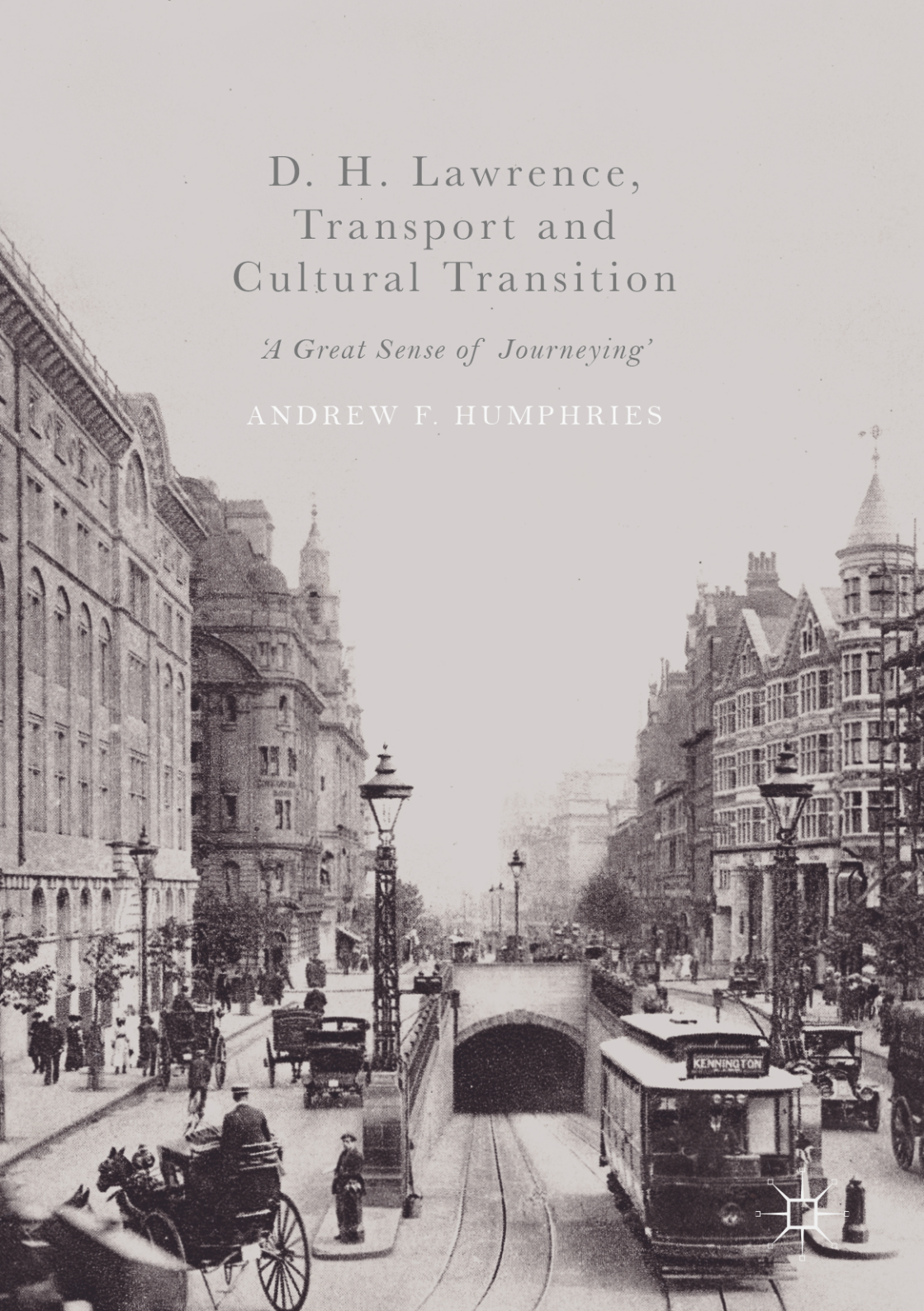
D. H. Lawrence, Transport and Cultural Transition

'A Great Sense of Journeying'

ANDREW F. HUMPHRIES



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palgrave
macmillan

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ISBN 978-3-319-50810-8 ISBN 978-3-319-50811-5 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-50811-5

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017933482

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

To Caroline, Gemma and Daniel

Acknowledgements

I wish particularly to thank Professor Adrienne Gavin for her supervision of my original doctoral research on Lawrence and her continued support as a colleague and editor on several literary projects. I owe so much to her guidance, her professionalism and her optimism. I would also like to thank my friend and colleague Professor Carolyn Oulton for her thought-provoking and influential responses to my early drafts of this work and I would like, also, to thank my colleagues in the Arts and Humanities and Education Faculties at Canterbury Christ Church University for their strategic support with time and finance to enable me to complete the book. Finally, I wish to thank my parents, John and Doreen Humphries, and my wife Caroline and two children, Gemma and Daniel, for their patience and interest, including the many outings to transport-related sites and museums. I would like, also, to remember my grandfather Charles French, who worked for London Transport and took my brother Ian and I as children to the London Transport Museum, the memories of which became very influential in my choice of theme and my fascination with this significant and innovative period of transport history.

Contents

Lawrence Text Abbreviations

Novels

AR	*Aaron's Rod*. 1922. Ed. Mara Kalnins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
FSLCL	*The First and Second Lady Chatterley Novels*. Ed. Dieter Mehl and Christa Jansohn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
K	*Kangaroo*. 1923. Ed. Bruce Steele. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
LCL	*Lady Chatterley's Lover [1928] and* 'A Propos of *Lady Chatterley's Lover' [1930]*. Ed. Michael Squires. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
LG	*The Lost Girl*. 1920. Ed. John Worthen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
PS	*The Plumed Serpent*. 1926. Ed. L.D. Clark. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
R	*The Rainbow*. 1915. Ed. Mark Kinkead-Weekes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
SL	*Sons and Lovers*. 1913. Ed. Helen Baron and Carl Baron. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
T	*The Trespasser*. 1912. Ed. Elizabeth Mansfield. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
WP	*The White Peacock*. 1911. Ed. Andrew Robertson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
WL	*Women in Love*.1920. Ed. David Farmer, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Short Fiction

EmE *England, My England and Other Stories.* 1922. Ed. Bruce Steele. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

LAH *Love among the Haystacks and Other Stories.* 1930. Ed. John Worthen. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

PO *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories.* 1914. Ed. John Worthen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Poetry

CP *D.H. Lawrence: The Complete Poems.* Ed. Vivian de Sola Pinto and Warren Roberts. London: Penguin, 1977; reprinted 1994.

Non-Fiction

MM *Mornings in Mexico [1927] and Other Essays.* Ed. Virginia Crosswhite-Hyde. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

P1 *Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D.H. Lawrence.* Ed. Edward D. McDonald. London: Heinemann, 1936.

PII *Phoenix II. Uncollected, Unpublished and Other Prose Works by D.H. Lawrence.* Ed. Warren Roberts and Harry T. Moore. London: Heinemann, 1968.

PUFU *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* and *Fantasia of the Unconscious.* Ed. Bruce Steele. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

RDP *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays.* 1925. Ed. Michael Herbert. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

SS *Sea and Sardinia.* 1921. Ed. Mara Kalnins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

SEP *Sketches of Etruscan Places [1932] and Other Italian Essays.* Ed. Simonetta de Filippis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

SCA *Studies in Classic American Literature.*1923. London: Penguin, 1971.

SM *The Symbolic Meaning.* 1961. Ed. Armin Arnold. Arundel: Centaur, 1975.

STH *Study of Thomas Hardy [1936] and Other Essays.* Ed. Bruce Steele. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

TI *Twilight in Italy [1916] and Other Essays.* Ed. Paul Eggert. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Letters

i. Lawrence, D.H. *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, Volume I: 1901–1913.* Ed. James T. Boulton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

ii. *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, Volume II: 1913–1916*. Ed. George J. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
iii. *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, Volume III: 1916–1921*. Ed. James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
iv. *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, Volume IV: 1921–1924*. Ed. Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton and Elizabeth Mansfield. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
v. *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, Volume V: 1924–1927*. Ed. James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
vi. *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, Volume VI: 1927–1928*. Ed. James T. Boulton, Margaret H. Boulton with Gerald M. Lacy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
vii. *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, Volume VII: 1928–1930*. Ed. Keith Sagar and James T. Boulton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
viii. *The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, Volume VIII: Previously Uncollected Letters and General Index*. Ed. James T. Boulton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction: 'Great Motions Carry Us': Lawrence, Transport and Shifting Cultures

Sitting in a noisy London omnibus in late 1909, the writer Ford Madox Hueffer (later Ford) called his young fellow passenger D.H. Lawrence a 'genius.'[1] The omnibus was, for Hueffer, a fitting vehicle for such a claim. Lawrence's first mentor and publisher, impressed by the mechanical realism in the author's early poetry and fiction, later recalled that it was Lawrence's instinct for transport that expressed this early promise. Hueffer located Lawrence's 'genius' most specifically, however, in the opening of the short story 'Odour of Chrysanthemums' (1911). Reviewing this short story later in *Portraits from Life* (1936), Ford draws attention to Lawrence's transport–human integration, set in 'untidy, unfinished landscapes where locomotives wander innocuously amongst women with baskets'.[2] He is impressed that Lawrence's 'power of observation', shown in his interaction of people, horses and machines, introduces a writer who will present 'whatever he writes about from the inside'.[3] Lawrence, as a miner's son, knew 'that for the sort of people who work about engines, engines have a sort of individuality'.[4] Lawrence began his writing career with an appreciation of moving machines—an appreciation he owed to the mines—but, increasingly, as his writing progresses, these machines are expected to correspond with his human ontological quest. The intervention of the First World War and the influence of Lawrence's relentless travel during the 1920s inevitably shifted his sense of what transport should reveal in his fiction. With transport innovation at the centre of a period of turbulent technological

A.F. Humphries, *D. H. Lawrence, Transport and Cultural Transition*, DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-50811-5_1

and industrial change, Lawrence's major novels reflect a preoccupation with mobility both practical and symbolic that serves to chart the shifting and intriguing interaction of individual aspiration, cultural change and mechanical modernity characterizing the first decades of the twentieth century.

In this book, I argue that in Lawrence's major novels, *Sons and Lovers* (1913), *The Rainbow* (1915), *Women in Love* (1920), *The Plumed Serpent* (1926) and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), transport enframes the human journey and synthesizes the mechanisms of travel with the dynamics of personal and cultural transition. The words 'enframe' or 'enframing' will be used during this study to represent transport technology's potential to convey the ontological or spiritual quest. It refers also to the way the transport vehicle structurally interacts with the consciousness of the protagonist as passenger. While the concept of 'framing' will suggest stasis or imprisonment where transport structures restrict movement or flow, 'framing' also suggests a carrying of ideas, hopes, aspirations as a form of motional reification. Moments of epiphany in Lawrence's work can be described as 'enframed' by transport experience or can be signified, in the sense of being carried, by transport metaphor. Lawrence was interested in a keen observer of transport in its instrumental sense, but in his major novels what is most significant is transport's interaction with the crucial questions of human development in a period of social and technological upheaval. Increasing transport speed and access during Lawrence's lifetime between 1885 and 1930 brought different worlds and cultures into closer proximity and promoted a broader interest in the 'other' just as it destabilized existing stereotypes of gender, race and class. Lawrence's major novels reflect this engagement with difference. Transport in these novels symbolizes a world that, for Lawrence, was in disturbing but energizing transition. The 'great motions' Lawrence describes in *The Symbolic Meaning*[5] that destroy or renew whole cultures and 'bring us to our place' (*SM* 19) indicate that travel becomes, essentially, a quest for the numinous or what Lawrence calls the 'greater impersonal forces that control us' that 'we cannot see' or 'even begin to know' (19). In his novels, however, Lawrence reveals, as a frame for this numinous quest, an absorbing interest in the technological and cultural processes of transportation. For Lawrence's characters, transport becomes an integral symbol of the changing modern world they have inherited and must negotiate. It becomes a crucial and on-going part of the protagonist's interaction with place, society and self.

Lawrence's life spanned a period of rapid transport development and witnessed movements and events of historical magnitude—such as the

suffragette movement, the First World War, the Mexican Revolution, and the General Strike—which his novels engage with and in which modern transport played a significant historical role. Lawrence's major novels reveal an awareness of transport as integral to issues of cultural change. The key forms of transport this study discusses are trains, trams, motor cars, ships, submarines and bicycles. I explore Lawrence's fictional representation of these in conjunction with his own use of transport and with reference to transport and historical studies. Discussion will also refer to recreational forms of motion, such as swings, swing boats, fairground rides or toboggans, where these shed further light on Lawrence's approach to transport in his fiction. While horse travel and walking are frequent and relevant forms of transport in Lawrence, I refer to these only where they relate to the focus on 'modern' transport and cultural transition. By cultural transition I mean changes within society, changes to society because of major events or Lawrence's sense of the individual in personal or cultural transit in conjunction with such events or shifts.

A focus on transport detail became an essential feature of Lawrence's much-travelled life. From 1912 until his death in 1930, Lawrence and his wife Frieda were frequently in transit. The correspondence of Lawrence's travel to his writing of the major novels is an essential feature of this book's transport focus. Increasingly, it was this journeying that provided the theme and inspiration for his fiction. Lawrence's first two novels were written in England, *The White Peacock* between 1906 and 1910 and published in January 1911, and *The Trespasser*, which had begun as 'The Saga of Siegmund' in 1910, would be rewritten and published under its new title in May 1912. His third novel, *Sons and Lovers*, set in a Nottinghamshire mining district, was begun as 'Paul Morel' in England in 1910, further rewritten three times under that title before being renamed, rewritten and completed in Italy during 1912, before its publication by Gerald Duckworth in May 1913. *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* were both begun in Italy and Germany in 1913 but were completed in England during the First World War, with *Women in Love* not published until 1920. From *Sons and Lovers* onwards, few of Lawrence's novels were written in his native England and few, indeed, were written in solely one location. Lawrence's novels travelled in conjunction with his geographical itinerancy, just as they travelled through various stages of manuscript revision, so they represent the product of his restless mobility of engagement with a world he frequently charged with being too static or imprisoning. After travel to Italy, Sicily, Ceylon and Australia between 1919 and 1922, a period which saw the publication of

three further novels, *The Lost Girl* (1920), *Aaron's Rod* (1922) and *Kangaroo* (1923), Lawrence moved to Chapala, Mexico in April 1923 where he began the first version of his next novel, then called 'Quetzalcoatl', before travelling to America to settle at the Kiowa Ranch in Taos, New Mexico; he returned to Mexico in November 1924 to live in Oaxaca, where the final version of the aforementioned novel, as *The Plumed Serpent*, was completed in early 1925 and published in January 1926. Lawrence returned to Europe in September 1925 and visited England before moving to Scandicci near Florence in the autumn of 1926, where he wrote the three drafts of his final novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. His final years, between 1928 and his death from tuberculosis in 1930, were spent in a restless search for the place in Europe most tolerable for his declining health.

Transport also features significantly in Lawrence's other writings such as his travel books,[6] his poetry and his shorter fiction, which often overlap in theme with his novels. These writings are important to my discussion when they relate to the analysis of transport in the major novels. Lawrence's travel books are acknowledged, for example, as indicators of his awareness of the relationship between the transport encounter and the exploration of cultural difference as part of a wider ontological quest. It is, however, in Lawrence's major novels where transport becomes most interesting for the way it is inextricably bound to narrative transitions and outcomes as it enframes the personal development of Lawrence's protagonists. It is in these principal novels, I will argue, where transport interacts most revealingly with the key cultural shifts of Lawrence's time. Lawrence's novels not discussed in detail in this book—*The White Peacock, The Trespasser, The Lost Girl, Aaron's Rod* and *Kangaroo*—are themselves notable for transport episodes or references. It is, however, in the major works—*Sons and Lovers, The Rainbow, Women in Love, The Plumed Serpent* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover*—that transport is integral to the novel's focus on social and historical transition. Transport gives concrete presence to the sense of literal or metaphorical 'journeying' that is at the heart of these narratives, in which the protagonists' travel or engagement with transport makes a wider statement about culture and society.

Following a techno-historical approach, I position Lawrence's work in relation to transport developments that were at the forefront of a rapidly modernizing technological culture. Howard Booth argues that 'Lawrence is part of an earlier social and cultural formation' and 'there is a need to know where Lawrence came from as a writer, his relationship to his own time'.[7] My study responds to this by positioning Lawrence's *oeuvre* in

conjunction with actual technological developments that Lawrence engaged with in his life and through his fiction. While transport was a technological development, it was also a movement linked to how people related, lived and thought in Lawrence's time. Connecting travel with the emergence of modernism, Helen Carr relates how by 1890—five years after Lawrence's birth—transport had become integral to cultural movement and inextricably tied to societal and global infrastructures:

> Railroads criss-crossed Europe and beyond and, as liners grew faster and more luxurious, steamship companies produced a crop of shipping millionaires. Increasing 'ease of locomotion' was not, however, simply the product of disinterested technological advance, and those on the move not only bands of tourists. Improvements in transport were fanned by, and helped to fan, the empire building, trade expansion and mass migrations of the late nineteenth century.[8]

Lawrence's major novels reflect this integration of transport and change. In these works, transport infuses the narrative exploration of place, society, gender and cultural otherness, but also positions the protagonists in relation to wider cultural movements like industry, technology, Empire and war.

My focus will include both literal and metaphorical uses of transport. Literal, in the sense of the noun 'transport' as 'a means of transportation or conveyance' and the verb 'to transport', described as 'to carry, convey, or remove from one place or person to another; to convey across'; and metaphorical where transport has transformative connotations linked to change or in the sense of 'to "carry away" with the strength of some emotion; to cause to be beside oneself, to put into an ecstasy, to enrapture'.[9] Close examination of transport passages in Lawrence show a correlation between transport experience and personal or emotional revelation. These definitions are clearly applicable to Lawrence's sense of 'transport' as life-enhancing or life-revealing. While acknowledging these connotations, however, discussion of the major novels begins almost always from a focus on literal transport. Transport references shift in the narrative between the literal and the metaphorical. In Lawrence, specific transport vehicles or journeys enframe metaphorical applications of transport that are directly linked to the novel's theme.

As part of a broader technological transition that Lawrence engages with, transport becomes closely linked in its literal and historical context with 'technology'—defined as 'the scientific study of the practical or industrial arts'.[10] Transport was closely associated by Lawrence with both scientific

and technological innovation, and travel and exploration, and gave particular expression to his interest in the latter. Lawrence's investment of transport in his major novels with notions of encounter, difference or spiritual quest makes 'otherness' another central word for this study, where 'the quality or fact of being other' relates through transport experience to 'the divine or transcendental, or to what lies outside the observer's own cultural experience'.[11]

The major novels are discussed in conjunction with Lawrence's writings and letters and within the social and historical context of his time. To enable this, I draw upon historical studies of technology and transport relevant to the period so that discussion does not deal solely with modernist tropes of travel, of which much has been written already in relation to Lawrence, but calls upon transport history writing to position him more as a writer engaged by and engaging with the technology of transportation through his fiction. Relating Lawrence's use of transport to issues of gender, war, disability and cultural difference, I engage throughout with contemporary and subsequent critical views of his work which either enhance or fruitfully problematize my discussion of Lawrence and transport. Lawrence was a writer for whom travel and mobility provided a sustained medium for confronting the shifting culture of his time. His view of transport was, however, ambivalent. For Lawrence, transport's ambivalence lies in the fact that it enables flow, self-discovery and escape, but also represents the mechanical anti-human hegemony of modern industry or technological warfare that threatens to imprison or reduce human mobility and freedom. Lawrence invests transport with creative expectancy, as his 1928 essay 'Dull London' reveals:

> But now all the adventure seems to me crushed out of London. The traffic is too heavy! It used to be going somewhere, on an adventure. Now it only rolls massively and overwhelmingly, going nowhere, only dully and enormously *going*. There is no adventure at the end of the 'buses' journey. The bus lapses into an inertia of dullness, then dully starts again. The traffic of London used to roar with the mystery of man's adventure on the seas of life, like a vast sea-shell, murmuring a thrilling, half-comprehensible story. Now it booms like monotonous, far-off guns, in a monotony of crushing something, crushing the earth, crushing out life, crushing everything dead. (*PII* 560)

Transport, for Lawrence, must mean something or 'be going somewhere', both literally and metaphorically. Lawrence problematizes transport. This statement on London's traffic captures not only his expectation of transport as the symbol of life's 'adventure' but also how it becomes representative, for

him, of cultural movements and transitions that indicate societal dissolution. Transport that enframes and enables human flow or change is an 'adventure' but Lawrence is critical of transport when it becomes 'traffic' and overwhelms or 'crush[es]' the expression of human freedom and mobility.

Travel and change were synonymous for Lawrence and become central dynamics of his narrative style. Lawrence was preoccupied with places, destinations and transport connections. Anaïs Nin sees a correlation between Lawrence's travel and his writing when she states that 'Lawrence has no system, unless his constant shifting of values can be called a system: a system of mobility. To him any stability is merely an obstacle to creative livingness'.[12] His need to be on the move was a feature of his restless questioning of life, but the transport that enabled this dynamic also connected him to societal structures and networks that threatened to reduce 'creative livingness'. Lawrence was not a technophobe: he was knowledgeable about the systems and details of travel and transport. He bordered on the obsessive about transport logistics and timetables. David Ellis highlights the 'characteristic' care Lawrence took over travel details and argues that 'had he not been a writer Lawrence would have made a first-rate travel agent'.[13] Lawrence's exactitude over travel arrangements—for himself and for others—was a feature of his correspondence throughout his life. On 29 October 1912, for example, he wrote to Arthur McLeod from Lake Garda in Italy:

> It would be lovely to put you up for a fortnight . . . And if you were bent on travelling, you could go to Venice—13/- excursion—or up to Bozen and the Dolomiten—about the same—think! Now then—make up your mind and get ready. There's only the cold long journey. You'd come on the Venice route, I suppose—you *might* come by Basel—ask Cooks. I'd meet you on the main line, at any rate. Think of it, how blissful! (i. 465)

Lawrence's enthusiasm typically borders on insistence. On 23 August 1914 he gave characteristically peremptory directions to his friend S.S. Koteliansky to 'come to Chesham station—You may have to change at Chalfont Rd,—I think that's the junction on the main line. We are 3 ½ miles from the station—ask for Elliott's farm at Bellingdon, and we are quite near—a stone's throw' (ii. 210).[14] Transport was a gateway to new experience but, as this letter shows, it also had potential to fix life and impose direction. This is evident in Lawrence's major novels, where precise details of the protagonists' transport movements punctuate key

moments of transition. The car odyssey of Ursula Brangwen and Rupert Birkin in the 'Excurse' chapter of *Women in Love* that ends with their lovemaking in Sherwood Forest, for example, or their semi-mythical Continental boat and train journey to the Austrian Alps, provide evidence of Lawrence's interest in the way transport experiences map out significant narrative shifts.

Lawrence's sense of being at the centre of personal or cultural upheaval was acute. After the banning of *The Rainbow* in 1915, the author's response to personal setback was typically apocalyptic as his comments in a letter of 17 November 1915 to Constance Garnett reveal: 'I think there is no future for England: only a decline and fall. That is the dreadful and unbearable part of it: to have been born into a decadent era, a decline of life, a collapsing civilization' (ii. 441). Though often implicated in his novels as part of the mechanized infrastructure of this 'collapsing civilization', transport vehicles also form part of Lawrence's sustained quest for new worlds and new ways of living to escape from such decline. He wrote to Lady Ottoline Morrell on 7 February 1916, for example, that: 'the only thing now to be done, is either to go down with the ship, sink with the ship, or, as much as one can, *leave* the ship, and like a castaway live a life apart' (ii. 528). Used as a negative image of transport to express his disillusion with war and war society, the ship shifts in the same letter to become a positive symbol as Lawrence wishes he 'were going on a long voyage, far into the Pacific' (ii. 529). Lawrence's switch between literal and metaphorical uses of transport is evident here, just as it is in his novels, where transport adjusts to the narrative dialectic or theme and shifts between positive and negative symbolism to reflect its ambivalent status.

Transport contributes to Lawrence's portrayal of his protagonists' cultural engagement. It gives concrete presence to the challenges of modernity they must negotiate. The dislocating and turbulent world of Lawrence's major novels is often characterized by metropolitan traffic. Traffic in his novels reflects a reality that Lawrence witnessed from his earliest visits to London in 1908. Historian Robert Cecil describes the Edwardian London Lawrence would have seen as a visible manifestation of flux:

> There can never have been a period in history when city streets displayed so wide a variety of means of conveyance. The open-topped horse-drawn omnibus was struggling for survival against the motor bus, the hansom against the taxicab and the electric trams against both. Beneath the city of

> London underground railways were burrowing. Steamboats carried passengers on the Thames; commuters from Blackheath and Greenwich found water transport particularly convenient. London and its rapidly expanding suburbs seemed in perpetual motion.[15]

Lawrence's novels repeatedly use transport to visualize cultural transition. Transport and transition were visually interconnected for Lawrence from the point when he was writing his first novels. He returned to London traffic in every one of his novels except for *Kangaroo*, and this book's closer study of his fiction will explore this distinction between threatening 'traffic' and enabling 'transport' in those key episodes where city traffic becomes centrally thematic.

Lawrence's fictional use of transport also reflects the artistic movements of his time that either influenced him or coincided with the development of his literary vision. Lawrence coincided, for example, with avant-garde movements like Italian Futurism which used art, literature and music to represent modern transport and human-technological interaction. The Futurists were initially led by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, who in 1909 declared in 'The Founding and Manifesto of Futurism' that his intention was to 'hymn the man at the wheel', to 'glorify war' and 'sing of the vibrant nightly fervor of arsenals and shipyards blazing with violent electric moons.'[16] Futurism, like Lawrence's novels, foregrounds transport as a live and active force in the human landscape, iconic of shifting modernity, such as when Marinetti refers to the 'greedy railway stations that devour smoke-plumed serpents' or 'adventurous steamers that sniff the horizon.'[17] Futurism, Sylvia Martin argues,

> stood for an unqualified glorification of technology, speed and vital life within a social structure revolutionized by industrialism. The automobile . . . streetcars, telephones, aeroplanes and railway networks were technical advances that since the late nineteenth century had altered not only the look of cities but people's conception of the world. Distances shrank, perspectives were foreshortened or shifted, the entire world seemed caught up in accelerated motion.[18]

This definition places the Futurists, and Lawrence as their contemporary, at the centre of a cultural and artistic revolution for which transport became a key symbolic marker of transition. Modernist contemporaries of Lawrence like Virginia Woolf, E.M. Forster and James Joyce also included transport strategically in their novels but not, I would argue, as relentlessly, explicitly or pervasively as Lawrence.[19]

In many ways Lawrence is a Modernist because he problematizes transport as part of the destabilizing of the old in search of the new. Michael Levenson's definition of Modernist crisis draws together features which characterize Lawrence's awareness of the relationship between technological progress and the shift of ideas and social attitudes in the early twentieth century:

> Crisis is inevitably the central term of art in discussion of this turbulent cultural moment.... The catastrophe of the First World War, and before that, the labour struggles, the emergence of feminism, the race for empire, these inescapable forces of turbulent social modernization were not simply looming on the outside as the destabilizing context of cultural Modernism; they penetrated the interior of artistic invention. They gave subjects to writers and painters, and they also gave forms, forms suggested by industrial machinery, or by the chuffing of cars, or even, most horribly, the bodies broken by the war.[20]

These definitions of Futurism and Modernism characterize transport's sustained engagement with transition that Lawrence's major novels foreground to show how cultures and individuals within those cultures negotiate the tensions of an increasingly mobile world. For that reason, one might see Lawrence as Modernist in his synthesis of art and technology to express cultural upheaval.

Tony Pinkney argues, similarly, that 'in the early twentieth century the thematics of mobility comes vigorously to the fore again' but he expresses concern that 'the self itself is now mobile, its component elements travelling away from each other on paths whose final terminus is the schizophrenia which is also so central a theme in many Modernist texts. Inner or metaphorical mobility is now in danger of swallowing up its literal counterpart'.[21] While Lawrence certainly uses the process of travel as a metaphorical agency to reveal the relationship between transport experience and inner consciousness, he rarely, if ever, loses sight of the literal transport reality as of significance in itself. His evident interest in transport vehicles as moving, working entities is sustained in his works even as that transport experience is employed to enhance meaning, problematize or reflect timely shifts of consciousness.

Transport in Lawrence's fiction also represents wider cultural shifts. The First World War (1914–1918) was a key cultural upheaval that features significantly throughout Lawrence's post-1915 writing. Stephen

Kern argues that the war 'ripped up the historical fabric and cut everyone off from the past suddenly and irretrievably'.[22] As a conflict which exemplified the reduction of the human to the mechanical, the war epitomized Lawrence's greatest concerns for the future of humanity. The violence of weaponry would become integral to Lawrence's wartime representation of transport as a central component of the destructive dynamic pervading European culture. This co-option of transport to destructive intent—most evident in *Women in Love*—was based on historical realism. Paul Fussell reveals that mechanical transport became inextricably linked with the consciousness of war when 'directional and traffic control signs were everywhere in the trenches, giving the whole system the air of a parody modern city' and that 'during the winter of 1914–1915, a familiar sight just behind the line was a plethora of London heavy transport vehicles—brewer's trucks, moving vans, London buses—often with their original signs intact'.[23] Such a synthesis of mechanical transport with destructive strategy recurs in Lawrence's war and post-war fiction and links him artistically to the consciousness of the war generation.

Although I do not discuss Lawrence's poetry, his philosophical and critical writings or the short stories and novellas in depth, significant references to transport in these works are included where these elucidate his fiction. In short stories like 'Tickets Please' (1918) or novellas like *The Virgin and the Gypsy* (1930), for example, Lawrence makes vehicles—in these cases tramcars and a motor car—focal points of the human drama. In his poetry, from the earliest examples like 'A Train at Night', written in 1908, to 'The Ship of Death', written in 1929, near the end of his life, Lawrence's preoccupation with motion and flux places transport imagery at the forefront of his ontological thinking. In each of his travel books—*Twilight in Italy* (1916), *Sea and Sardinia* (1921), *Mornings in Mexico* (1927) and *Sketches of Etruscan Places* (1932)—transport becomes instrumental to his evocation of place and ontology. Critical writing, including *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1923), retains a sense of literal transport—sea travel in particular—as a vehicle for inner transport or personal and cultural redemption. In Lawrence's essay on 'Herman Melville', for example, he describes Melville—in terms that seem to describe Lawrence himself—as a Viking who 'cannot accept humanity' and who prefers the homeless wandering at sea to a home on land (*SCA* 139). There is in places an antisocial element in Lawrence's identification with transport as a form of apocalyptic deliverance from a degenerating humanity. This antisocial or, at times, 'tourist' persona resurfaces in the

narrative voice or in his characters and is discussed further in later chapters of this book.

Lawrence also uses transport metaphors in his philosophical writings to comment upon human relationships or make points about society. He writes in *The Crown* (1915, revised 1925) that

> We have made a mistake. We are like travellers travelling in a train, who watch the country pass by and pass away: all of us who watch the sun setting, sliding down into extinction, we are mistaken. It is not the country which passes by and fades, it is not the sun which sinks to oblivion. Neither is it the flower that withers, nor the song that dies out. It is we who are carried past in the seethe of mortality. The flower is timeless and beyond condition. It is we who are swept on in the condition of time. (*RDP* 263)

The train journey becomes part of a challenge to modern technological assumption—an assumption that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* specifically confronts with its post-war focus on mechanical and alternative human dystopian futures—that modernity and progress shifts the human relationship with the organic world: technology in Lawrence both threatens dissolution and potentially immunizes the traveller against it. The train becomes, suddenly, not just an instrumental agent of dehumanization but a symbol of life's journey. It is not immune from change but rather enframes and carries change. These kinds of abstract or metaphorical observations in Lawrence's discursive writings, which express life through transport metaphor often translate into real journeys in Lawrence's major novels. In such episodes, actual physical transportation across territory resonates with the shifting consciousness. The above passage from *The Crown* translates fictionally into a London-bound train journey in *Women in Love* that occupies a whole chapter, through which the momentum and enclosedness of the train is directly related to Rupert Birkin and Gerald Crich's discussion about life and death (*WL* 39). Such moments of realization are typical of Lawrence's novels, in which transport has the potential to be either redemptive or destructive in its connotations.

The novels in many respects coincide directly with Lawrence's actual journeying between 1912 and 1930 and remind us of the crucial link in his writing between literal transit and cultural or personal transition. While all of Lawrence's novels engage with transport as a narrative medium, this study will focus on the five novels considered 'major:' *Sons and Lovers, The Rainbow, Women in Love, The Plumed Serpent* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.

While *The Plumed Serpent* is not regarded universally as a major work—a judgement one might argue has been subject to re-evaluation in the last two decades—it has been selected to show Lawrence's reaction to transport on another continent and to reveal transport as integral to place, cultural otherness and historical moment in his work.[24] While Lawrence's early novels, *The White Peacock* and *The Trespasser*, provide detailed transport descriptions which are historically interesting and representative, these works are less developed in their integration of transport into a thematic vision.[25] It is in Lawrence's third novel *Sons and Lovers* that transport first becomes a more sustained and integrated narrative agent associated with issues of cultural change. In *The Rainbow* transport becomes a key focus for Lawrence's wider concerns about the interconnection of the organic and the mechanical and the impact of this upon society and relationships. By the final stage of *The Rainbow*, the story of Ursula Brangwen and Anton Skrebensky, transport has become internalized to reflect the tension within the protagonists between identity and community. From this point on in Lawrence's novels, transport exists simultaneously as concrete literal vehicle and inner metaphor. Transport —and interaction with transport—becomes part of the novel's statement about its protagonists. When Hermione Roddice in the 'Breadalby' chapter of *Women in Love*, for example, feels her insecurity about her lover Rupert Birkin as if it were a form of shipwreck (*WL* 99), transport becomes a narrative dynamic that is expressive of consciousness. In his letters, also, Lawrence used transport as a psychological focus for his own insecurities. His wartime paranoia and stasis is evident, for example, in a letter written in Cornwall to Catherine Carswell on 2 December 1916 while he was working on the first draft of *Women in Love*:

> I am so afraid to come to London—my state seems so shaky. I am sure I should be ill by the time the train was at Plymouth. I keep on saying to myself 'next week—next week'—and whenever the next week comes I am still incapable of starting. It is almost impossible, I find, for me to go further than Penzance: and even then I want to run back like lightning. It is a curious moral and physical incapacity to move towards the world. Yet I want to come to London: I must wait for the tide to turn in me. (iii. 44)

This shift between literal and metaphorical transport—real train, for example, and metaphorical ship—becomes a conscious narrative feature from *Women in Love* onwards. In *The Plumed Serpent* and *Lady Chatterley's*

Lover, transport comes more and more to reflect the polarization in Lawrence's thematic vision—expressed increasingly in his non-fiction articles and his poetry—between the flow of the redemptive journey and the stasis of an encroaching dystopian technology.

Transport is an important area of Lawrence study that has rarely been discussed critically. It is important because it connects Lawrence to a major cultural and technological development of his lifetime with which he was closely involved, but it also invites fresh contextual investigation of areas of Lawrence criticism that can be read to coincide historically with transport issues. Although no book-length studies and only a very few essays linking Lawrence to transport have been written, it is worth noting a growing awareness of this as a topic worthy of Lawrencian study. Bethan Jones has drawn attention to the language of transport in Lawrence's poetry and claims that it 'is analogously preoccupied with the adventure of journeying, resulting . . . in a web of interconnected imagery associated with travel or "trafficking."'[26] Although the coverage of actual transport in Jones's study is brief and localized, it signals an indication of some emerging interest in this aspect of Lawrence.

Michael Freeman claims there is a need to see the railway as 'problematic in itself' through further critical examination of the 'heterogeneity of railway space' and the 'constant intersecting of life-worlds with railway worlds'.[27] Freeman shares this cross-disciplinary approach, which links literary study with cultural or technological themes, with critics and historians like Ian Carter, Wolfgang Schivelbusch, Andrew Thacker and Jonathan Grossman[28] who, though not Lawrence scholars, have provided interesting investigations of the overlap between transport technology, history and literary narrative which for me help to inform my approach to Lawrence's texts in this regard. In this book, I apply similar cross-discipline approaches to Lawrence's most important novels to convey the sense of the connection between Lawrence's fictional use of transport and the real and historical transport networks he and his generation engaged with. This is based on the view that by connecting Lawrence to a specific phenomenon of the shifting culture he belonged to, such as transport, one invites a new perspective on his work that might radically change our perception of him and of his position as a Modernist.

There are other key critical responses to Lawrence that do not discuss transport specifically but do explore issues that can be read as transport-related. These range from studies of Lawrence's responses to technology and science[29] to considerations of his work through feminist[30] or

postcolonial lenses,[31] or through exploration of Lawrence's interest in ontology.[32] Howard Booth's approach to Lawrence and otherness and his recognition of Lawrence's 'keen observ[ation] of the act of travelling, with his writing often putting the journey itself within the frame' poses questions that I explore further in the novels, identifying Booth's phrase 'within the frame' as an invitation to focus more specifically beyond concepts of travel to a deeper consideration of the instrumentality of transportation.[33] I am interested in Lawrence's use of the processes of transport motion to explore wider themes but also to problematize the traveller and the act of travelling. Transport is a potential barrier to natural encounter in Lawrence's fiction and reflects his ontological concern that fast-moving and enclosing machines prevent that essential human contact and interaction central to pre-technological or primitive cultures. Technological progress is balanced against human loss and regression, particularly in his novels from *Kangaroo* onwards where modern transport brings white civilization into closer proximity with ancient or 'primitive' worlds.

I am interested, also, in Lawrence's responses to technology following the critical work of Andrew Harrison and of Jeff Wallace on this. Harrison argues that Lawrence was more influenced by Futurism than he acknowledged and suggests that in his writing during and immediately after the First World War Lawrence assimilated many Futurist elements into his work. Lawrence's 'engagement with the Futurist manifestos', says Harrison of the novels after *Sons and Lovers*, 'was decisive in the innovation of his own style, and the movement away from the realism of his earlier fiction'.[34] Harrison's historical approach to Lawrence links him with a movement of his time that placed machines, transport and modern warfare at the forefront of artistic expression. In this sense Harrison's theme and methodology sets an important precedent for my approach here.

Jeff Wallace explores further 'the complexity of Lawrence's encounter with the science of his time', arguing against the Leavisite humanist approach to Lawrence that positions him in opposition to science.[35] Wallace uses 'posthuman' as a term that 'tends to combine connotations of evolutionary development with those of transgression and loss' in which a 'notion of some integrally "human" condition is confronted with its demise in the form of the irretrievable splicing together of the cybernetic and the organic—the cy-borg, or cyborg.'[36] Taking Wallace's lead, the posthuman is discussed in later chapters of this book in relation to Lawrence's positioning of transport symbolically at points

of machine–human transgression within narrative negotiations of ontological and evolutionary concern.[37] A growing Lawrencian concern from *The Rainbow* onwards, this posthuman dialectic comes to prominence in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, where Lawrence implicates transport as part of his exploration of futures determined by human–machine relationships. Wallace's interest in 'the variations in Lawrence's fictional treatment of the relationships between humans, technology and the natural world' as being 'a constant process of reappraisal' establishes an opportunity to relocate Lawrence as a writer who engages with the sense of contemporary technology as an ontological marker.[38] Lawrence's novels establish a dialectic with an age that promoted yet feared the consequences of rapid technological change.[39] Other critical viewpoints related, for example, to feminism, cultural difference or postcoloniality, will also be discussed in the relevant chapters.

Before looking at transport in the novels, it is necessary to provide some historical background about the transport developments that Lawrence witnessed. Lawrence lived through a period of transport expansion and modernization which saw the acceleration of existing travel—particularly sea and train transport—but it also witnessed new forms of transport such as the aeroplane and the motor car. Stephen Kern describes the period between 1880 and 1930 as having 'an energy crisis of its own—a crisis of abundance. The tremendous development of railroads and steamships and the invention of the automobile and airplane greatly accelerated transportation and proliferated the places where people could travel at new high speeds'.[40] Lawrence's novels deal with this tension between old-world time and modern mechanical energies and speeds which threaten to isolate or dislocate his characters. This will be discussed in the chapters on *The Rainbow, Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent*, particularly. This direct confrontation between mythic time and metropolitan or 'modern' time is a central tension in novels like *The Plumed Serpent*, which juxtaposes ephemeral, primitive and timeless water travel with forms of transports associated with urban revolution and military territorialism like the motor car which privilege the conquest of space. As Wolfgang Schivelbusch states about the cultural change generated by nineteenth-century railways, 'motion was no longer dependent on the conditions of natural space, but on a mechanical power that created its own new spatiality.'[41] Lawrence, as both a traveller and a critic of the processes of travel, accommodates this growing dependency of human motion upon mechanical power into his fictional world.

While Lawrence, like his friend Aldous Huxley, saw the American car magnate Henry Ford—inventor and producer of the first mass-produced automobile in 1908—as a figurehead for mechanistic tyranny, Ford himself saw the extension of mechanical transport to a wider populace as altruistic and idealistic.[42] In *Today and Tomorrow* (1926) Ford argues—in apparent answer to Thomas Carlyle's essay 'Signs of the Times' (1829) written almost a hundred years earlier—that 'we are not living in a machine age. We are living in an age when it is possible to use power and machinery in the public service.'[43] In Lawrence's essay 'Blessed are the Powerful' (1925) he attacks a time when 'the only power is the power of human greed and envy, the greatest men in the world are men like Mr. Ford, who can satisfy the modern lust, we can call it nothing else, for owning a motor-car' (*RDP* 326).

Lawrence resents the idealizing of 'great financiers' like Ford who 'can soar on wings of greed to uncanny heights, and even can spiritualise greed' (*RDP* 326). Lawrence's novels and writings distinguish between transport that is unobtrusively 'other' and a transport culture like Ford's, which becomes conspicuously territorial in its conquest of place and human identity. After the First World War Lawrence attacked mechanized cultures like that of America which, in his view, promoted modern ideals but dehumanized whole communities to achieve those ideals. In 'Democracy' (1919) Lawrence links political idealism with mass-produced transport: 'Even the ideal Ford is only an ideal motor-car, or rather, an ideal *average* cheap car. Ford's employees are not spontaneous, nonchalant human beings, á la Whitman. They are good, well-tested, well-oiled motor-car sections' (*RDP* 67).

Transport, for Lawrence, provided a visible, concrete sign of cultural change which was as structural as it was spiritual. South African novelist Olive Schreiner shared Lawrence's concerns about the impact of modern transport upon cultural health. In *Woman and Labour* (1911), which Lawrence read,[44] Schreiner states

> our societies are in a state of rapid evolution and change. The continually changing material conditions of life, with their reaction on the intellectual, emotional, and moral aspect of human affairs, render our societies the most complex and probably the most mobile and unsettled which the world has ever seen. As a result of this rapidity of change and complexity, there must exist large amount of disco-ordination, and, consequently, of suffering.[45]

Lawrence shares Schreiner's concern for the human consequences that modern transport endorses, but in this he is more ambivalent. Lawrence's ambivalence lies in his equal enthusiasm for the extension of travel potential. Stephen Kern's definition of how historians might approach the relationship between culture and technological change seems an appropriate one for my investigation of how Lawrence relates these two aspects through transport:

> Technological developments are temporally specific events that often affect great numbers of people, and as such they are a compelling source for historical explanation. To avoid a monocausal technological determinism in cultural history, it is essential to clarify precisely how technology and culture interact.[46]

As they interact in Lawrence's novels, there emerges a simultaneity of transport function and transport symbolism. The German philosopher Martin Heidegger—born in 1889 and a contemporary of Lawrence—makes an important distinction in 'The Question Concerning Technology' (1954) which can be applied to Lawrence's fictional realization of transport:

> Likewise, the essence of technology is by no means anything technological. Thus we shall never experience our relationship to the essence of technology so long as we merely represent and pursue the technological, put up with it, or evade it. Everywhere we remain unfree and chained to technology, whether we passionately affirm or deny it. But we are delivered over to it in the worst possible way when we regard it as something neutral; for this conception of it, to which today we particularly like to pay homage, makes us utterly blind to the essence of technology.[47]

Heidegger argues that society can move beyond seeing itself bound to technology as a dead machine and begin to absorb technology into a sense of what it is to be human, in order to understand the good as well as the negative implications of technology. It is a paradox at the heart of what Lawrence attempts to do with transport in his novels: give it 'essence'. A focus on the 'essence' of technology—for my purposes, more specifically, the 'essence' of transport—would challenge the polarization of the technological and the human that characterizes Lawrence's tendency towards duality of representation. Heidegger's challenge, it seems to me, places

technology within the sort of ontological context that one senses Lawrence strives for. Despite being prone to demonize technology in his writings, Lawrence *does* like transport. Transport is never what Heidegger would term 'neutral' in Lawrence. He endorses it as integral to life but also problematizes it. Transport's paradoxical position in Lawrence's fiction lies in his need to make it symbolically an agent of escape central to his quest for difference and otherness, while acknowledging its instrumental place within the imprisoning determinism of modern machine culture.

While Lawrence's responses to specific transport vehicles in his letters and writings will be more appropriately and contextually discussed in the following chapters as part of the discussion of each novel in turn, a brief overview of transport development during the period and of Lawrence's attitude to different forms of transport might first be helpful as a prelude to this. Perhaps the most recurrent and significant transport symbol in Lawrence's novels is the train. By the time of Lawrence's birth in September 1885 the train had been the predominant form of fast travel in Britain for nearly half a century. During his Nottingham childhood in the late 1880s and early 1890s, the train was the symbol of Victorian progress and modernity in an otherwise essentially horse-drawn traffic. Lawrence was preoccupied by train travel throughout his life and this interest transferred to his fiction. Putting people in transport 'situations' and showing their reactions is a recurrent dynamic in many of his novels, and somewhat mischievously apparent in an unfinished short story called 'The Wilful Woman' (1922) in which fictional transport seems intended to frustrate the pretensions—as Lawrence saw it—of a modern liberated middle-aged woman, Sybil Mond, as she struggles to cross America from New York to the South-West. Sybil's 'modern' female ego is ultimately—and one suspects, for Lawrence—prophetically—frustrated by the inadequate technology—a slow Pullman train and a battered old taxi—that she expects to do her bidding. Sybil, apparently based on Lawrence's American heiress friend Mabel Dodge Luhan, could as easily have been modelled on Lawrence himself. Complaints about trains were as frequent as praise in Lawrence's letters. Typically, he would complain about over-crowdedness but then reveal a detailed interest in passenger interaction and encounter. He complained about strikes and delays and worried about the safety of lone female travellers. Lawrence also saw railways as a focus for human connection.[48] It appears significant for Lawrence, for example, as he stressed in a letter