'it is hard to imagine that this biography will soon be superseded'.

Sir Frank Kermode, The Guardian

"... a remarkable and outstanding achievement ... informed by the kind of insight into personal relations that is the mark not of an academic but of a considerable novelist".

## H. M. Daleski, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

'[This is] a work of impeccable scholarship, and comes provided with an impressive apparatus of notes, appendices, chronological tables, family trees, an exemplary index, and complete lists of Lawrence's prose and verse writings in the relevant period, making it an invaluable resource for serious students of Lawrence; but it is also written in a lucid, unpretentious style which lay readers will find accessible and enjoyable.'

## David Lodge, The New York Review of Books

'This is a superb biography. Apart from the compelling narrative there are judicious excursions into the mix of rurality and the mining industry that formed the background to Lawrence's life. There are portraits of the family members and . . . insights into Lawrence's admiring bluestockings and into the less well-known early works that led up to *Sons and Lovers* . . . Cambridge have already given us . . . a decent edition of Lawrence's fiction; now they are embarked on what should be the definitive life.'

## Anthony Curtis, The Financial Times

'[Worthen] has researched deeply, reading everything even remotely relevant, and is able to be authoritative where others have conjectured. [This] is a warm as well as a serious book, for he clearly loves his subject, and makes us share his feeling. The theme of the development of the miner's son and sickly scholarship boy with warring parents is a wonderful one, and he grasps all its possibilities in the 500 pages of his narrative.'

Claire Tomalin, The Independent on Sunday

'One of this biography's great merits is that Worthen understands the dangers of creating a life from a work of fiction. He uses Lawrence's fiction intelligently. He never forgets that even the most apparently autobiographical novels rearrange real events in order to make an artistic point. They cannot be trusted, as too many biographers trust them, to do the biographer's work for him. The other great merit, apart from the wonderfully detailed and engrossing reconstruction of a period and a society, is its attitude to Lawrence himself. Worthen is unfailingly sympathetic, as a biographer should be, yet he never falls into the trap of supposing his hero to be perfect . . . This definitive book will be a hard act . . . to follow.'

## Allan Massie, Weekend Telegraph

'Worthen's depiction of Eastwood is on something of a scholarly par with Lawrence's evocation of it in *Sons and Lovers*.'

Janet Byrne, The New York Times Book Review

'Literary scholars who thought they knew Lawrence and his circle well will be suprised by the subtlety, aptness, and psychological nuance of Worthen's presentation and interpretation. It is as if for the first time we see Lawrence whole . . . this persuasive biography is compulsive reading from cover to cover. A major event in modern literary studies.'

Keith Cushman, Library Journal

'Worthen sets the record straight in a thousand little ways, and there emerges a complex genius, ruthless, sensitive and fully alive.'

Publishers' Weekly

'... extremely thorough and careful ...'

Jeffrey Meyers

# The Cambridge Biography

# D. H. LAWRENCE

# 1885-1930

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# DAVID ELLIS

## MARK KINKEAD-WEEKES

## JOHN WORTHEN

The author of *The early years*, 1885–1912, John Worthen, was born in London during the Second World War and educated at Downing College, Cambridge and the University of Kent. He is the author of several books on D. H. Lawrence, most recently *D. H. Lawrence: A Literary Life*, and has edited a number of Lawrence's works for Cambridge University Press. Having taught in America, Scotland and England, he now lives in South Wales, where he is Professor of English at the University College of Swansea.

# D. H. LAWRENCE

THE EARLY YEARS

1885-1912

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JOHN WORTHEN



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To M and F

It is perhaps absurd for any man to write his own autobiography. The one person I find it impossible to 'know', is myself. I have dozens of little pictures of what purports to be myself, and which is me? None of them. The little animal is now a bigger animal. But what sort of animal it is, I do not know, and do not vastly care.

The little animal was a pasty-faced boy born to have bronchitis and a weak chest, but otherwise lively enough. A little animal that

#### D. H. Lawrence: 'Mushrooms' (University of Cincinnati)

What separates us from the characters about whom we write is not knowledge, either objective or subjective, but their experience of time in the story we are telling. This separation allows us, the storytellers, the power of knowing the whole. Yet, equally, this separation renders us powerless: we cannot control our characters, after the narration has begun. We are obliged to follow them, and this following is through and across the time, which they are living and which we oversee.

The time, and therefore the story, belongs to them. Yet the meaning of the story, what makes it worthy of being told, is what we can see and what inspires us because we are beyond its time.

John Berger: 'Once Through a Lens' (1984)

Oh, I could go on and on for pages about Christie's young life, inventing and observing, remembering and borrowing. But why? All is chaos and unexplainable. These things happened. He is as he is, you are as you are. Act on that: all is chaos. The end is coming, truly. It is just so much wasted effort to attempt to understand anything.

Lots of people never had a chance, are ground down, and other clichés. Far from kicking against the pricks, they love their condition and vote conservative.

B. S. Johnson: Christie Malry's Own Double-Entry (1973)

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#### THE CAMBRIDGE BIOGRAPHY OF D. H. LAWRENCE

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## **AUTHORS' PREFACE**

The need for a new Biography of a writer about whose life – to put it mildly – much has been written, arises from the mass of new information in the Cambridge collected *Letters* and *Works*, which makes all existing biographies out of date. This can be said without insult or injury to previous biographers, whose work we gratefully acknowledge. But it would be strange indeed if over two thousand unpublished letters and postcards, the editing and annotation of the thousands previously known, and the researches of an international team into how and when each of the writings came into existence, did not substantially alter and correct the existing picture of Lawrence's life. We are deeply indebted to all the Cambridge editors who have allowed us access to their work, published and unpublished.

No amount of new material, however, can make any biographical overview the final word, and we express this conviction in the form of one work by three authors: not only a new 'Life' but also, we believe, a new kind of biography. Each author has taken responsibility for a different period of Lawrence's life, the first volume ending with the completion of Sons and Lovers, the second with Lawrence's departure from Europe in 1922. From the beginning, we have collaborated very closely, and subjected one another's work to intensive scrutiny and comment. We have acted as research assistants to one another, have challenged the half-conscious tendency of every biographer to turn a blind eye to inconvenient items of evidence and have argued out fundamental positions. Nevertheless, though the whole will be joint work - in that sense - from first to last, each author is finally responsible for the Lawrence who emerges from his particular period. Three Lawrences, striking the reader as both the same and different, will (we believe) answer all the more to ordinary experience of other people.

There might seem, however, to be danger here of dissonant or even contradictory answers to the question of who Lawrence was and what he was really like. Can three people, however closely they work together, be sufficiently in harmony to capture Lawrence's identity? It seems to us that the assumptions which prompt such questions are dubious. Our culture

#### AUTHORS' PREFACE

does often appear bound by the idea of a personal core or centre, an 'essential self', out of which character grows in a process of development. Yet in Lawrence's own writings, though there is plenty of support for the notion of an essential self, there is also a characteristic and no less powerful emphasis on fluidity and change. It was Lawrence who denounced 'the old stable ego of the character' in the kinds of novel he no longer wanted to write, and whose preferred way of imagining his progress through life was in terms of rebirth, again and again, into new states of being. To have three people write his life is an explicit (even dramatic) acknowledgement that, however important the continuities, the Lawrence of the last years (for example) is so different from the 10-year-old who visited the Haggs Farm. that it sometimes seems only by accident that they share the same name. There is a hardly less striking and significant difference between the writer who sent off Sons and Lovers to its publisher in November 1912, and the author of Women in Love expelled from Cornwall, by order of the military authorities, less than five years later.

There are of course important continuities in Lawrence's life, because certain elements in his nature remained constant: he himself felt, at the age of 43, that 'I am somewhere still the same Bert who rushed with such joy to the Haggs.' We are confident that we agree enough about these not to produce a contradictory effect upon readers of all three volumes. Our biography overall, and our individual volumes themselves, will not however show Lawrence's life evolving with steady emotional logic from initial premises. Of all the dangers biographers have to fear, the so-called 'genetic fallacy' - explanation in terms of origins - should be less in evidence here. We have learned to distrust hindsight, because reading the later man back into the earlier always implies determinism. We believe that our one work by three writers, each allowing his particular material rather than any overview to dictate his form, will produce the necessary tension between a continuous and a continuously changing Lawrence, in a way that no synoptic view could achieve. In biographies which succeed in rising above the conscientious enumeration of one thing after another, a pattern of interpretation is established early, and later events are then selected and arranged with a predictability which plays false to the actualities and unexpectedness of life - especially life as our subject himself saw it.

Avoiding this predictability, through three points of view, has seemed to us very important – and we hope our procedure has an additional advantage. Because our biography is based on more documentary evidence than any previous one, and because (unlike some biographers) we have always acknowledged Lawrence to be a writer, each volume has to be detailed, and long – and for the reader to find the same manner in three lengthy books

### AUTHORS' PREFACE

might be more than flesh and blood could bear. Variety of approach will at least mean variety of style: three different voices to tell Lawrence's story – but at the same time give the lie, by their very difference, to the idea that any single view, however detailed and comprehensive, could ever be 'definitive'; any pattern of interpretation *the* pattern.

David Ellis – Mark Kinkead-Weekes – John Worthen Canterbury – Ramsgate – Swansea March 1990

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### Between pages 194 and 195

- 1. The Lawrence Family 1897
- 2. Lydia Lawrence c. 1900
- 3. Arthur Lawrence c. 1875
- 4. D. H. Lawrence c. 1886
- 5. Ernest Lawrence 1901
- 6. Gipsy Dennis 1901
- 7. Emily Lawrence c. 1905
- 8. Eastwood 1900
- 9. Brinsley Colliery
- 10. 8a, Victoria Street
- 11. 57, The Breach
- 12. D. H. Lawrence March 1905
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- 14. D. H. Lawrence September 1906
- 15. D. H. Lawrence c. summer 1908
- 16. D. H. Lawrence c. December 1908
- 17. D. H. Lawrence c. December 1908
- 18. Walter Lawrence c. 1003
- 19. Harriet Lawrence c. 1900
- 20. The Chambers Family c. 1898
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- 22. Jessie Chambers c. 1908
- 23. 'Last Words to Muriel'
- 24. 'Campions' and 'Last Words to Muriel'
- 25. Ada Lawrence and Frances Cooper c. 1900
- 26. Ada Lawrence c. 1907

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- 27. Lydia Lawrence c. September 1910
- 28. Lydia Lawrence c. September 1910

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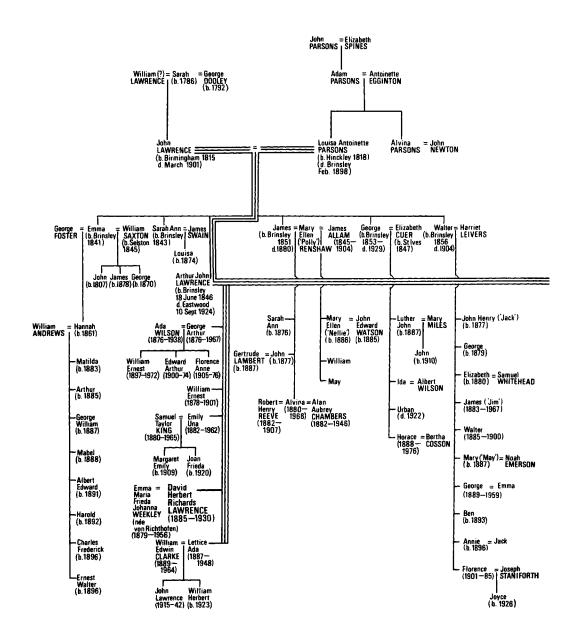
- 29. Helen Corke c. 1906
- 30. Louie Burrows c. 1910
- 31. Alice and Harry Dax with Phyllis and Eric 1915
- 32. Marie and John Jones c. 1906
- 33. Friedrich von Richthofen 1870
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- 36. Frieda von Richthofen and Ernest Weekley 1898 or 1899
- 37. Agnes and Charles Weekley, Ernest and Frieda Weekley c. 1900
- 38. Frieda Weekley with Montague and Barbara 1905
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- 40. Edgar and Else Jaffe with Friedel, Peter and Marianne 1907
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- 44. Otto Gross c. 1914
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- 46. Frieda Weekley c. 1912
- 47. Dominicus-Hütte c. 1912
- 48. Villa and Gargnano c. 1912
- 49. Villa de Paoli and Villa Igea, Villa c. 1930
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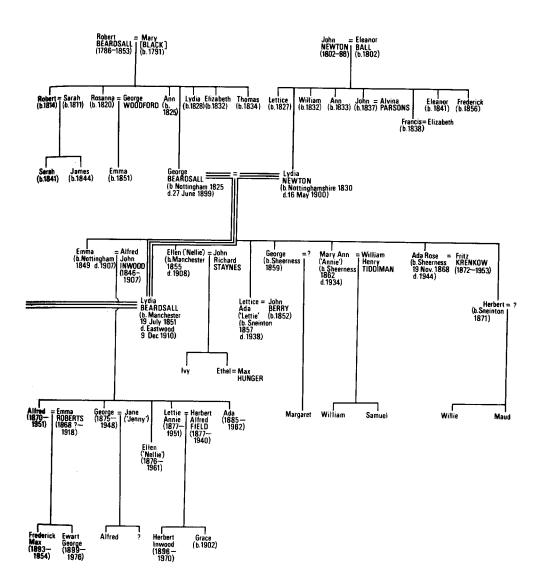
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Family Tree





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# CHRONOLOGY

# (The chronology of Lawrence's writing will be found in Appendices I and II.)

DHL=D. H. Lawrence	Frieda=Frieda Weekley, née von Richthofen
? December 1815	John Lawrence born, Deritend, Birming- ham
1825	George Beardsall born, Nottingham
27 February 1838	John Lawrence marries Louisa Antoin- ette Parsons, Old Radford, Notting- ham
18 June 1846	Arthur John Lawrence born, Brinsley
26 December 1847	George Beardsall marries Lydia Newton, Sneinton, Nottingham
19 July 1851	Lydia Beardsall born, Ancoats, Manches- ter
27 December 1875	Arthur John Lawrence marries Lydia Beardsall, Sneinton, Nottingham
26 September 1876	George Arthur Lawrence born, Brinsley
22 July 1878	William Ernest Lawrence born, New Cross
11 August 1879	Frieda born, Metz
24 February 1880	James Lawrence killed, Brinsley pit
21 March 1882	Emily Una Lawrence born, New Cross
1883	Lawrence family moves to 8a, Victoria Street, Eastwood
11 September 1885	DHL born, Eastwood
29 January 1887	Jessie Chambers born, Carlton
16 June 1887	Lettice Ada Lawrence born, Eastwood
late 1887	Lawrence family moves to 57, The Breach, Eastwood
20 May–20 October 1889	DHL attends Infant section, Beauvale Board School xxiii

CHRONOLOGY

1891	Lawrence family moves to 3, Walker Street, Eastwood
1892-8	DHL attends Boys' section, Beauvale Board School
1898	Chambers family moves to Haggs Farm, Underwood, Notts.
14 September 1898–July 1901	DHL attends Nottingham High School
20 March 1900	Arrest of DHL's uncle Walter Lawrence for manslaughter
13 July 1900	Trial and release of Walter Lawrence
July 1901	DHL leaves Nottingham High School
? late September–December	Clerk with J. H. Haywood Ltd, Not- tingham
11 October 1901	Death of DHL's brother Ernest Lawrence
late December 1901	DHL ill with pneumonia
c. April 1902	Month at Skegness convalescing
October 1902–July 1905	Pupil-teacher at British School, East- wood
31 October 1903	Peterborough, Skegness
21 November 1903	Arthur Lawrence fractures leg, Brinsley pit
March 1904	DHL begins part-time attendance at Pupil-teacher Centre, Ilkeston
4 April 1904	Death of Walter Lawrence
5 November 1904	Emily Lawrence marries Sam King, Eastwood
December 1904	DHL sits King's Scholarship Examina- tion
19 December 1904	Arthur Lawrence injured, Brinsley pit
early 1905	Lawrence family moves to 97, Lynn Croft, Eastwood
June 1905	DHL at Great Yarmouth, Hunstanton, etc.
late June 1905	Sits University of London Matriculation Examination
August 1905–September 1906	Uncertificated assistant teacher at British School, Eastwood
Easter 1906	Break with Jessie Chambers
August 1906	Lawrence family holiday at Mablethorpe, Lincolnshire

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CHRONOLOGY

October 1906–June 1908	DHL student at University College, Nottingham
10–24 August 1907	Lawrence family holiday at Robin Hood's Bay, Yorkshire
30 September 1907	Emily King's first child born dead
7 December 1907	'A Prelude' in Nottinghamshire Guardian
19 March 1908	'Art and the Individual' read to Eastwood Debating Society
June–July 1908	Sits Nottingham University College examinations
8–22 August 1908	Lawrence family holiday at Flam- borough, Yorkshire
16–24 September 1908	DHL at 50, Dulverton Rd, Leicester, with Ada and Fritz Krenkow
25 September 1908	Unsuccessful interview for teaching post in Stockport
26 September–3 October 1908	London: interviewed in Croydon
11 October–23 December	Croydon: certificated assistant teacher at
1908	Davidson Road School
24 October 1908	Hampton Court
7 November 1908	Epsom, Dorking, Reigate
14 November 1908	Barnet
5 December 1908	London
23 December 1908–10 January 1909	Eastwood for Christmas holidays
10 January–8 April 1909	Croydon
9 February 1909	Emily King's daughter Margaret born
8–18 April 1909	DHL at Eastwood for Easter holidays
18 April–28 May 1909	Croydon
8–9 May 1909	Brighton, Rottingdean
22 May 1909	Caterham
28 May–6 June 1909	Eastwood for Whitsuntide holiday (attends Mabel Cooper's wedding on 2 June)
6 June–29 July 1909	Croydon
29-31 July 1909	Harrow-on-the-Hill
31 July-14 August 1909	Lawrence family holiday at Shanklin, Isle of Wight
14–29 August 1909	DHL at Eastwood for Summer holidays
29 August-23 December 1909	Croydon
c. 11 September 1909	London to meet Ford Madox Hueffer

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CHRONOLOGY

November 1909	Sequence of poems, 'A Still Afternoon', in English Review
14 November 1909	London and Hampstead (further visits on 16 and 20 November)
27-8 November 1909	Jessie Chambers visits DHL in London
11–12 December 1909	DHL in London
23 December 1909–9 January	Eastwood for Christmas holidays
1910	
9 January–24 March 1910	Croydon
21 January 1910	London
February 1910	'Goose Fair' in English Review
8-11 February 1910	Ill and absent from school
9 March 1910	Hampstead
?19 March 1910	London with Alice Dax
25 March-3 April 1910	Eastwood for Easter holidays
3 April-13 May 1910	Croydon
13-22 May 1910	Eastwood for Whitsuntide holidays
22 May-28 July 1910	Croydon
23 July 1910	London
28 July-6 August 1910	Eastwood and Nottingham for Summer holidays
1 August 1910	Breaks 'betrothal of six years standing' to Jessie Chambers
6–12 August 1910	Holiday with George Neville in Black- pool, Fleetwood and Barrow-in-Fur- ness
c. 10 August 1910	Lydia Lawrence falls ill in Leicester
12-22 August 1910	DHL in Eastwood, with visits to Leices-
	ter
22–8 August 1910	Leicester
28 August–4 September 1910	Croydon
4 September 1910	Leicester
4 September-6 October 1910	Croydon
?late September 1910	Lydia Lawrence brought back to East-
<b>•</b> <i>•</i>	wood
October 1910	'Three Poems' in English Review
6-9 October 1910	DHL in Eastwood: visits Nottingham's
	Goose Fair: sees Louie Burrows
9–21 October 1910	Croydon
21-3 October 1910	Eastwood
23 October-4 November 1910	Croydon

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CHRONOLOGY

4-7 November 1910	Eastwood
7-23 November 1910	Croydon
23 November-13 December 1910	Eastwood
2 December 1910	Copy of <i>The White Peacock</i> for Lydia Lawrence arrives
3 December 1910	Leicester: becomes engaged to Louie Burrows
9 December 1910	Lydia Lawrence dies
11 December 1910	DHL meets Jessie Chambers, gives her poems
12 December 1910	Lydia Lawrence buried
13-24 December 1910	DHL in Croydon
24-31 December 1910	Christmas holidays in Brighton with Ada Lawrence and Frances Cooper
31 December 1910–8 January	Quorn (home of Louie Burrows)
1911	
8 January-14 April 1911	Croydon
19 January 1911	<i>The White Peacock</i> published in New York (20 January in London)
9 March 1911	Lawrence family moves to Queen's Square, Eastwood
14–23 April 1911	DHL in Eastwood and probably Quorn for Easter holidays
17 April 1911	Matlock with Louie Burrows
23 April-4 June 1911	Croydon
13 May 1911	With Louie Burrows in London (includ- ing Buckingham Palace and West- minster Abbey)
June 1911	'Odour of Chrysanthemums' in English Review
4–11 June 1911	Quorn, Eastwood and Leicester for Whitsuntide holidays
11–17 June 1911	Croydon
17–25 June 1911	Quorn and Eastwood (holiday for George V's Coronation)
25 June–27 July 1911	Croydon
12 July 1911	Dover
19 July 1911	London
27 July 1911	Quorn
28 July 1911	Eastwood

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CHRONOLOGY

29 July-12 August 1911

12–19 August 1911 19–?21 August 1911 22–7 August 1911 27 August–27 October 1911 September 1911

13-15 October 1911

27–9 October 1911 29 October 1911–4 January 1912 November 1911

4 November 1911 18–19 November 1911 19 November–22 December 1911 24 December 1911–4 January 1912 January 1912

4–6 January 1912 6 January-3 February 1912 3–9 February 1912 4 February 1912 9 February-3 March 1912 13 February 1912

14 February 1912 ?3 March 1912

3-8 March 1912 8-25 March 1912 17 March 1912 between 18 and 23 March 1912

Summer holidays in North Wales with Louie Burrows and Ada Lawrence: later joined by George Neville Eastwood, Eakring Shirebrook, with Harry and Alice Dax Eastwood, Lincoln, Quorn Croydon 'A Fragment of Stained Glass' in English Review Visits Edward Garnett at 'The Cearne', near Edenbridge, Kent Quorn and Eastwood Croydon Review of Contemporary German Poetry in English Review Two poems in Nation 'The Cearne': falls ill Ill with pneumonia and absent from school Louie Burrows in Croydon Reviews of The Minnesingers and The Oxford Book of German Verse in English Review

DHL with Louie Burrows at Redhill DHL at Bournemouth for convalescence

"The Cearne"

Breaks engagement with Louie Burrows Eastwood, with visits to Nottingham

Meets Louie Burrows in Nottingham; sequel 'which startled me'

Meets Alice Dax in Nottingham

Visits Professor Ernest Weekley, meets Frieda: sees Chambers family at Arno Vale in afternoon: to Shirebrook

Shirebrook, with Alice and Harry Dax

Eastwood, with visits to Nottingham

- Nottingham: ?sees Frieda
- Sees Man and Superman with Frieda in Nottingham

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#### CHRONOLOGY

25–31 March 1912 31 March–23 April 1912 9 April 1912	Bradnop, Staffs., with George Neville Eastwood, with visits to Nottingham Nottingham, meets Agnes Mason: ?sees Frieda
23–5 April 1912 25–8 April 1912	Leicester, with Ada and Fritz Krenkow London, Kew Gardens with Irene and Margaret Brinton and 'The Cearne' with Frieda
28–9 April 1912	Leicester
29 April–3 May 1912	Eastwood
3 May 1912	London; meets Frieda, travels (via Dover and Ostend) to Metz
4–7 May 1912	With Frieda in Metz
7 May 1912	Trouble with military policeman in Metz
8 May 1912	DHL goes to Trier
8-11 May 1912	Trier
11 May 1912	To Waldbröl (via Koblenz, Niederlahn- stein, Troisdorf, Hennef)
11 May 1912	First three of eight 'Schoolmaster' poems in <i>Saturday Westminster Gazette</i> , 11 May-1 June
11–24 May 1912	Waldbröl
15 May 1912	To Nümbrecht with Hannah Krenkow: hail-storm
19 May 1912	To Bonn and Drachenfels
23 May 1912	The Trespasser
24 May 1912	To Munich, meets Frieda
25 May 1912	DHL and Frieda to Beuerberg: stay till I June
June 1912	'Snapdragon' in English Review
1 June-5 August 1912	DHL and Frieda in Icking
3 August 1912	'French Sons of Germany' in Saturday Westminster Gazette
5 August 1912	DHL and Frieda leave Icking: to Wol- fratshausen on foot, Bichl by train, Bad Tölz on foot
6 August 1912	To Röhrlmoos hay-hut on foot
7 August 1912	To Café Hubertus on foot and (later) Achensee farmhouse by omnibus
8 August 1912	To Jenbach on foot, then to Kufstein by train

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9 August 1912	To Jenbach by train, then to Mayrhofen
9–26 August 1912	DHL and Frieda in Mayrhofen; joined
	by David Garnett c. 18 August, later by
	Harold Hobson
10 August 1912	'Hail in the Rhine-Land' in Saturday
	Westminster Gazette
26 August 1912	To hay-hut beyond Ginzling on foot
27 August 1912	To Dominicus-Hütte on foot
28 August 1912	Over the Pfitscherjoch pass on foot to Gasthof Elefant
29 August 1912	To Sterzing on foot: Garnett and Hob- son to Munich
29 August–1 September 1912	DHL and Frieda in Sterzing
1 September 1912	To Jaufen Haus on foot
2 September 1912	Back to Sterzing on foot: then to Bozen by train
3 September 1912	To Trento by train
4 September 1912	To Riva, Lago di Garda, by train
4-18 September 1912	Riva
18 September 1912–2 April 1913	Villa Igea in Villa
2 November 1912	All Souls' Day
December 1912	'Snap-Dragon' in Georgian Poetry 1911–1912
February 1913	Love Poems and Others
22 March 1913	'Christs in the Tirol' in Saturday West- minster Gazette
March 1913	'The Soiled Rose' in Forum; review of Georgian Poetry: 1911–1912 in Rhythm
2–10 April 1913	San Gaudenzio, Lago di Garda
29 May 1913	Sons and Lovers

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