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D. H. Lawrence Edited by Mara Kalnins
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THE
CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF
THE LETTERS AND WORKS OF
D. H. LAWRENCE



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THE WORKS OF D. H. LAWRENCE

GENERAL EDITORS

James T. Boulton

† Warren Roberts

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SEA AND SARDINIA

D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITED BY
MARA KALNINS



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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

D. H. Lawrence is one of the great writers of the twentieth century – yet the texts of his writings, whether published during his lifetime or since, are, for the most part, textually corrupt. The extent of the corruption is remarkable; it can derive from every stage of composition and publication. We know from study of his MSS that Lawrence was a careful writer, though not rigidly consistent in matters of minor convention. We know also that he revised at every possible stage. Yet he rarely if ever compared one stage with the previous one, and overlooked the errors of typists or copyists. He was forced to accept, as most authors are, the often stringent house-styling of his printers, which overrode his punctuation and even his sentence-structure and paragraphing. He sometimes overlooked plausible printing errors. More important, as a professional author living by his pen, he had to accept, with more or less good will, stringent editing by a publisher's reader in his early days, and at all times the results of his publishers' timidity. So the fear of Grundyish disapproval, or actual legal action, led to bowdlerisation or censorship from the very beginning of his career. Threats of libel suits produced other changes. Sometimes a publisher made more changes than he admitted to Lawrence. On a number of occasions in dealing with American and British publishers Lawrence produced texts for both which were not identical. Then there were extraordinary lapses like the occasion when a typist turned over two pages of MS at once, and the result happened to make sense. This whole story can be reconstructed from the introductions to the volumes in this edition; cumulatively they will form a history of Lawrence's writing career.

The Cambridge edition aims to provide texts which are as close as can now be determined to those he would have wished to see printed. They have been established by a rigorous collation of extant manuscripts and typescripts, proofs and early printed versions; they restore the words, sentences, even whole pages omitted or falsified by editors or compositors; they are freed from printing-house conventions which were imposed on Lawrence's style; and interference on the part of frightened publishers has been eliminated. Far from doing violence to the texts Lawrence would have wished to see published, editorial intervention is essential to recover them.

Though we have to accept that some cannot now be recovered in their entirety because early states have not survived, we must be glad that so much evidence remains. Paradoxical as it may seem, the outcome of this recension will be texts which differ, often radically and certainly frequently, from those seen by the author himself.

Editors have adopted the principle that the most authoritative form of the text is to be followed, even if this leads sometimes to a 'spoken' or a 'manuscript' rather than a 'printed' style. We have not wanted to strip off one house-styling in order to impose another. Editorial discretion has been allowed in order to regularise Lawrence's sometimes wayward spelling and punctuation in accordance with his most frequent practice in a particular text. A detailed record of these and other decisions on textual matters, together with the evidence on which they are based, will be found in the textual apparatus which records variant readings in manuscripts, typescripts and proofs; and printed variants in forms of the text published in Lawrence's lifetime. We do not record posthumous corruptions, except where first publication was posthumous. Significant MS readings may be found in the occasional explanatory note.

In each volume, the editor's introduction relates the contents to Lawrence's life and to his other writings; it gives the history of composition of the text in some detail, for its intrinsic interest, and because this history is essential to the statement of editorial principles followed. It provides an account of publication and reception which will be found to contain a good deal of hitherto unknown information. Where appropriate, appendixes make available extended draft manuscript readings of significance, or important material, sometimes unpublished, associated with a particular work.

Though Lawrence is a twentieth-century writer and in many respects remains our contemporary, the idiom of his day is not invariably intelligible now, especially to the many readers who are not native speakers of British English. His use of dialect is another difficulty, and further barriers to full understanding are created by now obscure literary, historical, political or other references and allusions. On these occasions explanatory notes are supplied by the editor; it is assumed that the reader has access to a good general dictionary and that the editor need not gloss words or expressions that may be found in it. Where Lawrence's letters are quoted in editorial matter, the reader should assume that his manuscript is alone the source of eccentricities of phrase or spelling.

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October 1996

M. K.

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CHRONOLOGY

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| 11 September 1885 | Born in Eastwood, Nottinghamshire |
| September 1898–July 1901 | Pupil at Nottingham High School |
| 1902–1908 | Pupil teacher; student at University College, Nottingham |
| 7 December 1907 | First publication: ‘A Prelude’, in <i>Nottinghamshire Guardian</i> |
| October 1908 | Appointed as teacher at Davidson Road School, Croydon |
| November 1909 | Publishes five poems in <i>English Review</i> |
| 3 December 1910 | Engagement to Louie Burrows; broken off on 4 February 1912 |
| 9 December 1910 | Death of his mother, Lydia Lawrence |
| 19 January 1911 | <i>The White Peacock</i> published in New York (20 January in London) |
| 19 November 1911 | Ill with pneumonia; resigns his teaching post on 28 February 1912 |
| March 1912 | Meets Frieda Weekley; they elope to Germany on 3 May |
| 23 May 1912 | <i>The Trespasser</i> |
| September 1912–March 1913 | At Gargnano, Lago di Garda, Italy |
| February 1913 | <i>Love Poems and Others</i> |
| 29 May 1913 | <i>Sons and Lovers</i> |
| June–August 1913 | In England |
| August 1913–June 1914 | In Germany, Switzerland and Italy |
| 1 April 1914 | <i>The Widowing of Mrs. Holroyd</i> (New York) |
| July 1914–December 1915 | In London, Buckinghamshire and Sussex |
| 13 July 1914 | Marries Frieda Weekley in London |
| 26 November 1914 | <i>The Prussian Officer and Other Stories</i> |
| 30 September 1915 | <i>The Rainbow</i> ; suppressed by court order on 13 November |
| June 1916 | <i>Twilight in Italy</i> |
| July 1916 | <i>Amores</i> |
| 15 October 1917 | After twenty-one months’ residence in Cornwall, ordered to leave by military authorities |

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October 1917–November 1919	In London, Berkshire and Derbyshire
26 November 1917	<i>Look! We Have Come Through!</i>
October 1918	<i>New Poems</i>
20 November 1919	<i>Bay</i>
November 1919–7 March 1920	To Italy, and then Capri
8 March 1920	At Fontana Vecchia, Taormina, Sicily
May 1920	<i>Touch and Go</i>
9 November 1920	Private publication of <i>Women in Love</i> (New York)
25 November 1920	<i>The Lost Girl</i>
4–5 January 1921	Travel from Taormina to Palermo
5–13 January 1921	Sardinia: visit Cagliari, Mandas, Sorgono, Nuoro, Terranova; return to Sicily via Rome and Naples
by 21 January 1921	Begins writing ‘Diary of a Trip to Sardinia’ (<i>Sea and Sardinia</i>)
c. 27 January 1921	Visited by Jan Juta
February 1921	<i>Movements in European History</i>
12 February 1921	The ‘Diary’ ‘nearly done’
22 February 1921	‘I have finished the “Diary of a Trip to Sardinia”’
by 22 February 1921	MS sent to Ruth Wheelock for typing
March 1921	Revises typescripts
by 22 March 1921	Last portion of TSS received
28 March 1921	Sends revised TSS to Robert Mountsier and to Barbara Low
27 April–10 July 1921	Hotel Krone, Ebersteinberg, Baden–Baden
May 1921	Juta in Sardinia painting illustrations for the ‘Diary’
10 May 1921	<i>Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious</i> (New York)
1 June 1921	Finishes <i>Aaron’s Rod</i> ; begins <i>Fantasia of the Unconscious</i>
c. 10 June 1921	<i>Women in Love</i> published in England by Secker
23 June 1921	Receives five of Juta’s eight pictures
by 4 July 1921	Has received remaining three pictures from Juta
5–c. 27 July 1921	Mountsier visits Lawrences
10–19 July 1921	To Zell-am-See via Austria
20 July–25 August 1921	At Villa Alpanse, Zell-am-See
by 30 July 1921	Title <i>Sea and Sardinia</i> decided
25 August–19 September 1921	At 32 Via dei Bardi, Florence
20–7 September 1921	Siena, Rome, Capri

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Chronology

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 28 September 1921–20 February 1922 | At Fontana Vecchia |
| 20 October 1921 | Seltzer sends galley proofs of <i>Sea and Sardinia</i> to Mabel Mountsier for correction |
| October and November 1921 | Extracts from <i>Sea and Sardinia</i> in the <i>Dial</i> |
| 12 December 1921 | <i>Sea and Sardinia</i> published in the USA by Seltzer |
| March–August 1922 | In Ceylon and Australia |
| 14 April 1922 | <i>Aaron's Rod</i> (New York) |
| September 1922–March 1923 | In New Mexico |
| 23 October 1922 | <i>Fantasia of the Unconscious</i> (New York) |
| 24 October 1922 | <i>England, My England</i> (New York) |
| by 22 March 1923 | <i>The Ladybird, The Fox, The Captain's Doll</i> |
| March–November 1923 | In Mexico and USA |
| April 1923 | <i>Sea and Sardinia</i> published by Secker |
| 27 August 1923 | <i>Studies in Classic American Literature</i> (New York) |
| September 1923 | <i>Kangaroo</i> |
| 9 October 1923 | <i>Birds, Beasts and Flowers</i> (New York) |
| December 1923–March 1924 | In England, France and Germany |
| March 1924–September 1925 | In New Mexico and Mexico |
| 28 August 1924 | <i>The Boy in the Bush</i> (with M. L. Skinner) |
| 10 September 1924 | Death of his father, John Arthur Lawrence |
| 14 May 1925 | <i>St. Mawr together with The Princess</i> |
| September 1925–June 1928 | In England and, mainly, in Italy |
| 7 December 1925 | <i>Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine</i> (Philadelphia) |
| 21 January 1926 | <i>The Plumed Serpent</i> |
| 25 March 1926 | <i>David</i> |
| June 1927 | <i>Mornings in Mexico</i> |
| 24 May 1928 | <i>The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories</i> |
| June 1928–March 1930 | In Switzerland and, principally, in France |
| July 1928 | <i>Lady Chatterley's Lover</i> privately published (Florence) |
| September 1928 | <i>Collected Poems</i> |
| July 1929 | Exhibition of paintings in London raided by police; <i>Pansies</i> (manuscript earlier seized in the mail) |
| September 1929 | <i>The Escaped Cock</i> (Paris) |
| 2 March 1930 | Dies at Vence, Alpes Maritime, France |

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CUE-TITLES

A. Manuscript locations

CoIU	Columbia University
UIII	University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign
UT	University of Texas at Austin
YU	Yale University

B. Printed works

(The place of publication, here and throughout, is London unless otherwise stated.)

<i>Aaron's Rod</i>	D. H. Lawrence. <i>Aaron's Rod</i> . Ed. Mara Kalnins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
<i>Complete Poems</i>	Vivian de Sola Pinto and Warren Roberts, eds. <i>The Complete Poems of D. H. Lawrence</i> . 2 volumes. Heinemann, 1964.
<i>Lacy, Seltzer</i>	Gerald M. Lacy, ed. <i>D. H. Lawrence: Letters to Thomas and Adele Seltzer</i> . Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press, 1976.
<i>Letters</i> , i.	James T. Boulton, ed. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
<i>Letters</i> , ii.	George J. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton, eds. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
<i>Letters</i> , iii.	James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson, eds. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
<i>Letters</i> , iv.	Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton and Elizabeth Mansfield, eds. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume IV. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

xiv	<i>Cue-titles</i>
<i>Letters</i> , v.	James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey, eds. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume V. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
<i>Movements</i>	D. H. Lawrence. <i>Movements in European History</i> . Ed. Philip Crumpton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
<i>Phoenix</i>	Edward D. McDonald, ed. <i>Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence</i> . New York: Viking, 1936.
<i>Phoenix II</i>	Warren Roberts and Harry T. Moore, eds. <i>Phoenix II: Uncollected, Unpublished and Other Prose Works by D. H. Lawrence</i> . Heinemann, 1968.
Roberts	Warren Roberts. <i>A Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence</i> . 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
Tedlock, <i>Lawrence MSS</i>	E. W. Tedlock. <i>The Frieda Lawrence Collection of D. H. Lawrence Manuscripts: A Descriptive Bibliography</i> . Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948.

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INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

On 14 November 1919, D. H. Lawrence left England, never again to live in the country of his birth. After the poverty, ill-health and persecution of the war years,¹ the return to Italy, which he had visited before the war, ‘was like coming to life again’.² Writing from Florence, where he was waiting for his wife Frieda to join him, he observed: ‘The war has left its mark on people here too – but not so much. There is still some blessed *insouciance* in the Italians’³ and ‘Italy is still gay ... takes her politics with her wine, and enjoys them’ (iii. 417). Lawrence and Frieda left Florence early in December and travelled to Rome, to Picinisco (which he described in the final chapters of *The Lost Girl*) and Capri, before settling in Taormina, Sicily in the spring of 1920. Here they lived at the Fontana Vecchia, situated on the eastern, lower slopes of Mount Etna.

I like Sicily ... It is so green and living, with the young wheat soft under the almond trees and the olives. The almond blossom of Sicily is over now – there are groves and groves of almond trees – but the peach is in blossom. – We have quite a lovely villa on the green slope high above the sea, looking east over the blueness, with the hills and the snowy, shallow crest of Calabria on the left across the sea, where the straits begin to close in. – The ancient fountain still runs, in a sort of little cave-place down the garden – the Fontana Vecchia – and still supplies us.

(iii. 489)

It was here between March 1920 and February 1922 that Lawrence worked on his novels *The Lost Girl*, *Aaron’s Rod* and *Mr Noon*, many of the poems for *Birds, Beasts and Flowers*, the penultimate chapter on Italian history for *Movements in European History* and revised *Studies in Classic American Literature*. It was also here that he wrote *Sea and Sardinia*.

Although Taormina was a place of great beauty and tranquillity, the autumn of 1920 was unusually wet and, largely confined to the house, Lawrence began to think again of travelling:

¹ DHL and Frieda were expelled from Cornwall in October 1917 by the military authorities (see *Letters*, iii. 167–9).

² Frieda Lawrence, “*Not I, But the Wind ...*” (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1934), p. 118.

³ *Letters*, iii. 422. (Subsequent references to *Letters*, i.–v. are given in the text with volume and page number.)

Everywhere seems very far off. Sicily at the moment feels like a land inside an aquarium – all water – and people like crabs and black-grey shrimps creeping on the bottom. Don't like it . . . We shall be coming north in the spring – have promised to go to Germany . . . perhaps Sardinia – who knows. Will let you know. (iii. 622–3)

By the end of December their travel plans had crystallised – ‘We are going to look at Sardinia, and if I like that I shall move there’ (iii. 645) – and with characteristic impulsiveness he and Frieda departed on 4 January 1921 by rail for Palermo and then took ship for Cagliari, Sardinia.⁴ The tour of Sardinia lasted nine days and the island and its people deeply interested Lawrence, though he abandoned any idea of living there: ‘We went to Sardinia to see if we liked it to live in – love it, but decide to keep Fontana Vecchia another year’ (iii. 647). Immediately on his return he began planning a book and wrote to Martin Secker, his English publisher, on 14 January: ‘Have been away in Sardinia – rather fascinating. Think of going and writing a sketch book of Sardinia in the early summer’ (iii. 648). However, he actually began the account of his visit soon after, for on 21 January he wrote to his American agent Robert Mountsier: ‘– am doing a little Diary of the trip, which I shall send you’ (iii. 650). By early February he had temporarily laid aside the writing of his current novels, *Aaron's Rod* and *Mr Noon*, and was primarily concentrating on the travel book. He wrote again to Secker on 4 February: ‘Am writing a little itinerary of the trip. Novel having a little rest’ (iii. 660) and on 5 February to Mountsier: ‘Am still doing *Sardinia*. It will make a little book. Have written to Cagliari for photographs’ (iii. 662). By 12 February he had ‘nearly done a little travel-book: “Diary of a Trip to Sardinia” . . . which I hope, through the magazines, will make me something’ (iii. 664), and on 22 February he wrote to Mountsier: ‘I have finished the “Diary of a Trip to Sardinia”. It is being typed: 80,000 words, I should say . . . I hope to send you the MS. with photographs complete within a month's time’ (iii. 667).

The writing of the ‘Diary of a Trip to Sardinia’, as it was then called, took little more than a month. Lawrence himself later confirmed in conversation that he had written only one draft of the book: ‘I never made a single note for that . . . I returned home, to Taormina, and had nothing to do. So I wrote the thing in about six weeks or less. Only one draft.’⁵ Like his earlier travel book, *Twilight in Italy*, the ‘Diary of a Trip to Sardinia’ conveys Lawrence's delighted response to the timeless Italian landscape

⁴ Tedlock, *Lawrence MSS* 92 (diary entry for 3 January). Cagliari is the capital of Sardinia.

⁵ Edward Nehls, ed., *D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography*, 3 vols. (Madison, 1957–9), ii. 108.

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and its people and reveals his uncanny ability to transmute the spirit of place into literary art. Both travel books present with wit and humour the experience of being a foreigner travelling in a foreign land, but both also contain deeper levels of response which place them above mere travel reminiscence. *Twilight in Italy*, completed during the First World War, ends with a bleak vision of a world heading towards the cataclysm of global conflict, while *Sea and Sardinia*, like the closing chapters of *Aaron's Rod* and *Movements in European History*, confirms Lawrence's shrewd understanding of that European political climate which generated the rise of the fascist and communist states: 'The era of love and oneness is over . . . the other tide has set in' (89:27–8). The political content may also help to explain Lawrence's impulse not to defer the writing of his travel book until the summer, for these were issues which were currently at the front of his mind; the trip to Sardinia, like his subsequent journeys to other countries, was also a way of deepening his understanding of man and society by testing and modifying his beliefs in a new environment.

The handwritten manuscript of the 'Diary' was sent for typing to Ruth Wheelock⁶ (who had earlier typed *Birds, Beasts and Flowers* and was also to type *Mr Noon*), probably in two parts: the first sometime after 12 February when, as the correspondence has shown, Lawrence had largely completed the book, and the second part around 22 February, for Lawrence recorded in his personal diary on the latter date: 'Post . . . end of Sardinia to Miss Wheelock'.⁷ A further diary entry, dated 3 March, notes that Ruth Wheelock 'has received all Sardinia MS. – no word from Cagliari about photographs'.⁸ The diary entry thus confirms Lawrence's determination from the first that the account of his travels would include illustrations, and initially he planned to use photographs both of the island and its people. On 28 February he wrote to Mountsier that he was 'awaiting typescript of "A Trip to Sardinia": also, most anxiously, a reply from Cagliari about photographs for the same' (iii. 675). However, although he received part of the typescript shortly thereafter, was correcting it early in March (iii. 681) and on 15 March commented 'I have got most of the *Sardinia* MS. from the typist' (iii. 684), the problem of finding suitable photographs continued and Lawrence began to consider alternatives. To the artist Marie

⁶ Ruth Wheelock (1891–1958) worked at the American Consulate in Palermo, Sicily, between 1919 and 1922. DHL had heard of (or possibly met) her by the autumn of 1920, for he sent her the manuscript of *Birds, Beasts and Flowers* to be typed in early November (Tedlock, *Lawrence MSS* 91). In *Sea and Sardinia* she appears as the American girl in chap. 11.

⁷ Tedlock, *Lawrence MSS* 92.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Hubrecht,⁹ a former owner of the Fontana Vecchia whom he had met the previous year (and who made a portrait-drawing of Lawrence in this period), he wrote on 20 March mentioning a scheme for joining up with the young South African painter Jan Juta:¹⁰ 'on 1st. May go to Sardinia, and there walk for three weeks, doing sketches – for a joint book, my words, his drawings' (iii. 687). Juta was then studying at the British School in Rome and had seen Lawrence in Taormina in March and April 1920. He had visited Lawrence again briefly at the end of January 1921, shortly after Lawrence's return from Sardinia, and it is likely that the scheme to produce a joint book was discussed then. In the event, Juta went to Sardinia alone, but the idea of using his illustrations remained in Lawrence's mind as a possible alternative or supplement to the photographs. By 22 March Lawrence had received the whole typescript of his travel book from Ruth Wheelock and, writing to Mountsier on that date, he promised that he would 'send it at the end of this week. It makes a book about 70,000 words' (iii. 688). In the same letter he ruefully confessed: 'I still haven't managed to get Sardinia photographs; only Sicily. But I don't give up'; also mentioned was his intention to 'do another sketch-book' in collaboration with Juta.

Lawrence received three typed copies of his manuscript (ribbon and two carbons) from Ruth Wheelock and, having revised and corrected them in March, posted two to Mountsier at the end of the month and one to Barbara Low, temporarily his English agent.¹¹ His diary entry for 28 March reads: 'Post to Mountsier and also to Barbara MSS of Sardinia'¹² and his letter of 29 March to Mountsier confirms this: 'Sent you MS. of *Sardinia* yesterday: am still struggling to get photographs, and hope to succeed. I want you to do as you please with this MS. – cut it as you like, I don't care. I'll send you a second (carbon) copy tomorrow' (iii. 695–6). One copy was intended for magazine publication and, as the printer's marks

⁹ A Dutch painter, Marie ('Tuttie') Hubrecht (1865–1950) had inherited Fontana Vecchia as well as Rocca Bella and Rocca Fonte in Taormina, though her home was the Witte Huis, Doorn, near Utrecht. (See *Letters*, iii. 489 n. 2; her portrait of DHL is reproduced opposite p. 322.)

¹⁰ Born in Capetown, South Africa, the British painter Jan Juta (1897–1991) was the son of Sir Henry and Lady Helen (Tait) Juta. He studied at Christ Church (Oxford), the Slade School of Art (London) and Bellas Artes (Madrid). After meeting Juta in March 1920 in Taormina, DHL subsequently visited him at Anticoli-Corrado that August. In 1926 Juta emigrated to the USA where he remained until his death.

¹¹ Barbara Low (1877–1955) was a pioneer of psychoanalysis in England and had stayed with the Lawrences in 1916. See *Letters*, iii. 41 n. 3.

¹² Tedlock, *Lawrence MSS* 92. DHL often referred to a typescript as MS.

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confirm (see below), was so used. On 31 March Lawrence wrote again to Mountsier¹³ enclosing photographs of Sicily which he had managed to get, and on 4 April he sent some to Curtis Brown, now his English agent (iii. 700). In his letter of 31 March to Mountsier, he had also suggested alternative titles for the book:

Use what title you like for *Sardinia*:

- A Moment of Sardinia
- A Swoop on Sardinia
- A Dash through Sardinia
- Sardinian Films or
- Films of Sicily and Sardinia
- the ‘Diary’ title was merely provisional. (iii. 696)

Early in April Lawrence set out on his travels again, visiting Palermo, Capri, Rome and Florence and, at the end of the month, he joined Frieda in Baden-Baden, Germany, where he was finally to complete *Aaron’s Rod*. His negotiations to have what would be called *Sea and Sardinia* published, however, continued. Lawrence had instructed Barbara Low on 4 April to hand over to Curtis Brown various manuscripts which she held (iii. 699) and presumably her typescript copy of *Sea and Sardinia* went to him shortly thereafter, for on 22 April Lawrence, after discussing the title and illustrations of *Sea and Sardinia* with him, asked Curtis Brown to show ‘Secker the various MSS. as soon as you conveniently can’ (iii. 705). Secker, however, never did see a typescript of *Sea and Sardinia*, as subsequent correspondence reveals. By the end of April Lawrence was still attempting to find enough appropriate photographs but also considering using Jutta’s proposed paintings on their own, as his letter to Curtis Brown suggests:

I am still struggling for photographs of Sardinia itself. – And a friend of mine, Jan Jutta, is just going to Sardinia to paint suitable illustrations for the book – in flat colour. I want you to wait for his pictures before you publish the *book*: for magazine publication, go ahead as you think best. The title for Sardinia book Mountsier objected to. I suggested others: Sardinia Films, for example. – (iii. 705)

His working title continued to be ‘Sardinia’ or ‘the Sardinia book’; it is not known how the final title was chosen. Possibly Mountsier, on his visit to Lawrence in Baden-Baden early in July, or Thomas Seltzer (Lawrence’s American publisher) suggested it, but *Sea and Sardinia* first appears in

¹³ According to this letter DHL posted the second typescript to Mountsier on this date, not on 30 March as he had originally intended: ‘I am sending you a second copy by this mail’ (iii. 696).

correspondence on 30 July as a settled choice (iv. 58). As for the illustrations, on 17 May Lawrence wrote to Marie Hubrecht: 'Juta is in Sardinia painting illustrations for a book of travel-sketches of Sardinia, which I did in the spring' (iii. 727), and although thereafter he still occasionally refers to the possibility of including some photographs, he was now firmly committed to illustrating his book mainly by means of Juta's paintings.

Although Lawrence was to speak modestly of *Sea and Sardinia* as 'a slight travel book' (iv. 114), it was an important part of the record of his development as an artist and of the maturing of his vision. Like many of the post-war writings, *Sea and Sardinia* expresses his disenchantment with Italian and European politics and post-war commercialism, and the account of his journey across the island criticises some of the political and social ideologies which formed Western civilisation and which Lawrence felt had signally failed to prevent the Great War. At the same time, passages in the book also reveal his fascination with human psychology, especially with those obscure but powerful forces which shape the unconscious and which he felt determine our being. It is worth remembering that in this period Lawrence completed *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* and in June 1921 began *Fantasia of the Unconscious*. Thus, in the account of the Paladin cycle enacted by the marionettes in the last chapter of *Sea and Sardinia*, Lawrence recognises that the drama is a myth of timeless and universal significance, 'enacted by symbolic creatures, formed out of human consciousness' (189:35–6). In his journey through the wild and primitive Sardinian landscape, Lawrence also discovered more of his own inner landscape and reaffirmed his belief in humanity's power to achieve integration and wholeness.

So that for us to go to Italy and to *penetrate* into Italy is like a most fascinating act of self-discovery—back, back down the old ways of time. Strange and wonderful chords awake in us, and vibrate again after many hundreds of years of complete forgetfulness.

And then—and then—there is a final feeling of sterility. It is all worked out. It is all known: *connu, connu!*

This Sunday morning, seeing the frost among the tangled, still savage bushes of Sardinia, my soul thrilled again. This was not all known. This was not all worked out. Life was not only a process of rediscovering backwards. It is that, also: and it is that intensely ... But this morning in the omnibus I realise that, apart from the great rediscovery backwards, which one *must* make before one can be whole at all, there is a move forwards. There are unknown, unworked lands where the salt has not lost its savour. But one must have perfected oneself in the great past first.

(117:4–21)

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The passage expresses an idea found in many of Lawrence's writings: the sense in which the known past is at once complete and finished, and yet it is also that past which fertilises the present and the future. The question for Lawrence, as for each generation – and especially for that which witnessed the collapse of Western symbols and values in the Great War – was always how to achieve a sense of continuity and wholeness, how to regain the spirit of the human adventure into the unknown. In the travels that were to come after Sardinia – Ceylon and the Far East, Australia, the Americas and Europe – and in the literature that arose out of them, Lawrence sought through other cultures and civilisations to understand the unchanging laws of human nature which had governed man in the past. These, he believed, must also be valid for modern man and for the complex fabric of this century's civilisation. It is in this sense that Lawrence spoke of *Sea and Sardinia* as 'an exact and *real* travel book' (iv. 27).

Publication

If the actual writing and revision of *Sea and Sardinia* were rapid and straightforward, the history of its book and magazine publication, and the securing of the illustrations Lawrence wanted, were quite another matter. From the first Lawrence was reluctant to allow Secker to publish the book: 'Secker wants very much to see *Sardinia*. – I think I would rather another publisher did *Sardinia*' he wrote on 1 June to Mountsier (iii. 730), and similarly on 7 June to Curtis Brown:

I don't want Secker to have the *Sardinia* book. It would fall dead flat. It may be no publisher will be very keen on it. But let us see . . . I want a publisher who will make a color book – John Lane or Heinemann or Blackie – and not funk it. I am willing to have very small royalty if cost of production is so alarming to the poor souls. Juta will make any little agreement he likes with me: nothing official. – If nobody wants to do the color, let the MS. wait, and we'll try America first. (iv. 27)

A few days later, however, Lawrence began to equivocate and wrote to Secker tentatively agreeing to let him see the text of his travel book: 'I'll tell C[urtis] B[rown] to let you see it without more ado, *if you think the color illustrations possible*' (iv. 35). At the same time he was negotiating with Seltzer for publication in the USA, and indeed in a letter dated 17 June Seltzer wrote to Mountsier confirming that he had received a typescript of the travel book: 'Your sister was at my office the day before yesterday and gave me some poems and the MS on Sardinia.'¹⁴

¹⁴ Lacy, *Seltzer* 206. Mabel Mountsier (1871–1976) who later read the proofs of *Sea and Sardinia* (see below).

Finding publishers interested in *Sardinia* was not difficult; finding ones who would accept the cost of including colour illustrations, was. Although he had not yet seen them, Lawrence was determined that Juta's pictures would be published and stated this in the strongest possible terms to Secker: 'I'd rather *Sardinia* were never published at all, than minus his contribution'¹⁵ and by 20 June he had set about independently making enquiries about the cost of colour reproductions in Germany (iv. 39). Five of Juta's eight pictures arrived on 23 June to Lawrence's delight: 'I like them *very* much, and Frieda is enraptured' (iv. 42). Lawrence immediately sent them to a Stuttgart printer, Max Schreiber, for an estimate and originally suggested they appear separately from the book:

I shall contrive if possible that they be printed unreduced, the size they now are, and sold as a separate loose folio with a foreword from me, but *in conjunction* with my book: that is, 12/6 for book and folio together, and book 7/6, pictures 7/6 apart. Something like that, if it can possibly be managed. Publisher must bear all cost . . . And we want the thing out if possible by 1st November. (iv. 42-3)

The November date for publication was optimistic, however. By the end of June the estimates for colour reproduction had come and Lawrence had to modify his wish for them to be printed full-size, as he wrote to Juta:

Today the answer from the printer: cheap. Marks 4.50 per square centimetre: that is, for a picture about the size we want it – exactly *half* your picture, each way – which is 13 × 10 cm. – the cost of *engraving the plate* for *four-colour* process would be 600 Marks. The exchange is now 260 or 265 M. to the £1. So that the engraving of the block would cost about £2.50. I enquired in England from the Medici press – 6/6 per square inch, for *3-color* process: which would amount to about £5. for the same picture-block. So here we gain. I calculate £18. would make us the eight blocks, and the size exactly *half* your picture each way . . .

I write now to ask the cost of 2,000 printed copies of each.

I expect Mountsier the end of the week. Then we will force the hands of the publishers. Seltzer and Secker between them ought joyfully to pay *all costs* and you a small royalty into the bargain. I'm not going to let them off.

The bigger the size, the increase in cost is so enormous that we'll stick to this size, $\frac{1}{2}$ yours, more or less, and bind them in the book . . .

I look forward to the arrival of the remaining three designs. We must cut out the titles. Consider carefully the appearance of the sheet. I think we might put just the place name – Orosei – Terranova – rather small, under the right hand corner. Then your signature on the pictures – what about it.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Letters*, iv. 35. See also DHL's letters to Juta (iv. 24) and to Curtis Brown (iv. 27 and 34) about accepting a smaller royalty.

¹⁶ *Letters*, iv. 45. In the end the illustrations were indeed half-size and bound in the first American and English editions.

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From this letter it seems that Lawrence had firmly decided to publish with Secker, as well as Seltzer, but that he also had an eye to periodical publication with Juta's colour illustrations, if possible, as his letter to Curtis Brown indicates: 'Now it seems to me we ought to be able to raise enough money for these – between England and New York. I wrote Seltzer yesterday. If there should be a magazine chance, the pictures could be printed on pages to fit.'¹⁷ On 4 July Lawrence received the last three paintings (iv. 48) and by 9 July he had posted them to Curtis Brown before himself leaving for Zell-am-See: 'I send you here the eight pictures of Sardinia which Juta forwarded me from Rome' (iv. 52). A few days later Curtis Brown wrote to Mountsier about publishing the book in the USA, suggesting that perhaps Medici would undertake the colour reproductions.¹⁸ Certainly by 16 July an understanding had been reached that Seltzer would publish the travel book, as his letter to Mountsier indicates: 'The book on Sardinia with the illustrations Lawrence proposes would be very good for Christmas but I doubt whether it can be gotten ready in time for this year. I shall do my best.'¹⁹

On 30 July Lawrence wrote to Seltzer himself and repeated his hope that extracts and illustrations from the book would also appear in periodical form, mentioning Scofield Thayer, the editor of the *Dial*, as a possibility: 'Curtis Brown will have sent you the Juta pictures. I do hope you'll like them and have them reproduced. And I do hope Thayer will print one or two articles from *Sea and Sardinia* in the *Dial*, and so help to pay for the pictures. Let me know.'²⁰ On the same date he also wrote to Thayer: 'You won't like it, probably, because, as somebody said, it lacks the quality of ecstasy which is usual in Mr Lawrence's work. But I think it is pretty vivid as a flash-light travel-book' (iv. 58–9). A week later Lawrence wrote to Curtis Brown again, confirming his wish to publish the book with Seltzer and Secker and to serialise portions of it with the *Dial* and the *Mercury* (iv. 65–6). He was particularly anxious that Seltzer should produce the book and co-operate in its serialisation as soon as possible: 'I want Seltzer to hurry up with *Sardinia*: that I want out this autumn. Have you spoken of it

¹⁷ *Letters*, iv. 47; cf. n. 2:

A MS in the Curtis Brown archive (UT) indicates that Juta sent to Brown the (undated) estimate DHL received from Max Schreiber. In an unknown hand the following instruction was written at the end of the printer's estimate: 'It must be made plain to any English publisher that he cannot hold the Juta pictures longer than Aug. 1, because they absolutely must go to America soon for book, and possibly magazine, publication.'

¹⁸ Letter from Curtis Brown to Mountsier, 14 July 1921 (UT).

¹⁹ Lacy, *Seltzer* 211.

²⁰ *Letters*, iv. 58; see also letter to Mountsier on the same date, pp. 59–60.

to Secker' (iv. 69). Seltzer's letter to Mountsier of 20 August confirms his wish to accommodate Lawrence:

1 – The Juta pictures have just been rescued from the Custom House after a lot of red tape, covering more than a week.

2 – The Dial has not received the manuscript of *Sea and Sardinia*. To-day, as soon as I got the illustrations, I sent them over with my manuscript of *Sardinia* to Gilbert Seldes (Thayer, you know, is in Europe now) and expect a decision from him within a few days. I think the Juta paintings very good. They will make a striking book. Of course, if you insist on 15% royalty, the price of it will be sky high. I hope they will pay it.²¹

Negotiations for the colour reproductions of Juta's paintings continued through Curtis Brown. The final estimates of costs, and the means by which the prints were made, are not known, but Seltzer eventually agreed to pay the costs. Curtis Brown warned Lawrence that Secker, however, was doubtful about including colour reproductions at all, although 'if he can get them reasonably from Seltzer that will probably alter his view ... If we can show Secker proofs of the illustrations, and quote good terms, I believe all will be well.'²² Lawrence duly signed a contract with Seltzer for the publication of *Sea and Sardinia* on 1 September 1921, giving him a 15% royalty on the original American edition and a reduced royalty, to be negotiated between author and publisher, on subsequent 'cheap edition rights'. The agreement states a selling price of \$4 and an advance on royalties of \$300 upon the date of publication, with the provision that the author will 'pay the artist Jan Juta'.²³

Meanwhile negotiations with the *Dial* had been going on to publish extracts from *Sea and Sardinia*. Lawrence wrote again to Thayer on 17 August, reminding him of his earlier interest in travel sketches:

Mountsier said he thought you had seen *Sardinia* and didn't like it. Well, you probably *won't* like it. Yet it was partly your asking for travel sketches à la *Twilight in Italy* which made me write it: half an eye on *The Dial*. So live up to your responsibility ... If I can wring the English MS. of *Sea and Sardinia* out of Curtis Brown ... you shall have it. Send him a line yourself and ask him for it, if you wish.

(iv. 73)

²¹ Lacy, *Seltzer* 213–14. Gilbert Seldes was assistant editor at the *Dial* and was responsible for the extracts from *Sea and Sardinia* while Thayer was in Switzerland.

²² Letter from Curtis Brown to DHL, 25 August 1921 (UT).

²³ The contract is in the possession of UT. The correspondence suggests that DHL's intentions towards Juta were generous: 'I promised to give Juta one-third of my profits on *Sea and Sardinia*. Have not heard from him if he accepts' (iv. 169). Doubtless some equitable financial arrangement was agreed, but there is no further correspondence on the matter (see iv. 366); the editor's interview with Juta in the autumn of 1980 yielded no further information about what DHL actually paid him.

Writing to Mountsier on 20 August, Seltzer confirmed that he had forwarded to the *Dial* his copy of *Sardinia* and Juta's illustrations (see above). The October issue of the *Dial* contained extracts from the first and second chapters 'As far as Palermo' and 'The Sea', and the November issue printed passages from 'Cagliari', 'Mandas', 'To Sorgono' and 'To Nuoro'.²⁴ Neither issue included any of Juta's illustrations.

Lawrence, however, had clearly hoped for more substantial extracts than the *Dial* chose and was disappointed at the way the passages were chosen and linked together: 'Had Dial with scrappy Sea & Sardinia – hate it that they mauled it about',²⁵ although he had earlier instructed Mountsier and Curtis Brown: 'Try and sell this book to periodicals – or part of it. And I don't care how much the editors cut it' (iii. 700). His letter to Mountsier of 31 October also betrays a mounting irritation with the way his publishing affairs were being handled:

Yesterday came from Seltzer the October *Dial*, with a piece of *Sea and Sardinia*, very much cut up. Damn them for that. Last week Ruth Wheelock – of the Amer. Consulate in Palermo – arrived back from New York. She had seen Seltzer. He is bringing out *Sea and Sardinia* at the end of this month, at \$5. a copy. Why don't you tell me this news? And why doesn't Seltzer send me *proofs* even if he doesn't wait to have them back corrected. I like to see them. Why are people so annoying ...

Is Curtis Brown doing anything with *Sea and Sardinia* in England? What is Secker's attitude to it? Shall we let him have it without pictures, if he won't have it with? – or shall we not?
 (iv. 107–8)

Lawrence never saw the American proofs of *Sea and Sardinia* (see also iv. 443). The reason for Seltzer's failure to send proofs to Taormina may be indicated in his letter to Mountsier's sister on 20 October:

Here is the galley proof of Sea & Sardinia. Some passages that might have given offense have already been excised. Please strike out anything else you think

²⁴ *Dial*, lxxi. 441–51 and lxxi. 583–92. For the complicated negotiations between DHL and the *Dial* over *Sea and Sardinia*, *Birds, Beasts and Flowers*, and other works at this time, see Nicholas Joost and Alvin Sullivan, *D. H. Lawrence and 'The Dial'* (Carbondale, 1970), pp. 40–9. The account needs to be read with some caution, however. For example, it is certainly not entirely true that DHL asserted 'he had written *Sea and Sardinia* actually at the suggestion of the editor of the *Dial*' (p. 46) although, as we have seen, his letter of 12 February 1921 (iii. 664) mentions, as is only natural, that a travel book on Sardinia might also be serialised in periodicals. The *Dial* paid \$190 for the extracts (Joost and Sullivan, *Lawrence and 'The Dial'*, p. 48), which were: 14:18–15:22, 17:4–18:22, 20:17–23:2, 44:3–45:19, 65:10–74:11, 75:9–76:22, 97:5–98:20 in the October 1921 issue (lxxi. 441–51); and 99:12–100:2, 103:20–105:5, 105:20–23, 113:1–114:24, 121:12–123:2, 127:3–128:13, 132:1–134:24, 177:14–182:12, 209:14–210:6, 214:13–216:23 in the November 1921 issue (lxxi. 583–92).

²⁵ Diary entry for 30 September 1921, Tedlock, *Lawrence MSS* 93.

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necessary. This is to be a gift book in general and a Christmas gift book in particular and must be absolutely unobjectionable.

We are late with this publication. So I hope you can read the proof and make the necessary eliminations quickly, so that we can return it to the printer before the week is over.²⁶

An examination of the typescript which Seltzer used as setting-copy, however (see below), and a comparison of that with the published version, reveals that Mabel Mountsier made no further 'eliminations'.

Seltzer published *Sea and Sardinia* with eight illustrations by Jan Juta on 12 December 1921 at \$5, though Lawrence had expected the book to come out in November and had made frequent and impatient reference to it in the November and December correspondence with Seltzer.²⁷ He was also anxious to discover what had happened to negotiations with Secker for the English edition of the book: 'Is anything happening in England about *Sea and Sardinia*?' (iv. 129). On 9 January 1922 he finally received a copy of the American edition and thought well of it, calling it 'handsome' (iv. 157), with only slight reservations about the quality of the colour reproductions: 'I think the pictures have come out well – only the reds a bit weary. I do hope Juta will be pleased.' To Juta he wrote on the same day:

Today has come *Sea and Sardinia*, so we are thinking hard of you. I expect you have your copies. What do you think? The reds are disappointing – and there is a certain juiciness about the colours that I don't like – but otherwise they are not bad, I think. Do tell me your impression. I'm sure the text will be a bit of a blow to you – so wintry and unidyllic.²⁸ (iv. 158)

The publishing of *Sea and Sardinia* with Secker, by contrast, took far longer. Negotiations for a contract and terms were proceeding in January 1922, through Curtis Brown. On 11 January Lawrence wrote to Curtis Brown (and a similar letter to Secker) about terms: 'I agree to a royalty of 15% on the published price of the Secker edition of *Sea and Sardinia*. But please eliminate from the contracts that thirteen-copies-count-as-twelve-clause. I consider it unjust. I have mentioned it to Secker' (iv. 163). Relations between Lawrence and Secker were rather strained at this time, partly because Lawrence was angry with Secker's capitulation over threatened libel suits regarding *Women in Love*, and partly because of their disagreement over the five-book contract²⁹ he had signed on 14 April 1920

²⁶ Lacy, *Seltzer* 216.

²⁷ See *Letters*, iv. 114, 119, 123, 129, 131, 137, 143, 145.

²⁸ See also Explanatory notes to 171:19 and 172:8.

²⁹ See 'Introduction' to *Women in Love*, ed. David Farmer, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen (Cambridge, 1987), pp. xlv–xlvii, and *Letters*, iii. 730.

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giving Secker first refusal on the five books following *Women in Love*. Secker maintained that the contract implied five *novels*, while Lawrence and Mountsier rightly pointed out that the wording was *books*. Thus Lawrence felt 'Of course *Sea and Sardinia* will count as one of the five books in the Secker agreement' (iv. 168). The tangled, and sometimes acid, negotiations, compromises and correspondence to which these and other misunderstandings led, are not the concern here, but Lawrence's relations with Secker were certainly far from cordial. Lawrence was also infuriated by the, admittedly standard, clause in his five-book contract where in the calculation of royalties 'thirteen copies shall be reckoned as twelve', hence his instructions to Curtis Brown in the letter above. Writing to his friend Mary Cannan³⁰ on the same date, Lawrence indicated that Secker was 'bargaining with Seltzer for 1000 sheets' (iv. 162) and in a letter to another friend, S. S. Koteliansky,³¹ dated 14 January, he stated: 'Apparently Secker is going to buy sheets of *Sea and Sardinia* from Seltzer. I will send you a copy of that when it appears: which, if I know Secker, will be in about ten months' time' (iv. 165). The sarcastic reference to Secker's dilatoriness was to prove an underestimate, though in fairness to Secker it must be added that he was very anxious to publish *Sea and Sardinia* and entirely frustrated by Seltzer's refusal to send him sheets and illustrations.

Lawrence signed a separate contract with Secker on 20 January 1922 which specified that the latter would 'publish the said work during the spring of 1922',³² so Secker clearly had every intention of publishing the book quickly. Curtis Brown's letter to Mountsier of 25 January confirms this: 'I am glad to say that Secker has now agreed to take an edition in sheets from Seltzer of "SEA AND SARDINIA"'.³³ In another letter to Mary Cannan dated 27 January, Lawrence notes: 'I hear Secker is buying sheets complete from Seltzer to bring it out in April or May' (iv. 179). Both Lawrence's and Secker's hopes for a spring 1922 publication date,

³⁰ Mary Cannan (1867–1950), former wife of Sir James Barrie, married Gilbert Cannan (1884–1955), the novelist and dramatist, in 1910. She and her husband had known the Lawrences since 1914.

³¹ Samuel Solomonovich Koteliansky (1880–1955), moved to England in July 1911 and lived there for the rest of his life. He was a close friend of DHL's, whom he met in 1914. He translated many Russian works into English in collaboration with a number of English authors, including DHL.

³² The diary entry for 27 January 1922 reads: 'sent Sardinia agreements back to Curtis B. signed' (Tedlock, *Lawrence MSS* 95). The contract, separate from the one specifying 'five books', contained terms similar to those between DHL and Seltzer; that is, a 15% royalty on the English edition and 10% on any cheaper editions (i.e. 'at less than half the original price').

³³ Letter from Curtis Brown to Mountsier, 25 January 1922 (UT).

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however, were frustrated. First, there were further negotiations about terms in February, relayed through Curtis Brown, with Lawrence attempting to renegotiate royalties (even though he had signed and returned Secker's contract):

About Secker. I agree that if *Sardinia* counts as one of the five books, the short stories need not count.³⁴ I agree to the £35 advance on royalties. But dont you think the 15% royalty should rise to 20% after the first 2000 are sold: or at *least* after the first 3000? I think so myself, decidedly. (iv. 183)

By 19 February however, Lawrence had wearied of the whole business, reversed his previous stand, and simply instructed Curtis Brown to let Secker proceed:

Let Secker go ahead with *Sea and Sardinia*. Did I ever insist that it *should* be one of the five books? – I dont think I did. Because of course I realise it is a limited selling book. And I want him to do it. I think you have mistaken me about it. Anyhow I don't feel it need count as one of the five. (iv. 199)

He was certainly under the impression that Seltzer would be sending sheets to Secker well in time for a spring publication date as his letter of 17 February to Koteliansky indicates: 'I ordered you *Sea and Sardinia* from Secker – tell me if he sends it' (iv. 194). But Seltzer and Secker disagreed on terms. Seltzer wanted Secker to buy bound copies from him, whereas Secker insisted on purchasing sheets and was unhappy with the proposed costs;³⁵ in the end Seltzer never sent sheets. His failure to do so (like his subsequent refusal to send proofs of *Aaron's Rod* to Secker) may have been dictated by financial considerations, but he was also annoyed with the English publisher over *Women in Love*, as his letter to Mountsier on 25 May suggests:

Can't do anything with Secker as he will not buy the bound copies and I don't see my way to printing a second edition before we have sold at least half of our first edition. Moreover, Secker has not yet paid us the bill, long past due, for *Women in Love*. We can't get a check from him, nor can we get him to say anything about it.³⁶

Also, sales of *Sea and Sardinia* in the USA were disappointing (only 685 copies by the summer of 1922) and led to further negotiations and correspondence between Lawrence, Curtis Brown, Mountsier, Juta and Seltzer.³⁷ The poor sales must have contributed to Seltzer's reluctance to

³⁴ Those in the volume *England, My England*. See also *Letters*, iv. 183 n. 5.

³⁵ Letter from Curtis Brown to Mountsier, 17 March 1922 (UT).

³⁶ Lacy, *Seltzer* 223.

³⁷ Correspondence on terms and the royalty question includes: *Letters*, iv. 278; letter from Mountsier to Seltzer, 18 October 1921 (UT); Lacy, *Seltzer* 230, 243. For *Sea and Sardinia*