in which "Worlds successively created and destroyed. The sun itself convulses, and the worlds go out like so many candles when somebody coughs in the middle of them." (*Mexico* 14). Lawrence was drawn to the end of the world. Still in 1926, in the essay generally known as "Return to Bestwood," he clearly stated "I know that we must look after the quality of life, not the quantity. Hopeless life should be put to sleep, the idiots and the hopeless sick and the true criminal. And the birth-rate should be controlled" (*Late* 24). As "Explanatory Notes" suggested, such eugenic views reflected Francis Galton's *Hereditary Genius* published in 1869, and appeared prominently in Lawrence's works of the 1920s (*ibid.* 341).

Judging from these remarks, Lawrence seems to have been an extreme supporter of negative eugenics. Eugenics, in general, is supposed to be conceptually divided into two categories: positive eugenics, whose aim is to encourage reproduction among the genetically advantaged, and negative eugenics whose aim is to lower fertility among the genetically disadvantaged. Donald J. Child regards Lawrence, as well as Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells, as extreme supporters of negative eugenics (10). His approval of eugenic ideas coming from his strong hatred of mankind appeared in the early twentieth century and lasted until the late 1920s, which means that he had been inclined towards eugenic ideas all through his life after he became a writer. He did not reverse his

opinion from his early career to the end. However, even though Lawrence ostensibly continues to show his misanthropy and agreement with eugenic ideas, I believe that what he detested and desired to exterminate changed. During the period of about twenty years from 1908 to 1926, he experienced a lot: he lost his family, fell in love, eloped and married, suffered from a lack of money and illness, experienced the war, travelled widely, and met various people. After such experiences of about twenty years, would his mind have remained the same? It is just conceivable that his interpretation and definition of eugenics would have been changing, influenced by the events in his life and his accumulated experience.

His repeated message of supporting negative eugenics drives me to investigate, in this part, Lawrence's interpretation of inferiority and degeneration, the main concerns of eugenics. He was keen to eliminate the inferior and degeneration rather than to promote the superior as advocated by positive eugenicists. What, for Lawrence, was the definition of 'inferiority' and 'degeneration' which should be terminated, and what did he want to eradicate from society? I would like to analyse at whom he is pointing a gun, and after that, consider the meaning and intention in his message supporting negative eugenics over many years.

As regards influences on Lawrence's thoughts, travelling to Italy was a major turning point in his life. Lawrence repeatedly made trips to Italy and stayed there between 1912 and 1928. His three travel books, *Twilight in Italy*, *Sea and Sardinia*, and *Etruscan Places*, show his love of Italy. He left England for the first time in May 1912 to elope with Frieda and began to record his impressions about foreign cultures. They stayed by the Lago di Garda at Gargnano from September 1912 to March 1913, and his first travel book, *Twilight in Italy* was published in 1916. From November 1919 to March 1920, he went back to Italy and visited Capri, Taormina and Sicily. In January 1921, he travelled from Taormina to Palermo, and Sardinia. After that, he returned to Sicily via Rome and Naples. He began writing "Dairy of a Trip to Sardinia," which became *Sea and Sardinia* in December 1921. Between 1922 and 1925, he and Frieda travelled all around the world: Ceylon, Australia, Mexico, America, and back to Europe.

During another stay in Italy lasting from 1925 to 1928, Lawrence wrote essays in 1927 after visiting several Etruscan cities. It was after his death that *Etruscan Places* was published in 1932.

Throughout these three Italian books, Lawrence casts an affectionate look at men and seems to reject or ignore the power of females. When he travelled to Italy from 1912 to 1928, he was often fascinated by male bonding and found a primordial beauty in Italian men, although he expressed his disappointment at seeing the developing industrialization in Italy and the Italians' longing for English advancement. Laura Fasick, pointing out that Lawrence's sexual politics should be discussed more in relation to his non-fiction writings and not only in his novels and short stories, observes male bonding and male comradeship in Lawrence's trio of Italian travel books not as "an active force in its own right, but a reaction to perceived female threat" (25). It is questionable how seriously Lawrence hoped for homosexual bonding, but it is easy to recognize the effect on his novels of what he saw and felt in Italy, for example, *Women in Love*, whose ending suggests the possibility of homosexual love, shows a good example of his attraction to men.

Women in Love in 1920 may be the most notorious of Lawrence's work presenting a strong reference to homosexual bondage in its ambiguous ending. Looking at dead Gerald, Birkin mourns: "He should have loved me," he said, "I offered him" (*WL* 480). When Ursula, afraid of his excessive adhesion to Gerald, asks Birkin if she is not enough for him, he replies she is enough for him "as far as woman is concerned," but "to make it [his life] complete, really happy, I wanted eternal union with a man too: another kind of love" (481). Although Ursula rejects having "two kinds of love" and angrily exclaims "It's an obstinacy, a theory, a perversity," the novel ends with Birkin's answer "I don't believe that" (ibid.). Besides the often quoted phrase, "another kind of love," which has long been a popular subject for Lawrencians, who debate whether it proves his sexual engagement with homosexuality, the word "perversity" should also be noted. The general definition of "perversity" is showing an obstinate desire to behave in an unacceptable way, and "Explanatory Notes" of *Women in Love* mentions further that

Ursula uses the word in its “modern sense” of “sexual” perversity (585).

The word, “perversity,” also appeared in a poem “Snake” published in *Birds, Beasts and Flowers* in 1923. “Snake” is supposed to have been written while Lawrence was staying in Taormina, a small town on the east coast of the island of Sicily in 1920. The poem begins with the description of a snake coming to a water trough to drink some water on a hot day. The “earth-brown/earth-golden” snake in front of “I” should be killed, for in Sicily, black snakes are harmless but golden ones are venomous (20). [18] However, “I” confesses “ . . . how I liked him [the snake], / How glad I was he had come like a guest in quiet, to drink at my water-trough” (27-28). “I” conflict between “the voice of my education,” which whispers to him to kill the snake immediately and his instinct which makes him unable to kill it because he suddenly feels an unexplained attraction to it (22).

Based on the previous studies of Jeffrey Meyers, who has given the most consideration to Lawrence and homosexuality, it can be argued that Lawrence was a repressed homosexual, Katsutoshi Kurose analyses Lawrence’s homosexuality implied in “Snake” in relation to the author’s friendship with Maurice Magnus, an American Catholic convert, who had a career as an editor of the *Roman Review* and as an English/German translator, and had a wide acquaintance with cultural figures. [19] Lawrence, in November 1919, met Magnus in Florence through Norman Douglas, a Scottish novelist famous for his travel books and who later appeared as James Argyle in Lawrence’s *Aaron’s Rod*. Magnus had served in the Foreign Legion for months in 1916, but soon deserted from it. Then, with the aid of Lawrence, he wrote a memoir of his experiences as a soldier, which was published after Magnus’ death as *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion* in 1924, with Lawrence’s introduction for it entitled “Memoir of Maurice Magnus.”

As Lawrence notes in “Memoir of Maurice Magnus,” Magnus “had a dislike of women” and “loathed women, and wished for a world of men” (*Intro.* 32). When Lawrence first met Magnus in Florence, Magnus was “queer and sensitive as a woman with Douglas” (*ibid*. 15). Magnus invited Lawrence, who sent some money for him, to

the monastery in Rome but asked him to come alone. Indeed, Magnus welcomed Lawrence at the monastery and “looked into my eyes with that wistful, watchful tenderness rather like a woman who isn’t quite sure of her lover” (22). Magnus is obviously described as gay and although Lawrence is bothered by Magnus’ desperate quest for money, the details about Magnus described vividly and with affection by Lawrence reveal Lawrence’s peculiar interest in this streetwise but strange suspected gay. Meyers states that “The artistic integrity of the Introduction is based on Lawrence’s honesty about his fascination with Magnus’ homosexuality” (*Experience of Italy* 30). Kurose, supporting Meyers’ argument of 1982, demonstrated in 2003 that the snake in the poem implied Magnus, judging from Lawrence’s biographical records.

Howard J. Booth, pointing out in 2002 that Meyers’ *D. H. Lawrence: A Biography* (1990) does not produce enough evidence to support his claim that Lawrence had a sexual relationship with men, basically maintains that Lawrence experienced homosexual desire (86). Booth, responding to Mark Kinkead-Weekes’ Lawrence’s biography, *D. H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile: 1912-1922* (1996), puts forward the position that “Lawrence’s writing shows that he did not identify as bisexual” (87). Thus, Lawrence’s fascination with male homosexuality was discussed in a number of his works, not only in *Women in Love* with its explicit references to homosexual love.[20]

In my opinion, every previous study on Lawrence’s homosexuality has a valid point. Lawrence could neither deny the concept of homosexuality nor accept it in his mind, but at the same time, homosexual love was a so-called forbidden fruit which had an attraction for him. Lawrence expressed disgust after he visited Cambridge in March, 1915, although he was at first excited and nervous about visiting the city, a place of intellectuals. It was because Lawrence found ‘corruption’ in Cambridge; it is generally thought that not only the authoritarianism and academicism of Cambridge disgusted him, but that he sensed Cambridge was infested with homosexuality. Specifically, he was convinced that men in Cambridge and the Bloomsbury Group including John Maynard Keynes, Francis (Frankie) Birrell, and Duncan Grant had something dark in common: homosexuality. Looking at Keynes standing in pyjamas in his room at Cambridge,

Lawrence said “gradually a knowledge passed into me, which has been like a little madness to me, which has been like a little madness to me ever since” (*Letters*, ii. 320). After that, Lawrence fell into depression, which, from Kinkead-Weekes analyses, was a “psychosomatic reaction against his own latent homosexuality: horrified to think he might ‘really’ be *like* Keynes” (212; emphasis in orig.). Lawrence realized that homosexuality was “indelibly associated with brittle intellectualism,” and he intuited “something poisonous” and such people were “not morally wrong, but *corrupt*” (Kinkead-Weekes 213; emphasis in orig.).

Thinking about the frequent close bonds between people of the same sex in his works, I basically agree with the opinion that Lawrence had a strong inquisitiveness about homosexuality. Before he came face-to-face with nightmarish reality in Cambridge, he had already finished writing *The Rainbow*, in which Ursula’s lesbian experience with her teacher, Winifred Inger, is striking. I do not think that the description of man-to-man intimacy and Birkin’s love for Gerald in *Women in Love*, which was written after his visit to Cambridge, just come from the ‘nasty’ and ‘unclean’ impression which he gained of Cambridge in 1915. I am not sure whether his attraction to homosexuality was conscious or subconscious, nor whether he engaged in male-male sexual intercourse or sodomy, and this is not the point of my argument. What I can say is his repetitious emphasis on male comradeship and same-sex connections can allow us to consider the possibility of the author’s interest in homosexuality or at least to regard it as the representation of his suppressed desire of homosexuality. The most important issue is what is meant by Lawrence being drawn to the same sex in the context of eugenics.

As a supporter of negative eugenics, Lawrence should not have been attracted by homosexuality because it was regarded as a crime and a perversion. In England, Oscar Wilde’s trial in 1895 was a good example of how homosexuality was considered a crime. Wilde was accused of homosexuality by the father of his lover, Lord Alfred Douglas, and sentenced to jail with hard labour for two years.[21] Wilde’s trial should be recognized as demonstrating that homosexuality at that time was an indictable offence

because it was supposed to be an explicit sign of degeneration of the human species. According to Gotthard Feustel, statistics on the reasons for homosexuals' suicide recorded before 1914 indicate that 10,000 homosexual persons revealed that they had thought about committing suicide for various reasons such as threats from others and recriminations against their families (qtd. in Hoshino 44-45). As well as Wilde, Paul-Marie Verlaine in France, Pyotr Il'ich Chaykovski in Russia, and Friedrich Alfred Krupp, the founder of the German steel company, were successively charged with homosexual acts from the latter half of the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Before the discussion of Lawrence and homosexuality, what should be kept in mind is the social background which caused homosexuality to be cracked down upon and the historical context at the turn of the century when people maintained a tight rein over the phenomena of degeneration.

Homosexuality has been provided with various social positions depending on ages. It would not be considered degrading until the nineteenth century because before that, the concept of homosexuality had not even existed. As Plato, in *Symposium*, eulogized love between Harmodius and Aristogeiton, portraying them as heroes of democracy of ancient Athens, love between those of the same sex in ancient times of the sixth century BC was connected to symbols of heroism and courage which helped people to free themselves from tyranny. In the Middle Ages, an act of sexual intercourse between men was a crime from the religious point of view. A knight of Hohenberg was burnt with his servant before the walls of Zürich, for sodomy, in 1482. The 'act' of practicing sodomy was criminalized and identified with bestiality at that time. A Hungarian journalist, Karl Maria Kertbeny, coined the term, 'homosexuality,' in his writings anonymously published in 1869. Along with establishing the concept of homosexuality, homosexuals were categorized as the sick in the nineteenth century and now has been finally accepted as the sound and normal people since the late twentieth century at least in the Western countries, after the era when it used to be the symbol of hero in the ancient time and became a religious offense in the Middle Ages. Hence, the definition and the social position of homosexuality are unstable, varying according to

the times.[22]

In the history of homosexuality, the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth century, was the most significant period. Industrialization, large-scale production and consumption, urbanization and rationalism greatly changed people's way of living and thinking, while at the same time, governments and nations dexterously shifted their expectations of the citizen, which provoked the state's intervention in reproduction under the name of fortifying the country. Homosexuality, which could not produce children, should be eradicated by inculcating people with the threat of degeneration which would corrupt the country. This is how homosexuality was conceptualized in the nineteenth century, and finally homosexuality was politically linked to the idea of degeneration.

The ideology of degeneration of the human species reared its head at the turn of the nineteenth century, and fin-de-siècle anxieties loomed over the nineteenth-century thinkers. Degeneration had several meanings: in literature, it meant "a decline from the dignified norms of the classical tradition, the very reverse of progress," and in medicine, it meant "the effects of disease, stimulants and poisons, passed down to the children of sufferers" (Mazumdar xvi). Poverty, crime, alcoholism, moral collapse and violence had been growing all over Europe since the late nineteenth century, which created a fear of degeneration that might attack social norms.[23] The Boer War, which broke out in 1899 in South Africa between Great Britain and the Dutch colonists, increased the threat of degeneration, especially, in British people's minds because although it ended with a British victory, British losses were high due to the fighting against the bitter guerrilla campaign of the Boers. After the Boer War, it was World War I that made the British become more and more convinced about the deterioration of the nation.

A Hungary-born Jewish physician and author, Max Simon Nordau, wrote *Degeneration*, which certainly reflects a strain of European thought about the phenomenon of decadence in fin de siècle Europe. In *Degeneration*, originally published under the title of *Entartung* in German in 1892 and translated into English in 1895, Nordau, lamenting increasing rates of hysteria and mental disorder, blames

so-called degenerate art, citing writers and thinkers such as Henrik Ibsen, Friedrich Nietzsche and Emile Zola. Nordau investigates the cultural and anthropological degeneration of the human species represented in society, art and literature with scientific eyes as a physician. What is at the core of Nordau's thought are the ideas of Cesare Lombroso, an Italian psychiatrist and the founder of anthropological criminology. Nordau begins *Degeneration* with a "Dedication" to Lombroso.

Nordau is much influenced and inspired by Lombroso's publications including *The Man of Genius* [*Genio e Follia*] of 1864 and *Criminal Man* [*L'uomo Delinquente*] of 1876. Lombroso, based on the physical and metal features of criminals, presented his theory of anthropological criminology, positing that criminality was inherited, in other words, that some people are born criminal. Needless to say, Darwinism and early eugenics supported Lombroso's fundamental idea and analytical study to specify genetic elements which were supposed to be inherited by criminals. The founder of criminology, Lombroso, shares a common idea with eugenics, for Lombroso and Galton started their careers with examination of the heredity of genius. Lombroso demonstrates that talents and genius are genetically passed down, and Galton begins the "Introductory Chapter" in *Hereditary Genius* by saying "I propose to show in this book that a man's natural abilities are derived by inheritance, under exactly the same limitations as are the form and physical features of the whole organic world" (1). After they organized their ideas on genius, which was regarded as a superior genetic factor, both Galton and Lombroso concentrated on heredity of the inferiority such as criminal, insanity, illness or alcoholism. Lombroso published *Criminal Man* in 1876 and *The Eugenics Review*, a quarterly publication by The Eugenics Education Society founded by Galton, focused on data and statistics showing that inferior genes are transmitted genetically.

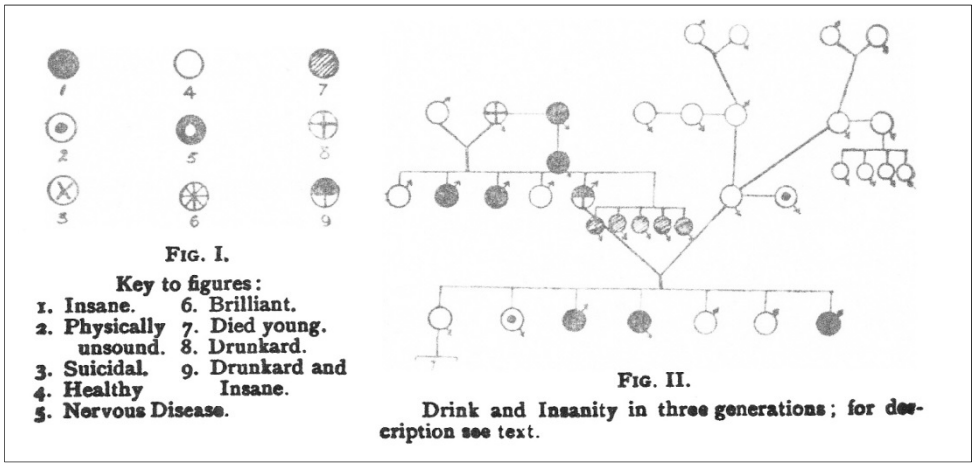

Fig. 2. Figure from F. W. Mott's "Heredity and Insanity" in *The Eugenics Review*. 2.4. (London: Eugenics Education Society, 1911).

Getting back to the point, when Lawrence was alive between 1885 and 1930, it was the time when European people became aware of the degeneration of their countries and the human race at two major turning points in human history: the turn of the century and World War I. Nevertheless, Lawrence was absorbed in depiction of homosexual love which was regarded as a serious crime at that time, and it was hoped that the inferior and unfit would be eradicated from society. Does this mean that Lawrence was also corrupt and that his desire to describe homosexuality was a typical symptom of degeneracy? Nordau's philosophy would uncover various clues to this question.

It is hard to explain the enigmatic attitude of Lawrence towards homosexuality. Lawrence's notion is similar to Nordau's in *Degeneration* to some degree. The "Dedication" of *Degeneration* states that "Degenerates are not always criminals, prostitutes, anarchists, and pronounced lunatics; they are often authors and artists" and warns that the phenomenon among "degenerates in literature, music, and painting" is not to be disregarded (vii-viii). As a matter of fact, right after Lawrence's private publication of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in 1928, a popular periodical from London, *John Bull*, articulated its disappointment at the author:

> Unfortunately for literature as for himself, Mr. 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-emphasized this side of life.
>
> Now, since he has failed to conquer his obsession, the obsession has conquered him. He can write about nothing else, apparently. (qtd. in Scherr 377)[24]

In Nordau's concept, Lawrence might have been a degenerate artist because of his apparent positive description of homosexual love in addition to explicit sexual scenes, but what should be paid attention to is the fact that Lawrence also saw the same world as Nordau did concerning homosexuality. Lawrence went to Cambridge with joyful expectations and excitement in 1915, and only a few days after, Cambridge made him "very black and down. I cannot bear its smell of rottenness, marsh-stagnancy. I get a melancholic malaria. How can so sick people rise up? They must die first" (*Letters,* ii. 309). Smelling 'homosexuality' among the intellectuals at Cambridge as typified by Keynes, a sacred academic place turned into a rotten world for him. Cambridge was so lurid that his illusions about Cambridge were cruelly shattered in a moment. This story clarifies that Lawrence identified homosexuality with degeneration or "rottenness" as he put it, and like Nordau, Lawrence recognized that degeneration also existed in high society, not only among the lower classes, and was eroding the minds of intellectuals.

Although Lawrence was already overwhelmed by a feeling of repulsion toward homosexuality, why was he still drawn to it after his nasty experience at Cambridge in 1915? Here again, Nordau's interpretation of degeneration would be useful for understanding what Lawrence tries to convey, for example, by completing *Women in Love* in 1920 with such a fathomless ending.

Nordau's *Degeneration* investigated the cause of hysteria, one of the states of degeneration became prominent in the nineteenth century along with crime, madness and suicide. It concluded that "The enormous increase of hysteria in our days is partly due to the same causes as degeneracy"—"This cause is the fatigue of the present generation" (36). Furthermore, Nordau attributes the cause of this fatigue, which is a temporary hysteria, to the frantic pace of industrial development and the swirl of historical change: "The discovery of America, the Reformation, stirred men's minds

powerfully, no doubt, and certainly also destroyed the equilibrium of thousands of brains which lacked staying power" (37). To sum up his opinion, our body and mind cannot keep up with new discoveries and progress that civilized humanity with surprising speed: "It has had no time to adapt itself to its changed conditions of life", which "grew fatigued and exhausted, and this fatigue and exhaustion showed themselves in the first generation, under the form of acquired hysteria; in the second, as hereditary hysteria" (40). In addition to the fact that both Nordau and Lawrence recognized the mental corruption among intellectuals and in high culture, Nordau's idea is similar to Lawrence's in that Nordau attributed mental breakdown and unsettled mind to "a direct consequence of certain influences of modern civilization" (41). Both of them criticize civilization, and regret that degeneration is devouring even the mass of the cultivated, which is attributed to physical and mental reactions to rapid industrial development.

Nordau and Lawrence seem to share a common idea about degeneration which appeared prominently between the turn of the century and the early twentieth century; however, their ways of reacting to degeneration are different. Nordau analyses degeneration in stages, for example, with the labels of "The Symptoms," "Diagnosis," "Etiology," "Prognosis" and "Therapeutics." *Degeneration* concludes Nordau's analysis that "art, without being properly a disease of the human mind, is yet an incipient, slight deviation from perfect health" (553). He presents a vision for the coming twentieth century and the future of art in the final chapter of his book. After examining Count Leo Tolstoy, Richard Wagner, Henrik Ibsen, Friedrich Nietzsche and Emile Zola, he makes the strong comment that art is a "slight deviation from perfect health." Nordau almost admits that even if the artists themselves are not literally mentally diseased, their works and ideas are not healthy or appropriate for educating contemporary people. Nordau could know nothing of Lawrence, and it is not sure if Lawrence had read *Degeneration*, but to deepen understanding of the meaning of Lawrence's attraction to men and interpretation of degeneration in a eugenic context, this observation by Nordau on literature and art cannot be disregarded. What remains to be elucidated is whether it

would be appropriate to regard Lawrence's work just as a "deviation" from a healthy state of mind.

Yousuke Kato observes that Lawrence goes beyond degeneration by verbalizing it in the text of his works.[25] Kato points out that Lawrence, after visiting Cambridge, began to use vocabulary expressing corruption. This vocabulary included words that were similar or the same as words used in *Degeneration*. Based on the understanding that the artists' degeneration, which was pointed out by Nordau, derived from the fact that they believed knowledge and art represented reality, Kato proposes that Lawrence gets sickened by Cambridge men who "talk endlessly, but endlessly—and never, never a good or a real thing said" (*Letters*, ii. 319). For Lawrence, "Their attitude [the intellectuals in Cambridge] is so irreverent and blatant. They are cased each in a hard little shell of his own and out of this they talk words" (ibid.). Never talking about reality, they are just enthusiastic about the discussion of books and knowledge within their own small group and never share their views with others. Lawrence flinches from Cambridge, having the same repulsive feeling that Nordau does; therefore, Kato's conclusion is that Paul leaves Miriam in *Sons and Lovers* because she devotes herself too much to the spiritual concept and the ideal world of beauty, and that Constance Chatterley, in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, cannot bear the dreariness of the discussions of the intellectuals from Cambridge gathering at Wragby Hall. Kato considers that Lawrence keeps himself from becoming degenerate by verbalizing his feelings of detestation towards degeneration which is conspicuous among the intellectuals in his novels of the twentieth century filled with the discourse of degeneration.

I also disagree that Lawrence's works can be dismissed as a "slight deviation from perfect health" as Nordau defines them. I attach a high value to Kato's view that Lawrence's success in avoiding degeneration lies in his writing style and verbalizing the degenerated world in his text. In addition, I would like to present a new suggestion for Lawrence's way of manoeuvring around degeneration. This chapter focuses on male-male relationships—immediately identified with homosexuality in general—among several phenomena of degeneration. As I stated before, Lawrence's

frequent journeys to Italy, especially staying at Gargnano between September 1912 and April 1913, should be regarded as a significant experience in his life because he made a start on *The Sisters,* which would later develop into *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*. Both are representative works of his, and at the same time, contain enigmatic descriptions of homosexual love. I would like to develop the discussion by clarifying the meaning of Lawrence's gazing at Italian men, expressed in *Twilight in Italy,* which reveals he is approaching men with a deep awareness of and sympathy for men—not related to a homosexual desire or tendency.

Twilight in Italy, which Lawrence began writing in 1915 and published in 1916, describes the Lawrences' stay between 1912 and 1913 in Gargnano before coming back to England for marriage registration in 1914. *Twilight in Italy* is regarded as a significant book which formed his later philosophy because it was the first time for him to travel abroad and look at his country from the outside. Setting out on a trip with his wife to Southern Europe, we may well expect him to tell a lively and cheerful story of Italians and their lives; however, that is not what happens. For the title, Lawrence chose a word, 'twilight,' which indicates the period between daylight and darkness or a period of obscurity and gradual decline. This is totally different from the traditional image of Italy, the cradle of the Renaissance: a rich and vibrant land full of sunshine. Lawrence recognized 'twilight' in the Italian people and land.

Lawrence finds the Italians should be called "Children of the Shadows" rather than "Children of the Sun" because their souls are "dark and nocturnal" (*TW* 104). His description of the Italians is unique: "I was pale, and clear, and evanescent, like the light, and they were dark, and close, and constant, like the shadow" (ibid.). The Italians are described as deeply connected with darkness through Lawrence's eyes, for example, "the dark-skinned Italians ecstatic in the night and the moon" (114). Since the darkness means something mysterious that you can hardly see, Lawrence is convinced that from ancient times, the Italians had their own original spirituality, in other words, sensuousness which is beyond the logicality and reason seen in Northern Europe. Lawrence explores Italy with mixed feelings, between longing and fear of the Italians

who possess what the Englishman does not have.

Looking at the land of Italy, Lawrence expresses regret that Italy, which used to be scintillating and brimming with life, is now tarnished. In *Twilight in Italy*, Lawrence becomes cordial with his padrone named Paoli, who owns a lemon garden near the Lago [Lake] di Garda. Lawrence, taken to the lemon garden by Paoli, finds that many lemon gardens have been abandoned because the lemons are sold at throwaway prices now, which affects Paoli's management of the lemon garden. Sitting and looking at the lake, Lawrence thinks "It was beautiful as paradise, as the first creation" but, Paoli begins to complain about his country: "in England you have the wealth—les richesses—you have the mineral coal and the machines, vous savez. Here, we have the sun—" (*TW* 131). Listening to Paoli, Lawrence aches for him because he sees "the Garda was so lovely under the sky of sunshine, it was intolerable. For away, beyond, beyond all the snowy Alps, with the iridescence of eternal ice above them, was this England, black and foul and dry" (132). The machines and the industry that England created are about to ruin the minds of Italians, once the children of the sun. The sun, which used to be the pride of Italy, is sinking and now Italy and the people are wandering about between the light and the darkness. Seeing that agricultural life is being lost, Lawrence is reminded of the Italy of the past, in which the Italians once lived in harmony with nature and the earth.

Judging from the landscape and the people in Italy of the 1910s, when the "earth is annulled, and money takes its place," Lawrence thinks it appropriate to use "the twilight" in the title of his first Italian travel book (*TW* 165). It implies his disappointment and disillusion towards Italy, and his nostalgia for the good and old farmland of the country. What can be found in Lawrence's description of the deteriorating country of Italy, whose golden age has already gone, is his sympathy for men and admiration of phallicism which affect his later novels such as *The Plumed Serpent*, *Kangaroo* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.

Throughout the three Italian travel books, Lawrence witnesses extremely stable friendships and bonds between men. When going to the theatre to see the drama *Amleto* [*Hamlet*], Lawrence interestingly observes the audience. After the end of *Amleto*, the

bersaglieri catches his eyes. They are sitting close together in groups and there is “a strange, corporal connection between them. And they are quite womanless” as if “there were some physical instinct connecting them” and “They are in love with one another, the young men love the young men” (*TW* 150-51). Also in *Sea and Sardinia*, Lawrence finds that every Sicilian man thinks “he is as handsome as Adonis, and as ‘fetching’ as Don Juan” and that “They [Sicilian men] catch each other under the chin, with a tender caress of the hand, and they smile with sunny melting tenderness into each other’s face” (12, 13). Although he has never seen “such melting gay tenderness as between Sicilians,” Lawrence favourably describes their “relentless physical familiarity” out of curiosity which is close to friendliness, not out of hostility (*Sardinia* 12).

These descriptions of perfect casual affection and love between the Italian men remind Lawrence’s readers of a scene in *Women in Love*: “Gladiatorial,” a chapter in which Birkin and Gerald wrestle with each other naked. Through wrestling, “they got a kind of mutual physical understanding” and “they would break into a oneness” (*WL* 270). Birkin “seemed to penetrate into Gerald’s more solid, more diffuse bulk, to interfuse his body through the body of the other” (ibid.). The physical depiction continues: “Often, in the white, interlaced knot of violent living being that swayed silently, there was no head to be seen, only the swift, tight limbs, the solid white backs, the physical junction of two bodies clinched into oneness” (ibid.). This graphic wrestling scene conjures images of sexual intercourse as if between men and women, which is corroborated by the conversation between Birkin and Gerald. Panting after the wrestling, Gerald says, “One ought to wrestle and strive and be physically close” (272). Birkin conforms: “We are mentally, spiritually intimate, therefore we should be more or less physically intimate too—it is more whole” and finally Birkin closes the conversation, saying “I don’t know why one should have to justify oneself” (ibid.). Birkin and Gerald, and even Lawrence needed the justification for the wrestling between the two naked men so that the readers did not get the wrong idea—that this was a depiction of homosexuality, a serious criminal offence and a symbol of degeneration since the nineteenth century. Witnessing the sensuous bonding between men in Italy,

Lawrence puts forward a clear proposition of physical connection and understanding between men.

Lawrence must have wanted to make use of his experience in Italy for the wrestling scene in *Women in Love*, and did not mean to be demonstrating his sexual interest in homosexuality. What he learnt from the caresses of Italian males was, in a word, 'phallic worship'—although I would like to avoid using a term which would immediately become a target of an attack from feminists. According to Hilary Simpson, the feminist case against Lawrence was first put at some length by John Middleton Murry's *Son of Woman* in 1931, which informed much subsequent feminist criticism, including the two classic accounts in Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* in 1949 and Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* in 1970 (13). "D. H. Lawrence or Phallic Pride" in Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* attacks the idea that "Lawrence believes passionately in the supremacy of the male" and his idea that "Thought and action have their roots in the phallus; lacking the phallus, woman has no right in either the one or the other" (218-19). Later, Millett makes the criticism that Lawrence is really the evangelist of "phallic consciousness" although "his mission is the noble and necessary task of freeing sexual behavior of perverse inhibition" (238). Millett slams *Lady Chatterley's Lover* as "the transformation of masculine ascendancy into a mystical religion, international, possibly institutionalized" rather than a matter of "resurrection of the body," "natural love," or other slogans under which it has been advertised" (ibid.).

Lawrence's description of androcentric sexual intercourse and phallic diction would have been irritating to feminists, nevertheless, as he employs "phallic worship" in *Twilight in Italy*. I would like to explore what he celebrates in what he calls "phallic worship," which presents a different way of reading from the feministic one. Far from superiority, Lawrence confesses man's inferiority, which he keenly senses when identifying man with Italians. Lawrence dimly gropes his way to the knowledge of the Italian through his padrone, Paoli. Paoli is already old but a well-bred gentleman with grey hair, and his wife is around forty years old, much younger than him. Lawrence is favourably impressed by Paoli's personality, but one thing he lacks: a child. Lawrence

gauges Paoli's wife's feeling: The Signora Gemma is "flame-like and fierily sad. I think she did not know she was sad. But her heart was eaten by some importance in her life" (*TW* 122). Intuitively, Lawrence understands why he sees the hurt in her at the sight of Paoli, who is watching his wife cradling her nephew.

As Lawrence knew they did not have a child, he was surprised to see the Signora looking after a baby and turned to Paoli enquiringly. Paoli explains that the baby is her nephew very "briefly, curtly, in a small voice. It was as if he were ashamed, or too deeply chagrined" (*TW* 123). While the Signora is engrossed in playing with a baby, recognized as an "unimportant," the old padrone is fully ignored "as if nullified by her ecstasy over the baby" even though he feels "bitter, acrid with chagrin and obliteration, struggling as if to assert his own experience" (124). Lawrence is startled when he realizes:

> . . . . It was as though his reality were not attested till he had a child. It was as if his *raison d'être* had been to have a son. And he had no children. Therefore he had no *raison d'être*. He was nothing, a shadow that vanishes into nothing. And he was ashamed, consumed by his own nothingness.
>
> . . . . This, then, is the secret of Italy's attraction for us, this phallic worship. To the Italian the phallus is the symbol of individual creative immortality, to each man his own Godhead. The child is but the evidence of the Godhead. (*TW* 124; emphasis in orig.)

It might be shocking for childless Lawrence to attribute a man's raison d'être to a child although he admits to phallic worship in Italians and believes it makes them attractive, supple and beautiful. They are indeed beautiful not because they are strong; they are brittle, as if living at the edge of life. Their raison d'être is unstable and they easily lose it. This is what Lawrence has found in Italian men, far from flaunting their strength in what is described as phallic worship.

Lawrence recognizes beauty and pride in Italian men who engage in the creation of life; his view is not supported by an idea of a male chauvinist. *Twilight in Italy* narrates Lawrence's compassion for men and is a confession of the vulnerability of

Italian men. He discovers something primitive and pitiful in them. The Italian view of a child as an outcome of the divine and the union of the flesh allows Lawrence to ponder that "The phallus is still divine. But the spirit, the mind of man, this has become nothing" (*TW* 135). Italian phallus worship is not what replenishes men's spirit but deflates it. After having a child, women are triumphant and too strong for men, so it becomes clear that "The male spirit, which would subdue the immediate flesh to some conscious or social purpose, is overthrown" (136). That is why many Italian men go away to America, not only because of the money:

> It is the profound desire to rehabilitate themselves, to recover some dignity as men, as producers, as workers, as creators from the spirit, not only from the flesh. It is a profound desire to get away from women altogether, the terrible subjugation to sex, the phallic worship" (*TW* 136).

Struggling with the heavy burden of phallic worship, Italian men are seized with a desire to escape from women, just as Paul in *Sons and Lovers* desired to be released from his mother. Therefore, Lawrence, seeing the bersaglieri hanging out, grasps "something very primitive" which reminds him of Agamemnon's soldiers in the Greek myth (151). He feels compassion for them because even though men are engaged in the very primitive activity of creation, their dignity and mentality as men are excluded from women and society. In the closeness between men in Italy, Lawrence cannot help becoming conscious of beauty and pain both of which are based on phallic worship.

The attachment that Lawrence shows to men does not mean deviation from a healthy state of mind although Nordau regarded it as inferiority and a symbol of degeneration. It can be interpreted as the author's mixed feelings of compassion and an expression of his respect for men whose meaning of life lies in begetting a child. The point is that Nordau's and Lawrence's observation objects are different. This can be summarized by saying that the former's object of analysis is homosexuality and the latter's is homo-society. The 'homosocial,' according to Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, who coined the term in her *Between Men*, refers to "social bonds between persons of the

same sex," meant to be distinguished from "homosexual" (1). She applies 'homosexual' when referring to intense homophobia, fear and hatred of homosexuality, and 'homosocial' to indicate every bonding between people of the same sex without sexual activity, though her study aims to present when and how the continuum between homosexual and homosocial was broken by homophobia. Sedgwick, as a feminist-gay theorist, highlighting misogyny and homophobia in male homosocials, critically points out that "the diacritical opposition between the 'homosocial' and the 'homosexual' seems to be much less thorough and dichotomous for women, in our society, than for men," which resulted from the "historical manifestation of this patriarchal oppression of homosexuals" (2-3).[26]

In the context of Sedgwick's definition of the terms, rather than homosexuality, homo-society is more pertinent for a sense of nostalgia which Lawrence feels towards Italian men. Sedgwick attacks Lawrence, disputing "his [Lawrence's] own visceral, . . . economically blind account of a world in which every issue for every inhabitant revolved around bourgeois sexual prohibition and the worship or subversion of the phallus" (215). However, whatever it may be called, homosocial or homosexual, what caught his eye and mind in Italy would be spoiled if it were weighed and formularized by the scientific discourse of eugenics or feminist theory too much. The dismal era of degeneration at the turn of the century does not necessarily indicate that Lawrence's attachment to men is directly linked to human deterioration. The 'primitiveness' that Lawrence found in Italian men's bonding, is commonly understood as a word referring to the first or early stage of biological formation or growth, and an unsophisticated stage in terms of comfort, convenience or efficiency. It means the very original form, full of potential for development in a good way, but is nothing in itself. It needs some stimulus from outside to evolve to a higher stage as if protoplasm could evolve to a higher type of animal in biological evolution. Women and children, as explained in *Twilight in Italy*, are complements to men's perfection, giving them their raison d'être. The feminist does not have to be provoked at his idea of phallic worship.

Lawrence offers an interesting counterpoint to social and scientific perspectives.

His narrative refuses to be read in the context of eugenic discourse, suggesting discomfort with the science that left no room for a non-reproductive stance including homosocials or homosexuality. Although playing with the scientific discourse of eugenic since his early career both in his private and public writings from letters to essays, he refuses the laws of eugenics whose aim is to establish the perfect nation by eliminating non-reproductive existence. In an era going in the eugenics direction encouraged by evolution theory, Lawrence gives a positive understanding of primitiveness to the things that are stigmatized in science as non-productive or sterile. His interest in and celebration of men's bonding rescue the primitive and the origin of life from being evaluated by scientific values. Redefining and re-evaluating the importance and beauty in the primitiveness could be a challenge running counter to national trends. His trip and experiences in Italy led to an alteration in the way he defined the degeneration meant by eugenics.

Chapter 5

Across Racial Lines

In considering Lawrence's reaction to eugenics, I have quoted several remarks from his letters and essays in the previous chapter. These remarks suggest a strong misanthropy: nonetheless, I have demonstrated how Lawrence accepted homosexuality and homosociality, both of which were condemned by eugenicists and regarded signs of degeneration at the turn of the century. By analysing his remarks in the letters, essays and novels, Chapter 5 will examine Lawrence's works from a racial perspective.

Although Lawrence was disgusted by England when he left the country in 1912, he was still clearly feeling a sense of superiority at being English. Besides his remarks on his distrust and dislike of the entire human race, his assumption of superiority to other races also lies hidden in his work. Lawrence wrote to Lady Cynthia Asquith from Ceylon in 1922, that he did not like Ceylon at all, for "the sensuous spiritual voluptuousness, the curious sensitiveness of the naked people, their black, bottomless, hopeless eyes" (*Letters*, iv. 233). After expressing his disbelief in Buddha, he ends, "Those natives are *back* of us—in the living sense *lower* than we are" (*ibid*. 234; emphasis in orig.). Although he admits to the collapse of England and its Empire, this condescending letter reveals the perceived racial superiority of the white European to the Indian. Subsequently, Lawrence set out for Australia with Frieda, where *Kangaroo* was written; this novel, published in 1923, also shows his belief in the inferiority of the Australian. In the novel, the Somers, a couple from England, consider Australian table manners as "the vaguest" (*K* 35) and Somers does not welcome the friendliness of the Australians. Somers hates "the lack of reserve in manner" (36) and prefers "India for that: the gulf between the native servants and the whites kept up a sort of tone" (ibid.). What slips in and out of Somers' remarks on non-European cultures is apparent pride at being an Englishman.

The discourse of eugenics aimed for the improvement of the human race, based on a racial hierarchy with the Caucasian at the top, unsurprising since eugenics

originated in England: this discourse would later be a motivational force for the proliferation of fascist ideologies across Europe. When understanding the prevalence of eugenics in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although it was enormously prevalent in both England and America, it should be noted that the acceptance and purpose of eugenics manifested differently in these two countries. Both nations held a common fear of degeneration, and they both tried to adopt effective measures against the degeneration of their countries based on the principles of a racial hierarchy with the white man at the top. Peter J. Bowler observes that the sudden rise in popularity of eugenics during the early twentieth century was aided by both social and scientific factors (293), while "The mechanism of the survival of the fittest could be used to justify a more ruthless approach toward conquered peoples, in which extinction was both a symbol and a consequence of inferiority" (Bowler 300). In expanding around the globe, European cultures had been in contact with societies whose levels of technology were far below their own, which led them to assume that they were biologically superior to the races they were subjugating with their military technology.

However, the main cause of the surge in English interest in eugenics seemed to be based more on social factors than on scientific ones, which is supported by Kevles' argument that racism figured much less markedly in English eugenics because English society was ethnically, more or less, homogeneous (76). Although Francis Galton, the founder of eugenics, was as racist as most of Victorian England, racial considerations entered very little into his eugenic theorising. England's eugenics movement focused mostly on the following issues: firstly, inundated with immigrants from Ireland and the Continent, they fretted about the threat to national fibre arising from the differential birth rate (a low birth-rate in middle-class groups, and a continuing high rate among the lower socio-economic classes) and the consequent weakening of their competitive imperial abilities in relation to France and Germany. The second factor was the increasing discomfort of the middle and professional classes at what was portrayed as a massive increase in the number of mentally subnormal individuals. They did not want to see their financial gains dissipated by taxation to support an ever-increasing population

of the incapable and insane (Bowler 293-94). Consequently, English eugenics was marked by a prejudice decidedly more of class than of race (Kevles 76).

On the other hand, America showed more sensitivity to scientific arguments for eugenics, as Bowler writes that in America, where Galton's form of biometry had not yet established itself, Mendelism was taken up with great enthusiasm by the newly emerging eugenics movement (294). This shows that their underlying concern was with a hereditarian view of human character rather than a fascination with progress through selection. Eugenics in the late nineteenth century was directed by the mainstream Karl Pearson in England, who was a follower of Francis Galton; Charles Davenport, a prominent supporter of Mendelism, attracted the enthusiastic support of eugenicists in America.

Davenport, a member of the new, anti-speculative generation of biologists, read Karl Pearson's papers on the mathematical theory of evolution and began lecturing and publishing on variation and inheritance. To analyse human breeding he had to source his inheritance data by collecting extended family pedigrees, which convinced him that patterns of heritability were evident in insanity, epilepsy, alcoholism, pauperism, criminality and feeble-mindedness. Furthermore, he argued that heredity determined the characteristics of the black and other immigrants flooding into America, reflecting the standard racism of the day, which was especially directed at black Americans. Anxious that the nation was threatened by immigrants, Davenport concluded that the defective gene from abroad would not be obliterated by mixture with the healthy variety; it would persist. Davenport insisted that if the family history of all prospective immigrants could be investigated, people with hereditary "imbecile, epileptic, insane criminalistics, alcoholic, and sexually immoral tendencies" could be detected and kept out (qtd. in Kevles 47). This staunch conviction promoted the campaign of sterilisation which began in Indiana in 1907, and continued throughout the United States until 1923—what came to be called 'negative eugenics' for preventing the proliferation of the undesirable.[27]

Working from the fundamental concept of the racial hierarchy privileging whiteness, England and America used the very timely idea of eugenics for their political

aim of enhancing national strength. The English, externally oriented, wielded the authority of eugenics to justify their colonial activities all over the world, revelling in their superiority over other 'savage' races, which they did not attribute to civilisation but purely to biological race. In spite of England's hegemony on the seas, however, the protracted Boer War revealed signs of physical degeneration in the Empire: their overall moral character, intelligence, energy, ambition, and capacity to compete in the world were declining. This explains why the English eugenics movement, in contrast to the American focus on racial selection through scientific data, focused more on class than race. The American eugenics movement was carried forwards under the direction of Davenport with the fundamental equation of national with racial identity, and the assumption that race determined behaviour. It is worth noting that America applied eugenic policy to stop the influx of immigrants from all over the world, while England used eugenics to expand its power over the rest of the world, rationalising its activities with assumptions of racial superiority.

Therefore, alongside much debate on how the literature at the turn of the century reflects the racial bias and discrimination inculcated by eugenics, the vast majority of existing studies of eugenics and American literature examine the racial issues surrounding white supremacy. For instance, Mason Stokes in *The Color of Sex* (2001) examines the relationship between sexuality and whiteness, demonstrating that white supremacy and heteronormative sexuality sometimes work towards the same ends, and sometimes do not. Stokes places a wide range of mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century white supremacist American texts, by authors such as Metta V. Victor, Charles Chesnutt and Thomas Dixon Jr., in dialogue with the anti-racist efforts of African American writers, revealing what happens when whiteness becomes the target of racial and sexual desire.

Betsy Lee Nies, in *Eugenic Fantasies* (2002), draws on the 1920s literary works of Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Hilda Doolittle (H.D.) to demonstrate that "though each author was actually quite damning of eugenics, he or she turned to images of whiteness or some transformation of eugenic logic to restore what had been

lost—the boundaries and marker of a concrete white identity in the encounter with new immigrant intruders" (2-3). By applying a psychoanalytic and anthropological approach, Nies's study follows the figure of this mythic man from his birth in eugenic texts, popular periodicals, and pulp fiction of the 1920s in order to create a new model for theorising race.

When it comes to the study of English novels, class rather than race is often the focus of research into eugenics and human degeneration, in accordance with the class-oriented English national policy which had been firmed up by eugenic ideology since the turn of the nineteenth century. Taking up the question of eugenics in Lawrence's *The Lost Girl*, Theresa Mae Thompson examines how Lawrence deals with the matter of class as advocated by eugenics supporters in England. Thompson points out that in *The Lost Girl* Lawrence speaks to the primary concern of eugenicists since before World War I—the fear of degeneration brought about by the fertility of the lower classes and the sterility of the upper classes. The mixed marriage between a 'nice' middle-class English girl, Alvina Houghton, and the 'wrong' man Ciccio, a dark vagabond Italian dancer, parodies every concern of eugenics—heredity, ideal marriage, education and class. According to Thompson, *The Lost Girl* gestures towards a population problem of near-Malthusian proportions, "in emphasising that 'fit' women of the middle classes become barren fruit left unplucked on the vine, so to speak, while those of the 'social problem group' increase the members of the lowest class" (126). Thompson does not overlook the darkness at the end of the story. The future of this mixed marriage becomes unstable with Ciccio's indefinite answer to Alvina's request to return to her after his wartime military service, and to go to America; an instability which suggests the widespread feelings of loss and emptiness after the war. The last part of Thompson's study examines Lawrence's persistent sense of insecurity that cannot be removed by invoking eugenic ideology, but I think her argument remains too concerned with the class focus of English eugenics, with not enough attention to Lawrence's struggle with questions of race.

This thesis adopts the standpoint that Lawrence, regardless of his status as an

English novelist during the height of the twentieth-century eugenics movement, attempts to reconsider and reconstruct the racial hierarchy privileging whiteness, which arose from the favorable misunderstanding of Darwinian evolution by the West. It is unquestionable that Lawrence tried to challenge class distinctions in England as Thompson argues, but in addition to class he also challenged racial distinctions. Lawrence attempts to honestly confront the hierarchy of ethnic nationality. Not only in *The Lost Girl*, but also by analysing his travel writing, essays and the late novels of the 1920s, I will explore Lawrence's opposition to white supremacy, and furthermore his opposition to English supremacy.

To assess Lawrence's evaluation of the 'lower races' as defined by twentieth-century eugenics, I will discuss his essay, "Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine," written and revised between 1923 and 1924 in Mexico. This essay more clearly expresses his view of race than *The Lost Girl*, for which he drew on the 1913 novel *The Insurrection of Miss Houghton.*[28] In the essay, Lawrence is surrounded by the wild animals and plants of Mexico, and ponders life on earth: "Life moves in circles of power and of vividness, and each circle of life only maintains its orbit upon the subjection of some lower circle. If the lower cycles of life are not *mastered*, there can be no higher cycle" (*REF* 356; emphasis in orig.). He reaches the idea that, "It is nonsense to declare that there *is* no higher and lower" (ibid.; emphasis in orig.) arguing that hierarchies of life definitely exist on earth, for instance, that the dandelion belongs to a higher cycle of existence than the hartstongue fern; that the ant is a higher form of existence than the dandelion; that the thrush is higher than the ant; the cat is higher than thrush, and himself, a man, is higher than the cat (356). Lawrence then pauses to ask what we mean by 'higher'. He answers, "Strictly, we mean more alive. More vividly alive. The ant is more vividly alive than the pine-tree. We know it, there is no trying to refute it" (356-57).

After this answer, he continues to describe the vividness of life as follows, in a passage which could again be interpreted as white supremacist:

> Life is more vivid in the dandelion than in the green fern, or than in a

palm tree.

Life is more vivid in a snake than in a butterfly.

Life is more vivid in a wren than in an alligator.

Life is more vivid in a cat than in an ostrich.

Life is more vivid in the Mexican who drives the wagon, than in the two horses in the wagon.

Life is more vivid in me, than in the Mexican who drives the wagon for me. (357)

This passage seems to carry a racist message, but should not be read mistakenly to that end. Lawrence's repeated excuse, offered before and after this passage, should not be disregarded:

> But let us insist and insist again, we are talking now of existence, of species, of types, of races, of nations, not of single individuals, nor of *beings*. The dandelion in full flower, a little sun bristling with sun-ray on the green earth, is a nonpareil, a non-such. Foolish, foolish, foolish to compare it to anything else on earth. It is itself incomparable and unique. (358; emphasis in orig.)

Given his careful explanation, the word "vivid" in the passage above can be substituted with words such as 'vigorous,' 'complicated,' 'developed,' 'matured' or 'sophisticated'—the life of a dandelion is more developed than that of a green fern or a palm tree in form. The life of a snake is more vigorous than that of a butterfly in survival ability. The Mexican is more developed than the horses in species. 'I', the Englishman, am more sophisticated than the Mexican in nationality. Lawrence then goes on to question the significance of this: does the life, the individual exist merely for survival? Is the existence of a higher form of life only to ensure a stable food supply (357)?

In response to these remarks in "Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine," Carey notes that Lawrence, using a dandelion as an emblem of individuality, recognises the individual as incomparable and unique, and Lawrence's essay "Democracy" applies this

understanding to human beings (77). Further, Carey points out that Lawrence in "Porcupine" is engaging in precisely the act of comparison which his "Democracy" forbids, therefore concluding that Lawrence cannot resolve his rising anger at the contradiction in his comparison between individuality and society (78). This present chapter will leave aside for the moment the argument regarding the importance of individuality, and the measurement of how far Lawrence tackles this issue in his social and political understanding. In addition to my argument that Lawrence's remarks in "Reflections" should not be regarded as racist, I will explore Lawrence's shifting understanding of the concept of race itself, and his modification of the eugenic definition of racial degeneration.

Following the previous chapter's examination of homosexuality in Lawrence's work, his presence in Italy may have caused him to rethink his conception of race: Italy is also the setting for *The Lost Girl*, which has been much discussed in terms of eugenics. Though *The Lost Girl* appeared in 1923, the beginning of Lawrence's reevaluation of race seems to have been earlier than that. Firstly, in *Twilight in Italy*, essays from 1913, concerning the English evaluation of the Italians, he asserts:

> And this is why the Italian is attractive, supple, and beautiful, because he worships the Godhead in the flesh. We envy him, we feel pale and insignificant beside him. Yet at the same time we feel superior to him, as if he were a child and we adult.
>
> Wherein are we superior? Only because we went beyond the phallus in the search of the Godhead, the creative origin. And we found the physical forces and the secrets of science. (124)

Lawrence questions the superiority of the English, or the 'northern races,' over the Italians. The Englishman derides the Italian as vulgar and negligible, although the Italians enjoy their own flesh while the northern races find joy in destroying the flesh—according to Lawrence's description, "our habit of life, our very constitution, prevents our being quite like the Italian" (*TW* 125).

As Lawrence travels through Italy, he realises that people's temperaments vary in

the different regions. After returning to England from Italy due to the war in 1914, Lawrence and his wife Frieda left England again in 1919. They went to Florence, where they met Norman Douglas and Maurice Magnus, but it proved impossibly cold for the unwell Lawrence, so they went further south to Capri. In February 1920, they travelled south to Sicily where they lived for almost two years, during which period he wrote *Sea and Sardinia*, when he and Frieda visited Sardinia in January 1921. *Sea and Sardinia*, Lawrence's second travel book, was first published in America in 1921—he finished writing it in six weeks—and it is an acute and often humorous diary of the trip. *Sea and Sardinia* would crystallise his reevaluation of the 'vulgar' and 'coarse' non-English races.

When reaching Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, Lawrence writes that the island reminds him of Malta, "lost between Europe and Africa and belonging to nowhere… never having belonged to anywhere… Left outside of time and history" (*Sardinia* 57). He finds Sardinia different from Sicily and the mainland of Italy, with "none of the suave Greek-Italian charms, none of the airs and graces, none of the glamour" (55). Drawn by "the spirit of the place" which cannot be overridden by "our mechanical age," he then narrows his observation to the men and women of the island (57).

Lawrence feels a yearning towards the Sardinians, with their "curious, indefinable remote elegance" (58). "Elegance" is a word often used to describe the Sardinians by Lawrence, who praises them highly. When he sees for the first time the peasant in costume, the full-sleeved white shirt and the close black bodice of thick, native frieze, cut low, he is amazed at this peasant's unapproachable and indomitable beauty: "How beautiful maleness is, if it finds its right expression.—And how perfectly ridiculous it is made in modern clothes" (62). He becomes dubious about the modernist beauty standardised in the West and begins to find it ridiculous. Such beauty is already extinct on the continent: "One realizes, with horror, that the race of men is almost extinct in Europe. Only Christ-like heroes and woman-worshipping Don Juans, and rabid equality mongrels. The old, hardy, indomitable male is gone. His fierce singleness is quenched" (63). Although lamenting that the last sparks of this are dying out even in Sardinia,

Lawrence appreciates the island and considers it much better than Europe.

Lawrence also notes that relationships between men and women are different in Sardinia and Italy. Lawrence praises the “old, salty way of love” in Sardinia. Unlike the soft and tender Italian men, “Man is going to be male Lord if he can. And woman isn’t going to give him too much of his own way, either” (*Sardinia* 67). He finds a splendid split between the sexes, living independent lives, and he eulogizes “each his own, her own native pride and courage” in taking the dangerous leap to meet each other and then scrambling back (ibid.).

Lawrence continues his admiration for Sardinia with his consideration of the island mentality. Fascinated by the people’s faces in Cagliari, he describes the intelligence in their eyes as a “soft, blank darkness, all velvet, with no imp looking out of them” as if always remote, “the intelligence lay deep within the cave, and never came forward” (*Sardinia* 67). Their eyes “strike a stranger, older note: before the soul became self-conscious: before the mentality of Greece appeared in the world” (ibid.). What should be noted here is Lawrence’s mention of “intelligence” a change from his observation of the Italians in *Twilight in Italy*.

Essential to Lawrence’s view is the difference between Sardinia and mainland Italy, both geographically and mentally, which is also evident in his description in *Twilight* (1915-1916) of exiled Italians in Switzerland: “there were the other two men, shy, inflammable, unintelligent, with their sudden Italian rushes of hot feeling. All their faces are distinct in the lamplight, all their bodies are palpable and dramatic” (*TW* 198). He favourably concedes the Italians’ passion and sensuality in *Twilight*, but is still reluctant to recognise their intelligence. The intelligence that he found in Sardinia does not imply education to a high level of knowledge, but seems to mean good judgment and knowledge of how to live, similar to conceptions of wisdom developed before the ancient Greeks. The intelligence that dwells naturally in Sardinia cannot and should not be compared to the intelligence with which the eugenicists were concerned, but Lawrence makes steady progress in fairly observing and appreciating non-English races in his application of the word ‘intelligence’ to describe the people. The Sardinians are

elegant and dignified; they are not in the least inferior to the white people on the continent, or more specifically, the English—adored by both the English and American eugenics movements.

Lawrence's trip to Sardinia in 1921 triggered an awareness of the superiority of non-English races, contrary to the eugenic policy persuading the public of their inferiority. The purpose of the trip to Sardinia was to seek for the "good many fish" that were "slipping through the net of the old European civilisation" on this island lying "outside the circuit of civilization," whom none of the Romans, Phoenicians, Greeks nor Arabs ever subdued (*Sardinia* 9). With the new view of race he gained in Sardinia, Lawrence continued to seek something good "slipping through the net" of old Europe. At the end of 1921, Lawrence was determined to move on to America, but in the event his contact with a new hostess, the art patron Mabel Dodge, made him decide to go first to Ceylon in February 1922, intending to then approach America from the west coast. After Ceylon, where he wrote unusually little except letters because of the heat, the Lawrences diverted to Australia, then finally reached America. Both Lawrence and Frieda, reacting strongly to Mabel in New Mexico, spent the winter of 1922-23 there. In the spring of 1923 they travelled south to Mexico and lived beside Lake Chapla, where Lawrence began *Quetzalcoatl*, later known as *The Plumed Serpent*.

While he was travelling around the world, he encountered a race that he had never seen, the Apache. The Apache are an American Indian people living chiefly in New Mexico and Arizona, and Lawrence met them when he attended the Apache harvest festival in New Mexico and the San Geronimo festival at Taos Pueblo, all arranged by Mabel. Before Lawrence's arrival in San Francisco, she had enticed him to come and write about the pristine quality of Taos and the Indians there. Mabel had been attracted to his *Sea and Sardinia* and wanted him to write a similar travel book about the Southwest and the Pueblo life in America.

Furthermore, there was a political purpose to Mabel urging Lawrence to write: she wanted him to support the opposition of the Bursum Bill. This was a bill that allowed non-Indians to retain any land on which they had squatted before 1902, and

gave the state court the right to settle any future land disputes. The Bill had passed in the US Senate in September 1922 and was expected to come into effect by the end of the year, but the bill was controversial: the Indians had not even been notified that Congress was working on it. Having heard about the bill, the Taos artists and writers protested. Introduced to the subject by Mabel, Lawrence showed a clear awareness of the vulnerability of the traditional American Indians, who faced significant challenges in the twentieth century. He sent "Certain Americans and an Englishman," an essay of December 1922, dealing with the Bill, to *New York Times Magazine*, hoping this publication would influence an impending Congressional discussion of the Bursum Bill.

"Certain Americans and an Englishman" begins by revealing that Lawrence had not known about the bill before he came to New Mexico, but the clamour all around him of "Bursum Bursum Bursum!! the Bill! the Bill! the Bill!" made him "solemnly sit down in a chair and read the Bill" (*Mexico* 105). He learned about the bill, the history of New Mexico, and the people there—the Indian, "not an American citizen," but "an American subject," in the position of "a defenseless nation protected by a benevolent Congress" (106). Referring to the loss of the Taos Indians' "prior right" to the region's surface water and deep groundwater, based on the agreement with the three nations of Spain, Mexico and the United States, Lawrence criticises the autocratic manners of America: "To me the Bursum bill is amusing in its bare-facedness—a cool joke. It startles any English mind a little to realise that it may become law" (108-09). The bill, nothing but "an absolute checkmate to Pueblo" (108) drove him to take an active role in US politics with "Certain Americans and an Englishman," arguing that "The Bursum bill plays the Wild West scalping trick a little too brazenly" (110).

"Certain Americans and an Englishman" is interesting partly because Lawrence talks about the blood of a race: "It is obvious this [the bill] means the scattering of the Pueblos. The squatters and Mexicans interested … openly declare that the Pueblos will be finished in ten years" (*Mexico* 109). As well as taking the land and the water from them, the purpose of the white Americans seems to be to thin the blood of the Indians by squatting on the land. Lawrence points out, "The great desire to turn them into white

men will be fulfilled as far as it can be fulfilled. They will all be wage earners … For the rest, lost, mutilated intelligence" (109). By accident or design, his attack on the removal of Native Americans is rooted in the racial policy of eugenics prevalent in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Although the history of the eugenics movement in the United States has been well examined, its impact on American Indians has yet to be fully addressed; Angela Gonzales's study, however, has launched discussion of "how eugenics-informed public policy during the first quarter of the twentieth century served to 'remove' from official records Native peoples throughout the Southeast" (53). Although her study focuses on the Southeast of the States, primarily Virginia and North Carolina, it is helpful to understand how the Native American was threatened in the name of eugenics. As Gonzales summarises, "many of the Southeast's Indians were increasingly constrained by a society that refused to recognise them as anything other than black. As such, Native peoples became the targets of eugenicist policies as exemplified by Virginia's Racial Integrity Act of 1924" (54). It is necessary for American eugenicists to identify Native Americans as black in order to eradicate their blood and the trace of degeneration it contained.

The negative eugenics enacted by the US created strict definitions of race. For example, in 1866 the state of Virginia declared that "every person having one-fourth or more Negro blood shall be deemed a colored person, and every person not a colored person having one-fourth or more Indian blood shall be deemed an Indian" (qtd. in Gonzales 56). Then, in the first quarter of the twentieth century, the categories became more strict: "Whites were defined as those people having no trace whatever of any blood other than Caucasian" however, in consideration of several prominent elite Virginians who traced their ancestry to Pocahontas, they conceded that "whites having one-sixteenth or less American Indian blood could still be legally classified as white" (qtd. in Gonzales 60). There was no real distinction between the black and the Indian, as the Bureau classified anyone claiming to be Indian as black, based on the quantum of the genetically 'tainted' blood of the black or the Indian.

Behind these policies, anthropological investigation appeared to prove that the Indian was a degenerate and inferior race. Even Frans Boas, a father of modern anthropology, wrote in 1894 that “It may be that [the Indian’s] dark hair and the wide face are more primitive characteristics of man than the narrow face and light eyes of the whites” (qtd. in Gonzales 62). Along with the blacks, the position of the Indian was declassed anthropologically, following Galton’s eugenics and Mendel’s theories of heredity.

To sum up Gonzales’s analysis, there seem to be two key purposes behind such systematic categorisation of race based on eugenic policies: first of all, “to maintain not only white power and authority, but also as justification for black slavery and the dispossession of land from Native peoples” (56); secondly, to “detribalize” Virginia’s people. The former is explicit; regarding the latter, Gonzales claims that Virginia’s registrar of the Bureau vigorously worked to detribalize the Indians—there were several tribes in the 1920s, including the Monacan, Chickahominy, Rappahannock, Mattaponi, Nansemond and Pamunkey: they classified all of them as “Negro” (63). They needed to resist the Indians’ efforts to be listed as Indian in order to prevent their intermarriage with the white race or to attend white schools. Their campaigns to identify all the tribes in the Southeast as ‘Negro’ were promoted under the political manoeuvre of dispossessing the land from the Native Americans, and the administrative reason of protecting the whites’ social rights.

When Lawrence’s “Certain Americans and an Englishman” is read in the light of eugenic policy towards Native Americans in 1920, it seems that he carefully and intentionally chose his words to protect the Indians from the surge of eugenics. For instance, as mentioned earlier he admits that the Pueblo will be finished sooner or later, though he deplores their slow disbanding brought about by Americanisation. However, he repeatedly insists, “at least let them die a natural death,” without American political intervention (*Mexico* 109). Given the background of American eugenic policy towards the Native Americans, he is appealing for protection of the rights of the Pueblo, but much more than that, his voice is raised fiercely against the eugenic policy of the US,

even if he does not refer directly to eugenics.

In response to a request from Mabel Dodge, Lawrence draws his pen against the autocratic American government. The conclusion to "Certain Americans and an Englishman" appeals to the reader's sentiment, particularly in the context of the brutal policy of the American eugenics movement. Lawrence respects the Pueblo and their way of life:

> The Indians keep burning an eternal fire, the sacred fire of the old dark religion. To the vast white America, either in our generation or in the time of our children or grandchildren, will come some fearful convulsion. . . When the pueblo are gone. But oh, let us have the grace and dignity to shelter these ancient centres of life, so that, if die they must, they die a natural death. And at the same time, let us try to adjust ourselves again to the Indian outlook, to take up an old dark thread from their vision, and see again as they see, without forgetting we are ourselves. (*Mexico* 110)

As well as accusing the Americans' forcible elimination of the Indians, Lawrence appreciates the value of their way of life although he understands that they may die out naturally in the future. He continues by arguing that if their life can be compared to an "eternal" and "sacred" fire, ours is an "electric light won't show us over the gulf" (110). He sees that they have an unfathomable knowledge which attracts him without reason, as if it came from an old and dark realm. The Pueblo have "the dark thread of the old vision" that the Americans have never known, and Lawrence insists that the Americans do not have the right to destroy this (ibid.). He concludes the essay by seeking "one moment of reconciliation between the white and the dark" (ibid.). Lawrence was urged to defend the Pueblo not only by Mabel's instigation, nor because he saw the outright discrimination against the Pueblo which must have also existed in New Mexico and in the Southeast; rather, he had a spiritual experience when he saw the dance of the Apache in New Mexico.

The essays "Indians and an Englishman" and "Taos" reveal Lawrence's first impression of the Apache when he was taken to the festival at Taos by Mabel, both

essays having been published in 1923 in *The Dial*, an American magazine of literature, philosophy, and politics. Lawrence confesses in "Indians and an Englishman" that it was the first time he had seen 'Red Men,' and that they had startled him by being significantly different from his expectations. Some spoke American English and others only Spanish; they had "strange lines" on "Strange dark faces" (*Mexico* 115). When he encounters religious rituals at the kivas, he finds the people frantically excited with "wide, shouting mouths and rows of small, close-set teeth, and strange lines on the faces, part ecstasy, part mockery, part humorous, part devilish, and the strange, calling, summoning sound in a wild song-shout, to the thud-thud of the drum" (ibid.). Everything he sees is strange but not repulsive. He is profoundly impressed and describes an unusual and all-encompassing feeling which he finds difficult to express. Looking at their frantic faces, listening to their shout and the sound of the drum, he feels:

> Listening, an acute sadness, and a nostalgia, unbearable yearning for something, and a sickness of the soul came over me. The gobble-gobble chuckle in the whoop surprised me in my very tissue. Then I got used to it, and could hear in it the humanness, the playfulness, and then, beyond that, the mockery and the diabolical, pre-human, pine-tree fun of cutting dusky throats and letting the blood spurt out unconfined . . . (*Mexico*116)

Lawrence's feelings towards the Apache are ambivalent, comprising humanness, playfulness, sometimes mockery and the diabolical. These impressions are so evasive that the Englishman cannot compare them to anything he has previously experienced. As the Apache observe Lawrence, they are not afraid and do not look on him with a wistful eye. They want nothing from the civilised world; rather, it is Lawrence and not the Apache who feels an "unbearable yearning for something" in them (116). They are satisfied. Their mockery, however, is not filled with hostility, instead they fire up "an acute sadness, and a nostalgia, unbearable yearning for something" ancient and "pre-human" in Lawrence (ibid.).

When he witnesses their primitive appearance, reminiscent to him of the

prototype of human life, Lawrence feels that “other folk may feel much more natural and reasonable things” by touching “the sadness and the nostalgia of the song-calling” of the Apache (*Mexico* 116). He acknowledges that his analysis and speculation may be wrong since he is no ethnologist, but he decisively senses that something crucial lacks in his own race: “Again something in my soul broke down, letting in a bitterer dark, a pungent awakening to the lost past, old darkness, new terror, new root-griefs, old root-richnesses” (ibid.). The acute difference seen in the primitive tribes gives him a huge shock, but at the same time, he finds that he has lost something profound and crucial in the dim past. He grieves and is terrified that modern people have gained something new by losing something old. He believes that richness always lies in the old root and old darkness.

Beginning with his encounter with the Sardinians, when Lawrence visited New Mexico in 1922 he reached a climax in his reevaluation of racial hierarchy privileging whiteness. His travels to Sardinia and New Mexico could be regarded as encounters with regression: in Sardinia, an island isolated from the mainland of Italy, he found simple but independent men and women, while in New Mexico he touched the primitive life of the Apache. What he saw in these places was termed ‘regression’ according to the terminology of eugenics and the anthropology of the time. The Italian, the Mexican, the Spanish and other Hispanics were assumed to be more vulgar and savage than the English and the white Americans, even more so the Sardinians or the Native Americans including the Apache. However, his frequent trips to Italy and Mexico gave Lawrence an opportunity to reconsider racial values—was he truly superior to them? If so, in what point could he say they were inferior to him? He had found elegance and intelligence in Sardinia outside the net of old European civilisation, and felt an acute sadness for something profound which his own race had already lost, and which was related to the core of human life. Through meeting other races, Lawrence’s racial hierarchy with the white man at its summit had been moderately resolved since beginning his travels in Sardinia in 1921 and ending with his stay in New Mexico until 1925.

This reevaluation of race led Lawrence to write his later novels, in which

non-English elements determine important developments of character in these narratives. In *The Lost Girl,* published in 1920, whose ending is left unstable with the suffering of Alvina, she disregards social failure in striving for self-realisation by marrying Ciccio, a totally different and 'wrong' Italian vagabond. After *The Lost Girl,* Lawrence continues his attempt to integrate the Western, English-oriented mind with non-white and non-English elements, if they are friendly. His next novel, *The Plumed Serpent*, directly declares his anti-white and anti-English sentiments with great resonance. In the novel, which Lawrence started in 1924 in Taos, New Mexico and published in 1926, Kate Leslie, an Irish widow touring Mexico, becomes gradually involved with the cult of revival of Quetzalcoatl, a pre-Christian religion led by Don Cipriano. She enters into sexual relations with his dark henchman, Don Ramon. Lawrence maintains that the regeneration of Europe must come from ancient religious roots, and he encourages a return to indigenous religion by setting the dark Mexicans at the centre of the story and shattering Kate's Western values.

Besides this novel, Lawrence's praise for the indigenous is beautifully expressed again in a travel book, *Sketches of Etruscan Places and Other Italian Essays*, a collection of travel writings about Tuscany written during the spring of 1927, and published posthumously in 1932. This last Italian travel book begins with a brief introduction of how the Romans wiped out the Etruscans, the people who occupied the central region of Italy in early Roman days, and Lawrence confesses that "I was instinctively attracted to them" when he saw Etruscan objects in the museum at Perugia (*Etruscan* 9). He is excited by the phallic stones at the doors of many tombs, and the stone house repeated by some tomb doorways representing Noah's Ark with its animals. When he discovers that Noah's Ark suggested for the Etruscans "The womb of all the world, that brought forth all the creatures. The womb, the ark, where life retreats in the last refuge. The womb, the ark of the covenant, in which lies the mystery of eternal life, the manna and the mystery," he realises why the Romans destroyed the Etruscans and called them "vicious" (20):

> . . . the Roman were not exactly saints. But they thought they ought to be.

> They hated the phallus and the ark, because they wanted empire and dominion and above all, riches: social gain. You cannot dance gaily to the double flute, and at the same time conquer nations or rake in large sums of money . . . . To the greedy man, everybody that is in the way of his greed is vice incarnate. (*Etruscan* 20-21)

Decrying the Etruscans, who worshipped the phallus and womb, as vicious and the vulgar, the Romans killed the Etruscans to conceal their own greed, claiming that they were moral conquerers.

Lawrence, observing the tomb, the small temple, the garden, and the exhibitions in the museum, felt everywhere in these Etruscan places a real desire to preserve their way of life, and became angry about their annihilation by the Romans:

> Because the Roman took the life out of the Etruscan, was he therefore greater than the Etruscan? Not he! Rome fell, and the Roman phenomenon with it. Italy today is far more etruscan in its pulse, than Roman: and will always be so. The etruscan element is like the grass of the field and the sprouting of corn, in Italy: it will always be so. Why try to revert to the Latin-Roman mechanism and suppression? (*Etruscan* 36)

In the last part of the above quotation, Lawrence criticises the upcoming Fascists who were about to commit the same atrocities as the Romans. Lawrence consistently stands up for the minority because he finds that the their knowledge is more valuable than that of the white man or the conquerer. In the Etruscan places, Lawrence again touches the ancient soul, or the regression of the species.

Lawrence's final Italian trip to Tuscany gave him the opportunity to reconsider the afterworld and the idea of regeneration. The Etruscans' surprisingly big and handsome tombs, with little sentences freely written in red and black paint, implies to him that "death, to the Etruscan, was a pleasant continuance of life, . . . It was neither an ecstasy of bliss, a heaven, nor a purgatory of torment. It was just a natural continuance of the fullness of life. Everything was in terms of life, of living" (*Etruscan* 19). When travelling to New Mexico, he feels only sadness over what modern people have lost, but

in Tuscany he is assured of the regeneration of life, and that living a full life can lead to the afterlife. Regrettably, Lawrence's own life would not last longer than three years from then, but he had already recognised during the war that nothing was left in the West, and he felt loss and emptiness for the life that could no longer thrive, especially in England.

In November 1916, when he had just finished *The Rainbow* and was considering going to Italy, Lawrence wrote to E. M. Forster. He was weary of the war, the death of his friend, and mankind who continued the war. However, he welcomed the notion that the war would wipe out the human race: "I think it would be good to die, because death would be a clean land with no people in it: not even the people of myself" (*Letters*, iii. 21). The war brought only death in vain, but more than that, man's foolishness and "the people of myself" disgusted him. If such foolishness, including England and even himself, were to vanish, he would accept the war as a form of mass killing (ibid.). He left the country in disgust at England, the people, and Western thought—they were rotten enough to be wiped out from the world, which forced him on a journey to reevaluate his racial hierarchy.

Nevertheless, it is still hard to argue that Lawrence was able to completely break down racial distinctions, because in his work he does not address the issue of blackness, and even after travelling to Sardinia—which appears to trigger his reconception of race—he remarks that the people in Ceylon are backwards in comparison to the West, and that their existence is of a lower order. Additionally, his appeal for the protection of the Apache can be viewed as a sympathy directed from above in a racial hierarchy; the white, the English is always above them. However, what should be appreciated in Lawrence's travels and his writing is that he consistently attempts to question racial distinctions, and not only those relating to class as suggested by Thompson's study of *The Lost Girl*. Lawrence's challenge goes further than the primary concern of the English eugenics movement—the matter of class. He goes deeper to the fundamental issue of the American eugenics movement, that of race. His travelling life and the rich works that arose from it have substantial value in Lawrence's attempts to break through

the racial hierarchy which ranked whiteness at the top, alongside his challenges to class distinctions. Also, it should be remembered that protest and mockery of the racial discrimination promoted by eugenics has usually been the territory of American novelists. Conventionally, it was the mission of American artists, not English artists, to raise their voice against racial prejudice. In this context, it should be regarded as a great achievement for a twentieth-century English novelist such as Lawrence to challenge racial distinctions by reviewing and redefining the meaning of ‘degeneration’ and ‘inferiority’ as put forward by the eugenics movements.

Chapter 6

Disease: From *Jude the Obscure* to *Sons and Lovers*

Regarding the degeneration advocated by eugenicists, I have discussed two symbols: the tendency to homosexuality and the idea of racial inferiority based on white supremacy. This chapter will demonstrate another symptom of eugenic degeneration: the diseased, which is perhaps the most important and tense issue for eugenicists. Eugenics attempted to improve the quality of a population and vigorously disparaged physically handicapped persons, especially the 'feeble-minded.' Advocates are concerned that the less educated and the poor—and therefore also often unhealthy—tend to erode the middle and upper classes. Regarding the mentally ill, the "Feeble-Minded Control Bill" was introduced in 1911 with Winston Churchill's intention of segregating those with mental defectives. This fact reinforces how much 'the feeble-minded' in particular were alienated by the government. In addition, the National Association for the Care of the Feeble-Minded was also in existence. Although this bill was withdrawn and replaced by a similar bill which would later became the Mental Deficiency Act 1913, judging from the minutes of House of Commons Meeting on 5th December, 1911, published in *The Eugenics Review*, the bill seemed to be seriously discussed in preparation for enactment. In order to reach the goal to "prove an economic advantage and to do something towards stemming the increasing tide of degeneracy," the committee eagerly discussed the correct "*detention*" and "a complete solution of the problem of the feeble-minded" because they felt that "the problem is so serious and so urgent, that something should be *done at once*" (EES "The Feeble-minded Control Bill" 358; emphasis in orig.).

On the subject of physical health, the Eugenics Society preached that staying healthy and prosperity of a healthy family were the responsibility of citizens and the best merit for the nation and the individual. According to Lesley A. Hall's study, the membership of the Eugenics Society, originally founded in 1907 as the Eugenic Education Society, was never very large; even in its peak years of 1911 and 1932-33

there were never more than eight-hundred members and usually considerably fewer (328). Although the group had an influence beyond its small size, owing to the fact that they were fortunate enough to have a strong financial sponsorship (the quality of the membership was good; their composition was very true to being "eugenics" at that point), they had to exaggerate the significance of their society and eugenicists thought in the 1920s and 1930, of their survival because there were other contemporary organizations with larger memberships such as the Women's Cooperative Guild (Hall 328). Tying into the prevailing knowledge of eugenics, the policy of excluding the mentally and physically diseased people is considered one of the campaigns of advancing negative eugenics. As many diseases, including a typical example of tuberculosis, were believed to be hereditary but are now known to be the result of infection or other environmental factors, the poster below titled "Healthy Seed" was distributed to convey a message of negative eugenics: discouraging these perceived as "unfit" from breeding recklessly (Hall 330-31).

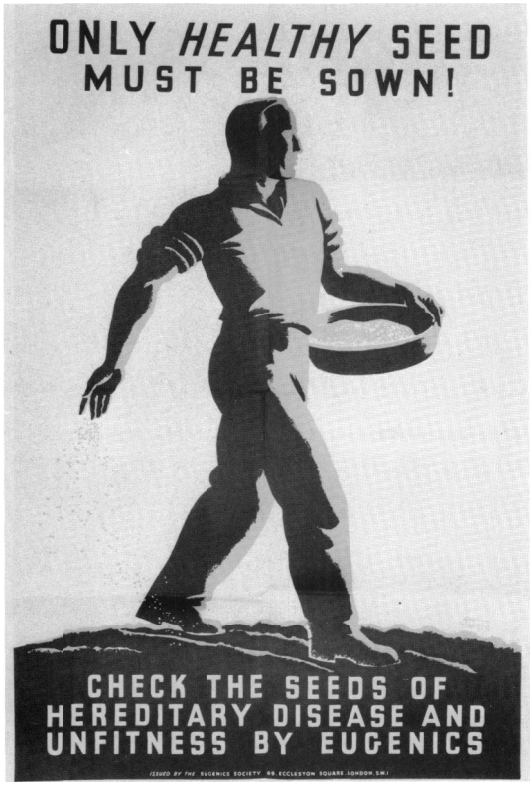

Fig. 3. "Healthy Seed." *Wellcome Library*. (Eugenics Society Archive, 1930; Ref. SA/EUG/G.49).[29]

Enmity towards the sick, thus, can be deduced from these eugenics movements and policies. The disease, whether mental or physical, was the thorn that eugenicists wanted to get rid of from society as soon as possible.

When it comes to disease, Lawrence led a life inseparable from disease, as he insisted "I have had bronchitis since I was a fortnight old." (qtd. in Worthen, *EY* 6). At the age of sixteen, after his brother fell ill and died in London, Lawrence came down with pneumonia in 1901, which turned his mother, Lydia's, affection significantly towards him. After marrying Frieda, he had been not good in health: the first time in Cornwall in 1915, he was ill. He was desperately ill again in the influenza outbreak of February 1919. After they moved to Mexico in 1924, because of high altitude (7,000 feet), he was in bronchial haemorrhage and came down with complications of typhoid and pneumonia, which soon after was diagnosed as tuberculosis. Although in the summer of 1925 he recovered, tuberculosis became a serious problem for him again in 1926. Suffering more than one haemorrhage in 1928, he kept seeking a place where his health would improve. Finally, following an English doctor's advice, he went into a sanatorium in Vence, France, where he stayed until the end of February1930. It did not help; rather it only made him terrifyingly thin and incapable of walking. Frieda moved him out from the sanatorium on 1 March, and the following day, on 2 March, he died at their rented villa in Vence at the age of forty-four.[30]

How a sickly novelist accepts his own disease and the trend of eugenics that detests the sick, regarding them as a nuisance eroding the development of the human race and society, is worth investigating. In examining disease in relation to Lawrence, there should be a few different aspects of analysis. First, the pathological analysis of disease, which deals with illness itself, most likely focusing on the diagnosis, symptom, prognosis and treatment of the illness with the overview of the development of medicine, should be understood. Second, the analysis of the disease as a metaphor in literary work, broadly speaking, how it is represented in art apart from the medical field should be part of the analysis. Third, examining diseases in social and political contexts, that is, how the people in the nineteenth century treated it as a social problem and coped with it at a

social level, such as enforcement, establishment of institutions, or a bailout must also be considered. This third aspect cannot be considered exclusive of the first and the second aspects because social reaction is always built on the medical perspective, including its seriousness and pathological process, moreover the line between society and art is blurred; art represents society, and society is responsible for controlling art. This chapter will demonstrate that reading the work of Lawrence, a novelist invalid for life, clarified interwoven effect and interference of an illness, literature and society.

As previously mentioned, illness, particularly mental defect was detested partly because heredity was believed to be the cause, but the more practical reason of hatred of the mental disease in the nineteenth century lies in the social context. The following is from section II of "Report of the Committee on Poor Law Reform," titled "The Eugenic Principle and the Treatment of the Feeble-Minded," published in *The Eugenics Review* in 1910, in which the two phenomenona and its interrelationship are stated. First, the report notes that pauperism, as well as feeble-mindedness, are hereditary: "it is chiefly remarkable as the one instance in which the Poor Law Commission has recognized heredity as a factor in the creation of pauperism, and in which the measures proposed for betterment are not almost exclusively dependent on improvement of conditions" (EES, "Eugenics Principle" 178). Second, feeble-mindedness and pauperism coexist: by citing the fact that "12.7 percent mentally defectives were found in the urban, and 18.75 percent in the rural workhouse" and "79 percent of the children in public elementary schools in England and Wales, as being feeble-minded," eugenicists began emphasizing the necessity of considering the feeble-minded in society in relation to various social problems putting pauperism at the top of the list (ibid. 179). Eugenicists believed that they could verify 'heredity' and the coexistence of pauperism and the feeble-minded; the former created the latter and vice versa. The feeble-minded would lead to the collapse of the nation—this is only moment when England headed into the negative eugenics, terrified of the bad circulation of disease and pauperism.

Needless to say, even putting Lawrence's works in the middle of such a turbulent eugenics context could create the awareness of a different tone and meaning than the

original intent; however, there is another way for his readers to grab the author's more obvious understanding of eugenics and to more clearly understand the reflection of eugenic discourse in the literature. This can be achieved by having a deeper understanding of Thomas Hardy's work; someone who Lawrence appreciates. Why is Hardy necessary for understanding Lawrence? As might be expected, Lawrence left a "Study of Thomas Hardy" essay, but even more than that, in understanding how eugenics discourse is reflected in the literature, Hardy's work bridges between the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century when eugenic movements began and soon reached a peak.

Lawrence began writing the essay "Study of Thomas Hardy" in his early career in 1914 before revising his latest novel, *The Rainbow*. A publisher, James and Co., with an invitation to write an interpretative essay on Thomas Hardy, personally approached him. It was after Lawrence and Frieda returned from Italy to get married as soon as her divorce from Ernest Weekley became absolute in May 1914; the couple then had to stay in England for a time because of a war outbreak, although they wanted to move back to Italy again. Lawrence decided to accept the work on Hardy's essay and began writing in Buckinghamshire, however his personal circumstance and political events in Europe changed his plans for writing the book. Far from going back to Italy, the manuscript of *The Rainbow*, which he continued revising as well as writing on Hardy, was rejected for publication. As he was working on Hardy, Lawrence realized his imaginative reading of Hardy was stimulating and nourishing his philosophy, which "gave Lawrence not only the impetus he needed to rework *The Rainbow*, but a clearer metaphysical structure which would 'subserve the artistic purpose'" (*Hardy* xxiii). Although possible publication seemed more and more remote now, until the end of 1914, with Frieda's help Lawrence continued typing the book on Hardy. However, this effort did not last long; he completely abandoned the idea of publishing a book on Hardy by March 1915.

It was after Lawrence's death that the first publication of any part of "Hardy" was in the *Book Collector's Quarterly* in 1932, for this publisher was facing a financially difficult period and wanted something unusual to attract subscribers and help sales

(*Hardy* xxxvi). This book consists of the surviving typed manuscript which was kept by John Middleton Murry, because Lawrence gave it to him for safe keeping during the war years. The reception was savage: “Most American reviewers were content to let Lawrence’s reputation rest on his poems and stories and saw his criticism and philosophy as objectionable, even dangerous” (*Hardy* xxxvii-iii). Desmond Hawkins alone, regretting the delayed publication of this essay, acknowledges Lawrence’s “specific genius” in particular, “the detailed commentary on *Jude the Obscure* is criticism of the very highest order, a piece of sustained and uncanny insight which leaves nothing further to be said” (qtd. in *Hardy* xxxix-xl).

Even though Lawrence abandoned the publication of this essay, reading Hardy was nourishing his philosophy, which would affect and establish his later primary novels including *The Rainbow*. Supporting Hawkins’ affirmative judgement on “Hardy,” my study, once again, demonstrates that the “Study of Thomas Hardy” should be valued as great material for research of a ‘disease’ as a metaphor in literature and as a representation of degeneration in eugenic thought, as well as tracing the development of medicine from the nineteenth and the twentieth century.

Thomas Hardy lived to of the age of eighty-seven, but this does not mean that he led a long healthy life. In fact, he had been severely suffering from life-threatening illnesses since the autumn of 1880, at the age of forty. Hardy scholars have discussed his health based on his biography, collected letters and diaries, all of which are written or complied by his first and second wives. However, in this century, surprising news about the medical histories of Hardy and his first wife, Emma Lavinia Hardy was reported. A practitioner, Dr. Robert Alan Frizzell, announced the suspicion of Thomas Hardy’s infection of syphilis in his article “Corroded Life: Emma Lavinia Hardy, 1840-1912: A Retrospective Diagnosis of Syphilis” published in *The Times Literary Supplement* on 8 December 2006.

According to Frizzell, the cause of death of Hardy's first wife, Emma, was not “heart failure and impacted gallstones,” as had previously been thought: “The cause of death was surely not gallstones, impacted or otherwise—it was much more likely to

have been a ruptured aortic aneurysm, which in 1912 was again more likely than not to have been syphilitic in its aetiology (12). Moreover, Hardy, continues Frizzell, “was well aware that Emma, whom he must have infected in his turn, had by far the worst of it” (13).

Frizzell deduces from Hardy's biography that it was in 1891—twenty years before her death—that Emma first had symptoms of syphilis, though she did not realize the nature of the disease and just thought it was influenza. Soon after she felt sick, she visited the doctor in London and was diagnosed with syphilis. Around the time of visiting the doctor, she began keeping a notebook entitled “What I Think About My Husband,” which was destroyed right after her death. Although Hardy never admitted that he was infected with syphilis, he left some poems that describe his wife getting sicker and sicker day by day with typical vocabulary that would remind his readers of syphilis infection.[31] Concerning such poems about his wife, Frizzell supposes that Hardy might have suspected that his disease would be disclosed by someone in the future. Among several poems that Frizell examines, “Had You Wept,” most intelligibly depicts Hardy accusing his wife of having the disease even though he knew that he had infected her:

> When I bade me not absolve you on that evening or the morrow,
> Why did you not make war on me with those who weep like rain?
> You felt too much, so gained no balm for all your torrid sorrow,
> And hence our deep division, and our dark undying pain. (13-16)

As this poem suggests, his accusation against her created a split between the couple and caused great remorse in Hardy after her death.

Judging from Emma’s childish clothing, remarks and deeds, and her unreasonable delusions and aches throughout her body, from a medical perspective, Dr. Frizzell diagnoses her as being in the terminal stage of syphilis. It generally takes five to twenty years to reach the terminal stage of this disease; this timeframe fits the period of their marital relationship. Then, why could Hardy live as long as eighty-eight years? Regarding the reason for his survival, Frizzell comments that “his own immune

resistance to the spirochaete was of a different order from that of his wife, and in him the disease never progressed beyond the secondary stage" (12).

Dr. Frizzell no sooner published the article than he stared to get letters from readers filled mostly with suspicion. Claire Tomalin presents the fact that "there were other members of her [Emma's] family who showed signs of mental instability rather suggests that her eccentricities were part of a family pattern" (17). Hardy's biographer, Michael Millgage, whom Frizzell quoted in the article, criticizes Frizzell's way of research; a process which is just to justify his conclusion, ignoring the background of Hardy's poems (21). Geoffrey Tapper, a former Chairman of the Thomas Hardy Society, doubts Hardy had syphilis, insisting that "Hardy lived to be eighty-seven, and his second wife was healthy" (15). Positive feedback is received only from Henry Merritt, although he remains unconvinced by Frizzell's argument, who debates the possibility that Hardy could have been completely cured, thanks to the development of Salvarsan in 1910, before his marriage to Florence in 1914 (15). These letters all arrived at the editor of *The Times Literary Supplement* within six weeks of publishing Frizzell's report at the end of 2006.

The most recent research on Hardy and disease in a comprehensive way is another medical professional, Tony Fincham's *Hardy the Physician: Medical Aspect of the Wessex Tradition*. This text appeared in 2008 and explores a medical interpretation of Hardy's life and works. Concerning Hardy's severe prolonged (since 1880) illness, Fincham remarks that there is no clear idea of what (the name of) the illness is and its cause, as we are left only with the symptoms, such as "physical weariness," "considerable pain," or "a troublesome malady," described in his collected letters and biography (Fincham 27). *Hardy the Physician*, not referring to Frizzell's suggestion of Hardy's syphilis, concludes that Emma probably suffered from an inherited and progressive mental illness, "a schizoid personality disorder" (ibid. 76).

Every explanation from, Frizzell to Fincham, seems to be sound, but now that over a hundred years have passed since Emma's death in 1912, it is nearly impossible to verify the true cause of her death. However, Frizzell's announcement is still meaningful

as a reminder of how much syphilis was terrifying people and society in the nineteenth century as a sign of degradation of the infected person and of the nation.

In relation to my study, I would like to acknowledge the achievement of Fincham's informative research based on both contemporary (nineteenth-century) and current (twenty-first century) medical knowledge. Standing on indistinct boundaries between Hardy's own experiences of illness (including his wife Emma's mental disease and the epidemic going on around him) and that of his fictional characters, Fincham's study demonstrates that "Hardy's life spanned the period in which medicine changed from a healing art based on ancient and unprovable doctrines to an interventional science based on objective measurements" and that Hardy, suffering from severe illness, is "an astute observer of the human condition, both in sickness and in health" (Fincham 2). This supports my approach to reading "Hardy" and "Lawrence reading Hardy" to appreciate Lawrence's understanding of 'disease' through Hardy, and in relation to the eugenics discourse.

I have argued back and forth about Hardy's illness so far for a certain reason: Lawrence, in the "Study of Thomas Hardy," develops the discussion of one of Hardy's novels, *Jude the Obscure*, by employing disease-related terms, "pestilence," to express the nature of one of the characters in Hardy's novel, Sue Bridehead. The word, "pestilence," precisely portrays the personality of Sue, who always feels a sense of guilt for taking pleasure in life and even does not try to accept the bliss of life; the only thing she brings forth is children dying so young. Pointing to her self-denial towards life, Lawrence calls her "pestilence:"

> She has a passion to expiate, to expiate, to expiate…And she blasphemed the Holy Spirit which told her she is guilty of their birth and their death, of the horrible [nullity], nothing, which they are. She is even guilty of their little, palpitating sufferings and joys of mortal life, now made nothing. She cannot bear it—who could?...And then her loathed body, which had committed the crime of bearing dead children, which had come to life only spread nihilism like a pestilence, that too should be scourged out of

existence. (*Hardy* 120-21; square brackets in orig.)

Rather than expressing sympathy towards Sue who loses her children Lawrence denounces Sue like a “pestilence,” as if her black fate and suffering nature was transmitting all around.

Among Hardy’s novels, which Lawrence examines, I would like to focus on Lawrence’s discussion of *Jude the Obscure*, dealing with Lawrence’s *Sons and Lovers* to consider how the image of disease is developed in Lawrence’s work. *Jude the Obscure* and *Sons and Lovers* make a good contrast for analyzing the story of mother and child from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

First, I would like to examine how the history of medicine and medical facts effect a change in the descriptions of illness in the two novels by Hardy and Lawrence. *Jude the Obscure* obviously reflects the image of disease in Little Father Time, a child from Jude Fawley’s first marriage to Arabella Donn, who literally looks much older than his age: he is “Age masquerading as Juvenility” (*Jude* 276). Looking at the boy, Sue observes that “these preternaturally old boys almost always come from new countries” (280). The boy himself admits that his nickname is ‘Little Father Time’ because “I look so aged” (ibid.). Although he is only around ten years old, his appearance is like a wrinkled man. According to Claude Quétel, around 1780 in France, faced with “women with the pox having series of abortions, decrepit [syphilitic] children who survived looking like little old men, the eruptions which covered their bodies,” the public authorities eventually became aware of the urgency of the problem which affected the whole kingdom, not just the capital (104). It is highly possible that a child nicknamed ‘Father Time’ in the Hardy’s novel—originally refers to the personification of time, typically as an old man with a scythe and hourglass—is a child with innate syphilis, whose parents are syphilitic patients, as suggested by Claudia Nelson’s *Precocious Children and Childish Adults* (156).

Fig. 4. An archetypal ‘syphilitic runt’ from Quétel’s *The History of Syphilis* (169).

Fig. 5. Honoré Daumier. “News: (248) Time Himself Proving the Need To Be Fashionably Equipped.”

The appearance of Little Father Time described in the novel resembles a child with congenital syphilis.

The mentality of Little Father Time is also similar to that of a syphilis patient. Jude and Sue find him “to be in the habit of sitting silent, his quaint and weird face set, and his eyes resting on things they did not see in the substantial world” (*Jude* 280). Concerning his personality, he is also introverted (“too reflective”) for a child, making it difficult to deal with him (*ibid*. 333). He sometimes falls into a stupor, which is often the case for those afflicted with syphilis. At the terminal stage of syphilis, the cranial

nerve is damaged and patients exhibit symptoms similar to dementia, which is similar to the symptoms of little Time. Above all, it is impractical to believe that a small child would kill himself after killing his half-siblings. It would be more natural to think that the disease, the final phase of which is destroying the cranial nerve, caused this incredible suicide.

On the other hand, if you look at *Sons and Lovers*, the development of medicine is recognized. In the twentieth century, the prevalence of syphilis declined, owing to the development of the medicine, Salvarsan in 1910, which explains the fact that Lawrence's works does not describe the disease of syphilis. Nevertheless, other diseases afflict the people in *Sons and Lovers*. In fact, three pathological diseases are described in *Sons and Lovers*: bronchitis, from which Paul suffers, erysipelas from which William dies, and cancer which is the cause of Mrs. Morel's death. These diseases are characterized in that they are not contagious nor are the diseases to be blamed on the morality of the patient, like syphilis. The diseases in *Sons and Lovers* are fatal, but they do not represent cultural corruption and do not cause the corruption of the whole world in the novel, like in *Jude the Obscure*, in which the pathological disease operates as a major part of the tragedy.

Along with the descriptions of diseases, it is also interesting for assessing the development of medicine to observe the cause of death in the novels of Hardy and Lawrence. First, *Jude the Obscure* describes two deaths: one is the death of children and the other is that of Jude. Jude dies of tuberculosis going around in the city of Christminster. It was 1928 when penicillin, a specific medicine, was developed. The death of the children is caused by Little Father Time's aberration, a character that very likely suffered from congenital syphilis. These two deaths are in accordance with Katherine Byrne's observation in *Tuberculosis and the Victorian Literary Imagination* that "Tuberculosis and syphilis functioned as sites of social anxiety in Victorian times as cancer and HIV/AIDS do in ours" (1).

Sons and Lovers contains two descriptions of death: one is William's death and the other Mrs. Morel's. William dies of erysipelas, a disease caused by a bacterial

infection, which can now be easily treated by penicillin, but which remained inadequately treated in the early twentieth century. Mrs. Morel dies of cancer, which is the most appropriate cause of death, as cancer was one of the three major causes of death in the twentieth century, while in the nineteenth century, the leading cause of death was infection and respiratory disease.

Also, in *Sons and Lovers*, medication should be discussed. At the death of Mrs. Morel, she can only wait for death, as she is not able to have an operation. Paul and his sister, Annie, give her morphine to relieve her pain. One day, however, they cannot stand to see her suffering from the pain and intentionally give her much more morphine than prescribed in order to let her die peacefully. They are free to keep her alive or euthanize her. On the contrary, in *Jude the Obscure*, medicine does not work at all. At the sight of her dead children, Sue, who is pregnant and is under the care of a physician, has a stillborn baby. Moreover, the treatment for Jude's tuberculosis does not work; he dies soon after Sue leaves him. The cause of death and the use of medication in *Jude the Obscure* and *Sons and Lovers* show the history of medicine.

I would like to proceed to a discussion of how the disease described in both Hardy's and Lawrence's novels are connected to the discourse of eugenics. It is obvious that *Jude the Obscure* features eugenics. When Little Father Time kills himself after killing the other children, he leaves a note saying "Done because we are too menny," (sic) which is clearly representative of the idea of eugenics (*Jude* 336). The clear implication of this note is that the child, perceiving that his parents cannot afford the children, lessens the overcrowding to decrease the family expenses. Time's murder corresponds approximately to negative eugenics whose aim is to eliminate 'bad seeds'—criminals, prostitutes, the disabled and the feeble-minded.

It should also be understood that no one in the novel deserves to survive in terms of eugenics. Little Time is a child of an immoral mother, Arabella; it would not be a surprise if Arabella were infected judging from her sexual history. The children of Jude and Sue cannot be said to be genetically good. Sue's mentality is not stable; too stoic and over scrupulous, with a strong hatred of sex. Jude's father is a drunk and a domestic

abuser, and his mother killed herself (69-70). Both Little Time (a child of Jude and Arabella) and the babies (of Jude and Sue) have ‘unfit’ parents and are regarded as inheriting bad genes. One possible interpretation of *Jude* is that they die, or rather, are eliminated, because they were ‘bad seeds’ and that ‘unfit’ people are never allowed to leave offspring.

When swinging back to *Sons and Lovers*, it does not seem that eugenics is carried out as clearly as in *Jude the Obscure*. For instance, William and Mrs. Morel die in the end, but they are not at all ‘unfit.’ Mrs. Morel, coming from a family that used to be rich, is intelligent, with higher education, and an independent woman; William leaves his Nottinghamshire home for a job in London, where he becomes an elite and rises up to the middle class. Instead of William and Mrs. Morel, Mr. Morel survives in the family although he is a drunken, and sometimes violent, husband who injures his wife in a quarrel. If Lawrence wished to utilize eugenics, should not Mr. Morel be removed from the family? Where is his passion for negative eugenics? What is required for unravelling his paradoxical position in *Sons and Lovers* is to change the way of analyzing ‘illness’: from the illness which has been seized as a pathological disease and observed in light of the history of medicine to the one examined as a metaphor in the literary work. In appreciating “Lawrence, reading Hardy,” the task is to delve into what Lawrence sees in the image of illness and what the definition of illness is for him beyond the pathological disease.

Lawrence explains William’s cause of death as follows: “As soon as the young men come into contact with women, there’s a split. William gives his sex to a fribble, and his mother his soul. But the split kills him, because he doesn’t know where he is” (*Letters*, i. 477). This reveals that in fact, William is a ‘patient’ who suffers from a virus named ‘desire’ because of his mother who wants to possess her sons and have them do everything her way. This is why William’s mentality is split; even if his physical being is seeking a woman, his mind is always on his mother, which makes him unable to truly love a woman. In that way, both Paul and Mrs. Morel are ill; Paul is infected with a virus of his mother’s possessive love, and Mrs. Morel is also a patient who expresses

her love only in an excessive way, only towards sons, not her husband, because her soul has been tormented with lifelong frustration in an unsuccessful marriage.

Lawrence, William, Paul and Mrs. Morel are all patients, the masses of disease, which is equal to what eugenicists call the 'unfit,' referring to the physical and mental handicapped. These characters are treated as a symbol of inferiority or deterioration in *Sons and Lover*. Although the eugenics movement was quite strong in the early twentieth century in England, Lawrence choose not to literally but rather metaphorically demonstrate eugenics by reconsidering the definition of 'unfit.' In the nineteenth century, diseases such as syphilis, physical disability and mental disorders used to scare society at large because medicine was not developed enough for these illnesses, therefore, they were considered to hinder national growth, causing pauperism. However, in the twentieth century, when pathological disease did not pose a menace to society as before, owing to the advancement of medical science along with industrial and economic growth, true illness would not be in physique but in the mind. It is not the disease that can be diagnosed; Lawrence sends off the players with this unidentified and modern restless disease from the stage of the novel—even Paul, survives, but "is left in the end naked of everything, with the drift towards death" (*Letters*, i. 477).

Lawrence, who describes Sue as "pestilence," tries to pursue the signifying of the metaphor of disease scattered in Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*. To begin, the "Study of Thomas Hardy" precisely analyzes the tragic element of Hardy's works. In Lawrence's opinion, the first characteristic of Hardy's novels is "none of the heroes and heroines care very much for money, or immediate self-preservation, and all of them are struggling hard to come into being;" the second is that Hardy's characters "do unreasonable things . . . . They are always going off unexpectedly and doing something that nobody would do," and the last is "from such an outburst the tragedy usually develops" (*Hardy* 20). The nature of Hardy's tragedy is: "In the long run, the State, the Community, the established form of life remained, remained intact and impregnable, the individual, trying to break forth from it, died of fear, of exhaustion, or of exposure to attacks from all sides, like men who have left the walled city to live outside in the

precarious open" (21). In short, "Remain quite within the convention," and one will be happy and safe; "be passionate, individual, wilful," and one will die in misery (ibid.).

Lawrence continues to explain Hardy's position as a writer: Hardy's "private sympathy is always with the individual, against the community," however, "He cannot help himself, but must stand with the average against exception, he must, in his ultimate judgment, represent the interests of humanity, or the community as a whole, and rule out the individual interest" (*Hardy* 49).

Furthermore, Lawrence categorizes Hardy's characters into several types: Jude is the "physical individualist" and "in the end an inferior thing which must fall before the community." Sue is also a "physical individualist and spiritual bourgeois or communist" and has an "ugly, undeveloped, non-distinguished or perverted physical instinct, and must fall physically" (*Hardy* 49). Lawrence understands that the types of Jude and Sue tend to fall apart in society and are punished in the end. This interpretation concords with Hardy's understanding that "Artistic effort always pays heavily for finding its tragedies in the forced adaption of human instincts to rusty and irksome moulds that do not fit them" ("Postscript" to *Jude* 467-77).

Thus, Lawrence appreciates Hardy correctly, without blaming him for a miserable ending to the story; he knows it is normal in the Victorian age to exclude the people who do not fit the framework of society as punishment from the public. Given his belief, Lawrence should stand for Hardy's characters who try to break and run out of the wall of convention because it is sad for him to see "the earnest people of to-day serve at the old, second rate altar of self-preservation" (*Hardy* 14). As he analyses, Hardy's heroes and heroines do not care about the self-preservation system, money or ambition for social class; Hardy's characters never know that they would be kicked out by society or pay double or more later if they turn their back on the world. Jude and Sue also try hard to defy convention—Sue, unsatisfied with her marriage to a schoolteacher, Phillotson, leaves him for Jude. Jude and Sue are living together with their children although it is tough for them to stay in a village unmarried. They are doing quite well. Then, what displeases him about Sue, insomuch as he damns her as "pestilence"?

The similarity can be easily found between Sue and Miriam in *Sons and Lovers*, in which Paul discards Miriam because he detests her spirit of self-sacrifice. Both Sue and Miriam are the New Woman with high intelligence and pride, having a passion for the discussion with men and believing themselves free from tradition. Both women, however, are prone to deny the pleasure of physical and mental satisfaction from sex. Sue asks from Jude, perhaps what no man could give: "passion love without physical desire" (*Hardy* 121). Lawrence expresses his understanding of Jude's remarks to Sue that she was not worth a man's love.[32] Sue is a worst enemy of Lawrence: "She was born with the vital female atrophied in her: she was almost male. Her *will* was male… She was not the Virgin type, but the witch type, which has not sex" (*ibid*. 108). His evaluation of Sue is severe and he would rather be favourable to Arabella, a daughter of a pig farmer: "At least let acknowledgement be made to her great female force of character," although it is evident Arabella is too coarse for Jude (106). Lawrence even senses "in her character somewhere an aristocrat" for her strong belief in herself (102). At least, she has "instinct for love," although it is selfish, which "brought him to himself, gave him himself, made him free, sound as a physical male" (105-6). For that reason, Jude, and Lawrence, too, could never hate her; she is neither the criminal type nor the witch type.

Jude passes judgment on Sue that if intercourse with men is not natural for her, unlike Arabella, having children is not natural for her and thus, she should not have them. Lawrence concludes the analysis of the tragedy in *Jude the Obscure* as follows:

> And this tragedy is the result of overdevelopment of one principle of human life at the expense of the other; on overbalancing; a laying of all the stress on the Male, the Love, the Spirit, the Mind, the Consciousness, a denying, a blaspheming against the Female, the Law, the Soul, the Senses, the Feelings (*Hardy* 121).

It is very much like the attribute of Miriam that Sue scarcely lives in the body at all, despising being female, the balance between body and mind, instinct and feelings. What Lawrence meant by the metaphor of "pestilence" is that Sue's too strong self and sense

of morality would be depressing and suffocating the people around her, like an epidemic disease, and it is also leaves her feeling unhappy every moment in life thus, preventing her from self-acceptance.

In addition to his confession of his instinctive dislike of Sue, Lawrence mentions the environmental factor of the tragedy in *Jude the Obscure*. He bases his doubts on why only Jude and Sue had to get impeached although many couples live together without marrying in England. Jude and Sue would not be forgiven "Only because of their own uneasy sense of wrong, of sin, which they communicated to other people. And this wrong or sin was not against the community, but against their own being, against life. Which is why they were, the pair of them, instinctively disliked" (*Hardy* 118). The expression used here is also linked to the metaphor of disease: as if it was disease, Jude's and Sue's sense of guilt would transmit to the people in the community, which arouses their wrath. The theme that the novel tries to convey through the cold eyes of the community is, Lawrence interprets, that they are not accusing the couple of having a relationship and children outside of marriage, but of not blessing the full-veined life and gratification of self-pleasure. If the couple, mainly Sue, took pleasure in life with Jude, people could not blame that because no one can deprive the others of freedom and enjoyment of life.

One contribution of Lawrence's employment of the metaphor of disease for Sue is to reveal the whereabouts of 'true illness' in *Jude the Obscure*. Furthermore, he aims to rebuild the definition of 'unfit' or inferiority as human begins. Lawrence shows Sue's madness with the image of a pathological disease, "pestilence," which can be a unique technique of Hardy's study because it seems superficially apparent that the madness lies in Little Father Time and the dreadful murder he committed. However, Lawrence demonstrates the tragedy is in Sue's illness, not Time's. Little Time might indeed suffer from the disease of syphilis however, the metaphorical disease can be recognized in Sue, who cannot love a man and herself, and accept physicality, though she knew she needed it; therein lies the prototype of the tragedy that happens to William and Paul in *Sons and Lovers*. Degeneration should be recognized in Sue's consciousness; it is she who should

be immediately eliminated from human race as an ‘unfit,’ a pestilence. Lawrence is convinced that Sue’s illness would be taken over by both the twentieth-century novels and real life. The “Study of Thomas Hardy,” by identifying the characteristic of the modern disease with the metaphor of an old and most terrifying disease, “pestilence,” demonstrates the redefinition of degeneration of human beings: from the disabled and the feeble-minded to the blaspheming instinct and sensuality.

Another significant contribution of Lawrence’s reference to Sue’s illness is that he shifts the responsibility of the disease from what used to be in a man in the nineteenth century to a woman in the twentieth century. A good observer of disease in the Victorian literature, Katherine Byrne, posits “Disease becomes invested with a particular significance when it is not the common affliction of the whole community” (2). When the disease itself poses no threat to the common any more, some implicit meanings are added to the disease. This significance was very clear in the case of syphilis; the sufferer was regarded to have had overindulged in illicit sexual behaviour, or was the offspring or spouse of the immoral. These stereotypes “enabled syphilis to be used as a political and moral tool against potentially deviant, subversive sexuality, making it, as Claude Quétel has pointed out, ‘most social of social disease’ in terms of the extent of the cultural and political response it has generated” (qtd. in Byrne 2).[33] It is true that syphilis was no longer the fatal disease of the twentieth century and that whether Hardy and Little Father Time are infected with syphilis or not is unsolved, furthermore, it should be noted that Hardy does not deal with syphilis as a theme in any novel. However, all the more, it is meaningful to think of how, on the social level, Lawrence views ‘disease’ and the meaning he attaches to it beyond the pathological frame, by reading Hardy.

Before revealing Lawrence’s social analysis of disease in the time stream from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, there is one thing that should be kept in mind: in the nineteenth century, the idea of heredity was keenly supported along with eugenics ideology. After Gregor Johann Mendel discovered the laws of heredity in 1865, people in the latter half of the Victorian Era took the scientific discourse into

morality—feminists especially viewed syphilis as scientific evidence that “the sin of the fathers were visited upon the children” (Showalter 94). Syphilis was thought to be brought into the home by an immoral father and transmitted to his wife, then finally to their child. This is how morality and disease became easily connected to the discourse of heredity.

The discourse of heredity works in both *Jude the Obscure* and *Sons and Lovers*. In *Jude the Obscure*, for instance, little Time’s mental instability and stunt, possibly caused by syphilis, reflects the sins of his immoral mother, Arabella—not a father’s sin in this case. The mention of Jude’s family—his father’s domestic abuse and mother’s suicide (*Jude* 69)—shows the belief in heredity, that the gene is inherited regardless of whether or not it is good or bad. Also, *Son and Lovers* beautifully describe that Paul’s excessive sensitiveness is a hereditary character, brought on by a suffering mother. One day, after a quarrel with her husband, Mrs. Morel, who is holding Paul in her arms and begins bleeding after being hit by the drawer that her husband throws at her: “a drop of blood fall from the averted wound into the baby’s fragile, glistening hair…. Another drop fell. It would soak through to the baby’s scalp” (*SL* 54-55). Since then, whenever she suffers because of her husband, “From her, the feeling was transmitted to the children. She never suffered alone any more: the children suffered with her” (*ibid*. 85). These descriptions with the words “blood” and “transmit” are associated with blood infections as a disease and the traditional idea of laws of heredity.

What should be carefully observed here is that Lawrence recognizes Paul in *Sons and Lovers* as a patient with a disease. The fact is that Paul suffers from an illness—he cannot love a woman except his mother, and that Lawrence, who believes in heredity, attributes the responsibility of the disease to his mother. Whenever the sons, William and Paul, go to a woman for physical and mental satisfaction, the split begins to tell in their souls possessed by Mrs. Morel’s hand. In addition to Mr. Morel, *Sons and Lovers* has a fateful enemy: Miriam. Paul is interested in her because she is a beautiful girl and intelligent. They can argue about anything from painting, a poem, music, and religion to life. Paul loves the energetic discussions with her; she always develops his intellectual

curiosity. At the same time, however, she chills his passion, youth and sensuality; he feels bereft in front of her waiting for a kiss and sex because he knows she does not want a physical connection. Miriam feels that she herself is a sacrifice, which Paul never wanted and thus, hates. Paul's enemy is not only Mrs. Morel, although he tries to escape from his mother, the woman he rushes to is not a safe place. This type of woman becomes the lifetime long object of his criticism: an intelligent and possessive woman with strong pride and ego, putting aside sensuality. The formula in *Sons and Lovers* is that the two women, Mrs. Morel and Miriam, make Paul ill—the responsibility of disease lies in the women.

Lawrence likes narrating in a tone of voice that reveals that the woman is always responsible for the disease; something that is considerately different from the era of the nineteenth century when for syphilis, accusations were focused on the sin of the immoral fathers. The point is that when the pathological disease would become less of a menace to society thanks to medical advance, the disease, which is invisible and neither diagnosed nor treated by medicine, would run rampant in society. Furthermore, it is represented by literature in the form of a metaphor of disease. The man would take full responsibility for the menace of a terrifying contagion, syphilis, in the nineteenth century, although as Little Time in *Jude the Obscure* seems to represent the sins of Arabella, there is no knowing how racked with guilt Hardy was if the idea of a syphilis infection were true.

However, the twentieth-century disease, in Lawrence's understanding, is that along with women's participation in society and improvements in their status by education and women's suffrage, women have improved their minds but the knowledge does not release them but rather traps them between the sensual desire and the moral restraint, which result in torturing the men around them. Lawrence shifted the responsibility of the disease, which used to be traditionally in the man and was mainly imposed by feminists in the nineteenth century, into the woman whose instinct as a woman is degenerated and desires the power of control over men without giving them love. Lawrence also shifts the blame from men to women in *Sons and Lovers*. William,

Paul and the other children in the Morels family hate their bad drunken father and protect the mother at home, but when Paul gets older he realizes both are responsible for an unsuccessful marriage. In Chapter 9, I will discuss Lawrence's sympathy to his father from the aspect of class. I would like to close this chapter with the recognition that by shifting his eyes from the sins of the father to the mother, Lawrence reconsidered the true significance of degeneration in terms of 'modern disease,' stepping across the disease.

PART III

Beyond Eugenics

Chapter 7

The Quest for Womanhood in *The Plumed Serpent*

Following the discussion of what Lawrence meant by degeneration, Part III examines Lawrence's final response to eugenics in his late novels, including *The Plumed Serpent*, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and *Kangaroo*, with a consideration of his several essays. Throughout this final part, I would like to reveal that there is always a difference between Lawrence's real intention and what he says on the surface; the same is true of eugenics. The first two chapters of this part demonstrate how his understanding of women's sexuality and physicality contrasts with the eugenicists' one, and the final chapter discusses how the ideas of eugenics go against his views of society, politics and classism. Firstly, Chapter 7, dealing with *The Plumed Serpent*, analyses both the superficial and true voice of Lawrence and eugenicists over women's physicality and presents the meaning of the contradictions in himself and between his thought and eugenic policy.

As an introduction, this chapter puts its focus on how *The Plumed Serpent* is seemingly in accordance with the aim of the eugenics movement. Finally, after reaching Taos, New Mexico, where he settled for a time, Lawrence visited Mexico in 1923 and 1924, and began *The Plumed Serpent*, the early draft of which is called "Quetzalcoatl," in May 1923. Then, his late ambitious Mexican novel was first published in 1926. Its setting is Mexico, where Kate Leslie, an Irish widow, comes from England for a tour and becomes gradually involved with both a cult of revival of a pre-Christian religion, Quetzalcoatl, and the leaders of the movement, Don Ramón and Don Cipriano.

Lawrence's late novel, *The Plumed Serpent*, is considered one of his 'leadership' novels, emphasising male leadership by blood authority and an unequivocal connection between men. The ideal world described in this novel can be summarised in psychological terms as a paternal culture, the main attributes of which are confrontation, hierarchy, exclusiveness, detachment and independence. This study, however, at first, by suggesting the possibility that *The Plumed Serpent* can be interpreted as a novel

representing a motherhood culture rather than a male-dominated culture, shows that the utopia Lawrence tries to describe in his late intractable novel is about to approach the ideal of eugenicists who emphasise the significance of women's independence and a society based on a motherhood culture.

After the turn of the century, the English and American eugenicists talked increasingly about how to accomplish their aims: superior people must be bred and the unfit must not be bred. Their courses of action could be divided into two: 'positive eugenics' the aim of which was to foster more prolific breeding for social merit; and 'negative eugenics' which encouraged less breeding of the socially disadvantaged. As seen before, Francis Galton had been principally a positive eugenicist and his heirs in England mainly took the course of positive eugenics. There was one eminent individual leading the early twentieth century eugenics movement in England: Havelock Ellis. Ellis, as a supporter of positive eugenics, hoped to exploit the new knowledge of heredity to increase the numbers of the fit. It is liable to cause misunderstanding, but the eugenics movement was not always directly linked to class discrimination. Social-radical eugenicists claimed that the most important environmental reform was to ease or even to abolish class distinctions and, in fact, Ellis was one of them, insisting that "the 'best stocks' were not 'necessarily the stocks of high social class' but were spread through all social classes, with those of the lower classes being 'probably the most resistant to adverse conditions'" (qtd. in Kevles 87). The argument went that poverty resulted from indiscriminate breeding among men and women prevented from choosing genetically preferable partners; therefore, they thought that once class distinctions were destroyed, human and social evolution could proceed (Kevles 87). Class was not supposed to influence the choice of genetically optimal partners.

Ellis' eminent achievement in the eugenics movement was his recognition that the matter of eugenics is greatly concerned with women. In order to avoid eugenically disadvantageous marriage, the eugenicists considered it necessary for a woman to control her own life, and not only the physical side, because without independent careers, women were forced to marry improper men such as the diseased or dissolute.

Ellis claims in his *The Task of Social Hygiene* in regard to women and eugenics:

> The breeding of men lies largely in the hands of women. That is why the question of Eugenics is to a great extent one with the woman question. The realization of eugenics in our social life can only be attained with the realization of the woman movement in its latest and completest phase as an enlightened culture of motherhood, in all that motherhood involves alike on the physical and the psychic sides. (19)

Ellis insists that women should be liberated from men mentally and physically and encourages women to avoid eugenically disadvantaged marriages which result from poor women getting married only to make a living. Ellis hopes for women's sexual liberation from Victorian pressure, to achieve eugenic improvement.

When the discussion is moved forward based on Ellis' emphasis on the significance of a highly enlightened motherhood culture on the premise of the realisation of eugenics, the first thing to be noticed is the conformity of Lawrence's *The Plumed Serpent* with eugenics. *The Plumed Serpent* often talks about blood; the story is developed in conjunction with the expression of blood and the stream of the characters' feelings is always engaged with blood. Kate, for example, is conscious of the decisive difference between her, the white, and the Mexican (if it is not the racial discrimination): "she thought to herself, the white and half-white Mexicans suffers some peculiar reaction in their blood which made them that they too were almost always in a state of suppressed irritation and anger, for which they *must* find a vent" (*PS* 54; emphasis in orig.). Kate, coming all the way from England, feels in the strange land of Mexico that "something came out of the earth, the dragon of the earth, some effluence, some vibration which militated against the very composition of the blood and nerves in human beings" (55). The race and roots of the Mexican, including Don Cipriano and Don Ramón, are adequately explained: Ramón's friend, Toussaint, (according to his explanation, he has "French, Spanish, Austrian and Indian blood") (64) tells Kate that:

> Fifty percent of the people in Mexico are pure Indians: more or less. . . . These are the real Mexicans, those with the mixed blood. . . . Don Cipriano

> is pure Indian. Don Ramón is almost pure Spaniard, but most probably he has the blood of Tlaxcalan Indians in his veins as well. (64)

The Plumed Serpent discussed the primary concern of eugenics—blood and breeding—well.

The conversation quoted above gets around to mixed marriage. Toussaint says to Kate, "You may mix Spanish and French blood, and it may be all right. Europeans are all of Aryan stock, the race is the same. But when you mix European and American Indian, you mix different blood races, and you produce the half-breed" (*PS* 64). The mixed marriage between the European and the Indian which Toussaint talks about would be the one Kate chooses in the end. Kate would marry Cipriano, a pure Indian, even though Toussaint precautions her that the half-breed is a "calamity" and "unfortunate" because he or she neither belongs to one thing nor another (ibid.). As Toussaint points out, it might be true that the half-breed is "calamity" in the history of the American Indian in the first quarter of the twentieth century, living under the eugenic policy of wiping out the Native Americans, which I examined in the previous part.

The mixed marriage in *The Plumed Serpent* provides for an intriguing discussion in terms of eugenics because Lawrence seems to carry the dual connotation of positive and negative attitudes towards eugenics in describing the marriage between Kate and Cipriano. If taking into consideration that eugenicists forbid mixing the blood of the white with that of the dark, Kate's marriage is regarded to break the rule of eugenics. Is the mixed marriage in the novel an accusation against arrogance of white supremacy according to the mainly American eugenic movement?

On the other hand, however, there is another way of interpreting Kate's choice of mixed marriage as being true to eugenics. At first, this study adopts a course that would allow *The Plumed Serpent* to be interpreted along the lines of eugenics. Take a look at Kate's life: she marries twice before coming to Mexico—first to a lawyer, second to James Joachim Leslie, a political leader in Ireland—and leaves a twenty-one-year-old son and a nineteen-year-old daughter in England for Mexico, where she is aged forty.

Simpson admits that Kate is “an emancipated and independent woman of the world, yet she is tired of her aimless freedom and ready for something new” (*PS* 115). Kate, unlike a Victorian woman but typical of a New Woman, is indeed liberated physically and mentally from men, which seems to be similar to what Havelock Ellis envisages in the realisation of eugenics. Does not Ellis hope for the appearance of mentally and physically independent women exactly like Kate?

Kate, free from physical and mental oppression from men, chooses her proper partner; her marriage with Cipriano, the third husband for her, is not for a living, and Cipriano is healthy and rich—he is qualified for ‘eugenics’ except for the fact that he is a pure Indian. Although Kate, who has a strong ego and pride as an independent woman, ends up thinking, “I’d better abandon some of my ego, and sink some of my individuality, rather than go like that,” she goes back to Cipriano of her own will, not because she is forced to do so (*PS* 439). Kate is wise enough to realise that in addition to the suffering of women a generation ago, the contemporary woman “has suffered far more from the suppression of her ego than from sex suppression” (ibid.). She notices and regrets that modern women have concentrated on cultivating only their ego which controls them instead of sexual suppression. Such a description can be attacked by feminists: “Without Cipriano to touch me and limit me and submerge my will, I shall become a horrible, elderly female. I ought to *want* to be limited. I ought to be *glad* if a man will limit me with a strong will and a warm touch”; but Kate tells herself, “I will make my submission; as far as I need, and no further” (439; emphasis in orig.). In her remark that “as far as I need, and no further,” her strong will and even egocentricity can be found although she calls her decision “submission.” She is still in control of her life, not Cipriano; she wants him because she needs it now, but it is fraught with the possibility that she might leave him when she does not need him anymore. As long as Kate is not in a restricted environment, forced into a disadvantaged marriage, it might be recognised that *The Plumed Serpent* is built based on the realisation of the women’s movement, as Ellis insists.

Additionally, there is another concordance with eugenics in *The Plumed Serpent*.

Although Kate's marriage to Cipriano violates the major rule of eugenics on ethnicity, the important thing is that the purpose of their marriage is not producing a descendant. Eugenicists wanted to prevent the mixed marriage because they were all nerves about racial degeneration—and political intention such as land exploitation as well—brought about by getting the white blood dirty with the coloured one. Fortunately for eugenicists, Kate's marriage does not mean conception of a 'half-blood' with Cipriano; she has already the two children with her first husband, a lawyer—both white.[34] *The Plumed Serpent*, as a consequence, reflects the purposes of eugenics without the author's direct attempt. It is interesting enough to observe that Thompson's analysis of *The Lost Girl* suggests that mixed marriage in Lawrence's work serves as an "alternative solution to the life-crushing forces of English morality" but it does not result in reproduction—*The Lost Girl* ends in a description of a British girl's (Alvina) pregnancy with an Italian dark dancer (Ciccio), which does not mention the child afterwards and only represents her unquiet heart (Thompson 121). It sounds paradoxical, but although Lawrence gets across the border between the races, as if against eugenics, his way of ending the story without leaving a child in form is true to eugenics policy based on white supremacism.

The discussion so far has shown the validity of the possibility that *The Plumed Serpent* argues from a eugenic point of view—and clarifies that it is greatly concerned with blood, the very central concern of eugenics. The study from here reveals that *The Plumed Serpent* still seems to accord to the premises of eugenics, i.e. in terms of the elements of the motherhood, even though it shies away from the direct matter of marriage, a practical concern of eugenics. Havelock Ellis originally requires, for the realisation of eugenics, the achievement of the goals of the women's movement in a highly enlightened motherhood culture, in which the term draws attention. This study would like to go back to thinking over the significance of the term 'motherhood' mentioned by Ellis. According to the *OED*, 'motherhood' means 1a: "The condition or fact of being a mother;" and 1b: "The spirit of a mother; the feeling or love of a mother" ("Motherhood"). Accordingly, it can be interpreted in two ways: one is that, with the first definition, Ellis might insist on the need for better conditions for women, to have

and raise a child, or in other words, a comfortable ‘state of being a mother,’; or with the second definition, he might want to eradicate ‘the spirit of being a mother’ among women to have them leave a good offspring. My research makes an issue of Ellis’ and Lawrence’s usage or interpretation of ‘motherhood’ recognised in the meaning of the “spirit of a mother” through an understanding of the theme of *The Plumed Serpent*. The definition of Ellis’ usage of motherhood is inspected later in this chapter; now I would like to reveal that *The Plumed Serpent* is a ‘motherhood’ novel by showing the scattered “spirit” and the “feeling” of a mother in the novel, in spite of Lawrence’s will to manifest a male dominant culture.

Firstly, by taking a psychoanalytic approach, *The Plumed Serpent* is proven to have the spirit and the feeling of a mother. Within the context of studies on the psychoanalysis of Lawrence’s work and himself, German theories are often addressed such as those of Sigmund Freud (himself an Austrian) as well as Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, who is constantly referred to in the formation of Lawrence’s philosophy. It is partly because his wife, Frieda Lawrence, was a German, and through her he learnt some Freudian theory about the Oedipus complex, which is supposed to have had an effect on setting up a theme for *Sons and Lovers*.[35] Rather than the author’s personal connection with or understanding of a specific psychological theory of someone, the discussion focusses on the representation of motherhood in *The Plumed Serpent* and how it is interpreted in psychoanalysis. When analysing the spirit of the mother, this paper consults Carl Gustav Jung, who is not considered as big a deal as Freud in Lawrence’s study. Little attention had been given to Jung, but a fascinating study appeared in 2005; Masashi Asai established the comparative research between Lawrence and Jung.

Asai’s “Lawrence, Jung, and the Representation of the Other” attempts to clarify the similarity between Jung and Lawrence in their perception and representation of the Other. Pointing out that Jung and Lawrence, who both loved to travel, share a keen sense of the ‘spirit of place,’ Asai recites their descriptions praising the life of the native peoples to show that they reach a common urge to go back to the primitive mind. By

Jung visiting Tunisia, and Lawrence Mexico, and both meeting the Taos Pueblos—they were impressed by their living and receptivity—both realised something is lost in the Westerner. It is "projective representation" that his study concerns; what they say is "not necessarily the truth" about the native people and they are only "the catalyst" for their reflection (Asai 373). Although it is impossible to have a representation which is not 'objective,' in other words, "everyone represents the Other, and no one can escape the Other's representation," (ibid. 382) he scrutinises this "alternative world view" of Lawrence and Jung (380). Asai suggests the possibility that they fell into the trap of "elevationism" as Ken Wilber calls it, as well as the potential of humility that they learnt through the trip, realising their provincialism and their ignorance (380-84).[36] As explained by Wilber's theory of elevationism, what they felt towards non-European countries might just be expansive delusions, resulting from Lawrence's and Jung's "elevation" of their crude experiences into mature and spiritual revelations. There is no single answer to the interpretation of their representations, but I agree with Asai's conclusion that Lawrence's and Jung's representation of the Other suffered from and cannot escape from "elevationistic projection" in trying to describe how the world should be with their own ideas (384).

By presenting the similarity between Lawrence and Jung in their representation of foreign culture when expressing their disappointment of the West and yearning for the primitive state of mind, Asai's research illuminates the significance of Jung, who has not been fully discussed in Lawrence's study. In addition to his launch of Jung's study, his illumination of the limit of "objective" representation allows me to give added meaning to Jung in Lawrence's study because my study attempts to pursue the theoretical similarity between Lawrence and Jung and, at the same time, the limitation of Lawrence's representation in *The Plumed Serpent*.

The descriptions that form the greater part of *The Plumed Serpent* exhibit a similarity to Jung's theory of the Mother archetype. Jung, who began to see mental patients in a psychiatric hospital in 1900, found a common image in the stories and the dreams that they were haunted by and noticed that the images shared many of the

themes and motifs of mythology: legend and art, including novels, paintings and pottery. A theory conceived by Jung is that we have a primitive mental image inherited from the earliest human ancestors, which is supposed to be present in the collective unconscious (the part of the unconscious mind which is derived from ancestral memory and experience and is common to all humankind, as distinct from the individual's unconscious). He called it 'archetype' and thought it represented a recurrent symbol or motif in literature, art and mythology, because the archetypes create the repeating patterns of thought and action, again and again, across peoples and countries.

Among a large number of archetypes, one of the most classic archetypes is the archetype of the Mother or the Great Mother, which is symbolised by Eve and St. Mary in the Western culture. According to Jung, not only a living thing, the archetype is associated with things and places as a symbol of aroused devotion or feelings of awe: for instance, "the Church, university, city or country, heaven, earth, the woods, the sea or any still waters, matter even, the underworld and the moon, can be mother-symbols" (*Archetypes* 81). Following that, Jung points out all these symbols can have a positive, favourable meaning or a negative, evil meaning. In the case of the mother archetypes, the positive meaning is supposed to be "maternal solicitude and sympathy; the magic authority of the female; the wisdom and spiritual exaltation that transcend reason; any helpful instinct or impulse; all that is benign, all that cherishes and sustains, that fosters growth and fertility" (82). Concerning the negative one, Jung notes:

> On the negative side the mother archetype may connote anything secret, hidden, dark; the abyss, the world of the dead, anything that devours, seduces, and poisons, that is terrifying and inescapable life fate. (*Archetypes* 82)

It is the negative Mother archetype that dominates *The Plumed Serpent*. The image and the attributes of the land of Mexico described in the novel fit with Jung's concept of the Mother archetype. Jung's theory of the archetype becomes a good subject in considering the meaning of the emphasis on the darkness of Mexico often expressed in Kate's feelings towards its land. Kate is fundamentally frightened by the unknown land of

Mexico, the people's black eyes, the brown colour of their skin, and the passionate but frantic and eerie ceremony of Quetzalcoatl. These dark, mysterious and frantic descriptions in *The Plumed Serpent* are closely associated with Jung's idea of the Mother archetype.

Kate, for instance, is frightened by any black-coloured thing which is unfamiliar to her, the Western white: the Mexican's dark eyes and skin. Kate says, "You see, Mexico is *really* a bit horrible to me. And the black eyes of the people *really* make my heart contract, and my flesh shrink" (*PS* 235; emphasis in orig.). Towards Cipriano, Kate feels "he wanted his blood-stream to envelop hers. As if it could possibly be. He was so still, so unnoticing, and the darkness of the nape of his neck was like invisibility. Yet he was always waiting, waiting, waiting, invisibly and ponderously waiting" (*ibid*. 317). As if the marriage to Cipriano was "inescapable life fate" indicated by the negative Mother archetype, Kate, feeling "how different his blood was from hers," is afraid that her mind and self would be devoured by the unknown dark land, blood and man (ibid.). The attributes of the Mother and the Mother Earth are terrifying for a white woman with the Western mind.

Another dark side of the Mother archetype is represented in the ceremony of Quetzalcoatl. The frenzied and hot-blooded passion in Chapter 18's 'Auto-da-Fé' in *The Plumed Serpent* arouses frantic fear. On a Sunday morning, Kate sees a man in the crowd begin to sing "Jesus' Farewell" to the softened thud of the drum. Stirring up strong emotions in the crowd, the ceremony finally ends up causing something like mass hysteria: "As he [Don Ramón with dead Christ] entered the crowd, kneeling men and woman lifted sightless faces and flung their arms wide apart, and so remained, arms rigid and outflung, in an unspeakable ecstasy of fear, supplication, acknowledgement of death" (*PS* 282). Their blind and enthusiastic belief in the new but weird religion is intrinsically linked with the factor of the negative Mother archetype. This secret and hidden ceremony terrifies them but at the same time is 'seductive,' like 'poison,' as Jung points out about the Mother archetype (*Archetypes* 82). The worship of Quetzalcoatl devours the normal state of mind and is like a mother possessing her children to avoid

their independence because of her excessive love. As far as *The Plumed Serpent* is concerned, the detailed descriptions about the land, the Mexican people and Kate's feelings evoke the negative side of the Mother archetype.

The engagement of *The Plumed Serpent* with the Mother archetype, if it is the negative one, is ironic because this is the novel in which Lawrence means to extol the virtues of the male-centred world, putting aside women's interference—the fact is the mother image dominates male culture. He cannot help depending on the representation of the Mother in order to build an ideal male leadership community in his fiction. All are living in the underlying culture dominated by the Mother archetype. Sheila MacLeod's analysis can be understood as dealing with this limitation of Lawrence, who cannot escape from the haunting Mother archetype. Her study is independent from a psychoanalytic approach but suggests that "Lawrence comes to misunderstand motherhood, at the same time overvaluing and devaluing it as an institution;" he cannot understand fatherhood either: he would never be a father of a child (MacLeod 154). Also, his suffering from his mother's possessive love cannot be missed in understanding his impression of motherhood. MacLeod's examination would be correct: "Motherhood gives women too much power" in his novels (153). In addition to Lawrence's misunderstanding and exaggeration of motherhood because of his personal background, my study would like to add the possibility of the effect of the Jungian 'archetype,' a primitive mental image inherited by the human mind, which means that he is unable to escape from the narrative constructed by a sometimes excessively exaggerated negative image of the Mother.

Along with Jung's theory of the archetype, the limitation of Lawrence's representation is revealed—the Mother archetype (the spirit of a mother, in other word, motherhood) moves front and centre in the novel in spite of its theme of male leadership. This thesis, dealing with another Jungian term, continues to investigate how much his so-called leadership novel is oriented toward the motherhood culture from a religious point of view. *The Plumed Serpent* is a story about the replacement of Christianity by Quetzalcoatl. My research takes the approach of showing that Quetzalcoatl is rooted in

femininity by analysing the beginnings of Christianity, which would reveal why Christianity is the target of Lawrence's criticism and why he wants to smash it.

In the first chapter of the Gospel of John in the Bible, describing the Christian concept of God, it says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (John 1.1).[37] The term "Word" in the Gospel of John is considered to be translated from the Greek, "Logos," whose original meaning was word, speech, account and reason. In the context of the translation of Logos in the Bible, it means principle of divine reason and creative order and is identified with the second person of the Trinity incarnate in Jesus Christ. Originally, the term Logos, was given special attention to by the Greek philosopher, Heraclitus. Logos was the thing that linked everything alive on the earth together. In other words, it was reason or cosmic law. Following Heraclitus, Aristotle gave a clearer definition of Logos in his *Rhetoric* in the terms of the argument of reason. Thus, the meaning of the word Logos now differs depending on the field of usage—such as philosophy, psychology, rhetoric and theology. Among these variously-used interpretations, the philosophical and psychological analysis of Logos could reveal the reason why Christianity is criticised in *The Plumed Serpent*.

When Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was translated into English, the Greek word Logos was given as the counterpart of 'speech' and 'reason,' and that has been the accepted general meaning of the word since then. Defining rhetoric as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion," Aristotle claims in *Rhetoric* that the practical argument requires three modes of persuasion: "The first kind depends on the personal character of the speaker; the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind; the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself" (*RH* I.1.1355b26-27, 1356a1-5).[38] The first mode, relying on credibility and trust, is known by the name of 'Ethos'; the second, 'Pathos,' is an appeal to emotion and passion; the third, Logos, is based on logic, reason and proof. Furthermore, in *The Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle professes to investigate the subject of the human good that we should aim at in life and action. According to this text, "the function peculiar to

man" is valued in "what may be called the practical life of the rational part of man. (This part has two divisions, one rational as obedient to principle, the other as possessing principle and exercising intelligence)" (*NI* 1.7.1098a3-4). Human function is valued in "an active life of the element that has a rational principle"; the human good is therefore the activity of the rational part of the soul performed well, which is to say, in accordance with virtue (*NI* 1.7.1098a15-17). The theological vision of Christianity was formed based on this idea which praises reason as a blessing for human, distinct from animal, activity.

The theme of *The Plumed Serpent* contradicts Logos which was philosophically discussed by Aristotle and would become the underlying principle of Christianity; it denounces the world of, or the worldview of, what is meant by Logos—knowledge and reason. In contrast to Logos, the world that Lawrence persists in emphasising cannot be recognised by intellect, as reflected in Kate's mind: "All a confusion of contradictory gleams of meaning, Quetzalcoatl. But why not? Her Irish spirit was weary to death of definite meanings, and a god of one fixed purport" (*PS* 58). She comes to Mexico to "be alone with the unfolding flower of her own soul, in the delicate, chiming silence that is at the midst of things" (*ibid*. 60). In this "silence," there is no word, account or excuse. The only thing existing in this silence is what appeals to the senses, instinct and soul. It is true that the worship of Quetzalcoatl and the country of Mexico are full of contradiction and chaos, which is beyond Kate's comprehension and that is why she suffered; but at the same time they fascinate her all the more even though she cannot account for her feeling. Neither account nor comprehension is required. Kate desires to close her "eyes" of knowledge; she envies a "richness" that Ramón and his fellows have but she has not got: "The itching, prurient, *knowing*, imagining eye, I am cursed with it, . . . The curse of Eve is upon me, . . . my knowledge is like a fish-hook through my gills, pulling me in spasmodic desire" (*ibid*. 184). Hope for replacement of Christianity by Quetzalcoatl indicates the rejection of the interpretation of the Western pattern of thought. *The Plumed Serpent* mythologises the dark enigmatic world that cannot be accounted for by reason as a saviour releasing the West from the fixed understanding of

the world worshiping intellect since the age of Christ represented by Logos.

On the other hand, when logos is analysed in terms of its psychological usage, *The Plumed Serpent* presents the fact that the masculine principle is eliminated. Logos, first mentioned in philosophy, is through the religious interpretation applied in analytical psychology established by Jung. In Jungian psychology, logos, a Greek term for the principle of rationality, is considered as a counterpart of 'Mythos,' also a Greek term, with elements of emotion and non-reason. Jung states that if the masculine principle can be accounted for by Logos, the feminine can be so by the aspect of Eros:

> Woman's psychology is founded on the principle of Eros, the great binder and loosener, whereas from ancient times the ruling principle ascribed to man is Logos. The concept of Eros could be expressed in modern terms as psychic relatedness, and that of Logos as objective interest. (*Collected Works* 123)

The principle of Quetzalcoatl is well represented by the nature of Eros, rather than Logos; Quetzalcoatl is a god that dissolves the dichotomy, balancing and reconciling the two opposing forces: "'Listen!' said Ramón, in the stillness. '. . . Listen! We are lords of the day, and lords of the night. Lords of the day and night. Sons of the Morning Star, sons of the Evening Star. Men of the Morning and the Evening Star'" (*PS* 178). Ramón swears this in the chapter "Lords of the Day and Night." Quetzalcoatl is not a god to separate the light and darkness, men and nature, the earth and the universe, but one to unite them all. Technically, Ramón, a strong and autocratic man, takes initiative in the restoration of Quetzalcoatl, but the aspect of femininity in Eros, not Logos, is represented in the god of Quetzalcoatl. Quetzalcoatl makes the conflict and tension between the two opposite forces 'loose' and then 'bound.'

In this way, contrary to Lawrence's intention to provide appeal to manhood, the theme of *The Plumed Serpent* is committed to the attributes of motherhood. My research has originally begun from Havelock Ellis' remarks about 'enlightened culture of motherhood' for the realisation of eugenics and revealed how much *The Plumed Serpent* is rooted in 'motherhood' psychologically and theologically—the spirit and

feeling of a mother—according to its definition, besides the other meaning of "the condition or fact of being a mother" ("Motherhood" 1a). It is acceptable that *The Plumed Serpent*, on the face of it, is categorised as a male-dominated novel because Don Ramón and Cipriano take the initiative throughout the novel, asking Kate to submit to them. However, this does not fully succeed; Lawrence bumped into the wall of the limit of representation. As a consequence, the major themes and descriptions of the novel—darkness of Mexico and the restoration of Quetzalcoatl—connote Lawrence's craving for and worship of the motherhood culture. *The Plumed Serpent* is a tough novel; the author tries to construct an ideal castle of men in the fields of women. Is Lawrence for a motherhood culture or against it? He is not such an 'easy' writer; we cannot have a clear answer to this question. He might be afraid of motherhood from his experience with his own mother and from the relationship with women, or perhaps might have been asking for peace in it.

"Matriarchy," an essay by Lawrence from 1928, provides a good means of knowing his attitude towards men and women in his day. This essay is, so to speak, the celebration of the revival of matriarchy. He begins the essay with an introduction on women's social advancement and men's fear of it. The man begins to announce "Man must be master again!" because he is afraid of "being swamped, turned into a mere accessory" of woman (*Late* 103). This is a nightmare and the most horrible word, reminding them of being whipped by women. However, Lawrence pacifies them by taking examples of the existing matriarchal communities in the world. Referring to cultures of the Berbers of the Sahara and the Pueblo Indians of the Arizona desert, he comments that "under the matriarchal system that preceded the patriarchal system of Father Abraham," the men look "jaunty and cocky," lively, engaged in spotting, hunting, dancing and fighting, while the women does the drudging and taking care of children (104). Lawrence continually maintains that men should not be afraid—the man is not a slave in matriarchy. Far from it, among the Pueblo Indians, for instance, man can fulfil his deeper social necessities by spending most of his time away from his wife and children in the *khiva*, the great underground religious meeting house for men only. His

duty is not to live as a husband and a father in the family; but they seem to consider it as a social duty to send the boys to school, to leave the wife and children safe in the home, and to educate one another through discussion about politics and ideas with other men in khiva. Lawrence thinks that to "satisfy his deeper social instincts and intuitions, a man must be able to get away from his family, and from women altogether, and foregather in the communion of men" (106). Drifting back to matriarchy: this is his serious suggestion for modern society. Men need to "get free again" from the tight family possession; woman must get "her full independence" (ibid).

"Matriarchy" is a very straightforward essay for Lawrence, without intended exaggerations and irony. It is his honest opinion that he wouldn't mind if women were given full independence, taking property, the children, even being heads of the family, if men were free from family bindings and restoration of their social pride was guaranteed. Although he reiterates the word 'social' to describe a sense of fulfilment in men's lives (such as "social necessities," "social instincts and intuitions," and "social needs") it does not mean power over society (*Late* 106). The essay merely emphasises that men are social creatures as well as admitting women's social advancement. Here, I would like the discussion to go back to eugenics by comparing matriarchy with what Lawrence wishes for (i.e. with the motherhood culture) that I cited from Havelock Ellis's remarks before. It can be found in Lawrence's "Matriarchy:" the affirmative surrender of the social power to women if the family is called a minimum unit of social community. However, in the real sense of the term of the motherhood culture that eugenics employed, it seems to imply that that it is the man who controls the family and society.

Behind the background of Ellis' remarks that the goals of eugenics cannot be obtained without the realisation of the women's movement in a highly enlightened culture of motherhood, it is by no means free from doubt that the motherhood culture he mentioned would be the "enlightened" one cited by the mainstream eugenicists, generally males, and a mouthing slogan coaxed by them after all. Women's careers were hoped for only because it could enable them to avoid eugenically disadvantageous marriage; in short, women were just expected to reproduce a good race for a better

society. Kevles confirms that within both English and American eugenics “it was a morally injunctive commonplace that middle- and upper-class women should remain at home, hearth, and cradle—that it was their duty, as Dean Inge intoned and Theodore Roosevelt trumpeted, to marry and bear children (four per marriage was the number thought necessary to maintain a given stock)” (88). In fact, they regarded women as a reproductive tool to “maintain a given stock” of the nation and were alarmed by the higher education of women (ibid.).

Furthermore, what should be noted about motherhood in eugenic discussions is that eugenicists regarded parenthood to be ‘innate’ in human begins. Parenthood, particularly motherhood, was stressed by Caleb Williams Saleeby, an English physician and a prominent member of the Eugenics Education Society (interestingly, his daughter was privately tutored by Lawrence for a few months when she was the age of ten).[39] Saleeby, in his *Woman and Womanhood*, declares “we may certainly be sure that the parental instinct and its associated emotion may be unmistakably displayed as the master-passion in a child who is not yet two years old” (167). Additionally, judging that a girl would have a natural addiction to dolls or babies, parenthood was thought to appear prominently in the female sex. Believing that “a girl may be a good mother, in the highest sense in her choice of mate,” Saleeby emphasised the necessity of women breeding for motherhood (194). Eugenicists in general considered that women’s great and proper function should be in living “as mothers and foster-mothers, nurses, teachers,” which could satisfy their maternal instinct (Saleeby 346).

Such an assumption, that motherhood was the natural function of all women, provoked the resistance of New Woman writers in the late nineteenth century, although it should not be neglected that feminist eugenicist did exist. Women were active in the British Eugenics Society and some influential eugenicists such as Karl Pearson and Saleeby supported suffrage and higher education for women. Not every feminist writer challenged eugenic policy and interference with women on marriage issues. Illuminating eugenic writings of three eminent feminists—Sarah Grand, George Egerton and Mona Caird—Angelique Richardson notes that Grand was the most earnest

supporter of eugenic love. Her study shows that Grand's novels exemplify the misery of marrying without rational selection (Richardson 95-131). Meanwhile, Richardson points out that Mona Caird's *Daughters of Danaus* expresses fierce opposition to eugenics, challenging their favourable discourse about women's maternal instinct (179-214). Caird states in *The Nineteenth Century* that "we shall never have really good mothers, until women cease to make motherhood the central idea of their existence" (qtd. in Richardson 210). Caird detected the ingenious strategies of the imperial plan: letting them clearly understand that women are made to be mothers—for reproduction. Richardson's study reveals the diversity of Victorian feminists' reactions to eugenics: a kind of acceptance of the 'new' ideology named eugenics, and a kind of thwarting of its plot which would force conventional morality onto women. It is clear, more or less, that eugenic policy demanded women's sacrifices for good breeding or the race, which should be obstacles to self-realisation of the New Woman in the true sense of the word.

The question is how does Lawrence deal with motherhood in a so-called leadership novel, *The Plumed Serpent*? The term, New Woman, coined and popularised in the late nineteenth century, was generally acknowledged to depict a woman who had departed from the stereotypical Victorian woman, the 'Angel in the House;' she was intelligent, educated emancipated, impendent and self-supporting.[40] Kate in *The Plumed Serpent* is a typical example of a New Woman with intelligence and a strong ego. However, Kate has nothing to do with eugenic distress; neither would she try to be a model of a good mother nor offer a defiant response to their policy. No matter how much the matter of blood is discussed in the novel, it is about human instinct and primitiveness as a counterpart of spirit or self-consciousness, not about the 'race.' MacLeod recognises that to be "womanly, in Lawrentian terms, does not necessarily mean to be a mother" (153). In her study of Lawrence's depictions of overvaluing and devaluing motherhood, MacLeod examines various characters from his first novel, *The White Peacock*, to *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Motherhood, according to MacLeod, is often seen as a positive hindrance to womanliness, like in Letty in *The White Peacock* and Anna in *The Rainbow*, while Aaron and Lille in *Aaron's Rod* both jeer at sacred

motherhood (153). Her study does not include an analysis of *The Plumed Serpent* and cannot do because the novel does not bring motherhood into question. Kate lives, at least after she comes to Mexico, outside of the frame of motherhood. She is a mother of two children but decides to leave everything in England—everything nurtured and secured in the Western culture: social position, home, children and the rigid pride as a European and an independent woman. Although it is doubtful that Kate would basically feel the motherhood responsibility when in England, motherhood is not the aim or meaning of her life and Kate in Mexico is totally free from it, which is the worst situation that eugenicists wanted to avoid.

As might be true of Lawrence's other books, *The Plumed Serpent* is an abstruse novel full of paradox at many phases. In spite of his will to describe an ideal world and the initiative of male leadership, the novel cannot escape from representatives of motherhood. The darkness of Mexico and the oppressive atmosphere throughout the novel are also deeply associated with the archetype of motherhood advocated by Jung. Regarding a major theme of the novel, religion, as well, it is revealed that a wish for the revival of Quetzalcoatl means to seek the feminine aspect; Logos, the beginning of Christianity, is identified with masculinity, representing ruling and separating, while Eros is associated with femininity, representing binding and loosening. That a utopia of men, by men, for men, is represented by the motherhood aspect is the first paradox.

Another paradox is that the novel totally disregards eugenics even though it seems to take on the discourse of eugenics. Blood is an often discussed topic and as long as Lawrence regards the mixed marriage of Kate and Cipriano as the best way for Kate, calming her strong ego (for her mental health) and sexually satisfying her as a woman (for her physical health), what he demonstrates in *The Plumed Serpen*t is very true to the original purpose of eugenics. Moreover, Kate decides on her marriage by her own will, which seems to embody the ideal of "enlightened culture of motherhood" as Havelock Ellis suggested for the realisation of eugenics. However, a defining difference between Lawrence's view and eugenics is whether motherhood becomes the decisive factor of being a woman, that is, its raison d'être. The idea itself of eugenics is not

malicious—to improve the race by leaving good seeds for the next generation. Therefore, Lawrence lets Kate take on the discourse of eugenics even after she ended playing a role of a mother—'eugenic' for her, not for the race. He searches for a possibility of women's realisation without and outside of motherhood. What is required for the 'eugenic' life that Lawrence anticipates is womanhood, rather than motherhood. Along with a hopeful goal of eugenics, Lawrence seriously seeks for women's 'eugenics'—for instance, how to live vigorously in body and mind, liberated from motherhood. *The Plumed Serpent* can be recognised as a paradoxical 'leadership' novel, full of motherhood elements and celebrating a woman who chooses her own 'eugenic' life through the flowering of her womanhood in the middle of her life.

Chapter 8

Birth Control in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*

Since Francis Galton coined the term 'eugenics' in *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development* in 1883, eugenics developed as a rationalisation measure to solve problems facing Britain as a nation such as rapid population growth, physical degeneracy of race and the decline of the British Empire as a result of the Boer War. Eugenics, superficially a scientific discourse, implicated diverse fields—the economics of overpopulation and depopulation, social hygiene problems, the birth control campaign and the movement for the emancipation of women. Pervasion and application of eugenic ideas, to put it nicely, means that social problems both in England and America such as pauperism resulting from an overflowing population and the issue of immigration allow the nation to intervene in the individual's life and sex.[41] Sex became an object of medical research and was put under government surveillance. Michel Foucault states that, "Broadly speaking, at the juncture of the 'body' and the 'population,' sex became a crucial target of a power organized around the management of life rather than the menace of death" (147). Needless to say, Foucault, applying the terms "*biopouvoir* [biopower]" and "*biopolitique* [biopolitics]," contributed to the discussion of social or political power over life.[42] Foucault reveals that, "We, on the other hand, are in a society of 'sex,' or rather a society 'with a sexuality': the mechanisms of power are addressed to the body, to life, to what causes it to proliferate, to what reinforces the species, its stamina, its ability to dominate, or its capacity for being used" (ibid.).

As well as modern philosophers, it is the duty of literary critics to investigate what kind of social interference circulates both in the realm of modern society and in the realm of modern literary imagination as a discourse and how it is connected to the idea of biopolitics. As Child believes, this should be done by carefully reading the texts written not only within the discourse, but with and against it (20). Dealing with *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, this chapter examines how Lawrence takes decisive steps against

state intervention in life and sex under the name of eugenic policy although the novel employs the narrative or discourse of eugenics.

This chapter clarifies that *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Lawrence's last novel in 1928, is greatly engaged with the issue of 'birth control' which was promoted under the eugenics movement in the early twentieth century. It was the era in which individual matters such as pregnancy and childbirth became firmly established as concerns of society and the nation, with evolution theory at the core. Among the previous studies of Lawrence and birth control, Akiko Kamada examined *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in relation to Marie Stopes, a Scottish birth control campaigner. By making a brief summary of *Married Love* by Stopes, Kamada clarified the differences between Lawrence and Stopes in how each viewed women's sexuality (57-116). Kamada suggests the importance of considering the influence of Stopes on Lawrence's work. My research goes further into examining how the differences between Stopes and Lawrence in their views on sexuality are reflected in their views on life.

For the purposes of this chapter, to clarify Lawrence's views on sexuality and, furthermore, on life, Lawrence's response to Marie Stopes is discussed and then the discourse related to birth control in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, which was written in the age when eugenic influence was inevitable, is identified. After that, Lawrence's real opinions on eugenics are examined, and finally, the apparent eugenic contradictions that turn out in the conclusion of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* are revealed, which allows us to notice or reconfirm Lawrence's respect for individual life at the peak of state intervention in the early twentieth century.

'Birth control' was a term coined as a positive description of methods of limiting family size by Margaret Sanger (1883-1966), an American birth control campaigner. Sanger was amazed at the sexual sophistication of ordinary mothers when she travelled to France in 1913. When Sanger, who was the sixth of eleven children in a poor family, began to work as a nurse in New York's Lower East Side, she came into contact with poor women suffering the pain of frequent childbirth, miscarriage and abortion. This experience convinced her of the need for birth control. In 1915, when Sanger came to

England, she met Marie Stopes, now famous as a British pioneer of birth control. In 1916, Sanger founded the first American birth control clinic in New York.[43]

On the other hand, Marie Stopes (1880-1958), was born and raised in an enlightened upper-middle-class family. Her father was an architect from a wealthy family who was interested in archaeology and her mother was a Shakespearean scholar and promoter of women's education. Stopes, influenced by her father's scientific interest from an early age, chose to take a science degree at University College, London, and became the first Englishwoman to receive a doctorate in botany. Therefore, at first, she was appointed assistant lecturer in botany at Manchester University in 1905. What brought her to begin the study of women's sexuality was her first marriage; after a marriage to a Canadian botanist, Reginald Ruggles Gates, in 1912, she applied for the annulment of her marriage because of her husband's sexual disability—in fact, however, she did not realise that her husband was impotent at first. Shocked by her own and even university-educated women's blindness about sex, she seriously began the study of sexuality.[44]

Although Sanger and Stopes had contrasting class and educational backgrounds, they shared many of the same concerns (McLaren 218). Alarmed by the high maternal and infant mortality rates associated with large families, they both began to exploit eugenics to improve the quality of the race. Also, they both perceived it was lower-class women who need the access to contraceptives although the middle class already restricted births. Therefore, they stressed the need for clinics supported by the government. For their common goal of women's sexual liberation, both Sanger and Stopes strenuously engaged with birth control campaigns through writings and lectures.

Stopes' *Married Love*, a book on sex within marriage published early in 1918, generated huge correspondence. Lawrence's comments about her in his essay "Pornography and Obscenity" can be regarded as one of the responses to her sensational book:

> How to get rid of the dirty little secret! It is, as a matter of fact, extremely difficult for us secretive moderns. You can't do it by being wise

> and scientific about it, like Dr. Marie Stopes: though to be wise and scientific like Dr. Marie Stopes is better than to be utterly hypocritical, like the grey ones. But by being wise and scientific in the serious and earnest manner you only tend to disinfect the dirty little secret, and either kill sex altogether with too much seriousness and intellect, or else leave it a miserable disinfect secret. . . .
>
> . . . The idealists along the Marie Stopes line, and the young bohemians of today have killed the dirty little secret as far as their personal self goes. But they are still under its dominion socially. (*Late* 247-48)

In this essay, Lawrence describes the necessity and difficulty of banishing the thought from people's minds that sex is dirty and shameful. At the point where Stopes openly began to talk about sex with scientific knowledge, he partly agreed with her. His sharp observation here is that he suggests limitations in Stopes. No matter how hard Stopes tries, he points out that she cannot completely rid the world of the secret of sex as long as she lives in a modern society and is pushed around by the secret. She cannot escape from the world which regards sex as an obscenity.

Lawrence and Stopes share two common beliefs: the importance of mutual orgasm in sex and the belief that sex is essential for a couple to achieve complete fulfilment together. Nevertheless, Lawrence criticises Stopes for her chemical explanation of sex which kills the energy and mystery of life. However, the ironic truth is that Lawrence is also the captive of a world that keeps "the dirty little secret" as well as Stopes. Lydia Blanchard examines the use of language in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* by quoting Foucault's phrase, "the limit of language." Although sexuality is believed to be regained by expressing it "in the clear light of language," Foucault, in his "Preface to Transgression," points out that, "We have not in the least liberated sexuality, though we have, to be exact, carried it to its limits. . . . the limit of language, since it traces that line of foam showing just how far speech may advance upon the sands of silence" (29, 30).

Foucault, in *The History of Sexuality,* mentions Kate in *The Plumed Serpent* by Lawrence and quotes his notions about realisation of sex from "A propos of '*Lady*

Chatterley's Lover'" (157-58). Blanchard counters that Foucault's view underestimates Lawrence, i.e. that "Lawrence is an example, perhaps the paradigmatic example, of those who have misunderstood the nature of discourse, of those who have misunderstood the relationship between the language in which we talk about sex and the repression of sexuality" (Blanchard 18). Blanchard admits Lawrence's interest in the full conscious realisation of sex, but "that interest was, for him as for Foucault, part of a broader concern with what it means to bring sexuality into discourse, part of a broader interest in the relation between language, sexuality, power, and knowledge" (21). Along with this belief, her study reveals that Lawrence brings sexuality into discourse.

Blanchard focusses on the use of language in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Pointing out that Lawrence often compares Connie's orgasm to the tides of the ocean, she suggests this expression is not originally from Lawrence but derives from imagery used in *Married Love* by Marie Stopes. Blanchard states that "in fact the language with which Stopes describes female sexuality, drawing on 'the tides of the sea' and its 'ebb and flow,' contains imagery not significantly different from Lawrence's to describe orgasm from the point of view of the woman" (28). Stopes often used "sex-tide" and "love-tide" to explain woman's nature and sexual desire (*Married Love* 27-36), while Lawrence often compares Connie's orgasm to the tide—"she was like the sea, nothing but dark waves rising and heaving,…she was ocean rolling its dark dumb mass" (*LCL* 174).

My study reveals that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* includes several discourses on birth control besides the imagery of the tide that Blanchard suggested and clarifies what is behind the discourse. Firstly, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* presents a theme: that contraception is evil. The book has a scene in which contraception is talked about directly. Connie, who is vaguely conscious of being pregnant with Mellors' child, tells him of the plan to travel to Venice because she needs to convince her husband that the purpose of the trip is sex for procreation. Mellors realises that she is implying the possibility of pregnancy and suddenly asks:

> "You've not taken any precaution against having a child, then?" he

asked her suddenly. “Because I haven’t.”

“No!” she said faintly. “I should hate that.” (169)

The language in this short conversation should be noted. Mellors asks her, using circumlocution, if she uses contraception. Female contraception in the early twentieth century was limited to the pessary and the douche, a contraceptive shower of water.[45] Given her sex life with a paraplegic husband, a better answer to Mellors would have been that she ‘did not need that’ rather than ‘I should hate that.’

Why does Mellors avoid using the direct word ‘contraception’ and why does Connie reply in a caustic voice, ‘I should hate that’? The answer lies in the social context regarding contraception as evil and sin. In fact, after Sanger opened America’s first birth control clinic in Brooklyn in 1916, and after only nine days in operation, she and her staff were arrested on a charge of having infringed The Comstock Act (Law) of 1873, according to which disseminating contraception information and devices was forbidden.[46] Working-class women who wanted to use contraception sometimes took the risk of inducing their own abortions by taking all kinds of drugs, although they often felt guilty about it. Angus McLaren’s *A History of Contraception* pays attention to the fact that “working-class women wanted to provide themselves with the greatest possible degree of flexibility in dealing with reproductive decision” which “was reflected in their use of language” (230). As a means of assuaging their guilt, they changed the use of language. They hardly used the word ‘abortion’ because it recalled “the image of a doctor carrying out an operation, something qualitatively different from the traditional means of limiting family size” (ibid.). Instead of ‘abortion,’ they used expressions such as “restored her menses” or “made herself regular”; instead of ‘conceived,’ they used “caught,” “fallen” or “am that way again” (McLaren 230-31). The same thing happens in *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*. The words “precaution” and “hate” imply Lawrence’s repulsion for birth control, which is against nature. At the same time, this use of language reflects society at that time which regarded sexuality, including contraception, as evil and a sin. Lawrence, himself, who cannot help using circumlocution, is also under the influence of this community.

Secondly, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* presents one of the contemporary concerns: 'orgasm and pregnancy.' On her way home from visiting Mrs Flint, Connie meets Mellors and has sex with him in the woods. She can achieve orgasm for the first time with him and she feels as if she has become pregnant. They have a conversation about orgasm (actually the term "come-off" is employed in the novel) during sex. After that, when she goes home, she realises "the depth of the other thing in her. Another self was alive in her, burning molten and soft and sensitive in her womb and bowels" and suddenly says to herself, "It feels like a child in me" (*LCL* 135). Her remarks seem to be abrupt and illogical, but orgasm and pregnancy were indissolubly connected with each other for the wives at that time who did not want more children. Many women believed that if they experienced orgasm, they would become pregnant. According to McLaren, "women confessed to living in dread from month to month, of having their sex lives blighted by fear of pregnancy, of actually avoiding orgasm in the hopes that they could thereby avoid conceiving" (221). This fact allows a new interpretation of this scene. It is generally understood that Connie's expectation of having a child must be stimulated by Josephine, Mrs Flint's baby, whom Connie meets just before the encounter with Mellors and must have caused her jealousy. Now it is possible to interpret this scene to mean that Connie's expectation reflects the popular superstition that women would become pregnant if they reached orgasm.

Finally, the novel is narrated with another sexual discourse on men; Mellors represents a good example of a working-class man who was given the cold shoulder by birth control campaigners. For Connie, Mellors is special, with "a certain beauty of a pure creature" and "the sense of aloneness, of a creature purely alone" (*LCL* 66). Although Connie recognises in him something different from the other vulgarians, it turns out to be a typical working-class man in the context of a discourse on birth control. The portrayal of their sex shows that Connie seems to be overwhelmed by Mellors whose sexual desire is too strong. He is often seized by a sexual urge when they have sexual intercourse. Both of them seem to indulge in the sexual pleasure; Connie actually "felt herself a little left out" (*ibid*. 126). At other times, when he holds her fast in the

woods, “she feels his urgency. Her old instinct was to fight for her freedom. But something else in her was strange and inert and heavy. His body was urgent against her, and she hadn’t the heart any more to fight” (133). Judging from the context, in which this outdoor sex leads her to orgasm for the first time with him, Lawrence might want to stress the importance of liberation from modern consciousness by connecting to the nature beyond reason. However, what should be considered here is the trend: i.e. that passionate men like Mellors were really alienated from working-class wives of that time. In fact, in contrast to middle-class couples who gradually became aware of birth control, “Many working-class men continued to see unfettered sex as their ‘right’” (McLaren 224). Accordingly, their wives had been forced into unwanted pregnancies. Therefore, it is natural that “working-class wives tended to value ‘careful,’ decent, sober husbands more than passionate spouses” (ibid.). In contrast to Connie’s overestimation of him, there is nothing special and unusual in Mellors; he is nothing but a working-class man taking the initiative in sex as his ‘right.’ Mellors’ passion and instinct, which really bothered wives of working-class men in real life, are described as charms for Connie. This can be also regarded as one of the ‘parodies’ of the traditional discourses, as Blanchard suggested in her examination (26).

Thus, *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* consists of a social discourse on issues of birth control although Lawrence attempts to liberate sexuality from suppression by society, which might suggest the possibility that Lawrence, as well as Stopes, could be an activist who is trapped by the language meant to free our sexuality. Indeed, the limit of language in *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* deserves the controversy, but what should be paid more attention to is what is meant by this worn-out discourse of birth control in fiction—it reveals how unconsciously and ingeniously private matters were embedded into society, such as with sex and pregnancy in the first quarter of the twentieth century, while being noticed even by the novelist.

Broadly speaking, the purpose of birth control greatly changed after World War I. When Margaret Sanger began the birth control movement just before the war, its purpose was the liberation of women. After the war, its purpose changed; the birth

control movement was promoted with an emphasis on eugenics. Before World War I, birth control was strongly opposed by eugenicists because those who would use contraceptive methods were the upper class whose declining birth rate particularly alarmed many eugenicists. From her experience of living in a large poor family, Sanger believed birth control was an absolute requirement for the liberation of women when she began the birth control movement by writing a column on sex education for a newspaper in 1912. By the 1920s, women desired sexual fulfilment in marriage as Freudian theory was accepted by the middle class. Birth control had come to stay and the birth rate of the upper class declined. Then, Sanger began to insist that contraceptive knowledge was necessary for people with lower incomes and less education in order to solve the problem of the differential birth rate eugenically. Kevles summarises that, "Before the war, Sanger had linked birth control to feminism. Now, like her British counterpart Marie Stopes, she tied contraception increasingly to the eugenic cause" (90). In McLaren's words, "in the 1920s neo-Malthusian and eugenicists began to close ranks" (219).

Stopes was quite a radical eugenicist, getting into line with neo-Malthusians, who were desperate to raise the fertility of the upper class as to lower that of the working class. McLaren observes that Stopes had little sympathy for the life of the lower class, quoting her remarks: "Soon the only class callously and carelessly allowing themselves to hand on bodily defect will be the morons of various grades, sometimes called the 'social problem group'" (qtd. in McLaren 220). Also in "A New and Irradiated Race" in *Radiant Motherhood*, Stopes criticised a society which "allows the disease, the racially negligent, the thriftless, the careless, the feeble-minded, the very lowest and worst members of the community, to produce innumerable tens of thousands of stunted, warped, and inferior infants" (221). It is utterly abhorrent to her that the inferior stocks "drain the resources of those classes above them which have a sense of responsibility" (ibid.).

It has been noted in this thesis that Lawrence's reiterated misanthropic remarks indicate support of negative eugenics, but it is too hasty to draw a conclusion that he

consistently remains a merciless eugenicist like Stopes. Connie, in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, becomes pregnant with Mellors' child at the end of the novel, which leaves the great eugenic contradictions as follows.

The first contradiction is the fact, as argued before, that Connie does not use birth control although it is absolutely necessary for eugenics. It is true that Connie does not need to practise birth control because she belongs to the upper class whose birth rate was expected to grow.[47] As eugenics is meant to create healthier and more intelligent people, an aristocratic woman like Connie should not have sexual intercourse with a working-class man like Mellors from a eugenic perspective, let alone have a child with him. Concerning the standards of the fittest and the least fit in eugenics, generally, in England, a country of a rigid social hierarchy, Miho Ogino states that class really mattered (179). People's clothes, physical constitution and way of talking and looking considerably varied depending on class. Therefore, there was a strong tendency to believe the order of the hierarchy was directly linked to the quality of human beings, though among eugenicists, there were critics of this type of classism. In such a cultural view, Connie's pregnancy is totally supposed to annul the principles of eugenics.

Another contradiction is that Connie's pregnancy openly disregards the law of eugenics—a class barrier. As she hates to use contraception, she could have become pregnant by any man she had sex with. Both Connie and her two year older sister, Hilda, have love affairs by the time they are eighteen; Connie seems to enjoy a sex-thrill with her first lover, a student in Dresden, Germany. After Clifford's bad injury, she has a desultory sort of affair with Michaelis, a young Irish playwright who has made his fortune in America. It could be possible that she had a child even with Clifford because they enjoyed at least a month's honeymoon during the war. All of them are at least socially higher in rank than Mellors. However, Connie dares to have a child with Mellors, not with a young intelligent student, a wealthy playwright, or an aristocrat husband.

Furthermore, disregarding class, it cannot be said that Mellors is physically much superior to Clifford from a eugenic point of view. The pneumonia that has afflicted

Mellors since the war left his heart “not so strong—and the lungs not so elastic”; he cannot exercise hard too often (*LCL* 196). Slenderness, rather than muscularity, is emphasised in Mellors’ appearance: “his slender loins,” “his white, slender back” and “his slender white arms” (*ibid*. 66). On the other hand, Clifford seems to be perfectly healthy except his weakest point, paralysis of the lower half of the body. He has a “ruddy face” and “his shoulders were broad and strong, his hands were very strong” (*ibid*. 15, 66). Connie chose Mellors not because he was the very picture of health as eugenics campaigners promoted. *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* provides the two players, Mellors and Clifford, with divergent physical features; it is difficult to tell which has the better—a chronic man with reproduction ability or a healthy man without it.

How can we explain Connie’s contradictory pregnancy and what is meant by it? Should it be regarded as natural selection or artificial selection? These contradictions reveal Lawrence’s nagging doubts and inner conflicts about eugenics, although he superficially takes a stance of supporting negative eugenics. Connie’s pregnancy expresses Lawrence’s strong will to reclaim the freedom of the individual to decide about matters such as pregnancy and childbirth, which was controlled by the nation.

One interpretation is that the contradiction highlights the value of life, in opposition to eugenics which promotes the law of dominance. It is a challenge to the classism of eugenics. We should understand that Mellors has something superior to any other man as a human being and deserves to leave offspring, instead of asking why he survives despite not belonging to a superior class. He was the only man who could warm Connie up. As Connie’s outspoken father, Sir Malcolm, suggests, Connie needs “some damned man” who would “set her stack on fire”—it happens to be the gamekeeper (*LCL* 283). *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* is a challenge to the standards of eugenics. The ambiguous description of the body and the health conditions of Clifford and Mellors forces us to reconsider what a genetic defect is. Physical strength, state of mind and sexual capacity are all mixed up. Clifford is depressed and sexually unavailable because of paralysis of the lower extremities, but except for that, is well built and generally good in health. Mellors is sexually active and has no mental and

physical defect except chronic pneumonia which he has been suffering from since the war. It casts question on the standards by which eugenics rates the quality of human beings. The conclusion of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* succeeded in making a distinction between the value of life and social benefit, and revealed the need of revaluating the value of life. This occurred at a time when the nation was excited by eugenics, the new scientific study used for rationalisation of class discrimination and racial discrimination.

Another interpretation is that the contradictory conclusion of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* subverts both the pre-war and post-war discourses on birth control. Before World War I, the purpose of birth control was to liberate women from the burden of repeated childbirth and raising children. The opposite is true in the novel since Connie obtains her liberty by having a child with Mellors. Pregnancy liberates her from Clifford and the stifling life in Wragby. This conclusion opposes the campaigns of Sanger and Stopes who began the birth control movement in the name of women's liberation. After the war, its purpose was changed; birth control became synonymous with eugenics. As mentioned before, Connie's pregnancy totally defeats the post-war purposes of birth control. *Lady Chatterley's Lover* describes a rebellious woman who does not use birth control for women's liberation or eugenics. Connie represents the will to protect an individual's right to have a child against the strong opposing social movement of the time, namely when this sacred right was about to be removed by the nation.

In consequence, it is undeniable that *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, whose author attempts to save sexuality from being a "dirty little secret," is dominated by a social and scientific discourse on birth control pervasive in the early twentieth century although the author hates their manners of disclosing sex. However, the discourse building up the story has two important functions. One is that it reveals social interference in private matters. Some of the imagery and language in the novel reflect the influence of birth control and some seem to parody it. The discourse on birth control, which takes many forms, shows social interference in sex, the most private matter.

Another function is paradoxically to reflect the ideal that individual rights should not be infringed on by government, no matter what. The novel succeeds in placing the

right of conception into the hands of the individual, as it should be, by creating an aristocratic woman who does not practise birth control and who has a child with a working-class man. The discourse on birth control reflects social interference in the life of the individual and at the same time, distinguishes private and social matters. The discourse on birth control in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, which was published in the late 1920s, when people were excited by the ideas of eugenics, enables us to stop and think about the value of life.

In the conclusion of this chapter, I would like to scrutinise the philosophical significance connoted in this novel by reviewing the concept of biopower/biopolitics which was paid meticulous attention to by Michel Foucault.

Almost forty years have passed since Foucault introduced the concepts of biopower and biopolitics in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* in 1976. According to Foucault, the power over life started in the seventeenth century and evolved in two basic forms after that (*History* 139). The first to be formed was what Foucault called "an *anatomo-politics of the human body*," which centred on the body as a machine; for instance, physical disciple, the optimisation of physical capabilities and the extortion of physical forces were all ensured by this power (ibid.; emphasis in orig.). The second, formed later, focussed on "the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and morality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity" (139). The supervision of these biological processes was effected through an entire series of interventions and "*regulatory controls: a biopolitics of the population*" (ibid; emphasis in orig.). Such an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of population marked the beginning of an era of "biopower" (140). Foucault traces the history of biopolitics back to the seventeenth century and clarifies that human life became centred on politics in two different directions from the eighteenth century. However, he did not fully elucidate the phenomena of the twentieth century, which he ended up merely suggesting.

Giorgio Agamben (1942-), one of the contemporary thinkers who took on the

ideas of modern French philosophy, rethinks Foucault's concepts of biopolitics/biopower in the context of the twentieth century. Agamben begins his *Homo Sacer* with the following etymological interpretation of 'life:'

> The Greeks had no single term to express what we mean by the word "life." They used two terms that, although traceable to a common etymological root, are semantically and morphologically distinct: *zoē,* which expressed the simple fact of living common to all living beings (animals, men, or gods), and *bios,* which indicated the form or way of living proper to an individual or a group. (9; emphasis in orig.)

'*Zoē,*' in ancient Greek the simple fact of living, is taken over by the term, zoo; '*bios,*' by biology (Ohsawa 13). Agamben quotes Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics* and *Politics* to demonstrate the distinctive use of language between *bios* and *zoē*. For instance, Aristotle, in the *Ethics*, employs "*bios theōrētikos*" to indicate the contemplative life of the philosopher, and "*bios politikos*" for the political life. The philosopher would never have used the term *zoē*. The following is the passage from Aristotle's *Politics* with the complimentary Greek added by Agamben:

> This [life according to the good] is the greatest end both in common for all men and for each man separately. But men also come together and maintain the political community in view of simple living, because there is probably some kind of good in the mere fact of living itself [*kata to zēn auto monon*]. If there is no great difficulty as to the way of life [*kata ton bion*], clearly most men will tolerate much suffering and hold on to life [*zoē*] as if it were a kind of serenity [*euēmeria,* beautiful day] and a natural sweetness. (qtd. in Agamben 9) [48]

The main point of Aristotle's discussion is that *bios* is what the "polis" (a city state in ancient Greece) is originally concerned with; it should not be *zoē.* Human beings are born with life [*zoē,*] but essentially continue to exist for the sake of a good life [*bios*]. The purpose of *bios* is to seek goodness in community. Life as *zoē,* in other words, should be excluded from polis or politics.

Foucault, in the first volume of *The History of Sexuality,* summarises the process up to the threshold of the modern era when natural life begins to be included in the mechanisms and calculations of state power and politics turns into biopolitics:

> But what might be called a society's "threshold of modernity" has been reached when the life of the species is wagered on its own political strategies. For millennia, man remained what he was for Aristotle: a living animal with the additional capacity for a political existence; modern man is an animal whose politics places his existence as a living being in question. (143)

Foucault defines a society's threshold of modernity as situated at the point at which the life of species as a simple living body becomes a target of a society's political strategies. He called this kind of power "biopower," and politics based on this power "biopolitics."

Agamben has the same opinion as Foucault: a society's threshold of modernity accompanied by that biological existence was reflected in political existence. Agamben's *Homo Sacer* restates Foucault's concept with the term of "bare life" to refer to *zoē*: "the entry of *zoē* into the sphere of *the polis*—the politicization of bare life as such—constitutes the decisive event of modernity and signals a radical transformation of the political-philosophical categories of classical thought" (10). Agamben's definition of "bare life" is "the life of *homo sacer* (sacred man), who *may be killed and yet not sacrificed,* and whose essential function in modern politics we intend to assert" (12; emphasis in orig.). It is derived from *On the Significance of Words* by Sextus Pompeius Festus, a Latin grammarian who flourished in the third century: "The sacred man is the one whom the people have judged on account of a crime. It is not permitted to sacrifice this man, yet he who kills him will not be condemned for homicide" (qtd. in Agamben 47). '*Homo sacer*' can be killed but cannot be legally offered to a god as a sacrifice in a religious ceremony, for instance. Then, what is the life of *homo sacer,* if it is situated at the intersection of a capacity to be killed and yet not sacrificed, outside both human and divine law? This is an absorbing question for Agamben (48). Agamben's achievement is that he applies the concept of biopolitics to its topos of the twentieth century, while

Foucault's attention centres on biopolitics in the eighteenth century. He dares to focus on the extreme "bare life" in the Auschwitz concentration camp within the structure of the great totalitarian states of the twentieth century.

It is certain that power over life existed before what Foucault calls a society's threshold of modernity, when human life became embedded in political strategies. Foucault's text features the power over life before and after the seventeenth century. Foucault, in "Right of Death and Power over Life," the final part of the first volume of *The History of Sexuality*, states: "For a long time, one of the characteristic privileges of sovereign power was the right to decide life and death" (135). The sovereign could legitimately require his subjects to take part in the war for the defence of the state; without "directly proposing their death," he was empowered to "expose their life": in this sense, he wielded an "indirect" power over life and death (ibid.). Also he could exercise a direct power over the traitor's or the offender's life as punishment; he could put them to death. The sovereign's power is the right to kill and he evidenced his power only by exercising his right to kill or refraining from killing. In short, according to Foucault, the right which was formulated as the "power of life and death" was in reality the right to "*take* life or *let* live" (138; emphasis in orig.). However, since the classical age the West has undergone a very profound transformation of these mechanisms of power (136). Contrary to the right of the sovereign based on death, the right of the social body is to ensure, maintain, or develop its subjects' lives. In other words, "the ancient right to *take* life or *let* live was replaced by a power to *foster* life or *disallow* it to the point of death" (138; emphasis in orig.). The power to kill and threat of death belong to the powerful in the ancient state; since 'Polizei' was established in the seventeenth century, a new power emerged which interfered with and controlled the health and lives of citizens.[49]

Thus, the issue of power over life has been argued by many thinkers in various ages from Aristotle to Foucault and Agamben. When *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is read in line with such a long lineage of philosophy of power over life, it is possible to draw two conclusions. The first is that both Clifford and Mellors simultaneously experience the

two kinds of powers over life through the war: the ancient power to "take" life and the modern power to "foster" life. The two of them were drafted to World War I and had a brush with death; in fact, Clifford received a debilitating injury. After the war, they were forced to stay alive without apparent purpose of life, with dreams and hopes under the welfare of the state. Even Mellors, who returned from the war unscathed, withdrew into a self-destructive world. During the war, they were faced with the threat of death and the ancient right to take life in Foucault's terms. After the war, they have no choice but to abandon a power to foster life. During the space of only a few years, they undergo both the ancient and modern power over life beyond space and time.

Taking Agamben's notes on the etymological origin of life in Greek into account, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* can be interpreted as a story of bare life; one desperately struggling to regain *zoē* from biopolitics. The protagonists of the novel, Connie and Mellors, are "bare life," that is, the life of *homo sacer*, who can be killed but cannot be forced to be sacrificed. Their lives can be taken legally if they commit a crime, but cannot be offered to God. They decline sacrifice for anything in the name of 'God:' customs of society, classism, intellectualism, industrialism, science and politics. Cherishing "the simple fact of living," Connie and Mellors try to skim *zoē* from power over life and state intervention under the name of eugenics, for example. They can die any day if they wish, however, Mellors never wants to end his self-contained and isolated life in his cottage in the woods and Connie wants to escape from a lifeless house at Wragby Hall. The woods at Sir Cliffors's Wragby Hall signify the void, hopelessness and disconnection for Mellors and Connie, and probably even for Clifford. Staying in the woods is almost equivalent to becoming a human sacrifice for God, which Mellor and Connie firmly deny because they are "bare life" whose sacrifice is banned—the wood at Wragby Hall functions as a ritual place where human life would be offered. This is a story about *zoē*; the protagonists do not care about *bios*, the form or way of living proper to an individual or a group.

Such analysis of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in terms of biopolitics gives Aristotle's philosophy great weight once again. In his opinion, living according to the good is great,

but above all, men live for living. Aristotle opines that if there is no great difficulty in the way of life [*bios*], most men hold on to *zoē* because "there is probably some kind of good in the mere fact of living itself" as if it were a kind of "beautiful day and a natural sweetness" (qtd. in Agamben 9). In fact, Connie literally has no difficulty in her way of life; she was to inherit money from her father, Sir Malcolm, and has her own money (above starvation) if she leaves Clifford. Connie has no financial difficulty but both Connie and Mellors get sick of living in a form according to 'the good.' It might be much easier to adapt to living as *bios*, however they cast off the burden of *bios*—classism, morality, customs, society and industrialism. In the context of philosophy of biopolitics from ancient times to today, it is possible to conclude that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* tells of a man and a woman who believe that the simple fact of living itself deserves celebration and pursue the beauty in *zoē* free from the state intervention and anyone's interference.

Chapter 9

Lawrence and Democracy

In this final chapter, I would like to discuss how Lawrence's political view on democracy is in line with his response to eugenics. Like in the previous chapter, which analysed *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, this chapter also reveals Lawrence's contradictions—between his superficially approving attitude towards eugenics and discordance with what he presents in his works. My discussion goes along with his essays on society such as "Democracy" and "Education on People" because they are useful in finding out his inner conflict about eugenics and bring to light the motivation behind his favourable comment on it.

His essay "Democracy," now in *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays* of the Cambridge edition, was supposed to be written from September to October of 1919 and originally grew from his work on Walt Whitman for *Studies in Classic American Literature*. Instead of being printed in the *Studies*, it was published in a small weekly international paper called *The Word*, which would be mentioned in *Kangaroo* in 1923. "Democracy" consists of four parts and each part begins with the discussion of an American poet of the nineteenth century, Walt Whitman (1819-92).

"Democracy," taking Whitman's *Democratic Vistas* published in 1871 as its starting point, expresses Lawrence's views on anti-democracy on the whole. Lawrence begins the essay by summarising and reviewing the two major conditions for the establishment of democracy which were suggested by Whitman: "Whitman gave two laws or principles for the establishment of Democracy. We may epitomize as (1) the Law of the Average and (2) the Principle of Individualism, or Personalism, or Identity" (*REF* 63). This is supposed to be his response to Whitman's claims, as follows:

> For to Democracy, the leveler, the unyielding principle, equally unyielding, closely tracking the first, indispensable to it, opposite, (as the sexes are opposite,) and whose existence, confronting and ever modifying the other, often clashing, paradoxical, . . . This second principle is Individuality, the

> pride and centripetal isolation of a human being in himself,—Identity—Personalism. (35)

Whitman himself admits that these two principles of the law of average and the principle of individuality are quite "opposite," but that they function as the core of democracy. In response to Whitman, Lawrence checks each element which sustains democracy one by one: "The Average," "Identity," "Personality" and "Individualism." Throughout the essay, Lawrence expresses his strong detestation of the concepts of the Average and equality which are regarded as the features of democracy.

In the first place, democracy is a system of government which cares about equally providing the people with 'liberty' as liberalists call it. Liberalism is a political doctrine that insists on protecting the freedom and property of the individual. Liberalists rebuke inequality as it deprives individuals of natural rights to freedom of thought, speech and worship and discriminates individuals by blood and class. Liberalism has a close but uneasy relationship with democracy; liberals recognise that government itself can pose a threat to liberty by generating a tyranny by the majority for its doctrine—governments derive their authority from popular election. [50] In spite of the strained relationship between liberalism and democracy, it cannot be denied that the concept of equality lies at the centre of democratic doctrine, which provokes Lawrence's backlash.

Equality is worshipped by both liberalists and the democratically minded, but Lawrence asks for whom it exists. It rests upon "the fatal little hypothesis of the Average" (*REF* 63). He keeps asking who 'the Average Man' is. Of course, there is no such animal and it is "a pure abstraction" (ibid.). The discussion goes further to the meaning of the existence of the Average Man. Although it is nothing but an abstract idea, the Average Man has a purpose: "He is useful to measure by. … He is invented to serve as a standard in the business of comparison" (64). After all, as it is impossible for the government to guarantee equality for all people, democracy requires calculation of an average to ensure equality. The Average Man exists for our "*Materially* need;" he just "represents what all men need and desire, physically, functionally, materially, and socially" (65; emphasis in orig.). The Average Man is created neither for worship nor as

ideal. He is “the standard of Material need in the human” (65). The law of the average is the first core of Lawrence’s criticism of democracy.

Lawrence develops the discussion of the concept of equality based on the premise that equality is merely idealistic theory. Nobody can say that all men are equal or unequal. It cannot be formulated, such as A = B, nor A = B + C. The question is when and how the concept of equality or inequality is formed. Lawrence explains its mechanism: “When I stand in the presence of another man, and I am my own pure self, am I aware of the presence of an equal, or of an inferior, or of a superior? I am not. When I stand with another man, . . . I am only aware of a Presence, and of the strange reality of Otherness. There is me, and there is *another being*” (*REF* 80; emphasis in orig.). At first, there is no comparison or estimation. There is only “strange recognition of *present otherness*” (ibid.; emphasis in orig.) and our emotions are influenced by the presence of the other. Then, when does comparison enter? It enters “only when one of us departs from his own integral being, and enters the material-mechanical world” (80). The material world generates comparison and comparison establishes the concept of equality.

Furthermore, the connection between the material-mechanical world and politics is pointed out. According to Lawrence, the primary business of politics is dealing with property. Politics concerns the possessor of property; only its possession and ownership can shift depending on political position and parties:

> This is horribly true of modern democracy—socialism, conservatism, bolshevism, liberalism, republicanism, communism: all alike. The one principle that governs all the isms is the same: the principle of the idealized unit, the possessor of property. Man has his highest fulfilment as a possessor of property: . . . One half says that the uneducated being the majority, should possess the property: the other half says that the educated, being the enlightened, should possess the property. (*REF* 81-82)

To put it nicely, democracy is an ideal system insisting on equitable distribution of property—out of their benevolent consideration for the interests of the Average Man;

but, in other words, whether it is democracy, socialism or communism, the reason for existence of politics is really material: it is only for settling a practical matter—how to scramble for limited property on earth. Lawrence, distrustful of justifications for the existence of democracy, conceives a political stance which disapproves of the private ownership of land. In his letter to Mary Cannan in 1915 he states, "Private ownership of land and industries and means of commerce shall be abolished—then every child born into the world shall have food and clothing and shelter as a birth-right, work or no work" which shows his inclination to socialistic ideas (*Letters*, ii. 292).

Lawrence's contradiction lies within the central concept that sustains both eugenics and democracy. Although the concept of the Average is in the central discussions of both theories, Lawrence marks his approval for eugenics but not for democracy. It is palpable that eugenics was a study of worship of the Average; the discourse of degeneration was formed in the social context of England that had made the public enthusiastically support eugenics since the late nineteenth century. The British Empire was faced with the deterioration of national power: London pauperism, defeat in World War I, a decline in physical ability of the whole nation including soldiers and the increase in criminals and the feeble-minded among the lower classes. The obvious corruption of the country forced eugenicists to measure all things that can be measured: measurement of body and physical fitness, fertility rate, criminal rate, rate of school attendance, amount of income and intelligence quotient. As a result of statistics obtained from quantification, those above the average were categorised as the superior; below, the inferior. The natures of democracy and of eugenics are similar; figure and average are all about them. Therefore, Lawrence's approving attitude towards eugenics seems to conflict with his allergic reaction to democracy.

However, anti-democratic power is generally thought to be liable to lead to eugenic ideology. As Kevles asserts: "An unabashed distrust, even contempt, for democracy characterized a part of eugenic thinking in both Britain and America" (76). Henry Fairfield Osborn, the president of the American Museum of Natural History, delivered a speech at the second International Eugenics Congress, stating "the true spirit

of American democracy that all men are born with equal rights and duties has been confused with the political sophistry that all men are born with equal character and ability to govern themselves and others" (qtd. in Kevles 76). Eugenicists did not display their admiration for the economic top of modern society and businessmen were hardly found among the leadership of organised eugenics both in Britain and America because business talent was not recognised as a eugenically desirable trait.

Kevles observes that the eugenics movement "enabled middle- and upper-middle-class British and Americans to carve out a locus of power for themselves between the captains of industry on one side and lower-income groups—both native and foreign-born—on the other" (76). This observation might suggest a reasonable understanding of Lawrence's stance on eugenics. An analogy between eugenicists and Lawrence as an anti-democrat is found in the point that they both do not believe in the material world—eugenicists do not admire a bounder in the material world, which would be the business of democracy, not of eugenics, because they regard the success in business as a causeless event which would annul the significance of blood, thoughtful marriage and education. Secondly, they share views on social position; neither Lawrence's birth nor the target of eugenics is the high aristocracy or the upper class, much less the business person. Those who eugenics appeals to match Lawrence's backbone: between 'the captains of industry' and 'lower-income groups.' Furthermore, Lawrence and eugenicists stay in line as long as they disregard fine words of equality. It might well be that Lawrence's remarks were taken as indicating an inclination to eugenic ideas because his ideas could fit into a eugenic stance, i.e. they openly avowed inequality in human life by brandishing the difference—stronger and weaker human life.

As if corroborated by the theory of eugenics, Lawrence would sneer at the naive idea of equality in "Education of the People," the essay published in 1920, a year after "Democracy": "It is obvious that the old idea of Equality won't do. . . . before we can dispose of the equality ideal, ideal that all men are essentially equal, we have got to find how far it is true" (*REF* 100-01). He persuades us that it is beneficial for children to

discard the hypocritical idea of equality. What one should bear in mind is that before we educate the people, we must know well enough that “they are the proletariat, the human implement of industry” and that their “proletarian or laborious nature is their mundane nature” (87). The problem is that we argue for education in its “utilitarian aspect only,” disregarding the be-all and the end-all for them (ibid.). To the poor education ideally exists; they have a higher reality than the modern democratic ideal. Although the elementary school teachers know what the end will be for children, the high idealists preserve some illusion around children as if education enriched their life standards; however, it is never promised. The first thing to be done in the education of the people is to “cure them of the fear of not earning their own living” (92). Regrettably, however, the reality is different: “Between the idealists and the materialists our poor ‘elementary’ children have their education shaken into them” (ibid.). It is a shame to treat children in school to a lot of highfalutin ideas and lies.

The solution he suggests is that education should be provided according to purposes and classes. As every child has different physical ability, mentality and family background, there ought to be various systems of education. Education, according to Lawrence, should offer what children need, but neither children nor parents know how to choose what they need: “We’ve got to educate our children. Which means, we’ve got to decide for them” (*REF* 106). Educators must take responsibility for this decision as a community. They have to keep in mind the following: “It’s no good feeding our young with a sticky ideal education till they are fourteen years old, then pitching them out, pap-fed, into the whirling industrial machine and the warren of back streets” (106). Education is sacred business; educators decide the steps of their young fates, seriously and reverently. The remarks of Lawrence, who once worked as an elementary school teacher, are convincing: “unless we can act from our deep, believing souls, we’d best not act at all, but leave it to Northcliffe and trades unions” (ibid.). If educators admit that distinct classes of society inevitably exists in a system of education in which the basis is the great class of workers, they will know it is time to shift to education with gaps depending on class, abandoning the old idea of equality.

Hierarchical society is what Lawrence wants, which is revealed by his letter to Bertrand Russell in 1915: “You must drop all your democracy. You must not believe in ‘the people.’ One class is no better than another. It must be a case of Wisdom, or Truth. Let the working class *be* working class. That is the truth” (*Letters*, ii. 364; emphasis in orig.). Lawrence exhorts Russell, a British mathematician and social reformer, to consider the drastic social reformation which would replace democracy and egalitarianism. He continues: “There must be an aristocracy of people who have wisdom, and there must be a Ruler: a Kaiser: no Presidents and democracy” (ibid.). Soon after this letter, he whips up Russell again:

> . . . you must criticize the extant *democracy*, the young idea. That is our enemy. This existing phase is now in its collapse. What we must hasten to prevent is this young democratic party from getting into power. The idea of giving power to the hands of the working class is *wrong*. The working man must elect the immediate government, of his [. . .] work, of his [. . .] district, not the ultimate government of the nation. There must be a body of chosen patricians. . . . The whole must culminate in an absolute *Dictator*, and an equivalent *Dictatrix*. There must be none of your bourgeois presidents of Republics. (*Letters*, ii. 365; emphasis and square brackets in orig.)

Lawrence goads Russell not only to criticise old democracy but to carry out a new constructive idea of a new state with a rigid hierarchy in which an absolute ruler from aristocracy—never the working class—is on top, chosen by election of the working men.

It seems to clear up the contradiction in Lawrence, as an anti-democrat and as a supporter of negative eugenics, because although these two doctrines share the principle of the Average, eugenics is incompatible with equality. However, the fact that Lawrence, who wishes for an aristocrat ruler, comes from the working class attracts readers’ interest toward the position in which he is standing and what he is thinking about when he desires hierarchal society. To approach the question of why he often delivers elitist

comments, *Sons and Lovers*, his autobiographical novel, describing the reality of the working class, should be examined again.

Sons and Lovers can be regarded as a novel which deals with the author's class complex and how to overcome it. As in the novel, Lawrence is a hybrid; he was born of a coal mining father, Arthur, and lower-middle-class mother, Lydia, who has more education than her husband. In *Sons and Lovers*, Paul's father, Walter, who used to be attractive and beautiful, with energy and passion, becomes no more than a filthy self-indulgent man who is called "Dirty nuisance!" by his son (*SL* 141). Although as Paul grows older, he shows a little sympathy for his father, knowing his mother's love is too possessive and realising that not only the father but also the mother is to blame for the failure in their marriage, the novel moderately approves of Paul's devotion for his mother and antagonism towards his father.

The author began writing *Sons and Lovers* at the age of twenty-five in 1910, as his mother lay dying; it could be seen as a confession of a suffering middle-class woman who married a working-class man. However, did his early contempt of his father lead him to elitism? His ambiguous social position—born in the working class but moved out of it through education—brings about several questions: Does he really hate his blood, i.e. of the working class? Does he despise those who accept the hard life of the lower class without tempting to get out it? Or, are his remarks no longer coming from the working-class man and does he look down on the audience as a successful man in the world? I think that I can answer yes to most of these questions. There must have been a considerable psychological complex: as a man coming from the working class, and at the same time, pride as a man of success. However, he never detests the working-class men who live in what he calls later "the country of my heart."[51] It is true that equality is nothing but a gloss as people are bound to class as soon as they are born, as Lawrence, who knows only too well the hardship of the working-class life, insists. Nevertheless, or therefore, a hasty speculation should be avoided that he is an extreme advocate of anti-democracy and eugenics.

Lady Chatterley's Lover, Lawrence's final novel, should be carefully examined

again along with the author's spiritual growth and original theory of eugenics. As I suggested in the previous chapter, Connie's pregnancy of a child with the gamekeeper totally annuls eugenics. Mixed marriage between different races or classes was commonly supposed to be an offence against eugenics. However, it must be remembered that Galton, the founder of eugenics, did not mean to enforce class-based discrimination by his theory, or rather he hoped it would work in reverse. Before Galton published his eugenic ideas in *Hereditary Genius* in 1865, in order to pursue natural ability he had drawn a sample population of distinguished jurists, statesmen, military commanders, scientists, poets, painters and musicians over two centuries. Finding that a large fraction of them were blood relatives, he drew a conclusion that families of reputation were much more likely to produce offspring of ability than an ordinary family. Kevles observes that "Galton's hereditary analysis proceeded from the premise that reputation . . . truly indicated ability, that the lack of it just as reliably bespoke the absence of ability, that neither outcome depended upon social circumstance" (4). Galton believes in inherited talent; *Hereditary Genius* specifies that "social hindrances cannot impede men of high ability from becoming eminent" and that "social advantages are incompetent to give that status, to a man of moderate ability" (41).

In defence of the premise that environmental factors would not affect ability, Galton liked to adduce an example of America: "Culture is far more widely spread in America, than with us [England], and the education of their middle and lower classes far more advanced; but, for all that, America most certainly does not beat us in first-class works of literature, philosophy, or art" (Galton, *Hereditary Genius* 40). This is a coarse example dominated by imperialistic snobbism. American talent had been drawn into forming a new nation rather than the field of art. Above all, he missed noting the possibility that without social advantage a man of talent could not have got as far as he did, or that without social hindrance those of high ability might have achieved more. Consequently, his eugenic idea was accepted as celebrating the social environment—that is the English upper class, which Galton himself belonged to.

In that sense, the gamekeeper, Mellors, in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* carries a

proto-eugenic meaning originally pronounced by Galton, who never meant to be classist. Mellors is a middle-class man who has received a good grammar school education. When he becomes a blacksmith, following his father after working as an office clerk, he rejects his middle-class identity and purposely reverts to the working class. He had had several traumatic relationships with women. His marriage with Bertha Coutts is disastrous; she is sexually rampant and dominant. He has experienced a failure which is very likely to happen to working-class men: choosing a wrong woman and imprudent marriage. However, in spite of such a "social hindrance"—if Galton's term is applied—his ability is never ruined. No matter how he behaves (in a manner of working-class bluffness and speaking a broad Derbyshire dialect), he has "something special" that makes Connie think he is "almost. . . a gentleman" (*LCL* 69, 68). Indeed, he is a cultured man who can appreciate intellectual and literary discourse and speak in a refined way if he tries to. And during the war, he serves as an officer. He is talented—as if he was born as a gentleman. In a way, Mellors is true to Galton's proto-eugenics—social hindrances cannot impede men of high ability. It might well be that Connie or Lawrence decides to leave a child of Mellors, a superior, talented man.

In the case of Mellors, superiority does not mean ability, which makes his name appear in *Dictionary of Men of the Time*. Philosophical reading along with an examination of the author's life could explain what makes Mellors more advanced than Clifford. I would like to apply Hannah Arendt's theory in seeking for Mellors' peculiarity besides Connie's abstract expression of "almost" gentleman. A twentieth century German-born American female philosopher, Arendt in *The Human Condition* deals with "the most elementary articulations of the human condition;" she examines "what we are doing" and proposes to designate three fundamental human activities: labour, work and action (5). According to Arendt, they are fundamental because "each corresponds to one of the basic conditions under which life on earth has been given to man" (7). For each activity, she gives definitions:

> Labor is the activity which corresponds to the biological process of the human body, whose spontaneous growth, metabolism, and eventual decay are

> bound to the vital necessities produced and fed into the life process by labor. The human condition of labor is life itself.
>
> Work is the activity which corresponds to the unnaturalness of human existence, which is not imbedded in, and whose mortality is not compensated by, the species' ever-recurring life cycle. Work provides an "artificial" world of things, distinctly different from all natural surroundings. . . The human condition of work is worldliness.
>
> Action, the only activity that goes on directly between men without the intermediary of things or matter, corresponds to the human condition of plurality, to the fact that men, not Man, live on the earth and inhabit the world. While all aspects of the human condition are somehow related to politics, this plurality is specifically the condition—not only the *conditio sine qua non* [condition that is indispensable], but the *conditio per quam* [condition by means of which]—of all political life. (7; emphasis in orig.)

Unlike Marx, who confused labour with work, the significance of Arendt's study draws a clear distinction between labour and work, and doubts the victory of labour in the modern age by putting weight on 'action' of human activities.

It is obvious that Arendt is not satisfied with the modern age which has welcomed a theoretical glorification of labour and the fact that the whole society has transformed into a labouring society. Victory of labour has resulted in consumption and confinement of individuals to the private realm. Firstly, to explain how labour, which is the life process itself, is connected with consumption, Arendt quotes John Locke's remarks: "good things" such as life and labour are "generally of short duration, such as—if they are not consumed by use—will decay and perish by themselves" (qtd. in Arendt 96). Labour is a precious thing that is indispensable for life, but it is less durable (i.e. without leaving something tangible) and it takes a much longer time to produce than consume. In contrast, a characteristic of work is the production of an artificial world although it correspondents to unnaturalness of human existence. The risk which Arendt is afraid of is that the worldliness created by work could be consumed by labour. Another of

Arendt's major achievements is that she tries to distinguish the public realm from the private realm. The model of the public realm is the ancient Greek polis where people would race to show their ability through action and speech. Needless to say, Arendt believes that people are released from the necessity of life and liberated only in the public realm, while labour still belongs to the private realm which exists only for necessities such as family.

Among all activities which intimately engage with the most general condition of human existence—birth and death—Lawrence engaged in 'work' and 'action' all through his life. The work and products that he left "bestow a measure of permanence and durability upon the futility of mortal life and the fleeting character of human time" (Arendt 8). At the same time, a part of his work is overlapped with action; his strong interest in politics drove him to leave prolific works and led him to become absorbed in enthusiastic discussions with his companions. On the other hand, Lawrence's father, Arthur, and Mr. Morel in *Sons and Lovers* devoted their lives to labour. A characteristic of labour is "that it leaves nothing behind, that the result of its effort is almost as quickly consumed as the effort is spent" (Arendt 87). As a coal miner, both Arthur and Mr. Morel support and protect their family—in other words, they assure not only individual survival, but the life of the species; albeit in a prejudicial manner, their labour might not be productive.

The gamekeeper Mellors is a labouring man who can appreciate the value of work and knows the temporariness of labour. By identifying himself as a working-class man, he devoted his life after the war to labour as a blacksmith for a while before becoming Sir Clifford's gamekeeper. He is a cultured man and has enough intellect from his education at grammar school and reading experience in his teenage years. He could engage in work if he tried to do, but in the end he did not; what he did—whether as a blacksmith or a gamekeeper—was labour, not work as Arendt called it. His activity does not lead to productivity and Mellors knows this well. He grabs the essence of labour; at the ending of the novel he writes to Connie about the bad situation of the pit: "The pits are working badly . . . They talk about nationalization, nationalization of royalties,

nationalization of the whole industry. . . . Whatever you make you've got to sell it" (*LCL* 299). He continues to clarify the connection between labour and consumption and the distinction between labour and life: "Their [the young at the pit] whole life depends on spending money, and now they've got none to spend. That's our civilization and our education: brings up the masses to depend entirely on spending money, and then the money gives out" (ibid.). He argues for the need to train the people to live "without need to spend" and to notice that living and spending are not the same thing (300). His declaration—"If only they were educated to *live* instead of earn and spend"—corresponds to Arendt's argument (ibid.; emphasis in orig.).

Mellors, a final hero created by Lawrence, is in accord with Arendt and the author's position in his late years. Both Lawrence and Arendt believe in the value of the ancient and are doubtful about equality. Arendt supports Aristotle's thought that neither "labor nor work was considered to possess sufficient dignity to constitute a *bios* at all, an autonomous and authentically human way of life; since they served and produced what was necessary and useful, they could not be free, independent of human needs and wants" (Arendt 13; emphasis in orig.). Arendt reveals the most obvious reason for her rejection of the spectacular rise of labour from its despised position in ancient times to the highest rank, i.e. as the most esteemed of all human activities. She finds that the history of labour changed since John Locke discovered that labour is the source of all property; Lawrence also concluded that politics exists for the matter of property regardless of party (Arendt 101). She disapproves of the socialised man which was emphasised by Karl Marx as opposed to the "egoistic" life of the individual because socialised man "act for reasons of self-interest—into forces of interest which inform, move, and direct the classes of society, and through their conflicts direct society as a whole" (321). Deploring the victory of "animal laborans," Lawrence, Mellors and Arendt respect the ancient thought that the *bios politikos* [politic] as Aristotle calls it should be based on action and speech. In addition to their inclination toward ancient philosophy, Arendt is a disbeliever of egalitarianism as well:

> . . . [Besides labour] this society does no longer know of those other higher

> and more meaningful activities . . . Within this society, which is egalitarian because this is labor's way of making men live together, there is no class left, no aristocracy of either a political or spiritual nature from which a restoration of the other capacities of man could start anew. (5)

For Lawrence and Arendt, egalitarianism seems to be convenient paradigm that makes people engage in labour and live together obediently in society, dangling a fairy tale of liberation from the fetters of labour.

As for Lawrence, it is obvious that his distrust of egalitarianism results in accordance with eugenic discourse from his youth. Yet it takes a long time for him to reach the figure of Mellors who invalidates eugenic law but is politically neutral, neither on the right or the left—just fed up with worship of money. Before *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, he published a political novel, *Kangaroo*, in 1923. Soon after its protagonist, Richard Lovatt Somers, who is a poet and essayist, has come to Australia with his wife, Harriett, he receives an invitation from the right and left wings. Their neighbour in Sydney, Jack Callcott, an ex-serviceman committed to seizing political power by military force, offers Somers the opportunity to join the organisation led by Benjamin Coley known as "Kangaroo"—an ex-army officer and a lawyer. Kangaroo advocates an Australia established by ideals of universal love and brotherhood, which is based on a strictly hierarchical system of government. In the meantime, William James Trewhella (Jaz), Jack's brother-in-law, who is involved with the labour movement, takes Somers to the leader of the Labour Party to invite him to join it as an editor of a socialist newspaper. Somers is tempted by both offers from Kangaroo and the Labour Party; he is drawn to Kangaroo's generosity and warm spirit, and as a man coming from the working class himself, attracted to the movement for the labourers. After all, however, Somers will not commit himself to both movements; for him, neither type of love and political ideology can persuade him.

When Somers leaves for America, Jaz asks him:

> "You won't give in, Mr Somers, will you? . . . You won't give in to Kangaroo, and he's dead now. You won't give in to Labour, or Socialism.

> Well now, what will you do?—Will you give in to America, do you think?"
>
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . "I won't give up the flag of our real civilized consciousness. I'll give up the ideals. But not the aware, self-responsible, deep consciousness that we've gained. . . ." (348)

Paul Poplawski argues that *Kangaroo* ends with a sense of "a plague on both your houses" in terms of the political options Somers has been offered. But before he leaves, Somers commits himself to another thing: to the mystery of wild nature as represented by the Australian bush—to the "non-human Gods, non-human human being" (231).

Tracing the transition of Lawrence's political thought in his late novel, *Kangaroo*, could be helpful for understanding what he commits himself to in the final years of his life. As Somers is drawn to absolute authority and to the labour movement, Lawrence is pretty far to the left at one time. For instance, Bertrand Russell, whom Lawrence asked for drastic social reformation, recalled Lawrence in his autobiography: "I was a firm believer in democracy, whereas he [Lawrence] had developed the whole philosophy of Fascism before the politicians had thought of it. . . . He, of course, in his imagination, supposed that when a dictatorship was established he would be the Julius Caesar" (21). Russell disputes Lawrence's dream-like thinking and that he never let himself bump into reality, which would result in the breaking of the short friendship between them. Russell's review of Lawrence is reasonable; judging from his eugenic remarks and authoritarian thinking against parliamentary democracy, it is very likely that Lawrence is regarded as a totalitarian advocating centralised and dictatorial government requiring complete subservience to the state. However, it is not true. Agamben's observations on democracy could explain well why Lawrence hates democracy, but at the same time, does not believe in totalitarianism at all.

Agamben insists that modern democracy contains a specific aporia in itself: firstly, as opposed to classical democracy, modern democracy was presented from the beginning as a vindication and liberation of *zoē* in that it is constantly trying to transform bare life into a way of life and to find, so to speak, the *bios* of *zoē*; another is

that it tries to put the freedom and happiness of men into play in the very place—"bare life"—that marked their subjection (13). Democracy was unable to save *zoē* from unprecedented ruin although all its efforts were dedicated toward happiness of *zoē*. Modern democracy's decadence and gradual convergence with totalitarian are attributed to this aporia of democracy. Agamben confirms the idea of an inner solidarity between democracy and totalitarianism, which Lawrence knows well (Agamben 13). Lawrence does not switch to totalitarianism only because he is anti-democratic.

Although seeming to be tempted by totalitarianism or fascism at one time, Lawrence believes neither in democracy nor totalitarianism, which his essay, "Democracy" proves. In it he states that "Society, or Democracy, or any Political State or Community exists not for the sake of the individual, not should ever exists for the sake of the individual, but simply to establish the Average, in order to make living together possible" (*REF* 66). He cannot have turned into a totalitarian because when he published "Democracy" in 1919, he already noticed that modern democracy and all the 'isms'—socialism, conservatism, bolshevism, liberalism, republicanism and communism—are the same; they provide "the principle of the idealized unit" for "the possessor of property" (ibid.). Then four years later in 1923, when *Kangaroo* is published, Lawrence grasped the direction: "I'll give up the ideals. But not the aware, self-responsible, deep consciousness that we've gained" (*K* 348). Somers discards every 'ism'; neither the right nor the left and the middle. What is the "real civilised consciousness" that Somers will not give up? Although he is a highly socially minded person, Lawrence's final decision or philosophy of life should be talked about away from the field of politics, even though which called "dream-like" by Russell.

It is suggested that Lawrence's idea of "deep consciousness" is rooted in classical philosophy. Absorbed in John Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy* (1892) which he had borrowed from Russell, Lawrence wrote to Russell: "I have been wrong, much too Christian, in my philosophy. These early Greeks have clarified my soul. I must drop all about God" (*Letters*, ii. 364). Greek philosophy offered him another way to interpret the world, apart from Christianity. In this way, Lawrence should have assented to Arendt's

view on ‘labour;’ both of them wanted to emphasise the significance of ‘action’ as a human condition as well as the ancient Greek polis where people show their ability through action and speech. Also, that is why his early novel, *Sons and Lovers*, in which a coal mining father, a servant of labour, is detested by his children, might express the effect of ancient philosophy on the author. Lawrence thus is shown to assign great value to *zoē*—or in Agamben’s terms, ‘bare life’—and that he denounces mixing up of modern democracy (*zoē* and *bios*). It can be deduced that Lawrence tried to seek a foundation of deep consciousness in Greek philosophy after giving up any political ‘isms’.

Another interpretation of what he calls deep consciousness might be revealed in his emotional development through his life—especially his understanding and sympathy for his father. The difference of dealing with a working man, between *Sons and Lover* and *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, would be important. A labourer, Mr. Morel is oppressed in *Sons and Lovers*, but *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* revives a hero like Mr. Morel, who purposely degrades himself to be identified as a working-class man and exhibits uncouth behaviour. Worthen admits Lawrence’s sympathy for his father in his later life:

> A visit to England during the coal-strike of 1926 brought his last opportunity to see his old haunts, and it was probably this experience which provoked the first version of *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, one of a series of works revisiting the themes and places of his youth, and the problem of his own early life. His sympathy was now far more with his father (who had died in 1924) than with his mother, and the novel’s central character was thoroughly working-class. (*DHL* “Struggle” par. 2)[52]

Worthen examines Lawrence’s emotional change of the late 1920s; on the other hand, Inoue comments on his early reconciliation with his father (150-51). Inoue focusses on the fact that Lawrence began growing a beard in the wake of pneumonic disease in 1914. After spending the winters of 1912 and 1913 in the mild weather of Italy, he had to face a dreadful winter in England. During his illness, he wrote: “I’ve grown a red beard, behind which I shall take as much cover henceforth as I can, like a creature under a

bush" (*Letters*, ii. 224). Besides the fact that Arthur Lawrence used to be proud of a luxuriant beard, referring to his remarks, "creature" and "bush," Inoue suggests the possibility that those terms related to nature would lead to the image of Lawrence's father, contrary to his mother who disliked animals (150-51). Whether growing a beard meant his reconciliation with his father or not, it seems obvious that Lawrence was moved by compassion for the working-class man when he went back to England for his last visit in 1926 and saw a bitter strike.

This compassion for the working class makes him realise the deeply civilised consciousness that Somers seeks for instead of the ideals in *Kangaroo*. In Poplawski's interpretation, Somers commits himself to the "non-human Gods, non-human human being," that is the mystery of wild nature as represented by the vast land of Australia. Although I have no objection against Lawrence's reverence for wild nature, in writing *Kangaroo* in 1922, I would like to add another meaning to wild nature of "non-human human" as Poplawski calls it—it could also indicate the very basic nature of human beings as far as his final year are concerned.

When he returned to England in 1926, his tuberculosis was now a real problem. He had something on his mind: the coal miner strike. When he was back to Eastwood in July, the general strike was already finished (since May) but unlike other industries only coal miners kept going on strike even though the general strike ended in a defeat of the Trades Union Congress. What he saw in Eastwood for his last visit was shocking for him. There was no idyllic and peaceful nature anymore: 'the country of my heart' was gone—the miners, pickets, and policeman that he saw were poignant like "a spear through one's heart" (*Letters*, v. 592). He witnessed the bare livelihood of the coal miner family, which was much worse than what he had experienced as a child, and women seemed to have changed most for him; they fought against police and were taken off to court for insulting and obstructing the police in a strike.

The 'country of his heart' was completely destroyed; however, he sensed a strong connection between himself and labourers. In "Return to Bestwood," his essay, written at the time of this last visit, he confesses:

> They [the colliers of the Erewash Valley] are the only people who move me strongly, and with whom I feel myself connected in deeper destiny. It is they who are, in some peculiar way, "home" to me. I shrink away from them, and I have an acute nostalgia for them. (22)

He must have met quite a lot of influential people, like writers, editors, and educators; nevertheless, only the coal miners were striking. He does not attack colliers who had broken strike and went back to work for living, and who were still on strike. No matter how hard the colliers went on strike, it was obvious that they had lost but would never surrender, which grabs him. He writes about his sympathy towards labourers:

> Curiously, I like England again, now I am up in my own regions. It braces me up: and there seems 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. They are not finished. And they have a funny sort of purity and gentleness, and at the same time, unbreakableness, that attracts one. (*Letters*, v. 519-20)

There must have been significant crossover between colliers who stay out on strike against capitalists and Lawrence himself who fights against government. He bestows the best compliments on labourers with the terms such as "plasm twinkling and nascent," "purity and gentleness" and "unbreakableness." We live with 'the deep civilized consciousness' in modern society. Our mind and way of life are much too civilized to return the primitive life that we had before, however, looking at labourers fighting for life in front of him, Lawrence recognizes in them a 'non-human human being,' the twinkling proto-plasm which reminds us of the beauty of the origin of life.

It could be true that 'labour' is not an action that should be highly evaluated as Arendt suggested because, according to her, it is only "the biological process of the human body, whose spontaneous growth, metabolism, and eventual decay are bound to the vital necessities" (7). However, Lawrence severely suffered from illness in his forties; he barely maintained his health when he saw the colliers strike in Eastwood. The strong labourers who are energetically protesting against coal owners seem to shine

brilliantly in his eyes. He witnessed the deep civilised consciousness in their twinkling plasm. Although he criticised mechanised civilisation, as the end of *Kangaroo* suggests, he is "not the enemy of the deep, self-responsible consciousness in man, which is what *I* mean by civilisation" (348; emphasis in orig.). In spirit of labour existing as the civilised consciousness which has been the backbone of civilisation, the modern people owe much from. In the human condition, labour can be ranked under work as a human activity that is only consumed and fed into the life process—in this point, labour might be a "non-human" being in terms of elements of human activity; however, Lawrence revaluated this human primitive activity of labour and the strong will for life behind labour which dwells in the modern people: it is what he wished to cherish after giving up all ideas.

Consequently, two things are revealed by observing his attitude in favour of eugenics and of anti-democracy: one is why does he end in stating such aggressive eugenic remarks even if only superficially? And the other is that he believes neither in eugenics nor democracy after all. As a man who was born into a working-class family and went out from it, he knows both the lives of the labourer and the intellectual. He has learnt it the hard way that one is born different, shackled to class. For Lawrence, it is Russell who he thinks is a dreamer (he was called so by Russell though), believing in democracy whose policy is established on egalitarianism; he was too different from Russell who was born a son of a Lord and Lady. It is understandable given Lawrence's background that he indulged in the idea of dictatorship or eugenics; he could not help leaning the difference of individual life—there is the life of the strong and the weak in the world.

On the other hand, his essay "Democracy" finally implies that he will never be bound to eugenics: "The State is a dead ideal. *Nation* is a dead ideal. Democracy and Socialism are dead ideals. They are one and all just *contrivances* for the supplying of the lowest material needs of a people" (66; emphasis in orig.). His emphasis of "contrivances" expresses his concern that people are given to accept any new idea unquestioningly, expecting it to solve a social problem and to improve their life

(although actually not doing so). Eugenicists were among those who were trapped by new “contrivances,” for “Socialist, progressive, liberal, and conservative eugenicists may have disagreed about the kind of society they wished to achieve, but they were united in a belief that the biological expertise [the idea of eugenics] they commanded should determine the essential human issues of the new urban, industrial order” (Kevles 76). It can be concluded that Lawrence must have been keenly conscious of uselessness of contrivance—whether it is scientific discourse or political thought—for dealing with “the essential human issues of the new urban, industrial order” (ibid.). His pro-eugenics remarks well indicate the author’s explosive temper but are tricky; they should be carefully dealt with. Although he admits that the strength and weakness of human life exist, he stands for the labourer in the end; he found and admired the truly deep consciousness of will for life dwelling in people who are fighting against the strong.

Conclusion

This thesis has outlined the possibility of integration of scientific discourse, derived from evolutionary theory in the late nineteenth century, and early twentieth-century literature. This concluding chapter will briefly review the insights gained from an advanced reading of Lawrence's works with evolutionary theory and the idea of eugenics, as well as revealing the process of developing the thesis. This study began with analysis of the significant mark social Darwinism and pre-Darwinian evolutionary theory made on Lawrence's early novels. Chapter 1 examined how *Sons and Lovers* reflected the theory of Herbert Spencer's social organism. Chapter 2 compared the difference between Lawrence's and Tennyson's reactions and interpretations to evolutionary ideas by focusing on Lawrence's frequent use of an image of an 'infant' in *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*, which was borrowed from Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. Chapter 3, also dealing with Lawrence's successive novels, *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*, showed the analogy between Lawrence and the nineteenth-century geologist, Charles Lyell, in narrating the stream of human consciousness (for the former) and the history of the earth (for the latter).

There were challenges in the organisation of Part I. The order of chapters was problematic; if evolutionary theories were placed in sequential order, Lyell's *Principle of Geology* (1830-33) would be introduced first, then Spencer's *Synthetic Philosophy* (1862-96) followed. However, that order was not chosen because the purpose of this study is to focus on Lawrence's development, not on the history of Darwinism. My first encounter with Lawrence was *Sons and Lovers*, when I realised Spencer's social Darwinism was clearly reflected in the novel. Since then, I have been reading his works with great attention to see if there were clues to suggest any connection between Lawrence and evolutionary theories. I thought it better to begin my research based on clear evidence that showed the influence of evolutionary thought on Lawrence or his interest in it. As the research progressed, I became curious about Lawrence's frequent employment of the image of an infant, which was discovered to be quotation from

Tennyson, who was deeply affected by early evolutionary thought in the nineteenth century. Study of Tennyson uncovered his advanced knowledge of biology and archaeology, geology such as Lyell's uniformitarianism and Darwin's law of natural selection. Attention to Lyell in the study of Lawrence was triggered by the discovery of his usage of the image of an infant borrowed from Tennyson's long verse. This is why the chapters in this thesis are organised in reverse chronological order of the emergence of evolutionary ideas.

Part I, "Pre-Darwinian Theory and Social Darwinism," confirmed the fact that there was no clear line between science and literature, and between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. The difficulty in separating science from literature or literature from science in the culture of the nineteenth century has been discussed. Although my research did not go further into analysing the effect of literature on science, it examined the closeness between the fields. Chapter 1 showed that the nineteenth-century theory of the social organism still affected Lawrence in thinking about the importance of an individual. Chapter 2, after paying attention to Tennyson's conflict between his theology and new science, showed how that conflict of the Victorian era was transformed into the concern of the people in the twentieth century. Chapter 3 presented a challenging analysis of the concept of 'development' and the way it has fascinated people across different times and fields. The comparison between Lawrence and Lyell was most difficult in this part because there was the longest period of time between Lawrence and Lyell, compared to that between Lawrence and Spencer, Tennyson or Darwin. However, Lyell's belief in the extremely slow transition of the earth through time (uniformitarianism) and his method of demonstrating this could be broadly shared with Lawrence, in his descriptions of the transformation of men's and women's consciousness from the nineteenth to the twentieth century in *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*. Part I again presented no segregation between science and literature, and between the two centuries. The concept of 'development' was a fascinating discourse for science in revealing the history of the earth and the origin of organic life; for literature, the scientific approach to the process of development was a dramatic

metaphor to use in narrating the development of an individual as a representative of organic life.

In proceeding to Part II, at the earliest stages of research my intention was to continue examining the effect of evolutionary theory on Lawrence's works, but this was too wide a scope and had to be focused. I returned to my previous reading of Lawrence, and the gap between the aggression shown in his letters and essays and the sensitivity expressed in his novels. It was important to analyse what generated this gap and what made Lawrence appear as an extremist, leftist, communist and socialist. What most contributed to revealing an answer to this question were his essays, letters and *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Merciless remarks on the socially vulnerable which were often found in his letters and essays, and a cross-class marriage in *Lady Chatterley's Lover* implied that the idea of eugenics may have contributed to the formation of his philosophy and character, albeit with many contradictions; at the same time, I also considered whether his written responses to eugenics were fundamentally negative or positive. This was how Part II was focused on an analysis of Lawrence's reaction to eugenics.

Part II examined Lawrence's redefinition of 'inferiority' and 'degeneration,' which were primary concerns for the eugenics movement. For eugenicists, paupers, the feeble-minded, the incurable, the disabled, criminals, prostitutes and alcoholics were all regarded as having a hereditary inferiority, being 'unfit': English and American eugenicists made an earnest effort to eradicate these groups because they thought the 'unfit' would cause the degeneracy of the nation and the entire human race. Among these signs of degeneration, this part raised for discussion three stereotypes of 'inferiority' for eugenicists—homosexuality, non-white races and disease—to understand how Lawrence interpreted the degeneration of modern society or redefined the meaning of inferiority, apart from its definition from the eugenic perspective.

After discussing Lawrence's essays and letters from 1908 to 1926, which revealed that his ideas inclined towards eugenic thought, Chapter 4, "Italy and Homosexuality," considers his frequent trips to Italy, which began in 1912, as a major turning point for

Lawrence in thinking about homosexuality or homo-society. One of his Italian travel books, *Twilight in Italy*, showed that he witnessed a physically close but fragile beauty in the male bonding of Sicilian men, which would remind his readers of the "Gladiatorial" chapter in *Women in Love*. Encounters with Sardinian independent men as described in *Sea and Sardinia* and with an American homosexual, Maurice Magnus, which defined his contact with both homo-society and homosexuality, gave Lawrence an opportunity to find 'something primitive' in homosexuality or the bond between men. He regarded this bond as precious, but it was being lost to modern people through its low estimation in movements such as eugenics.

Chapter 5, "Across Racial Lines," demonstrated that Lawrence tried to cross racial boundaries, while eugenics movements attached a high value to a racial hierarchy with the Caucasian at the top. This chapter regarded Lawrence as a challenging English novelist because the concerns of the English eugenics movement were concentrated in class matters, while it was primarily American writers who explored the racial issues surrounding white supremacy. Although his white and English supremacy could be recognised in the letter from Ceylon and some descriptions in *Kangaroo*, nonetheless *The Lost Girl* and *The Plumed Serpent* succeed in dismantling racial barriers. Mixed marriage between a 'nice' middle-class English girl, Alvina, and a dark vagabond Italian dancer, Ciccio in *The Lost Girl* still left disquiet in Alvina. After *The Lost Girl*, Lawrence continued his attempt to integrate the Western, English-oriented mind with non-white and non-English elements. *The Plumed Serpent* celebrates the emancipation of Kate's western consciousness by her marriage to Don Ramón, a pure Spaniard with the blood of Tlaxcalan. What supported Lawrence's attempts at mixed marriage in the late novels was his trip to Sardinia in 1921, Taos in 1924 and Tuscany in 1927. He had a spiritual experience when he saw the dance of the Apache in New Mexico and witnessed primitive beauty in Sardinian peasants and felt the regeneration of life in Etruscan remains. This chapter showed that encounter with non-Western and non-English culture moved him, which enabled him to accomplish a literary achievement as an English novelist—moving across racial lines.

Chapter 6 discussed how Lawrence interpreted ‘disease’ in the context of twentieth-century society, a phenomenon of degeneracy from the eugenic point of view. This chapter compared Thomas Hardy’s *Jude the Obscure* with Lawrence’s *Sons and Lovers*, a comparison based on more than Lawrence’s “Study of Thomas Hardy” essay. These two novels make a good contrast for analysing the story of mother and child, and more than that, in understanding how eugenic discourse was reflected in literature. Hardy’s work bridges the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The main focal points of this chapter were the presence of syphilis in *Jude the Obscure* or in Hardy himself, and Lawrence’s expression of ‘pestilence,’ which he used to describe the character of Sue in Hardy’s novel. This chapter discussed the theories that Hardy may have been infected with syphilis, which helped to suggest the possibility that Little Father Time was a child of congenital syphilis. The purpose of focusing on disease in reading Hardy and Lawrence was to show the development of medicine and the different meanings of ‘disease’ in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Syphilis and tuberculosis were representative illnesses of the nineteenth century as described in *Jude the Obscure*, while cancer served the same function in the twentieth century, as described in *Sons and Lovers*. However, Lawrence found another ‘true illness’ in modern society: he recognised that the tragedy of *Jude the Obscure* lay not in Little Father Time but in Sue, who could neither love a man and herself nor accept sex and physicality although she needed them. Lawrence compared Sue, a woman who was cut off from the source and origin of life, with ‘pestilence.’ This chapter revealed that Lawrence thought ‘true illness’ or degeneration could be recognised in a too strong consciousness and ego, which would cause a split between body and mind for modern people. Thus, throughout Part II, it was demonstrated how Lawrence redefined the meaning of degeneration as it had been represented in homosexuality, non-white races and disease.

In moving on to the final part, one point required particular attention: what happened to Lawrence after he wrote a letter in 1908 which suggests his supportive attitude towards negative eugenics. After that, still in 1926, he left pro-eugenics

comments such as “we must look after the quality of life, not the quantity” (*Late* 24). Remarks both in 1908 and 1926 are similar, but they hold different meanings because the trip to Italy prompted a great change in Lawrence’s consideration of the degeneration of human beings. So, after redefining the meaning of ‘unfit,’ how did he reflect his understanding of degeneration or eugenics in his life and writing? This question became the central challenge of this part of the thesis. It was vital to approach the following three factors, which were all important to discussion of both eugenics and Lawrence’s life: motherhood and womanhood, discourse on sex, and politics. Hoping that these three pillars would reveal Lawrence’s final response to eugenics, I decided that Part III would deal with his late publications after 1920.

The purpose of Chapter 7 was to investigate how womanhood or motherhood was dealt with in *The Plumed Serpent*, and how motherhood functioned in the discussion of eugenics. *The Plumed Serpent* is considered one of Lawrence’s leadership novels, emphasising male leadership by an unequivocal connection between men; however my discussion began with an objection against this claim. This chapter suggested the possibility that *The Plumed Serpent* could be interpreted as a novel representing a motherhood culture. Firstly, this was showed by employing Jung’s psychoanalysis. Darkness, which was often associated with descriptions of Mexico, the colour of local people’s skin and the eerie ceremony of Quetzalcoatl in the novel, was regarded as the negative archetype of motherhood advocated by Jung. Secondly, this chapter showed that the purpose of the novel itself signified the restoration of the culture of motherhood. Don Ramón and Cipriano hope for the replacement of Christianity by Quetzalcoatl, which means a denial of Logos, the core principle of Christianity; and at the same time, indicating a psychological element of paternity in a counterpart to Eros, representing femininity.

The latter half of this chapter attempted to reveal the difference in the meaning of ‘motherhood’ as advocated by Lawrence and the eugenicists. As Havelock Ellis argued, enlightening women as to motherhood and parenthood was an important mission for the eugenics movement; they aimed to increase the number of ‘wise’ mothers because they

did not want them to produce ‘unfit’ offspring as a result of choosing a ‘wrong’ man. This chapter clarified that Lawrence and eugenics meant different things in their discussions of motherhood; Lawrence hoped that the realisation of motherhood culture, would result in every woman being liberated mentally and physically whether she was educated or not, while general eugenics supporters regarded women as a reproductive tool to “maintain a given stock” (Kevles 88) of the nation, and were alarmed by the higher education of women. This chapter confirmed that although the dominant image of motherhood in the novel could indicate a limitation of Lawrence, who could not escape from the haunting mother archetype even in his late years, Lawrence and eugenics conflicted with each other in the concept of an ideal motherhood culture.

Chapter 8, focusing on the discourse around sex, which was inevitable for the nineteenth-century eugenics movement, examined how Lawrence took decisive steps against state intervention in life and sex under the name of eugenic policy, even though his last novel, *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, employed eugenic discourse on sex. Because of the pauperism resulting from an overflowing population and the issue of immigration in the late nineteenth century in America and Western Europe, population control was required. The nation began to intervene in the individual’s life and sexual activity. Sex, pregnancy and birth control became an object of medical research explored by the government. First, after introducing Marie Stopes, an England birth-control campaigner, and Lawrence’s remarks on her, this chapter showed how *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* employed the sexual discourse presented by birth-control campaigners: discourse on orgasm, pregnancy, contraceptive and men’s sexual instinct. The fact that although Lawrence criticised Stopes’s chemical analysis of sex because it killed the energy and mystery of life, he did use the birth-control discourse in writing about sex in the novel, indicating “the limit of language” in discussion sexuality as explained by Michel Foucault (“Preface” 30).

The latter half of this chapter argued that *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* should be regarded as a novel which protests against the bio-politics discussed by Foucault. Connie’s pregnancy with the gamekeeper Mellors was an obvious violation of eugenics.

What was meant by Connie's pregnancy, although Lawrence maintained a position supporting negative eugenics? For this question, this chapter attempted to investigate what Lawrence regarded as the good or 'superiority.' The novel presented a challenge to the class prejudice of eugenics, which promoted the law of dominance. Lawrence wanted to highlight the value of life beyond class. Mellors is a character who has a superiority over other men as a human being, and deserves to leave offspring unlike the upper-class male characters in the novel. Only he could kindle Connie's heart. Mellors' triumph in the novel helped to resolve discussion of Lawrence's final attitude towards eugenics in the final chapter.

The purpose of Chapter 9 was to present contradictory findings: adducing the proof of Lawrence's pro-eugenics stance since his early career; and on the other hand, revealing why he conflicted with eugenics in the end. His essays "Democracy" (1919) and "Education of the People" (1920) were analysed to achieve the first purpose of this chapter, as they presented grounds for Lawrence's justification of eugenics. These essays revealed that he disliked democracy because it was built on the idea of equality and average. Lawrence argued that democracy is supposed to serve the 'average' person, but he asks: "What is the Average Man?" (*REF* 63). He could not find any meaning in calculating the average, nor in egalitarianism because as a man coming from the working class, he believed that people were born to be different. It is true that eugenics was concerned with the average, but this chapter confirmed that anti-democratic forces were generally thought to be liable to lead to eugenic ideology because eugenics disapproved of the concept of equality. Additionally, this chapter showed that Lawrence's family background inclined him towards eugenic ideas. Although his coal mining family was never poor among other working-class families, he endured hardship that upper-class men had not experienced, as described in *Sons and Lovers*. Lawrence knows the reality: there exist the upper and the lower class; the weaker and the stronger in the strength of an individual life. The concept of the average took him nowhere; equality was an illusion for idealists, which explained why Lawrence displayed an affirmative response to eugenics from his early career onwards.

The second purpose of this chapter was to confirm that he was anti-eugenicist after all. *Sons and Lovers* (1913) and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) were analysed for this purpose. Comparison of these two representative works from his early and late career drew the conclusion that Lawrence ultimately valued 'labour' above all. This chapter introduced Hannah Arendt's theories in seeking the reason of Mellors' triumph in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Arendt's *Human Condition* sorted fundamental human activities into three categories: labour, work and action. Among them, in her opinion, the value of labour is lower than that of work and action as a human condition. Work corresponds with human existence by creating an 'artificial' world; action is the most valuable human activity because it is "the only activity that goes on directly between men without the intermediary of things or matter" (Arendt 7); while labour is readily connected to consumption and "the activity which corresponds to the biological process of the human body" and means "life itself" (ibid.). However, the triumph of Mellors in the novel represented Lawrence's praise of labour. To be sure, labour might be a temporary activity of the human being which is consumed immediately, and the labourers were the group whose rapid population growth most alarmed the eugenicists, but we cannot live without labour. As Arendt observes, it is "life itself;" it makes life possible. In contrast to the hatred of a father, a labourer, in *Sons and Lovers*, in his last novel Lawrence reevaluated labour.

The final task of this chapter was to evaluate Lawrence's final political position and his personal development after a significant experience. *Kangaroo* (1923) was an appropriate text for tracing the transition of Lawrence's political thought. Just as Somers in the novel is drawn to both authoritarian power and the labour movement, it was true that Lawrence was aligned to the left at one time. Although he seemed tempted by totalitarianism and fascism, his essay "Democracy" proves he believed neither in democracy nor totalitarianism. Each political party and 'ism' was just "contrivance" invented for the taking of property (*REF* 66). This chapter confirmed that because Lawrence left eugenic remarks that did not mean his political stance was more to the left.

Finally, this chapter emphasised that Lawrence's reevaluation of labour was caused by his personal development as a man. His understanding and sympathy for his father contributed to his praise for labour. There appear to have been several occasions that made him rethink his opinions of his father. When he married and had a fierce quarrel with Frida, he may have understood the feelings of his father. When he fell ill and suffered from lack of money, he may have felt miserable in thinking that he could not even work; his father supported his family by his labour. This chapter highlighted Lawrence's writings when he returned to his home town for his last visit in 1926 at the age of forty-one (his father had died two years earlier). Observing at a bitter strike, he showed his compassion for the working class man. Lawrence sensed a strong connection between himself and the labourers, and was moved by the coal miners' strong spirit that would never surrender to the pit owners. He left comments that he found "some odd, unaccustomed sort of plasm twinkling and nascent" in them (*Letters*, v. 520). After that, in the last part of the essay, "Return to Bestwood," his pro-eugenic remarks followed: "I know that we must look after the quality of life, not the quantity" (*Late* 24).

The obvious difference between his eugenic remarks in 1908 and 1926 was their context. Lawrence's experiences as a man coming from the working class may have made him accord with eugenic thinking at one time. When he remarked on a woman who was sentenced to death for the murder of her illegitimate child in 1908, he was only twenty-three years old, an immature single man; he could say whatever he wanted. If it had been after his marriage, while he suffered from illness and lack of money, his comments may have been different. However, the remark of 1926 arose from his concerns for the labourers and their welfare. Lawrence was discussing our responsibility for the future; he did not want to see such a miserable town. He realised that such a social situation could be avoided in the future, for instance, if the birth-rate was controlled by some reasonable action by the government or the state immediately. Although his expression was still extreme, in remarks such as "Hopeless life should be put to sleep, the idiots and the hopeless sick and the true criminal" (*Late* 24) the tone of

his comments changed between 1908 and 1926. Lawrence demonstrated a deep concern for the welfare of the working-class family in 1926.

I would like to conclude this thesis with a reminder of the term ‘plasm.’ Lawrence’s impression of the fighting coal miners was similar to the impression Ursula receives in *The Rainbow* on finding “the nucleus of the creature under the microscope” (408-09). He did not deny science; the development of science made it possible to show us the beauty of life. Even the pseudo-scientific discourse of eugenics gave him an opportunity to reconsider the value of human life. The beauty of ‘plasm,’ the origin of life, became visible thanks to the development of science but paradoxically could not be fully explained by science. Recognising its beauty made Lawrence return to the ‘origin’ of himself. When returning to Eastwood in 1926, he found the origin of his life in the land, nature, women, children and labourers of Eastwood. Finding ‘plasm’ in them created the celebration of Mellors’ way of life in his last novel, *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*, in 1928, which signified his reconciliation with a father-like figure or his father himself. Throughout the examination of Lawrence’s acceptance of pre-Darwinian evolutionary theory in his early novels, to his response to eugenic discourse chiefly in his late writings, this thesis recognises that Lawrence’s own evolution could be witnessed in the fact that he returned to the origin of human life and of his own career as a writer.

Notes

1. See Jenny Davidson's *Breeding: A Partial History of the Eighteenth Century*. (New York: Columbia UP, 2009). Also, Angelique Richardson's *Love and Eugenics in the Late Nineteenth Century: Rational Reproduction and the New Woman*. (New York: Oxford UP, 2003), suggests Lawrence's eugenic engagement in the depiction of his short story, "England, My England."
2. After 'The Eugenics Education Society' was founded in London in 1907, it adopted its present name, 'Eugenics Society' in 1926. Its American counterpart changed its name in 1971 to 'The Society for the Study of Social Biology,' to meet the changing orientation of the subject. With the arrival modern genetic knowledge, and particularly of clinical genetics, much of the Society's earlier activity has been incorporated into the National Health Service and other government departments. See "Eugenics Society" in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia*. 422.
3. In order to indicate that Joyce dislikes the concept of beauty or esthetic because it is all led by eugenics, Kevles also quotes a passage from *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* that "you admire the great flanks of Venus because you felt that she would bear you burly offspring and admired her great breasts because you felt that she would give good milk to her children and yours" (qtd. in Kevles 119).
4. Kevles explains how a zoologist Lancelot Hogben became acquainted with the members of Bloombury Group through his wife, Enid Charles, a feminist and economist (124-25).
5. See Nancy L. Paxton's *George Eliot and Herbert Spencer: Feminism, Evolutionism, and the Reconstruction of Gender*. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991).
6. I consulted the following sources for details on Spencer: William Sweet's "Herbert Spencer." *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*; Alvin Wee's "Herbert Spencer." *The Victorian Web*.
7. Not only with Miriam, but also with Clara, Paul fails in love. Clara is saved financially and mentally by Paul. Clara can get a job at Jordan's thanks to him, and

find consolation in Paul. On the other hand, although Paul is sexually satisfied, his emptiness is never fulfilled.

8. In consulting *In Memoriam*, I referred *In Memoriam* edited by Robert H. Ross which had helpful guides to every section.
9. See Valerie Purton ed. *Darwin, Tennyson and Their Readers*. (ix-x).
10. The information is based on a brochure, *The Sedgwick Museum*, published by University of Cambridge.
11. This letter is from Darwin to Leonard Jenyns on 7 Jan. 1860. See, U of Cambridge. "Darwin Correspondence Database" at <http://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/entry-2644>.
12. See Roger Ebbatson's "Tennyson's 'Locksley Hall': Progress and Destitution." in Valerie Purton ed. *Darwin, Tennyson and Their Readers*. 1-12.
13. Letter from Darwin to Leonard Horner on 29 Aug. 1844. See University of Cambridge. "Darwin Correspondence Project" at <http://www.darwinproject.ac.uk/entry-771 >.
14. In a letter to Bertrand Russell on 14 Sep. 1915, Lawrence shows his detest for Russell: it begins with "I'm going to quarrel with you again." He continues: "I believe in your inherent power for realizing the truth. But I don't believe in your will, not for a second. Your will is false and cruel." It ends with: "Let us become strangers again, I think it is better" (*Letters*, ii. 392). Strangely enough, however, their friendship lasted at least until November 1915; Lawrence invited Russell to tea at home (*ibid*. 442). It was after the publication of *Women in Love* in 1921 that they became through as friends; Russell found Lawrence poked fun at him by creating a character who resembles him in the novel.
15. The present periodisation is different from Lyell's age, and each period is now called Paleozoic (Primary), Mesozoic (Secondary), and Cenozoic (Tertiary).
16. See "Report and Letter on 'The Wedding Ring,'" Appendix III of *The Rainbow* (483-85). When Lawrence wrote *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* he had intended them to be a single novel. He considered the titles (firstly, *The Sisters*, then, *The*

Wedding Ring) for the work, however, the publisher chose to break the work into two novels. He agreed and there are two novels today but he persisted in telling the story chronologically in *The Rainbow*.

17. Lawrence's phrase "savage pilgrim" appears in a letter to John Middleton Murray dated 2 Feb. 1923, written from New Mexico. He wrote, "It has been a savage enough pilgrimage these last four years. . . . We keep faith—I always feel death only strengthens that, the faith between those who have it." See *Letters*, iv. 357.
18. See *Poems*, i. 303.
19. See Meyers's "Maurice Magnus." in *D. H. Lawrence and the Experience of Italy*. (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania Press, 1982. 29-49). Also, see Kurose's "'Hebi' to Maurice Magnus: *Tori to Kemono to Hana* ni okeru Homosexuality no Mondai" (Tokyo: Shohakusha, 2003. 91-111.)
20. Meyers's *Homosexuality and Literature 1890-1930* deals with Lawrence's *The White Peacock*, *Women in Love*, *Aaron's Rod* and *The Plumed Serpent*. (London: Athlone Press, 1987.)
21. For Wilde's information, I consulted M. H. Abrams General Editor. *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. 7th ed. Vol. 2. (New York: Norton, 2000. 1747-49.)
22. Regarding the history of homosexuality, I consulted Haruhiko Hoshino's "'Douseiaisha' no Rekishiteki Kinou" (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 2011. 42-60.)
23. To see the terrible condition of London from the nineteenth to the early twentieth century, these two books are interesting and informative with pictures: an American author, Jack London's *The People of the Abyss* (Tokyo: Hon no Tomo, 1989); an English journalist, Henry Mayhew's *The Illustrated Mayhew's London* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986.)
24. Quoted from "Famous Novelist's Shameful Book: A Landmark in Evil," *John Bull*, 20 October 1928, in Draper, 278.
25. Kato's discussion that I summarized in this paragraph is "Taikaron wo Koete [Beyond Degeneration]: Lawrence no Shigaku to Sono Context [Lawrence's Poetry and Its context]" in *D. H. Lawrence to Taikaron* [*D. H. Lawrence and Degeneration*].

(Tokyo: Hokuseido, 2007. 53-80.)

26. Sedgwick quotes Gayle Rubin's remarks: "The suppression of the homosexual component of human sexuality, and by corollary, the oppression of homosexuals, is . . . a product of the same system whose rules and relations oppress women" in *Between Men* (3).
27. See Kevles' *In the Name of Eugenics* for Charles Davenport's accomplishments. 44-49.
28. See Worthen's "Biography" on the website *D. H. Lawrence*, managed by the University of Nottingham.
29. For the information of this poster, see Eugenics Society Archive's "Healthy Seed" in the Works Cited list.
30. For Lawrence's medical history, I mainly consulted Worthen's "Biography," *D. H. Lawrence* on the Web managed by the University of Nottingham.
31. Frizzell, for example, posits Hardy's "And I Saw the Figure and Visage of Madness Seeking for a Home," "The Man with a Past," and "The Change."
32. See Lawrence's *Hardy* (121). Jude says this to Sue in the novel (*Jude* 389).
33. See Quétel's *The History of Syphilis*: "Of all diseases, syphilis is the most social, in every sense of the word. More than any other it has provoked, and continues to provoke, changes in society, cultural responses which have a completely different character from medical ones" (8).
34. Kate remarks: "No. I wanted Joachim's children so much, but I didn't have any. But I have a boy and a girl from my first marriage. My husband was a lawyer, and I was divorced from him for Joachim" (*PS* 70).
35. Frieda learnt Freudian theory through her relationship with Otto Gross, an Austrian psychiatrist. He was an early disciple of Freud and had an affair with Frieda in 1907, when a boy was born between Gross and Else Jaffe, an elder sister of Frieda. Concerning the relationship between and around Otto Gross, Frieda and Freud, see Saburo Kuramochi's "Otto Gross Den: Freud, Jung, Frieda Tono Kankei. 1." (213-23).

36. To understand Wilber's theory, I consulted Lew Howard's *Introducing Ken Wilber: Concepts for an Evolving World*. According to Howard's summary, 'Elevationism' is the interpretation of pre-rational occasions as post-rational or spiritual (232). Pre-rational/pre-personal means stages before a distinct person has emerged—childhood levels. Post-rational is 'non-rational' stage like the pre-rational one, but all mature spiritual experiences happen in the post-rational category, not at the childhood level. Those post-rational individuals are like "the spiritual pioneers who have moved into levels of consciousness that go beyond the mind. These levels transcend and include the rational mind—but they are not anti-rational," Wilber explains (qtd. in Howard 200). Jung is famous for this: the mythic and magical (pre-rational) were raised, and interpreted as post-rational or spiritual experiences. Wilber considers Jung's contributions to be significant and valuable, but wants to remain clear that the mythic and magic are pre-rational (Howard 232).
37. See also John 1.14. Christians became convinced that Jesus was God: "And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth."
38. See Aristotle's *The Rhetoric and The Poetics of Aristotle*. 24-25.
39. See Lawrence's letter of 18 May, 1915. (*Letters*, ii. 340).
40. See Diniejko's "The New Woman Fiction" on *The Victorian Web*. The term 'New Woman' was coined by the writer and public speaker Sarah Grand in 1894.
41. It is obvious that the demographic problem has brought in state intervention in respect to reproduction since the late nineteenth century. According to McLaren, in the nineteenth century, America and Western Europe entered a new demographic age. Until the 1870s, most Europeans maintained much higher levels of fertility. What demographers call the 'demographic transition' was the dramatic drop in such rates that occurred between 1870 and 1920. In England, couples who married in 1861-1869 had an average of 6.16 children; those in 1890-1899 had 4.13 children; and those in 1920-1924 had 2.31 children (qtd. in McLaren 178-79). I analysed Malthusian problems in this period of demographic transition, described in

Lawrence's works. See Sumitani Yumiko's "D. H. Lawrence's Early Works Representing the Final Phase of Demographic Transition." in *The Edgewood Review* (2011).

42. This power over life which is supposed to have evolved from the seventeenth century. See Foucault's *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1 (139).
43. See McLaren's "The Triumph of Family Planning" in *A History of Contraception* (216-17).
44. See ibid. (216) and Hall's "Stopes, Marie Charlotte Carmichael (1880-1958)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* on the Web.
45. The oral contraceptive pill, which is now a popular women-led form of contraception, was developed in 1951 by Dr. Gregory Pincus (who Sanger met in 1950) and Dr. John Rock. The pessary was developed in 1880 in Germany, and the condom in 1884 in Britain and America. See Reiko Takeda and Yuuko Yoshida, *Pill no Kiken na Hanashi* (112-45) and Mutsuo Suga, *Pill no Hon* (20-21).
46. The Comstock Act is a federal statute passed by the U.S. Congress in 1873 as an "Act of the Suppression of Trade in, and Circulation of, Obscene Literature and Articles of Immoral Use." It is named for Anthony Comstock (1872-1965), a zealous crusader against what he considered to be obscenity, the act criminalised publication, distribution and possession of information about or devices or medications for 'unlawful' abortion or contraception. Individuals convicted of violating the Comstock Act could receive up to five years of imprisonment with hard labour and a fine of up to $2,000. See "Comstock Act" in *Britannica Academic Edition* on the Web.
47. According to census figures, the birthrate has declined since 1881 for each census in Britain. The problem was that not only the birthrate of the working class, but also that of the upper classes, began to decline after World War I. The nation's primary concern was 'adverse selection' caused by the class difference in the birthrate. See Ogino's *Seishoku no Seijigaku* (68-70).
48. Aristotle's *Politics Book III*, 1278b23-31. English translation that I quoted here is

different from Agamben's. For this quotation, I consulted *The Complete Works of Aristotle: The Revised Oxford Translation*. Vol. 2. Ed. Jonathan Barnes. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985). 2029.

49. Polizei is the science of government established under mercantilism in German in the seventeenth century. 'Polizei' in German is translated into 'police' in English nowadays, but in a broad sense it indicates welfare policy.
50. See "Liberalism" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online Academic Edition*. on the Web.
51. By using the phrase, "the country of my heart," in a letter to Rolf Gardiner (on 3 December, 1926), Lawrence introduced Gardiner about his hometown: "When you've crossed the brook, turn to the right (the *White Peacock* farm) through Felley Mill gate, and go up the footpath to Annesley . . . That's the country of my heart.—From the hills, if you look across at Underwood wood, you'll see a tiny red farm on the edge of the wood—That was Miriam's farm—where I got my first incentive to write.—I'll go with you there some day" (*Letters*, v. 592).
52. See Worthen's "Biography" on the website, *D. H. Lawrence*.

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