

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





# THE WORKS OF D. H. LAWRENCE

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# LATE ESSAYS AND ARTICLES

D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITED BY
JAMES T. BOULTON





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#### GENERAL EDITOR'S 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

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#### General editor's preface

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 housestyling 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.



#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editor of diverse material such as is collected in this volume incurs many debts to generous individuals and university libraries for copies of manuscripts, typescripts and publications, information and general or particularised guidance. The names of institutions will be found in the list of cue-titles below. Individuals to whom I am indebted include: Harry Barnwell, Anthony Bliss, Derek Britton, Michael Butler, the staff of the Eastwood Public Library, David Ellis, Gillian M. Evans, Ron Faulkes, Meraud Grant Ferguson, J. E. A. Field, Michel Fuchs, Vincent Giroud, James Hamilton, Cathy Henderson, Rosemary Howard, Christa Jansohn, Dorothy Johnston, David Kessler, David Kohl, Joan Leake, Ian Ledsham, John Martin, Dieter Mehl, Bernadette Paton, Emma Peers, Gerald Pollinger, Paul Poplawski, Barbara Smith-Laborde, Aidan Turner-Bishop, Richard Verdi, Richard Watson, the Wilcox family, the late David Wishart, Frances Young. I am grateful to Leigh Mueller for her rigorous sub-editing of my text. Andrew Brown and Linda Bree at Cambridge University Press have been an unfailing source of support and encouragement; Michael Black, the late Warren Roberts, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen deserve special gratitude for sustained friendship and scholarly assistance during the preparation of this volume in particular and throughout the Lawrentian enterprise.



#### PREFATORY NOTE

The purpose of *Late Essays and Articles* is to bring together Lawrence's major essays such as the 'Introduction to These Paintings', *Pornography and Obscenity*, and his autobiographical pieces (two of which were hitherto unpublished) with the contents of the posthumous volume, *Assorted Articles* (except for 'On Being a Man' and 'On Human Destiny' collected elsewhere). The essays and articles – written during the period 1926–9 – are ordered chronologically according to the dates of composition which are either confidently known or reliably conjectured. Each is preceded by an account of the circumstances in which it was written and published.

Many of the articles which were published in newspapers or magazines appeared under titles manufactured by editors invariably without reference to Lawrence himself. The titles used here are exclusively those found on his manuscripts or implicitly accepted by him at a later (usually typescript or proof) stage. The alternative title invented editorially is shown in round brackets after Lawrence's own, in the list of 'Contents'; when an article was published under more than one alternative title, the one first used is given. Where Lawrence provided no title, the one generally accepted appears in square brackets.

J. T. B.



## **CHRONOLOGY**

11 September 1885 September 1898–July 1901

1902-1908

7 December 1907

October 1908

November 1909 3 December 1910

9 December 1910 19 January 1911

19 November 1911

March 1912

23 May 1912

September 1912-March 1913

February 1913 29 May 1913 June–August 1913 August 1913–June 1914 July 1914–December 1915

13 July 1914 26 November 1914 30 September 1915

June 1916 July 1916 15 October 1917

October 1917–November 1919 26 November 1917

October 1918

DHL born in Eastwood, Nottinghamshire

Pupil at Nottingham High School

Pupil teacher; student at University College,

Nottingham

First publication: 'A Prelude', in

Nottinghamshire Guardian

Appointed as teacher at Davidson Road

School, Croydon

Publishes five poems in *English Review*Engagement to Louie Burrows; broken off on

4 February 1912

Death of his mother, Lydia Lawrence The White Peacock published in New York

(20 January in London)

DHL ill with pneumonia; resigns his teaching

post on 28 February 1912

Meets Frieda Weekley; they leave for Germany

on 3 May The Trespasser

At Gargnano, Lago di Garda, Italy

Love Poems and Others Sons and Lovers DHL in England

In Germany, Switzerland and Italy In London, Buckinghamshire and Sussex Marries Frieda Weekley in London The Prussian Officer and Other Stories The Rainbow; suppressed by court order on

13 November
Twilight in Italy

Amores

After twenty-one months' residence in Cornwall, DHL ordered to leave by military

authorities

In London, Berkshire and Derbyshire Look! We Have Come Through!

New Poems

хi

#### xii

November 1919-February 1922 20 November 1919

9 November 1920

25 November 1920

10 May 1921

12 December 1921 March-August 1922

14 April 1922

September 1922-March 1923

23 October 1922

24 October 1922

March 1923

March-November 1923

27 August 1923

September 1923

9 October 1923 December 1923-March 1924

March 1924-September 1925

28 August 1924

10 September 1924

14 May 1925

September 1925-April 1926

7 December 1925

21 January 1926

30 April 1926

6 May 1926-10 June 1928

13-29 July 1926

c. 29 July 1926

14-16 September 1926

mid-late October 1926

19 November 1926

25-30 November 1926

c. 1 December 1926-25 February 1927

c. 5-8 January 1927

mid-April 1927

26 April 1927 June 1927

#### Chronology

To Italy, then Capri and Sicily

Private publication of Women in Love

(New York)

The Lost Girl

Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious (New York)

Sea and Sardinia (New York)

DHL in Cevlon and Australia Aaron's Rod (New York)

In New Mexico

Fantasia of the Unconscious (New York)

England, My England (New York)

The Ladybird, The Fox, The Captain's Doll

In Mexico and USA

Studies in Classic American Literature

(New York)

Kangaroo

Birds, Beasts and Flowers (New York)

DHL in England, France and Germany

In New Mexico and Mexico

The Boy in the Bush (with Mollie Skinner)

Death of his father, Arthur John Lawrence

St. Mawr together with The Princess

DHL in England and, mainly, in Italy

Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine

(Philadelphia)

The Plumed Serpent

Coal strike begins

The Lawrences' home is Villa Mirenda, San

Paolo, near Florence

DHL visits Frieda's mother in Baden-Baden

Writes 'Mercury'

Stays with sister Ada in Ripley, Derbyshire,

and makes final visit to Eastwood

Writes '[Return to Bestwood]'

Coal strike ends

DHL finishes first version of Lady Chatterley's

Writing second version of Lady Chatterley's

Writes 'Getting On'

Writes 'Which Class I Belong To'

Sends 'Making Love to Music' to Nancy Pearn

Mornings in Mexico published by Secker in

London (5 August in USA)



$\alpha_1$ 1	•••
Chronology	X111

'Why I don't Like Living in London' in Evening News as 'Dull London!' DHL in Lichtental, Baden-Baden

8 June 1927	DHL visits the Uffizi with Christine and
	Mary Christine Hughes
5–30 August 1927	In Villach, Austria
31 August–4 October 1927	At Villa Jaffe, Irschenhausen
ante 26 September 1927	Nancy Pearn and friend stay two days at Villa
	Mirenda
4–18 October 1927	DHL at Baden-Baden, Milan and Mirenda
c. 26–30 October 1927	Writes '[Autobiographical Fragment]'
5	probably intended for Guiseppe Orioli's
	Intimate Series
8 December 1927–January 1928	Writing third version of Lady Chatterley's
o December 1927—January 1920	Lover
as Ismusmu 6 Manch 2020	
20 January–6 March 1928	At Chateau Beau Site, Les Diablerets,
F.1 0	Switzerland
February 1928	Cavalleria Rusticana and Other Stories
	published in England; The Escaped Cock in
	Forum (USA)
27 March 1928	Negotiations begin with Dorothy Warren
	which lead to exhibition of paintings in 1929
25 April 1928	DHL invited to write for London Evening
	News
8 May 1928	'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know' in Evening
	News as 'When She Asks Why'
24 May 1928	The Woman Who Rode Away published by
	Secker (on 25 May in USA)
June? 1928	Writes 'Thinking About Oneself'
11–15 June 1928	DHL in France
17 June-6 July 1928	At Grand Hotel, Chexbres, Switzerland
July 1928	Lady Chatterley's Lover published by Orioli in
	Florence
7 July 1928	'Laura Philippine' in T. P.'s and Cassell's
,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	Weekly
9 July–18 September 1928	DHL in chalet, Kesselmatte, near Gsteig,
95, F9	Switzerland
ante 12 July 1928	Writes 'Ownership'
12 July 1928	'Insouciance' in <i>Evening News</i> , entitled
Jan 1920	'Over-Earnest Ladies'
18 July 1928	DHL writes 'Autobiography' for French
10 July 1920	publisher
2 August 1928	'Master in his Own House' in <i>Evening News</i>
c. 11–16 August 1928	DHL writes 'Women Are So Cocksure'
	Collected Poems (London; July 1929 in USA)
September 1928	Conecieu Foems (London; July 1929 in USA)

3 September 1928

18 September-1 October 1928



27 September 1928	'Red Trousers' in Evening News as 'Oh! for a
	New Crusade'
2-15 October 1928	DHL at Grand Hotel, Le Lavandou, France
5 October 1928	'Matriarchy' in Evening News as '-And If
	Women Were Supreme '
13 October 1928	'Hymns in a Man's Life' in Evening News
15 October–17 November 1928	DHL at Le Vigie, Ile de Port-Cros
17 November 1928–11 March 1929	At Hotel Beau Rivage, Bandol
25 November 1928	'Sex Appeal' in Sunday Dispatch as 'Sex
	Locked Out'
29 November 1928	'Is England Still A Man's Country?' in Daily
	Express; 'That Women Know Best' in Daily
	Chronicle as 'Women Always Know Best'
14–21 December 1928	DHL writes 'Introduction to Pictures'
January 1929	'Cocksure Women and Hen-sure Men' in
	Forum
18 January 1929	Police seize copies of Lady Chatterley's Lover;

Chronology

Pansies typescript seized on 23 January 'Myself Revealed' in Sunday Dispatch 17 February 1929 DHL writes 'The State of Funk' In Paris and environs Travels to Barcelona In Mallorca 'Do Women Change' in Sunday Dispatch as

'Women Don't Change' 'Give Her a Pattern' in Vanity Fair (New York)

as 'Woman in Man's Image' The Paintings of D. H. Lawrence published with

'Introduction to These Paintings' DHL at Forte dei Marmi, Italy; then to

Florence, 6-16 July 'Making Pictures' in Studio, and in Creative

Art (USA); Secker publishes Pansies Police raid Warren Gallery exhibition of DHL's paintings

DHL in Baden-Baden and nearby Celebration of Frieda's fiftieth birthday DHL at Rottach in Austria

At Hotel Beau Rivage, then Villa Beau Soleil,

in Bandol 'Pornography and Obscenity' in

July-September issue of This Quarter (Paris); 'Enslaved by Civilisation' in Vanity Fair (New York) as 'The Manufacture of Good Little Boys'

ante 23 February 1929 12 March-7 April 1929 7-13? April 1929 17 April-18 June 1929 28 April 1929

May 1929

June 1929

22 June 1929

July 1929

5 July 1929

16 July-25 August 1929

11 August 1929

26 August-18 September 1929

23 September 1929-6 February

September 1929



# Chronology xv

3 October 1929 'The Risen Lord' in Everyman November 1929 'Men Must Work and Women as Well' in Star Review as 'Men and Women' Pornography and Obscenity in Criterion 14 November 1929 Miscellany December 1929 'Pictures on the Wall' as 'dead pictures on the walls' in Vanity Fair (New York) c. 28 December 1929 DHL sends text for Assorted Articles to In sanatorium, 'Ad Astra', Vence 6 February-1 March 1930 2 March 1930 Lawrence dies in Villa Robermond, Vence April 1930 Assorted Articles published in London (11 April in USA) 'We Need One Another' in Scribner's May 1930 Magazine (USA)

June 1930 June–August 1930 July 1930

19 October 1936

New Adelphi 'Nobody Loves Me' in Life and Letters Phoenix published in USA (November 1936 in England)

'The Real Thing' in *Scribner's Magazine* 'Nottingham and the Mining Countryside' in



## **CUE-TITLES**

# A. Manuscript and typescript locations

HU Harvard University StaU Stanford University

UCB University of California at Berkeley

UCin University of Cincinnati

UCLA University of California at Los Angeles

UN University of Nottingham UT University of Texas at Austin

YU Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript

Library

#### **B. Printed Works**

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

Brewster Earl and Achsah Brewster. D. H. Lawrence: Reminiscences

and Correspondence. Secker, 1934.

Draper R. P. Draper, ed. D. H. Lawrence: The Critical Heritage.

Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.

Early Years John Worthen. D. H. Lawrence: The Early Years, 1885-

1912. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Letters, ii. George J. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton, eds. The Letters

of D. H. Lawrence. Volume II, June 1913-October 1916.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Letters, v. James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey, eds. The Letters

of D. H. Lawrence. Volume V, March 1924-March 1927.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Letters, vi. James T. Boulton and Margaret H. Boulton, with Gerald

M. Lacy, eds. The Letters of D. H. Lawrence. Volume VI,

March 1927-November 1928. Cambridge: Cambridge

University Press, 1991.

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	Cue-titles xvii
Letters, vii.	Keith Sagar and James T. Boulton, eds. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume VII, November 1928–February 1930. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
Letters, viii.	James T. Boulton, ed. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume VIII, Uncollected Letters and General Index. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
Nehls	Edward Nehls, ed. <i>D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography</i> . 3 volumes. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957–9.
OED2	J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds. <i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> . 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
Paintings	The Paintings of D. H. Lawrence. Mandrake Press, 1929.
Phoenix	Edward McDonald, ed. <i>Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence.</i> Heinemann, 1936.
Phoenix II	Warren Roberts and Harry T. Moore, eds. <i>Phoenix II:</i> Uncollected, Unpublished and Other Prose Works by D. H. Lawrence. Heinemann, 1968.
Powell	The Manuscripts of D. H. Lawrence. Los Angeles: The Public Library, 1937.
Roberts	Warren Roberts and Paul Poplawski. <i>A Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence</i> . 3rd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
Sons and Lovers	D. H. Lawrence. Sons and Lovers. Ed. Helen Baron and Carl Baron. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
Tedlock	E. W. Tedlock. The Frieda Lawrence Collection of D. H.

Lawrence Manuscripts: A Descriptive Bibliography. Albu-

querque: University of New Mexico, 1948.





#### INTRODUCTION

#### Lawrence: journalist and essayist

Lawrence's relationship with 'journalism' was always problematic. In 1916 he had insisted that Hardy 'is our last great writer. Bennett is only a journalist in comparison . . . he is really a journalist, a time-server' (*Letters*, viii. 18–19). Though Lawrence was repeatedly censorious about the novelist Arnold Bennett, despising what he regarded as his 'resignation' in the face of human misery (i. 459), describing him as a 'pig in clover' (vi. 342) and 'a cad' (viii. 41), the derogatory application of the words 'journalist' and 'journalism' to indicate a non-creative form of literary activity was not confined to Bennett. Lawrence dismissed Gilbert Cannan's novel *Mendel*, for example, as 'journalism: statement without creation', 'a piece of journalism, absolutely without spark of creative fire' (iii. 35, 50). A fledgeling American novelist, Kyle Crichton, was told in 1925 that he was 'too journalistic, too much concerned with facts' and failing to explore 'the *human inside*' of his characters (v. 293). Furthermore Lawrence attacked Crichton's native land as generally responsible for what had gone wrong:

it sees no value in the really creative effort, whereas it esteems, more highly than any other country, the journalistic effort: it loves a thrill or a sensation, but loathes to be in any way *moved*, inwardly affected so that a new vital adjustment is necessary . . . it seems to me impossible almost, to be a purely creative writer in America: everybody compromises with journalism and commerce. (v. 307–8)

So – uncreative, concerned almost exclusively with facts and the external appearance of diurnal existence, devoted to arousing a transient superficial excitement but no permanent enlargement of the human consciousness, and having a close association with financial reward: these presumptions about journalism habitually underpinned Lawrence's observations about other writers. As he embarked on his own late career as a writer for the public press he may have remembered his envy in 1916 of the ease with which John Middleton Murry seemed to 'make quite a lot by his journalism' when, in 1928, he told Martin Secker that writing 'little articles for the newspapers . . . seems *far* the best way of making money' (ii. 539, vii. 41). And, in view of the opening quotation, perhaps the final irony is to find Arnold Bennett reviewing Lawrence's

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xx Introduction

posthumous Assorted Articles in April 1930 and declaring that 'Despite a certain occasional roughness in the writing of them, the articles might well serve as models for young journalists – also for old journalists... Lawrence was a first-rate journalist.'

Lawrence had always been a keen reader of the press but his principal means of publishing in it during the last four years of his life was through the London office of his literary agent, Curtis Brown. There, the person responsible for periodical publications was Nancy Pearn, the 'golden . . . magazine girl' as Lawrence described her (vi. 459). It was she who handled the placing of all his articles, negotiating his fees with editors – applying pressure to obtain higher payment whenever possible – and either warning or flattering Lawrence himself in order to improve or sustain contacts with influential editors. She was not invariably successful. On 12 April 1927, for example, when Lawrence appeared to despair of making an adequate income from writing novels, he told her hopefully: 'I could probably live by little things. I mean in magazines' (vi. 29). Two weeks later he sent her 'a little thing post haste' with the instruction: 'If you don't like it, don't bother about it' (vi. 40). Whether or not Nancy Pearn liked it, 'Making Love to Music' failed to find a publisher in Lawrence's lifetime: living from 'little things' was not perhaps as easy as he imagined. The warning she gave on 25 April 1927 in response to his request for advice about the wisdom of publishing Lady Chatterley's Lover – that it could be 'dangerous financially speaking' to the magazine market (vi. 20 n. 5) – would have extra piquancy. Thus, when he disregarded her advice and, a year later, told her that he would publish his "shocking" novel [of which] everybody will disapprove - you certainly will' (vi. 347), Nancy Pearn's reaction on 13 April 1928 was predictable: 'let's hope the news of it won't reach any of the recently converted editors whose allegiance would thereby be made to tremble!"2

Among those most likely 'converted' at least partly by her influence, was Arthur E. Olley, literary editor of the London *Evening News*, a daily paper aimed at a wide readership and carrying some amusing general articles. As if to confirm Nancy Pearn's sense of the importance of journalism to a writer who, a few months earlier, had complained about poverty – managing 'to scramble through, but no more' (vi. 90) – Olley wrote to Lawrence (through Nancy Pearn) on 25 April 1928, inviting him to contribute an article to the *News*. At once, the very next day, she seized the opportunity to emphasise the

Draper 340.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> In the Introduction and elsewhere, quotations from the letters to DHL from Nancy Pearn (1892–1950) and Laurence Pollinger (1898–1976) – both writing from the London office of DHL's literary agent, Curtis Brown – are taken from typed carbon copies held at UT.



Introduction xxi

#### significance of Olley's initiative:

Will you, if you can only make out what the editor really wants, write the article he suggests... the publicity secured through the 'Evening News' is far from negligible, sometimes having immediate results in the way of increasing book sales. For this reason I have been looking forward to the opening up of some of these new newspaper markets for you — if only you can *bear* to tackle just those sorts of subjects which the Press adores.

Lawrence responded with alacrity and on 8 May the Evening News published his article, but under the title 'When She Asks "Why?"' whereas the typescript submitted to Olley was entitled 'The Bogey Between the Generations'.3 There had been no consultation between writer and editor about the change, but Lawrence seemed quite unmoved. When, having seen the piece in print, he wrote to Nancy Pearn, he made no protest – not even a comment – about the new title (vi. 400-1). Reflected here is the difference he maintained between 'journalism' and 'creative writing': whereas he resisted – often strenuously – editorial interference in the latter, for the most part he accepted it without demur in the former. When, for example, in 1924 an editor wanted to shorten the novella 'The Woman Who Rode Away', Lawrence told Nancy Pearn: 'I don't quite fancy having my stories cut: they aren't like articles' (v. 100). The distinction invoked here was consistently upheld. Yet it would be wrong to infer from this that he was cavalier about style and language when he wrote as an essayist or journalist. His manuscripts frequently reveal considerable rewriting, interlinear additions, the weeding out of repeated words or phrases, and a conscious (usually successful) attempt to meet an editor's request for a specific number of words. Indeed, responding to the special requirements of his rôle, Lawrence was as meticulous in 'journalism' as in 'creative writing'.4

Nancy Pearn was understandably elated by Olley's enthusiasm for his new contributor: 'You've gone and been and hit it – meaning the journalistic market – for Mr Olley says he thinks "THE BOGEY BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS" quite suitable for his stupendous paper.' She added: 'If this does result in your finding that flashes of insight produce suggestions for similar articles you have only to let me know and I shall seek where to plant them to best advantage. Just jot them down with a few words as to the proposed line of development.'

Lawrence rejected the proposal for 'jotting down' titles or suggestions – 'it's a sure way of making me *not* write 'em' (vi. 401); he preferred to receive

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> DHL's adopted title was 'The "Jeune Fille" Wants to Know'.

<sup>4</sup> Substantial passages of revision in DHL's manuscripts, to be found in the Explanatory Notes, provide evidence of his search for precision and accuracy; it was not feasible to record the innumerable small-scale examples of the same characteristic.



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specified topics. Nevertheless by 13 May he had written his article, 'Laura Philippine', which, he told Nancy Pearn, 'if it won't do for the Olley man, it may for somebody else' (vi. 400–1). Most likely she trusted her own judgement and offered it to the 'middlebrow' periodical *T. P.'s & Cassell's Weekly*, where it appeared on 7 July. This interpretation seems borne out by her next letter to Lawrence, on 17 May:

Your appearance in the 'Evening News' raises terrific questions for discussion: the editor having been keen enough on the first one to suggest the possibility of arranging with you for four or six in the near future on agreed subjects, during which time he would not want you to write for any other paper. His conditions seem to call for a rise in fee, especially as I have been having other enquiries about you from newspaper editors – but it is not certain that he will be willing to go higher than the Ten Guineas just at present.

Nancy Pearn considered this 'quite a good price' though her estimate of Lawrence's worth became clear as she went on:

Then we have the 'Daily Chronicle' which is (and this is confidential, oh most confidential, for the moment in case some other paper should bag the idea!) planning a series by men under the magnificent title 'WHAT WOMEN HAVE TAUGHT ME'. Would you do them about a thousand words – we could probably get Fifteen Guineas – remembering, as you so cleverly did in the E[vening] N[ews] article, that you were writing for the G[reat] B[ritish] P[ublic] on this occasion.

This all looks like quite a coming boom in D. H. L. articles.

Having been given a specific topic and with the possibility of a handsome fee from a national newspaper, Lawrence responded in four days to the *Daily Chronicle*'s proposal, sending his article 'That Women Know Best' to Nancy Pearn on 21 May. He felt that it might be 'too much tongue in the cheek' but urged her to 'try it on 'em. As you say, it's fun' (vi. 404). As for Olley's suggestion that Lawrence should write exclusively for him during a period to be agreed, this proved acceptable: 'I suppose it would be only for a short time', Lawrence told Nancy Pearn on 21 May. Indeed he was excited at the prospect of a ready sale for his writing: 'if we can make them go higher than their ten quid, good for us. Perhaps after all the public is not such a dull animal, and would prefer an occasional subtle suave stone to polish its wits against. Let us see!' (vi. 403). Lawrence contracted to produce four articles for the *Evening News*. It was doubtless at least partly for this reason that publication of the article in the *Chronicle* was delayed until 29 November.

Lawrence contemplated writing for Olley with pleasure – 'I find it really rather amusing to write these little articles' (vi. 403) – but in late May and most of June 1928 he was in the process of moving from the Villa Mirenda outside



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Florence and travelling to France and Switzerland, as well as reading the proofs, and generally overseeing the production, of Lady Chatterley's Lover. Olley had to wait. He expected results from the contract, however. He wrote on 12 June (via Nancy Pearn): 'I am glad to know you will write four further articles for us . . . do you feel inclined to write upon:- 1) Man Must be Master Again and 2) I Do Not Like London Life (and Why).' A third topic was added: 'Women are Cocksure but Never Quite Sure'. Apparently he received no answer. By late June his patience had worn thin. On 27 June Lawrence wrote to Nancy Pearn from Chexbres: 'The Olley man wrote and said could he have one of the four articles this week for the *Evening News?* Naturally it's doubtful if he'll get it this week. But I enclose the MS of "Insouciance" – could you have it typed and sent to him at once?' (vi. 438). The article bore no relation to the topics Olley had suggested on 12 June; it originated from a situation Lawrence had witnessed in the Grand Hotel, Chexbres; nevertheless Olley accepted and published it on 12 July, under the title 'Over-Earnest Ladies'. In direct response to the first of Olley's suggestions, Lawrence sent off to Nancy Pearn, on 28 June, his article entitled 'Master in his Own House', published on 2 August. By now he owed two articles to honour his undertaking to Olley. He therefore wrote to Nancy Pearn on 12 July: 'I enclose the other two articles for the Evening News. If Mr Olley doesn't like them, let him not print them. One doesn't want to force him against his taste – the latter being a purely mysterious quality' (vi. 460). The manuscripts of 'Matriarchy' and 'Ownership' were enclosed; Olley published the first as '—And If Women Were Supreme...' on 5 October but rejected the second which remained unpublished until its inclusion in the posthumous Assorted Articles (1930).

Olley remained determined to see the contract fulfilled and wrote again to Nancy Pearn on 11 August enquiring whether Lawrence would write on the second suggestion in his letter of 12 June, and repeating the subject 'Women are Cocksure but Never Quite Sure'. Perhaps stung by the implied reproof, and despite his uncertain health – 'I feel a bit feeble and a poor rag' (vi. 513) – Lawrence replied to Nancy Pearn on 20 August: 'If that Mr Olley would print articles half as fantastic as his own letters, he'd be a gem! – But damn them, they are so *afraid* of their public, they can only balk, balk, balk!// Now let him have "Why I don't like London": and if he's afraid of it, I'll write one, "Why I don't like him"!' (vi. 516). Olley did like it; it appeared in the *News* on 3 September entitled 'Dull London!'

Nancy Pearn added a reminder on 23 August: 'Are you going to do the other article on "Women Are Cocksure..." for the "Evening News"?' So, with some seeming exasperation, Lawrence replied the next day: 'Here's the article on the "Cocksure Woman". Since he wants a slap at the ladies, he'd better have



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a little one for the men at the same time ... He can cut it if he likes – but do keep me a complete copy' (vi. 521). Nancy Pearn acknowledged the arrival of 'Cocksure Women and Hen-sure Men' on 5 September but she must have been embarrassed by Olley's explanation in his letter of the 27th regretting that he could not use it: 'one has to be very careful not to lay a newspaper open to the danger of being lampooned by the vulgar'. He gave Lawrence the opportunity of altering the text but eventually decided that it was not possible to see 'how it could be altered to suit them'. Nancy Pearn kept it (as she told Lawrence on 20 November) 'on the chance of finding another home for it'; she succeeded in placing it with the American periodical, *Forum*, where it appeared in January 1929.

Lawrence's penultimate appearance in the *Evening News* was as the author of a lightweight piece, 'Red Trousers', sent from Gsteig in Switzerland on 13 September (vi. 563). Olley printed it on 27 September under the title, 'Oh! for a New Crusade'.

Lawrence's final contribution to the *Evening News* was an article originally written for a volume in German honouring the physician, poet and novelist, Hans Carossa. Lawrence sent his text to Nancy Pearn on 2 September and suggested that 'somebody might like it in English...Do as you like with this English version. If anybody wants it they can cut it if they like — do what they darn well please' (vi. 541). She was delighted to inform him on 11 October that Olley was impressed by the piece and had paid 15 guineas for it. His judgement was sound: 'Hymns in a Man's Life', one of the most vivid and memorable of Lawrence's journalistic writings, was published on 13 October.

Prominence and success in one newspaper inevitably generated interest elsewhere. 'Several papers have been ringing up', Nancy Pearn told Lawrence on 5 September 1928. She assured him in the same letter that 'the BBC is still keen for you to broadcast: especially so since those articles appeared in the "Evening News". And with an eye to the main chance she added: 'We have found that broadcasting really is quite a useful and dignified bit of publicity.' Lawrence's reply was decisive: 'the thought of broadcasting makes my blood run cold' (vi. 552). The request from Film Weekly in September 1928 for an article 'on the sort of film [Lawrence] would write or produce if there were no censor' also fell on deaf ears: 'I doubt if I could write about my uncensored Film – feel I haven't got one' (vi. 601 and n. 4). Nancy Pearn reminded him on 28 November that 'the "Film Weekly" people are keen to get that article from you under some such title as MY UNCENSORED FILM'; she believed Lawrence had agreed to comply if he 'could find enough to say about it'; but he was unmoved and the article was never written.



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His customary readiness to satisfy the multitudinous demands made on him as a professional writer is illustrated by Richard Aldington's description of life on the Ile de Port-Cros during the four weeks from mid-October 1928 which he spent with the Lawrences: 'he went tranquilly on with his writing although he was so ill, and was angry and bitter about the attacks on him in England [over *Lady Chatterley's Lover*]. Every morning he sat up in bed, wearing an old hat as protection against an imaginary draught, and produced a short story or one of the little essays of *Assorted Articles*.'5

One of these 'little essays' was written for the influential broadsheet owned by Lord Beaverbrook, the *Daily Express*, which sparkled with controversy and was soon to achieve the largest circulation in the world. According to Nancy Pearn on 22 October, its editor was 'aching to know whether England is still a man's country'. In his reply on the 30th Lawrence agreed to 'have a shot' at the topic (vi. 602); a mere four days later he sent the article (vi. 606) and it appeared on 29 November as 'Is England Still *A Man's* Country?'

Also in his letter of 30 October he undertook to contribute to a series on 'What is Sex Appeal?' at the invitation of Bernard Falk, editor of the rightwing Sunday Dispatch owned by Viscount Rothermere (vi. 602). Six days later the article entitled by Lawrence 'Sex Appeal' was sent to Nancy Pearn and it appeared on 25 November as 'Sex Locked Out'. With good commercial sense he had 'made it 2000 words so it would do for Vanity Fair if they want it' (vi. 606); they did want it and published it in July 1929. For her part, Nancy Pearn was 'tremendously impressed' by the article but even more important – as she told Lawrence on 15 November 1928 – Falk was 'so impressed that he has enthusiastically responded to the hint given him that he should pay more for it' than he first offered, and the price was raised from 15 to 25 guineas. Moreover, he was prepared to consider 'a minimum of six further articles' at the same fee. Nancy Pearn obviously relished the opportunity to add: 'This is all most exciting news to pour into the ear of Mr Olley, the "Evening News" being one of the same group of papers as the "Sunday Dispatch".' What prompted this jubilation was probably that Olley had rejected the article 'Do Women Change', which Lawrence sent on 8 November 'for Evening News or anybody who wants it' (vi. 610); it was Falk who eventually published it in the Sunday Dispatch (in April 1929) with the more assertive title, 'Women Don't Change'.

<sup>5</sup> Nehls, 111. 254

OHL probably remembered Nancy Pearn's warning on 23 October 1928 that Vanity Fair would not consider an article 'that does not run from nineteen hundred to two thousand two hundred words'. This was too long for newspaper editors but he was urged to bear it in mind 'when writing with magazines in view'.



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The invitation from Falk that Lawrence should write six further articles for him was apparently not acted upon. However, the *Sunday Dispatch* was the one newspaper in Lawrence's lifetime to publish an avowedly autobiographical article; other essays such as 'Hymns in a Man's Life' or 'Nottingham and the Mining Countryside' contain clear autobiographical elements; but 'Myself Revealed', published on 17 February 1929, was the only fully autobiographical piece to appear in the public press before 1930. It was accompanied by a drawing (based on a photograph of 1915) of the author, by the distinguished portraitist Joseph Simpson. Falk offered to give Lawrence the original of the 'sketch' but was refused in the most genial fashion: 'it will only worry me... But do thank Mr Simpson for not making me satanic for once. Even his tragic brow that he gave me was better than the smirking Satanismus I am so used to' (vii. 189).

The Sunday Dispatch published nothing more by Lawrence, but a suggestion by Falk for another article led in a different direction: to what Nancy Pearn called 'the magazine market'. In her letter of 15 November 1928 she conveyed Falk's idea that 'an interesting article might be evolved out of your experiences in various parts of the world, and vour observations on WHY AND HOW MAN IS BECOMING ENSLAVED BY CIVILISATION'. 'Good-O for the Sunday Despatch' was Lawrence's reply on 24 November; his article on the topic was enclosed with the letter (vii. 29). But Falk delayed for over three months; not till 8 April 1929 did Nancy Pearn tell Lawrence that 'the "Sunday Dispatch" are glad to have "ENSLAVED BY CIVILISATION", at Twenty-Five Guineas, and intend to get Rebecca West to reply to it'. Nothing came of the idea and in any case Falk had been forestalled by the New York monthly magazine, Vanity Fair (later merged into Vogue). On 18 March Nancy Pearn took obvious pleasure in writing to Lawrence: "Vanity Fair" are getting terribly attached to you! They have now bought "ENSLAVED BY CIVILISATION" at a Hundred dollars'; they published it in September under the title, 'The Manufacture of Good Little Boys'.

Vanity Fair had in fact been 'attached' to Lawrence for some time. In the past, however – with the sole exception of 'On Being a Man' of which they were the first publishers, in 1924 – they had been content to reprint articles which had first appeared elsewhere. In 1929 there was a seeming change of policy. The article 'Give Her a Pattern', written at the specific request of the Daily Express and sent to Nancy Pearn on 9 December 1928 appeared first in Vanity Fair: re-titled 'Woman in Man's Image' it was published in the American magazine in May 1929, a month before its appearance in the London newspaper. 'Enslaved by Civilisation' followed in September. Similarly, though the article 'Pictures on the Wall' was the result of a direct approach from the



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editor of the Architectural Review, Hubert de Cronin Hastings, for 'an article on artists and decoration' (vii. 260), it was Vanity Fair in which it first appeared (entitled 'dead pictures on the walls'); the American magazine published it in December 1929, the English in February 1930. Indeed, so determined was the American editor Frank Crowninshield, to establish a continuing relationship with Lawrence that – as Nancy Pearn wrote on 23 September 1929 – "Vanity Fair"... are keen to discuss a contract for a year [entailing] the delivery of probably one article a month on subjects to be agreed upon, at a sum in the neighbourhood of £40'. Lawrence was prepared to write articles for the magazine but not on such a contractual basis; in October he protested that his 'health went down rather with a slump...am feeling feeble' (vii. 512). Crowninshield persisted and offered a contract which did not insist on any specified dates of delivery and guaranteed \$150 per article; Lawrence began to waver, agreeing to write a monthly piece and leaving the editor free to refuse it if he so wished, but insisting on a \$200 fee (roughly equal to £41). On 4 November he sent three articles - 'We Need One Another', 'The Real Thing' and 'Nobody Loves Me' - written 'with an eye to Vanity Fair' but leaving Nancy Pearn to decide whether they were appropriate for the magazine (vii. 554 and n. 2). Whether she submitted them or decided against doing so is not known, but none of them ever appeared in it.<sup>7</sup> Editorial enthusiasm for Lawrence continued, nevertheless. The magazine's managing editor, Donald Freeman, renewed the attempt to secure a contract; his letter, forwarded by Nancy Pearn on 22 November 1929, informed Lawrence that 'Pictures on the Wall' reminded him once again 'how ideal a writer you are for Vanity Fair'. Freeman continued: 'I have asked your agents to submit a contract in our behalf which, although formidable, contains no restrictions that tie and bind uncomfortably. I hope you will want to sign it'. As late as 1 January 1930 Nancy Pearn reported that Vanity Fair continued to invite Lawrence to propose titles for articles which might be associated with a contract, but the invitation was too late. He confessed three weeks later: 'I haven't done any more about Vanity Fair essays – my health is so tiresome: haven't done anything' (vii. 624).

A considerable amount of Lawrence's energy from December 1928 onwards was devoted to three essays associated with painting, ostensibly at least. The first – 'Introduction to Pictures' – is a curiosity in that he made no reference to it in his letters and it does not once refer to pictures. At the outset he raises – but later deletes – the question 'What is art?' and, in order to answer

<sup>7</sup> All were published posthumously: 'We Need One Another' and 'The Real Thing' in Scribner's Magazine, May and June 1930 respectively; 'Nobody Loves Me' in Life and Letters, July 1930.



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it, uses the rest of the essay trying to define the nature of man. Written and abandoned in mid-December 1928, it was probably a first attempt to provide prefatory matter for the volume of Lawrence's Paintings which, by that time, he knew would be published by P. R. Stephensen in 1929.8 The prefatory essay - 'Introduction to These Paintings' - which actually opened the volume was written between late December 1928 and 11 January 1929. It is particularly memorable for Lawrence's strenuous, mocking assault on Roger Fry's doctrine of 'Significant Form' and its eloquent apologia for Cézanne – his realism, success in revealing 'the back of the presented appearance'9 and unremitting commitment to his art. The essay has little direct relevance to the paintings which it 'introduces', but it is one of Lawrence's major statements on the art of painting; his characteristic energy and imagination give it added distinction. The third essay, 'Making Pictures', was written on hotel notepaper in Barcelona at the instigation of the art magazine, Studio. Nancy Pearn acknowledged its arrival on 17 April 1929 and, a week later, informed Lawrence that the 10-guinea fee she had extracted from the Studio was 'above their usual rate'. 'Making Pictures' was published in July 1929 and twice reprinted in America: by Creative Art in the same month and Vanity Fair in August. The sales of the *Paintings* volume doubtless benefited from the resulting publicity.

In mid and late January 1929 two events underlined the threat to a professional writer of exposure to public disapprobation: the seizures by the police of copies of Lady Chatterley's Lover and by Customs officials of the typescript of Lawrence's collection of poems, Pansies. Official surveillance had compounded the hostile reaction to the novel by many sections of readers and the press. Lawrence's response was to write 'The State of Funk' which opens provocatively: 'What is the matter with the English, that they are so scared of everything? ... funniest of all, they are scared stiff of the printed word.' It was, he told Nancy Pearn on 23 February, 'more or less stating my position' and could be offered to Bernard Falk at the Sunday Dispatch (vii. 188). Her apprehension at the possibility of litigation which might follow is manifest from her reply three days later when she assured Lawrence that she was pondering the most effective way to use the article: 'It may be best to wait a week until the legal side is clarified' (vii. 188 n. 4). She consulted Lawrence's barrister friend, St John Hutchinson – the nature of his advice is unknown, but the article was not published in Lawrence's lifetime. It had to await the volume of Assorted Articles.

Nancy Pearn's anxiety and reluctance to take precipitate action seemed to be justified by the prominence given to the seizure of the *Pansies* typescript

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See vii. 48–50, 70ff. <sup>9</sup> See below, p. 212.



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in the parliamentary debate on 28 February. Its focus was on the censorship of documents regarded by Customs and Home Office officials as 'obscene'. From Lawrence's viewpoint it was therefore propitious that an opportunity should soon occur to publicise his own views on the topic. Edward Titus, the publisher shortly to issue in Paris the unexpurgated 'Popular Edition' of Lady Chatterley's Lover, invited him to write an article for the first number of his new journal, This Quarter. Despite uncertain health when he arrived in Mallorca on 17 April, Lawrence wrote his 4,000-word article, 'Pornography and Obscenity', which boldly addressed the subject then uppermost in his mind, one also attracting a great deal of public attention. It went to Nancy Pearn for typing on 29 April, was forwarded by her direct to Titus and he published it in September.

Immediately the London publishers Faber & Faber recognised the commercial advantage offered them: they invited Lawrence to write on the same subject for their series of pamphlets with distinctive orange paper wrappers, Criterion Miscellany. He hesitated – 'I'm sick to death of the British Public, all publishers, and all magazines' (vii. 467), he wrote on 5 September – but by the 8th he had extended the original article by a further 6,000 words and sent it to Curtis Brown's London office. In its lengthened form, Pornography and Obscenity was published as No. 5 in the Criterion Miscellany on 14 November. What Lawrence did not know was that Faber & Faber had invited the Home Secretary responsible for seizing copies of Lady Chatterley's Lover and the manuscript of Pansies, Joynson Hicks (now Viscount Brentford), to write No. 6 in the same series. 'Jix' – as he was known – entitled his pamphlet  $D\theta$ We Need A Censor?; his purpose was to justify the arguments he had used in the parliamentary debate on 28 February; and No. 6 was published to coincide with No. 5. The publishers had cleverly engineered a confrontation between the two principal antagonists. For his part, Lawrence not only demolished the known views of his opponent, he also had the satisfaction of telling his friend Charles Lahr three weeks later that Pornography and Obscenity had 'sold over 6,000 – more than any of the others' (vii. 589).

'Jix', too, expressed satisfaction at the reception of his pamphlet and at the same time – in his article 'How the censorship works' – reflected with scarcely concealed contempt on Lawrence 'on pornography'. Jix's piece appeared on 28 November (see vii. 584 n. 1.) in *Everyman*, a magazine with which Lawrence had an uneasy relationship. The editorial management held him in high regard, sympathising with him over the Customs' seizure of *Pansies*, and printing an intelligent 'appreciation' of him in April 1929, yet being inexplicably described by Lawrence as 'a cringing mongrel' (vii. 334 and n. 1). On 2 August he reiterated his 'rather poor opinion of *Everyman*' and his belief that



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'they can pay nothing', but he did not hesitate to respond positively to their invitation 'to write for their series – "A Religion for the Young".' The piece he sent to Nancy Pearn conveyed his 'idea of a religion for the young . . . a nice article, much too good for them'; it was published on 3 October, entitled 'The Risen Lord'. In it the challenging emphasis on Christ's corporeal resurrection 'with hands and feet . . . with lips and stomach and genitals of a man'<sup>10</sup> recalls Lawrence's story *The Escaped Cock*, which would be published in Paris within a month. Indeed, he told Charles Lahr that the story had the 'same idea as in "The Risen Lord" ' (vii. 516). He may have been 'surprised they printed it' (vii. 532) but was presumably pleased with the £20 fee. <sup>11</sup>

Emily Lutyens, editor of the monthly magazine *Star Review*, wrote on 10 July 1929 offering Lawrence £20 for an article on 'Men and Women' which would form part of a series on aspects of modern life (vii. 405 n. 1). He accepted the invitation and sent his contribution, with the title as suggested, to Nancy Pearn on 5 August; he added: 'they may say my article isn't their line – I don't care' (vii. 405). However, it was readily accepted; Lawrence read the proof in early October; publication followed in November. It appears that he looked over the text in mid-December with a view to its inclusion in *Assorted Articles*, and decided to change the title from 'Men and Women' to 'Men Must Work and Women as Well' (which is adopted in this volume).

In the article Lawrence laments the momentum in modern living towards abstraction and thus to 'physical repulsion... we don't *want* the physical contact, we want to get away from it'. With what enthusiasm, then, did he welcome the opportunity – in the essay 'Nottingham and the Mining Countryside' – not only to excoriate the ugliness of the English industrial landscape and the living conditions of its inhabitants, but also to celebrate what he could recreate from his youth: the highly developed 'physical, instinctive and intuitional contact' characteristic of miners like his father: 'the miners worked underground as a sort of intimate community, they knew each other practically naked, and with curious close intimacy... a contact almost as close as touch... the curious dark intimacy of the mine, the naked sort of contact'. Such 'intimate togetherness' had been discredited and defeated by the relentless drive for 'material prosperity above all things'. But, Lawrence insisted, 'the human soul needs actual beauty even more than bread'. 13

The essay, one of the most admired among Lawrence's shorter writings, was triggered by a request from the editor of the *Architectural Review*, Hubert de Cronin Hastings, for him to consider the impact of industrialisation on the

<sup>10</sup> See below, p. 270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Nancy Pearn's secretary confirmed the amount on 3 September 1929.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See below, p. 283. 
<sup>13</sup> See below, pp. 289, 292.