

ABSTRACT

ALDOUS HUXLEY'S IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT 1919 - 1936

JOHN DAVID BRADSHAW

WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD

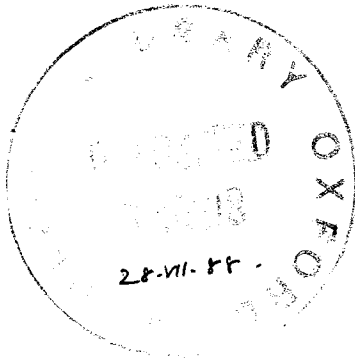
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Based on numerous magazine and newspaper materials which are not documented in the standard bibliography of his canon and an abundance of unpublished letters, this thesis provides a conspectus of Aldous Huxley's socio-political activities between 1919 and 1936 and offers an interpretation of his ideological development during the period.

The bedrock of Huxley's thought was his dread of Americanization and his concomitant advocacy of intellectual aristocracy. The contribution various figures made to the formation of Huxley's opinions, such as Vilfredo Pareto and D.H. Lawrence, is assessed in full. Chief among these influences were H.L. Mencken and H.G. Wells. Mencken's role in Huxley's ideological development is at present unacknowledged, while Huxley is currently perceived as Wells's ideological adversary, not his peer.

A discussion of Huxley's responses to the crisis of 1929-1932 forms the cornerstone of the thesis. His sorties into the alien England's of mechanized labour and the unemployed, his exasperation at parliamentary inertia, his brief connection with Political and Economic Planning and his rejection of its gradualism in favour of a more draconian, Soviet-style approach, lastly, his interest in eugenics and the creation of a rigid order of castes, are seen as the logical developments from his quasi-fascist position in the 1920s. The "nightmarish" World State of AF 632 is revealed as a simulacrum of the authoritarian blueprint he championed as an urgent national expedience at the time he was writing Brave New World. Further evidence of Huxley's belief in planning is provided in an appraisal of Now More Than Ever, a play of his which, hitherto, has been presumed lost. Finally, Huxley's incongruous emergence as a cynosure of the anti-fascist intelligentsia and his subsequent withdrawal into Greggism is surveyed in detail.

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Lastly, I would like to express my gratitude for the indefatigable support which Barbara Taylor has given me during an often trying period of our lives. This thesis is dedicated to her, with love.

A NOTE ON EDITIONS USED

All references are to the first edition of Huxley's works.

- Along the Road: Notes and Essays of a Tourist
London: Chatto and Windus, 1925
- Antic Hay
London: Chatto and Windus, 1923
- Beyond the Mexique Bay
London: Chatto and Windus, 1934
- Brave New World: A Novel
London: Chatto and Windus, 1932
- Brief Candles
London: Chatto and Windus, 1930
- Crome Yellow
London: Chatto and Windus, 1921
- Do What You Will: Essays
London: Chatto and Windus, 1929
- Ends and Means
London: Chatto and Windus, 1937
- Eyeless in Gaza
London: Chatto and Windus, 1936
- Jesting Pilate: The Diary of a Journey
London: Chatto and Windus, 1926
- Limbo
London: Chatto and Windus, 1920
- The Little Mexican and Other Stories
London: Chatto and Windus, 1924
- Mortal Coils
London: Chatto and Windus, 1922
- Music at Night
London: Chatto and Windus, 1932
- The Olive Tree
London: Chatto and Windus, 1936

<u>On the Margin</u>	London: Chatto and Windus, 1923
<u>Point Counter Point</u>	London: Chatto and Windus, 1928
<u>Proper Studies</u>	London: Chatto and Windus, 1927
<u>Texts and Pretexts</u>	London: Chatto and Windus, 1932
<u>Those Barren Leaves</u>	London: Chatto and Windus, 1925
<u>Two or Three Graces</u>	London: Chatto and Windus, 1926
<u>Vulgarity in Literature: Digressions From a Theme</u>	London: Chatto and Windus, 1930
<u>What Are You Going to do About It?</u>	
<u>The Case for Constructive Peace</u>	London: Chatto and Windus, 1936
<u>The World of Light</u>	London: Chatto and Windus, 1931

The approximate length of this thesis is 100,000 words.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis was begun seven years ago as an investigation into the matrix of Aldous Huxley's opinions and his practice as a novelist of ideas between 1921 and 1936. However, it became apparent that the standard bibliography of Huxley's oeuvre provides only a partial record of his inter-war canon, and that a considerable number of the items which are documented by Eschelbach and Shober are reprints.¹ This conclusion was reached after an exhaustive search of the magazine, periodical and newspaper presses between the wars, a probe which indicated that one aspect of Huxley's thought in particular demanded attention. Much of the newly uncovered material, and the large number of unpublished letters which were amassed in addition to it, revealed Huxley's preoccupation with the social and political issues of the period. Consequently, this present work grew into the first comprehensive appraisal of Huxley's ideological development from 1919 to 1936.

The Huxley of this period is currently projected as an aloof expatriate, who, if he ever bothered to trouble himself with the domestic scene at all, was shielded by his cynical disposition from taking anything too seriously and thus

1. Claire John Eschelbach and Joyce Lee Shober, Aldous Huxley: A Bibliography 1916-1959, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press), 1961. Appendix A provides a full account of the deficiencies of the standard bibliography.

jeopardising his detachment. Not surprisingly, his early work has been deemed to reflect this balmy disengagement from home affairs. Stephen Greenblatt assures us that:

Huxley is not terribly concerned with the great social and political issues of his time. Unlike Orwell, he is not outraged by the plight of the common man, nor haunted by the spectres of oppression and tyranny, not under the compulsion to be a pamphleteer or a revolutionary. Huxley is concerned, rather, with the Bright Young People and their eccentric parents who fascinate Evelyn Waugh; he writes of the sophisticates and intellectuals who flit irresponsibly through the maze of London society.²

This view is barely tenable when applied solely to Huxley's inter-war fiction; when his discourses from the period are considered in their entirety it is shown to be chronically inapposite.

To date, the only specific critique of Huxley's ideological bearings has been attempted by Milton Birnbaum. It is his contention that:

The central search in Huxley's works is for a life of meaning, a quest for the ultimate attainment of a transcendent

2. Stephen J. Greenblatt, Three Modern Satirists: Waugh, Orwell, and Huxley, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965), p.77.

union with divinity. In this search Huxley had to clear out the Augean stables of the drosses of time-centred and ego-centred impedimenta; politics, economics and social mores are part of this baggage.

Birnbaum concentrates on the second half of Huxley's career in his evaluation, reading the early works through the unruffleable ahimsa of the later ones:

He deprecates the evils of totalitarianism of both the right and the left not only in his novels but in his non-fictional works as well. In Themes and Variations and in The Perennial Philosophy, for example, he tells us that the religion of totalitarianism is "only an idolatrous ersatz for the genuine religion of unity on the personal and spiritual levels". Totalitarianism leads to privileges for the few and enslavement of the many.

This thesis will argue, on the other hand, that it was precisely such a "totalitarian" concern for the "few" and advocacy of rule by an elite aristos which was the nub of Huxley's ideological quest in the 1920s and early 1930s.

The opening chapter reveals how Huxley's interest in an "intellectual aristocracy" was initially stimulated by his reading of and correspondence with H.L. Mencken, the first of his ideological gurus. Mencken's anti-democratic diatribes fuelled Huxley's dread of Americanization, a spectre

which assumed a much larger prominence in his writings of the 1920s than any "search... for a life of meaning". Birnbaum argues:

As early as 1921, in his first novel, Crome Yellow, he was already concerned with the dangers implicit in a government in which the leaders gathered unto themselves too much centralized power.³

By re-locating the novel in its true Menckonian context, Chapter One shows how Huxley, on the contrary, began to be concerned with the perceived virtues of such a "Rational State" in Crome Yellow.

Like Mrs. Frances Trollope before him, Huxley encountered a society of "jarring tumult and universal degradation" when he first visited the United States in 1926,⁴ and this experience, along with his reading of Vilfredo Pareto's Trattato di Sociologia Generale contributed to the gradual hardening of his aristocratic ideology in the 1920s, until, in Proper Studies, he emerged as an unashamed apologist of the Rational State and an admirer of Soviet

3. Milton Birnbaum, "Aldous Huxley (1894-1963)", in The Politics of Twentieth-Century Novelists, ed. George A. Panichas (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1971), pp.65-84; Rep. with minor alterations in Milton Birnbaum, Aldous Huxley's Quest for Values, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971), pp.99-118.
4. Frances Trollope, Domestic Manners of the Americans, 2 Vols. (London: Whittaker, Treacher, 1832), Vol.1, p.vii.

and Fascist models of statism. The second chapter concludes with an assessment of the impact which D.H. Lawrence had on Huxley's ideological development.

Chapter Three discusses Huxley's undocumented reconnaissance of the worlds of labour and unemployment and shows how these sorties into alien milieus helped him write Brave New World, a novel which was originally conceived as a satirical prophecy of the ultimate triumph of Americanization. The misery Huxley observed in the Durham coalfield, and the political inertia he witnessed in Parliament, transformed him into an ardent proselyte of Soviet-style authoritarian planning in the early 1930s, and this period is examined in Chapter Four, the kernel of the thesis. As this Chapter reveals, Huxley called for a combination of force, propaganda and eugenics to solve the national crisis of 1931 - that is, the real-life implementation of the exhaustive conditioning he supposedly warns us of in Brave New World.

George Woodcock has said of Huxley:

For the greater part of his life, he believed that only a tiny minority was capable of the highest thought or - in later years - of spiritual enlightenment, yet, apart from the brief period when he wrote Proper Studies he distrusted the idea of a world in which the elite planned for mankind as a whole.⁵

5. George Woodcock, Dawn and the Darkest Hour: A Study of Aldous Huxley, (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p.173.

In fact, Huxley subscribed to the ideology of Proper Studies throughout almost the entire period which this thesis covers. The fourth chapter ends with an attempt to dispel the myth that Huxley was antagonistic to Wells' political thought, and to indicate the consonance between Huxley's aristocratic beliefs and Wells' Open Conspiracy. Chapter Five considers the importance and flaws of Now More Than Ever, a play Huxley wrote in 1932 and which is currently presumed lost. Finally, after presenting more evidence of Huxley's belief in the creation of castes and authoritarian eugenics, the sixth and last chapter discusses Huxley's role as an ephemeral and unlikely cynosure of the anti-fascist intelligentsia and his subsequent espousal of an ultra-ascetic version of pacifism which his fellow sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union lost patience with, and which prepared the ground for his departure from Europe in 1937 and his residence in California. Ideologically, Huxley coagulated in America, and his inter-war concern with political and social problems was superseded by a congeries of fads.

With the exceptions of Crome Yellow and Brave New World, the slant of the thesis is on Huxley's non-fictional writings, and, since so many of the pieces discussed are not at present attributed to Huxley, and have thus never been discussed, the emphasis is on exposition and disclosure. Shying at the inadequacies of previous commentators has been minimized, whereas Huxley's unassimilated work is quoted freely.

Huxley's earliest political testimony is his repudiation of activism in an unpublished letter to Frances Petersen:

I hear from Naomi [Mitchison] that you have been attending the Socialist beanfeast presided over by [G.D.H.] Cole - all in the wrong spirit adds my informant! It must have been rather instructive. My own politics are, by nature, a sturdy m'en ficheisme - with acquired sympathies for all creeds - the best system, I take it, for the merely theoretic politician - whose business it is to be universally and sunnily smiling, not ravenously focussed to a point, as should be the active politician.⁶

In another unpublished letter from the same period, Huxley confessed to Jelly d'Aranyi:

... I am just a mildly clever fool, educated from the earliest to be blasé: for in England one isn't supposed to be refined, unless one is blasé and cynical. How it would amuse you to see Eton, (which is, of course, the biggest and most typically English school), where you find a thousand or so boys all doing their very best not to show any interest in anything! And the

6. Dept. of Special Collections, Powell Library, University of California at Los Angeles. n.d. [c.June-July 1916].

affectation becomes almost natural after a few years of it at that age. It's a peculiar national habit.⁷

However, foreshadowing his abortive efforts to maintain a detached insouciance in the ensuing decades, there is evidence that even as an undergraduate Huxley's "m'en ficheisme" was less "sturdy" than these letters would suggest. It is clear, for instance, that like his brother Trevenan before him, Frances Petersen and Naomi Mitchison, Huxley took a more than "theoretic" interest in Fabianism. Certainly he was involved in running the Oxford University Cooperative Society's Webbs-inspired shop in 1915-1916,⁸ and an entry in the minute-book of the Balliol, Queen's and New Colleges Group of the Oxford University Socialist Society records that Huxley took part in the discussion following a fellow undergraduate's paper on "Second Thoughts for Nationalists" on 6 November 1915.⁹

7. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin. n.d.
8. This is the "Co-op" Huxley refers to in a letter to Naomi Mitchison. See Grover Smith, ed., Letters of Aldous Huxley, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1969), p.85. Hereafter cited as Letters. See also, M.P. Ashley and C.T. Saunders, Red Oxford: A History of the Growth of Socialism in the University of Oxford, (Oxford: Oxford University Labour Club, 1933), p.20.
9. Bodleian Library, MS. Top. Oxon. d.467 f.14.

As a schoolmaster at Eton Huxley helped launch the Eton Political Society in 1917, presumably in an attempt to unsettle the blasé conceit of his charges,¹⁰ but it was only after he had taken up his post as an assistant editor of The Athenaeum in April 1919 that his ideological mantle took on a distinctive and indelible hue.

10. Letters, pp.137-138, passim.

CHAPTER ONE

"It was difficult not be a deteriorationist," the narrator of "The Bookshop" muses priggishly. In view of Huxley's transformation by 1920 from the fledgling Fabian of Balliol to a highbrow *littérateur* preoccupied with the levelling menace of democracy, this remark, an addition to a fugitive undergraduate piece of the same title from 1916 revised for its inclusion in Limbo, was symptomatic of his frame of mind - even though the narrator's observation is made solely apropos of the coquettes who have succeeded the crinolined beauties of the Victorian period.¹ The key figure in this ideological mutation was the American critic H.L. Mencken, but, to date, his role as the first of Huxley's gurus has not been recognised. Fortified with Mencken's ridicule of American society, Huxley set about grooming himself as an Olympian pundit of domestic suppuration in the Sage of Baltimore's mould, commended his writings with bounteous praise, scanned the European horizon for signs of insurgent Americanization, and, like his mentor, vindicated an intellectual aristocracy as the only bastion against it.

1. Limbo, p.262. The first version was published under the same title in The Varsity (Oxford), 15, 15 March 1916, p.12, though the standard bibliography has overlooked it.

Mencken's fulminations fomented an uneasiness in Huxley which had been latent for some time. Writing to his brother towards the end of the First World War, for instance, he had looked beyond the cessation of hostilities and foreseen an undesirable consequence of the imminent victory:

I dread the inevitable acceleration of American world domination which will be the ultimate result of it all. It was a thing that had got to come in time, but this will hasten its arrival by a century. We shall all be colonized; Europe will no longer be Europe; we shall all be buffeted on huge fabulous new oceans, longing all the while for the little old dark pond where a frail and wizened child launches its paper boat towards the sunset.²

It seems, however, that this hypertrophied scenario proved more alarming in prospect than actuality, and a collection of essays entitled The America of To-Day which Huxley reviewed in June 1919 led him to a less fatalistic conclusion:

In his admirable lecture on "Two American Philosophers", Dr. Santayana says of William James: "He approached philosophy as mankind first approached it, without having a philosophy." The same is true of America as a whole; she is approaching the problems of the universe with a mind unbiased by authority or traditional

2. Letters, p.160.

prejudices. The time is not far off, perhaps, when her experiments will bear fruit in a new and distinctly American civilization.³

Shortly afterwards, in an undocumented review of Eugene O'Neill's The Moon of the Caribbees, Huxley opined without irony that the American magazine catered for "a more intelligent, better-educated public than its English counterpart."⁴

Only four months later though, in another neglected notice, Huxley showed that these cordial estimations of the American scene were temporary deviations from a more characteristically hostile attitude to the diffusion of American mores. In this vitally important review, Huxley not only relishes Mencken's pungent exposure of "the extraordinary and fantastic spectacle which is contemporary American life," in his Prejudices, but is clearly mesmerised by the iconoclasm of the essays:

[America] passes before him, a circus parade - vast ponderous elephants, lions, shy gazelles, apes, performing horses - and he comments upon it, laughingly, in that brilliant, masterfully vulgar style of which he knows the strange secret. All the animals interest him, graceful and

3. Rev. of Gaillard Lapsley, ed. The America of To-Day, Athenaeum, 6 June 1919, p.431.
4. Athenaeum, 5 September 1919, p.860.

ugly alike, noble and repulsive; but by preference he lingers, fascinated no doubt by the fabulous grotesqueness of their swollen shapes, among the solemn mammoths of stupidity, mountain-bodied and mouse-brained, slow-moving, prehistoric. They exist everywhere, these monsters; but it is surely in America that they reach their greatest growth. Puritanism there swells into Comstockism; our harmless little European uplift becomes a sinister, rapacious, philanthropic beast; religions pullulate, strange and improbable as the saurians of the Mesozoic age. Mr. Mencken contemplates them with a civilized man's astonishment and horror, then sets his pen in rest and charges upon them. His pen is sharp, his aim unerring, and the punctured monsters collapse with a dolorous whistling of escaping gas. It is a wonderful display. Admiring his skill, one thinks of what Dryden said of himself in his Essay on Satire: "There is still a vast difference between the slovenly butchering of a man and the finesse of a stroke that separates the head from the body and leaves it standing in its own place. A man may be capable, as Jack Ketch's wife said of his servant, of a plain piece of work, a bare hanging; but to make a malefactor die sweetly was only belonging to her husband." Mr. Mencken is a worthy apprentice of this great Jack Ketch of literature... We should welcome

his appearance among us here; for we have sore need of critics who hate humbug, who are not afraid of putting out their tongues at pretentiousness however noble an aspect it may bear, who do not mind being vulgar at need, and who, finally, know not only how to make us think, but how to make us laugh as well.⁵

The impact which his reading of Prejudices had on Huxley cannot be underestimated. Culminating in his disregarded role as a kind of Wellsian Open Conspirator, the issue of how to safeguard European culture against the looming spectre of an Americanized globe was to become, in one way or another, the central concern of Huxley's work.

The current tally of Huxley's epistolary contact with Mencken comprises no more than the two letters addressed to him which Grover Smith published in his edition of Huxley's Letters. In fact, these two form part of a sequence of eleven letters from Huxley to Mencken, seven of which are deposited in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Division of the New York Public Library and the remaining four, including the two published ones, in the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore. There is also one letter from Mencken to Huxley in New York, though, apparently, ten more perished in the

5. Rev. of Prejudices: First Series by H.L. Mencken, Athenaeum, 2 January 1920, p.10. Huxley's earlier brief notice of this book (Athenaeum, 28 November 1919, p.1273) is included in the standard bibliography.

fire which destroyed Huxley's Californian home in 1961.⁶ Huxley's unpublished letters to Mencken chart the progress of his ideological noviciate, and constitute, as a whole, some of the most important and revealing materials from his early career.

Huxley not only showed his appreciation of Prejudices in his review, he also took the unprecedented step of writing to Mencken in person to underline the satisfaction which the book had given him:

May I be allowed, as a humble fellow critic, to express my great admiration for Prejudices which I had the pleasure of reviewing recently for The Athenaeum.

I only wish we had a few more people in this country capable of producing anything as good and, at need, as destructive in the way of criticism.

Some day I hope I may have the opportunity of thanking you in person for the pleasure I have derived from your book.⁷

6. According to the unpub. inventory prepared by Jacob Zeitlin in collaboration with Huxley after the fire, and enclosed in an unpub. letter from Zeitlin to Huxley. Dept. of Special Collections, Powell Library, University of California at Los Angeles. 6 June 1961.
7. Unpub. letter in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library. 10 January 1919 [i.e. 10 January 1920].

Huxley's critical writings from this period onwards, in The Athenaeum and subsequently in Vanity Fair, may be seen as his attempt to emulate Mencken's "destructive" commentaries on American life.

Mencken considered T.H. Huxley:

... perhaps the greatest Englishman of all time. When one thinks of him, one thinks of him inevitably in terms of such men as Goethe and Aristotle... He was, in almost every way, the perfected flower of Homo sapiens, the superlatively admirable all-round man.⁸

Not surprisingly, therefore, he was intrigued by his admirer's genealogy. Ernest Boyd was quizzed:

The other day I had a note from Aldous L. Huxley, full of lofty compliments. My Prejudices seems to bemuse him [sic]. He wrote the Athenaeum notice. Who is he? Somehow, I have a notion that he is a grandson of old T.H. Huxley. What has he done on his own account?⁹

His hunch confirmed, Mencken replied to Huxley straight-away, dispatching a selection of his recent publications

8. Quoted in Isaac Goldberg, The Man Mencken: A Biographical and Critical Survey, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1925), pp.91-92.
9. Guy J. Forgué, Letters of H.L. Mencken, (New York: Knopf, 1961), p.175, 4 February 1920.

immediately afterwards.¹⁰ Huxley responded eagerly:

I was very happy to get your letter and the books which followed it have just arrived. I look forward to some very pleasant hours in reading them. As a reprisal I venture to enclose a little volume of my own which has just come out, in the hope that it may amuse you... I have no control over the Athenaeum, but I am sure the editor, Middleton Murry, would be only too glad to give hospitality to any article of yours on the American literary situation. Things are pretty bad here, but I fancy they have not come to quite such a pass as with you.

I very much hope that when you come to England, whether in the Spring or later on, you will let me know: I would arrange for the local menagerie to show its paces.

10. These were probably Heliogabalus and The American Credo, Mencken's two collaborative efforts with George J. Nathan, which Huxley reviewed in the Athenaeum on 12 March, (p.354) and 30 April 1920, (pp.574-5) respectively, and Mencken's translation of Nietzsche's Der Antichrist, which Huxley also reviewed in the Athenaeum on 23 April 1920, (p.557). None of these anonymous notices are documented in the standard bibliography.

Thank you again for the books. I look forward to the autumn and your new Prejudices.¹¹

Evidently Mencken approved of Limbo, and Huxley felt sufficiently encouraged to send him two further pieces, "Among the Nightingales", and eight brief essays in fiction gathered under the title of "From a Lyrical Notebook", in the hope that Mencken "might find one or other suitable for the Smart Set", of which he was joint editor.¹² The play appeared in the Smart Set later that year,¹³ but a description of the pyjamas worn by the narrator's female companion in the sixth section of "From a Lyrical Notebook" made Mencken wary of publishing Huxley's other offering.¹⁴

11. Unpub. letter, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, 13 February 1920. The book which Huxley enclosed was Limbo now deposited in the Enoch Pratt Library. It is inscribed, "To H.L. Mencken. A token of sincere admiration from Aldous Huxley."
12. Unpub. letter, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, 12 April 1920.
13. The Smart Set, 63, (November 1920), pp.71-88.
14. Eventually, only the second part, "In The Teashop", was published in The Smart Set, 67, (January 1922), p.3. "From a Lyrical Notebook" is erroneously classified under "Articles and Essays" in the standard bibliography. Neither of Huxley's Smart Set contributions are documented.

He wrote to London explaining his predicament and Huxley reacted promptly:

It certainly astonishes me that even the Purity League should take offence at my poor pink pyjamas. But you know the mentality of the smuthounds - I bless you for the gift of that enchanting word - better than I.¹⁵

No doubt Huxley had this personal experience of American grundyism in mind when he inveighed against the country more stridently towards the end of the year in a review of The Melting Pot by Israel Zangwill:

How inexpressibly unreal it all seems - this rhetoric about the Great Free Republic, the Land of Hope and the Future, Cradle of the Superman, crucible of the nations treated by the fires of love! Inexpressibly unreal when one thinks of the actual America of 1920 - a land where there is probably less personal freedom than in any other country in the world, with the possible exception of Bolshevik Russia: a country where the busy-bodies who love to exercise power by making other people uncomfortable flourish as they have never flourished anywhere or at any time; the home of Komstockery and the Purity Leaguers (or Smuthounds, as Mr. H.L. Mencken, that most brilliant of Transatlantic critics,

15. Unpub. letter, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, 20 May 1920.

has beautifully christened them); of Prohibition and inquisitorial philanthropy; the land where they propose to make the wearing of high heels illegal, where the system of postal censorship was carried during the late war to unparalleled lengths...¹⁶

In the same month that Huxley wrote this diatribe, Scott Fitzgerald described Mencken as "my current idol."¹⁷ However, Fitzgerald's esteem for Mencken did not prevent him from querying his cynosure's singular obsession:

Why has no one mentioned to him or of him that he is an intolerably muddled syllogism with several excluded middles on the question of aristocracy? What on earth does he mean by it? Every aristocrat of every race has come in for scathing comment yet he holds out the word as a universal panacea for art.¹⁸

As Mencken put it in his essay on Thorstein Veblen in Prejudices:

There is, in America, no orderly and thorough working out of the fundamental problems of our society... In all fields, from politics to pedagogics and from theology to public hygiene, there is a

16. The Westminster Gazette, 9 December 1920, p.6.
17. Andrew Turnbull, ed. The Letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald, (London: The Bodley Head, 1964), p.466.
18. ibid., p.463.

constant emotional obscuration of the true issues, a violent combat of credulities, an inane debasement of scientific curiosity to the level of mob gaping.

The thing to blame, of course, is our lack of an intellectual aristocracy - sound in its formation, skeptical in its habit of mind, and, above all, secure in its position and authority. Every other civilized country has such an aristocracy. It is the natural corrective of enthusiasms from below. It is hospitable to ideas, but as adamant against crazes. It stands against the pollution of logic by emotion, the sophistication of evidence to the glory of God. But in America there is nothing of the sort. On the one hand there is the populace - perhaps more powerful here, more capable of putting its idiotic ideas into execution, than anywhere else - and surely more eager to follow platitudinous messiahs. On the other hand there is the ruling plutocracy - ignorant, hostile to inquiry, tyrannical in the exercise of its power, suspicious of ideas of whatever sort.¹⁹

Significantly, Huxley did not share Fitzgerald's criticism of Mencken, and even singled out this idiosyncratic Veblen piece as, "the most brilliantly conducted" of all Mencken's

19. Prejudices: First Series, (New York, 1919; London: Jonathan Cape, 1921), pp.80-81.

essays. Moreover, "Professor Veblen" was almost certainly the inspiration for Huxley's own vindication of an aristocratic elite which irrupts into his work as an idée fixe during the latter half of 1920.

Huxley's extraordinary susceptibility to Mencken's opinions may be partly explained by his remarks in another overlooked review in which it is clear he had ceased to believe in progress some time before his encounter with Prejudices.²⁰ Huxley's mood in the aftermath of the First World War and the punitive fiasco of Versailles is typified by his "Marginalia" piece of 9 July 1920:

The fact is that politics are too huge and horrible for the helpless individual, who happens merely to be an impoverished voter, to contemplate without black despair. There is no particular pleasure or interest to be derived from the spectacle of an avalanche preparing to start. Sooner or later the mass will be launched, and unthinkable destruction will follow.

There is nothing to be done about it. Better amuse oneself as best one may before the moment of catastrophe arrives. Our civilization does not look as though it would long outlast the run of Chu Chin Chow.²¹

20. Rev. of E.S.P. Haynes, The Case for Liberty, Athenaeum, 1 August 1919, p.700.

21. Athenaeum, 9 July 1920, p.51.

This feeling was, of course, widespread, and partly explains the phenomenon which Spengler's Decline of the West (1918) became. Huxley does not mention Spengler until after the first volume of Atkinson's English translation appeared in 1926, but Paul Valéry's "The Spiritual Crisis", which was published in the Athenaeum on 11 April 1919, may well have been instrumental in preparing the ground for his Menckonian transformation:

We civilizations now know that we are mortal. We had heard tell of whole worlds vanished, of empires gone to the bottom with all their engines...²²

In August 1919 Huxley was contracted by Constable to write a study of Balzac, and as part of his preparation for this project he read Les Paysans, the story of how General Montcornet's villeins persecute him and eventually succeed in driving him away from Les Aigues, his ancestral home. For Huxley, Balzac's novel was "one of the most sombrely prophetic books of the nineteenth century", in that it foreshadowed the contemporary social forces which were threatening to destroy the vestigial enclaves of aristocratic privilege once and for all. In one of many recapitulations of his argument at this time, Mencken attributed America's cultural malaise to "the lack

22. "Letters from France: 1. The Spiritual Crisis", Athenaeum, 11 April 1919, pp.182-184.

of a civilized aristocracy" in a Yale Review article, and Huxley alluded to this in the "Marginalia" middle he devoted to reflections on the contemporary relevance of Les Paysans. Mencken had said, "It is the instinct of a true aristocracy, not to punish eccentricity by expulsion, but to throw a mantle of protection about it - to safeguard it from the suspicions and resentments of the lower orders,"²³ and, as the following quotation reveals, Huxley absorbed Mencken's opinion wholesale:

Balzac was not a democrat. His royalistic conservatism was due partly to his upbringing, partly to his native snobbishness. But chiefly he desired to preserve the old aristocratic order of things for the sake of what an aristocracy makes possible, namely culture, civilization. When General Montcornet is forced to abandon Les Aigues the peasants fall upon the property and divide it up among themselves. The great old house is pulled down, and what were once the gardens and the noble park become a patchwork of small holdings. Something grand and splendid is destroyed, and something sordid and small takes its place. Balzac feared and hated democracy because he loved culture and art and grandeur and the other luxuries of the leisured rich. Culture and the beautiful

23. "The National Literature", Yale Review, NS.9 (July 1920), pp.804-817.

amenities of civilization have always been paid for by slavery in one form or another. Balzac, who heartily despised the philanthropists of his age, considered that the price was not excessive, and that it was right that a lower class should exist and work in order that culture might concomitantly exist in the higher class. The guerilla fighting of 1840 has become an open class war, and the many, as was inevitable, are steadily gaining ground against the few. Les Aigues and its inhabitants, with all their peculiar culture, are doomed, as Balzac foresaw. It remains to be seen what new form of culture, if any, will take its place.

The most important function of an aristocracy is to be so secure in its position that it is impervious to general public opinion, so secure that it can afford to tolerate eccentricity and be hospitable to new and unusual ideas. The American plutocracy is not an aristocracy because its position is precarious. It cannot afford to tolerate eccentricity; heresy means excommunication. But in Europe the tradition of eccentricity still survives, though with ever decreasing strength, in the leisured class. Its members do not risk serious persecution for nonconformity; their secure position protects them from ordinary public opinions, so that they can think, and to a great extent act, how they like with impunity. Not many of them do, of course; but that there should at least be an

attitude of tolerance to heresy is of prime importance. Moreover, they actually extend their protection to eccentric and heretical members of other classes. The aristocracy is a sort of Red Indian Reservation, where the savages of the mind are permitted to live in their own way, untroubled and relatively free from persecution. In a little while the advancing armies of democracy will sweep across their borders and these happy sanctuaries will be no more. Les Aigues - the big house, the gardens, the park, the spacious and leisured life, the polite conversations and platonic passion between the literary man and the lady of the manor - will utterly disappear, and the small holder will inherit the land. And eccentricity, new ideas, culture - one doesn't see much room in the new world for these occupations of prigs and madmen. The prospect is melancholy, dims one's liberal ardours.²⁴

Huxley goes on to discuss Mencken's Yale Review article, and dwells particularly on his description of the American intelligentsia, "Hemmed in on one side by the plutocracy and on the other side by the mob." Later on in the year Huxley

24. "Marginalia", Athenaeum, 27 August 1920, p.274. A later "Marginalia" article was entirely devoted to the aristocracy's tolerance of eccentricity and its cultural repercussions. Athenaeum, 31 December 1920, p.893.

again chose the decline of aristocratic privilege as the topic of a "Marginalia" article:

It is now two years since the world was made safe for democracy or whatever other name you choose to call that delicious blend of mob rule and irresponsible tyranny now universally current. Never has the old traditional ruling class been less powerful; it has no hand in the mob rule and very little in the tyranny. It subsists, this once all-powerful class, a phantom of its former self. It is still socially distinct from the rest of the population, it still preserves the traditional attitude towards life, evolved by long generations of serene and undisturbed supremacy. But now it has lost that supremacy we shall soon see the disappearance of the characteristically aristocratic gesture and attitude and the extinction of the class. The aristocrat lives on in our world made safe for democracy like the Red Indian in his reservation. His tenure is hideously insecure. At any moment the surrounding hordes of white colonists - so infinitely colonial! - may tear down the barriers of his little park, sweep in and utterly submerge him. At any moment. He is helpless.²⁵

25. Athenaeum, 10 December, 1920, p.812.

Huxley's antipathy to democracy is typical of the first wave of anti-democratic opinion, which, according to Raymond Williams, held sway between about 1790 and 1870 and which was marked by a "concern at the threat to minority values with the coming of popular supremacy." Williams notes that there was a resurgence of such anxiety after the First World War, but he does not mention Huxley's objurgation of democracy in Culture and Society, nor have these Athenaeum articles been taken into account by any other critic.²⁶

Mencken's animadversions on the political ideology which had engendered in the American public, "the most timorous, sniveling, poltroonish, ignominious mob of serfs and goose-steppers ever gathered under one flag in Christendom."²⁷ were codified in the compendious Notes on Democracy (1926), but the source of his aristocratic fervour may be traced to the allure which Nietzsche's writings had always held for him. Throughout Nietzsche's work there is an insistence that culture can only be achieved where the many have been subjugated to the few. One of his earliest formulations of this idea is found in "The Greek State" (1871):

In order that there may be a broad, deep and fruitful soil for the development of art, the enormous majority must, in the

26. Raymond Williams, Culture and Society 1780-1950, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1958), p.296.
27. Prejudices: Third Series, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), p.10.

service of a minority, be slavishly subjected to life's struggle, to a greater degree than their own wants necessitate... Accordingly we must accept this cruel sounding truth, that slavery is of the essence of Culture... The misery of toiling men must still increase in order to make the production of the world of art possible to a small number of Olympian men.²⁸

Similarly, in Human, All-Too-Human, Nietzsche proclaimed the absolute necessity of segregating "the caste of compulsory labour and the caste of free labour" in any society where a "higher culture" is to be maintained or nurtured.²⁹

Nietzsche's insistence on a caste system is highlighted by Mencken in The Philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche (1908) and his compilation of The Gist of Nietzsche (1910), and interestingly, in both these books, Mencken chose a passage from The Antichrist as the locus classicus of Nietzsche's beliefs. Indeed, Mencken considered The Antichrist to be so

28. Rep. in Early Greek Philosophy and Other Essays, Vol.2 of The Complete Works of Friedrich Nietzsche, trans. Maximilian A. Mügge, ed. Oscar Levy (London and Edinburgh: T.N. Foulis, 1911), pp.1-18.
29. Rep. in Human, All-Too-Human: A Book for Free Spirits (Part 1), Vol.7 of Complete Works, trans. Helen Zimmern, ed., Oscar Levy (London and Edinburgh: T.N. Foulis, 1909), p.319.

important that he made his own translation of it. Huxley's review of this "lively and energetic" version of The Antichrist (almost certainly one of the books which Mencken had sent him along with his first letter) lauded Mencken's introduction in particular as a "happy example of his critical writing."³⁰ In it, Mencken identifies The Antichrist as "a statement of some of [Nietzsche's] most salient ideas in their final form." What Nietzsche feared most, according to Mencken, was "the pollution and crippling of the superior minority by intellectual disease from below." Christian dogma and humanitarian ethics were thus anathema to Nietzsche because they represented:

a democratic effort to curb the egoism of the strong - a conspiracy of the chandala against the free functioning of their superiors, nay, against the free progress of mankind.³¹

It will be suggested below that the principal source of Scogan's vision of the "Rational State" in Crome Yellow is precisely this same section of The Antichrist which Mencken specifies as the kernel of Nietzsche's social philosophy, and for this reason it is necessary to quote it at some length: "The order of castes," Nietzsche declared:

30. Athenaeum, 23 April 1920, p.557.

31. H.L. Mencken, Introd., The Antichrist, by F.W. Nietzsche, trans. H.L. Mencken (New York: Knopf, 1920).

the highest the dominating law is merely the ratification of an order of nature, of a natural law of the first rank, over which no arbitrary fiat, no 'modern idea' can exert any influence. In every healthy society there are three physiological types, gravitating toward differentiation but mutually conditioning one another, and each of these has its own hygiene, its own sphere of work, its own special mastery and feeling of perfection. It is not Manu but nature that sets off in one class those who are chiefly intellectual, in another those who are marked by muscular strength and temperament, and in a third those who are distinguished in neither one way or the other, but show only mediocrity - the last named represent the great majority - and the first two the select. The superior caste - I call it the fewest - has, as the most perfect, the privileges of the few; it stands for happiness, for beauty, for everything good upon earth. Only the most intellectual of men have any right to beauty, to the beautiful; only in them can goodness escape weakness... The second caste: to this belong the guardians of the law, the keepers of order and security, the more noble warriors, above all, the king as the highest form of warrior, judge and preserver of the law. The second in rank constitute the executive arm of the intellectuals, the next to them in rank, taking from them all that is rough in the business of ruling - their followers, their right hand, their

most apt disciples... The order of castes, the order of rank, simply formulates the supreme law of life itself; the separation of society, and to the evolution of higher types, and the highest types - the inequality of rights is essential to the existence of any rights at all... Life is always harder as one mounts the heights - the cold increases, responsibility increases. A high civilization is a pyramid; it can only stand on a broad base; its primary prerequisite is a strong and soundly consolidated mediocrity.³²

In chapter twenty-two of Crome Yellow, in a passage which is strikingly proleptic of Huxley's authoritarian rhetoric in the early 1930s, Scogan outlines his remedy for the post-war chaos:

The men of intelligence must combine, must conspire, and seize power from the imbeciles and maniacs who now direct us. They must found the Rational State. (p.241)

He continues:

In the Rational State... human beings will be separated out into distinct species, not according to the colour of their eyes or the shape of their skulls, but according to the qualities of their

32. The Antichrist, pp.163-167.

mind and temperament. Examining psychologists, trained to what would now seem an almost superhuman clairvoyance, will test each child that is born and assign it to its proper species. Duly labelled and docketed, the child will be given the education suitable to members of its species, and will be set, in adult life, to perform those functions which human beings of his variety are capable of performing. (p.242)

The Rational State, like Nietzsche's "order of castes", is governed by a select body of "Directing Intelligences" (p.243) who employ "Men of Faith" (p.243) groomed through "a long process of suggestion," (p.244) as an executive to implement their policies. These, in turn, would control a vast subservient "Herd" which has been reared in the belief that "there is no happiness to be found except in work and obedience." (p.246). The original of such a tripartite caste system is found in The Republic, where Plato's productive class are the slaves of the Guardians and Auxiliaries,³³ but it is almost certain that the paradigm which Scogan adumbrates in Crome Yellow has its most immediate source in Huxley's reading of Mencken's translation of The Antichrist in 1920.

33. Trans. Desmond Lee, Plato: The Republic 2nd rev. ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), pp.177-195.

Complementing Mencken's transatlantic influence, it seems likely that Huxley may also have been responsive to a more direct kind of ideological tutelage. Clive Bell "was always extremely stimulating", Huxley told John Chandos,³⁴ and it cannot be just coincidental that a cocooned elite served by enforced menial labour was the prerequisite for culture which Bell propounded around this time. Huxley spent eight months in Bell's company at Garsington where the question of how the "civilizing few [are] to be supplied with the necessary security and leisure save at the expense of the many", which is posited rhetorically in Bell's Civilization, must have arisen in their conversation.³⁵

In his book Bell asserts, like Nietzsche and Huxley in his "Marginalia" piece, that the only solution is helotry:

Civilization requires the existence of a
leisured class, and a leisured class
requires the existence of slaves...
Complete human equality is compatible only
with complete savagery. (p.205).

34. Speaking Personally: Aldous Huxley, Interview with John Chandos, Landsdowne Recording Studios Ltd. Recorded 7 and 11 July 1961.
35. Clive Bell, Civilization: An Essay, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1928), p.204. "Possibly the greatest good requires the existence of a slave class," Mr. Ramsay ruminates. "The liftman in the Tube is an eternal necessity." Virginia Woolf, To the Lighthouse, (London: Hogarth Press, 1927), p.70.

Before proceeding, it is interesting to compare Huxley's perception of the relation between culture and society with Matthew Arnold's. At the beginning of his review of Ernest Renan's La Réforme Intellectuelle et Morale de la France, (another utopian vision of a three-tiered hierarchy topped by an elite aristos of intellect and birth, in which, according to Richard Chadbourne, "the great coarse seeds of fascism" were sown³⁶), Arnold seems to anticipate his great-nephew:

Our civilisation in the old and famous countries of Europe has truly been as M. Renan says, in its origin an aristocratic work, the work of a few: its maintainance is the work of a few; country, honour, duty, are things created and upheld by a small number of men amidst a multitude which, left to itself, lets them fall.

However, Arnold goes on to reflect that this is because the "multitude are in vice and misery."³⁷ In holding the aristocracy culpable for the lack of social progress in England, Arnold was continuing the reprobation of it he had aired in Culture and Anarchy (1869). The imperviousness

36. Richard M. Chadbourne, Ernest Renan as an Essayist (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1957), p.124.
37. The Academy, 15 February 1872. Rep. in God and the Bible, Vol.7 of The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold, ed. R.H. Super (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970), pp.40-50.

of aristocracies to public opinion is advanced as their greatest virtue by Huxley in his Athenaeum middle of 27 August 1920, but in Culture and Anarchy Arnold had expressed his frustration at their resistance to thought per se:

...being by the very nature of things inaccessible to ideas, unapt to see how the world is going... [aristocracies] must be somewhat wanting in light, and must therefore be, at a moment when light is our great requisite, inadequate to our needs.

More obvious to Arnold than its "serenity" was the "futility and sterility" of the aristocracy. Furthermore, culture, as Arnold understands it, does not devolve solely upon a superior class:

It seeks to do away with classes; to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere; to make all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light, where they may use ideas, as it uses them itself, freely - nourished, and not bound by them.³⁸

Even though in "The Function of Criticism at the Present Time" and "The Bishop and the Philosopher" Arnold recognises

38. Culture and Anarchy With Friendship's Garland and Some Literary Essays, Vol.5 of Complete Prose Works, pp.87-256.

that, "the highly-instructed few, and not the scantily-instructed many, will ever be the organ to the human race of knowledge and truth",³⁹ he was even more adamant that social inequality was the bane of human advancement:

It seems as if we could not avoid concluding, that just as France owes her fearful troubles to other things and her civilisedness to equality, so we owe our immunity from fearful troubles to other things and our uncivilisedness to inequality.⁴⁰

Arnold did ask at one point, "...what influence may help us to prevent the English people from becoming, with the growth of democracy, Americanized?",⁴¹ but his chief concern was the potential erasure of national identity and not the erosive vulgarity of American democracy:

Nothing would please me better than to find the difficulty solved in America, to find democracy a success there, with a type of equality producing such good results, that, when one preaches equality, one should illustrate its advantages not

39. "The Bishop and the Philosopher", in Lectures and Essays in Criticism, Vol.3 of Complete Prose Works, pp.43-44.

40. "Equality", in Essays Religious and Mixed, Vol.8 of Complete Prose Works, pp.277-305.

41. "Democracy", in Democratic Education, Vol.2 of Complete Prose Works, p.16.

from the example of the French, but...
the example of the United States.⁴²

Huxley's atomistic view of culture is the ideological antithesis of Arnold's holism. By the mid-nineteenth century Arnold knew that "the flowering time of the English aristocracy" had passed;⁴³ Huxley's projection of an intellectually sophisticated and glaringly dix-huitième aristocracy, on the other hand, may be read, perhaps, in the context of the "Classical Revival" of the 1920s, heralded by Middleton Murry and welcomed by T.S. Eliot.⁴⁴ Indeed, as defined by Arnold in Culture and Anarchy, Huxley, as a tireless barracker of "the true apostles of equality" would not even have been regarded as a civilised man by his great-uncle.⁴⁵

42. "A Word About America", in Philistinism in England and America, Vol.10 of Complete Prose Works, p.5. See also, "A Word More About America", pp.194-217, and "Civilisation in the United States", in The Last Word, Vol.11 of Complete Prose Works, pp.350-369.
43. "Democracy" in Vol.2 of The Complete Prose Works, p.14
44. John Middleton Murry, "The 'Classical' Revival", The Adelphi, 3, (February 1926), pp.590-591; T.S. Eliot, "The Idea of a Literary Review", New Criterion, 4, (January 1926), pp.1-6.
45. "Friendship's Garland" in Vol.5 of Complete Prose Works, p.113.

Mencken refashioned his Yale Review article into "The National Letters", a more lengthy execration of the banality of American literature which he incorporated into his second salvo of Prejudices. This, like its forerunner, was sent to Huxley when it was published in 1920. In another unpublished letter, Huxley thanks Mencken for his essays, "which were a real pleasure to me", and praises the "admirable" "National Letters" specifically. This letter offers the best available insight into Huxley's state of mind just prior to writing Crome Yellow, and reveals the exhausting drudgery of his efforts to support a wife and young child:

I wish I had a new book to send you in revenge: but I have had neither the time nor the energy to do anything but the quotidian journalism - reviews, literary articles, dramatic criticism and the most fantastic hackwork (happily well paid) for an American fungoid growth which has established itself over here recently, called House and Garden. However, I am not sorry that these last months have been so intolerable, for they have brought the whole thing to a head, reduced the journalism business to the absurd. And I am now engaged in burning my boats preparatory to starting in a week's time for Italy, where money looks four times as plentiful as it does here and where, even though the principal industry of the country is the manufacture of paper money, it is still possible to live fairly

cheaply. There I shall spend the next few months writing to amuse myself and seeing if I can make the process pay. If so, so good; if not, then back here to journalism.

Huxley goes on to recommend Lawrence's Women in Love to Mencken:

It contains some quite incredibly grotesque things, including some stupendous chapters about an old friend of mine, Lady Ottoline Morrell, who is represented as attempting to murder Lawrence with a lapis lazuli paper weight and only failing to do so because the nimble L. takes cover under a volume of Thucydides which he happens at the moment to be reading. It's all just like Ouida.⁴⁶

Huxley was soon to be no less grotesque - and ungrateful - in his incorporation of Ottoline Morrell into Crome Yellow, the completion of which he reported to Mencken six months later:

I have been industrious here, completing a comic novel in the manner, vaguely, of Peacock. It is an agreeable form; and besides, at the moment, I lack the courage and the patience to sit down and turn out eighty thousand words of realism.⁴⁷

46. Unpub. letter Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, 16 March 1921.

47. Letters, p.203.

Critics of Crome Yellow have responded contentedly to Huxley's nudge ever since. In one recent study, for instance, which specifically insists on the affinities between Peacock's approach and Huxley's novel, C.S. Ferns has claimed:

It would be hard to imagine a greater contrast than that between the Huxley of the 1940s... and the Huxley who was the author of Crome Yellow, a first novel whose predominant mood is of gentle untroubled comedy.⁴⁸

Crome Yellow certainly evinces Peacockian features; a house party provides the forum for the host and his guests to bandy crotchets, and an episodic structure links a flimsy love plot. But, beguiled by this kinship, critical appreciation of the novel has progressed little beyond Alexander Henderson's belle-lettristic vacuities:

Real and yet somehow unreal, somehow a fairy-story, a bucolic idyll, Crome Yellow haunts the memory like a sunlit wall of peaches seen in childhood, rich with the nostalgic memories of bygone summers. Like the opulent colour of its title, Crome Yellow is all of cream and gold.⁴⁹

48. C.S. Ferns, Aldous Huxley: Novelist (London: Athlone Press, 1980), p.55.
49. Alexander Henderson, Aldous Huxley, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1935), p.135.

This was written in 1935, yet Charles Holmes, discussing the novel in 1970, still reads Crome Yellow, as:

a sudden happy creation of a writer fated for renewed and greater anguish, of a man who temporarily seems to have accepted the world and himself.⁵⁰

Once Crome Yellow is placed in its true ideological context, however, the misguidedness of these comments, extreme in their superficiality though not untypical, is exposed. The novel is certainly Peacockian, even "Knockespotchian" (pp.151-152) in manner, but beneath its patina of satirical insouciance Huxley's sombre theme is the advanced moribundity of the leisure class.⁵¹ Read in its true Menckonian context, for example, the burgeoning size of the annual Charity Fair may be seen to represent the gradual encroachment of the massed "armies of democracy" onto the manorial demesne:

Beginning as a sort of glorified church bazaar, Crome's yearly Charity Fair had grown into a noisy thing of merry-go-rounds, coconut shies, and miscellaneous side shows - a real genuine fair on the grand scale. It was the local St. Bartholomew, and the people of all the

50. Charles Holmes, Aldous Huxley and the Way to Reality, (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1970), p.24.

51. See also "Work and Leisure", Along the Road, pp.232-245.

neighbouring villages, with even a contingent from the county town, flocked into the park for their Bank Holiday amusement. (p.267)

More poignantly, the antics of those within this "Redskin" sanctuary reveal the truth of Huxley's complaint in the Athenaeum that the leisure class is "a phantom of its former self." The "polite conversation and platonic passion between the literary man and the lady of the manor," which Huxley idealised as the perfect creative symbiosis in his "Marginalia" article, has degenerated into Priscilla Wimbush's hankering for the facile drivel of Barbecue-Smith, whose automatic writing is a shameless mockery of literary creativity.⁵² Similarly, Denis Stone, the novelist manqué, hopes to do no more than reproduce the trite formula of the popular Bildungsroman in his projected opus (p.26) and, as a poetaster, he is "enamoured with the beauty of words" yet ignorant of their meanings (pp.223-224). Nor is there any evidence of musical accomplishment at Crome. Once the home of the virtuoso Sir Hercules Lapith, the only musician it can boast now is Ivor Lombard, who is delighted merely to achieve "the general effect of splendid noise" (p.166). The scope of his attainments burlesques the amplitude of the genuinely urbane and cultured man epitomised by

52. Huxley's letter to Mencken of 16 March 1921 reveals that Barbecue-Smith was based on Arthur Clutton Brock.

Sir Hercules:

He had a beautiful untrained tenor voice; he could improvise with a startling brilliance, rapidly and loudly on the piano. He was a good amateur medium and telepathist, and had^a considerable first-hand knowledge of the next world. He could write rhymed verses with an extraordinary rapidity. For painting symbolical pictures he had a dashing style, and if the drawing was sometimes a little weak, the colour was always pyrotechnical. He excelled in amateur theatricals and, when occasion offered, he could cook with genius. He resembled Shakespeare in knowing little Latin and less Greek. For a mind like his, education seemed supererogatory. Training would only have destroyed his natural aptitudes. (p.167).

The only alternative to Ivor Lombard's musical brio, is the pianola, at which Henry Wimbush occasionally treads out "shattering dance music with serene patience" (p.92). After nearly thirty years work on his History of Crome, Wimbush's sense of achievement on completing it is ludicrously misplaced. "I have," he pompously declares, "some genuinely new light to throw on the introduction of the three-pronged fork." (p.120). Lastly, Kenneth Clark has pointed out that the painting which had been "stirring and spreading, yeastily" (p.112) in the mind of Gombauld, the resident artist, and which he has begun to execute, is

no more than a reproduction of Caravaggio's "Conversion of St. Paul."⁵³

Although, architecturally, Crome is "the house of an intelligent, civilized and sophisticated man", (p.100), and its dining-room still retains "its great mahogany table, its eighteenth-century chairs and sideboard [and] its eighteenth-century pictures" (p.8), the manners of its Redskins are woefully at variance with such a civilized interior, as a brief résumé of chapter eight makes clear. Her guests gathered round here for Sunday breakfast, Priscilla Wimbush, engrossed in the sports pages of her newspaper, is all but concealed from them except for "the extreme pinnacle of her coiffure" (p.72). Barbecue-Smith burbles inanely, "to no-one in particular", but is misconstrued by the symbolically deaf Jenny Mullion. He begins to explain his remarks when he is interrupted by his hostess. Mary Bracegirdle's efforts to engage Denis Stone in conversation are rebuffed as Scogan expatiates egotistically on his proposals to revamp ecclesiastical and military vestments before Henry Wimbush cuts in with a general invitation to accompany him to church. No-one responds, and the chapter concludes with Barbecue-Smith misquoting Duke Senior. Rather than a reservation for the "savages of the mind", Crome is declining into barbarism pure and simple.

53. Julian Huxley, ed., Aldous Huxley 1894-1963: A Memorial Volume (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965), pp.15-16.

Creative eccentricity has degenerated into egocentric crotcheteering, and, with their taste for plangent jazz-tunes and vapid newspaper middles, these particular Redskins are well-nigh Americanized. Only an "order of castes", or "intellectual aristocracy", or "Rational State" of the kind outlined by Nietzsche, invoked by Mencken and delineated by Scogan, their joint progeny, can preserve the culture of Europe from transatlantic adulteration and the swarming hordes of the democratic mob the novel implies.

An interpretation of Crome Yellow along these lines is, of course, quite possible without a knowledge of its specific context. But a familiarity with the tenets of Huxley's Menckonian apprenticeship must surely scupper the notion that Crome Yellow was merely the "sudden happy creation" of a writer who had not yet discovered his ideological identity. Prior to the transparent Anthony Beavis in Eyeless in Gaza, a sequence of unlikely characters enunciated Huxley's ideology in his fiction. With the rediscovery of Huxley's letters to Mencken and the reinstatement of the full range of his writings from the 1919-1921 period, Scogan's advocacy of the Rational State, and his vindication of the privileges of hereditary aristocracy below reveal him to be the first of these spokesmen:

Eccentricity... It's the justification of all aristocracies. It justifies leisured classes and inherited wealth and privilege and endowments and all the other injustices of that sort. If you're to do

anything reasonable in this world, you must have a class of people who are secure, safe from public opinion, safe from poverty, leisured, not compelled to waste their time in the imbecile routines that go by the name of Honest Work. You must have a class of which the members can think and, within the obvious limits, do what they please. You must have a class in which people who have eccentricities can indulge them and in which eccentricity in general will be tolerated and understood. That's the most important thing about an aristocracy. Not only is it eccentric itself - often grandiosely so; it also tolerates and even encourages eccentricity in others. The eccentricities of the artist and the newfangled thinker won't inspire it with that fear, loathing and disgust which the burgesses instinctively feel towards them. It is a sort of Red Indian Reservation planted in the midst of a vast horde of poor Whites - colonials at that. Within its boundaries wild men disport themselves - often, it must be admitted, a little grossly, a little too flamboyantly; and when kindred spirits are born outside the pale it offers them some sort of refuge from the hatred which the Poor Whites, en bons bourgeois, lavish on anything that is wild or out of the ordinary. After the social revolution there will be no Reservations; the Redskins will be drowned in the great sea of Poor Whites. (pp.106-107)

Huxley had instructed his publishers to send Mencken a copy of his novel on its publication in November 1921, but he discovered some months later that this had not been done. He hastened to rectify, "this defect of courtesy, with the hope that the thing may amuse you a little," inscribing the copy of Crome Yellow he sent from London tellingly "with homages." His enclosed letter divulged:

I am back in this decaying Metropolis,
functioning chiefly on the great Mr. Condé
Nast's publications which, tho' not
inordinately high i' the brow, pay
adequately - which no literary journal does.

When I have hoarded a few pence I shall
flit off once more to some cheap Dago state
for rest and refreshment. But meanwhile I
am pretty well fixed here. And you - is
there any prospect of your early arrival?⁵⁴

Reviewing Crome Yellow in the St. Paul Daily News,
Scott Fitzgerald puffed the novel as "the highest point so
far attained by Anglo-Saxon sophistication",⁵⁵ and Mencken
himself soon acclaimed it even more rapturously in The Smart
Set. Since Scogan's views on intellectual aristocracy and
the leisure class parroted his own, it is not surprising that

54. This unpub. letter and the inscribed copy of Crome Yellow are both in the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore. 5 February 1922.
55. Quoted in Donald Watt, ed., Aldous Huxley: The Critical Heritage, (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), pp.72-74.

Mencken lauded Huxley's novel with extravagant praise, suggesting that A.L. surpassed even T.H. Huxley in his worldly wisdom:

If it does not make you yell with joy, then I throw off the prophetic robes for ever. It is a piece of buffoonery that sweeps the whole range from the most delicate and suggestive tickling to the most violent thumping of the ribs. It has made me laugh as I have not laughed since I read the Inaugural Harangue of Dr. Harding.

This Huxley, in truth, is a fellow of the utmost shrewdness, ingenuity, sophistication, impudence, waggishness, and contumacy - a literary atheist who is forever driving herds of sheep, hogs, camels, calves and jackasses into the most sacred temples of the people. He represents the extreme swing of the reaction against everything that a respectable Englishman holds to be true and holy... Here, in brief, is a civilized man's reductio ad absurdum of his age - his contemptuous kicking of its pantaloons. Here, in a short space, delicately, ingratiatingly and irresistibly, whole categories and archipelagoes of contemporary imbecility are brought to the trial by wit. In some dull review or other I have encountered the news that all the characters of the fable are real people and that the author himself is Denis... Nonsense! Huxley,

if he is there at all, is Scogan, the chorus to the whole drama, with his astounding common sense, his acidulous humor, and his incomparable heresies.⁵⁶

The tyro had won his spurs.

Sailing to Plymouth in August 1922, Mencken told Sinclair Lewis, "I doubt that I'll see any literati in London, save perhaps Walpole and Huxley", unaware that his protégé was then in Salzburg covering the music festival for the Weekly Westminster Gazette.⁵⁷ Huxley wrote to Mencken while he was in London:

I wish I was there to see you: but I am taking a beer cure in Salzburg and listening to Mozart, going on to Italy for a few weeks tomorrow. Do let me know... how long you will be in Europe and if there will be any hope of seeing you.⁵⁸

56. The Smart Set, 68, (May 1922), pp.142-143. Rep. in William H. Nolte, ed., H.L. Mencken's 'Smart Set' Criticism, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1968), pp.322-323.
57. Forgué, p.238.
58. Unpub. postcard, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, 16 August 1922. Huxley also modelled his musical criticism on Mencken's. Compare, for example, "Some Easter Music", Weekly Westminster Gazette, 22 April 1922, p.13 and "The Criticism of Music", 27 May 1922, p.14 with Mencken's "The Allied Arts" in Prejudices: Second Series, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1921), pp.192-210.

Huxley's next letter to Mencken, written after his return to London, is vitally important in that it records not only his sense of a growing chasm between the intellectual elite and the stupefied "mob", but also the degree to which Huxley had absorbed Mencken's manner and style - evident in the almost perfect mimicry of his idiolect:

How goes life in the Great West? Here we are made daily conscious of a steady increase in imbecility. The Press and now the Wireless Telephone are doing wonders in the way of spreading darkness, vulgarity, fifteenth-rateness, folly, mental idleness, cant, confusion, waste of energy: one can see the results at once. The gulf between the populace and those engaged in any intelligent occupation of whatever kind steadily widens. In twenty years time a man of science or a serious artist will need an interpreter in order to talk to a cinema proprietor or a member of his audience. However, perhaps it's all for the best: who knows. In any case the Consolations of Philosophy will never fail us here in England so long as the Upper House retains its present 2/3 majority of titled brewers and distillers.⁵⁹

Huxley's sense of the intelligentsia's increasing alienation from the "populace" was hardly unique. In 1925 Ortega y Gasset rejoiced in the inaccessibility of Stravinsky and

59. Unpub. letter, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, n.d. [December 1922].

Pirandello precisely because such abstruse, modernist art might enable "the elite to recognise themselves and one another in the drab mass of society and to learn their mission which consists in being few and holding their own against the many." Ortega looked forward to a time when society would reorganize itself into two castes, "the illustrious and the vulgar", and when the unjust assumption of social equality would be righted for ever.⁶⁰ Quoting similiar sentiments from The Revolt of the Masses (1930), Laurence Brander comments that Huxley's writing in the 1920s shows "little of the concern that Ortega expresses so eloquently" about the accession of the masses to power.⁶¹ Nothing could be further from the truth. As Tom Gibbons has said, "the desirability of a new elite social class was increasingly taken for granted after about 1880 by men of various shades of political opinion as the perceived evils of democracy grew more threatening."⁶² This elite, Gibbons notes, was usually envisaged as forming the apex of an authoritarian and hierarchical social

60. José Ortega y Gasset, The Dehumanization of Art and Notes on the Novel, trans. Helene Weyl (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), p.7.

61. Laurence Brander, Aldous Huxley: A Critical Study, (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1969), p.16.

62. Tom Gibbons, "Modernism and Reactionary Politics", Journal of Modern Literature, 3, (July 1974), pp.1140-1157.

structure. Although he does not say so, this exactly describes the shape of Huxley's utopia up to the mid-1930s.

Throughout the 1920s the cretinizing effects of the wireless, newspaper, gramophone, cinema and telephone, became the staple theme of Huxleyan censure:

In place of the old pleasures demanding intelligence and personal initiative, we have vast organizations that provide us with ready-made distractions - distractions which demand from pleasure-seekers no personal participation and no intellectual effort of any sort. To the interminable democracies of the world a million cinemas bring the same stale balderdash ... Countless audiences soak passively in the tepid bath of nonsense. No mental effort is demanded of them, no participation; they need only sit and keep their eyes open.⁶³

On another occasion Huxley said of Bacon's De Sapientia Veterum, "The Sage's attitude of grave detachment from the world on which he comments with so mature a justness of judgement is, to me, profoundly sympathetic."⁶⁴ What has not been realised hitherto is that in his role as deteriorationist sage, Huxley was playing a droopy-shouldered Moses to Mencken's Jehovah.

63. "Pleasures", Vanity Fair, 20, (May 1923), p.40. Rep. in On the Margin, pp.45-52.

Interestingly, in the same month that Huxley wrote to Mencken about the "steady increase in imbecility" in London, Eliot described the death of Marie Lloyd as a "significant moment in English history" for the same reason:

In a most interesting essay in the volume of Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia, the great psychologist W.H.R. Rivers adduces evidence which has led him to believe that the natives of that unfortunate archipelago are dying out principally for the reason that the 'civilization' forced upon them has deprived them all of interest in life. They are dying from pure boredom. When every theatre has been replaced by 100 cinemas, when every musical instrument has been replaced by 100 gramophones, when every horse has been replaced by 100 cheap motor cars, when electrical ingenuity has made it possible for every child to hear its bedtime stories through a wireless receiver attached to both ears, and when applied science has done everything possible with the materials on this earth to make life as interesting as possible, it will not be surprising if the population of the entire civilized world rapidly follows the fate of the Melanesians.⁶⁵

64. Athenaeum, 19 November 1920, p.697.

65. T.S. Eliot, "London Letter", The Dial, 73, (December 1922), pp.659-663. Rep. in a slightly altered form as "Marie Lloyd" in Selected Essays.

The current explanation of Huxley's sudden return to Italy in June 1923 is that it was precipitated by an "ultimatum" from his wife who was distressed by his infatuation with Nancy Cunard.⁶⁶ However, while Huxley may well have had a brief affair with Nancy Cunard (for which there is no substantial corroboration), a large and hitherto embargoed collection of letters from Huxley to Mary Hutchinson in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center in Texas suggests more compellingly that it was she, and not her contemporary, who, if anybody, was jeopardising Huxley's marriage. Just before leaving England, Huxley wrote to Mary Hutchinson:

I don't want to suffer at all any more, at any rate for a long time. I want to laugh and exchange delightful sentiments, ideas and kisses. And meanwhile you are always no more than the rustle of a skirt disappearing round the corner: you are a perfume in a corridor and the discreet closing of a door. And one evening conceivably - I flatter myself perhaps unduly - you might feel that it was time, today, for an answer. But I would be a long way off: and by the time I arrived you would be feeling something entirely different and it would be the same rustle, the same evanescence of perfume and the same closing of a door. And I should feel

66. Sybille Bedford, Aldous Huxley: A Biography, Vol.1 (London: Chatto and Windus in Association with Collins, 1973), p.137.

the same desire to curse, to cry, to laugh
and to strangle as I feel now. Should I
see you before I go? You needn't answer.
But on the other hand you might. Chi
sa?⁶⁷

Even though the Huxley's departure for Italy marked the beginning of their life-long expatriation, Huxley's relationship with Mary Hutchinson continued intermittently, though no less passionately, until the early 1930s. Indeed another tranche of letters, from Maria Huxley to Mary Hutchinson, reveals that she became the shared inamorata of both Huxley and his wife.

In his hill-top Italian villa Huxley lived the life of the detached sage he had aspired to for the last four years. He was to remain there until the end of June 1925, during which time Those Barren Leaves was conceived and written. Around February 1925 he wrote:

For the last six months, I have been
living on the top of a small mountain in
the neighbourhood of Florence, seeing only
one newspaper a week, going to no
theatres, hearing no music, reading no new
novels or poetry... I do not feel in the
least tempted, as yet at any rate, to
return to civilization or exchange my
quiet mental darkness for the dancing and
dazzling lights of metropolitan life...

67. n.d. [22 June 1923 ?].

I find it more agreeable to be, not fashionable, but myself. When, from the depths of my calm solititude, I reflect on the many extraordinary foolish and time wasting things I have done for the sake of being up to date and earning the approval of the fashionable, I shudder and am amazed that I could ever have been so stupid.⁶⁸

Though the obsession of Francis Chelifer with Barbara Waters, and Calamy's implausible metamorphosis into a chaste omphaloskeptic may be read as a fictional dispersal of Huxley's own experience, Those Barren Leaves also shows that Huxley could not dispel his preoccupation with the American bogey despite his willed seclusion. At one point in the novel Chelifer reflects:

It's comforting to think that modern civilization is doing its best to re-establish the tribal regime, but on an enormous national and even international scale. Cheap printing, wireless telephones, trains, motor cars, gramophones and all the rest are making it possible to consolidate tribes, not of a few thousands, but of millions. To judge from the Middle Western novelists, the process seems already to have gone a long way in America. In a few generations it may be that the whole

68. "On Not Being Up to Date", Vanity Fair, 22, (April 1924), p.70.

planet will be covered by one vast American-speaking tribe, composed of innumerable individuals, all thinking and acting in exactly the same way, like the characters in a novel by Sinclair Lewis. (p.372).

It was not long before Huxley realised how "jejune and shallow and off the point"⁶⁹ his third novel was, and he decided to embark on a journey to the Far East in an attempt to seek a more profound understanding of the ascetic life. That he was profoundly disillusioned by his Oriental travels is clear from a letter he wrote to Mencken on his subsequent arrival in San Francisco:

I am entering the U.S.A. by the back door - tho' I suppose they call it the front in California - from the Orient, where I have been spending some months to satisfy myself empirically that all this rigmarole of Light from the East, etc, is genuinely nonsense. Having done so, I am now on my way home - orientis partibus adventavit Asinus, as they used to say in the blasphemous Messe de l'Ane [sic] - and passing through your continent. Will there be a hope of seeing you?... I regaled myself during two or three days of this voyage with your fourth Prejudices. Very magnificent. You ought to have some of your best passages recorded for the gramophone - you read so well aloud; there

69. Letters, p.242.

are really Ciceronian thunders. Have it bawled by some sonorous comedian like Hackett or Forbes Robertson into the phonograph and then circulate it to do its missionary work among phonograph owners. The majority of people in our modern world are not educated up to the point of understanding what they read in books. But they can understand a thing when it is spoken viva voce.⁷⁰

The journey Huxley records in Jesting Pilate, taking him from Italy by way of India and Burma to America between September 1925 and May 1926, was much more than a sight-seeing tour. His peregrinations in the Far East and the United States convinced him that detachment was not possible, and that his overwhelming concern was less with his own spiritual development than with the cultural fate of Europe and the growing ambit of America.

It is quite likely that Huxley did, at last, meet Mencken in New York or Baltimore a few weeks after arriving in the United States. Asked about his impressions of America when he reached New York, Huxley's comments were reported under the caption: "We're 'Immense' to Aldous Huxley." Alongside the hugeness of the Grand Canyon and the vast scale of the Midwest, Huxley placed the stature of his first swami:

70. Unpub. letter Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, 5 May 1926.

Mr. Huxley is a great admirer of Henry L. Mencken who he thinks is "immense" too. He said there was no writer in England who compared even remotely with Mr. Mencken adding that if Mencken were English and wrote about England as he did about America he would be "doused cold" by the English critics, "who would not appreciate him." He said Mencken would have no trouble finding buncombe and fallacy in England as he had in America.⁷¹

Huxley's first visit to America was ironically the high-water mark of his Menckonian phase, though he certainly met Mencken when he was next there in 1933.⁷²

When Scott Fitzgerald sent Mencken a copy of This Side of Paradise in March 1920 he confessed in his inscription:

As a matter of fact Mr. Mencken, I stuck your name in on page 224 in the last proof - partly I suppose as a vague bootlick and partly because I have adopted a great many of your views.⁷³

71. The World, (New York), 19 May 1926, p.3.
72. Unpub. letter Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, 11 May 1933.
73. Quoted in Matthew J. Bruccoli, Some Sort of Epic Grandeur: The Life of F. Scott Fitzgerald, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981), pp.106-107.

Fitzgerald's next novel, The Beautiful and the Damned attested to this. Yet, until now, Mencken's equally bold imprint on Crome Yellow, and his formative role in the growth of Huxley's attraction to government by intellectual aristocracy has not been recognised. Mencken's contemptuous onslaughts on American society and his Nietzschean exaltation of the few provided Huxley with a model of highbrow vituperation which he assimilated both through an avid reading of the American critic's publications and what must have been, in effect, a correspondence course in the art of scorn. Unfortunately, only the neophyte's letters are now extant.

CHAPTER TWO

Unlike Dickens, who was saddened to discover the America he visited in 1842 fell far short of the promised land of his imagination, Huxley was almost gratified to find the United States every bit as vulgar and freakish as he had anticipated.¹ Indeed, as the final section of Jesting Pilate records, the real America, and especially California with its tawdry movies, "barbarous" music and unremitting pep, shocked even Mencken's votary by the scale of its outlandishness. "Huxley's America", as Peter Conrad has rightly said, "... is a travesty of revelation."²

Silently adapting the concluding sentence of Nietzsche's Antichrist, Huxley remarks towards the end of his travel book that, "the thing which is happening in America is a revaluation of values, a radical alteration (for the worse) of established standards."³ The principal cause of this phenomenon, Huxley went on to

1. Dickens told W.C. Macready, "This is not the Republic of my imagination." The Letters of Charles Dickens, eds. Madeline House, Graham Storey, Kathleen Tillotson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965-), Vol.3 (1842-1843), 1974, p.156, 22 March 1842.
2. Peter Conrad, Imagining America, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), p.166.
3. Jesting Pilate, pp.272-273.

suggest, was the American political system:

The democratic hypothesis in its extreme and most popular form is that all men are equal and that I am just as good as you are. It is so manifestly untrue that a most elaborate system of humbug has had to be invented in order to render it credible to any normally sane human being. Nowhere has this system of humbug been brought to such perfection as in America. (p.276)

Soon after Jesting Pilate was published in October 1926, Huxley received an enthusiastic tribute from St. Loe Strachey:

It is the fairest minded, most truthful, and most illuminating book that I have ever read. That sounds like flattery, but it is not so. Your last ten or twelve pages are as brave, wise, and truthful as is possible.⁴

Strachey had published an account of his own travels in America that year, and he sent Huxley a copy of American Soundings with this letter. Huxley's unpublished reply is worth quoting at length because it highlights the increased bulk which the American bête noire had assumed in his mind since his visit to the United States.

4. Unpub. letter, House of Lords Records Office.
MS S/33/5/111. 5 November 1926.

"I wish you had seen California", Huxley told Strachey:

It is pure Rabelais, a chronic kermesse. Materially, the nearest approach to Utopia yet seen on our planet. After twenty-four hours of it, you begin to pine for the slums of Dostoievsky's St Petersburg!

And then the great Middle Western plains! Endless, and the sparse towns and villages uglier than anything you have ever seen. No wonder they take to curious religions in those regions. It is the only thing, now that drink has been abolished, that is left to them. Talking about curious religions - I notice that you attribute no importance to the Tennessee anti-evolution business. So did I, until recently, when I received a pamphlet from an organization called the Science League of America. One state and quite a number of education boards in individual cities, from Georgia to California, have followed the example of Tennessee. All states are being organized by the Fundamentalists for Federal and State anti-evolution laws. Funds for this purpose are freely forthcoming. Anti-evolution bills are promised in numerous state legislatures during 1927. California and Texas have ordered the elimination of evolutionary doctrines from the text books of tax supported schools and colleges. And so on and so forth. Altogether, it looks as though the movement were no joke. In any case, the Science League of America, which has a most eminent and respectable committee

of scientific men, seems to take it very seriously. Their pamphlet is quite blood-curdling.

I wonder if you are not a little too generous to the American universities. They are fine, certainly; and it is an excellent thing that the contemporary rich should salve their guilty consciences by founding colleges as their ancestors did by endowing monasteries. But there is a reverse to the medal. To begin with, the standard of scholastic attainment in a great many of these universities is incredibly low. (If you remember, Mr. Babbitt was a university graduate. And I have met plenty of Americans with resounding degrees, who were fabulously ignorant of the subjects in which they had graduated). In the second place, one must remember the rather sinister influence exercised on universities by the rich business men who endow them and who, in practically all cases, are the trustees and governors of American seats of learning. The persecution of unpopular political opinions is almost universal. Veblen's book on the Higher Learning in America and Upton Sinclair's rather lurid, but (according to so knowledgeable an authority as Dr Harvey Robinson) very well documented book, The Goose Step make rather disagreeable reading for anyone who has been brought up in the English love of free speech and fair play.⁵

5. Unpub. letter, House of Lords Records Office. MS S/33/5/113. 6 January 1927.

Huxley's sense of having drifted into a kind of ideological doldrums on his return from America was genuine but exaggerated:

I set out on my travels knowing, or thinking that I knew, how men should live, how be governed, how educated, what they should believe. I knew which was the best form of social organisation and to what end societies had been created. I had my views on every activity of human life. Now, on my return, I find myself without any of these pleasing certainties. (p.288)

In reality Huxley's American experiences had prepared the ground for his next metamorphosis, from a self-consciously detached pathologist of democracy into a hard line anti-democrat who would soon propound not merely the tolerance of hereditary aristocracy, but the formation of a rigid intellectual hierarchy to supersede democracy as Scogan had vicariously done for him in Crome Yellow.

It seems likely that it was less Huxley's ideological bewilderment in the early Autumn of 1926, than the continuing emotional stress of his infatuation with Mary Hutchinson, which accounted for D.H. Lawrence's description of him soon after their rapprochement as "triste un omo finito."⁶

However, almost immediately after this, Huxley encountered

6. Martin Secker, ed., Letters from D.H. Lawrence to Martin Secker 1911-1930, (n.p.: privately published, 1970), p.78. 27 October 1926.

in Vilfredo Pareto's Trattato di Sociologia Generale (1916) colossal and encyclopaedic authority for his beliefs in social heterogeneity and the fallacy of progress, an ideological tonic which enabled him to think beyond the problems of his personal life. Writing to Robert Nichols on 14 November, Huxley described Pareto's "vast" treatise as "very good as far as I have got; he really does take the lid off and show you the works..."⁷ Later on Huxley praised Pareto for offering, "a system - wholly unmetaphysical - in terms of which one can think consistently and intelligibly about human affairs",⁸ and on another occasion he described the Trattato as, "the most realistic, the most truly scientific book about human behaviour ever written."⁹ No attempt has yet been made to explain why Huxley found Pareto's sociology so cogent.

In the Trattato Pareto maintains that there is a fundamental partition in all societies between a minority "governing elite" and a governed mass or "lower stratum." Moreover, as T.B. Bottomore has explained:

Pareto always emphasises the universality of the distinction between the governing elite and masses, and he reserves his most

7. Letters, p.276.
8. Unpub. letter to Julian Huxley. In the possession of Lady Juliette Huxley. 7 January 1934.
9. "The Interpretation of History", Literary America, (April 1936), pp.1060-1065.

scathing comments for modern notions of
'democracy', 'humanitarianism' and
'progress'.¹⁰

In Pareto's model the two strata of society do not rest in equilibrium, but are in a state of continuous flux due to the "residues", or basic human impulses, which act non- logically on the social psychology. Pareto identifies six classes of residues, and the first two of these, the "instinct for combinations" and the "persistence of aggregates" are the most important. Individuals are constantly being admitted and displaced from the governing elite, and occasionally, one elite replaces another en bloc. Pareto called this process the "circulation of elites", and it is best paraphrased by S.E. Finer:

The relationship between the governing elite and the governed is determined by the way in which Class I ["the instinct for combinations"] and Class II ["the persistence of aggregates"] residues are distributed between them. Governing groups with a preponderance of Class I residues tend to be mercantile, materialistic, innovatory; and they rule by guile. Governing groups in which Class II residues preponderate tend to be bureaucratic, idealistic, conservative; they rule by force. The proportion of Class I to Class II residues in the governing elite alternates through

10. Elites and Society, (London: Watts, 1964), pp.4-5.

time. As the Class I residues preponderate in the rulers, so the Class II residues build up among the ruled; the governing elite in this way comes to lose the propensity to use force, while the tendency to employ it builds up among the governed. So, ultimately, either by infiltration or revolution from below, the governing elite is displaced by a new elite drawn from the ranks of the former governed section of society. This process continues, the new governing elite in time being overthrown, for the same reason.¹¹

Thus, crucially, in Pareto's system society achieves stability not by consensus but by force. As Pareto himself put it:

Revolutions come about through accumulations in the higher strata of society... of decadent elements no longer possessing the residues suitable for keeping them in power, or shrinking from the use of force; while meantime in the lower strata of society elements of superior quality are coming to the fore, possessing residues suitable for exercising the functions of government and willing enough to use force.¹²

11. S.E. Finer, Introd., Sociological Writings, by Vilfredo Pareto. trans. Derick Mirfin, (Blackwell: Oxford 1966), pp.14-15.
12. Vilfredo Pareto, The Mind and Society, trans. Andrew Bongiorno and Arthur Livingston. ed. Arthur Livingston (4 vols, London: Jonathan Cape, 1935), Vol.3, p.1431.

In their humanitarianism and renunciation of force and in their dominance by guileful swindlers and corrupt demagogues, (in both of which an "instinct for combinations" is conspicuous), democracies are regarded as being profoundly unstable in the Paretian system. On the other hand Huxley noted:

The strength of a society dominated by men with a pronounced "persistence of aggregates" lies in its stability and in the violence and the promptitude of the actions dictated by unquestioning faith in an absolute.¹³

This insistence on the paramountcy of force in human affairs accounts for the frequent interpretation of Pareto's sociology as ur-totalitarianism. One contemporary wrote:

In Pareto's work for the first time the powerful tendency towards a change of political machinery and social organisation since embodied in Bolshevism, Fascism, National Socialism and a score of similar movements has found clear expression; clearer here than in the work of Georges Sorel, who alone could be ranked with Pareto as a precursor of the political and social changes we behold in our days.¹⁴

13. "Notes on the Way", Time and Tide, 15, (10 March 1934), pp.306, 308-309.
14. Franz Borkenau, Pareto, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1936), p.136.

Pareto's impact was sudden and immense, and Huxley acknowledged his indebtedness to the Italian in the introduction to his next book, Proper Studies:

In his monumental *Sociologia Generale* I discovered many of my own still vague and inchoate notions methodically set down and learnedly documented, together with a host of new ideas and relevant facts. I have borrowed freely from this almost inexhaustible store. (p.xviii)

Significantly, in the introduction Huxley also indicates that he found material of "profundity and importance" (pp.xvii-xix) in Sorel's Réflexions sur la violence. In Sorel's writings too Huxley would have encountered a virulent antipathy to democracy, the postulation of rule by elites and another adherent to the view that all political activity depends on force:

Sorel does not discuss authority explicitly in the Reflections, but implicit in its pages is the assumption, later outlined explicitly in De l'Utilité du pragmatisme, that a decline in the authority of the ruling classes produces a corresponding increase in the force employed by those authorities to sustain their position in society.¹⁵

15. John Stanley, The Sociology of Virtue: The Political and Social Theories of George Sorel, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1981), p.242.

It was certainly Huxley's reading of Pareto which encouraged him to come out as a Scoganite apologist for the "Rational State." In the course of an article published in August 1929, which commenced with the doleful proclamation that "the future of America is the future of the world", Huxley ruminated:

The ideal state is one in which there is a material democracy controlled by an aristocracy of intellect - a state in which men and women are guaranteed a decent human existence and are given every opportunity to develop such talents as they possess, and where those with the greatest talent rule. The active and intelligent oligarchies of the ideal state do not yet exist. But the Fascist party in Italy, the Communist party in Russia, the Kuomintang in China are still their inadequate precursors. Owing to the strength of her democratic traditions America will probably be one of the last countries to change her present form of government. But in the end the change will come.

Further on in this very Wellsian article,¹⁶ Huxley looks forward to the "evolution of a new social hierarchy, based on

16. Wells is named as another of the "sociological writers" Huxley said he had "read with profit" while researching Proper Studies (p.xix). Huxley's ideological proximity to Wells is assessed in Chapter Four.

the facts of human nature", where "the humanitarianism that professes to regard all human beings as equally endowed with moral worth and intellectual ability will be looked upon as an archaic absurdity."¹⁷

Proper Studies may be read as a manifesto, addressed as much to himself as the reading public, of Huxley's ideological new ground. "The Idea of Equality" is openly pooh-poohed as a holy cow in the first essay of the volume, and in "Political Democracy" the unreason of the present dispensation is anatomized. Parliamentary democracy "permits the least desirable men to obtain power" (p.149) and is thus corrupt and inefficient. Huxley's remedy for this would be to insist that anyone wishing to stand for parliament should first be subjected to a rigorous intelligence test in order to try and purge the legislative assembly of its "worst incompetents and charlatans" (p.162):

It is possible that if this test were imposed a few men of real merit might be excluded, but their loss would be compensated by the exclusion of so many merely talkative and merely rich or influential people, so many ignorant quacks and rogues." (p.162)

17. "The Outlook for American Culture: Some Reflections in a Machine Age," Harper's Magazine, 155 (August 1927), pp.265-272. Rep. as America and the Future, (Austin and New York: Pemberton Press, 1970).

A democratic governing elite with a pronounced "instinct for combinations" is clearly responsible, in Huxley's mind, for the contemporary power of newspaper proprietors; "Plutocratic oligarchs, they aspire to rule, under cover of democratic institutions, impersonally and without responsibility."

(p.1.53). This was an accusation much favoured by all shades of the anti-democratic intelligentsia. Shaw in his preface to The Millionaress (1936) made exactly the same point:

"Modern liberal democracy claims unlimited opportunities for tyranny... It is in fact not democracy at all, but unashamed plutocracy,"¹⁸ a view also shared by Eliot and Chesterton.

Huxley concluded his essay with this Menckanian denunciation of a system:

whereby confidence tricksters, rich men, and quacks may be given power by the votes of an electorate composed in a great part of mental Peter Pans, whose childishness renders them peculiarly susceptible to the blandishments of demagogues and the tirelessly repeated suggestions of the rich men's newspapers, (p.163),

having already indicated the more "rational" mode of government he would replace it with. This would necessitate the "creation and maintainance of a ruling aristocracy of mind" (p.157) ensuring "government by those best fitted to

18. Rep. in The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles, The Six of Calais, The Millionaress, Vol. 32 of The Works of Bernard Shaw, (London: Constable, 1936), p.112.

govern" (p.163) within a society organised so that "every human being should be in his place in the social machine" (p.168) and with a leader appointed strictly as a figurehead with a "politically intelligent and well informed" cabal (p.169) having actual control of the state: "The aristocratic state will have its chief of staff as well as its officers in personal contact with the men." (p.170).

Huxley was never affiliated to or connected with a fascist organization of any kind, but there is a trim contiguity between his views in Proper Studies and elsewhere, and the dogmas of fascism.

Huxley's reference to the "creation and maintenance of a ruling aristocracy of mind", and his stress on the etymological sense of aristocracy in Proper Studies, recall another writer in whose work the germination of fascism has been located, Thomas Carlyle. The nineteenth-century sage's vision of an heroic elite, an "Aristocracy by Patent from God the Maker", in time delivering England from the dual tyranny of the democractic "Swarmery" (incapable of differentiating a "Quashee Nigger" from "Socrates or Shakespeare") and the "blockheadism" of "Penny-Newspaper-Parliaments" in "Shooting Niagara", is another source of anti-democratic rhetoric from which Huxley may well have drawn his inspiration for Proper Studies:

If amid the thickest welter of surrounding gluttony and baseness, and what must be reckoned bottomless anarchy from shore to shore, there be found no man, no small but invincible minority of men, capable of

keeping themselves free from all that, and of living a heroically human life, while the millions round them are noisily living a mere brutish and doglike one, then truly all hope is gone... Aristocracy by title, by fortune and position, who can doubt but that there are still precious possibilities among the chosen of that class? And if that fail us, there is still, we hope, the unclassed Aristocracy by nature, not inconsiderable in numbers and supreme in faculty, in wisdom, human talent, nobleness and courage.¹⁹

It was also in Proper Studies that Huxley's interest in eugenics first surfaced. Pioneered in the nineteenth century by Francis Galton, eugenics was defined by him as, "the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations, either physically or mentally."²⁰ Since its Edwardian heyday the eugenicist endeavour had been sustained in Britain by a fear of the likely consequences of differential class fertility. As G.R. Searle explains:

Eugenists interpreted the tendency of better-off groups to have smaller families than those beneath them in the

19. Thomas Carlyle, "Shooting Niagara: And After?" (1867). Rep. in Vol.30 of The Centenary Edition of The Works of Thomas Carlyle, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899), pp.1-48. See also "Downing Street", the third of the Latter-Day Pamphlets, Vol.20, pp.86-126.
20. Francis Galton, Memories of My Life, (London: Methuen, 1908), p.321.

social and economic scale to mean that the 'superior' stocks were dying out, while the 'unfit' continued to multiply; this demographic process, they argued, was producing progressive racial deterioration, alarming symptoms of which could already be seen. Eugenists were concerned, therefore, to stimulate the fertility of the better stocks ('positive eugenics') and to take whatever steps were feasible and politically acceptable to slow down the rate of reproduction at the bottom end of the social scale, ('negative eugenics').²¹

In Progress and the Unfit, Huxley's father had recently described the fertility of the unfit as being "like a fungoid growth on a sound tree, precursor of degradation and decay",²² and David Trotter has suggested that "A Game of Chess" reveals that the differential birth-rate made Eliot fretful too, noting how in the poem the "juxtaposition of a childless and frustrated middle-or upper-class couple with a recklessly fertile working-class woman followed the line of a real social fissure which was asserting itself in terms of sexual conduct."²³ It was this "multiplication of inferior

21. "Eugenics and Class", in Biology, Medicine and Society 1840-1940, ed. Charles Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp.217-242.
22. Leonard Huxley, Progress and the Unfit, (London: Watts, 1926), p.31.
23. The Making of the Reader: Language and Subjectivity in Modern American, English and Irish Poetry, (London: Macmillan, 1984), p.42.

types at the expense of the superior," which first prompted Huxley to consider the efficacy of negative eugenics in October 1927. Like Sidney Webb, who in a Fabian tract of 1907 had warned that the prolific breeding of urban Jews and Irish Catholics could only result in "national deterioration", and who concluded his broadside with the tea-curdling prophecy that, "The ultimate future of these islands may be to the Chinese,"²⁴ Huxley dwelled gloomily on the ethnic dimension of the differential birth rate:

When the masses of the coloured races are
as well trained and highly industrialized
as our own, we shall have little or
nothing on our side to outweigh their
numbers. Twenty years ago Mr. Belloc
could write the memorable lines,

Whatever happens, we have got

The Maxim gun and they have not.

This statement is already not as true as
it was, and in a few generations will be
only too distressingly false. The white
races will be at the mercy of the
coloured, and the superior whites will be
at the mercy of their white inferiors.²⁵

24. The Decline of the Birth Rate (Fabian Tract No.131: London: The Fabian Society, 1907), pp.16-17. Quoted in Daniel Jo Kevles, In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), p.74.
25. "A Note on Eugenics", Vanity Fair, 29 (October 1927), pp.68, 100. Rep. in Proper Studies, pp.272-282.

Huxley was no less alarmed by the proposal of Leonard Darwin, son of Charles Darwin and President of the Eugenics Education Society from 1911 to 1929, who in The Need for Eugenic Reform (1926) launched "a scheme for the systematic discouragement of fertility among the ill-paid and its encouragement among the well-paid,"(p.279). Such a policy would lead, in Huxley's view, to internecine war among a population of talented malcontents, descended almost exclusively from the professional classes:

For it is obvious that all the superior individuals of the eugenic state will not be permitted to make full use of their powers, for the good reason that no society provides openings for more than a limited number of superior people, (p.280).²⁶

In spite of these qualms, Huxley began at this time to conceive of eugenics as a practical means of creating the hierarchical rational state which was his ideological terminus ad quem:

In the future we envisage, eugenics will be practised in order to improve the human breed and the instincts will not be

26. On another occasion Huxley commented, "If Major Darwin gets his way, the world in a few generations will be peopled exclusively by Podsnaps and Babbitts," "Pascal", The Realist, 1, (1 April 1929), pp.19-37; (1 May 1929), pp.28-40; (1 June 1929), pp.103-117. Rep. in Do What You Will, pp.227-310.

ruthlessly repressed but, as far as possible, sublimated so as to express themselves in socially harmless ways. Education will not be the same for all individuals. Children of different types will receive different training. Society will be organized as a hierarchy of mental quality and the form of government will be aristocratic in the literal sense of the word - that is to say, the best will rule ... Our children may look forward to the establishment of a new caste system based on differences in natural ability, to a Machiavellian system of education designed to give the members of the lower castes only that which it is profitable for the members of the upper castes that they should know.²⁷

Some such model was also, no doubt, in Wyndham Lewis's mind when he concluded The Art of Being Ruled with this prognosis:

Our minds are still haunted by that
Abstract Man, that enlightened
Abstraction of a common humanity, which

27. "The Future of the Past", Vanity Fair, 29, (September 1927), pp.72, 102. This prophecy may be compared with the future caste system which Lawrence describes in "Education of the People", where the business of educators is to estimate the "profound life quality" of each child and assign him to the appropriate caste. Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D.H. Lawrence, ed., Edward McDonald (London: Heinemann, 1936), p.607.

had its greatest advertisement in the eighteenth century. That No Man in a No Man's Land, that phantom of democratic 'enlightenment', is what has to be disposed for good in order to make way for higher human classifications, which, owing to scientific method, men could now attempt.²⁸

When Huxley visited London alone on his return to Europe in July 1926 it was principally to rendezvous with Mary Hutchinson. At that time Huxley also became reacquainted with D.H. Lawrence, whom he had first met at Garsington in November 1915. Subsequently, prompted by Lady Ottoline Morrell, Lawrence invited Huxley to his house in Hampstead and tried to recruit him for his Ranim project. Huxley told Lady Ottoline:

One can't help being very much impressed by him. There is something almost alarming about his sincerity and seriousness - something that makes one feel oneself to be the most shameful dilettante, persifleur, waster and all the rest... I think there's a lot in his theory of the world being in a destructive, autumnal period.²⁹

28. Wyndham Lewis, The Art of Being Ruled, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1926), p.434.
29. Quoted in Ottoline at Garsington" Memoirs of Lady Ottoline Morrell 1915-1918, ed., Robert Gathorne-Hardy (London: Faber and Faber, 1974), p.80. See also Letters, p.88.

In another letter to Lady Ottoline Morrell written on Christmas Day 1915, Huxley disclosed:

I went again to see Lawrence the other day, whom I like more and more... I was rather embarrassed by Lawrence and his wife suddenly starting a fierce argument about their children [sic], during which each accused the other of selfishness and obstinacy and a good many other things. It was all rather odd!³⁰

A further sidelight on their initial contact is provided by Huxley's undergraduate diary, in which he records that he received a "rather too celtically wonderful" letter from Lawrence in early 1916.³¹ According to Cecily Lambert Minchin, Huxley visited Lawrence at Hermitage in 1919,³² but this may be unreliable. By the following year though, Huxley's admiration seems to have waned considerably, and he entertained his father with a scurrilous canard about the effect of psycho-analysis on "the slightly insane novelist":

The complexes were discovered and it is said that Lawrence has now lost, along with his slight sexual mania, all his

30. Unpub. letter, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin.
31. Unpub. diary in the possession of Matthew Huxley. 3 January 1916.
32. D.H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography, (3 vols, 1957-1959), ed., Edward Nehls (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press), Vol.1, (1885-1919), p.501.

talent as a writer and produces mild
little murmurings in the style of Michael
Fairlees.³³

As late as 1925 Huxley was holding Lawrence responsible "for much in certain sections of contemporary society that is exceedingly tiresome."³⁴

However, while he was touring in India, Huxley received a letter from Lawrence complimenting him on Along the Road and suggesting that they try and meet again.³⁵ This they did on 3 August 1926, after which Huxley told Mary Hutchinson that he had found Lawrence:

... charming, so much quieter than he was
... it's the approach of middle age, with
success and the removal of the horrors of
the war. Even Frieda was calmer, and only
occasionally talked about the Womb.³⁶

Huxley's attraction to Lawrence grew steadily again from then on. In August 1927 he told Naomi Mitchison:

We have seen a good deal of D.H. Lawrence,
who has been very ill - haemorrhage of the
lungs - But has at last been able to get

33. Letters, p.187.

34. "Art and Life", Vanity Fair, 23 (February 1925), pp.35, 82.

35. The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, ed., Aldous Huxley, (London: Heinemann, 1932), p.xxix.

36. Unpub. letter, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center. 6 August 1926.

away from Florence into the mountains. A wonderful man, who would be great if he had not that streak of fool as well as genius, uncritical babbler as well as intuitive seer. But I like and admire him very much.³⁷

By the end of the year his reverence had further intensified and he recorded in his diary:

Lunched and spent the p.m. with the Lawrences. D.H.L. in admirable form, talking wonderfully. He is one of the few people I feel real respect and admiration for. Of most other eminent people I have met I feel that at any rate I belong to the same species as they do. But this man has something superior and different in kind, not degree.³⁸

Huxley entered this panegyric in his diary immediately prior to the vacation which he and his wife spent with the Lawrences at Les Diablerets in January and February 1928. The regular contact Huxley had with Lawrence during that time changed him from admirer to acolyte. Mary Hutchinson learned:

We have daily delightful talks. What an astonishing man! He does take the shine out of most other people. Such insight,

37. Unpub. letter, National Library of Scotland. 23 August 1927.
38. Letters of D.H. Lawrence, ed., Huxley, p.xxx.

such wit, such prodigious vitality in spite of his sickness, such humour.³⁹

The more palpable results of Huxley's "Lawrencian interlude" - Rampion's role as Lawrencian mannikin in Point Counter Point, the essays of Do What You Will, the concern with censorship and sexual politics in the late 1920s - have been discussed by several commentators already.⁴⁰ The remainder of this present chapter offers an estimation of the impact which Lawrence's social and political views had on Huxley's work, a hitherto neglected aspect of their friendship.

Regardless of precisely whence they derive, there was always a patent affinity between Huxley's ideas and Lawrence's most durable convictions. Earlier in this chapter the congruence between Huxley's and Lawrence's prophecies of the role educational psychologists will play in assigning children to particular castes in the future was noted (note 27), and, as a further example, if Huxley's scornful dismissals of egalitarianism and his outbursts against American democracy in 1919-1920 are compared with Lawrence's utterances from the same period, the sudden intensity of Huxley's allegiance to Lawrence after their reunion in 1926

39. Unpub. letter, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center. 10 February 1928.

40. This is Jerome Meckier's phrase. His account of the advent of Lawrence is the most thorough of those currently available.

is made even more explicable. Elsewhere in "Education of the People", (1918) Lawrence had averred:

We shaped [our course] by a faulty idea
of equality and the perfectibility of Man
... It is obvious that the old ideal of
Equality won't do. It is landing us
daily deeper in a mess ... In no sense
whatever are men actually equal.⁴¹

Lawrence reiterated this view in "Democracy" the following year. Likewise, Huxley's comments on the tyranny of American democracy - "a land where there is probably less personal freedom than any other country in the world" - is akin to Lawrence's derisive outburst in Studies in Classic American Literature:

The land of the free! This is the land
of the free! Why, if I say anything that
displeases them, the free mob will lynch
me, and that's my freedom. Free? Why, I
have never been in any country where the
individual has such an abject fear of his
fellow countrymen.⁴²

Whether Lawrence's writings were in any way directly responsible for the ripening of Huxley's anti-democratic opinions before 1926, or whether their ideological propinquity is more a reflection of the zeitgeist, cannot be

41. Phoenix, p.600.

42. D.H. Lawrence, Studies in Classic American Literature, (New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1923), p.4.

ascertained. What is interesting though is that by the time their friendship flourished in 1927, Huxley's prejudices had seemingly developed in the wake of Lawrence's. From the period of their sojourn as Les Diablerets, however, during which time the third and final version of Lady Chatterley's Lover was completed, there is a clear, and often startling correspondence between Huxley's work and that of the man he found so charismatic. For instance, Lawrence told Martin Secker that Huxley "loved" Lady Chatterley's Lover.⁴³ So much, it seems, that there are blatant refractions of Lawrence's novel in Point Counter Point, from the general preoccupation with the evils of money through to the bathchair-bound Marquis of Gattenden and Walter Bidlake's detestation of Mrs. Cole, *à la* Mellors' of Bertha Coutts, as the "bloodsucking embodiment of female will." (p.17). Just after Huxley had returned to London from Les Diablerets, Lawrence sent him a copy of Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine, in which Lawrence asks in the essay entitled "Him With His Tail In His Mouth":

Hadn't somebody better write Mr. Wells'
History backwards, to prove how we've
degenerated, in our stupid visionlessness,
since the cave-men?⁴⁴

43. Letters from D.H. Lawrence to Martin Secker, p.105.
9 March 1928.
44. D.H. Lawrence, Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays, (Philadelphia: The Centaur Press, 1925), p.141.

In Point Counter Point Huxley duly obliged (pp.290-291), satirically inverting the optimistic continuum of progress which Wells had delineated in his Outline of History (1919-1920).

With the exception of "The Novel", Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine represents a sustained, if idiosyncratic, attack on the democratic mass, implicit in "The Crown" and explicit in the later essays. "Aristocracy", the final piece, concludes with the observation that:

The democratic mass, capitalist and proletariat alike, are a vast, sluggish, ghastly greedy porcupine, lumbering with inertia.⁴⁵

and, as a whole, the collection must surely have helped Huxley to consolidate his ideological position.

Huxley returned to Nietzsche periodically during the 1920s, recommending his aphoristic works with their "pregnant and expansive" sayings as ideal travel companions in 1925,⁴⁶ and reading Maximilian Mügge's Friedrich Nietzsche: His Life and Work (1908) in 1927.⁴⁷ In an unpublished letter to Lady Ottoline Morrell of 18 December 1930 Huxley

45. Reflections, p.239.

46. Along the Road, pp.68-69.

47. Letters, p.282.

mentioned:

I have been reading Andler's enormous six-volume work on Nietzsche recently. Interesting, but too long - shall never get to the end of it. Also the manuscript of Lawrence's Apocalypse partly very good, partly rather tiresome in an occultist way.⁴⁸

It is tempting to speculate that the passages Huxley most likely approved of in the manuscript of Apocalypse, which he kept over Christmas and brought with him to London in January 1931,⁴⁹ were those where Lawrence pleads for a hierarchical "society of power" as a solution to the "fragmentariness" of modern democracy.⁵⁰ Lawrence's Nietzschean peroration, for instance, would undoubtedly have found a sympathetic reader in Huxley:

As a citizen, as a collective being, man has his fulfilment in the gratification of his power-sense... If his country mounts up aristocratically to a zenith of splendour and power, in a hierarchy, he will be all the more fulfilled, having his place in the hierarchy. But if his

48. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center.

49. Frieda Lawrence to Laurence Pollinger, quoted in D.H. Lawrence, Apocalypse and The Writings on Revelation, ed. Mara Kalnins (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980), p.29.

50. ibid., p.145.

country is powerful and democratic, then he will be obsessed with a perpetual will to assert his power in interfering and preventing other people from doing as they wish, since no man must do more than another man. This is the condition of modern democracies, a condition of perpetual bullying... In a hierarchy, each part is organic and vital, as my finger is an organic and vital part of me. But a democracy is bound in the end to be obscene, for it is composed of a myriad dis-united fragments, each fragment assuming to itself a false wholeness, a false individuality. Modern democracy is made up of millions of frictional parts all asserting their own wholeness... To have a creed of individuality which denies the reality of the hierarchy makes at last for anarchy.⁵¹

Lawrence's sense of the endemic instability of democracy lies flush with Huxley's own view of its essential inefficacy as a form of government, and the societal paradigm Lawrence outlines here, and his further distinction between the servile "many" and an imperious "specially- gifted few" in his introduction to The Grand Inquisitor⁵² approximates to the aristocratic utopia Huxley promulgated up to the

51. ibid, p.147.

52. F.M. Dostoievsky, The Grand Inquisitor, trans. S.S. Koteliansky (London: Elkin Mathews, 1930), p.xvi.

mid-1930s. Lawrence's belief in a rigidly hierarchical society was first broached in his letters to Bertrand Russell of 1915 concerning their projected lecture programme. Russell was told, "there must be a body of chosen patricians," and that, "The deadly Hydra now is the hydra of Equality... You must have a government based upon good, better and best."⁵³ Immediately after Lawrence's death in March 1930, Huxley began gathering his letters for the pioneering edition of 1932, and although he did not have access to Lawrence's correspondence with Russell, Huxley would have come across reverberations of their controversy in Lawrence's letters to Ottoline Morrell and Cynthia Asquith, which might also have triggered his own lurch towards a draconian realpolitik:

Let us have done with this foolish form of government, and this idea of democratic control. Let us submit to the knowledge that there are aristocrats and plebians, born, not made. Some amongst us are born fit to govern, and some are born only fit to be governed. Some are born to be artisans and labourers, some to be lords and governors.⁵⁴

53. George T. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton, eds., The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), Vol.2, pp.365-366. [16 July 1915].
54. ibid., p.379. 16 August 1915.

However, Point Counter Point apart, Huxley's relation to Lawrence was not simply that of a slavish tweedledee. For instance, Lawrence declared that "Aristocracy of birth is bunk..." in Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine,⁵⁵ but this did not deter Huxley from reaffirming his faith in the custodial role of an hereditary aristocracy in the late 1920s. The publication of Clive Bell's Civilization in 1928 is an important factor here. Bell stated:

On inequality all civilizations have stood. The Athenians had their slaves, the class that gave Florence her culture were maintained by a voteless proletariat.⁵⁶

In the same year Huxley asked:

Have art, science, metaphysics and the other generally recognised spiritual components of civilization been found to co-exist with humanitarianism and democratic institutions? The answer is, surely: No. The societies in which the highest pitch of spiritual civilization was reached were either slave-holding, caste-ridden, or feudal, e.g. Florence from 1450-1600.⁵⁷

At the end of the 1920s, as at the start of the decade, it was the threat of Americanization which precipitated Huxley's

55. Reflections, p.226.

56. Civilization, p.209.

57. "Whither Are We Civilizing?", Vanity Fair, 30, (April 1928), pp.64, 124.

renewed pleas for the tolerance of a leisured elite:

America imposes a mode of being that is radically unlike the modes of being possible in the Old World. There is such a thing as absolute alienness. An absolute alienness which no amount of Esperanto and international government, of movies and thousand-miles-an-hour aeroplanes and standardized education, will ever, it seems to me, completely abolish.⁵⁸

In "America and Europe: Yesterday's Influence on To-Day", the last occasion on which Huxley pleads the case for an hereditary aristocracy, he rehashes his arguments from the Athenaeum.⁵⁹ The eccentric aristocrat, flaunting his non-conformity in the face of a standardized world, is desirable in himself: but in that he provides a sanctuary for the "defencless innovators" who have had the misfortune to be born into "the lower strata of society", his worth is doubly to be valued:

People who hold unpopular beliefs and whose habits of life are different from those of the majority enjoy in Europe a degree of freedom which would never be accorded them in most of the states of America. This freedom is largely due, I believe, to the influence of the surviving hereditary aristocracies.⁶⁰

58. Do What You Will, p.33.

59. See also, "The Dangers of Work", Vogue (Late April, 1924), pp.46, 106.

60. Century Illustrated Magazine, (New York), 118, (July 1929), pp.328-334.

Even Tawney maintained that "a standard of perfection is the achievement of a minority, and inequality is the hedge which protects it,"⁶¹ and Leavis argued that upon a small minority depended "the implicit standards that order the finer living of an age..."⁶² but the identification of this elite with the hereditary aristocracy was practically unique to Huxley and Bell in the Britain of the inter-war period. Like the aristocracy, Mussolini and Primo de Rivera were also branded as "Bunk!" by Lawrence.⁶³ Yet, even though, as an alien resident in Italy from 1923 to 1928, Huxley was victimized by the Fascists,⁶⁴ this did not seem to affect his admiration of Mussolini. Soon after arriving in Florence in 1923 Huxley told his brother that Mussolini came "as near as anyone to fulfilling the conditions" of an ideal leader,⁶⁵ and in 1929 he hailed Mussolini as "the saviour of his country", vindicating the Spanish dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930) on the same grounds.⁶⁶ The desire for order, Huxley added, was what had "recruited so many adherents to the cause of the Action Française," and he,

61. R.H. Tawney, Equality, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1931), p.105.

62. F.R. Leavis, Mass Civilization and Minority Culture, (Cambridge: The Minority Press, 1930), p.5.

63. Reflections, p.150.

64. Letters, pp.249, 289.

65. Letters, p.222.

66. Do What You Will, p.247.

like Eliot, clearly sympathized with the hierarchical, authoritarian politics of Charles Maurras. Illidge in Point Counter Point thinks of Webley, the vainglorious leader of the Brotherhood of British Freemen, as a "Tinpote Mussolini", (p.55), and Huxley's demagogue may well have been inspired by the Italian leader.⁶⁷ But those critics like Peter Bowering⁶⁸, who see this character merely as Huxley's ludicrous stooge, must recognise that for all his tumid rodomontade and banana republic regalia, Webley, with his contempt for "this stupid democratic world" and his pledge to inaugurate "the rule of the best" (p.463) is another of his creator's vicarious ideologues. Furthermore, in his contention that "there's nothing to be done in these days by Parliamentarianism" and his belief that "England can only be saved by direct action" (p.77), Webley is a harbinger of the Wellsian Open Conspirator that Huxley became in the early 1930s.

In his study of the anti-democratic intelligentsia between the wars, John Harrison observes that:

67. Suggestions such as Milton Birnbaum's that Oswald Mosley was the prototype of Webley, are, of course, an absurd anachronism. Aldous Huxley's Quest for Values, p.103.
68. Peter Bowering, Aldous Huxley: A Study of the Major Novels, (London: Athlone Press, 1968), p.9.

A very powerful influence on the whole system of anti-democratic thought has been the development of the idea, and later the theory of "elites."⁶⁹

He goes on to explain how the term elite was absorbed into the reactionary lexicon after it had been introduced into English through the sociology of Mosca and Pareto. However, Harrison does not mention that neither Yeats, nor Pound, nor Eliot, nor Lawrence, nor Wyndham Lewis appear to have been familiar with Paretian sociology, whereas Huxley was disseminating its rudiments with zeal eight years before the Trattato was translated into English. This chapter has, among other things, attempted to rectify this omission.

"He is a great hater of democracy, of the modern world, science, machinery, the concept of progress - above all, of the idea of human equality."⁷⁰ Orwell on Yeats, yet he could just as well be describing the Huxley of these first two chapters, who, if not a card-carrying fascist, is certainly fascist in tendency.

69. John Harrison, The Reactionaries, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1966), p.27.

70. "W.B. Yeats." Rep. in My Country Right or Left 1940-1943, Vol.2 of The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell, eds. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus (London: Secker and Warburg, 1968), pp.271-276.

CHAPTER THREE

The first two chapters have assessed the different contributions Mencken, Pareto and Lawrence made to the gradual hardening of Huxley's anti-democratic beliefs during the 1920s, an ideological sclerosis which accelerated sharply in the early years of the following decade. This last, completely undocumented phase of Huxley's opposition to parliamentary democracy will be discussed in the next chapter. Before that, it is essential to chart his equally neglected sorties into the milieus of mechanized labour and the unemployed, and to suggest how his first-hand experience of Fordism helped Huxley to describe the scenes of conveyor-belt production and mass recreation in Brave New World.

There is nothing to suggest that Huxley's disclosure in 1920 that he had "never so much as passed a night in any of the great industrial towns of the North"¹ was any less the case at the end of March 1928, when he and his wife embarked on a brief tour of the industrial midlands. This journey was undertaken immediately after their return from Les Diablerets, where, it may be assumed, the socio-economic problems of Britain's coal-mining regions were a topic of much discussion. Not only because Lawrence was engrossed in

1. "Marginalia", Athenaeum, 10 December 1920, p.812.

the final stages of Lady Chatterley's Lover during Huxley's two month stay with him, but also because Lawrence was the recipient of an importunate letter from a certain Charles Wilson pleading for a "message" of support for the unemployed miners of Willington in County Durham.² As W.R. Garside has remarked, overproduction in an inelastic market, compounded by the severe reprisals exacted after the General Strike, meant that by 1928, "a larger proportion of the total insured work force in the coal industry was wholly unemployed in Durham than in the country as a whole,"³ and Wilson no doubt communicated the misery behind this statistic in his letter to Lawrence.

"Did you enjoy the trip north?",⁴ Lawrence asked Maria Huxley. Whatever her response may have been, it is clear from an article which her husband wrote towards the end of the year that Huxley's first encounter with the

2. Lawrence to Wilson, 15 January 1928. Pub. as Consciousness (n.p.:privately printed, 1974). In his Bibliography of D.H. Lawrence, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p.245, Warren Roberts has mistakenly conflated this letter with Lawrence's second and only other extant letter to Wilson, 28 December 1928. See Harry T. Moore, ed., The Collected Letters of D.H. Lawrence, Vol.2, (London: Heinemann, 1962), p.1110.
3. The Durham Miners 1919-1960 (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1971), p.230.
4. The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, ed. Aldous Huxley, p.724. 16 April 1928.

social ravages of unemployment left an indelible impression on him:

Nobody who has visited the coal and iron towns of the North can fail to have been struck by the dreadful silence and listlessness of the crowds of unemployed men who shuffle along the streets like walking corpses. Even in London one remarks something of the same strange numbness.⁵

The cadaverous wretchedness of the unemployed was a topic to which Huxley recurred on more than one occasion in his writings of the 1930s, and his tone here may be compared not only with the Tevershall passages in Lady Chatterley's Lover, but also with such essays as "Return to Bestwood", "Dull London" and other pieces by Lawrence from the late 1920s.⁶ For both writers though an even more pernicious phenomenon than unemployment was "Fordism, or the philosophy of industrialism". This was the ultimate source of social vitiation, in that it demanded, "the cruellest mutilations of the human psyche".⁷ As early as 1923, Huxley had deprecated

5. "Magic of London", Sunday Dispatch, 16 December 1928, p.12.

6. Warren Roberts and Harry T Moore, eds., Phoenix II: Uncollected, Unpublished and Other Prose Works by D.H. Lawrence, (London: Heinemann, 1968), pp.257-266 and 559-661 respectively.

7. "The Censor", Vanity Fair, 33, (November 1928), pp.88, 102.

the "Ford chains"⁸ which in his view fettered his fellow citizens to an incessant consumption of banal films, pap reading matter and a listless listening-in to the wireless. When he first read Henry Ford's My Life and Work three years later, he realised that the popular culture he so abominated was the corollary of the industrial philosophy outlined in Ford's book:⁹

The clerk and the taylorized workman leave their imbecile tasks to spend their leisure under the influence of such opiate distractions as are provided by the newspaper, the cinema, the radio: they are given less and less opportunity to do any active or creative living of their own ... They prefer to go on existing dimly in the semi-coma of mechanized labour and mechanized leisure.¹⁰

So ominously did Huxley regard the menace of Fordism, he declared, with Lawrentian foreboding, that society was, "on the verge of mass-imbecility and violent mass-insanity".¹¹ The affinities between Huxley's writings and Lawrence's become so plain in the late 1920s that, to the

8. "Chains", Vogue (London), 62, (Early September 1923), p.43.

9. Jesting Pilate, p.213.

10. Do What You Will, p.288. See also pp.61, 83, 106

11. "The New Salvation", Vanity Fair, 33, (September 1929), pp.76, 106.

readers of Harper's Bazaar, he must have appeared like Lawrence's reincarnation when interviewed by Sewell Stokes in May 1930:

It was impossible, walking from Jermyn Street to the Athenaeum, to relieve Mr. Huxley of his despondency. Despair would better describe the dark mood of his which I made several unsuccessful attempts to lighten... "Merrie England!" he exclaimed, "what has become of it? and London? I am completely bewildered, at a loss to understand it; the people, and the way they live... The England that I thought I knew has so completely changed that, for me, it has become a strange country. I can make nothing of it; the harsh music, the blatant vulgarity, the talkies... It's incredible!"¹²

His dread of the social ramifications of Fordism even led Huxley to reconsider the desirability of the Rational State he had so eagerly invoked in the preceding years, and in Alphonse Séché's La Morale de la Machine he was confronted with a disturbing reification of his own aristocratic model:

The modern industrialized state, according to M. Séché, should be organized (and in Italy already is organized) like a very efficient factory, or group of factories,

12. Sewell Stokes, "The Despair of Aldous Huxley", Harper's Bazaar, 2 (June 1930), pp.47, 105-106.

with hierarchically graded experts in charge of every department and a single Henry Ford at the head to co-ordinate their activities and dictate the policy of the whole concern.¹³

Séché's reduction of human beings to mechanistic functionaries of the state is almost indistinguishable from the social policy of "the active and intelligent oligarchies of the ideal state" which Huxley had looked forward to in Chapter Two. The closeness of Séché's views to Ford's, however, provoked an unequivocal, if temporary, rejection of the aristos idea:

I cannot share a belief which seems to me to be based on calculations that entirely ignore the most important element in the reality to which they are supposed to refer - the psychology of the individual human being.

M. Séché defines as moral all that which makes for the abundance of individual life and the strength and cohesion of the social organism; as immoral all that militates against these things. According to this definition, which seems to me excellent, political democracy is now immoral, because, in a mechanized world, it militates against the health of the social organism; the ethic of the machine is moral because it

13. "Machinery, Psychology and Politics", Spectator, 143, (23 November 1929), pp.749-751.

makes for social strength. This may be true; but it is not the whole story. In the mechanized world the ethic of the machine may be good; but, according to M. Séché's own definition, the process of mechanization, which has produced this world, is itself, profoundly immoral. It is immoral because it militates against the abundance of individual life.¹⁴

In another article devoted to Séché's book written shortly afterwards, Huxley records how it, "positively made my flesh creep",¹⁵ and in his preface to J.H. Burns's A Vision of Education, also written in 1929, Huxley implicitly recanted the "revolting", "termite ideal" of the Rational State:

Any signs of outstanding individuality would be ruthlessly suppressed, or at any rate canalized into racially useful channels. Every art of compulsion and suggestion would be used to enforce the ethics of total self-abnegation. The systematic breeding of useful individuals and the systematic suppression of the useless would form a natural complement to this system of more than spartan education. Special sub-species would be bred... for the purpose, for example, of

14. ibid.

15. "This Community Business", Vanity Fair, 33 (December 1929), pp.62-158.

working in hot climates, at high altitudes, in the dark, under great atmospheric pressure; while other varieties would be produced by selection to perform specialized intellectual functions.¹⁶

It seems likely that it was during this period of repugnance that Brave New World was originally conceived. Yet, ironically, it was Huxley's first-hand experience of capital-intensive labour and the devastation of the slump which rekindled his fear of impending social apocalypse and led him to propose the expediency of the Rational State with renewed vigour even as he was writing the novel.

The domestic repercussions of the Wall Street Crash were especially severe in those areas which depended almost exclusively on the staple industries.¹⁷

As A.J.P. Taylor has said:

The Depression was in Great Britain an odd lopsided affair... Hence the problem of unemployment, though formidable as statistics and terrible of course for those who endured it, remained strangely remote from the mass of the community,

16. J.H. Burns, A Vision of Education, Being an Imaginary Verbatim Report of the First Interplanetary Conference (London: Williams and Norgate, 1929), p.10.
17. Stephen Constantine, Unemployment in Britain Between the Wars (London: Longman, 1980), pp.7-8.

nor was it irrelevant that the areas of mass unemployment lay far from London, the political centre.¹⁸

One of the most distant and distressed regions was the Durham coalfield, which was blighted, when Huxley visited Willington in the heart of it as the guest of Charles Wilson in October 1930, with the worst unemployment in England.¹⁹ Since Keith Sagar has styled Wilson "the Durham miners' leader",²⁰ while Richard Ellmann hazarded that he was "a mine owner",²¹ a more reliable and detailed profile of this figure, who was to play an important, if ephemeral, role in Huxley's development is clearly needed.²² A native of Willington, Wilson (1891-1969) had begun his working life as a miner:

18. English History 1914-1945 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), p.358.
19. According to the Auckland and County Chronicle, 30 October 1930, p.1, there were 119,000 men and boys on the dole in County Durham.
20. The Life of D.H. Lawrence: An Illustrated Biography (London: Eyre Methuen, 1980), p.231.
21. Letters of James Joyce, (New York: Viking Press, 1966), Vol.3, p.157.
22. Vivian de Sola Pinto and Warren Roberts's gloss that Wilson "was a freelance journalist taking an active part in the Labour Movement", is nearest the mark. The Complete Poems of D.H. Lawrence (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p.1002.

However, before he had been in the mines many years, his indignation was aroused at the tyrannical weapons which were often used against his mining brethren. He therefore avowed himself to be a staunch Trade Unionist, and at the very early age of 18, the Miners found in him a firm, true and solid opposer to oppression, and elected him onto the local lodge committee.

This was only a beginning, for at the age of 20, the Miners recognised his worth and elected him Secretary of the [Willington] Brancepeth 'C' Pit Branch of the Northumberland and Durham Miners' Association, and he was the youngest office bearer of the two aforementioned societies. However, the Miners still continued to honour him, and at the age of 21, they elected him Assistant Checkweighman, and he had the unique distinction of being the youngest Checkweighman throughout the Northern Counties.²³

In 1920 Wilson was appointed first secretary of the Willington branch of the Workers' Educational Association, becoming, in addition, county organiser for the Shakespeare Guild in 1928. By the end of the decade Wilson was established in the locale as a freelance journalist and

23. Poetical Works of Charles Wilson: The Pitman Poet, Vol.1 (London: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1916). Introduction.

the mogul of improvement:

A study of the best literature as a means of refining the mind and broadening the outlook has had no keener supporter than Mr. Wilson, whose [W.E.A.] study circle has become almost an institution in this part of the country.²⁴

Wilson may also have enjoyed a certain notoriety as a literary tuft-hunter. Joyce, for instance, was embarrassed to receive:

two most urgent letters in which that extraordinary person Mr. Wilson of Willington announces his willingness to pay mine and my wife's expenses up there and back and hotel expenses and what he calls a royal welcome from the miners and for all I know a present of a few tons of coal also. He sent me some sort of gift, I am not sure whether it is a cartridge coach or a case for cigars and cigarettes,²⁵

24. "In the Public Eye: Potted Personalities", Auckland and County Chronicle, 16 October 1930, p.6. Wilson's only surviving relative has stated that, "when he died all his papers were destroyed". Letter received from Mrs. E. Bartlett, 1 May 1985.
25. Richard Ellmann, ed., James Joyce: Selected Letters (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p.336. 20 September 1928. In "How Not To Find Joyce Letters", James Joyce Quarterly, 19, (Summer 1982), pp.455-459, Arnold Goldman describes his unsuccessful attempt to locate any letters from Joyce to Wilson.

and Lawrence was enticed with Christmas calendars, unsuccessfully, in 1927 and 1928. There is, however, nothing to suggest that Wilson's solicitude for the social welfare of his Willington men was any less sincere than his concern for their cultural edification, and his efforts to lure literary celebrities to the region were no doubt motivated by the same sense of injustice that had inspired him in his prodigious career as a trade unionist. He must also have recognised that only through such visits could the devastation of the area receive some kind of national exposure. Whatever reasons Wilson had for his uninhibited conduct this is precisely what happened after Huxley's visit in 1930.

Huxley arrived in the village on Friday 10 October and delivered a lecture that evening to Wilson's study circle.²⁶ The following day Wilson gave him a short tour of the area. In a revealing answer to a Little Review questionnaire the previous year, Huxley had identified detachment as both his greatest weakness and greatest strength.²⁷ However, the impact of the hardship he witnessed in County Durham splintered the carapace of Huxley's highbrow disengagement from purposive action and

26. Pub. as "Science and Poetry", Spectator, 146, (January 1931), pp.74-75. Rep. as "'And Wanton Optics Roll the Melting Eye'", Music at Night, pp.32-42.

27. The Little Review (Chicago), (May 1929), pp.48-49.

the ensuing months saw him become more and more politically involved. Huxley's bewilderment at what he saw is obvious in a letter he wrote to Marshall Diston on his return to London on Sunday 12 October. Diston was Treasurer of the London Divisional Council of the Independent Labour Party, and was canvassing public figures such as Wells, Bennett and Russell for their views on the current political crisis. Excerpts from their replies, including Huxley's response, were subsequently published in The New Leader.²⁸ The full, unpublished, text of Huxley's letter reads:

I have never engaged in practical politics and so am not really qualified to express a political opinion. It is delightfully easy to be reasonable and equitable on paper - too easy by half.

Having just returned from the Durham mining district, I feel more than usually diffident of expressing a political opinion. All I know is that I shall be enthusiastically on the side of anyone who gets us out of the social and industrial mess, of which the Durham coal-field provides such a terrifying example. Whether any party will or can get us out of that mess is another question.²⁹

28. "What They Think of Us", The New Leader, 26 December 1930, p.6.
29. University Library, State University of New York at Buffalo. 12 October 1930.

Before visiting Willington, Huxley had found Wilson's description of its problems "very depress^{ing}".³⁰ That he was profoundly shocked by the misery he came across there is clear from this letter.

However, even though the Durham coal-field confronted Huxley with the appalling enormity of mass unemployment, there was a typical period of vacillation before he responded incisively to what he had witnessed. Just prior to his visit Huxley had contemplated the feasibility of evading the real world altogether:

There are, as ever, excellent reasons for personal despair; while the reasons for despairing about society are actually a good deal more cogent than at most times. A Mallarméan shrinking away into pure poetry, a delicate Henry-Jamesian avoidance of all the painful issues would seem to be justified. But the spirit of the time - the industrially heroic time in which we live - is opposed to these retirements, these handings over of life to footmen.³¹

Escapism is also the theme of a letter Huxley wrote early in 1931:

What a world we live in. The human race fills me with a steadily growing dismay. I was staying in the Durham coal-field this autumn, in the heart of English unemployment, and it was awful. If only

30. Letters, p.341.

31. Vulgarity in Literature, p.13.

one could believe that the remedies proposed for the awfulness (Communism, etc.) weren't even worse than the disease - in fact weren't the disease itself in another form, with superficially different symptoms. The sad and humiliating conclusion is forced on one that the only thing to do is flee and hide. Nothing one can do is any good and the doing is liable to infect one with the disease one is trying to treat. So there's nothing for it but to make one's escape while one can, as long as one can.³²

Yet Huxley did not retire but remained in England for the first three months of 1931 - during which time he finally galvanised himself into action.

In his biography of Oswald Mosley, Robert Skidelsky quotes from a letter which Huxley sent to Lady Cynthia Mosley on the eve of his visit to Willington containing this barely facetious rumination:

Wouldn't it be possible to bring in a Bill of Impeachment against a few of the old politicians who have landed us in this mess by their criminal negligence?... And if only one could get one or two shut up in the Tower, how it would encourage the rest!³³

32. Letters, p.345.

33. Oswald Mosley (London: Macmillan, 1975), p.227, n.d. [September 1930].

With this scheme no doubt in mind, Huxley was present in the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Commons on 11 February 1931 when Sir Laming Worthington-Evans moved the Opposition's motion of censure against Macdonald's second Labour Government over its handling of the economy. This debate, during the course of which Philip Snowden, the Chancellor, announced that "the national position is so grave that drastic and disagreeable measures will have to be taken",³⁴ was Huxley's first experience of Parliament at work, and it obviously did little more than confirm his scepticism of its capacity to solve the country's problems. In the subsequent article he wrote about his "agonising experience... in the appropriately Gothic hall of the Mother of Parliaments", Huxley arraigned the "Grand Old Men" of British politics publicly - calling not for their incarceration in the Tower, but for the compulsory retirement of M.P.'s at sixty-five. Huxley's piece is especially acerbic in its indictment of the "anachronistic bawling" and ponderous inefficiency of the House of Commons,³⁵ and in its general mood, his article recalls Carlyle's sustained tirade against Parliament as a "National Palaver" in the sixth of his

34. Parliamentary Debates: Official Report. House of Commons, Vol.248, 5th ser., (London: H.M.S.O., 1931), col. 447.

35. "Greater and Lesser London", Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 88, (October 1931), pp.48-49, 108.

Latter-Day Pamphlets (1850) ³⁶;

There is a kind of weariness of the spirit to which I privately give the name Septic Boredom. It comes upon me whenever some unlucky chance, force majeure or the conventions compel me to be present, for a long time and without the possibility of protesting, at some particularly flagrant manifestation of imbecility. The symptoms of the disease are horrible. A desire to scream, to burst into laughter, or tears, or both together, to rush out of the room shouting curses and obscenities becomes almost irresistible... the display of imbecility goes on and on and on; one is filled with a hopeless misery ... Waves of self pity pass over one; but a much larger wave rolls majestically in from the plumbless ocean of imbecility upon whose shore one stands. The little waves of self-pity are swallowed by this greater wave; the end, one decides, will be a blessed relief. If only the blood would cake a little faster!

Four hours in the Strangers' Gallery had brought me to this suicidal stage of Septic Boredom.³⁷

36. "Parliaments", Rep. in Vol.20 of The Centenary Edition of the Works of Thomas Carlyle, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1898), pp.214-253.

37 "Greater and Lesser London"

Skidelsky has commented on the "Jekyll and Hyde" performance of Philip Snowden in this debate, oscillating idiosyncratically between gravity and flippancy, as Huxley had questioned the value of Snowden's oratorical display at the time:³⁸

True, one is not bored when Mr. Snowden opens his mouth. He is an admirable speaker and can put more barbs and bitterness into what he says than any man I have ever listened to. As a performance, his speech was superb. It began with twenty minutes of bull baiting. The skill with which he planted his banderillos [sic] was masterly. By the time he had done with it, the Conservative bull (or is it, alas, only a very corpulent ox?) looked like a pin cushion. It was all very amusing no doubt; but where the interests of England came in - that, I confess, was rather hard to see.³⁹

Indeed, Huxley's overwhelming impression was of gratuitous and self-indulgent gabble:

Fiddling while Rome burns is bad enough; but twaddling, it seems to me, is even worse. So long as parliamentary procedure remains what it is, twaddling is unavoidable, prompt and comprehensive

38. Politicians and the Slump: The Labour Government of 1929-1931, (London: Macmillan, 1967), pp.287-288.

39. "Greater and Lesser London".

action all but impossible. Some such reforms in procedure as those suggested by Sir Oswald Mosley are obviously essential.⁴⁰

In various speeches, distilled in a manifesto published on 8 December 1930, Mosley had called for a new parliamentary machine to replace the present "talkshop". Mosley's manifesto also stressed the imperative need for rapid and effective economic measures implemented by a powerful executive of five overlords free from detailed criticism and obstruction, and subject only to the "general control of Parliament".⁴¹ The proximity of Huxley's political thought to Mosley's - and their key difference - will be considered in the fourth chapter, but it should be emphasised here that Huxley had more faith in Mosley's iconoclastic scheme than the sonorous nebulosity of Snowden's "drastic and disagreeable measures".

However, Huxley's immediate reaction to the deteriorating economic situation was to launch himself on an impromptu reconnaissance of the "alien" Englands of Middlesborough, Sheffield, Birmingham and London's East End. This tour was written-up in a series of three articles which have never been bibliographically documented, let alone

40. ibid.

41. "The Mosley Manifesto", Daily Telegraph, 8 December 1930, p.10. See Skidelsky, Oswald Mosley, pp.227-228, 237-241 and Politicians and the Slump, p.280.

reprinted or discussed, yet which are absolutely vital to an understanding of Huxley's work and his ideological development in the 1930s.⁴² In his sense of exploring a foreign country and of communicating his observations to a southern, metropolitan, and possibly unsympathetic readership, Huxley's bulletins of 1931 anticipate the more celebrated dispatches of J.B. Priestley's English Journey (1934) and Orwell's The Road to Wigan Pier (1937).

In Those Barren Leaves, Falx had meditated on an economic system which allowed Lilian Aldwinkle to live the Higher Life with such ridiculous bravura:

At this very moment... on tram-cars in the Argentine, among Peruvian guano-beds, in humming power-stations at the foot of African waterfalls, in Australian refrigerators packed with slaughtered mutton, in the heat and darkness of Yorshire coal-mines, in tea-plantations on the slopes of the Himalaya [sic], in Japanese banks, at the mouth of Mexican oil-wells, in steamers walloping along across the China Sea - at this very moment, men and women of every race and colour were doing their bit to supply Mrs. Aldwinkle with her income.⁴³

Huxley's re-encounter with the social tragedy of the North-East gave him a more acute awareness of the gulf

42. See Appendix A, items A.2.1., A.2.32., and A.2.37.

43. Those Barren Leaves, p.60.

between the proletariat and the distant beneficiaries of its labour. Six months after his visit to Willington and the perplexed letter to Marshall Diston, Huxley's sense of iniquity found expression in his first article, entitled "Abroad in England":

Abroad in England? Yes, abroad; for in varying degrees we are all foreigners even in our own country. How little of this England of which we are the citizens, how absurdly little, for any one of us, is "home"! Each of us inhabits his own world, a world whose boundaries are fixed, for him and for those who are like him, by temperament, by upbringing, by opportunity ... Trained to think in terms of the general idea, separated by economic circumstances from whole classes of the particular facts that fill the lives of their less prosperous fellows, bourgeois and intellectual often find it very hard to realise the existence of the trees which compose their generalized and abstract woods. Of all the more or less wealthy and well educated men and women who - in London drawing rooms, at the Club, over luncheons in the City, in Government Offices - discuss the Unemployment Problem, the Shrinking of the Dividends, the Dole, the Slump, the Depression in our Basic Industries, how many, I wonder, have ever taken the trouble to come and look for themselves

at the particular facts summed up by these convenient generalisations? Uncommonly few. And since most of them have ceased to have any function to perform among the trees, it follows that, unless they take this special trouble, they will forever remain ignorant of all but the large and highly generalised woods of political economy and sociology.

It was not always so. The divorce between property and management, between ownership and responsibility for the things owned, is historically very recent. Modern industry requires great masses of capital; hence the joint stock company and hence the stockholder. What is a stockholder? A stockholder is a man who has given certain bits of paper in order that he may possess certain other bits of paper, which entitle him in return to receive a yearly allowance of the first kind of bits of paper. The man who possesses a large number of bits of paper of the second class (that is to say, shares) entitling him to receive a copious and regular supply of the bits of paper of the first class (that is to say, money) is the typical twentieth-century man of property. He is the owner of abstractions not of things; aware only of the financial wood, never of the mere trees of actual production. In certain cases he does not even know the names of the bits of paper which

entitle him to his yearly allowance of money: an Investment Trust keeps him in comfortable ignorance of the sources of his income... The modern man of property has not the faintest notion of how much miners work - or alternatively, when his dividend has shrunk, how they don't work, but squat on their hunkers at the corner of the village street, or drift about in the towns looking in at the shop windows. And how is steel made? What sort of life do the coolies lead on a Sumatra rubber estate? His bits of paper don't tell him. As for knowing what anybody wants with the phosphates that the Moors are so busily scratching up for him under the African sun - why, it has never even occurred to him to ask.⁴⁴

In another disregarded polemic from this period, Huxley's irritation with abstract models of the labour market is couched in similarly abrasive language:

In terms of the particular - the unescapably significant particular - what exactly do we mean when we say that 'unemployment doles are calculated to increase the immobility of labour'? Presumably we mean this: that if John Jones and Mary Smith are given enough to

44. "Abroad in England", Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 87 (May 1931), pp.16-19, 84. See also Texts and Pretexts, pp.171-178.

keep them from starving, they will not be driven by the gripings of hunger to wander about the country in desperate search of whatever employment may anywhere be offered. In terms of the particular, 'mobility of labour' connotes men with green faces and starting bones, trudging from place to place, sleeping on benches, begging, occasionally stealing; 'immobility of labour' connotes men with merely grey faces lounging at street corners, or squatting on their heels outside cottage doors.⁴⁵

A century after its publication, Huxley took a copy of Rural Rides with him to Durham,⁴⁶ and in "Abroad in England" he contrasts Cobbett's complimentary remarks about the collier's dwellings with their contemporary hideousness:

For these 'extensive rows of small houses', all so 'very solid and very good', are simply the rows of two-roomed cottages which still disfigure the outskirts of so many Durham mining villages - which sometimes are the village. There they still stand, hundreds of little black stone boxes confronting one another across a roadway

45. "Politicians and Peoples", Time and Tide, 13, (4 June 1932), pp.613-614.

46. "Notes on the Way", Time and Tide, 16, (29 June 1935), pp.974-976.

dotted at intervals with communal latrines. What Cobbett admired fills the contemporary spectator with horror and indignation... For us, the old reformer's 'very good, very solid' houses are a disgrace to civilisation.⁴⁷

Once again, Huxley's tone may be compared with Lawrence's in his denunciations of industrial "ugliness" in "Nottingham and the Mining Countryside", (which, according to Sagar, Lawrence probably wrote while Huxley was staying with him at Bandol in January 1929⁴⁸), and his description of the "long squalid straggle of Tevershall", in Lady Chatterley's Lover:

the blackened brick dwellings, the black slate roofs glistening their sharp edges, the mud black with coal dust, the pavements wet and black. It was as if dismalness had soaked through and through everything.⁴⁹

A recurring type of character in Huxley's early fiction espouses a theoretical belief in social justice while at the

47. "Abroad in England". For Cobbett's account, see William Cobbett, Rural Rides in the Southern, Western and Eastern Counties of England, etc., eds. G.D.H. and Margaret Cole, (London: Peter Davies, 1930), Vol.1, p.716.

48. D.H. Lawrence: A Calendar of His Works, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979), p.181.

49. Lady Chatterley's Lover, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), p.158.

same time betraying a squeamish and, occasionally, hysterical loathing of the "canaille". Glaswegians, for instance, have this effect on Richard Greenow, sometime president of his College Fabian society:

... the sight almost made him sick.
Was it possible that there should be
human beings so numerous and so
uniformly hideous? Small, deformed,
sallow, they seemed malignantly ugly,
as if on purpose. The words they
spoke were incomprehensible. He
shuddered; it was an alien place - it
was hell.⁵⁰

What few proletarians do transitorily figure in Huxley's writings are, as in Virginia Woolf's fiction, physically objectionable and usually stigmatised by some disability, unpleasant tic or disease. Walter Bidlake, in Point Counter Point, whose "political opinions were advanced" (p.17), meets another noisome artisan on the London Underground:

The little old man leaned forward and spat, cautiously and perpendicularly, between his feet. With the heel of his boot he spread the gob over the floor. Walter looked away; he wished that he could personally like the oppressed and personally hate the rich oppressors.
(p.18)

50. "The Farcical History of Richard Greenow", Limbo, p.54.

That this difficulty was also Huxley's is confirmed by the following non-fictional passage from Jesting Pilate:

We, who were brought up on open windows, clean shirts, hot baths, and sanitary plumbing, find it hard to tolerate twice-breathed air and all the odours which crowded humanity naturally exhales. Our physical education has been such that the majority of our fellow-beings, particularly those less fortunately circumstanced than ourselves, seem to us slightly or even extremely disgusting. A man may have strong humanitarian and democratic principles; but if he happens to have been brought up as a bath-taking, shirt-changing lover of fresh air, he will have to overcome certain physical repugnancies before he can bring himself to put those principles into practice to the extent, at any rate, of associating freely with men and women whose habits are different from his own. It is a deplorable fact; but there it is. (pp. 42-43)

The most striking quality in Huxley's social reportage of 1931, however, is the absence of such fastidiousness and a compassion which anticipates Orwell. One Old Etonian's Wigan was the other's Middlesborough:

Ugly and dismal enough even in its best days, it is now in the hour of its misfortune, unspeakably gloomy, a sort of city of the dead. Yes, of the dead. For

that is the impression they give you, these crowds of unemployed men who fill the streets of Middlesborough (or for that matter of almost any other big northern town) with their slow interminable procession. Dead men walking, walking from nowhere in particular to nowhere else, aimlessly and in silence.

I have never seen a ghost ... but I am sure no ghost could ever be quite so terrifying as these spectres of flesh and blood who walk the streets of our northern cities. Dead men hopelessly resigned to death. One could wish that they were less resigned, less dumbly patient. But the dole has taken the violence out of their despair. Rebellion is generally a product of hunger. Regarded as a premium against the risk of revolution, the dole has been well worth paying.

The boredom of the idle rich is bad enough; but the boredom of the compulsorily idle poor is much worse. The rich can buy distractions, stimulants, narcotics. Not so the poor; they cannot even afford to drown their boredom in watery beer... The material results of prolonged unemployment can easily be calculated. But who will ever be able to compute the sum of psychological mischief, for which it has been and is responsible?⁵¹

51. "Abroad in England".

Huxley's recourse to the same zombie metaphor he had used in 1928 is perhaps illustrative of the paucity of his imagination, but his dismay is genuine enough.

Immediately after returning from Willington Huxley had travelled up to Ripley in Derbyshire to meet D.H. Lawrence's sister. While in the Midlands, he was taken over to Eastwood and given a tour of the locale by William Hopkin, which, according to Hopkins's widow, almost certainly included a descent of Moorgreen pit.⁵² Huxley's celebration of the physique of the miners he saw at Eastwood may be compared revealingly with Orwell's tribute to the "noble" bodies of the "fillers" he saw at Wigan.⁵³

In that terrifyingly unnatural goblin-world of the mine to be confronted suddenly - after what seems, to the stranger from the upper sunlight, an age of wandering through stifling labyrinths - by the pale glimmer of the naked human body... The impression is overwhelming. How movingly beautiful it is, this body of man? How white and smooth and, in the monstrous twilight at the coal-face under the menace of the low ceilings of sagging rock, how delicate - looking, how defenceless and frail!

52. Letter received from Mrs. Olive Hopkin. 13 May 1985.

53. The Road to Wigan Pier, p.23.

Defenceless and frail, I thought again,
as I watched the men drawing off the
molten steel from one of the furnaces of a
Sheffield ironworks.⁵⁴

Not only was the proletarian world geographically and physically remote for Huxley; he was also made aware of his status as a social "alien". Later on Orwell was to emphasise the rigid class demarcation which confronted him "like a wall of stone"⁵⁵ in the north country. Huxley had deployed this same image to deal with his own experience of social apartheid in Willington. "The Great Bourgeois Empire is surrounded by a more than Chinese wall. Class barriers are everywhere high; but in no country of the West are they so high as in England".⁵⁶ Wilson and a colleague took Huxley to tea with the Dean of Durham Cathedral:

And here it was that the Chinese wall began to make its presence felt. The Dean and I were on one side of it, my two companions on the other. In spite of the difference in age, in spite of the separating gulf between our opinions, it was easier for me to establish contact with the ecclesiastical dignitary than with my own companions from the mining town.

- 54. "Sight-Seeing in Alien England, Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 87, (June 1931), pp.50-53, 118.
- 55. The Road to Wigan Pier, p.188.
- 56. "Abroad in England".

They were men I liked; I found them pleasant, intelligent, well informed. I agreed with their views.⁵⁷ But all the same it was easier for me to get on with the Dean... D.H. Lawrence... used to tell me, I remember, that though he had grown accustomed to bourgeois ways, he could never establish contact with a member of the bourgeoisie, however personally sympathetic to him, as easily as he could with a man or woman who had sprung from the working classes. "You can't exaggerate the strength and importance of class", he used to say. The more dealings I have with people on the other side of the Chinese wall, the more completely do I find myself in agreement with him.⁵⁸

Interestingly, the enterprising Wilson promptly sent a copy of Huxley's article to Arthur Morrison, author of A Child of the Jago (1896), and in his reply Morrison focused on Huxley's metaphor:

It is very clever of course in its way though rhetorical, and even artificial.

57. Adopted as a candidate by the Independent Socialists in 1935, "Wilson... described the Labour candidates as 'a herd of careerists, opportunists, self-seekers, and position hunters'... and... declared his intention to win the seat for the sake of 'pure, unadulterated, uncompromising, four-square Socialism'". Garside, p.347.
58. "Abroad in England".

But you must remember that you are offering it to the notice of a man much older and perhaps duller and more staid than Mr. Huxley ... What he says about Chinese Walls is no more than a splash of rhetoric, made for effect. Of course one might say there is a Chinese wall of a sort between any two men you could bring together, for nobody completely knows another - or even himself. If I may instance myself I don't think there is evidence of a Chinese wall of incomprehension between myself and any of the people of whom I have written, even the worst and lowest; and I don't claim to be unique. Mr. Huxley does no more, I think, perhaps means no more, than to underrate his own powers of imagination.⁵⁹

Huxley's hyperbole is indisputable, though Morrison's suggestion that his metaphor is no more than a contrived trope is particularly unjustified in the broader context of its useage by him.

Huxley's excursions not only raised his social consciousness; they also provided him with shop-floor experience of Fordism. Though it has not been possible to ascertain the date of his visit, the "efficient, up-to-date factory" Huxley toured in Birmingham, and which he describes

59. Unpub. letter, Colgate University Library, New York.
20 June 1931.

in "Sight-Seeing in Alien Englands", was almost certainly the magneto assembly works of Joseph Lucas Ltd:

In the room where the magnetos were assembled, forty or fifty girls were sitting at a long table. In front of them an endless band slowly crawled along, carrying on its surface the constituent parts of an electrical machine. Each girl had her special function - to insert a rod, to tighten so many screws, to make fast certain wires. When the last girl had done her job, yet another magneto was ready to be fitted to yet another car.

Up to five years ago, the manager told me, the assembling of the magneto was done by skilled workmen. Each man performed the whole process from start to finish. He knew how a magneto worked and what he himself was doing. But in a well designed factory, to know what you are doing seems to be quite unnecessary - is even rather a hindrance to really efficient labour. The skilled assemblers of magneto parts were too slow, and therefore too expensive. It was found that fifty girls sitting in front of a moving band, and each performing one small and specialised task, which alone she was expected to understand, could turn out finished magnetos much faster than the skilled assemblers who knew what magnetos were. So the skilled workmen went, and the girls came in...

"This monotony" (the monotony of work under mass production conditions), "does not exist as much in the shops as in the minds of theorists and bookish reformers". So writes Mr. Henry Ford - and being myself one of these theorists and bookish reformers, I am duly abashed. I should be still more abashed if I did not remember another passage in Mr. Ford's published writings, where he frankly confesses that he himself would find the ordinary work in one of his own factories intolerable. Nobody could accuse Mr. Ford of being a theorist or bookish reformer; so I suspect that this monotony is not so completely a product of the literary imagination as he would like us to believe.⁶⁰

In the last of the three articles, "The Victory of Art Over Humanity", Huxley continues to contrast his own sense of the deadly monotony of mechanised conveyor-belt production with Ford's fetishistic worship of the process:

English motor factories are not quite so completely rationalised as the corresponding thing in America. It is still possible at Birmingham or Coventry, to see a man step out of the assembling line for a second or two to fetch some necessary tool or part of the machine which is being put together. In Detroit a higher providence brings

60. "Sight-Seeing in Alien Englands".

everything he needs to the workman's hands; he has no excuse ever to stir from his place. Industrial predestination is not yet so absolute in England. Very nearly, however; the difference is only one of degree, not kind. Regarded as a pure design, as the embodiment of a faultless, logical process, a motor factory is a wonderfully interesting and even beautiful thing. Regarded as a place to work in, it seems, I confess, pretty depressing. Those machine tools... The thought of having to spend eight hours a day feeding one of those monsters with bits of steel makes me shudder. But let us listen to what Mr. Ford has to say on the subject. "If the work goes through the tools, it must be right. It will thus be seen that the burden of creation is on management in designing and selecting the material to be produced by the multiple processes utilised in mass production... The physical load is shifted off men and placed on machines. The recurrent mental load is shifted from men in production to men in designing".

The implications of the phrase are terrifying. For what does it imply? It implies that one of the best, the most satisfying things in human life - creation - is too much trouble, is a burden of which, if possible, men and women should be relieved...

Our leisuress are now as highly mechanized as our labours; the notion that men can recover, as consumers, what they have lost as producers is quite illusory. In the sphere of play no less than in that of work, creation has become the privilege of a fortunate few. The common man has always had to suffer from lack of money; he is now condemned to psychological poverty as well. However much they may desire to do so, men and women are simply not permitted to create. Consolinglly, Mr. Ford assures them that creation is a burden - a burden which, with Christ-like unselfishness, he offers to bear for them. It remains to be seen whether men and women will believe him; whether it is psychologically possible for the human race to adapt itself to the new creation-saving environment which Mr. Ford and his privileged colleagues are now so busily creating.⁶¹

Ford, of course, is the genius loci of the World State, and My Life and Work, "published at Detroit by the Society for the Propagation of Fordian Knowledge", (p.257) is its sacred book. In the next chapter it will be argued that Huxley's attitude to the material in Brave New World changed radically during its composition. As originally projected, however, the novel was intended as a satirical forecast of Fordism's global hegemony. The citizens of the World State have not

61. "Victory of Art Over Humanity".

only been relieved of the burden of creation, like their ancestors in the Birmingham factory, they have also been deprived of their procreative function. The statutory use of in vitro fertilization, and especially "bokanovskification", the production of identical embryos through the arrest and budding of the fertilized ova, is, as the Director of Hatcheries and Conditioning says, "The principle of mass production at last applied to biology". (p.7):

In the Bottling Room all was harmonious bustle and ordered activity. Flaps of fresh sow's peritoneum ready cut to the proper size came shooting up in little lifts from the Organ store in the sub-basement. Whizz and then, click! the lift-hatches flew open; the Bottle-Liner had only to reach out a hand, take the flap, insert, smooth-down, and before the lined bottle had had time to travel out of reach along the endless band, whizz, click! another flap of peritoneum had shot up from the depths, ready to be slipped into yet another bottle, the next of that slow interminable procession on the band.(p.9)

Krishan Kumar, commenting on the whole process of ectogenetic reproduction in Brave New World, says "This is Fordism with a vengeance: the conveyor-belt production not simply of goods but of human-beings,"⁶² and he is the latest of many

62. Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), p.245.

critics who have assumed that the sole source of Huxley's satire is My Life and Work and other writings by Ford.⁶³ That Huxley was also writing from his actual experience of applied Fordism is even clearer in the description of "a small factory of lighting-sets for helicopters" which the Savage is given a tour of further on in the book:

In the assembling room, the dynamos were being put together by two sets of Gamma-Plus dwarfs. The two low work-tables faced one another; between them crawled the conveyor with its load of separate parts; forty-seven blond heads were confronted by forty-seven brown ones. Forty-seven snubs by forty-seven hooks; forty-seven receding by forty-seven prognathous chins. The completed mechanisms were inspected by eighteen identical curly auburn girls in Gamma green, packed in crates by thirty-four short-legged, left-handed Delta-Minuses, and loaded into the waiting trucks and lorries by sixty-three blue-eyed, flaxed and freckled Epsilon Semi-Morons.

'O brave new world...' By some malice of his memory the Savage found himself repeating Miranda's words. 'O brave new world that has such people in it.'
(p.188).

63. See, for example, Henry Ford, My Life and Work, (London: William Heinemann, 1922), pp.83-85.

In his recent study of Brave New World, Peter Firchow draws an interesting comparison between Huxley's novel and Lawrence's contention that, "More films, more motor-cars, more dances, more golf, more tennis and more getting completely away from yourself," were all part of, "the plan of the universe laid down by the great magnates of industry like Mr. Ford".⁶⁴ On their way to play Obstacle Golf, Lenina Crowne looks down through the window in the floor of Henry Foster's helicopter on a panorama of frenzied recreation which reveals how far the leisure industry has progressed in the 632 years since the inception of the Fordian epoch:

They were flying over the six kilometre zone of parkland that separated Central London from its first ring of satellite suburbs. The green was maggoty with fore-shortened life. Forests of Centrifugal Bumble-puppy towers gleamed between the trees. Near Shepherd's Bush two thousand Beta-Minus mixed doubles were playing Riemann-surface tennis. A double row of Escalator Fives Courts lined the main road from Notting Hill to Willesden. In the Ealing stadium a Delta gymnastic display and community sing was in progress. (p.73).

64. "Men Must Work and Women as Well", Phoenix II, pp.582-591.

Their destination is Stoke Poges, the situation of the Obstacle Golf course being symptomatic of the cultural lesion which is by now complete. Between the ages of thirteen and seventeen the adolescents of the World State have the fact that progress is lovely inculcated upon them five hundred times a week, and in one of his few reliable comments on the novel, Huxley said:

The Utopia pictured in my Brave New World is a society in which the popular dream of Progress has been made to come true in nightmarish reality.⁶⁵

The "Ford chains" which, according to Huxley manacled his contemporaries to newspapers, the cinema and the wireless are the relatively harmless precursors of soma, the feelies and the ceaseless sexual incontinence of AF 632. The adults of the World State have suffered the fate of the Melanesians, as Eliot predicted, with hypnopaedia being the implementation of his futuristic wireless receivers on the ears of sleeping children.

That the dollar economy (p.282) of the World State represents the culmination of Huxley's anxiety about the world-wide diffusion of American mores, is, then, quite clear. "We are thinking of going to America this autumn", Huxley told Sidney Schiff soon after starting the novel,

65. "Brave New World", Life, (Chicago), 25, (20 September 1948), pp.63-64, 66-68, 70.

"just to know the worst, as one must do from time to time, I think".⁶⁶ To date, Firchow is the only critic to have placed Brave New World in the context of the upsurge in mordant or alarmist accounts of America which the 1920s witnessed - though, of course, the tradition of presenting the United States as a Pandora's Box of future perils was by then well established. For instance, Firchow quotes a passage from the conclusion of Alexis de Tocqueville's Democracy in America which he convincingly offers as a primary source of Brave New World:

The first thing that strikes the observation is an innumerable multitude of men all equal and alike, incessantly endeavouring to procure the petty and paltry pleasures with which they glut their lives ... Above that race of men stands an immense and tutelary power, which takes upon itself alone to procure their gratifications, and to watch over their fate.⁶⁷

J.F.C. Fuller's Atlantis, Or America and the Future (1925),
Garet Garrett's Ouroborus, Or the Mechanical Extension of Mankind (1925), André Siefert's America Comes of Age, (1927),

66. Clementine Robert, ed., Aldous Huxley, Exhumations: Correspondence inédite avec Sidney Schiff (1925-1937), (Paris, Didier, 1976) p.73.

67. Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, trans. Henry Reeve (New York: Colonial Press, 1899), pp. 332-333. Quoted in Firchow, The End of Utopia, p.101.

S.D. Schmalhausen's Behold America (1931), Georges Duhamel's America the Menace: Scenes from the Life of the Future (1930) and Ralph Borsodi's This Ugly Civilisation (1929) are also mentioned by Firchow as studies which prepared the ground for Huxley's novel. While the general context which he outlines is fitting, there is no evidence that, apart from Tocqueville and Lawrence, Huxley had read any of the books Firchow lists before writing Brave New World. On the other hand, Firchow makes no reference to Mencken, Upton Sinclair, Veblen, St. Loe Strachey, Harvey Robinson and Guglielmo Ferraro, yet these are the specific authorities from whom Huxley learned most of America, in addition to his own experiences. Moreover, there is a good case for positing Olaf Stapledon's Last and First Men (1930) as Huxley's most immediate stimulus for the novel. He described Stapledon's "essay in myth creation"⁶⁸ as a "remarkable and prophetic book"⁶⁹ and there are many correspondences between it and the novel which Huxley wrote the following year. Supposedly written by a Last Man who "has seized the docile and scarcely adequate brain" of the author, Last and First Men extrapolates a history of the world from the present to the

68. Olaf Stapledon, Last and First Men: A Story of the Near and Far Future, (London: Methuen, 1930), p.vi.

69 "The Problem of Faith", Harper's Magazine, 166 (January 1933), pp.211-216.

remote future. In his preface Stapledon remarks:

American readers, if ever there are any, may feel that their great nation is given a somewhat unattractive part in the story. I have imagined the triumph of the cruder sort of Americanism over all that is best and most promising in American culture. May this not occur in the real world! Americans themselves, however, admit the possibility of such an issue, and will, I hope, forgive me for emphasising it, and using it as an early turning-point in the long drama of Man.
(p.viii)

The era following the First World War is one of incessant struggle between the constituent states of Europe, while above this turmoil the powers of China and, even more spectacularly, America, grow steadily:

Universally feared and envied, universally respected for their enterprise, yet for their complacency very widely despised, the Americans were rapidly changing the whole character of man's existence. By this time every human being throughout the planet made use of American products, and there was no region where American capital did not support local labour. Moreover the American press, gramophone, radio, cinematograph and televisior ceaselessly drenched the planet with American thought. Year by year the

aether reverberated with echoes of New York's pleasures and the religious fervours of the Middle West. What wonder, then, that America, even while she was despised, irresistably moulded the whole human race. (pp.29-30)

A subsequent war between Europe and America results in the total destruction of the older civilisation, and the world becomes divided between two hemispheres of influence, the American and the Chinese. Finally, after a cataclysmic Sino-American war, the First World State is founded around 2300 AD. The average citizen of the World State enjoys an unparalleled level of material well-being, including the universal ownership of "dwarf private aeroplanes which were by now essential to the life of every adult" (p.74):

But in spite of this material prosperity he was a slave. His work and his leisure consisted of feverish activity, punctuated by moments of listless idleness which he regarded as both sinful and unpleasant ... For he and all his contemporaries were ruled by certain ideas which prevented them from living a fully human life.

Of these ideas one was the ideal of progress. For the individual, the goal imposed by his religious teaching was continuous advance in aeronautical prowess, legal sexual freedom, and millionaireship. For the race also the ideal was progress, and progress of the

same unintelligent type. Ever more brilliant and extensive aviations, ever more extensive legal sexual intercourse, ever more gigantic manufacture, and consumption, were to be co-ordinated in an ever more intricately organized social system. (pp.77-78)

The First World State eventually collapses (somewhat ignominiously through lack of coal), but Stapledon's description of it in the chapter entitled "An Americanized Planet" (pp.66-91) may well have contained mutatis mutandis, the germ of Brave New World.

Shortly after commencing writing the novel, Huxley told his brother that he had "been overwhelmed by a literary catastrophe - the discovery that all I've been writing during the last month won't do and that I must re-write in quite another way".⁷⁰ The next chapter will place Brave New World in its precise context and investigate the causes of this calamity.

70. Letters, pp.348-349.

CHAPTER FOUR

In the fifth chapter of Antic Hay, an unemployed carter's history of poverty and misfortune is counterpointed with Myra Viveash's beguilement of Shearwater and the brittle facetiae of Gumbрил's other leisured cronies. The predicament of the carter and his wife so affects Gumbрил - he is the only one of the group to have paid any attention to the narrative - that he holds a whip-round for the destitute couple. "It's appalling, it's horrible... Life, don't you know," (p.67) he reflects on his way home with Shearwater. Terry Eagleton has criticised the "hard boiled flippancy" and "befuddlement" of Gumbрил's attitude:

Yet Huxley himself beneath the flippancy, is really as befuddled, offering no sort of constructive response beyond a vague guilt... There is no attempt to relate the fact of poverty to the social system which permits Gumbрил and his friends their privileged fantasy-lives.¹

Gumbрил does, in fact, go on to ponder social iniquity more purposefully, if not more subtly, yet, applied to the Huxley of 1923, Eagleton's reproach is justified. By 1931, however, with his experience of the depression in the North-East behind him, Huxley was more than keen to link the socio-

1. Terry Eagleton, Exiles and Émigrés, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1970), p.41.

political trauma of the Slump to what he regarded as an antiquated and inefficient system of government and the inept management of the nation's affairs in general. Soon he was championing a nostrum which was fascist in all but name and at the same time writing a novel which is widely regarded as an exemplar of the anti-totalitarian literary tradition.

"Planning was the key word of the 1930's," A.J.P. Taylor has said, "planned economy, plan for peace, planned families, plan for holidays. The standard was Utopia".² That planning was also Huxley's personal shibboleth during the composition of Brave New World, and not something he viewed with libertarian abhorrence, is crucially significant, yet, at present, unrecognised. About the same time that he witnessed the unplanned morass of Britain's free market economy in crisis, Huxley became involved with an inchoate pressure-group shortly to coalesce as Political and Economic Planning (PEP). Huxley's interest in planning would have been stimulated both by the social misery he encountered in the North-East and the "twaddling" paralysis of the politicians which he was confronted with in the National Economy debate. PEP appeared to answer his demand for trenchant action. As Kenneth Lindsay, the organisation's first General Secretary has said:

The early birth pangs of PEP occurred during the dying months of the second Labour government; our inception must be

2. Taylor, p.375.

measured against the rapidly deteriorating condition of Britain with well over two million unemployed and the prospect of financial bankruptcy. There was also a bankruptcy of political ideas.³

Originating in the publication of "A National Plan for Great Britain" - Max Nicholson's sixteen pages of constructive polemic, "calculated to secure a maximum of achievement with a minimum of insoluble disagreement"⁴ - PEP's function was to provide specific and detailed proposals to facilitate this risorgimento. Fortunately, both Nicholson and Lindsay are still alive. Recalling Huxley's interest in PEP during February and March 1931 Nicholson remembers, "that at that time he was positively interested in the potential of a broad and profound approach, based on planning, to the initiation of a new stage in civilisation..."⁵. Kenneth Lindsay confirms that Huxley "thought it a good thing to join. The word 'planning' must have had a mystique at the time. 'Intelligent', 'orderly', perhaps 'scientific' were freely used for the same purpose".⁶ These testimonies to Huxley's commitment are important in that they contrast with the

3. John Pinder, ed., Fifty Years of Political and Economic Planning: Looking Foward 1931-1981, (London: Heinemann, 1981), p.9.
4. "A National Plan for Great Britain", The Week-End Review, 3, (14 February 1931), Supplement, p.1.
5. Letter received from Max Nicholson. 29 September 1985.
6. Letter received from Kenneth Lindsay. 22 October 1985.

impression given in the collection of essays published to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of PEP, that his role was little more than a kind of freelance and occasional observer of the group. In one of only two glosses, the editor notes that Huxley wrote Brave New World, "after sitting in at early PEP meetings".⁷ But the archives of PEP, now deposited in the British Library of Economic and Political Science, reveal that Huxley's involvement with this embryonic phase of the movement was much more active than a disinterested "sitting in". In fact, Huxley was elected onto PEP's provisional Directorate.

Scattered amongst various documents in the archive is evidence of the true extent of Huxley's brief connection with PEP. One document, for instance, discloses that following the publication of Nicholson's plan in the Week-End Review, "conversations with a view to forming a group went on through February, among those concerned being Aldous Huxley".⁸ According to another manuscript Huxley was present, with his brother Julian, the architect Clough Williams-Ellis and others, at a discussion group dinner the following week, when it was agreed:

That National Planning is an immediate necessity for this country; that the present failure of politicians and others to undertake any serious work towards

7. Pinder, p.211.

preparing a Plan and preparing the country to adopt one amounts to a major national danger; that in view of this neglect the meeting accepts the responsibility of preparing and making propaganda for a Plan for the rational re-organisation of our political and economic institutions on a basis of industrial freedom.⁹

Further meetings at which Huxley would have been present were held on 8 and 13 March, followed by a second steering group dinner two days later when the name PEP was officially adopted.¹⁰ Ironically, the inaugural meeting of PEP proper, at University College, London on 22 March, during which Huxley was elected a provisional Director of the organisation, was practically his last association with it. Nicholson later described how "some agitation was caused by Aldous Huxley drawing a series of caricatures of those present during the meeting; he withdrew from PEP not long afterwards and his only comment was the writing of Brave New World".¹¹ Huxley was present at the first - and only - gathering of the 'Reform of the Machinery of Government' planning group, the first of PEP's study groups to be formed,

8. "Origins of PEP". 24 October 1947. Unpub. document, PEP papers, British Library of Economic and Political Science. MS Folder UP10.
9. "The Thirties: A Preliminary Survey". Unpub. document, PEP papers. MS Folder UP10.
10. A statement of the aims of PEP was published in The Week-End Review, 3, (21 March 1931), p.434.

which met at the Bank of England on Monday 30 March with Sir Basil Blackett, the Governor of the Bank, in the chair, and which, since it started at 5.30 p.m. enabled him to attend the premiere of The World of Light later that evening, but his name is neither included among those present at the first General Meeting of PEP (26 June 1931) nor on a list of members compiled later that year.

Nicholson's inference that Brave New World was Huxley's estranged snook at PEP receives circumstantial support both from the fact that he commenced writing it as soon as he returned to France (from where he resigned from the pressure-group), and his mischievous antics at the University College meeting. However, as we shall see, although Huxley almost certainly became frustrated with the initial dilatoriness of PEP, his belief in the need for planning in fact intensified, and Brave New World is emphatically not the work of a man who was either cynical about or wary of initiatives such as that which PEP represented. Indeed, it will be argued that the difficulties which Huxley clearly experienced in writing the novel arose because he felt compelled to veer from his original intention of writing a satire on progress and the global triumph of Fordism, which had been his intention since 1929, as the need for national

11. "The Early Days of PEP", PEP papers, MS Folder UP10. Israel Sieff mentions this incident in his Memoirs (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970), p.166, though he was not present at the time.

planning became more and more imperative with the deterioration of the political and economic situation through 1931. His first-hand knowledge of the depredations of Middlesbrough and Willington and of the momentous debate in which the government demonstrated its inability to remedy the country's problems, combined with his fear of growing anarchy within Britain, precipitated an accentuation of Huxley's hostility to parliament which grew more militant during the gestation of Brave New World between May and August 1931. Finally, just prior to the publication of the novel in January 1932, Huxley's demands for an effective response to the crisis culminated in his call for the immediate creation of a planned order of castes - that is, precisely the "nightmarish" eventuality which his alleged dystopia is supposed to be warning us of.

In the customary reading of Brave New World as an anti-utopia, Huxley's retrospective accounts of his purpose in writing the novel are always quoted freely. His remarks, all made in the aftermath of the Second World War, present Brave New World repeatedly as a prophecy of what, in a letter to Orwell, he called, "the ultimate revolution - the revolution which lies beyond politics and economics, and which aims at the total subversion of the individual's psychology and physiology".¹² Huxley claimed consistently in the post-war period that Brave New World was no more than

12. Letters, p.604.

a fantasy based on an extrapolation of contemporary socio-political trends. For instance, in his Foreword to the American edition of 1946, Huxley described the conflict between democracy and fascism as the, "first phase of what is perhaps the penultimate revolution".¹³ The development of nuclear power, he argued, was another catalyst hastening the transition to totalitarian world government; "Only a large-scale popular movement towards decentralization and self-help can arrest the present tendency towards statism," he declared from the seclusion of his ashram in the Mojave Desert. Huxley went on to speculate what prerequisites the totalitarian state of the future would need to maintain its stability. These would include an "all-powerful executive of political bosses and their army of managers", controlling "a population of slaves who do not have to be coerced, because they love their servitude". Such adoration could only be inculcated upon the population through a revolution in the human make-up:

To bring about that revolution we require, among others, the following discoveries and inventions. First, a greatly improved technique of suggestion - through infant conditioning and, later, with the aid of drugs, such as scopolamine. Second, a

13. Foreword, Brave New World, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946). Rep. as Foreword to Collected Edition of the novel (London: Chatto and Windus, 1950), pp.vii-xv.

fully developed science of human differences, enabling government managers to assign any given individual to his or her proper place in the social and economic hierarchy ... Third ... a substitute for alcohol and the other narcotics... And fourth (but this would be a long-term project, which would take generations of totalitarian control to bring to a successful conclusion), a foolproof system of eugenics, designed to standardize the human product and so facilitate the task of the managers.

Huxley boosted his post-war prestige as a vigilant humanist prophet with Brave New World Revisited, in which he instanced the communist regimes of the eastern bloc as evidence of a further drift towards the "nightmare" of AF 632:

In 1931, when Brave New World was being written, I was convinced that there was still plenty of time. The completely organized society, the scientific caste system, the abolition of free will by methodical conditioning, the servitude made acceptable by regular doses of chemically induced happiness, the orthodoxies drummed in by nightly courses of sleep teaching - these were coming all right, but not even in the time of my grandchildren.¹⁴

14. Brave New World Revisited, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p.3.

As with their emphasis on the "Peacockian" verisimilitude of Crome Yellow, Huxley's critics have accepted his statements regarding Brave New World without demur. Laurence Brander, for instance, has stated that the novel is:

a fable about social and intellectual order in a mass society, the social and intellectual order of hell, with every action of body and mind predetermined, manipulated, controlled.¹⁵

Similarly, the most recent appraisal of Brave New World groups it with We, Nineteen Eighty-Four and Darkness at Noon as a treatment of "a totalitarian hell in which all hope [is] extinguished and all exits closed".¹⁶ The standard view is summed-up by Robert S. Baker:

The world of the seventh century after Ford is a projection of Huxley's increasingly somber assessment of the course of modern history - an alternative world systematically conceived as an anti-utopia or, more precisely, a dystopia in which the course of history has been diverted to apparently rational ends.¹⁷

15. Brander, p.17.

16. Kumar, p.225.

17. Robert S. Baker, The Dark Historic Page: Social Satire and Historicism in the Novels of Aldous Huxley (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), p.35.

For the first time, this chapter will assess Huxley's ideological writing from 1931-1932 in its entirety, arguing that if Brave New World is so unequivocally dystopian, it represents an extraordinary tergiversation from the general tendency of his political thought during this period.

It seems likely that Huxley's abrupt departure from PEP signalled less his disillusionment with planning per se, than with the kind of approach which PEP epitomised. Kenneth Lindsay thinks Huxley became "bored" with the orientational jostling of PEP, while Max Nicholson's assessment of the wider influence of the group may also help to explain Huxley's behaviour. "Our group certainly tried to make 'Planning' a key issue in the early 1930s, but with only limited success, and it never penetrated either the establishment or the man in the street to any extent".¹⁸ As early as the first discussion group dinner, when it was proposed to call the venture 'The 1950 Society', (that being the date by which it was hoped Britain would have been transformed), Nicholson complained that "the Group shows a strong tendency not to move at all".¹⁹ It is tempting to speculate that, for all PEP's polemical rhetoric, Huxley shared Nicholson's sense of inertia and became rapidly dismayed by its lack of impact. Moreover, it is probable

18. Letter received from Max Nicholson, 29 September 1985.

19. "1950 Society": Notes on Situation Arising from first Ivy [Restaurant] Meeting", PEP papers, MS 1/7/2.

that Huxley found it difficult to reconcile PEP's essentially democratic and tradition-conscious approach with his growing bent towards a more authoritarian panacea. Whether this hypothesis is true or not, it is nevertheless vital to distinguish between Huxley's habitually Scoganite usage of 'rational' and its connotation in Max Nicholson's Week-End plan. Nicholson's aim was the sane rationalisation of the country's democratic infrastructure, whereas Huxley's meaning approximates to Lawrence's useage when he praised "the rational despotism of Mussolini".²⁰ Though an early draft of Nicholson's blueprint was called 'The Week-End Review Five Year Plan', the published version unequivocally endorsed, "the retention of the King-in-Parliament as the sovereign omniscient body, limited by no written constitution."²¹ Furthermore, although the overhauling of parliamentary procedure was the principal remit of the 'Reform of the Machinery of Government' planning group, they were enjoined by their Directorate to "keep in mind the historic virtues of Britain's constitution and to avoid excessively radical schemes which would damage the tradition of organic growth and continuity".²² Indeed, Noel Hall has remarked that some members of the discussion group were even reluctant to

20. The Grand Inquisitor, p.vii.

21. Week-End Review, 14 February 1931, p.Viii.

22. Daniel Ritschel, The Non-Socialist Movement for a Planned Economy in Britain in the 1930s, Unpub. D.Phil Thesis, Oxford, 1987, p.112.

include the word 'planning' in the title of the organization because of the potential confusion of PEP with Soviet and Fascist models of state control. "Planwirtschaft spoken with the tone of a Sergeant-Major was replacing the older and quieter Anglo-Saxon word 'planning', meaning considering how you got from here to there".²³ It would be strange if Huxley was one of those dissenters, for, far from being appalled by totalitarian-style planning, Huxley was soon to advocate the forceful imposition of its domestic counterpart in a flurry of articles he wrote during the remaining months of 1931. Rather than the legacy of a desultory and ultimately disgruntled interest in planning, Brave New World may be considered as an oblique and paradoxical expression of Huxley's fervent promulgation of it.

If Huxley had written nothing else between his liberal-humanist discussions of Burns's Vision of Education and Séché's La Morale de la Machine and Brave New World, there would be little reason to question the current reading of the novel as a dystopian prophecy. Jerome Meckier is confident that Huxley's preface to Burns's book, quoted in Chapter Three, "amounts to a synopsis of the themes of breeding and education in Brave New World. In an unlikely place one finds clues to the genesis of Huxley's most popular novel".²⁴ Moreover, having discussed the connections

23. Pinder, p.15

24. Jerome Meckier, "A Neglected Huxley 'Preface': His Earliest Synopsis of Brave New World", Twentieth Century Literature, 25, (Spring 1979), pp.1-20.

between the preface and the "super-anthill" of the Selenites in The First Men in the Moon, Meckier concludes:

Huxley's attitude toward special species is different from Wells's. The examples of experimental breeding in the 'Preface' and subsequently in Brave New World are absurdly comic, unmistakably outrageous.

Significantly, though, Huxley closed his preface with a caveat which was to prove more portentous than he could have imagined, and which indicates that his attitude to castes and eugenics was less resolutely jocular than Meckier imagines; "... like all other beliefs and ideals, the belief in the value of the individual, the ideal of liberty, are (to some extent, at any rate) functions of the prevailing economic conditions".²⁵ As early as May 1930, with the economic crisis gathering momentum, Huxley's fear of its socio-political repercussions re-emerges in the hitherto overlooked "Babies - State Property", in which Huxley contrasts, "the curious educational doctrine, now so popular, that the sole purpose of education is to guarantee to every child the possibility of complete 'self-expression'", with the Soviet policy of subordinating the liberty of the individual to the interests of the state:

There is an obvious tendency, all over the western world, to follow the lead of

25. A Vision of Education, pp.10-11.

Russia - not through any desire to imitate the Soviets but because circumstances are rendering it increasingly necessary for all states to guard against the dangers of insurgent individualism.²⁶

His dread of anarchy, coupled with his enthusiasm for planning, ensured that Huxley became an ardent proselyte of the Soviet system in the early 1930s. Yet, only two years previously he had declared, "To the Bolshevist idealist, Utopia is indistinguishable from a Ford factory".²⁷ Huxley had formed this view after reading René Fülöp-Miller's The Mind and Face of Bolshevism, which as he told E.S.P. Haynes in recommending the book, confirmed his "leanings towards aristocracy". Huxley continued:

It's really humiliating that human beings can be so stupid as these Russians seem to be. They really are the devil. Europeans must join together to resist all the enemies of our civilisation - Russians, Americans, orientals - each in their own way a hideous menace.²⁸

- 26. "Babies - State Property", Evening Standard, 21 May 1930, p.7.
- 27. "The Cold Blooded Romantics", Vanity Fair, 30, (March 1928), pp.64, 104.
- 28. Letters, p.294.

An aperçu discharged the previous autumn had been equally caustic:

Today, twelve years after the revolution, Russia is a country of peasant proprietors ferociously attached to the land, of a few badly paid factory workers employed in not very flourishing industries, and a ruling bourgeoisie of officials and NEP-men.²⁹

In 1931, however, when Huxley made his first published appeal for a planned economy, there is no sign of this hostile disdain. On the contrary, Huxley now expresses his readiness to sanction the forceful bypassing of parliamentary opposition to Soviet style planning as a matter of urgent national expedience. Far from being execrated, the Soviet polity, if not its politics, is acclaimed as a paradigm of rational organization:

Stability and a measure of assured and permanent prosperity can be achieved only by the nation that has an intelligent national purpose.

Russia has intelligent national purpose. If her Five Year Plan succeeds - and many competent foreign observers think that it will succeed, if not in five, then in eight, or ten, or even twelve years - Russia will be in a position to convert the whole world to her way of thinking.

29. "The New Salvation", Vanity Fair, 33, (September 1929), pp.76, 106.

So long as it demonstrably doesn't pay, communism can make but little appeal. But a time may come when communism will pay and pay better, for the majority of men and women, than capitalism ... Intelligent national planning is dictated by the most rudimentary considerations of self interest. We must either plan or else go under. Moreover, it is only by planning that we can hope to make England, or any other highly industrialised country, a place in which it will be possible for the majority of men and women to lead anything like the good life.

There are two national plans at present on the English market - Sir Oswald Mosley's and the rather more fully worked-out plan propounded recently by the Week-End Review. Whether either of these plans, or indeed any large-scale plan, could be put rapidly into execution by purely constitutional means, I do not know. It seems to me, I must confess, rather doubtful. The War made it sufficiently clear that rapid large-scale actions and the traditional constitutional methods are not compatible.

So long as there exists a gulf between what is, by the highest human standards, desirable and what is actually desired by a majority or even a minority of human beings force has got to be used... In the present case, a powerful minority, including almost all those now holding political power, may have strong

objections to large-scale national planning. But if national planning is, by the highest human standards, desirable, then the actual desires of this minority will have to be overridden and the desirable thing imposed by force. But as this minority at present controls the governmental machines, it follows that the application of force may have to be done unconstitutionally. Which would doubtless be regrettable; but not so regrettable, I think, as the prolongation of the present state of affairs, with the cheerful prospect of economic breakdown, revolution and a final communist triumph.³⁰

In his implicit sanction of a coup d'état, Huxley adopts a position to the right of Mosley's "Emergency Cabinet of not more than five Ministers, without portfolio,"³¹ and it is crucial to note that Huxley's polemics in 1931 consistently reach beyond the scope of Mosley's scheme, which, for all its invective, still recognised Parliament as the sovereign assembly of government. Even Mosley's later philippic against his "hag-ridden" country, in the manifesto of his would-be parliamentary British Union of Fascists,³²

30. "Abroad in England".

31. "The Mosley Manifesto". This became the official programme of Mosley's New Party, founded on 1 March 1931.

32. Oswald Mosley, The Greater Britain, (London: British Union of Fascists, 1932), p.36.

is comparatively temperate when compared with Huxley's description of democracy in 1931 as a "bedraggled and rather whorish old slut".³³ In his autobiography Mosley mentions that he knew Huxley "only slightly"³⁴, but an unpublished letter from Robert Nichols to the neurologist Henry Head, recounting a recent conversation which Nichols had had with Huxley, is more illuminating in that it reveals that Huxley had imbibed the Mosleys's sense of political exasperation:

He told me that he'd been seeing Cynthia Mosley. She seemed, he said, very fed up with the Labourite rank and file who, poor souls, are very stodgy and not unnaturally cling to their £400 a year and their chance of comfort and a maid-of-all-work. Later he told me that Mosley is a fearful fellow for women and that there was a row in Paris when two waitresses quarrelled in a restaurant in the presence of his wife, who, however, is devoted to him. Unfortunately, this weakness of his is getting known. Aldous seemed to dislike him and distrust him but said he was very much alive.³⁵ [my italics]

Significantly, though, Huxley's admiration of Mosley's political vim did not encourage him to disregard his personal

33. "On the Charms of History and the Future of the Past", Music at Night, p.151.

34. My Life, (London: Nelson, 1968), p.225.

35. In the possession of Mrs. Anne Charlton. 8 February 1931.

animosity towards him, and Huxley did not join Mosley's New Party, which was launched later that month as a direct consequence of the Mosley's disaffection with the Labour Party. Nor did Huxley, unlike Gerald Heard, Raymond Mortimer and Christopher Isherwood, contribute to Action, the short-lived New Party's newspaper, which, in Huxley's view, consisted of "articles rejected by John O'London's".³⁶

Mosley's plan, "though in some respects vague or feeble", also won T.S. Eliot's grudging approval through its forthright recognition, "that the nineteenth century is over, and that a thorough reorganisation of industry and of agriculture is essential". Like Huxley, Eliot demanded "something more stable than an emergency government,"³⁷ although, unlike the atheist Huxley, it may be presumed that Eliot did not desire a simulacrum of the robustly secular Five Year Plan.

On another occasion Huxley praised the Five Year Plan as "the most significant example of a social experiment,"³⁸ and lauded a gung-ho encomium to it which he read as, "not

36. Quoted in James Lees-Milne, Harold Nicolson: A Biography, 2 Vols. (London: Chatto and Windus, 1981). Vol.2, p.24.

37. "A Commentary", The Criterion, 10, (April 1931), pp.481-490.

38. "Science of Politics?" Chicago Herald and Examiner, 4 March 1933, p.9.

merely interesting; it is exciting".³⁹ In separate studies David Caute and Paul Hollander have analysed the widespread appeal which the Soviet Union and its Five Year Plan held for western intellectuals in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and Caute has assembled a montage of plaudits from this period which shows how typical Huxley's approbation was:

"The success of the Five Year Plan is the only hope of this world," said Bernard Shaw. "But above all I should like to live long enough to see Russia's plan succeed and the states of Europe obliged to accept what they insisted on ignoring ... My heart applauds that gigantic and yet entirely human undertaking," said André Gide. The plans, said Julian Huxley, expressed, "a new spirit, the spirit of science introduced into politics and industry,"... For Stephen Spender the plans were instruments for creating a new civilisation.⁴⁰

39. M. Ilin, Moscow Has a Plan: A Soviet Primer, trans. G.S. Counts and N.P. Lodge (London: Jonathan Cape, 1931). See "A Soviet School Book", Chicago Herald and Examiner, 29 October, p.11.
40. David Caute, The Fellow-Travellers: A Postscript to the Enlightenment, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), p.66. See also Paul Hollander, Political Pilgrims: Travels of Western Intellectuals to the Soviet Union, China and Cuba 1928-1978 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), esp. Chapter 4, "The Appeals of Soviet Society: The First Pilgrimage", pp.102-176.

Neither Cate nor Hollander mention Aldous Huxley's ardour for the Five Year Plan, and, astonishingly, only in Cate's book is the Society for Cultural Relations Between the Peoples of the British Commonwealth and the U.S.S.R. accorded two passing references. Founded in 1924, "to collect and diffuse information in both countries on developments in science, education, philosophy, art, literature, and social and economic life," as J.A. Hobson put it in moving the resolution for its establishment,⁴¹ the Society for Cultural Relations attracted a wide cross section of British intellectuals. Among its earliest supporters were G.B. Shaw, E.M. Forster, David Garnett, Virginia and Leonard Woolf, H.G. Wells, Bertrand Russell and Havelock Ellis, later joined by other luminaries such as L.T. Hobhouse, Harold Laski, Hugh Walpole and Julian Huxley. An enquiry requesting information about plans for the celebration of Tolstoy's centenary appears to have been Aldous Huxley's first contact with the S C R in 1927,⁴² and is it more than likely that four years later, as a recently appointed Vice-President of the Society, Huxley would have attended a meeting held under its auspices at the London School of Economics on 23 March 1931, when the Director of the Supreme Council of the National Economy of the U.S.S.R., M.G. Gurevitch, delivered a

41. Quoted in Andrew Rothstein, "The Foundation of the S C R", Anglo-Soviet Journal, 45, (Autumn 1984), pp.4-6.

42. James Aldridge and Emma Smith, "The First Ten Years", Anglo-Soviet Journal, 45, (Autumn 1984), pp.7-9.

stirring address on the interim achievements of the Five Year Plan.⁴³ Early in May 1931 Huxley wrote to his brother from Sanary that he would be "delighted" to accompany him on his impending visit to the Soviet Union, even though he was, "very busy here, sweating away at a novel".⁴⁴ A week later though Huxley felt compelled "to renounce the Russian scheme altogether", due to the "literary catastrophe" he had experienced in the writing of Brave New World:

Which is sad - but there! I'm afraid there's no alternative. I feel less depressed as it seems, from the literature sent by S C R, that one can do the trip quite fairly easily and without inordinate expense on one's own.⁴⁵

In the light of his disregarded zest for the Soviet Union and its Five Year Plan, for which Huxley and his fellow Vice-Presidents, "long of hair and throaty of voice", received a thorough strafing from the Daily Mail⁴⁶, another perennial misjudgement of Brave New World can be scotched -

- 43. M.G. Gurevitch, The Five Year Plan, (London: Society for Cultural Relations Between the Peoples of the British Commonwealth and the U.S.S.R., [1931]).
- 44. Unpub. letter in the possession of Lady Juliette Huxley. 17 May 1931.
- 45. Letters, pp.348-349.
- 46. Collinson Owen, "Gentlemen Who Prefer Bombs," Daily Mail, 30 June 1931, pp.11-12.

namely that the novel spoofs the Soviet endeavour. On its publication, M.D. Petrie reviewed "Mr. Aldous Huxley's amazing story of a world wherein the ideals of Bolshevist philosophy should be fantastically and impossibly fulfilled".⁴⁷ This contemporary response to the novel is echoed in more recent assessments of Brave New World. Citing Huxley's revulsion at The Mind and Face of Bolshevism as a principal stimulus, Peter Firchow maintains that, "The Russian Revolution, with all its attendant social and cultural phenomena, exercises a profound influence on the shape of Huxley's new world state...",⁴⁸ while Krishan Kumar is even more certain that:

For Huxley, Socialism and Marxism, as the latest variants of scientific rationalism, differed from other varieties only in their greater arrogance and fanaticism, a judgement the Russian Revolution and the new Soviet State had done nothing to shake.⁴⁹

As with the persistent classification of Brave New World as a dystopia, critics of the novel who interpret it as specifically anti-Soviet in conception invariably follow a 'lead' provided by Huxley himself. The epigraph to the novel is taken from Nicholas Berdyaev's The End of Our Time,

47. M.D. Petrie, "Bolshevist Ideals and The Brave New World", Hibbert Journal, 31, (October 1931), pp.61-71.

48. The End of Utopia, p.100.

49. Kumar, p.243.

seemingly a testament, as it stands, to the Russian philosopher's qualms about the totalitarian implications of utopia:

... Les utopies sont réalisables. La vie marche vers les utopies. Et peut-être un siècle nouveau commence-t-il, un siècle où les intellectuels et la classe cultivée rêveront aux moyens d'éviter les utopies et de retourner a une société non utopique, moins 'parfaite' et plus libre.

In the opinion of George Kateb:

This utterance could be taken as the essence of modern antiutopianism. In the kind of people it sets in potential opposition to "perfection" and in the value it plays off against perfection - namely, freedom - this [last] sentence displays its author's unexceptionable humanism.⁵⁰

However, notwithstanding Huxley's carefully tailored excerpt, Berdyaev's book is remarkable not for its "unexceptionable humanism", but for its unrelenting denigration of democracy, equality ("a passion for nothingness") and, above all, socialism. The destruction of the "hierarchical organism" of the Renaissance epoch by machinery, progress and the Bolshevik

50. George Kateb, Utopia and Its Enemies, (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), pp.13-14.

revolution is passionately lamented:

There was probably more real liberty of spirit in the days when the fires of the Spanish Inquisition were blazing than in the middle-class republics of to-day, wherein spirit and religious conscience are themselves denied.⁵¹

Not suprisingly, Berdyaev regarded Fascism as a creative force and Mussolini as, "the only person of originality among contemporary statesmen".⁵² Significantly, in the passage from The End of Our Time from which Huxley drew his epigraph, Berdyaev's remarks are not directed at utopias in general, but are specifically concerned with the fate of "la classe cultivée" in the Bolshevik utopia of the Soviet Union. For his translation of Berdyaev's work into English, Donald Atwater relied on the same anonymous French version of the original Russian text which Huxley was clearly familiar with. This French translation was published in 1927, and it is tempting to speculate that Huxley first read Berdyaev during that period in the late 1920s when he saw no distinction between the Soviet State and a factory organised on Fordist principles. The epigraph, too, may well be a legacy of Huxley's original projection of Brave New World as a dystopia satirising the Fordian millenium.

51. Nicholas Berdyaev, The End of Our Time: Together With An Essay on the General Line of Soviet Philosophy, trans. Donald Atwater, (London: Sheed and Ward, 1933), pp.177-178.

52. ibid., p.142.

In "The Victory of Art Over Humanity" Huxley reiterated his view that a solution to the economic crisis must be, "imposed by some strong and intelligent central authority. Yes, imposed. For, as usual, the desirable is not the same as that which is in practice desired - at any rate by an important section of the population". What was needed so desperately, according to Huxley as spokesman for this elite, was "a rejuvenated government, equipped with the necessary institutional weapons, and capable of acting swiftly and with a well-informed and intelligent ruthlessness". Two years later Yeats found himself "constantly urging the despotic rule of the educated classes as the only end to our troubles,"⁵³ and Huxley clearly believed, like Yeats, that "order is a conspiracy of a few".⁵⁴

Following the "literary catastrophe" of late May, Huxley spent the next month continually revising Brave New World. He wrote to Sydney Schiff on 21 June 1931:

I'm working very hard, re-writing large chunks of what I had thought definitely done and praying heaven that this time the revision may be final - while before me lie great deserts of the yet unwritten.⁵⁵

53. Allan Wade, ed., The Letters of W.B. Yeats, (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954), pp.811-812.

54. ibid., p.692.

55. Robert, p.73.

The same day, in an unpublished letter, he told Mary Hutchinson:

I want to get my book about the future finished by the end of the Summer. It advances slowly - and the future becomes more and more appalling with every chapter.⁵⁶

Huxley met his self-imposed deadline, and by 24 August the novel was finished. Apologising to his father for his epistolary silence, Huxley gave pressure of work as his excuse and announced the completion of:

... a comic, or at least satirical, novel about the Future, showing the appallingness (at any rate by our standards) of Utopia and adumbrating the effects on thought and feeling of such quite possible biological inventions as the production of children in bottles ... the prolongation of youth, the devising of some harmless but effective substitute for alcohol, cocaine, opium etc: - and also the effects of such sociological reforms as Pavlovian conditioning of all children from birth and before birth, universal peace, security and stability. It has been a job writing the book and I'm glad it's done.⁵⁷

56. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center.

57. Letters, p.351.

Writing to G. Wilson Knight in September, Huxley described Brave New World as:

... a Swiftian novel about the Future showing the horrors of Utopia and the strange and appalling effects on feeling 'instinct' and general Weltanschauung of the application of psychological and mechanical knowledge to the fundamentals of human life. It is a comic book - but seriously comic.⁵⁸

If Leonard Huxley and Wilson Knight were familiar with Aldous's recent journalism they must surely have been puzzled by these descriptions of his latest novel. How, they must have wondered, could this putative concern for the liberty of the individuals of the future be reconciled with Huxley's pleas for the immediate adoption of Soviet-style planning, his far from comic willingness to condone the circumvention of democratic procedures and his dispassionate observations on the exigence of force and propaganda? There is no reason to suppose that Huxley is being disingenuous or whiffling in these letters, and the only explanation can be that he still perceived Brave New World, even after it was completed, as a satire on the Fordian world state, unaware, that the most persuasive voice in the novel is Mond's. The subsequent recognition of this is perhaps what Huxley was referring to

58. Letters, p.353.

to when he told the Paris Review that Brave New World:

... started out as a parody of H.G. Wells's Men Like Gods, but gradually it got out of hand and turned into something quite different from what I'd originally intended. As I became more and more interested in the subject, I wandered farther and farther from my original purpose.⁵⁹

Similarly, in dismissing the assumption that his novel was influenced by We, Huxley told a correspondent in 1962:

Oddly enough I never heard of Zamyatin's book until three or four years ago... Men Like Gods annoyed me to the point of planning a parody, but when I started writing I found the idea of a negative Utopia so interesting that I forgot about Wells and launched into Brave New World.⁶⁰

However, by far the most interesting retrospective remark Huxley made about his novel has so far been overlooked. When, in November 1935, Alan Campbell Johnson asked Huxley whether his ultimate sympathies were with "the savage's aspirations or with the ideal of conditional stability,"

59. Writers at Work: The 'Paris Review' Interviews, 2nd ser., (London: Secker and Warburg, 1963), p.165.
60. Christopher Collins, "Zamyatin, Wells and the Utopian Literary Tradition", Slavonic and East European Review, 44, (July 1966), pp.351-360. Letter dated 25 October 1962.

Huxley replied:

"With neither, but I believe some mean between the two is both desirable and possible and must be our objective"... At one moment he suggested that our efforts might have to be limited to the training of an intellectual aristocracy, and at another he pointed to the lines this training should take.⁶¹

It is frustrating that Johnson gives no indication of what Huxley did consider the appropriate training for an "intellectual aristocracy", but his adherence to a Menckonian /Wellsian strategy in the same month that he opened a major anti-fascist exhibition in London reveals just how deeply ingrained his desire for "conditioned stability" was.

Against Mark Hillegas's view that despite Huxley's Paris Review remarks, "he in fact stuck very much with his original intention,"⁶² can be marshalled not only Huxley's two further comments on the novel quoted above, which were unavailable to Hillegas, but also R.H. Wilson's and Donald Watt's more recent articles on the revisions to the typescript of Brave New World, now held by the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center. As Wilson says the collated

61. Alan Campbell Johnson, Peace Offering, (London: Methuen, 1936), pp.162-163.

62. Mark R. Hillegas, The Future as Nightmare: H.G. Wells and the Anti-Utopians, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.117.

material which Huxley sold to Texas shows that, "Huxley did not work by producing successive versions of the whole novel, but by constant piecemeal revision". However:

The largest recognisable expansion is of John Savage's [sic] conversation with Mond, which finally occupies Chapters XVI and XVII... The shortest early form... is relatively simple and undramatic because Mond talks only to the Savage in an interview which was scheduled earlier. He has apparently made no public outburst against Fordian society, Mond's advance knowledge of his opinion being explainable by Bernard's reports. At the start John is essentially a 'straight man' to lead Mond into explanations of his world, including one statement, about why everyone isn't made an Alpha, which was transferred from a cancelled passage in Chapter I... But as the beginning of the scene was revised in purple on fols. 208-11, it reflects a major change in the story. John has just caused a riot by trying to arouse the lower-caste hospital workers, and the conversation becomes a confrontation following his arrest... [in which Helmholtz Watson] helps provoke Mond's statements so that they seem more like argument than explanation.⁶³

63. Robert H. Wilson, "Versions of Brave New World", Library Chronicle of the University of Texas, 8, (Spring 1968), pp.28-41.

Donald Watt, too, noting that "Brave New World was born amid a tangle of lined-out phrases, typed-over words, rearranged passages and tireless autograph insertions", observes that Bernard Marx and the Savage seem to have been conceived much more positively when he commenced the novel; "... Huxley qualified to a noticeable extent his initial inclination to lionize John". Furthermore, Watt concludes that what became chapters fourteen and fifteen in the published novel were later interpolations, concurring with Wilson that:

Evidence in the script suggests that Huxley also must have had important second thoughts about the novel's concluding chapters... [which] show him fusing what he finally wished to say in the book with the most effective way of saying it.⁶⁴

In the fifteenth chapter, the Savage and Helmholtz Watson create havoc in the Park Lane Hospital for the Dying by attempting to liberate the menial Deltas from their dependence on soma. Watt suggests "this was evidently added to the script to give the rebels an active, if ineffectual, way of expressing their dissatisfaction". Alternatively, in view of the coercive policies which Huxley was simultaneously advocating in his non-fictional work during 1931, the late addition of a scene in which the police,

64. Donald Watt, "The Manuscript Revisions of Brave New World", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 77, (July 1978), pp.367-382.

"goggle-eyed and swine-snouted in their gas masks" quell rioters both with their "water pistols charged with a powerful anaesthetic" (p.253) and their Synthetic Music Box with its unctuous "Voice of Reason", may be read, perhaps, as an unconscious token of Huxley's preparedness to see force and persuasion used to restore stability and order to Britain. His original purpose in writing Brave New World may well have been to travesty Men Like Gods, but parody gave way to tentative prescription, with Mustapha Mond, like Scogan and Webley before him, acting as Huxley's ideological spokesman. "Stability", Mond tells the Director of Hatcheries and Conditioning's party of students in Chapter Three, "No civilisation without social stability. No social stability without individual stability... stability. The primal and ultimate need," (p.48). The same reasoning is impressed upon the Savage during his audience with Mond at the end of Brave New World. "The optimum population", the Savage is informed, "is modelled on the iceberg - eight-ninths below the water line, one-ninth above". (p.264).

In his 1946 Foreword, Huxley characterised the author of the novel as an "amused, Pyrrhonic aesthete", yet, as Ferns has remarked:

... it is hard to believe that it was seriously his intention to leave Mond's opinions unchallenged because to do so would be amusing.⁶⁵

65. Ferns, p.146.

Rather, as Keith May has observed:

The perfect reasonableness with which Mustapha Mond develops his side of the case suggests strongly that Huxley is dramatizing a conflict of his own.⁶⁶

Surely, in his magisterial dominance of the Savage, Mustapha Mond personifies, whether Huxley was aware of it or not, that "strong and central authority" who he had summoned in July 1931 to impose stability, reason and order on Britain. "History is a graveyard of aristocracies", was Pareto's terse distillation of the circulation of elites;⁶⁷ "History is bunk" (p.38) Mustapha Mond would have retorted as one of ten Resident World Controllers of a rational and petrified global state.

As Krishan Kumar has said, Mond's name derives from Alfred Mond, the founder and chairman of ICI:

Mond stands for the new giant conglomerates that were coming to dominate the industrial world. He is a particularly good choice on Huxley's part, not simply as one of the new breed of scientist - industrialist, but because both the left and the right were hailing the conglomerates enthusiastically as the latest and most progressive organizational form in the modern world: the right because they were a move towards 'rationalization', the left because they were a half-way house to nationalization.⁶⁸

66. May, p.115.

67. The Mind and Society, Vol.3, p.1430.

68. Kumar, p.243.

It was due to its status as the mecca of rationalization that Huxley had visited the I.C.I. complex at Billingham during his second visit to the North-East. He reported with right-wing approbation:

There is no general plan, but there are many particular plans - plans almost unbelievably adequate to the matter with which they are meant to deal and worked out in practice to the last detail. Industrially and financially, we are, at our best, thoroughly scientific and rational, full of sense and foresight; politically - and, of all the strange anomalies of civilised life, this is one of the strangest - we are still pre-scientific...

Billingham is a triumphant embodiment of particular planning. The great I.C.I. factory is one of those ordered universes that exist as anomalous cases of pure logic in the midst of the larger world of planless incoherence.⁶⁹

This encomium was published in June 1931. Huxley's desire to see planning more universally applied intensified during the composition of Brave New World, and Kumar is quite wrong when he argues that the choice of the Resident World Controller's name is consistent with Huxley's onomastic policy in the novel, whereby "his particular bêtes noires" are satirised.

69. "Sight-Seeing in Alien Englands".

Toynbee described 1931 as an "annus terribilis", during which people "were seriously contemplating and frankly discussing the possibility that the western system of society might break down and cease to work".⁷⁰ This was increasingly Huxley's view, and, as the country lolloped, apparently ineluctably, from one crisis to the next, with the run on sterling and the resignation of MacDonald in August, so his pessimism grew incrementally more acute. Significantly, Huxley concluded the letter to his father of 24 August, which he had commenced by describing Brave New World as a "comic, or at least satirical, novel about the Future", in the following way:

The accounts of travelling in Russia which I received the other day from a Soviet enthusiast, Lady Cynthia Moseley [sic], were distinctly depressing. My own courage would quail before the dirt she described... Nevertheless I do feel more and more certain that unless the rest of the world adopts something on the lines of the Five Year Plan it will break down. Modern industry is too huge to be left to individualistic enterprise. Now that the beastly thing exists, the only thing to do is to reduce it to order - as was done, after all, during the War.⁷¹

70. Quoted in Skidelsky, Politicians and the Slump, p.281.

71. Letters, p.352. Shaw felt the same. "We Want a Five Year Plan Here", The New Leader, 7 August 1931, pp.6-7.

Also around August he wrote:

At moments like the present - moments of dangerous national crisis - I always find myself thinking of a certain episode in Gulliver's Travels... Faced by the menace - or worse, by the accomplished fact - of war, or revolution, or national bankruptcy, I feel (with how sickening a sense of utter helplessness!) like Gulliver in the paw of the Brobignagian ape.⁷²

Huxley had intended visiting America in September, but the abandonment of the Gold Standard, marking "the watershed of English history between the wars",⁷³ drew him back to London. Eugene Saxton was told:

This startling out-falling of the bottom of old England has made me change my autumn plans - and I have decided that we shan't be coming to New York after all: partly for reasons of expense and partly because I want to be very much on the spot while the crisis is being solved - or not solved! - during the next few weeks and months. One develops a strong sense of patriotism when the moment comes, and I don't at all want to be out of London at this time.⁷⁴

72. "Angry Ape", Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 88, (December 1931), p.32. See Jonathan Swift, Gulliver's Travels, eds. Peter Dixon and John Chalker (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1967), pp.161-162.

73. Taylor, p.374.

74. Letters, p.354.

His attention was not focused exclusively on the domestic scene, however; Huxley also kept an anxious hawk's eye on the world at large:

In a recent speech, Mussolini announced the possibility, for the coming Winter, of serious and widespread revolutionary movements. It is a prophecy which one does not have to be a man of genius or a reigning dictator to make. The very facts are prophetic; we have only to let them speak.

For central Europe, monetary collapse and a series of national bankruptcies are grim possibilities. For the world at large, more unemployment, more poverty, more hunger, are all but certain. There is too much wheat in the world; therefore millions must go without bread; such is the almost divinely paradoxical logic of the present economic circumstances.⁷⁵

After a month's sojourn in London, during which the campaigning for the General Election of 27 October intensified, Huxley had, "the impression of being in a lunatic asylum - at the mercy of drivelling imbeciles and dangerous madmen in a state of frenzy - the politicians".⁷⁶ This derisive attitude was no doubt nourished by his first-hand experience of the hustings. Once again, Robert Nichols's dispatches to Henry and Ruth Head offer a new insight into Huxley's

75. "Revolution", Chicago Herald and Examiner, 24 September 1931, p.9.

76. Letters, p.356.

opinions and activity at this time:

He had been taken by Mary Hutchinson and Co. to a Tory meeting of Jix.⁷⁷ Their party was headed by Lady Diana Duff Cooper. At first they couldn't get in and there was a lot of booing and yelling at these obvious capitalists. But Lady Diana quickly got hold of a steward and thereafter they progressed toward the platform, the populace making rude remarks and Lady Diana replying with badinage of great directness and efficacy so that the crowd parted... [and] their progress to the platform became a sort of ironical triumph. On the platform the Conservatives had in the wisdom of their hearts gathered among others a notorious rack-rent landlord who had been twice prosecuted. The populace yelled "Bloodsucker!" and continued so to yell for one hour by this dial during which the eloquence of a fresh-faced baby Jix bombinated in vain. At length Aldous and Co. tired of their role and commenced to depart. As they withdrew the voices of the gods of the underworld pursued them. "I am you know", said Aldous smiling to himself, "altogether the wrong shape for a capitalist. Like Jerusalem the elevation achieved by my head cannot be hid and accordingly I was most surprised though a good deal entertained as I went by a voice which bellowed "Good night Ghandi!"

77. i.e. William Joynson-Hicks, Lord Brentford (1865-1932).

The election resulted in the formation of a second National Government under Ramsay MacDonald, but for Huxley the whole affair served to exacerbate his despair of conventional politics. The Huxleys, appearing "rather jaded", visited Nichols on 28 October, and he continued his letter to the Heads with an account of Aldous's feelings during an election-night party at the Duff Coopers's:

Aldous says Duff Cooper's "a horrid man", but that she is "really rather delightful and in any case quite irresistible". But he was shocked by the way such people and so many of the 'Haves' - above all the fashionable and pseudo-fashionable Haves - treat politics purely as if it were a game, a rather boring game, which, however, now and then boils up into a frenzy or a gamble which pays for the dull periods.⁷⁸

It was about this time that Huxley reached the end of his political tether. A "persistence of aggregates" was manifestly the dominant Paretian residue in his own psychology, and his yearning for stability had now become chronic. All the problems of the last two years indicated to him, "that it is fairly easy for a government to have foresight, but that it is exceedingly difficult, especially

78. Unpub. letter in the possession of Mrs. Anne Charlton.

1 November 1931.

in a democracy, to act on that foresight..." Therefore Huxley concluded:

We may either persist in our present course, which is disastrous, or we must abandon democracy and allow ourselves to be ruled dictatorially by men who will compel us to do and suffer what a rational foresight demands.

Or, if we preserve the democratic forms, we must invent some psychological technique for inducing the electorate to act before the crash rather than after: we must provide voters with bad emotional reasons for behaving with rational foresight.

Or, finally, we may employ both these last methods together - compel and at the same time use propaganda to make the compulsion appear acceptable.

This is the present Russian method. Refined and improved, it has a good chance of becoming universal.⁷⁹

It is also the World State's method, of course, as the Savage discovers. By the time he made his debut as a broadcaster shortly afterwards, Huxley had tempered his support for totalitarian coercion and become even more convinced of the superiority of non-violent persuasion. Discussing whether or not the world was becoming less cruel with Gerald Heard -

79. "Forewarned is not Forearmed", Chicago Herald and Examiner, 18 November 1931, p.9.

who was also contemplating the possibility of "... a return to strong and even violent government" - Huxley argued against a draconian regime. "I don't see how we are going to settle anything, at this time of day, simply by force".

Rather, he insisted:

... it is just because Italy and Russia understand the force of propaganda that they make it a State monopoly. In fact it has become just as important as an army or navy. I believe myself it is the future substitute for force. Propaganda can make it psychologically impossible for people to disobey you.⁸⁰

Four days later, in his first solo broadcast, Huxley amplified this new stress on propaganda in what is the most complete predication of his thought at this time. But the deficiencies of Eschelbach and Shober's Bibliography, however, and the unquestioning acceptance of their canon by Huxley's critics, have ensured that this broadcast has been totally neglected until now, even though the standard bibliography does list a 1933 reprint of the published text of it - unwittingly documented as its first appearance. In "Science and Civilisation", Huxley embraces propaganda with

80. "On the 9.20 - Conversations in the Train", B.B.C. National Programme. 9 January 1932; Pub. as "Is Cruelty Out of Date?: A Discussion Between Gerald Heard and Aldous Huxley", The Listener, 7, (20 January 1932), pp.97-99.

growing excitement as a practicable means to his end of a planned and rational world, instancing, once again, how, "the rulers of Russia and Fascist Italy are systematically using this psychological weapon to create new types of civilisation". It must be emphasised that this talk was transmitted only a fortnight before the publication of Brave New World:

Proaganda is still relatively inefficient even in countries like Russia and Italy, where the state controls all the existing instruments of mass-suggestion from education to the 'movies' and the Press. But psychological science teaches us how it could be made irresistably effective. Freud and his followers have shown how profoundly important to us are the events of the first few months and years of our existence; have proved that our adult mentality, our whole way of thinking and feeling, our entire philosophy of life may be shaped and moulded by what we experience in earliest childhood. Following another line of research, the great Russian biologist, Pavlov, and the American Behaviourists have shown how easy it is, with animals and very young children, to form conditioned reflexes which habit soon hardens into what we are loosely accustomed to call 'instinctive' patterns of behaviour.

Such are the scientific facts waiting to be applied to the solution of political problems. Rulers have only to devise some scheme for laying their hands on new-born babies to be able to impose on their people almost any behaviour pattern they like. No serious practical difficulties stand in the way of such a plan. One of these days some apparently beneficent and humanitarian government will create a comprehensive system of State crèches and baby-farms; and - with a little systematic conditioning of infant reflexes - it will have the fate of its future subjects in its hands... This will make the overt use of force quite unnecessary. Dictatorship, as a form of government, may have, in the immediate future, a brief spell of popularity. In times of crisis like the present, strong government is probably necessary. But once the position has been stabilised and, above all, once our rulers have been educated up to the point of realising the extent of the power which psychological science has placed in their hands, strong government will cease to be necessary. When every member of the community has been conditioned from earliest childhood to think as his rulers desire him to think, dictatorship can be abandoned... By means of [propaganda], a creed will be inculcated, racial and individual idiosyncracies as far as possible smoothed out, contentment and conformity incessantly preached. Indeed, scientific propaganda may enable future rulers to do what the

mediaeval Popes and Emperors tried but failed to achieve. They may actually succeed in creating a great world-wide community united by common beliefs and aspirations, common wants, tastes and thoughts... What will be the attitude of the humanist towards scientific propaganda? Fundamentally, I think, he would be opposed to it. For if it were thoroughly scientific and efficient, scientific propaganda would obviously be quite incompatible with personal liberty. Now personal liberty is, for the humanist, something of the highest value. He believes that, on the whole, it is better to 'go wrong in freedom than to go right in chains' - even if the chains are imponderable, even if they are not felt by the prisoner to be chains. Nevertheless, it may be that circumstances will compel the humanist to resort to scientific propaganda, just as they may compel the liberal to resort to dictatorship. Any form of order is better than chaos. Our civilisation is menaced with total collapse. Dictatorship and scientific propaganda may provide the only means for saving humanity from the miseries of anarchy".⁸¹

81. B.B.C. National Programme. 13 January 1932; Pub. as, "Science - The Double-Edged Tool!", The Listener, 7, (20 January 1932), pp.77-79, 112; Rep. as "Economists, Scientists and Humanists", in Mary Adams ed., Science in the Changing World, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1933), pp.209-233.

It is one of the central contentions of this thesis that at no time prior to the mid-1930s could Huxley be regarded as a humanist or a liberal. But that he was quite ready to countenance the exhaustive conditioning he describes in the Fordian World State must be acknowledged in any future discussion of Huxley as the ideological peer of Orwell, Zamyatin and Koestler. "Any form of order is better than chaos" is certainly not a maxim to which they would have subscribed. Shortly afterwards Huxley wrote:

How can we reconcile the conflicting claims of letter and spirit? The answer is that we can't. Jesus was right on His plane; but so were Moses and Caesar on theirs. Let us frankly admit that, if He were now to return, Jesus could do little to solve our political and economic problems. Spiritual intuitions are no substitute for blue prints.⁸²

That Huxley's need to assuage his craving for order and stability should develop through an acquiescence to force and propaganda and culminate in his embracement of eugenics is not surprising. His predilection for a "hierarchy of mental quality" had tantalised him as an anarchy-free utopia for many years, and, if propaganda ultimately rendered dictatorship unnecessary, so manipulation of the eugenic

82. "If Christ Should Come...", Good Housekeeping, 21, (April 1932), pp.8, 99.

constitution of society would eventually obviate the need for examining psychologists to exercise "superhuman clairvoyance" in assigning children to their appropriate castes.

The absorption of biological blue-prints into broader plans for the rationalization of society was not uncommon in the 1930s. Greta Jones has examined the link between the planning movement and the campaign for social hygiene during the decade, quoting Julian Huxley's summary of PEP's aims in 1934 as typical of the period's thinking:

Planning in the sense in which that word is generally used is not enough. It is extremely important to plan out our cities, to rationalize our industries, to guard against exaggerated slumps and booms in the domain of finance, to make provision through co-operative marketing, production quotas, import regulations for a steady flow of agricultural products and a healthy farming industry, to adjust our currency to a flexible world-system, and so on. But this alone is only one aspect of biological and social engineering. In the long run, it is equally important to plan for education, for health, for self-development in adult life, for the intelligent use of the steadily increasing amount of leisure which will be available in a planned society, for quantity of population, for racial improvement.⁸³

83. Greta Jones, Social Hygiene in Twentieth Century Britain, (London: Croom Helm, 1986), p.124.

As we shall see in Chapter Six, Julian Huxley's rosy meliorism, reflects the ascendancy of the reform eugenists in the 1930s; his brother's interest in eugenics was always less benign.

Unlike Naomi Mitchison, who was elected a Fellow of the Eugenics Education Society in July 1925, and W.B. Yeats, who joined as an ordinary member in November 1936, Huxley had no formal connections with the Eugenics Society (it was renamed in 1926).⁸⁴ This can only have been due to his residence in France, as there is enough evidence to suggest that his eugenicist fervour was far more sustained than that of his fellow writers.

Huxley's compact critique of Leonard Darwin's The Need for Eugenic Reform in Proper Studies was discussed in Chapter Two, and, soon after its publication in 1930, Huxley read another major text of the British eugenics movement, R.A. Fisher's The Genetical Theory of Natural Selection.⁸⁵ Like Leonard Darwin, Fisher proposed that there was a deleterious inverse relation between social and biological success in society, in that the prosperous classes, being "more sensitive to economic and prudential considerations,"

84. Information obtained from Naomi Hitchison's and W.B. Yeats's membership cards, Eugenics Society Library, Eccleston Square, London.

85. "Foreheads Villainous Low", The Week-End Review, 2, (20 September 1930), pp.371-372. Rep. in Music at Night, pp.201-210.

tended to limit the size of their families.⁸⁶ Moreover, Fisher went on to argue that there was more to the problem of differential fertility than a simple causal relationship between wealth and breeding, claiming that the phenomenon was more attributable, "to physiological factors - and also variations in mental, behavioural, and even moral character. All added up to variations in temperament that, to Fisher's mind, figured in decisions for or against marriage and especially for or against reproduction".⁸⁷ Fisher's book clearly impressed Huxley. Writing to him at the nadir of his despondency in September 1931, Huxley commented:

... after reading in your book about the effects on the human stock of a social organisation based on economic reward I think we have a right to a good deal of gloom and alarm! The really depressing thing about such a situation as you describe is that, the evil being of slow maturation and coming to no obvious crisis, there will never be anything in the nature of a panic. And as recent events only too clearly show, it is only in moments of panic that anything gets done.⁸⁸

- 86. R.A. Fisher, The Genetical Theory of Natural Selection (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), p.263.
- 87. Kevles, p.182.
- 88. J.H. Bennett, ed., Natural Selection, Heredity and Eugenics: Including Selected Correspondence of R.A. Fisher with Leonard Darwin and Others (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p.220. Letter dated 26 September 1931.

Another figure in the eugenics movement to whom Huxley was especially indebted, besides his brother Julian, was C.P. Blacker, who was to become General Secretary of the Eugenics Society for the next thirty years from May 1932. Blacker and Huxley lunched together at the beginning of January 1932,⁸⁹ and it is likely that Huxley's decision to discuss eugenics in the crucial "Science and Civilization" broadcast of 13 January, though certainly not the opinions he espoused, owed much to their meeting. After dealing with propaganda, Huxley went on to consider eugenics:

So far as our knowledge goes, negative eugenics - or the sterilization of the unfit - might already be practised with tolerable safety. On the positive side we are still very ignorant - though we know enough thanks to Mr. Fisher's admirable work, to foresee the rapid deterioration unless we take remedial measures, of the whole West European stock. Eugenics are not yet practical politics. But propaganda could easily make them practical politics, while increase in knowledge will make them also purposive and far-sighted politics.

The humanist would see in eugenics an instrument for giving to an ever widening circle of men and women those hereditary qualities of mind and body which are, by his highest standards, the most desirable.

89. Unpub. postcard, Julian Huxley file, C.P. Blacker Archive, Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, Oxford University. 2 January 1932.

But what of the economist-ruler? Would he necessarily be anxious to improve the race? By no means necessarily. He might actually wish to deteriorate it. His ideal, we must remember, is not the perfect human being, but the perfect mass-producer and mass-consumer. Now perfect human beings probably make very bad mass-producers. It is quite on the cards that industrialists will find, as machinery is made more foolproof, that the great majority of jobs can be better performed by stupid people than by intelligent ones. Again, stupid people are probably the State's least troublesome subjects, and a society composed in the main of stupid people is more likely to be stable than one with a high proportion of intelligent people. The economist-ruler would therefore be tempted to use the knowledge of genetics, not for eugenic but for dysgenic purposes - for the deliberate lowering of the average mental standard. True, this would have to be accompanied by the special breeding and training of a small caste of experts, without whom a scientific civilisation cannot exist. Here, incidentally, I may remark that in a scientific civilisation society must be organised on a caste basis. The rulers and their advisory experts will be a kind of Brahmins controlling, in virtue of a special and mysterious knowledge, vast hordes of these intellectual equivalents of Sudras and Untouchables.

That Huxley should discuss the soundness of sterilizing the unfit and the desirability of a caste system in terms of progress and humanism seems perverse, and moreover, difficult to reconcile with his genuine compassion for the unemployed. But, from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, many progressives supported negative eugenics or sterilization as a justifiable and humane means of solving social problems. The Webbs, Shaw, Bertrand Russell and Wells all had eugenist sympathies.⁹⁰ Havelock Ellis's opinion was typical of the radicals' point-of-view:

The superficially sympathetic man flings a coin to a beggar; the more deeply sympathetic man builds an almshouse for him so that he need no longer beg; but perhaps the most radically sympathetic of all is the man who arranges that the beggar should not be born.⁹¹

Doyens and viragos of the progressive establishment, such as J.M. Keynes, Norman Haire, J.B.S. Haldane, Naomi Mitchison and Marie Stopes, were all members of the Eugenics Society.

90. See, for example, H.G. Wells' "The Problem of the Birth Supply" in Mankind in the Making, (1903), Sydney Webb's The Decline of the Birth-Rate, (1907), and Russell's "Marriage and the Population Question" in Principles of Social Reconstruction, (1916).

91. Quoted in Kevles, p.90. See also, Diane Paul, "Eugenics and the Left", Journal of the History of Ideas, 45, (October 1984), pp.567-590.

In his article on "Eugenics and Progressive Thought", Michael Freeden quotes a statement by F.C.S. Schiller which he claims was indicative of the progressive's mood:

The difference between our present society and a rationally organised and eugenical society is not that in the former the individual is free and in the latter controlled, but that our present organization is so largely random, aimless, inconsistent and self-frustrating ... while the latter would be planned, and would enable [the individual] to rise insensibly above the lurid past and to reach a harmonious development.⁹²

Other authorities, however, such as Jones and G.R. Searle,⁹³ dispute Schiller's status as a progressive, and his perception of the use of eugenics as social policy in Social Decay and Eugenical Reform (1932) is certainly closer to that of Huxley's hypothetical economist-ruler than his philanthropic humanist. Written like Brave New World, "at a time of the deepest depression and gloom, when our civilization is threatened with complete collapse," Schiller's book offered a

92. Michael Freeden, "Eugenics and Progressive Thought: A Study in Ideological Affinity", Historical Journal, 22, (September 1979), pp.645-671.
93. G.R. Searle, "Eugenics and Politics in Britain in the 1930s", Annals of Science, 36, (1979), pp.159-169.

to reverse the progressive deterioration caused by the differential birth-rate.⁹⁴ "Is our civilization beginning to decline?" Schiller asks rhetorically in his opening paragraph:

Are we approaching a turning-point of history and entering upon a dismal period similar to the decay of the Greco-Roman world 1500 years ago, when the old social order rotted away, and a new one had to be built up with infinite pains and horrors on a much lower level? Or are we heading for a catastrophic collapse of civilized man or even of the whole human race?

There is a marked affinity throughout Social Decay and Eugenical Reform between Schiller's tone, the prognosis he adumbrates, his reactionary view of how eugenics should be applied, and Huxley's declamations from the same period. Schiller sees eugenical reform as:

... conservative in essence... because it harks back to the past and scientifically rehabilitates ideas which have been universally believed, until the last hundred years or so. It recognises, for example, the rationality of the aristocratic idea, and will restore some aristocratic order. (p.26)

94. F.C.S. Schiller, Social Decay and Eugenical Reform, (London: Constable, 1932), p.v.

A resuscitation of the gens, compulsory sterilization and baby shows offering kudos and procreative incentives to the biologically superior, are three aspects of the positive eugenical scheme which Schiller hoped would arrest "the dreadfully dysgenical trend of our civilization," (p.98). Above all, he insisted, "force is the basis of government", (p.161). Philanthropy was the last thing which seems to have concerned him.

Kumar reads Brave New World as the "moral rejection of J.B.S. Haldane's prediction," in Daedalus: Or Science and the Future (1924), that 150 years hence less than thirty percent of children will be born naturally, and the rest by ectogenesis.⁹⁵ But, for all its archness, Daedalus, like Social Decay and Eugenical Reform, is another response to the threat posed by "the greater fertility of the less desirable members of the population in almost all countries".⁹⁶ Huxley is much more likely to have been attracted by the solutions Schiller and Haldane envisaged rather than revolted by them. He was, moreover, already familiar with the notion of ectogenesis before Daedalus was even published. In Crome Yellow Scogan had prophesied that:

An impersonal generation will take the place of Nature's hideous system. In vast state incubators, rows upon rows of gravid bottles will supply the world with the population it requires. (p.47).

95. Kumar, p.232.

96. J.B.S. Haldane, Daedalus: Or Science and the Future (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1924), pp.66-67.

Furthermore, Huxley's suggested topics in a letter to his brother from the early 1920s, soliciting articles for Vanity Fair, are equally revealing:

I should think that one on Heredity and perhaps one slightly Wellsian forecast of the possible achievements of biology in the future (pointing out how much more interesting is control of life than control of machinery) would be a good beginning.⁹⁷

Huxley alludes to Haldane's ectogenetic schemes for improving "the stock", outlined in Daedalus, in Proper Studies (p.278), while Olive Strangeways' "reading a book about the future, when babies would be bred in bottles" in Lady Chatterley's Lover may be viewed either as a token of the reciprocity of the Lawrence-Huxley relationship, or, more likely, as an indication of the wide currency of such ideas in 1920s.⁹⁸ Firchow has gone so far as to suggest that both Haldane and Bertrand Russell in The Scientific Outlook (1931) borrowed details from Huxley, and not the other way round.⁹⁹ This must remain conjectural, but

97. Unpub. letter in possession of Lady Juliette Huxley. 7 June 1922.

98. Lady Chatterley's Lover, p.76. See also "Men Must Work and Women as Well", "In the abstract we sail ahead to bigger business and better jobs and babies bred in bottles and food in tabloid form".

99. Firchow, p.40.

those critics such as Philip Thody¹⁰⁰ and Margaret Moran¹⁰¹ who have repeated the accusations of Joseph Needham¹⁰² and Russell himself¹⁰³ that Brave New World plagiarises The Scientific Outlook show an inadequate understanding of Huxley's intellectual milieu.

Of course, no matter how much new material from the same period as Brave New World is amassed, showing overwhelmingly that a "nightmarish" distant future was the last thing on Huxley's mind in 1931, that he was a zealous exponent of planning, and that in "Science and Civilization" he unveiled a blueprint which was the World State without its satirical trappings, the conventional interpretation of the novel as a dystopia cannot be invalidated. But the argument of this chapter is that to persist in reading the novel as a humanist's anti-totalitarian fantasy must also entail recognising Brave New World as an ideological anomaly. At the very least, the conviction with which the standard view is held must surely be modified. What, in retrospect, Huxley identified as the most rebarbative aspects of the World State - its pyramidal caste system,

100. Philip Thody, Aldous Huxley: A Biographical Introduction, (London: Studio Vista, 1973), pp.50-51.

101. Margaret Moran, "Bertrand Russell as Scogan in Aldous Huxley's Crome Yellow", Mosiac, 17, (Summer 1984), pp.117-132.

102. Joseph Needham, "Biology and Mr. Huxley", Scrutiny, 1. (May 1932), pp.76-79.

103. Quoted in Moran.

conditioning of its citizens and the omnipotence of its governing elite - have been shown to be the very measures which he was recommending for the crisis-torn Britain of 1931. Consequently, the proclivity of Huxley's critics to couch their estimations of the novel as irrefutable axioms seems all the more misguided:

By 1928 he had become increasingly aware of the threat posed by the two principal variants of modern totalitarianism, Italian fascism and Russian communism... Brave New World is an implicit condemnation of collectivist absolutism...¹⁰⁴

It remains to try and slough the equally adhesive notion that Huxley was, "the greatest anti-Wellsian of them all".¹⁰⁵ In Anticipations (1902) Wells announced that:

... a world-wide process of social and moral deliquescence is in progress, and that a really functional body of engineering, managing men, scientifically trained, and having common ideals and interests, is likely to segregate and disentangle itself from our present confusion of aimless and ill-directed lives.¹⁰⁶

104. Baker, p.136.

105. Anthony Burgess, The Novel Now: A Student's Guide to Contemporary Fiction, (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), p.39.

106. Anticipations: Of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress upon Human Life and Thought, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1902), p.143.

With this prediction he commenced his fifth chapter, "The Life-History of Democracy". He concluded it:

And so it is I infer that, whether violently as a revolution or quietly and slowly, this grey confusion that is Democracy must pass away inevitably by its own inherent conditions, as the twilight passes, as the embryonic confusion of the cocoon creature passes, into the higher stage, into the higher organism, the world state of the coming years. (p.175)

When Anticipations was reissued in 1914, Wells added a "specially-written introduction", in which he confessed:

That conception of an open conspiracy of intellectuals and wilful people against existing institutions and existing limitations and boundaries is always with me... 107

This was the first time he had used the phrase "open conspiracy", but, as Warren Wagar has said:

From its first appearance in Anticipations in 1902 to the last wartime books of the 1940s, Wells' elite consisted exclusively of "functional" men, men of high natural intelligence and professional competence, who performed the creative and managerial work of the world.¹⁰⁸

107. Anticipations: Of the Reaction of Mechanical and Scientific Progress upon Human Life and Thought, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1914), p.x.

108. W. Warren Wagar, H.G. Wells and the World State, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p.165.

Wells' open conspirators, for instance, are the ancestral kin of his elite "samurai" in A Modern Utopia (1905), a "voluntary nobility" who control the four-tiered caste system of his future World State,¹⁰⁹ and, as the "new aristocracy" they are the quarry of Benham's eponymous Research Magnificent.¹¹⁰

The Open Conspiracy was officially launched in The World of William Clissold (1926), where Wells' mouthpiece adumbrates the hierarchical social system which must, in his view, replace parliamentary democracy:

I do not regard the organisation of all mankind into one terrestrial anthill, into Cosmopolis, the greater Athens, the Rome and Paris and London of space and time, as a Utopian dream, as something that fantastically might be. I regard it as the necessary, the only possible, continuation of human history.¹¹¹

The second section of the fifth book of Clissold is actually called "Open Conspiracy", and here its scope and objectives are mapped out:

It is the simplification by concentration into large organisations of the material life of the whole human community in an

109. H.G. Wells, A Modern Utopia (London: Chapman and Hall, 1905), Chapter Nine, "The Samurai", pp.258-317.

110. H.G. Wells, The Research Magnificent, (London: Ernest Benn, 1926), p.613.

111. The World of William Clissold: A Novel at a New Angle, (London: Ernest Benn, 1926), p.613, Vol.3, p.613.

atmosphere of unlimited candour. It is [an] explanation and invitation to every intelligent human being to understand and assist ... It is the establishment of the economic world-state by the deliberate invitation, explicit discussion, and co-operation of the men most interested in economic organisation, men chosen by their work, called to it by a natural disposition and aptitude for it, fully aware of its importance and working with the support of an increasing general understanding. (p.629)

Clissold's bagginess was compressed into an expository treatise entitled The Open Conspiracy: Blue Prints for a World Revolution (1928), in which Wells argued the need for reform with evangelical passion.¹¹² This conspiratorial campaign was not confined to his books. A series of articles in the Sunday Express provided Wells with the opportunity to reach a wider audience, and one of these articles, "Is Parliament Doomed? - The Farce of Our Elections: New Experiments in Government", attracted Huxley's attention. In it Wells asks the reader to try and "name a single man of really first-class moral and intellectual quality in British, French, American or German politics today". Scarcely represented at all in parliament, Wells says, "are the

112. Wagar's is the best available discussion of Wells' Open Conspiracy. See "The Open Conspiracy" H.G. Wells and the World State, pp.164-205.

creative minds that would educate, reorganize and push towards an ampler life of our race". Elsewhere though:

Russia has a mere pretence of representative government entirely and openly controlled by the Communist Party ... China, after some parliamentary beginnings in Peking, has cast them aside for that most remarkable students association, the Kuomintang.

The abolition of democracy in Italy, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Greece and Turkey is approvingly noted before Wells ends his article, rather curiously, with the view that democracy would work if only the present bilateral system could be replaced by one of proportional representation.¹¹³ The following Thursday Huxley wrote to Wells:

Thank you for writing the wholly excellent article in the Sunday Express. I was saying, "Them's my sentiments" all the time as I read it. But I wish I'd seen it before meeting you on the boat last Saturday; for then I'd have asked you about the one point which seemed to me obscure in your exposition - about the possible remedy to present chaos in a form of proportional representation. How are you going to make a strong working

113. Sunday Express, 20 March 1927, pp.12, 19. Wells reiterated his admiration of the Russian Communist Party and the Kuomintang in Democracy Under Revision, (London: Hogarth Press, 1927), pp.28-29.

government from a body of people elected on a great variety of different tickets and not bound together by party ties? It would be easy enough if men were rational beings...¹¹⁴

So taken was Huxley with Wells' attack on the shortcomings of parliamentary democracy that, as we saw in Chapter Two, he himself instanced "the active and intelligent oligarchies" of the Russian Communist Party, Italian Fascism and the Kuomintang in "The Outlook for American Culture" written shortly afterwards as well as harnessing Wells' thought in Proper Studies. Also, it is highly significant that Huxley should have concluded his letter to Mrs. Kethevan Roberts of 10 October 1931 ("One has the impression of being in a lunatic asylum") in this way:

Poor H.G. does squeak - but I think he's right in supposing that, given a little intelligence now, the world could really be made quite decent, materially (too decent perhaps? chi la sa?), also right in fearing that the necessary intelligence will not be applied, but that stupidity, coupled with cupidity, will prevail, as of old, and plunge us deeper in the mire.¹¹⁵

As A.C. Johnson discovered, Huxley was still an adherent of the Open Conspiracy in late 1935, and in general, there was

114. Letters, pp.285-286,

115. Letters, p.356.

throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s a durable parallelism between the socio-political thinking of Huxley and Wells, not just the occasional tangency.

Nor was their affinity limited to their desire to see society controlled by an elite aristos. The social hygiene of the Wellsian World State, a "euthanasia of the weak and sensual",¹¹⁶ is intended, like Huxley's transparently Wellsian "Science and Civilization" broadcast, to check the multiplication of the unfit:

For a multitude of contemptible and silly creatures, fear-driven and helpless and useless, unhappy or hatefully happy in the midst of squalid dishonour, feeble, ugly, inefficient, born of unrestrained lusts, and increasing and multiplying through sheer incontinence and stupidity, the men of the New Republic will have little pity and less benevolence.¹¹⁷

Men Like Gods, on the other hand, is a vision of Utopian harmony centuries after the "Last Age of Confusion" on earth, where the problems of the inter-war world have long since been solved. As Wells' title indicates, all the inhabitants of Utopia are god-like, one vast global caste of samurai. The menace of overpopulation has been staunched, there are no parliaments or even politics, no private wealth or property,

116. Anticipations, (1902), p.308.

117. ibid., p.299.

no scheming plutocrats, no police, prisons or lunatics:

There are few dull and no really defective people in Utopia; the idle strains, the people of lethargic dispositions or weak imagination, have mostly died out; the melancholic type has taken its dismissal and gone; spiteful and malignant characters are disappearing. The vast majority of Utopians are active, sanguine, inventive, receptive and good-tempered.¹¹⁸

The application of eugenic policies has ensured that the Utopians do not require governing because they have learned collective citizenship at school.

Barnstaple, who has driven into Utopia while travelling towards Slough on the Maidenhead Road, realises that already, "these Utopians were passing beyond man towards a nobler humanity" (p.87). He compares the Utopians with his fellow countrymen in 1921, and concludes:

It is a life of demi-gods, very free, strongly individualized, each following an individual bent, each contributing to great racial ends. It is not only clearly naked and sweet and lovely but full of personal dignity. It is I see a practical communism, planned and led up to through long centuries of education and discipline and collectivist preparation. (p.264)

118. H.G. Wells, Men Like Gods, (London: Cassell, 1923), pp.73-74.

As such, Men Like Gods is the utopian realization of the Open Conspiracy, and it is not difficult to understand why this vision of a cheery and homogenous world, like the soaring optimism of The Outline of History, so irritated Huxley. He, like Wells, was preoccupied essentially with agency, with the means of saving the inter-war world from chaos, and this one-off eulogy to human perfection must have seemed infuriatingly far-fetched. Rather than through progressive consensus, Wells more characteristically believed that Utopia would be inaugurated by coercion - "Human society rests upon physical force".¹¹⁹ It is the consanguinity of Huxley and Wells which is most striking, not their ideological distance. As Wagar has said, Wells was:

... one of the twentieth century's most confirmed anti-democrats. In a century which listened to the strictures on democracy of Pareto, Ortega y Gasset, Santayana, Babbitt, Mencken, Shaw, Kipling, Belloc and T.S. Eliot, Wells may not always have been the most audible anti-democrat, but he contributed as much as any of these to the intellectual attack.¹²⁰

Wells no doubt took umbrage at Brave New World, not because it lampooned the fanciful elysium of Men Like Gods, but because he thought Huxley had pilloried the Open Conspiracy.

119. Clissold, p.678.

120. Wagar, p.169.

Kingsley Martin recalled:

I remember his talking to me about Aldous Huxley, whom he regarded as the degenerate descendant of a noble grandfather. He spoke with bitterness of Brave New World; it was a blasphemy against the religion of science. It suggested that knowledge might be the path, not to the modern Utopia, but to a new kind of servile Hell.¹²¹

Wells' rancour has become as central a plinth of the dystopian interpretation of Brave New World as Huxley's retrospective comments. Mark Hillegas has written:

As a parody of the Wellsian vision, Brave New World is throughout quite heavily indebted to Wells and not solely to Men Like Gods. Most obviously the world of A.F.600 [sic] is Wells's World State (Huxley even borrowed the phrase) what Wells described in The Open Conspiracy as "a simple world commonweal, preventing war and controlling those moral biological and economic forces that would otherwise lead to wars..."¹²²

121. J.R. Hammond, ed., H.G.Wells: Interviews and Recollections (London: Macmillan, 1980), p.95. See Watt's Critical Heritage, pp.16, 35, for Derek Patmore's and Moura Budberg's confirmation of Wells' pique.

122. Hillegas, p.112.

Huxley may have borrowed his World State from Wells, but, as the non-fictional material from the same period reveals and the manuscript revisions suggest, it is highly improbable that Huxley was intending simply to guy it. Brave New World was conceived and written during the months in which Huxley exposed himself as a Wellsian Open Conspirator who saw the need for a global solution to the problems which beset Britian.

"What led Huxley to retreat from his elitist views?", Krishan Kumar asks, assuming that Huxley had disavowed his interest in the "active and intelligent oligarchies of the ideal state", by the time Brave New World was published:

Why did he move from advocacy to admonition? One can only guess, as most of Huxley's biographers and commentators either ignore this aspect of his thought or fail to offer any explanation for the turn about.

Kumar suggests that Huxley may have changed his position under the influence of Lawrence, or, more likely, have become disenchanted with statism having witnessed Fascist outrages in Italy:

Certainly it does not appear accidental that in his novel Point Counter Point ... the elitist point of view is expressed by the meglomaniac English Fascist Everard Webley - 'a Tinpot Mussolini' - whose ravings are clearly presented by Huxley for the murderous lunacy that they are.

Whatever the cause, by the time Huxley published Music at Night (1931) his views had undergone a perceptible shift.¹²³

This chapter has shown that once the full extent of Huxley's writing from 1928-1932 is known it can be seen that the change which occurred was a hardening of his authoritarian views not a recantation of them.

If, as seems likely, Brave New World was first conceived soon after Huxley had completed Point Counter Point, Rampion's ironic chart of progress, which had "come to a contemporary consummation in the figures of H.G. Wells... and Sir Alfred Mond" (p.290) encapsulates Huxley's Lawrencian contempt for perfectibilitarian aspirations. Yet the utopian hive of industry, "with hierarchically-graded experts in charge of every department and a single Henry Ford at the head to co-ordinate these activities and to dictate the policy of the whole concern", which Huxley read about in Séché's La Morale de la Machine, and which at first repelled him into drafting the World State, came to be seen by him as a planned and stable Shangri-La. From a prospective debunker of Mondian planning and Wellsian progress, Huxley had become by 1931-1932 an admirer of Mond and an ardent Wellsian progressive.

123. Kumar, p.253

CHAPTER FIVE

In January 1930 Huxley attended the final rehearsals of This Way to Paradise, Campbell Dixon's dramatised version of Point Counter Point, and was clearly aroused by the experience:

Mr. Dixon has given me an opportunity of vicariously tasting the joys and sorrows of the dramatist's life. The sip has been disquieting but heady. I am tempted, in spite of my unshakable affection for the novel, to renew the draught.¹

While this frisson stimulated Huxley to write The World of Light, his comments are misleading in that they imply This Way to Paradise was his first association with the theatre. In fact, he had already written three complete plays earlier on in his career² in addition to publishing two parodies of John Drinkwater's historical dramas³ and three dramatic

1. Aldous Huxley, Pref., This Way to Paradise, by Campbell Dixon (London: Chatto and Windus, 1930), n. page. See also Letters, pp.327-329.
2. These are the lost "Red and White", Letters, p.183; "Permutations Among the Nightingales". Coterie, pp.65-112 and, "Happy Families", Limbo, pp.211-244 (this last is erroneously listed as a short story in the standard bibliography).
3. "Albert: Prince Consort", Vanity Fair, 18, (March 1922) pp.33-34, 98; "The Ambassador of Capripedia", Vanity Fair, 18, (May 1922), pp.61, 112.

sketches,⁴ which, as a whole, had marked the inception of his life-long futile search for success in the medium. At least one of Huxley's plays, "Happy Families", had been performed in his presence, at Harold Scott's and Elsa Lanchester's Cave of Harmony,⁵ while his adaptation of The Discovery by Frances Sheridan was staged by Nigel Playfair in 1924.⁶

Although Desmond McCarthy reviewed The World of Light enthusiastically - "Encore! Mr. Huxley, More, please more!"⁷ - his fellow critics were less effusive, and Huxley's first substantial drama closed before the end of its scheduled run. Even so its producer, Leon M. Lion, cajoled Huxley into writing a further play, suggesting that he

4. "A Film With a Warning", Vanity Fair, 19, (October 1922), pp.59, 98; "The Publisher - A Comedy in Five Scenes", Vanity Fair, 20, (April 1923), pp.53, 116; "A Marriage of Inconvenience", Vanity Fair, 21 (September 1923), pp.38,90.
5. Unpub. letter to Mary Hutchinson, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center. 16 January 1923. As Alec Waugh noted the Cave of Harmony is the original of the nightclub in chapters fifteen and sixteen of Antic Hay. The Early Years of Alec Waugh (London: Cassell, 1962), p.184.
6. Nigel Playfair, Hammersmith Hoy: A Book of Minor Revelations (London: Faber and Faber, 1930), p.251.
7. Desmond McCarthy, "Mr. Aldous Huxley, The Stage and the Spirits", New Statesman and Nation, 1, (11 April 1931), pp.251-252.

might, for example, attempt an adaptation of Brave New World.⁸ Huxley rejected this idea, but in July 1932 informed his agent, J.B. Pinker:

I am working on the scenario of what may be, I think, rather a good play - with a Kreuger-like figure as the central character - linking the story up with general economic ideas, which might be timely, as everyone is bothered about these things.⁹

The following month Huxley sent a more detailed synopsis to Lion:

I am writing a politico-economic play more or less about Kreuger; i.e. a financier with a sincere desire to rationalize the world, but who bites off more than he can chew and is driven into swindling and finally suicide. His daughter falls in love with a young man who has given up his social position to preach communism - and he with her; but he refuses to allow himself to love this incarnation of the luxuries and drives her off with a get-thee-behind-me-Satan gesture, until, at the end, the father's sins and suicide make a union possible.

8. Leon M. Lion, The Surprise of My Life: The Lesser Half of an Autobiography, (London: Hutchinson, 1948), p.14.
9. Unpub. letter, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center. 24 July 1932.

Add to this a secretary to the financier - a profound sceptic who riddles both sides with his criticisms and himself enjoys the comfort of a cynical conformity to things as they are. One or two minor characters, and there you are. I have written an act and a half, and hope to get ahead in the next few weeks. There will be a good deal of talk - but on subjects in which everybody is now interested.¹⁰

As the previous chapter has revealed, the achievement of social stability in the early 1930s was of paramount importance to Huxley, and in this context his choices of protagonist and subject are both condign and consistent. To many of his contemporaries the career of Ivar Kreuger, the titanic Swedish financier, personified the volatility of the inter-war period. By the time of his suicide in March 1932 the wealth and power of 'The Match King' - Kreuger's sobriquet derived from his monopoly of global production - were legendary. It was soon discovered, however, that Kreuger's assets were largely bogus, consisting of forged bonds, chimerical companies and cooked accounts, ensuring, in turn, his posthumous

10. Quoted in Lion, p.115. 27 August 1932.

apotheosis as "the greatest swindler the world had ever known".¹¹

This being so, Huxley's appraisal of Kreuger after his scandalous exposure as "a financier with a sincere desire to rationalize the world" seems at first a little wayward. Yet, before the fraud which discredited him became known, Keynes too had emphasised the tragic aspects of Kreuger's suicide in his radio obituary:

In Ivar Kreuger's death we have just seen a moving example of the helplessness of the individual. Here we had a man who possessed what was perhaps the greatest constructive financial talent of his era, a man whose wide-embracing activity in the most comprehensive sense of the term was of general significance and who regarded it as his task to create, in the post-war chaos, channels between countries with capital resources in abundance and those in bitter need of these. He built on solid ground and secured his work with all the guarantees that lay in human power to devise. He lived to experience what the ignorant would call the usual fate of the gambler, but in reality Ivar Kreuger was crushed between icebergs of a frozen

11. Allen Churchill, The Incredible Ivar Kreuger, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1957), p.15. For other discussions of Kreuger, see Trevor Allen, Ivar Kreuger: Match King, Croesus and Crook (1932), Manfred Georg The Case of Ivar Kreuger: An Adventure in Finance, (1933) and Robert Shaplen, Kreuger, Genius and Swindler (1961).

world, which is not within human power to thaw out and give the warmth of normal life.¹²

Huxley's comments are further clarified in his first published reference to Kreuger. Here the Swede is linked with Clarence Hatry (1888-1965), the leading figure in a Stock Exchange scandal of 1929, the scale of which was unprecedented in the history of the City at that time.¹³

Business, the reformers tell us, and after business, government, must be organised in ever larger and larger units. Kreuger was profoundly convinced of this; so was Hatry. Both men, I imagine, were, among other things, far-sighted idealists. In attempting to act on their enlightened convictions, to put their sociological ideals into practice, both were forced into gigantic fraud.¹⁴

Kreuger was the original of Erik Krogh in Greene's England Made Me¹⁵ which, like Huxley's Now More Than Ever, was set against the "sense of capitalism staggering from

12. Quoted in Torsten Kreuger, The Truth About Ivar Kreuger: Eye-Witness Accounts, Secret Files, Documents (Stuttgart: Seewald, 1968), p.69.
13. Huxley had followed Hatry's trial in 1930. Letters, p.327.
14. "Notes on the Way", Time and Tide, 13, (7 May 1932), pp.514-516.
15. "Kreuger lying shot in the Paris Hotel was his example". Graham Greene, England Made Me, (London: Heinemann, 1935), p.46.

crisis to crisis".¹⁶ According to Sybille Bedford the typescript of Huxley's play "appears lost",¹⁷ but, in fact, a ninety-two page typescript of Now More Than Ever, with extensive autograph revisions, does exist, and is held by the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center. As a drama, Now More Than Ever, another legacy of the "strong sense of patriotism" Huxley developed during the crisis of 1931-32 and further evidence of his ardent belief in planning, is woefully inept, but it is an essential text in an understanding of his ideological development in the 1930s. It has never been discussed or even described.

The play commences with Joan Lidgate sitting in the library of Monmouth House which her father, Arthur Lidgate, has leased from the present Duke, a Fleet Street gossip-columnist. She is joined by the speculator Sir Thomas Lupton, "a gross, red-faced, greasily-prosperous man in his fifties" (p.2), who proceeds to pet her in a would-be avuncular, patently lascivious, manner. Lupton is interrupted by Lord Upavon who he has summoned on hearing that Wertheim, a shady American, has conditionally agreed to back Arthur Lidgate's scheme to amalgamate various iron and steel concerns in Britain. Lidgate enters, "commanding, powerful, but with an extraordinary charm of manner" (p.6), and proceeds to castigate the egoistic and reactionary

16. Graham Greene, Ways of Escape, (London: Bodley Head, 1980), p.46.

17. Bedford, Vol 1, p.257.

industrialists of the older generation in terms similar to those which Huxley had used in haranging their colleagues in parliament:

I offer them an alternative to bankruptcy. But you'd think they preferred bankruptcy. Anything than change their habits and resign their powers. Going down with the ship is all very well, as I was saying to old Wagstaff only to-day, (You know old Wagstaff from Middlesborough). Very well indeed, I said. But keeping the ship afloat is still better. But he doesn't want the ship to float unless he's the captain. (p.8)

In contrast, the selfless Lidgate wishes to rationalize the cotton industry as well as the iron and steel staples:

I've been nosing around a bit. Gosh, the chaos! You've no conception. But I've made some friends up there in Lancashire. And I've got the rough outlines of a plan. (p.9)

This group is now joined by Spence, Lidgate's devoted personal secretary, and by Philip Barmby, a contributor to the Week-End Review who Lidgate, the untutored son of a Brondesbury ironmonger, wishes to retain as a "kind of resident philosopher... a kind of secretary for culture" (p.16). Much of the remainder of the first Act is taken up with a discourse by Barmby on the nature of capitalist instability which is dealt with further on in this chapter.

Interviewing Huxley shortly after his return from Willington, J.L. Hodson reported that, "he had been more appalled by the patience he found among the unemployed on the North-East coast than by their miserable conditions", quoting Huxley's opinion that "English humour and tolerance carried to the length of ceasing to care about anything is a definite danger".¹⁸ Once again, in his baffled response to the forbearance of those on the dole, Huxley anticipates Orwell's similar reaction in the diary of The Road to Wigan Pier, where he ejaculates: "There is no turbulence left in England".¹⁹ Elsewhere Huxley remarked:

I was in Hyde Park last autumn on the anniversary of the October Revolution, and again this First of May. I left on both occasions feeling glad I wasn't a Communist speaker. Against the gentle and humo rous indifference of the London crowd the fiercest enthusiasm seems to hurl itself in vain.²⁰

Indeed, the placidity of the British public made such a strong impression on Huxley during the first of his visits to

18. J.L. Hodson, "The Brilliant Brothers", News Chronicle, 30 December 1931, p.6. Rep. in No Phantoms Here, (London: Faber and Faber, 1932), pp.256-261.
19. Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell, Vol.1, p.181.
20. "Notes on the Way", Time and Tide, 13, (7 May 1932), pp.514-516.

Speakers' Corner that he devoted a whole article to the phenomenon:

Hyde Park on a Sunday afternoon - the essential England is still there, crowding in its thousands round the stump orators, making jokes, asking derisive questions, getting into absurd and heatedly illogical arguments, and then (for a humorous indifference, a highly civilized and at the same time a slightly stupid tolerance, lies at the very heart of the essential England) shrugging shoulders and moving away to listen to the next speaker. At bottom, not caring.

It was that which so exasperated the Communist orator to whom I listened last Sunday under the Autumnal trees. The old civilized tolerance, the humorous and almost deliberately unintelligent indifference maddened him. He was a powerful speaker, by far the cleverest and most accomplished in the Park that afternoon.

The crowd listened, liked what he said, murmured approval of his assaults upon capitalists and the leaders of the official Labour party. But indifference was stronger, in many of his listeners, than interest. The passing of a brass band or a group of banners (the Civil Servants were publicly protesting against their wage cuts) was enough to draw away the attention of these uncaring ones;

minds and, often feet, went wandering after every distraction. On these unstable listeners the orator turned with a preacher's indignation... His voice was bitter with an angry contempt; he despised his hearers for their slow-witted indifference; he hated them even for their virtues of humor and tolerance - the humor and tolerance that are the marks of an old, ripe, perhaps overripe civilization. I found myself sympathising with him. Delightful as it generally is, that jocular uncaringness of the English is sometimes maddeningly out of place. Tolerance and a sense of humor are no substitute for ideas and the strong belief which leads men to act on ideas.²¹

This incident is incorporated into the first scene of Act Two, where the communist Walter Clough's lambast of a similarly flaccid audience at Speaker's Corner is juxtaposed with the rantings of a lunatic and a lugubrious choir of evangelists. Entering the park with Joan Lidgate, Barmby recognises Clough as an old Oxford acquaintance. While he scoffs at Clough's oration, Joan is moved by his passion, a feeling which strengthens when Clough upbraids Barmby

21. "Hyde Park on Sunday", Chicago Herald and Examiner, 2 December 1931, p.9.

personally after his address:

All that I ask is that a man should put his money on something. I've no patience with people who want to make the best of both worlds. Either you're too brainless to criticize the present system in which case you're perfectly justified in conforming to it. Or else you have the intelligence to criticize; in which case it's your duty to act in accordance with your thoughts. To criticize and then do nothing, that's just mental self-indulgence and moral cowardice. (pp.36-37)

In a similar confrontation in "Two or Three Graces", the highbrow music critic Richard Wilkes is berated by Kingham for founding his life on a detached "impotence".²² Nevertheless, the story concludes with Wilkes reasserting his blinkered smugness:

It was the kind of thankfulness one feels, motoring out of town for the week-end, to escape from dark and sordid slums to a comfortable, cool-gardened country house, where one can forget that there exist other human beings beside oneself and one's amusing, cultivated friends, and that ninety-nine out of every hundred of them are doomed to misery. I sat down at the piano and began to play the Arietta of Beethoven's Op.111.²³

22. Two or Three Graces, p.15.

23. ibid., p.194.

In the Now More Than Ever exchange, however, the authorial boot is on the activist's foot, and Barmby's appraisal of himself as "a dilettante with a gift of the gab" (p.11) is counterpointed to his discredit with Clough's commitment. The scene ends with Joan asking Clough for advice as to how she too can make her increasingly unsatisfactory life more meaningful.

The second scene of Act Two is set in the library of Monmouth House six weeks later. Barmby, in his role as cultural cicerone, is reading aloud Keats's 'Ode to a Nightingale', (from which, of course, the play takes its title), bringing temporary relief to his employer who is now nervous and distracted. Spence suspects Lupton of skulduggery in trying to arrange a private deal with the iron and steel companies for Wertheim and himself, a suspicion which is soon confirmed by Lupton in person.

Among other projects, Hatry and his associates had attempted "to take over a large aggregation of interests in the steel industry".²⁴ Encountering difficulties, however, three municipal loans which had been made by another Hatry company to Swindon, Gloucester and Wakefield corporations were fraudulently inflated, thus raising a huge sum on spurious scrip. After Lupton has been dismissed, the scene concludes with Lidgate, in a desperate effort to save his jeopardised scheme and stymie the efforts of Wertheim and

24. Obituary, The Times, 12 June 1965, p.12.

Lupton to "gamble away the very existence of England" (p.64), likewise ordering Spence to double the number of copies of municipal bonds Lidgate has issued to Portsmouth, Coventry and Nottingham corporations.

The first scene of the third and final Act takes place one month later in the sparsely furnished living-room of Clough's small house in Camden Town. To Joan, who now cohabits with him, Clough reveals he is not only the latest incarnation of Huxley's philanthropists manqué, but, more significantly, his post-Willington conscience:

Loving one's neighbour is heroic. Heroic because it's so damnably difficult, the most difficult thing in the world. I've never been able to do it.

Joan

But if you don't love your neighbour, why do you make sacrifices for him?

Clough

Because I hate injustice, I hate the criminal stupidity and insensitiveness of the people who perpetrate the injustice. But as for saying I love the men and women I want to save from the exploiters - no; it wouldn't be true. I don't. They bore me. They make me impatient. Why are their minds so limited and personal? Always, me, me, you, you; never an idea or a generalisation. And then that awful complacency and indifference and resignation! The way they put up with intolerable situations! Nobody has a

right to be resigned to slums and sweated labour and fat men guzzling at the Savoy. But damn them they are resigned. And then I don't enjoy their pleasures. The movies, the jazz and looking-on at football... it bores me stiff... and, of course, what I call pleasure they detest. It's a case of chronic and fundamental misunderstanding. Which isn't exactly the best foundation for love. But all the same, I believe it is possible to love one's neighbours even though one may have very little in common with them. I believe there's some way of learning to love him. Through humility, perhaps. (Pause). Queer, the way one finds oneself using religious language. But they knew a lot about human beings, those Christians. If only they hadn't used their knowledge to such bad ends. One's got to take the good and just ruthlessly stamp out the rest. All the disgusting superstitions and tyranny and the stupid cocksure intolerance. They've got to be fought and conquered and utterly abolished. (pp.68-69)

This foreshadowing of the direction which Huxley's ideological development was to take from the mid-1930s onwards, with a pivotal tilt from ends to means, and from a superior contempt for the mass and popular culture to a hesitant affirmation that "it is possible to love one's neighbours even though one may have very little in common

with them", is vitally important. For the time being, however, Clough feels compromised by Joan's wealth and he asks her to his house.

At the beginning of Act Three, scene two, Lidgate hears that Lupton has sabotaged his project by spreading rumours about his financial insecurity. In another telephone call he is informed that "agitators" (p.74) have thrown over the union leadership at one of his factories, hazarding a lucrative contract with the Danish State Railways. Almost immediately he learns in a further telephone call that the deal has been clinched by Vickers, his rivals. Joan enters briefly and demands petulantly of her father why he wanted "to go and make all this idiotic money? What's the good of it. All it does is cut one off from other people", (p.81). Once Joan has left, supposedly for good, Lidgate tells Barmby that the following day he will be exposed as "one of the biggest swindlers on record", (p.83), and that he intends killing himself. This is the climax of the play, and in the Epilogue, which takes place after four days have elapsed, we are told that Lidgate has stuck to his resolution and is now dead. Barmby dispatches Clough in pursuit of Joan and is offered the editorship of the Daily Gazette by Upavon who is eager to launch a public economy campaign, his latest hobby-horse.²⁵

25. Upavon is based on Beaverbrook, who had offered the literary editorship of one of his papers to Huxley early in 1929. See Letters, pp.307-308.

On 10 October 1932 Huxley informed J.B. Pinker:

I have finished my play and will send it to you in a few days, when I have done the typing. I read it to some friends yesterday and the effect was good; which is encouraging.

I know you have certain objections to Lion. But I feel under considerable obligation to him for having cheerfully lost money on two of my efforts [Lion also promoted This Way to Paradise]; and I want him to have the first opportunity of losing more - or recouping his losses - on this one. The one condition must be, I think: not in matinées. For I'm convinced that did a lot of harm to The World of Light.²⁶

Huxley also sent a copy of the play to Sydney Schiff for criticism²⁷ and arrived in London himself a month later to try and expedite production arrangements. He told an interviewer:

I'm in London because I've written a new play. It's called Now More Than Ever and it deals with the subject of a man like Kreuger or Hatry. I suppose it really might be called a study of the present-day financial and economic position of the world.²⁸

26. Unpub. letter, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center.

27. Robert, p.75.

28. Derek Patmore, "Writers of To-Day. No.2: Aldous Huxley", Sunday Referee, 25 December 1932, p.6.

Huxley's attempts to get Now More Than Ever produced in London were abortive, but while in America the following May he made a more promising contact and asked Pinker to send him a copy of the manuscript:

There are several people in New York interested in it, and I want to make some improvements in the first act - where several defects were pointed out to me by Miss Helburn of the [New York Theatre] Guild.²⁹

Back in Sanary, in June 1933, he worked on a "revised version" of the play, which is probably the typescript deposited at Austin.³⁰ Huxley's revisions, apart from rearranging the sequence of events in Act One, scene one, largely consisted of ineffectual tamperings with the dialogue, and did not change the play in any substantive way. Nor surprisingly, therefore, Huxley could still find no-one willing to stage the play. Yet as late as December 1934, Pinker was once again alerted to a potential production opportunity:

I met last night the man who runs the Shilling Theatre at Fulham [ie. Robert Newton]. He expressed a desire to look at Now More Than Ever, and I think it would be a good idea to send him a copy...

29. Unpub. letter, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center. 25 May 1933.

30. Unpub. letter, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, 11 June 1933.

I should like to see some sort of performance of it, if only to be able to judge what should be done in the way of altering it - and I think he might quite possibly give it a show.³¹

Unfortunately for Huxley, the Shilling Theatre was forced to close almost immediately after this rendezvous.

Equally frustrating was a lunch at the Cheshire Cheese with Rupert Doone, Robert Medley and other members of the Group Theatre. Medley recalls, "The possibility of a play by him was of course the reason for the party, which was a very enjoyable one, but nothing came of it".³²

Although Now More Than Ever provides further evidence of the appeal which planning and rationalization held for Huxley in the early 1930s, it is not difficult to surmise why the play was repeatedly shunned by promoters. The expository passages, which, for Huxley, were the raison d'etre of the play, made it an obvious commercial liability. Its topicality could not compensate for what are dramatically yawning longeurs. On receiving the script of The World of Light Lion had told Huxley:

31. Unpub. letter, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, 18 December 1934. See Norman Marshall, The Other Theatre, (London: John Lehmann, 1947), p.218, for an account of the Shilling Theatre.
32. Letter received from Robert Medley, 16 September 1984.

It is a play I shall be proud to stage, though I dare not flatter you or myself that it will make an appeal to more than a limited public.

It is a thinker's play which in the old days the Stage Society would have done.³³

Ashley Dukes had predicted that The World of Light, "may prove to be the Widowers' Houses of some new revival of intellectual drama".³⁴ But, unlike its predecessor which is more or less a Shavian 'drama of ideas', in which a contemporary issue, spiritualism, is prominent but embodied in a cohesive plot, Now More Than Ever, is much more simply a forum for Huxley's opinions, with no dramatic tension. The reason for this may be contained in an interview Huxley gave to J.W.N. Sullivan in 1931. Here he implied that his affection for the novel had become not only shakable, but downright fickle, and that his choice of literary medium was now almost arbitrary, subsumed to his heuristic ideological quest:

My chief motive in writing... has been the desire to clarify a point of view. Or, rather, the desire to clarify a point of view to myself. I do not write for my readers; in fact, I don't like thinking

33. Lion, p.113.

34. "The London Scene", Theatre Arts, 15, (June 1931), pp.459-460.

about my readers... I am chiefly interested in making clear a certain outlook on life... My books represent different stages in my progress towards such an outlook. Each book is an attempt to make things clear to myself so far as I had gone at the time it was written. In that sense they are all provisional... I believe that mankind is working towards some definite and comprehensive outlook on the world, and I regard my work as contributing something towards that.³⁵

As Huxley said, his main concern in Now More Than Ever is with contemporary economic and political problems. Unlike the hardening of his political convictions, Huxley's understanding of economic matters remained largely unaffected by the dislocations of 1929-1932. The common denominator in all his writings on the economy in this period is the menace of overproduction. "Industrial progress means overproduction". Rampion tells Philip Quarles in Point Counter Point, "means the need for getting new markets, means international rivalry, means war," (p.416), and at the end of his letter to Charles Wilson of 20 September 1930 Huxley offered his own theory as to why the Willington men were

35. "Interviews with Great Scientists: No 7 Aldous Huxley", Observer, 1 February 1931, pp.15-16. Rep. in J.W.N. Sullivan, The Contemporary Mind: Some Modern Answers, (London: Humphrey Toulmin, 1934), pp.141-147.

unemployed:

Shortage of gold, overproduction, closing of the largest Eastern markets by political disturbance, development of autonomous industries in places that used to depend on English goods - the only conceivable remedy is a rational policy of all the world in agreement. But as the world seems incapable of agreeing ... ³⁶

Visiting the North-East convinced Huxley that overproduction was primarily responsible for Britain's "technological unemployment":

Why are there armies of unemployed in every industrial country in the world? Because there is over-production. (Not under-consumption, as Mr. Keynes and other economists would have us believe. During the boom, the Americans consumed more per head of population than any human beings have ever done before in the whole history of the world. This did not prevent the arrival of the slump). Why is there over-production? Because those arts of invention, by means of which we have conquered nature, are now, in their turn, conquering us. The rate at which the machinery of production is being improved is far more rapid than the rate at which the consuming population grows, or even

36. Letters, p.341.

than the rate at which appetites can be created and stimulated by advertising and salesmanship. Result: too many goods, consequently too low a price, consequently a panic restriction of production, consequently unemployment.³⁷

To remedy this, Huxley called for the formation of a Wellsian global economy:

There must be a world-wide adjustment of production to consumption, world-wide agreements about the establishment of new industries and the use of new inventions in old ones, a world policy for gold, for fuel, for agriculture - in a word, a general agreement to make some universally valid sense out of our babel of separate and private achievements.³⁸

Huxley's proposal was grandiosely utopian, as befitted a doctrinaire open conspirator, and it is interesting to note that such a rational cohesion of economic affairs does obtain in the World State of A.F. 632. The citizens of Brave New World are conditioned to consume. "Nowadays the Controllors won't approve of any new game unless it can be shown that it requires at least as much apparatus as the most complicated of existing games", (p.34) the Director tells his party of students. "Ending is better than mending", (p.61) the "happy, hard-working, goods-consuming" (p.278) citizens

37. "Victory of Art Over Humanity".

38. ibid.

burble. Furthermore, the unrestrained inventiveness of science has been suppressed, Mond tells the Savage, in the interests of the planned and stable scientific state, (pp.268-270).

Like Huxley's politics, the source of his economics is also found in the nineteenth century. In the celebrated controversy between Malt^hus and Ricardo concerning the reasons for the economic depression which followed the Napoleonic Wars, Malt^hus argued that it was due to overproduction which had caused stagnation of output and thus unemployment. As he put it in his Principles of Political Economy, "if production be in a great excess above consumption, the motive to accumulate and produce must cease from the want of a will to consume".³⁹ In the early 1930s, under-consumption was the prevailing orthodoxy, but Huxley is mistaken in linking Keynes with the under-consumptionist school. On the contrary, he accepted overproduction as a basic feature of capitalism and championed Malthus retrospectively in his discussions of the earlier controversy.⁴⁰

39. T.R. Malthus, Principles of Political Economy Considered With a View to Their Practical Application (London: John Murray, 1820), p.9.

40. J.M. Keynes, Essays in Biography, (London: Macmillan, 1933), p.144. See also The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money, (London: Macmillan, 1936), pp.362-371.

If Malthus is the ultimate source of Huxley's economic notions, a major contemporary fillip was provided by The Economic Consequences of Power Production by Fred Henderson, a socialist who had achieved international recognition with his The Case for Socialism in 1911. In a letter of 7 July 1932 Huxley told his father that he had been catching up on his reading:

(Have just finished, among others, an excellent book on the present economic situation... which I greatly recommend you to read if you have the chance. I am sure [Henderson] has got hold of the essential inwardness of the situation. But, alas, it takes a fearful long time for such books to make any effect on governments. "In politics, everything is as stupid as it seems". Bagehot, I think - and painfully true).⁴¹

As its title suggests, Henderson's study deals with the implications of capital-intensive production and confirmed Huxley's criticisms of the unplanned advance of technology:

At first England had practically a monopoly and became the workshop of the world; and it was because English production was production for the world's consumption that English power appliances [ie. capital goods] provided employment for a rapidly expanding industrial population. In the nature of things such

41. Letters, pp.359-360.

a monopoly could not endure, if only by reason of the fact that knowledge and the applied use of knowledge cannot be kept confined to its place of origin.⁴²

Not only this extract, but Henderson's summary, couched in the rhetoric of Fabianism, and concluding with his call for the "social control of production" within the "new social order" of a "Co-operative Commonwealth"⁴³ finds many echoes in Now More Than Ever:

... the system perpetually overproduces; creates a surplus, not beyond what the general life could consume if its needs were met, but beyond what it is permitted to consume by the finance of the system... all our present trouble is in the fact that the old class ownership still insists in the old way upon continuing to appropriate the wealth and opportunity for itself - the distributive economics of the drudge age of scanty production surviving into the new age of plenty - and breaks down under the load of surplus which it cannot consume itself and debars anybody else from consuming by its finance of tribute - collecting [ie. production for profit].⁴⁴

42. Fred Henderson, The Economic Consequences of Power Production, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1931), p.80.
43. ibid., pp.219-220.
44. ibid., pp.209-211.

The degree of Huxley's indebtedness to Henderson - and the theatre-emptying viscousness of the play's dialogue - is especially prominent in the following extract from the first scene of Now More Than Ever:

Upavon

... There's still a lot of life in capitalism.

Lidgate

Provided it can be made efficient at the top.

Upavon

(Pointing to Lidgate) Which is exactly what our friend here is doing for it. I don't know if you fully realise, Mr. Barmby, what a remarkable man you're dealing with in Arthur Lidgate, what a great man, I'd say.

Spence

(Smiles and nods, whispers "Hear, hear.")

Lidgate

Oh, for goodness sake, Jack, shut up.

Upavon

I shall not shut up, Arthur. Because I'm saying what I believe, and what I think this young man ought to know. Arthur Lidgate's a great man, Mr. Barmby, and don't you make any mistake about it. He's doing more for his country, I tell you, than all the politicians put together.

Lidgate

•Is that meant to be a compliment, Jack!

Upavon

No, don't laugh. I won't have you laughing. I'm talking about something serious. The most serious thing in the world - England. England! This man's working for England, Mr. Barmby. Working to put the country back in the place where it was fifty years ago. Working for English prosperity - which is the same as working for English power and prestige. And while he practices, I preach. While he fights, I blow the trumpet. Noisy, but necessary. (He gets up). And if ever you feel inclined to do any trumpeting yourself, come round and see me at my office, Mr. Barmby, and we'll have a talk about the Tune. Meanwhile!... (he shakes him by the hand)

Barmby

Good bye, and thank you. One day I shall certainly accept your invitation.

Upavon

So long, Arthur.

Lidgate

See you on Saturday for golf. (Upavon goes out). Jack talks a bit wildly when he gets worked up. There's an enthusiast somewhere in his make-up.

Barmby

So I realise. Any my respect for him diminishes accordingly. I gave him credit for being just a professional newspaper man. But he wags his absurd flag with conviction.

Lidgate

Do you want him to be insincere, then?

Barmby

No; I want him to be intelligent, that's all

Lidgate

I'm almost afraid to confess it; but, you know, I wag my flag with conviction too.

Barmby

There's more excuse in your case; the fallacy isn't quite so obvious. The trouble with Upavon's self-sufficient Empire is a) that it won't work b) that, if it did work, it would infallibly involve us in war with the rest of the world. Whereas your plan for reviving British industry is superficially a bit more specious; one has to look a little closer to see its hopelessness.

Spence

(Who has been listening to this sacrilegious attack on his god with horror, cannot refrain from bursting out) Really, sir, really!

Lidgate

(Laughing, and, with a gesture, checking Spence) You're severe, Mr. Barmby. May I hear why my plan's hopeless? (He goes on reading and signing)

Barmby

Well, in the first place, I don't know in detail what your plan is; and in the second, I haven't got time to launch into a discourse on economics. But surely it must be sufficiently obvious that any plan based on the private ownership of industry is quite nopeless.

Lidgate

May I ask why?

Barmby

Well, for all the obvious reasons. For you private owners, wages are a cost. You've got to keep them down. You're forced to introduce machines to displace wage-earners. In other words you're forced to reduce the number of people who can consume your products. Under the profit-making system, you can never distribute enough purchasing power to absorb your production. So you've got to have exports.

Spence

Exports! Exactly! That's what we're working for - to capture the export trade.

Barmby

Of course you are. And what do you do when you've captured it? You take imports in exchange. But you can never take enough imports to balance your exports. Why not? For the good reason that consumers who haven't got enough purchasing power to buy what you product at home are equally incapable of buying the equivalent of your production in imports. What do you do about it? You have no alternative. The only way you can take payments for your exports is in capital investments abroad. For example, you export a certain number of million pounds' worth of iron and steel; you take imports for as much as under your idiotic financial system, the home consumer can afford to buy; and the remainder you invest in the country to which you've exported your stuff.

Spence

And very sensible, if the investment's sound.

Barmby

Wait a minute, Mr. Spence! What does it mean exactly when your investment is sound? It simply means this; that these new industries that you've financed, are so efficient that they can sell large quantities of their products.

Spence

Exactly.

Barmby

But the more they sell, the less you sell. You've raised up a competition against yourselves. There's a struggle, which ends, invariably, in the same way: the government of the country in which you've invested your profits sticks up a tariff against you. You're shut out of yet another market. And not only that; you've got a new competitor for such markets as remain. And, of course, they don't remain very long. There are fewer and fewer of them every year. Because, inevitably, you go on doing exactly the same thing - investing what you won't allow your home consumers to take as imports in new production abroad. Financing more and more rivals; driving more and more governments to set up protective tariffs against you.

Spence

(Breaking out again) But if you reduce costs enough, tariffs don't matter. Nor does competition. It's all a question of reducing costs. And that's just what we're doing; aren't we sir? (To Lidgate. Then, turning again to Barnby) I don't think you realise what we've done already. I could give you figures about electrical equipment, and coal, and artificial resins - you'd be astonished. And then the savings we're planning for iron and steel. I tell you, you don't realize.

Barnby

On the contrary, Mr. Spence, I know how conscientiously you're trying to reduce the purchasing power of the home consumer so as to compete with your rivals abroad. It's admirable! And what huge sums you're investing overseas, in spite of the slump! Millions and millions to finance still more competitors! And when you've put them on their feet, you'll have to reduce home purchasing power still further in order to be able to compete with them. And after you've finally discharged all the wage earners that can be discharged, after you've reduced the wages of the rest to a point at which they can't consume anything but bread and water, then, when you're at last in a position to cut out your rivals and get through the tariff barriers, what follows?

Spence

(Triumphantly) Why! You capture trade!

Barmby

No you don't; what follows is that the rest of the world starts talking about 'unfair competition' and 'dumping' and proceeds to close its frontiers. You won't be allowed to export a halfpennyworth of anything anywhere. After which there'll be nothing to do but declare war. May I take a drop more vermouth?

Lidgate

(Still reading and signing) Do

Spence

(Very much agitated) You make it sound all very plausible, I know. But you're wrong somewhere. I feel it in my bones that you're wrong.

Barmby

You're like all the politicians and business men I've ever talked to Mr. Spence. They always feel things in their bones. Never by any chance in their heads.

Lidgate

(Putting down his pen) There! Now I'm ready to come to the rescue. (He pats Spence's arm. Spence smiles at him with a dog-like devotion.) You've been mangling my poor lieutenant in the most bloodthirsty way, Mr. Barmby.

Spence

He's wrong. I'm convinced he's wrong.

Lidgate

Right in theory, perhaps. But wrong in practice.

Barmby

Practice? Heaven preserve me from practice! I've never done any practice in my life.

Lidgate

Which is why you're in the wrong. Because when you practice, you're always feeling your way towards compromises and working arrangements. Theoretically, capitalism may not work under a system of power production. But in practice, somehow or other we make it work.

Barmby

Do you? I confess I hadn't noticed it."
(pp.12-16)

One can imagine how crestfallen Lion must have felt when reading Now More Than Ever, even though he had been warned to expect "a good deal of talk". Huxley said of Galsworthy's Plays: Fourth Series:

... the literature of social problems, "repertory" literature, possesses life and value only in so far as its characters are real, individual human beings. The problem does not make the play; it is the characters that cause us to be interested in or tolerant of the problem,⁴⁵

45. Athenaeum, 4 June 1920, p.733.

and as drama critic of the Westminster Gazette, he had reviewed Israel Zangwill's succès fou, The Melting Pot. His critique of the drama of ideas in this notice, and his comments in the Galsworthy review above, can be applied all too readily to Now More Than Ever:

The unsatisfactoriness of The Melting Pot naturally makes one think of the unsatisfactoriness of most of the so-called "drama of ideas". The drama is a form in which it is almost impossible to convey ideas of any complexity. To be understood at a first hearing by a mixed crowd of several hundred people an idea must be extraordinarily simple, and even then it must be repeated almost ad nauseam if it is to be thoroughly comprehended. Ideas of the least subtlety or novelty, controversial, difficult, obscure ideas simply escape a listening audience.⁴⁶

In comparison with the "distinctly new wave" of drama represented by the contemporary material in the Group Theatre's repertoire,⁴⁷ Now More Than Ever, with its raw lumps of tendentious verbiage, would have seemed not only cack-handed but passé to both West-End impresarios and the literary avant-garde alike.

46. Westminster Gazette, 9 December 1920, p.6.

47. Michael J. Sidnell, Dances of Death: The Group Theatre of London in the Thirties, (London: Faber and Faber, 1984). p.258.

This being said, the reinstatement of Now More Than Ever in the canon of Huxley's writings means that it is now possible to form a complete picture of the key period in his career for the first time. In particular, the destruction of the public-spirited Lidgate at the hands of Lupton dramatised Huxley's recognition of how any effort to rationalize the infrastructure of a democracy was vulnerable to the cupidity of speculators. In Jesting Pilate, Huxley had condemned speculation as "the most discreditable, unproductive and socially mischievous" way of making money,⁴⁸ and in 1933 he predicted:

In the planned economy, which the rulers of almost every civilized country are now trying to impose, there will be no room for speculation in stocks.⁴⁹

The bursting of Wall Street's speculative bubble coupled with the Hatry scandal - on whom the Chawdron of Huxley's short story, a speculator and "large scale, Napoleonic crook", was obviously based,⁵⁰ must have further perturbed Huxley, especially in the light of Pareto's identification of the speculator as a figure in whom an

48. Jesting Pilate, p.199.

49. "Lotteries", Chicago Herald and Examiner, 12 October 1933, p.11.

50. "Chawdron", Life and Letters, 4, (April 1930), pp.255-302. Rep. in Brief Candles, pp.1-58.

"instinct for combinations" is personified:

A governing class often brings on its own ruin. It readily accepts individuals who are well supplied with Class 1 residues and devote themselves to economic and financial pursuits, because such people as a rule are great producers of wealth and so contribute to the well-being of the governing class. In the days of absolute monarchy they supplied the sinews for the extravagances of kings; nowadays they provide the wealth for the extravagances of democracy.⁵¹

Pareto acknowledged that the speculator can bring progress, but noted that unlike the "rentier", he is not content with a fixed income and that his "adventurous capers" are potentially catastrophic:

A society in which R[entier]'s almost exclusively predominate remains stationary, and, as it were, crystallized. A society in which S[peculator]'s predominate lacks stability, lives in a state of shaky equilibrium that may be upset by a slight accident from within or without.⁵²

Further on in The Mind and Society, Pareto describes the character of the speculator, and it is likely that Huxley had

51. The Mind and Society, Vol 4, p.1555.

52. ibid., p.1563.

this passage in mind in his treatment of the unscrupulous Lupton:

They rejoice in dangerous economic ventures and are on the watch for them. In appearance they are always submissive to the man who shows himself the stronger; but they work underground and know how to win and hold the substance of power, leaving the outward forms to others.⁵³

The Stavisky scandal of December 1933, which for a while threatened to destabilize the Third Republic, was yet another crisis brought about by the machinations of a speculator, and no doubt helps account for Huxley's persistence in trying to get his play produced. In an important, undocumented, article written shortly afterwards, Huxley reflected on the Hatry, Kreuger and Stavisky affairs, once again using Paretian terminology, and concluded that such men were the inevitable products of democracy:

Swindling flourishes and the financier everywhere exercises an undue influence on the politician.

Large-scale swindling and more or less definite, more or less criminal corruption of politicians, are part of the price that has to be paid for economic progress and democratic government on liberal principles. Inevitably; it is a psychological necessity.

53. ibid., p.1646.

Economic progress, liberal government and corrupt practices are three manifestations, in three different spheres of action, of a single type of character.

This man says Huxley, following Pareto, is one in whom an "instinct for combinations" is pronounced:

Thus the strength of a society dominated by men with a pronounced "persistence of aggregates", lies in its stability and in the violence and promptitude of the actions dictated by unquestioning faith in an absolute. Its weaknesses are in its inability to adapt itself to new conditions and its tendency to economic and mental stagnation. Change all the positives into negatives in the foregoing description, all the negatives into positives, and you have a sufficient account of the strengths and weaknesses of a society dominated by men with a well developed "instinct of combinations"... Liberalism is, unfortunately, a precarious policy. Liberal rulers are reluctant to use force; but among the ruled (and also among the rulers of neighbouring countries) are individuals with faith - people, that is to say, who are prepared to kill for their convictions, to die for their "persistence of aggregates". When these are effectively organized and led, liberals stand no chance against them.

Sceptical and humane cunning is no match for fanatical force. The history of the last twenty years is a record of the struggle between liberalism and faith, between the ingenious and relatively tolerant "instinct of combinations" and the believing and therefore ruthless, persecuting and violent "persistence of aggregates". Wherever battle has been joined, liberalism has suffered defeat.⁵⁴

The next few years were to see Huxley gradually abandon his "faith" in an authoritarian panacea, and as the notoriety of the Nazi regime and the certainty of war grew, he became, briefly, the cynosure of the British anti-fascist and pacifist lobbies in a spectacular volte-face before he once more succumbed, permanently, to a life of sequestered quietism.

54. "Notes on the Way", Time and Tide, 15, (10 March 1934), pp.306, 308-309. See also, "Casino and Bourse", Everyman, NS No.22, (8 March 1935), pp.525-526. "Financial speculation is probably the most pernicious game of chance ever invented. For, unlike other games of chance, it is played with counters that stand for real objects, and worse, for real living men and women".

CHAPTER SIX

In her memoirs, Sylvia Scaffardi recalls a visit Huxley paid to the offices of the National Council for Civil Liberties some time in the mid-1930s:

A long-jointed secretary-bird moving restlessly, his vision already impaired. Communing with his own mind, he stared unseeing out of the window, as I fed him the current clichés about civil liberty. He was not listening. No contact. But he lent his name, gave his cheque, was included on our notepaper.¹

Huxley's gawky wool-gathering at the N.C.C.L. mums the absurdity of his predicament during a period in which he was nominally a progressive, yet still by temperament a reactionary. Soon after becoming a Vice-President of the Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals, for instance, Huxley began disseminating Pareto's sociology with renewed gusto, and, overriding the counsels of C.P. Blacker, sanctioned a programme of compulsory sterilization in line with recent Nazi legislation. This last chapter will offer a conspectus of the full range of Huxley's socio-political writings and activities between 1933 and 1936 for the first time.

1. Sylvia Scaffardi, Fire Under the Carpet: Working for Civil Liberties in the Thirties, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1986), p.110.

Huxley's Janus-faced relationship with the progressive avant-garde is epitomized by his review of Manifesto, the vade-mecum of the Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals, an umbrella association which had come into existence through the efforts of C.E.M. Joad in 1932:

to promote contact and co-operation
between societies and individuals
working towards social and economic
re-construction, with a view to
increasing the effectiveness of their
efforts.²

Wells provided an introduction to Manifesto beneath the oriflamme "There Should be a Common Creed for Left Parties Throughout All the World", a coalescence which began modestly with the Woodcraft Folk, the H.G. Wells Society, the Anti-Fascist Council, the Gymnic Association of Great Britain and other groups being fused into the F.P.S.I. These affiliates were united in their awareness that:

The chaos of international relations,
the failure to balance production and
consumption, the nationalist policies
pursued by governments with their
appeals to fear, greed and self-interest
under the guise of patriotism must,
unless arrested, inevitably lead,

2. C.E.M. Joad, ed., Manifesto: Being the Book of the Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals, (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1934), p.21.

through social demoralization and tariff and military wars to the breakdown of civilization.³

Although R.A. Wilford observes that the F.P.S.I. was not aligned with the Labour Party, it did endeavour, "to exert a critical influence within the wider Labour movement",⁴ as is clear from a broader statement of the Federation's principles which was printed in the first number of its mouthpiece, Plan:

In general we stand for a Planned Economy as against Unplanned Muddling; for production for use as against production for profit, with its crowning achievements of unemployment, the armaments ramp, and the destruction of food while thousands starve. We believe that World Government is the only sure way to World Peace. We believe that Fascism is the greatest menace to it.⁵

The securing of civil and religious liberties, the rescission of legislation concerning sexual conduct and the pursuit of radical educational reforms were the F.P.S.I.'s other policies.

3. Manifesto, p.22.
4. R.A. Wilford, "The Federation of Progressive Societies and Individuals", Journal of Contemporary History, 11, (January 1976), pp.49-82.
5. [John W.M. Dudding], "Editorial", Plan, 1, (April 1934), p.2.

To add some cachet to the Federation, various celebrities such as Wells himself, Russell, Rebecca West, A.S. Neill, Leonard Woolf and the Huxley brothers were co-opted as Vice-Presidents towards the end of 1933. In Wilford's view, the function of these luminaries was largely decorative, and certainly Huxley's Vice-Presidential activity appears to have been confined to a lecture in the Conway Hall and a reading of his poems to a nude gathering of progressives in the cabbage garden of Stratton Park, Hampshire.⁶ Wagar notes that:

Wells lost interest almost immediately: and in private he denounced it as a miscellany of dilettantes, which may have been a fair criticism. But by intention, at any rate, the F.P.S.I. started its brief career in the spirit of the Open Conspiracy.⁷

Huxley too, while willing to endorse many of the proposals outlined in Manifesto in his review, had reservations of a Wellsian kind regarding the principles underlying the F.P.S.I.'s projected reforms. He was outraged, for instance, by Olaf Stapledon's essay on "Education and World

6. As recalled by Harold Wood in a letter to the editor of Plan, 52, (February 1983), pp.8-9. This was probably at the Easter Conference of 1936.
7. Wagar, p.198.

Citizenship", which was based on the assumption that:

The true aim of education is to turn every boy and girl in the world into a complete individual personality and into a good citizen of the world.⁸

Stapledon rejected the view that only an elite should be allowed to develop fully as "out of date and pernicious". This, of course, was ideological heresy to Huxley who quoted Stapledon's philosophy incredulously and then suffixed it with a parenthetical sneer of his own:

"The individual", he says, "must be taught to think accurately and to regard all information critically. If possible, he must be given a passion for pioneering in thought, even for piratical adventures against the sanctified beliefs of his teachers. Above all, he must be taught to be relentlessly critical of his own motives... In general he must learn to be both receptive and cautious, both imaginative and sceptical and at the same time both sensitive and self-reliant". (He might also, while he was about it, learn to be both Mozart and Sir Issac Newton, both Casanova and Pascal, both Edward Gibbon and Jack Dempsey).

Not content with challenging the foundations of Stapledon's philosophy of education, Huxley also chose this occasion to

8. Manifesto, pp.142-163.

restate his own belief in a caste hierarchy:

Certain 'Samurai' used to play an important part in the earlier prophetic books of Mr. H.G. Wells. They play no part in the F.P.S.I. Manifesto. The fact, it seems to me, is greatly to be regretted, as well on theoretical as on practical grounds. The Samurai idea is scientifically justified in as much as it implies a recognition of the irreconcilable differences between human beings and a rejection of that wish-born theory of equality, which Mr. Stapledon has taken from the Encyclopaedists. It is also a programme, a plan of action... The creation of a caste of Samurai is a piece of strictly practical politics.

There is even a great deal to be said for the creation of a caste of Brahmins above the Samurai. Their immediate, political, propagandist value would be less than that of the more active Samurai; but ultimately, it seems to me, society can derive nothing but benefit from the existence of such a caste.⁹

No statement by Huxley demonstrates the incongruity of his consorting with the likes of A.S. Neill, and his ideological propinquity to Wells, more neatly.

9. Rev. of Manifesto, Plan, 1, (July 1934), pp.6-7, 15.

The fate of the elite remained Huxley's passionate hobby-horse well after the publication of Brave New World. An unpublished letter in the National Library of Wales recalls his forecast to Mencken in December 1922 of a steady widening of the "gulf between the populace and those engaged in any intellectual occupation":

About 99.5% of the entire population of the planet are as stupid and as philistine (tho' in different ways) as the great masses of the English. The important thing, it seems to me, is not to attack the 99.5% - except for exercise - but to try to see that the 0.5% survives, keeps its quality up to the highest possible level and, if possible, dominates the rest. The imbecility of the 99.5% is appalling - but, after all what else can you expect?¹⁰

Speaking to a Congress on Intellectual Co-operation shortly afterwards, in October 1933, Huxley told his Paris audience:

Malheureusement la logique a très peu de prise sur les masses. Aux masses, il faut parler en termes d'autorité absolue, comme Jéhovah aux Israélites.¹¹

10. L.J. Roberts and J. Glyn Roberts Papers, Correspondence file, ff. 55-6. 19 July 1933.
11. "L'Avenir de l'esprit Européen", Coopération Intellectuelle, (Paris), No 38, (March 1934), pp.77-79.

Wells and Huxley were not alone in wishing to see a cadre of the best detach itself from the mass. In Notes Towards the Definition of Culture Eliot would later condemn "ossification into caste" as a "malady" leading to "cultural disintegration",¹² but in the early 1930s his friend Philippe Mairet, citing Allen Upward's earlier efforts to realise "a new co-operation of the élite of European culture" and his attempts to encourage them "to take power and assume guidance of the world's social and political future" as his inspiration,¹³ had claimed that:

The development of functional classes is intimately united with the development of intelligence and reason, and it is not too much to say that a completely classless society would be a society of imbeciles.¹⁴

Mairet, like Nietzsche and Huxley, cited the Laws of Manu as the ultimate principle of all rational government.

The free-thinking libertarians of the F.P.S.I. must have been pole-axed by the social philosophy Huxley enunciated in his review of their Manifesto. Even more dismaying though must have been the position he adopted regarding the sterilization of the unfit.

12. T.S. Eliot, Notes Towards the Definition of Culture, (London: Faber and Faber, 1948), p.26.

13. Phillipe Mairet, Aristocracy and the Meaning of Class Rule: An Essay Upon Aristocracy Past and Future, (London: Daniel, 1931), p.18.

14. Mairet, p.20.

In the 1930s the eugenics movement polarised into a rump of authoritarian die-hards such as E.W. MacBride, R.B. Cattell, F.C.S. Schiller, Wicksteed Armstrong, and, to a lesser extent, Leonard Darwin and Fisher, whose writings were pervaded by racial and social bigotry, and a phalanx of reform eugenisists which included Lancelot Hogben, J.B.S. Haldane, Julian Huxley and Hermann Muller, who approached the problem of social hygiene in a more scientific and non-partisan spirit.¹⁵ This bifurcation posed many problems for the Eugenics Society, not least for its General Secretary, C.P. Blacker, who tried unceasingly to persuade the progressive wing to remain within an organization which had come to be viewed as not only hidebound but otiose.

The priority issue for the Eugenics Society in the 1930s was the campaign to legalize voluntary sterilization of the unfit:

The Society took up in earnest the issue of voluntary sterilization in 1929. In that year the Wood Report on mental deficiency had drawn attention to the high fertility of what it termed the social problem group... consequently the Eugenics Society established a committee

15. This synopsis is indebted to the scholarly surveys of Kevles, pp.164-192, Jones (1986), pp.104-109, and Searle's "Eugenics and Politics in Britain in the 1930's".

for legalising eugenic sterilization in
1930.¹⁶

With the support of the Eugenics Society, Major A.G. Church M.P. introduced a Bill in July 1931 recommending that voluntary sterilization should be legalized, but this measure was rejected by the Commons, mainly because of opposition from the Labour Party. However, a Government committee chaired by Sir Lawrence Brock was set up in 1932 to enquire into the problem of the unfit. To the immense relief of the Society, Brock's committee reported in favour of voluntary sterilization, and declared that compulsory sterilization could not be justified on any grounds, eugenic or otherwise.

The Brock Report was especially significant coming as it did soon after the Nazi's introduction of compulsory sterilization in January 1933, a development which was regarded with great alarm by Blacker. At the time he had written:

In view of the publicity which is being given to the German Sterilization Bill and of the misconceptions to which it has given rise in the Press, it is essential that Fellows and Members of this Society should do their best to dissipate the view that to legalize

16. Michael Freeden, "Eugenics and Progressive Thought". The Wood Report had revealed that the incidence of mental deficiency in England and Wales had doubled since 1908.

sterilization necessarily implies
compulsion or even the smallest
infringement of personal liberty.¹⁷

Nevertheless, the Nazi legislation disquieted many progressives within the Eugenics Society who were conscious of the inevitable comparisons being made between its sterilization policy and the authoritarian mould of German eugenics. For example, Blacker received this letter from Naomi Mitchison in May 1933:

I should like to resign from the Eugenics Education Society... I find myself more and more out of sympathy with the general trend of opinion. I cannot help feeling that, to most of the members and council of the society, eugenics merely means conservation of those virtues which have made people into successful members of society as it is... I can't therefore feel it consistent with my position as one who wants to see the present state of society completely altered, and new sets of social and individual values substituted for the old ones, to continue as a member of your Society. I also feel very doubtful about such measures as the sterilization of the unfit. They put a terrible power into the hands of a government and bureaucracy which may yet prove tyrannous.¹⁸

17. C.P. Blacker, "Eugenics in Germany," Eugenics Review, 25, (October 1933), pp.157-159.
18. Unpub. letter, Naomi Mitchison's personal file, Eugenics Society Offices, Eccleston Square, London. 29 May 1933.

Eugenists with an authoritarian cast of mind welcomed the Nazi legislation, of course. So did Aldous Huxley.

On 1 December 1933 he wrote the following letter to Blacker:

I have been asked by the editor of Nash's [Pall] Mall Magazine to write on the question of eugenics, particularly the sterilization of the unfit. I am tolerably well up in the history of the sterilization movement in other countries and in the evidence in support of sterilization. What I should like to know, however, is this: whether the bill for the legalization of sterilization in England was actually introduced in the House of Commons and if so, what was (and what is likely to be) its fate... You will be doing me a great favour if you will let me know very briefly where the question of legislation stands at this moment.¹⁹

Among other items which Blacker enclosed with his reply were three Eugenics Society pamphlets recommending voluntary sterilization. One of these, Better Unborn, reproduced Church's Bill, to which Huxley had alluded. Blacker also sent Huxley a copy of the Eugenics Review for October 1933, which contained the text of the notorious German legislation

19. Unpub. letter, Julian Huxley file, C.P. Blacker Archive, Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, Oxford University.

and Blacker's "Eugenics in Germany" which dissociated the Eugenics Society unequivocally from compulsory sterilization. Emphasising the Society's opposition to sterilization by force, Blacker concluded his letter to Huxley with the complaint that "the adoption of a drastic eugenic policy by the Nazis has had the not unnatural effect of still further antagonising persons of Labour persuasion against eugenics".²⁰

"What Is Happening to Our Population", the product of Huxley's thoughts on sterilization, must have been deeply embarrassing to Blacker. Dismissing the opponents of sterilization as either theologians or "mystical democrats", Huxley's article is at once the most wide-ranging and narrow-minded of his pronouncements on eugenics, yet there is no mention of it in the standard bibliography. Rejecting voluntary sterilization as insufficient, Huxley proposed to remedy the growing incidence of mental deficiency through a combination of the compulsory sterilization of certified defectives - even going so far as to cite the Nazi legislation as a commendable precedent - and the creation of a Fisherite system of fiscal allowances to promote the

20. Carbon copy of unpub. letter in the Archives of the Eugenics Society, Contemporary Medical Archives Centre, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London. File EUG/C.184 Aldous Huxley.
4 December 1933.

fertility of the professional classes:

If conditions remain what they are now, and if the present tendency remains unchecked, we may look forward in a quarter of a century or two to a time when a quarter of the population of these islands will consist of half-wits. What a curiously squalid and humiliating conclusion to English history. What is the remedy for the present deplorable state of affairs? It consists, obviously, in encouraging the normal and super-normal members of the population to have larger families and in preventing the sub-normal from having any families at all.²¹

As with his insurrectionary approach to the crisis of 1929-1931, Huxley's support for compulsory sterilization places him to the right of Oswald Mosley, whose British Union of Fascists' policy was to segregate or sterilize the unfit on a voluntary basis.

Huxley incurred the wrath of G.K. Chesterton for his "sensational" article in a later number of Nash's Pall Mall Magazine - "A good many things have been compulsory in Germany since the beginning of the year; and I shall be surprised if Mr. Aldous Huxley approves of them"²² - and a

21. "What is Happening to Our Population?", Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 93, (April 1934), pp.12-13.
22. G.K. Chesterton, "The Two Aldous Huxleys", Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 93, (August 1934), pp.78-79.

more appropriate forum for Huxley's remarks might have been Nature, to which he was a regular subscriber.²³ As Gary Wersky has pointed out, Nature devoted countless editorials to the sterilization debate in the 1930s and published many articles on the subject:

Nature supported Major Church's bill... and R.A. Fisher's plan to stimulate the fertility of the middle classes through family allowances... In fact the journal went beyond these measures to advocate compulsory sterilization "as a punishment for parents who have to resort to public assistance in order to support their children".²⁴

Interestingly, Yeats also received guidance and material from Blacker, including an article he had requested by R.A. Fisher connecting the boom in the unfit and the decline of civilization, during the composition of On the Boiler. Like Huxley though, Yeats bit the hand that fed him. He did express his gratitude to Blacker for the help he

23. Bedford, Vol.1, p.237. Huxley quotes Shepherd Dawson's "Intelligence and Fertility", Nature, 129, (6 February 1932), pp.191-192, in "Are we Growing Stupider?" Chicago Herald and Examiner, 30 March 1932, p.9.
24. Gary Wersky, "Nature and Politics Between the Wars", Nature, 224, (1 November 1969), pp.462-470. See, for example, E.W. MacBride's "Sterilization as Practical Eugenic Policy", Nature, 125, (11 January 1930), pp.40-42.

had been afforded in On the Boiler, but he also recorded his general indebtedness to R.B. Cattell's Fight for Our National Intelligence (1937), a deeply reactionary account of the differential birth-rate which Blacker had certainly not sent him. Since it had been researched while he was a Research Fellow of the Eugenics Society, Blacker had already had to deal with the rumpus Cattell's had caused among the reform eugenisists on its publication.²⁵

Huxley's fear of being swamped by a pullulating horde of the unfit surfaces in another neglected article which he wrote the following year. "The Next Twenty Five Years" is a projection of Britain in 1960, in which Huxley prophesies, among other things, the development of a stratospheric air link between London and New York, a leap in life expectancy and the omnipresence of synthetic voices, minatory and wheedling, ensuring the maintainance of order. Moreover:

In the early 'Fifties one person out of every 92 was a half wit. In something like a panic Parliament passed a series of laws embodying all the principles of negative eugenics.²⁶

25. The Eugenics Society Archives contain four unpublished letters from Yeats to Blacker: 28 November 1937, 25 December 1937, 13 January 1938 and 20 February [1938], Contemporary Medical Archives Centre, File SA/EUG/C.357 W.B. Yeats. Blacker did not recommend Cattell to Yeats, as Jones (1986), p.109, says he did.

26. "The Next Twenty Five Years", Daily Express, 8 May 1935, p.10.

A different aspect of Huxley's neurosis is evident in his foreword to Norman Haire's Birth-Control Methods:

The technique of birth control has made it possible for many people to remain completely sterile, when they might and (in view of their circumstances and good heredity) ought to have had children. Complete sterility condemns the women who inflict it upon themselves to a kind of biological frustration, which often finds expression in impaired health and undesirable behaviour. At the same time it robs the world of children who might have contributed to its betterment.²⁷

On 17 February 1936 Huxley seconded the vote of thanks at his brother's celebrated Galton lecture on "Eugenics and Society" and followed this up with a letter to him:

I thought the lecture was exceedingly good. Zuckermann [sic] said he considered it was one of the best things you had done and I think that, in the sphere of social science and philosophy, it certainly was. I also liked it because it so much disconcerted those really horrifying old ladies and gentlemen, who were all fairly panting to have the testicles off everyone within sight - the old devils²⁸

27. Norman Haire, Birth-Control Methods (Contraception, Abortion, Sterilization), (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1936), p.7.
28. Unpub. letter in possession of Lady Juliette Huxley. n.d. 'Wednesday', [19 February 1936].

G.R. Searle has adverted to the fact that at the beginning of the 1930s Julian Huxley had been a eugenicist of the extreme school, "linking social dependence with genetic defect and threatening the unemployed with deportation to labour camps if they insisted upon having children while drawing unemployment benefit".²⁹ Similarly, Greta Jones quotes a letter of 10 February 1930, in which Huxley told H.G. Wells that slums were caused by the defective nature of the "type of people who, inevitably, gravitate down and will make a slum for themselves if not prevented".³⁰ These views may be compared with Aldous's assertion that "there is in every population a small percentage of congenitally feeble-minded people, who can turn even the best housing estate into a slum. These would somehow have to be supervised and, if necessary, coerced".³¹ Julian Huxley, however, was soon convinced by Hogben that his views were tantamount to crypto-Nazism, and by the time of his Galton lecture, he was arguing that eugenicists should not consider certain classes or groups as genetically dissimilar until their environment had been homogenised.³² Nurture is not a factor his brother takes into account in "What Is Happening to Our Population",

29. Searle, "Eugenics and Politics".

30. Jones (1986), p.106.

31. "Anthropology at Home", Chicago Herald and Examiner, 15 July 1933, p.9.

32. "Eugenics and Society", Eugenics Review, 28, (April 1936), pp.11-35.

and his snide cameo of the Eugenics Society's old guard slavering appetently for wholesale castration is rather ironic in view of his own publicly-avowed bent for compulsory sterilization.³³

Around the time Huxley became a Vice-President of the F.P.S.I., he began re-reading Pareto's Trattato, and this may partially explain his role as a kind of ideological fifth-columnist in the Federation. His writings in late 1933 and 1934 once more proclaim his adulation for the Italian sociologist and his chef-d'oeuvre. In an unpublished letter to his brother, for instance, Huxley described the Trattato, as "one of the great epoch-making books" of the modern period.³⁴ A month later he had read two thousand pages of it and his enthused in another letter, this time to Mary Hutchinson:

A terrifying book - the only purely scientific unmetaphysical account of human affairs ever undertaken: a vast coherent system of man's behaviour in society. The most depressing book in the world. I read most of it in 1924, [sic], and am now going through it once more - and in the light of the events which have occurred since the first reading it seems

33. The differential birth-rate still troubled Huxley towards the end of his life. See Kevles, p.263, and Brave New World Revisited, p.19.
34. Unpub. letter in possession of Lady Juliette Huxley. 7 January 1934. See also Letters, p.376.

still truer than it did then, and still more depressing. Partly because of the events, which have punctured all the post-war hopes of lands-fit-for-heroes and reconstruction; and partly, doubtless, because one is creeping into middle age and is less easily distracted by one's appetites which have grown feebler, and by one's passions, which seem such a bore - all but the consuming desire for knowledge and understanding. That grows.³⁵

Needless to say, these are hardly the sentiments of a breezy progressive who believed that "social and economic reconstruction" was a realisable goal. Rather, they are the views of a man in whom the "conservatism and ... disbelief in progress"³⁶ of "a crusted Tory"³⁷ like Pareto found a profoundly sympathetic reader.

Aware of Huxley's familiarity with the Trattato, T.S. Eliot asked him for his opinion of Bongiorno and Livingston's translation of it, (which Faber and Faber were considering for publication), and wondered whether Huxley

35. Unpub. letter, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center. 25 February 1934.

36. Letter of 10 August 1934, quoted in Marjorie Worthington, The Strange World of Willie Seabrook, (New York): Harcourt Brace, 1966), pp.174-176.

37. "The Interpretation of History", Literary America, (April 1936), pp.1060-1065.

would be "willing to write a few words of commendation which we could use in advertising the book?"³⁸ After agreeing to Eliot's request, Huxley added:

I think the psychological moment might be fairly auspicious; for it is obvious that Wellsian Progress doesn't cut much ice any more. Pareto is a prodigious debunker; but, at the same time, (which most debunkers are not) a realist, one who takes into account all the facts... If there is a public anxious to see a bit clearly through the welter - and I think there is - then, I think, Pareto is their man.³⁹

In the event, Faber's did not publish this translation but Huxley was able to pay a fulsome tribute to Pareto in his review of the Harcourt Brace edition of the Trattato:

How admirably sound... is Pareto's criticism of the notion of "causes" in history! And how effectively he illustrates that multifarious sytem of actions and reactions by which, in reality, events are connected! In what a thorough and refreshingly unmystical way he investigates the question of cycles and returns! What excellent things he says about the heterogeneity

38. Unpub. letter in the possession of Mrs. Valerie Eliot. 20 April 1934.

39. Letters, p.380.

of social classes and the "circulation of elites"! How subtly he distinguishes between the "utility of society" and "utility for a society"!⁴⁰

However maverick Huxley must have seemed to his fellow members of the F.P.S.I., and no matter how unpalatable his views on compulsory sterilization were to them, Huxley's opposition to the potential menace of Nazi aggression was firmly in line with the Federation's policy. Richard Griffiths has observed that after Hitler's installation as Chancellor in January 1933, "all reports of the public manifestations of Nazi internal policies - the Jewish boycott, the brutalities of the S.A. and S.S., the Roehm purge, etc., brought the new regime into considerable disrepute with British public opinion".⁴¹ During the summer of 1933 Huxley tuned-in to Nazi radio broadcasts announcing the incineration of outlawed texts and the persecution of Jews,⁴² and soon recognised the necessity of

40. "Pareto's Museum of Human Stupidity", New York Herald Tribune (Book Supplement), 9 June 1935, pp.1-2. See also, "Notes on the Way", Time and Tide, 16, (1 June 1935), pp.811-812.

41. Richard Griffiths, Fellow Travellers of the Right: British Enthusiasts for Nazi Germany 1933-1939, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p.9.

42. "German Bonfires", Chicago Herald and Examiner, 29 September 1933, p.9.

resisting German fascism with force. "The Nazi movement is a rebellion against Western Civilization", he said in an American Spectator article of April 1934.⁴³ All of which makes his support for the Nazi policy of compulsory sterilization in the same month more puzzling.

Huxley and his wife spent Easter 1934 in Italy, their first visit to the country since 1929, and his experiences in Rome alerted Huxley to the by now no less disturbing phenomenon of Italian Fascism. The letter to Eliot in which Huxley dismissed progress and extolled the wisdom of Pareto, whose writings had also helped shape Mussolini's political ideology,⁴⁴ was written just after the Huxleys had returned from Italy. In contrast with his earlier approbation of Mussolini's Führerprinzip Huxley now condemned the cultishness of his regime:

We entered the country on the day of the election. Horrible, but interesting; for it was all an organized attempt at apotheosis - as for Caesar or Augustus... One understands in Italy and, I suppose, in Germany too, why the Jews and early Christians were so much concerned by idolatry - state-worship, nation-worship, man-worship, organization-worship.

43. "Alypius in a Brown Shirt", American Spectator, 2, (April 1934), p.1.
44. Benito Mussolini, My Autobiography, (London: Hutchinson, 1939), p.290.

"I only hope we shall escape that accursed plague in France", Huxley wrote to Ford Madox Ford shortly afterwards.⁴⁵

On 7 June 1934 Huxley witnessed the flagrant thuggery of Mosley's B.U.F. henchmen at his Olympia rally, and was confronted for the first time with a brutal demonstration of the abstract force he had so readily advocated in 1931.

Huxley later recalled:

From my seat in the amphitheatre I was unable to follow closely what was happening in the galleries. One fight, however, took place within two yards of me.

A young man and a girl both in the early twenties (students, to judge by their speech and appearance) were sitting in the row immediately in front of mine.

About half-way through the meeting they made an interruption and were instantly set upon by six or eight Blackshirts, who were standing nearby in the gangway. The young man was struck several times in the face, and dragged out by four Fascists. I could not see whether the girl was hit; but she was certainly very roughly hustled and pushed about.⁴⁶

An organisation which was not affiliated to the F.P.S.I., but with which it co-operated, was the Artists

45. Unpub. letter, Cornell University Library. 4 May 1934.

46. 'Vindicator' [Victor Gollancz], Fascists at Olympia: A Record of Eyewitnesses and Victims (London: Victor Gollancz, 1934), p.21.

International Association. Founded in 1933, "at a time when the world depression and the stirrings of re-armament began to disturb the isolated craftsman and creative worker," the A.I.A. had by 1935 committed itself to maintaining the "Unity of Artists against Fascism and War and the Suppression of Culture".⁴⁷ As its historians have said, "The AIA soon became a focus for anti-Fascist sentiment with the exhibition entitled "Artists Against Fascism and War",⁴⁸ mounted in response to the Italian invasion of Abyssinia on 3 October 1935. Huxley was chosen to open the exhibition, and in his Foreword to the catalogue he commented, "Personally, I should have preferred to 'Fascism' the more general term 'dictatorship'; for I am convinced that, however admirable the ends proposed by dictators, any form of dictatorship is intrinsically bad". By November 1935, with the reports of Nazi persecution, Fascist mass hysteria, and B.U.F. strong-arm tactics behind him, Huxley must have regretted his martinet rhetoric about allowing "ourselves to be ruled dictatorially by men who will compel us to do and suffer what a rational foresight demands".

47. Artists International Association: The First Five Years 1933-1938, (n.p.: [A.I.A.], n.d.) n.pag. British Library accession no. 7812 s14.
48. Lynda Morris and Robert Radford, The Story of the A.I.A.: Artists International Association 1933-1953, (Oxford: Museum of Modern Art, 1983), p.29.

He concluded his remarks in the A.I.A. Foreword with a swipe at the uncommitted, which, in the light of his subsequent promotion of Greggism within the Peace Pledge Union, may be regarded as another of his many self-scripted indictments:

There is a very real sense in which the whole activity of the self-disciplined artist is a standing protest against war and dictatorship. It is also a standing protest against that pacific liberalism which is merely soft and self-indulgent.⁴⁹

The prospect of "intellectuals discussing what if anything can be done to safeguard the intellect in the present state of affairs" had lured Huxley to a congress organised by Paul Valéry in 1933.⁵⁰ He had also been a less sanguine member of the small delegation which E.M. Forster had led to an International Congress of Writers, also in Paris, in June 1935:

The Congress was, of course, a great disappointment. I had hoped for serious, technical discussion between writers - but in fact the thing simply turned out to be a series of public meetings organized by the French Communist writers for their own glorification and by the Russians as a piece of Soviet propaganda.⁵¹

49. 1935 Exhibition: Artists Against Fascism and War, 13-27 November 1935. Foreword to the Catalogue.

50. Letters, p.375.

51. Letters, p.397.

The vision of an elite confederacy of Europe's literati resisting fascism with the sheer dazzle of their penmanship tantalized Huxley, and, undeterred by his two previous experiences, he attended a meeting at 50 Gordon Square on 5 December 1935. Along with Auden, Vanessa Bell, J.D. Bernal, Duncan Grant, Henry Moore, R.H. Tawney, C.P. Snow, John Strachey, Virginia Woolf and other notables, Huxley had been invited there by Forster, Leonard Woolf and P.J. Noel Baker "to discuss the proposed international conference of the Comité de Vigilance des Intellectuels Antifascistes and the suggestion that intellectuals here should form some kind of organization similar to that of the Comité". Chairing the meeting, Leonard Woolf read out a letter from Rivet, the president of the Comité, giving details of another conference, again to be held in Paris. A committee of ten, including Huxley, was elected "to organise as strong and representative a delegation as possible".⁵² Huxley was not among the party which eventually attended the conference on 5 and 6 January 1936, but those responsible for organizing the contribution of the British group, now known as For Intellectual Liberty, became its first executive committee. The existence of F.I.L., let alone Huxley's presidency of it, is at present completely undocumented. Yet, in its chivying of the Government and an orchestrated campaign of agitation

52. Information from the unpub. minute book of For Intellectual Liberty in the possession of Margaret Gardiner.

in the press, (protesting about Jew-baiting and the activities of the B.U.F., etc.,⁵³) For Intellectual Liberty typifies the gradual concrescence of the British intelligentsia from around 1934 onwards as the threat from fascism became more tangible. The range of F.I.L.'s membership reinforces the scepticism of critics such as Valentine Cunningham who have challenged the orthodox view of the 1930s as an ideologically polarized decade.⁵⁴ As Montagu Slater said of the A.I.A. exhibition Huxley opened, "Those whom art and politics have put asunder, an exhibition against war and fascism has joined together".⁵⁵

At a meeting of 29 October 1936 the Secretary of F.I.L. announced that she had received a letter from Huxley informing her that he was going to America in the New Year, and that the organization would need to decide upon a new president. It was agreed to ask Huxley to continue as President until Christmas and the last meeting of F.I.L. Huxley attended was at E.M. Forster's flat on 26 November 1936. In this month F.I.L. published its first and only Bulletin, and in it Huxley called for the immediate formation of a "People's Front". In 1934, a broad coalition of the

53. The minute book offers a comprehensive record of F.I.L.'s activities.
54. Valentine Cunningham, "Neutral?: Writers and Taking Sides", in Class, Culture and Social Change: A New View of the 1930s, ed. Frank Gloversmith (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), pp.45-69.
55. Quoted in Morris and Radford, p.29.

communists and other left of centre parties had united with the liberal intelligentsia in France and had come to power in June 1936 as le Front Populaire. Also in 1934, the Communist Party of Great Britain and the Independent Labour Party had set-up a joint committee for anti-fascist action, "and such was the mood on the left at this time that the communists also made approaches to affiliate with the Labour Party, with the aim of forming a Popular Front comparable to the one which was being built up in France".⁵⁶ The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936 brought a new urgency to the pursuit of anti-fascist unity, and a people's or popular front became the buzz-concern of the progressive movement from then on.⁵⁷ Huxley wrote of his proposed People's Front:

It is desirable for what we may call short-range reasons - because the present situation at home and abroad is so threatening that progressives must either hang together or hang separately. It is also desirable for long-range reasons - because concentration on practical problems tends to unite whereas preoccupation with words and theories foments divisions and hostilities...

56. Morris and Radford, p.28.

57. For example, Harry Pollitt, H.N. Brailsford and Barbara Wootton addressed the F.P.S.I.'s autumn conference on "A Popular Front for Great Britain" in November 1936. See also John Coombes, "British Intellectuals and the Popular Front," in Gloversmith, pp.70-100.

Ideologies are incitements to, and philosophical justifications of, personal sadism and organized persecution, domestic murder and international war. Any move that will induce people to forget their ideologies for a little and settle down to the solution of specific practical problems is a move in the direction of the things for which our organization stands - peace, tolerance, liberty. The formation of a People's Front would be, I believe, precisely such a move.⁵⁸

Along with this workmanlike anti-fascism, Huxley tried harder in the mid-1930s, like Walter Clough in Now More Than Ever, "to love his neighbour". On 16 November 1934, Huxley, Sir Thomas Beecham and others addressed a fund-raising event for the Cecil Houses charity. Founded by Mrs. Cecil Chesterton in 1926, Cecil Houses offered public lodging-house accommodation for women in straitened circumstances. Huxley's compassionate speech implicitly contrasted the "wholly admirable way" the Cecil Houses were administered with the intrusive and resented methods of the Means Test:

The homeless, always poor and often actually destitute women who come to them for a night's lodging, are accepted for what they are - unfortunate people in

58. "People's Front", Bulletin: For Intellectual Liberty, No.1 (November 1936), pp.14-15.

extreme need. They are put through no preliminary interrogation, are asked for no papers or credentials, subjected to no gratuitous bullying. If they want to talk, they are sympathetically listened to. If they prefer to be silent, they are left in peace. Everyone who enters is treated with the tact and simple decency that all men and women have a right to expect - but which, alas, so many hardly ever get in dealings with those in authority... For the tendency to treat people with very small incomes as though they were not quite human survives, I am afraid in many quarters to-day.⁵⁹

Again, this last sentence is richly ironic in the light of his own high-handed and authoritarian solution to the problem of the slum-dwelling feeble-minded which he had put forward only six months previously.

After visiting Eastwood in 1930, Huxley had stayed briefly with W.J.H. 'Sebastian' Sprott, sometime Bloomsbury exotic, lecturer in psychology at Nottingham University and denizen of the city's seamy side.⁶⁰ In March 1935 Huxley

59. "The Worth of a Gift", Seventh Report of the Cecil Houses Women's Public Lodging House Fund, 1934-1935, pp.16-20.

60. See P.N. Furbank, E.M. Forster: A Life, Vol.2 (London: Secker and Warburg, 1978), pp.118-119, passim.

wrote to him:

You asked me - was it two years ago? - to stay with you: but the thing fell through. I forget why. Would you renew the invitation - next week, if possible. I'd like to see you again, along with that curious Nottingham of yours, and to hear a little about that other England of which we here in London have really no inkling.⁶¹

Huxley gave a more detailed account of his proposed visit in another letter to Spratt which he dispatched two days later:

The plan, as arranged at present, is that I should motor down with Victor Rothschild on Monday. We'd stay at a hotel and do the sights for a day or so - returning on Wednesday... We will occupy ourselves Monday night - probably in a rather high-class visit to an unemployed club, which a to me unknown gentleman, Mr. Quin, is very anxious to show me.⁶²

Due to a bout of violent insomnia which afflicted Huxley soon after this letter was written, the trip to Nottingham had to be postponed, but in August 1935 Spratt was again approached, this time to see if he could arrange a marriage

61. Unpub. letter, King's College Library, Cambridge. 5 March 1935.

62. Unpub. letter, King's College Library, Cambridge. n.d. [7 March 1935]. All attempts to identify "Mr. Quin" have proved unsuccessful.

convenience between a British homosexual and "a German friend, a young woman of about twenty-three, a quarter Jewish and of liberal opinions", who was in danger of being repatriated from France, "with consequent concentration camp and maltreatment, etc., etc." Huxley was aware that Auden had married Erika Mann on 15 June, "on communist grounds, I take it", and he alluded to this as a precedent.⁶³ Sprott came up with various candidates, including his window-cleaner's brother-in-law, but in the end, a man put forward by Naomi Mitchison was selected.⁶⁴ Though the affair has its comical aspects, this personal threat to their friend must have brought home the true malignance of Hitler's regime to the Huxleys.

In March 1936, Huxley and Rothschild finally made it to Nottingham. At present the only record of their visit makes it sound like a somewhat raffish escapade, with Sybille Bedford translating a French snippet from Maria Huxley in which the two men are said to be on the point of departing "to visit centres of industry and low homosexuality at Nottingham".⁶⁵ Lord Rothschild, however, says:

Maria Huxley's account of the reasons why Aldous Huxley and I went to Nottingham is without any foundation. Aldous and I

63. Unpub. letter, King's College Library, Cambridge, 22 August 1935.

64. Unpub. letter, King's College Library, Cambridge, 30 September 1935.

65. Bedford, Vol 1, p.316.

had been talking about "depressed areas" and realised that neither of us had ever been to one. We therefore decided to go to Nottingham. The fact that Sebastian Sprott lived there was coincidental but convenient. There was no homosexual content in our visit though, of course, we both knew that Sebastian Sprott was a homosexual.

We went down a coalmine, to the coal face. We must have looked an odd couple as Aldous was tall and gangly whereas I was square, or at any rate thick set at that time.

We also went to Boots and watched a piece of cascara bark become a pill... All this took much longer than we expected so we paid only a perfunctory visit to the Raleigh bicycle factory.⁶⁶

In a supplementary letter to his daughter, Lord Rothschild remarks:

I don't believe that Aldous Huxley was all that concerned about the depressed areas. I don't think he had a social conscience in the sense that we would use that phrase nowadays... I know nothing about the "unemployed club" run by Mr. Quin. Aldous and I certainly did not visit the club and did not meet Mr. Quin.⁶⁷

66. Letter received from Lord Victor Rothschild, 12 March 1984.

67. Lord Victor to Victoria Rothschild. In the possession of the author. 30 May 1985.

Although Lord Rothschild is adamant that he and Huxley did not visit Quin's club for the unemployed in Nottingham, Huxley was sufficiently interested in unemployment centres to write two articles about them. In "The Man Without a Job" Huxley returned once more to "the problem of leisure and the problem of the organisation of work", which he had long regarded as one of the most vital issues of the present and immediate future:

Unemployment Centres and clubs were called into existence for a particular purpose - to provide men and women condemned to the miseries of enforced idleness with purposeful and useful occupation, with places where they could meet for talk, work and play, with opportunities for learning and being entertained.

The provision of recreational facilities for those on the dole gave Huxley a more widely applicable idea which anticipates the Open University:

The world would be a vastly happier and more interesting place if something like a glorified Unemployment Centre were at the disposal of every member of society ... What is needed, in a word, is a kind of university of common life - a university with colleges and laboratories scattered all over the country, where it should be possible for men and women of all ages to study and

experiment with the art of living in all its aspects, personal, social and professional.⁶⁸

In the sequel to this article, called "Pioneers of Britain's 'New Deal'", Huxley praised the Grith Fyrd camp for the unemployed at Godshill in the New Forest, which he saw as a prototype of this "University of common life". The Grith Fyrd camps - another had been established in Derbyshire - had attracted a good deal of attention since their foundation by the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry in 1932 as places where unemployed men aged between eighteen and twenty-five could recoup their dignity and acquire skills which would help them at worst cope with further unemployment when they had to leave the camps eighteen months later:⁶⁹

Life in the camps is co-operative, and in the fullest sense of the word communistic. The unemployment benefit drawn by the men living in the camp is pooled; all the food they produce is shared equally among them or, if in excess of their immediate needs, bartered for anything that may be required and can be got... The centres

68. The Sunday Chronicle, (Manchester), 20 December 1936, p.15.

69. See S.P.B. Mais, S.O.S. Talks on Unemployment, (London and New York, Putnam), pp.245-246, 312-313, and John MacMurray, et al, The Grith Fyrd Idea, "The Woodcraft Way" Series, No. 19 (Godshill, Salisbury: The Order of Woodcraft Chivalry, 1933).

are not only schools of leisure; the best of them are also laboratories in which men are carrying out experiments in the all-important field of social and industrial organisation.

Thus the Grith Fyrd camp nurtured the virtues of self-reliance and self-government, unlike the modern factory, "where every worker's programme is arranged for him in its minutest detail by an all competent authoritarian management".⁷⁰

The previous chapter concluded with Huxley's Paretian recognition that a democratic state is vulnerable not only to the diastole of those of a fanatical tendency within the ruled, but also to the predatory rulers of neighbouring countries, "who are prepared to kill for their convictions, to die for their 'persistence of aggregates'. When these are effectively organized and led, liberals stand no chance against them". Similarly in his foreword to the hugely popular A.I.A. exhibition of November 1935, which synthesized the progressive opposition to fascism and war, Huxley as we have seen, had proclaimed "the whole activity of the self-disciplined artist" to a "standing protest against war and dictatorship" and equally "against that pacific liberalism which is merely soft and self-indulgent".

70. The Sunday Chronicle, (Manchester), 27 December 1936, pp.6, 11.

Yet, typically, notwithstanding the Nazi persecution he had saved his Jewish friend from and the deteriorating situation in Europe, a pacific liberal is exactly what Huxley, under the influence of Gerald Heard, became.

Just after opening the A.I.A. exhibition, Huxley wrote to Victoria Ocampo:

I am working at my book [Eyeless in Gaza] and in the interval talking over ways and means with Gerald, for getting an adequate pacifist movement onto its feet. The thing finally resolves itself into a religious problem - an uncomfortable fact which one must be prepared to face and which I have come during the last year to find it easier to face.⁷¹

At the beginning of the decade, in "What Gandhi Fails to See", Huxley had rubbished the Mahatma's strategy of satyagraha, or non-violent non-co-operation:

I recognise the value of religious enthusiasts; but I do not like them.

In the second place, I am an Englishman with normally patriotic feelings, and so can never quite objectively appreciate activities which though undertaken in the name of abstract Justice, would result, if successful, in something like the ruin of my country.⁷²

71. Letters, p.398.

72. Vanity Fair, 34, (July 1930), pp.33, 79.

But the heckler who had bid "Gandhi" good-night at the hustings the following year showed acute percipience. At the end of November 1935 Huxley wrote to Alan Campbell Johnson:

I am coming now to think that the only practical way of dealing with the problem of war is the organization of what Gregg in his recent book on the subject calls Non-Violent Coercion - the method of Gandhi and so many others.⁷³

Richard B. Gregg's The Power of Non-Violence, dedicated to Gandhi, was to become Huxley's breviary as a pacifist. In it Gregg claimed that Gandhian satyagraha:

acts as a sort of moral jiu-jitsu. The non-violence and good will of the victim act like the lack of physical opposition by the users of physical jiu-jitsu, to cause the attacker to lose his moral balance.⁷⁴

The tacit assumption Greggism made about the moral responsiveness of the aggressor rendered it controversial from the beginning, but The Power of Non-Violence did enable Huxley finally to complete Eyeless in Gaza, which had taken him the longest of all his novels to write. Richard Mealand was contemplating serialising it in Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, and on 29 January 1936 Huxley sent him the manuscript of the,

73. Quoted in Peace Offering, pp.154-155.

74. Richard B. Gregg, The Power of Non-Violence, (London: Routledge, 1935), p.26.

as yet unfinished, novel for consideration:

The MS is in a rough and in places unreadable form; but I think you will get the hang of it all right. It is still incomplete as it lacks a series of short chapters, only in part written, which describe events in 1934 and 1935, when the character, Anthony, devotes himself to the organization of pacifism. These chapters will be intercalated throughout the book, beginning almost at the beginning, so as to form another "melodic line" in the contrapuntal arrangement of the material - the line of achieved freedom running parallel with the lines of attempted freedom and actual enslavement traced out by the other narratives.⁷⁵

Between mid-February and late March Huxley "intercalated" the nineteen chapters dealing with the period 1934-1935 into the manuscript of Eyeless in Gaza, while simultaneously preparing What Are You Going To Do About It? for publication. The characters of Miller with his "anthropological approach" to pacifism (p.387) and Purchas are clearly based on a mixture of Gregg and Heard, and Canon H.R.L. 'Dick' Sheppard respectively, while Anthony Beavis' development of a "non-theological praxis of meditation" (p.16) indicates the Greggist kind of pacifism of which he is disciple. Likewise

75. Unpub. letter, The Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

the "Constructive Pacifism" advocated in Huxley's pamphlet is openly Greggist:

Non-violent resistance is a technique which relies on the fact that it is impossible to display the virtues of courage, patience, devotion and disinterestedness without evoking sooner or later a response from even the most ardent and highly trained practitioners of the militaristic technique.⁷⁶

In another recantation of his past beliefs Huxley now denies that social order rests on force: "When we come to look at the facts, we find that, though force plays a part in preserving order within a community, that part is extremely small". (p.8). Moreover:

The Constructive Peace Movement must be all these things; but it must be something else as well. It must be a kind of religious order, membership of which involves the acceptance of a certain way of life, and entails devoted and unremitting personal service for the cause. (p.31)

Cells of Constructive Pacifists, Huxley advised his readers, should endeavour to meet at least once a week for discussion and "the performance in common of spiritual exercises" (p.31).

76. What Are You Going to do About It?: The Case for Constructive Peace, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1936), p.15.

Huxley's What Are You Going To Do About It? was greeted with scorn by Leslie Paul. Reviewing it in Plan, Paul asked members of the F.P.S.I. to picture:

Massed Progressives sitting in rows...
stripped to the waist and contemplating
their navels, thinking up a Good Love.
While at Chelsea naked Fascists, painted
black so that they shall not lose their
fervour, also sit contemplating their
navels, thinking up a Good Hate. It's an
idea only Low could do justice to.⁷⁷

Paul's review, in turn, was attacked in a letter from Heard, who defended Huxley's pamphlet as "the most modern and succinct statement against war" in which Huxley realises, "as do all up-to-date thinkers, that the only methods which can meet this difficulty are psychological".⁷⁸ But the irritation of the anti-fascist intelligentsia did not abate. We're Not Going To Do NOTHING, C. Day-Lewis responded testily on behalf of the The Left Review, finding in Huxley's pamphlet little more than "a specious plea for what seems to me in fact a policy of final inactivity".⁷⁹ Ironically, it

77. 'L[eslie] P[aul]', rev. of What Are You Going To Do About It?, Plan, 3, (July 1936), pp.22-24.

78. Plan, 3, (September 1936), pp.18-19

79. C. Day-Lewis, We're Not Going To Do NOTHING: A Reply to Aldous Huxley's What Are You Going To Do About It?, (London: Left Review, 1936). In C. Day-Lewis: An English Literary Life, (London: Unwin, 1980), p.99, Sean Day-Lewis says that his father's pamphlet, "was mainly written for him by Rex Warner", as C. Day-Lewis was so much in demand at this time.

is Huxley's un-Paretian denial of the paramountcy of force that most antagonises Day-Lewis:

No Mr. Huxley, it won't do. If you will consider the history of the establishment of various 'social orders' you will have to agree that force has played a very large part at these periods of history.
(p.5)

It is perhaps indicative of how much of an enigma Huxley was in progressive circles that Day-Lewis concluded his pamphlet with a call for a People's Front - just as Huxley himself did in the F.I.L.'s Bulletin published in the same month:

This is the one alternative for pacifists. The only other is the doctrine of despair advocated by Mr. Huxley and his friends... We must remember that there is something more important for us to save than our own individual souls. (p.31)

Shortly afterwards a manifesto entitled "Towards a Synthesis", submitted by J.B. Coates for adoption by the Philosophy Group of the F.P.S.I. asserted:

The socialist movement in this country is the necessary political instrument for the achievement of the social reconstruction which is needed, and it is of the greatest importance that the whole body of progressive opinion should be united in its support.⁸⁰

80. Plan, 3, (May-June 1936), pp.3-7.

Coates is at his most animated when denigrating "the moral worthlessness of many so-called progressive persons, the absorption of many so-called 'advanced' persons in their own personal, cultural and intellectual development". Oblivious to this snipe, however, Huxley's contribution to the ensuing symposium on Coates' memorandum was solely concerned with a beefing-up of body and soul:

I agree with the general principles enunciated in [Coates'] Manifesto. The trouble is that, like all such manifestos, it is a bit vague on the practical side of individual training. To work out a suitable 'ascesis' physical and mental is the urgent problem of the moment. My own view is that the suitable instruments lie ready to hand - in F.M. Alexander's Use of the Self for the physical side and in some adaption of what is called by Catholics "mental prayer", in India "yoga", in Japan "zen". To study these techniques and adapt them periodically for contemporary use seems to me a task of the greatest importance and I think that the philosophy group should devote at least a part of its energies to the problems of what I may call "applied philosophy."⁸¹

81. "Towards a Synthesis", Plan, 3, (May-June 1936), p.9.

The foundation of the Peace Pledge Union in May 1936 was precipitated by the remilitarisation of the Rhineland in March. Huxley and Heard were appointed respectively Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the P.P.U.'s Research and Thinking Committee, reflecting the awe in which they were held by Sheppard at the outset of the Union. Huxley confided to Arthur Ponsonby that he was glad to hear that he too was to become a Sponsor of the P.P.U. as he was concerned that there "was a danger of its becoming too exclusively Christian",⁸² though, in the event, it was the prominence of Greggist elements in the P.P.U. - such as Huxley and Heard - which was to create the most disruption.

Martin Ceadel has said of the Peace Pledge Union, "no strong guidance was offered and no explicit policy statement, beyond the single pledge [Sheppard] had first used in his letter of 16 October 1934, was issued by the P.P.U. in his lifetime".⁸³ This is not correct. "100,000 Say No!", a lengthy interview with Canon Sheppard and Huxley as "leaders" of the Union, is precisely such a policy statement. Huxley fielded a question on the Union's politics:

The pacifist must aim at getting rid of militarism everywhere. This means, that in the economic sphere, his goal must be

82. Unpub. letter, Ponsonby Papers, Bodleian Library. 15 June 1936.

83. Martin Ceadel, Pacifism in Britain 1914-1945: The Defining of a Faith, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980), p.249.

socialism. He differs from the orthodox communist on the question of ways and means... I would like to insist that pacifism is not merely a special attitude to war, but a complete philosophy and way of life.⁸⁴

On this last issue Huxley was soon to lose touch with Sheppard.

Richard Gregg held a meeting at the Caxton Hall on 16 July 1936, and the following evening Sheppard invited various guests, including Huxley and Heard, to meet the American at his flat. "Can't you get up and tell them that we haven't time for all this intensive cultivation and that our job is to stop the next bloody war", was one of Sheppard's whispered expostulations to Kingsley Martin.⁸⁵ However, Greggists were very much in the ascendancy during the summer of 1936. On 29 July, the Sponsors interviewed Robert S. de Ropp, who, like Huxley, was attending meditation meetings at Heard's flat in Portland Place, and who had had "several earnest conversations" with Gregg.⁸⁶ Ropp had founded a Greggist

84. "100,000 Say No!" Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 97, (July 1936), pp.76-81. The status of this interview as a "policy document" is underlined by its being reprinted as a pamphlet, 100,000 SAY NO! Aldous Huxley and 'Dick' Sheppard Talk About Pacifism, [London]: Peace Pledge Union, 1936.

85. Ceadel, p.246.

86. Robert S. de Ropp, Warriors Way, (London: George Allen and Unwin 1979), p.86.

"Actionist Order", and he told the Sponsors that it could be used as a "training ground for those members of the P.P.U. who were anxious to devote a good deal of time to disciplining themselves".⁸⁷ Under the auspices of the P.P.U., Gregg issued a specially-written manual (with an introduction by Huxley), urging the break-up of the Union into numerous "teams" of between five and twelve members, each devoted to "the cultivation of the qualities and sentiments which will lead them to take non-violent action".⁸⁸ Accordingly the P.P.U. formed its members into local groups who were encouraged to sing together, participate in group folk-dancing and even to take up spinning and knitting:

Still another means of gaining a deep sense of unity is the practice of sitting together in silent meditation for not less than fifteen minutes and preferably an hour or even longer ... In addition to this joint silence it will be found immensely helpful for each team member, for a little while every day, to retire into himself for further meditation. (pp.15-16)

87. Unpub. minute-book of P.P.U. Sponsors Meetings, Peace Pledge Union Offices, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London. 29 July 1936.
88. Richard B. Gregg, Training for Peace: A Programme for Peace Workers, (London: Routledge, [1936]), p.9. There were 92 groups in London alone by November 1936. Minute-book, 12 November 1936.

Though convinced of the value of these activities, even Gregg recognised that his methods were "entirely devoted to the development of intangible states of mind" (p.19), and Ceadel's assessment of the impact of Gregg's acsesis is very revealing:

... this programme risked convincing the pacifist movement's newly won sympathizers that it was, after all, a movement of cranks. The fact, moreover, that so devoted a Gandiphile as [Reginald] Reynolds found Huxley and Heard's training too oppressive to persevere with; that a mystic like [Max] Plowman likewise experienced "an unconscious resistance to intensive Study Groups and all Yogie-Bogie exercises"; and that Sheppard himself became impatient with "all this intensive cultivation", showed that even the most convinced pacifists balked at it. Far from generating an effective mass movement Gregg's training methods seemed to produce an élite of mystics.⁸⁹

Paradoxically, the minute-book of the P.P.U. reveals that Huxley was one of the most hard-headed and industrious of its Sponsors. As Chairman of the Literature Sub-Committee, for instance, he prepared two further policy statements in 1936, on Sanctions and Pacifism and Civil War, and edited An Encyclopaedia of Pacifism (1937). He also took a pragmatic view of the

89. Ceadel, pp.252-253.

Union's finances, suggesting that "there should be a definite policy of what is worth spending money on",⁹⁰ supported the idea of a promotional film, proposed that the P.P.U. should present evening talks at their Bookshop, print stamps as source of revenue and make gramophone records of pacifist speeches.⁹¹ Similarly, when Sheppard, Canon Stuart Morris and Huxley attended the World Peace Conference at Brussels from 3 to 6 September 1936 as observers, Sheppard wrote to Ponsonby of a fringe meeting they held:

I think our little meeting was the only hopeful thing at the Congress! And it was made memorable by a really remarkable speech by Aldous Huxley, beautifully delivered, which he is making into a pamphlet for the Union. It will be perfectly simple and not at all Gerald Heardy!⁹²

Huxley spoke with *éclat* at the P.P.U.'s mass rallies at Birmingham Town Hall on 21 November 1936, and at the Albert Hall the following Friday,⁹³ but the speech he gave on both

90. Minute-book, 29 July 1936.

91. ibid., 25 November 1936.

92. Unpub. letter, Ponsonby Papers, Bodleian Library, 15 September 1936. Huxley's speech must have contained the substance of either Sanctions or Pacifism and Civil War.

93. Both Sybille Bedford, Vol.1, (p.311) and Ceadel, (p.184) misdate the Albert Hall meeting as November 1935.

occasions was a forthright exposé of the "picturesque" euphemisms used to conceal the brutality of warfare, with no mention of Greggism.⁹⁴

Early in 1937, Brigadier-General Frank Crozier added his voice to the protests about "Greggist cranks" dividing the Union, and by April 1937 when Huxley and Heard sailed for America, "a campaign to rid the P.P.U. of Greggism had become apparent". The following month Training for Peace was withdrawn as the authorized P.P.U. hand-book.⁹⁵

Though, in view of his penchant for elite rule and compulsory sterilization - not to mention the authoritarian ranting of 1931 - the choice of Huxley to open the A.I.A. Exhibition in November 1935 might seem wayward, he undoubtedly had the stature to have become the fugleman of the anti-fascist intelligentsia in the mid 1930s. Instead, an eyeless push-me-pull-you, he dismayed first the F.P.S.I. with his conversion to pacifism, and then the P.P.U. with the "faddist incidentals"⁹⁶ of his Greggism. A clue to the reason for Huxley's vacillation in 1936, as well as his escapist urge on returning from Willington in 1930, is perhaps contained in Henry Miller's transcription of a letter

94. The text of Huxley's speech is published in Nicholas Humphrey and Robert Jay Lifton, eds., In A Dark Time, (London: Faber and Faber, 1984), pp.21-23

95. Ceadel, pp.254-256.

Huxley sent him after the publication of Tropic of Cancer (1934):

There are, so far as I'm concerned, only three alternatives: either a kind of nightmarish obsession with the immediate self; or sainthood; or ideas. For some people the preoccupation with self is not so nightmarish as it is to a schizothyme person like myself, a person for whom adjustment to other people and consequently acceptance of the world is difficult. The cyclothyme can adjust and accept so easily that his consciousness of his own self is not intense - he can forget himself in his experience. Whereas the person of the other type of temperament can't forget himself: experience being hard to assimilate, makes him uncomfortably more and more conscious of himself. Hence, if one is to escape madness, the need of ideas - or, if one can manage it, sainthood.⁹⁷

Whether in pursuit of ideas or sainthood, it may be argued that Huxley spent the rest of his life preoccupied with "faddist incidentals" such as the Bates Method, mescaline, parapsychology and L.S.D.

96. ibid.

97. Unpub. transcript, Alderman Library, University of Virginia. n.d.

By 1937 Huxley had reached the higher ground of "non-attachment", where he was to remain contentedly encamped for the rest of his life,⁹⁸ and a decade which had begun with him holding parliament in contempt for not only fiddling but "twaddling" while Rome burned, was soon to end with him telling his brother "Rome burns because it has not been sufficiently fiddled over".⁹⁹

98. Ends and Means, p.3. passim.

99. Letters, p.438.

APPENDIX A
A NEW BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ALDOUS HUXLEY'S WORK
AND ITS RECEPTION
1916-1936

In a prefatory caveat to their bibliography of Huxley's early work, Muir and van Thal regretted that their inventory was not as complete as they would have liked it to be. "Mr. Huxley's contributions to periodicals are of such wide extent and of such varied nature that while every effort has been made to locate everything that he has written it is certain that some things have escaped our notice."¹ However, when Hanson Duval published his bibliography of Huxley in 1939, it was clear that he had not undertaken the exhaustive research into Huxley's early career that his predecessors had implied was necessary. Instead, as he confessed in the Foreword, Duval had been content to use Muir and van Thal's pioneering bibliography as a "constant source of reference on the earlier period."²

With the publication, in 1961, of what has become the standard bibliography of Huxley, Duval's remissness was further compounded. In its turn, Claire John Eschelbach

1. Percival H. Muir and Bernard van Thal, Bibliography of the First Editions of Books by Aldous Huxley and by T.F. Powys, (London: Dulau, 1927), p.v.
2. Hanson R. Duval, Aldous Huxley: A Bibliography, (New York: Arrow Editions, 1939), p.7.

and Joyce Lee Shober's Aldous Huxley: A Bibliography 1916-1959 relied almost wholly on Duval, thus establishing Muir and van Thal's provisional listing of Huxley's early periodical contributions as the complete canon of the period. Although Eschelbach and Shober purport to offer an "inventory" of all Huxley's published writings and the critical response which they prompted up to 1959, they do no such thing. Indeed, the truth is that the standard bibliography has been a hindrance to the development of Huxleyan scholarship, in that its specious authority presents a record of his output which is unreliable and chronically incomplete. For example, the solecism Muir and van Thal committed in documenting Huxley's prose-poem, "A Recipe Against Crumbling" as "A Recipe Against Rumbling in Prose" is incorporated whole by Eschelbach and Shober, who aggravate their error by assuming it to be an article, and categorize it accordingly. Errors and omissions apart, the most serious flaw in Eschelbach and Shober's book is their unwitting neglect of the prior appearance of material in British newspapers, periodicals and general magazines before its subsequent publication in America. Eschelbach and Shober's bibliographical chauvinism inevitably precludes a true understanding of Huxley's involvement in the British literary and political scene between the wars, and is in any case a severe handicap to those foreign scholars who don't have access to files of pre-War American publications.

A Supplement to the standard bibliography, Claire John Eschelbach and Joyce Shober Marthaler's. Aldous Huxley: A Bibliography, 1914-1964, (Bulletin of Bibliography, 28, (October- December 1971), pp.114-117), did nothing to justify the scope of its title, locating only one short item, other than editions of published books, from before the Second World War.

This present bibliography attempts to list all Huxley's writings between 1916 and 1936 that have been overlooked by the three previous book-length studies discussed above and the various supplements, checklists, and exhibition catalogues which have drawn on them, as well as including neglected material written after 1936 which has been discovered adventitiously. The sundry attributions that Grover Smith cites in the footnotes to his edition of Huxley's Letters, are not included other than where Smith only mentions the title of a piece and not its precise co-ordinates. Identification of Huxley's unsigned contributions to the Athenaeum and the New Statesman was facilitated through reference to the "marked files" of these magazines in the Department of Special Collections, Skinners' Library, City University, London. Although it appears that Huxley only contributed one anonymous review to the Times Literary Supplement, this is particularly interesting and has been located through reference to the unpublished day-books of Bruce Lyttleton Richmond, editor of the TLS from 1903-1937.

In general, this bibliography represents the fruits of a thorough search through the files of the British newspaper and periodical press from 1916-1936, revealing a cornucopia of neglected items which provide substantial new insights into Huxley's life and work. The British Library Newspaper Library at Colindale, as well as the private press-cutting archives of the Daily Mail, the Daily Telegraph and Mirror Group Newspapers, in addition to the B.B.C. Written Archives Centre at Caversham Park were all of great help in uncovering material which ranges from "Boggarts", Huxley's contribution to the Eton College 4 June paper for 1912, and his subsequent attempts at fiction while an undergraduate at Balliol, to his polemical reportage of the early 1930s, and the broadcasts he delivered over the recently available airwaves of the B.B.C.³

The second part of this work aims to flesh out Eben E. Bass's recently published, Aldous Huxley: An Annotated Bibliography of Criticism by identifying contemporary appreciations of Huxley's work published in the daily press and some of the less prominent periodicals of the inter-war years, as well as items which Bass could have **been**

3. Those Times "articles" of the mid-1930s identified by Denis Douglas Davies in Aldous Huxley: A Bibliography 1965-1973, (Bulletin of Bibliography, 31 (April-June 1974), pp.67-70, are not articles at all, but quite clearly letters to the editor.

reasonably expected to include in his otherwise serviceable book. For instance, quoted below is what is almost certainly the first critical appreciation of Huxley as a writer - other than reviews of his poetry. In June 1920, Michael Sadleir offered this compact digest of Huxley's personae:

Here is a youth, reviewed seriously while still an undergraduate and now, a year or two later, enjoying the undeniable thrill of a first edition value, while booksellers compete for his large paper copies... Huxley has so far achieved little beyond a series of negations, but the little that is positive is of a kind to promise that in thirty years he will rank deservedly as an important and genuine artist. Already he is the most readable of his generation ... At present there are several Huxleys - the artificer in words, the amateur of garbage, pierrot lunaire, the cynic in rag-time, the fastidious sensualist. For my part I believe only in the last, taking that to be the real Huxley and the rest prank, virtuosity, and, most of all, self-consciousness.⁴

3. Michael Sadleir, "Aldous Huxley", Voices, 3 (June 1920), pp.235-238.

The arrangement of the bibliography is as follows. All items are signed unless indicated, and London is the place of publication unless the title or parenthesis give an alternative location.

A. WORK BY ALDOUS HUXLEY

- A.1 Two Unsigned Pamphlets
- A.2 Contributions to Magazines and Periodicals
- A.3 Contributions to Newspapers
- A.4 Two Broadcasts and a Speech
- A.5 Musical Criticism
- A.6 Dramatic Criticism in the Athenaeum
- A.7 Interviews
- A.8 Short Fiction
- A.9 Poems
- A.10 Reviews and Notices
- A.11 A Foreword
- A.12 Translations
- A.13 Major Corrections to Eschelbach and Shober's
Bibliography

B. WORK ABOUT ALDOUS HUXLEY

- B.1 General Critical and Biographical Studies
- B.2 Reviews and Criticism of Individual Works

A. WORK BY ALDOUS HUXLEY

A.1. TWO UNSIGNED PAMPHLETS

A.1.1. Peace Pledge Union. Pacifism and Civil War.
London: P.P.U., n.d. [1936].

A.1.2. Peace Pledge Union. Sanctions.
London: P.P.U., n.d. [1936].

A.2. CONTRIBUTIONS TO MAGAZINES AND PERIODICALS

A.2.1. "Abroad in England".
Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 87 (May 1931),
pp.16-19, 84.

A.2.2. "A Life Round Table on Modern Art".
Life, (Chicago), 25 (11 October 1948),
pp.56-68, 70, 75-76, 78-79. [Symposium].

A.2.3. "An Afternoon at Cholula".
Week-End Review, 8 (9 December 1933), 599-600;
Rep. as "Cholula" in Beyond the Mexique Bay,
pp.293-300.

A.2.4. "Anthropology and Social Reform".
Everyman, NS No.24 (22 March 1935), pp.597-598.

A.2.5. "L'Avenir de l'esprit Européen".
Coopération Intellectuelle, (Paris), No.38
(March 1934), pp.77-79. [Symposium].

A.2.6. "Bad Men".
Nation and Athenaeum, 43 (19 May 1928),
pp.205-206.

- A.2.7. "Ballyhoo for Nations".
Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 95 (July 1935),
 pp.18-21, 114-116, 118.
- A.2.8. "Books I Have Never Read: Confessions of Certain Bookmen".
The Bookman, 83 (October 1932), p.22.
 [Symposium].
- A.2.9. "Brave New World".
Life, (Chicago), 25 (20 September 1948),
 pp.63-64, 66-68, 70.
- A.2.10. "Casino and Bourse".
Everyman, NS No.22 (8 March 1935), pp.525-526.
- A.2.11. "Chains".
Vogue, 62 (Early September 1923), p.43.
- A.2.12. "The Cheerful Dining-Room".
Vogue, 63 (Early April 1924), p.73.
- A.2.13. "A Christmas Present to the House".
House and Garden, 6 (December 1923), p.184.
- A.2.14. "Classical Traditions and Common Sense".
House and Garden, 7 (February 1924), p.42.
- A.2.15. "Commentary".
Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 92 (March 1934), p.5.
- A.2.16. "Dead Nature or Life: Reflections on the Art of Wyndham Lewis".
Vogue, 61 (Early June 1923), p.44-45.

- A.2.17. "Education".
The Listener, 8 (21 December 1932), p.889.
- A.2.18. "The Exhibition as an Educational Force".
House and Garden, 7 (March 1924), p.78.
- A.2.19. "General Election".
Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 96 (October 1935),
 p.78-81.
- A.2.20. "Has the New Writer Any Chance".
The Bookman, 67 (October 1924), p.18.
 [Symposium].
- A.2.21. "The House of Good Resolutions".
House and Garden, 7 (January 1924), p.8.
- A.2.22. "How Should Men Be Educated?".
T.P.'s and Cassell's Weekly, NS 7 (11 December
 1926), pp.243-244.
- A.2.23. "How To Improve the World".
Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 98 (December 1936),
 pp.84-88.
- A.2.24. "The Inequality of Man".
Week-End Review, 6 (10 December 1932), p.694.
- A.2.25. "Marginalia." [All signed 'Autolycus'].
Athenaeum, (20 February 1920), p.242;
 (27 February 1920), p.275;
 (5 March 1920), p.307;.
 (12 March 1920), p.339;
 (19 March 1920), p.371;
 (26 March 1920), p.417;
 (2 April 1920), p.449;

- A.2.29. "People's Front".
Bulletin: For Intellectual Liberty, No.1
 (November 1936), pp.14-15.
- A.2.30. "Politicians and Peoples".
Time and Tide, 13 (4 June 1932), pp.613-614.
- A.2.31. "The Problem of Uniformity".
Architecture, 2 (February 1924), pp.166-168.
- A.2.32. "Sight Seeing in Alien Englands".
Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 87 (June 1933),
 pp.50-53, 118.
- A.2.33. "Towards a Synthesis".
Plan, 3 (June 1936), p.9.
- A.2.34. "The Truth - The Whole Truth - and the Press".
Everyman, NS No.20 (22 February 1935),
 pp.453-454.
- A.2.35. "Unpainted Landscapes".
Encounter, 14 (October 1962), pp.41-47.
- A.2.36. "The University of Travel".
T.P.'s and Cassell's Weekly, NS 7 (12 February
 1927), pp.527-528.
- A.2.37. "The Victory of Art Over Humanity".
Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 87 (July 1931),
 pp.46-49.
 Partially rep. as "Pigmalion Contra Galatea."
Sur, (Buenos Aires), No.3 (Winter 1931),
 pp.85-93.

- A.2.38. "Vorticists, French and English Drawings, Mestrovic".
Palatine Review, (Oxford), No.1
 (January-February 1916), pp.47-49.
- A.2.39. "The Wedding Breakfast".
Vogue, 61 (Late April 1923), pp.57, 120.
- A.2.40. "What is Happening to Our Population?".
Nash's Pall Mall Magazine, 93 (April 1934),
 pp.12-13, 76-78.
- A.2.41. "Why Do I Write?".
The Bookmark and Everyman, 13 (Summer 1937),
 pp.8-9.
- A.3. CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEWSPAPERS
- A.3.1. "Authors Who Cannot Write Films".
Daily Mail, 30 May 1927, p.10.
- A.3.2. "Babies - State Property".
Evening Standard, 21 May 1930, p.7.
- A.3.3. "Bores".
Daily Mail, 28 April 1927, p.10.
- A.3.4. "Emperor Worship Up To Date".
The Star, 11 October 1935, p.4.
- A.3.5. "Exploring the Borderlands of the Mind".
Observer, 22 October 1961, pp.21, 24.
- A.3.6. "Freaks in Books - And Those You Meet at Dinner".
Daily News, 9 February 1929, p.4.

- A.3.7. "The Future of Leisure".
Daily Herald, 3 July 1933, p.10.
- A.3.8. "How Will She Vote?".
Daily Express, 29 February 1928, p.10.
- A.3.9. "I am a Highbrow".
News Chronicle, 27 June 1935, p.10.
- A.3.10. "If We Survive".
The Star, 16 March 1936, p.4.
- A.3.11. "In the Midst of Life".
Daily Mail, 31 March 1927, p.10.
- A.3.12. "The Man Without a Job".
Sunday Chronicle (Manchester), 20 December 1936, p.15.
- A.3.13. "Nationalism".
Daily Herald, 20 December 1933, p.8.
- A.3.14. "The Next Twenty Five Years".
Daily Express, 8 May 1935, p.10.
- A.3.15. "Oldest and Newest".
Daily Mail, 21 September 1923, p.6.
- A.3.16. "Pioneers of Britain's 'New Deal'".
Sunday Chronicle (Manchester), 27 December 1936, pp.6, 11.
- A.3.17. "Riddle of Guatemala".
Daily Telegraph, 31 March 1934, p.10.

- A.3.18. "Sex Y Z".
Sunday Referee, 4 October 1936, p.14.
- A.3.19. "Snobs".
Daily Mail, 7 April 1927, p.10.
- A.3.20. "The Things That Interest Me".
Daily Express (Manchester ed.), 2 April 1931,
 p.4.
- A.3.21. "The Tyranny of the Guide Book".
Daily Mail, 31 August 1923, p.6.
- A.3.22. "We Modern Slackers".
Daily Mail, 3 August 1928, p.10.
- A.3.23. "We Want All Kinds of Learning".
The Star, 21 November 1935, p.4.
- A.3.24. "What Books Shall We Give This Time?".
Morning Post, 15 December 1936, p.16.
 [Symposium].
- A.3.25. "What Has Happened to the Prudes?".
News Chronicle, 25 November 1936, p.10.
- A.3.26. "Witches Still".
Daily Mail, 3 September 1927, p.8.
- A.4 TWO BROADCASTS AND A SPEECH
- A.4.1. "Causes of War".
 B.B.C. National Programme, 5 November 1934.
 Pub. as "Sadist Satisfactions in War", The
Listener, 12 (14 November 1934), 799-800, 803;

Rep. in The Causes of War, ed. H.J. Stenning
(London: George Allen and Unwin, 1935),
pp.47-58.

- A.4.2. "On the 9.20 - Conversations in the Train".
B.B.C. National Programme, 9 January 1932.
Pub. as "Is Cruelty Out of Date?: A Discussion
Between Gerald Heard and Aldous Huxley", The
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- A.4.3. "The Worth of a Gift".
Speech given in support of the Cecil Houses
Fund, Daly's Theatre, London, 16 November 1934.
Pub. in the Seventh Report (1934-5) of the
Cecil Houses Women's Public Lodging House Fund,
(1935), pp.16-20.

A.5

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(The following articles are all initialled except
A.5.19., and were published in the Weekly
Westminster Gazette).

- A.5.1. "The Arnold Bax Concert".
1, No.40 (18 November 1922), p.14.
- A.5.2. "Bach and Handel".
1, No.57 (17 March 1923), p.14.
- A.5.3. "Bad Music".
1, No.45 (23 December 1922), p.14.
- A.5.4. "Barbarism in Music".
2, No.53 (17 February 1923), p.14.

- A.5.5. "Beethoven's Quartets".
1, No.12 (6 May 1922), pp.12-13.
- A.5.6. "Books About Music".
2, No.59 (31 March 1923), p.14.
- A.5.7. "Brahms".
1, No.1 (18 February 1922), p.14.
- A.5.8. "Brahm's Birthday".
2, No.65 (May 1923), p.14.
- A.5.9. "Busoni, Dr. Burney, and Others".
1, No.2 (25 February 1922), p.14.
- A.5.10. "Busoni Again".
1, No.34 (7 October 1922), p.14.
- A.5.11. "Cherubini-Emotion and Form".
1, No.50 (27 January 1923), p.14.
- A.5.12. "Contemporaneousness".
2, No.56 (10 March 1923), p.14.
- A.5.13. "The Criticism of Music".
1, No.15 (27 May 1922), p.14.
- A.5.14. "Delius and the Nature-Emotion".
1. No.44 (16 December 1922), p.14.
- A.5.15. "Eclecticism".
2, No.67 (26 May 1923), pp.13-14.
- A.5.16. "Emotional Contributions".
1, No.6 (25 March 1922), p.14.

- A.5.17. "A Few Complaints".
1, No.19 (24 June 1922), p.14.
- A.5.18. "Going to the Opera".
1, No.47 (6 January 1923), p.14.
- A.5.19. "Good - Popular Music".
1, No.4 (11 March 1922), p.14.
- A.5.20. "Handel, Polly, and Ourselves".
1, No.48 (13 January 1923), pp.14-15.
- A.5.21. "The Hymnn and the Dream".
1, No.52 (10 February 1923), p.14.
- A.5.22. "Instruction With Pleasure".
1, No.5 (18 March 1922), p.14.
- A.5.23. "The Interpreter and the Creator".
1, No.3 (4 March 1922), p.14.
- A.5.24. "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men".
1, No.25 (5 August 1922), p.14.
- A.5.25. "The Lied".
2, No.58 (24 March 1923), p.14.
- A.5.26. "Light Opera and the New Stravinsky".
1, No.8 (8 April 1922), p.12.
- A.5.27. "Literary Music".
1, No.17 (10 June 1922), p.14.
- A.5.28. "Madrigals and Programme Music".
1, No.51 (3 February 1923), p.14.

- A.5.29. "Mozart at Salzburg".
1, No.30 (9 September 1922), p.14.
- A.5.30. "A Mozart Programme".
2, No.55 (3 March 1923), p.14.
- A.5.31. "Mr. Lawrence's Marchioness".
1, No.20 (1 July 1922), p.14.
- A.5.32. "Music and the Interpretative Medium".
2, No.68 (2 June 1923), p.14.
- A.5.33. "Music and Machinery".
1, No.11 (29 April 1922), pp.12-13.
- A.5.34. "Music and Politics".
1, No.38 (4 November 1922), p.14.
- A.5.35. "Music Clubs".
1, No.49 (20 January 1923), p.14.
- A.5.36. "'Music in the Encyclopaedia".
1, No.46 (30 December 1922), p.14.
- A.5.37. "Music in a Museum".
1, No.23 (22 July 1922), p.14.
- A.5.38. "The Mysteries of Music".
1, No.9 (15 April 1922), p.13.
- A.5.39. "New Friends and Old".
1, No.36 (21 October 1922), p.14.
- A.5.40. "Notes on a Pianist and on Pianos".
2, No.54 (24 February 1923), p.14.

- A.5.41. "Opera, Marionettes, and Battastini".
2, No.66 (19 May 1923), p.14
- A.5.42. "Orientalism in Music".
1, No.22 (15 July 1922), p.14.
- A.5.43. "An Orlando Gibbons Concert".
1, No.39 (11 November 1922), pp.14-15.
- A.5.44. "Patriotism and Music".
1, No.14 (20 May 1922), p.14.
- A.5.45. "Popular Music in Italy".
1, No.31 (16 September 1922), p.14.
- A.5.46. "Popular Tunes - Past and Present".
1, No.24 (29 July 1922), p.14.
- A.5.47. "The Problem of Musical History".
1, No.18 (17 June 1922), p.14.
- A.5.48. "The Question of Form".
1, No.16 (3 June 1922), p.14.
- A.5.49. "Reflections in the Concert Room".
1, No.35 (14 October 1922), pp.14-15.
- A.5.50. "Reflections in the Promenade".
1, No.33 (30 September 1922), p.14.
- A.5.51. "Round About Don Juan".
1, No 43 (9 December 1922), p.14.
- A.5.52. "The Salzburg Festival".
1, No.27 (19 August 1922), p.14.
No.28 (26 August 1922), p.14.
No.29 (2 September 1922), p.14.

- A.5.53. "Singing and Things Sung".
1, No.13 (13 May 1922), p.12.
- A.5.54. "Some Easter Music".
1, No.10 (22 April 1922), p.13.
- A.5.55. "Some Very Young Music".
1, No.32 (23 September 1922), p.14.
- A.5.56. "Supplementing the Concerts".
1, No.21 (8 July 1922), p.14.
- A.5.57. "Temporaries and Eternals".
1, No.41 (25 November 1922), p.14.
- A.5.58. "Thayer's Beethoven".
1, No.26 (12 August 1922), p.14.
- A.5.59. "Variations".
1, No.37 (28 October 1922), p.14.
- A.5.60. "Verdi and Palestrina".
1, No.42 (2 December 1922), p.14.
- A.5.62. "What Are The Wild Waves Saying?"
2, No.60 (7 April 1923), p.14.
- A.6 DRAMATIC CRITICISM IN THE 'ATHENAEUM'
- A.6.1. Denny, Ernest.
 Just Like Judy, (20 February 1920), 251.
 Unsigned.
- A.6.2. Ervine, St. John G.
 John Ferguson (5 March 1920), 314. 'H'.

- A.6.3. Euripides.
Medea, trans. Gilbert Murray, (16 April 1920),
 519.
- A.6.4. Harcourt, Cyril.
In the Night, (9 January 1920), 55-56.
 Unsigned.
- A.6.5. Hardy, Thomas.
The Dynasts, (20 February 1920), 251. 'H'.
- A.6.6. Stack, Kingston.
Kitty Breaks Loose, (20 February 1920), 215.
 Unsigned.
- A.6.7. Tchegov, Anton.
The Three Sisters, (19 March 1920), 378. 'H'.

A.7 INTERVIEWS

- A.7.1. 'Atticus', "Brave New World to Music".
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B.2.18. LITTLE MEXICAN (1924)

Bookman, 66 (August 1924), pp.273-274. By C.E.
Lawrence.
Dublin Magazine, 2 (November 1924),
pp.278-279. By Michael Orkney.
London Mercury, 10 (July 1924), p.321. By J.B.
Priestley.
Manchester Guardian, 1 August 1924, p.7. By
'F.W.H.'.
Northern Review, (Edinburgh), No.3 (August
1924), p.223. By A.T. Morris.
Outlook, 53 (31 May 1924), p.374. By H.C.
Harwood.
Sunday Express, 1 June 1924, p.7. By James
Douglas.
Time and Tide, 5 (13 June 1924), p.568. By
Mary Agnes Hamilton.

Vogue, 63, No.12 (Late June 1924), p.46. By Raymond Mortimer.

Weekly Westminster, NS2 (7 June 1924), p.183. By R. Ellis Roberts.

B.2.19. MORTAL COILS (1922)

Bookman, 62 (June 1922), p.130. By Horace Wyndham.

Isis (Oxford), No.611 (14 June 1922), p.2 By 'R.G.C.L.'.

London Magazine, 6 (June 1922), pp.212-213. By Edward Shanks.

New Witness, 20 (21 July 1922), p.46. By E.S.P.H.[aynes].

The Queen, 151 (13 May 1922), p.606. By Edward Shanks.

The Times, 27 April 1922, p.19. Anon.

Weekly Westminster Gazette, 1 (22 April 1922), p.24. Anon.

B.2.20. MUSIC AT NIGHT (1931)

The Ayrath Path, 3 (July 1932), pp.490-492. By R.A.L.M. Armstrong.

Evening News, 25 September 1931, p.11. By Frank Swinnerton.

Harper's Bazaar, 5, No.3 (December 1931), p.51. By Sylvia Lynd.

John O'London's Weekly, 26 (31 October 1931), p.159. Anon.

The Listener, 6 (30 September 1931), p.547. By Vita Sackville West.

Manchester Guardian, 21 September 1931, p.5. By 'B.S.'.

Time and Tide, 12 (19 September 1931), pp.1090-1092. By Rebecca West.

Week-End Review, 4 (3 October 1931), pp.405-406. By James Laver.

B.2.21. ON THE MARGIN (1923)

Bookman, 64 (June 1923), pp.162-163. By Francis Bickley.
Nation and Atheneum, 33 (12 May 1923), p.196.
 By L.[eonard] W.[oolf].
The Times, 4 May 1923, p.6. Anon.

B.2.22. THE OLIVE TREE (1936)

Colosseum, 3 (March 1937), pp.85-87. By Bernard Wall.
Daily Express, 10 December 1936, p.8 By James Agate.
Literary Review, 1 No.11 (January 1937), pp.43-44. By Rene Elvin.
London Mercury, 35 (January 1927), pp.344-345. By Arnold Palmer.
Manchester Guardian, 8 December 1936, p.7. By J.D. Beresford.
Morning Post, 16 December 1936, p.,18. By Evelyn Waugh.
The Star, 20 January 1937, p.4. By 'Philemon'.
Sunday Times, 3 January 1937, p.8. By Desmond MacCarthy.
Time and Tide, 17 (12 December 1936), pp.1787-1788. By Egon Heath.
The Times, 1 December 1936, p.10. Anon.

B.2.23 POINT COUNTER POINT (1928)

Bookman, 75 (November 1928), pp.128, 130. By Dilys Powell.
Daily Mail, 4 October 1928, p.21. Anon.
Daily News, 4 October 1928, p.4. By Sylvia Lynd.
John O'London's Weekly, 20 (27 October 1928), p.110. By Lydia Languish.

Nature, 123 (5 January 1929), pp.6-7. By A.G. Church.
Quarterly Review, 252 (April 1929), pp.322-323, 332, 334. By H.C. Harwood.
Sunday Express, 21 October 1928, p.10. By James Douglas.
Time and Tide, 9 (5 October 1928), p.914. By Clara Smith.
The Times, 9 October 1928, p.10. Anon.

B.2.24. SELECTED POEMS (1925)

Oxford Outlook, 8 (January 1926), pp.49-50. By Harold Acton.

B.2.25. TEXTS AND PRETEXTS (1932)

Everyman, 8 (12 November 1932), p.495. By Sidney Dark.
London Mercury, 27 (January 1933), p.275. By Moray McLaren.
Manchester Guardian, 27 December 1932, p.5. By 'C.P.'.
Die Sammlung, (Amsterdam), No.9 (May 1934), n.p. By Sybille von Schoenebek.
Time and Tide, 13 (26 November 1932), pp.1328, 1330. By 'T.B.'.
Week-End Review, 6 (12 November 1932), pp.582, 584. By Gerald Bullett.

B.2.26. THOSE BARREN LEAVES (1925)

Bookman's Journal, NS 11 (March 1925), pp.264-265. By Gerald Gould.
John O'London's Weekly, 12 (7 February 1925), p.701. Anon.
Outlook, 55 (24 January 1925), p.58. By H.C. Harwood.

T.P.'s and Cassell's Weekly, 3 (14 February 1925), p.620. By Iain Lang.
Time and Tide, 6 (6 February 1925), pp.128-129. By Naomi Royde-Smith.
Vogue, 65, No.4 (late February 1925), p.41. By Raymond Mortimer.

B.2.27. TWO OR THREE GRACES (1926)

Bermondsey Book, 3 (September 1926), pp.106-107. Anon.
Bookman, 70 (July 1926), p.223. By R. Ellis Roberts.
Dublin Magazine, NS 1 (October-December 1926), p.65. Anon.
Empire Review, 44 (September 1926), pp.276-277. By 'C.T.A.'.
London Mercury, 14 (August 1926), p.432. By Edward Shanks.
New Masses, (New York), 1 (September 1926), p.25. By James Rorty.
Observer, 30 May 1926, p.8. By Gerald Gould.
Outlook, 57 (29 May 1926), p.376. By H.C. Harwood.
Time and Tide, 7 (18 June 1926), pp.548-549. By Sylvia Lynd.
Vogue, 68 (Early August 1924), p.45. By Vita Sackville West.
Weekly Dispatch, 6 June 1926, p.2 By 'J.[ohn] A.[usten].

B.2.28. ROTUNDA (1932)

New English Weekly, 1 (14 July 1932), pp.319-310. By Edwin Muir.
New Statesman and Nation, NS 3 (25 June 1932), p.842. Anon.

Sunday Times, 19 June 1932, p.8. By Desmond MacCarthy.

Time and Tide, 13 (25 June 1932), p.724. Anon.

B.2.29. VULGARITY IN LITERATURE (1930)

Daily Express, 26 November 1930, p.8. By Harold Nicolson.

John O'London's Weekly, 24 (13 December 1930), p.455. Anon.

Morning Post, 21 November 1930, p.5. By A.B. Austin.

News Chronicle, 5 December 1930, p.4. By Robert Lynd.

Time and Tide, 11 (13 December 1930), pp.1576-1577. By Theodora Bosanquet.

B.2.30. WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT? THE CASE FOR CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE (1936)

Life and Letters To-Day, 16 (Spring 1937), pp.174, 176. By John Madge.

The Literary Review, 1, No.4 (June 1936), p.18. By Max Burn.

Plan, 3, No.7 (July 1936), pp.22-24. By 'L.P.'.

Time and Tide, 17 (16 May 1936), p.722. By 'R.H.'.

B.2.31. THE WORLD OF LIGHT (1931)

Time and Tide, 12 (30 May 1931), p.650. By Clifford Bax.

APPENDIX BA GUIDE TO THE LOCATION OF UNPUBLISHED HUXLEY LETTERS

This check list of unpublished letters is not exhaustive, although the new items inventoried here, when added to those letters of Huxley's published in Grover Smith's edition of 1969, undoubtedly constitute the vast bulk of his extant correspondence. The purpose of this guide is to help orientate scholars towards potentially useful material, and, accordingly, an attempt has been made to winnow out epistolary chaff such as brief letters of thanks, one-line luncheon proposals and acknowledgements of the receipt of parcels, etc.

By far the most extensive depository of unpublished letters is in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin. Within this cache there are three particularly important collections, Huxley's letters to Lady Ottoline Morrell, his correspondence with his literary agent, J.B. Pinker, and his letters to Mary Hutchinson. These last have only recently been disembargoed, and I was the first researcher to have access to them. In view of their volume, the letters to Morrell, Pinker and Hutchinson have not been individually documented.

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To J.B. Chapman: 31 January 1927; 2 October 1927; 23 March 1929; 23 September 1929; 10 November 1929; 29 August 1930; 7 May 1931; 17 August 1931; 21 October 1931; 8 April 1936; 15 January 1937.

ALFRED UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK. HERRICK MEMORIAL LIBRARY

To Ursula Roberts: 7 June 1936.

ARKANSAS, UNIVERSITY OF. DEPT. OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

To Frank Swinnerton: 15 September 1924; 7 November 1934; 8 April 1936.

BALTIMORE, CITY OF. ENOCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY

To H.L. Mencken: 5 February 1922; 16 October 1934.

BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Francis Brett Young: 29 April 1930.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY. MUGAR MEMORIAL LIBRARY

To E.M. Beekman: 27 January 1962; 10 September 1962;
To Edmund Fuller: 25 August, 1943; 14 December 1943;
21 January 1947;
To Miss Levy: 4 December 1960;
To Osbert Sitwell: n.d. [c.1922];
To Gladys B Stern: n.d. [1957].

BRADSHAW, JOHN DAVID

To Cleo Rogers: 13 March 1955; 24 July 1955.

THE BRITISH LIBRARY

To S.S. Koteliansky: 5 May 1930; 6 May 1930; 8 May 1930; 31 May 1930; 30 June 1930; 6 July 1930; 21 July 1930; 22 July 1930; ? July 1934; n.d. [1934]; n.d. [? 1934]; 12 November 1934; 25 July 1937; 27 August 1937.

BROWN UNIVERSITY. THE JOHN HAY LIBRARY

To J.B. Wheelwright: 26 November 1923; n.d. [? 1923].

CALIFORNIA, UNIVERSITY OF, AT BERKELEY. THE BANCROFT LIBRARY

To Winifred Bronson: 29 May 1961; 17 May 1962;
 To R.B. Goldschmidt: n.n. [1932];
 To G. Wilson Knight: 2 June 1930; 3 August 1930;
 29 November 1930;
 To A.E. Morgan: 26 July 1937;
 To R.A. Parker: 26 July 1937;
 To Stephen Spender: 10 November 1929; 23 January 1962;
 5 December 1962.

CALIFORNIA, UNIVERSITY OF, AT LOS ANGELES. THE POWELL LIBRARY

To Merle Armitage: n.d. [1932];
 To Fenner Brockway: 28 November 1930;
 To Mr. Duncan: 7 January 1937;
 To the Editor of Ekstra Bladet: 20 September 1937;
 To Gerald Hopkins: 29 March 1927; 26 September 1931;
 To George E. Howard: 6 October 1927;
 To Margaret Isherwood: 20 March 1955; 23 September
 1956; 9 February 1957;
 To Nathan Lippis: 27 May 1941;
 To H.W. Massingham: 6 May 1930; n.d. [May 1930];
 To Frances Petersen: n.d. [c. June 1916]; n.d. [July
 1916]; n.d. [1916]; n.d. [1916];
 To Naomi Royde-Smith: n.d. [c. March-April 1927];
 To Arthur Wellings: 4 April 1928;
 To Jake Zeitlin: n.d. [June 1937]; 10 December 1937;
 8 June 1938; 9 November 1939; 5 May 1941; 24 July
 1941; 7 August 1941; 4 January 1943; 24 February 1943;
 25 April 1943; 27 June 1943; 28 November 1944; 29 March
 1948; 17 June 1955; 27 June 1955; 18 August 1955; 4
 June 1956; 27 October 1957; 4 December 1960; 7 March
 1961; 2 March 1962; 17 May 1962.

CALIFORNIA, UNIVERSITY OF, AT SANTA BARBARA. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Mrs. Bell: 6 February 1962;
 To Mary Dwyer: 7 October 1957;
 To Kate Gielgud: 2 January 1930;
 To Idwal Jones: 19 October 1937;
 To E.L. Morrow: 29 December 1957;
 To Provost Noble: 6 December 1958; 30 January 1959;
 To A. Srihari Rao: 14 July 1963;
 To Prof. D. Stuurman: 18 November 1957;
 To Dr Sweet: 12 June 1937;
 To Richard Thomas: 26 December 1929;
 To Henry Tracy: 13 May 1934;
 To Charles Wilson: n.d. [c. September-October 1930].

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. KING'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

To Clive Bell: n.d. [September 1929]; 27 September 1929; 7 August 1937;
 To Rosamond Lehmann: 16 October 1959; 20 February 1963
 To W.J.H. "Sebastian" Sprott: 29 July 1930; n.d. [c. 22 September 1930]; 29 September 1930; n.d. [6 October 1930]; n.d. [13 October 1930]; n.d. [c. 17 October 1930]; 28 March 1931; n.d. [c. April 1932]; 7 December 1932; 5 March 1935; n.d. [7 March 1935]; 8 March 1935; 9 March 1935; 22 August 1935; "10 September 1934" [i.e. 10 September 1935]; 14 September 1935; 30 September 1935; 28 March 1936.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. MARSHALL LIBRARY OF ECONOMICS

To J.M. Keynes: 9 October 1922.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To J.D. Bernal: 8 August 1936.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Ford Madox Ford: n.d. [c. 1923]; 15 November 1934
 4 May 1934;
 To W. Jackson: 21 June 1922;
 To P. Wyndham Lewis: n.d. [c. May-June 1923];
 23 July 1926; n.d. [c. 1926].

DARTINGTON HALL SCHOOL

To Dorothy Elmhirst: 24 August 1963.

DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Jay B. Hubbell: 6 April 1937; 2 May 1937.

ELIOT, MRS. VALERIE

To T.S. Eliot: 19 January 1924; 12 December 1924;
 30 January 1925; 7 September 1925; 12 July 1926;
 12 July 1938; 7 March 1955.

ETON COLLEGE

To W.H. Cobb: 13 February 1935;
 To Mr. Green: 13 February [? 1934];
 To Graham Greene: 5 May 1946;
 To Mr. Rhys: 23 December 1936.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Ridgely Torrance: 21 October 1931.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY. THE HOUGHTON LIBRARY

To Mr. Boyd: 1 April 1931;
 To Witter Bynner: 11 August 1937; 3 September 1951
 14 October 1951; 7 November 1951; 19 May 1956;
 7 December 1958; 9 January 1959; 19 May 1961;
 24 June 1961; 30 April 1962;
 To Mrs. Frank Garrison: 29 February 1932;
 To H.G. Leach: 14 November 1925

To Lady Ottoline Morrell: n.d. [c. May-July 1917];
 To Mr. Pick: 7 January 1955;
 To Basil Rathbone: 1 May 1950; 23 July 1950;
 21 February 1951; 3 March 1951; 6 March 1951;
 22 April 1951; n.d. [October 1950]; n.d. [1951].

HOUSTON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Robert Nichols: n.d. [c. April-May 1917]; 16 March
 1918; 14 June 1925; n.d. [early January 1930];
 To Mr. Rimington: 17 March 1928; 20 October 1928.

LADY JULIETTE HUXLEY

To Sir Julian Huxley: n.d. [c. Summer 1908];
 n.d. [c. Autumn 1904]; n.d. [April 1913];
 ? November 1914; n.d. [January 1917]; n.d.
 [c. February 1917]; 16 February 1919;
 24 February 1919; 16 March 1919; n.d.
 [c. November 1920]; 10 March 1921; 12 April
 1921; 7 June 1922; n.d. [1925]; 10 June 1927;
 8 October 1927; 18 November 1927; 5 December
 1927; 15 June 1928; 6 March 1929; 2 February
 1930; 17 May 1931; 31 August 1931; 22 July 1932;
 13 August 1932; 7 January 1934; 24 April 1934;
 18 May 1934; n.d. [25 September 1935]; n.d. [19
 February 1936]; 15 June 1936; 25 January 1938;
 12 December 1939; 5 February 1942; 2 April 1942;
 7 October 1951; 9 December 1951; 30 June 1953;
 22 May 1954; 19 June 1954; 10 July 1954;
 9 August 1955; 1 August 1956; 13 April 1957;
 17 June 1957; 7 [?] June 1959; 29 November 1959
 8 March 1960; 3 November 1960; 20 August 1961;
 19 March 1962; 12 April 1962; 1 June 1962;
 17 June 1962; 28 August 1962; 8 October 1962;
 16 December 1962;

To Lady Juliette Huxley: n.d. [1917]; n.d. [27 February 1917]; n.d. [28 February 1917]; 4 November [1917]; 7 March 1918; 22 January 1919; 28 August 1944; 27 November 1944; 6 December 1945; 26 May 1946; 13 September 1950; 2 September 1953; 27 June 1954; 5 February 1955; 18 December 1955; 24 August 1957; 16 April 1960; 27 July 1961; 26 July 1963;

To Sir Julian and Lady Juliette Huxley: 3 May 1950; 27 March 1955; 19 March 1956; 31 December 1956; 2 August 1958; 17 September 1958; 16 March 1959; 20 October 1960; 1 August 1961; 15 August 1961; 24 December 1961; 5 March 1962; 9 August 1962; 15 August 1962; 1 October 1962; 27 November 1962.

HUXLEY, MATTHEW

To Edward Sackville-West: n.d. [c. January-March 1931];

To Igor Stravinsky: 22 August 1951; 16 March 1952.

ILLINOIS, UNIVERSITY OF, AT CHICAGO. SCHOOL OF LIVING RECORDS, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Mrs. Loomis; 25 February 1949; 11 March 1949.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY. LILLY LIBRARY

To Mr. Eastman: 12 December 1955;

To Lance Sieveking: 9 November 1936; 9 July 1955.

IOWA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Cyril Beaumont: 26 December [? 1917].

KEELE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Mrs. Arnold Bennett: 26 June 1920;

To Lord Lindsay: 31 August 1934.

LEEDS UNIVERSITY. BROTHERTON LIBRARY

To Clement K. Shorter: 4 February 1920; 23 April 1920; 23 August 1922.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. MANUSCRIPTS DIVISION

To Hiram Haydn: 30 December 1944; 22 January 1945;
21 January 1947; 8 February 1947; 20 March 1947;
5 June 1947; 22 June 1949; 2 March 1952;
To Fairfield Osborn: 16 January 1948; 21 December 1953.

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY. SYDNEY JONES LIBRARY

To Olaf Stapledon: 2 April 1936; 31 July 1936.

THE LONDON LIBRARY

To the Librarian: 16 August 1951.

LONDON UNIVERSITY, KING'S COLLEGE. LIDDELL HART CENTRE FOR MILITARY ARCHIVES

To Liddell Hart: ? 24 November 1935; 26 December 1936.

LONDON UNIVERSITY. LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, BRITISH LIBRARY OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE

To Sir William Beveridge: n.d. [1930]; "3 May 1929"
[i.e. 3 May 1930].

LONDON UNIVERSITY. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Marie Sturge Moore: 25 November 1936;
To Sir William Rothenstein: 19 February 1928.

LONDON UNIVERSITY. WARBURG INSTITUTE

To Aleister Crowley: 9 December 1932; 1 March 1933
n.d. [? 1933].

McMASTER UNIVERSITY. MILLS MEMORIAL LIBRARY

To Sir George Catlin: 22 November 1936; n.d.
[? 1936]; 13 May 1945.

THE MENNINGER FOUNDATION, TOPEKA, KANSAS

To Mary Douglas Lee: 26 January 1961;
To Karl A Menninger: 10 October 1958; 21 November
1960;
To Nina Ridenour: 24 July 1963.

MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Maurice Browne: 24 November 1954;
To Ellen van Volkenburg: 25 January 1938.

MITCHISON, LADY NAOMI

To Lady Naomi Mitchison: 20 September 1942; 12 June
1945; 16 June 1950; 25 November 1952.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND

To Lady Naomi Mitchison: 23 August 1927.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES

To J. Glyn Roberts: n.d. [1932]; 19 July 1933.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY. THE BERG COLLECTION

To Lascelles Abercrombie: 24 July 1931;
To Rita Allen: 17 December 1955;
To Robin Anderson: n.d. [February 1945];
To Mr. Christy: 3 April 1935;
To Douglass Glass: n.d. [c. April-December 1932];
15 December 1935;
To John D. Gordon: 25 April 1958;
To Frieda Lawrence: 6 June 1930;
To F.A. Lea: 17 July 1957

To E.V. Lucas: 18 February 1924;
 To Edward Marsh: 21 November 1921; 19 June 1922;
 To Richard Mealand: 29 January 1936; n.d. [1937];
 To Robert Nichols: 22 August 1933;
 To Gilbert C. Perleberg: 17 June 1938; 19 September
 1944; 3 October 1945; 20 July 1947; 26 January
 1948; 10 January 1959; 4 February 1963; n.d.
 [May 1963];
 To Frances Petersen: n.d. [August 1914]; n.d.
 [25 June 1915] n.d. [20 April 1916]; n.d.
 [19 June 1916]; n.d. [? 1916]; n.d. 5 January
 [1917]; 28 February [1917]; n.d. [17 June 1917];
 n.d. [5 December 1917]; 15 December 1917;
 2 January 1918; n.d. [9 May 1918]; 17 June 1918;
 18 November 1918;
 To Ralph Pinker: 3 May 1939; 15 June 1939;
 To Edward Sackville-West: 9 November 1936; 9 January
 1940;
 To Miss Spanner: 29 April 1929;
 To Mrs. Charles Szladits: 30 July 1955;
 To Beth Wendel: 11 January 1955;
 To Humbert Wolfe: 15 January 1923.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY: RARE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS DIVISION

To H.L. Mencken: 10 January 1919 [i.e. 10 January
 1920]; 13 February 1920; 12 April 1920; 26 May
 1920; 16 March 1921; 16 August 1922; n.d.
 [December 1922]; n.d. [1923]; 5 May 1926;
 11 May 1933.

NEW YORK, STATE UNIVERSITY OF, AT BUFFALO. UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Marshall Diston: 12 October 1930;
 To Harold Monroe: 25 May 1920; n.d. [1920]; n.d.
 [c. July 1922]; n.d. [c. 1922].

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY. FALES LIBRARY

To Mrs. Arnold Bennett: n.d. [c. May-June 1919];
 27 September 1920;
 To Miss Fisher: 13 December 1927;
 To Crosby Gaige: 26 September 1928;
 To George Green: 19 November 1956;
 To The League of Amercian Writers: 10 January 1938;
 To "Madam": 19 November 1929;
 To Owen Rutter: 9 July 1934;
 To Charles Wilson: n.d. [c. April 1930].

NORTH CAROLINA, UNIVERSITY OF, AT CHAPEL HILL. SOUTHERN
HISTORICAL COLLECTION, WILSON LIBRARY

To Mr. Abernethy: 15 October 1932.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Hyman Levy: 24 November 1936.

NOTTINGHAM UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Emile Delavenay: 25 February 1935; 2 March 1935;
 To Mr. Chambers: 4 April 1931.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY. BODLEIAN LIBRARY

To Gilbert Murray: 11 November 1916; 15 November
 1916; 5 June 1935;
 To Arthur Ponsonby: 15 June 1936; 17 November 1936;
 30 December 1936.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY. WELLCOME UNIT FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE

To C.P. Blacker: 2 January 1932; 1 December 1933;
 15 January 1936.

PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

To R.D. Blumenfeld: 4 November 1930.

PENNSYLVANIA, UNIVERSITY OF. VAN PELT LIBRARY

To Horace Liveright: n.d. [October 1922: lacking first page].

PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

To Mr. Brunner: 25 September 1963;
 To E. McKnight Kauffer and Marion Dorn: n.d.
 [c. December 1931]; 26 July 1931; 9 April 1946;
 To Linati: 20 September 1924; 22 January 1925;
 To Mrs. Nichols: 23 September 1959.

READING UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Adrian Brunel: 19 November 1932;
 To R.L. Mégroz: 18 May 1923; 13 October 1954;
 10 November 1954.

SMYTHIES, JOHN R.

To John R. Smythies: 1 March 1953; 1 February 1955.

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY AT CARBONDALE. THE MORRIS LIBRARY

To Richard Aldington: 18 August 1948;
 To Caresse Crosby: 30 September 1930; 16 October 1931; 9 November 1931;
 To Mr. Wells: 2 May 1929.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Nathan von Patten: n.d. [April 1932]; 28 July 1943.

SUSSEX UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Kingsley Martin: 3 April 1932;
 To Leonard Woolf: 31 July 1923; n.d. [1936].

SUTTON, MRS. ZITA

To Lewis Gielgud: 10 November 1925; 1 December 1925.

SYDNEY UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Norman Haire: n.d. [? January 1936]; 14 February 1936; 1 March 1936; 2 March 1936.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Robert S. Hillyer: 22 April 1937.

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Naomi Royde-Smith: 7 June 1936; 21 October 1936.

TEXAS, UNIVERSITY OF, AT AUSTIN. HARRY RANSOM HUMANITIES RESEARCH CENTER

To Richard Aldington: 5 July 1930;
 To Jelly d'Aranyi: n.d. [October 1913]; n.d. [? 1914]; n.d. [5 June 1915]; n.d. [c. January-March 1916]; 5 May 1916; n.d. [July 1916]; n.d. 11 July 1918;
 To Miss Barton: n.d. [1929]
 To Sybille Bedford: 19 February 1933;
 To Dorothy Brett; 4 December 1918; 17 January 1919; n.d. [c.1930]
 To Richard Church: 4 January 1938;
 To Mary Hutchinson: c. 130 letters and postcards, July 1919 (?) to July 1956;
 To Harold Monro: 9 August 1919; 6 June 1920;
 To Lady Ottoline Morrell: c. 70 letters, c. December 1915 to January 1937;
 To Herman Ould: 1 November 1932:
 To J.B. Pinker: c. 65 letters, February 1920 to December 1934;
 To G. Gidley Robinson: 12 July 1916;
 To Edward W. Titus: 24 June 1929; 12 January 1930;
 To Frederick C. Wellman: 29 December 1937.

VIRGINIA, UNIVERSITY OF. ALDERMAN LIBRARY

To Henry Miller: n.d. [c. 1934-1935]; 20 December
1936 (Both of these are transcriptions).

WARWICK UNIVERSITY. MODERN RECORDS CENTRE

To Victor Gollancz: 19 July 1953.

WELLCOME INSTITUTE FOR THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE, LONDON.
ARCHIVES OF THE EUGENICS SOCIETY

To the Secretary of the Eugenics Society
(C.P. Blacker): n.d. [January 1936].

YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

To Klaus Mann: 21 October 1940.

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American Novel from the Twenties to Our
Time. London: Phoenix House, 1964.
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Fiction. London: Victor Gollancz, 1961.
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