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THE
CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF
THE LETTERS AND WORKS OF
D. H. LAWRENCE



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PAUL MOREL

D. H. LAWRENCE

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 978-0-521-56009-2 - Paul Morel: D. H. Lawrence
 Edited by Helen Baron
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CONTENTS

List of illustrations	<i>page</i> vii
General editor's preface	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Chronology	xii
Cue-titles	xvi
Introduction	xvii
Brief summary	xix
'Matilda'	xxi
The chapter plan	xxv
The second manuscript: <i>Paul Morel</i>	xxix
Jessie Chambers's criticisms of <i>Paul Morel</i>	xxxviii
The third manuscript	xlii
Jessie Chambers's criticisms of the third manuscript	xlvi
The interest of <i>Paul Morel</i>	lii
 <i>PAUL MOREL</i>	 i
Appendixes	
I 'Matilda' (c. July 1910)	143
II Chapter Plan (c. September 1910)	161
III Two versions of the start of MS ₃ (November 1911)	
1 Abandoned opening of Chapter I	165
2 Chapters I–IV	171
IV MS ₃ , Chapter IX, 'First Love' (c. February–April 1912), annotated by Jessie Chambers	225
V Jessie Chambers's Manuscripts	
1 Commentary on MS ₃ Chapter IX, 'First Love'	241
2 Commentary on a draft	245
3 Rewriting of episode from MS ₃ : [One Saturday afternoon]	249

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-56009-2 - Paul Morel: D. H. Lawrence
Edited by Helen Baron
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

vi

Contents

4	Rewriting of episode from MS ₃ : [Flower sequence]	253
5	Rewriting of episode from MS ₃ : 'Easter Monday'	257
	Explanatory notes	263
	Maps	301
	Textual apparatus	309
	Line-end hyphenation	323
	A note on pounds, shillings and pence	324

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-56009-2 - Paul Morel: D. H. Lawrence
Edited by Helen Baron
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Manuscript page 204. Reproduced by permission of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin. *page 227*
2. Manuscript page 220. Reproduced by permission of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin. *228*

MAPS (between pp. 300 and 308)

1. Eastwood, *c.* 1900
2. Eastwood and surrounding villages, *c.* 1900
3. Nottingham, *c.* 1900
4. Eastwood to Nottingham, *c.* 1900
5. Addiscombe Road

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

D. H. Lawrence is one of the great writers of the twentieth century, which is why the Cambridge edition of his complete works will include a number of research volumes of early and draft material. *The First 'Women in Love'* and *The First and Second Lady Chatterley Novels* have already been published; such editions add enormously to our understanding of the creative process underlying some of Lawrence's greatest works, and are part of the essential history of his writing career.

The Cambridge edition for the most part aims to provide texts which are as close as can now be determined to those which Lawrence would have wished to see printed. In these research volumes, the situation is obviously different; but their texts, too, have been established by the same rigorous collation of extant manuscripts and (where appropriate) typescripts, proofs and early printed versions. Far from doing violence to the texts Lawrence wrote, editorial intervention is often essential to recover even the text of an early draft. Though we have to accept that some works cannot now be recovered in their entirety because not all the early states of the text have survived, we must be glad that so much evidence remains; and in these research volumes, we are able to recover the early forms of some of Lawrence's most important works of fiction.

Throughout the edition, 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 'manuscript' rather than a 'printed' style. This is obviously particularly true of the research volumes. A detailed record of all decisions on textual matters, together with the evidence on which they are based, will be found in the Textual Apparatus.

In each of the research volumes, the 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, but also because this history is essential to the statement of editorial principles followed. It provides a good deal of hitherto unknown information; it contextualises draft material and shows the significance of the early manuscripts in the development of the later and better-known published books.

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Frontmatter
[More information](#)

x

General editor's preface

Although Lawrence was a twentieth-century writer, and in some respects remains our contemporary, the idiom of his day is not invariably intelligible now, especially to readers who are not native speakers of British English. His use of dialect forms 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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[More information](#)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this volume to my late husband, Carl Baron, without whom I would not have had the privilege of contributing to the Cambridge Lawrence enterprise. The edition of *Paul Morel* has had to be produced without the enjoyment and benefit of Carl's vastly greater knowledge, critical ability, energy and his passionate commitment to literature, Lawrence and higher education. I hope he would have approved of the book.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Cambridge University Press, especially Andy Brown, Linda Bree, Neil de Cort and Leigh Mueller and to the D. H. Lawrence Editorial Board: Michael Black, James Boulton, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen, for helpful suggestions and information and above all for their patience.

I am also grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Board for a grant to enable me to complete this edition.

My warm thanks go as well to the D. H. Lawrence Society of Eastwood for their kind encouragement and many pieces of information which I could not have found in archives.

I would like to thank the University of Hull, especially the Department of English; the Harry Ransom Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin; and the British Library.

Individuals who have helped me with information, advice and encouragement are Brenda Bronson, Robin Headlam-Wells, Pamela Lewis, the late Margaret Needham, Paul Poplawski, Peter Preston and Ginette Roy. My teenage son and his friends have been invaluable for their ignorance and prejudice, in confirming my sense of what needed to be included in the Explanatory Notes, for example when they had no idea what colour a thrush's egg is, or were convinced that the words 'gay' and 'queer' have only ever meant 'homosexual', and thought 'twaddle' meant a funny walk.

H. V. B.

February 2003

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CHRONOLOGY

11 September 1885 1891/2	Born in Eastwood, Nottinghamshire Aged 6 moves from 57 The Breach to 3 Walker Street
September 1898–July 1901 c. October–December 1901 11 October 1901 Winter 1901–2 April 1902 October 1902–1908	Pupil at Nottingham High School Clerk at J. H. Haywood Ltd for c. three months Death of his brother William Ernest First attack of pneumonia A month's convalescence at Skegness Pupil teacher; student at University College, Nottingham
August 1906	Lawrence family and friends on two-week holiday in Mablethorpe
7 December 1907	First publication: 'A Prelude', in <i>Nottinghamshire Guardian</i>
October 1908	Appointed as teacher at Davidson Road School, Croydon
November 1909 before July 1910 18 October 1910	Publishes five poems in <i>English Review</i> Writes and abandons 'Matilda' Decides not to publish 'The Saga of Siegmund'; 'Paul Morel' 'plotted out' 'Paul Morel' MS1 – only 100 pages written
c. October–November/ December 1910 3 December 1910 9 December 1910 19 January 1911	Becomes engaged to Louie Burrows Death of his mother, Lydia Lawrence <i>The White Peacock</i> published in New York (20 January in London)
c. 13 March 1911 4 May 1911 7 May 1911	Has 'begun Paul Morel again' MS2 Has 'written 90 pages of Paul Morel' MS2 Is 'on with the 112th' page of 'Paul Morel' MS2
29 May 1911	Sends 'mass' of 'Paul Morel' MS2 to Louie Burrows to 'collect' and 'correct'
5–11 June 1911	Whitsun holiday; collects 'Paul Morel' MS2 from Louie Burrows
c. mid-July 1911	Abandons 'Paul Morel' MS2 after c. 353 pages written
4 October 1911	Meets Edward Garnett

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 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Chronology

xiii

5, 20 October 1911	Meetings with Heinemann
7 October 1911	Renews contact with Jessie Chambers; soon after sends her 'Paul Morel' MS ₂
3–15 November 1911	Receives Jessie Chambers's advice and begins 'Paul Morel' MS ₃ – writes 7 pages, begins again and writes 74 pages
19 November 1911	Ill with pneumonia in Croydon
6 January–3 February 1912	In Bournemouth for convalescence, rewrites 'The Saga of Siegmund' as <i>The Trespasser</i>
by 12 January 1912	Invited to Germany by relatives, Hannah and Karl Krenkow
4 February 1912	Ends engagement to Louie Burrows
9 February 1912	To Eastwood
14 February 1912	Has decided to go to Germany in May
mid-February 1912	Collects Jessie Chambers's notes, takes up 'Paul Morel' MS ₃ again and delivers completed pages to Jessie
28 February 1912	Resigns from teaching post
early March 1912	Meets Frieda Weekley
3–8 March 1912	Visits Alice and Henry Dax in Shirebrook
25–31 March 1912	Delivers last pages of 'Paul Morel' MS ₃ to Jessie Chambers before visit to G. H. Neville in Bradnop
1 April 1912	Jessie Chambers hands 'Paul Morel' MS ₃ back with 'notes'
11 April 1912	Offers 'Paul Morel' MS ₃ to Walter de la Mare but 'parts I want to change'
3 May 1912	To Metz with Frieda Weekley
11–24 May 1912	Stays with Krenkows in Waldbröl, near Cologne
by 16 May 1912	Begins revising 'Paul Morel' MS ₃
23 May 1912	<i>The Trespasser</i>
1 June–5 August 1912	With Frieda Weekley in Icking, near Munich
9 June 1912	Sends 'Paul Morel' MS ₃ to Heinemann
3 July 1912	Receives Heinemann's rejection
4 July 1912	Sends 'Paul Morel' MS ₃ to Garnett at his request
by 18 July 1912	Receives Garnett's notes on 'Paul Morel' MS ₃
4 August 1912	Has decided to rewrite 'Paul Morel' MS ₃ ; has probably revised pp. 1–85
5 August–c. 5 September 1912	On foot and by bus and train to Riva, Italy
11 September 1912	'working like Hell' at 'Paul Morel'
17 September 1912–30 March 1913	At Villa di Gargnano, Lago di Garda, Italy
15 October 1912	Renames novel <i>Sons and Lovers</i> , has written three-fifths

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 Edited by Helen Baron
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

xiv

Chronology

30 October 1912	Has written 400 pages: 'heaps better' but 'I funk' the last 100 pages
18 November 1912	Sends <i>Sons and Lovers</i> MS to Duckworth
1 December 1912	Learns Garnett will shorten the novel
20 January 1913	Sends Garnett 'Foreword' to <i>Sons and Lovers</i>
February 1913	<i>Love Poems and Others</i>
5 February–3 March 1913	Revises galley proofs of <i>Sons and Lovers</i>
3 March 1913	'coming to the end of my cash'
11 March 1913	'don't mind if Duckworth crosses out a hundred shady pages'
22 March 1913	Receives contract for <i>Sons and Lovers</i> and £50 advance
22 March–by 10 April 1913	Revises page proofs of <i>Sons and Lovers</i>
19 April–17 June 1913	At Irschenhausen, near Munich
mid-May 1913	Reads Jessie Chambers's novel
29 May 1913	<i>Sons and Lovers</i> published in London by Gerald Duckworth
19 June–6 August 1913	In England
7 August 1913–June 1914	In Germany, Switzerland and Italy
17 September 1913	<i>Sons and Lovers</i> published in USA by Mitchell Kennerley
1 April 1914	<i>The Widowing of Mrs. Holroyd</i> (New York)
before May 1914	Receives faulty £10 cheque from Kennerley
June 1914–December 1915	'making up <i>Sons and Lovers</i> accounts'
13 July 1914	In London, Buckinghamshire and Sussex
26 November 1914	Marries Frieda Weekley in London
December 1914	<i>The Prussian Officer and Other Stories</i>
	Learns Kennerley refuses to pay outstanding <i>Sons and Lovers</i> royalties
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 21 months' residence in Cornwall, ordered to leave by military authorities
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>
November 1919–February 1922	To Italy, then Capri and Sicily
20 November 1919	<i>Bay</i>
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>
10 May 1921	<i>Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious</i> (New York)

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 Edited by Helen Baron
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[More information](#)

Chronology

xv

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|---------------------------|--|
| 12 December 1921 | <i>Sea and Sardinia</i> (New York) |
| 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) |
| February 1923 | Begins lawsuit against Kennerley |
| March 1923 | <i>The Ladybird, The Fox, The Captain's Doll</i> |
| March–November 1923 | In Mexico and USA |
| April 1923 | Kennerley yields rights and plates of <i>Sons and Lovers</i> |
| 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 |
| August 1924 | <i>The Boy in the Bush</i> (with Mollie Skinner) |
| 10 September 1924 | Death of his father, John Arthur Lawrence |
| 14 May 1925 | <i>St. Mawr</i> together with <i>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 Maritimes, France |

CUE-TITLES

A. Manuscript locations

UCB	University of California Berkeley
UN	University of Nottingham
UT	University of Texas at Austin

B. Printed works

<i>Album</i>	George Hardy and Nathaniel Harris. <i>A D. H. Lawrence Album</i> . Worcester: Billing and Sons, 1985.
E.T.	E. T. [Jessie Wood]. <i>D. H. Lawrence: A Personal Record</i> . Jonathan Cape, 1935; reprinted Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
<i>EY</i>	John Worthen. <i>D. H. Lawrence, The Early Years (1885–1912)</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
<i>Letters</i> , i.	James T. Boulton, ed. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
<i>LG</i>	D. H. Lawrence. <i>The Lost Girl</i> . Ed. John Worthen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
Neville	George Neville. <i>A Memoir of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Ed. Carl Baron. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
<i>OED</i>	Sir James A. H. Murray and others, eds. <i>A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles</i> . 10 volumes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1884–1928.
Roberts	Warren Roberts. <i>A Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence</i> . 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
<i>S&L</i>	D. H. Lawrence. <i>Sons and Lovers</i> . Ed. Carl Baron and Helen Baron. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
<i>WP</i>	D. H. Lawrence. <i>The White Peacock</i> . Ed. Andrew Robertson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
Wright	Joseph Wright. <i>The English Dialect Dictionary</i> . 6 volumes. London: Frowde, 1898–1905.

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INTRODUCTION

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Frontmatter
[More information](#)

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[More information](#)

INTRODUCTION

Brief summary

The *Paul Morel* manuscript is the second of Lawrence's drafts of the novel which eventually became *Sons and Lovers*. It is published here for the first time, together with ten other fragmentary manuscripts that have survived from the process of composition, most written by Lawrence himself and some by his friend, Jessie Chambers.¹

Paul Morel has no ending, because Lawrence never completed it. He worked at it from approximately mid-March to mid-July 1911 and then abandoned it. The beginning, too, is now lost, because Lawrence threw away the first seventy-one pages when he rewrote them for the third draft.² To give readers an idea of what led up to the opening scene of *Paul Morel*, the opening chapters of the third version are provided in Appendix III.2 (pp. 171–223).

When *Sons and Lovers* emerged from Lawrence's pen sixteen months after he had abandoned the *Paul Morel* manuscript, the whole work had been rewritten from the beginning, then revised, then rewritten from the beginning again. Very little survives of the intervening third manuscript, but, during the transition from the second to the final, fourth version, the novel altered enormously. Not only did Lawrence jettison many episodes, he completely transformed the plot. The *Paul Morel* manuscript therefore is a separate, independent fiction, not rivalling *Sons and Lovers* for supremacy, nor subordinated to it like a painter's initial sketch compared with the final canvas. It is a vivid fiction, full of Lawrence's characteristically energetic writing, and also a volatile mixture of light-heartedness and tragedy. The other manuscripts included in this volume, the early story based on Lawrence's mother's childhood, the fragmentary remains of the third manuscript and the short episodes from it rewritten by Jessie Chambers, all have an illuminating role in relation

¹ Only the Chapter Plan (Appendix II) has been published before, in *S&L* xxv and *EY* 278–9.

² In notes, the manuscripts will be referred to thus: the *Paul Morel* manuscript as MS₂, the third draft (which DHL continued to call 'Paul Morel') as MS₃, and the *Sons and Lovers* manuscript as MS₄. DHL transferred some pages of MS₂ forwards as he rewrote subsequent drafts: some of them were then discarded and some remain in MS₄. So the total pages of MS₂ that now survive can be briefly summarised thus: it begins at p. 72, lacks pp. 166, 336, 339, 340, 352 and ends mid-dialogue at the bottom of p. 353.

to the two major fictions: rather like a mosaic of mirrors passing reflections back and forth between them.

The history of the writing of the manuscripts, and the way the early drafts were dispersed and survived in fragmentary form, is fascinating, if a little complicated. The context was also a period of considerable turbulence and important developments in Lawrence's life. It may be helpful to begin with an outline summary.

Lawrence left Eastwood, Nottingham, for his teaching post in Croydon, south-east London, in October 1908. He coped with the sense of strangeness by conducting a wide correspondence. His most important correspondents were Jessie Chambers, an Eastwood friend who was a school-teacher in the Nottingham area, and Louie Burrows, a friend from his time at University College, Nottingham (1906–8), who was now a school-teacher in Leicester. Increasingly his surviving letters contain news of his literary activities, including a passing reference to a work he called 'Matilda' (see Appendix I), in a letter to Louie Burrows of 24 July 1910. Lawrence had known Jessie Chambers since the summer of 1901, and she had taken an intense interest in his writing, particularly his first published poems and his first novel, *The White Peacock* (published 1911), which he rewrote many times during this period. On 1 August 1910, however, Lawrence broke off his relationship with Jessie Chambers, after what they both considered to have been a six-year-long unofficial engagement. Before the month was out his mother was fatally ill. She died on 9 December; on 3 December Lawrence had become engaged to Louie Burrows.

Sometime during the summer of 1910, probably before September, Lawrence drafted a chapter plan for a novel which resembles *Paul Morel* in many respects (see Appendix II). He began writing the first manuscript in Croydon, probably in October, but seems to have abandoned it by November or December 1910, after completing only a hundred pages, none of which survives. He began the second manuscript, *Paul Morel*, on about 13 March 1911 and wrote at least 353 pages before he abandoned that, too, around mid-July. Some time in October he sent the unfinished manuscript to Jessie Chambers asking for her advice; and she returned it by 3 November 1911. Lawrence started again at once, from the beginning, wrote seven opening pages and set them on one side (see Appendix III.1). Immediately he began afresh on what was to be his third manuscript. He worked away writing onto new paper and discarding the redundant pages of the second manuscript as he progressed, but he had to stop when he fell ill on about 15 November. He had probably written a new version (see Appendix III.2) of those opening seventy-one pages of the second manuscript which are now lost. His illness was so severe that it radically

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[More information](#)

Introduction

xxi

altered his life. He gave up his teaching post, broke off his engagement to Louie Burrows and made plans to go abroad. He did not return to the third draft of his *Paul Morel* novel until mid-February 1912, by which time he had left Croydon and was back home in Eastwood. He wrote rapidly and delivered pages to Jessie Chambers for her opinion as he wrote them. He had completed the third draft by 25 March and Jessie parcelled up the complete manuscript and handed it back to him on 1 April 1912. Inside the parcel he would find some additional pages of critical comments in her handwriting, and her own versions of some of the novel's episodes (see Appendix V). She had also written replies and objections in the margins of the manuscript itself and in some places she had crossed out Lawrence's sentences and rewritten them (see Appendix IV).

The subsequent story of how Lawrence turned the third manuscript into *Sons and Lovers* is told in the Introduction to the Cambridge University Press edition of that work.³

'Matilda'

Paul Morel came into existence gradually. Lawrence was constantly writing and trying out new ideas, so it is hard to identify when exactly he began revolving this novel in his mind. But at some point after leaving Eastwood in October 1908 to start work in Croydon, he began a novel about a 'Matilda Wootton', which seems to be a sort of distant cousin of *Sons and Lovers*. It is one of the many pieces of writing which have survived from this period of his life, and it begins: 'There is a small cottage off the Addiscombe Road about a mile from East Croydon station.' There is no title but the first page is headed 'Chapter I' and below that there is another '1' for the first section; since this is a method of chapter division which he had used for *The White Peacock*, it appears that he intended 'Matilda' to be a novel.⁴

From the start of his new life in the south Lawrence had lodgings in a part of Croydon called Addiscombe, an area of suburban London with which he was previously unacquainted. It became, in effect, his home for over three years, until he left in January 1912. However, despite the opening words of 'Matilda', Lawrence was not writing a story based on observations of local life in the environs of his Croydon lodgings. His second paragraph, beginning

³ *S&L* xxxviii–lix.

⁴ See Appendix I. The unbound exercise book in which Lawrence wrote had small pages, 165 by 204 mm, with 21 ruled lines (see 'Note on the Text' p. 284). The chapter divisions vary in length: Chapter I Section 1 is 450 lines, Section 2 is 257 lines, Section 3 is 136 lines, Chapter II Section 1 is 165 lines. DHL wrote an average of seven words to a line.

'On a Sunday afternoon in January 1860' (145:9) establishes the nostalgic atmosphere of a narrative of family history. It is centred at first on a Robert Wootton, a foreman in an engineering workshop. Lawrence portrays Wootton's 'biting sarcasm', 'overweening pride' and 'bitterness' (146:19, 147:14, 16) in a mildly comic drama of his interactions with his wife, small daughters and a local clergyman at the Sunday tea-table. The narrative gradually focuses on Robert's eldest daughter, Matilda, whom Lawrence had initially introduced in terms of her divided genetic inheritance: 'She had her mother's small, svelte figure, and brown, fine, curling hair, but her sagacious brow, her eyes, with their imperious stare, or with their blue concentrated interest, and her close-knit lips were from her father. She was about ten years old.' (146:23–6).

The social interaction at the Sunday tea-table is used to establish Matilda's defiant nature, and at the same time to underline the hint of the family's previous grandeur. When Matilda refuses to tell the clergyman about the family's solid silver tea-spoon which he notices has an engraved monogram 'W', a battle of wills develops between them.

Before pursuing the promised interest in Matilda, however, Lawrence returns to the tone of nostalgia, with section two of the opening chapter devoted to Robert Wootton's family history: the great-grandfather who married an aristocratic Lady Lydia, the father who married the daughter of a maltster, Emma Coutts, wealthy enough to bring him a thousand pounds. Despite these marriages' testimony to the family's former social superiority, each woman is considered to have hastened the family's decline, and to have entered the family as 'an invader and a conqueror' (153:1–2). The introduction of the aristocratic and autocratic 'lady' apparently ruins the menfolks' hearty business-like temperaments and causes the family to disintegrate, whereas the introduction of the stern Wesleyan wife in the later generation reduces the husband to total submission, drives one daughter to run away to a convent and ends with the ruin of the family business. These are snippets of family history as remembered by Robert Wootton in 'later days' and told to his wife 'in his courtship' (153:6, 28). The third section narrates the background to Robert Wootton's marriage, from his youthful infatuation with an intoxicatingly physical woman to his subsequent marriage with the self-effacing and adoring Mary Inwood.⁵

⁵ When he went to Croydon, DHL met relatives of his mother who lived in London, among whom was his cousin, Ellen ('Nellie') Inwood, who fell in love with him and 'When he fell in love elsewhere she suffered a total nervous collapse' (*Letters*, i.9; subsequent references to *Letters* are given in the text by volume and page no.). On 24 April 1911, he wrote to Louie Burrows, 'I have not any news, except the little unpleasantnesses deriving from the cockle-shell cousin.' J. T. Boulton speculates (*Letters*, i.260, n.4) that this is a reference to Ellen Inwood.

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-56009-2 - Paul Morel: D. H. Lawrence
 Edited by Helen Baron
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Introduction

xxiii

Confirmation that these stories belong to a family anecdotal tradition is given in Lawrence's opening sentence of Chapter II: 'As Matilda Wootton grew older, her mother told her of these things' (158:3). He has jumped Matilda to the age of eighteen and prefaces the new narrative, concerning an incipient teenage romance, with an update of her divided genetic inheritance. She loves, reveres and at times hates her father, but 'she was her mother's friend, confidant, and ally' (158:8–9). Having left school at sixteen, she is at work as the second assistant at 'a little school in South Norwood' (158:18), another London suburb near Addiscombe. Her conversations with a young man on her way to work are precipitated by his barking dog, and the narrator sentimentalises: 'that was how things happened in the romantic sixties. "Romola" and "Hereward the Wake" were in the air' (159:3–4). There follows a cruelly ironic portrait of 'Miss Laverick', the domineering schoolmistress for whom Matilda works, and of 'Vickie' her wheezing spaniel, both of whom Matilda hates.

After only eight pages of the second chapter, the nostalgic narrative abruptly ends. The only reference to this project in Lawrence's surviving correspondence is dated 24 July 1910. It reads very much like an afterthought to a progress-report on his literary endeavours. He wrote to Louie Burrows:

As for the literary affairs, they are tiresome. They are worrying me for another title for the first book – let them go to blazes. They have sent me back a rather nice story from the *English* – asking me to cut it 5 pages: a devilish business. I have finished another book – nearly – but what the world will say to it I do not know. However, things will, I think, begin to develop now. How slow literature is. As to 'Matilda' – when I looked at her I found her rather foolish: I'll write her again when I've a bit of time. (i.172)⁶

The desire to establish himself as a writer was driving Lawrence to begin as many new projects as possible. He refers to 'Matilda' as if he had written it some time ago and recently reread it. Since this is the only time Lawrence mentions it, we have no way of knowing precisely when he wrote it. The 'Matilda' manuscript does not have a title, but it is evident from the heroine's name that this is the manuscript Lawrence was referring to. Therefore it is only from this letter to Louie Burrows that we learn what Lawrence himself thought of the work. Why did he find it 'rather foolish'? Now that we can read

Coincidentally, Lawrence makes Mary Inwood spill tea-leaves from her 'clamp-shell' spoon in the opening scene of 'Matilda' (see 146:10).

⁶ The 'first book' would eventually be entitled *The White Peacock*, and would be published by Heinemann, whose general editor, Frederick Atkinson, was writing to DHL at this time asking him to find a title. Heinemann published the book in January 1911. The 'rather nice story' was 'Odour of Chrysanthemums', published by the *English Review* in June 1911. DHL's claim that he had nearly finished 'another book' was a reference to 'The Saga of Siegmund', which eventually became *The Trespasser*, published in May 1912 by Duckworth.

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-56009-2 - Paul Morel: D. H. Lawrence
 Edited by Helen Baron
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

xxiv

Introduction

it, we can see that he evidently intended it to be a novel about a young woman growing up, and it was probably based on his mother's reminiscences. If she reminisced that her great-great-grandfather married a lady, this may indicate why Lawrence also made the mother do so in Act I of his play, *A Collier's Friday Night*, completed in late November 1909:

MOTHER: My great-great-grandfather married a Lady Vernon:—so they say. As if it made any matter—a mere tale.
 ERNEST LAMBERT: Is it a fact though, Matoushka? Why didn't you tell us before?⁷

In this Act, moreover, Ernest repeatedly addresses his mother by a variety of multi-lingual puns on 'mother'. Starting with the college-boy's slang 'Mater', the Latin for 'mother', he elaborates with: 'Mutterchen', 'Mutter', 'Ma' and 'Matoushka'. Lawrence's enthusiasm for such word-play at this time suggests that the name 'Matilda' may also have been a play on 'Mater'.

The narrative of 'Matilda' reads like a retrospective account: an elaborated family tree, adorned with significant details and striking anecdotes, but these do not achieve the creative level of enacted fiction. Moreover, the work's after-life in the third and fourth manuscripts of *Sons and Lovers* lingers on solely in Mrs Morel's private reflections, in the opening chapters, concerning her childhood memories, her parental inheritance and her teenage romance.⁸

The *Paul Morel* version of the first chapter is lost, but by the third manuscript the romantic young man would be encountered at chapel rather than on the way to work, and the loathed schoolmistress would become 'quaint', and then would be revised upwards, both emotionally and socially, to 'the funny old mistress . . . whom she had loved to help in the pleasant private school'.⁹

Significantly, Lawrence was slow to re-use the psychological analysis of Matilda's family inheritance in terms of her father's austerity and her mother's meekness. In the aborted opening of the third manuscript, he was evidently determined to arrive as quickly as possible at Mrs Morel's teenage romance, only pausing briefly to sketch an account of her family background: 'She came of an old family noted through many generations in Nottingham for its personal handsomeness, its overbearing character. The Love-seeds had been well-to-do, until William Love-seed, Mrs Morel's grandfather. George Love-seed, a type of his family, a fine, blonde, haughty man, had become an engineer' (169:4–8).

⁷ See D. H. Lawrence, *The Plays*, ed. Hans-Wilhelm Schwarze and John Worthen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 16:23–6.

⁸ See *S&L* 15:26–16:6; see also this volume (referred to hereafter as *Paul Morel*), Appendix III.1, 169:4–22 and Appendix III.2, pp. 178:35–179:7.

⁹ See Appendix III.1, 169:12 and Appendix III.2, 179:11–12.

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-56009-2 - Paul Morel: D. H. Lawrence
 Edited by Helen Baron
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Introduction

XXV

In the second and more successful attempt to write the third manuscript, this was expanded to:

Mrs Morel came of a family noted for many generations for its handsome, overbearing men and women. The Coppards had been among the gentry of Nottingham in Henry the Eighth's time: they had fought hard with Colonel Hutchinson and Cromwell, and had been famous Independents. They lost their standing after Waterloo. George Coppard, Mrs Morel's father, was the first of the family to work as an artizan. He became an engineer. A fine, handsome, haughty man, his poverty galled his fibre. He became foreman of the engineers in the dockyard at Sheerness. Mrs Morel—Gertrude,—was the second daughter. She favoured her mother, loved her mother best of all: but she had the Coppard's clear, defiant blue eyes, and their broad brow. She remembered to have hated her father's insolence towards her gentle, humourous, kindly-souled mother. (178:35–179:7)

By the fourth manuscript Lawrence had elaborated this a little further, emphasising Gertrude's likeness to her father in her 'temper, proud and unyielding'.¹⁰ If Lawrence did 'write her again' after 24 July 1910, a later version of 'Matilda' does not survive.

The chapter plan

Lawrence's school holidays began on 28 July 1910, and about two weeks later his mother was taken gravely ill with a tumour from which she died on 9 December. Lawrence had to be back in Croydon at his teaching duties by 28 August and remained there until 24 November, when he went home to be with his mother until her death. During the intervening period he was very restless, made frequent weekend trips back to Eastwood, and, apart from giving a talk on the poet Rachel Annand Taylor,¹¹ seems, understandably, not to have written very much.

For the first two weeks of October, Lawrence was in a state of suspense waiting to hear from his publisher, William Heinemann. His first novel, *The White Peacock*, was in proof, but not published, and his second had been finished in manuscript since 4 August but had been given to Ford Madox Hueffer, editor of the *English Review*, to read and comment upon; and it had disappeared with him to Germany. Lawrence did not learn that it had been delivered to Heinemann's new reader, Sydney Pawling, until 18 October 1910. By then Lawrence had 'plotted out' a new novel, as he explained to Pawling: 'I am not anxious to publish [the second novel], and if you are of like mind,

¹⁰ *S&L* 15:26–16:1, especially 15:33–4.

¹¹ See *Study of Thomas Hardy and Other Essays*, ed. Bruce Steele (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 143–8.

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-56009-2 - Paul Morel: D. H. Lawrence
 Edited by Helen Baron
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

we can let the thing stay, and I will give you . . . my third novel, Paul Morel, which is plotted out very interestingly (to me), and about one eighth of which is written' (i.184).

It was rare for Lawrence to talk of 'plotting out' a novel. His characteristic method seems to have been to write complete draft after complete draft. And yet, surprisingly, in one of his Nottingham University College notebooks he had written a skeleton plan for the closing chapters of *The White Peacock* and a chapter plan for a whole novel that looks very much like early thoughts for *Paul Morel*.¹² The chapter plan fills one page of the notebook and it is reproduced in Appendix II in the form of a printed facsimile of the manuscript.

The items in the plan are cryptic and need decoding. Although in many respects it closely resembles *Paul Morel*, it is not an outline of a novel about 'Paul' Morel. There are changes of names and many additions entered above the line. The list of chapter numbers followed by brief headings indicates a basic structure of a novel in two parts, with eight chapters in the first part and five in the second. The jottings are abbreviated, allusive, much revised and in places repetitious. What emerges from the first layer of notes is that Lawrence was initially planning a novel about the quarrelsome relationship between a father called Walter Morel and his sons named Fred and William, and that the most salient features of the plot were going to be the deaths of both Walter and Fred. What would follow would concern William's employment at a firm called Haywood's, his friendships with three women named Gertie, Mabel and Flossie, and his rivalry with a male friend called Newcome. The jottings for the last two chapters reduplicate references to Flossie's college career and the death of a Miss Wright, who had taught painting. This repetition suggests that Lawrence was uncertain how to bring the novel to a close. He seems to have been working towards stalemate rather than a dramatically convincing climax.

The allusiveness of many of his jottings, particularly for the opening chapters, in which 'he' and 'her' and 'their son' are unnamed, reminds us that we are peering into a private memorandum. Lawrence was using what is known as 'restricted' codes, as opposed to 'elaborated' codes.¹³ He did not give these characters names in order to relate them to the rest of his plot, because he was writing within his own private range of reference and did not need to elaborate on the minimum, as he would have done for public consumption or explanation. It is only because there appear to be parallels with the opening chapters of *Sons and Lovers* that readers of this chapter plan are able to

¹² See p. 162, 'Note on the Text'.

¹³ See Basil Bernstein, *Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language* (London: Routledge, 1971), pp.125–30.

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-56009-2 - Paul Morel: D. H. Lawrence
 Edited by Helen Baron
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Introduction

xxvii

'recognise' and decode many of the narrative hints, and also the even more cryptic indications as to the early life of the 'son' in chapter II: 'Tears without cause – watching the engines'. This 'recognition' leads to the realisation that all the activities by, and relationships with, unnamed persons in the following chapters relate to this 'son'.

When Lawrence included the following notes in his plans for chapters II to VI, he did not exactly specify which character he envisaged as experiencing these things: 'sister . . . Sent to school . . . playing . . . brother . . . visit to Cullens . . . making toffee . . . walks with Mabel . . . visit to Aunt Ada . . . Band of Hope . . . horse-manuring . . . painting'. However, it must be the unnamed but focal 'son' of chapter I. But he is not given a name until chapter VII, and then it is to distinguish him from the other son Fred who 'strikes father' in chapter VI. Now that Fred's activities begin to loom larger, with his 'office' work, his 'dancing' and his 'quarrels', Lawrence needs to identify the 'son' who has been the focus of so much of the earlier activity, and so he calls him 'William', shortened to 'Wm.' Even so, after Fred's death at the end of Part I, Lawrence writes 'Fred' instead of 'William' at the start of Part II. He apparently did not attach the same significance to this name as he later did to the name 'Paul' with its biblical connotations.

Clearly 'their son' is the unnamed centre of the novel from the start of this plan, and, indeed, many of the initial ideas for the plot would last through to *Sons and Lovers*. Some only lasted as far as the *Paul Morel* manuscript, such as 'visit to Cullens [renamed 'Staynes']', 'horse-manuring', 'death of Walter Morel', and 'Goes to Miss Wright [renamed 'Miss May'] for painting'.¹⁴

Other items would not continue into any of the surviving manuscripts, notably 'Aunt Ada', introduced four times in Part I, always at the end of a sequence and probably as an afterthought. It is puzzling that 'Aunt Ada' was inserted at this stage in the evolution of the plot, but her role appears to be that of an alternative mother figure. The mother of the family, who must be the 'her' referred to as 'pushed . . . out of the house' in Chapter I, does not explicitly figure again in the chapter plan. But she cannot have left for good before the birth of her son, for the son would have left with her and then the 'tears without cause' would not be the son's. Nor would the opening notes to the third chapter make sense, if, as it seems, the sequence 'Sent to school – young brother' implies that the child who is sent to school has a younger brother.

Evidently the elements of this fiction were still emerging in Lawrence's mind, and the chapter plan was an attempt to organise them into order.

¹⁴ The relevant episodes in *Paul Morel*, taken in the order of their occurrence in the chapter plan, are: 39:32–52:25; 34:5–35:31; 126:28–33; 37:23–26 and 47:19–48:1.

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-56009-2 - Paul Morel: D. H. Lawrence
 Edited by Helen Baron
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

xxviii

Introduction

Initially he strung together elements of his family-life without names. Then, external individuals are tacked on, and all, except 'Newcome' and 'Mr Bates', bear the names of Lawrence's actual acquaintances. The first name to appear in sequence, and not inserted above the line as an addition, is 'Miss Wright' in Chapter III, followed by 'visit to Cullens'. The fictional use Lawrence made of Flossie Cullen, her family and her governess, Miss Wright, both in *Paul Morel* and in *The Lost Girl* has been well documented.¹⁵ Other names from the Lawrence life-records found in the chapter plan are 'Mrs Limb' and 'Mabel' (Mabel Limb and her mother were neighbours of the Lawrences), 'Gertie' (Gertrude Cooper was another neighbour) and 'Haywoods' (the firm in Nottingham where Lawrence worked for three months at the age of thirteen). Because Lawrence uses names directly from his life-experiences, a reader surveying this plan has the illusion of watching the author as he arranges and re-arranges pieces of mosaic from his world until he has a ground-plan for his fiction.¹⁶

The young women whom Lawrence knew by the names of 'Flossie', 'Mabel' and 'Gertie' are on occasion the subject of painful and sympathetic reflection in his letters. 'I often think of Flossie', he wrote to his sister, Ada, on 1 March 1911, 'If I don't write to her – well – she will understand. But I know what she's had to go through, and has: and I think of her very often, with sympathy' (i.234). Flossie Cullen, who had helped nurse Lawrence's mother during her final illness, had lost her own invalid mother in 1904 and her governess, Miss Wright, a much-loved substitute mother, only weeks later. Of Mabel Limb, Lawrence had written to Ada a few days earlier, on 17 February 1911, 'How jolly we used to play in their house! I often dream of Mabel Limb – oh, so often. I am tired of Life being so ugly and cruel' (i.230). Mabel had died a year before Lawrence's mother, on 28 December 1909. Finally, Gertie Cooper, who like her sisters and mother suffered continuously from tuberculosis, lost her mother in 1904 and her younger sister, Ethel, in 1905. It is as if the pieces of mosaic Lawrence had been selecting from his world were chosen on the theme of the tragic loss of mothers and siblings, and the shattering of childhood dreams of happiness.

But the 'Flossie' of Lawrence's chapter plan is a successful college student, which was not the case with Lawrence's friend Flossie Cullen, although it was true of Louie Burrows. Similarly, Lawrence's friendship with Mabel Limb was not characterised by the walks, jealousy and neglect associated with the 'Mabel' of the chapter plan, whereas these three words summarise a good deal

¹⁵ See *S&L* xxvi–xxvii; *EY* 280; *LG* notes to 2:20, 3:4, 6:34, 11:29.

¹⁶ See particularly *EY* 280.

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-56009-2 - Paul Morel: D. H. Lawrence
 Edited by Helen Baron
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Introduction

xxix

of his relationship with Jessie Chambers. Again, while it is true that Gertie Cooper was one of Lawrence's group of student-teacher friends, it is doubtful whether he learned from her in a manner remotely comparable to the education he received during his friendship with fellow Croydon teacher, Helen Corke.¹⁷ So, beneath the patina of these nameable, vivid and manageable fragments, can also be discerned a more troublesome palimpsest waiting to emerge into view: primarily, the unnamed but hinted presence of the mother and three other women, chiefly the problematic figure of Jessie Chambers, the letters of whose name twice threaten to oust 'Floss', in the chapter plan (Part I chapters III and VII).

The most arresting resonance of this plot structure must be that, at whatever precise date in 1910 Lawrence wrote it down, he had already planned to have deaths at the ends of Parts I and II. On 18 October, when he informed Sydney Pawling that he had 'plotted out' a new novel, death must have been oppressively on his mind: he had just returned from spending the weekend in Eastwood with his mother who was 'very ill' (i.183). As he began writing it, however, the new novel moved on from what he had planned; for, having written an eighth of it, he had evidently now settled for the name 'Paul' for his main character, rather than 'William'. Almost exactly four months later he had to confess that "'Paul Morel" sticks where I left it four or five months ago, at the hundredth page. I've no heart to tackle a serious work just now' (11 February 1911, i.230). None of those hundred pages has survived, but Lawrence somehow found the 'heart' to begin this 'serious work' again a month later.

The second manuscript: *Paul Morel*

It is hard to imagine the state of mind of the young, twenty-five-year-old Lawrence as he sat down in his lodgings in Croydon on 13 March 1911 to make a fresh attempt at writing his third novel. His mother had been dead three months and he was evidently in the emotional phase following bereavement which is characterised by desperate loneliness and disillusionment with any purpose in life. He had been engaged since 3 December 1910 to Louie Burrows, who was teaching in Leicestershire, and he wrote to her this March evening from his Croydon lodgings a letter of passionate self-revelation:

¹⁷ Helen Corke (1882–1978), taught at Dering Place Mixed School in Croydon, and collaborated with DHL in his writing, particularly in his second novel *The Trespasser*, which was based on her autobiographical manuscript, entitled 'Freshwater Diary'. See *The Trespasser*, ed. Elizabeth Mansfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 1–20, 281–318. For her intellectual influence on DHL, see *EY* 212–13, 258–60.

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-56009-2 - Paul Morel: D. H. Lawrence
 Edited by Helen Baron
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

xxx

Introduction

Are you feeling sad now the week-end has gone? – I am. We could be so happy if we could be together, and alone it is so difficult. However, it is useless to moan.

I have begun Paul Morel again. I am afraid it will be a terrible novel. But, if I can keep it to my idea and feeling, it will be a great one.

I am wondering what you will be saying to me tonight. Are you being serious and telling me your trouble? – I wonder. We cannot marry yet awhile for a long time. That, I can see, is your most serious and settled conviction: and to anything you seriously decree, I bow my obedience. But sometimes life pushes very hard, and we have to be careful.

I want you to speak before I say anything. Between life and death and honor, it is a rum pass.

Oh dear, I am a cursed nuisance. I must pluck the very concentrated heart out of each of my mysteries and desires. I go straight, like a bullet, towards my aim. I cannot loiter by the way. I cannot slowly gather flowers as I saunter. I wish to heaven I could. I cut straight through like a knife to what I want. I cannot, cannot slowly enjoy watching the rose open: I can't help it, Louie, I can't. I am really dangerous in my fixed mad aim. I love my rose and no other: and when I can have her I shall want no other. But when I have her not, I have nothing. Your pleasure, which you enjoy, in the thought of me, is nothing to me. What I want I want and quarter measures are nothing to me. I am a nuisance and a trouble to everybody. Always I am cursing myself, but it doesn't alter me what I am. (i.237)

The brief but enormous commitment to and valuation of his art is followed by a long howl of loneliness and frustration. The situation of the grieving young man living in rented accommodation and weighing up his future in terms of his art and his personal needs, Lawrence later reproduced as a powerful mood painting in *Sons and Lovers*:

One evening he came home late to his lodging. The fire was burning low, everybody was in bed. He threw on some more coal, glanced at the table and decided he wanted no supper. Then he sat down in the arm-chair. It was perfectly still . . .

Then quite mechanically and more distinctly, the conversation began again inside him.

“She’s dead—what was it all for—her struggle—?”

That was his despair wanting to go after her.

“You’re alive.”

“She’s not.”

“She is—in you.”

Suddenly he felt tired with the burden of it.

“You’ve got to keep alive for her sake,” said his will in him.

Something felt sulky, as if it would not rouse.

“You’ve got to carry forward her living, and what she had done, go on with it—.”

But he did not want to. He wanted to give up.

“But you can go on with your painting,” said the will in him. “Or else you can beget children.—They both carry on her effort—”