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978-0-521-77799-5 - The Selected Letters of D. H. Lawrence

Edited by James T. Boulton

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Lawrence's renowned creativity is conspicuous in his letters. Here in over 330 of them – many first published in the acclaimed seven-volume Cambridge Edition, and one never fully published before – are exemplified the remarkable variety and inventiveness he could command. He corresponded with the élite – aristocrats, fellow authors, painters, publishers and others from the intelligentsia; but not with these only. With equal concern he wrote to his sisters, a childhood friend suffering from tuberculosis, a Post Office clerk or an Italian servant-girl. Lawrence revelled in the act of communication, using a direct, unvarnished but invariably vivid style appropriate to each correspondent. His letters are notable for expressive and imaginative energy, wit and comedy, the tender and the tempestuous, combined with an extraordinary sensitivity to the natural world as well as to the human condition – and much besides. Few English letter-writers offer a comparable range of interest.

In his introductory essay James Boulton provides a rare critical assessment of Lawrence's epistolary achievement. In addition to the annotated texts of the letters, also included are a biographical list of Lawrence's correspondents; brief chronological and descriptive introductions to each section; and a full general index.

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# THE SELECTED LETTERS OF D. H. LAWRENCE

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JAMES T. BOULTON



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## PREFACE

With one exception the letters in this volume are based on the texts in the Cambridge University Press edition of *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence* (1979–93). The single exception (on pp. 149–52) is a letter, hitherto unpublished in its entirety, which has only recently become available. The sections into which the selection is divided correspond to the seven Cambridge volumes; thus readers who wish, for whatever reason, to explore more fully a particular phase of Lawrence's experiences, know precisely to which volume they should turn. They may also wish to consult the fuller annotation provided there.

Idiosyncrasies of spelling, punctuation and capitalisation on the part of both Lawrence and Frieda have been retained. The letters to Lawrence's mother-in-law, Baroness Anna von Richthofen, originally in German, and to the servant-girl, Giulia Pini, originally in Italian, are printed here only in translation.

The place of publication of all works cited is London unless otherwise stated.

The following abbreviations are used for the Cambridge edition:

- i. James T. Boulton, ed. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume I, September 1901–May 1913. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979
- 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
- iii. James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume III, October 1916–June 1921. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984
- iv. Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton and Elizabeth Mansfield, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume IV, June 1921–March 1924. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987
- 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
- 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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*Preface*

- vii. Keith Sagar and James T. Boulton, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume VII, November 1928–February 1930. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993



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I wish to reiterate my thanks to those private individuals and librarians of public institutions who have made their manuscripts available to the Cambridge edition of Lawrence's letters, and to the scores of others who, over the years, have generously helped with information and advice. Illustrations in this volume have been made available through the kindness of: the Arts Council of Great Britain; Mr J. P. Carswell; Mr W. H. Clarke; the late Dr D. Garnett; Elizabeth Wanning Harries; the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin; Lord Hutchinson of Lullington; Mr M. Huxley; Miss E. Jennings; Professor M. Kinkead-Weekes; Mr E. D. McDonald; Mrs M. Middleton Murry; Mrs M. Needham; Northwestern University Library; Mrs S. Roberts; Dr Warren Roberts; Dr K. Sagar; the late Mr M. Secker; Mrs J. Vinogradoff; Andrews Wanning.

I gratefully acknowledge the expertise and endurance of my co-editors who have variously contributed to the publication of the Cambridge volumes on which this selection depends. And I am especially indebted to the unremitting efforts of Lindeth Vasey, both as volume editor and as editor for the Press; the critical (but never censorious) interest of Michael Black, Andrew Brown and John Worthen; and the sustained support of my wife who has 'lived with' Lawrence for nearly thirty years and shows no signs of wilting.

JTB

## BIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF CORRESPONDENTS

- Ada**, *see* Clarke, Lettice Ada
- Aldington, Richard** (1892–1962), poet, novelist and biographer. m. 1913, Hilda Doolittle (1886–1961), American poet; separated 1919, divorced 1938. From 1919 lived with Dorothy ('Arabella') Yorke. First met DHL in 1917; published a biography of him, *Portrait of a Genius But...* (1950).
- Andrews, Esther** (1880–1962), actress, fashion journalist, artist. Partnered Robert Mountsier; spent Christmas 1916 with him at Higher Tregerthen, Cornwall; she alone visited the Lawrences there in May 1917. m. 1919, Canby Chambers.
- Arabella**, *see* Yorke, Dorothy
- Asquith, Lady Cynthia**, née Charteris (1887–1960), memoirist and, 1918–37, secretary to Sir James Barrie; she acquired her title when her father became Earl of Wemyss, June 1914. Met DHL through Edward Marsh, at Broadstairs in 1913. m. 1910, Herbert ('Beb') Asquith (1881–1947), barrister and writer, son of the Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith (1852–1928).
- Baillot, M. J.**, *see* Huxley, Marie Juliette
- Barlow, Robert Pratt**, wealthy English expatriate whom DHL met in Sicily.
- Baynes, Rosalind** (1891–1973), daughter of the sculptor, Sir Hamo Thornycroft (1850–1925), R. A. m. (1) Helton Godwin Baynes; divorced 1921; (2) 1926, Arthur Ewart ('Hugh') Popham (1889–1970), art historian. DHL knew the Bayneses from 1912–13. For a brief period in 1920, Rosalind Baynes was DHL's mistress.
- Beresford, John Davys** (1873–1947), novelist and architect. The Lawrences occupied his house at Porthcothan, St Merryn, Padstow, December 1915–February 1916. m. Beatrice Roskams.
- Bertie**, *see* Russell, Bertrand Arthur William
- Beveridge, Anne Millicent** ('Milly') (1871–1955), Scottish painter; painted DHL's portrait in Sicily, 1921; he visited her in Inverness, August 1926.
- Bill**, *see* Hawk, William
- Brett, Hon. Dorothy Eugenie** (1883–1977), daughter of 2nd Viscount Esher; painter, studied at the Slade School. Knew DHL from 1915 and remained his most faithful 'disciple'; travelled with the Lawrences to New Mexico in 1924 and made her permanent home there. One of

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- Brett's portraits of DHL is in the National Portrait Gallery; author of *Lawrence and Brett: A Friendship* (Philadelphia, 1933).
- Brett-Young**, *see* Young, Francis Brett
- Brewster, Achsah Barlow** (1878–1945) and **Brewster, Earl Henry** (1878–1957), American painters and committed Buddhists whom DHL first met in April 1921; he visited them in Ceylon, 1922; they met often thereafter; the Brewsters were in Venice when he died. Authors of *D. H. Lawrence: Reminiscences and Correspondence* (1934).
- Brewster, Harwood** (1912–90), the Brewsters' daughter whom DHL treated with great affection (his 'Schwannhild'); educated at Dartington Hall School, Devon, 1929–31.
- Brooks, John Ellingham** (1863–1929), read Law at Cambridge and German at Heidelberg; a homosexual, he settled in Capri following the Wilde trial. m. 1903, Romaine Goddard, painter and lesbian; they parted in 1904.
- Brown, Albert Curtis** (1866–1945), managing director of Curtis Brown Ltd, which became one of the world's largest literary agencies; DHL's agent from April 1921. *See also* Pearn, Annie Ross and Pollinger, Laurence Edward
- Brown, Hilda**, the daughter of DHL's neighbours in Hermitage, Berkshire, 1917–19.
- Bunny**, *see* Garnett, David
- Burrow, Dr Trigan** (1875–1950), distinguished American psychoanalyst; President of the American Psychoanalytic Association. DHL admired Burrow's writing, citing him in *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* (1921); Burrow sent him a copy of his *Social Basis of Consciousness: A Study in Organic Psychology* (1927) which DHL reviewed very warmly.
- Burrows, Louisa** ('Lou', 'Louie') (1888–1962), fellow student with DHL at Pupil-Teacher Centre, Ilkeston, and at University College, Nottingham. Awarded First Class Teacher's Certificate, 1908; headmistress, Ratcliffe-on-the-Wreake, 1909–11, Gaddesby, Leicestershire, 1911, Quorn Church of England School, 1911–24. DHL's fiancée, December 1910–February 1912. m. 1941, Frederick Heath.
- Bynner, Harold** ('Hal') Witter (1881–1968), American poet; taught in the University of California; lived in Santa Fe where, in 1922, he first met DHL. Prototype for Owen Rhys in *The Plumed Serpent* (1926). Recorded relationship with Lawrences in *Journey with Genius* (New York, 1951).
- Campbell, Charles Henry Gordon** (1885–1963), Irish barrister, later 2nd Baron Glenavy of Milltown; friend of Kot and Murry. Acted as witness at DHL's wedding. m. 1912, Beatrice Moss Elvery.

- Cannan, Mary, née Ansell (1867–1950)**, actress. Became a friend of the Lawrences when they lived near Chesham, Buckinghamshire, 1914–15; friendship renewed in Capri, and then Sicily, in early 1920. m. (1) Sir James Barrie; (2) 1910, Gilbert Cannan, novelist and dramatist (by whom she was later deserted).
- Carswell, Catherine Roxburgh (1879–1946)**, Scottish novelist, reviewer and dramatic critic; author of *Open the Door!* (1920), *The Camomile* (1922), *The Life of Robert Burns* (1930); her *Savage Pilgrimage* (1932) was the first full biography of DHL. Met DHL in 1914 through her close friend Ivy Low (Litvinov). m. 1915, Donald Carswell.
- Carswell, Donald (1882–1940)**, journalist and barrister; author of *Brother Scots* (1927), etc.
- Carter, Frederick (1883–1967)**, painter and etcher, interested in astrology and the occult. Sent MS to DHL, later published as *The Dragon of the Alchemists* (1926). His writing on symbolism in the Book of Revelation led to DHL's *Apocalypse* (1931).
- Chambers, Jessie ('Muriel') (1887–1944)**, childhood friend of DHL; prototype of Miriam in *Sons and Lovers* (1913); lived at Hagg's Farm (fictional Strelley Mill); became a teacher. Unofficially betrothed to DHL, 1904–10. Author of *D. H. Lawrence: A Personal Record*, by E. T. (1935). m. 1915, John R. Wood.
- Chambers, Jonathan David (1898–1970)**, Jessie Chambers's youngest brother. In 1928 a Lecturer in Adult Education, University College, Nottingham; became Professor of Economic History and a distinguished local historian.
- Chambers, Maria Cristina, née Mena (d. 1965)**, b. Mexico, went to USA at 14. Short-story writer under her maiden name. Became DHL's admirer after reading *Mornings in Mexico* (1927). m. Henry Kellett Chambers, senior editor of *Literary Digest*.
- Clarke, John ('Jack', 'Jackie') Lawrence (1915–42)**, son of Ada Clarke; DHL's nephew.
- Clarke, Lettice Ada (1887–1948)**, DHL's younger and favourite sister; qualified as teacher. m. 1913, William Edwin ('Eddie') Clarke, a tailor; he set up his own prosperous business in Ripley, Derbyshire, in 1912.
- Collings, Ernest Henry Roberts (1882–1932)**, artist and illustrator; illustrated *Sappho the Queen of Song* (1910) and sent DHL a copy; dedicated his *Outlines: A Book of Drawings* (1914) to DHL. m. 1922, Vera Mellor.
- Conway, George Robert Graham (1873–1951)**, managing director of Mexican Light and Power Co. and Tramways Co.; avid collector of

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- Spanish colonial documents. In 1925 he and his wife, Anne Elizabeth (1881–1962), befriended the Lawrences in Mexico City.
- Cooper, Gertrude** ('Gertie', 'Grit') (1885–1942), childhood friend of DHL; suffered from tuberculosis and was treated at Mundesley Hospital. From 1919 lived with Ada and Eddie Clarke.
- Corke, Helen** (1882–1978), teacher in Croydon and for a time DHL's confidante; *The Trespasser* (1912) largely based on her 'Freshwater Diary'. Author of *Neutral Ground* (1933), *Lawrence and Apocalypse* (1933), *In Our Infancy* (Cambridge, 1975), etc.
- Crichton, Kyle Samuel** (1896–1960), American journalist and author; when living in Albuquerque because of his tuberculosis, c. August 1925, interviewed DHL for *New York World*.
- Dahlberg, Edward** (1900–77), American writer; asked DHL to read MS of his first novel, which was published as *Bottom Dogs* (1929) with an introduction by DHL.
- David**, see Garnett, David
- Davies, Rhys** (1903–78), Welsh novelist and short-story writer, living in Nice in 1928 when he met DHL. Their mutual friend was the publisher Charles Lahr who had sent DHL a copy of Davies's first novel, *The Withered Root* (1927). Davies's story of his relationship with DHL is told in his autobiography, *Print of a Hare's Foot* (1960).
- Don**, see Carswell, Donald
- Eddie**, see under Clarke, Lettice Ada or see Marsh, Edward Howard
- Eder, Dr Montagu David** (1865–1936), early Freudian psychoanalyst; had strong socialist sympathies and became a prominent leader of the Zionist movement (political head of the executive in Jerusalem, 1918–23). Knew DHL from 1915. m. Edith Low, sister of Barbara and aunt of Ivy (Litvinov).
- Else**, see Jaffe, Else
- Emily**, see King, Emily Una
- Ernst, Morris Leopold** (b. 1888), American lawyer specialising in libel, slander and copyright. Author (with William Seagle) of *To the Pure: A Study of Obscenity and the Censor* (New York, 1928), a copy of which he sent to DHL.
- Falk, Bernard** (1882–1960), editor of the *Sunday Dispatch*, 1918–31. He greatly admired DHL's journalistic skills and printed three of his articles.
- Forster, Edward Morgan** (1879–1970), novelist, critic and essayist. Author of *Where Angels Fear to Tread* (1905), *A Room with a View* (1908), *Howards End* (1910), *The Celestial Omnibus and Other Stories* (1911), *A Passage to India* (1924), etc. Employed as part-time cataloguer at the

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- National Gallery, September 1914–October 1915. Met DHL at Lady Ottoline Morrell's dinner party, January 1915. Honorary Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, 1946.
- Frank, Waldo David** (1889–1967), American writer and editor of *Seven Arts*; probably sent DHL his first novel, *The Unwelcome Man* (Boston, 1917).
- Gardiner, Rolf** (1902–71), Cambridge graduate, farmer and pioneer of Land Service Camps for Youth in northern Europe after World War I. Initially sympathetic to leadership and training ideals of John Hargrave's 'Kibbo Kift'. Founded Springhead Estate in Dorset, to realise DHL's vision as expressed in his letter of 7 January 1928.
- Garnett, David ('Bunny')** (1892–1981), son of Edward and Constance; studied botany at Royal College of Science; later, novelist, editor and biographer. Friend of Lawrences from July 1912. After 1918 he (with Francis Birrell) opened a bookshop in London. Lived at Hilton Hall, Huntingdon, nr St Ives, Cambridgeshire. m. 1921, Rachel Marshall.
- Garnett, Edward** (1868–1937), critic, essayist and dramatist; author of *Lord and Masters* (first performed, 22–7 May 1911); *Jeanne D'Arc* (first performed, 26 October 1923). Influential adviser to several publishers; at the time of meeting DHL in October 1911, to Duckworth. Lived at The Cearne, Edenbridge, Kent, and, in London, at 19 Grove Place, Hampstead. m. 1889, Constance Black (1861–1948), later celebrated as the translator of Russian literature.
- Gertie**, *see* Cooper, Gertrude
- Gertler, Mark** (1892–1939), painter; studied at the Slade where he knew Brett; member of New English Art Club, 1912–14. Friend of DHL from 1914. Suffered from frequent bouts of depression and from tuberculosis; at Mundesley Hospital he was treated by Dr Andrew Morland whom he persuaded to visit and examine DHL in January 1930.
- Golding, Louis** (1895–1958), novelist and poet; as a critic thought highly of DHL and sought his literary advice. They may have met in London, July 1919.
- Gray, Cecil** (1895–1951), composer and music critic; had most contact with DHL (whom he met through Philip Heseltine, the composer 'Peter Warlock') when they both lived in Cornwall in 1917.
- Grit**, *see* Cooper, Gertrude
- Hal**, *see* Bynner, Harold Witter
- Hawk, William ('Bill')** (1891–1975), son of Alfred Decker Hawk, owner of Del Monte Ranch, near Taos, New Mexico. m. Rachel Woodman (1898– ).

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- Haywood, John Harrington** (1829?–1912), owner of a firm which manufactured ‘Surgical, Athletic, Veterinary and Magnetic Appliances’ at 9 Castle Gate, Nottingham. Prototype of Mr Jordan in *Sons and Lovers*.
- Hilton, Enid** (1896–1992), daughter of DHL’s friends, Willie and Sallie Hopkin. m. 1921, Laurence Edward Hilton, civil servant and amateur painter.
- Holbrook, Muriel May** (1883–1955), sister of Jessie Chambers. m. William Holbrook (b. 1884), stoneworker. They emigrated to Canada.
- Hopkin, Sarah Annie** (‘Sallie’), née Potter (1867–1922), wife of Willie Hopkin, good friend of DHL in his youth and strong feminist. Prototype for Patty Goddard in *Mr Noon* (1934; 1984).
- Hopkin, William** (‘Willie’) Edward (1862–1951), prominent in Eastwood political and intellectual life. Colliery, then Post Office, clerk; socialist; radical local journalist. Prototype for Willie Houghton in *Touch and Go* (1920) and Lewie Goddard in *Mr Noon*. m. (1) Sallie Potter; (2) 1925, Olive Lizzie Slack.
- Huebsch, Benjamin W.** (1876–1964), New York publisher. Published expurgated edition of *The Rainbow* (1915) and *New Poems* (1920).
- Huxley, Aldous** (1894–1963), novelist, essayist and, later, editor of DHL’s letters; met DHL at Garsington in November 1915. His novel *Point Counter Point* (1928) contains the Lawrentian figure, Rampion. m. 1919, Maria Nys.
- Huxley, Maria**, née Nys (1898–1955), Belgian; went to live with the Morrells at Garsington as a refugee in 1914. m. 1919, Aldous Huxley; together they became particularly close friends of the Lawrences in 1920s.
- Huxley, Marie Juliette** (Lady), née Baillet (1896–1994), knew DHL from 1915 when she was governess-companion to Julian Morrell at Garsington. Author of autobiography, *Leaves of the Tulip Tree* (1986). m. 1919, (Sir) Julian Sorrell Huxley (1887–1975).
- Jack**, see Clarke, John Lawrence or Murry, John Middleton
- Jaffe, Else** (1874–1973), Frieda Lawrence’s elder sister; Professor of Social Economics; DHL met her on his first visit to Germany, May 1912. m. Edgar Jaffe (1866–1921). Pupil of Max Weber; mistress to his brother Alfred (1868–1958), Professor of Sociology and Political Science, Heidelberg University.
- Jennings, Blanche May Rust** (1881–1944), Post Office counter-clerk in Liverpool; socialist and suffragist. Met DHL once, through Alice Dax, after a Nottingham rally for women’s rights (probably early 1908).
- Jessie**, see Chambers, Jessie, or see under Young, Francis Brett

- Juta, Jan** (1897–1991), South African painter; studied at the Slade and in 1920 was at the British School in Rome. First met DHL in Sicily, 1920; illustrated *Sea and Sardinia* (1921).
- Katharine**, *see* Mansfield, Katherine
- King, Emily Una** ('Pamela'), née Lawrence (1882–1962), DHL's elder sister. m. 1904, Samuel Taylor King (1880–1965).
- King, Margaret Emily** ('Peg', 'Peggy'), (b. 1909), daughter of Emily King; DHL's niece.
- Kippenberg, Dr Anton** (1874–1950), head of Insel-Verlag which published German translations of *The Rainbow*, *Sons and Lovers*, *Women in Love*, etc.
- Knopf, Alfred Abraham** (1892–1984), DHL's American publisher following Seltzer; published the first US impression of the authorised expurgated edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1932). m. 1916, Blanche Wolf; Vice-President of Knopf's company, 1921–57.
- Kot**, *see* Koteliansky, Samuel Solomonovich
- Koteliansky ('Kot')**, Samuel Solomonovich (1880–1955), b. Ukraine; lived in England from 1911, for forty years (1915–55) at 5 Acacia Road ('The Cave'), St John's Wood; naturalised British, 1929. Worked at the 'Russian Law Bureau', 212 High Holborn; later reader for Cresset Press. With collaborators, including DHL, translated many Russian works into English. Close friend of DHL from August 1914, and his most frequent correspondent.
- Lahr, Charles** (1895–1971), radical owner of 'The Progressive Bookshop' in Red Lion Street (hence his nickname, 'Lion'); eagerly sold many copies of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, but never met DHL. Published unexpurgated edition of *Pansies* (1929). m. Esther Archer (under whose name Lahr conducted his publishing business).
- Lawrence, Ada**, *see* Clarke, Lettice Ada
- Lawrence, Emma Maria Frieda Johanna**, née von Richthofen (1879–1956), b. Metz. m. (1) 29 August 1899, Ernest Weekley; lived in Nottingham and bore three children: Charles Montague (1900–82); Elsa Agnes Frieda (1902–85); and Barbara ('Barby') Joy (1904–); left England with DHL, 3 May 1912; divorce from Weekley made absolute, 27 April 1914. m. (2) 13 July 1914, DHL; (3) 1950, Angelo Ravagli (1891–1976). Author of memoirs "*Not I, But the Wind...*" (Santa Fe, 1934).
- Lederhandler, David V.** (1900–59), American businessman in Philadelphia and, later, New York; travelled extensively in Europe and lived for a year in Italy.



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- Linati, Carlo** (1878–1949), Italian critic; translated ‘The Fox’ and ‘The Ladybird’ (1929).
- Lou, Louie**, *see* Burrows, Louisa
- Lowell, Amy** (1874–1925), American poet; author of *Sword Blades and Poppy Seed* (1914), etc. Generous friend to DHL from July 1914; she believed he was essentially an Imagist poet; he denied it but she included his poetry in her Imagist anthologies.
- Luhan, Mabel Dodge Sterne**, née Ganson (1879–1962), wealthy American patron of the arts who urged DHL to join the art colony at Taos, New Mexico, in which she was a prominent figure. m. (1) 1900, Carl Evans; (2) 1903, Edwin Dodge, architect; (3) 1916, Maurice Sterne, painter; (4) 1923, Tony Luhan. Author of *Lorenzo in Taos* (1932).
- Mabel**, *see* Luhan, Mabel Dodge Sterne
- McDonald, Edward David** (1883–1977), American bibliographer, head of English Department, Drexel Institute of Technology; compiled *A Bibliography of the Writings of D. H. Lawrence* (Philadelphia, 1925); edited *Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence* (1936). m. Marguerite Bartelle.
- Mackenzie, (Sir) Edward Montague Compton** (1883–1972), novelist; author of *Sinister Street* (2 vols., 1913–14), *Sylvia Scarlett* (2 vols., 1918–19), etc. First met DHL in 1914; acquaintance renewed on Capri, 1919–20, through Secker, his publisher and close friend. DHL presented satirical portraits of Mackenzie in ‘The Man Who Loved Islands’ (1927) and ‘Two Blue Birds’ (1927). m. 1905, Faith Stone.
- McLeod, Arthur William** (1885–1956), DHL’s closest friend and colleague at Davidson Road School; London graduate in Greek; shared DHL’s enthusiasm for literature. Appears as MacWhirter in *The Trespasser*; as Howard Phillips in Helen Corke’s *Neutral Ground*.
- Mansfield, Katherine (Beauchamp)** (1888–1923), New Zealand short-story writer. Knew DHL from January 1913 when she – with Murry – edited *Rhythm* and then *Blue Review*, to both of which DHL contributed. m. (1) 1909, George Bowden; divorced 1918; (2) 1918, John Middleton Murry.
- Maria Cristina**, *see* Chambers, Maria Cristina
- Marsh, (Sir) Edward (‘Eddie’) Howard** (1872–1953), senior civil servant (private secretary to Winston Churchill, 1917–22, 1924–9), writer and patron of the arts; editor, *Georgian Poetry*, 1912–22.
- Mary**, *see* Cannan, Mary
- Mason, Harold Trump** (1893–1983), proprietor of Centaur Book Shop, Philadelphia; founder of Centaur Press which published McDonald’s

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- Bibliography* and DHL's *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays* (1925). m. Anne Brakely.
- Merrild, Knud** (1894–1954), Danish painter and writer; with friend Kai Götzsche (b. 1886) lived in New Mexico, 1922–3; met DHL and lived on Del Monte Ranch. Experiences with Lawrences recounted in *A Poet and Two Painters* (1938).
- Mohr, Max** (1891–1944), German doctor, dramatist and novelist whom DHL met at Irschenhausen in 1927. With his wife Käthe and daughter Eve ('Eva'), lived at Wolfsgrube, near Rottach; visited by DHL August–September 1929. Novel, *Die Freundschaft von Ladiz* (Berlin, 1931), dedicated to DHL.
- Mollie**, *see* Skinner, Mary Louisa
- Montague**, *see* Mountsier, Robert
- Morrell, Lady Ottoline Violet Anne** (1873–1938), half-sister of 6th Duke of Portland (whose seat at Welbeck Abbey, Notts., was her home 1879–c. 1897); patroness of a distinguished intellectual circle first at 44 Bedford Square, Bloomsbury, and 1915–28 at Garsington Manor, Oxfordshire. Friendship with DHL ruptured when she recognised herself in Hermione Roddice in *Women in Love* (1920); partly restored later. m. 1902, Philip Edward Morrell (1870–1943), Liberal M.P. for S. Oxon. (1906–10) and Burnley (1910–18).
- Moulaert, Jehanne**, sister of Maria Huxley; deserted by her husband she lived with the Huxleys at Suresnes and tried to earn a living by designing scarves and dress materials.
- Mountsier, Robert** ('Montague') (1888–1972), American journalist and author; literary editor of the *New York Sun*, 1910–50. Acted as DHL's literary agent in USA, 1920–3. Prototype for Monsell in *Kangaroo* (1923). *See also* Andrews, Esther.
- Muriel**, *see* Chambers, Jessie
- Murry, John** ('Jack') Middleton (1889–1957), journalist, critic and biographer of DHL. Long and turbulent friendship with DHL. m. (1) 1918, Katherine Mansfield (with whom he had lived since 1912); (2) 1924, Violet le Maistre.
- Nichols, Robert Malise Bowyer** (1893–1944), poet and dramatist; served on the Belgian–French front; suffered from shell-shock and spent five months in hospital where DHL visited him. They met again in Majorca in 1929. Author of *Invocation* (1915), *Ardours and Endurances* (1917), etc.
- Nina**, *see* Witt, Cornelia
- Orioli, Giuseppe** ('Pino') (1884–1942), antiquarian bookseller and publisher in Florence; published *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928), *The Story of*

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- Doctor Manente* (1929), *The Virgin and the Gipsy* (1930), *Apocalypse* (1931), etc.
- Ottoline**, *see* Morrell, Lady Ottoline
- Pamela**, *see* King, Emily Una
- Pearn, Annie** ('Nancy') Ross (1892–1950), manager of the Magazine Department in Curtis Brown's London office; DHL relied heavily on the professional judgement and personal interest of the woman he called Curtis Brown's 'golden...magazine girl'.
- Peg, Peggy**, *see* King, Margaret Emily
- Piehler, Hermann Augustine** (b. 1888), known to DHL only through a single exchange of letters in 1925; he revised many travel books and wrote a series for 'everyman' (e.g. *England for Everyman*), in the 1930s.
- Pini, Giulia**, daughter of a peasant family who farmed the Mirenda estate near Scandicci, west of Florence; the Lawrences employed her as a servant, treating her with courtesy and affection.
- Pinker, James Brand** (1863–1922), literary agent; DHL's agent, 1914–20.
- Pino**, *see* Orioli, Giuseppe
- Pollinger, Laurence Edward** (1898–1976), responsible for DHL's books in Curtis Brown's London office; later, in the firm of Pearn, Pollinger and Higham, and, from 1958, in his own agency, represented DHL's estate. m. 1923, Katherine Winifred Norris.
- Popham, Rosalind**, *see* Baynes, Rosalind
- Purnell, Dr George Edward** (1863–1961), American dentist in Guadalajara where he and his daughter, Idella (a former student of Witter Bynner's), were hospitable to the Lawrences in 1923.
- Radford, Dollie** (1864?–1920), poet and dramatist; knew DHL from 1915; lent Hermitage cottage to him and, several times, her Hampstead home, 32 Well Walk. m. Ernest Radford (1857–1919), Fabian, poet and critic.
- Reid, Rev. Robert** (1868–1955), Congregational Minister at Eastwood, 1897–1911; founded influential Congregational Literary Society; close friend of DHL's mother and a referee for DHL in job applications.
- Richthofen, Baroness Anna von**, née Marquier (1851–1930), Frieda Lawrence's mother and DHL's esteemed 'Schwiegermutter'. m. Baron Friedrich von Richthofen (1845–1915), soldier and military administrator.
- Roberts, William Herbert** (b. 1905), a bank-clerk; wrote an appreciative article on DHL, asked for a photograph to use as illustration, published the article – 'Study of a Free Spirit in Literature' – in the *Millgate Monthly* (May 1928), a Co-operative Society journal in Manchester, and sent DHL a copy.
- Rosalind**, *see* Baynes, Rosalind

- Russell, (Earl) Bertrand Arthur William (1872–1970)**, distinguished mathematician and philosopher. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1895; temporarily deprived of his fellowship during World War I because of pacifist activities. First met DHL February 1915. m. 1921, Dora Winifred Black.
- Sam**, *see under* King, Emily Una
- Savage, Henry (b. 1881?)**, journalist, essayist and poet. He sought DHL's advice about his poetry, by letter; met him in July 1913; and corresponded with him, 1913–14, principally on literary matters.
- Scott, Evelyn (1893–c. 1980)**, American poet and novelist; put in touch with DHL by Seltzer's sending him a copy of her poems, *Precipitations* (New York, 1920), together with the novel, *Blind Mice* (New York, 1920), by her husband, Cyril Kay Scott.
- Secker, Martin (1882–1978)**, publisher; founded his own firm in 1910. DHL's English publisher from *New Poems* (1918) onwards. m. 1921, Caterina ('Rina') Maria Capellero (1896–1969).
- Seltzer, Adele, née Szold (1876–1940)**, translator and publicist. m. 1906, Thomas Seltzer.
- Seltzer, Thomas (1875–1943)**, American publisher and friend of DHL. Starting with *Touch and Go* in 1920, he published twenty of DHL's books, but his business acumen was not equal to his literary discernment; eventually bankrupt. m. 1906, Adele Szold.
- Short, John Treggerthen (1849–1930)**, steamship-captain and later ship-owner. Owner of Higher Treggerthen, the Lawrences' home March 1916–October 1917.
- Skinner, Mary Louisa ('Mollie') (1876–1955)**, Australian nurse and writer; co-owner of the guesthouse in Darlington, Western Australia, where the Lawrences stayed shortly after arriving in the country; her novel 'The House of Ellis' was rewritten by DHL as *The Boy in the Bush* (1924).
- Stephensen, Percy Reginald (1901–65)**, Australian; manager of Fanfrolico Press in London, 1927; founded the Mandrake Press whose first book was *The Paintings of D. H. Lawrence* (1929).
- Sterne, Mabel Dodge**, *see* Luhan, Mabel Dodge Sterne
- Stieglitz, Alfred (1864–1946)**, distinguished American photographer; major influence on American taste in modern native and European art. Admired DHL's early writings, effused about *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and offered to exhibit DHL's paintings in New York. m. 1928, Georgia O'Keefe (1887–1986), American landscape painter.
- Thayer, Scofield**, American, until 1925 editor of the *Dial*, which published many of DHL's stories and poems.

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- Throssell, Katharine** (1884–1969), Australian novelist; wrote under the name of Katharine Susannah Prichard; author of *The Pioneers* (1915), *Windlestraws* (1916), etc. The birth of her child prevented her from meeting DHL in Perth; she admired his early works but not *Kangaroo*. m. Capt. Hugo Vivian Hope Throssell (1884–1933), V.C.
- Titus, Edward W.** (b. 1880), wealthy American owner of a bookshop at 4 rue Delambre, Paris 14; editor of *This Quarter*. Responsible for printing and distributing the ‘Popular Edition’ of *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* (Paris, May 1929). m. Helena Rubinstein (d. 1965), cosmetician.
- Trotter, Philip Coutts**, specialist in Styrian Jade. m. Dorothy Warren and became her partner in the Warren Gallery.
- Warren, Dorothy Cecil Wynter** (1896–1954), niece of Lady Ottoline Morrell, met DHL at Garsington, 1915–16; friend of Gertler and Frieda’s daughter, Barbara Weekley. Her gallery at 39A Maddox Street, London W.1 housed the exhibition of DHL’s paintings, June–September 1929, raided by the police. m. 1928, Philip Coutts Trotter.
- Weekley, Ernest** (1865–1954), Professor of French, University College, Nottingham, 1898–1938. Well-known etymologist; wrote *Romance of Words* (1912), *Romance of Names* (1914), etc. m. 1899 Frieda von Richthofen; divorced from her, April 1914.
- Weekley, Frieda**, see Lawrence, Emma Maria Frieda Johanna
- West, Rebecca**, pseudonym of Cecily Isabel Fairfield (1892–1983), novelist, critic and journalist; mother of H. G. Wells’s son, Anthony West (b. 1914). Met DHL in Florence in 1921; shared his distaste for the Home Secretary, Sir William Joynson Hicks (‘Jix’) and the campaign against alleged pornography.
- Wilkinson, Arthur Gair** (1882–1957) and Lilian, with their children Frances (‘Bim’) and William (‘Pino’), were DHL’s neighbours at Villa Miranda, May 1926–March 1928. Wilkinson was a landscape painter, puppeteer and eccentric.
- Wilson, Charles** (1891–1968), poet (known as ‘The Pitman Poet’), trades-unionist and journalist with a keen interest in adult education (secretary of the Workers’ Educational Association in Willington, Co. Durham). Invited leading writers including James Joyce, Huxley and DHL to address miners’ groups.
- Witt, Cornelia** (‘Nina’) Rumsey Wilcox (1880–1968), American childhood friend of Mabel Luhan; knew DHL from 1922. m. 1921, Lee Witt; divorced 1923.
- Yorke, Dorothy** (‘Arabella’) (b. 1892), expatriate American actress; the Lawrences occasionally used her flat at 44 Mecklenburgh Square,

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London. Lived with Richard Aldington from Autumn 1919. Prototype for Josephine Ford in *Aaron's Rod* (1922); appears as Winifred in John Cournos's novel, *Miranda Masters* (1926).

**Young, Francis Brett** (1884–1954), doctor and novelist. m. 1908, Jessica ('Jessie') Hankinson. Service with RAMC in East Africa endangered his health and led to their making Anacapri their principal home till 1929. Acquired Esthwaite Hall in the Lake District.

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### THE PUBLICATION OF LAWRENCE'S LETTERS

Lawrence died on 2 March 1930; by the 6th Frieda Lawrence and Aldous Huxley had adopted a plan to publish his letters. Huxley explained their intentions to Edward Titus, the publisher of the Paris edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*:

Mrs. Lawrence would like to see an edition of his letters published and I suggested to her the following idea – that we should intersperse the letters with personal recollections of Lawrence by various people who have known him at different epochs of his career. . . In this way one would produce, it seems to me, a very living book – DHL in his own words and as reflected by the people (mostly interesting personalities) he knew. . . Mrs Lawrence would like you to undertake the publication of the limited edition.<sup>1</sup>

Huxley added that he 'would undertake whatever work the editing entailed gratuitously'; he may have regretted his promise when he discovered later how much Frieda would interfere, offending owners of letters exactly when he was trying to persuade them to make their manuscripts available for publication.<sup>2</sup> For her part, Frieda urged Titus in April to 'keep Aldous up to the scratch', so that the letters 'should come out *fairly* soon'. But Titus was kept in the dark, and Frieda later remarked rather ominously: 'I am not told much until I get nasty';<sup>3</sup> apparently neither of them knew that the original idea for a memorial volume interspersed with letters had been already abandoned. The change of plan was confirmed when Huxley appealed through *The Times* on 8 July 1930 for owners of letters to allow them to be published. Moreover, no assurance was given that letters would be printed in full: 'correspondents will be informed which of their letters or parts of letters have been selected' for publication. Huxley's editorial freedom was total; for the most part he exercised it responsibly.

Before the selection could be made or a collection issued, a significant event happened: the publication, in April 1931, of John Middleton Murry's *Son of Woman; The Story of D. H. Lawrence*. In it Murry seemed intent on destroying Lawrence as a writer – he was 'neither a great novelist nor a

<sup>1</sup> *The Letters of Aldous Huxley*, ed. Grover Smith (1969), pp. 331–2.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that Huxley to some degree modelled Linda in *Brave New World* on Frieda because of his irritation at what he considered her intolerable behaviour during his work on the *Letters* volume. See David Bradshaw's introduction to *Brave New World* (1994), n.p.

<sup>3</sup> *Frieda Lawrence and her Circle*, ed. H. T. Moore and D. B. Montague (1981), pp. 6, 33.

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great poet. . . he was not a great artist<sup>4</sup> – while lauding him as a man. The twin themes are summarised in Murry's final paragraph: 'truly you were wonderful among the sons of men, and you gave the world a gift beyond price: not a gift of prophecy or wisdom, for truth and falsehood are mingled to utter confusion in your work – but the gift of yourself'. Murry ended as he had begun: 'Lawrence belongs to the order of men who cannot be judged, but only loved.'

The book contributed nothing in itself to the publication of Lawrence's letters; two volumes which also appeared in 1931, however, did so: *Lorenzo in Taos* contained letters to Mabel Dodge Luhan, who had invited Lawrence to join the art colony in Taos, New Mexico, and *Young Lorenzo*, by Lawrence's sister Ada Clarke and Stuart Gelder printed letters to members of the Lawrence family and Eastwood friends.

Whether Murry intended deliberate denigration of Lawrence or not, his book was so interpreted particularly by the novelist and critic, Catherine Carswell – who played an active but undefined role in the letters project<sup>5</sup> – and by Huxley himself. Both were incensed by it. Carswell's riposte came in *The Savage Pilgrimage: A Narrative of D. H. Lawrence* (1932) which included extracts from many letters to her and which, through irony, anger, barbed and factual corrections, counterbalanced by her sympathetic understanding of her subject, exposed Murry to harsh rebuke. He threatened litigation; the book was withdrawn and reissued in accordance with his demands. Huxley's opportunity to reply to Murry came three months later, in September 1932, with the publication of *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. The bitterness and contempt which provided much of the impetus for his introduction in that volume are clear from his letter to Catherine Carswell a year before:

I am glad you are doing something about Murry's book: it is one of the most odious and also one of the most extraordinary things I have ever read – a vindictive hagiography, malice expressed in terms of worship. And that horribly snuffing Stiggins tone! Horrible. But it's done with great ability, of course. And the master stroke of ignoring the fact that L. was an artist! I am making notes for a short study of L. to serve as an introduction to the letters – and tho' this cannot be specifically a retort to Murry it will in effect try to undo some of the mischief that that slug has undoubtedly done.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Murry, *Son of Woman*, p. 174.

<sup>5</sup> Catherine Carswell, *Lying Awake: An Unpublished Autobiography and Other Posthumous Papers*, ed. John Carswell (1950), pp. 196, 204; also John Carswell, *Lives and Letters* (1978), p. 243.

<sup>6</sup> *Letters*, ed. Smith, p. 355.



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As early as the third paragraph of his introduction Huxley fixes attention on Murry's 'destructive hagiography', dismissing it as absurd and 'very largely irrelevant'. Nevertheless Murry remained the invisible target as Huxley counterattacked by exploring Lawrence's character and achievements as an artist. Perhaps mischievously he also exploited the opportunity offered by the index to give extra prominence to Lawrence's own strictures on Murry: the reader's eye is caught by parenthetical quotations preceding the page references, such as 'irritates me...falsifies me', 'rather out of sympathy with', 'can't believe any more in', 'an incorrigible worm' or 'a pantheist without a Pan – a frying pantheist'. No other individual correspondent was so ruthlessly exposed by this means.

Since Huxley's volume, other letters by Lawrence have been presented to the public in collections large and small. The first of great importance were those written to Bertrand Russell (1948). Harry T. Moore's two-volume *Collected Letters* (1962) raised Huxley's total of 790 to over 1,200; and this number was subsequently increased by nearly another thousand through the appearance of volumes of letters to individuals: Lawrence's fiancée, Louie Burrows; his friend and most frequent correspondent, S. S. Koteliansky; his British publisher, Martin Secker; his bibliographer, the American Edward McDonald; one New York publisher, Thomas Seltzer; and the American poet, Amy Lowell. The total was further swollen through autobiographies by, and biographical studies of a host of Lawrence's contemporaries ranging from Frieda herself, Jessie Chambers – the Miriam of *Sons and Lovers* – and the American painters Earl and Achsah Brewster, to Compton Mackenzie and Lady Ottoline Morrell. The authors of such works printed Lawrence's letters, with varying degrees of accuracy and completeness, as they saw fit. Magazine articles augmented the total yet again. The process may be thought to have reached its climax in the five-and-a-half thousand letters presented in seven volumes of the Cambridge Edition; though this is largely true, other letters will emerge (over one hundred will be included in the Cambridge volume viii); some which are known to exist in private collections have not yet been made available.

## LAWRENCE AS LETTER-WRITER

Lawrence's distinction as a letter-writer has been acknowledged ever since Huxley published his volume. 'The publication of the letters of D. H. Lawrence is undoubtedly one of the most important literary events in our generation. They are in fact without parallel in the literature of the world

for the honesty and completeness with which they disclose the personality of their writer.' This judgement in the *Sewanee Review* – by one of Huxley's most perceptive reviewers<sup>7</sup> – has been reinforced on countless occasions during the succeeding decades. T. S. Eliot, not always remembered as an admirer of Lawrence, nevertheless considered his letters to be 'masterpieces of the letter-writing art'. A later writer went so far as to claim that the Cambridge Edition constituted 'a major new literary work', adding that in the case of Lawrence 'letters provide more than a context for his creativity: they are an exemplary expression of that creativity'.<sup>8</sup> The significance of his epistolary skills, then, is assumed by virtually every commentator on his writings; yet rarely is the nature of those skills analysed or even illustrated by extensive quotation. Huxley himself, in his renowned introductory essay, offers scarcely a single evaluative or critical observation on Lawrence's achievement as a letter-writer.<sup>9</sup>

Spontaneity, in some form or another, has frequently been claimed as a characteristic of the letters. Catherine Carswell could hear in them the very sound of Lawrence's voice – 'He wrote letters as he spoke... They fairly flash with quick life'; F. R. Leavis found in them 'always [Lawrence's] spontaneous self'.<sup>10</sup> But how 'spontaneous' can a letter-writer be? Alexander Pope, for example, described his own style as 'so many things freely thrown out, such lengths of unreserved friendship, thoughts just warm from the brain without any polishing or dress, the very *deshabille* of the understanding'.<sup>11</sup> And yet the very manner in which Pope defined his idea of unstudied informality was itself carefully crafted. In fact no distinguished letter-writer dispenses with artistry however much it may appear to the contrary. The manner has to *seem* relaxed, the language has to *seem* near-colloquial and natural, so that a relationship is established with the correspondent comparable to that in a private conversation. This requires intelligence, knowledge of the correspondent's personality and experience, and sensitive understanding of the language appropriate to a relationship

<sup>7</sup> Edwin B. Burgum, *Sewanee Review*, xli (1933), 112.

<sup>8</sup> Cited from the report of Eliot's unpublished lecture (Yale, 1933), entitled 'English Poets as Letter Writers', by Gerald M. Lacy, 'An Analytical Calendar of the Letters of D. H. Lawrence', Ph.D. dissertation, (Ann Arbor, 1974), p. 4; John M. Lyon, *Review of English Studies*, xlv (November 1993), 612.

<sup>9</sup> A notable exception to the general avoidance of detailed analysis is Denis Donoghue's essay in *D. H. Lawrence: Novelist, Poet, Prophet*, ed. Stephen Spender (1973), pp. 197–209. See also my article in *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, xxix (1985), 86–100.

<sup>10</sup> Carswell in 'D. H. Lawrence and his Letters', *The Nineteenth Century and After*, cxii (November 1932), 636; Leavis, *Anna Karenina and Other Essays* (1967), pp. 167–76.

<sup>11</sup> *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. George Sherburn (Oxford, 1956), i. 160.

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that exists or is in the process of being formed. Spontaneity in this context is not achieved, then, simply by writing 'off the cuff'.

The demands implicit in these remarks might seem most easily satisfied when the writer and the recipient of a letter share certain social and cultural values and have developed a conversational mode compatible with them. Thus Byron – with whom Lawrence is often compared as a letter-writer – finds it simple to hit the right note of intimacy and mocking wit with his cynical Cambridge contemporary, John Hobhouse, his publisher, John Murray or his fellow aristocrat, Lady Melbourne. Yet Lawrence, the son of a miner, was able to sustain a correspondence, enjoyable and rewarding to all parties, with people of diverse education, social background and modes of speech: say, with the Prime Minister's daughter-in-law, Lady Cynthia Asquith and Lady Ottoline Morrell, half-sister to the Duke of Portland, on the one hand; or with a post-office clerk, Blanche Jennings, a local politician in Eastwood, William Hopkin and his landlord in Cornwall, the 'old salt' Captain Short, on the other. It is striking that Lawrence needed only a relatively brief period of apprenticeship – notably through correspondence with Blanche Jennings whom he probably met only once – in which to develop an epistolary range flexible enough to accommodate all demands upon it, no matter from what social quarter they came.

To illustrate a Byronic brand of spontaneity there is the confident ease with which he addresses John Murray: 'Campbell is lecturing – Moore idling – Southey twaddling – Wordsworth driveling – Coleridge muddling – Joanna Baillie piddling – Bowles quibbling – squabbling – and sniveling.'<sup>12</sup> Murray would have no difficulty in recognising Byron's voice here and would know instinctively how to respond to his mannered wit and inventiveness. Set against this, one Lawrentian kind of spontaneity found in his reaction to the rejection of *Sons and Lovers* by William Heinemann for its alleged 'want of reticence'. The dismissive mode contrasts sharply with Byron's; Lawrence was confident that his 'patron', Edward Garnett would respond appropriately to it:

Curse the blasted, jelly-boned swines, the slimy, the belly-wriggling invertebrates, the miserable sodding rotters, the flaming sods, the snivelling, dribbling, dithering palsied pulse-less lot that make up England today. They've got white of egg in their veins, and their spunk is that watery its a marvel they can breed. They *can* nothing but frog-spawn – the gibberers! God, how I hate them! God curse them, funkens. God blast them, wish-wash. Exterminate them, slime.

I could curse for hours and hours – God help me.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Byron's Letters and Journals*, ed. Leslie A. Marchand (1978), viii. 207.

<sup>13</sup> See below p. 44. Hereafter, references to letters included in this volume will be given, in the

This is not what Pope meant by something ‘freely thrown out. . . without any polishing or dress’. The opening is spontaneous in that it arises naturally from a preceding remark about Heinemann, ‘may his name be used as a curse and an eternal infamy’; what follows shows Lawrence revelling in his linguistic creativity. He is not venting mere spleen; it is execration but increasingly jocular and not a display that Garnett would consider offensive. Lawrence had probably recognised that, when he was addressing a highly respected publisher’s adviser, it would be inept solemnly to denounce a publisher’s decision; he had the right to condemn but he had to find an appropriate mode. This he does by inviting Garnett, as it were, joyfully to share in his own creative enjoyment and ebullience.

To isolate Lawrence’s distinctive manner another comparison is instructive: to set him alongside Byron and Henry James each writing on the same subject – the death of his own mother. Byron’s response to the loss of his mother, and two friends who died around the same time, occurs in almost every letter for about three weeks from 2 August 1811. What becomes obvious at once is the self-regarding character of his laments:

I am really so much bewildered with the different shocks I have sustained, that I can hardly reduce myself to reason by the most frivolous occupations.

Or this to his friend Robert Dallas:

I shall be glad to hear from you, – on business, or common place, or any thing, or nothing – but Death, – I am already too familiar with the Dead. – It is strange that I look on the skulls which stand beside me (I have always had *four* in my Study) without emotion, but I cannot strip the features of those I have known of their fleshly covering even in Idea without a hideous Sensation.<sup>14</sup>

One might expect personal grief to break through, but it does not. With a detachment he expects Dallas to share, Byron notes the difference between charade and imagined reality (he later imagines Mrs Byron’s head stripped of flesh by ‘the less ceremonious worms’). Her significance even as an individual provokes no comment.

Henry James’s manner is markedly different. To his friend Edwin Godkin he wrote in February 1882:

My dearest mother died last Sunday. . . It has been a very acute pain to me. You knew my mother and you know what she was to us – the sweetest, gentlest, most natural embodiment of maternity – and our protecting spirit, our household genius. But you know well the depth of deep sorrow, and I needn’t talk to you of that.

text, by page numbers only; for those not included but printed in the Cambridge Edition, the volume number and page will be given.

<sup>14</sup> *Letters and Journals*, ed. Marchand, ii. 69–70.

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In comparable tones James responded to the expression of sympathy from Isabella Gardner:

I have *felt* my dear mother's death very deeply – I was passionately attached to her. . . now she is a memory as beneficent as her presence; and I thank heaven that one can lose a mother but *once* in one's life.<sup>15</sup>

James's deeply felt sorrow is central, so is his mother's significance to the family as well as to himself; he does not detach himself from the event he laments but rather tries to understand his reaction to it; and he invites his correspondents to share his grief. To his notebook (9 February 1882) he confided the intimate detail: 'I knew that I loved her – but I didn't know how tenderly till I saw her lying in her shroud.'<sup>16</sup> That was not to be shared with any correspondent.

Against these we may set Lawrence's letter, 6 December 1910, to his recently acquired fiancée, Louie Burrows, three days *before* his mother's death. It was written while he watched Mrs Lawrence – his 'love of loves' (i. 199) – dying of cancer.

This anxiety divides me from you. My heart winces to the echo of my mothers pulse. There is only one drop of life to be squeezed from her, and that hangs trembling, so you'd think it must fall and be gone, but it never will – it will evaporate away, slowly. And while she dies, we seem not to be able to live.

So if I do not seem happy with the thought of you – you will understand. I must feel my mother's hand slip out of mine before I can really take yours. She is my first, great love. She was a wonderful, rare woman – you do not know; as strong, and steadfast, and generous as the sun. She could be as swift as a white whip-lash, and as kind and gentle as warm rain, and as steadfast as the irreducible earth beneath us.

But I think of you a great deal – of how happy we shall be. This surcharge of grief makes me determine to be happy. The more I think of you, the more I am glad that I have discovered the right thing to do. I have been very blind, and a fool. But sorrow opens the eyes. When I think of you, it is like thinking of life. You will be the first woman to make the earth glad for me: mother, J[essie] – all the rest, have been gates to a very sad world. But you are strong and rosy as the gates of Eden. We do not all of us, not many, perhaps, set out from a sunny paradise of childhood. We are born with our parents in the desert, and yearn for a Canaan. You are like Canaan – you are rich and fruitful and glad, and I love you. (p. 27)

Originally the opening sentence began, 'This anxiety and grief'; Lawrence deleted those last two words, thereby pointing up the care and precision of his writing. 'Anxiety' sprang from a preceding reference to Mrs Lawrence's unhappy married life; 'grief' comes more properly in the third paragraph

<sup>15</sup> *Letters of Henry James*, ed. Leon Edel (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978), ii. 377–8.

<sup>16</sup> *Complete Notebooks*, ed. Leon Edel and Lyall H. Powers (Oxford, 1987), p. 228.

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after he has contemplated the precious, loved individual whom he is about to lose. The precision is worth emphasising because Lawrence is manifestly less economical with words than either Byron or James. His emotion is more intense than Byron's and less self-dramatising; it may not be more profound than James's, but Lawrence explores the nature of his imminent loss more copiously and evocatively and with far greater reliance on imagery. Moreover, the quasi-confessional nature of his writing does not lead to narrow vision. Borrowing words and rhythms from the Bible and hymnology, in very personal terms and with notable tenderness, he associates his private feelings with universal perspectives: with the polarities of life and death, the elucidating power of sorrow, life-giving sun and rain, and the aridity of the desert-past set against the rich promise of the future. More than either Byron or James, Lawrence articulates the tension between life and death; his ability to reconcile the resulting emotions shows remarkable poise in the face of his poignant circumstances.

The tenderness so obvious in this letter recurs frequently elsewhere – often in his affectionate letters to Frieda's mother, the Baroness Anna von Richthofen, but especially in letters of condolence. It is present as he consoles his sister-in-law, Else Jaffe, in the loss of her eight-year-old son Peter – 'his blue eyes so thoughtful like flowers, and his piping voice' – comforting her with the thought that in time of war it 'is a sacrilege to keep our children in such a world: there is a heaven which is better for them' (p. 108). In wartime, too, Lawrence offers consolation to Dollie Radford over the death in France of a close friend: 'My dear Dollie, it is a lovely spring morning, and in spite of all, the dead do not darken it: only the evil ones, the death-makers' (p. 147). Here again is that ability not only to share others' sorrow but also to view the death of an individual in a larger context. Nowhere is this better seen than in the affecting letter to Willie Hopkin on the death of his wife:

But Sallie had a fine adventurous life of the spirit, a fine adventurous life. And it's the adventure counts, not the success. If she was tired now, at least it was after a vivid travel with you... And if Sallie had to go to sleep, being really tired, having gone a long way for a woman; and if you or I have to go on over queer places, further: well, the rest of the journey she goes with us like a passenger now, instead of a straining traveller.

Nevertheless, one uses words to cover up a crying inside one. (p. 249)

To acknowledge hurt, as well as to offer healing, is proper in a letter of condolence. In capacity for sympathy Byron could not compete with Lawrence.

It is useful, however, to develop further the comparison between the two