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REDRESSING ROBERT DARROCH'S MISIMAGINING OF LAWRENCE'S USE OF "REAL PERSONS AND THINGS"

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SUNDAY PICTORIAL, July 29, 1917.

LAST WEEK'S CIRCULATION 2,380,603 COPIES!

SUNDAY·PICTORIAL

LATEST CERTIFIED CIRCULATION MORE THAN TWO MILLION COPIES WEEKLY

No. 125. Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper. SUNDAY, JULY 29, 1917 The Paper with "The Daily Mirror" behind it. One Penny.

WILD SCENES IN LONDON—"SOLDIERS' AND WORKERS' COUNCIL" STORMED

Hurried explanations—"Are you a pacifist?"

A special constable helps an injured civilian.

The attack on the Brotherhood Church begun—the door being broken down by soldiers and civilians.

Seeking sanctuary for a woman delegate.

What the church was like after the final battering.

Extraordinary scenes were witnessed yesterday in London, when an angry crowd broke up a meeting to promote a "Workers' and Soldiers' Council." The Brotherhood Church was partly wrecked, and the crowd surging in great disorder followed. The pulpit and furniture were smashed, and people were injured. In the streets there was even greater commotion, many of the delegates being severely mauled. The women delegates to the meeting were in some instances escorted out of the danger zone.—(*Sunday Pictorial* exclusive.)

Figure 1: Front page of the *Sunday Pictorial*, Sunday July 29, 1917. This attack on the Brotherhood Church in Hackney, London, is fictionalised in Douglas Goldring's novel *The Black Curtain* (1920), which he dedicated to Lawrence.

CENTENARY OF *KANGAROO*: REDRESSING ROBERT DARROCH'S MISIMAGINING OF LAWRENCE'S USE OF "REAL PERSONS AND THINGS"

BARBARA KEARNS

2022 marks the centenary of the Lawrences' visit to Australia and their eleven-week sojourn in Thirroul, a small seaside town approximately forty miles (seventy kilometres) south of Sydney in New South Wales (NSW), where Lawrence wrote his "Australian novel" *Kangaroo*. They had arrived from Western Australia where they had been staying at Leithdale, a guesthouse in Darlington run by Mollie Skinner, and where, as Lawrence later recorded, he had tutored this occasional author on her writing style. "'Write', said I, like an old hand giving advice, 'an Australian book about things you *actually* know, which you don't have to invent out of the ink-bottle'" (*BB* 377). Mollie also recalled that conversation: "Take real persons and things to build up on. That, he said, is what he did".[1]

But what did Lawrence mean by this emphasis on reality-informed writing? Are we to understand, as Australian journalist Robert Darroch would have us believe, that the characters and plot of *Kangaroo* must therefore have sprung from real-life encounters with members of a secret army in the immediacy of NSW? Lawrence's own testimony indicates not. "Ought one to put a tiny foreword note, apologising to Australia?", he wrote Robert Mountsier, from Taos, when finalising the revisions (*4L* 323). He was clearly concerned that this portrayal of Australia's ex-military leadership and returned Diggers as revolutionary fascists might cause offence. "Do you think the Australian Govt. or the Diggers might resent anything?", he also asked Thomas Seltzer (320). Unfortunately, neither agent nor publisher recommended any kind of apologetic "note". If they had, the question of whether *Kangaroo* was the thought adventure Lawrence stated it was, or a factually based

exposé of the "fascist underbelly" of "post-WW1 Australian society and politics", as Darroch claims it to be, would have been settled.[2]

Lawrence repeatedly described *Kangaroo* as a "thought adventure" both in letters and in the novel itself (*4L* 353, *K* 238, 279). Frieda also insisted "No Lorenzo never went to political meetings … No the spy story did not happen".[3] Yet for Darroch, *Kangaroo* is neither thought adventure nor fiction, but a thinly disguised account of real-life encounters with members of a secret army that Lawrence must have run across in NSW in 1922. Darroch's latest publication on the subject was, he explains:

> almost half a century in the making. The reason it took so long was that its underlying tenet – that *Kangaroo* is based on D. H. Lawrence's encounter with a secret army in Sydney in 1922 – while easy to arrive at, was difficult to prove. There were many obstacles along the way, and many interests who did not want the truth to come out.[4]

Having no evidence but the novel itself for such a claim the "Darroch thesis", as it has been dubbed, has been published in numerous forms; initially in the *Weekend Australian*, in May1976, as 'The Mystery of Kangaroo and the Secret Army' and subsequently in numerous other mainstream newspapers. It was published in book form by Macmillan, in 1981, as *D. H. Lawrence in Australia*; then in a two-volume study *D. H. Lawrence's 99 Days in Australia*, published by Svengali Press in 2016, and most recently online as *The Horrible Paws: D. H. Lawrence's Australian Nightmare*.[5]

Despite well-substantiated rebuttals from Bruce Steele in the notes to the Cambridge Edition of *Kangaroo* (1994), and from numerous additional scholars before and since, Darroch's own elaborate thought adventure continues to cast a significant shadow over the way Lawrence's "Australian novel" is viewed. The 2022 centenary of its composition has been marked, not so much by discussions of Lawrence's existential thought adventure, but by articles hinting at secret informants on secret armies. The *Australian*

Financial Review published a piece headlined 'The unravelling of an Australian conspiracy', suggesting that Lawrence had "stumbled on to some wildly good material for his novel. He'd met and been taken into confidence by the moving agents of a political conspiracy". David Brock, a member of the D. H. Lawrence Society, also aired the "Darroch thesis" in the *Nottingham Post*.[6]

Such is the voice of authority with which Darroch expresses his views, that students of Australian literature now find themselves confronted with his claims as if they were fact.[7] Nicolas Rothwell's introduction to the Melbourne Text Classics 2018 imprint of the novel (the recommended text) states:

> For many years after the publication of *Kangaroo* this elaborately managed, high-drama plot was regarded as pure fancy – until the prominent journalist and Lawrence enthusiast Robert Darroch outlined the striking similarities between the storyline and a sequence of upheavals in Sydney in the 1920s. There was, in fact, a secret rightist movement active in the city. Lawrence had informants for his narrative: *Kangaroo* is only partly fantastical.[8]

"The real joy of a book lies in reading it over and over again, and always finding it different, coming up on another meaning, another level of meaning", Lawrence would come to argue, in 1929 (*A* 60). But what would he have thought of Darroch's reinterpretation of his Australian thought adventure as historical fact: the secret army, for which there is no evidence because it was too secret; the homosexual encounter with its leader General Sir Charles Rosenthal; the terrible experience of which Lawrence was forever too afraid to speak (though not *so* afraid as to resist publishing a novel about it)? Whereas many interpretations can exist simultaneously, *Kangaroo* as thought adventure or Kangaroo as real person cannot. Either Lawrence arrived in NSW devoid of imagination, as Darroch insists, and there encountered a secret army leader resembling a kangaroo, or he did not, and *Kangaroo* was, as Lawrence conceived it, "a

romance": "the utterance of the primary individual mind, in defiance of reason" (*K* xxii–iii n.90).

What follows, then, is an investigation by an Australian historian that (supplementary to evidence already mounted) looks at the "real persons and things" from which Lawrence constructed his thought adventure, *Kangaroo*. The aim is to redress, in this centenary year, some of the damage being done to Lawrence's creative reputation by the secondary "thought adventure" that is the Darroch thesis. It takes the same starting point as Darroch – that is Lawrence's reported conversations with Mollie Skinner – but instead of projecting forward from there to an alternative reality that runs counter to Lawrence's own testimony, it looks *back* to what is known of Lawrence's adventuring thoughts at the time of his arrival in Sydney. It revisits the influence on his writing of the war years and the individuals he associated with at that time, particularly in Cornwall. It also looks especially at the influence of a little-known novel dedicated to him in 1920, by post-war propagandist and fervent admirer, Douglas Goldring. It begins, however, by examining three false premises on which the Darroch thesis is founded.

The first false premise

Darroch asks himself in the research diary accompanying his latest account, "How do I know that what I believe about L[awrence] & *K*[*angaroo*] is correct, while the orthodox account, so consistent, widely-held & universally accepted, is wrong – totally wrong?". His answer is: "First, the novel was written in odd circumstances – suddenly, quickly, about a place & subject L knew nothing about. Yet *K* is very accurate. The political theme – so surprising – is unbelievably, incredibly true" (*HP* 252). In fact, at no time during his forty years of research has Darroch ascertained that the political theme (by which is meant the "secret army" theme) is "true". In order for Darroch's claim to hold true there would need to be an "unbelievably, incredibly true" correlation between an extant secret army in NSW in 1922 and the Digger Clubs described in *Kangaroo*,

which are said to feature: "chiefly athletics, with a more or less secret core to each club, and all the secret cores working together secretly in all the states, under one chief head … And the aim, apparently, a sort of revolution and a seizing of political power" (*K* 93). There is no reason to suppose any such body existed in NSW in 1922. Darroch bases his supposition one did, firstly, on the novel itself, and, secondly, on his proposition that Australian returned serviceman William John Rendell (Jack) Scott was the real-life model for the fictional Jack Callcott, because Scott is known to have organised a citizen's reserve three years after the Lawrences' departure. But that reserve was not a revolutionary organisation, it was quite the opposite; a counter-revolutionary initiative of the then Prime Minister Bruce, whose government had introduced the 1925 Peace Officers Act specifically for such a purpose. The 1925 recruitment of Bruce's auxiliary force (which was never called to action) was carried on in secret, so that "no man would know any other man in the organisation other than the man who had enlisted him".[9] In contrast *Kangaroo*'s Digger Clubs:

> started like any other social club: games, athletics, lectures, readings, discussions, debates. No gambling, no drink, no class or party distinctions. The clubs were still chiefly athletics, but not *sporting*. They went in for boxing, wrestling, fencing, and knife-throwing, and revolver practice. But they had swimming and rowing squads, and rifle-ranges for rifle practice, and they had regular military training. (*K* 184)

There certainly were Digger Clubs in Australia in 1922, and it is probable that Lawrence had heard of them before arriving in NSW since, in Darlington, he had milked Mollie Skinner for information about her brother. Jack Skinner has long been recognised – even by Darroch – as one of the sources of characteristics for Jack Callcott.[10] The war injuries attributed to Callcott are repeated by Lawrence in the description he gives of Jack Skinner in his 'Note on Miss M. L. Skinner' (*BB* 373). Many other characteristics of Jack Skinner are

also reflected in Callcott. His assumed "common" manner (his rejection of his genteel upbringing) is a key feature of the description Mollie gives of her brother in her autobiography. Like Jack Callcott, Jack Skinner had Irish roots and also a returned soldiers' land grant. Like Callcott, Jack Skinner was also a member of the Digger Club, 'The Returned Serviceman's League' (RSL).

Digger Clubs did not focus on athletics, however. This is Lawrentian fiction. The sad shamble of returned servicemen, most of them damaged to such an extent that they were unable to find regular employment, were hardly the stuff of which athletes could be made. The RSL's journal *The Listening Post*, urged members: "Patronise your Club", offering not athletics but "billiards".[11] The hale and hearty Digger Clubs featured in *Kangaroo* are, as Steele has established, evocations of the Great League of Comrades Lawrence envisioned eight months prior to his arrival in Australia, in the original manuscript of *Fantasia of the Unconscious* (*K* 372 n.92:9).

Furthermore, the King and Empire Alliance, of which, in 1922, Scott was Treasurer, and which, Darroch asserts must therefore have been the front for the secret army was, as the name makes clear, a staunchly monarchist, imperial organisation. *Kangaroo's* secret Digger army, on the other hand, is a republican movement, seeking, as one of its key objectives, to break with "the Old Country" and its empire (*K* 188).

The second false premise

The second false premise of the "Darroch thesis" is that Lawrence approached NSW having run out of ideas and not intending to write, and that his commencement of a novel shortly after arrival is therefore indicative of a surprise source of inspiration. Darroch, echoing Steele, argues that since Lawrence, on board ship, had stated he had sent his muse to a nunnery, something must have happened to make him change his mind (*K* xxiii). "[T]ill now", states Darroch, portentously, "it has been something of a mystery why his muse had suddenly decided to emerge from her cloisters" (*HP* 28). This is to

misconstrue Lawrence's shipboard message to Amy Lowell: "I am enjoying the face of the earth and letting my Muse, dear hussy, repent her ways. 'Get thee to a nunnery' I said to her. Heaven knows if we shall ever see her face again, unveiled, uncoiffed" (*4L* 243). The qualifications "nunnery" and "uncoiffed" should alert the reader to the fact that Lawrence was referring to the sexual content of his writing. His muse was not absent, she was simply veiled and cloistered, as Lawrence was soon reporting to his publisher:

> I have begun a novel, and it seems to be going well - pitched in Australia … no love interest at all so far – don't intend any – no sex either. Amy Lowell says you're getting a reputation as an erotic publisher: she warns me. I shall have thought my reputation as an erotic writer (poor dears) was secure. So now I'll go back on it. (258)

The same change of style was reported to Mountsier, "Done a bit more than half of *Kangaroo* – now slightly stuck. You'll never like it – though there isn't so much as the letter S of sex" (268). So, it is not the case that Lawrence arrived devoid of ideas and not intending to write. He was a professional writer. He arrived aiming to explore the spirit of place, so was not going to start a new novel on board ship. He had hoped to write a "Zioniad" in Palestine (*3L* 340) and when with the Brewsters "to do a Ceylon novel" (*4L* 193). He was "keen to write an American novel, after Australia" (257); and after that, he wanted to write "a New Mexico novel with Indians in it" (274). Lawrence was always intending to write.

Darroch's further rationale for arguing that Lawrence must have been writing about current events is that he had supposedly "run out of, or exhausted, his autobiographical, or first-hand material" because:

> *Sons and Lovers* took care of his childhood, and *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* his early adult life. He used some of his post war and travel experiences in *Aaron's Rod* and also in the then-

> unfinished *Mr Noon*. Now, Ceylon having failed to inspire his muse, he is no doubt looking forward to America to provide him with the ingredients he will need for a new fictional work. (*HP* 23)

This simplistic conception of Lawrence's creative impulse fails to factor in the complexities of his psychology and the enduring background of war trauma he carried with him. Though Lawrence, ostensibly with *Aaron's Rod* (1922), appeared to have completed what Judith Ruderman terms his "fall-of-Europe" theme, Lawrence was far from being released from considering the war.[12] Carl Krockel's study of Lawrence's creative response to war trauma, catalogues the progressive acts of self-therapy undergone in his novels: "While in *Aaron's Rod* Lawrence presented a generalised state of trauma and in *The Lost Girl* acted out the confusion of his sexual vision with the violence of war, in *Mr Noon* he began to analyse … the war's former possession of every aspect of his existence".[13] Throughout the 1920s, Krockel then argues, Lawrence continued to display, in his writings, the condition known as "traumatic imitation" in which a victim's survival instinct causes them to identify with their aggressor, imitating the aggressor's tendencies. According to Krockel:

> Australia, then, is like a therapist's couch, a semi-neutral space that invites Lawrence's protagonist Richard Lovatt Somers to revisit his past, while remaining at one remove from it. Re-enacting his traumatic imitation of war in the semi-autobiographical figure of Somers, Lawrence struggled within the therapeutic process of acting out and working through it.[14]

Lawrence's American publisher, Seltzer, when he received the manuscript of *Kangaroo* in January 1923 recognised the subject immediately for what it was:

> I knew that if you ever wrote about the War you would say something that nobody else said, in a way that nobody else could … It was a stroke of genius to put the War against such a background. The contrast between the vast silence of that large uninhabited country and the noise of the War intensifies both. And then there is the whole world besides. The Odyssey of the human soul as seen through the individual soul of Richard Lovatt … (*8L* 59–60)

The third false premise

The third false premise mounted by Darroch is that "while at Darlington" Lawrence recommended "a diary-method of writing to 'Mollie' Skinner" (*HP* 24) and that this identifies his own approach to *Kangaroo*: "While ostensibly fiction, *Kangaroo* vividly describes day-by-day (and sometimes hour-by-hour) the hitherto unknown story of what turned out to be the worst experience of Lawrence's short life … a nightmare that haunted him all his remaining days" (*HP* 24). In fact, Lawrence did not recommend a diary-method of writing to Mollie Skinner while at Darlington. That did not happen until six years later, when Mollie sent him her manuscript *Eve in the Land of Nod*, suggesting he collaborate with her on it. This fictionalised account of Mollie's outback-nursing experience had been written in the first person, an approach which Lawrence found problematic. He reworked it a little but realising, as she noted in the manuscript's preface, that "it would not go into the third person", he gave up and returned the manuscript to her with the suggestion she revert to her former method:[15] "If I were to suggest anything, I should suggest that its form might be the form of a sort of diary – use the *I* again – and write in little sections, no chapters" (*7L* 36).

The mis-association of Lawrence's 1928 advice to Mollie with his own 1922 approach to *Kangaroo* was first made by John Alexander in 1965, in 'D. H. Lawrence's *Kangaroo*: fantasy, fact, or fiction?', where he described *Kangaroo* as "an account of day-to-day reactions to people and place" and claimed: "It exactly exemplifies

the advice Lawrence gave Mollie Skinner; 'Use the form of a diary … write in little sections, in just those little flashes of scenes and incidents following one another in haphazard event, brief, poignant, telling".[16] Darroch adopts Alexander's error and argues, in like vein, "The key is surely the Mollie Skinner quote about doing a novel in diary form (L advised her to 'splash down reality' and write 'from day-to-day')" (*HP* 252). This is to further mis-associate suggestions from 1928 (the diary) with those of 1922 (put aside an hour each day for writing). Mollie had protested, in 1922, that she was too busy running a guesthouse to write a book. Whereupon Lawrence urged her to institute a regime:

> You can take an hour – the same hour – that's very important – daily, write bit by bit the scenes you have witnessed, around the people you know, describing their reactions as you know they do re-act, not as you imagine they should. You spoil things by re-writing. Write and build up from day to day and make your settlers live.[17]

This distinctive advice: to write in a disciplined manner, a novel about the settlers, using people she knows as models and scenes she has witnessed as locations, gives a glimpse of the process Lawrence habitually employed in his own writing: taking "real persons and things" from one context, and factoring them into an entirely different context. Lawrence's further advice that she "splash *in* reality" (not "splash *down* reality" as Darroch states) related to this imperative, to give verisimilitude to fiction by adding splashes of reality.[18] The advice sprang from his comparison of her published epistolary novel *Letters of a VAD* (1918, a fictionalised account of her wartime-nursing experiences) with her draft adventure-novel, *Sunkissed Children*, which, Lawrence observed, despairingly, "tumbled away into a sort of pirate-castaway-Swiss-Family-Robinson-Crusoe-Treasure-Island in the North West" (*BB* 378). His verdict was:

> You can splash down what you see. What you don't know is that you can only do that. You can't write fancy – you can't dress with imagination. You have the power of seeing things and making them live, but not the power of flight from your subject. There is no limit to what you could do, if you stick to reality.[19]

Lawrence is not talking about himself here. Nor can it be said that Mollie did not follow Lawrence's advice, as Darroch claims:

> when she came to contribute her part of the novel she and Lawrence were to co-author … it had no connection with quotidian events. There was no "splashing down of reality". Yet this technique was precisely the approach Lawrence himself chose to adopt when he started writing *Kangaroo* some weeks later. (*HP* 25)

It is evident from the finished result that Mollie made every effort to fulfil Lawrence's mixed imperatives: to write of a past she had not witnessed by taking "real persons and things" from a present she had witnessed and build them up into a fiction. The manuscript *The House of Ellis* that she eventually sent to Lawrence and that he reworked into *The Boy in the Bush*, begins "forty years ago" (when Mollie's brother Jack Skinner, the model for the main character, was one year old and still living in Ireland), with the arrival in Australia of his namesake, Jack Grant, aged seventeen (Jack Skinner did indeed arrive in Australia aged seventeen). Grant goes to work, south of Perth, as a jackaroo (a trainee stockman) with the Ellis family, who are based not on the relatives Jack actually jackarooed with in 1899 but on a family Mollie had recently nursed in 1922.[20] Mollie had no personal experience of her brother's life as a jackaroo. All she had to go on were the stories he told her, along with those of the early days her mother had recounted, plus her own recent experience of life as a bush nurse. Reviewers noted the novel's anachronisms and protested:

> Skinner's historical sense is badly at fault if she thinks 20 years before she came to the West is the dim past. She is not true to facts … [There are] events which must bring the story to 1890 – yet still no railways beyond Perth – and the whole atmosphere as if in the 50s or 60s.[21]

Kangaroo's authenticity as a truly Australian story has similarly always been contested. David Game's study of Lawrence in Australia shows that for some it was "arguably the quintessential Australian novel", for others quite the opposite.[22] For Australian author Katherine Susannah Prichard (1883–1969), it had "little reality where the people of our country, their struggles, aspirations and achievements are concerned". For Jane Costin, "in many ways it is a book about Cornwall".[23] For Norman Douglas, in 1933, the "intrusion of a Cornish element" into *Kangaroo*, was "an artistic outrage".[24] For many contemporary literary theorists *Kangaroo* is as much a creative dialogue with the work of other international writers (such as Dostoevsky, Walt Whitman and Bertrand Russell) as it is an Australia-inspired fiction.[25]

Douglas Goldring's *The Black Curtain*

One of the works not previously recognised as having engaged Lawrence in creative dialogue is Douglas Goldring's *The Black Curtain* (1920). Goldring had written an essay in support of Lawrence in *Art and Letters* in 1919 and met up in person with him at S. S. Koteliansky's house in 1920. From then on Goldring devoted himself, as best he could, to finding publishers for Lawrence's work. It was Goldring who set Lawrence up with Seltzer, whose London representative he had become, and it was Goldring who facilitated publication of Lawrence's essays on Democracy "in that absurd international paper published at the Hague, that they said was run absolutely by spies and shady people" as Lawrence referred to it in *Kangaroo* (*K* 110). Goldring was a member of the Russomanic '1917 Club' and also secretary of the English branch of 'Clarté' (*3L* 5). He

established, with Harold Scott, *The People's Theatre Society*, for the intended purpose of publishing Lawrence's plays. Goldring described himself, in his autobiography, as having been, at that time, "in a white-heat of fanatical enthusiasm not only for the particular 'pamphlet shop', for which I was working … but also for the cause of international brotherhood".[26] Oblivious to the fact that he and Lawrence, though both anti-war, were otherwise out of sympathy ideologically, Goldring asked Lawrence if he might dedicate his forthcoming anti-war novel to him, and Lawrence agreed (*3L* 441).

Goldring was one of several of Lawrence's associates whose response to the war had been to re-invest in the Christian ideal, rather than eschew it altogether. To this end, *The Black Curtain* is a morality tale featuring a cast of representational characters. The protagonist, Philip Kane (based on Goldring himself), is a writer on a hero's journey from carefree Bohemianism to wartime political realisation, renewed Christian faith and commitment to International Brotherhood. Socialism is represented by Philip's wife, Anne, a pacifist and secretary of the Workers' Peace Federation. A corrupted form of Christianity is represented by Anne's father, the vicar; the political right, by Philip's father, a jingoistic patriot; and the promise of ultimate peace, freedom and brotherhood is represented by a Koteliansky-inspired revolutionary, named Smirnoff.

Goldring's narrative reaches its dramatic peak when a "motley crowd of Australian soldiery and miscellaneous roughs" storms a meeting on 'Capitalism or World Brotherhood?' that Philip is attending in a church hall in North East London.[27] The model for this event was a riot that occurred in North East London in July 1917 (see Figure 1), a month after a massive Labour and Socialist Convention in Leeds, chaired by Robert Smilie, had resolved to "follow Russia".[28] Numerous meetings to establish Soldiers' and Workers' Councils to facilitate that end had been held across the country, giving rise to fears workers' Soviets were being formed, along Russian lines, which resulted in many of the meetings being disrupted.

The most notable instance of this was the meeting convened by the Christian Brotherhood Union, which Goldring attended at the Brotherhood Church, Hackney, on 28 July 1917.[29] As Goldring reported in his autobiography, this meeting was "stormed by a party of intoxicated Australian soldiers".[30] Several of Lawrence's pacifist associates were caught up in the riot. Bertrand Russell also related the incident in his autobiography: "A few people, among them Francis Meynell, attempted resistance, and I remember his returning from the door with his face streaming with blood. The mob burst in led by a few officers; all except the officers were more or less drunk".[31]

The Black Curtain ends with the death of the heroine who, having been arrested for her activism, dies in childbirth in jail, along with the child. This leaves the hero united in grief with all who have experience death due to war. Thus Goldring unconsciously assuages the non-combatant's sense of guilt which Krockel has identified as belonging to the works of many WW1 writers who did not participate in the war. Goldring believed his novel to be "the most violently anti-war and revolutionary work of fiction to appear in England in 1920 and for some years afterwards" (*3L* 441 n.2). Its message, however, was exclusively spiritual:

> Sorrow united them, and by the very fact of this unity all things were made possible. The civilisation of the West might now indeed be refashioned on a nobler and more spiritual basis … The inconsolable could become divinely consoled; and in their victory God once again would make manifest His own Divinity, even as He made it manifest through Jesus Christ nineteen centuries gone by.[32]

Lawrence's reception of Goldring's novel was understandably lukewarm: "I got *The Black Curtain*, which we read and which is interesting. But ugh, how I hate the war – even a suggestion of it" (*3L* 531). Just how interesting Lawrence found it can be seen in the way he chose to respond to it. We are reminded of what Lawrence

once told Helen Corke: "I always feel, when you give me an idea, how much better I could work it out myself!".[33]

Lawrence's adventuring thoughts

Lawrence's response to Goldring's novel can best be seen in light of the direction his own adventuring thoughts had been taking throughout the war and since he had left Europe. "I am so sad, for my country, for this great wave of civilisation, 2000 years, which is now collapsing, that it is hard to live", he had despairingly written to Cynthia Asquith in the early days of the war (*2L* 431). Similarly he told Eddie Marsh, "I feel as if the whole thing were coming to an end – the whole of England, of the Christian era" (433). John Middleton Murry, who witnessed this deterioration of Lawrence's sense of wellbeing later reported: "I can bear personal witness to the shattering effect this [the war] had upon him. Not even 'The Nightmare' fully conveys the despair and physical prostration in which he was plunged in the winter of 1914–15. I was very close to him at that time".[34]

Murry was another of those whose response to the war had been to seek an even greater refuge in Christianity than had formerly been the case. Indeed, he and Lawrence eventually fell out over their irreconcilable philosophical differences. Murry saw Lawrence's state of mind as developing into:

> a desperate and at times frenzied repudiation of a world which, professedly inspired by Christian love, and carrying that principle to an extreme outward expression in universal democracy, nevertheless plunged headlong into the mutual mass-destruction of the First World War … Lawrence, in the persona of Somers, described it in *Kangaroo*.[35]

By the time Lawrence left England, this repudiation of the Christianised world with its "ideal of Love, Self-sacrifice, Humanity united in love, in brotherhood, in peace", as described in *Kangaroo,*

had become manifest (*K* 264). Passing through the Suez Canal into the Red Sea on the first leg of his journey to Australia, the redundancy of Judeo-Christian symbolism struck him forcefully:

> There stood Mount Sinai, red as old, dried blood, naked as a knife, and so sharp, so unnaturally sharp, defined, like a 'poinard' (dagger) that was stuck (dipped) in blood, and has long since dried again, and is a bit 'rusted', and always there, like something dreadful, between man and his lost Paradise. (*4L* 211–12)

Such was the tenor of thoughts that Lawrence brought with him to Australia, and the thoughts that continued adventuring with him in *Kangaroo*. "With Jews it began, with Jews it ends", he had pronounced to his mother-in-law, halfway across the ocean en route to the East: "The ideal has been wicked to man: and Jahveh is father of the ideal" (*4L* 212).

It is misguided then to claim that Lawrence's consequent thought adventure – in which he triumphantly kills off the Jehova-like lawyer who is head of an underground fascist army, a Jew who professes humility and love but is really a tyrant – must be evidence of a real tyrant and secret army that Lawrence encountered in Sydney, on arrival, in 1922. *Kangaroo* is a thought adventure partly inspired by Lawrence's response to *The Black Curtain* and his desire to proffer an alternative religious response to the war to the one embraced by so many of his countrymen.

In *Kangaroo*, Goldring's morality tale is inverted. Somers, the anti-hero, is on a voyage of transformation from a committed democrat to one who abandons belief in the brotherhood of man and commits instead to individual dark gods and blood consciousness. Counterpoise to Goldring's idealistic wife is Somers's pragmatic and somewhat cynical wife, Harriett. Cooley (aka "Kangaroo"), the Judaeo-Christian lawgiver and professor of infinite love, exercises at first an almost irresistible attraction for Somers, who toys briefly with being contained in his warm embrace. Ultimately however, Somers repudiates what Cooley stands for, insisting it is contrary to

nature. Cooley's Lieutenant, Jack Callcott, represents followers of Cooley's creed, the soldiers who were persuaded to participate in the war's slaughter out of a foolhardy commitment to love and self-sacrifice. Socialism and its "Red" solution are represented by the unionist Willie Struthers, while an alternative to the status quo is provided by William James (Jaz) Trewhella who, as a Cornishman in touch with pre-Christian forces, represents a truly alternative religion: Lawrence's dark gods. *Kangaroo* also reaches its dramatic peak when a mob of Australian soldiery violently disrupts a Socialist meeting.

The original riot (depicted in Goldring's novel) had been provoked via *Daily Express* pamphlets distributed throughout the Hackney pubs, inciting locals and colonial soldiers, both Australian and Canadian, to lead the attack, promising, "Scores of old Soldiers and others are going to march to the Canal Bridge to show these TRAITORS What they think of them".[36] Bertrand Russell responded with a piece in *The Tribunal* headed 'Crucify Him! Crucify Him!':

> Whoever has seen the passions of the mob let [loose] and has realised how easily the brute in Man can be aroused, must feel, if he has any power of reflection, that the spirit of violence is not one to rouse for no matter what end … It is the brutal passions themselves that [the pacifist] wishes to eradicate, not this or that accidental manifestation of them.[37]

Lawrence had no such wish to eradicate the brutal passions. His "traumatic imitation" relished them.

The irony of the Christian Brotherhood Union being viciously attacked in the Brotherhood Church, while extolling pacifism, evidently resonated with Lawrence, who gave the event a wicked twist in *Kangaroo*. Instead of using the riot to eulogise pacifism, as did Goldring, he used it to kill off the Bertrand Russell-inspired Benjamin Cooley, whom Lawrence had long ago accused of hypocrisy, arguing: "It isn't in the least true that you, your basic self, want ultimate peace. You are satisfying in an indirect, false way your

lust to jab and strike" (*2L* 392). By having Kangaroo die, Lawrence, allegorically, brings about the death of God, thereby making way for dark gods of his own.

This then is one of the "real things" on which Lawrence's "Australian novel" was based. Lawrence appears to have had knowledge of this riot not only through Goldring's novel, but also beyond it. *Kangaroo's* 'Row in Town' contains incidental details of the original riot that Goldring's novel does not mention. The first is the fact that entry to the meeting was by ticket only, and the second is its association with the idea of establishing soviets. In *Kangaroo*, Struthers, the speaker who is interrupted by the rioting Diggers, has previously recommended, "'We'll have a Soviet, mates, and then we shall feel better about it. We s'll be getting nasty tempered if we put it off much longer'" (*K* 311).

Taking "real persons and things"

Which other "real persons and things" did Lawrence take to construct his thought adventure, if not General Sir Charles Rosenthal, Captain Jack Scott and a secret army in NSW?

Benjamin Cooley, as Steele has pointed out, "is principally a mouthpiece, at times almost an allegorical figure, for elements in Lawrence's internal debate" (*K* xxxiii). We might say he is entirely allegorical, representing Lawrence's obsolete Judeo-Christian patriarch, his eyes shining "with a queer, holy light, behind the eyeglasses" (113). As has been well established, his characteristics were sourced from "real persons", primarily from Lawrence's Jewish friends: Koteliansky, a lawyer, and David Eder, at that time political head of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem. But to these should be added Maurice Magnus, whose portrait, in the Introduction to *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion*, Lawrence had completed shortly before leaving Europe. Magnus was a Catholic convert whom Lawrence had first met in Florence, where Magnus had seemed "like a little pontiff" in his blue dressing gown with its reddish-purple border, surrounded by cut glass pomades and prayer books (*IR* 15).

Magnus had once been married, but now "loathed women" (32) and took only boys and young men as lovers, entertaining hopes of joining the monastic community at Monte Cassino. Cooley similarly describes himself as married "once to a haughty lady—and now I'm wedded to my ideals" (*K* 119).

Visiting Magnus at Monte Cassino, Lawrence had discussed politics with him and Don Martino long into the night, and had gazed down on the city: "There swarmed the ferrovieri like ants. There was democracy, industrialism, socialism, the red flag of the communists and the red white and green tricolor of the fascisti. That was another world" (*IR* 33). These are, of course, the ideologies examined in *Kangaroo*, though, as Luke Ferretter has pointed out, Cooley's fascism differs from that of the fascisti, in that it professes to be founded on Christian love:

> The opposing philosophies of Kangaroo and Willie Struthers, between which Somers steers a third course to his dark God are not that of Fascism and Communism as such, therefore, but rather of right- and left-wing developments of the Christian philosophy of love into contemporary political movements.[38]

Lawrence recorded Magnus's antipathy to democracy: "What you need is the Church in power again. The Church has a place for everybody … It puts people in their proper place. It puts women down into their proper place, which is the first thing to be done" (*IR* 32). Cooley too favours a kind of benevolent tyranny, a leader who would be "'a patriarch, or a pope: representing as near as possible the wise, subtle spirit of life'" (*K* 112). He would try to establish his state of Australia "as a kind of Church".

This godlike character employs Francis Thompson's metaphysical language: "'I'm going to love you, and you won't get away from that. I'm the hound of heaven after you, my boy, and I'm fatal to the hell hound that's leading you. Do you know I love you?—that I loved you long before I met you?" (*K* 136).[39] Somers, however, subverts the Christian dynamic. Where Cooley determines to

exorcise Somers's demons, Somers stands firm and Cooley has "not the power to touch him" (136), just as in the Bible, according to Benson's non-conformist commentary, it is Christ who casts out the demons, and the worshippers in the Synagogue who have "not power to touch him".[40]

Dialogues between Somers and Cooley are replete with such allegorical exchanges. It is no wonder then, that those expecting to find in *Kangaroo* an "Australian novel" have declared Cooley "an entirely preposterous character": "not typical of Australia nor, for that matter, of any other country. He is not so much a man as the incarnation of an idea which Mr Lawrence wishes to set up for the purposes of knocking it down" (*K* liv). Therefore, the error of identifying Cooley with a domiciled Australian and of interpreting Lawrence's allegorical renunciation of the love ideal, as being representative of a homosexual encounter he must have had with General Sir Charles Rosenthal "in his apartment" "on the night of June 17", as does Darroch in *The Horrible Paws*, cannot be overstated (*HP* 178, 230). Having nominated General Rosenthal as the original Benjamin Cooley and Jack Scott as the original Jack Callcott (supposed leaders of a very secret army), Darroch goes on to posit *how* these purported players must have met, since the Lawrences were only in Sydney for three days, before retiring to Thirroul: "What I needed was an address where I might place Scott and Lawrence together, and where their paths could then have crossed" (*HP* 8).

Darroch's rationale for the elaborate confabulation that follows is that in Chapter II of *Kangaroo* a tea-party is held in Narrabeen, at a holiday bungalow belonging to Jack's sister, Rose Trewhella, wife of the character Jaz (*K* 29). To Darroch's mind, if an association can be established between the Trewhella bungalow and Charles Rosenthal, then this can be taken as proof positive of a meeting. The fictional bungalow is described as "quite a nice little place, standing on a bluff of sand sideways above the lagoon", with a car parked "on the sand of the road near the gate" (*K* 28).

Darroch's research assistant, Robert Whitelaw, has found there was a distinctive two-storey house named Billabong, in the Narrabeen location featured in *Kangaroo*, designed and built by Charles Schultz, on property originally purchased by his wife, Emma.[41] Whitelaw also located a pre-World-War-1 photograph of Rosenthal (a qualified architect) visiting this house, which Whitelaw describes as "a large, two-storey holiday house across a sloping site on the Lagoon Street side of the block" accessed through a walkway "directly to the second floor". This location, which Darroch's research diary describes as "almost an estate – certainly containing the most substantial (two-storey) house for miles around" can, by no stretch of the imagination, be said to resemble the "humiliating little bungalows" of which Rose's holiday-house is a feature in *Kangaroo* (*K* 28).[42]

Nevertheless Darroch continues to prosecute the case that the two-storey Billabong matches Rose Trewhella's fictional bungalow "in every respect – apart from its interior" (*HP* 17). This is despite his own research diary entry, cited above, acknowledging that the bungalow's description could equally well be ascribed to the Lawrences' then residence, Wyewurk, in Thirroul.

Having, to his own satisfaction, paired a 1922 location in *Kangaroo*, with a place Rosenthal visited before the war, Darroch then asserts:

> On the day after he arrived in Sydney—Saturday, May 26, 1922—Lawrence and his wife Frieda caught a ferry to Manly, then a tram up to Narrabeen, where they had been invited to afternoon tea by an Australian they had met on the boat coming to Australia. There they met a man called Jack Scott, who happened to be the second-in-command of a secret army in New South Wales. Scott was very much taken with Lawrence, and in the following week they had several more meetings, during which Scott tried to find out what Lawrence's politics were, for he wanted to recruit him to his secret army, possibly as a propagandist, or editorialist for their magazine.[43]

There is no evidence whatsoever for any such meeting, or for any of the other clandestine meetings featured in the Darroch thesis. Not only is the argument internally incoherent (since Emma Schultz was not Jack Scott's sister), but also Darroch's proposition that Jack Callcott is modelled on Jack Scott, contravenes his own premise that *Kangaroo* was written diary-style. In the novel, Jack Callcott meets Somers on page one, and by page eighteen has become his next-door neighbour. The tea-party at Narrabeen, however, does not occur until page twenty-nine. To overcome this logistical hurdle, Darroch argues that Jack Scott must *also* have been a model for Rose Trewhella's husband, Jaz, since in one of Lawrence's conclusions for *Kangaroo* Somers recalls Narrabeen being "where they first saw Jaz".[44] Justification for Scott having the necessary characteristics to be identified with Jaz, who "married his brother's widow", is that seven years after the novel is published, Scott will marry a widow, one who, in 1922, was living in an adjacent suburb to Narrabeen (*HP* 18).

Darroch did not need to undergo such torturous logistics in order to identify a bungalow belonging to "Jack's sister", since this clearly applies to Jack Skinner's sister Mollie and her bungalow Leithdale, where Lawrence had recently been staying. The Leithdale bungalow did not overlook the sea, but it did have extensive verandahs and evidently had on display the medals and ribbon and letter of commendation described in *Kangaroo* (*K* 29), since such belonged to Mollie's late father Colonel James Tierney Skinner, who had been awarded both the Distinguished Service Medal and the Order of the Bath and whose letter praising him is now in the Battye Library.[45] The Narrabeen tea-party is a reflection of the one held for the Lawrences on their arrival at Leithdale, for which Pussy Jenkins shoved a bag of cakes into Mollie's hand.[46] Lawrence, struck by Mollie's colonial gentility, "built up" his observations into a *Kangaroo* vignette: "Mrs. Trewhella was alert and watchful, and decided to be genteel. So the party sat around in the basket chairs and on the settles under the windows, instead of sitting at table for tea" (*K* 29). Sandra Darroch, has identified several elements of the *Kangaroo* conversation, which takes place in the Narrabeen

bungalow, as reflective of conversations Lawrence had at Leithdale. Seated at the same table as the newly-weds Maudie and Eustace Cohen, Lawrence mined these bona fide Australians for background details for his Australian character, Victoria Callcott, Jack's wife.[47]

Despite such touches of local colour, the credibility of *Kangaroo*'s secondary characters has been heavily criticised. Literary critic, Adrian Lawlor, whom Richard Aldington consulted for his introduction to the 1950 edition, opined to Aldington:

> "Jack", who is supposed to be, as no doubt D. H. thought he was, a credible representation of the ordinary male as met in Australia, is quite delocalised, non-indigenous even. And this also goes for Kangaroo himself .... Like most of Lawrence's characters, he simply isn't knowable, for he has no recognisable milieu.[48]

What, then, is Jack's given milieu?

"Real persons and things" – in Cornwall

In *Kangaroo,* when introducing Jack's sister Rose Trewhella's bungalow, the narrator comments, "The end house was called St. Columb, and Somers' heart flew to Cornwall" (*K* 28). This should alert the reader immediately to a key source of "real persons and things" from which Jack Callcott is drawn, particularly as Jack's brother-in-law, Jaz Trewellha, is said to be "a young Cornishman" (29). Spuriously, it seems to the reader, Lawrence provides comprehensive background detail for Rose Trewhella, a very minor character. Her current husband Jaz had "married his brother's widow … The first Trewhella, Alfred John, had died two years ago, leaving his wife with a neat sum of money and this house, St. Columb" (29). This marital situation precisely corresponds to that of William Henry Hocking's sister Kate, of Zennor. Kate had first married Nicholas Wallis Hollow in 1907, and then after he died of tuberculosis in 1916 (which fact Lawrence mentions in a letter to Dollie Radford (*2L* 652), Kate married his brother, John Stevens Hollow, in 1919. She lived

with each of them in turn in a house on Bellair Terrace, St Ives.[49] It was not a bungalow, nor did it have verandahs, but it was overlooking the sea.

When Somers's heart flies to Cornwall, in Chapter II of the novel, it stays there (descriptions of Australia excepted), as Costin has noted:

> The first two hundred pages are, if anything, a repression of emotion about Cornwall. Somers consciously avoids talking about Cornwall, even though his attachment to the place is made clear. Somers has lived in Cornwall, but does not mention this when telling Victoria of all the places he has been (*K* 19–20).[50]

Costin echoes Krockel in stressing the therapeutic effect for Lawrence of addressing his Cornwall experiences. She points out that it took over four and a half years for him to be able to process the trauma he had suffered in Cornwall and that writing about it, in Australia, finally provided the catharsis he needed. Lawrence's Cornwall associations, in fact, constitute many of the "real persons and things" informing the cast of characters that populate the ensuing thought adventure.

As can be seen, at this point in the novel, the Cornish migrant, Jaz Trewhella, stands in relation to Jack Callcott as, in reality, did John Stevens Hollow to William Henry Hocking, to whom Lawrence had been much attached. Theirs was an intimacy of which Frieda had been jealous, just as Harriett is jealous of Somers's intimacy with Jack Callcott in *Kangaroo* (*K* 96).[51] Formerly only the character John Thomas Buryan of Trendrinnan Farm, in 'The Nightmare' chapter of *Kangaroo* has been acknowledged as having his origins in William Henry (397 n.231:40), with Game also suggesting that Jaz "is at least partly inspired by Hocking".[52] Here however, we see Lawrence transposing elements of William Henry to Australia, as one of the primary characters in the novel. Callcott is also given some of the personality traits of William Henry. He is gauche, as William Henry was gauche. Callcott mixes his metaphors, causing Somers to flush

with embarrassment (31). In general, Somers is uneasy with the degree of confidence Callcott has in him (91), as Lawrence complained of William Henry to Barbara Low: "He is desirous of the intellectual life, and yet he isn't in the least fit for anything but his farming ... He looks to me as if I could suddenly give him wings – and it is a trouble and a nuisance" (*2L* 642–3).

In *Kangaroo*, Somers observes of Jack, "The man was restless, desirous, craving something—heaven knows what" (*K* 61), just as Lawrence records was the case with William Henry, who would muse: "'there's something one wants, that isn't money or anything like that – But shall I ever get it? – I want it –' he puts his hand to his chest with a queer, grasping movement – 'I can feel the want of it here – but shall I ever get it?'" (*2L* 664). William Henry had been one of those ostensibly signed up for Rananim, when the proposed location had been the Andes, with Eder and Kot. David Game has suggested Lawrence may well have also discussed going to Australia with him, since such a conversation takes place in the novel.[53] This appears even more likely when Mary Quick Eddy's Australian connections are factored in. Mary, of Trendrine Farm, whom William Henry married nine months after the Lawrences' departure, was second cousin to the most famous Cornish Australian, Sir John Quick, facilitator of Australian Federation, also born at Trendrine Farm.[54] Steele has noted that *Kangaroo's* Trendrinnan Farm tenants are "closely based on the Hocking family, who worked *Tregerthen* Farm" (*K* 397). However, Trendrinnan would also seem to indicate a reference to the Eddy's farm, Trendrine.

John Middleton (Jack) Murry, who had lived for some time with Lawrence, in Zennor, recognised the pervasive influence of Lawrence's Cornwall experience, on *Kangaroo*. A pencilled note at the back of Murry's personal copy of *Kangaroo,* 1950 edition (now in this author's possession), which Murry annotated while writing *Love, Freedom and Society*, identifies the "soullessness on the seashore" ascribed to Somers in NSW, as an "analogue to Cornwall".

Lawrence was able to situate himself imaginatively in Cornwall, while in Australia, which perhaps, he had not been able to do in

Venice, where his previous attempt to start a novel (one also with no sex) had foundered.[55] "We have got a lovely little house on the edge of the low cliff just above the Pacific Ocean", Lawrence informed his mother-in-law from Thirroul, "Today the sky is dark, and it makes me think of Cornwall" (*4L* 249).

Andrew Harrison has stressed the extent to which Lawrence had "*needed* Cornwall to be a place set apart: a pre-Christian place outside the pale" in order to provide him with "a new continent of the soul".[56] Remote Aboriginal Australia could be envisioned in a similar way. "He had come to this new country, the youngest country on the globe, to start a new life and flutter with a new hope", Lawrence states of Somers, ostensibly writing about Australia, but effectively thinking of Cornwall (*K* 19). Several of the qualities that Lawrence attributed to Australians were also the qualities he had formerly attributed to the Cornish. From Porthcothan he had complained to Beresford, "these people haven't any *being* at all. They've got no inside" (*2L* 552), while to Mountsier, while cruising between Perth and Sydney, he had reported, "one could never make a novel out of these people, they haven't got any insides to them, to write about" (*4L* 246).

It is no coincidence that the next-door neighbour for whom Somers holds such ambivalent feelings in *Kangaroo* is named Jack. Somers and Harriett and their immediate neighbours Jack and Victoria are living very much as did Lawrence and Frieda beside Jack Murry and Katherine Mansfield, in Zennor, "only twelve strides from our house to yours" (*2L* 569).

Murry, for a time, had also looked up to Lawrence, as leader of a revolution of sorts, as does Jack Callcott to Somers. "'You're the only man I've met who seems to me sure of himself and what he means. I may be mistaken, but that's how it seems to me'", Callcott confides to Somers (*K* 91). Murry's journal, written in the early days of the war, when the men were neighbours in Buckinghamshire, records similar confidences:

> I said how much calmness and happiness I had gained from him during the last six months – since the war began, that he was the only man I had met whom I felt definitely to be older than me, that we made a real combination, from which something I felt must come.[57]

The friends had shared a determination to expend their energies on a war effort of their own as Murry's journal entries at the time record: "In the evening we talked – about the Revolution. Lawrence said it was no more use writing novels; we had first to change the conditions, without which either people wd. not hear, or our novels be only a tale".[58] In *Kangaroo*, the socialist, Struthers, asks Somers, "'won't you help us to bring out a sincere, *constructive* Socialist paper, not a grievance airer, but a paper that calls to the constructive spirit in men. Deep calleth to deep. And the trouble with us here is, no one calls to our deeps, they lie there stagnant'" (*K* 200). *The Signature* journal, initiated by Lawrence and Murry, was very much aimed – as per Struthers's fictional suggestion – at "deep call[ing] to deep". Lawrence stressed this to Cynthia Asquith when seeking subscribers:

> find one or two people who care about the real living truth of things: for God's sake, not people who only trifle and don't care.
>
> I am going to do the preaching – sort of philosophy – the beliefs by which one can reconstruct the world: Murray will do his ideas on … freedom for the individual soul ... (*2L* 386)

That venture failed to flourish and Lawrence eventually took refuge in Cornwall, there enticing his friends to join him. Murry's own perspective on the early days of the war, when they were neighbours in Buckinghamshire, sees himself seated by the kitchen fire, mostly silent, listening to Lawrence and "trying to attend, trying to understand him".[59] Such pondering was an oft commented on feature of Murry's personality and Lawrence re-visits it in *Kangaroo*, where Jack talks with Callcott beside the kitchen fire: "They still sat for

some time by the fire, silent, Jack was pondering. Then he looked up at Somers. / 'You and me,' he said in a quiet voice, 'in a way we're mates—and in a way we're not. In a way—it's different'" (*K* 58). Murry's male friendships tended to be intense, a situation by which Lawrence was partly repelled and partly rendered jealous. Lawrence did not want a soulful relationship. "'Could we ever be *quite* mates?'" Somers asks of Jack, in *Kangaroo*, to which Jack answers, "'Perhaps not as me and Fred Wilmot was'" (105). Darroch's determination to associate Jack Scott with *Kangaroo* causes him to argue that Scott is *als*o the model for this third character, Fred Wilmot, who has been "'Fooling about with the wrong sort of women. Can't get his pecker up again now'" (*K* 104–5). Darroch argues that Scott – who was childless – must have been impotent, though there is no evidence for this (*HP* 4). Instead, the name Wilmot has a Cornish association, being the surname of Mary Quick Eddy's paternal grandmother and given name of Mary's eldest sister, Wilmot Jane. The name Fred is a reference to another of Murry's friends, Frederick Goodyear, Second Lieutenant and habitué of red-light shops inside the lines.[60] Six months before being fatally wounded at the battle of Arras Goodyear had visited Lawrence, at Zennor, in the state of fatalistic ennui said in *Kangaroo*, to have "taken all the fight out of" Fred (*K* 104).[61]

Frieda, in 1956, confessed to having been jealous of Murry, while in Zennor: "I think my nose was a bit out of joint when you stayed with us and L. was more interested in you than in me",[62] "He really felt you as Pan and I fear envied you".[63] David Ellis notes that Lawrence frequently portrayed Murry as Pan,[64] and it is notable that Jack, in *Kangaroo*, is also portrayed as a faun, where his "long, clean-shaven face with the thick eyebrows" has the look of an old mask: "One of those old Greek masks that give a fixed mockery to every feeling. Leering up at his young wife with the hearty leer of a player masked as a faun that is at home, on its own ground" (*K* 47–8). The tension between the two couples in Zennor had been palpable, as is also the case in *Kangaroo*. Victoria, there, is described as someone who "could be a terribly venomous little cat, once she

unsheathed her claws" (*K* 42–3), (a superfluous comment, since Victoria is never venomous in the novel). However, Katherine Mansfield's peculiarly spiteful review of *The Black Curtain*, in Murry's *Atheneum*, might be seen as an instance of that.[65]

Peter Kaye's study of Lawrence's creative dialogue with Dostoevsky in *Kangaroo*, where Cooley is at times a mouthpiece for Dostoevskian thought, attributes much of Lawrence's anti-Dostoevsky rage to Murry's discipleship of that author. This discipleship is reflected in Jack Callcott's discipleship of Cooley.[66]

The death of Kangaroo

Another of Murry's pencilled notes in his 1950 copy of *Kangaroo* reads "the truth in Kangaroo's charge that Somers killed him". Several scholars have also recognised this truth. Though Somers does not fire the bullet himself, by denying all that Cooley stands for, Somers effectively extinguishes him.

Krockel's argument, that much of *Kangaroo* is a re-staging of traumatic events, sheds light on another element of "real people and things", one informing Cooley's deathbed scene: Lawrence's re-staging of his repudiation of Magnus and that impecunious character's consequent suicide. Lawrence's response to Magnus's relentless importuning is captured in his Introduction to the *Memoir*:

> he went, humbly, beseechingly, and yet, one could not help but feel, with all that terrible insolence of the humble. It is the humble, the wistful, the would-be-loving souls today who bully us with their charity-demanding insolence. They just make up their minds, these needful sympathetic souls, that one is there to do their will. (*IR* 45)

This is evoked in the winsome, sympathy-grabbing supplications that Somers endures from Cooley on his death bed, "looking up at him with strange, beseeching eyes" demanding to be loved (*K* 335–6).

Lawrence's ambivalent attitude, and sense of guilt he experienced on hearing of Magnus's suicide are recorded in the *Memoir*:

> I knew that in my own soul I had said "Yes, he must die if he cannot find his own way." But for all that, now I *realised* what it must have meant to be the hunted, desperate man: everything seemed to stand still. I could, by giving half my money, have saved his life. I had chosen not to save his life.
>
> Now, after a year has gone by, I keep to my choice. I still would not save his life. I respect him for dying when he was cornered. (*IR* 62)

The guilt, shame, confusion and eventual determination *not* to feel guilty is echoed in *Kangaroo* as Cooley continuously calls to Somers's conscience and Somers refuses to concede:

> "Going to America! Going to America! After he's killed me here," came the whispered moan.
>
> "No, I haven't killed you. I'm only awfully sorry— — —"
>
> "You have! You have!" shouted Kangaroo, in the loud, bellowing voice that frightened Richard nearly out of the window. "Don't lie, you have—." (*K* 337)

Even Jack piles on the blame:

> "I suppose some folks is stingy about sixpence, and others is stingy about saying two words that would give another poor devil his piece of mind … We're different over here. Kick your scruples over the cliff like an old can, if a mate's in trouble and needs a helping hand, or a bit of sympathy." (338)

Somers feels himself "condemned" and walks on "in angry silence".

Conclusion

From NSW, in 1922, Lawrence informed his correspondents he was writing a "thought adventure", one he considered so avant-garde that "Even the Ulysseans will spit at it" (*4L* 275). When it was finished, he proclaimed it "the *deepest* of my novels" (*8L* 57). To dress his thoughts, it had been necessary to take "real persons and things" from elsewhere and transplant them to Australia. This included traumatic experiences he had actually undergone in Europe, and this necessity bothered him. He did not want to cause offence to Australia. Ironically, the "offence" has, over the years, rather excited than otherwise, leading to elaborate secondary thought-adventures imagining the novel to be a factual account of real secret paramilitary activity in NSW. The Darroch thesis is not supported by the facts, however, and has distracted scholars from other lines of inquiry that I have explored here. Research shows that Lawrence's eleven weeks of relative seclusion in Thirroul enabled him to consolidate the thoughts he had been processing since Cornwall. There, using the materials already to hand, the philosophy he still wished to express, and a novel to which he wanted to respond, he could – as he advised Mollie – "write about what you know".

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[1] M. L. Skinner, 'D. H. Lawrence and *The Boy in the Bush*', ACC 13961/90/1 (Batty Library), 5.

[2] Svengali Press, Book Details for *D. H. Lawrence's 99 Days In Australia – Vol 1 The Quest For Cooley*: <https://www.svengalipress.com.au/book-detail.php?book_id=8>.

[3] Harry T. Moore & Dale B. Montague, eds, *Frieda Lawrence and her Circle: Letters from, to and about Frieda Lawrence* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1981), 89.

[4] Robert Darroch, *The Horrible Paws: D. H. Lawrence's Australian Nightmare* (Sydney: Svengali Press, 2016), vii. Hereafter referred to as (*HP*). <http://www.dhlawrenceinaustralia.com.au/viewer.php?book=the-horrible-paws-with-cover>.

[5] Robert Darroch, 'The Mystery of Kangaroo and the Secret Army', *The Australian*, 15 May 1976; Robert Darroch, *D. H. Lawrence in Australia* (Sydney: Macmillan Australia, 1981). <http://www.dhlawrenceinaustralia.com.au/viewer.php?book=the-horrible-paws-with-cover>.

[6] Alex McDermott, 'The unravelling of an Australian conspiracy', *Australian Financial Review*, 1 July 2022; David Brock, 'Lawrence's secret army?', *Nottingham Post*, 11 July 2022.

[7] Melbourne School of Literature, 'Visiting Authors: Transnationalism and Australian Literary History': <https://mscp.org.au/courses/msl-evening-school-sem-2-2022>.

[8] D. H. Lawrence, *Kangaroo* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2018), xi.

[9] Eric Campbell, *The Rallying Point: My story of the New Guard*, (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1965), 28–9.

[10] Robert Darroch's unedited Research Diary, entry for 9/4/1986. The version of the diary appended to *The Horrible Paws* has been edited. The unedited version is available at <https://docplayer.net/156968063-Kangaroo-research-notes.html>.

[11] *The Listening Post* 1.2 (20 January 1922).

[12] Judith Ruderman, 'The "Trilogy" That Never Was: *The Rainbow*, *Women in Love*, and *Aaron's Rod*', in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 74 (Jan. 1, 1980), 79.

[13] Carl Krockel, *War Trauma and English Modernism: T. S. Eliot and D. H. Lawrence* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 136.

[14] Ibid., 140.

[15] M. L. Skinner, *Eve in the Land of Nod*, 1396A/63/2 (Battye Library).

[16] John Alexander, 'D. H. Lawrence's *Kangaroo*: Fantasy, Fact or Fiction?', *Meanjin Quarterly* 24.2 (June 1965).

[17] M. L. Skinner, 'D. H. Lawrence & M. L. Skinner', *Papers of M. L. Skinner*, ACC 1396A /90/3 (Battye Library).

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] M. L. Skinner, 'fragment', *Papers of M. L. Skinner*, ACC 3940A/76/1/24 (Battye Library).

[21] L.W.P., 'The Boy in the Bush', *The Onlooker*, 15 Jan 1925, 11.

[22] David Game, *D. H. Lawrence's Australia: Anxiety at the Edge of Empire* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 127.

[23] Jane Costin, 'Lawrence's "Best Adventure": Blood-Consciousness and Cornwall', *Études Lawrenciennes* 43 (2012), 151–72: <https://journals.openedition. org/lawrence/95>.

[24] Edward Nehls, ed., *D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography*, vol. II (Madison, WI: U Wisconsin P, 1958), 11.

[25] For example studies relating *Kangaroo* to the work of Dostoevsky see: Peter Kaye, *Dostoevsky and English Modernism 1900–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), 29–65; Walt Whitman see Alexander, 'D. H. Lawrence's *Kangaroo*: Fantasy, Fact or Fiction?'; and Bertrand Russell see Luke Ferretter, '"A Prison for the Infinite": D. H. Lawrence and Bertrand Russell on the War', in *Études Lawrenciennes* 46, 2015.

[26] Douglas Goldring, *Odd Man Out* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1936), 240.

[27] Ibid., 183.

[28] Stephen White, 'Soviets in Britain: The Leeds Convention of 1917', *International Review of Social History* 19.2 (1974), 165–93.

[29] 'Pacifist Meeting Broken Up: East-End Church Wrecked', *The Times*, 30 July 1917.

[30] Goldring, *Odd Man Out*, 271.

[31] Bertrand Russell, *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell* (London: Routledge, 2010), 240.

[32] Douglas Goldring, *The Black Curtain* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1920), 232.

[33] Edward Nehls, ed., *D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography*, vol. 1 (Madison, WI: U Wisconsin P, 1957), 136.

[34] John Middleton Murry, *Love, Freedom and Society* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1957), 30.

[35] Ibid., 39.

[36] 'Riot at the Brotherhood Church', *Workers Dreadnought*, 4 July 1917.

[37] *The Tribunal* 2.8 (1917).

[38] Luke Ferretter, *The Glyph and the Gramophone: D. H. Lawrence's Religion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 82.

[39] Allusions here are to Francis Thompson, *The Hound of Heaven* (1893). Lawrence had given a copy to Agnes Holt in 1910 (*1L* 140 n.2).

[40] Commentary on Luke 4:28–30 in Joseph Benson, *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New testaments (according to the present authorized version) with critical, explanatory, and practical notes* (New York: G. Lane & C.B. Tippett, 1846).

[41] Robert Whitelaw, 'The House at the End of the Road', *Pittwater Online News* 89 (6–22 December, 2012): <https://www.pittwateronlinenews.com/the-house-at-the-end-of-the-road-by-robertwhitelaw.php>.

[42] Darroch, unedited Research Diary, entry for 6.4.2011.

[43] Robert Darroch, 'Lawrence and Australian Fascism', *Quadrant Magazine* 59.9 (September 2015), 3.

[44] Darroch, unedited Research Diary, entry for 13.1.2013: "He [Lawrence] writes: 'On the left was Manly, where Harriet [sic] had lost her yellow scarf. And then the tram going to Narrabeen, where they had first seen Jaz'. Jaz? Surely he is referring to Jack Callcott, i.e. Jack Scott? It could be – and probably is – that L 'split' Jack Scott into two personas". In *The Horrible Paws*, Darroch writes: "Scott will be portrayed in *Kangaroo* in various guises: as Jack Callcott (primarily) & 'Jaz' Trewhella (occasionally...)" (*HP* 41 n.109).

[45] *Papers of M. L. Skinner*: 3940A/81 Letter to James Skinner's father congratulating him on his son's promotion; 3940A/93 Appointed new rank – Lt Col Skinner, Commissariat and Transport staff. Member of the Distinguished Service Order; 3940A/94 James Skinner appointed most Honorable Order of the Bath (Battye Library).

[46] M. L. Skinner, 'The Fifth Sparrow', in *Papers of M L Skinner*, ACC 1396A/64 (Battye Library), 221.

[47] Sandra Darroch, 'Pussy Jenkins and her Circle', *Rananim* 4:2–3 (December 1996), 20–2.

[48] Adrian Lawlor to Richard Aldington, 9.1.1949, in *Richard Aldington Collectio*n, mss68/4/6, in Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University.

[49] Registration of Deaths in the Sub-district of St. Ives, Nicholas Wallis Hollow, carpenter, aged 30 years, died 18 August 1916, of acute Tuberculosis, at Bellair Terrace, St Ives. Index to Wills: Hollow, Nicholas Wallis of 19 Bellair-terrace St. Ives Cornwall, carpenter, died 18 August 1916, Administration Bodmin 24 October to Catherine Hollow widow. Effects £527 13s. 6d, <https://probatesearch.service.gov.uk>.
General Register Office UK, Register of Marriages: John Stevens Hollow the younger, bachelor, aged 35, married Catherine Hollow, widow, of 19 Bellair Terrace, at the Register Office Penzance, 3.5.1919.
1921 Census of England and Wales, shows John and Kate Hollow resident at 19 Bellair Terrace, along with Kate's two sons from her first marriage, Mary Hocking and a boarder.

[50] Jane Costin, 'Lawrence's "Best Adventure": Blood-Consciousness and Cornwall'.

[51] Frieda Lawrence, *Not I, But the Wind…* (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1934), 105.

[52] Game, *D. H. Lawrence's Australia: Anxiety at the Edge of Empire*, 60.

[53] Ibid.
[54] Michele Maslunka, 'Quick, Sir John (1852–1932)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/quick-sir-john-8140>.
[55] Mark Kinkead-Weekes, *D. H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile 1912–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), 675.
[56] Andrew Harrison, '"A New Continent of The Soul": D. H. Lawrence, Porthcothan And The Necessary Fiction Of Cornwall', in *JDHLS* 4.3 (2017).
[57] John Middleton Murry, entry 21.2.1915 in *Journal* (1913–1920), MSX-4147, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.
[58] Ibid.
[59] John Middleton Murry, *Reminiscences of D. H. Lawrence* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933), 43–4.
[60] John Middleton Murry, *Between Two Worlds* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935), 421–2.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Letter from Frieda to Murry copied into his Journal 12.8.1956, cited in Sydney Janet Kaplan, *Circulating Genius* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2012), 55 n.9.
[63] E. W. Tedlock, ed., *Frieda Lawrence: The Memoirs and Correspondence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), 407.
[64] David Ellis, *Dying Game 1922–1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), xii.
[65] K. M. [Katherine Mansfield], 'Butterflies', *The Athenaeum*, 16 April 1920, 511.
[66] Kaye, 'Prophetic rage and rivalry: D. H. Lawrence'.