In old age Ernest Weekley (1865-1945) recalled that, when he left Cambridge, the Master of Trinity had “kindly expressed the hope that I should soon find congenial employment and I have always felt that the adjective he so wisely used is the key to a contented life”.

As every reader of *JDHLS* will know, Weekley’s contentment was rent when his German wife Frieda left him and their three young children for a talented young man who had attended his lectures some years previously: D. H. Lawrence. However, Frieda was not the only point at which the lives of Weekley and Lawrence crossed: both the context and the substance of their work reveal areas of overlap. This essay is concerned initially with their educational backgrounds and their direct contact through the teacher/student relationship. Secondly, I will look at University College, Nottingham as a prime example of the development of the University Extension Movement in a provincial town and how each of them reacted to it. Lastly I would like to open up a discussion on their relationship to English as a vernacular language and on their preoccupation with regional dialect.

So much attention has been focused on D. H. Lawrence and Frieda that Ernest Weekley’s own reputation has been sidelined. Ironically his début as a popular writer came just after the split with Frieda in 1912 with the publication of *The Romance of Words*. It was an immediate success and his renown developed during the 1920s and 1930s when his numerous books on etymology which popularized scholarly knowledge had a loyal and avid audience. “To the general reading public he was ‘Words Weekley’ – a nickname he relished – and critics welcomed his books delightedly.”
His accessible explanations touched a nerve of the public’s curiosity about their language and their names. His particular respect for dialects and regional words and accents meant that no one was excluded from his erudition; on the contrary, they were included in the whole story of the English language which he found so captivating, and so romantic. Weekley could trace the history of Europe through the development of a few well-chosen words. His was an imaginative gift as well as a cerebral one.

Weekley had a natural aptitude for teaching and an ability to recognize and encourage the potential talents of his students. He served a long apprenticeship in his profession and he achieved high academic standing and eventual eminence in his fields of modern languages and etymology. He had a strong grasp of the theoretical aspects of his subject which he was prepared to explain to the layman.\(^3\) That he was fully conversant also with the technicalities of etymology is evident from critical assessments such as that by Yukov Malkiel in his essay ‘Romance Etymology in English Dictionaries’.\(^4\) James Hulbert in his book on dictionaries sniffs at Weekley’s occasionally “‘flip’ definitions”\(^5\) but it was this humour that attracted readers and brought etymology into the public domain.\(^6\)

Eminence in his field had been hard won. Weekley came from a lower middle class background and three generations of workhouse administrators. Together with three of his brothers he was sent to Dane Hill in Kent, a small private boarding school run by a relative, the Reverend C. Boulden. At the age of seventeen Weekley attended Finsbury Training College, “which aimed at training masters for public schools” and while there he obtained a Cambridge Teachers’ Certificate.\(^7\) After a short apprenticeship in Colchester he returned as a master to Dane Hill where two of his brothers were still boarding. Years later Weekley summed up his stance on the education of boys with characteristic humorous hyperbole:\(^8\)
... for in matters educational I am a die-hard conservative, a hide-bound reactionary and all the other things so objectionable to enlightenment ... like George Borrow’s father, I hold that no boy ever came to a bad end who had thoroughly mastered the Latin primer.9

Ernest studied for an external Bachelor of Arts degree at London University, which he received in 1887,10 and sometime during his mid-to-late twenties he began teaching at William Brigg’s University Correspondence College which had been set up to meet the new and growing demand for higher education. Ernest became friends with a fellow tutor, the young H. G. Wells, and kept correspondence from him until late in life. Their camaraderie was presumably not based on politics since Ernest’s “imperialist conservatism was a dominant feature of his character”.11

There is little information about the five-year period between Weekley’s B.A. degree in 1887 and his M.A. in French and German (first in Branch IV) as an external examinee of London University in 1892.12 When the long gap was remarked upon he answered: “True; but – tell it not in Gath – I had acquired considerable dexterity in billiards during the interval”.13 The affectation of idleness cannot hide his industrious achievement in paying his way through his education. Fortunately he was blessed with a phenomenal memory and his mother helped him finance a year in Berne to improve his spoken language skills.14

To work seriously as an academic he needed the imprimatur of Oxford or Cambridge and in 1893 he won a scholarship to Trinity College, Cambridge to read for the Medieval and Modern Languages Tripos. The influence of the Bouldens may have predisposed him to Trinity and the University Correspondence College offered him a post at its Cambridge office. “I managed the work of the U.C.C. French and German although I only wrote books on French”.15 Arnold Wall (later Professor Arnold Wall of Christchurch University, New Zealand) joined Brigg’s teaching
staff and Trinity at the same time and recalled that Weekley felt sensitive about his age:

He used to relate with rueful humour, how he sat down to “hall” on his first night at Trinity close to two of the youngsters. As a man passed up the hall one said: “There’s X, he’s one of the dons”. The other said, “Oh, a bit old isn’t he?” “Old, I should think he was pretty nearly thirty!” And poor Weekley’s heart sank into his boots for he was 28”.16

Trinity represented a tradition as well as an opportunity, an ethos as well as an academic experience. The scholar’s robes did not only bring learning and opportunity, they clothed the wearer in the garb of a gentleman whatever his origins, and this not by some flimsy presumption but through the grace of education and association with a gentlemanly institution and the habits it engendered.17

Trinity’s glory rested on her great scientists, especially Newton, and by the 1880s, “The body of Fellows was becoming every year a more lay society”.18 This aspect of Trinity was important to Ernest in that he took a rigorous “scientific” approach to a new area of study: etymology.

Graduating from Trinity in 1896 with a first class degree with special distinction in French and German, Weekley set off for Paris. Arnold Wall says of his friend that he “tasted the delights of life in the Quartier” but he himself said in an interview: “You may say, if you like, that it’s very much over-rated. The Trilby idea is all tommy rot – only don’t put it just that way”.19 He had come to Paris not for sensation but to sit at the feet of France’s great medieval scholar, Gaston Paris (1839-1903), who held the chair of Medieval French at the College de France.20 Gaston was a philologist and literary critic who had studied German methods of scholarship which he applied to French literature”.21 He was renowned for his urbanity and generosity and Weekley’s later reputation for a similarly elegant style indicates that ‘le beau Gaston’ was his model.
In the early years of the century the study of language had entered a particularly vibrant phase. While the German school of philology was exploring the storehouse of cultural history packed into the verbal hinterland, Saussure was quietly changing the whole concept of language with his realization that “the linguistic unit is form rather than substance, defined by the relations which set it off from other units.”

Although it took many decades for the impact of Saussure’s work to filter into literary criticism, the shift of emphasis from diachronic (the study of language as it changes through time) to synchronic (the study of language without historical antecedents) may appear to leave Weekley in an academic backwater. But etymology establishes the way in which words collect their power as they develop historically and have a life of their own; in post-structural criticism, etymology becomes more rather than less useful.

Weekley was particularly interested in the way in which our history is evident in our vocabulary. Weekley was pushing the boundaries between English language and history in a way which has been recognized as the means of defining cultural identity. The seeds he and others sowed have been cultivated by cultural historians: Raymond Williams, for example, acknowledges Weekley in *Culture and Society*.

Having established Weekley’s credentials, I now turn to D. H. Lawrence. Extraordinarily for a boy from a working class background, Lawrence won a scholarship to Nottingham High School which he attended from the age of thirteen for three years from 1898-1901. The headmaster, Dr James Gow (1854-1923), was a former fellow of Trinity and a former teacher at University College, Nottingham. As John Worthen has pointed out:

Everyone agrees that Nottingham High School under its distinguished headmaster Dr James Gow was an excellent school, and Lawrence was obviously a talented boy.
Like Weekley, Lawrence began his higher education rather late; after leaving school he became a pupil-teacher and it was not until 1906 when he was twenty-one that he started the two-year teacher training course at the College which would lead to a teacher’s certificate. His ambition to change to the degree course in Arts (an idea supported by his mother) was frustrated by his inadequate Latin and the College’s inability to give him the help he needed.

It was an important period for the emerging writer: he said it was during the first year that he grew into adulthood and it was also the year that he started writing his first novel. Even so, he told Jessie Chambers that he regretted both the time and expense of the course: “his attitude towards the college Staff was one of slightly cynical tolerance. Sometimes on a Saturday evening he would mimic one of them for our amusement”. This derision belied an actual hunger for what was on offer and what he was able to absorb. He recommended to Chambers a course of Saturday morning lectures on the Metaphysical Poets with a warning that the Principal, Reverend J. E. Symes, mumbled incoherently but when Chambers attended, “Lawrence was there too, keen and alert, and taking notes”.

Figure 2. Nottingham Grammar School.
(Photographed by the author)
Ernest Weekley and D. H. Lawrence

The “Normal” course for teachers had a basic set of mandatory subjects: English language, literature and composition; History and Geography; Elementary Mathematics; Elementary science; Theory of Music; Principles of Teaching; Reading and Repetition; Drawing; Singing; Physical Training; Manual Instruction (for men); Needlework (for women). There were also two options from a long list of languages, sciences and advanced studies in other subjects. The Board of Education regulations specified a standard equivalent to “Intermediate Arts and Science”, with distinction to be awarded for a higher examination standard – which we know from Jessie Chambers that Lawrence achieved in six subjects including French. The French examination included passages for translation into English from “standard authors”, prose and poetry, and a translation of prose from English to French, a piece of dictation, and an exercise in free composition; it demanded evidence of “a sound knowledge of syntax and grammar”. I suggest a standard roughly equivalent to GCSE or AS level, but this is open to research.

The possibility that Weekley had some effect on Lawrence’s use of language is worth considering. In response to an enquiry from Harry T. Moore, one of Lawrence’s biographers, Weekley wrote: “He was not a degree student at Nottingham and what work he did in French was of a fairly elementary kind”. However, there is other evidence. Lawrence had received extra tuition in French from the governess of a local family and his first report from Nottingham Grammar School at Christmas 1898 states that he was “very good” at French. This comment was not repeated in later terms. His assertion in a job application that he had won prizes in French and German at school has not been substantiated.

A newspaper interview with an employee of J. H. Haywood, the chemists’ distributors where Lawrence worked from September to December 1901, revealed that “even at the age of 14 or 15 he spoke French and worked in the Foreign export department”.
John Worthen takes a very positive view of Lawrence’s capability:

He also made a special point, up to 1912, of using the French he had learned at High School, and which had distinguished him from the other Eastwood boys. He encouraged Jessie Chambers to keep a diary in French, which he corrected; French peppers his surviving early letters, and he used it on special occasions, such as embarrassedly thanking his headmaster for a congratulatory present in 1904; he read Maupassant, Stendhal, Baudelaire, Verlaine in French, sometimes out loud; he tried writing poetry in French … He tended to make France, and French – like the vermouth and absinthe he drank in cafés – symbolic of the decadent poet’s life, of witty cultivation and an amoral pose; but still more it was a reminder of how far he aimed to travel from the limitations (and language) of Eastwood, and of how cultivated (in a non-Eastwood sense) he was.38

Lawrence was fluent enough to write the occasional letter (or part of a letter) in French (see his letters to Louie Burrows of 26 and 30 May 1911), and to use some French phrases in his letters, but for the most part the latter do not amount to more than decorative motifs. Examples from his early letters are “Au revoir, – jusqu’à jeudi” in a letter to Louie Burrows of 12 April 1908, “Oh ma foi, non!” in a letter to Blanche Jennings of 1 September 1908, and a verse from Verlaine in a letter to Blanche Jennings of 17 July 1908 (IL 47, 71, 63). In his novels he employed what I would call a stylistic use of the language. In The White Peacock we see the beginning of his scatterings of French phrases – a ce qu’il paraît, tant mieux (WP 94) and rôdeur (WP 101). Similarly in The Rainbow he introduced just the occasional word: filles for whores, farouche for shy, and the expression vogue la galere (R 324) in the mouth of Tom Brangwen, which might as easily have been expressed with an English colloquialism. Lawrence had been reading Le Rouge et Le Noir in 1911, which he borrowed from the
library. The Trespasser and Sons and Lovers contain half a dozen or so French expressions, none of them essential, and some like nous avons change tout cela (T 171) and cherchez la Femme (SL 394) seem banal. Lady Chatterley’s Lover has a much more extensive scattering of phrases, idioms and proverbial sayings: L’amour avait passé par là; demi-monde; arriviste; C’est une autre chose!; chair a Plaisir; nostalgie de la boue among others (LCL 8, 18, 35, 64, 253, 296).

Lawrence also uses Latin, German and Italian phrases, less frequently but in much the same way: they are not indispensable and very rarely expressive of character, most often being used to embellish the narrative voice. The exception to this is European characters in Mr Noon and The Lost Girl. On the whole his use of French fits in with what Barthes said of picturesque jargons in literature more generally: it is “a kind of theatrical costume hung on to an essence”. I would propose a parallel with Bulwer Lytton’s use of Latin tags to flatter his readers; French and German in the early twentieth century were the new languages of sophistication. As “a garrulous Cockney” comments in John Davidson’s novel East Lavender: “It’s fang-de-seeaycle that does it, my dear, and education, and reading French”.

Weekley’s deeper influence is far more likely to have been in a general approach to learning and through reference to his own wide reading of fiction both in French and English, and that wider teaching would also have come to Lawrence later through Frieda. The argument between T. S. Eliot and F. R. Leavis on the subject of whether or not Lawrence was autodidactic (and what that means) would benefit from a detailed examination of the context of educational activity in early twentieth century Nottingham. My focus is on the structure which included both Lawrence and Weekley.

University College itself was an unusual hybrid. On the one hand it grew out of the University Extension Movement founded in 1866 by James Stuart, a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge. The Movement was an idealistic enterprise to offer the benefits of
higher education to a wider constituency. The extended franchise of 1867, the Education Act of 1870 and increasing affluence in industrial areas contributed to the demand for, and the success of, the movement. (The argument that initiatives by both Oxford and Cambridge to “colonize” the provinces were self-seeking and did not truly respond to the needs of the people is beyond the scope of this essay but has relevance to the Leavis-Eliot debate).\textsuperscript{43} On the other hand Nottingham was an unusual case in that affluent burghers had historically nurtured the education of the working classes and it was the Corporation itself, rather than a single benefactor, that endowed the new University College.\textsuperscript{44} The first Principal, the Reverend J. E. Symes was a friend of James Stuart and one of his original disciples. Interestingly, the Treasury Inspector’s report of 1901-2 states “We think that the College exhibits the nearest approach of all Colleges which we have visited to a People’s university”.\textsuperscript{45} 

Figure 3. Nottingham University College.
(From \textit{A History of Nottingham University College},
by A. C. Wood)
Weekley was an ideal example of the benefits of educational opportunity (albeit far more privileged than Lawrence) and he paved the way for the next generation. Nigel Lewis in his newspaper article of 7 May 1994 quotes from a 1901 letter from Symes to George Prothero in which he says Weekley “gives the impression he has risen from the ranks” and regrets that he is interested in the mechanics of literature rather than the humanity of it. Nigel Lewis takes Symes’ letter as a criticism of Weekley, which it may have been, but Lewis follows his lead in damning Weekley as *infra dig*. I think that Symes, by 1901, was so old-fashioned that he had missed the point of men like Weekley. It was, after all, Symes, the ineffectual clerical-teacher, who bungled the administration of University College and let it slide into stagnation. The Treasury Inspectors’ report of 1910 discovered “culpable carelessness in the administration of the College” and Symes was asked to resign. The error was in the returns of the numbers of students made to the Board of Education by the College for the year 1908-9. Weekley and the famous chemist F. S. Kipping were the academic lights of the College; that they had risen from the ranks and the fact that both men had sought out academic opportunities in Germany underlines their initiative.

Weekley’s empathy with his students’ struggles provided a bridge to the newly-aspiring lower classes. Weekley’s students did not pass out of his classes into oblivion; he retained their respect and in many cases their affection. Some of them entertained him every year, some kept in touch by letter, and some became close friends for the rest of his life. He offered and maintained a personal interest in them, sending them wedding presents and remembering their birthdays. Letters in the University of Nottingham Archive attest to his helping them find jobs, writing references, recommending careers, and even lending his own money for further studies.
Moreover, Weekley’s interest in the fluctuating meaning of language was the beginning of an innovative and important line of thinking on which I have already touched. Symes did not see the twentieth century coming until it knocked him sideways; he was pensioned off to a clerical posting abroad. 51 However, he was part of a Christian and broadly socialist approach to education which was one of the reasons the commercially-minded Nottingham worthies were sceptical about him.

Weekley’s mantle of gentlemanly status, accorded by Cambridge and manifested through his own sense of style, has no shame in it per se; social mobility has been the source of flexible strength in English society. According to Chambers, Weekley was “The only member of the staff he [Lawrence] admired”: Lawrence called him “my favourite Prof.” He also noted:
He really is a gentleman. He’s quite elegant. He leans back in his chair and points to the blackboard, too elegant to get to his feet. And he addresses us as ‘gentlemen’. He’s sarcastic, of course.\textsuperscript{52}

Even six years afterwards, in 1912, Lawrence was much impressed by Weekley’s scholarship and the laudatory review given to The Romance of Words in The Athenaeum (11L 384). But later, after he married Frieda, Lawrence had a different set of priorities which simply excluded Weekley and his like. The reasons for this lie between political attitudes, class prejudice, Weekley’s intransigent behaviour over the divorce and the custody of his children, and Lawrence’s own psychology. The latter he indicated to Jessie Chambers:
As he said to me once in a tone of deep chagrin, ‘I’ve never really had a father’. What he was asking perhaps unconsciously of the University was that it should partly make up for his lack of a father and give him a spiritual and intellectual lead into life itself, and this is hardly deemed to be the job of university professors.53

This may be a clue to both his regard for Weekley, who was certainly avuncular in style, and to his numerous re-workings of “Weekley” in his writings. These re-workings are the subject of another essay, but Lawrence’s references to Weekley start in his poem ‘Meeting Among the Mountains’ (written in 1912) and develop explicitly in a character he invented later in 1912, Dr Frederick Tressider in The Fight for Barbara, while Everard Keighley in Mr Noon (written in 1920-1) and the Reverend Arthur Saywell in The Virgin and the Gipsy (written in 1926) are also fictionalised versions of Weekley. The characterization was familiar enough amongst Lawrence’s and Freida’s friends for Aldous Huxley to deliberately use it as the basis for the philologist John Beavis in Eyeless in Gaza (1936), notably in his martyred attitude towards the loss of his wife, his expectations of his young son and his use of language.54 Lawrence may have been dead in 1930 when all but the poem were published but Weekley was not. He did not retire from teaching until 1936 and continued to write for several years after that.

T. S. Eliot’s criticism of Lawrence was that his lack of an orthodox education tied to a traditional institution rendered him incapable of properly structured thought and insensible to “ordinary social morality”.55 Weekley, the product of a High Church background, might well have agreed. The crucial divide lies in Lawrence’s low-level Latin which, as I have noted, prevented him from pursuing higher education.56 In his individual case lies an example of a turning point in education. Ann Ardis in Modernism and Cultural Conflict refers to “the total reorganization of intellectual life that was orchestrated at the turn of the century
through the professionalization of science, the establishment of new
disciplinary discourses, and the (re)organization of the modern
university. While the study of English literature was beginning to
replace the classics, they were still in 1906 the gateway to higher
learning and remained so at Oxford and Cambridge for a further
sixty-odd years. Weekley, with both classics and modern languages
in his armoury, was able to help forge the transition in education;
Lawrence fell between the old and the new and had to make his
own way.

The question is whether a classically educated writer could have
continued to identify with Eastwood miners. Eliot saw Lawrence as
dangerously reliant on the non-conformist concept of Inner Light
but the particular strengths of non-conformist education become
evident when applied to its sources: the working class and the
regional.

Lawrence’s use of dialect and his full artistic exploration of
colloquial usage are central to much of his writing, in both style and
content, and it is here that we can find a strong connection with
Weekley’s work. In foregrounding regional dialect Lawrence and
Weekley were unwittingly (and for different reasons) allied.
Modernism’s homogenising celebration of the metropolitan threw
regional habits of speech into high relief. No longer taken for
granted, they became a subject of serious study: The English
Dialect Dictionary was compiled and published at the turn of the
twentieth century. Weekley was recording regional vernacular
derivation and usage while Lawrence brilliantly deployed Midlands
dialect in his work. He had an ear for language and was a fine
mimic, as Worthen has pointed out:

Lawrence’s dialect speech was not only mimicry. It was one of
his actual voices; it was an Eastwood voice (he always kept his
Midlands accent) – but it was not his mother’s voice. It was
both his own, and not his own; part of himself, for which he
retained a deep nostalgia, but also a voice which he came to feel
he had betrayed.
Far from classifying and formulating language in the German manner, both men were intent on responding to and recording what existed. In *The Romance of Words*, Weekley says of his intentions in the book:

> It differs, I believe, from any other popular books on language in that it deals essentially with the origins of words, and makes no attempt to enforce a moral.  

One of the methods he employed was of relating words to everyday and contemporary experience: *feckless* from Mr Lloyd George in 1911 Parliamentary debates; *notches* from Kentish hop pickers; *week-end* from Lancashire in 1883; or his gardener’s use of the word *ruskit* for rustic. Lawrence’s novels are full of the joy of language, allowing the reader to wallow in the sheer sensuousness of *wezzle-brained, snirt* or *clatfart* (*LCL* 162, 223, 268). Occasionally one can find a word that both men take on; *cocksure* is an example which seems fitting. Lawrence uses it in relation to modern women (*LCL* 299), while Weekley expounds on its original sense from “trustworthy” through to Melbourne’s famous remark on Tom Macaulay.

Weekley’s studies had led him to conclude that it is in the language of the common people that the roots of our language are preserved. He also saw regional language in retreat from the effects of a national education system and later from the B.B.C. and pleaded with teachers to tolerate the dialects of their pupils. Like Lawrence, he was familiar with the Midlands’ speech. Lawrence reproduced it to great effect in fiction and poetry – for example he uses *nesh* in ‘The Risen Lord’, “though his feet are still nesh” (*Poems* 459), and *mard* in ‘The Collier’s Wife’, “Eh, th’rt a mard-arsed kid” (*Poems* 44). Weekley could analyse the roots and explain the connections:

> Every Midlander knows that a nesh child is apt to be mardy. To mar is to spoil, a spoilt child is marred, an epithet which, by
association with naughty, greedy etc., naturally becomes mardy. Even the Oxford Dictionary ignores the word. Nesh, on the other hand, has a literary history extending from Alfred the Great almost to the present day and is still in use all over the country. Its prevailing modern sense is tender, susceptible to cold, or what the contemporary schoolgirl calls ‘soppy’, but it was once more dignified – ‘A neshe answere brekith wrathe; an hard woorde rereth woodnesse.’ (Wyclif, Prov.xv.I) – and might very well be revived.  

While Weekley was making a bid to record and celebrate Englishness, Lawrence was disseminating dialect by his literary use of it. Both saw the cinema and American culture as a threat: Weekley to our indigenous forms of language, Lawrence to “the civilizing powers of aesthetic responsiveness to ‘Literature’ (understood here as an analog of both ‘poetry’ and ‘civilization’)”. Lawrence articulates the threat to working-class culture quite specifically in The Lost Girl. That the working class mining Midland culture became diluted after World War I may have added to Lawrence’s reasons for seeking more primitive cultures abroad. Weekley, too, appreciated the primitive and, for some of the same reasons, poetry:

… there must have been a time when a simple instinct for poetry was possessed by all nations, as it is still by uncivilised races and children. Among European nations this instinct appears to be dead for ever. We can name neither a mountain nor a flower. Our Mount Costigan, Mount Perry, Mount William cut a sorry figure besides the peaks of the Bernese Oberland, the Monk, the Maiden, the Storm Pike, the Dark Eagle Pike.

Yakov Malkiel recognized that Weekley’s learning was of a broader kind than that of most etymologists, that he was “something of a littérateur specializing in word-biographies”. The
educated public took Weekley to its heart and he was celebrated in an affectionate poem in the 27 April 1921 edition of *Punch*.

In looking more closely at University College, Nottingham, I hope I have sharpened the focus on Lawrence’s educational context; Trinity College, Cambridge has emerged as a far-reaching and decisive influence to be weighed against the non-conformist tradition. The proposal that both men were concerned with dialect and Englishness offers one space at least where they had a common interest.

Behind the common interest lie political antagonisms. Lawrence’s letter to Bertrand Russell in 1915 in which he expresses the hope that Trinity College will expel Russell, thereby freeing him from the establishment structure (“one must be cast forth”) and his belief that “the revolution must come” indicate just how strongly Lawrence felt (at that date) about class, and how deeply he was rooted in non-conformity (2L 347-8). Lenin’s activities also hardened Weekley’s attitudes; even allowing for hyperbolae, one word in his *Dictionary* tells us everything about his view:

*bourgeois*: from time of F. Revolution, bourgeois has undergone the same eclipse as our middle class, being contemptuously applied by “intellectuals” to those who pay their way and look after their children. As I write (Dec. 1917) Russ “citizens” are very busy massacring the bourgeoisie. 68

Weekley, in later years, called Trinity great court the finest space in Europe. 69 So much turned on a simple dichotomy – inside the court or outside the gates. Lawrence became a cocksure outsider; it was another Cambridge man, F. R. Leavis, who eventually brought him, like some literary Trojan horse, inside.
Sources
My primary sources are the Lawrence and Weekley archives at the University of Nottingham; a Weekley family book of newspaper cuttings, family tree and photographs; Ernest Weekley’s published books; Lawrence and Frieda’s published letters; biographies of Frieda and D. H. Lawrence as cited; correspondence with family members and connections as cited; Ernest Weekley’s letters to Muriel Lough, and her memoir and fiction, ‘Truth to Tell’, written because she was so appalled by the public view of Weekley based on Lawrence’s fiction. In the early part of the story she recalls anecdotes about Weekley from her experience as a pupil.

Acknowledgements
A number of people have helped with the research for this essay, which was originally undertaken for an MA dissertation (2003). I would particularly like to thank the late Ian Weekley, Ernest Weekley’s grandson, for putting his family papers at my disposal and answering my questions; Judith Wale, Muriel Lough’s daughter, for giving me access to her mother’s manuscripts and correspondence and supplying information; Freya Hansen for information about her Boulden relatives; John Worthen for directing my attention to relevant material; William Downes of UEA for recommending books on linguistics; Sean Matthews for his enthusiasm and advice on Lawrence criticism; Louise Pressley and her team at Margate Library for research on Dane Hill House School; and the archivists from the University of Nottingham’s Manuscripts and Special Collections.

Books by Ernest Weekley
A Comprehensive Selection from the British Library Catalogue.

French Prose Composition. London: University College Correspondence Press. 1898.
Le Rois des Montagnes Adapted and Edited. 1899. Reprint 1944.
The Preceptor’s French Course. (No publisher listed) 1898. Reprint 1900.
Exercises on the French Subjunctive. (Key) London: Blackie & Son, 1903.
Adjectives and other words. London: John Murray, 1926.
The English Language. London: Andre Deutsch, 1928.
Ernest Weekley and D. H. Lawrence

1 Letter from Weekley to the Lord Chancellor of Nottingham University 1/5/1951, UR: 450/1 University of Nottingham Archive.
2 Muriel Lough (née Barker 1913-1988), draft obituary. Muriel Lough was one of Weekley’s Nottingham students. Lough Collection: Typed manuscript of unpublished novel ‘Truth To Tell’; 3-page draft obituary; 230 hand-written dated letters from EW to Muriel Lough (née Barker) during the period 1933-1950. All in the possession of Judith Wale. Lough also wrote a pamphlet entitled E.W. and D.H.L.
3 For example, he explained the metaphorical basis of all language in The Romance of Words (London: John Murray, 1912), 97.
6 EW noted in his introduction that he had written much of the dictionary during the First World War and his humour was an antidote to the overwhelming tragedy.
7 Interview with EW in The Gong, June 1898. The Gong was the University College student magazine.
8 Muriel Lough wrote in her draft obituary that he had “a broad tolerance sometimes disguised behind strong views and a fondness for hyperbole”.
10 Interview with EW, The Gong, June 1898.
13 Interview with EW, “a man who affects to idle”, The Gong, June 1898.
15 Interview with EW, The Gong, June 1898.
17 Noel Annan, The Dons (London: Harper Collins, 1999), 13: “To have been at a public school was not a necessary qualification [for being a gentleman]; but to have been to a university, or by some means to have acquired professional status, was”.
18 G.M. Trevelyan, Trinity College Cambridge (Cambridge, 1943), 106.
The Gong, 1898. Trilby, a best-selling novel by George du Maurier, was set in a romanticised Bohemian Paris.


EW, Romance of Words, 18.


See a letter from DHL to the Reverend Robert Reid of 24 October 1906: “I am very disappointed that I am not able to take an Arts course in college, and this is because I have no Latin” (IL 31).

See IL 186, 51, and 56.


See F. R. Leavis, ‘Mr Eliot and Lawrence’, Scrutiny, XVIII, 1 (June 1951), 66-73.

Chambers, 77.

Ibid., 82.

Board of Education, Regulations for the Training of Teachers and for the Examination of Students in Training Colleges (HMSO, 1907), 63.


John Worthen, D. H. Lawrence: The Early Years, 1895-1912, 89 and 86.

Ibid., 94.

News clipping, April 26, 1960. La N/3/1, Lawrence Collection.


See IL 251.


That EW was exceptionally well read is evident from his books, in which “The quotations are, with very few exceptions, drawn from my own reading”. Romance of Words, vii.


Edith Becket, University of Nottingham (Nottingham: Saxton, 1928), 54.


Wood, 53.

Kipping, a Manchester Grammar School boy and graduate of Owens College and London University, studied chemistry in Munich under Professor von Baeyer in 1883. The Gong, interview, January 1898.

Letter from Heather Tanner to Gwen Rutherford, 1 June 1986, La Mc 3/3/1/1, Lawrence Collection.

The same letter mentions that Weekley lent money to Molly Moore, who was teaching French at Alnwick. La We 3/3/1/1. Also, see page 3 of Muriel Lough’s typescript draft of an obituary she wrote for an unknown publication: “He was always accessible, always welcoming to those who sought advice. No personal bitterness deterred him from extending friendly encouragement to (among others) a long succession of impecunious young men from the mining villages of Nottinghamshire”.

Symes died in Palermo in 1921. Wood, 73.

Ibid., 88.

See a letter from Aldous Huxley to his step-mother in November 1936, quoted in Sybille Bedford’s Aldous Huxley (London: Collins, 1974) Vol. 1, 307: “the element of philology … was based upon descriptions given by Frieda Lawrence of her first husband … the character yet has a strong resemblance to the parson in D. H. Lawrence’s Virgin and the Gypsy, a character who was actually derived from the same source”.


Ardis, 34.
61 Ibid., 11, 55, 82.
64 EW, *Adjectives and Other Words*, 12.
65 Ardis, 93.
67 Malkiel, 185.
68 Russian was taught at Nottingham University College as early as 1915 and “was at first included in the modern languages department under Professor Weekley”. Wood, 73.