



Rananim

The Journal of the D.H. Lawrence Society of Australia
ISSN No: 1039-9658

Vol. 9, No. 1. March 2001

WELCOME TO OUR NEW DHLA WEBSITE

The DH Lawrence Society of Australia has gone online. We now have our own DHLA website.

To be accurate, we have been on the web for over five years. But that site has been very much a holding operation while we constructed something more substantial.

Now that has come about, and – fingers crossed – by the time this *Rananim* goes to press, the new and revamped site will also be up and running. Its URL or web address is: www.cybersydney.com.au/dhl

We will be registering it with all the major search engines, locally and globally, in the next few weeks (but it may take a little longer to go through that rather slow process).

It has always been one of our prime ambitions to have a proper website. The circulation of *Rananim* is small and largely local, and the web offers a convenient way to reach a wider audience.

The new site has been designed by two young “techos”, Conrad Murdoch (no kin) and Ankit Kumar.

As befits the new world into which we are all being inexorably drawn, they are not very long-in-the-tooth, being both still students at Normanhurst High School in Sydney’s north.

But we think you’ll agree that they made a very good job of it – despite the fact, shameful to our current education system, that neither



<http://www.cybersydney.com.au/dhl>

boy had the foggiest idea who DH Lawrence was.

To them, *Lady Chatterley* was just another book, and *Kangaroo* is as remote from them as Ovid or Homer is to us. *O tempore, O mores!*

Our new DHLA site has various sections. Its principal content is derived from *Rananim* and consists of a full online version of the current issue, plus selected pieces archived from all our past issues.

Finance permitting, we will from now on publish two versions of our journal, one hard-copy, the other online.

A separate section will be devoted to the factual background of *Kangaroo*, bringing together in one place the various materials on this subject (both for and against “The Darroch Thesis”).

We will have a chatroom for comments and contributions, and indeed we hope that this will provide some of the content for future issues of *Rananim*.

The site will also feature a gallery of illustrative material concerning Lawrence’s time in Australia, and photographs and pictures that touch on this.

There will also be news of Society upcoming events, as well as links to other DHL sites elsewhere. We are also hoping to develop a wider archive of all Lawrence/Australia resources. Both these sections will be developed over time.

The webmaster of the new site will be our *Rananim* publisher, Sandra Jobson. Please send all material to her at her personal email address: sandra@cybersydney.com.au

WE'RE OFF TO SRI LANKA - IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF DHL

For some years, the DHLA has intended to organise a trip to Sri Lanka to retrace Lawrence's visit there in 1922, prior to his Australian sojourn. Now this much-awaited event has been organised by our peripatetic President.

John Lacey has been able to arrange an excellent value-for-money visit to Sri Lanka, leaving Sydney in early July. The plan is to spend four days in the Geoffery Bawa-designed Triton Hotel, a low-rise resort in a coconut grove right on the beach near Alutgama, 70 kms south of Colombo, and then to move into the cool and misty high mountain country, staying at the Hill Club in Nuwara Eliaya, over 6000 ft above sea level. Of course, a visit will be made to Ardanaree, the bungalow where DHL stayed outside the old Capital of Kandy, and to the amazing Lion Rock fortress at Sigiriya.

The trip will not be an organised tour as such, with porters and bus tours and strict timetables, but rather a low-key independent journey guided by John Lacey, who visited Sri Lanka a number of times.

(Or Kandy is Dandy in July)

Negotiations were still continuing at press-time, but travel costs are expected to be about \$ 2200-\$2700 for 14 days Sydney-to-Sydney, including some meals.

Contact John Lacey at his e-mail address (jlacey@zeta.org.au) or via snail mail (PO Box 847, Rozelle 2039).

Mr Lacey is also organising a DHLA excursion closer to home.

It is proposed to spend a DHL-oriented weekend on the South Coast, based at the Novotel, Northbeach, Wollongong, on April 7-8.

We take the train down on Saturday April 7 and visit Thirroul, Austinmer and Bulli in the afternoon. On Sunday we will try to find the place where Lawrence lost his hat, and perhaps even re-enact that famous scene in *Kangaroo*. Room rates start at \$164. Please indicate your interest by contacting John at the above addresses, or phone him on 9555 8195. (See also the Thirroul Festival plans in Bits on page 31.)



The D.H. Lawrence Society of Australia

President: John Lacey
 Vice-President: Robert Darroch
 Secretary: Margaret Jones
 Treasurer: Doug Knowland
 Membership Secretary: Sandra Jobson
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EDITORIAL

Welcome to the first *Rananim* of the New Millenium!

There is the usual mixture of news, features, and a long analysis of the the ending of *Kangaroo*. This last caused some indecision among the editorial committee as, due to its length and complexity, it will obviously not appeal to some readers. However, it was decided that this piece should appear in its entirety as it is such an important contribution to the continuing *Kangaroo* debate.

In this regard, and to repeat what is written elsewhere in "We've Come a Long Way", it should perhaps be stated that there is no Editorial "policy" regarding a

pro or anti-Darroch Thesis stance applying at *Rananim*. We can only publish what material we have, and we are sent too few items!

Every issue has an editorial which contains an appeal for submissions: articles, letters, items for Bits, etc, and this issue is no exception!

Please send your contributions - in any form, even a thumbnail dipped in tar - to the Editor at his own address: PO Box 847 Rozelle NSW 2039, or you can e-mail him at jlacey.zeta.org.au or you can contact the Society at its main address: DHLA, PO Box 100, Millers Point, Sydney, NSW 2000, Australia.

-John Lacey

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DHL SOCIETY ELECTS A NEW PRESIDENT

The DHLawrence Society of Australia has elected a new President. He is John Lacey, who is also Editor of our Journal, *Rananim*.

John was elected to the Presidency at the Society's AGM, which was held in the Rose Garden Pavilion of the Royal Botanic Gardens on Saturday, October 28.

He replaces Paul Eggert, whose letter of resignation is published on page 30, together with a reply from the vice-president, Robert Darroch, expressing the Society's regrets at Paul's departure.

The AGM reiterated these expressions of regret, and extended the Society's thanks to Paul for the work he had done over the years.

The meeting also extended similar thanks to Steve O'Connor, our Treasurer, and to John Ruffels, our Membership Secretary, who resigned as well.

The meeting elected Sandra Jobson (Darroch) as the new Membership Secretary. A Treasurer has yet to be appointed, but we are hopeful that Doug Knowland, Treasurer of the Bondi Icebergs Club, will accept the post.

All other committee positions remained the same, with Margaret Jones continuing as Secretary and Marylyn Valentine as Archivist.

Our new President John Lacey has been a Member of the Society since shortly after its foundation in 1992. He has been *Rananim's* editor for more than six years and has written a number of articles for it. He has organised all our train and ferry excursions, and is a stalwart of the Society in every respect.

By profession, John is a teacher in History and English at Cheltenham Girls' High School in Sydney. But he is probably better known to us all as one of Australia's leading ferroequinologists (what he does not know about trains is not worth knowing).

John is the third President of our



John Lacey

Society. His predecessors were Professor Ray Southall (our inaugural President), and Paul Eggert.

AGM RETURNS TO ITS ROOTS

THE Society's 7th annual general meeting was held in the Rose Garden Pavilion of the Royal Botanic Gardens on Saturday, October 28.

The setting was appropriate, for the Society was launched at a meeting in this very same place on November 21, 1993. Several other occasions have also been held in this very pleasant venue, by kind permission of the Gardens authorities.

We called this AGM the 7th, even though last year's AGM, which would have been our 6th, was aborted. As a number of our members attended last year's cruise on the *Lady Hopetoun*, which was intended to precede the 6th AGM, and so heard a report of the Society's activities on that cruise, we have decided to designate it an AGM occasion, for the sake of continuity, at least.

This year's AGM followed the presentation to Alan Ventress, the Mitchell Librarian, of the Save Wyewurk papers (see *Rananim* 6.2, and story on page 16). Alan also attended the picnic lunch that followed the presentation, and the AGM that was held afterwards.

This year's AGM did not get off to an auspicious start, if you believe in omens.

Just as Robert Darroch was about to call the 14 attendees to order, a large rat was seen scurrying across the adjacent rose garden, noisily pursued by several squawking magpies. Some who observed the incident thought of Jack Callcott's Maggies in *Kangaroo*. Others, as the rat disappeared down a hole in a garden bed, were reminded of the opening scene in *Alice in Wonderland*.

Robert Darroch apologised for the absence of an agenda and several other normal formal elements of an AGM, such as a Treasurer's report (our departing Treasurer, Steve O'Connor, is now doing research on *Eve in the Land of Nod* under the tutelage of former President Paul Eggert at the Australian Defence Force Academy).

Robert Darroch remarked, however, that the less formal nature of the occasion probably better reflected the changing nature of the Society.

He reminded those present of the background to this 7th AGM.

"Last year, following various meetings in Thirroul and elsewhere on the South Coast, our then President, Paul Eggert, tried to interest a number of academics at the University of Wollongong in taking over responsibility for the Society," he said.

At this point John Ruffels confirmed that such a meeting had taken place and that it indeed did

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seem that there was some interest in this proposal of Paul Eggert's.

Robert Darroch continued: "We went along with the plan, as it had always been our wish to involve people on the South Coast, and especially in Thirroul, in the Society.

"As you know, we were going to hold an AGM after the *Lady Hopetoun* cruise last year. This was intended to be the occasion where we would hand over the reins to the South Coast people. But none came up. Then Paul said he would organise an AGM on the South Coast (see *Rananim* 8.1). But that came to nothing as well. Then my *Rananim* article on the matter came out, and Paul sent me his letter of resignation.

"As some of you know, it is my experience of Lawrence interest around Thirroul and elsewhere on the South Coast that they are rather ashamed of their link with him, at least until recently. And all efforts to interest the University of Wollongong in Lawrence and Wyewurk – and they have been considerable, and date back a long way – have come to nothing."

At this point John Ruffels said that he believed that the problem was that the University was afraid of having to take control of Wyewurk.

Tom Thompson (publisher of the Imprint edition of *Kangaroo*) also spoke of the difficulties he had had, even being a South Coast resident, in generating interest and support for the Lawrence connection with Thirroul. "They just can't work up enough interest down there," he said.

Robert Darroch said it was a pity that the efforts to engage South Coast and Thirroul interest in the Society had borne so little fruit. "For it is not just Lawrence who has made Thirroul famous, outside of Thirroul. Many writers, painters and other artists have followed Lawrence there. Yet it is somewhat symbolic that Brett Whiteley, who painted the cover that adorns Tom Thompson's edition of *Kangaroo*, died, unknown and unsung, alone in an anonymous Thirroul motel



Vice-president Robert Darroch during a lighter moment at the Rose Garden AGM (Evie Harrison and Sandra Jobson in background)

room."

The Society could, of course, disband, Robert Darroch said, if there wasn't sufficient support for its continued existence. A member then interjected, saying that perhaps one reason why the Society had membership problems was because there was not enough being written about it.

"No," said Robert Darroch, with a wry smile, "I think that we find ourselves in this position because of what *has* been written, rather than what *has not* been written."

He pointed out that even with only about 50 members at present, we were still substantial in terms of Australian literary societies. "The biggest is the Jane Austen Society, but I think we're still probably the second-biggest," he added.

After some discussion, the members present expressed their view that the Society should continue.

John Lacey, who was elected President by acclamation, said the *Lady Hopetoun* was booked for next November, and that an issue of *Rananim* would be got out after he

returned from India (at the AGM he was suffering the ill-effects of the necessary inoculations).

The meeting then passed a motion, again by acclamation, thanking the departing committee members. Robert Darroch paid a special tribute to John Ruffels, not only for his work as Membership Secretary, but for his research and interest in Lawrence and *Kangaroo*.

He also thanked Alan Ventress for coming to the meeting and said that the Society hoped that this would be the start of an ongoing link between it and the Mitchell Library.

The meeting ended, as it began, informally, with the members and their guest wending their separate ways, some by cab from across the road in Macquarie Street, leaving Lawrence's lovely Palace Gardens to the resident flora and fauna, and lacking only by way of symbolism the faintest squeal of singing from the fortified Conservatorium, down the road, the "Con" then being in a state of renovation. (See page 32 for the AGM Minutes.)

WE'VE COME A LONG WAY

By ROBERT DARROCH

The DH Lawrence Society of Australia was officially launched, as mentioned in our AGM story on page 3, on November 21, 1993, at an inaugural meeting in the Royal Botanic Gardens in Sydney.

But its genesis goes back before that. And given the fact that the Society's future has been a matter of some concern in recent months, it might be useful – if just for the record – to take a look back at its past, at this important juncture in its existence.

Of course, everything stems from Lawrence's visit to Australia in May-August, 1922, and the fact that he wrote at least two books about Australia (though *Eve in the Land of Nod*, if it could be reconstructed, might also qualify as a third "Lawrence book about Australia").

Yet it is his major novel *Kangaroo* – once regarded as the most significant work ever written about our country – that justifies Australians taking an interest, not only in Lawrence's time in Australia, and the works he wrote here and later touching on Australia, but in his life and writings generally.

The story of Australian interest in Lawrence and *Kangaroo* is a long and winding one, and this is not the place to go into full detail about its many twists and turns. Yet some of that story should be recalled, if only that what has transpired in more recent times is seen in its proper perspective.

Apart from a ripple of publicity in Perth generated when he landed there on May 4, 1922, and subsequent fleeting mentions in *The Bulletin* on his arrival and departure in Sydney, he created no stir of recognition while he was in Australia, at least not overtly.

That is hardly surprising, for not only was he, at that time, an author of scant reputation (thus his presence here would be largely ignored anyway), but while in Australia he maintained a low profile, particularly in NSW, where he isolated himself in a secluded spot some 50 miles south of Sydney – Thirroul and Wyewurk.

Indeed, as his correspondence shows (see "The Evidence of the Letters" in *Rananim* 2.3), he did not, by intent, want anyone at all to know who he was, or even that he was on the East Coast, ("Here in NSW no one knows about me," he told one overseas correspondent), for it now seems that being incognito was an essential part of the literary experiment – turning his daily life into fiction – that he had decided to undertake while he was in Sydney and Thirroul.

The first the Australian public and its literary world

knew of his visit (and its rather spectacular result) was when *Kangaroo* was published in October 1923, and when copies of the novel arrived in Sydney several months later.

Here the initial reviews were mostly favourable, though some local critics did express surprise that his presence in Sydney and Thirroul could have passed so unnoticed. Some reviews were, however, more hostile, their main complaint being that, as Lawrence had seen so little of the country, and had, presumably, met so few Australians, then what he said about Australia and Australians had to be flawed and inaccurate. No one, publicly at least, took any notice of the secret army plot, all assuming it was a figment of his imagination, or some alien imposition on Australia of overseas experience.

In subsequent years, as Lawrence's star (which had shone none too brightly anyway during his lifetime) faded, Australian literary critics thought it exigent to adopt a more condemnatory view of the novel (though there were a few enlightened exceptions, such as Vance Palmer).

Reputation reassessed

After World War 2, Lawrence's reputation came to be reassessed, particularly following the publication in 1950 of Richard Aldington's biography (*A Portrait of a Genius, But...*) and his editing of the Heinemann Phoenix edition of Lawrence's works (where he wrote an Introduction to *Kangaroo*, perpetuating the "it didn't happen" interpretation – though see "The Spy Episode" in *Rananim* 3.2).

This Lawrence renaissance, which began to gird itself up in the 1950-60s, was especially strong in America, where many looked to him as a liberating prophet (being both literary, and thus permissible reading, and erotic, and thus salacious, gave him, perhaps unsurprisingly, a particular appeal to a generation inflicted by decades of repressive censorship).

Perhaps the high-point of his vogue came with Penguin's successful overturning of the ban on *Lady Chatterley*, which, for a short period, elevated Lawrence into the most read novelist of the day, and turned him into an increasingly popular topic for postgraduate theses.

But in Australia, and especially in tight-laced, pursed-lipped Thirroul, the feeling which had been festering that Lawrence was someone you did not want to be associated with was by no means diminished by the notoriety the *Chatterley* case generated, no siree.

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To the trickle of pilgrims finding their way down to Thirroul, once asked to sign a visitors book at Wyewurk, it was now made clear that they were no longer welcome hereabouts, and the dentist sitting-tenant then ensconced in No. 3 Craig Street metaphorically bought a horse-whip and put up a "No Lawrence Trespassers Here" sign at the front gate.

In the 1960s the Lawrence revival began to lap up even on Australia's remote shores, and critics and intellectuals here began to take a greater interest in his Australian sojourn and *Kangaroo*. Some brave souls even began to raise suspicions that there might be more to the secret army plot of *Kangaroo* than had hitherto been imagined.

This was the situation when Sandra and I returned to Australia in 1975, having been sooled on to Lawrence and *Kangaroo* by Dr Warren Roberts (Lawrence's bibliographer) in Texas three years earlier. We began to frequent the Mitchell Library and other archival repositories, trying to piece together some consistent/coherent account of Lawrence's time in Sydney and Thirroul in 1922. It did not take us long to realise that the accepted "no-truth-in-it" plot-interpretation could not possibly be correct.

(Also around this time – the early 1970s in fact - the archivist at the Kings School in Sydney, to his considerable surprise, was alerted to a connection between the school, Lawrence and a local secret army, but we only found out about this 20 years later, in 1994 – see *Rananim* 7/8.1.)

Our first trip down to Thirroul was made just before Xmas 1975, and we were accompanied by the artist Paul Delprat (see his resulting illustrations in *Rananim* 4.1). We made our way first to Harbord Street, the address of Lucy Callcott, who had let Wyewurk to the Lawrences in 1922. Her son still lived in the street, but, unlike his late mother, he had no time for Lawrence or Lawrence visitors. An evil, twisted little Pommy pervert, with homosexual leanings, was his attitude, but he did, grudgingly, give us directions to Wyewurk, a few blocks to the south in Craig Street.

There we met with an even more unfriendly reception from the incumbent dentist, who shooed us away, refusing either entry or discussion. Thirroul seemed to harbour a suspicion that its local virtue had been corrupted by an alien visitation, and that any mention of Lawrence, let alone what he did down there, was town taboo. (Though a traditional disinclination to tolerate Sydneysiders nosing about was probably also a factor.)

We had better luck in Sydney, where we soon began to discover that a small band of people had already been fossicking around, endeavouring to rake up from the dust of the past some clues to Lawrence's brief stay in Australia, some also making tentative moves to preserve whatever tenuous connections still remained with him and his visit.

A gentleman called Nyland had tracked down the son of the couple who had met Lawrence on the boat to Sydney and who had taken the only known photographs of the

Lawrences at Wyewurk. (He was trying to find the rest of the roll of film he assumed the Forresters had taken – little did we know, as I and John Ruffels subsequently discovered, that they were still in Norm Forrester's photo album at Strathfield, unrecognised as such.)

Nyland put me in contact with journalist Fred Esch, who years earlier had supplied one of Lawrence's chief biographers with material and contacts relating to his Australian visit (including the Forrester snaps and Mollie Skinner in Perth). Esch wanted to get the National Trust to buy and preserve Wyewurk, which, fortuitously, and mainly thanks to the sitting-tenant and rent control, was then still almost as it was when Lawrence left it in 1922.

I thought I might help here, for I had gone to Sydney High with the (then) Minister in charge of such matters, and so in mid-1976 I wrote to him outlining the significance of Wyewurk and urging that it be purchased and preserved. But Paul Landa had been more interested in basketball than books, and he declined to act (tragically, we could have got it for a song, then).

A Film of *Kangaroo*

By the time we departed again for London a few years later, the secret army background to *Kangaroo* had been pretty-well sketched in, and people here and overseas had begun to talk about making a film of *Kangaroo*, and also of taking advantage of the centenary of his birth to re-edit his works (this became the CUP edition). Initially, I was involved in each project, but was discarded from both in the end.

However, I myself had been asked to write, for the anniversary, a book about Lawrence in Australia, and this was published by Macmillan Australia in 1981 (*DH Lawrence in Australia*). Around this time I also began a long association with two others interested in Lawrence's time in Australia – Andrew Moore, who was to write the definitive book on the Old Guard (*The Premier and the Secret Army*), and John Ruffels, an amateur historian with considerable research skills. Both helped my own research, and later played active roles in the subsequent struggle to preserve Wyewurk.

It was also around this time that a former journalist colleague of mine on *The Bulletin*, Bob Carr, began to take an interest in Lawrence and the political genesis of *Kangaroo*. By then he was an MP and a rising star in the NSW Labor Party (and soon to be a Minister, and later Premier). I wrote to him after he became Minister for Planning in NSW, urging that something be done to preserve Wyewurk. A little later an interim preservation order was placed on the precious cottage (which by then – the late 1980s – we had also learned was the oldest remaining Californian bungalow in NSW, and thus of not only historic and literary significance, but of great architectural importance, too).

But the forces of reaction were gathering in Thirroul and elsewhere. The story of the Save Wyewurk battle has been told by Sandra Jobson (Darroch) in *Rananim* 3.3 (and more fully documented in the Save Wyewurk documents now in the Mitchell), so I'll not go into it in much detail here.

In brief, the owner of Wyewurk (Mrs Southwell, Lucy Callcott's sister) died, and the property (now vacated by the curmudgeonly dentist) had passed into the hands of a relative who did not want to retain it. A local South Coast estate agent got to know that it was, or might be, on the



Lawrence and Frieda at Wyewurk - from Garry Shead's Kangaroo series

market, and by a process that is still unclear (apparently involving a "Dutch auction") acquired the cottage for a bargain price.

(Needless to say, had it become more widely known that the house was up for sale, I for one would have moved hell and high water to have it purchased and preserved – indeed, I would have bought it myself to secure its preservation. But Mr Michael Morath, the new owner, ensured that that did not happen.)

In the event, the interim preservation order, backed by an inquiry ordered by the State Government, effectively scuppered the new owner's plans to add a second storey to the cottage and some other interesting Cape Cod embellishments. Yet it did remain in private hands, and ones that were now even more hostile to any connection with its Lawrence past. Pilgrims were still turned away, and the cottage remained suspended in limbo-land.

However, the activity generated by the struggle, and its unsatisfactory outcome, provided the incentive for some of those involved in the Save Wyewurk campaign (including a budding local historian, Joe Davis, who also had played an active part in the campaign, and several other South Coast supporters, notably publisher Tom Thompson) to discuss the formation of a more permanent body.

This led to the 14/11/92 meeting in the small Thirroul library (then watched over by another interested local, Wendy Joliffe) which resolved to form a group or association to promote Lawrence and Lawrence research in Australia, and also to keep an eye on Wyewurk (see *Rananim* 1.1). We decided to call our group, in line with overseas precedent, the DH Lawrence Society of Australia.

About a year and much activity later the inaugural meeting of the fledgling society was held in the Rose Garden pavilion in the Royal Botanic Gardens in Sydney (see p. 3,

and *Rananim* 2.1). There the society was officially launched, and the first office-bearers elected (Ray Southall, a literature professor at Wollongong University, became our first president, I was elected vice-president, Beverley Burgmann became secretary, Steve O'Connor treasurer and John Lacey and Sandra Jobson became editor and publisher of *Rananim* respectively). By then we had signed up about 50 members, garnered mainly from the Save Wyewurk support list, and including Margaret Jones, John Ruffels (soon to become membership secretary) and Andrew Moore.

All manner of possible Lawrence-related activities were canvassed by our diligent committee, though the publication of *Rananim* soon became the principal focus of the society's efforts. And here the seeds of subsequent difficulties were first sown. Because from the outset a divide or fault-line was evident in the society and its makeup.

On one the side of this divide were those who placed some credence in what Andrew Moore had earlier christened "the Darroch Thesis" (which maintained that the secret army plot in *Kangaroo* was based on fact, and that Lawrence did encounter an actual secret army in Sydney and portray it in the

novel).

On the other side were what Bruce Steele (the now-anointed CUP editor of *Kangaroo*) called "the sceptics", who rejected such a theory and maintained that either Lawrence made the whole thing up, or that there might have been some such secret army activity while he was here, but that he had nothing to do with it personally, learning about it perhaps from a casual source, such as in a bar or barber shop. (I suppose there was a third group, who might be called "the fence-sitters", who weren't sure one way or the other. And there were those who simply enjoyed the society's pleasant occasions and lively discussions.)

Rananim, from its very first issue in October 1993, became a vehicle or instrument for the elucidation and confirmation of the "truthful" interpretation of *Kangaroo* – see "Letters of Introduction" in *Rananim* 1.1, "The Barber of Thirroul (2.1), "Following Lawrence's Footsteps" (2.2), "The Evidence of the Letters" (2.3), "Wobbly Source for Row in Town" (3.1), "The 'Spy Episode'" (3.2), "An Unconsidered Trifle" (3.3), "In the Valley of the Roses" (4.2-3), "Mining Lawrence's Nomenclature" (5.1), "What's in a Name?" (5.2), "A Ruse by Any Other Name" (5.3), "But He Did Have Time" (6.1), and "Nothing to Sniff At" (7/8.1).

Not every article in *Rananim* about the so-called Darroch Thesis was written eponymously (Andrew Moore's "What Walter Knew" in *Rananim* 2.1 and Sandra Jobson's "Take Me to Your Liedertafel" in 6.2 were valuable contributions), but almost every issue *did* feature some such article, and all on the pro-side of the divide mentioned above. There was nothing from the opposing camp – not

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WE'VE COME A LONG WAY

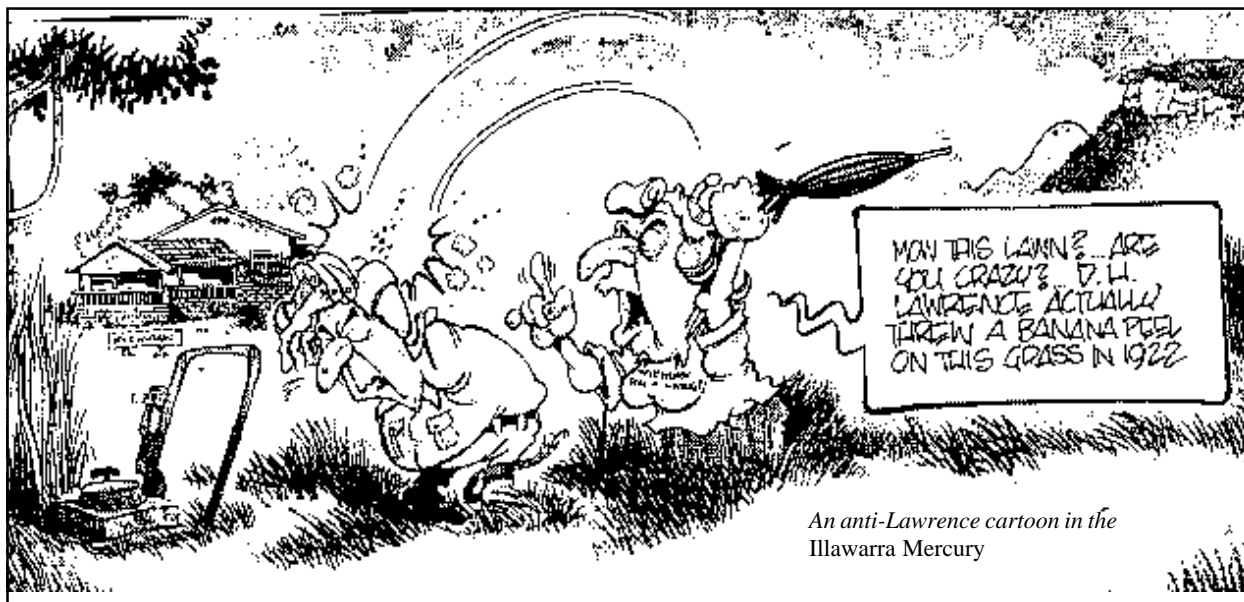
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because they were excluded (far from it), but because there was, in *Rananim* and indeed within the society generally, no voice raised or written in reply or opposition to the Darroch Thesis.

So *Rananim* became, by default, a journal whose

Falls, excursions to Collaroy and Narrabeen, pre-Christmas get-togethers in the Botanic Gardens, and, most popularly, an annual trip out on the Harbour on the steam yacht *Lady Hopetoun* (also by courtesy of the indefatigable Mr Lacey) viewing various places of Lawrence interest.

Yet the main non-social function of the society continued to be the production of *Rananim*, which has, as of this year, been going for over seven years. Even those who were critical of its Darroch Thesis bias (yet biased



An anti-Lawrence cartoon in the Illawarra Mercury

principal theme, apart from promoting interest in Lawrence and Wyewurk, was a progressive report on the evidence that was emerging in support of the Darroch-Moore position, unanswered by any contrary view.

In actuality there were three main foci of the opposing position: one centred on Bruce Steele, editor of the CUP edition of *Kangaroo*; another centred on David Ellis, the CUP editor of the “definitive” biographical account of Lawrence’s time in Australia; and the third revolved around South Coast historian Dr Joe Davis, whose 1989 book, *D.H. Lawrence at Thirroul*, had put forward a very different account of Lawrence’s time in NSW (and whose PhD supervisor had been Ray Southall.)

Despite this divide or division, however, the society managed to survive, and even prosper. Joe Davis and Bruce Steele both became members, and the Lawrence establishment in Britain and America (particularly the D.H. Lawrence Society of North America and the D.H. Lawrence Centre in Nottingham) gave strong support (as did Gerald Pollinger, agent for the Lawrence Estate).

In Australia, a rising Lawrence scholar, Paul Eggert (CUP editor of *The Boy in the Bush*), took an active part in the society, contributing to *Rananim*, chairing several conferences/seminars put on by the society, and moving up to President of the society when Ray Southall retired.

Many successful events were organised and well attended by some of the more than 80 members who had joined up by 1994. These included various steam train trips to Thirroul (organised by John Lacey), an annual conference at the Writers’ Centre at Rozelle, a trip to Lodden

only because of the absence of any countervailing argument) were warm in their praise, not only of the professionalism of our journal (put together several times a year by a core group that included John Lacey, Sandra Jobson, Margaret Jones, John Ruffels and Robert Darroch), but of the variety and general quality of its contributions. There would not be much argument today that *Rananim* is the premier literary journal in Australia devoted to one author.

It would be invidious to pick out what might be regarded as the more significant contributions to *Rananim* over the past seven years, but an indication of the quality of the content might be gained from the following selection:

“Incident at the Café Royal” (Sandra Jobson in *Rananim* 2.1, illustrated by Paul Delprat); “Was Willie Struthers My Uncle Jock?” (Robert Douglass, 2.1); “A Touch of Pasadena in Thirroul” (John Ruffels, 2.2); “Women in Love and *Kangaroo*” (Steve O.Connor 2.2); “The Mystery of the Old Dairy” (Sandra Jobson, 2.3); “Lawrence at Duntroon” (Paul Eggert, 2.3, including a list of the Lawrence material at the AFDA); “The Wyewurk Visitors’ Book” (John Ruffels, 3.1); “*Kangaroo* in Court – The Battle for Wyewurk” (Andrew Moore, 3.1); “D.H. Lawrence’s Reception in Australia” (Paul Eggert, 3.3); “Horror! Shock! Drama!” (Robert Darroch, 4.2-3); “Pussy Jenkins and Her Circle” (Sandra Jobson, 4.2-3); “Lawrence and the Marchbanks” (John Ruffels, 4.2-3); “Strangers on a Train” (Margaret Jones, 4.2-3); “Meeting Frieda in Taos” (Geoffrey Dutton, 5.2); “Squib, Not Cannon (sic)” (Christopher Pollnitz, 5.2); “The Inky Way” (John Ruffels,

5.2); “*Kangaroo* and R.L. Stevenson” (John Lowe, 5.3); “Sunday in New Mexico” (Christopher Pollnitz, 5.3); “Manning Clark and D.H. Lawrence” (Stephen Holt, 6.1); “Down in the Woods, Something Stirred” (Robert Darroch, 6.2); and “Morning Tea with Monty” (Robert Douglass, 7/8.1).

As well, there were many reports, with photos, of various society events, most written by our present secretary, Margaret Jones, and by *Rananim* editor, John Lacey. News items of Lawrence interest, here and overseas, were also featured regularly, along with ongoing reports about the state of Wyewurk. As mentioned on page 16, our archivist Marylyn Valentine collated the Save Wyewurk papers, in preparation to them being handed over to an Australian library.

When an appeal by a non-member, Joanna Skilton, to place a plaque in the park at the end of Craig Street, Thirroul, was launched, the society lent some support to the project, and when the plaque was officially unveiled, both Paul Eggert and John Ruffels attended the function (recorded in *Rananim* 7/8.1).

Yet perhaps *Rananim*'s most attractive contribution were the original or creative works with a Lawrence theme that it published. The highlight of this was probably the special poetry issue (*Rananim* 4.1), published in April 1996. This featured original poems by C.D. Barron, Joe Davis, Jeff Guess, Lynn Hard, Kris Hemensley, John Ridland, John Ruffles, Thomas Shapcott and Peter Skrzynecki. As well, there were articles by Chris Pollnitz (“Lawrence the Poet”) and Robert Darroch (“Lawrence’s Ceylon poem, Elephant”). The issue also featured colour reproductions of some of Paul Delprat’s Thirroul/Lawrence watercolours, the result of the Thirroul visit in 1975 mentioned above.

Another highlight were the colour reproductions of some of Garry Shead’s Lawrence/*Kangaroo* series, published as a special supplement to *Rananim* 5.3 in December 1997. A number of other issues contained original drawings by Paul Delprat and poems by Christopher Pollnitz (such as “Taos, New Mexico” (*Rananim* 3.2) and “Stepping into the same river twice” (5.3)).

Yet, and again from the outset, there was a serious void in the society’s activities. There was little or no contribution to either the society’s socialising or to *Rananim* from Thirroul itself. Joe Davis and others did attend some functions, but none were initiated from the South Coast. They came along for the ride, as it were, but contributed little themselves (librarian Wendy Joliffe did put on a lunch in her house at Austinmer, which was most pleasant, and Joe Davis did arrange for some society postcards to be printed).

Indeed, almost the only contact between Joe Davis and the Thirrouleans and the society up in Sydney was via John Ruffels, who apparently had also helped Joe with

some research when he was preparing to turn his PhD thesis into *D.H. Lawrence at Thirroul*.

This constituted another fault-line in the society’s activities, which was augmented by the obstinate refusal by Wollongong University (despite the best efforts of Ray Southall) to show any interest at all in a propinquity that most other universities round the world would have given their eye teeth to have the chance to exploit. Even the accession to a chair at the university by Barry Cunningham, a relation of Sandra’s, did nothing to spark any Lawrence interest in Wollongong’s Halls of Ivy.

A number of events from 1994 onwards began to put further pressure on these underlying fissures in the society’s make-up, and start to deepen them. Of these, the major one was the publication in 1994 of Bruce Steele’s CUP “definitive” edition of *Kangaroo*.

Steele, who, creditably, had lent some support to the Save Wyewurk campaign, nevertheless had always been adamantly opposed to the tenets of the Darroch Thesis. Indeed, as mentioned above, he was the chief proponent of the



Lawrence at Wyewurk in 1922

opposing or “sceptics” interpretation of *Kangaroo*.

Steele had earlier reviewed favourably for the *DHL Review* (the premier international journal of D.H. Lawrence studies) Joe Davis’s 1989 Thirroul book, saying that Davis’s account of Lawrence’s time in NSW was “much more credible than Darroch’s theories”. This view became the “official” CUP position when their Lawrence biographer, David Ellis, embraced Joe Davis’s critique in a later *DHL Review* article, saying that “local research” had demonstrated the weakness, in fact the falsity, of “Darroch’s theories”.

Steele set the scene for his *Kangaroo* edition with an address delivered in 1991 to Paul Eggert’s Australian Defence Force Academy. The address, later published in the local literary journal *Meridian*, brought together the “sceptics” doubts, which were then laid out more definitively in Steele’s 1994 *Kangaroo* Introduction, where he concluded that the Darroch Thesis “has now been shown to be without foundation” (shown by “local research”, presumably).

So it must have been (and indeed was) irksome to Steele and the Lawrence establishment - and something of an embarrassment for society President Paul Eggert (being a prominent Lawrence scholar and CUP editor) - when *Rananim* nevertheless continued to publish articles in support of the Darroch Thesis. To his credit, however, Paul continued to lead the society, and contribute generously to its journal and other activities.

Yet there was no question that Steele’s Introduction to his CUP *Kangaroo* had dealt a powerful blow to the

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WE'VE COME A LONG WAY

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Darroch Thesis - as it was intended to do. Indeed, one of its principal objectives was to bring the full weight of CUP authority to bear on the matter, hopefully deploying its Lawrence establishment imprimatur to stamp out the deviant Darroch-Moore heresy.

And it achieved its purpose, apparently. When the CUP edition came to be reviewed, critics here and overseas remarked that it had finally put paid to rumours circulating - which they treated as little more than unsubstantiated speculations - that *Kangaroo* had been based on fact (a reception that received double-barrelled reinforcement when Ellis's CUP biography finally appeared a year or so later, wherein the Darroch Thesis was given another authoritative battering).

It might have seemed that there was now little that could prevent the CUP juggernaut from rolling on and squashing the Darroch Thesis, and that continuing advocacy of it in *Rananim* would be rank perversity, or, more likely, shady nepotism.

However - fortunately or unfortunately, depending on your point of view - Steele had committed a dreadful error. In his CUP edition he had got the ending of *Kangaroo* wrong. His edition of the novel was badly flawed.

To those unfamiliar with the arcane complexities of textual analysis, and the authoritative editing of texts of famous works, the mistake might not seem all that dire. After all, two variant endings of the novel had been circulating for decades. What did it matter now if one version ended 375 words shorter than another did?

But it mattered a lot, particularly to the world of textual analysis, and especially to the CUP. Definitive editions of major works are a serious matter. They are meant to lay down texts that are intended to last, to be the basis of future editions, such as popular paperbacks and school and university study texts. The very spelling of words, the placement of punctuation marks, are matters of considerable moment.

But *Kangaroo* was even more important than that for the CUP. It was the very foundation of their Lawrence Complete Works edition. Because it was (as I mention in "Not the End of the Story" on page 21) the corrupt texts - and the variant endings - of *Kangaroo* that the originators of the CUP project had first cited, back in the 1970s, to argue for a comprehensive re-editing of the entire Lawrence canon, and in the process establish new copyright for all of Lawrence's works.

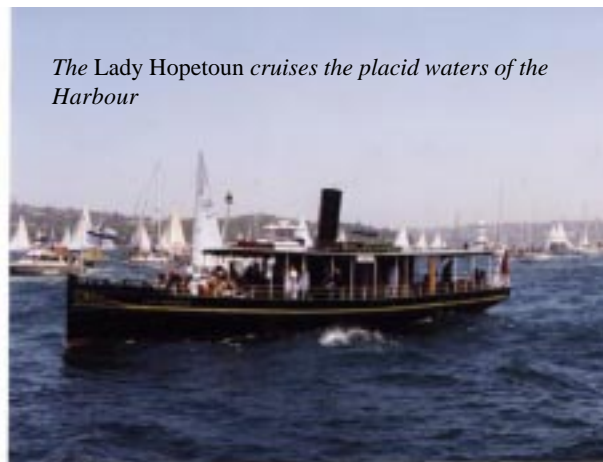
So now, for the CUP *Kangaroo* to have mislaid 375 words that should have been included in the text - and not just any 375 words, but the 375 words that comprised the correct ending of the novel (and not just any ending, but the ending the variants of which had been a primary justification for the entire project) - was a mistake of some proportions. In textual analysis, errors don't come much bigger than that.

The first the CUP and world of Lawrence scholarship would know about Steele's blunder was when I delivered a

paper about it at the 6th International D.H. Lawrence conference, held in Nottingham in 1996. In the audience was the (U.K.) general editor of the CUP edition, Professor Boulton. After I revealed what Steele had done, he asked: "Have you spoken to Bruce about this?" "No," I replied, "we have not had any contact since 1988." "Pity," he said.

The CUP was faced with a dilemma. It was now aware that it had published a definitive edition of *Kangaroo* with the wrong ending - and, worse, with an Introduction that was at best flawed, and at worst dissembling. What was it going to do? For the moment, it did nothing.

Back in Australia, *Rananim* and the Darroch Thesisists politely refrained from doing anything to rub the CUP noses in the mess they had produced. Our society continued on as if nothing had happened. Paul Eggert, who had stayed with Professor Boulton in England (and must



The Lady Hopetoun cruises the placid waters of the Harbour

have discussed *Kangaroo* with him), continued to preside over the society with equanimity and aplomb. Nothing was said. The *Lady Hopetoun* continued to cruise around the placid waters of the Harbour.

However, by then, I also had in my possession something else that would further undermine the "definitive" edition of *Kangaroo* and the CUP's "official" position on the novel's interpretation. These were the Yeend letters from Kings (see *Rananim* 7/8.1). These confirmed, conclusively, that the Darroch Thesis was in fact correct, and that Steele, Ellis, Dr Joe Davis, and the other "sceptics" were wrong. Lawrence *had* met a secret army in Sydney, and *Kangaroo* was its consequence. There was now a second skeleton in the CUP/Lawrence establishment cupboard, rattling to get out.

And that, of course, was the CUP/Lawrence-establishment's *real* problem. For if they were to admit that the CUP *Kangaroo* was defective, and did something to restore the authoritative reputation of the CUP text - in effect, allow one of the skeletons out - then that might release the other, and far more dangerous skeleton from its hiding place.

For if the correctness of the Darroch Thesis were acknowledged, then decades of Lawrence scholarship might be thrown into question. If Lawrence did not make up the plot of *Kangaroo*, that would have implications for the interpretation of other of his works (it would tend to undermine, for example, of the categorisation of *Kangaroo*

as one of Lawrence's three "leadership novels"), and it would also cast doubt on the credibility of a considerable body of this and other Lawrence scholarship.

That was the position when I went off to the 7th International D.H. Lawrence conference held in Taos in July, 1998. As I mentioned in my (tongue-in-cheek) report of the event (see *Rananim* 6.2), I was particularly interested – indeed, riveted - to divine what the CUP/Lawrence world was going to do about its faulty edition of *Kangaroo*, which was threatening to taint the authoritativeness of the whole CUP "definitive edition" project.

The answer was clear from the moment of arrival. I was ostracised. Even Paul Eggert, my fellow DH Lawrence Society ally, evinced what I interpreted as distinct signs of shiftiness. The Lawrence world, in which Paul was now playing a prominent role, had apparently decided to close ranks around Steele and his faulty CUP edition. Incredibly, they were going to try to keep the cupboard shut.

As might be imagined, I returned to Sydney with a less-enhanced view of the intellectual integrity of Lawrence scholarship, and of Lawrence scholars. Yet, in reality, there was little I could do about it. *Rananim* had a minuscule circulation, I was a common journalist, and Bondi was a long way from Nottingham and the other lofty bastions of the Lawrence establishment. As they had no doubt calculated, I was relatively powerless to do anything to expose their duplicity, so long as their ranks held firm.

Nevertheless, in the two subsequent *Rananim* editions articles were published ("Fear and Loathing in Las Taos" and "We are Alive & Twitching") that dropped any veil of pretence or politeness. Up you, CUP.

That, as also might be imagined, left some other members of the society with their own problem. The divide had now become a chasm, and was threatening to split the society asunder. Yet perhaps there *was* a way out. For down in Thirroul, some belated interest in Lawrence was beginning to stir, apparently.

As mentioned above, Paul Eggert attended the Thirroul plaque unveiling, and as also mentioned in the report on page 3, there contact was made with some academics from Wollongong University, who, seemingly, were also evincing some interest in the local Lawrence connection. Paul got the idea that they might take over the society.

At first, such a possibility – handing the society over to some sort of South Coast alliance of locals and academics - was not completely unacceptable to Sydney-based society members, though some had deep reservations about its prospect of success (and several about the real motive behind it). Interest from Thirroul and the South Coast, and particularly from Wollongong University, had been (as mentioned above) something that had always been lacking in the society. If they were now, at last, prepared to play an active role, then that might be the best way forward, given everything.

A *Lady Hopetoun* cruise was coming up in November 1999. Paul proposed that he invite some of the interested Thirrouleans and Wollongongians up to join us on the cruise, after which an AGM might be held and the society given its new South Coast orientation. This was agreed.

But on the day, none turned up. Even Joe Davis declined Paul's invitation (he said he had something more

important on). The result was reported in *Rananim* 7/8.1. John Lacey, who had organised the cruise, was especially annoyed, for he had, at Paul's insistence, bumped some of his friends, who had already booked places, off the cruise in order to make way for the putative South Coast contingent. When Paul himself learned that no one from the South Coast was in fact coming up, he too cancelled.

To add injury to insult, a subsequent effort by Paul to organise an AGM in Thirroul or Wollongong (to save locals the bother of coming up to Sydney) was also aborted, apparently for lack of interest, or commitment. It seemed that the South Coast was by no means as enthusiastic as Paul had led himself to believe. Or perhaps the Illawarra's ingrained suspicion of outsiders was re-asserting itself.

What then followed is laid out in the exchange of letters published on page 30.

Rananim and the Society will continue, nonetheless. Some of us think that, this way, Lawrence's memory is better served. Myself against the world, he once said. We now see that as not a totally inapt precedent.

Thirroul and its environs were the scene recently of a new protest movement. Here is the text of a Media release that explains what happened (Sandon Point is at the other end of McCauley's Beach to Wyewurk):

**SANDON POINT ABORIGINAL TENT
EMBASSY (SPATE)**

For the past two months SPATE has been attempting to enlighten the Local Government in the importance of this area.

On February 19 Wollongong City Council made a decision to allow Stage One of the proposed development at Sandon Point to go ahead.

SPATE and its supporters turned their backs on Labour Councillors and chanted "Shame, shame, shame" before leaving the Chambers.

Downstairs SPATE congregated to air their disgust and were informed by Uncle Guboo that we should stage a sit-in.

SPATE re-entered the Chambers, but when we attempted to air our grievances the Mayor closed the meeting and left.

He returned and tried to pacify SPATE with more of his lies. During this brief interlude Dootcha stated that the Council's decision was a direct Act of Cultural Genocide.

Dootcha requested that the Council remove the Aboriginal Flag from its flagpole, as Labour Councillors were not genuine about reconciliation.

SPATE will be advocating very strongly against the Labour Councillors over their racist attitude towards our people in an Era when Reconciliation is high on the agenda of all 3 Tiers of Government. SPATE will continue to highlight the ignorance, the arrogance, the misinformation, and lack of goodwill of Local Government.

Therefore SPATE is seeking the support of all Australians (Blackfellow and Whitefellow) to end the lip-service of all 3 Tiers of Governments. Come and support us at Sandon Point at KURADJI WATERS on the banks of BUGEEN CREEK fed from BUGEENA LAGOON.

Tell them to put up or shut up in areas of Reconciliation. Tell them to put away the double-sided placards and T-shirts that read "Progress and Dollars".

MIRRIUL WIRRIN MININ (The Creator will not allow it)

PS: A delegation of SPATE warriors/officials will be present at the KOORI ABORIGINES Social Function at Balmain Town Hall Saturday evening next.

TO THIRROUL VIA *COLLARROY*



Both Collaroy and Thirroul are well known to DHL scholars: Collaroy as the place where DHL first came into contact with the secret army, and Thirroul as the location of Wyewurk, where DHL wrote *Kangaroo*. Yet what is the mystery of the heading, as the two are geographically disparate?

There is no real mystery, as the DHL Society embarked on one of its varied transport excursions, this time by the oceangoing ferry *Collaroy* to Port Kembla, coach to Kiama, and thence by train to Sydney.

The *Collaroy* is one of the large ferries used on the Manly service, and maintaining the tradition established by the great steam ferry of 1938, the *South Steyne*, it was equipped with stabilizers and radar to enable it to proceed on excursions outside the Heads. So a group of society members joined other transport enthusiasts on an unusual tour to the South Coast.

It was a beautiful May morning as *Collaroy* made a fast passage to pass Watson Bay in about 18 minutes from the Quay, and then for many it was new territory as the *Collaroy* passed through the Heads. The Gap, as viewed from the sea, is perfectly named and this perspective makes explicable the fatal error of the Master of the *Dunbar*. Past Bondi, Bronte, and then Coogee; all familiar ground, but what a different point of view! Then there was an unusual sight; that of the vanes of the experimental wind farm on the cliffs near Malabar. The low sandy wastes of the entrance to Botany Bay were

passed, and then the cliffs of Kurnell stretching to Port Hacking. There were fine views of the Illawarra Coast and escarpment and further down were the Stanwell Park amphitheatre, Mt Vincent and then the Dark Tor rising above Austinmer and Thirroul. The ferry was circled by a DC3 also conveying passengers who would return either by train or ferry, but our members' lenses were trained on the headland at the south end of Thirroul.

Collaroy had made such good time on this flat sea that almost two hours remained for a punctual arrival at Port Kembla, so the Master then took *Collaroy* out to sea, away from the coast, and then headed south to circumnavigate the Five Islands before the slow approach to the Port where a number of wheat and iron ore carriers were berthed.

The original plan had been to sail all the way to Kiama, but, despite the Master's entreaties, StateTransit would not countenance this and decreed that the destination had to be Port Kembla. Otherwise, this would have been the first arrival of a passenger vessel at Kiama since the cessation of the regular South Coast steamer services in the late 1930s.

It had been a very pleasant voyage, marred only by an inane running commentary broadcast over the public address system. However, most Society members escaped this by remaining outside on the lower deck where the raucous interruption did not carry.

Coaches conveyed the passengers onwards to the

Sailing to Thirroul By Christopher Pollnitz

This is no country for old men, like Mead or Paxman or myself. No, it's the young who get the hard gets, mark on a long lead and goal from fifty. Spectator stunts when sprung chortle in corporate boxes; there's no breed of wise heads, no Hill from which barbs are flung; and therefore I have saved my spit and drool and learnedly sailed southwards to Thirroul.

Astride the Collaroy having its last outing, we cantered southwards on a sweet, short swell. The volleyball sandcastle, Bondi's shouting-point passed, and the refinery at Kurnell smudging Botany which Jumbos turn about in. But elsewhere-bound, our ship snuffed the sea-smell, the light, the wave. While passengers had brekkie I wondered if they'd have me for a deckie.

Thirroul Railway Station, 1922, saw Lawrence descend with Frieda from the train, the former already writing Kangaroo in what some call an overheated brain. An oval which coral trees grow round, and grew, was there: he saw the trees, but not the game. Like other Poms, his commentary was snooty including nothing worthwhile on the footy.

On the back verandah of Wyewurk he perched writing 5 or 10,000 words a day. Our diggers, unions, pollies he besmirched, but not a word on what Australians play. Though galleries and zoos were both researched, about North Melbourne he had nowt to say; and never even flickered an eye me-wards to spy me as my spectre-bark passed sea-wards.

Political worries make you prematurely old, writing about them too — but so does sport. I watched as Norfolk Pines and Wyewurk rolled behind to port, or was it starboard? Thought (was the team young, mature or past it?) trawled through the cold depths where twining currents fought.

Ports should change names, so the winemakers blarney, to Vintage Fortified Grenache, or Tawny.

Wollona next, or Wollongong, whereat knowing ourselves upon D.H.'s trail we dropped a line for the authorial hat (distrusting both the teller and the tale). That's where Port Kembla's hookahs feed the fat and capitalist air, while young and old grow pale and spectre-thin ashore, with the fine particles. (Lawrence should have stayed and written fiery articles).

A plume of fume turned, and the southerly's hammer belted into us. Feeling every Scottish year, the Collaroy took it, creaked like a windjammer and solidly pushed on. An itchy ear had me duck into the loo before Kiama. Early to bed last night, I'd failed to hear the final score from Football Park. A funny kind of elation gripped me in the dunny.

A draw, and with Geelong! They'd showed some fight. As our transport hove into the little town, sea, sand and street were bathed in Eden's light. The Tory Hotel only seemed to frown as if a Tree whereof one must not eat, though one could sit and lay some bottles down. After two hours getting tight as good poesis my voyage took on a whole new noesis.

Stuff the Blowhole! I felt another man. Aboard the 3801's ongoing speed and listening to its hoarse I think I can, I knew I could, too: steam home to my meed of marking, teaching, ageing, in my span to fashion, when occasion provides need and before the brain and liver are quite wrecked, these monuments of middling intellect.

(Several amateur attempts by members on the voyage/trip at rendering the Kiama excursion into verse - or worse - can be seen on page 31.)

once-busy port of Kiama, where there are remains of a colliery railway which ran through the streets to Robertson Basin. But, as this was a fine Mothers' Day, Kiama was crowded, and some of the party made an unfortunate choice of venue for lunch, while others had sensibly brought a picnic.

Too soon it was time for the departure of the train, initially hauled by a vintage, now preserved diesel, to Wollongong. Here steam giant 3801 was waiting to be attached in the lead and, as John Lacey had arranged seats in the leading car, members were treated to a rousing steam performance. The famous green streamliner of 1943 soon had its heavy train moving at 100 kmh through the northern suburbs of Wollongong. The pace then slowed on the sinuous climbing track past Austinmer, and everyone drank in the glorious sea views from the line carved along the lower flank of the

earlier mentioned Dark Tor, accompanied by the sound of the locomotive working hard on the long climb.

Those not leaning out of the windows or standing in the doorways or corridors commenced a poetry competition, and were surprised to learn that the train had made an early arrival at Sutherland, followed by another early arrival in Sydney, where many remained to admire the locomotive and speak to the crew.

There was only one regret about the day, and that was the realisation, to be confirmed later, that this was the last such special coastal cruise. *Collaroy* was due for an overhaul, and State Transit planned to complete this, but without attention to the radar and stabilizers so vital for any out-of-Sydney Harbour excursions. Several passenger members signed a petition to protest against this.

- John Lacey

BERT GETS A

Lawrence was a women's stockings fetishist, if his greatest novel *Women in Love* is any indication.

This might be too harsh a description of his passion for women's fashion, but fetishist or not it would be hard to find a writer who could better describe women's clothes than Lawrence – although Proust is a possible rival. Lawrence takes a sensual delight in describing the textures of fabrics and furs, the intricacies of cut and design, the colour of stockings. He also uses his characters' clothes as an extension of their personalities: a deft way to swiftly convey a lot of information about them.

This is particularly evident in *Women in Love* where Lawrence makes at least 30 references, some entire paragraphs, to the clothes his characters wear, particularly Gudrun, Ursula and Hermione Roddice.

The novel begins with the two sisters sitting sketching and embroidering and musing about marriage. Lawrence immediately makes the point that "The sisters were women, Ursula twenty-six, and Gudrun twenty-five. But both had the remote virgin look of modern girls, sisters of Artemis rather than of Hebe."

This theme of newness and modernity is expressed time-after-time in the fashions the sisters choose to wear, and in particular, their vividly-coloured stockings.

Gudrun, back home in Beldover from the sophisticated demi-mondaine world of arty Chelsea, "wore a dress of dark-blue silky stuff, with ruches of blue and green linen lace in the neck and sleeves; and she had emerald-green stockings." When she walks through the colliery part of the town, miners comment: "What price the stockings!"

The contrast between the new and the old is emphasised at the Crich wedding, where vague old Mrs Crich arrives... "She was a queer unkempt figure, in spite of the

obvious attempts to bring her into line for the day... Her colourless hair was untidy, wisps floating down on to her sac coat of dark-blue silk from under her blue silk hat."

The sisters also watch Hermione Roddice arrive... "a tall, slow, reluctant woman with a weight of fair hair and a pale, long face... she came along, with her head held up, balancing an enormous flat hat of pale yellow velvet, on which were streaks of ostrich feathers, natural and grey... She wore a dress of silky, frail velvet, of pale yellow colour, and she carried a lot of small rose-coloured cyclamens. Her shoes and stockings were of brownish grey, like the feathers on her hat, her hair was heavy...".

Later, in Chapter IV, when Gudrun and Ursula receive an invitation by Hermione to visit her at Breadalby, Ursula casts aspersions on Hermione, saying that Gudrun is "a thousand times more beautiful than ever she is or was, and to my thinking, a thousand times more beautifully dressed, for she [Hermione] never looks fresh and natural, like a flower, always old, thought-out...".

Hairstyles, too, are carefully observed and described. Lawrence seemed fascinated with the "Chelsea bob", the style the avant garde art students like Dora Carrington adopted. He portrays Minette in the café in London, where Birkin and Gerald have called in to see the denizens, "...with bobbed, blonde hair cut short in the artist fashion, hanging straight and curving slightly inwards to her ears." She "wore no hat in the heated café, her loose simple jumper was strung on a string round her neck. But it was made of rich yellow crepe-de-chine, that hung heavily and softly from her young throat and her slender wrists."

Next morning she appears in the doorway of their lodgings and Lawrence says, "She had been wearing a loose dressing-gown of purple silk, tied round her waist." (This is an interesting use of the past tense, perhaps to imply that she had been wearing the gown overnight?)

Lawrence continues to offset Gudrun and Ursula's outfits against Hermione's when the sisters visit Breadalby. Hermione "admired Gudrun's dress more. It was of green poplin, with a loose coat above it, of broad, dark-green and dark-brown stripes. The hat was of a pale, greenish straw, the colour of new hay, and it had a plaited ribbon of black and orange, the stockings were dark green, the shoes black. It was a good get-up, at once fashionable and individual. Ursula, in dark blue, was more ordinary, though she also looked well.

"Hermione herself wore a dress of prune-coloured silk, with coral beads and coral-coloured stockings. But her dress was both shabby and soiled, even rather dirty." (Despite her flair for elaborate and eccentric fashion, Lady Ottoline Morrell, on whom Lawrence based Hermione, was sometimes observed wearing shabby clothes.)

That evening "Hermione came down to dinner strange and sepulchral, her eyes heavy and full of sepulchral darkness, strength. She had put on a dress of stiff old greenish brocade, that fitted tight and made her look tall and rather terrible, ghastly."

They swim at Breadalby... "Hermione, striding with stiff grace out of a great mantle of purple silk, her head tied up in purple and gold. Handsome was her stiff, long body, her straight-stepping white legs, there was a static magnificence about her as she let the cloak float loosely away from her

Hermione - "She looked striking, astonishing, almost macabre..."
(Drawing by Paul Delprat)

STOCKINGS BLUE

striding.”

Lawrence changes the mood when he moves Gudrun and Ursula from Breadalby to the level-crossing near the colliery where they were to witness Gerald Crich forcing his mare to stand and watch the coal train pass by... “in the strong light of the late afternoon. Both wore light, gay-summer dresses. Ursula had an orange-coloured knitted coat. Gudrun a pale yellow. Ursula wore canary yellow stockings. Gudrun bright rose. The figures of the two women seemed to glitter in progress over the wide bay of the railway crossing, white and orange and yellow and rose glittering in motion across a hot world silted with coal dust.”

Where did Lawrence get his knowledge of materials and sewing techniques? We know he enjoyed stitching, and Frieda was a dedicated embroiderer, but he also knew about ruching and lace and crepe and other materials. Did his mother teach him dressmaking, or perhaps it was Jessie Chambers? (*Rananim* readers might know the answer – I’d like to hear from them.) He describes Hermione at Birkin’s mill “...in a glistening bluish foulard, strangely luminous in the dusk in the room...”.

And his description of the clothes at the annual water party at Shortlands once again demonstrates his flair for detail in his fashion writing: “The sisters both wore dresses of white crepe, and hats of soft grass. But Gudrun had a sash of brilliant black and pink and yellow colour wound broadly around her waist, and she had pink silk stockings, and black and pink and yellow decorations on the brim of her hat, weighing it down a little. She carried also a yellow silk coat over her arm, so that she looked remarkable, like a painting from the Salon... Her appearance was a sore trial to her father, who said angrily: ‘Don’t you think you might as well get yourself up for a Christmas cracker, an’ ha’ done with it?’ But Gudrun looked handsome and brilliant, and she wore her clothes in pure defiance.”

Lawrence goes on: “Ursula was all snowy white, save that her hat was pink, and entirely without trimming, and her shoes were dark red, and she carried an orange-coloured coat.

“They were laughing at their mother, who, dressed in a summer material of black and purple stripes, and wearing a hat of purple straw, was setting forth with much more of the shyness and trepidation of a young girl than her daughters ever felt...”.

The vision of Hermione is splendid: “Hermione Roddice came up, in a handsome gown of white lace, trailing an enormous silk shawl blotched with great embroidered flowers, and balancing an enormous plain hat on her head. She looked striking, astonishing, almost macabre, so tall, with the fringe of her great cream-coloured vividly-blotched shawl trailing on the ground after her, her thick hair coming low over her eyes. Her face strange and long and pale, and the blotches of brilliant colour drawn round her.”

The stockings theme returns when Gudrun goes to Shortlands to teach art to Gerald’s young sister, Winifred... “She was dressed in blue, with woollen yellow stockings, like the Bluecoat boys. He [Gerald] glanced up in surprise. Her stockings always disconcerted him, the pale-yellow stockings and the heavy, heavy black shoes.”

Meanwhile Winifred “...wore a dress of black-and-white stripes. Her hair was rather short, cut round and hanging level

in her neck.”

Lawrence describes what Gudrun’s nightgown was like when Gerald sneaks into Gudrun’s room at her house. “She was wonderful with startled eyes and flushed cheeks, and her plait of hair rather short and thick down her back, and her long, fine white night-dress falling to her feet.”

Ursula and Gudrun return to their family home which has been vacated and pack up Ursula’s possessions. “And she recognised half-burnt copies of *Vogue* – half-burnt representations of women in gowns – lying under the grate.” The two sisters often talked about clothes, no doubt getting ideas from *Vogue* and obviously made their own – they couldn’t have afforded to pay a dressmaker for all the outfits Lawrence describes.

In the chapter “Gudrun At the Pompadour”, (written after the rest of the novel was finished when Katherine Mansfield recounted her dramatic snatching of Lawrence’s book of poems, *Amores*, at the Café Royal), Lawrence surpasses himself in his description of Gudrun’s outfit as she strides out of the café, holding Birkin’s letter: “She was fashionably dressed in blackish-green and silver, her hat was brilliant green, like the sheen on an insect, but the brim was soft dark green. A falling edge with fine silver, her coat was dark green, lustrous, with a high collar of grey fur, and great fur cuffs, the edge of her dress showed silver and black velvet, her stockings and shoes were silver grey.”

When the scene shifts to Switzerland and Austria, the descriptions of women’s clothes are fewer as Lawrence starts to concentrate more on Gerald Crich, whose blond moustache and hair and blue eyes interest Lawrence more than his sartorial appearance. (Lawrence’s description of male clothing is brief and perfunctory throughout the novel.)

At the hotel in Basle Ursula is wearing “...a big soft coat with a collar of deep, soft, blond fur and soft blond cap of fur.”

Then the sisters sat in Gudrun’s bedroom and “talked clothes and experiences.”

They go down to dinner at the hotel: “Gudrun came down in a daring gown of vivid green silk and tissue of gold, with green velvet bodice and a strange black-and-white band round her hair. She was really brilliantly beautiful and everybody noticed her.”

On another occasion they go out in the snow. Gudrun runs off along the road, pulling her cap down over her ears. “Her blue bright dress fluttered in the wind, her thick scarlet stockings were brilliant above the whiteness...”

Again: “Gudrun was all scarlet and royal blue – a scarlet jersey, and cap, a royal blue skirt and stockings.”

Then back come the stockings once more. Ursula and Birkin were leaving. “Gudrun came into Ursula’s bedroom with three pairs of the coloured stockings for which she was notorious, and she threw them on the bed. But these were thick silk stockings, vermilion, cornflower blue, and grey, bought in Paris. The grey ones were knitted, seamless and heavy. Ursula was in raptures. She knew Gudrun must be feeling very loving, to give away such treasures.”

Ursula protests but Gudrun presses them upon her, saying she has three more pairs. It is as if she is passing on the banner of modernity to her sister. It is the last mention of women’s fashion in *Women in Love*.

- Sandra Jobson



DHL Society Archivist, Marylyn Valentine, shows some of the Wyewurk Papers to Alan Ventress, the Mitchell Librarian



Society Members (l to r) Tom Thompson, Robert Darroch, Marylyn Valentine, John Rothwell, Robin Archer listen to Alan Ventress's reply. (The bust on the bookcase, far left, happens to be a trick of the camera - it is in fact John Ruffels)

The Save Wyewurk archive – the letters and other documents that record the fight to preserve Lawrence’s “cottage by the sea” in Thirroul – have been handed over to the Mitchell Library in Sydney.

A box containing the papers was presented to the Mitchell Librarian, Alan Ventress, at a brief ceremony in his office at the Library on Saturday, October 28.

Robert Darroch, our vice-president, made the presentation on the Society’s behalf. He paid a warm tribute to our Archivist, Marylyn Valentine, who had collated and indexed the papers (see report *Rananim*, 6.2).

Alan Ventress said the Library was grateful for the gift of the papers.

In a short speech of acceptance, he mentioned that the Mitchell was an appropriate repository for such papers, as the Library already held a number of important manuscripts relating to British authors (some of us, of course, would argue that Lawrence, at least while he was in Australia writing *Kangaroo*, should be classified under Australia rather than English literature, as indeed he once was).

“We even have some letters from Lawrence,” Alan said. Alas, it was TE, not DH. But there were others from Dickens, Trollope and Havelock Ellis, to name but a few Pom literary stars.

Alan presented each of the Society members present with a copy of a book detailing the Australiana

collections of the State Library. It had no entries under Lawrence (either DH or TE), but future editions, hopefully, will now be able to include entries relating to DH at least.

Alan had his photograph taken with Marylyn, holding the original of perhaps the most important letter in the Save Wyewurk archive, the one from Patrick White supporting the campaign to preserve Wyewurk.

Later, at the picnic lunch that Alan attended in the Palace Gardens opposite the Mitchell, Tom Thompson and Robert Darroch drew Alan’s attention to the library’s connection with Lawrence and Alister Kershaw (see *Rananim* 3.2).

Yet, to tell the truth, the main archive of Lawrence material in Australia resides not in Sydney, but at the library at University College ADFA in Canberra (see *Rananim* 2.2 for a list of its holdings up to 1994).

This important collection was started following the 1985 centenary of Lawrence’s birth, and it includes (amongst many other items) a signed first edition of *Lady Chatterley’s Lover*. It also includes material gathered by Wendy Joliffe when she was librarian at the Thirroul Library, and donated by her to the ADFA Library.

Of course, there are separate Lawrence holdings at other libraries, particularly in the Battye Library in Perth, which holds a number of Lawrence letters written to



Tom Thompson, John Ruffels, Alan Ventress & Robert Darroch discuss publishing matters in the Rose Garden Pavilion

Mollie Skinner (see *Rananim* 6.2), together with a manuscript of *Eve in the Land of Nod*, the unpublished novel written by Mollie Skinner and heavily rewritten by Lawrence (but, unfortunately, rewritten again by a peeved Mollie, expunging much of Lawrence's precious revisions and suggestions).

When the Save Wyewurk papers were first collated by Marylyn Valentine more than two years ago, the idea then was that they would also be given to the ADFA Library in Canberra. However, the Library did not seem overly enthusiastic about receiving the papers, and could not make any arrangements for them to be collected and sent down.

However, the Mitchell is in reality a much more appropriate place for the papers, and the Society now hopes that they will be the start of a collection of Lawrence material at the Mitchell.

Much of the Lawrence/*Kangaroo* research carried out by Robert Darroch and others is connected with other documents in the Library (such, for example, as the Houghton James papers on the Old Guard), so it would be an appropriate repository for this material when it too is prepared and collated. (Besides, the Mitchell is more convenient for most of us than the AFDA Library in Canberra.)

And it is important that libraries such as the Mitchell are given the incentive to attract and collect such

materials, for in the past some significant material that could have been preserved in Australia has been lost to overseas libraries and archives, mainly for lack of interest (or understanding).

In 1978, for example, the autograph manuscript of *The Boy in the Bush*, largely in Lawrence's hand, was offered to a number of Australian collections for the now ludicrous figure of \$15,000, but no Australian library was prepared to buy this obviously important Australian literary item, so it now resides in the University of Texas at Austin (where the holograph manuscript of *Kangaroo* also resides, along with many of Lawrence's Australian letters).

Perhaps one useful function the Society could in future perform (now that the historical background to *Kangaroo* has been largely established) might be to identify all Australian-applicable Lawrence material extant in Australia (and, if resources allowed, overseas as well) and provide a comprehensive index to them for scholars and other interested parties both here and overseas.

A first step here might be to invite the Mitchell Librarian Alan Ventress to become an honorary member of the Society, and to liaise with the library on archival matters.

This is something the next AGM might see fit to approve.

MR LAWRENCE, I PRESUME?

By James Thurber

If you wander around in bookstores you will have come upon several books about DH Lawrence: Mr John Middleton Murry's autobiography, Frieda Lawrence's memoirs, Keither Winter's roman a clef called *Impassioned Pygmies*, etc.

These are all comparatively recent; a complete bibliography going back to the time of Lawrence's death would run into hundreds of items, maybe thousands. The writing man is pretty much out of it if he hasn't written something about how hard it was to understand, to talk to, and to generally get along with DH Lawrence; and I do not propose to be out of it.

I had my difficult moments on account of the Master, and I intend to talk about them ? if Mr Murry will quit talking for a moment and let me talk.

I first met DH Lawrence on a train platform in Italy 12 years ago. He was pacing up and down.

There was no mistaking the reddish straggly beard, the dark, beetling eyebrows, the intense, restless eyes.

He had the manner of a man waiting for something: in this case, I think it was the train.

I had always wanted to meet the great artist and here was my golden opportunity. I finally screwed my courage up to the accosting point and I walked over and accosted him.

"DH Lawrence? I said.

He frowned, stopped, pulled a watch out of his vest pocket, and held it up so I could see the dial.

"No speak Eyetalian," he said. "Look for yourself." Then he walked away.

It had been about 10.12 or 10.13 by his watch (I had 10.09 myself, but I may have been slow.)

Since we both got on the train that pulled into the station a few minutes later, I contrived to get into the same compartment with him and to sit down next to him.

I found him quite easy to talk to. He seemed surprised that I spoke English ? on the platform he had taken me for an Italian who wanted to know what time it was.

It turned out after a few minutes of rather puzzling conversation that his name was George R. Hopkins and that he had never heard of DH. Lawrence.

Hopkins was a resident of Fitchburg, Massachusetts, where he had a paper factory. He wished to God he was back in the United States. He was a strong Coolidge man, thought every French person was depraved, and hadn't been able to find a decent cup of coffee in all Europe.

He had a married daughter, and two sons at Penn State, and had been having trouble with a molar in his lower jaw even since he arrived at Le Havre, some three weeks before.

He wouldn't let anyone monkey with it, he said, except a certain Dr Karns in Fitchburg. Karns was an Elk and a bird-dog fancier in addition to being the best dentist in the United States.

This encounter did not discourage me. I determined to meet DH Lawrence before I came back to America, and eventually I sat down and wrote him a note, asking for the opportunity of



Thurber's accompanying drawing

meeting him (I had found out where he was living at the time - in Florence I believe, though I may be wrong).

I explained that I was a great admirer of his ? I addressed him simply as Dear Master ? and that I had some ideas about sex that might interest him.

Lawrence never received the letter, it transpired later, because I had unfortunately put it in the wrong envelope.

He got instead a rather sharp note which I had written the same evening to a psychoanalyst in New York who had offered to analyse me at half his usual price.

This analyst had come across some sketches I had made and had apparently jumped to the conclusion that it would be interesting to try to get at what was behind them. I had addressed this man in my note simply as "Sir" and I had told him that if he wanted to analyse anyone he had better begin with himself, since in my opinion there was something the matter with him.

This, of course, was the letter that Lawrence got, and I was later to understand why I never heard from Lawrence and why also I kept hearing from the analyst all the time.

I hung around Europe for several months waiting for a letter from Lawrence, and finally went home, in a low state of mind.

I eventually met, or rather talked with, D.H Lawrence about six months after I got back to New York.

He telephoned me one evening at my apartment.

"Hello," I said.

"Hello," a voice said. "Is that Mr Thurber?"

"Yes," I said.

"Well, this is D.H. Lawrence," said the voice.

A Traveller With Many Connections

Regular readers of *Rananim* would realise that your Editor has an interest in railways in general and Indian Railways in particular. He recently took advantage of some long-service leave to indulge these interests by travelling over 33,000 kms over the course of two months in India. The 56 days of train travel included 19 nights on trains, and hence a little background context is important to this story.

Contrary to what many people may think, Indian railways have only two classes, First and Second, but this being Indian Railways, the world's largest single employer, there are more permutations than this. Take, for example, a typical medium-distance train travelling, say, 900 kms over about 16 hours. There will be a total of 20 carriages, and in order of ticket cost these will accommodate:

- 1 Mail/Luggage van: no passengers
- 2 carriages unreserved Second Class: 216 seats (but you try to count the number of people crammed inside)
- 10 carriages Sleeper Class: 720 passengers
- 2 Carriages Air Condit@ioned 3 Tier: 128 passengers
- 1 First Class: 26 passengers
- 2 Air Conditioned 2 Tier: 92 passengers
- 1 Air Conditioned First Class: 18 passengers

Fares for 900 kms range from Rs162 (approx \$A6.50) in unreserved Second Class to Rs2333 (approx \$A96.50) in Air Conditioned First Class (which is more than double ordinary First Class).

So what is the connection with DHL, apart from the class stratification on a train where the most expensive ticket is about 14 times the cost of the cheapest? It is simply that your Editor spent his 19 nights in the comparative luxury of Air Conditioned First Class (although some day trips were in Second Class unreserved) and consequently mixed with a well-heeled group of people. Travelling companions included a Cabinet Minister, various MPs, a barrister, a Vice-Chancellor, engineers, a publisher, and a retired couple from Calcutta on their way home from an ashram where they spent 10 days 'meditating for peace'. And on a long journey, some seek diversion and will visit other cabins for a chat (or for electioneering in the case of the politicians, who always travel with a retinue and an armed guard stationed in the corridors). And what did they all have in common? They had all read, to

a greater or lesser extent, Lawrence. Some had not read him for 35 years, others commented on the tortured passages, but all had read at least some of his works.

Those who had read *Kangaroo* were surprised to learn that there was a historical basis to the secret army plot: "But nothing like that ever happens in Australia?" was the usual response in our conversations. The journalist who interviewed your editor for the *Indian Express* asked an astute question, along the lines of how do you reconcile your interest in train travel with DHL's expressed reservations about the effects of industrialisation? (but his editor did not run the question nor my response). If you are interested you can read the article (but there is no DHL mention) on line at: <<http://members.tripod.com/~ApuB/jl.jpg>>

- John Lacey

John's visit sparked several articles in the Indian Press. Here is an extract from another article, headed:

MAGNIFICENT OBSESSION

The Beatles came to India looking for spiritual enlightenment...Others come looking for the Osho commune of the beaches of Goa. But John Lacey, a professor of history, comes all the way from down Under to journey on Indian trains. This is John's 10th visit to India for this "express" purpose. John's earliest tug for the train was felt as a child looking out of the window of a speeding train. Since then he has travelled extensively by train in Australia, but nothing in his mind comes close to travelling in Indian trains. "India is a treat for me, with a choice of so many trains and destinations. Today the Indian railways carries nearly half the population of Australia every day. It is astonishing how they function with so many people." Back home John is a member of the Australian Railway Historical Society and served for a number of years as the Director of the NSW Rail Transport Museum.

I was taken aback. For a moment I couldn't say a word I was so surprised and excited.

"Well, well," I said, finally, "I didn't know you were on this side."

"This is the right side to be on?" he asked, in a rather strained voice. (I felt he was excited, too.)

"Yes, it is," I said.

"Well," said Lawrence, "they turned me over on my right side because my left side hurt me so."

Thereupon he began to sing "Frankie and Johnny".

He turned out to be a waggish friend of mine who had heard my stories about trying to get in touch with DH Lawrence, and was having me on.

I never did get to meet DH Lawrence, but this I rarely admit.

Whenever I am at a cocktail party of literary people and the subject of Lawrence comes up, I tell my own little anecdote

about the Master...how he admired Coolidge, how he had trouble with his teeth, how he liked to sing "Frankie and Johnny".

These anecdotes are gaining considerable currency and I have no doubt that they will begin to creep into biographies of the man in a short time.

Meanwhile I have become what you could almost call allergic to famous writers. I suppose this is the natural outgrowth of my curious and somewhat disturbing relationship with DH Lawrence.

I cannot truthfully say that any part of that relationship was satisfactory, and therefore I am trying to forget DH Lawrence, which makes me about the only writer in the world who is.

It is a distinction of sorts.

(This piece, written in the 1940s, was brought to our attention by Rob Douglass, for which we thank him.)

- 474 A - 347

So, it was time to take out handkerchiefs and wave across space. Few people wept. Some waved and waved his orange silk kerchief in the blue air. Farewell! Farewell! Farewell Victory and Jas's wife, farewell Australia, farewell Britain and the Great Empire. Farewell! Farewell! The last streamers blowing away, like broken attachments, broken

End of Kangaroo

BETTER COPY OF P 474 A
showing "End of Kangaroo"

- 475 - 348

hastiness. The crowd on the wharf gave way to the sun, and walking away on the ship turned.

Richard watched the stevedores go by then the Circular Quay, with all its ferry-wharves, and a Rippon steamer lying at her berth, and a well-known big, buff and black P. and O. boat at the P. and O. wharf, looking so like India. Then that one goes too, and the Governor's Palace, and the castellated Commonwealth of Music on its hill, where Richard had first seen Jack - the Julius Gardens, and the blue island where the Australian "Planet" lay comfortably resting. Then they drifted across harbour, nearer to the wild-seaming slope, like Yon, where the Ice Is. And then they began to melt, to hang round.

There ahead was the open gate of the harbour, the Jew Heads with the South lighthouse, and the Pacific beyond, breaking white. On the left was Havelock, where Horriatt had lost her yellow beard. And then the line going to Harroden, where they had first seen Jop. Behind was the great loach harbour, so blue, and Sydney rather indistinguishable on the south hills, with its one or two sky-scrapers. And already, the blue water all round, and a tiling of the past.

It was midday before they got out of the Heads, out of the harbour into the open sea. The sun was hot, the wind cold. There were not very many passengers in the first class and nobody the least possible to the theatre pair. Richard sat in the sun watching the dark coast of Australia, an embryo, budding. Horriatt watched the two women coating rubbishy overcoats, such a funny assortment of white. The Irish sang in the deep, dark water, the wood and stone and masonry really floated. The few Sydney Heads were not far off.

Horriatt watched till he could see the crest of the mountain, far away, behind ~~the~~. He was almost sure of the shape. He thought of the empty house - the empty grass in front - the empty forebode with

P. 475 of Seltzer's TS11
showing the completed sentence
"broken attachments, broken ... readings"
and rest of the last sentence

- 476 A - 349

its new route - the township behind, the dark ter, the bush, the Australian spring. The sea seemed dark and cold and impenetrable. It was only four days to New Zealand, over a cold, dark, and impenetrable

P. 475 A of Seltzer's TS11
showing 35 words of the
Steeles ending (Note incomplete
sentence)

- 476 - 350

see. At Wellington a great mass filling in papers for the Immigration Authorities, even though the boat was staying only a day. And another descent from a fat individual who came on board as chief official. He looked at Horriatt's face, saw she was not here in England - or the Empire - and did not give her a looking-word.

"Why haven't you given me a looking-word?" she said.

"I'll attend to you later, Mrs. Somers," he said, with the ill-bred insolence of these little colonial people who find their office.

"You come under the restricted-immigration class?"

"Not why?" she asked.

"My husband an Englishman?"

"He won't be outside I'll attend to you later."

Richard was lived with eyes at the fellow's insolence. They waited till the whole gang was through, and he was prepared to leave it out with the person. Mrs. Somers kept them hanging round for an hour, the person was satisfied with himself. He ignored Horriatt her last-look-out the moment her eye her, seeing merely:

"You are going on by this boat, Mrs. Somers?"

"I am, I've no desire to stay in New Zealand."

And after a day in Wellington, cold and stormy, they did not leave before then ever to stay in this cold, anachronistic, low-middle-class colony of pretentious colonialists. You land at a great port - Napier, Coleridge, Sydney, San Francisco, and you find perfect adaptability and courtesy. But in ^{the} would-be Wellington - nobody in a uniform.

At last, it ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~away~~ ^{away} in ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~open~~ ^{open}, behind the great sea the great, old ~~is-~~ ^{is-} ~~land~~ ^{land}, where the heart seems to die, and the Pacific takes its ~~g-~~ ^{g-} ~~entry~~ ^{entry}, yet ~~travels~~ ^{travels} at the heart of darkness, as if one could not breathe.

Richard never forgot the evening they called from Popoia.

P. 476 of Seltzer's TS11
Last word of Steeles ending "see"
(Note similarity to P. 475 - single
word "see" completing the sentence.)

End of Quetzalcoatl

NOT THE END OF THE STORY

The CUP Edition of Kangaroo

By ROBERT DARROCH

The following is an edited text of an article that was published in the *D.H. Lawrence Review (DHLR 26.1-3)* in 1996. Obviously, the content of this article is complex and technical (not to mention long), and readers will be excused for not reading every word of it. We publish it mainly because it is an important item of Lawrence – and Australian - interest, and it will not otherwise see the light of day here, for reasons mentioned in the article on page 5.

The new Cambridge University Press *Kangaroo* is the last of Lawrence's 12 novels to come out in the CUP Collected Works edition. With its publication, the project – 18 years in the making, and still some distance to go – reaches an interim milestone. For it was the unsatisfactory state of the text of *Kangaroo* which the project's originators cited when they first put the case for a definitive edition of the entire Lawrence canon. As Warren Roberts, one of the general editors of the CUP edition, said some 30 years ago:

Kangaroo and *Women in Love* are textually complicated books, and the texts differ in various editions. *Kangaroo*, I think, is perhaps more complicated than *Women in Love*...I don't think there is now a text of *Kangaroo* in print anywhere with the text he really wanted.

Now, after all Lawrence's other novels have been given their authoritative texts, the CUP *Kangaroo* has been published, edited by Australian academic Bruce Steele.

For his new edition Professor Steele has chosen as his base text the Seltzer or American variant. This rare edition has been out of print for decades, the British or Secker (and more latterly its derivative, the Heinemann) text being the basis for most editions. Yet the choice of the Seltzer variant was an obvious one, for it incorporates most, if not all, of Lawrence's final proof corrections, while the more common Secker variant lacks them. The Seltzer variant – with the exception of the ending - is undoubtedly the text that Lawrence wanted.

Yet it is that Seltzer ending that I want to question in this article – not merely because Steele has given, as I will show, the wrong ending to the CUP edition, but because it illustrates a more general point, which is that his treatment of the novel is founded on a flawed approach. It is my contention that Steele is deliberately ignoring evidence – very substantial evidence – that runs contrary to the arguments and positions he chooses to put forward in his Introduction.

So let us now pick up Steele's argument with Lawrence's 25/10/22 letter from Taos to his U.S. agent Robert Mountsier in New York. In it Lawrence said he had finished revising the first typescript (TS1) of his hand-written manuscript, and was posting the revised text (TS1R) to him for retyping. The revisions were extensive, and in particular Lawrence added a new ending, comprising 15-1/2 hand-written pages (of which the first 1-1/2 were interlinear).

Almost a month later Mountsier wrote to Lawrence saying he had yet to go over the retyped pages (he only had retyped those pages on which Lawrence had made changes) to see that they were correctly transcribed. He then had two new texts made up, using the ribbon and carbon pages of the newly-typed text and interleaving them with the unaltered pages from TS1R and a spare carbon of TS1. This produced the two setting texts (TS2) for Seltzer and Secker.

At this point, immediately after collation, the two texts would have been identical, each having the new Taos or "long" ending (to p. 487A – the typist having preserved Lawrence's original TS1 numbering to facilitate the interleaving; but as she could not fit as many words on her typewritten pages as Lawrence did on his hand-written ones, many of the newly-typed pages ran overleaf to supplementary pages – eg, 474A. These "A" pages were to have a crucial role in the confusion that ensued.)

According to Steele, Mountsier brought both TS2 texts (Seltzer's and Secker's) with him when he came to stay with Lawrence in New Mexico on 1/1/23. (A few weeks earlier Lawrence and Frieda had quit Taos and moved about 17 miles up-country to the remote Del Monte ranch. There Seltzer and his wife came to stay with them over Christmas 1922, though they departed the day after Mountsier arrived.) It was around this time, according to Steele's Introduction-proper, that Lawrence decided to cut back the ending of *Kangaroo*.

Steele is unable to be definite about precisely what happened, but referring to the brief period between Mountsier's 1/1 arrival and Seltzer's 2/1 departure, he states: "...by then, Lawrence himself must have decided to cut back the new ending, since it was the carbon copy of TS2 without the last few pages that Seltzer took away". He then adds these words: "It is clear that Seltzer's copy ended at p. 474."

When I first read this sentence, I thought it was a misprint. Up until now, all those who have looked into the problem of the *Kangaroo* endings would have assumed that there were three identifiable conclusions to the novel (excluding the original MS or "Thirroul" ending). These were the "long" ending ("as if they had never spoken." – p. 478A of TS2), the Secker ending ("cold, dark, inhospitable sea." – pp. 475A/476), and the Seltzer ending ("broken attachments, broken" – p. 474A). It was expected that Steele would make his choice from these three. And he does – but in the process he comes up with a new fourth ending, which can now be labelled the "short" ending ("the side of the vessel was fluttering with bright, broken ends." – those being the last words on p. 474). Steele asks us to believe that at some time prior to 2/1/23 Lawrence had decided to end *Kangaroo* 53 words earlier than anyone had hitherto imagined.

Yet this new "short" ending enjoyed a brief existence. Two days after Seltzer departed, Lawrence, according to Steele, either changed his mind, or realised (to use Steele's words) "that part of his intended conclusion has been left behind". On 4/1/23 Lawrence wrote to Seltzer: "I enclose the last words of *Kangaroo*: the last page. Don't lose it." In the tangled saga of the variant endings, this is a famous, or infamous, paragraph.

cont'd over page

NOT THE END OF THE STORY

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Before Steele's CUP edition was published, most observers would have assumed that the words referred to the difference between the Seltzer and Secker endings – that the “last page” Lawrence was writing about comprised the 375 words the Seltzer text lacks. But Steele has a quite different interpretation. He says that this particular “last page” contained not 375 words, but 53 – the difference between his proposed new “short” ending and the Seltzer ending. He says bluntly: “The enclosure was p. 474A of TS2 which contains the six-line last paragraph of [the Seltzer text]”.

He then puts forward his argument for those 53 words of p. 474A being Seltzer's “last page”. He says the “matter-of-fact” tone of Lawrence's letter suggests that, rather than some confusion or mistake having occurred (ie, that Lawrence had not, after all, discovered “that part of his intended conclusion had been left behind”), that Lawrence instead had “delayed his final decision” about the ending until after Seltzer had departed, and that Seltzer “would be expecting to receive confirmation that his copy was complete” (ie, that the “short” ending was the one Lawrence wanted) “or some additional text”. Steele adds: “In the event, it was the latter.”

Steele supports this p. 474A “last page” hypothesis with four key items of evidence. The first is that p. 474A (to use Steele's words) “has a circled pencil note in Lawrence's hand that reads: ‘End of Kangaroo.’” The second is that this page had been folded; that “this page only of [Seltzer's TS2] has been folded”; that the fold “matches the fold of Lawrence's 4/1 letter to Seltzer”; and that “it would fit the envelope [of that 4/1 letter]”. The third item of evidence is that p. 474A is the only ribbon-copy page in Seltzer's otherwise-carbon TS2 setting text. And the fourth item is that Lawrence saw and corrected the Seltzer proofs in New Jersey some six months later and, according to Steele, let the “broken attachments, broken” ending stand.

However, Steele's argument cannot end there. For he must now come up with an explanation for how the Secker text acquired the longer (and, according to him, incorrect) “cold, dark, inhospitable sea.” ending. He confesses that finding such an explanation will pose problems, and he admits that there are questions involved that he has no answer for. Again, the matter would seem to turn on the wording of one of Lawrence's letters. On 10/2/23 – five weeks after he sent the “last words” of *Kangaroo* to Seltzer – Lawrence wrote to his UK agent, Curtis Brown: “I enclose the last page of Kangaroo, which was missing from the MS that Seldes had. Don't lose it.” (It should be noted that these words are almost identical to those in his “last page” letter to Seltzer on 4/1/23.)

Seldes was Gilbert Seldes, managing editor of the literary magazine, *The Dial*. Mountsier had been negotiating with him over serial rights to various Lawrence works. At some time prior to 10/2/23 Mountsier sent – without Lawrence's knowledge – the other TS2 (Secker's setting text) to Seldes with a view to selling him an extract. Lawrence, apparently, had just discovered this, and was trying to rectify it (some weeks later Seldes, who was travelling in Europe, send or delivered this second TS2 to either Curtis Brown or Martin Secker in London). In his Introduction Steele first claims that this U.K. text still had the “short” p. 474 ending, hence the need on 10/2/23 to add to it. However, Steele goes on to claim – and this really *is* a surprise – that the “last page” that Lawrence sent to London on 10/2/23 was not the same “last page” he sent to Seltzer on 4/1/23, *despite the almost identical wording of the accompanying letter*.

In fact Steele claims (or implies – he is not at all firm on this) that what Lawrence sent to London on 10/2/23 was (or

might have been) a “last page” that comprised, not just the 53 words on p. 474A, but the 339 words on p. 475, the 35 words on p. 475A, and the one word “sea.” on p. 476 – a total of 428 words. Moreover, Steele seems to maintain that the last 375 words of all this was sent by Lawrence in error, and that all he had intended to send to London were the 53 words on p. 474A, in order to make the endings of the U.S. and U.K. texts identical.

Here is Steele's theory about how Lawrence came to make what would have been, by any measure, and extraordinary mistake:

In his anger at Mountsier's deception [over sending the UK text to Seldes] and with other more pressing matters on his mind, Lawrence may have mistaken pp. 475 and 475A for his new ending [ie, “p. 474A”] and sent them to Curtis Brown. His diary entry for 10/2/23 actually states that he sent the “last pp.” (ie, “pages”) of *Kangaroo*. It would not be out of character for him to have transcribed the 35 words from p. 475A at the bottom of 475 – thus making one page of material as the letter states – he could then say correctly that “the last page...was missing from the MS Seldes had.” If in early January there had been some argument about the actual ending point, Lawrence's mistake, if mistake it was, in the heat of his break with Mountsier, would be understandable. This is of course hypothetical.

After this, Steele quickly winds up his reconstruction of how the variant endings came about. He goes on: “In August [he errs here: it was actually July] however, Lawrence again had control over the ending [ie, when he corrected Seltzer's proofs]....Had there been an error in the ending he had every opportunity to see that it was corrected....Thus both the actual and circumstantial evidence agree in suggesting that the [Seltzer] ending must represent Lawrence's final decision.” And with that he concludes his case.

It is not feasible to go over every point in Steele's argument for the Seltzer “broken attachments, broken” ending. Instead I propose to examine 10 aspects of his case. My intention is to cast doubt on his hypothesis, to show where he has fallen into error, and then to suggest an alternative hypothesis which should re-establish the Secker “cold dark, inhospitable sea.” ending as the correct one.

The first point of criticism is factual inaccuracy. Professor Steele errs in fact in a number of places, both in his Introduction and his Notes. I will cite only one additional example here. In his Introduction he states that Lawrence numbered the 15-1/2 MS pages of his new TS1R or “long” ending from p. 462 to p. 478. But pp. 462-478 represents 16-1/2 pages. Steele appends a footnote (#75) that apparently explains this anomaly: “DHL numbered both the last two pages 478 but omitted 476.” There are four errors in this sentence.

Two of the errors are serious. One makes nonsense of a large part of his Introduction. The other, had he realised it (and he will kick himself for not doing so), would have saved him a lot of trouble, for it is the clue to how the two editions came to have different endings.

But first the minor errors. The first one is self-evident. For if Lawrence had, as Steele alleges, numbered two pages 478 and omitted 476, that would still make 16-1/2 pages, as all Steele has done is subtract one page (476) and added another (the “second” 478). But Lawrence's new ending does indeed consist of 15-1/2, not 16-1/2, pages.

The second error is obvious only with access to the typescripts. Steele is wrong about the numbering – there is only one p. 478 in TS1R. The last two pages are numbered, correctly, in Lawrence's hand, 477 and 478.

The third error in Steel's sentence is far more serious. He asserts that Lawrence omitted p. 476. But Lawrence did no such thing - p. 476 is intact, as it has to be, for it contains part of the extant Secker ending (the first word "sea." on p. 476). It is the absence of this vital page from his argument that cripples - in fact haunts - large parts of his Introduction.

Yet it is his fourth mistake that he will come to regret most. For in footnote #75 he fails to identify the page that actually is missing from those 15-1/2 new MS pages. That missing page is 466, Lawrence having misnumbered the ending sequence is this TS1R text, going from p. 465 to 467. As we shall see, it is this lacuna that unlocks the mystery of how the variant endings came about.

The second point of criticism concerns Steele's use of supposition. In the absence of direct evidence one is sometimes obliged to speculate. But speculation should be used sparingly, to fill in a gap between known fact. Yet when you come to examine Steele's case, it is constructed entirely of supposition. This is shown by his use of words like "perhaps", "must have" and "probably", and in such admissions as "This is of course hypothetical."

Consider some of the principal underpinnings of his argument. An important element of his case is his claim that Mountsier brought both TS2 setting texts to Del Monte on 1/1/23. But this is intrinsically unlikely, and Steele himself casts doubt on it in one of his footnotes (#81)¹. He claims that Lawrence cut both texts at Del Monte. But there is nothing to support this assertion, and again Steele casts doubt on it in footnotes #81 and #83. He alleges that Lawrence first cut the texts at p. 474. But there is not the slightest support for this conjecture in any letter or other record. Nor is there any evidence that Lawrence made an alleged second decision to cut the texts 53 words further on at p. 474A. Steele further claims that Lawrence gave Mountsier the Secker text at Del Monte on or about 1/1/23. But there is nothing to indicate this, and everything to cast doubt on it (as Steele frankly acknowledges in footnote #81). Finally, Steele maintains that Mountsier posted the Secker text to Seldes in New York on 4/1/23. As we shall see, this is a logistical improbability. As it turns out, Steele is unable to advance a single piece of documentary or other evidence in support of his contention that Lawrence wanted to end his novel on p. 474A - the now "official" CUP ending.

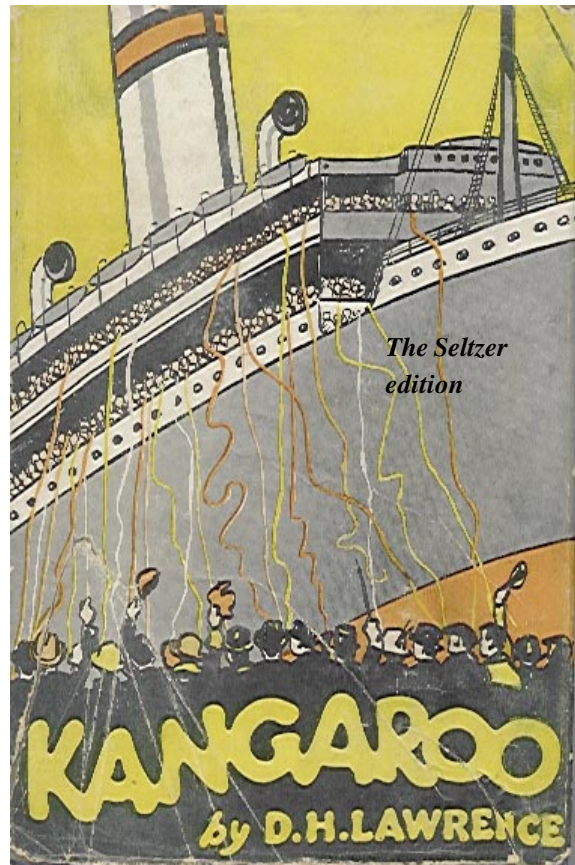
But leaving aside the matter of evidence, Steele fails to advance any *argument* in support of the two endings he claims that Lawrence chose on or about 2/1/23 - firstly the "short" (p. 474) and "ultimately" the Seltzer (p. 474A). Why might Lawrence have wanted to end *Kangaroo* at either of these odd places? Both end considerably short of the departure from Australia. Why would Lawrence have not wanted to complete his story? One can, perhaps, imagine why he might have had second thoughts about adding a New Zealand and trans-Pacific addendum

to his novel of Australia. But why might he have wanted to cut off his story while the ship was still within streamer-distance of the wharf, and he had yet to add his final comments on his Australian sojourn? Steele does not add to the credibility of his case by declining to discuss these obviously important textual points.

A major criticism concerns Steele's inexplicable omission to reveal in his Introduction that his choice of ending leaves unfinished the sentence that Lawrence originally wrote: "...broken attachments, broken *heartstrings*." (my emphasis). This omission is unfortunate, as it exposes him to the suspicion that he deliberately failed to mention it, either because he had no explanation for it, or because he realised that such a revelation would have undermined his argument for the Seltzer ending. Yet the fact that the ending of the CUP edition now falls in mid-

sentence calls for, if not an explanation, then at least some comment. It most certainly needs acknowledging.

For when Lawrence wrote "End of Kangaroo" at the bottom of the text on p. 474A, he did not go back and insert a full-stop after "broken attachments, broken". Indeed, where is Steele's justification for changing what Lawrence originally wrote: "...broken", without a full-stop? I would have thought that an explanation was especially called for in the light of the fact that Steele rejects the possibility that accident caused the premature severance, claiming instead that Lawrence made a substantive decision to end the novel on p. 474A. Why might Lawrence have wanted to end his novel in mid-sentence? What did he see wrong with that omitted last word, "heartstrings"? The image that it conveys is the very point of the sentence - and it has the considerable extra advantage of being followed by an authorial



full-stop.

Steele's account of how Lawrence came to send, allegedly, a different "last page" to Secker does not add up. It has a number of problems, but two stand out. First, if, as Steele speculates, Lawrence may have (to use his words) "transcribed the 35 words from p. 475A at the bottom of p. 475 - thus making one page", then what might have he done with the 53 words on p. 474A? Steele is very vague about this, implying at one stage that Lawrence might have transcribed them on the top of p. 475. Second, his scenario makes no mention of p. 476, which also contains part of the Secker ending. Admittedly, p. 476 contained only one word of the 428 which Steele implies that Lawrence sent to Curtis Brown - the last word of the Secker ending, "sea." - but it was an important word. And that would make 36, not 35 words, that Lawrence would have had to add to the bottom of p. 475 to make Steele's "one page of material".

Indeed, Steele provides no inventory, credible or otherwise, of what he is alleging Lawrence sent to London on 10/

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2/23. Is he suggesting, as he implies on p. xlv, that it was one page containing 428 words? Or is he meaning to convey that Lawrence sent two pages? (ie, 53 words on p. 474A, together with a second page containing the other 375 words in some form, either fully written out, or consisting of p. 475 in type plus the 35 words of 475A and the single word "sea." from 476 added). Or is he relying on his footnote #83, which speculates that Curtis Brown already had 474A? Or is he seriously introducing the possibility that Lawrence copied nothing out, but sent the carbons of 474A, 475 and 475A, plus the one word "sea." from 476, intact to London? None of these possibilities sits comfortably with Lawrence's own wording of what he sent to London: "the last page...Don't lose it." (As we shall see, Steele is ultimately forced to embrace this last – and least likely – four-page "last page" scenario in order to keep his hypothesis afloat.)

However, the part of Steele's argument that is hardest to accept is his allegation that Lawrence confused the Seltzer and Secker endings. His case is that Lawrence did not know what he was doing when he sent Secker's "last page" to London. He claims that Lawrence, having applied not a little thought to the matter, forgot where or how he wanted to end *Kangaroo* (a matter of some consequence to most other authors).

He supports this unlikely claim with some speculation about Lawrence's state of mind on 10/2/23. He says Lawrence's "confusion" was due to his "annoyance" with Mountsier, or to having "other things" on his mind. But there is no evidence that Lawrence was other than his normal, competent self when he wrote to Curtis Brown on 10/2/23. Besides, how could he confuse the two endings? They have nothing in common. The image "broken attachments, broken" bears no similarity to "cold, dark, inhospitable sea." In any case, the latter ending, according to Steele's argument, had never previously been considered by Lawrence as a conclusion to his novel. It is his case that the only two endings contemplated by Lawrence after his TS revision were the "short" (p. 474) and the Seltzer (474A).

Much of what Steele alleges happened goes against logic and common sense. For example, he has Mountsier bringing the two setting texts to Del Monte on 1/1/23. But if that is what Mountsier did, then he was disobeying Lawrence's explicit instructions, which were to dispatch without delay the revised text to Seltzer at least (seven weeks earlier, on 19/11/22, Lawrence had written to Seltzer saying, "I hope Mountsier has given you *Kangaroo*"). Mountsier himself planned to send the Secker text to Seldes, whom he was due to see four days after the retyping was done (ie, in November). In his footnote #81 even Steele concedes that Mountsier might have sent the Secker text to Seldes "before Christmas". In fact Mountsier had time to do what Lawrence had instructed him to do, and there is nothing to indicate he did not. Steele's suggestion that it was too late for Mountsier to send the U.S. text to Seltzer is incorrect. The obvious thing for Mountsier to do was to deliver the texts to Seltzer and Seldes while he was still in New York, and everything – including Steele's footnote #81 – indicates that is precisely what he did do.

The eighth criticism of Steele's hypothesis concerns the time-frame of his Introduction-proper "last page" scenario (as we shall soon see, he puts forward a quite different scenario in his footnotes) – particularly what he alleges happened on 4/1/23, the day Mountsier supposedly posted the Secker text to Seldes. Steele, as mentioned above, offers no evidence to support what he says occurred on that day. Yet we know from Lawrence's own letter to Seltzer posted that same day that two things happened. First, Lawrence sent his "last page" to Seltzer. Second,

Mountsier went riding to Quеста with Rachel Hawk (Lawrence's landlord's daughter-in-law).

A typescript numbering almost 580 pages (counting the "A" pages) constitutes a bulky item. According to Steele, Mountsier would have had to take this parcel – secretly, without Lawrence's knowledge – to the post office for dispatch². Yet the post from New Mexico to New York took five days at least, often longer. Seldes sailed for Europe on 9/1/23, and everyone agrees that the Secker text went with him. Thus if Mountsier were aware of the date of Seldes' departure, then he was relying on snow-affected winter mails to an imprudent degree. In any case, it is doubtful whether a package supposedly posted from New Mexico on 4/1/23 could possibly have reached Seldes before he departed on 9/1/23.

The weakest part of Steele's argument is, of course, his treatment of this Secker text. His footnotes #81 and #83 (which plead, trumpet-tongued, against the scenario he puts forward in his Introduction-proper) are eloquent testimony to his difficulties. He can provide no consistent or credible account of where the Secker text is between 25/10/22 and 10/2/23, nor in what state its ending might be. He is unable to say when the Secker text was cut, by whom, where in America it was cut, or in what place in the text it was cut. We are not told what its "last page" consisted of, nor given any clear idea what Lawrence sent Curtis Brown on 10/2/23.

His argument's most embarrassing shortcoming is its inability to say how Secker acquired his copy of p. 474A – Steele's alleged "correct" ending. Readers of the CUP edition who attempt to follow this key page through Steele's Introduction will find themselves in what can only be described as a textual maze. The maze starts on p. xlv, with Steele's first reference to Secker's p. 474A. Here he implies that 474A was not part of the text that Mountsier sent to Seldes on 4/1/23 (for he states that "Pages 1-474...must have been sent to England for Secker."). But on the next page you find him explaining Lawrence's "inactivity" in not sending Secker his "last page" at the same time that he dispatched Seltzer's by speculating that Secker already had "a correctly shortened copy" of TS2. This can only mean that Lawrence assumed, according to Steele, that the text that went to Europe had p. 474A attached to it, and thus was "correctly shortened". Steele confirms this by saying that "Lawrence may have mistaken pp. 475 and 475A for his new ending" – a speculation that omits mention of 474A, again implying that the text that went to Europe included 474A.

Yet if that were so – if the text that went to England included 474A – then why did Lawrence need to send *anything* to Curtis Brown on 10/2/23? If the U.K. text already had the "correct" p. 474A ending, there would have been no occasion to add to it. It might be in the realm of possibility that Lawrence could "confuse" an ending that he had yet to add to his Secker text, but Steele would be very hard put to maintain that Lawrence could confuse the ending of a text to which he had already attached his "correct" ending. Steele, however, soon resiles from this patently untenable position, for on p. xlvi he poses the question: "What did Lawrence actually send to Curtis Brown?" And he answers: "It is now not possible to answer that question."

But in Steele's "footnote scenario" you are directed back into the maze. Footnote #81 speculates that Mountsier might have sent the Secker text to Seldes "before Christmas" and "(perhaps without the ending)". But what ending is Steele referring to here? He does not say, and it is not readily deduced. According to Steele's argument, the only two endings that Mountsier could have sent (via Seldes) to England prior to 10/2/23 were the endings on 474 or 474A. But if the Secker text was cut at 474A "before Christmas", that would imply that Lawrence had decided to end the novel at 474A before Mountsier arrived at

Del Monte on 1/1/23. That would make Steele's p. 474 "short" ending scenario – on which his whole Introduction is based – look most improbable (indeed, it would blow it away). If, on the other hand, Mountsier cut the Secker text at 474 "before Christmas", how then did this text acquire its 474A? For that you return to go. Steele's maze has no exit, as he frankly confesses in footnote #83: "Either DHL assumed that Curtis Brown already had p. 474A, or he included it with 475 and 475A."

This brings us to the final, fundamental flaw in Professor Steele's argument. It is contradictory. He says one thing in his Introduction-proper, and proposes something rather different in his footnotes. One can, however, appreciate his dilemma. What in fact he has are two separate hypotheses: what he alleges happened to the Seltzer text, and a subsidiary theory about what might have happened to the Secker text. And these are obviously incompatible. Hence his recourse of putting one forward in the Introduction-proper, and mentioning the other in his footnotes. Yet, ironically, it is his footnote scenario which is the more likely – and, as we shall see, is partly correct, though he fails to draw the obvious conclusions from it³. Where he is plainly at fault is in his Introduction-proper. Here his basic premise is wrong – p. 474A is not Lawrence's "last page". All his problems stem from this fundamental misapprehension.

Anyone who has looked into the matter of the variant texts would be led to suspect that some sort of mistake must have created the different endings. Steele's case is that a single error concerning one text was involved – that on 10/2/23 Lawrence, forgetting where he wanted to end *Kangaroo*, sent the wrong ending to Curtis Brown in London. Others will have to make up their own minds whether Lawrence could have written out up to 428 familiar words, or selected equivalent typed pages, and sent these to London in ignorance of what he was doing (and subsequently forgetting that he had committed such a gross error, never remembering to correct it, not even when he later revised the Seltzer proofs and posted a set of them to Secker in London).

On the other hand, I believe that Lawrence knew perfectly well what he was sending to London. He was sending 375 words to correct a mistake that had already occurred, just as he had previously sent the same 375 words to Seltzer, correcting the same error. Further, the words "missing" and "Don't lose it" in Lawrence's 10/2/23 letter to Curtis Brown imply not, as Steele would have it, second thoughts about an existing ending, but are clearly his reaction to his discovery that the correct ending had been lost or omitted from both setting texts.

Moreover, I believe that a second error occurred. I believe that Lawrence not only sent Secker the correct "cold, dark, inhospitable sea." ending on 10/2/23, but that he sent it to him again six months later when he posted the Secker set of corrected proofs to Curtis Brown. For it is also my contention that both sets of proofs that Lawrence corrected in New Jersey in July 1923 had his intended Secker ending – the *only* ending we can be *certain* Lawrence endorsed by a positive act: by mailing it to Curtis Brown on 10/2/23⁴.

The following is what I believe happened to the two texts, starting with Lawrence's receipt in Taos of the typescript of his manuscript in early October 1922 (in the interests of clarity, I will initially use the past tense when stating something already known, and the present tense when proposing what I now believe occurred):

1. Lawrence finished his revision of the first typescript (TS1) around 16/10/22, adding his new 15-1/2-page ending (the "long"). On 25/10/22 he posted this revised text (TS1R) to Mountsier in New York for retyping. However, even at this

stage there was some doubt in Lawrence's mind about the ending. In an accompanying letter (25/10/22) he asked Mountsier: "F[rieda] thinks the last chapter...too shallow. Do you[?]"

2. At some time – we don't know precisely when, but certainly well before Christmas 1922 – Lawrence decides to cut back the text to the [Secker] "cold, dark, inhospitable sea." ending. He conveys this instruction to Mountsier probably by telegram (he telegraphed Mountsier on 16/10/22 regarding a less-important matter). However, he does so in terms that cause Mountsier to make a mistake about where precisely the intended cut was to be made.

And we can now, I believe, deduce how this original error, from which all other confusion flowed, came about. It was caused by Lawrence's initial misnumbering of his 15-1/2-page Taos ending (the "long"). By inadvertently omitting p. 466 he mispaginated this text from p. 465 onwards. Thus what should have been 466 was 467, and so on. However, after posting this mispaginated TS1R text to New York he retains in Taos a second (and, he mistakenly believes, identical) TR1R copy. Lawrence sometimes did this, so that he could indicate subsequent amendments by page and line number⁵. But in this second TS1R copy the last 15-1/2 pages are numbered correctly – ie, they include p. 466.

At some time after 25/10/22 Lawrence sends the message to Mountsier (possibly in "telegraphese") instructing him to cut the text at the new "cold, dark, inhospitable sea." ending. But he does this by indicating the cutting point by page (and perhaps line) number. The message instructs Mountsier to cut the text at the foot of, or at the end of the last sentence on, "p. 474". In the correctly-paginated copy of TS1R which Lawrence retained in Taos, such a "p. 474" instruction indicates the Secker "cold, dark, inhospitable sea." ending. But in Mountsier's text-copy p. 474 refers to a different page. Due to the misnumbering, Lawrence's "p. 474" instruction indicates to him the Seltzer "broken attachments, broken" ending. (This reconstruction ignores the single-word turnover "sea." on TS1R p. 476. See below for an explanation of this anomaly.)

3. Around 23/11/22 Mountsier received the TS1R retyping and checked the new pages against Lawrence's original TS revisions. Then either he or someone else made up the two new setting texts, interleaving the retyped pages with the unchanged TS1R pages, using a spare carbon of TS1 to create the second setting text. He then cuts the two new TS2 texts as per his understanding of Lawrence's "p. 474" instruction – at the Seltzer "broken attachments, broken" ending. He puts aside the cut remainders of the two TS2 setting texts, together with TS1R and the spare carbon leftovers.
4. He sends or takes the Secker text to Seldes, hoping to bring to Del Monte some good news about serial or extract rights. The other TS2 copy he

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conveys to Seltzer's office, as Lawrence had been pressing him to do, enabling him to arrive at Del Monte to report that he had carried out Lawrence's instructions.

5. Mountsier arrived at Del Monte late on 1/1/23, the evening before Seltzer's departure. At some time during the next 12 hours or so, Lawrence discovers the cutting error and realises that both texts have been cut 375 words short of his intended "cold, dark, inhospitable sea." ending. There being no time to rectify the mistake before Seltzer's departure, he tells him that he will copy out the missing words and post them to him in New York.
6. Around 10/2/23 Lawrence, to his apparent surprise, discovered the whereabouts of the Secker text. He wrote to Curtis Brown apprising him that Seldes had it, and enclosed in this letter the second copy of the missing 375 words.
7. Both publishers receive their additional 375 words and incorporate them into their setting texts, which they send off to their respective printers.
8. In July 1923 Lawrence arrived in New York from Mexico. He picked up from Seltzer's office two sets of proofs, which he then corrected (the corrections were minor). Because both texts have his chosen "cold, dark, inhospitable sea." ending he notices nothing amiss. He makes two sets of corrections, giving one set to Seltzer and posting the other set to Curtis Brown to onpass to Secker.
9. However, unbeknown to him, someone at Seltzer's printers has, after the first proofs were taken, checked those proofs against the setting text. When, in the course of this check, they come to p. 474A of the setting text, they observe that the typed text ends on this page. They decide to sever the proof text at this point – at the end of the last line on p. 474A, "broken attachments, broken". The last 375 words – beginning "heartstrings" and ending "cold, dark, inhospitable sea." – are consigned to the over-matter tray. Lawrence, having been given the initial or first proofs to correct, is unaware of the subsequent truncation.
10. Meanwhile the proofs destined for Secker – who was anxious not to be beaten to publication by Seltzer – take a week or more to reach Curtis Brown in London. By then it was August, when much of Britain thinks of its summer holidays. Delays occur. It turns out that there isn't time to incorporate Lawrence's proof corrections in the UK edition. So it goes to press without them. Thus posterity is bequeathed two slightly different texts, and two rather different endings.

While this seems to me to explain the known facts, such a reconstruction lacks proof. Perhaps, given the passage of time, such proof will never be found. However, we do have some additional evidence that goes a long way to confirming that the above reconstruction is correct. This evidence consists primarily of the four points that Steele adduced to support his

"broken attachments, broken" ending. But he drew the wrong conclusions from those four key items of evidence.

Take his second point – that p. 474A of Seltzer's TS2 shows evidence of having been folded; that (to use Steele's words) "this page only of TS2 has been folded"; that the fold "matches the folds of Lawrence's 4/1/22 letter to Seltzer"; and that it "would fit the envelope" that contained the other content⁶. This is not correct. Of the 577 pages of Seltzer's TS2, precisely 569 pages were folded. Each of these 569 pages shows signs of having been creased horizontally in half. The last such folded page is indeed p. 474A, and it (and only it) has also been folded vertically in thirds, and it would have fitted, thus folded, in the envelope of Lawrence's 4/1/22 letter to Seltzer, whose surviving content is similarly folded. But Steele is wrong to conclude that it was the only page of *Kangaroo* text which Lawrence enclosed in that envelope. As we shall see, there was another page enclosed – and it, not p. 474A, was Lawrence's actual "last page".

Let us now turn to Steele's first point – that p. 474A (to use his words) "has a circled pencil note in Lawrence's hand which reads: 'End of Kangaroo'." Steele no doubt believed that this point, beyond anything else, "proved" that Lawrence had wanted to end the text on p. 474A, despite the incomplete-sentence, no-full-stop nature of the final words on that page, "broken attachments, broken". Steele is not the only person to have made that mistake. Yet mistake it undoubtedly is.

To show why, it is first necessary to point out that Lawrence was not in the habit of using the words "End of [title of novel]" or similar terminology to indicate the conclusion of a text. As far as I am aware, he did not write "End of Nethermere" at the end of his first novel. Nor "End of The Trespasser" at the conclusion of his second. Nor did he write "End of Sons and Lovers". Nor "End of The Rainbow", nor "End of Women in Love", nor "End of The Lost Girl", nor "End of Aaron's Rod", nor "End of The Boy in The Bush", nor "End of Lady Chatterley's Lover".

What is, however, of some import is that Lawrence did write "end of Quetzalcoatl" on the second MS of *The Plumed Serpent*.

The significant point here, as Professor L.D. Clark (CUP editor of *The Plumed Serpent*) observed recently⁷, is that when Lawrence wrote "end of Quetzalcoatl" in that manuscript, he did so, not at the conclusion of the text, but 39 MS pages before the end. As Professor Clark explained: "In Oaxaca, writing the second, the published version of [*The Plumed Serpent*], L filled two notebooks, then turned to a third one which was nearly full with the last part of the first version of the novel. He turned the notebook over and upside down, wrote "end of Quetzalcoatl" on the endpaper, and finished the MS of *The Plumed Serpent* in about 40 pages of hand-written text. I say this to suggest that possibly p. 474A is not the last page of *K*, but a sort of cover sheet for...the ending of the novel."

And of course he must be right. It now looks certain that it was Seltzer, not Mountsier, who brought the U.S. copy of TS2 to Del Monte. When Lawrence discovered that Mountsier had mistakenly cut the text a page earlier than he had intended, he must have told Seltzer that he would copy out the missing 375 words from his retained extra copy of TS1R and send them on to him in New York. Yet Seltzer must have left behind his p. 474A to remind Lawrence where the missing text started. In the centre of this page, under the line "broken attachments, broken", Lawrence wrote – obliquely – "End of Kangaroo", ringed it, then attached this "cover sheet" to his newly-written-out copy of the missing page (and in which he no doubt included the one-word turnover "sea." from the following TS1R page). He then added these two pages to the letter he sent on 4/1/23 to Seltzer in New York. And when later he discovered the whereabouts of the

Secker text, he mailed another copy of the missing 375 words to Curtis Brown on 10/2/23.

On that same day – 10/2/23 - Lawrence made an entry in his diary (as mentioned above) saying that he had mailed “pp.” (ie, more than one page) of *Kangaroo* to Curtis Brown. This is a crucial piece of confirmatory evidence. As we have seen, Steele attempted to explain this (somewhat embarrassing) “pp.” reference by claiming that what Lawrence actually had meant by “pp.” was in fact “p.”, or one page, arguing that he wrote “pp.” merely to indicate a single page with text from another page added to it. But that is a very weak and quite factitious explanation for the “pp.” diary entry. A much more credible explanation is that by “pp.” Lawrence meant two pages: Seltzer’s p. 474A cover-page, plus, on a second page, the written-out enclosure comprising the 375 words both texts lacked, sent first to Seltzer on 4/1/23, and now repeated to Curtis Brown on 10/2/23.

This reconstruction yields an unexpected bonus, for it suggests an explanation of how the second severance of the text at Seltzer’s printers may have come about. The clue to this is contained in the opening words of Lawrence’s 26/7/23 letter to Curtis Brown, with which he enclosed the corrected set of Seltzer proofs, destined for Secker. Lawrence wrote: “I am sending by this mail corrected galleys – proofs – of *Kangaroo*. Seltzer never sent them to me – but I got them from his office as soon as I arrived in New York.” The revealing term in this extract is the word “galleys”.

Galleys, or “galley-proofs”, in those “hot-metal” days, were not normally seen by authors. Usually they were given page-proofs to check and correct. The principal use of galley-proofs in a printing plant was to check what the typesetters had set (in “slugs” of metal type, assembled on trays called “galleys”) against the original text, or “copy”. This check was normally carried out by a department called “the readers”.

The readers received a set of proofs taken directly from the galleys immediately after the type had been set and assembled (hence “galley-proofs”), together with the relevant section of the original text or copy. Then a “proof-reader” would read the galley out aloud while his “copy-holder” checked what his companion was reading against the original text, to ensure it has been accurately set (most typesetters were paid “piece-rates”, which encouraged them to set type as quickly as possible, and consequently what they set often needed correcting).

We now have every reason to believe that this process was carried out at Seltzer’s printers, for his setting-text (which has survived) carries marks showing where each galley started and finished. There were 124 of them. Furthermore, we can now assume that gallery 124, when it was originally set, had the correct “cold, dark, inhospitable sea.” ending. But when in the reading room of Seltzer’s printers the proof-reader responsible for checking galley 124 read out the words “broken attachments, broken”, his copy-holder would have alerted him to the fact that after those words, on text-copy p. 474A, there was what appeared

to be a clear editorial instruction, viz.: the circled words “End of *Kangaroo*”.

To proof-readers aware of the foibles of typesetters, and of the printers’ bounden duty to follow editorial instructions, the apparent injunction would not have been clearer, especially as it was reinforced by the fact that the typed text concluded at that point, and was followed by a page of hand-written text, which could easily have been attached in error. So it is now reasonable to conclude that it was the proof-reader who deleted the 375 words after “broken attachments, broken” and also had (we can also assume) the “last line” reset to add the “missing” full-stop.

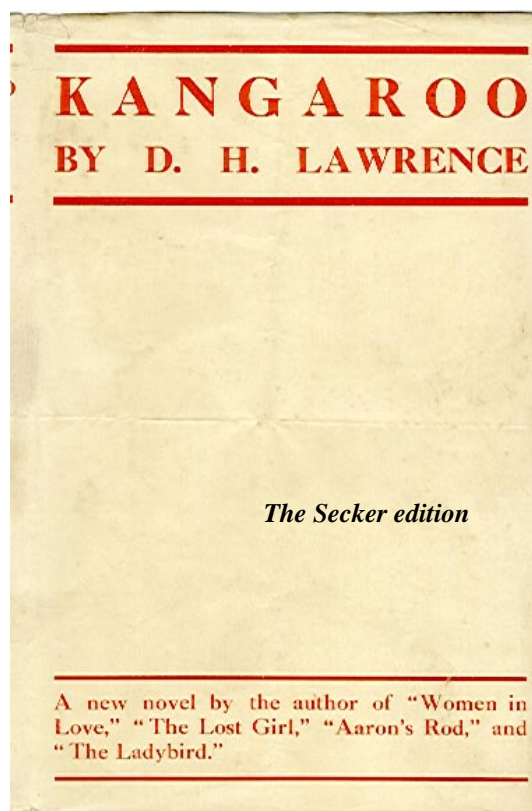
Under more normal circumstances, Lawrence would have been given, for correction, page-proofs made up from the galleys after they had been checked by the readers and any “typos” or other obvious solecisms corrected and reset. Had this occurred, he would have noticed that the wrong ending had been reinstated, and reversed the error. However, due to the lateness of the printing, corrected page-proofs must not have been available. Only galley-proofs were available, and these, having yet to be corrected by the readers, would still have had his intended “cold, dark, inhospitable sea.” ending. Hence we now have a logical explanation for Steele’s fourth point – how Lawrence could have seen and corrected Seltzer’s proofs in New Jersey in July 1923 and not picked up the fact that they had the wrong “broken attachments, broken” ending.

Finally, there is Steele’s third point – that p. 474A of Seltzer’s TS2 is the only ribbon-copy page in this otherwise all-

carbon setting text. Again, he is being misleading here. In footnote #55 he says that “The ribbon copy of TS1... is at the [New York Public Library]” along with the “carbon of TS1”. This implies that originally there were two text-copies of TS1 – ribbon and carbon. But that is not right. An examination of the surviving text-copies of *Kangaroo* in the Berg collection of the NYPL confirms that originally there were not two but three typescripts – ribbon and two carbons.

What we should now call Berg 1 is what remains of the TS1 text that Lawrence corrected in Taos in October 1922. It contains only those pages on which he made revisions or additions, and consists of a mixture of ribbon and first-carbon. Berg 2 consists of the equivalent pages of Berg 1, but without any corrections, being the remainder of the second-carbon that Mountsier kept in New York. Berg 3 is Seltzer’s surviving setting-text, and is made up of two carbons: the carbon of Lawrence’s corrected TR1R pages that Mountsier had retyped, interleaved with the unchanged TS1 pages extracted from Mountsier’s “spare” Berg 2 second-carbon (plus one ribbon-copy page). Absent are the “mirror-image” of the TS1R which Lawrence sent to Mountsier on 25/10/22 (and which Lawrence kept in Taos), and Secker’s lost TS2 setting-text.

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NOT THE END OF THE STORY

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It might be instructive to try to reconstruct what roles these three TS1 texts played in the publication process (a task which Steele, however, eschews). Such an attempt can be assisted by examining the incidence of ribbon and carbon in Berg 1. The surviving sequence goes like this: pp. 1-55 ribbon-copy (r); 55-84 first-carbon (c); 85-87 r; 88-99 c; 101-118 r; 119-124 c; 125-138 r; 139-161 c; 163-176 r; 177-185 c; 186-195 r; 196-261c; 262-323 r; 324-397 c; 398-402 r; 403-427 c; 430-437 r; 438-463 c; (p. 463 is the last page of the TS1R typed text and the second page of the 15-1/2-page new Taos ending, and it is followed by 14 pages of MS text, numbered 464-478, omitting 466). Although, at first glance, this sequence *appears* to be random, it could point to something quite significant.

But, first, it proves that Lawrence was indeed in possession of two text-copies (ribbon and first-carbon) when he made his TR1 revisions. In fact it indicates that he was responsible for the mixing of the sequence. How might this have happened? The most likely explanation is that Mounstier sent Lawrence two copies of TS1 with the idea that he should correct both copies, one for Seltzer and the other for Secker.

Lawrence must have started doing this. He apparently began his corrections on the ribbon-copy, stopping at p. 55. He then turned to the carbon and transcribed on it the corrections he had made on the ribbon-copy. It appears that he then put the two revised sections (1-55 r [“original”] and 1-55 c [“transcribed”]) aside, starting two new piles. But instead of going back to the ribbon-copy to continue his revisions, he must have continued correcting on the carbon, revising this text to p. 84, where he stopped, then turned back to the ribbon-copy to transcribe on it the new carbon corrections. He added the now primary carbon corrections to the “original” pile, and the now secondary ribbon corrections to the “transcribed” pile. He then went on correcting the ribbon-copy to p. 100, and in turn transcribed these corrections on the carbon, before adding the two new sets of revisions to their respective piles. He continued on in this alternating fashion to p. 463, where he added his new ending. This reconstruction explains the otherwise inexplicable ribbon-carbon alternating sequence mentioned above. But, more importantly, it casts new light on how the errors that caused the variant texts came about.

For after Lawrence had completed his TS1 revisions, creating two TS1Rs, and after he had finished writing out the first copy of his new 15-1/2-page ending, he would have had to go back and transcribe this new ending on another set of blank sheets before adding it to the second TS1R copy he was creating (though he may have by then decided – due to the extensive nature of his revisions - to retain the second TS1R in Taos, and instruct Mounstier to prepare two fresh versions for Seltzer and Secker from the single TS1R he was sending to New York). However, when numbering the first version of the new ending (the one he now intended to send to Mounstier for retyping),

page-by-page, he had inadvertently omitted p. 466. But in numbering the transcribed version, he must have “corrected” this error, and numbered his retained TS1R copy correctly, creating the variant paginations.

But to return to the gravamen of Steele’s third point. He is quite right in saying that p. 474A of Seltzer’s TS2 is the only ribbon-copy page in this (as we now know) dual-carbon setting text. But what conclusion is he asking us to draw from this fact? He himself makes no attempt to explain the anomaly. He is content, apparently, to impart the impression that this ribbon-copy aberration, in some unexplained way, supports his contention that p. 474A is Lawrence’s “last page”.

Apparently he was hoping that the reader would assume some such scenario as this: on or about 2/1/23 Lawrence decides (as Steele would have it) to cut the ending back to his “new” p. 474 ending (the “short”). But a day or so later he changes his mind and resolves to end the novel 53 words further on at the “broken attachments, broken” ending. So he picks up

the extra page – 474A – containing the additional 53 words, writes “End of Kangaroo” on it, and posts this “last page” to Seltzer in New York. But instead picking up the carbon 474A (Seltzer’s text being “the carbon”), he makes a mistake, and picks up 474A from the ribbon-copy (Secker’s) leftovers and sends it. Hence the aberration of the single ribbon-copy page in Seltzer’s “carbon” setting text.

However, as with the rest of Steele’s case, this leaves unanswered how Secker got his “extra” p. 474A. Steele had no doubt hoped that such a scenario would necessarily imply that Lawrence also picked up the carbon 474A and sent it to London for Secker. Yes - but when? The obvious moment for Lawrence to have done this would have been when he allegedly picked up the ribbon-copy page. But that common-sense action is not available to Steele, as it would undermine the Secker side of his theory.

For if he had Lawrence picking up the carbon 474A at the same time as the ribbon-copy, then Lawrence would of course have remembered that he had already given both texts their “correct” 474A ending in early January. So for Steele’s hypothesis to remain intact he must have Lawrence delaying picking up Secker’s extra page for days or weeks, until he became “confused”, and forgot where he wanted to end (or rather had already ended) *Kangaroo*.

Such a scenario stretches credibility beyond breaking-point. Yet, paradoxically, I believe that Steele’s implied cutting-and-adding hypothesis is partly correct. I believe that both texts *were* first cut at 474, and 474A added later. And I believe there *was* a mix-up between the ribbon and carbon pages. But it was not Lawrence who mixed them up, nor was it done at Del Monte. And it affords no support to Steele’s argument.

Because when Lawrence sent his hypothetical instruction to Mounstier to cut the texts on “p. 474”, the text he would have been referring to was not TS2, but TS1R. Lawrence had not seen TS2, and had no idea of what it consisted of. He had no knowledge of the “A” pages. However, by that time the texts that Mounstier was operating on *were* the new TS2 texts.



Thus when Mountsier started the cutting process, he would have first cut them at p. 474 of his two TS2 texts, as per Lawrence's instructions. Then he would have had in front of him twin sets of left-overs, one ribbon and the other carbon, each beginning p. 474A. But he would have instantly realised – for it would have been staring him in the face – that what Lawrence actually had meant by “p. 474” was p. 474 of TS1R, not TS2 (or so he thought). To him, this indicated that he needed to add the next page (474A - the top page of the left-overs) to the two texts. So he picked up the two p. 474A pages and added them to the two setting texts. But he must have mixed them up, adding the carbon left-over 474A to the Seltzer setting-text, and the ribbon 474A to the Secker text.

Of course, this is speculation, or, at best, deduction. But if it is correct, then somewhere there should have been, once extant, two piles of left-overs – ribbon and carbon – each numbered pp. 475 to 4778A. And in the Berg collection at NYPL there is one such pile. It is attached to the end of Berg 1 (the ribbon-and-carbon TS1R) at the back of the 15-1/2-page MS “long” ending. It is ribbon-copy, and at the top-left of the first page (475) are two, brown, diagonal marks. They are rust-stains, the legacy of a paper-clip that once held these eight pages together. They are, unquestionably, the surviving pile of ribbon-copy left-overs, no doubt clipped together and set aside by Mountsier after he removed p. 474A to add it to Seltzer's dual-carbon setting-text. The other pile is lost, though it would have mirrored the surviving pile, being pp. 475-478A, carbon⁸.

It is strange the way Lawrence's novel of Australia has managed to get itself into so many difficulties down the years. From the day he sat down in Wyewurk to write the opening line

*A bunch of workmen were lying on the grass
beside the park...*

it has been accident-prone. For almost three-quarters of a century its main circulating version has had the wrong text, but the right ending. Now, when it was on the verge of being salvaged from accident and error, the CUP has managed to give it the right text, but the wrong ending. Yet it would be a pity if the opportunity to put things right were allowed to pass. *Kangaroo*, poor bruised thing, deserves better.

(Author's note, 21/11/00: But they did allow it to pass. A year after the above critique was published in the DHLR, Penguin put out the popular edition of *Kangaroo*, with the wrong ending. The late Warren Roberts's hope, expressed over three decades ago, that there would be a text of *Kangaroo* in print that Lawrence “really wanted” is still, alas, unfulfilled - by the CUP or anyone else.)

FOOTNOTES

¹ In footnote #81 Steele says: “While it would seem likely that [Mountsier] posted the typescript to Seldes on 4/1/23, the day DHL sent the last page to Seltzer, Mountsier wrote to *The Dial* on 12/1/23 from DHL's ranch asking the whereabouts of the typescript. This raises the possibility that he had given the typescript (perhaps without the ending) to Seldes before Christmas.” In footnote #83 Steele says: “Either DHL assumed that Curtis Brown already had p. 474A or he included it with 475 and 575A.” (This reiterates the doubt raised in #81 that it was Lawrence who cut the Secker text at Del Monte in January 1923.)

² Why the secrecy? Steele's problem here is Lawrence's 10/2/23 letter to Curtis Brown in which he said he was annoyed to learn that Mountsier had given the UK text to Seldes. Lawrence repeated his “surprise” in another letter written on the same day to Seltzer (“I was annoyed to learn from Mountsier that Seldes had the English copy of *Kangaroo*”). So unless Lawrence was lying to both Curtis Brown and Seltzer, Steele has to cover the obvious question of how Mountsier could have kept from Lawrence that he was sending the UK text to Seldes while he (Mountsier) had physical possession of the bulky TS in the confined quarters of a log cabin between 2/1/23 and 4/1/23 (when, according to Steele, Mountsier sneaked away to post the UK text to Seldes in New York) – a deception made even more unlikely by the previously-mentioned letter to *The Dial* (in which Mountsier asked the whereabouts of the UK text), for surely Mountsier

would have known the whereabouts of a text he had posted (according to Steele) to that same office only a few days previously.

³ The essence of Steele's underlying dilemma is his inability or unwillingness to address the primary textual question: on which text was Lawrence operating when he made his decision to cut back the ending? For Steele to argue, as he does, that p. 474A is Lawrence's “last page” and correct ending, he must have him making the cut on TS2, for 474A is obviously an “A” page, and Lawrence could only have seen such a page after Mountsier came to Del Monte on 1/1/23, bring with him (according to Steele) the two setting texts. But, as Steele's footnotes #81 and #83 indicate, there are powerful reasons to believe that Lawrence made his cutting decision before 1/1/23. If that were so, then he would have had to make the cut on TS1R, not TS2, for Lawrence knew nothing about the latter before 1/1/23, as even Steele concedes. Had Steele cleaved to this understanding (hinted at in his footnotes) he would have found his task much easier. Then he would have been dealing with a TS1R, not a TS2 “last page” (475), and thus would be quit of its tiresome satellites 474A, 475A and perhaps 476. Indeed, had he embraced his own footnote scenario he might have more readily uncovered the answer to *Kangaroo*'s crystallising conundrum: in what circumstance could Lawrence, at some time after 1/1/23, have written “End of *Kangaroo*” on a TS2 text he had cut “before Christmas” on TS1R?

⁴ Without the need of any other argument, this fact alone – which everyone agrees on – should have been sufficient to establish the primacy and authority of the Secker ending. It is normal custom, in the absence of countervailing evidence, to invest the last text which the author revised with ultimate authority. By this measure it is the Secker ending which must prevail, for we have no direct evidence that Lawrence made any further change to the “cold, dark, inhospitable sea.” ending after 10/2/23.

⁵ In a letter to Seltzer dated 19/1/23 Lawrence wrote: “If you want anything altered or eliminated, tell me the page and line number – I have a third MS – and I will send you the revision.” See also Lawrence's 8/10/21 letter to Seltzer re citing “specific lines” of a TS of *Aaron's Rod* for making “any small alteration”.

⁶ The letter and its surviving content are in the HRC collection in the University of Texas at Austin.

⁷ In a personal letter.

⁸ Not, however, according to Professor Steele. In footnote #85 Steele says: “Unfortunately, pp. 476-478A of the carbon copy of TS2 are, like the rest of the ribbon-copy of TS2, unlocated.” This is a most curious sentence. The first odd thing about it is that it is only the second mention of p. 476 in Steele's Introduction, the first being in his footnote #75, where he says p. 476 does not exist. The second odd thing is the absence of pp. 475 and 475A. Where are they? Steele makes no attempt to explain their absence from his accounting of the carbon left-overs. Indeed, he would seem to be implying here that they must have been attached to the missing ribbon-copy TS2 (Secker's setting-text), for if they were not in one place (Del Monte) they must, under his scenario, be in the other (London). (In fact, they were probably in NY.) This in turn would mean that he is finally opting for a Secker “last page” that comprised three, perhaps four, “last pages” – pp. 474A (perhaps), 475, 475A and the first word of 476, “sea.”. But the third, and most revealing, oddity is why Steele now feels the need to resuscitate the p. 476 he apparently killed off in footnote #75. And it is here that one really starts to appreciate the dilemma he has made for himself by obliging Lawrence to make the ending-cut on TS2, with its troublesome “A” pages, instead of TS1R. For it was probably only now, towards the end of his Introduction, that he confronted the question of the precise nature of the two sets of left-overs, Seltzer's and Secker's. His problem is that if he has Lawrence making the cut on TS2, then the two sets of leftovers must be different. The surviving set of left-overs we have, they are at the end of Berg 1, and are ribbon-copy, numbered 475-478A. But he cannot number the missing set of carbon left-overs that way, for it would further undermine his crumbling Secker scenario. For if the missing carbons had been numbered 475-478A, that would mean that Lawrence had transcribed up to 428 words from typed pages that he had in front of him – pages he had no further use for – rather than pick up and send the typed pages themselves. Such a perverse course action is completely unsustainable (especially as Lawrence would have had *two* sets of left-overs in front of him). Therefore, for Steele's Secker scenario to stay above water, he must have Lawrence sending the extra typed pages – up to four of them - to London on 10/2/23. But the trouble now is that if these pages were sent to London, then they could not be part of the missing set of carbon left-overs. Yet the missing left-overs had to start *somewhere*. They could not, however, begin at the page after 475A, for under Steele's hypothesis that would be 477 (as he eliminated 476 in footnote #75). But 477 is a considerable distance into the post-Australia Taos or “long” ending, at the point where Somers is talking to an American “blond, honest lad of 22” on the boat between Tahiti and San Francisco. There is no way Steele can start his numbering of the missing left-overs there. Therefore he is obliged to go back and disinter p. 476 for its fleeting appearance as a carbon left-over in his footnote #85.

Letters...

Our second President, Paul Eggert, relinquished the position early last year. This exchange of a memo and two letters explains the background to his decision (also see “We’ve Come a Long Way” on page 5).

MEMO PAUL EGGERT
CC. SJ, MJ, JL, JR
FROM RD
6/11/99
Re: cruise, etc

Paul – no doubt you are as disappointed as we all are about the lack of enthusiasm from the South Coast about the Lady H cruise, AGM, etc. I gather from JR & JL that none of the invitees from the SC have confirmed bookings on the Lady H. This is especially galling since I personally cancelled two of my guests in anticipation of space being needed for them. Now you too have indicated you will not attend if the South Coast fails to materialise.

I must say the response from the South Coast was not unexpected. If they could not be worked up over Wyewurk, and if Ray Southall could not energise them, then any other effort was, I thought, well...difficult.

That was not to say that your efforts in this regard were not worthwhile. I’m sorry they have not borne better fruit.

My impression has always been that they regard the Lawrence enthusiasm from outside the environs of Thirroul not only with apathy, but hostility. Joe Davis, in particular, bears a heavy responsibility.

By all means go ahead with an AGM down there. But I must tell you frankly that most of us (I speak only for MJ, JL, SJ and myself) have a pretty jaundiced view of the possibility of the Society continuing if the South Coast has anything to do with it.

I personally would attend such an AGM, but I suspect the others would not.

An alternative would be to put the thing into mothballs for the time being (ie, do nothing). The membership has fallen off almost to the point of being unsustainable, leaving a rump of a half-dozen or so enthusiasts.

But I personally have no wish to do anything overt to kill off the Society. I would just leave it in case better times arrive.

Meanwhile I think JL should get out a final (for now) issue of *Rananim* and that any money left from this should be retained in an account for the time being.

I hope to see you on November 14, but I fear I will not.

RD.

Dear Rob,

Your piece on the front page of the latest *Rananim* [vols 7/8 March 2000] has killed what small chances remained for transferring the DHL Society to Wollongong and Thirroul.

You speak there in the past about this possibility, but the planned meeting there had only been delayed by my being overseas since the start of this year. The tone of the article will probably have created ill-feeling among what locals I had managed, with Steve O’Connor and John Ruffels’s assistance, to interest in the venture.

I give up. There’s nothing further to be done. If another *Rananim* is indeed produced, please remove my name from it as president. However, I advise you not to produce another issue. I would prefer you retain the remaining Society moneys for Wyewurk-related action in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Eggert
Canberra
March 16, 2000.

23/3/00

Dear Paul,

Thank you for your letter of March 16 (my birthday!).

I’m sorry that you felt the need to take umbrage at the lead story (as we journalists say) in *Rananim*.

I have had more experience than you in dealing with Thirrouleans and Wollongongians, going back now to 1975, and I must say the fact that your well-intentioned efforts in that direction fell on such stony ground did not surprise me.

Their failure to take up (even respond) to your kind invitation to come on the *Lady Hopetoun* cruise (occasioning Mr Lacey some degree of personal embarrassment and inconvenience, not to mention a loss of revenue for the Society) is pretty much “par for the course”.

I will convene a committee meeting of the Society (or what’s left of it) and submit what I take is your letter of resignation.

I’m sure they will be as sorry as I am at your departure. The link you brought from the orthodox world of Lawrence scholarship will be hard to replace.

Fortunately we now have the CUP - and Penguin - edition of *Kangaroo* (with its enigmatic mid-sentence ending) plus the CUP 3rd volume biography’s account of Lawrence’s time in Australia as permanent reminders of the contribution that scholarship has made to this important aspect of Australian literature and intellectual life.

Sincerely,

Robert Darroch.

PS: John Lacey and Margaret Jones (and Sandra, too) have asked me to reassure you that *Rananim* will continue on, even in future if we have to pay for its publication out of our own pockets. You’ll be pleased to learn, that membership renewals are trickling in.

Bits...

As is well known, DHL and Frieda spent some time living at Taormina on Sicily, and the volcanic Mount Etna is a prominent landmark, easily seen from most of Taormina. A narrow gauge railway (the CircumEtna) runs a loop around the base of the mountain, providing a day's scenic journey as it climbs through the lava fields and access points to the snow-covered summit. The railway was constructed by an English engineer. His name? Mr Robert Trehella.



When Edith Campbell Berry, the heroine of Frank Moorhouse's blockbuster *Dark Palace*, returns to Australia in the Thirties after a long period at the League of Nations in Geneva, she brings *Kangaroo* with her as her travel guide.

Originally a country girl from Jasper's Brush, she has been completely Europeanised by the years in Geneva, and finds the bush upsetting as she looks at it from the train. "Edith felt a low revulsion. Appalling, she thought, the bush is simply appalling. It appeared to her to be grasping and twisted..."

"She turned back to Lawrence. It was all very well for Lawrence to describe it as an 'invisible beauty somehow lurking beyond the range of our 'white vision'. What, may one ask, is 'invisible beauty'?"

She smirked. Lawrence was struggling to find something, anything, to say about it. 'For the landscape is so unimpressive, like a face with little or no features, a dark face.' Yes, he was struggling to find something nice to say, like a polite English visitor."

DHL might be a bit surprised at that interpretation.



Once again the Thirroul Festival Committee has asked the Society to stage some sort of DHL "happening" for their festival in early April, 2001.

John Ruffels has volunteered to keep the flag flying by strolling from festival restaurant to festival restaurant, where it is proposed he read vignettes from DHL's Thirroul novel, *Kangaroo*. This is still in the early ideas stage, and Lyn Jones of the Festival Committee has pencilled in an evening reading at Oscar's Wild Bookshop in Thirroul's main street for about 8 p.m. on Saturday 7th April. She will approach other venues to see if they are interested. John Ruffels has also lined up a performance poet to accompany him, he will read a couple of Lawrence's poems at the same locations.

About one thousand flock to the coastal town over the two day event, so the potential is there...just needs good ideas on how to enthuse festivalites with cultcha.

(But see our planned Wollongong trip on page 2 - ed.)

ODES ON A TRIP TO KIAMA

*The Tory Hotel's not an obvious place
To eat, drink and make merry
Yet what it lacked in political grace
T'was better than the ferry*

(Shit, the baby's eaten a cigarette!)

*Other Lawrentians went to the Blowhole
Preferring to dine sur l'herbe
But Mr Lacey knew a better waterhole
Where appetites would wetter curb*

(Shit, the baby's eaten a cigarette!)

*The service was a mockery
A travesty of ad-hockery
But a Pollnitz poem filled the gap
The missing munchies were meant to cap*

(Shit, the baby's eaten a cigarette!)

*T'was what you'd call a family pub
And this indeed was the rub
For while we waited for the grub (vainly)
A nearby bub spotted a stub*

(Shit, the baby's eaten a cigarette!)

*While mum and dad oblivious imbibed
Bub into a planter box intently dived
There, mistaking the stub for a sweetie,
She quickly swallowed it as an eatie*

*Then there was a great kerfuffle
(Shit, the baby's eaten a cigarette!)*
With suggestions rife and far from subtle

*While means were sought to cough it up
We realised that we would not sup
Yet as we departed that cursed pub
We consoled ourselves...*

At least the baby had some grub.

(Robert Darroch)

*Lawrentians drunk; poesy in a rut
At Tory Arms, on empty gut
Struck spell-bound by Mum's cry: "Oh shit!"
As health-warned fag she lit
"The baby's eaten me cigarette butt!"*

(Rob & Katherine Douglass)

MOTHER'S DAY

*Southward we journeyed by land & sea
Praising Lawrence from under pub tree.
Soared Pisgah heights with lofty wit
Plumbed Pluto's gloom blue genetian lit.
But! By bothered mum our thoughts were cut:
"Shit! Baby's swallowed a cigarette butt."*

(Marylyn Valentine)

MINUTES OF AGM

AGM held in the Rose Garden Pavilion of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Sydney 28 October 2000

Present: Robert Darroch, Sandra Jobson, Marylyn Valentine, Margaret Jones, John Lacey, Robert Douglass, Tom Thompson, Eve Harrison, John Rothwell, Sally Rothwell, Robin Archer, John Ruffels, and Visitors.

Minutes of the previous AGM were confirmed.

Correspondence: Letters of resignation from the committee were received from John Ruffels and Steve O' Connor. There were expressions of thanks to both for the work they had done for the Society since its inception. Steve O'Connor, retiring as Treasurer, reported that the society's funds stood at \$ 2,350.

Membership: John Ruffels, retiring membership Secretary reported that the Society now had 35 members plus

6 honorary members.

Future: The vice-president, Robert Darroch, addressed the meeting, saying that with falling membership and some divisions of opinion as to whether the Society should have a Sydney or a South coast base, there were doubts about whether a DHL Society should continue. However, he believed that it should, and that there should be a yearly edition of the Society Journal, *Rananim*. Members present agreed with this view.

Committee: John Lacey replaced Paul Eggert as President, and will continue as Editor of *Rananim*. Robert Darroch will continue as Vice president. Sandra Jobson will remain Publisher of *Rananim*, and will take on the role of Membership secretary. Margaret Jones continues as secretary, Marylyn Valentine as Archivist and Robert Douglass was co-opted to the Editorial committee.

Functions: There will be a Lady Hopetoun cruise and other functions in 2001.

Contributions to *Rananim*

Contributions to *Rananim* are welcomed. If you are able to send your article on a floppy disc (PC or MAC) it would be very helpful, or e-mail it to jlacey@zeta.org.au. Please use Microsoft Word. We are trying to standardise the style: please indent the first word of each paragraph 5mm and don't make a line space between paragraphs. Put titles of books in upper and lower case *italics*, and don't put quotation marks around them. If you want to quote from a published book, please do not indent it but make a one line space before and after the quotation and make it as an indent if you also send a hard copy. Many thanks - it will save a lot of time! Please contact the publisher, Sandra Jobson, for style details and disc formatting.



D.H. LAWRENCE SOCIETY
OF AUSTRALIA

APRIL 7-8

Train trip to
WOLLONGONG.
Stay at the
Novotel,
Northbeach,
Wollongong.
Visit Thirroul,
Austinmer and
Bulli, with us.
Booking details
Page 2, *Rananim*

EARLY JULY

Two weeks in SRI
LANKA including 4
days at the fabu-
lous Triton Beach
Hotel. Visit the
house where DHL
stayed in Kandy
etc. Further
details page 2
Rananim.
Not to be missed!

NOVEMBER

Another outing on
the steam yacht
LADY HOPETOUN on
Sydney Harbour. It's
an annual DHLA
event and a highlight
of our calendar!
The yacht is under-
going a refit but will
be ready by Novem-
ber. More details
soon.

Dear Member/Prospective Member,

Here is your copy of *Rananim*. I hope you find it interesting. We particularly draw your attention to the several trips we have planned for the coming year (see above). We hope you will join us at some or all of these DHLA events. (The one to Sri Lanka - which is great value-for-money - should be especially exciting. I personally have stayed at the Triton Beach Hotel, where we will spend at least four days, and can testify that it is one of the world's greatest hotels - and it's included in the airfare!)

You will also be aware that our Society is very much alive and active. We have over 50 members currently, and we hope to attract more in the coming months.

So please renew your existing membership by filling in the form below (which helps update our records) and enclose your cheque for \$A30 (overseas membership \$A50), for 2001 subscriptions are now due.

If you are not already a member, we would very much like you to join and have your company at our up-coming functions, and also your contributions to *Rananim*, if you feel moved to write something for us (please do - even if it's only a letter!).

I hope to hear from you soon. And remember to look at our new website at:
<www.cybersydney.com.au/dhl>

Sandra Jobson
Membership Secretary

About the D.H. Lawrence Society of Australia

The aims of the D.H. Lawrence Society of Australia are to foster interest in Lawrence generally, and his time in Australia, and also to promote the preservation of Wyowurk, the house where he stayed at Thirroul, and which is portrayed in *Kangaroo*. The Society plans to arrange regular meetings, seminars and outings, and will also publish three issues annually of its journal, *Rananim*.

If you are not already a member, or if you know somebody who would like to join, please fill in the form and send it with a cheque for \$30 (A\$50 for overseas members) to the Secretary, D.H. Lawrence Society of Australia, PO Box 100, Millers Point, NSW 2000.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION FORM

THE D.H. LAWRENCE SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIA
PO BOX 100, MILLERS POINT, NSW 2000, AUSTRALIA

NAME:

ADDRESS:

.....

..... POSTCODE:

TEL: FAX:

e-mail:

I enclose a cheque for \$A30 (\$A50 for overseas members)

**WYREWURK LETTERS
DONATED TO LIBRARY**