

***KANGAROO* RESEARCH NOTES**

INTRODUCTION

(written 2002)

IT HAS, for many years now, been a criticism, even a complaint, about Rananim (and perhaps about the D.H.Lawrence Society of Australia itself) that it has been much too involved with what is known in some circles as "The Darroch Thesis".

Yet, to the extent that Rananim (and Australian interest in Lawrence generally) is concerned about what happened when Lawrence came to Australia in 1922, and indeed what his Australian novel Kangaroo is about, is the extent to which such a focus and emphasis are both inevitable and proper.

That is not to say that rival or counter-interpretations and criticism of the "Thesis" should be ignored. Far from it. It is a major disappointment that such criticism and counter-interpretations have not come forward, at least until the recent CUP editions, and not for inclusion and balance in Rananim.

In particular, no one, not even the CUP editors, have advanced any credible or substantive alternative argument about how else a real secret army found its way into Kangaroo.

Yet the full case for the "Darroch Thesis" has also not been put forward, until now (though "the best argument" was advanced in Rananim 7-8/1, "Nothing to Sniff At"- see elsewhere in this site). So there are omissions on both sides.

It is an aim of this new section that it will start, if not a debate, then at least establish a forum for possible discussion on this important - indeed, vital - aspect of Lawrence scholarship, both here and overseas. Comments therefore are welcome, and a facility (click rob@cybersydney.com.au) will be provided in the hope that some discussion will indeed be generated. On my part, I welcome any opportunity to react and respond.

However, rather than simply republish in this section a representative selection of the articles and book-extracts that have been written, for and against, the so-called "Darroch Thesis", I have decided to do something rather different, something that I think will add substantially to what is already in the public arena.

From almost the beginning of the research into this matter I have maintained a diary of the progress and result of that research. This was begun following the experience I had assisting my wife Sandra in her research into the life of Lady Ottoline Morrell for her biography, Ottoline. I also edited that work, and in doing so realised how useful it would be to have a day-by-day diary

of the research - in other words, as well as the cards and notes generated, and the text written, it would be of enormous help to have a complete record of that research, both to augment and check the material unearthed, and to demonstrate how it was done.

As it turned out (for what I discovered was totally unanticipated) the diary, now in its 26th year, has become the main repository and record of the results of that research, and a document of interest (I believe) in itself.

In particular, it does one thing that should be of interest to those who care about Lawrence, Australia and Kangaroo. It shows how and where I - and others, for I was by no means alone in this labour - came across the material that goes to make up, and underpin, the "Darroch Thesis".

(The term "The Darroch Thesis" was coined by my colleague Dr Andrew Moore in circumstances that will become clearer as the diary unfolds.)

The diary was not begun immediately, and in fact slowly emerged from a more general record of my day-to-day activities, only assuming separate format some considerable time into the project.

Needless to say, the entries herein have been edited so as to eliminate some non-germane material and to contract what could be conveyed more briefly. Included, in the places indicated, are non-diary materials, such as extracts from letters and published articles, and, in particular, additional explanatory explanations and comments (in italics).

The diary takes several twist and turns, as outlined in the entry dated 28/5/02. It is now going in a direction - for it is ongoing - that strikes out into very new territory. So new, in fact, that no name has yet been invented for the concept, as far as I know.

What we had hitherto known as "a diary" records what has happened in the past. It is history, entombed and passive. What follows, after the entry of 29/5/02, is still a record of what has transpired, but it is no longer merely just the online reproduction of that past.

It is, after 29/5/02, something rather more alive and active, even interactive.

In Kangaroo, Lawrence made use of the diary technique to turn reality into "fiction", or at least to explore the fiction-form which that "reality" might be turned to. So it is perhaps appropriate, and it is certainly an apt departure point, for this new digital format.

But, first, we should begin at the beginning, in the era of old technology.

DHL in Australia research, 1972-2016

Part 1: September 1972-March 1990

(The text in roman type are the original diary entries, as they were written and dated entry-by-entry. The text in italics are a later gloss/comment, inserted after I converted the written diary entries into online/digitised text in 2002.)

In 1972 Dr Warren Roberts, Director of the Humanities Research Centre (HRC) in Austin, Texas - where we had been examining Ottoline's letters - suggested we look into Lawrence's time in Australia. After we had finished the manuscript of Ottoline in mid-1974, we came out to Australia, arriving in Sydney in early September. There we read Kangaroo (which we had known only from the chapter on Lawrence in John Douglas Pringle's 1956 book, Australian Accent) and did some preliminary, but extensive, research. But in March 1975 we had to return to London because of copyright problems with Ottoline.*

[*”we” is Sandra Darroch (nee Jobson) and “I” is Robert Darroch)]

The main record of this early stage (mid-1974 to late-1975) of the research is contained in letters to and from various people. The first relevant letter, dated 6/8/74 and sent from London, was to the HRC and its assistant director. (At first this was a joint project, but in early 1976 I assumed the major role, Sandra assisting part-time with the research.)

6/8/74

Kensington Park Road [KPR]
London

Dear Dr Farmer*

Many thanks for your letter. I had a long talk with Charles Ross last Saturday up at Oxford where he was receiving his degree...My book on Ottoline is now virtually completed...I have two projects in mind. The first is a short-term idea which my husband and I will collaborate on. We would like to do a fairly small book or monograph on D.H. Lawrence in Australia: his stay there, its influences on him, and the work he did there...we plan to finish [it] within 12 months...

Sandra Darroch

[*Dr David Farmer was assistant director of the Humanities Research Centre at the University of Texas at Austin]

4/9/74

Humanities Research Center [HRC]

Austin, Texas

Dear Miss Jobson

...I like the idea of a small book or monograph on D.H. Lawrence in Australia...I know there are some materials in the National Library in Perth...

David Farmer

In Sydney we began examining "back copies" of newspapers and other records.

15/1/75

Sheehy Street

Glebe, Sydney

Dear Dr Farmer

...I and my husband have travelled out to Australia and have begun our research here. Already we have found out material and facts which were hitherto unknown...We aim to retrace Lawrence and Frieda's footsteps in Australia, to reconstruct the period they were here, and to find out what was going on at the time, and what influenced him...looking at what Australia did for Lawrence, and what he thought about Australia...

Sandra Jobson Darroch

We contacted a wide range of people and authorities, seeking their co-operation & assistance. The following letters are just a sample.

11/2/75

Sheehy Street

Glebe, Sydney

Dear Mr Spigelman*

John Pringle suggested we write to you. We are currently researching a book on D.H. Lawrence in Australia...Mr Pringle said that you knew more about [recent research on "Fascist-type groups" in

Australia] and might be able to direct us to the relevant [sources]...The object of our book is to try and reconstruct what Lawrence did in Australia...

Sandra Jobson

*(*Dr Jim Spigelman was Principal Private Secretary to the then Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam. He is now, at the time of writing, Chief Justice of NSW)*

21/2/75

Sheehy Street

Glebe, Sydney

Dear [John Richardson*]

We are writing a book about D.H. Lawrence's experiences in Australia in 1922 and wonder if any of your readers might have met the Lawrences during their time in Thirroul. We are particularly anxious to gather day-to-day information...We would be delighted to hear from your readers on the subject.

Sandra Jobson

[*Executive Editor of the *Illawarra Mercury*]

3/3/75

HRC

Austin, Texas

Dear Mrs Darroch

...I was glad that you and your husband traveled out to Australia to begin work there. As your project moves along, I would like to hear something about the hitherto unknown material concerning Lawrence...

David Farmer

4/3/75

Sheehy Street

Glebe, Sydney

Dear Mr Powell*

We are doing research with a view to writing a book about D.H. Lawrence in Australia in 1922. We are interested in any information that touches on this subject and wonder if you could let us know what relevant material there might be in your Library.

Sandra Darroch

*[*Graeme Powell was Officer-in-Charge of the Manuscript Room at the National Library of Australia in Canberra]*

We returned to London and sorted out the Ottoline problems. Then our minds returned to Lawrence and Australia.

10/6/75

KPR

London

Dear Charles*

We were pleased to get your letter...It was good to hear also about your DHL work which is of great interest to us now that we're busy on DHL in Australia...Already we have unearthed a great deal of interesting material...and have begun developing a theory that much more in *Kangaroo* is based on Lawrence's actual experiences in Australia...we did a great deal of work in the Mitchell Library in Sydney...Now we are back in London dealing with the final details of Ottoline...When you get to Texas would you please give our regards to drs Roberts and Farmer...

Sandra

*[*Charles Ross was an American scholar. We had attended his graduation at Oxford (see 6/8/74 above). He specialised in Lawrence, and was to go on and edit Women in Love for the CUP.]*

24/6/75

KPR

London

Dear Walter*

Many thanks for your letter...We would be very interested to know whether those ML Skinner letters refer in any way to Lawrence...We have just made a very exciting discovery about Lawrence and *Kangaroo*. It bears on the curious paradox that much of the political content of the novel is based on events that occurred in Sydney in 1921, yet Lawrence did not visit Sydney until 1922. Can you guess the answer? If you do, don't tell anybody. This takes our project into new DHL territory altogether and will provide an insight into how he wrote. The work is going well, and we plan to return to Sydney via Texas towards the end of the year – grants permitting! Meanwhile we are reading and delving at the British Museum and other libraries...

Sandra

*[*Walter Stone was one of Australia's Grand Old Men of letters, and publisher of the Wentworth Press. A bibliophile of passionate proportions, he had been very kind to us in Sydney, and promised help with the West Australian side of our research]*

24/6/75

KPR

London

Dear Richard*

Since I last wrote [we got our grant]...Our work on DHL in Australia meanwhile goes apace...The other day we made quite an interesting discovery about *Kangaroo*. For some time we were puzzled by a curious paradox about the book: how was it that Lawrence wrote so perceptively and with such knowledge about Sydney and the political scene when he spent such a ludicrously brief time there?...Then, as we delved into the period, curious facts began to emerge. For example, research by Rawson and others has shown that much of the political doings in *Kangaroo* were in fact going on in Australia in the post-1918 period, and where the parallel between *Kangaroo* and real events is strongest is in 1921 – almost a year exactly before Lawrence arrived. In particular, a riot in the Sydney Domain on May Day 1921 is quite obviously the model for the "Row in Town" chapter in *Kangaroo*. Yet Lawrence was not one for research, nor did he really have the time for any. Then the penny dropped. In *Kangaroo*, Lawrence...says the backyard was "full of papers"...Lawrence [could have] got most of the Australian material for *Kangaroo* from a big pile of old newspapers...that he found in the house...

Sandra

*[*Richard Walsh, whom Sandra had known at university, was then editor-in-chief of the great Australian publishing house, Angus & Robertson, and was also a figure of some influence in literary circles in Sydney. Sandra had approached him about a grant for our research, and through his good offices we had been given a \$2000 grant, with the promise of perhaps a more substantial fellowship grant to come. He was, alas, to play a less helpful role in our future, for it was his accession to some power at ACP in 1986 and absolute power in 1992 that spelt the end of my journalistic career (though I hung on for six years between those two dates).]*

20/10/75

KPR

London

Dear Mr Pringle*

I'm planning to return to Sydney in December to complete our research into D.H. Lawrence – we've made a fascinating discovery which changes the current theory about how *Kangaroo* was written...May I get in touch with you when I return to Sydney?

Sandra Jobson

*[*John Douglas Pringle was editor of the Sydney Morning Herald, Australia's oldest and most prestigious newspaper. He had written, as mentioned above, one of the best books ever written about Australia and Sydney, Australian Accent, which contained a chapter about Lawrence in Australia. He was a particular champion of Sandra and her writing and journalism.]*

The intensive research did not start until we returned to Sydney, me in November, Sandra a few weeks later. I had been summoned back from the News Ltd office in London, where I was working, following the dismissal of [Labor Prime Minister] Whitlam. I spent the next year or so working for The Australian, as did Sandra. But we were also pursuing our research into Lawrence in Australia. At first, the research continued to be mainly in newspapers. But we also made a trip down to Thirroul, primarily to see Wyewurk, in early December 1975. Our artist friend Paul Delprat accompanied us and did some sketches of the occasion. The highlight of the visit, apart from the rude reception we received at the front door of Wyewurk, was an interview with the son of the woman – Mrs Lucy Callcott – who let Wyewurk to the Lawrences in 1922. I wrote to him a week later.

9/12/75

Mosman Street

Mosman NSW

Dear Mr Callcott

Thank you very much for allowing us to come and see you last week and for helping us with our research on D.H. Lawrence. Since I saw you I spoke to the head of the Mitchell Library in Sydney and they – and we – are very interested in several of the photographs you showed us. We would very much like [to copy] five of them...

Robert Darroch

15/12/75

Harbord Street

Thirroul

Dear Mr Darroch

I am in receipt of your letter of 9/12/75...You have requested that I send certain photographs to the Mitchell Library...I do not think it advisable to have these pictures of my parents reprinted and possibly used for publication...The Lawrences were nonentities whilst in Thirroul. A rather odd couple...I feel that there would be no purpose having pictures of my parents copied...and I would strongly resent it...I do not like any of the named characters in the book, nor their activities, especially Jack Callcott, the young returned soldier with revolutionary ideas who lovingly embraced Somers in a tense moment on the rocks at Thirroul at night...

L.R. Callcott

22/12/75

Mosman Street

Mosman NSW

Dear Mr Callcott

...First let me reassure you – we have no intention of intruding into your life more than you wish. That would be most discourteous of us. And we have no intention of identifying your parents – or anyone else in Thirroul – with characters in *Kangaroo*...

Robert Darroch

These problems aside, the research was progressing. But it was very much on the surface. We needed to get below that surface. Then luck, or coincidence, or the smallness of Sydney, or something else took a hand - and the process of discovery, or uncovering, began. The first crucial event was an Australia Day party-cum-wake at Evan William's place on January 26, 1976 [Evan had been Whitlam's Press Secretary]. I found myself sitting next to Tom Fitzgerald, a SMH [Sydney Morning Herald] journalist and former editor/publisher of an intellectual magazine, Nation. I knew from my preliminary research that he had written an article ("The Beard of the Prophet") in Nation in 1958 about Lawrence and Thirroul. I told him about my current

research and, when he evinced interest, said words to the effect that, after examining some of the 1921-22 Sydney newspapers, I had come to the conclusion that there was a lot of factual material in Kangaroo, and that I was unearthing an unexpected number of correlations between what Lawrence said in the novel and contemporary events in Sydney in 1921-22. I then went on to make this comment: "I am almost beginning to suspect that there might be some truth in the secret army plot." At this, Fitzgerald said: "Strange you should say that. Before he died, I had lunch with Eric Campbell [leader of the New Guard, a public semi-fascist "army" that was active in Sydney following the 1929 election of Labor Premier Jack Lang]. Campbell asked me: 'Do you know why we were called the New Guard?' I replied, no. Then he said: 'Because there was an Old Guard.'" He [TF] suggested I read Campbell's book, The Rallying Point. This I did. The diary (at first undated, but the early dates are inferred from my general diary) began with the results of that reading.

27/1/76 Mosman (*where we were staying temporarily*): [reading *The Rallying Point*] Interesting points. Campbell says (pp 27-29) that after Lang came to power in 1929 he rang up an old friend, John Scott, about the danger of "civil disturbance" & the two of them met & decided to recruit a similar paramilitary force to that they had organised in 1925 on the instructions of [the then Prime Minister Stanley Melbourne] Bruce. But apparently another group, called "the Old Guard", was also organising what seems to have been some sort of secret army. Initially Campbell & Scott joined forces with what Campbell called "the Gillespie-Goldfinch organisation", but Campbell apparently grew dissatisfied with this group's obsession with secrecy, & decided to break away & "go public". Scott stayed (p 50) behind with the "Old Guard".

Between 27/1/76 and 5/2/76: *Did a lot of research, with Sandra, at the Mitchell and Fisher libraries and was given the name of an historian, Peter Spearitt, who might be helpful. He gave me a long list of possible leads, such as the George Waite papers, the Vol Molesworth papers, the De Groot papers, etc. I also sought permission to examine at the Attorney-General's Department reports by NSW police on the 1930-32 crisis, delightfully named "the secret bundles". These reports also touched on earlier precedents. The diary now picks up the story:*

5/2/76 Mitchell Library (*the main repository of Australian books & documents in Sydney*): Reading the "secret bundles". Some sort of trouble in the Domain on Sunday 15/5/21 [*a year before Lawrence arrived*]. Magistrate there to read the Riot Act if necessary. Union Jack burnt. Report of interference with ALP [Australian Labor Party] meeting the previous Sunday. Examining *Sands Directory* [listing all Sydney residents & businesses], looking for John Scott. No luck. George Waite papers: letter from Chinese Nationalist Association 1/11/22 to GW re aliens: "I don't want Scott on the job, neither do you I'm sure." [*This is probably not "our" Jack Scott, however, though at the time I thought it was.*]

6/2/76 Mitchell: [George Waite papers] GW involved with anti-conscription league in 1917. Mentions Army directive in 1916 stopping "bodies of soldiers in uniform creating disturbances at public meetings". Mention of "fascisti" & Advance Australia League (WJ Miles sect).

9/2/76 ditto: [GW papers] Cutting from Communist paper [*The Communist*] 25/8/22: "Let the leaders of the workers in NSW ponder the fact that the use of armed force against the workers of Australia was

discussed & advocated at the recent Employers' Conference held in Brisbane.“ Waite denounced the May Day 1921 demonstration. Copy of an interesting magazine, *King & Empire*, dated October 1922.

[just how interesting was yet to unfold]

22/2/76 Fountains Restaurant (King Street): Met [Bruce? Brian?] Nyland. He's been working on DHL for over a year. Mainly interested in Thirroul. Ready to go into print *[he didn't]*. Started on the same line I did, but switched to Thirroul & “Spirit of Place”. Encountered similar hostility. Nyland had contacted Fred Esch *[the author of a major article on Lawrence in Australia]*. What Esch knows: [Denis] Forrester *[Lawrence was befriended by two English couples on the boat from Perth to Sydney, the Forresters and the Marchbanks. They kept in touch while L was in NSW and Forrester took the only photos of the Lawrences while they were in Australia, and also wrote a memoir which was included in Nehls's Composite Biography of DHL.]* [Forrester] contacted Esch after his SMH article on Lawrence & sent him 5 photos. Nyland mainly interested in the missing photos *[much later we – John Ruffels and I – found the missing photos, unrecognised, in Forrester's son Norm's photo album in Strathfield]*. **(later at the Mitchell:)** In 1935 Sands found reference to WJR Scott “attorney” for The Cornhill Insurance Company Ltd 26 Bridge Street.

25/2/76 Australian Archives (Hunter Street): Met Marie Narkie (?). Told her my theory *[that there may be factual secret army material in Kangaroo]*. She will check & see if she can come up with anything.

4/3/76 Victoria Street (our then home in Sydney's Kings Cross): Rang Nyland again. He had been following up my tips. Saw the *Malwa* *[the boat that brought Lawrence to Sydney]* passenger list. Found ad for Mrs Callcott's Thirroul lettings. Fred Esch is trying to get in touch re getting the National Trust to buy Wyewurk.

7/3/76 ditto: Saw Fred Esch & wife at Wollstonecraft. Wants us to help preserve Wyewurk. Showed us photos he had taken of W[yewurk] some years ago. Had letters from Forrester & Mrs Southwell. Has done quite a bit of work on DHL. Suggested various lines of research. Local Thirroul doctor (Dr Crossle) had some contact with Lawrence. There is, apparently, a visitors' book of Wyewurk (in Adelaide?). List of visitors' names (a Harding Brown of the Imperial Services Club). Esch had had similar problems with tenant of W[yewurk]. Artist Garry Shead has done pictures of W[yewurk]. DHL's “Australian contact” apparently not Forrester *[Esch had thought Lawrence did have contact with some local Australian(s)]*.

10/3/76 Mitchell: Fred Esch rang. Suggested Bea Miles's father might know something about Lawrence & secret armies.

[Bea Miles was a notorious Sydney “bag lady” and her father was W.J. Miles – see above – who founded the proto-fascist Australia First Movement with PR Stephensen, who later knew Lawrence in Europe and published his paintings.]

11/3/76 Victoria Street: Rang Wollongong Council. Spoke to Miss Macdonald in reference section. No rate books for Thirroul. But she will try to dig up something.

12/3/76 Mitchell: Saw Mitchell Librarian. Wants to know why I want to see “closed” files. Told her whole story. She promised to help.

13/3/76 ditto: More secret bundles. File 7/5594. Political meetings in the Domain. Vital files removed. Copied police report on New Guard. Little on Domain troubles 1921. Report played down May Day "riot". "A minor scuffle". Far-left papers sold. Examples attached. Will get permission to see Colonial Secretary files next week.

14/3/76 ditto: Saw 1922 *Who's Who*. Lists Major William John Rendall Scott, DSO, insurance agent. City address. To check further.

20/3/76 Victoria Street: Spoke to a Miss Katzman (Spearitt contact) who's doing a Uni NSW thesis on 1921 Domain troubles. Digger Vigilant Society. Told her about secret armies. Her research not deep. Thought papers overplayed the May Day incident [*when apparently a Union Jack was burnt by Labor supporters*]. Thought religious bigotry had caused a lot of the trouble.

2/4/76 Australia Archives (Hunter Street): Examined Army records. Main findings: whenever civil trouble brewed 1924-32 Army took precautions. 1932 report of secret organisation in NSW. Earlier, some sort of "Internal Security Plan" developed. Replaced in 1924 with ISP No. 2. Ammunition issued & preparations made to combat possible civil disturbance. This could be significant, as earliest secret army we know of is the White Guard in Melbourne in 1923.

[*In 1923 a civilian force called The White Guard was recruited to replace striking police.*]

8/4/76 Mitchell: Read copies of *King & Empire* (journal of the King & Empire Alliance) 1921-23. Vol 1 No 1 January 21 1921. K&E Alliance formed "recently" to combat disloyal elements & enemies of Britain & the Empire. History of Alliance No 3 March 1921. Meetings in Sydney Town Hall in July & August 1920. "...thousands of residents of city & suburbs" joined the K&E. Major-General Sir Charles Rosenthal secretary. Toured country areas addressing public meetings. Wellington, Dubbo, Moss Vale, Tumut, etc. Quote issue No 2 February 1921: "...then vigilance committees composed of members of the King & Empire Alliance & their friends should be organised...to teach the ignorant, convert the misled, and wake up the sleepy majority..." "The spirit that animated the AIF [Australia's armed forces in World War 1] is not dead but sleeping." Jan 1922 10,000 members, 34 branches. "Volunteers for the Army of Empire...loyalists...are urgently needed today...and they will be forthcoming just as readily..." Interesting item: in June "little Alma Scrivener" gave a recitation (on the *Malwa* passenger list were Captain Arthur Scrivener & Mrs Dorothy Scrivener). Rosenthal & WJR Scott "organisers & inspirers of the Alliance" (Jack Scott of Campbell notoriety?)

11/4/76 Victoria Street: Provisional hypothesis No 2 [*I cannot recall what No 1 was*]: Following today's further research on the King & Empire Alliance, here is how I see the possible genesis of the Diggers Clubs in *Kangaroo*, etc: Following the war there was a lot of latent military fervour & pro-empire sentiment, especially among AIF officers. Also there was bad feeling about the anti-conscriptionists & socialists & Irish-Catholics. Communism & IWW [Industrial Workers of the World] ideas strong in ALP. Much resentment among servicemen that they were not getting their due rewards. These forces (plus the need to defeat Labor in council & State elections) convinced M-G Sir C. Rosenthal & Major WJR Scott that some patriotic organisation should be formed. This was done mid-1920. Ex-Army officers prominent. Organising continued 1920-21 and Alliance prominent in Anzac Day & May Day incidents in 1921. Rosenthal elected Ald, then MLA [Member of State Parliament]. Fed Govt decides early 1921 to dismantle compulsory military training & officers see this as threat to peacetime militia. Fear Anzac spirit will fade. Worse, officers see growing threat from extreme socialists like Jock Garden [militant socialist & secretary of NSW Trades & Labor Council] will subvert society & weaken White Australia & leave Aust open to the Japanese. So Scott is relieved of his Treasurer's role in the Alliance & under Rosenthal's orders begins laying plans to retain some form of ex-

service activity. Diggers Clubs mooted, other ideas tossed around. Perhaps some organising of secret cells. This is in May-June 1922. Then Lawrence arrives on the *Malwa*. On the boat he met a young officer (cf Frieda's "young officer") who knows Scott. Maybe Scrivener. Perhaps Scott & Rosenthal are looking for an editor or propagandist for the K&E magazine. They are put in touch. Lawrence, who sees the chance for a good plot, is interested & flirts with Scott & Rosenthal, but soon the flirtation ends. Scott warns L not to reveal anything. [ends hypothesis]

[almost totally wrong, but one has to start somewhere]

13/4/76 Mitchell: Looked at electoral roll for Mosman & Neutral Bay & 1924 *Sands* for someone in Murdoch Street who might fit some of the clues in *K*. *[In the novel Lawrence mentions a house in "Murdoch Street" but later alters that to "Road".]* Also looked at [Warren Perry] bio of Rosenthal. Some interesting stuff. Finished first tranche of *K&Es*. Lots of interesting material. Rang Katzman & Nyland. Wrote to Army records re Cpts Waring, Scrivener & La Touche [Army officers on the *Malwa*].

22/4/76 ditto: Finished whole of *K&E*. Tried to trace elusive WJR Scott. Some info. Scott & Broad, insurance brokers, 92b Pitt Street (room 7, 5th floor), just down Daking Place from Rosenthal's office at 8a Mendes Chambers, Castlereagh Street, 3rd floor (also the address of King & Empire Newspapers Co Ltd). Major William John Rendall Scott, DSO (2 mentions in dispatches) born Binger NSW 21 June 1888. Went to Sydney Grammar. Married 1918 a Canadian nurse, Jean Marguerite. She (only) in 1922 electoral roll at "Cressy", Wylde Street, Potts Point. Rosenthal lived at 48 Victoria Street *[just up the road from us at 88]* Challis Flats (with his wife, Harriet!!).

*[*In Kangaroo, Lawrence called the wife of the main Australian character, Jack Callcott - the person who tells Somers about the secret army of Diggers and Maggies - Harriett Callcott.]*

23/4/76 ditto: Oct 1927 telephone directory lists J Scott insurance broker 26 Bridge Street. 1927 *Sands* puts Scott at 10 Hardie Street Kings Cross. It looks like Scott was divorced or separated. Jean Marguerite, "secretary", at 117 Maclay Street [Kings Cross] in 1930. Scott's father Donald was manager of the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney (Exchange Branch) in 1920.

[Around 23/4/76 I began compiling my first article on Lawrence and Australia. It was published on 28/4/76 in my then newspaper, The Australian. It was called "The Mystery of Kangaroo" and had a "break-out" headed "The Scott Connection" in which I speculated that much of the "mystery" of Kangaroo – its Diggers and Maggies secret army material – might be explained had Lawrence run across a man called Jack Scott in Sydney in 1922. The genesis of the Darroch theory or thesis can be dated from this article.]

27/4/76 Clontarf (home of Sandra's parents): Rang Nyland. Book with publishers. He, too, anxious about Wyewurk.

28/4/76 Victoria Street: My big *Kangaroo* article published today. Lots of interest & praise.

8/5/76 Fisher Library (main Sydney University library): Started reading copies of the *Daily Telegraph* April-June 1922. *[The Fisher had them in hard-copy, not microfilm.]* Good picture of Rosenthal.

9/5/76 Clontarf: Today made a valuable discovery. This morning the *Nation Review* [a Sunday journal] published a review by Humphrey McQueen *[a radical historian]* on a new book on the New Guard by Keith Amos. H McQ mentioned a raid on Jock Garden by a New Guard squad whose members were

designated by the names of a pack of cards [*it was called "the Pack of Cards Raid"*]. (The leader was the joker, no queens, 49 in all.) This is startlingly similar to the reference in *K* that says the Diggers officials are Master, Jack & Teller. This "Jack" reference can hardly be accidental. Also, according to Amos, Rosenthal was offered the leadership of the New Guard in 1930.

10/5/76 Mitchell: Started working on the [John] Haughton James [*someone who did research into the background of the New Guard in the 1960s, primarily for Nation*] papers (mentioned by Amos) in the Mitchell.

12/5/76 ditto: A night of discovery! Sandra & I went through the HJ research notes. HJ says the New Guard flowed from the Old Guard or "The Movement" which, says James, sprang up spontaneously in 1930 after [Lang was elected]. Groups of men appeared out of the woodwork in the affluent Sydney suburbs offering to help police maintain order & guard essential services. These groups came in bands of 12 with a leader & appeared to be arranged in larger groups of 4 squads (*ie*, $4 \times 13 = 52$ – the number of cards in a pack!!). There were apparently about 500 of them overall ($10 \times 52?$), and materialised almost instantaneously. They had insignia & were armed with pickaxe handles. But there was also four "Country Movements" – Riverina, Western, New England & Eden Monaro. These were probably linked with the Farmers Army formed during the 1917 [transport] strike. However, there was also another group operating at the same time [*ie*, c. 1930-32] called The Legion of Frontiersmen, "a British Empire show" comprising old soldiers & who wore uniforms with tall hats (?). HJ also said that there was a later organisation called Simpson's Army that was active after World War 2. (Whenever there is a Labor Government, a secret army seems to spring up.)

13/5/65 ditto: Read police report ML file 4228 (19/4/32) [*apparently another, and less reticent, secret bundle*]. The Old Guard was formed in Sydney in November 1930. It is stated to be affiliated with a similar organisation in Victoria called the White Guard formed after the 1923 police strike [*and which apparently remained in existence until 1930-32*]. Sir Brudenell White CIC. The [NSW] Old Guard's "staff" were General Heane CIC, Col Somerville QMC, Col Bertram Admin, Philip Goldfinch Finance, & Colonel Jack Scott General Staff branch. (Scott!) Had about 5000 members [*which tallied with the figure Haughton James cited*].

14/5/76 ditto: Re-read *The Rallying Point* last night (read it too quickly earlier). Something is wrong. Campbell's account of how the New Guard was started can't be correct. Scott could not have been "amazed" to discover another group was organising, for he must have been part of that other group (the Old Guard). The NG had to be a public breakaway from the OG. The truth must be that Scott & Campbell had been involved from the early 1920s. But because so many prominent people, including militia & serving officers, were involved, it had to remain secret (this explains why Labor knew nothing about it, otherwise the Army would have been purged by Labor governments).

c.15/5/76 ditto (no precise date): Reading the De Groot papers [*De Groot was - apparently - a New Guard operative who beat Lang to cutting the opening ribbon on the Sydney Harbour Bridge in March 1932*]. Mainly about the New Guard & its organisation (similar, in some ways, to the OG's organisation). Talks about how to defend Edgecliff, Potts Point, Darling Point, etc, if invaded from [*the working-class suburbs of*] Surry Hills, Woolloomooloo, Paddington, etc. Machine guns on steps in Victoria Street, etc. New Guard system seems to be in groups of 16. Had 5 country zones, four city zones plus Sea N[ew]G[uard] & Air NG. About 100 local branches in Sydney.

17/5/76 Victoria Street: Some very fortuitous events. At tennis yesty Sally Rothwell [*a school-friend of Sandra's*] said she was related to [Jack] Scott!!!! When she saw the *Kangaroo* article [*we had not been to tennis for several weeks*] she rang up her uncle who was actually brought up in Scott's

house!!!! He, the uncle, was Scott's stepson!!!! She told me that Scott was married three times (the second wife was her relative), that Scott & Broad still exists, that there were a lot of DHL books in Scott's house, that Scott split with Campbell, that when World War 2 [WW2] broke out Scott went round interning Germans, and that Scott lived most of his life in Kings Cross. He was also something of a womaniser, she said. She promised to put me in touch with her uncles (apparently two of them!).

18/5/76 ditto: Lunch today with [SMH editor] John Pringle [*see above re Australian Accent*] at the Union Club [*a very "establishment" club in Sydney of which Sandra's father was a Member, and of which I later became a Member*]. Discussed DHL. He seemed impressed, but doubted the Scott connection. Didn't wear a tie, but they allowed him in.

19/5/76 ditto: Sally rang re meeting with her father (not uncle!) and his brother.

20/5/76 ditto: a 4th year honours S[ydney]U[niversity] student rang. Wants to do a thesis on DHL's fascist background. Calmed him down.

c.26/5/76 ditto: Darroch's Theory: The sensitiveness of material means great changes, less sensitive, less change.

[like much of my research, this turned out to be totally wrong, the reverse being true – see entry for 17/3/00]

9/6/76 Journalist Club: Today at lunch I met John & Peter Oatley, two stepsons of Scott. Scott, apparently Sally's step-grandfather, married the two Oatley boys' mother, nee Kaeppl (?) about 1926, presumably after his divorce from Jean Marguerite. They first remember Scott coming to their house in Gordon, then later to their home in Collaroy when they moved there in 1922 or 1923. He was a very frequent visitor. They remember him as a tall (over 6ft), thin man with a hooked nose and a pointed face & chin. He was a ladies' man, even a philanderer, but not effeminate. Extremely interested in military matters – virtually his only interest. They also remember Rosenthal ("Rosey") coming to their home, together with other senior officers (eg, Gordon Bennett). They knew Scott was mixed up in the New Guard & that he knew Eric Campbell, but they did not know why they split. They remembered that he joined some anti-New Guard group in the 1930s & remained with them until 1939, when he went round Sydney in a car interning Germans. He was very pro-Japanese in the 1930s & wrote pro-Japanese articles for the SMH. In the 1939-45 war he was "in intelligence". But he volunteered for active service & was sent as c.o. to some island off Timor where he was captured by the Japanese & spent the rest of the war as a POW. He spent some of this "in some comfort" in a camp "near Hanoi", for which he was later criticised by newspapers. Later he went to Melbourne (after a divorce from his second wife) & married the widow of a cousin, a Street. (His mother had been a Street [*a leading Sydney legal family*].) He died in the 1950s, possibly in Adelaide. He had been very interested in collecting books, and dealt in these. He had autographed copies of Galsworthy. He had a collection of DHL books, which he kept under lock & key (they thought because of their risqué nature). They thought he was a very weak character, easily dominated by his second wife. They would have arguments, after which he would come down stairs with a revolver & threaten to shoot himself. He liked cards, especially poker. He borrowed lots of money. Disliked driving. Imperial Service Club apparently his only club. Not sporting. Spoke well. Very conservative politically. Fairly gregarious. Wow!

[wow, indeed]

13/6/76 Victoria Street: At tennis yesty Sally sd Scott left no papers or books. Streets very secretive.

6/7/76 Mitchell: John Smith Garden (“Jock”) 65 in 1948. In 1922 he was preaching in South Kensington (UK?) Church of Christ.

7/7/76 ditto: Given another “New Guard” file (police secret bundle 5424). Police confused over what is New Guard & what is “the other organisation”. Definite effort to find out what is going on. In March 1932, each NSW police district ordered to investigate & report. For example, police in Lismore report that there are about 260 New Guard members & 700 “Country Defence Association” members. Similar in many other towns. Other “the organisation” names: Bathurst, “The Western Movement”; Eugowra, “The Western Districts Movement”; Mudgee, “The Anti-Socialist Party”; Gulgong, “The Country Movement”; Moss Vale, “The Peace Association”; Bourke, “the Citizens’ League”; Orange, “The Western Division”; Oberon, “The Country”, etc, etc. Some reference to the leadership as “the Unknown Three”. Lt-Col Hinton of Orange founded “The Western Division”. Police report that “the Country Movement” has nothing to do with the New Guard. No sign of “the Movement” in Broken Hill [*staunch Labor territory*]. (Lithgow ditto.) Police in one district report that a man called O’Connell told them [in April 1932] that he had been asked “by a person from Bathurst” if he could get 10 men in his district to form themselves into a defence or protection corps to combat action by the unemployed to seize food, etc. Report 19/11/31 to Det-Sup Mackay that “the Old Guard” was formed in Sydney 15 months ago & affiliated to the White Guard in Melbourne. March 1932 conference in Mudgee where selected men, paid by Goldfinch, were summoned & empowered to go back to their districts & choose 12 men to accompany them to Sydney when required.

8/7/76 ditto: Ended search of secret bundles, Colonial Secretary & police files. Some (from *Sands*) interesting names: Dr Francis Clements Crossle of Bulli, Dr Alfred Cooley of Hurstville & Dr Percy Cooley 183 Macquarie Street.

21/8/76 Victoria Street: Humphrey McQueen [lefty historian] to lunch. Fascinating. Told him all. His info: secret armies from 1917 onwards. Much secret army activity in Brisbane (in 1919?). Red Flag riots. Trevor Botham thesis on this. And in Perth, too (wharfies & soldiers combine, police defeated). Suggested DHL could have learned about Digger clashes there. Said a WA general organising a secret army post-1919 (Drake-Brockman?). Told me about Bill Richards, “the mad psychiatrist” [*of whom more later**]. Brisbane line [*a WW2 “defensive” line drawn across Australia*] a Vichy line, according to Richards. 1939 split in Army. Alf Conlon & the Directorate. McCauley, Kerr, Pansy Wright. 1939 air crash in Canberra. Secret army heads wiped out (Brudenell White, Fairbairn, Gullett). Link with the Orr case [*too complex to explain*]. Maybe secret armies into the 1970s. Did Scott deliberately get captured, so he could become a Vichy-style leader? The “Guardians”. Brisbane 1921 riots organised by Herbert Brookes [*of whom more soon*]. Heavy, heavy conspiracy stuff.

*[*No, there is no more later, for I will spare the reader that particular can of worms. In fact, I did not record in the diary my ongoing contacts with Bill Richards, who later opened the lid for me on that strange, seething world inhabited by the extreme right in Australia and elsewhere, and those foolish enough to delve into it. (His theories about Cecil Rhodes, Lord Esher, the Round Table, Lord Milner, Lionel Curtis, the Legion of Frontiersmen, Alfred Deakin, the “Armies of the Night”, the Masons, Rotary, the Brisbane Line, the Directorate, Alf Conlon, the 1939 air “Fairbairn” crash in Canberra, the founding of ASIO, Ted St John, Lynko Ubanchich, Del Agnew, the Sinless Perfectionists, and so on, and so on, and so on, gave me whole filing cabinet of secret army and conspiracy theory material that still clogs up my garage, and even, at the time, my mind [though I have long since stopped looking under my car for bombs]). One day, if time and space are granted me, I will relate my (hilarious) encounter with Bill on the*

lawn outside the Great Hall of Sydney University, one cool Sunday morning back in the 1970s. A funny bloke, the late Bill Richards, Australia's "Mad Psychiatrist".]

8/9/76 ditto: It is becoming increasingly obvious that DHL's time in WA is significant. H McQ asked if DHL met KS Prichard [*WA lefty writer*]. He didn't, but her husband Hugo Throssell did [*wrong*]. Could he have been an early model of Jack Callcott? [*no*]. Will ring his son Ric in Canberra. But Cpt Throssell is the sort of person who could have provided L with Digger material [*wrong again*]. Also, the figure of Trehwella is becoming the key that cd unlock the secret of *Kangaroo*. Who is he? Will do a full analysis of bio material in *K* on cards.

9/9/76 ditto: Today began a full-scale text analysis of *Kangaroo*. (Nothing of interest in Throssell.)

12/9/76 ditto: Something's wrong with L's picture of the Trehwella family tree. They do not add up. Victoria's brother Alfred John is a mining engineer in Mullumbimby (Thirroul). Is he Jack Callcott's "best mate"? Is she a Trehwella or a Willmott? L is confused about something here.

[actually, it was me who was confused]

15/9/76 ditto: Last night, in ch 3, read that Callcott is an "expert on Japan". Scott! Today got a letter from Shan Benson, who is adapting *K* for the ABC. Has done some research & confirms that L's description of the weather on May 27/28 is accurate. Would imply he [Lawrence] began *K* early that week starting May 29.

4/10/76 Mater Hospital (having knee operation): Reading *A Divided Society* by Marilyn Lake about Tasmania in WW1. During 1917 "the Great Strike" broke out (about Sydney tramways). All Australia had strikes in support. This raised the jingoists & Nationalists [*main anti-Labor party*] to new fevour. In Tasmania meetings were held at which loyalists & citizens volunteered to stand ready to meet mob rule. "The strike sharply accentuated class & party animosities in Australia. People quickly adopted extreme positions." 1918 the formation of Vigilant Loyalty Leagues urged (already such organisations existed on the mainland). Description of 1919 Brisbane ["Red Flag"] riot. Formation of metropolitan units. Tasmanians rushed to praise actions of Queensland [ex-]soldiers. In Launceston one prominent OBU [*One Big Union – a IWW "front"*] was counted out (similar to counting out incident in *K*). Lake says that, contrary to belief, the war did not unite Australia, but divided it. "A new development in Australian history after 1916 [the year of the first conscription referendum] was that imperial loyalties became increasingly the preserve of the right." Around 1919-20 Australia, after being one of the most radical of societies, became one of the most conservative.

10/10/76 ditto: Sandra dined with David Landa [*school friend of mine at Sydney High who had become NSW Minister for Planning*] re preserving Wyewurk. Held out some hope. Suggested we make a written submission supporting case for preservation.

[we did, but nothing was done, and a great opportunity was thus lost]

11/10/76 ditto: Re Trehwella: is he a Sydney contact, related or connected with Scott, or does he originate in Thirroul? But as Callcott is Scott, & Syd-based, L surely would have tried to gather local material to confirm or counter Scott in Sydney.

12/10/76 ditto: Quite obviously, the secret army organisation is like this: begins with a top officer or officers/civilians deciding to form some standing precautionary organisation. As Army officers are

involved, those in the know are kept to a bare minimum. Scott (why Scott?*) and Rosenthal got something together in 1920, maybe 1919. No – it flows from an earlier contingency plan. Enough are pulled in so that the 12-get-12 system operates. Scares in 1923-24-25, and some activity. But in 1930-32 real danger surfaces & within weeks the secret plan goes into operation & 5000 men mobilised. Once the danger is over, however, the organisation reverts to mothball status. Perhaps only Scott and 5-10 others involved in NSW, with liaison with other States. Quote: “How easily the veneer of civilisation could be ripped off, and mob rule ensue.” [*from the K&E, I think*]

[*Major Scott was deputy to General Rosenthal organising the repatriation of the Australian troops from France and England in 1918-19.]

13/10/76 ditto: L appears to have been compulsively gregarious (according to Callow [*cf Son and Lover, The Young Lawrence*]), full of ideas for forming colonies of kindred souls. In Sydney, but more particularly Thirroul, he surely would have been tempted to mix. (Of course, it should be kept in mind that L did not require much information to touch off a flight of imaginative fiction – *cf* the Polish Vicar in *The Rainbow*, ref. Callow p 102.)

14/10/76 ditto: It is odd that L did not visit the Sydney Domain, or did not use it [*it being the main forum of politics in Sydney*]. He must have at least heard of it (it was there the 1921 May Day riot took place). Re L's speed: (Callow, p 159) “He had written the first draft of *The Trespasser* at speed between Whitsun & August” (*ie*, in 8-10 weeks [*about the same speed as Kangaroo*]). Also, L apparently was not averse to telling fibs (*cf* story about poems for *English Review*, ref. Callow p 141). L's first pseudonym was Richard Greasley [*as in Richard Lovatt Somers*]. L has extraordinary concentration (according to Callow), writes quickly with scant information, and is liable to turn any material, personally experienced or heard second-hand (*eg*, Siegmund [*in The Trespasser*]) into a novel, etc. L's contact with Australia, with Sydney, and its undercurrents was necessarily so brief that almost everything – all observations, each tittle of gossip & item of news – must have been pressed into service for *K*. Thus *K* must be a sort of compressed, compacted record of L's experiences in A. The problem is to break up the compressed, distorted cake of a diary & reconstruct its original shape. In this we need a key, or several keys, to point the way to how the reconstruction should go. With enough pieces of the jigsaw in place, the whole thing should eventually come out.

[*if only it had been that simple!*]

15/10/76 Victoria Street: Why does L say (p 32) that “Jack had to carve the meat, because Somers was so bad at it”? Surely L was an expert at carving meat?

16/10/76 ditto: re the likelihood of *K* being true: L would not keep the truth out of his novels to please or placate or avoid the enmity of anyone. His art was more important, counting for more, than his physical safety. His daring often verged on the foolish. As Callow says, he could be very destructive, for the sake of the thing. L's view on this is crucial to *K*. Remember what he told [his friend] George Neville in 1912: “How can anyone complain so long as the narrator tells the truth? And suppose their puny feelings are hurt...what does it matter that their lesson is given to the world...?” According to Callow, p 240, Frieda said that L wd rather walk with the dumbest person in the world, than walk alone.

19/10/76 National Library (Canberra): Reading the Brudenell White (MS 5172) & Herbert Brookes (MS 1924) papers. Brookes diary entry says he (on a visit to Sydney) walked around the [Botanic] Gardens with a Major Oakley* (no mention of what they discussed). Interesting letter 6/3/22 from [Victorian Premier] Sir H. Lawson re some communication from Brookes re “domestic violence”. Letter 31/5/22 from [ex-General Sir John] Monash re “the party indicated in my letter...full approval of my

colleagues...place my letter before your colleagues...". Interesting telegram 4/8/20 from Robert D. Elliott [see "Nothing to Sniff At" article mentioned below (and in Rananim 7-8/1) re Elliott's role in the formation of the Australian Protective League] about some "secret meetings". However, the HB papers, on a cursory glance, show he has little to offer. Probably had slight contact with some secret organisation, but no letters from anyone of note. [a major blunder on my part, for, as we shall see, Brookes was the main organiser of secret armies in Australia] Have to get permission to see the BW papers. Saw H McQ who will send me Botham thesis [on the Red Flag riots in Brisbane]. Very co-operative. [*I wonder, in retrospect, if that was a Major Oatley? – either husband of Peter Oatley's mother, or Trixie Oatley's husband (see, various, below)]

22/10/76 Victoria Street: Returned from an "Evening for Authors" at the Pitt Club. A man called Barker came up & said he knew Dr Crossle's widow, who lives in Bellevue Hill. Said Crossle was a literary man who wrote a novel & corresponded with people like [Australian author & artist] Norman Lindsay from 1922 onwards. Also met Michael Wilding [academic & author of several articles on Lawrence] who said he has actually seen the MS of *Kangaroo* in Texas [at the HRC]. He said there was some crossing out, also deletions [he meant pages torn out]. He mentioned a Jack Lindsay [Norman's literary son] book in which DHL is mentioned going into a bookshop in Sydney [Dymocks]. Also Judah Waten [an Australian author] was a milk boy in WA when L visited Mollie Skinner. Will follow up.

25/10/76 ditto: Lunch with [lawyer and ex-MP] Ted St John. Spoke about PR Stephensen's right-wing activities & Eric Butler*. [*head of an extant local right-wing secretive organisation, the League of Rights – this being my first contact with contemporary extreme-right-wing

30/10/76 Hobart (there to cover constitutional conference over Whitlam sacking): met Peter Coleman [former NSW Minister & ex-editor of my later publication, *The Bulletin*]. Suggested I read up on "Inky" Stephensen (as did Ted St John). He [Stephensen] was mixed up with WJ Miles with a semi-fascist organisation (Australia First Movement) & was pro-Japanese & interned during the war. [Keith] Muirden has written a book on this, & Stephensen's papers are in the Mitchell). Stephensen wrote an early review of *K*, praising it.

1/11/76 Victoria Street: Wrote draft of *Readers Digest* piece (rejected!). Wrote instead piece for *Australian Colour Magazine*, illustrated with Paul's [Delprat] drawings. Accepted.

c. 5/11/76 ditto: I now believe that L led a secret life in Australia. Even on a superficial look, the existing interpretation cannot be right. Where, for example, did he get the secret army plot? Not from any published source (for I have searched them all [except the *Sydney Sun*]). It could not have been guesswork or inspiration, the correlations with reality are too strong. Therefore he got it from someone. Who? Scott?

6/11/76 ditto: Today, I think, is possibly an historic (or at least notable) day in Lawrence research. For today I became convinced that my (way-out) theory about DHL, Australia & *Kangaroo* is correct. I now believe that:

1. Lawrence did lead a secret life in Aust.
2. The Diggers plot in *K* is true.
3. There was a secret army in Sydney, identical to the Diggers & Maggies.
4. Lawrence met its leaders, Rosenthal & Scott.

5. They are Cooley & Callcott.
6. They sought DHL's aid (possibly to edit or contribute to their *K&E* mag).
7. He sucked them dry, mainly to get plot.
8. They warned him not to divulge anything. (However, he was already writing *Kangaroo*.)

How do I know that what I believe about L & K is correct, while the orthodox account, so consistent, widely-held & universally accepted, is wrong – totally wrong? First, the novel was written in odd circumstances – suddenly, quickly, about a place & subject L knew nothing about. Yet K is very accurate. The political theme – so surprising – is unbelievably, incredibly true. It is straining credibility beyond breaking point that this is invention or coincidence, especially when L leaned on reality whenever possible. The key is surely the Mollie Skinner quote about doing a novel in diary form (L advised M[ollie]S[kinner] to “splash down reality”). The novel is only explicable thus. The final convincing came from re-reading the “Jack Slaps Back” chapter. Knowing now that there was a secret army & that DHL's descriptions approximate it, then the dialogue in this chapter (“You’ve found out all you wanted to know?”) can mean only one thing – I’m right! Now all I have to do is get, not circumstantial or textual proof, but real proof – like a link between Scott & DHL.

[easier said than done]

10/11/76 ditto: Mrs Denham* wrote giving permission for me to see the Brudenell White papers *[there wasn't anything in them – they had been completely sanitised]*. According to Rees's *Brave Men*, L disappears entirely from his fiction after *Kangaroo*. In that respect, K is the end of an era. After K, DHL “died”. Wyewurk had a piano! (*cf the singing scene in K*). (**at Mitchell:**) reference to Scott (unnamed) re Amboina [Ambon] in Muirden's *Australia First* book, p 33.

[Mrs Denham, nee White, was, I think, the daughter, of Brudenell White. The way to her had been paved by our friend Margaret Carnegie – see 14/1/93 below.]

14/11/76 Victoria Street: Shan Benson [ABC producer] to dinner last night. Said Bill Fancourt, PR *[public relations staffer]* at BHP at Port Kembla, stayed in Thirroul and heard a rumour that messenger boys had to stop at the gate of Wyewurk because of the virulence of the rows inside between Lawrence & Frieda.

15/11/76 ditto: Did L meet an Australian, either on the *Osterley* [between Naples & Colombo] or in Ceylon or on the boat between Colombo to Perth? His conversion from Perth to Sydney (*cf* postcard to Mrs Jenkins) seems a bit sudden.

[yes, he did – Gerald Hum, see below]

17/11/76 Mitchell: By June 1922 the KEA was trying to merge itself out of existence via British Empire Union & other organisations *[Labor lost the State election in March that year]*. (So any [journalism] offer re the *K&E* would have had to have been made to L before this.) L is odd about the Australian accent. In ch 2 he makes an attempt to convey it “...must have tyken it...” and gets the idiom correct (“Right-O!”). Yet Jack, etc, have no accent. But, of course, they were GPS [Greater Public School] boys, and had no marked local accent. Of course, L&F would only have had hand-luggage in the train to

Thirroul. Their trunks would have been lifted out on Monday, and thus L wd have had to come up to Syd to fetch them [*as Somers does in Kangaroo*].

18/11/76 ditto: *Bulletin* report (4/5/22): “The anti-Labor side in the NSW [Legislative] Assembly is stiff with ex-soldiers of ability & character – professional men like Rosenthal...”. More praise for Rosenthal 15/6/22 in the *Bulle*, saying he & other “highly qualified business & commercial MLAs with bright records as fighting soldiers”. (*cf* in K DHL said Cooley is praised by the *Bulletin*) DHL read *Bulletins* (for he extracts quotes & passages from them) 8/6/22 & 22/6/22 (and probably 15/6/22). Indeed, he must have been reading every issue while in Sydney.

4/12/76 ditto: Looks like Colonel Ennis [Maggies leader in *Kangaroo*] is [Brigadier-General] Macarthur Onslow.

[December 1976 marked the end of the first year of serious research into Lawrence and Kangaroo. It had been a very productive year, and had led to the formulation of what later was to be known as the “Darroch Thesis”, and resulted in several newspaper and magazine articles. It had started with a growing suspicion that Lawrence was leaning on reality in Kangaroo to a degree hitherto unsuspected – an insight stemming from what a journalist does, or should do, well: reading newspapers. Next came the possibility that a real secret army existed in Sydney while Lawrence was there, and that he might have based his own secret army plot on this actual secret army. This was tantamount to heresy in the context of Lawrence scholarship, but the facts led to no other possible conclusion. Then came the discovery of Scott and Rosenthal and their King and Empire Alliance. This converted, in my mind at least, probability into virtual certainty, especially given a reading of the “Jack Slaps Back” chapter. After this, the focus of research changed, from primarily discovery, to trying to find the link between Lawrence and, in particular, Jack Scott. The next few years were taken up with this quest, which had both its high and low points.]

7/12/76 ditto: Yesty I made a discovery. I think I know the solution to the secret army puzzle in K. The problem is to link what DHL describes with what we know of real secret army organisations. Here are the facts: [*fiction*] L has Digger Clubs of 50, organised with three office-bearers, master, jack & teller. Maggie squads organised in 20s with three officers, leader lieutenant & secretary. [*reality*] 1923 White Guard emerges organised in 10s. 1925 Scott-Campbell force has 500 “stalwart ex-servicemen”. Old Guard emerges in 12s in 1930. New Guard has “action groups” of 500 & overall 1112 or 1012 (including leaders). Pack of Cards squads have 49 (4 x 12 plus joker). All this can be explained with two leaders getting 10 jokers each of whom get 50 by getting four jacks to enlist one teller or secretary who gets 10 men. $10+1+1=12$ $4 \times 12=49$, plus one joker=49. This could explain the 10 & 12 phenomenon.

[over this I wrote in 1981 “no, no, no – see entry 6/8/81”]

12/12/76 ditto: Finished second big article for *The Australian* on the Pack of Cards raid.

21/12/76 Mitchell: Discovered 7 sheets at the start of vol 8 of the De Groot papers giving organisational details of the League of National Security [the Victorian equivalent of the Old Guard]. Very important.

[this tends to confirm a suspicion I and Andrew Moore have that De Groot was an Old Guard “plant” in the New Guard]

8/1/77 on plane to Greece (to cover UNESCO initiative – “*The Manifestation on the Rock*” - re saving the Acropolis from Athenian smog): Interesting that Mollie Skinner said L had told her he could not do a *Boy in the Bush* with another book because “he did not know about goldfields”, etc. Presumably, however, he knew more about mining than secret armies!

9/1/77 ditto: Maybe Trehwella is an early manifestation of Scott (ie, W.J.). Also Mosman connection.

18/1/77 Victoria Street: Big article published last Saturday. Not reaction yet. Interesting thought: something must have happened to L after he arrived in Sydney, for he did two unusual things. He went straight to Thirroul, about which he knew nothing, and he began writing a major novel, after saying the same week he had no such intention. Also, L’s accuracy is amazing. Therefore, when he deviates from accuracy, one might suspect he is trying to disguise something.

[I could not have been more wrong]

27/1/77 ditto: Last night went to [bibliophile] Walter Stone’s Australia Day party. He introduced me to another bookman, Col Alex Sheppard. We had a long chat. He said that during 1930-32 the Army helped the New Guard (sic) with weapons, etc. *[like many others, Sheppard mixed up the Old Guard with the New Guard, at least in retrospect, for the Army would have had nothing to do with the New Guard]* A senior [militia] officer had asked him, “Are you in the Guard? I thought you would be.” *[see below for what Sheppard later told Tom Fitzgerald]* Said Rosenthal wasn’t big, but had a booming voice & overbearing manner. His Jewishness wasn’t very obvious.

8/3/77 QF007 to London (having decided to leave Australia and return to UK): Resuming after a break.

[a break in which I had been researching, and writing articles about, current far-right political activity in Sydney, having been given information by Ted St John about a group, connected with the League of Rights, called, by their opponents, “the Crazies”, who were trying to infiltrate the NSW Liberal Party, a story that I was to return to later, with unfortunate consequences]

What would make sense is this: Scott is Jack Callcott & Jaz is the Thirroul person who lives next door. None of Scott’s personal life is put in – quite the contrary. He is just used physically & politically. All the personal stuff – relations, etc – are Jaz, or whoever Jaz is. (Even L could not put Scott directly into the novel. But he had to use real Australians, so to disguise them he would use half of one real person & tack half of another on to the character, making a composite that would acquit him of guilt for using real people, while doing just that.)

[this speculation turned out to be one of my better ones]

9/3/77 ditto: How did L meet Scott? We may never know. It must have been by chance. Note the theme of coincidence that pervades the first few chapters.

3/5/77 KPR (Kensington Park Road, our London residence): Of all the possible things L could have written about, he chose the oddest: secret armies in Australia, a subject about which he knew absolutely nothing, and had little chance of finding anything about it, unless.... (He told Mollie Skinner in a letter: “How can I recreate an atmosphere of which I know nothing? I should only make silly howlers...”.)

15/5/77 ditto: It is interesting how L disguises things. The reversal technique is his favourite, ie, if you have something you want to use that is sensitive, just reverse it: eg, Scott single, Callcott married; Cooley single, Rosenthal married, etc. We might get somewhere going through *K* simply reversing things. (Also, Rosenthal/Cooley quotes are often Lawrence's, cf Baroness quote.)

18/5/77 ditto: Ralph Maud (*Southerly* 1956) makes the point that the ideas L puts into Cooley are reminiscent of L's ideas expressed in a letter to [B]ertram [R]ussell in 1915: "There must be an aristocracy of people who have wisdom, and there must be a ruler..." etc. According to John Alexander (*Meanjin*, June 1965)

[at this point I was doing a lot of reading of books and articles]

L wanted to write a novel about each of the five continents. According to Alexander, L averaged 3500 words a day for the 42 days he took to write *K*. He makes some good points: "On the basis of previous writings, it should be assumed that Lawrence will work closely with actuality most of the time." And: "The onus of proof of 'unreality' is on the critic, not on Lawrence." He says that Struthers' religious utterances sound oddly in the novel. But [Jock] Garden was a lay preacher!

19/5/77 ditto: Geoffrey Serle (*Meanjin*, June 1965) says that he was told by "an old soldier" that there was great planning in the soldiers' clubs during 1919-20 about how to defend Melbourne south of the Yarra by blowing up the bridges when the proletarian north rose in revolution.

20/5/77 ditto: If Scott did befriend L and divulge secret army info to him, then indeed a bond of mateship must have been involved. "You can trust a mate with anything – everything." Jack tells Somers. Thus the Jack Slaps Back incident must have been dramatic & vicious. L was almost a scab.

21/5/77 ditto: A thought: why was the letter of introduction to Mr Toy of the *Bulletin* written? To get L work? Why was it not presented? Because L had better prospects elsewhere?

22/5/77 ditto: Tom Fitzgerald's 1958 *Nation* article said that L sought the local barber, Laughlin, for long, regular chats. Yet he made no apparent use of the fruits of his questioning. It is odd that Frieda knew Laughlin well enough to send him a signed copy of her reminiscences 12 years later. This is most strange.

[yes - very, very strange – see below]

23/5/77 ditto: Pringle [*Australian Accent*] makes the good point that there are no Australian women in *K*. Victoria could have come out of any of his novels.

24/5/77 ditto: It is odd that in his letters from Thirroul L says nothing about the subject or content of his novel. All he will divulge is that it's "a queer show" in which "nothing happens, but much should happen." Why the mystery? Is this a clue? He has plenty to say about Australia, but nothing about his book on Australia. At least he should have told Mollie Skinner what he was writing about. Odd. Re opposites: Jack Scott hated cars; Jack Callcott is a motor garage proprietor.

25/5/77 ditto: In a letter to Baroness Richthofen [*I was going over the letters*] L implied on May 29 he was not staying long, so the decision to start *K* must have been made by Tuesday May 29 at the earliest. He took Wyewurk only for a month. Interesting thought: this "we know nobody" is not to be taken that way (for they did know people). Rather it means nobody knows that he is a writer, or who he is

(it came later as a great surprise to people who knew him in Thirroul). He wants anonymity. (Just as he later asked Mabel Dodge not to tell anyone who he is, and that he was planning to write “an American novel” on the same lines [as Kangaroo].)

26/7/77 ditto: According to MDL [Mabel Dodge Luhan] L hated cars. She also makes the point that F had the gift to make quick friendships, so Harriett’s compulsive neighbouring cd be true of F. She describes L’s day: cleaning, then sitting on the ground, knees drawn up, writing. But late in the day he put chores and writing aside & would relax. But he could not bear to be still. MDL interesting on F’s bruises, weeping.

27/5/77 ditto: On arrival in Perth L wrote to MDL saying he would catch the next boat to Sydney (“Perth a raw hole”). So his previous intention to stay in Perth (or go south to the apple-growing regions) had suddenly changed. Why? Surely he would have sought out some information about Sydney, even an address to look up.

30/5/77 ditto: In a letter to JMM [John Middleton Murry] 3/10/24 L said (obviously about something JMM hd sd in his letter about something that F had told him) re Kot [Lawrence’s friend Koteliensky]: “Kangaroo was never Kot. Frieda was on the wrong track.” So, F did not know who K was based on, which means she could not have met Rosenthal.

3/6/77 ditto: I don’t know if it means anything, but in a letter to MDL 12/4/26 L said (re her memoirs): “...why oh why didn’t you change the names! My dear Mabel, call in all the copies, keep them under lock & key, and then carefully, scrupulously change the names: at least do that: before you let one page go out of your hands again. Remember, other people [Lawrence’s *emphasis*] can be utterly remorseless, if they think you’ve given them away.”

5/6/77 ditto: Certainly, if Moore’s *Letters* are any indication, L did not expatiate in his letters about the novels he was writing.

10/6/77 ditto: L says in *K* that Somers flees downstairs from K’s chambers. Tallies with Rosenthal’s chambers in Castlereagh Street.

9/6/77 British Museum (reading room): Reading *DHL Reviews* [main journal of Lawrence scholarship, hereafter the DHLR]. Must subscribe.

[*did*]

10/6/77 ditto: Well, today was to have bn an historic day in L research – a day of make or break for Darroch’s theory. I took the vital microfilm of the *K* holograph to the BM and looked at it – all.

[Some weeks previously I had been approached by Michael Black of the Cambridge University Press, who had learned of my interest in Kangaroo, with the idea that I should put in a proposal to edit Kangaroo for the forthcoming CUP edition of Lawrence’s works. To do this I was given access to the necessary primary sources, such as the autograph manuscript (holograph) of the text Lawrence wrote in Thirroul.]

I assumed I wd find copious corrections & changes, as L went back to disguise things so as to render his progressive discovery of Scott’s secret army less sensitive. [*this was, and is, a very important point*] I found no such thing, which was worrying, to say the least. [*see note 21/3/00 that explains this*]

paradox] What I did find were minimal changes & not one single alteration (that I cd find) that wd amount to disguising. Conclusion: either I am very wrong, or he disguised it perfectly as he went along. *[which was intrinsically unlikely – a worrying moment in my research quest]* However, there are many changes of interest (such as the chapter cut out) & I will have to analyse the MS more closely.

14/6/77 ditto: Stanley Hocking in *DHLR* vol 6 no 3 says that F in Cornwall liked being alone during the day. She encouraged L to go out by himself. (So he could have done things without her knowledge).

23/6/77 KPR: Barbara Weekley [L's step-daughter] says in Spender's book that L never talked about his past novels. Apparently he put them out of his mind, once written. She also remarks on his doctrine of courage. That he had the courage to write *K*, given the circumstances, cannot be in doubt. Nor is it odd that he would have kept silent about it afterwards.

24/6/77 ditto: Barbara Weekley describes a visit from PR Stephensen to L at Villa Bandol. "Bouncy little man." L obviously keen on him. Extent of PRS's influence cd be greater than I think, esp given his later fascist tendencies. He might have known Scott. Will check.

29/6/77 ditto: Cynthia Asquith (*Remember and be Glad*) quotes Aldington: "It was strange and a little frightening...to realise that he possessed not only an intense appreciation of the living passing moment, but an uncanny awareness of people and a habit of making intuitive guesses about the secret lives and thoughts of others." She also remarks that L complained to her that people in trains, etc, were always talking to him, "especially colonels & curates".

7/7/77 ditto: An interesting point. *K* is mainly a novel about an author in Australia. It is in the form of a fictionalised diary, recording with considerable truthfulness L's daily doings. Yet it has one major omission: it contains no hint of the primary thing he was doing – writing a book about A.

8/8/77 Victoria Street: (Resuming after a while.)

[We had returned to Sydney that August, lured back with a job offer on The Bulletin, where I spent the next year or so, and continued my research – most usefully, as it turned out.]

Got Scott's Army record & reference to him in the Official War History. Will start a file on him. More interestingly, Ernest Whiting has come good.

[Ernest Whiting, a gentleman from Melbourne, had written to me after one of my early articles had been published saying that he had heard that the man who told Lawrence about secret armies, etc, had met him on one of the ships bringing him to Sydney. I had written back to him seeking more information, and asking where he got the information. This is now his reply.]

He originally said that he heard that L had learned of the secret army from a man on a ship. But Whiting cd have read that [speculation] in one of my articles. But he has now written back to say that the secret army contact who told him this had now died. So, unless he is lying (and there is no reason why he would), then he did hear from someone knowledgeable that *K*'s genesis was on the *Mahwa*. He said he is now consulting his other contacts (who include Colonel Spry, ex-ASIO chief) & promises further detail. Perhaps I may yet find my smoking gun! I await my reply from Mrs Street *[of the Melbourne Street family Scott married into after WW2]*.

19/8/77 ditto: Tonight Lionel Wigmore, author of “The Japanese Thrust” [section on the Official War History] rang. He had mentioned Scott & Ambon [*where Scott was captured by the Japanese in WW2*] in his history, so I wrote to him seeking more information. LW actually met Scott in the 1920s!!! Tall, well-spoken, aquiline nose, “a history, military type”. Thought he lived in Killara. Insurance inspector. Thought that my theory possible, tho he had no inkling at the time of Scott’s possible secret army involvement. But Scott definitely in intelligence.

27/8/77 Mitchell: Starting a serious attempt to track down Scott’s whereabouts in 1922. Scott at 55 Roslyn Gardens, Elizabeth Bay [next to Kings Cross], in 1925. Moved to 210 Victoria Street in 1926, according to electoral rolls. No mention of where he is in 1922.

6/9/77 Victoria Street: While walking early this morning in the Botanic Gardens I saw the South Head Lighthouse flashing. Maybe L saw this from this side of the Harbour? [*as it turned out, I was mixing up the Macquarie Light, which I cd see and which L also saw, with the SH Lighthouse, which L said he saw but could not – another error of mine, and his*] This week Peter Coleman [ex-Bulletin editor] rang me at work. He said he had come across some notes of a visit he & Barry Jones [future MP] had made to Jack Lang in November 1969 [Lang was the NSW Labor Premier elected first in 1925 then, with Old Guard consequences, in 1929]. Lang said that although he had not met L, nor read K, he knew of “some sort of fascist group” of the same class (“the officers’ group”) as the New Guard, but that they didn’t amount to much [*compared with the New Guard, obviously*]. He said this “officers group” had been active in 1925 during the Walsh-Johnson dispute [*when Scott & Campbell organised their “500 stalwart ex-servicemen”*]. He said that later the New Guard wanted to kill himself & Goldfinch.

[*a very odd comment, given Phillip Goldfinch was one of the leaders of the Old Guard*]

c. 7/9/77 ditto: Turns out that my Mrs Street [*to whom I had written re Scott’s papers, which she said did not exist*] is wife of [*then, in 1977, Australia’s Foreign Minister*] Tony Street, who is none other than Scott’s stepson!

10/9/77 ditto: Jack Kenny [*old journo & Bulletin librarian*] to dinner. Said he had been golfing with Nugget Coombs [*retired public servant of some note*] last Sunday and had told him about me and my theory. He was interested and said I should contact [Australian author] Xavier Herbert who knew much more. [*I did, and he didn’t*] JK recommended I look into M.H. Ellis, former *Bulletin* senior executive who was mixed up in right-wing activity before and after WW2.

14/9/77 ditto: An important day. This afternoon got a letter from Ernest Whiting. He sd L was met on the wharf in Sydney by a man who took him to the North Shore for three days. [*in fact he said that Scott matched the description of the man who took L to stay on the North Shore for three days*] How does Whiting know this? And yet his letter (see full text) has the ring of authenticity about it. EW also talks about the post-WW2 “Association”. This, too, sounds authentic.

[*note, in particular, the reference to “three days”, a period that Whiting could not possibly have known was the precise time* L spent in Sydney before going down to Thirroul*]

[**but see note 16/4/98 below*]

17/9/77 Mitchell: Read H.M Ellis papers. Nothing on DHL.

[Again, a blunder, for it turned out that there was something of considerable interest in these papers – a letter, which unfortunately I did not diarise, to Jack Scott mentioning “the Garage” – see 23/2/97 below.]*

*[*In the Ellis papers I later found a letter from Ellis to Jack Scott referring to a trip Scott was proposing to make, Ellis asking if “the garage” was going to pay for it.]*

25/9/77 Victoria Street: L’s letters to Seltzer reveal that L was having trouble with his novels. Re *K*: “I do hope I shall be able to finish it: not like Aaron, who stuck for two years, and Mr Noon, who has been now nearly two years at a full stop.” (21/6/22) Now, *K* is a very unusual book. Could its peculiarities be due to L’s experimenting with new methods [*that would get over these problems*]? Perhaps he could not write, had lost all confidence, and was seeking a new means to use? Did he indeed take his advice to Mollie Skinner after he had stumbled on a possible plot – something that wd provide him with the material to finish a novel?

29/9/77 ditto: From Secker letter 15/2/22 it seems that L wanted to do “a Ceylon novel”. He told Seltzer he planned to do “an American novel”. We know he did a Mexican novel. So *K* is his “Australian novel”. Also, Ennis [*cf Colonel Ennis in K*] is name of someone L met in Ceylon (cf DHL-Secker 24/4/22).

1/10/77 ditto: It is odd, and maybe important, that in Darlington [WA] L met another Jewish architect: Eustace Cohen. Odder still, the secret army in Perth – the [Civil & Civic] Argonauts Club – was run by a Jew – Boas! Perhaps it is not surprising that L made contact with Rosenthal, both architect and a Jew, on his arrival in Sydney!!

[This seductive possibility should not be taken too seriously, even after we find out, anon, that Rosenthal had been working in WA some years earlier.]

2/10/77 ditto: Middleton Murry’s point about L killing off his alter ego in *K* is well taken, but it could go further. Kangaroo is also killed, and he is symbolic of L. After this L surrenders his woman-free love of men and becomes fish-like and cold: dead.

4/10/77 ditto: L probably felt perfectly safe in what he wrote. He thought, at the outset at least, that his primitive disguise methods were adequate – cutting up the real people, swapping them around, & recombining them in his “fictional” characters (Callcott, Cooley, Trehwella, etc). This lured him into feeling secure. Beside, he had no other choice. Yet he did not comprehend the sensitivity & significance of the material he was using. He probably thought it was all childish play-acting. He cd nt, dare nt, consider the consequences. He was in, & could nt get out. He had no alternative. Besides, by the time they (Scott, Rosenthal, etc) read it, he would be gone, & far removed from any chance of retribution. Or so he thought.

30/11/77 ditto: Today I saw Col A.C. Wilkinson, who went to school with Jack Scott & his brothers Humphrey & Leigh. [*This meeting, arranged by Mrs Tony Street, through the good offices of Margaret Carnegie, took place at the Royal Sydney Golf Club.*] Jack, apparently, was the eldest. They all went to Mrs Robson’s school at Double Bay. He kept in touch with Jack Scott down the years & made his acquaintance again in particular about 1946 when Scott was about to marry the widow of Geoffrey Street (Tony Street is the son of Geoffrey & “Gip” Street). He remembered Scott (who was four years older than him) as tall and wiry & much prone to gambling, losing hundreds of pounds at the races, & trying unsuccessfully to recoup his losses at night on the dogs. He & Gip lived at Eildon in southern Victoria,

but Jack had a flat in Melbourne. He recalled no literary aspect of Scott. But he was “military”, maybe an instructor at Duntroon. He knew the Ambon story & confirmed that Scott was unpopular, probably due to his discipline, or the surrender to the Japanese. Scott had been considered as Australian rep of Barings [?] about 1950 but was rejected because of his “unreliability”. Never had much money. All three Scott brothers were war heroes.

[Although Col Wilkinson seemed verging on the ga-ga, I got the impression he had been deputed to try to try to put me off the scent.]

5/12/77 ditto: Last week in Melbourne (covering a story down there) I saw Scott’s will. He left his estate, valued for probate at 939 pounds, to his widow, Gip. However, & interestingly, his book collection was valued by the firm of H.A. Evans at 81 pounds. So he did collect books.

[Naturally, I asked his surviving family if the collection had any Lawrence books, but his stepson, Tony Street, the Foreign Minister, assured me that it did not.]

27/12/77 ditto: Wilkinson, however, did provide another direct link between the fictional Callcott & the real Scott. He said, confirming what his other stepsons said, that he was a compulsive gambler. He described Scott gambling obsession in almost frenetic terms. L in K said of Callcott: “Then spurt of energy, spurts of sudden violent desire, spurt of gambling excitement.” *[my emphasis]*

c. 1/1/78: *[Around this date I first ran across one of the people who was to become very involved in this seemingly never-ending project, Andrew Moore. His story is a remarkable one in itself. He finished a history degree at university and became a secondary-school teacher. He was sent to a remote country town in NSW. He joined the local history society. At a meeting he evinced an interest in Lang and the New Guard. Someone present said that an old lady who lived out of town knew something about that sort of thing. Andrew went out and visited her. She told him that her father had been involved in the 1930-32 crisis. Very involved. So involved that he had a trunk of papers on the subject. Would he like to see them? And so Andrew stumbled across the records of the Old Guard, for her father was Colonel Fred Hinton, head of the Western Division of the Old Guard in 1930-32, and later the person who kept their nominal rolls and other records, right through into the 1950s. When he died she found the trunk in his City flat. Andrew went on to do a PhD on the Old Guard, then turned that into the main reference book on the subject, and is today Associate Professor of History at the University of Western Sydney, and Australia’s primary expert on right-wing para-military movements. I ran across him at the Mitchell Library soon after he began to widen his research from the trunk to other records and documents. As we were asking for the same sort of references, one of the librarians suggested he might like to compare notes with me. Thus began a collaboration that has lasted down to today. He is my (TF)Huxley.]*

Andrew Moore called. He is working on the Old Guard in the country. Mentioned a letter from Scott to Audrey Abbott *[a alternative name for an element of the Gillespie-Goldfinch organisation was “the Abbott Group”]* about 1925 following Abbott’s election to parliament. In it Scott says he wants to meet Abbott “to discuss certain matters”. Moore also mentions “the Silent Four*”, apparently some central cell of the Old Guard.

*[*actually the four leaders of the four divisions of the country part of the 1930-32 Old Guard]*

18/1/78 ditto: Have I stumbled on the truth? Today, looking through back files of *The Bulletin* for Jan-June 1922, I came across an item [23/4/33] to the effect that “little Mrs Arthur Scrivener” organised at Rawson House in aid of seamen a concert for “the Harbour Lights Fund”. This surely must be the Harbour Lights concert Jack Callcott mentions in *K*. (At which he and some other fellow sing “Larbord Watch Ahoy”, which is reprised by Jack & Somers in ch 3, called “Larbord Watch Ahoy!”.) And on the *Malwa* was a Captain Scrivener (and a Miss Amy Scrivener performed in Junee for the KEA [see above]). Shall check in newspapers and pray that Jack Scott was present at that Rawson House concert.

[This “lead” proved one of the biggest, most persistent red herrings in the long saga, and was to lure me and John Ruffels, who had yet to hove into sight, into a great deal of wasted, or almost wasted, effort.]

24/1/78 ditto: June 22 *Bulletin* mentions Rosenthal. Also reference to Mullumbimby. Also item on Sastri and Indian nationalism (which L extracted for *K*). More interestingly, in last Sunday’s *National Times* [a Sydney weekly journal] Richard Hall has an article (poor) on the League of National Security in which he said that a file (Australian Archives?) on the LNS [*League of National Security – the Victorian equivalent of the Old Guard*] contains a “stray” note from Investigation Bureau [*predecessor of ASIO, Australia’s internal security organisation*] inspector Longfield Lloyd in Sydney dated 22/1/21 referring to two people, S & H, and goes on to say “S may be working along the lines indicated by you”. S? Scott? (**Later:** file name, “Formation of Citizen’s League”).

[Of course, whether S is Scott or not, what is significant about this is the date: 22/1/21, for it indicated that a “Citizen’s League”, no double the KEA, had been formed in Sydney, which of course it just had, and that the IB was keeping tabs on it.]

25/1/78 ditto: In Alexander’s MS [*the Rev. John Alexander had written an article on Lawrence and Kangaroo for Meanjin – see earlier note 18/5/77 - which was part of a longer work, which he had just sent me to read*] he cites an incident in Chapala, Mexico, about May 1923 when L told Willard Johnson & Witter Bynner that they all had to quit Chapala immediately. F explained why. In the night L hd woken & thought someone was trying to break into his room. “He rushed in saying ‘They’ve come’,” sd Frieda. L hd obviously been terrified. This could, of course, bn a dream, or local bandits, but it might also have bn L thinking that Scott’s men hd tracked him down & were about to realise the threat Rosenthal may indeed have made (if what Cooley said actually happened) that night in Sydney (“I could have you killed.”). This is the only indication I have come across of the (anticipated) fear L must have hd of some retribution from Australia.

29/1/78 ditto: In *K* (p 160) Jaz mentions the “secret organisation” behind the Diggers Clubs.

30/1/78 ditto: add *Bulletin* research: Agatha Christie & her military husband were in Sydney in July 1922 (the papers enthused that she was the author of *The Mysterious Affair at Styles*). Adrian Lawlor [*a local literary critic – see below*] wrote an article in July *Bulle* re current English novelists in which he mentions DHL as “the hope of the future novel”. But L apparently did nt see this encomium. It seems the only issues he read were those of 8/6 & 22/6 (& possibly 13/6).

31/1/78 ditto: In a letter from F to MDL 20/6/22, F says: “L has written a novel, gone [at] it full tilt to p 305, but has come to a stop and kicks.” But p 305 in MS is half-way through the “H & L on Sea of Marriage”. L is in full flight here. Curious. How did F know the exact number? Or is there something wrong with the numbering? Odd.

6/2/78 ditto: In original MS, under a deletion, L describes the Maggies (which he first calls “the Diggers”, but deletes) as having black (not white) tunics. Blackshirts! What fuel for a fascist interpretation of *K*!

c. 19/2/78 ditto: The timing of L’s decision to begin a novel – its suddenness – surely points to sudden access to information that wd lead him to think he could write such a long work as a novel about a place he knew nothing.

20/2/78 ditto: I have made many (perhaps premature) claims before in these my notes, but I shall now venture a prediction: that I now know, roughly, the circumstances of L’s writing *K*. Here are the facts I draw this conclusion from:

1. on the ship [*Malwa*] L met [was a fellow passenger with] three Army captains, one of which was cpt A Scrivener
2. in *K* Somers says “a chap on the *Naldera*” told Cooley about him (Somers) – ie, independent of Callcott, Cooley knew of Somers from someone met on a ship
3. the cpt was cpt Arthur Herbert Scrivener, at one time of Cremorne [Sydney northside Habourside suburb]
4. the *Bulle* that [mentions] L&F’s arrival in Sydney also mentions that Captain “Bertie” Scrivener arrived “with his English bride” & was spending his leave with “his people at Hunters Hill”
5. the only Scrivener listed in *Sands* near HH is A.S. Scrivener (the only A Scrivener in [*Sands*]) of Lucretia Ave Longueville (a stone’s throw from HH)
6. in the *Bulle* of March 23, 1922 (p 42) there is an item which says that “little Mrs Arthur Scrivener” provided “a capital concert” for the sailors at the Rawson Institute. Item goes on to say, or imply, that one of the organisations that organised the evening was the “Harbour Lights Guild” and, further, that the evening was “a special night of sing-song”
7. now, in *K* Jack Callcott mentions singing a duet at “the Harbour Lights Concert” (a sea-song in fact – “Larbord Watch Ahoy”)
8. “Little Amy Scrivener” gave a recitation at KEA function at Juneec in 1922

From these facts I deduce a chain of associations: L & Capt S on boat - contact from boat to Rosenthal - Callcott (Scott) connected with Harbour Lights concert - probably Scrivener’s mother ran these – some possibility of association between Scott & Scrivener & maybe Scrivener family (at least at Juneec). It’s thin, but it’s possible – or rather it makes the impossible, possible. If I can place Scott at HLG concert, then the chain is strengthened considerably. Meanwhile could Scrivener be Twewhella?

[beware of chains of association!]

25/3/78 ditto: saw Andrew Moore on Friday and he said that several of the Old Guard people he hd met hd thought that Major-General George Macarthur-Onslow was the military head of the Old Guard. (M-O, head of the Light Horse in WW1, looks like “Col. Ennis” in *K* [*Fred Hinton was a Col in the Light Horse*]).

15/3/78 ditto: Yesty I read through the NL [*National Library, which had photocopied the material and sent it up to me in Sydney*] file, in the Herbert Brookes papers, referring to the “Self-Defence League”. The first-glance discoveries were dramatic. It seems that following the Red Flag riots in Brisbane in March 1918 [*this was an error – the riots were later, in March 1919*] Brookes held some talks with the Federal Govt (Acting PM Watt) which led to Brookes being summoned to Watt’s office in Melb in May 1918 to discuss, with several others, the formation of some auxiliary organisation connected with the Secret Intelligence Bureau [*forerunner of the IB*] & designed to spread throughout Aust & garner information about anti-government activity. Discussions apparently continued throughout 1918 & the last dated reference is a note by Brookes that the scheme, enunciated in his notes, was accepted about Oct 1918. This scheme involved a secret connection with the SIB & a downward organising hierarchy of State leaders who would contact the various loyal bodies in each State & secretly propose [the formation of] a secret organisation throughout each State to get information, & for ”other purposes”, on “disloyal” & anti-Govt activity. Here, apparently, we have the genesis of the KEA and L’s Diggers Clubs.

[correct, but see next note 19/3 below]

19/3/78 ditto: I now believe I know what happened. Brookes was almost deranged by the “disloyalty” that surfaced in Australia following Easter 1916 [*the IRA uprising in Dublin*], the two conscription referenda, the 1917 general strike, & the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. Apparently the precipitating crisis was the St Patrick’s Day march in Melbourne on Saturday March 17. [*it was contributory rather than precipitating*] The “disloyalty” so blatantly displayed caused some sort of brain-storm in Brookes, & he resolved to devote “the rest of his life” to combating such “evil”. This led to the May 1918 letter from Watt. [*incorrect – as we shall see (see Ranim 9.1) the letter was the result of a visit to America by a Melbourne dentist called Elliott*] During the March 1919 [*the right date*] riots in Brisbane plan was activated, & this led to the NSW meetings in 1920 & the KEA.

[correct]

8/4/78 ditto: My examination of the Brookes papers, together with [Trevor] Botham’s essay [on the Brisbane riots] & Rivett’s bio of Brookes, provide compelling evidence that the KEA was

- a. the cover for a secret organisation
- b. was probably organised as L describes in K (esp the five leaders)
- c. was created by Brookes, or following his lead

The KEA was created within weeks of a Labor government coming to power in NSW in March-April 1920 & folded within weeks of that Govt’s defeat in later 1922 [*incorrect – defeated in March 19, but the KEA did continue on until the end of 1922*]. It had a Masonic influence, as Brookes’s notes confirm. In all, B[rookes] confirms L, & nothing B says contradicts him.

6/5/78 Mitchell: An oddity. In tracing all the Scriveners, I noticed one at Kangaroo St, Manly. Very Joycean! Other Scriveners [*include – long list*] CR Scrivener, saw-miller, of Mt Irvine; GW Scrivener of Wright Heaton Co Ltd Junee; and PP [Pedder] Scrivener of the CBC [Commercial Banking Company – same bank as Scott’s father] Blaney.

6/6/78 ditto: For a description of the Australia Army 1920-21 see JRAHS 53 on Chauvell & Monash. [*Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society; Chauvell and Monash WW1 generals*]

30/8/78 Victoria Street: (resuming after break) Contacted all the Scriveners in Sydney. Found out *[from one of them]* that Cpt Bertie Scrivener had a brother, Ray, who went to Melbourne. He was a very good singer & aged early 20s in 1922, apparently. Bertie was aide-de-camp to some Indian Governor. Wife Dorothy English. His father, Arthur, apparently some sort of merchant. Hint that they cd have used Wyewurk as a holiday house *[according to a surviving relative]*. [Arthur S] worked for a city firm. Also: see article [no date] in *IM [Illawarra Mercury]*, local South Coast weekly newspaper] re Jack, the lifesaver, & the barber's sons' memories of DHL*.

*[*lost, alas]*

31/8/78 ditto: My operative in Thirroul, Joe Davis, has come up with a few interesting things (see his letter). Wyewurrie [next to Wyewurk] owned by Sydney hardware merchant WS Friends in 1922. Mrs Wynn [a name in *Kangaroo*] probably employed by Callcotts at their estate agency. This info from Mrs Smith, 84. She [?] probably delivered groceries [to Wyewurk tenants]. Jack & Billy Hawke delivered the coal on orders sent down *[from Mrs Southwell, the owner, in Sydney, apparently]* to Humphries & Alison's stores.

[Joe Davis, then still a student, had contacted me following one of my articles and sought advice on research into Lawrence's time in Thirroul. I advised him to ignore printed sources, except Lawrence's letters, and to do his own research. He did, to very good effect. He later did a PhD on Lawrence in Thirroul, and subsequently a book, D.H. Lawrence at Thirroul. It would, I think, be fair to comment that we have not always seen eye-to-eye on Lawrence, and that he was highly critical of the Darroch Thesis in his book. Nevertheless, he was the first to mention the name WS Friend, which, as we will eventually see, is central to any research on Lawrence and Australia.]

c. 31/8/78: A major discovery in a letter to Seltzer in Oct 1922 [7/10/22] [in which] L said, talking about the MS of *K*, (and I paraphrase) "You don't think the Aust Govt or the Diggers will find anything to take exception to in *K*?" *[my emphasis*]* Now, he can hardly be using the word Diggers in the Australian sense of ex-servicemen, so.... And even if he did mean ex-servicemen, then what could they object to if it's fiction? Not proof, but nice evidence to support my theory.

*[*One should not pass by and gloss over – as many have done, particularly (CUP Kangaroo editor) Bruce Steele and (CUP biographer) David Ellis – this vital quote from Lawrence's post-Australia letters. Its incredible naivety apart, it is surely concrete evidence – as recognised by scholars such as Warren Roberts (see the CUP Letters vol IV, p 320) - that Lawrence realised, at least in some part, that, while in Sydney and Thirroul, he had encountered something secret and probably sinister. To maintain, as Steele and Ellis have done, that by the use here of the word "Diggers" Lawrence was referring to the generality of ex-servicemen of Australia, and not to the secret organisation he called in Kangaroo "the Diggers", is perverse, to say the least. And even if we were to grant them that peculiar interpretation, why would Lawrence be concerned about what the Australian Government might think of Kangaroo? – unless he knew his novel might have revealed something that it should not have revealed. The "Aust Govt" could hardly be worrying about the impact of Lawrence's novel on Australian tourism. (However, also entry 1/6/02 below re Lawrence's "apologise" reference.)]*

Also: in [Dorothy] Brett's book *[on her travels with Lawrence]* she cites L railing against "armchair authors" who don't base their novels on actual experience. Brett also makes clear, as does Witter Bynner

(in *Travels with Genius*), that L researched the subject of Mexico before writing *TPS* [*The Plumed Serpent*]. So research on his topics in *K* wd nt be unusual, indeed it is to be expected.

13/12/78 Mitchell: Resuming after a long delay, spent mostly trying to convince Cambridge [University Press] & the DHL editorial board [*of the Complete Works project*] that I should edit *K*. But to no avail.

[I had just been informed by Michael Black of the CUP that my proposal, prepared after many months of effort, had been rejected.]

I am a DHL pariah. So I turn my nose from such gilded & perfumed pavements to the dirt track back in Australia. First thing of note: apparently among the books KSP [*Katherine Sussannah Prichard, a young and aspiring WA author who had missed meeting Lawrence in Perth due to the immanency of her confinement. They later corresponded, in Australia and when Lawrence was in America.*] sent L in Sydney was *Eyes of Vigilance* (which L retained and commented on). This work, published in 1920, was by Furnley Maurice, pseudonym of Frank Wilmot. (cf Fred Wilmot, Jack Callcott's "best mate", mentioned in *K*).

[I took this rejection rather badly, assuming (perhaps not totally correctly) it was mainly due to my interpretation of Lawrence's time in Australia, and in particular the secret army background to the writing of the novel, which I had outlined in my proposal. However, from then on, I abandoned any idea of what Julia Roberts called, in a slightly different context, "Sleeping with the enemy", and struck out on my own.]

c.13/12/78 Victoria Street: Francis Crossle in 1931 published a novel, *Donna Juana*, dated Bulli 1929. Set in Eire. Also: Arthur Reed Scrivener, "Carnoo", Lucretia Avenue, Longueville. Mrs Laurie Lavington ditto. *[at this time I was going through Sands, electoral rolls, and other directory sources trying to geographically place people who might be involved with the research, principally the Scriveners and Jack Scott]* Also, at 51 Murdoch Street [*the address Lawrence gives in Kangaroo to where Somers and Harriett go shortly after they arrived in Sydney*] lived (according to 1922 *Sands*) Robert Arthur Williams & wife Marie (he a commercial artist). *[I had eliminated all other Murdoch streets and roads in Sydney except the one in Mosman, and it was this place and area I was now mainly focusing on]* But no mention of Scott in any Sydney [*Federal*] electoral roll.

[which was very odd]

13/12/78 ditto: Perhaps some items of interest: "Wooloona", Cremorne Road [*Wooloona is a name Lawrence uses in Kangaroo; Cremorne is the Harbourside suburb next to Mosman*]; various Scotts in Harriette Street & Reynolds Street [Mosman]. There certainly seems to be a large number of guest or boarding houses in Murdoch Street. At 51 a large number of people seem to be residing [implying it was a guest house] mainly Johnsons. A Cooee in Sutherland Street [*Cooee being the name L gave Wyewurk*]. 51 Murdoch Street are the Canberra Flats [*Lawrence uses the name Canberra House in Kangaroo*]. There in 1922 *Sands* are [surnames] Piddington, Fisher, Reid, Row, Wiltshire, Collier. In 1923 *Sands* Tyzack replaced Reid. (But these could have been owners, who let their flats out, for the electoral names – eg, Johnsons - are different.)

16/1/79 at work: It is interesting where L gets his names in *K* from...Callcott, Harriett, Somers, Ennis, Cooley. Must track them all down.

[Around this time I was beginning to have some problems with my job on the Bulletin. I had made something of a niche for myself with my expertise in extreme-right politics in contemporary (as well as historical) Australia, following on my work in 1975-77 at The Australian. This was my own choice, and no one else was to blame. However, the then main target of this extremist activity was the NSW Liberal Party, whose higher ranks the extremists – nicknamed “the Crazies” or “Uglies” (for those interested, their actual name was the “Sinless Perfectionists”) – were trying to infiltrate, using various front and disguise methods. I, being the acknowledged expert in such methods and disguises, had become too closely associated - indeed, involved - with uncovering and thwarting of such activities. In an effort to acquit the Party of involvement with extremists, the then Secretary NSW division of the Party, John Carrick, made a public denial (or at least made public statements downplaying such influences), and this sabotaged (as it was designed to do) a series of articles I had written for the Bulletin on the subject, and which were to be published beginning that week. I was somewhat discredited as a result of this, and a promised promotion to deputy editor was aborted. My personal life was somewhat disrupted, too. Soon after this I decided to resign and return overseas. But while I was still in Sydney, I tried to chase up and accelerate all my outstanding research leads.]

22/1/79 Victoria Street: Curiously, 51 Murdoch Street is not given in the 1921 or 1922 *Sands*. But in the 1923 *Sands* there is a 51. But it is not where it should be. There is something wrong with the street numbering. Will check council maps.

[there was – what was 51 in 1922 was now 31, on the corner of Florence Avenue]

26/1/79 at work and Victoria Street: Today I finally got my key piece of evidence linking Scott with Lawrence. It came about this way. I had earlier this week rang Peter Oatley, Sally’s [Rothwell] father & Scott’s stepson c.1920s. I wanted to check up some details I had omitted to inquire about when I interviewed him & his brother two years ago. He told me his mother’s name was Andree Adelaide Kaepfel. Her father was a journalist, & she had one brother. In 1922, he is pretty sure, they moved from Gordon to Collaroy *[one of Sydney’s northern beach suburbs]*. Their address there was in Florence Avenue (near the beach – see map). No photos of Scott. He was a tenor & used to sing around the piano. He did not smoke a pipe, but he habitually used a cigarette-holder. He was still married to his [first] wife, but living separately. She was “highly nervous”. Now, the Collaroy address, & date are the key things. **Later:** *[as I did not have a copy of Kangaroo with me]* I rang him back and gained more information. The house had a Maori name: Hinemoa. He [Scott] was “the Major”. He married Mrs Oatley, who was a widow, around 1928, but before that he was a frequent visitor to the Collaroy house, which was No 1, the last in the street, facing the beach. (And it’s still there!) But, most importantly, I read out to him L’s description of the house I had presumed had been at Narrabeen *[the next beach and suburb further north, where Lawrence says in Kangaroo Somers travelled to after arriving in Sydney]*. The description goes: “The bungalow was pleasant, a large room facing the sea, with verandahs and other little rooms opening off. There were many family portraits, and a framed medal & ribbon and letter praising the first Trehwella....so the party sat around in basket chairs and on settles under the windows...”. Peter Oatley said this was a precise description of their house in Florence Avenue, Collaroy. He particularly remembered the photographs on the walls.

1/2/79 at work: *[I had discovered that Hinemoa was currently occupied by a Mr Horrie Hayman and had rung his son, who answered the phone, to arrange to go and visit 1 Florence Avenue, Collaroy]* H. Hayman was a timber merchant in 1922! (so says his son). *[Trehwella is a timber merchant, at least in his original guise in Kangaroo]*

3/2/79 Victoria Street: On Saturday, Sandra & I went up to Collaroy to see Horrie Hayman. Unfortunately he was ga-ga. Could hardly remember anything, & that very mixed-up. But he drew a plan of the original Hinemoa (now much altered internally) which he, a builder, had built for his father, a Salvation Army colonel, about 1914-16. The plan (which I reproduce here) of 7 [not 1] Florence Avenue fits *K* perfectly, down to the settles round the bay window. The family, he said, came from Devon originally, thence to NZ. They arrived in Sydney about 1911 to take over [a Salvation Army] farm at Dee Why [*next suburb south of Collaroy*]. Horrie trained as a builder. Later he became a timber merchant & builder at Dee Why. In 1916 the house was occupied by a doctor, who ran a hospital in it. Later his mother let rooms there. But there could have been a period when the house was let to outsiders, & around 1922 sounded right. No memory of Mrs Oatley or Scott. Vaguely remembered a Trehella, but perhaps not. But he did use Scott & Broad as his insurance agents.

5/2/79 Mitchell: Today I discovered, in a set of electoral rolls the existence of which I had not known about before (State, not Federal, rolls, given to me in error), Jack Scott's 1922-23 address!!!! It was 112 Wycombe Road, Waterleigh (ie, Mosman West). This is about two or three blocks [*actually one*] west of Murdoch Street. 112 appears to have been a residential [*a place where rooms are let*], because a number of people – graziers, etc – are listed as staying there. (*Sands* gives the owner as a Miss Tinson). So, Scott was there, in Mosman, a stone's throw or so from Murdoch Street in 1922-23!!! In 1924 State roll he disappears, to Kings Cross no doubt. 1924 State electoral roll for Many has Mrs Oatley at Florence Avenue, Collaroy (but not in 1923 electoral roll).

[The precise ins and out of these electoral rolls, and their dates, was to assume some significance later.]

6/2/79 Victoria Street: The day has arrived. I have my proof. Let me describe what happened. After yesty's discovery of Scott's Mosman address, this morning I drove over to Wycombe St [*Road, actually, an error Lawrence made, too*] I approached from Kurraba Road [Neutral Bay] & the [house] numbers began at 30 as I turned left into Wycombe. Up the long hill, looking to the left as the even numbers increased. But also the blocks of new home units increased, too. 112-114 [*the actual address*] sounded an ideal [home unit] site, so my hopes declined. I passed Harriette Street on my right, then drove further up. Just as NB [Neutral Bay] junction hove into sight I noticed 120 – home units. I parked the car & walked back. Sandwiched between two large blocks of units was 112-114: a convalescent home, apparently mostly intact (though with a tarted-up façade). I was shown to the manager, a Mr Ken Young, to whom I told my tale of research & Lawrence. He said he moved in 10 years ago & that it had been a nursing home for about 12 years. Before that it had been four flats [*which must have been huge*], the legacy of two old ladies whose father had built the [two] premises for them, home & income, many years ago. (The places were in the Queen Anne style [*now called Federation*] & built around 1911, I guessed. In fact, the premises were still listed in the *Yellow Pages* as "Wycombe Flats".) He showed me the old boundary between the two halves of the building [*ie, between 112 and 114*], now much altered internally. Then we went [*at my request*] upstairs to see the view. From one front room you cd indeed see, over the rooftops of the new & old buildings opposite & to the right, snatches of valley running down to the Harbour. On the horizon was Clifton Gardens [*actually Bradley's Head Road*] &, over it, Vaucluse [*on the south side of the Harbour, between the Harbour and the sea*]. Then he took me to a bathroom at the far right [of the premises] & pointed out, on the horizon, the Macquarie Lighthouse, quite distinct. [*I had mentioned to him that Lawrence had said there was a lighthouse in view from the building*] The Harbour & Clark Island also in plain view. Then we went back outside into the small backyard. Disappointment: too small, no summer house [*which Lawrence described in ch. 2 of Kangaroo*], nor room for one, nor a potential view from one [*which, again, Lawrence put into ch. 2*]. Hopefully, I asked if there [had been] a flame tree in the garden [*also described by Lawrence*]. No, sd Mr Young – & I could not see one, just a big camphor laurel. I'll now draw the garden to illustrate:

But, sd Young, perhaps Norm wd remember – & he called to an old chap who was passing by, or working in the garden. He was like Mr Westerman [*a neighbour of ours in Victoria Street*] next door (snr), but about 70. He proved to be Norman Arthur Dunn, 75, who lived at the rear of the 112 place. He was a stonemason, & had been living there for 30 years. (His address was 37 Barry Street, NS [North Sydney] ([phone] 90 7044.) He had been in the area virtually all his life, having gone to the local school at the age of 8. He worked for the man who built the [112-114] house[s], a builder called Mr Summers. (But [that's wrong for] the daughters would have been called the same name.) Did he recall a flame tree in the garden? No – yes! There was one, he thought. What about a summer house? Yes, that rang a vague bell. But very vague. Yes, there was a tree [*he suddenly recalled*] & yes, a fern house. Now, where? It (all this is him) must have been where the shed [now] is. Yes, that's it. And the flame tree – he remembered it [there] was one because of the thorns – was next to it (I draw a diagram to illustrate):

Next he described the fern house, reaching back into his emerging memories. It had lattice around [its] sides, & ferns hanging inside. Two benches, with maiden hair ferns inside. And the roof (I asked)? Yes – there was something on the roof. A lookout. There was a ladder (rough – just slats) going up & some sort of cubby house – no, a platform – with four posts on top. Some sort of railing. And a lead roof (I asked)? No, he didn't think so. Galvanised iron, but flat, not corrugated. Yes, definitely a lookout. And now he remembered it clearly – it was built to see over the 2-storey house in front (diagonally). That's it!!!!!! [*to appreciate my explanatory enthusiasm, Lawrence's description of the "tub-top" lookout in ch. 2 should be read*] As I left with my treasure, saying I would return with a document for him to sign reiterating what he told me, I drove up Bennett Street, almost opposite 112-114 Wycombe Road, (see diagram)

& what should I find at the end of the street, but 51 (now 31) Murdoch Street. And the tram [*again, read K about L's visit to Jack's place in ch. 7, "Battle of the Tongues"*]. So that's why L chose 51 Murdoch Street [*no, not entirely, as we shall see when Mr Toy of the Bulletin makes his appearance*] & why he describes walking to Jack's place [*in ch. 7*], because he caught the ferry to Neutral Bay [*no, Cremorne*] & caught the tram up from the wharf to Florence Avenue, opposite 51 Murdoch Street & walked down Bennett Street to 112 Wycombe Road. Well, it convinces me, finally & absolutely. What about the rest of the world?

[The rest of the world would have to wait, as would their reaction. However, the significance of this, quite major discovery was that I could now, credibly, place Scott and Lawrence in the same place in May-June 1922, and thus what was hitherto almost inconceivable, was now, not only probable, but provable, at least to those with an open mind.]

7/2/79 ditto: Took typed statement to 112 Wycombe Road. Found Norm – good old Norm – & he signed it in the presence of Mr Young, who witnessed. Norm made a few slight alterations (not sure it was a Mr Summers, etc). **Later, at ML:** searched (& copied) Wollondilly [electoral] roll for Thirroul, 1923. No sign of K house names [*Lawrence in K cites many house names*]. Odd. No other clues (such as name of motor driver [who drove Lawrence around district], etc). Also: at VG's [Valuer-General's] Department [*main repository of land information in NSW*] I finally found the full details of Craig Street [*Wyewurk was in Craig Street, Thirroul*]. Barrister had two houses down from Wyewurk, and Fanny Easton of Leura owned Wyewurrie [*the house next door, north, to Wyewurk*]. Fanny! Isn't that a name crossed out in the MS? [*no, it was probably "Tanny", a probable hold-over from Aaron's Rod, where Frieda was called "Tanny"*] Across the road, the two facing houses were owned by a Burwood [Sydney suburb] businessman & a Lucy May Friend (of WS Friend – wasn't that the firm that Arthur Scrivener worked for?)

[no, but we were getting warmer]

8/2/79 Mitchell: The pace quickens. Searched 1922 newspapers for Harbour Lights concert. Nothing. Hope BM [British Museum] has plenty of Aust papers *[it did]*. But did strike some sort of pay-dirt in the *Illawarra Mercury*, where Dr Crossle turns up & speaks at a Catholic-Irish do at Wollongong, as a Protestant. So he probably knew quite a bit about current politics (& could have spoken to L about same, especially, & this is important, on the opposite side *[of the political divide]* to Scott). There were Labor MPs at the meeting, & some State [Labor] Ministers *[so it was pre-March 1922]*. Isn't this lovely? It's all coming together.

[Such coming, however, would take two more decades to coagulate, if it has indeed fully "come together" now.]

c.8/2/79 Sydney: *[Not every significant event is recorded in this diary, and one of the most important events is, alas, not recorded, mainly because at the time it did not seem as significant as it later proved to be. This occurred at some time between my visit to Horrie Hayman on 3/2/79 and my departure a week or so later from Sydney to London via Austin and New York (where I further examined the Kangaroo holograph and the Berg typescripts thereof). Someone, and it may have been Horrie Hayman or his son, suggested that it might be useful if I were to visit a gentleman called Walter Friend in Beach Road, Collaroy, just round the corner from Florence Avenue and Hinemoa. I have a distinct memory of doing this, a day or so later. Walter and his wife lived in a block of four flats, which was unusual for Collaroy, which was, and is, a holiday-house semi-resort. He was quite amicable, though rather stand-offish. I explained what I was doing (trying to track down Lawrence's contacts in Sydney) and said I had come to see him because I believed he had some connection with Hinemoa and Collaroy. (I don't think I mentioned Thirroul or Wyewurk.) He denied any knowledge of what I was interested in, but he did say one thing that at the time I did not place much importance on, but which is the only written legacy of that encounter. For some reason, and I don't recall what precisely it was, he suggested that I might like to write to his brother, explaining my quest and the reason for it (and I retain a copy of this letter). He gave me his brother's address in country NSW, and I did write such a letter later from London, to which I received no reply. His brother in the country was Robert Moreton Friend, who is almost certainly, I now know, part of the characters Jack Callcott and Jaz Trewhella in Kangaroo, and was almost certainly the person who took Lawrence and Frieda down to Thirroul and installed them in Wyewurk. Never was I so close to the truth about Lawrence, Australia and Kangaroo. But, at the time, I had no inkling of the importance of the name Friend to my quest, and 20 years were thus wasted.]*

[However, see below note dated 23/1/94, for I made a mistake in the above explanatory comment.]

31/5/79 KPR: *[back in London]* Long time, no discoveries. But now a few things to note. Since arriving back at KPR I have been examining Sydney papers at Collindale [the BM newspaper library] and correlating this with the MS of *K*. I now have a very good picture of L's time in NSW...weather, sunrise/sunset, ship arrivals, newspaper items, politics, etc. I can, perhaps, now work out how he wrote *K* – what his inputs were, what he wrote each day, etc. No sign of a Row in Town, but will keep looking. Reviews of current literature, description of storm, passenger list of *Tahiti* [ship Lawrence left on], background of KEA start and finish, etc. The other major piece of research is the last chapter problem. Here I did make some progress (see my letter to Warren Roberts and draft of [my] article). Proved that last chapter, contrary to what critics say, was written in Thirroul. Developed analysis of progress of text from MS to publication of editions and also a theory of how the variant

endings came about. To this last night I added the interesting thought that the cover [of the U.S. Seltzer edition] tends to confirm the theory of a deliberate or preferential predilection (I know that's poor grammar) for the "broken attachments" ending. (By whom?)

[While preparing my rejected submission for the CUP, I had looked into the vexed problem of the variant endings of Kangaroo (the Seltzer or U.S. edition ending considerably short of the Secker or U.K. edition). Warren Roberts, the U.S. general editor of the proposed CUP Complete Works edition, had sent me a copy of an article on this by a U.S. academic named Jarvis. I had also seen in a U.S. journal his (Roberts') statement that the two editions were quite different. (I also spoke to him personally on the matter when he gave me lunch in Austin in early March 1979.) After I looked into the question quite closely (having photocopies of all the relevant texts, courtesy of the CUP, and having recently examined the holograph in Austin and the TSS in the Berg collection in the New York Public Library [where the inks and nature of top copies and carbons could be checked]), I found that that variants, the endings apart, were not as considerable as he had made out, and told him this. When I reached London, I decided to compose an article on my analysis of the endings, as I thought I had discovered why they were different, or at least had developed a possible theory on this, which involved Lawrence letting accident determine the ending. But I did not publish the article. Later, in the 1990s, as I shall relate, when the CUP edition of Kangaroo, edited by Bruce Steele, was published, I saw that he had come to the same conclusion – that the U.S. "short" version was the correct one. However, his argument for this was utterly different to mine, and I realised at once that we both could not be correct. This led me to re-examine the matter even more closely, and I then discovered that we were both wrong, and that the longer Secker variant was the correct one. (See my article in the DHLR 26.1-3 and Rananim 9/1, "Not the End of the Story".)]

9/8/79 KPR: A couple of small, but significant, points that have emerged from my examining the holograph, etc. L must have had a good idea of what he would find at Thirroul on that Monday, for he went late & arrived late, about 4pm. Had he been looking randomly [*as Frieda maintained in her memoir*] he would not have risked this. Someone [must] have told him about this specific place [Thirroul] & that particular house [Wyewurk], someone who knew it was empty & available. Also, it appears that it had become available only recently, for it was a well-kept house, of quality, & the fact that Mrs Southwell [the owner] wanted to go down & clean it seems to indicate it was recently vacated. Surely she, or her sister [Mrs Lucy Callcott], wd nt leave it dirty, for hygienic as well as commercial reasons. Yet L had every intention of taking it immediately, again implying he hd information about it that wd allow him to do this. Given L's lack of knowledge [of Thirroul], & the timing, then he must have been told.

17/9/79 ditto: For the past few weeks Sandra & I have been looking closely at *DT* [Sydney *Daily Telegraph*] & *SMH* files [at Collindale]: she for 1920-21, I for 1922. First, S came across a report of a riot in Moore Park [Sydney] on Sunday May 30, 1920, during which bands of ex-soldiers attacked a Labor speakers' platform, counted out speakers, & made a general melee. A flag was also involved. More significantly, Major Scott was there, as was Rosenthal, & both spoke, Scott very meaningfully (see cutting photocopy). Probably this assault on Catholic-Labor speakers was some sort of "operation", probably organised by Scott. But the more exciting find was an item in the *DT* social notes about a function organised by the ladies of the [Anglican] Home Mission Society. These ladies included Mrs Arthur Scrivener, Mrs Arthur Friend and Mrs Arthur Scott!!! Now, what a concatenation of Mrs Arthurs! I presume Mrs Friend is related to the Thirroul Friends & that Mrs Arthur Scott is Jack Scott's mother. (Also S notes that in 1919 Mrs Arthur Scott was present at the founding of the British Empire Union.)

[wrong – Scott’s mother was Mrs Donald Hyde Scott]

14/10/79 ditto: Huxley [*Aldous, not TF*] in his 1932 *Letters* Introduction makes the interesting point that L “was in a real sense possessed by his creative genius”. H explains that this possession meant that L was dictated to in what he wrote by a force outside him. H paints a picture of L as the victim, or instrument, of an outside or extra-conscious force. This might explain how L came to write *K*, hardly knowing where it would lead, hardly what would go into it. Must check this with other scholars.

[This is a quite profound observation on Huxley’s part, and confirmed by a reading of L’s “philosophical works”, especially Fantasia of the Unconscious. I now believe it is the key, not only to how K was written, but to L’s creative processes generally – see my article “Something Stirred” in Rananim 6/2, also various entries below, starting in Perth in July 1994.]

5/11/79 ditto: Of course, F never met Rosenthal. Those conversations between Harriett & Cooley in the novel are probably between F & Scott (cf Cooley’s “haughty lady” reference – probably Scott’s wife Marguerite).

17/3/80 Sydney: *[In March 1980, now working again for the Bulletin from London, I made a trip out to Sydney, during which I apparently tried to contact the Friends, for my (non-DHL) diary has an entry: “Rang Friends. To Collaroy. No luck”.*]*

[As I realised later – see note 23/1/94 – this was in fact the visit made to Walter Friend mentioned above. So I did note the interview in my diary, however it was the “wrong” diary. (also see 32/1/94 for an explanation for this)]

19/10/80 ditto: Nearly a year since my last entry, on this, substantive side of the page. *[I was tending to keep the right-hand side of the diary for the more important entries.]* Yet, although I have made no dramatic discoveries, the pace of progress has been brisk. In having to write a book, *D.H. Lawrence in Australia* [commissioned by Macmillan Australia in June 1980 to coincide with the coming out of copyright – on 31/12/80 - of Lawrence’s works] I have been forced to bring together all my facts & discoveries & stretch them over the topic. For the most part they cover pretty well, & the process has added greatly to my knowledge & understanding, especially of the chronology of what L did in Australia, & also of the techniques [he used] to make characters & events do double duty. I can now say, with some confidence, that I know roughly what he did in NSW & how he came to write *K*. Not insubstantial claims (& how far we have come!).

[I was also talking to various people, around this time, about co-operating on a film of Kangaroo, a project that eventually I was frozen out of.]

21/12/80 KPR: Interesting that the Melbourne ex-Digger who wrote to me in 1976 [*after my first article was published, telling me of Digger unrest in 1918-19-20*] referred to “a much-hated ex-military jack”.

29/7/81 ditto: In a letter to Catherine Carswell (22/6/22) L, remarking on her book *Camomile*, sd: “Myself, I like that diary-letter form.” – a form, diary-wise at least, which was very much in his mind at this time!

5/8/81 ditto: Fairly condemnatory first review of *DHL in A* from, of all people, Tom Fitzgerald in last Sat’s *SMH*. Does not augur well.

[I was about to depart for Australia for the official launch of the book.]

6/8/81 ditto: Re numbers in *K*. In ch 10, "Diggers", L says squads number "1400". What is the significance of this figure? 28x50? 70x20? In June 1922, according to the *K&E*, the KEA had 34 branches. But we are talking about the Maggie squads here. Perhaps L is mixing up the Diggers & the Maggies (ie, branches & squads). Also, note the figure 20 that Callcott cites in the "Cooee" chapter. In *K&E* p 4 28/8/22 it is mentioned that 20 people may form a KEA branch. Same issue has ad for WS Friend & Co, architects & builders. (Owen Friend director of CBC, Scott's father's bank, and the KEA's bankers.)

15/8/81 TG915 to Bangkok: It is worth noting, partly for the exotic dateline, partly to refute T Fitz's casting scorn on my placing Scott and L together in Mosman, that it could only be Murdoch Street, Mosman, for the view (Harbour, Lighthouse, etc) fits nowhere else in Syd.

21/8/81 Burran Avenue (Mosman, Paul Delprat's studio): L movements were: on arrival, booked into hotel [guest house] in Macquarie St, visited Botanic Gardens, Cooks in Martin Place, wandered the streets, next day went to Manly & Narrabeen [Collaroy] where they learned that there was a cottage in Thirroul. On the Monday they checked out & caught a cab to Central Railway [station]. They went on the 1-2pm train to T with Scott (at least) & probably a woman who may have been a Scrivener or a Friend. The woman – Victoria – was the main contact there, going for the key to Mrs Callcott, organising deliveries, etc. She probably went on a visit next day to relatives (at the Friends' place near T?). Next day they cleaned & cooked – this is the meal (roast pork, etc) described in ch 2. They walked along beach, saw the plane that had come down. It seems possible that on this day – Tuesday, May 31 – that Scott took L down the beach & gave him a hint, or even the full story, of the Diggers secret army. In any case, it is probable that on this day L obtained from Scott the germs of *K*. Next morning Scott probably had to return to Sydney. Next day L himself returned to Sydney to pick up their trunks. The decision to write *K* must have been taken on Thurs or Fri.

10/9/81 Burran Avenue: Found another helper. He (John Ruffels) knows someone – whom he won't say – who knew Scott. [That person] describes [Scott] as "a bit of a womaniser" and also confirms his pent-up energy. Also No 1 helper [Andrew Moore] says [his contact in Newcastle] Cohen confirms Callcott rings true of Scott, whom he knew. *[I suspect both helpers had the same contact – Cohen]* And speaking of Cohens, according to Andrew, Eustace Cohen in WA was in military intelligence in WW1.

[John Ruffels, whom I first met on this trip, after being put in contact via the Mitchell Library, and then having coffee with him at Bondi, proved to be a very remarkable researcher, and has been of considerable help in my quest. A postman by profession, he has the ability to track down leads and tips that few others would have the patience or ability to do. His help to me was selfless, and he assisted others equally selflessly, including Joe Davis.]

11/9/81 TG982 Syd-Bangkok: Yesty, while examining the 1923 State roll [at the NSW State Library] for Mosman West, I made a disturbing discovery. According to the roll, living at "Canberra" in Murdoch Street was Bert Frank Toy, journalist. Surely this is none other than Mr Toy of *The Bulletin*, to whom L had a letter of introduction from someone in WA [almost certainly Mrs Jenkins], a letter which F said he did not present. And surely "Canberra" is the Canberra Flats at 51 Murdoch Street – the address L uses in *K*. What does this mean?

[It meant a lot, but not as much as I expected, the crucial point being the date of the electoral roll, or rather when it was compiled – see 6/8/93 below.]

2/1/82 Westbourne Park Road (our new home in London): In the “Jack Slaps Back” chapter, Somers says: “Another gulf opened in front of him.” What was the previous gulf? The final “showdown” that night in Cooley’s chambers?

6/1/82 WPR: Andrew [Moore] sends me a [1922] report to the U.S. State Dept from the U.S. Consul-General in Sydney [c. July 1922] saying that an organisation of leading Australians was making preparations to combat disloyalty, etc. The C-C, Norton, was present at the inaugural meeting of the KEA at the Town Hall, no doubt at the invitation of Australia’s former Trade Commissioner to the U.S., Sir Henry Braddon, who presided over that KEA meeting.

16/1/82 ditto: Ruffels has also come good (see his letter 2/11/81). He has discovered that RF Scrivener, whose father worked for the CBC bank, went to Sydney Grammar, aged 10, in Jan 1901 – the same month that Scott, aged 12, also started there (and whose father also was with the CBC).

20/1/82 ditto: The plot thickens. Ruffels has sent me a copy of Syd Gmr junior exam in 1903 in which “Scott i” (Scott was 15 in 1903) is listed with a Kaepfel. Now, Peter Oatley’s mother (nee Kaepfel) had a bother, who would also been a Kaepfel. So it seems that Scott may have gone to school with the brother of his second wife. That gives Scott another good reason to have been at Hinemoa that first Sunday. I will check further with Peter Oatley.

21/1/82 ditto: Some important developments on the Scrivener front. R[uffels] says CR Scrivener surveyed Canberra. In *K* Victoria says her father was a surveyor. “Then he gave it up and started this farm down south.” In 1922 *Sands* CR Scrivener is listed as a saw-miller at Mt Irvine [in the Blue Mountains, west of Sydney]. I will follow this up, for it is beginning to look as if Scott was attached in some way to a female Scrivener.

[alas, further down the wrong track]

10/4/82 ditto: *[A long entry where I speculated on L’s intentions in Australia – ie, whether writing K was the product of a deliberate decision to stay and write a novel, or whether it was largely the result of accident, being obliged to stay until money arrived, and having little else to do.]* ...of course, he cd have bn converted [to stay & write] by the realisation that he hd come across in Scott the germs of a novel (tho you wd have thought that if that were so he wd have tried to stay closer to him in Sydney). But then there was the cost...*[of Sydney accommodation]*

20/12/82 QF002 London-Sydney (on one of our annual trips back to Sydney): Just before leaving, Leo Chapman *[a journalist colleague]*, who had read my book & also a bio of [General Sir John] Monash, sd I was wrong about Rosenthal being Jewish! And sure enough, on re-reading Perry’s monograph *[he wrote a short biography of Rosenthal]* on R it turns out he was a Methodist, and an active one (his parents were Danish & Swedish, I think). Something of a blunder. And yet, it may be even better that he was not Jewish. For L does not say *[initially at least]* that he was Jewish: merely that he looks Jewish (long, pendulous face, thick lips) & remarks “...surely he had Jewish blood in him...the man surely had Jewish blood...”. Now, L wd nt have gone on like this unless he knew or hd bn told that R was not Jewish. ...having R-Cooley look Jewish & not be Jewish wd fit better than my clumsy mistake mistaking him for a Jew...

1/2/85 WPR: Three years *[just over two, actually]* since my last entry! However, there has been a trickle of information, mainly in Ruffels’ letters (see separately). But here it is worth recording what I learned on my [recent] trip to Cambridge to see Jack Lindsay [literary son of Norman Lindsay] (who was last in Australia in 1926!). He had mentioned in his autobiographical *The Roaring Twenties* that he had

just missed [meeting] L in 1922 in Dymocks [bookshop in Sydney]. I wanted to test his memory further. He reiterated that he went to Dymocks one day in 1922 & saw his friend Frank Johnson, who was some sort of under-manager, who told him (words to the effect): “Guess who was just in here...D.H. Lawrence...”. Lindsay, now 85 but mentally OK, knew, read & admired L’s works, so the incident was significant for him. He sd that he recalled that later, after *K* was published in Aust, literary circles in Sydney wondered how L hd got his information (they also marveled at how L “covered his tracks” & had “kept to himself”). *[there was speculation that he might have based Cooley on a Sydney left-wing lawyer – see 3/2/86 below]* One might speculate what L was up to in Dymocks. Was he simply up in Sydney on one of his regular trips & had some time on his hands & just wandered into Dymocks (in George Street, not far from Martin Place, where he picked up his mail *[wrong – he picked up his mail from Cooks in Martin Place]*) for a gentle browse? Or was he looking for books about Australia *[Dymocks had both a lending library and a second-hand section]*? I think we can dismiss any idea that he was looking for literary company. Incidentally, Lindsay remembers nothing about the 1919 Red Flag riots, though he was in Brisbane at the time.

[Although there had been nothing to note in the diary for that two-year period, the research effort had not been inactive. In particular John Ruffels had been beaver-ing away back in Sydney trying to track down Scriveners, school friends of Scott and, in particular, members of the Harbour Lights Guild, and tracing a network of social, business and political links among members of the Sydney Anglican elite, including a growing number of members of the Friend clan. Andrew Moore had also been very busy and sent many items of interest about secret army activity in NSW between the wars. These items and insights came in their regular letters to me in London.]

2/8/85 le Canal du Midi (on a junket): Trying to make the last big [research] push on *K*...New film in the offing *[the film version of Kangaroo]*, 100th anniversary *[of L’s birth]*, Wyewurk preserved *[a preservation order had at last been placed on Wyewurk, this time by my former Bulletin colleague, now NSW Minister for Planning, Bob Carr]*, academic interest burgeoning, etc. Have gone over all my notes & JR’s letters, & going through *K* once again. The major thing R has turned up is the records of the HLG *[Harbour Lights Guild, the women’s auxiliary of the (Anglican-run) Mission to Seamen in Sydney]*, including its 1922 membership! Mrs Kaepfel, AA [Andree Adelaide Oatley] mother, apparently a member, along with a Miss Kaepfel, both of the North Sydney branch. So Scott cd have gone to a Harbour Lights concert, perhaps in North Syd. There is little doubt from the names *[Ruffels supplied]* that Scott was part of a close network of Anglican-type people that dominated Sydney society...Scriveners, Knoxes, Friends, Streets, etc. Any access by L via someone he met (a Scrivener, for example) would inject him into this milieu & so into the orbit of Scott. So we do not have to prove anything dramatic here. And L’s decision to go to Thirroul cd have been sparked by meeting any one of a list of such people – Scriveners, Friends, etc. The secret army side is virtually settled now: the correlation between L’s descriptions of the Diggers-Maggies in *K* with the KEA-fronted real secret army is as convincing as we could want (tho utter confirmation wd be nice). The only two big remaining mysteries are: who is Victoria? Who is Trehwella?, & how do the others (Scott & Rosenthal) fit in? That, & the final unravelling of the tangled skein of plots & sub-plots of *K*.

6/8/85 WPR: R[uffels] has come up with a small point or two worth noting. He shows (see his letter July ’85) that the only person on the *Malwa* that fits [Frieda’s] description of “a young Army Captain” who recalled the rain on the roofs is Captain Scrivener, the others being eliminated by age or nationality. He has also turned up the Meston Volcanic Evidence reference in the *DT* of May 11, 1922. This shows that L was reading [old] newspapers at least back to that date, possibly at Wyewurk *[which maintained a stock of old newspapers for fire-making purposes]*. Incidentally, Bob Carr has put a preservation order on Wyewurk following my representations to him last March. Also: re the lack of an

Irish-Catholic element in *K* (raised by R in his letter 7/85), this cd be a case of the dog in the night [*which did not bark*], & makes it more likely that Struthers is Garden (who was protestant and Scottish), as most NSW Labor figures in the 1920s were Irish-Catholic, Garden being the conspicuous exception.

3/12/85 ditto: Today I met (at last, in person) Ernest Whiting. He had written to me following my first L article (May 1976) intimating he had information that indicated L had met [while in Australia] someone connected with secret armies, etc. Today, visiting London and looking me up, he cd only recall, initially, that he wrote to me saying that he believed that L had learned of the secret army from someone he met on a boat. I tried to question him more closely [*and I'm pretty good at that*]. He revealed that his family background was certainly of the officer-professional-protestant-conservative milieu from which Australia's secret armies sprang. He recalled Ned Herring [*a WW1 officer and later judge*] and Fred Knight [*unknown*] touring the road from Frankston [an affluent Melbourne suburb] where people like the local chemist had their units ready for inspection (in the 1930s). His mother came from Sydney and was related to Banjo Patterson [a major Australian poet] (Lumsdane?). [*Patterson covered the Boer War for a Sydney newspaper*] In 1919 she married his [Whiting's] father, a WW1 Officer, and they moved to Melbourne. They lived off Toorak Road [*Melbourne's poshest area*]. She was a salonaire [*ran a salon*] and literary/musical. In about 1938 he recalled that he was present [*at one of her salon occasions*] when Lawrence and *Kangaroo* were discussed. The q was raised: how cd L had known? Someone present – and EW thinks it cd have been a chap called McEwan who was head of Burns Philp [*then one of Australia's biggest companies*] – sd: “Look at who L traveled to Sydney with.” Of course, it wd be dangerous to place too much importance on this, as retrospective input is always a possibility. The most, probably, that can be sd is that it probably shows in the 30s some realisation that L hd touched on some reflection of secret army reality.

25/1/86 ditto: [*having returned from our annual trip to Sydney*] Carlton Hotel [*where L apparently stayed a night, probably before experiencing “The Nightmare”*] was 12 shillings a night. Also: L bought “a double suitcase” in Rome (a trunk?). Going through the material R gave me in Sydney...the Esch letters are of some interest. Esch got negs [*of snaps of L&F at Wyewurk*] from Forrester (who wrote to him, out of the blue, after his *SMH* article was published) and sent them to Nehls, who had them printed then returned them. Nehls was very impressed with [Esch's] Forrester interview [for Nehls's *Composite Biography*] and sd: “...it helps disprove the established theory that L met, knew and saw no one...while living at Wyewurk” [!] and mentioning that “it is almost certain that F and Marchbanks must be prototypes for some of the men in *K*”. [*well, you would draw that conclusion, wouldn't you*] Also: from R's cuts [*a journalistic term for Press clippings*] on the May 1921 flag-burning incident in the Domain (and other info) there can now be little doubt where L got his vivid description of the Row in Town. Apart from [his version] being set inside, it cd well be a description of any number of [similar] events from the 1919 Moore Park fracas to the assaults on the Australia First meetings in the 1940s (see Hasluck photocopy) [*describing a meeting of the proto-fascist Australia First movement in Sydney being disrupted and Inky Stephensen being assaulted*]. The only mystery [now] is did L see something himself, or did he read about it or was told about it? (The July 4 meeting [*of Labor and union officials at the Sydney Trades Hall*] wasn't bloody enough to be the sole basis).

[*It was now, around this date, that the anniversary occurred which marked a decade since this research diary started (with that Australia Day party at Evan Williams' on 26/1/76 – see note thereof above). That decade had seen a lot of progress, and many discoveries and insights, but also some degree of stalling or stagnation, particularly since 1979. We knew that Lawrence had portrayed a real secret army in Kangaroo, and based it on meetings with Scott and Rosenthal (though outsiders might not go along with this). We knew roughly what Kangaroo was about. But how all this happened - who met whom where and when – remained an unknown. We lacked proof. In the offing were Bruce Steele's CUP edition of Kangaroo, and the*

“authorised”, or rather intended-to-be “definitive”, biographies of Lawrence’s life and career, also under the imprimatur of the CUP. As a new year of research yawned open in front of me, I had little inkling of what lay ahead. To imagine that, for example, I would still be doing research into the next century – 14 years hence - and making significant discoveries, was totally beyond my ken, as were the fight for Wyewurk, the founding of the DHL Society of Australia, the various Lawrence conferences, the problem of the endings, Rananim, the period in Perth and WA, and taking up residence at Collaroy. It would have been a salutary, not to say daunting, prospect to be aware that I was yet to reach the half-way stage in my research.]

29/1/86 WPR: It seems that the Friend connection shld be chased up. Joe Davis ([in his] 1978 [letter]) says Mrs Smith sd Wyewurrie [next to Wyewurk] was owned by WS Friend. What wd make sense is that it was a Friend who, possibly that day at Hinemoa - Jaz? – told L that Wyewurk was empty. Only this degree of info wd surely have allowed L to go to Thirroul on Monday. Will chase up.

[a prophetic insight, as it turned out]

30/1/86 ditto: [Keith] Sagar [*prominent British-based Lawrence scholar*], in a letter to me, makes the point that Torestin [*where, in Kangaroo, Somers goes after arriving in Sydney*] was probably L paraphrasing Wyewurk (and Wyewurrie). Possible. More likely he [Lawrence] saw it [the name] in Australia.

3/2/86 ditto: I suppose it shld be noted that N. Robinovitz, who was Jack Lindsay’s tip for Cooley, wrote in *Forum* [*a Sydney literary journal*] (see R’s enclosure) in June 1922 an article about democracy. He also reviewed *AR* [*Aaron’s Rod*].

4/2/86 ditto: The list of mourners at DAH Scott’s funeral [Scott’s father] is of interest [*list supplied by JR*]. His bro-in-laws included the [NSW] Chief Justice, Boissier, and [the American Consul] JA Norton. CBC heavily represented, also United Insurance (AG Friend a director?) and the Wallace Tug Company. [*there is something wrong here, for his brother-in-law should have been a Street, who was indeed a NSW Chief Justice*]

10/2/86 ditto: In, again, going back over everything, I have come to the belief - perhaps it is just a feeling – that the Scrivener original-contact scenario, on which a lot of my assumptions have been based, does not adequately explain how L so quickly stumbled into that Scott-Kaoppel-Friend milieu immediately after his arrival in Sydney. That HLG concert reference is simply not enough. What we really need is an [earlier] contact with someone like one of the Friends. For, after all, L within 48 hours or so of his arrival went to two places where the Friends had homes – Narrabeen & Thirroul. [*I had previously discovered that Walter Friend, whom I had interviewed in 1979, had moved to Beach Road, Collaroy, from a house in Pittwater Road, between Narrabeen & Collaroy, where he had lived since the early 1920s*] It would be much more likely that it was through a Friend that L met Scott. Also I am haunted by what Ernest Whiting told me, that if one seeks the answer to how L found out [*about the secret army*], look in the passenger list of the ships in which L came to Australia. Again, the Scriveners don’t fully satisfy this. So I looked back over the three lists, having come to a provisional theory that L may have met someone on the *Osterley* [*between Naples & Ceylon*], as he did Mrs Jenkins, & this was the person who told him about Sydney (for he booked through to Sydney in Colombo), & that this was his contact [in Sydney]. If I could find a name I recognised, then this would explain a lot. So I looked, and, sure enough, as I had predicted, there was a name I recognised. Moreover it was a Friend! – Mrs MK Friend. But there is now a problem. She joined the *Osterley* at Colombo [*while Lawrence disembarked*

there]. However, there must be, I think, some explanation for this, & some scenario that will put us into the final stretch. It may involve Mrs Ennis [*wife of Mr Justice Ennis, with whom the Lawrences stayed the night before they left Ceylon*], whom L asked Secker to send a [copy of] *W in L* [*Women in Love*] to. I hope to have some answers from JR and my own research at Collindale [*where I was still ploughing through the Sydney newspapers of the time*]. It looks too good not to have some truth in it.

9/4/86 ditto: R[uffels] has come up with some points of interest. From a chap at Duntroon who is editing [the] CUP edition of *The B[oy] in the B[ush]* [*the chap proved to be Paul Eggert*] he has learned that it was Mollie Skinner's brother Jack who coughed up the bullet [*mentioned in Kangaroo, where Jack Callcott did the coughing up*]. This implies strongly that L may have based some aspects of his early characterisations on WA models. Eustace Cohen, for example, could have bn Jazish – and his young wife Maudie a bit of Victoria [*that was a good guess! – see below re Sandra's discoveries in Perth in 1994*]. So some research has to be done there. Also R has discovered the provenance of that reference to L's essay on Democracy (see R's letter of 31/3/86). Apparently it was published in a newspaper in the Hague (1919) and it may have been run by a nest of spies, or at least pacifists. Thus [William] Siebenhaar [*the Dutch-born poet and public servant who befriended Lawrence in Perth*] in particular could have read it, & so he might have provided some of Cooley. Or Willie ("William") Struthers. The other point is more subtle. Apparently L&F stayed in a hotel their first night in Perth. This is what L did in Sydney, too, & raises the possibility that L followed in Sydney the same [known] pattern he did in Perth. This in turn implies that there was some Mrs Jenkins figure in Sydney, someone who teed up a hotel for him & also helped him look for more permanent accommodation, someone he met on the *Osterley* or the *Orsova* [*between Colombo & Perth*]. Investigation proceeds apace. (But Whiting looks more & more right.)

[A few months later Sandra and I went over to New York to take over the North American office of Australian Consolidated Press, Kerry Packer's publishing group (we had already been running the London office since 1983). We remained there until May 1987, when we returned briefly to London before returning more or less permanently to Sydney, where we had acquired a flat at Bondi. My permanent journalistic career also ended with this move, as there had been a change of editorial direction at ACP. From now on we would concentrate on our own, first publishing, then Internet, business.]

14/5/87 PA100 US-UK: A year since my last entry, & this [one] on the last page of this notebook. I should use it well. Going home to Sydney soon, hopefully to the final denouement (in the wake of the [*Kangaroo*] film and the various flattering mentions of my work). [*that was about to change*] It now seems that (see my last l[etter] [to] Ruffels) that we have a possible final explanation, ie, that L met someone, either on the *Osterley* or in Ceylon, who was his initial contact with the Friends. Ruffels is getting a genealogy of the Friends and that should be the start of the last push. My article on "The Man Who was Kangaroo" [*on Rosenthal*] was rejected by both the *Bulletin* and the *SMH*, but it might be printed elsewhere [*it was, in Quadrant*]. Then I'll do a Friend article and hopefully [a] book. One extra tidbit: according to AM [Andrew Moore] (via JR) he has found a lady [Mrs Jeffery], a radical, whose father was a doctor in Killara [*an affluent suburb on Sydney's leafy North Shore*] whose habit was to play cards with Scott. And they used to tease him about him being portrayed in a book. I wonder which one...

[One remarkable aspect of this research project was that, time & time again, casual or unexpected contacts & acquaintances had information, or could otherwise help, which advanced the cause, and without whose help the project might have stalled or stopped entirely. The fact that we played tennis in Turramurra with a school friend of Sandra's who just happened to be

related to Jack Scott is but one example of this quite curious phenomenon. Another example, germane here, is that working in our Sydney office in 1987 was Fiona Friend, not only one of the powerful & extensive Friend clan, on whom my research was increasingly focusing, but who provided me [via John Ruffels] with a complete family tree of the Friends, and whose supplementary information helped greatly in what was to follow.]

SECOND NOTEBOOK

18/5/87 WPR: Back from NY last Friday, & back also to DHL. Am starting this new book in the hope that it will be the final stretch. My intention is to concentrate research on the likely leads – Ceylon, Friends, etc – so there will, necessarily, be a lot of extraneous material and false leads [*which I have edited herewith for relevance*]. First, Ceylon. ...He [Lawrence] fancies [he says to Mrs Jenkins] the apply-growing regions south of Perth. But by then – March 28 – he is already thinking of going on to Sydney. Now, he must have made inquiries about this. (He is still in Kandy.) So the probability is that he's already met someone, either before he arrived (on the *Osterley*) or since he arrived. By April 3 he is already thinking of going in three weeks (exactly when he did leave). So he has probably picked out the ship already. ...The impression he gives is that he has the possibility of [going to] Sydney in mind, but [it's] not definite. (*That, too, was a good guess*)

2/6/87 ditto: In l[etter] 2481 (3/4/22) [CUP edition] L says to M[ountsier, his US agent] [words to the effect] "I may be in Perth or Sydney (when I cable you for money). If Perth, write to Mrs Jenkins. If Syd[ney], to c/- T. Cook." So his mind is not made up whether he will be in Perth or Sydney. But Sydney was a possibility. Perhaps he was writing for confirmation of arrangements there?

[We came back to Sydney in August 1987. The next diary entry is undated, but presumably (from its ink and position in the notebook) around June or July 1987 (ie, just before we returned to Sydney). It merely records the fact that on 16/4/22 Mountsier cabled Lawrence \$US1000 to Ceylon and that when Lawrence got to Perth, he had about 150 pounds remaining. (So money was beginning to get short, and he would have needed more money from Mountsier to book onward passage to America.) The next diary entry is dated 8/1/88 – almost six months later - and refers to a note in a file I had recently started. (By then I had many files on people like Scott and Rosenthal and on other matters, such as Thirroul and Wyewurk. These files, along with all my other Lawrence materials – books, manuscripts, etc – were sent separately to Sydney, and arrived a few weeks after we did.) This particular file was on a man called Gerald Hum. I think it was John Ruffels who first focussed attention on him, though I would have seen his name on the Osterley passenger list, along with Mrs Jenkins and Mrs MK Friend. What, however, brought him to the very forefront of our research was the fact that his name was also in one of Lawrence's address books, which implied that Lawrence had not only run across him, almost certainly on the Osterley, but that he may have had ongoing contact with him. The significance of this was that Hum was the only Sydney name in Lawrence's address book (a photocopy of which I had just acquired).]

8/1/88 Brougham Street (then our Sydney office): It is beginning to look as if we – myself and Ruffels – might be quite close to solving the last remaining substantial mystery of *Kangaroo*. I suppose up till now there have been two major lines of investigation, aimed at finding how L came across Scott &, more broadly, what were the circumstances of the composition of the novel. One line was the Friend connection. The second was trying to trace the set of events that brought L to Sydney & sent him down to Thirroul, presumably in Scott's company. It is, apparently, in the course of tracing this second line that, perhaps, the final, vital clues have begun to emerge. [We know that] L left Naples intending to go to Ceylon to stay with the Brewsters before going on to Taos. On the *Osterley* his mind turned to going to the U.S. via Australia. He struck up a friendship with Mrs Jenkins & received an invitation [from her] to go to Perth. He also, apparently, met D[avid] G[erald] Hum of Sydney, & noted his address [in his address book]. Probably he knew he [would eventually] go on to Sydney from Perth & needed information & a contact there. In Ceylon he decided, probably very early, to go to Perth. He wrote to Mrs Jenkins, teeing up accommodation. He almost certainly would have also written to Hum in similar terms. In any case, Hum wd apparently have replied helpfully, probably to Perth (check mails). Probably L wrote [again] from Perth giving details of his arrival on the *Malwa* (this explains L's short stay in Perth). So the likelihood is, given that L was allegedly [*alleged by Whiting*] met on the wharf [*on arrival in Sydney*], that it was Hum who was waiting to greet & help him [when he did reach] Sydney. He probably put him in a cab for the short trip up Macquarie Street to Mrs Scott's [*no kin*] guest house. But L needed cheap accommodation. The house-hunting trip to Collaroy the next day was fixed. Hum may have met them at the ferry at Manly [*he lived on the north side at Chatswood*] & taken them up to Narrabeen by tram. They had to wait to go to Hinemoa on the invitation of the Friends, who had also asked Scott along. All this is feasible and something like it hd to have occurred. But have we any proof? Hum must now be the prime suspect. Is Jaz Hum? It is starting to look like it. (Where does this leave the HLG and Mrs Scrivener?)

[The possible, even probable, identification of Hum as Jaz was reinforced by another coincidence. My closest friend, the artist Paul Delprat, who had gone down with us to Thirroul in 1975, was a member of the renowned Ashton family in Sydney. I think it was Ruffels who discovered that Paul's grandfather, the artist and journalist Howard Ashton, knew Hum. Not only that, but Hum was a relative of the Ashtons. Paul's mother could actually recall Hum and his cousin Howard Ashton sitting in their Mosman home every Sunday listening to music and discussing art and politics. The description Mrs Delprat, Paul's mother, gave of Hum fitted Lawrence's description of Jaz down to the last detail ("stuggy", etc). But the clincher, to use an Americanism, was the fact that she could remember her father Howard remarking that Hum was "a typical Cornishman". Hum is, of course, portrayed in Kangaroo as a Cornishman.]

25/1/88 Brougham Street: Yesty JR mentioned that he had spoken to Hum's son, who lives up the North Coast, who told him that his father used to go to a rented holiday cottage at Fisherman's Beach on Sydney's north-side. He described Fisherman's Beach as being just behind Long Reef [*ie, Collaroy, or, more accurately, Collaroy Basin*]. Which is where, of course, Hinemoa is. Hummmm....

[This revelation was extremely important, for it placed Hum, at least in holiday mode, in the same, small area – Collaroy Basin comprised only a few blocks between the beach and Pittwater Road – that we were pretty sure Lawrence visited on his first weekend in Sydney, and made it very likely that it was indeed Hum who took him to Hinemoa. A few months after the discovery of the importance of Collaroy Basin to the research, I sooled a bright young "office boy" called Geoffrey King on to the task of identifying, from Land Titles Office records, the 1922 owners of every house and property in the Basin. This he did, with gratifying results, placing in the area a number of names linked to Jack Scott and his family and milieu.]*

*[*I have been advised that I should explain that the word “sool” is an Australianism that some non-Australians might not know. To “sool” is to incite or order/encourage. Someone would sool a dog on to someone, which means encouraging the dog to attack that person.]*

31/1/88 Bondi: Last night spoke to Mrs Delprat (Rosalind Ashton, Howard’s daughter) re Gerald Hum, whom she remembers quite well. The main point is that she does indeed recall her father saying of Hum that he was “a typical Cornishman”. She was in no doubt about this. She also described him and there is little question that he could fit [Lawrence’s portrait] of Trehwella. His wife was “a bright little creature”. They had a daughter and two sons. She thinks that one of Julian’s sisters [*Julian Ashton, Howard’s father, founded the Julian Ashton Art School, and was one of Australia’s greatest painters*] married a Hum, possibly in Cornwall. (Julian had Cornish blood and lived in Cornwall for a time.) Gerald Hum was probably the son of that marriage. Hum’s daughter went to Abbotsleigh [*Sydney’s premier Anglican girl’s school, where Sandra and Sally Rothwell also went*], so they would have moved in the same social circles as Scott, the Friends, etc. Exciting news, for we should be able to trace a line from Hum to Scott.

1/3/88 ditto: On Sunday last I had lunch at Sally and John Rothwell’s at Gordon to meet Carl Oatley, her brother or step-brother (*I’m not sure which, and I didn’t feel it right to ask*). He’s an [Air Force?] intelligence officer & ex-Duntroon [*Australia’s military college, where Paul Eggert also lectured*] lecturer, about 30. Somewhat skeptical of my thesis, but co-operative. I think he slowly came round to believe that his grandmother, Andree Adelaide [Kaeppel], might have known the great secret. He brought a photo album that had shots of AAK, possibly at Hinemoa around 1922. Has more, apparently. She was vivacious, literary, & very loyal to her first husband, Dudley Oatley, whom she chased to London & Egypt with three kids in tow. The family picture of Scott, her second husband, is of a poor soldier, rather scatty & incapable of much plotting. The gun incident [*when he threatened to shoot himself*] confirmed. Some Friend or Street connection vaguely recalled. Quite knowledgeable about Carl Kaeppel, the family wastrel [AAK’s brother]. Some hint that Scott may have been chasing AAK before she married Dudley Oatley. The surviving daughter [sister to Carl and John Oatley] lives at Moree, & Carl promised to contact her. AAK went to Japan with Scott in the 1930s. She may have bn the first female BA at Sydney University (so If Scott had Lawrence in tow, it would have impressed her).

c.1/3/88 ditto: Hum [*according to JR*] holidayed at Collaroy Basin & [no doubt] knew that cheap places at winter rates were available there, the sort of thing L was looking for. But why Hinemoa? What is the connection with Thirroul? (and the Friends?) Hum is probably Trehwella, & Lillian, Rose, & the Hum daughter is Gladys [the Trehwella’s daughter in *Kangaroo*] possibly. If so, that leaves only Victoria. Is she AAK? Or a Friend girlfriend of Scott’s? Or even Mrs Hum?

[as it turned out, she was none of these]

2/5/88 ditto: Yesty spoke to [journalist] Tom Fitzgerald [*see above*] re Scott, Old Guard, etc. He sd he once had a neighbour who revealed that he had been in the Old Guard, around 1930. The chap told him he had been recruited because he had a car [*Hum owned a car*] and was a sterling, upright fellow. Only once was he called upon to do anything, and that was to turn up one day in his car at Victoria Barracks [*the military depot in Paddington, Sydney*]. There he found a good number of other chaps, also in their cars. This is of interest because it provides a possible link between Hum (car owner) and Scott (“garage proprietor”) in 1921-22.

[I believe the neighbour was Colonel Alex Sheppard, see 27/1/77 above]

4/5/88 ditto: Why [do I believe it was] Hum [who led Lawrence to Scott]? On the face of things he seems *[according to his surviving family]* an unlikely cohort of Scott & his secret army plotting. Yet he has qualifications. First, appearance (stuggy, etc). Second, he fits the Whiting ship stricture – & he was the only Sydney person L put in his address book, before or after Sydney. He cd also, in concert with Whiting's "tip" *[in EW's early letters to me]*, be the someone who "met Lawrence on the wharf and took him to stay on the North Shore for three days". (It now makes more sense that it was Hum who drove L&F back to his Chatswood home & perhaps it was Hum who took L to Mosman Bay to meet Scott.) Hum had a big Nash [car], so he wd have been a useful section [squad] head. And his non-involvement in the AIF [Australia's WW1 military force], when he was conspicuously eligible for active service, may have obliged him to be active on the home front. His wife may have been in the [Anglican-run] HLG. (Their daughter went to [Anglican-run] Abbotsleigh.) And they holidayed at Collaroy, where the Friends, & Scott, also holidayed.

24/4/89 ditto: Almost a year since my last entry. But I think I might have discovered something. (I have also this week sooled Geoffrey King on to the task of finding all he can about Hum & a possible link with Scott.) The clue is in L's Berkley [University of California at Berkley] address book. This solitary Sydney address [in Lawrence's handwriting] contains two gross errors. "Carita" instead of the correct "Casita" and "Chatsford" instead of "Chatswood". The normally meticulous L wd hardly have made these mistakes – esp where something as important as a vital contact's correct address is concerned – unless there was an excuse or explanation. I think I can deduce a reason. They are the result of L misreading [the address on] a letter. I bet Hum's handwriting was poor, & L failed to properly decypher Casita & Chatswood. The significance of this? It implies that L was in correspondence with Hum, & that the invitation, or details thereof, were conveyed *[and no doubt taken up]* by letter between L & Hum.

25/4/89 ditto: Given the above, it might be useful now to speculate what might have happened. *[Lawrence was planning to travel to Ceylon to stay with the Brewsters before going to Taos]*...on the boat [the *Osterley*, en route to Colombo] he met some Australians who, apparently, encouraged him to go [on] to the U.S. via Perth and Sydney. We know one of these Australians was Mrs Jenkins [from Perth]. The near-certainty is that the other was Hum [from Sydney]. He took both their addresses, in case he wanted to follow up their invitations. But he did nt at this stage put them into his address book. He probably just kept their cards, which in Hum's case would have had his business, nt his personal, address. In Ceylon he makes the decision to go to [the U.S. via] Australia. He writes to both Mrs Jenkins in Perth and Hum in Sydney taking up their invitations. Mrs Jenkins replies to Ceylon but Hum (and this is a guess *[it proved to be a good one]*) to Perth at Mrs Jenkin's address. When L arrived in Perth a letter from Hum was waiting, encouraging him to come to Sydney. In this letter Hum gave his home address, which L then copied (incorrectly) into his address book. (Here's a thought – in *K* somewhere Somers refers to "Cooley's difficult hand". I bet that was Hum's handwriting L was referring to. *[Rosenthal, an architect, had an almost-perfect copperplate].*)

5/5/89 ditto: Yesty I believe I cd have come up with the possible link between Scott and Hum. Hum, of course, must be Trewhella, & the man who met L at the wharf. But what was the connection [with Scott]? The novel (as always) has the answer, but it has to be unscrambled. In the book the link between Trewhella & Callcott is via a relative. L is more than a bit confused about this (see back pages [of this notebook] re this *[where I analysed the family relationships in Kangaroo]*), but it seems that Victoria [Callcott] is Trewhella's sister. Now, this does not mean that Hum's sister is married to or connected with Scott. But when we do find [the connection] I will be very mistaken if it does not involve a brother or sister link somewhere. The real problem is to discover who Victoria is based on. (AAK looks the best bet, though a Friend would fit in better.)

[I was getting warm]

8/5/89 ditto: Just as an exercise, I'll put down what I think [could have] happened. *[there will be a lot of these "provisional" reconstructions, as I develop and test various hypotheses]* L was met at the wharf by Hum. Hum had arranged temporary accommodation at Mrs Scott's [in Macquarie Street]. But the urgent need for cheaper accommodation was uppermost in L's mind. He went to Cooks to pick up his mail. Hum's family was either staying [on holiday] at Collaroy, or had an invitation to go there that weekend. L was not invited to lunch, so perhaps the Hums had an invitation they had to go elsewhere at lunchtime. So L was invited to tea, but at Hinemoa, not at the Hums' place. Maybe there was someone there that Hum wanted L to meet. It might have been as simple as: Hum: "We have to go to Collaroy for tea on Sunday. There are some holiday houses up there. My wife wants to meet you, too. So why not come to tea? Our friends are literary & would love to see you. Also you could go to Narrabeen & see places there. I'll pick you up in my car at the tram terminus at 4pm, or whatever." At Hinemoa L met Scott & Mrs Oatley. Later Hum drove L & perhaps Scott back to Neutral Bay & the ferry. (So is there any need for another person? - a Friend? Could not Mrs Oatley be Victoria?)

[The next entry mentions a number of things that had happened, or were about to happen, and will need some background or explanation. Soon after we returned to Sydney we learned that the new owner of Wyewurk, a South Coast estate agent named Michael Morath, who had acquired Wyewurk in a secret deal from the family of the late Mrs Southwell, had asked the Heritage Commission, who administered the interim Preservation Order on the historic bungalow, for permission to add a second storey and make other changes that would have all-but-destroyed Lawrence's "cottage by the sea". We formed an Emergency Save Wyewurk Committee that eventually obliged the State Government to order an inquiry into the application. We pulled every string we knew of, and made a number of submissions opposing the proposed changes (including personal submissions by Joe Davis and Bruce Steele, the recently-anointed editor of the forthcoming CUP edition of Kangaroo). But the inquiry found largely in favour of Mr Morath. However, severe conditions were put on his application, and in the event he found these too restrictive, though that was not known for some time. We, however, decided later to turn the Save Wyewurk Committee into the D.H. Lawrence Society of Australia. Also, around 1989, Sandra and I, using a family bequest, bought a small bungalow in Anzac Avenue, Collaroy, in the heart of "the Basin" and only a block or so from Hinemoa. We used this as a weekender (as it was designed for) and got to know both the area and its residents (some of whom had been there, or had had cottages there, since the early 1920s). We were now in an ideal position to thoroughly investigate the area where we believed Lawrence came to tea in 1922 and where he learned of, or made initial contact with, Jack Scott's secret army, and also of the availability of Wyewurk in Thirroul. Meanwhile, Bruce Steele, a lecturer in English at Monash University (Victoria), and a CUP editor, had delivered a lecture at Duntroon and later published in an Australian journal Meridian an article severely criticising my account of how Kangaroo came to be written ("...not a shred of evidence has been found of a secret army...all are speculations.) This counterblast turned the (hitherto largely favourable) tide, both here and overseas, against what Andrew Moore (in a riposte to Steele) came to call "The Darroch Thesis". This counterblast was given extra impetus when Joe Davis converted into a book his PhD thesis, gained under the supervision of Wollongong University Professor Ray Southall, who, despite this, became the first President of the D.H. Lawrence Society of Australia, and who wrote an introduction to Davis's book (DH Lawrence at Thirroul). Davis in his research was assisted by my collaborator John Ruffels, who was himself beginning to entertain doubts about the Darroch Thesis, doubts that others, including Bruce Steele, gratefully picked up on. Needless to say, Ruffels was too good a researcher not to later come to realise that these waverings were temporary, and he has since assisted me materially, and is a stalwart of our

DHL Society, down to this day. As the counterblast gathered strength it began to be taken up by other academics and reviewers, such as in a SMH review of Davis's book by Professor A.P. Riemer who went so far as to ask the Friend family, whom he knew, if there was any truth in assertions that their forebears were involved, or could have been involved, with Lawrence or secret armies, an allegation that they categorically denied (and thus lied through their teeth).]

2/1/90 ditto: A new decade, and still going. Wyewurk lost, Steele contemptuous, J. Davis abusive, Southall ditto, Professor Riemer ditto, ditto, ditto. The dogs of doubt are baying at my heels. Such is the life of one who holds heretical ideas. Anyway, it is certainly time for a new entry, & justified I think. A lot of small stuff not worth recording (the Vernon papers [*see below*], research at Collaroy [*where we now had our holiday cottage*], etc), but it was Sandra who came up with, or rather crystallised, something significant re Hum. Why did L not correct the two mistakes he made in Hum's address? Of course, he cd have dealt with Hum in Sydney via his office address in Carrington Street [city], but there is another possibility. Maybe Hum was not living at his "Chatsford" address when L arrived. Perhaps he was on holiday at Collaroy! (That wd be a far better reason why L&F went up there that first Sunday.) By the way, I have had some disturbing news from Hum's relatives overseas [*they had sent me their "family tree"*]. He was not a Cornishman! Yet Rosalind [nee Ashton] was adamant that her father Howard called him "a typical Cornishman". Why? Was this some sort of twisted joke on Howard's part, & a reference, rather, to Hum's portrayal in *Kangaroo*? Worrying.

27/1/90 ditto: It is difficult, 15 years after this odyssey started, to write what follows. But I am beginning to think there is something serious & fundamentally wrong with my hypothesis about L and Australia. I don't want, on the other hand, to overstate the matter. So I had best put it down as it seems to me now. I suppose some of this comes from the doubts raised in Joe Davis's book. Not that his criticisms or speculations are valid: they are not. But it led me to go over and reassess everything again, & this in turn began to raise doubts, & also some new ideas. For there are still too many gaps & uncertainties. The Hum business [*him not being a Cornishman*] brought these closer. Victoria is still a mystery, as is why L went down to Thirroul. Also how L met Scott & Rosenthal. And why they blabbed. And why L wrote *K* knowing that he wd nt only be betraying Scott & Rosenthal, but also those [*such as Hum*] who hd befriended him [in Sydney]. (And he cd be running a risk, too [*of retribution from Scott's organisation*].) Then there is Frieda's ignorance, & the subsequent silence on both [their] sides. [*And I could have added here - the lack of subsequent public or historical knowledge of such a sensational story.*] None of this [have I] satisfactorily explained. Not that the basic premise is incorrect. Far from it. I'm more convinced than ever that L met Scott & that *K* is an accurate representation of this – the whole secret army revelation is intact. But how & why it happened has not fallen to the most intensive research, not only by myself & Sandra, but by AM & Ruffels (& Joe Davis, for that matter). Therefore this reappraisal is not surprising. So where does my new and very tentative scenario/speculation come from? I suppose the first inkling came from Ruffel's recent note about Lovatt Rutledge, who was Rosenthal's partner in his architects' practice [*from the outset, L called his hero Richard Lovatt Somers*]. Then [there was] the fact that Rosenthal's wife was called Harriett (2 tt's?). This implied that it was possible that L hd met Rosenthal before he started chapter 1. Next came the realisation that the Mosman Bay [*where Callcott takes Somers down to meet and be questioned by "Trehwella"*] quizzing rings more true of Scott than anyone else [*fictionally, why would Trehwella need to interrogate Somers?*] Also what L says of Cooley (married to a haughty lady, etc) rings more true of Scott than Rosenthal. Surely the probability now is that L went to Mosman Bay to meet Scott for the first time. [*alternatively, whoever took L to Hinemoa that first Sunday was now taking him to meet Scott again, and to be questioned by Scott out of female company*] Also came the idea that there is someone missing in all this, possibly a Friend. Is Callcott mark 1 a Friend? Is Victoria also a Friend? Did they know about the cottage at Thirroul? This might go some way to explaining the

change in Callcott [*from being a simple motor mechanic to a professional man*], & perhaps much else. It's all theory [*speculation*] now, but I'm recording it preparatory to further investigation.

[but I was getting warmer]

30/1/90 ditto: Given what I wrote on the previous page, what follows is a step still further. It is beginning to seem to be that, rather than *K* being a good guide to what really happened to L in Australia, it is false in most of its major respects. In other words, don't look to *K* to find out what really happened, substantively. It is disguised – heavily. L didn't need to go back & change things, because he injected a heavy layer of camouflage as he went along. On the other hand, the novel *can* be a guide, but only by looking at the incidental detail, for L did not see a need to change this [*ie, it wasn't sensitive*]. There is still a lot of [swapping reality around], but the clues are there, if you look closely. For example, I now do not think that it was Scott who took the Lawrences down to Thirroul. I think it was someone else. But Scott did go down the following weekend. The clue to this is in "Cooee", chapter 6. For when Victoria & Jack go down, the sea is thunderously rough. But it was calm the previous Monday, when L first went down to Thirroul, & for the next few days. But a cyclone hit the coast on Friday. That also confirms my belief that someone else went down to Thirroul with L&F. It also helps explain the two incarnations of Callcott, who starts as one person, then switches to Scott. L would have thought this disguise aplenty. The outward shell of one person mixed with the reality of another. It would also explain why L was not worried about Scott's possible reaction. It wasn't until later (*cf* his letter to Mountsier asking if the Diggers might be concerned about the novel) that he began to have pangs of doubt. So now the problem is to unravel the plot still further. The truth is there still, but not quite at the level I thought it was.

[From now on, the entries in the notebook get longer. This is due to the fact that I was reserving the notebook for substantial matters, and putting more casual, or "running" ones in a separate "extra notes" notebook. I have also taken the liberty, as some entries become more discursive, to occasionally use a more appropriate word or turn of phrase, to improve the readability of what is becoming a narrative.]

Part 2: March 1990-May 2002

13/3/90 ditto: L made the decision to go to Sydney, it now seems [*I had spent some weeks analysing his letters, ship movements, etc*] immediately on his arrival in Perth. It was almost certainly the result of seeing, the day he arrived, a letter from Hum, sent to Mrs Jenkins (for Hum could not have replied to a letter sent by L from Ceylon before L left Ceylon for Perth). So it was someone on the boat! Both Whiting & the novel were correct (remember, Callcott says to Somers that Cooley heard about him from a chap on the *Naldera*, that's the boat you came on, isn't it?).

3/4/90 ditto: What did L mean by [*Somers' description of the novel as a*] "thought-adventure"? Is it an adventure only in thought? This is the interpretation many have given the novel (*eg* Sagar 1965). But perhaps L meant something else by it. Perhaps to him it was a compound expression, a combination of thought (his musings) & adventure (outside action). I think that is what it might be - a mixture of real (and imagined) events - autobiography, in fact - together with his musings & comments. So what did he mean by "a romance"? [*he told Mountsier he was going to try to write "a romance" while in NSW*] It must refer

to the thought-adventure in some way. Later he says of the term "thought-adventurer" that it is a "discoverer of himself and the outer world". He contrasts a thought-adventure with an emotion-adventure, which he describes as "a floundering of feelings". Certainly the words "romance" & "adventure" are akin. Perhaps by "romance" he meant an action novel - a novel in which things happen. A little earlier he had told his American publisher Seltzer that he had begun "a proper story novel - in the Venetian lagoons: not pretty, pretty - but no sex...". This was his last attempt at a novel before *K*, & it failed. So is *K* a "proper story novel"? I think it might have been thus intended. Then there is "this gramophone of a novel", as he describes it later in the book. Surely this is the diary element he extolled to Mollie Skinner & Mary Cannan. Maybe the diary mechanism was adopted to get round the problem he encountered with the aborted Venetian novel. He also describes the novel in his letters as "weird" & "queer". He seems to equate this "queerness" with unreality, strangeness. Yet he described *AR* [*Aarons Rod*] as "such a queer mad affair", & it is full of autobiographical material. Not much help there.

17/4/90 ditto: What touched off *The Nightmare*? Ostensibly it is caused by Cooley's rejection & threats to Somers after he tells Cooley about his contact with the Labor leader Struthers. But, as I noted elsewhere [*the separate "Extra Notes" notebook*], Scott would have been very, very angry when he learned that L was breaking the sacred bond of mateship, & might even betray the secret army secret. That reaction, I noted, wd have touched off a humdinger of a nightmare. And I added: maybe it did. Maybe that confrontation had occurred earlier, and the Cooley-Somers exchange (where Cooley says "I could have you killed" [*on the original MS*]) might have in fact been between Scott & Lawrence, then reworked later, as so much else is, in the "Jack Slaps Back" chapter.

[Yet I still think there were two confrontations, the first between Rosenthal and Lawrence in Sydney, the second between Scott and Lawrence at Wyewurk.]

30/4/90 ditto: I was shopping for lattice for the house at Collaroy on Saturday & went to the Mitre 10 store/yard at Manly. The account, however, was made out in the name of the previous proprietors - Hayman & Ellis. Yes, the same Horrie Hayman I interviewed at Hinemoa in 1979. It's a small world.

[in Sydney]

1/5/90 ditto: Daniel Schneider (*DHL: The Artist as Psychoanalyst*, 1984) has a very good point. He says the plot of *K* is flawed in that L should have Somers join the secret army, then discover its evil, & reject it. That would make dramatic sense. But he doesn't. Somers recoils before it is explained what he is recoiling from. I know why, of course, but it is nice to see someone, lacking my inside knowledge, seeing this very obvious fault in the plot (& clue, too).

22/5/90 ditto: It is strange how small points can be important. For several days now I have been thinking about L's use of names in *K* - Callcott, Woolloona, etc. Names he just plucked out of his environment (like 51 Murdoch Street). Then it slowly dawned on me what he was doing. He was writing a novel whose backbone, as it were, consisted of his & F's doings in Sydney & Thirroul (hence the diary). But that's not what he was really doing. He believed the novel should mainly be his thoughts, comments & ideas, woven round this backbone. So it's those speculative, discursive passages (so many of them, too) that are the real content of the novel, as far as L was concerned. A[ustralia] & the diary elements were just departure points. So *Kangaroo* is a sort of antipodean commonplace book (hence Bits, etc). (How the literary academics will be pleased with this - safely back to their Lawrentian musings and meanderings.)

24/5/90 ditto: Re Perth-Sydney movements similarity - in Ceylon l[etter] to Mrs J[enkins] L mentioned he fancied going to the apple-growing areas south of Perth.

[Apparently the point I was making here was that he also went south when he got to Sydney - little did I realise then that the regions south of Perth were to lead to the uncovering the true identity of Victoria Callcott, or at least part thereof - see below for Sandra's great discovery.]

18/6/90 Collaroy (we had moved our primary residence from Bondi to our Collaroy beach house, and I was reassembling my books, files and other research materials): Going over Ruffel's letters it is clear that from some time back he began to entertain doubts about this whole hypothesis. He mentions quite early on that he is not happy with the Hinemoa scenario. I just glossed over this, when I should have spelt out [to him] why this aspect seemed firm. Now, in retrospect, I can see I assumed too much with Ruffels. It was so clear to me, & his goodwill so patent, that I did not inquire into the exact underpinnings of his support. God knows, others have had their doubts, so he may be excused his. And one can see where his interest might have been lured away by other, more supportive sirens. So, to redress, I should try to lay down some more firm foundations to this part of the hypothesis, which, to be honest, is solid perhaps in my mind alone. So, why Hinemoa? Well, I still could be wrong here. One first latches on to possibilities, then probabilities, with the hope of the safe harbour of assurity on the horizon. Yet Hinemoa is a good bet. L&F *did* go to Manly that first Sunday. They *did* catch the tram to Narrabeen. They *did* walk to the beach and look at houses to let. They *did* have afternoon tea and were driven back to somewhere by car. Anyone who doubts this [and Joe Davis had developed in his book a scenario that denied this, hence this refutation] is going against probability. But where did they have tea? Somewhere nearby. Who invited them? Hum, almost certainly. And Hinemoa at Collaroy is a good bet - the description fits...sideways aspect, "at the end of the street", the connection with Scott, Hum holidaying nearby, etc. No, I *am* right.

8/8/90 Bondi (still going there at weekends): I was not going to note this in the main notebook, but now it seems it deserves an entry. Going through my file of letters I came across one I had entirely forgotten but which contains another reference to boats and L. The letter was from John Carr-Gregg to my old editor, King Watson, & was dated 1975. This is very early, & was actually before I returned to Australia to begin the research proper. I must have spoken to KW in London & told him of my intentions, & he must have written to C-G. Anyway, the reply mentions that "there is evidence that Lawrence based the character Callcott on someone he met on the boat between Ceylon & Fremantle". I spoke to C-G in Victoria & he could not remember where he got the reference, but he thought it was from a book. He is still trying to track it down, & he might, though I cannot recall reading it anywhere, & I have read almost everything on the subject. It may have come from the [letter] from Frieda to RA [Richard Aldington, an acquaintance and early biographer of Lawrence] dated 20/11/48. Frieda, obviously in reply to a query from RA, said: "...I think Cooley was a mixture of Dr Eder and Kot - No Lorenzo never went to political meetings - Jack & Victoria something like them on the boat - No the spy story did not happen. About the only paper Lawrence read was the Sydney *Bulletin*." Also, this is interesting from several points of view. First, RA was clearly trying to find out if K did have a factual basis. And F clearly denies this & specifically denies the reality of the "spy" story. So RA had some grounds for his remarks [denying any possibility of political reality in the novel] in his Introduction [to the Heinemann edition of *Kangaroo*]. But what about F's reference to "something like them were on the boat"? Is there something significant here? Who could F have meant? A couple? And which boat? It certainly warrants more consideration, which it will get.

[for more about the Aldington "spy" reference, see Rananim 3/2 and below]

3/2/91 Collaroy: I am getting a feel for the sort of place Collaroy was in 1922. At the recent Basin Xmas Party one old resident [Dick Swift] mentioned that it had been a beach resort, not only for people from the country, but also from St Ives and Wahroonga [upper-North Shore leafy middle-class enclaves]. It was a well-off area, though the houses were not pretentious. It had, however, a distinct military tone, with street names like Anzac and Birdwood [a WW1 general] & memorial stands of trees. So an invitation to tea hereabouts could involve people like Scott.

4/2/91 ditto: I have tried nt to burden this diary with comments on what others say about the "Darroch Thesis", so I did nt remark on [Ray] Southall's Introduction to Tom Thompson's new "corrected" [ie, the Seltzer text] edition of *Kangaroo* (Imprint '89), nor Joe Davis's *DHL at Thirroul* [*also put out by Thompson's Imprint imprint*]. But as I am about to break out into print myself on the subject [*I did not, my article was rejected*], it deserves to be recorded here (esp as it will probably explain the "split" with Ruffels). As I mentioned earlier, Davis's book questioned a great deal of the Darroch Thesis, indeed sought to cripple it. Mostly it was rubbish, though it was, at least, a detailed commentary on what I have said (& he picked up one or two mistakes I hd made - the "steelworks", etc). As, however, no one asked my opinion on what he said, I was left writing slightly plaintive letters to the *DHL Review*, warning them nt to take Davis's work as accurate. AM [andrew Moore] did pen a riposte (he being v. angry, his anger somewhat unfortunately vented earlier on JR [*at a lunch at our place at Bondi*], which, unfortunately [*but understandably*], caused him to take umbrage), and this was published in *Overland* [*a left-wing journal, issue 120, 1990*]. Then Davis responded, also in *Overland*, repeating his ridiculous "reconstruction" of L's time in Sydney & his absurd claim that L went to Thirroul on the Sunday, nt the Monday. This has allowed me to pen my own rebuttal of his "thesis" which I think will leave him without a feather to clothe the bareness of his arguments. Not only can I show that Davis is wrong (backed up by AM's ferroequinologist J[ohn] L[acey]'s train timetable expertise [*there was no train Lawrence could have caught to Thirroul that Sunday*]), but I can expose the faults in Davis's methodology. It will be interesting to see if this has any more running in it.

22/2/91 Bondi: I sent off [my] riposte to *Overland* this week, & a day or so later R[uffels] finally replied [*I had sent him a copy*]. His position re Davis is difficult to discern, but his concession that Davis cd be wrong seems less vehement than his insistence that I should nt deride people who put up other theories. He remarked on my "sensitivity". That is worrying, for, as I have pointed out in my reply to him, I welcome - indeed, relish - criticism. But I wrote as mollifying a reply as I cd muster. But R did drop several interesting things. It seems that Steele has actually visited 112 [*Wycombe Road, where I had placed Scott in 1922*], looking, no doubt, for evidence to confirm the Darroch Thesis [*I have bn asked to point out that this is sarcasm on my part*]. More seriously, R mentioned that 112 had a name. It was once called, apparently, Frome. This cd be important, for Frome is in Somerset [*I know this, because I interviewed Anthony Powell there when he finished his Dance to the Music of Time - he told me a true Somerset man would pronounce it "Vroom"*] and in K Victoria's family came from Somerset. Could someone at 112 be Victoria? I must do some urgent research on this.

[*alas, yet another red herring*]

25/3/91 Cumberland Street (our new office): R[uffels] also mentioned in a letter that I was wrong about the South Head lighthouse being visible from the bathroom of 112. And, of course, he is correct.

[*that was a slip of the pen, for I knew it was the Macquarie light - see 6/2/79 above*]

28/3/91 ditto: Went to the Land Titles office to look up owners of 112. Some Craigs owned the land until 1917 when they sold it [and 114] to three Miss Tinsons, who retained it until the 1950s. A Mr Summers owned a place at the rear. Interestingly, a "W.P. Friend" witnessed the 1923 transfer document. Am investigating further.

4/3/91 Bondi: Interesting day at the State Library. In 1920 State [electoral] roll WJR and JM Scott are in Lane Cove Road, Wahroonga, apparently staying with Scott's parents. 1921, ditto. 1922 JM disappears, but WJR still there. 1923 WJR at 112 Wycombe Rd and JM in Wylde Street [Potts Point]. So it seems

that WJR and JM split in 1921 or early 1922 (if the rolls reflect a year before *[as they usually do]* - however, the 1922 roll was "made up to Oct 6 1922" and the 1923 roll "ditto 26 June 1923"). So Scott cd have been at 112 in May 1923, assuming a delay in registering.

[these dates of making up the rolls was to assume some importance -see 6/8/93 below]

5/3/91 Cumberland Street: *Overland* replied: not keen to print my Davis article. Reader interest cited. TT [Tom Thompson] sent JD's [Joe Davis's] thesis [PhD] references *[apparently to show me the depth of Davis's research!]*. Steele is reviewing the CUP *The Boy in the Bush* [edited by Paul Eggert]. Well, slightly better than Eggert's mother. Now they shld get Eggert to review Steele's *K[angaroo]* & make a good job of it.

[He did!]

20/3/91 ditto: Have tracked down everyone *[I can find via the electoral rolls]* at 112. It seems that 3-4 people moved out between rolls, & 4 moved in, incl Scott. 112 clearly a guest-house, so it wd seem that, for the Ls to stay there, there would have hd to be a spare room, which is possible, given the comings & goings. R supplies the extra info that Tinson snr was a cordial manufacturer at Quirindi (this from a surviving relative). Bertha Pearshouse, a 112 resident, signed the KEA petition *[complaining about some Labor iniquity]*. R thinks WP Friend worked for AA Hemsley *[a leading Sydney law firm]*. Nothing obvious here to follow up, but am still poking around. Read Ellis piece on "The Darroch Controversy" in the *DHLR* at weekend and got v. annoyed. *[English academic and anointed CUP biographer of L's period in Australia David Ellis had done a nice hatchet job on me]* But silence is best until Steele bursts forth *[with his CUP edition of Kangaroo]*.

12/5/91 Collaroy: Rang the archivist of Burns Philp (she had a letter in the *SMH*) and asked about Whiting's Mr McEwan. Alas, no Mr Mac in any position of note in the company in the 1930s. So where does that leave this vital piece of evidence? Will check with CSR [Colonial Sugar Refining Company] (more probable anyway), then back to Deep Throat, if he's still alive.

13/5/91 ditto: Yesty to lunch at Paul's [Delprat] where his uncle Dick [Rosalind's brother] was visiting. Mentioned Hum, whom he remembered quite well (and his wife, "Lilly"). Rather vague, & no Friend or Collaroy memory. However, he said Julian's [Ashton] brother hd two sons who went to work in Ceylon. Then Wenda [Dick's wife] sd she thought Hum hd some sort of Ceylon connection. Dick confirmed Hum's "stuggy" appearance, but cd nt recall any Cornish connection.

14/5/91 ditto: *Overland* finally rejected my Davis refutation. Hd dinner with AM Sat[urday] & he sd they were going to use 3 pars of his "ferroequinology" riposte (J Lacey was wrong, there *were* trains to Thirroul that Sunday, however none that L could have caught). *Overland* suggested we transfer our spat to the *DHLR*. A British author rang. He's doing a book on L's various *[fictional]* sites, and came here to see Wyewurk. But he didn't bother to contact me till a few hours before his departure, only to pay his respects. Apparently he was under the wing of JR, & no doubt Davis as well. So I am really on the outer now. I suppose the opposition is wooing Ruffels to help destroy the DT [Darroch Thesis]. Set a thief, etc.

8/6/91 ditto: R[uffels] has written a pc mentioning that Steele is apparently writing a piece *[for Meridian]* on Rosenthal *[this was the Duntroon paper mentioned above]*. Fancy that. Wonder what he'll say.

10/6/91 Hilltop Hotel, Kandy *(I was travelling to England and had taken the opportunity to go via Sri Lanka to do some preliminary research into Lawrence's time in Ceylon):* A nice dateline. Am here in

Ceylon mainly to dig up material *[for a planned book or article on Lawrence in Ceylon]*. Drove up here yesty from the G[alle] F[ace] H[otel]. Saw the lake, the temple, etc. Heard the little machines going all the live-long night (not too [intrusive], but in 1922 the jungle was probably a lot livelier - however, the hotel did warn me to close the [verandah] door at night against the monkeys). I asked around a bit for the Lake View Estate *[where Lawrence stayed with the Brewsters in 1922]*, but no luck. Yet the hills overlooking the lake were dotted with bungalows, so a return visit might be in order *[after Sandra joined me in London we were planning to return to Sydney via Sri Lanka]*. No much colonial atmosphere - no sign of expats, all gone after 1948 independence. But hope to see Nuwara Elyia (pron: Nu-raelia) on the way back. Useful. **Later at airport:** On the way here I noticed something that caught my eye. A sign apparently advertising a guest-house called Torestin *[the name of Somers' first Sydney house in Kangaroo]*, just off the road to the airport. That's odd. There was no airport when L was here, and it isn't on the road to Kandy *[he went by train anyway]*. I know there's a house *[in England]* on the Mansfield Road called Torestin. Is this a coincidence (another one)? Is it a common name? Or a DHL fan? *[Ada, Lawrence's sister, liked the name so much she named several of her UK homes, "Torestin"]*. Or is Torestin a Ceylon source?

[yes]

11/6/91 Colombo Airport (after midnight): Having four hours (so far) to wait for my London plane, I will indulge myself in a little speculation. Last night in Kandy I woke up at 3am and, having nothing else to do, started re-reading parts of *K*. What tripped an idea was the passage in "Battle of the Tongues" [chapter] when Somers returns [to the Callcotts' place in Sydney] after his argument with Cooley to find them all waiting for him. He "found a little party". [Trehwella] was there, and Victoria had made, "by coincidence", a Welsh rarebit. Why "by coincidence"? The coincidence seems to be focused on WJ [Trehwella]. But he is Cornish, not Welsh. (So if comestible coincidence were involved, she should be making Cornish pasties.) The words might mean nothing, but, on the other hand, there cd be a more significant explanation, & this is where speculation comes in. Let's consider what sort of disguise L might have adopted if he were using real people in *K*. For them to be of any use to him, he wd have to retain some of their characteristics. So what wd he change? Gross matters, probably - marital status, job, address - but nt, apparently, physical appearance. Scott might be the guide to what L changed & what he left in. Scott & Callcott are very similar (thank God) - appearance, character traits, probably behaviour. So what does L do to make [the borrowing] less obvious? He changes his name, marital status, Army rank *[incorrect - it was Rosenthal's rank he changed]*, job - but that's about it (he cd hardly change his sex). Not much real disguise, but any more & it wd vitiate the utility of the exercise. So, let's now turn to Victoria. Her name is not that, and she may nt be married. But what else? Age, perhaps. What incidental *[ie, not important for characterisation purposes]* detail might be changed? In the novel she comes from Somerset. That cd be changed. Could she be, rather, from Wales? Cd that be the coincidence? Rank speculation, except for two things. First, there is the famous "slip of the pen" when L uses the name "Tanny" or "Fanny" in the MS, then crosses it out and replaces it with "Victoria" *[incorrect - see below]*. Second is the fact that Fanny, or Miwfanny, is a name used in the (originally Welsh?) Friend family. OK, nothing very solid, but the Friends' Fanny bears closer inspection.

[She most certainly did]

6/8/91 Collindale Library (London): Nice to be back at the [British Museum] Newspaper Library. But the microfilm hasn't the same feel as my old friends, the 1922 newspapers intacto. Here to read the Ceylon newspapers. Quite a bit of interest (see my 20 pages of [extra] notes.) However, my speculation that L&F went to Government House is incorrect. *[One cutting I had read in Colombo said that a Mrs & Mrs E.H. Lawrence had attended a levee or dinner at Government House]* There was an E.H. Lawrence,

[but] he was apparently a local bank manager. One point, however. I came across a "Andree" in the papers. Cd this be significant?

[no]

1/11/91 Colombo: Here on the DHL in Ceylon trail. But I shld update a few small points. I may have been wrong about the Welsh rarebit business. The dish had been referred to before in *K*, where there is a jocular exchange between Somers & Trewhella: "Ha-ha! Oh yes, I like a bit of toasted cheese myself - or a Welsh rabbit, as well as any man." This may have been the coincidence. But it still may be significant.

2/11/91 Kandy: Driving up here this morning I had the idea that one reason why L did nt write his intended Ceylon novel was the fear of having to rely for its real-life models on his kind hosts, the Brewsters. But the idea, or technique, wd have only bn shelved, to be reactivated when he did find some casual acquaintances, in Australia.

3/11/91 Kandy: It's been one of those magical, miraculous days when everything goes right, and you uncover something important. A day when the journalist's skills come into play, for it was a nice bit of investigative reporting. It's worth recording in full. We returned to Kandy to try to find Ardnaree [*the Brewsters' bungalow where L&F stayed*]. Our first stop was the local tourist bureau, by the lake, but it was closed, it being Saturday. However, the arts and craft center next door was open, and there I found a helpful lady to whom I told my tale of Lawrence & the Lake View Estate. She herself cd nt help, but she suggested we go to a hotel up in the hills above the lake, The Chalet, where I might find a Mr de Silva, who was a former Sri Lankan ambassador, who might know something. So we drove up [*we had been provided with a car and driver by the Sri Lankan Tourist Board*] & found the place, a large black-and-white stucco two-storey ediface, about 1930, with the appearance of a sanitarium. There I encountered a lady, probably in her 60s, who may have been around long enough to remember pre-independence Ceylon. She was most attentive to my tale of research. But she had been here only 10 years or so. However, her husband, the ex-ambassador, who had been in Kandy much longer, might be of some assistance. So she went upstairs to inquire. She returned a short time later - while we watched the monkeys skylarking on the lawn overlooking the lake - to say he did nt recall the Lake View Estate, nor Ardnaree, nor Lawrence. We were about to depart, and were asking a few casual questions (did she know of a Torestin, etc), while I or Sandra happened to mention that we had a Sri Lankan friend who now lived in Singapore, Michael De Cretser. It turned out she was his aunt! [*yet another fortuitous coincidence*] At this, she apparently got a second wind, and went back upstairs, where, from a window, a few minutes later, she summoned us to come up & join her. We found our way upstairs & to the door of a handsome sitting-room where her husband, an invalid, beckoned us in. He hd rung his sister, who, he now recalled, did know something about Lawrence & Kandy. Combined with what she hd told him & what he knew, he could now deduce the whereabouts of Ardnaree. It was across the lake on an opposite hill. It was in the grounds of a local college [school] & it was the residence of the principal. He gave us the names of several people who might know more, including a local doctor. Mr [Freddie] de Silva - and he turned out to be a most distinguished gentleman, a former Chancellor of the local university - called up our driver & gave him instructions how to get to the school grounds opposite. And to make doubly sure we got there, he summoned one of the servants (his term) & told him to accompany us to ensure we found the place. We drove off & across to the opposite hill & eventually found the correct entrance, just below the summit of a hill that was, apparently, the highest point around Kandy. We drove in the gate & on the left was a dusty cricket ground & on the right a much-altered bungalow. We parked at the side, and I was prepared to be disappointed, but the now-closed-in verandahs recalled L's description of the Brewsters' bungalow, so my hopes rose. No name-plate, however. As we mounted the side steps - the entrance proper - a youth of about 18 appeared. Our guide explained our quest in Singhalese (since independence the study of English has been discouraged), but the boy replied in perfect English, saying that his father, the occupier,

was asleep. However, he confirmed that the house was indeed *[or had once been]* called Ardnaree. We asked to be shown around, and he happily complied. There was little doubt, from my memory of the Brewsters' & Lawrence's descriptions, that this was indeed Ardnaree. There was a large sitting-room, rectangular, with a lovely vaulted wooden ceiling. The floors were cement & the verandahs covered in, but from the front a view over the lake was afforded. The father now appeared from his slumbers. He told us that monkeys still plagued the place. There were servants' rooms at the back, behind the kitchen, and a variety of bed and other rooms. It was a colonial architectural masterpiece, sadly neglected now, but as important (& as neglected) as Wyewurk. We got permission to send a photographer back, and made to leave, but as we reversed, the boy came out again to say, no doubt on his father's prompting, that a doctor in town knew all about the Lawrence connection, & was writing a book on the subject. It was, apparently, the same doctor Freddie de Silva had told us about. The boy gave us his name and address, and we dove back down towards town, intending to look him up. Dr Nihal Karunaratne's clinic was in Trincomalee Street, a short distance behind the Queen's Hotel, adjacent to the lake, and we were fortunate to find him in his busy surgery. He was a co-operative, articulate gentleman sitting at a desk with a photo of Clare College, Cambridge, on the wall behind him. He looked puzzled at our apparition, but invited us to be seated, ahead of a corridorful of more worthy clients. "You don't know why we are here," I opened, and he nodded agreement. Then I mentioned our quest for Lawrence, and his face lit up like a Halloween pumpkin. "You have come to the right place," he said, with a slight Singhalese accent. He went on to explain that he was writing a history of Kandy, and one chapter was to be devoted to Lawrence's time in Kandy & the Pera Hera he had observed here & which he celebrated in his poem, "Elephant". He offered a lot of useful detail before I could stop him & explain why we were here, what we had done, and what we needed to know. He was entranced that someone else shared his enthusiasm & interest. "A lady from the DH Lawrence Society was here a couple of years ago looking for Ardnaree," he said, and as he uttered the words my heart dropped - like Captain Scott, I had been beaten to the Pole. But no, she was desperately unlucky. She had turned up, unannounced, from the UK, as we had, in June 1989, wanting to trace Lawrence's footsteps in Kandy. (She had sought him, the local historian, out via a mutual medical acquaintance.) He could not help her, but she did awaken his interest. About four months later he went up to Dharamaratah College [the school] to pay a professional visit to the wife of the principal. As he mounted the side steps he looked up, & there, over the entrance to the verandah, was a wooden rectangular sign bearing the word "Ardnaree". He was probably the only person in Sri Lanka who knew what that battered, weather-worn name signified. The purpose of his visit was forgotten, and he asked to see the view from a room at the front. He was shown into the principal's study & there, from the window, he could see a view that he had searched most of Kandy for - the prospect of a river flowing into the Sacred Lake identical to that described by Lawrence in his letters from Kandy. Alas, apparently the incumbents, à la Mr Morath, thought so little of their treasure that they subsequently allowed the Ardnaree sign to fall off, and it has now been lost. As recompense for our disappointment at not being able to photograph the crucial name-plate, Dr Karunaratne invited us to tea the next day at his own lovely bungalow next to the grounds of the local botanic garden, where he regaled us with stories of Old Kandy. We promised to return.

6/11/91 The Triton Beach Hotel, Ahungalla: Our visit to Nuwara Elyia [or Eliya] didn't provide us with anything substantial, though we absorbed quite a bit of local colour (we could envisage what it must have been like when Lawrence visited it in 1922). Rather Scottish, with heather and gorse around the Hill Club, itself next to the Vice-Regal lodge. April, by the way, was the hottest month in Ceylon, & the height of the social season at this hill station. (The colonials later called it "Blackberry Time" or "Black Week" because of the rising position of the more permanently tanned indigenous population *[we were told this by a local we befriended on the picturesque golf course, said to be the highest - over 8000ft - in the world]*. Little wonder we lost the Empire.) Also, it is almost certain that L picked up the name Torestin in Ceylon. Even today, there are many "Rest Inns" or "Rest Ins" in Sri Lanka, and the phrase Rest House is

almost ubiquitous. [*They are low-grade guest-houses.*] Several people we spoke to had heard the name "Torestin".

9/11/91 UL678 Colombo-Sydney: I may not yet know what *K* is about, but I think I might now know what its main theme is. I think the main theme may be that, under the apparently placid surface of Australian life, something sinister lurks. This in *K* is reflected in such incidents as the walk in the bush in WA, the silvery freedom suddenly turning at the end of the book, the spirit of the continent waiting to pounce, and so on. Then there is the volcano passage. And The Nightmare. The "another gulf" that opened in "Jack Slaps Back". There is the dream of the thief in the night. There are the unexpected reactions of Cooley & Callcott. And, ultimately, there is the figure of the Dark God, knocking at the door. But above all, there is the secret army itself, present but unknown. It may be that *K* can be interpreted (& I realise I am taking a gingerly step into the territory of the foe) on a two-fold level: the naive, almost pastoral story of S&H's daily life in A, & the dark, turbulent forces just under the thin crust beneath their feet. (Then again, it may not be about that at all.) By the way, as we left I saw another Rest Inn phenomenon: a Tourist Inn [geddit?] on the Galle Road.

[Before I left London to start this quest in 1975, I attended, as consort to my more famous literary wife, an authors' function in Chelsea where I was asked by a Lady Bracknell figure, "And what do...you...do, Mr Darroch?" I piped up brightly that I was about to return to Sydney to begin research into Lawrence's Kangaroo. "And...what...is...Kangaroo...about?" she intoned, with the emphasis on the final word. I confessed I did not know, and the group peered down their noses at me, as in the cartoon of the man who asked for a whisky in the Pump Room at Bath. Since that put-down, I had been constantly on the lookout for clues as to what Kangaroo is about.]

17/12/91 Collaroy: There is no doubt that the environs of Collaroy were stiff with officer material. Geoffrey King's research on the 1922 home-owners proved that, what with house names like Smoke-oh, etc. (I hope I'm not repeating myself here - a danger!) Also, L must have met someone at Collaroy on that first Sunday who knew Wyewurk was vacant. L wd nt have taken the late train down unless he was certain that secure accommodation was at the end of the trip. Also: Vicky must be a Friend. On another track, LD Clark (in *The Minoan Distance*) makes an interesting point, citing Rebecca West. She remarked that, on a visit to Florence, L was already committing his impressions of the place to paper, even though he had just arrived. Yet RW also remarked that it was nt Florence he was seeing, but himself. However, I don't think that is true of Australia.

12/1/92 ditto: Another year begins - the 20th since we first got the idea in Austin, Texas, at the HRC to look into L's time in A. If we had but known. And who wd have imagined that, 20 years on, there wd still be so much to do. I've spent most of December and January finishing my article for *Meridian* in reply to Steele's attack on me, or rather on the now notorious "Darroch Thesis". I wrote the first version in London earlier last year, but was not happy with it, for it went down to his level of argument - the itsy-bitsy detail. The final version, which I sent off last week, is less polemical, even disdainful. It makes a good point, I think. The nub of the matter can be reduced to three questions: 1, was there a secret army in NSW in 1922?; 2, is this the secret army L describes in *K*?; 3, how did L find out about it? The answers to the first two questions are yes, yes. The third question remains unanswered.

13/1/92 ditto: In the course of thinking about my *Meridian* article, it occurred to me that the physical descriptions of Scott, Rosenthal & Hum are connected in an interesting & indicative way. I have always been slightly concerned that L did nt make a greater attempt to disguise the first two, esp physically.

Well, I suppose there are several answers here. He did nt know when he started the exercise where it wd lead. And when he did know, he did nt, or cd nt, change things, perhaps because that was his working method (ie, he kept the physical traits, & changed other things). Also, consider Hum & Trehwella. There is, we know, little physical change here (& we know L met Hum). The same probably applies to Scott & Rosenthal. That was the way L worked, at least in this novel.

12/2/92 ditto: Paul Delprat said the other day that his mother hd mentioned my letter to her [*seeking further info about Hum*] & asked him what I wanted her to say! Dear, dear. I hope her memory of Howard calling Hum "a typical Cornishman" is nt suspect.

13/2/92 ditto: It will be 70 years this May that L came to A and Sydney. I wonder if we should do something? [*at this stage the DHL Society was but a gleam in our eye*] Starting today at the State Library on perhaps the last piece of undone research, the *Sun* newspaper files. I wonder if there is some last clue in them. (Of course, the *Sun* - which was nt available at Collindale due to microfilming - was the newspaper in Sydney that we *know* L read, for he quotes from it in *K*.) Sally & John Rothwell to lunch last weekend. She seems to know more about Fisherman's Beach - Collaroy - than she's letting on. Will send her my [Friend] MS & see if she can add anything.

14/2/92 ditto: Some friends of Chris (S[andra]'s) surgeon-sister), the Moultons, have taken a house in Surfers Pde, Thirroul, & we are bidden thence Saturday week. They are keen to do something about Wyewurk (which is just around the corner from them). Might lead to something. Did nt have much of a chance to do any newspaper research yesty, S's machine broke. But saw some *Sydney Mails* [a weekly supplement to the *SMH*] while we were waiting. Apparently Collaroy was regarded as a v. healthy place in the early 1920s - children's [convalescent] home, etc. Also, Scott must have been close to the Friends, for OE Friend was on the board of both [his father's] CBC & [his own] United Insurance (& also connected with the KEA & the Anglican church). If he [OEF] hd an eligible female relative, Scott cd have bn buzzing around. And she cd be...

1/3/92 ditto: Nothing much from our Thirroul visit, though Barry [*Conyngham, composer/academic husband of Sandra's cousin who lived at the next beach north of Thirroul*] has bn approached to do an opera based on *K*. What a little cultural icon *K* is becoming! Gave a US 1st [Seltzer] edition to Lani Moulton. Hope that fosters an interest. Nice it wd be to have some locals on my side! Also AM's student Jenny [Commons] has taken up my suggestion re the Friends [*ie, to do some research into them*]. Meeting her at the State Library on Wed. So am preparing a paper for her on "the Friend connection". Having a "oldies" do re Hum [*the Ashtonarama*] at Collaroy on the Ides. So it progresses.

4/3/92 ditto: Met today Jenny Commons, AM's MA student who is interested in doing some research into *K*. Gave her my paper, which sums up the remaining problems. It will be interesting to see if she picks up the bait and runs with it. Talking about coincidences, etc, who shld be at lunch at B[ill] and T[oni]'s [*a cheap Sydney eatery*] today, as I was briefing JC on the Friend connection, but Ray McGuinness - FF's [Fiona Friend's] husband! God, Sydney's a small world - and how much smaller it wd have bn in 1922! Also got a friendly reply from Mrs Delprat. Hum liked fish, not Welsh rarebit. Oh, well.

6/3/92 ditto: Sandra spoke to Mrs Delprat, who can't come to our Ides oldies lunch. She now remembers many Sunday "teas" involving her father & Hum at which Welsh rarebit was the main dish. (I hope *this* is a genuine memory.) But she can't recall Hum going overboard about it.

17/3/92 ditto: Lunch on Sunday with Dick & Wenda Ashton. Dick recalled Hum, but nt in much detail. Hum's big American car impressed him (he was in his teens) most. He remarked on Hum's crazy city driving (also mentioned, I think, by his son to R[uffels]). But he'd slow down once open country was

reached. Hum was a regular Sunday guest with Howard, and he often brought fish - snapper. V. conservative.

18/3/92 ditto: Letter yesty from Ruffels responding to my Friend paper. He enclosed a recent letter to the SMH from Pedder Friend, of Mosman. Of course, Pedder is a Scrivener name (the only S[crivener] name WSF [WS Friend] of Col[laroy] recalled to R was a Pedder S[crivener], bank manager, of Manly). I had speculated in my Friend paper that if only we cd find a S[crivener] lady who had married a F[riend], it wd explain a lot. The quicker we get into the Friends, the better.

[This is an interesting entry, for it means that Ruffels also interviewed Walter Friend in Beach Road Collaroy. I recall I spoke to Ruffels about this, and he said Walter Friend had been very unco-operative. "Oh, no, not this again!" I think was his reaction when Ruffels raised the secret army matter. This will have resonances as we get deeper into "the Friend connection".]

23/3/92 ditto: Paul's [Delprat] 50th birthday yesty & he hosted a party for 40-50 at [his studio in] Balmoral [Mosman], one of whom was Sonja Ashton, wife of Cedric *[Paul's uncle and his mother's elder brother]*. Sandra mentioned Hum to her, and it rang a bell. Then S explained why she was asking, and S[onja] A[shton] came up with the news (confirmed under my close questioning) that she knew a lady, since deceased, with whom she was walking one day at Collaroy Basin & who told her, as they passed one of the cottages, "That's the house where L[awrence] stayed." Further questioning revealed nothing more, except that [the woman's] brother was still alive. Naturally, I'm probing further. Could be something, could be nothing (for it cd be "retrospective" knowledge derived from something I wrote). The incident apparently took place about eight years ago *[ie, three years after my book was published]*.

30/3/92 ditto: Yesty visited Cedric Ashton (aged 81) & his wife Sonja, at Newport. Sonja expanded on the "house where L stayed" incident. She was walking up the Basin beach (from the rock pool towards the golf course) with a local resident, a Mrs Worsted. As they passed an old house facing the water *[unquestionably Hinemoa*]* she said: "That's where L stayed." Mrs W lived nearby (in Beach Road, abutting the Basin beach) & was "very literary". So it cd be something, or just the result of reading my book. Cedric remembered Hum quite well. He was short (5ft 2"), stocky, & wore a Panama hat. Dressed well & spoke with a "clipped" voice. Visited Howard regularly. They wd sit in silence together. Hum smoked a pipe. Cedric vaguely recalled he hd some link with Collaroy & some Cornish background. (He did nt realise Hum was a cousin.) Will try to remember more. One useful extra thing. Hum's wife Lillian was quite pretty & rather fluttery. So she cd be the model for Victoria (if the Friends fail). One oddity - Sonja jumped when I mentioned the name Scrivener. She, & her father, knew the Mt Irvine Scriveners well.

*[Yet another indication of how inter-connected families and acquaintanceships were - and are - in Sydney *well, perhaps - there is some doubt about that now, see 23/5/02 below]*

3/4/92 ditto: It's strange, almost eerie, how things germane still keep cropping up. Late today I was driving from Collaroy to the golf driving range at Narrabeen - Lawrence "territory" I suppose *["Tres Bon", a house which Lawrence mentions in K, was to my left]* - when, among the detritus of the Australian Surf Titles being held at Narrabeen Beach this weekend, I spotted something that stopped me in my tracks. On the side of one of the parked surfboats was painted the words: "Bulli/Lovatt Transport/Simply the Best". Of course, it's the double T that is so interesting, that & the Bulli name *[Bulli is just south of Thirroul]*. For that is the (most unusual) spelling L gives Somers [Richard Lovatt Somers] in K. Was there a Lovatt transport in or near Thirroul in 1922? Even a garage?

8/4/92 ditto: AM rang. Had spoken with Jenny C & the plan is, subject to uni approval, that she will do a Friend probe as part of her MA course. Excellent.

9/4/92 ditto: Last week S[andra] went to see an ear specialist, Barry Scrivener, a friend of her father's. Of course, she asked about a possible Scrivener connection with L and K. None came to his mind. No South Coast or Collaroy connection either. But the Friends did ring a bell. He remembered their large [hardware] warehouse in George or Clarence Street. But the big plus was his assertion that his father, Percy Pedder Scrivener - a Mt Irvine Scrivener - was "best mates" with "Steve" Friend (Brigadier S.G. Friend [Walter's - WS Friend - brother]). They had parallel WW1 Army careers (both in artillery [as was Rosenthal]) & kept in close touch after the war, exchanging frequent visits. His mother was also friendly with the Streets [Scott was a Street]. Are the Scriveners making a comeback?

[no]

28/4/92 ditto: (Reorganising my files & research scraps.) On going through my Willie Struthers file I came across the l[etter] from Frank Hardy [a left-wing author] to JR[uffels] dated 16/1/83 in which FH says he recalls speaking to Jock Garden in about 1948-48 re DHL. FH sd: "In the course of the conversation, the q[uestion] of L[awrence]'s *K[angaroo]* came up somehow and G[arden] told me L[awrence] had visited the [Sydney] Trades Hall while in Sydney asking q[uestions] about the political situation...". FH said the memory of what Garden told him was now very vague, but he seemed to recall that L was interested in the political position of the returned soldiers. This tends to confirm what Garden's biographer Arthur Hoyle told R in a letter (28/3/83) that he was "reasonably certain" that Lawrence's character Willie Struthers was based on Jock Garden. This is reinforced, of course, by the content of Struthers' speech in the "Row in Town" chapter, where he talks about being friendly with "Brother Brown & Brother Yellow", a line no ALP-affiliated unionist wd dare espouse in the White Australia of 1920-22, but which Jock Garden would say, being both a Communist (founding secretary of the Australian Communist Party) & a prominent "Wobbly" [IWW] supporter [*both of which advocated an international brotherhood of all workers*].

29/4/92 ditto: Joe Davis writes some appalling stuff. I hd to re-read his book re Mrs Wynne (see separate note) & came across this passage (p 58, my emphases and exclamations): "...I believe there is a chance that ["possible" conversations between Lawrence and Dr Crossle] might provide the basis for the discussion in *Kangaroo* about the English writer RLS being offered the chance to write for both the diggers and the socialists...it is not so difficult to believe that the offers Somers receives to write for the diggers and the socialists in the novel are based on a single offer put to Lawrence, perhaps by Crossle, in Thirroul." Apparently the basis of this outré speculation is that "...Crossle appears to have been privy to Norman's and Jack Lindsay's discussions concerning the establishment of the magazine *Vision*...It seems likely that, if he found himself talking to an internationally famous writer in his Thirroul surgery (or perhaps at Wyewurk or even playing tennis [!!!!] at Bulli), he would have made mention of these discussions and might even have suggested to Lawrence....that he should consider contributing to their literary venture." And the supposed result of this conjecture? Lawrence makes Struthers offer Somers the editorship of a Labor newspaper. And Davis accuses *me* of unwarranted speculation!

[OK, OK, I know. That's hitting a sitting duck - and I made a few wild stabs in my own 1981 book - but the image Joe conjures up of Lawrence playing tennis at Bulli deserved to be registered.]

30/4/92 ditto: No, I'll not let him off that easily. Let's revisit that tennis afternoon at Bulli. L plays a forehand into the vacant court. 15-love. "I say," says Dr Crossle, as he crosses to the backhand side, "would you care to write for a journal two friends of mine are putting together?" "No thanks," says a

rather breathless DHL. (Thinks: "Hey, that's not a bad idea for my novel. I'll have RLS being asked to write for the Diggers...and why not the socialists, too? What fun.") And if you think I've picked out an isolated flight of fancy in *D.H. Lawrence at Thirroul*, consider this Icarus-like gem: "Did an Italian, or someone with recent experience of Italy, on board the *Malwa* or *Orsova*, provide Lawrence with details of the political situation in Italy which made him change his mind about writing a novel just a few days after getting off in Sydney and settling in Thirroul?" Well, anything's possible. (Sandra has begun a short book [*Collaroy Basin - Sydney's Best-kept Secret*] on the history of the Basin. This cd yield some DHL material. Hope so.)

4/5/92 ditto: Had to lunch yesty Rosalind Delprat, Cedric Ashton (Howard's children) & Sonja Ashton. Not much, except Mrs Delprat was even more sure that her father called Hum "a typical Cornishman", not once, but on several occasions. Sonja cd nt add to her "Lawrence's house" story, but thought the incident took place about 1981, which wd make it even more likely that my book was the probable source. It was actually Paul who supplied something new. He recalled Howard saying that he hd "friends in security" who "leant on foreigners" (Germans, etc.) Scott?

[Incidentally, one of our Basin neighbours, the Beinssens, were German, and were interned at the outbreak of WW2. Scott, we know, went round gathering up Germans in 1939. It is quite possible - OK, I know, I know - it was he who picked up Mr Beinssen. At least he would have known the area, and its inhabitants.]

6/5/92 ditto: Well into research on the Basin, helped by our neighbour Peter Hall, who was a local estate agent (& went to Sydney High). Going through his [Richardson & Wrench] office's records for 1921-23, I came across the sale of lot 2 No 3 section 12 of the Collaroy Park Estate [the original subdivision] by a Mrs Kaepfel of St Kilda Private Hospital [Birtley Place, Elizabeth Bay]. Hall recalled that when his family came to live in the Basin in the early 1920s they were only the 4th permanent residents in the street (Cliff Street), the rest - about 20 or so - being holiday houses let out by their owners when they were not using them themselves - mainly in the school holidays & at Xmas. So the whole of the Basin, to all intents, was a holiday place, with lots of places to let [*probably "at winter rates", too*].

[Also, and in case I forget to mention it elsewhere, Birtley Place Elizabeth Bay was the home of the Streets, and was where Scott grew up, so presumably he would have known the Kaepfels there - indeed, his first wife, JM, the Canadian nurse, later worked at the St Kilda Private Hospital - see below.]

15/5/92 ditto: Dick Swift, over 80 & a long-time resident (he lived in a house next to Florence Avenue), remembered Peter & John Oatley living at Hinemoa, where he himself stayed as a boy. It was split into two flats, one occupied by old Mrs Hayman, the other (no doubt the better one, overlooking the Basin beach) let out. Recalled that John Oatley had polio (but I thought that was Peter Oatley), hence the family's taking up residence in this renowned convalescent spot (safe swimming in the Basin, etc). Could not recall Hum. In 1922 the houses wd have bn few & scattered. Also, from WA, a reply to my letter to Walter Murdoch's daughter who, alas, is ga-ga (say her relatives). So no luck there.

[This is interesting. The letter referred to asked the daughter of Walter Murdoch, a writer and academic of some renown, if she had been told or learned that Lawrence had made contact with an actual secret army in Sydney though someone he had encountered on a boat. I believe it was, of all people, Bruce Steele who passed this information to me. (It is a pity I did not diarise it.) Of course, we have heard this story before, and we now think it was true, and that Hum was the contact. However, the fact that Murdoch's daughter also knew is most interesting, for she may

have got this information from her father, and he was in a position to know, for he was Brookes's nomination for the head in WA in 1919-20 of what became the Old Guard, and would almost certainly have had continuing contact with Brookes and his co-conspirators afterwards.]

19/5/92 ditto: In going over my notes, I came across the research I did into 112 Wycombe Road a year or so ago, when I ran across the name, obviously of a solicitor, "W.P. Friend". Something clicked in my mind. It concerned the address of one of the Tinsons who either part-owned or was related to the Tinson sisters who ran 112 as, apparently, a guest-house, or private hotel. The thing that clicked was the address of this Tinson, which was "Wallace Road, Burwood" [*a Sydney inner-west, and once affluent, suburb*]. I had seen this address more recently, & looked it up. It was the address of none other than Lucy May Friend, who was not only a prominent Friend (aunt of WS & SG Friend), but she actually had owned a house & extensive land in Craig Street, Thirroul. In fact she had sold "Wyuna", the house opposite Wyewurk, a few months [*maybe a little longer*] before Lawrence arrived there. This could be co-incidence, but it might point the way to why Scott, resident at 112, was familiar with Craig Street & Wyewurk (*and the Friends*).

20/5/92 ditto: (The day we paid off our mortgage on Bondi - hooray!) It is quite amazing that, after all these years, & countless re-readings of *K*, that I can come across something vital & previously missed. I was preparing a new article on the DT [Darroch Thesis] & was thinking of including a new (old) snapshot of Hinemoa, given to us by the lady at 7 Florence avenue [*Mrs Dight, I think*]. The photo was useful, for, unlike the other photos we had of Hinemoa, it showed the house as viewed from the beach, making it look very much as St Columb is described in *K*, "standing on a bluff of sand, sideways above the lagoon". But "the lagoon" had always been a problem, as I (and many others) had assumed that this referred to Narrabeen Lagoon, where S&H go to bask in the warm sand & peel their pears. But as I wrote the caption for the snap, & sought the right quote, I re-read the words L uses on the following page: "The bungalow was pleasant, a large room facing the sea...". The sea! Not the lagoon. Again, L let's the disguise slip & tells the truth. So the new Collaroy research *has* led to something.

21/5/92 ditto: To ML [Mitchell Library] to look up 1922 *Sands* for Wallace St, Burwood, the Tinsons & W.P. Friend. At first, disappointment. No WPF anywhere in Sydney. No H.A. Tinson in Wallace Street, though there was a H.A. Tilson. I looked at a later *Sands* and, sure enough, Tilson had become Tinson. Lucy May F was at 9 W[allace] St, & Tinson at 22. But the street was short, & they could have known each other. H.A. was a JP & a solid citizen, so if he was related to the 112 Tinsons, he could have moved in Friend circles. Too early to tell if this is important, but the Tinsons look promising.

[no luck, another red herring]

5/6/92 ditto: Today came across a real oddity. In one of Peter Hall's real estate books I found a list of every house in the Basin, with their names [*names were given houses before street numbering became established*] (Ours, at 5 Anzac Avenue, was "Golf View Lodge".) None of any real note, except "Wywurrie" at 14 Beach Road, or Ocean Grove. Owned by a Dr Burton. Of all the names I wanted to find [*in particular, I was looking for some of the names Somers cites in Kangaroo, such as "Stella Maris"*] this was the least-expected [*it being the name of the house next door to Wyewurk in Craig Street, Thirroul*]. What is its possible relevance?

[I later found a "Stella Maris" in Pittwater Road, between Narrabeen and Collaroy.]

6/6/92 ditto: Got Ruffel's response to my new article. Rather negative, but that's what I asked him for, to see the best the "anti" case can muster. But some of his phrases hit home, eg "a necklace of improbabilities". Gee, that's a bit stiff. Could he really think that? I did a long, 16-page riposte, but

decided against sending it. He won't be convinced by anything I say. Why is he so opposed to - blind to - the Scott/Hinemoa scenario? How can he dismiss the parallels, nt to mention the summer house lookout & Mrs Jeffery?

[Mrs Jeffery was the left-wing lady, the daughter of the doctor in Killara, who told AM that her father held regular card get-togethers at which Scott was teased about his portrayal in Kangaroo - see 14/5/86 above.]

26/6/92 ditto: Something odd & interesting. Jenny Commons rang yesty & faxed an early fruit of her research (which she began this week). She looked at the will of Thomas Irons, the former owner of Wyewurk *[his architect son built the bungalow]*, who died in 1918 (in the lavatory, Ruffels informs me). Now, what is of interest is that his will reveals that he owned a half-share in a firm of Sydney motor engineers, P.J. Taylor & Co, of Clarence Street, City (north). The will gives a list of "work in progress" at 31/3/18, and this included work on two Austins for WS Friend & Co (which owed Irons 26 pounds 13 shillings & five pence). As L makes Callcott a partner in a motor-works place, this bears some investigation. Also: got a fax from "Wien" from a Johann Schmidt who hd stayed at Torestin guest house in Welisara, Sri Lanka. He hd bn handed my letter of 2/12/91 in the belief that Austria was the same place as Australia. Anyway, he now informs me that the acting manager of the guest house told him that the name Torestin was Singhalese. However, "it had no special meaning". Not much use.

23/7/92 ditto: H. Hayman's daughter to afternoon tea today. She confirmed that Hinemoa was built around 1910-13 by Horrie for his parents (his father was a S[alvation] A[rmy] captain who came over from NZ to take over a SA "industrial farm" at Dee Why). But they did nt much live at H, so it was mostly vacant. Later split into two flats. It was also a hospital for a time (probably during the [WW1] war). Hinemoa is a Maori name, she was a Maori Princess, the subject of a legend. Her [the daughter] mother named it. Olga Bray, her friend who came with her, and a long-time resident, sd the Basin was deserted outside of the school holidays. So it *was* the place someone wd recommend to someone wanting brief & cheap accommodation.

24/7/92 ditto: Ruffels rang last night. He believes Wyewurk is up for sale. So much for Mr Morath's much-vaunted desire *[stated at the inquiry]* to preserve this piece of literary & architectural history. *[we had discovered that Wyewurk was not only of literary significance, but it was also the oldest Californian bungalow in Australia, and therefore of probably even greater architectural importance]* Waiting for confirmation before doing something, however.

25/7/92 ditto: Ruffels sent a copy of July's *The Sydney Review* *[a local blat]* with an article headed "Life and Death in Thirroul", a reference to B[rett] W[hiteley]'s death there. *[Brett Whiteley, Australia's greatest living artist, who had painted a Wyewurk diptych with fellow artist Garry Shead, had recently committed suicide (or overdosed) in a shabby Thirroul motel room, which he frequented on his drug-enhanced escapes from fame and Sydney.]* Inside is a nice little piece by G[avin] S[outer] *[a journalist/historian]* marking BW's death & the Thirroul connection. However, GS quoted an excerpt from Davis's book along with a blurb from TT's [Tom Thompson] Imprint: "This highly regarded work...". Pass the sick-bag, Alice.

30/7/92 ditto: Cd nt find PJ Taylor & Co in company registers at State Archives. But a Percival John Taylor was a director of a Pitt Street garage called Rees. PJ Taylor listed in 1924 *Sands* at 143 Princes Street (probably destroyed in the [Sydney Harbour] bridge works). Later (1949) PJT at Liverpool & Riley.

6/8/92 ditto: J[enny] C[ommons] faxed some info re PJT. His works were in Clarence St, nr Grosvenor Hotel (but nt a garage, a workshop apparently). Irons owned half, PJT the other half. S[andra] interviewed two Basin identities, Mrs Dight & Mrs McQueen (mother of Wallaby coach) for her book. Latter had CSR connections [*the Colonial Sugar Refining company was behind the Old Guard in the 1920-30s*]. She sd there was a little enclave of CSR people who owned or rented places in Florence avenue & on the corner of Beach Road ("the CSR houses"). She recalled Walter Friend as a family acquaintance (Mrs McQ's father worked for CSR, I think). Also: F[iona] Friend rang. Pedder Friend no relation. But her father [*the one Professor Riemer consulted re Friend involvement in secret armies - see above*] has the WS Friend & Co records. She glanced at them. Details of guns & bullet supplies. Useful people to know if you're organising a secret army.

4/9/92 ditto: I wasn't going to note the W'gong [*Wollongong, the administrative center of the South Coast, which takes in Thirroul*] excursion, but something has come out of it worth recording. Shead's pictures were surprisingly good [*Garry Shead, now one of Australia's leading artists, had done a series of pictures depicting Lawrence and Frieda in Thirroul*]. I hd hoped to build bridges with the Thirroul mafia (Davis, Southall & the mephistophelean Tom Thompson). And they, in cabal by the entrance, greeted me amicably enough. TT was master of ceremonies & paid a graceful tribute to the "Sydney guests" - Ruffels, AM, Margaret Jones [*ex-Literary Editor of the SMH*], Sandra, and "the elegant" Robert Darroch. Met Wendy Jollife, local Thirroul librarian & curator of the "DHL collection" at the library (she brought some good photos along, incl one of Wyewurk pre-1914). So optimistic did I feel, that in the way back in the car I raised the possibility of turning our Save Wyewurk Committee [*of which I was the convenor*] into the D.H. Lawrence Society of Australia. Ruffels & M Jones have warmed to this idea, so I later wrote off to various people canvassing the initiative, including the South Coast mafia. But no response yet from Davis et al. However, Wendy Jollife responded enthusiastically, so I think we'll go ahead. None of this wd really warrant a substantive diary entry were it nt that at the post-exhibition dinner, TT pulled JR aside & sd, conspiratorially, that he hd an important new lead on K. This, I later discovered from R, was that Forrester [*on the Malwa with Lawrence*] hd two aunts already in Sydney & "in a significant place". The place turned out to be Murdoch Street, Mosman, which certainly wd have bn significant. Alas, on investigation, they proved no kin of our [AD] Forrester, & so joined our swelling shoal of red herrings. But I wonder how TT found this out? Is Davis still poking around? What are they up to?

[I do not, however, want to leave the impression that Joe Davis has not contributed substantially to knowledge about Lawrence's time in Australia. Though his speculations about what Lawrence did in Sydney are suspect to the point of nonsense, what he says about Thirroul, fanciful tennis afternoons apart, is solid and useful. Indeed, his research into the Thirroul of Lawrence's visit in 1922 is invaluable. He is perhaps unlucky that bigger and more predatory fish, such as Steele and Ellis, saw in his work the opportunity to find disparagement for the Darroch Thesis, for without Davis and his DH Lawrence at Thirroul, their counterblast would not have carried much puff (which is no doubt why Steele later accorded Davis's book a cue-title in his CUP edition of Kangaroo).]

5/9/92 ditto: Went to the ML last Fri to read the letter from Aldington to Adrian Lawlor. [*Andrew Moore had discovered that a cache of papers belonging to Adrian Lawlor were in the La Trobe (University) Library (Victoria), and that they included this particular letter. This was quite important, because in his so-influential Introduction to the Heinemann edition of Kangaroo - since the 1940s the standard British and American text of the novel - Aldington had stated, categorically, that there was no secret army of the sort Lawrence had described in the novel in Australia at the time, citing as the authority for this statement information he had received from an Australian contact, Adrian Lawlor (who was a literary figure in Australia in the 1930-60 era). How and where Lawlor himself got this (totally misleading) information was a matter of some significance, as it was partly, even principally, responsible for the incorrect*

interpretation of Kangaroo. The La Trobe library had refused to send me a copy of the vital letter, but had arranged for it to be sent up to the Mitchell in order that I could read it there, which I had now done.]

Something of a revelation. I had always blamed RA's Introduction for being largely responsible for the no-factual-basis interpretation of *K*. But this letter now undermines that view. It is dated 30/10/48 & in it RA tells Lawlor that, "If that 'spy' scene between Somers & Jack is invented I should be surprised. There is real rage in it, which I don't think Lorenzo could have worked up over an imaginary episode." [*Aldington had known Lawrence personally; the "spy" scene probably refers to the "Jack Slaps Back" episode*] RA earnestly sought Lawlor's opinion of "DHL's insight & even prophetic vision", going on the refer disparagingly to other discussions of *Kangaroo* (such as Hugh Kingsmill's) as "invented twaddle". Yet, despite these very valid doubts & insightful questions, RA went on eventually to set in literary concrete an altogether different impression in his Introduction, plugging for, if not for such twaddle, then at least invention. One supposes that RA's initial insight was altered by Lawlor's negative reply. I am writing to Alister Kershaw, who was RA's secretary, re this, for AK is also mentioned in the letter as having sent RA Lawlor's "very interesting" notes on DHL. Will follow this up.

24/9/92 ditto: A[lister] Kershaw has replied from France. It turns out that he is RA's literary executor, so I now have all the permission I need to access Aldington material, world-wide. He enclosed a copy of the vital letter from Lawlor to RA [*sent in response to RA's letter cited above*]. In essence, AL denied to RA any possible "fascist background" to *K*. Indeed, he had taken the trouble to consult a local historian on the matter. The expert was Brian Fitzpatrick, the Labor historian. (So the literary folk aren't to blame after all.) [*for the full, and very interesting story, about this, see Rananim 3/2*] Also: We are having a meeting at Thirroul on Nov 14 to see if we can set up a DHL Society. Only thing we can do now to help Wyewurk. Wendy Jolliffe [Thirroul librarian] commendably keen. No response from Steele or Eggert, however. Sagar wrote supportively, as did UK DHL Society.

26/10/92 ditto: In the post came the first reviews of the new [Miranda Seymour] biography of Ottoline [Morrell]. Now, here is a subject I know second only to DHL in Australia. I spent about a year, 1972-73, editing Sandra's text [*of her excellent, and much-acclaimed, 1975 biography Ottoline - The Life of Lady Ottoline Morrell*], & I got to know all the source materials intimately, some of which I myself researched in Texas [at the HRC in 1992]. And now comes a new work going over the same ground. And from the reviews it seems we missed a great deal. [*Miss Seymour having access to Ott's "journals" which not only were denied to us, but whose very existence was categorically denied by Mrs Vinogradoff, Ott's fractious and perfidious daughter, who said they had been destroyed during the war, thus "doing a Friend" and lying through her teeth*] There was, apparently, an affair with a stonemason at Garsington in 1917. Not only that, there was another family liaison with a rustic called - and you won't believe this, but it's true apparently - Mellors!!!!!! So Ott may well have been, for DHL, Lady Chatterley!!!!!! All this unsuspected by Sandra & me. [*the point I was trying to make here was that I should be careful not to rely too definitively on my current research into DHL and Kangaroo, for my (now shown to be faulty) knowledge of Ottoline's life was immeasurably greater than the grasp I had on Lawrence's time in Australia*] I mention all this because I got a call from my new ferret, Jenny Commons, on Fri. She was in a state close to despair. She had reached the end of her tether, Friend-wise. Help! she pleaded. So I faxed her some new Friend stuff, including the will of one of the Friends [AGF, supplied by Ruffels, I think]. Then she came back with what she (and I) thought might be an important discovery, which was a new possible model for Victoria Callcott. This, JC suggested, might be Annie Turnbull, who was left a bequest in the [AGF] Friend will, & who lived next to the Friends in Thirroul. It seems that Jenny's father had some contact with the present Turnbells, so he rang them on Jenny's behalf, asking if they knew of any connection between them, the Friends, & Lawrence. And they did! Their response was: "Of course, you know Lawrence fathered a bastard in Thirroul?" God, what a possibility - and for half a minute my mind started to whirl like the barrels on a fruit machine. But, of course, that's the plot of *Steel Beach*, that silly novel by the woman who conjures up the image of driving down to Thirroul & coming across a young,

thin, red-breaded surfer (I seem to recall that Joe Davis pictured himself similarly at one point). I don't think we need to follow up that lead

[however, see my speculation about Frieda and "The Barber of Thirroul" in Rananim 2/1] .

2/11/92 ditto: *[I noted that this date was exactly one year since our discovery in Sri Lanka of Ardnaree. Apropos date, I remarked, and adding... "but please, not another year". However, what I should have written was "decade", not "year".] JC rang first thing this morning in a state of hardly suppressed excitement. She thinks that she has, finally, come across the real model & inspiration for Victoria Callcott. And I think there is a high probability that she is right. She is a Friend, at least by marriage, & her name is Myfawny (yes - Fanny) Beatrice Owen. In 1918 she was married to Ernest Adrian Friend, one of the 7 sons of the Friend doyen, A.G. Friend, principal of WS Friend & Co. She's the right age (born 1897, so 25 in 1922). Recently married to EAF, he 28 in 1922. Father a retired clergyman (Edward Owen) & mother a Phillips, a well-known South Coast family. Father at Nowra (definitely on the SC) in 1922, JC thinks. Some dairy farm connection. *[we had been looking for a female, about 22-26, recently married, connected to the Friends, father and grandfather surveyors, father now retired and running a dairy farm on the South Coast, easy distance from Thirroul, younger brother aged about 16-17, mother from Somerset, father a keen fisherman, she the eldest, etc, etc - as per the description of VC in K]* Strong [Anglican church] connection (father once rector at Hunters Hill). Connected with the [Banjo] Pattersons *[cf above re Ernest Whiting's family]*. Not proof positive, but...*

6/11/92 ditto: The fog thickens. JC just rang. The Rev. Edward Owen (C of E) not at Nowra but rector of All Saints in Hunters Hill in 1922. He died in 1925, but window lived on till about 1935 in a home with a Welsh name in Boundary Rd, Roseville *[another leafy, affluent North Shore suburb, and where Sandra grew up]*. This implies that L met on the *Malwa* someone (Cpt Bertie Scrivener) whose father lived in the Parish next door to the Scriveners, the mother of which family was a stalwart, indeed a leading female light, of the Sydney Anglican dioceses. What can we make of that? We know *[from information supplied by Ruffels about the Harbour Lights Guild]* that when Bertie arrived back in Sydney on the *Malwa*, he was feted by his mother's Anglican circle. Could the daughter of the adjacent Anglican clergyman have been present at one of these functions? Hmmmm... Also from JC, Owen Edward Friend, yet another luminary in the fecund Friend family - probably cousin of AGF & Lucy May F - had a sister called Fanny, too. (Her mother was also a Fanny - now we have an embarrassment of Fannys.) And according to Carl Oatley *[Sally Rothwell's brother or step-brother]*, the Kaeppl-Oatleys knew some Friends in the north-west [Moree? Armidale?]. Some mention of Hebert F & Phillipa F.

[My late father's doctor at Milson's Point had contact with these Friends, for he once asked my father, on their behalf, if he, Ian Darroch, knew a Robert Darroch who had written something about Lawrence in Australia. Naturally I tried to chase these Friends up, but to no avail. The Friend portcullis descended.]

10/11/92 ditto: Ruffels to lunch last Sunday. He brought details of a Colonel Percy Thomas Owens who lived at Nowra [on the SC], was a keen angler (in *K*, Victoria's father in a keen angler), and went to Grammar *[where Scott, etc, went]*. Son of another Colonel Percy Owen. Worked in Canberra. The Owens are coming thick & fast.

11/11/92 ditto: To Cobbitty *[outside of Sydney]* to Tim & Renate Yates *[Tim's family, of Yates Seeds renown, regularly holidayed at the Basin, with servants]*. The other guests were Red Harrison & his wife Pamela. Tim had invited them because journalist Red, now with the BBC, knew about my antipathy to [left-wing journalist John] Pilger, & thought we would hit it off. We did. I read them my Pilger piece, which everyone loved. Lots of gossip about old times on the [Sydney] *Daily Telegraph* [where Red & I had

worked, though in different eras]. But it was Pamela who provided the icing on the cake. Her mother was an Owen! Came from the South Coast, probably around Bellambi, which is an easy buggy-ride from Thirroul. And even better, she is a Macarthur-Onslow on her father's side!!! *[General George Macarthur-Onslow was almost certainly the military head of the Old Guard ("the Maggies") - see various references above]* Things are looking up.

Little did I know how close I was then to the truth – yet I did not follow the Owen/Fanny connection up (and so it wasn't for another 20 years that I realised who Fanny turned out to be in Kangaroo)

16/11/92 ditto: On Saturday we all trooped down to Thirroul to form the DH Lawrence Society of Australia. I took Sandra, M[argaret] J[ones] and JR. Others came separately, and we rendezvoused with W[endy] J[olliffe] at her library in the main street. Turned up: us, AM and Beverley Burgmann, Steve O'Connor (a lawyer interested in L), Ray Southall & Joe Davis plus wife & bairns. TT sent apologies. No one else from W'gong Uni turned up, despite invitations. WJ declined to be secretary & Beverley volunteered. We co-opted a reluctant Ray Southall as President, I became VP and Steve O'Connor agreed to be treasurer. An even more reluctant Joe Davis, after some badgering, agreed to be editor of our proposed newsletter, but with a total absence of enthusiasm *[he had to be replaced very quickly with AM's friend, ferroequinologist John Lacey]*. Then we adjourned to WJ's place for celebratory eats & drinks. So we are in situ. Now we'll see what role our poor babe will play. (WJ has a nice collection of DHL photos, etc, in her Library, into whose precincts the dreaded Mr Morath was recently seen to slope. Also, a local estate agent is now promoting property in Thirroul with the come-on line, "the place Lawrence stayed in". Some evidence of local interest, I suppose.) Meanwhile I have sooled MJ on to the Burradoo connection, as she recently convalesced with some people she knew down there who just happened to live next to Laural Park, the local Friend mansion (and address of Mrs MK Friend, who boarded the *Osterley* in Colombo as Lawrence disembarked). Small world. MJ's friends will investigate their Friend neighbours.

[Burradoo is to NSW what the Hamptons are to New York, but more Scottish]

29/12/92 ditto: M Jones rang with a jewel, or at least something semi-precious. She was down again at Burradoo with her friends, the Simons, for Xmas. They had very little to add about the Friends & Laurel Park. Their Friends apparently took up residence there about 1914 & were connected to the Galong (a NSW country area) Friends. Anyway, M and the Simons were driving past the gates of Laurel Park, and DHL was mentioned, when one of the other guests sd, out of the blue: "Oh, I have a postcard from Frieda." A postcard from Frieda!!!! Well, as you can imagine, much excitement. (The lucky/naive guest was Evonne Maley, nee Wright, from Manly.) Was the Burradoo connection, so derided - to the point that I was busy hosing down rumours, flying round the Southern Highlands, that L had spent some time at Burradoo - to prove of importance? *[As it turned out, no. But it did serve to show me how much could be out there, still undiscovered.]* The pc, we were to find out, was addressed to Miss Ilka [? - Frieda's scrawl was almost illegible] Foster, "Glanugre" [?], 11 Addison Road, Manly, NSW, Australia. It apparently dropped out of a copy of a 1948 edition of *Aaron's Rod*. What is its significance? How did Miss Foster, whoever she was, know Frieda? Did the link date back to 1922? Ferrets, bright-eyed & bushy-tailed, are dispatched in every direction. *[meanwhile, we were waiting for Mrs Maley to dig out the pc and reveal what it said]*

30/12/92 ditto: Jenny Commons to lunch (with MJ, AM, Beverley [Burgmann], etc), & she brought her Friends [MA] thesis. Quite impressive, & not a little flattering to the DT [Darroch Thesis], to which, of course, she cleaves. She hasn't come up with anything dramatic, but she does - & this is where her work is useful - flesh out the web, or rather webs, of social, political, class, business, family & other connections into which L was injected on arrival in Sydney. It is now quite clear that it isn't a matter of a string of

unlikely events & coincidences [or "necklace of improbabilities"] that explains how *Kangaroo* came to be written, but rather which of a number of possible paths led L to Scott, etc. But I must record, or sum up, JC's Friend, etc, research *[for it will make subsequent references to the Friends more explicable]*. The origins of the [Australian] Friend dynasty lie in Devon, where Walter Smale F, son of Walter F[riend] & Mary S[male], was born c. 26/7/1812 at or near Holdsworth, a small village near the Cornwall border (so there cd a Cornish connection in the F family). By 1839 WSF was a tinmaker in Totnes with James Bunker, whose dau Ann married WSF in 1835. They emigrated to Sydney in 1839. By 1854 WSF was an iron merchant in York Street. In 1870 he moved to Five Dock & built the family mansion, Moreton (set in 15 acres). Died in 1896. Firm of WS Friend & Co went to five grandsons, one of whom, Arthur Gilbert Friend, gained control (he was born in 1864 at Cintra, in Wallace Street, Burwood, and his sister was Lucy May F, owner of "Wyuna" in Craig Street). There was, apparently, a tradition in the by now proliferating Friend family of investing in the family firm, WS Friend & Co, so AGF became trustee of the family wealth, and godfather of the clan. AGF had 11 children, 8 of whom survived, including Walter Smale, Stephen Gilbert, Robert Moreton and Ernest Adrian, who married Myfawny Beatrice Owen *[see above]* in 1918. She was 25 in 1922. Myfawny (Fanny) eldest of six children. Mrs MK Friend (of Laurel Park and *Osterley* fame) was married to Herbert Walter Friend, younger brother of AGF, and he was indeed of the country NSW side of the clan, coming from Galong. The only other point of interest in JC thesis is that she uncovered someone called Moses who was connected to the Friends (distant cousins) who owned a house in Collaroy (but not the Basin), and this house was called Cooee (!!!!). *[one of Somers's houses in Kangaroo]* The Friends also seem to have had a link with Ceylon, an Esmond Friend going to Ceylon in 1921 (which makes Mrs MKF's visit there in 1922 perhaps a family trip). So JC has pushed the research forward, and in Fanny Beatrice Friend found a possible model for V[ictoria] C[allcott]. She, hopefully, will keep digging. But fingers crossed for FBO, nee Friend.

[as we shall see, the answer was there, but it was not FBO, or at least we don't think so now – or didn't when I wrote this, but how wrong could I have been)]

1/1/93 ditto: Will this be the last year of this long journey? *[no]* Is FBO the final clue? (I have listed 19 possible connections between FBO and VC - see extra note). Meanwhile, JC has confirmed that the private schools were indeed on vacation when L arrived in Sydney that May weekend, so the Basin wd have bn filled up by the various Collaroy house owners-and-renters, & their North Shore & country families. Which, of course, means Hum was probably up there with his family that weekend, & that Sunday afternoon teas - the main social occasion of the week - wd have bn in full swing in Beach, Florence, Cliff, Anzac, Birdwood, Ocean, & Seaview *[the streets of the Basin]* around 3-4 pm, when invited visitors from overseas might have knocked at the door.

[though, being the Basin, the front door wd have bn already open]

7/1/93 ditto: Ruffels is hot on the Forster postcard scent. He has bn going over the electoral rolls, *Sands* directories, etc, & has found that Rosenthal's partner (Day or Lovatt Rutledge?) lived in the proximity of Addison Rd, Manly. Of course, this cd just be, as so much has proved to have been, mere coincidence. *[besides, it was wrong]* But if it did come to something, what a wonderful denouement. A chance meeting in Burradoo, a postcard falling out of a copy of *AR*, the trail leading to Addison Rd Manly, then...what? *[the pc (dated 11/1/37) turned out to be Frieda replying politely to a fan letter from Sydney, viz: "THANKS VERY MUCH FOR THE LETTER AND I WAS GLAD TO HEAR FROM AUSTRALIA AND GET A BULLETIN. BEST GREETINGS. FRIEDA LAWRENCE - see Rananim 1/1]*

9/1/93 ditto: In the course of writing my piece, "Letters of Introduction", for the first issue of our DHLA Journal, *Rananim*, [1/1] I have bn re-reading [Witter] Bynner's *Journey with Genius* to check up on what L's habits might have been pre-Mexico *[see next note*]*. However, it is interesting also what B says about

L's writing regime or system. He observed that L seemed to make up in his mind - ie, compose - vast sections of text, then just copy them down, as if by dictation [my emphasis].

[This observation is one of the most important ever made about Lawrence, and will be pursued below (independent of Bynner's acute observation) - see July 1994 et seq below. It is, I now believe, one of the key aspects of a proper interpretation of Kangaroo, and how it came to be written. It is interesting to note, however, that it is very similar to the observation made by Aldous Huxley in the Introduction to his Letters - see 14/10/79 above.]

*[*In this article I speculated that Lawrence, as he did pre-Mexico and elsewhere, might have, in Ceylon and on board ships, sought letters of introduction to people in Sydney, people perhaps connected with the Friends. I also mentioned the address that Lawrence copied into one of the notebooks he used in NSW, the postal address of the Kuo Min Tang (Chinese Nationalist Party) in Sydney (which had always been a puzzle). I speculated further that he might have got this exotic address from D.G. Hum, who had strong Chinese connections.]*

14/1/93 ditto: A few items of passing interest. JC got a high distinction for her Friend thesis. Hope it encourages her to go on. *[alas, she didn't]* R rang last night, bless him, for he had tracked down the lady on the Frieda postcard. He's coming on Sunday to reveal all. Meanwhile S[andra] is getting on well with her Basin research & has tracked down the window of Walter Friend (the slippery fellow I, and later Ruffels, interviewed in Beach Road). She is in a nursing home in Kirribilli (this from Marge McQueen, who keeps in touch with her). Also saw Margaret Carnegie at the weekend, up from Melbourne. She will see if Ernest Whiting is still on his twig. She has bn helpful in the past.

[Margaret, a pillar of the Victorian Establishment, and an historian in her own right, had arranged contact for me with the Streets and Whites in Melbourne - see above, various]

20/1/93 ditto: R to lunch. He has tracked down the pc lady's real name, which was Ilka Maria Forster (nt Foster - for, as in most things, F got it wrong). More interestingly, nearby 11 Addison Rd (at 21 in fact) resided a man called Wright, who, says R, worked in Rosenthal's office. (Odd - Mrs Maley's father was a Wright. Maybe some confusion here.) **Later:** no link.

31/1/93 ditto: *[an entry, too long and repetitious to be fully repeated here, related to the "Letters of Introduction" article mentioned above and in which I remarked on the fact that the idea that such letters might be important was first raised in a note I had made, but filed separately, dated 20/1/90. I also remarked on the fact that, in his letter to M[abel] D[odge] L[ulan] of 9/6/22, Lawrence uses the plural form ("I don't present any letters of introduction..."), implying, perhaps, more than the one such letter we know about, the one from Mrs Jenkins that he didn't present to the Bulletin's Bert Toy (see above).]*

9/2/93 ditto: S[andra] today went to see Mrs (W.S.) Friend [Edna], widow of the Beach Road Friend who was so unFriendly (as JR put it) when we (separately) interviewed him all those years ago. She is now 90ish and in a nursing home in Kirribilli. She was a Wright, from Mosman, who married the none-too-dashing (according to her) Walter on his return from WW1 *[see below about the Wrights' role in all this]*. She did not remember much of note. She confirmed that they lived in Collaroy, near the beach [on Pittwater Road], for a long time, and also rented a house in Turramurra *[yet another leafy, affluent North Shore suburb]*. No memory of Scott, Hum or anyone else. (She was very vague.) Remembered EAF, who was deaf, but who, along with others of the Friend clan, came down from Galong to holiday at the Basin

during school holidays & at Xmas. No special memory of FBO. (Maybe FBO isn't the right Friend? She doesn't seem to have had much of a Thirroul existence.)

9/7/93 ditto: The long delay since the last entry (February) does not indicate a lack of activity - very much the contrary. Our DHLA Society has been bumping along, & the first issue of our journal, *Rananim*, edited by John Lacey, is almost ready. I, however, have my doubts about all this, even though I initiated it. The Thirroul element, for which the whole thing was arranged, shows a distinct lack of enthusiasm. (Ray Southall, our President, apart.) And the first issue of the journal is almost all my stuff, leaving the impression that it is only a vehicle to promote my theories & interests. My attitude is to now stand back, having given birth, and see if the thing has a momentum of its own. If it has, it will go forward, if not, better it be still-born than succumb a few months after birth. For much of the rest of the time I have been having a fairly strong exchange with Ruffels. It started with the "Letters of Introduction" article. JR responded on 8/5/93 evincing some disagreement with my views. This, on my part at least, led to further insights (see our various letters), which has now led me to begin composing an article for *Rananim* on "The Curious Incident of the Estate Agent in the Day". [see "The Barber of Thirroul" in *Rananim* 2/1*] So the exchange has taken the research forward, considerably.

*[*This article in our second issue of Rananim made a number of points about Lawrence's trip down to Thirroul and his time there. The principal one was that whoever took Lawrence down to Thirroul must have known that Wyewurk had been recently vacated and was available for letting, and so was very familiar with Thirroul, and also must have known the estate agent, Mrs Callcott, very well for her to waive the usual preliminaries and allow the Lawrences to take possession of Wyewurk, immediately, uncleaned and unprepared. It also made the point that there was something most unusual and curious about the fact, recorded in Tom Fitzgerald's 1958 Nation piece (see above), that Frieda had allegedly sent a copy of her autobiographical Not I But the Wind to George Laughlin, the local barber who cut Lawrence's beard in Thirroul. I speculated that it was not to Laughlin that the book was sent, but rather to whoever in Thirroul had been so helpful to Lawrence and Frieda when they were there - almost certainly a Friend - whom Frieda might also have wanted to reassure that some secret that they shared had not been divulged by her. I made it clear, however, that this surmise was rank speculation.]*

c. 9/7/93 ditto: To what extent has any work been done on L's use of reality &, more importantly, his methods for disguising or transforming real-life events & people into fiction? I am beginning to suspect that disguise or camouflage isn't really the right way to look at it. What L does in *K* (from what we know of reality) is not disguise, at least in the sense of changing things to make them, for example, less sensitive. Rather he seems to be using some sort of automatic transformation technique.

[Of all the things I have written, I believe this to be the most important - see entry 29/8/94, et seq. below.]

10/7/93 ditto: The DHLR has written, out of the blue, asking if I have anything more re L in A[ustralia]. Well, yes, I have, actually. So I have written back offering something on the DT. I await their response.

6/8/93 ditto: The exchange with JR has continued. His last letter, in response to mine about the similarity between Hinemoa and St Columb, fell on what at first seemed to be very stony ground indeed, but which has subsequently borne some surprising fruit. In essence, Ruffels (see his letter of 25/7/93) he did not believe me about Hinemoa for three reasons: 1) Hum's son knew nothing about Lawrence, Scott, etc. 2) Mrs Oatley was shown in the electoral rolls as being at Gordon until 1924. 3) Scott's presence at 112 Wycombe Road was not definite for May 1922, as he was shown in the 1922 State roll as still living at

Lane Cove Rd, Wahroonga. He also sd that he did nt believe Hum met L at the wharf. So I went to the State Library to re-check the electoral rolls myself. Mrs Oatley was shown as living at Gordon in 1922, disappeared in the 1923 roll, and turned up at Hinemoa in 1924. Scott was listed at Wahroonga in '21 and '22 but at 112 Wycombe Rd in '23. On the face of things, that made it unlikely he was at 112 in May 1922, as JR had sd. Yet I knew I was right, for I had Norm Dunn and the tub-top summer house. The evidence of *K* had to be better than the electoral roll (as Lady Bracknell sd, "I have known some strange errors in that publication."). Then a thought struck me. Where was Bert Toy in the 1923 roll? Sure enough, he was at "Canberra", 51 Murdoch St, while in the 1921 and '22 rolls he was at Shell Cove Rd, Neutral Bay (ie, similar to Scott). The significance here, of course, was that we know L carried to Sydney an envelope addressed to Toy at 51 Murdoch St. So the 1923 roll that listed Scott as having moved from Wahroonga to 112 also had Toy moved from Shell Cove Rd to Murdoch St. So Scott had to be at 112 when L arrived in Sydney, carrying that envelope addressed to Toy in Murdoch St. [*see Rananim 2/2 "The Evidence of the Rolls" for a full explication of this*] Also got a call from Paul Eggert wanting to be involved with our DHLA activities. V. good.

31/8/93 ditto: Got a card from Ruffels. V. friendly. But no mention of my last l[etter] re Scott's 1922 movements. His silence on this probably means the end to the exchange, but that he still wants to keep in touch. Fair enough. Can't have expected anything else, really.

1/9/93 ditto: Yesty Fiona (F) rang. No family memory of any Ceylon connection. But she did volunteer a candidate for "the lady you're looking for" [*ie, Victoria Callcott*]. This is a Friend aunt who died about 1970. She lived at Bundanoon, but spent "lots of time" in Thirroul. FF knew her as "Aunty Dawd" [for Dorothy]. She was unmarried and rather "fast" ("fast" in Friend parlance means "intellectual"). She was the last survivor of "the brothers", ie the seven-son family of AG Friend. So she was probably the sister of our [Basin-based] Walter Friend. (Friend family tree shows Dorothy May F, born 1888 - eldest of AGF's brood.)

10/9/93 ditto: Sent off today my DHLR article "Lawrence in Australia. The Case for the Darroch Thesis", of which I am quite proud. [*this, essentially my response to Steele's Meridian article, was "assessed" by Professor L.D. Clark (CUP editor of The Plumed Serpent), who wrote back, some time later, approvingly, but suggesting some minor changes; we decided, however, to hold fire until I had the opportunity to read Steele's much-delayed CUP edition of Kangaroo and saw what he had to say in this more "authoritative" format; when I did, however, a more imperative article suggested itself, and which the DHLR later published - see Rananim 9/1 for a slightly revised version of this DHLR 26 1.3 article, "Not the End of the Story" (and which will have to be slightly revised still further to take account of the unpublished Seltzer letters in volume 8 of the CUP Complete Letters - see below and separate section in this site, THE END); as mentioned above, the "DHLR" article was eventually published as "Nothing to Sniff At" in Rananim 7-8/1*] It came out very well, and if I were to keel over tomorrow, at least I wd have left something useful behind.

11/9/93 ditto: Beverley [Burgmann] says she can't be secretary of our DHLA society. Andrew says Jenny Commons has also declined. [*Margaret Jones, happily, took up the burden*] AM is bringing some more student ferrets on Oct 14.

20/9/93 ditto: DMF ["Dawdie" Friend] looks increasingly like VC. Sent off long l[etter] to FF, seeking more info. S[andra] will also see if Mrs [Walter] Friend can remember anything about DMF. Have started a study of the methods L uses to disguise reality.

21/9/93 ditto: As I suspect I am poised to get confirmation that DMF is VC, I will put down the reasons that point in this direction. She is a Friend, and I have long suspected that VC is a Friend. She is recorded

as a Harbour] L[ights] G[uild] "scattered" member [*ie, not attached to any particular parish*]. She is the eldest of a large family. She has a 17-ish younger brother. Her father has a house a short buggy-ride from Wyewurk. He is a keen fisherman (his will specifically mentions his fishing rods). Somewhat Bohemian (and thus probably interested in visiting authors). Lives in the country. Almost certainly a member of the local Anglican community in Thirroul, and thus in a position to know personally Mrs AF Callcott, who let Wyewurk & was the local church organist. And we can place her at Collaroy. Most importantly, FF says (perhaps reflecting family information or comment) she is "the lady you are looking for". So, I need only one more major correlation to convert probability into certainty. (Even the negatives - her age [34] and her unmarried status might be accounted for via L's reversal disguise technique.)

22/9/93 ditto: Something quite amazing happened yesty. I was lunching at the Union Club with [fellow member] Robert Douglass. He had written to me saying his father had heckled Jock Garden in the Domain. It turns out that his father was actually heckling his uncle, for his father was Jock Garden's brother! Rob has promised to do a piece for *Rananim* on Jock and the Garden family. [*see "Was Willie Struthers My Uncle Jock?"*, *Rananim* 2/1] Yet another example of the inspired serendipity that has favoured my long quest.

[and, one might add, further confirmation of what a small place Sydney can still be]

26/9/93 ditto: Sally Rothwell rang on Friday with some interesting information. When we were having lunch (with AM, etc) about two months ago [*see above*], I mentioned FF's tip re DMF & asked Sally if she could check with her aunt Rachel [*sister of the Oatley brothers - ie, AAK was her mother and Scott her step-father - and who now lives at Moree*] if she had any memory of DMF. Sally rang with the results of her inquiries. Only Friends she remembered were ones nearby (probably my father's doctor's "Armidale" Friends). But she was most forthcoming about Scott, whom she hated. ("He deprived us of our [Oatley] inheritance.") The Oatley family [*ie, that of AAK's first husband*] "owned Warwick Farm" [an area south-east of Sydney]. Said her mother [AAK] "saved Scott from the clinky" over some bankruptcy threat. But she did supply the information [*mentioned above*] that Scott's first wife, JM, had worked at the Kaepfel-Edwards St Kilda hospital in Birtley Place [Elizabeth Bay]. The next piece of Sally's info came from her own probing (bless her little ferret heart). Her mother's sister [*her mother, by the way, is a Lawrence, having married a second husband of that ilk*] has a friend, Mrs Dorothy Farquhar, nee Gennel-Smith, who went to Abbotsleigh & later knew Jack Scott & who also holidayed at Thirroul. But the real gold came with news of another family friend, Miss Marky (for Margaret) Vernon. Her father knew Scott quite well [*hence the Vernon papers in the ML with their file on the Old Guard and its North Shore nominal roll and dispositions*]. Even more interestingly, however, Miss Vernon not only knew Enid Hum, but was "the girl-friend" [*Sally's description, not mine*] of Sir Phillip Goldfinch [*the executive head of the Old Guard and general manager of CSR*]!!! Obviously a lady whose closer acquaintance I will be endeavouring to make.

27/9/93 ditto: DHLA meeting tonite at Balmain attended, hopefully, by Paul Eggert. (It was, and he was very positive. Some move afoot to link up all the DHL societies internationally, hence probably his interest. But he will bring in the rest of academia, so this is good, & gives me the confidence to push ahead.) 1st issue of *Rananim* almost finished.

5/10/93 ditto: This morning I went to see Miss Markie Vernon at Warrawee [*still another leafy, affluent North Shore suburb*]. A most intriguing interview. She v. bright, & wits intact. She knew Enid Hum [*daughter of DG Hum, who met L on the boat to Ceylon*], but only by sight, unfortunately ("a small, round-faced girl, very plain"). No other knowledge of the Hum family [*which was the main reason I had come to see her*]. Thought Enid, who was a year behind her at Abbotsleigh, mixed with two "other" German girls, Lottie Catts, nee Rueberg, and Gerda (or Ursula) Hotterhoff. Will try to recall more. No

memories of Friends, the Basin or Thirroul. Knew all about the Old Guard, however, mainly from her brother Phillip Vernon (who gave the Vernon papers to the Mitchell [*she actually urged me to read the Vernon Papers, which, of course, I already had*]). Father involved, too. [*he was the Vernon who amassed the Vernon papers and retained them, against Old Guard instructions and practice*] She knew that what we call the Old Guard (ie, the Gillespie-Goldfinch organisation) had a predecessor, and that this was actually the Old Guard. Sd General Macarthur-Onslow wrote to Goldfinch [around 1929-30] to ask him to be involved [*and to, in fact, become its executive head*]. She sd she had not read either *Kangaroo* or AM's book [on the Old Guard]. Knew Scott, but not very well (or so she sd). Knew of much plotting in 1930-32 and thereabouts. Her brother kept a loaded gun under his pillow. Cars were always coming and going outside their [North Shore] home. Her brother, father and grandfather were all in the Light Horse or its city equivalent (NSW Lancers?) Rosenthal was quite close to her father (they were both architects). But here's the really important thing - I felt she was keeping something back. Her answers were guarded, and seemed to come from a deeper level of knowledge than the one she was exposing. At one stage I was rabbiting on about Hum, Scott, Collaroy, Hinemoa, and how I now thought it had all come about, when she said, as I paused for breath, and quite softly: "Are you sure?" [*Of all the verbiage that such a long line of contacts had uttered to me down through the years, these three little words were the most salutary. They stopped me dead in my tracks.*] "Well, not really," I replied, and, after a moment, went on. But she *knew* something, something that she was not prepared to reveal. Again, I was on the threshold of the truth, but the door was still closed to me, though I had been given a tiny glimpse of what I now knew was the light inside. I promised to send her *Kangaroo* to read.

[which I later did, but got nothing back but a polite thank-you note]

12/10/93 ditto: Alas, no result from Miss Vernon, nor her friend, Mrs Mannix [*Goldfinch's sister, whose name and address Miss Vernon had supplied me with*]. However, she again conceded [*during this second visit*] that there was a pre-1930 Old Guard. So, back to the drawing board. Also: got permission from the Botanic Gardens Trust to hold our inaugural DHLA meeting in the [*pavilion in*] the Palace Gardens [*where Lawrence and Frieda strolled in May 1922*]. 1st issue of *Rananim* also goes out today. One of AM's prospective new ferrets rang. "I'm still skeptical," she told me. Thanks a lot, dear.

[Not a particularly elevating day...however, the door of the vault was about to creak open a fraction.]

13/10/93 ditto: Often have I wondered how all this wd end - with a bang, perhaps, or just trailing off, with all leads exhausted, & no final answer found. The main hope has always been some sort of dramatic discovery - a lost file on Scott, mentioning Lawrence & *Kangaroo*, or some aged relation suddenly fessing up. Well, just such an event seems to have occurred. Andrew [Moore] rang yesty with the news that he had received a letter from the archivist at The Kings School, Parramatta. [*To appreciate & understand what follows, it is necessary to know the The Kings School (TKS) is the oldest private school in NSW, and that many prominent families sent their sons there. It became, especially in the earlier part of the 20th century, the place where country families in particular dispatched their male children to be educated, not so much academically, but to acquire the social skills and contacts seen as necessary in children of the prevailing establishment. In that regard, it might be seen to the Eton of Australia, or at least of NSW. In particular, it was the custom of TKS fathers to send their sons there, to get the same socialising "experience" they themselves had been subjected to.*] This gentleman [the archivist] had written, apparently, after Andrew's book [*The Secret Army and the Premier*] had been remaindered, and he had acquired a copy. In his letter to Andrew, the archivist said that one of the Friends, who went to TKS, had told him that Lawrence "had been given the key [to Wyewurk] by a Friend" (or words to that effect). Now, this might be the key that unlocks the final door. For reasons that I won't go into here, I have concluded that someone who met L at Collaroy that first Sunday accompanied him down to Thirroul

the next day (the Monday) and installed him & F in Wyewurk. Who is this particular Friend, identified by the TKS archivist? Walter? Dawdie? Andrew is sending me the [archivist's] letter. After the comparative disappointment of yesty's entry re Markie Vernon, this breakthrough, if it is one, comes at a propitious moment. We might just have some interesting news to announce at our Palace Garden's meeting.

13/10/93 ditto: Well, events cd nt be more dramatic. Came home about 2pm to find a message on the answer-phone from a very excited AM. He had spoken to the TKS archivist (whose name is Peter Yeend). He [Yeend] hd gone back & checked his file, & hd now come up with this - & words to find the adequate adjective fail me - *squillentious* piece of information. In May 1974 - note the date! *[ie, 18 months before we returned to start our Lawrence/Kangaroo research*]* - Yeend went down to Bowral *[of which Burradoo is a satellite]* to interview an [TKS] old boy, N.H. Wright *[Yeend was systematically interviewing TKS old boys for the school records]*. In the course of a conversation about the Old Guard *[and, remember, it was Yeend's acqution of Andrew's book on the Old Guard that had sparked all this]* Mr Wright said words to the effect that, "This *[the Old Guard]* was the organisation that D.H. Lawrence portrays in *Kangaroo*." Moreover, Wright sd he had bn told this by none other than his brother-in-law, Walter Friend *[the now deceased husband of Sandra's Kirribilli confidant Edna Friend]*. Well, well, well - so that dirty old dog Walter Friend knew all along! This *must* be the key that now unlocks it all. Ferrets scattering in all directions. Exciting days - exciting hours!

*[*which meant it could not have been contaminated by anything I, or anyone else for that matter, had written or said. This was genuine stuff - the truth, in fact - that had somehow slipped out from behind the wall of silence.]*

13/10/93 ditto: A third entry for this day! I rang F[iona] F[riend] & told her about the TKS information. She was riveted & will bring it up tonite with her father, who is taking her to dinner for her birthday. "So he did know after all," was her comment *[the "he" being her Uncle Walter]*. I asked her who had told her that DMF might be "the person I'm looking for". She sd her father hd implied it. They were discussing K & who Victoria Callcott might be and DMF's name was mentioned (probably by FF), at which her mother sd: "But it couldn't have been Dawdie," to which, says FF, her father replied, with what she described as "a twinkle in his eye", "Oh yes it could have." Hmmm...

20/10/93 ditto: Ruffels reports that the F[riend] wills indicate that DMF was left "Yugara", the Friend "Bundanoon holiday house" in about 1940 by her mother, Lucy Edna Friend, nee Buckland. NH Wright was Newcombe Henry Wright, a wool-broker, who in the 1930s lived in "Lightcliffe" in Edgecliff, Sydney. Later he moved to "The Hut" in Boolwey [?] St, Bowral. Mother was Vida Louise W. NHW went to TKS & was an artillery officer in WW1. FWD Oatley (AAK's late hunband) also went to TKS, as did Rosenthal's son [sons?]. WSF at TKS 1898 and SGF also at TKS, but 2 years younger. WSF [Walter Friend] enlisted in 1914.

20/10/93 ditto: *[normally, in this edited version of the research diaries, I combine entries made on the same day, but events were moving so quickly that it is better here to make them, as they were, separate entries]* Dispatched over 100 copies of [our first issue of] *Rananim* to the four corners of the globe. Ruffels & several others rang up with warm approval. Started writing my next *Rananim* piece, "The Curious Incident of the Estate Agent in the Day" (or, "The Barber of Thirroul"). Quite pleased with it. No news back from FF yet, but sent her a *Rananim* & a note asking her to a lunch here on 6/11. Told her to look through the Friend bookshelves for a copy of *Not I But the Wind* *.

[ie, for the copy sent by Frieda supposedly to the barber Laughlin but, as I speculated in the "Curious Incident" article, sent perhaps instead to the Friends in Thirroul].*

20/10/93 ditto: Ferrets still investigating. Yesty got [a copy of] the crucial Yeend letter from AM, plus notes of his conversations with same. Confirmed what he told me by phone [*see note 13/10/93 above*], but provided some additional info. One piece now [cf my "Curious Incident" research] appears v. significant. I will quote the exact wording from AM's letter to me: [Yeend told AM] "Also you will be aware that D.H. Lawrence stayed in a cottage provided by the Friend family who publicly denied they told Lawrence about the rural army..."* In one of AM's follow-up calls, Yeend told him that somewhere in his file on the Friend family there was a reference saying that WSF [Walter Friend] gave L the key to Wyewurk. Yeend also mentioned that Bill Friend (Walter's son) still has in his possession "the Friend letter-books". AM is following up.

*[*I am not sure what this refers to (but I think it is significant). I certainly have not found, nor have AM or Ruffels (both of whose research skills are considerable and exhaustive) uncovered, any such public denial by the Friends. My suspicion is that the denials were not public ones, but made rather to the people behind the Old Guard, possibly along the lines of "well, it wasn't us to told him". The other point of interest is the use of the term "the rural army". Again, I suspect that whoever gave Yeend this information (and it may have been NH Wright) was more familiar with the country element of the Old Guard, which as we have seen - see 12/5/76 above - had a problem with what to call itself.]*

21/10/93 ditto: V[ictoria] C[allcott] in the novel has a brother (Alfred John Wilmot, at one point in Lawrence's confused dramatis personae) who goes down to [Thirroul] on mining business. Could this be Walter Friend? Did he have some sort of business connection with the South Coast? Must get Sandra to ask Edna [Friend].

1/11/93 ditto: Response to DHLA mailout fairly poor to date: only 10 replies so far. Did a segment on the DHLA for SBS [a Sydney TV channel]. Went OK. Good publicity for the society, assuming it goes to air.

7/11/93 ditto: Our DHLA lunch yesty (Ruffels, M Jones, Steve O'Connor, Lacey, etc). FF came, but not with the info I wanted. However, I read her (& the other attendees) the Yeend l[etter to AM], & she was suitably impressed. Couldn't understand why Uncle Walter hd lied. Her father, she sd, was reading *K* (for the first time, apparently). Then she sd she hd "dreamt up" the Dawdie story [*see 13/10/93 above*] & that she wasn't told by anyone in the family [*ie, her father & mother*]* AM goes to TKS tomorrow to quiz Yeend. Fingers crossed. Had a DHL/Thirroul piece in the *SMH* on Saturday. The pot is bubbling along.

*[*Though I did not realise it at the time, this was the first indication that the Friends were beginning to get concerned about what was coming out. FF could not have made that "twinkle-in-his-eye" story up. She was, I now believe, acting under instructions, or warnings, to withdraw it. In any case, from now on I did not get a single piece of extra information from any Friend source, except 93-year-old Edna at Kirribilli, who was probably past being lent on.]*

10/11/93 ditto: Driving (coincidentally) past the King's School yesty I saw, about half-a-mile further on, a sign on the right. It read: WALLY FRIEND/LANDSCAPE GARDENING, and under this was the direction END OF LOYALTY ROAD. Is this an omen? No news from AM re his TKS visit last Monday. Oh, well... Ian Hicks [literary editor of the *SMH*] says he's coming to our launch. Good.

12/11/93 ditto: AM reports nothing of note from TKS visit. Walter F was a good footballer, & even played Rugby for A[ustralia], apparently. AM will probe on, but I think the time has come to start injecting some L material into Peter Yeend, to fuel his interest. Will invite him to our DHLA launch in

the Botanic Gdns on the 21st, to which Bob Carr [*NSW Minister for Planning, and a former Bulletin colleague*] says he hopes to come. Still poor response to mailout [of membership forms].

19/11/93 ditto: Got about 30 DHLA members. So-so. Bob [Carr] rang to cancel, but at least he rang personally. I sd we wd make him an honorary member, & he purred. But the big(ish) news is that S[andra] rang [Basin neighbour] Phyl Cope, who goes next week to see Edna F (93 now) at her new nursing home in Clifton Gdns [Mosman], & primed her with some questions to ask (she having the best chance of getting something). As it is, she (PC) came up with some useful background info re the Friends. She sd Edna had told her that she & Walter used to travel down to Thirroul regularly by motor-bike. (Motor-bike!!!! - cf *K* ch 1: "...the neighbour ["Jack Callcott"]...must come backing out of the shed and shoving a motor-cycle down the path...".) Edna was born in January 1901, so she was 21 in 1922. She sd "Grandma" Friend (probably widow of the original WSF) moved from Five Dock to Thirroul after [WSF?] died. She sd the Friends often played poker at a house opposite Hinemoa [*ie, on the other side of Florence St*] owned by their friend, Trixie Oatley. "Edna often speaks of Trixie," Phyl Cope said. She sd she believed that "the Friend papers" had bn taken away by one of the Friends (Alan F) to Walgett [a NSW country town]. But mice hd got at them & most of them hd bn destroyed. (Don't tell me mice stand between me and immortality!) Phyl sd the Friends were "a funny family...they don't like to talk." Edna had bn "very forward & daring". Hmmm...

20/11/93 ditto: Rang [Dr.] Jim Friend, FF's father. [*see entry 2/1/90 - it was this gentleman whom Professor Reimer contacted about validity of the DT*] He was quite co-operative, but evinced scepticism about any link between the Friend family & L, etc. He hd nothing helpful to contribute to my quest. However, he did say that the Friends quit Thirroul before 1956 (so Clarice Farrahar's [*Mrs Callcott's daughter, I think*] statement to Nehls that "the people who knew Lawrence have left the district" cd still hold true [*indeed, it would give added significance to that item of information - see "The Barber of Thirroul" in Rananim 2/1 - and point even more strongly to the Friends*]). JF gave me the address of Bill Friend [Walter's son] at Neutral Bay. Sd Alan Friend was "very wealthy" & lived at Walgett [with the mice, presumably]. He sd he hd read *K* but cd see nothing in it to "implicate" the Friends. But he was not at all hostile. Did nt know much about Edna. He seemed interested, but puzzled. I sd I wd keep him informed of progress. He sd that if DHL had bn involved with the Friends, then surely someone wd remember. I cited the "Armidale Friends" as knowing something. He did nt comment.

21/11/93 ditto: Had our DHLA launch yesty in the Palace Gdns. Went off very well, I thought. No "celebrity" guests, but Ian Hicks from the *SMH* came with the rather surprising news that someone called White was "doing a book of DHL & secret armies". Well, well, I wish them luck. (AM had never heard of him or her.)

16/12/93 ditto: R[ob] Douglass has written his "Was Willie Struthers My Uncle Jock?" piece. Hasn't come up with any new info, but his article does support such an identification. He has also come up with family snapshots, one of which, he says, has JG looking a bit like Abraham Lincoln (as L describes WS in *K*).

17/12/93 ditto: Doing my "Curious Incident" piece for *Rananim* #2 [2/1] & remarked on the inconsistencies in *K*. [*I made an error here, about the Callcott-Trewhella family interconnections, which I later corrected in Rananim. However, after making the mistake, I went on to say:*] L seems to be disguising some possibly identifying [*ie, real*] family relationships here. Maybe it's not [*error*]. What relationship then? Maybe brother and sister (cf Walter and Dorothy F)? But there seem other relationships involved. Were the Friends related to someone else present? Scott? An Edwards or a Kaepfel?

21/12/93 ditto: To the NSW Art Gallery for the Shead book launch [a book of Shead's DH Lawrence paintings] & exhibition [of some of his works]. V. impressive. Met Tom Thompson, Ruffels & the Davises, the last rather icy. Well, bugger Joe D. Garry [Shead] was very nice & signed a copy of his book for me, saying I was "his inspiration". Most satisfactory. Later the ABC [TV] news had a segment on it. Excellent publicity. Is L having a renaissance? Also: wrote to Douglass suggesting some stiffening of the identification [of his Uncle Jock as Willie Struthers], esp G[arden] being on a union committee charged with looking into starting a Labor newspaper. Makes WS's "I'm in a position to..." reference more meaningful. Hope he agrees.

22/12/93 ditto: Carl Oatley replied [*to my letter asking about Trixie Oatley - see 19/11/93 above*]. Had spoken to his aunt Rachel & she recalled that Trixie was a second cousin by marriage & lived in a house in Beach Road, two doors north of Florence Avenue. That wd make it the place on the beach, I think, virtually opposite Hinemoa. Anyway, the interesting point is that Trixie wd have bn very close to Mrs Oatley [AAK], for their situations were almost identical, both widows. Trixie (Beatrice) even offered to adopt Rachel. Rachel also recalls they [moved to] the Basin [from Gordon] in 1920, 18 months after F[rederick] D[udley] W[eedon] [Oatley]'s death [*from "a chill" caught, apparently, while swimming in the Basin*]. Peter [Oatley] was at a prep[atory] school in Manly in 1926. Trixie looks interesting. Looks as if we can place Walter - and maybe DMF - at or near Hinemoa perhaps in 1922! The trail warms by the day.

24/12/93 ditto: A thought occurred to me yesty. Maybe T[rixie] O[atley] was living at 31 or 33 (or whatever) [Beach Road] before AAK & family moved into Hinemoa. Maybe it was *her* presence there that induced AAK to move to "the house next door". The two families wd have bn very close, both having lost a Oatley husband.

25/12/93 ditto: Spoke to Dick Swift (80+) at the Basin Xmas party again last night. He recalled TO quite well. Thinks she lived at 31 Beach [Road], "Bustle Cottage", but previously "Tero" (but she cd have bn at 33, "Reef View"*). She was a widow with no children, & lived alone. Very vivacious & "lots of fun". Entertained a lot. Probably there in the early 1920s, because Dick recalls going through her place as a kid on the way to do some fishing. He wd have bn about 10 at the time. He recalled that when he first came down to the Basin there were only about 5 houses there, incl Hinemoa, the rest was unmade dirt tracks with bottle-brush and she-oaks. Recalled Walter Friend knowing Trixie. Walter was "rather forbidding & stern", and came to Collaroy "from Parramatta".

[Warwick Farm, actually]

25/12/93 ditto: R[obert] D[ouglass] rang, agreeing to my suggestions re his Garden article. (Incidentally, he's discovered that Jock spent time at Harcourt, near Ballarat - cf: Struthers "knocked about the goldfields".) [*Ballarat was the center of the Victorian goldfields*] RD mentioned the ref[erence] in K to W[illie] S[truthers] having read Somers' book on democracy (perhaps demonstrating Garden's own wide reading). But this reminded me of that fact that Siebenhaar (WS!) probably had [*read Lawrence's "Democracy" essay in the Hague publication mentioned above - see 9/4/86*], so Struthers is probably an amalgam* of both Siebenhaar & Garden. Indeed, the connection cd be closer, for both were IWW members or sympathisers, & must have known each other. Maybe Siebenhaar even provided L with a letter of introduction to Garden.

[this concept of an amalgam of character models or sources was to assume a far greater significance in a year or so]*

29/12/93 ditto: Have drafted a letter to Tim Curnow [of Curtis Brown, the authors' agents] suggesting two books: "The Silvery Freedom and the Horrible Paws/DH Lawrence in Australia" & "The Quest for Kangaroo", the latter being the companion volume, the story of the research. *[ie, these notes. In the event Tim recommended against the project, citing lack of general - and publisher - interest.]* I think I have to put this in motion now, even though the research isn't finished. For I think the answers are all but here, & in any case I can't delay much beyond Steele's *Kangaroo*, which (Tim tells me) is due in July. I'll have to wait of course, to see what he comes up with, but by then I should have most of it written. Have just revised both Introductions & will start ch 2 - Perth - in the new year. 1994! - 20 years since Sandra & I returned *[from the UK]* on the Ocean Monarch & began the main research. Long enough.

29/12/93 ditto: Sandra is doing her Café Royal article for *Rananim* & found an interesting quote in a letter to C[atherine] Carswell (21/11/16) re *W[oman]* *[in]* *L[ove]*. In it L says that in *WL* "Halliday is Heseltine & the Pussum is a model called Puma, & they are taken from life. Nobody else at all life-like." Of course, that's rubbish. There are a lot of other real-life models in the novel: Ottoline, Katherine [Mansfield], Murry, etc. But note the similarity of the names: Pussum for Puma and Halliday for Heseltine. L clearly can't avoid using real-life departure points, leaving behind "the clue". Also, note that he confesses to Puma and Heseltine, but not to the others. Maybe that's because they are "straight" steals, while the others are part-borrowings. Perhaps this applies to K. Maybe Callcott isn't pure Scott, but an amalgam. Ditto Trehwella. Ditto Cooley. Maybe Callcott mark 1 is WSF, the rest Scott. Food for thought. Also: According to Sagar (*DHL Handbook*, citing Lawrence's extensive reading) L had access earlier to knowledge about A. He read Lawson [Henry, Australian poet] in 1912 and [Rolf] Bolderwood [eg, *Robbery Under Arms*] by 1916, plus all the other references [to Australia] in literature (Wilde, Dickens, etc).

[This note marked the end of one of the most productive years of the Lawrence research, second only perhaps to 1976, when I found out about Scott and the secret army, a slightly ahead of 1979, when I discovered the geographic link between Scott and Lawrence (at 112 Wycombe Road). Yet a lot was still unknown. Most particularly, the precise nature of the link between Lawrence and the Friends was still a mystery. This question was to dominate the next few years of research, that and the matter of the endings of Kangaroo.]

5/1/94 ditto: Phyl Cope put my questions to Enda F over Xmas. Her replies: She married Walter in December 1923 - 18 months after L was in Sydney. (So her ignorance about what W was doing in 1922 may be explicable.) They built a house on Collaroy Beach *[ie, on Pittwater Road, facing Collaroy Beach]* in 1924. Dawdie [DMF] did not come to Collaroy (but neither did Walter's mother - some hint of a family rift). Trixie was at Warwick Farm when they got to know her, around 1924. Walter's father [AGF] had a warehouse in York St [city] & W started off working there with his many brothers. Did accountancy. Bought a factory (Marnes?) at Roseberry *[a south Sydney semi-industrial precinct]* (nuts & bolts). He joined the war late *[but see 20/10/93 above]* - as a private. Served in France. His father paid his return via the U.S. DMF spoke well, good education, did charitable work with her three maiden aunts, the "Misses Friends" *[ie, Lucy May F and her two sisters]*. Hmmm... Will probe further.

6/1/94 ditto: S[andra]'s [excellent] piece on the Café Royal incident *[see Rananim 2/1]* demonstrates how L used a real-life event & turned it into fiction. Indeed, her main purpose is to make nonsense of L's claim that only Halliday & Pussum "are taken from reality". Gudren is obviously Katherine Mansfield, & the whole scene is very close to the actuality we know from the other sources S cites (eg, Aldous Huxley's letter to Ottoline). But the piece also shows the techniques L uses to change & disguise reality. It is as if L can't avoid this compulsive echoing back to the original source of his borrowing. It's a phenomenon that's almost the equivalent of a literary "pun". My point now is that the same techniques & compulsion no doubt apply to K. But because people don't know the original sources (Scott, Hum, etc) they don't

recognise the parallels. We know from Huxley, etc, the truth about what happened at the Café Royal. We have no equivalent "truth" source for *K*. For example, Fred Wilmot cd be Walter Friend (the reversal technique - FW/WF), and so on. It will be interesting to see if further research comes up with any more of these "echoes".

8/1/94 ditto: It is clear that I must go through L's post-Australia works & see if there are any, hopefully revealing, borrowings from his time in Australia & Sydney - the use of names like Dorothy or Walter, etc. Also must read *Sea & Sardinia* more closely to see earlier evidence of this diary technique. (Yesty Tim Curnow rang. Sending TSFAHP ["The Silvery Freedom and the Horrible Paws"] to Macmillan.)

15/1/94 ditto: Phyl Cope rang yesty. Had put my list of further q[uestions] to Enda F. Not much response (v. old & vague now). No memory of Scott. No memory of Walter at Neutral Bay or Mosman. Met Walter at [the Friend mansion] Moreton, Five Dock, at a dance (post-1922). Walter "never spoke of family matters". But a few crumbs of interest. Dawdie was "the mother of the family" (ie, of the children of AGF). (cf. VC in *K*.) But DMF and WSF were "a different generation, almost". DMF very active in the Anglican church & worked with the Mission to the Seaman [*whose ladies' auxiliary was the Harbour Lights Guild*].

15/1/94 ditto: I'm almost afraid to write this, but as I think this should be a true record, I'll go on. Something is wrong with my picture of what happened. Callcott is mostly Scott, ditto Cooley Rosenthal, and it now seems that Struthers is largely Garden. DMF is not all of VC, but surely some. The rest of her might be Lillian Hum or someone else: a neighbour in Thirroul even. But Hum cannot be the full explanation for Jaz [Trehwella]. Nor can Hum provide the link with Scott. I am beginning to think that someone else is involved. The Jaz exchanges imply someone connected with secret armies, & Hum is simply not that sort of person. And another thing, Sandra's Café Royal research implies that Hum, who resembles Trehwella so clearly, should be more heavily disguised. The fact that he is so obviously Jaz means that his involvement with secret armies, Scott, etc. *must* be providing a cover for someone else - the "real" Jaz, if you like. The same applies, perhaps, to Scott. [*and that's the real point here*] Callcott is so obviously, at least once the book gets going, the physical shell (& more - his interests & characteristics) of Scott, that he too must be a cover for someone else. There is something awry or missing. And there is Markie Vernon's worrying remark: "Are you sure?" No, I'm not, & I'm getting less certain by the day. W[alter] F[riend] doesn't fit either. I must go back & retrace my steps. I've taken a wrong turning somewhere. But I'll get to the bottom of this, or perish in the process. Also: Re disguise techniques & "echoes" - Reggie Turner became Algy Constable in *W[omen] [in] L[ove]!*

23/1/94 ditto: Checking back through my notebooks to see *why* I had not recorded my visit to Walter Friend, just before I left for London in 1979. In doing so, I came across a note dated 9/8/79 (**KPR**) in which I speculated that the Mosman Bay meeting [*between Somers, Callcott and Jaz*] cd nt, as I had assumed, be Scott taking L to meet [*ostensibly*] Jaz [*but perhaps Rosenthal*], but someone taking L to meet Scott (hence Mosman Bay, just down the hill from 112 Wycombe). And, of course, this must be correct. It is all but confirmed by the references to "Jaz" as "living by himself" & of women liking him. It is made all but certain by the following reference: "But do the women like him?" [Somers asks] "Rose does," [replies "Callcott"], "I believe he'd make any woman like him...[he's got] a sly sort of touch-the-harp-gently [technique], that's what they like on the quiet." Which, of course, also implies - strongly - that Rose Trehwella [*the owner of the house at the end of the sandy street in what is certainly Collaroy Basin*] is Andree Adelaide Oatley [*nee Kaepfel, and soon to be Mrs WJR Scott, Rachel's womanising step-father*][*And, remember, Lawrence is talking about "Jaz" here, not "Callcott".*]

23/1/94 ditto: It was in March 1980, not February 1979 [*see note c.8/2/79 above*], that, on a trip back to Sydney from London, I went up to Collaroy to see the [Walter] Friends [*in Beach Road*]. And I had left

my main current notebook back in the UK, & thus did not record what at the time seemed an abortive meeting. But see my l[etter] to "Mr Friend" dated 8/4/80: "...while I was in Sydney recently I sought out your brother...". Why did I do this? Which brother? Did WF give me his address? He must have. Why? (This particular Friend was in the country - northern NSW - I seem to remember.)

25/1/94 ditto: One way of finding or identifying the "missing" people in *K* is to go through *K* & list the components of each character & try to work out from whom they were borrowed. If we have a lot "left over", then we have evidence of that missing person or persons.

[I did this, and the character elements are listed at the back of this second notebook. However, they revealed nothing of much import.]

26/1/94 ditto: The image, propagated by many (incl [Joe] Davis), of L sitting passively at Wyewurk dreaming up the contents & characters of *K* is nonsensical. There is far too much Sydney, etc, reality, fact, etc, in the novel for that to be the case. The more accurate image is of L darting hither & yon, garnering ingredients for his novel. He went to the library, to Dymocks, to the KMT [Kuo Min Tang], to Trades Hall, etc, etc. He was a busy little bee, buzzing all over Sydney & Thirroul in search of material to supplement his daily doings & introspective musings. Also: While analysing ch 1 (I plan to do a chapter a day), I came across L's reference to Sussex Street ("he wandered disconsolately around Sydney...") which he likened to Covent Garden in London, implying the Haymarket end [*where Sydney's markets were*]. Why did L go to that particular and not-very-salubrious part of Sydney on his first day in NSW? Maybe because that was precisely where the Trades Hall was, where Jock Garden reigned. Did he have a letter from Siebenhaar, introducing him - and wanted to find out where it was, so that he cd go there later? Could be.

1/2/94 ditto: I am beginning to realise that the roots of what happened to L in *A* lie further back, in 1920-21, when he fled England for Italy. During this period L's art was developing, & going in a new direction (the previous era ending with *Women in Love*). He seems to have been working out a new technique. But here's the crucial q[uestion]. There are two possibilities. Either: 1, he was using what incidentally happened to him as material for his fiction, or, 2, he was deliberately looking for & seeking out new experiences (eg, *Sea and Sardinia*). There is always some of the first, but how much is there of the second? Much of his "fiction" (eg *A[arons R[od]]*) is already turning autobiographical, & the difference between the two, fact & fiction, is beginning to blur (eg *Sea and Sardinia*). His introduction to *The Memoirs of the Foreign Legion* [by Maurice Magnus] has the same authorial tone as *K*. And there is something very odd about that M[aurice] M[agnus] business, as Anthony Burgess also picked up. L wrote to MM inviting himself to Monte Casino. Why? And why did he pursue the little fellow? Was it to gain material for a possible work of fiction? I am beginning to think so.

[In March 1994 I went over to Perth to take up a job as publisher of some mining magazines, and Sandra joined me soon afterwards. Professionally, the period in Western Australia was less than an unmitigated triumph. Western Australians do not like "people from the east", or, as one Westralian put it, "t'othersiders", coming over to take up jobs that locals could fill just as easily, and I was soon out of work. However, having leased a (lovely) cottage in Cottesloe, one of Perth's nicest beachside suburbs, we remained there till October, during which time, naturally, we did a lot of research on Lawrence's period in Western Australia. So fruitful was this research - and how pleasant was the stay sans job - that we now regard that interlude as one of our most pleasant memories. Its productiveness cannot be over-estimated, and included the first Yeend letters, the correspondence with LD Clark over the endings of Kangaroo, the solving of the mystery of the Old Dairy, the development of "the Darroch shift", finding out about Rosenthal's

WA background, and, most significantly, the uncovering of the true identity of Victoria Callcott. All this in a scant three months.]

4/5/94 Perth: According to Ruffels, there is a house in Ocean St, Narrabeen, called Wyewurk! *[This shows you how careful you have to be with such research, and be wary of "jumping to conclusions". Ruffels, bless his little ferrety heart, investigated this. It turned out that the owner of the house had read K & borrowed the name.]* Meanwhile some praise is beginning to come my way, or recognition at least. On Monday came a letter from Dennis Jackson of the *DHLR* accepting the piece I sent last year, "The Case for the Darroch Thesis". Enclosed with it was a letter from the "reader" to whom the article had been sent for appraisal. This turned out to be LD Clark, the eminent Lawrence scholar (*The Minoan Distance*, *The Dark Body of Night*, and the CUP editor of *The Plumed Serpent*). His assessment was an enthusiastic recommendation to publish my piece ("unreservedly"). He even praised my writing! Then, next mail, came the "Simon Leys" article from the *New York Review of Books*, "Lawrence of Australia". This pretty much pedalled my line, with attribution. A good 24 hours, & I could not have asked for more, with Steele's *K* about to hit the bookshops.

[I can't recall now who sent me the Leys article. Simon Leys is the nom de plume of the prominent Australian scholar, Pierre Ryckmans. This piece sparked a response from my old friend Humphrey McQueen (see 21/8/76 & below). In the event, the DHLR did not publish my "Case for the DT" piece. Within weeks, Bruce Steele's CUP edition of Kangaroo was published, and the Lawrence world began to turn against me.]

26/5/94 ditto: Quite a bit of L work. Was going through my files *[I had brought most of my Lawrence research materials over from Sydney, intending to stay some time]* & came across the [1919 Brisbane] Red Flag & [1921 Sydney] riots file. They were in a bit of a mess, so I started to tidy them up. Reading them, I decided to try to write a piece on the Row in Town & use it for our first DHL seminar, "In the Footsteps of Lawrence", which will be held at [our house in] Collaroy on our brief return to Sydney in a few weeks. In doing so I realised that Struthers' speech before the riot is pure IWW rhetoric. I checked in Ian Turner's *Is Sydney Burning?* *[the standard work in the IWW in Australia]* & this was pretty much confirmed. Then I read my notes & cuttings on the background to the 1921 May Day incident & the disturbances this led to. The start of it all was a meeting held in the Sydney Town Hall on May 1 to mark the death of Percy Brookfield, the Labor MP who was shot on Riverton [near Broken Hill in western NSW] railway station some weeks earlier [by a deranged Turk]. That May 1 Town Hall meeting, at which Garden spoke, has according to the cuttings, the precedent of Willie Struthers' speech in the Row in Town. And the riot that occurred in the Domain a week later had all the ingredients of the subsequent fictional fracas in *K*. Here are all the elements that go to make up "The Row in Town" chapter, including the shooting & death of Cooley (Brookfield was shot in the stomach - his "marsupial pouch" - and succumbed some time later.)

26/5/94 Perth: The *Weekend Australian* republished Ryckman's "Lawrence of Australia" article. A nasty riposte by Humphrey McQueen. So I wrote to H reminding him of our "collaboration" back in 1976-77, and enclosed a copy of my *DHLR* "Case for the DT" article, hoping - assuming - it would revise his anti-position. He replied very smugly, questioning my Scott deductions & criticising my writing (!) style. H[umphrey]! Dear, dear, dear.

26/5/94 Perth: I turn the page *[of my notebook]* & write the following with conflicting emotions. H[umphrey] said in his letter *[to me, see above]* that I had cried "proof" so often in the past. Yet that is not true - only once, really, & that was when I discovered 112 Wycombe Road, & Norm Dunn (& by that I had only meant proof or confirmation of the DT). And I have not "discovered proof" yet. But now I do have something, something (I dare to say) as significant as anything I have written in these pages before. Not a

smoking gun, but a whiff of gun-powder. I wrote some time back to Peter Yeend, the King's School archivist (see entry 13/10/93 and also 23/1/94). He had told AM that NH Wright, Walter Friend's bro-in-law, had told him that W[alter] had confessed [to Wright] that he had been a member of the Old Guard & said that L had written a novel about the predecessor of the OG. AM had also said that PY had intimated that W[alter] had been involved in "giving the keys of Wyewurk to L". So I wrote to PY asking him if he would put all this down, as it would come best from him personally. Yesty he replied, & I opened his letter at about 6pm, when I returned from work. At first the letter was a disappointment. He denied having told AM that WF had given the keys of Wyewurk to Lawrence. "I know nothing of Lawrence & the rental until Dr Moore told me." Even worse, he said "the Friend family" had deposited more material at the school, but that this was on the understanding that the material could not be used for any research "outside research on TKS matters done with the authority of the Headmaster". This "blanket arrangement" also applied to previous material deposited, Yeend said. So had the Friend family become aware of what Andrew had written in *Rananim* 2/1? [Andrew Moore had written a short piece on "What Walter Knew", mentioning his contact with Peter Yeend] In any case it was not good news. Then came some gentle hints (see his letter) that I might be on the wrong track in my "Footsteps" article [in *Rananim* 2/2 - *I must have sent him a copy of the text, in which I tried to reconstruct Lawrence's movements in Sydney in May 1922*] (cf. also what Markie Vernon said, see 5/10/93). Did it have to be Walter Friend? he asked, almost rhetorically, adding: "His father and several brothers have equal claim." Then came these words: "Now my predicament is that as Archivist I cannot allow access to the Friend material any more, yet I do hold a strong piece of evidence which your thesis needs." He went on to imply that I was wrong about Florence Avenue - or at least that I should not be limiting my search to it. "I'd be more interested in Beach Road," he said. "A check on the owners of cottages there might be very productive." Well, that's a pretty interesting letter. Clearly I'll follow it up. But it does, even in this form, confirm that I am on the right track at Collaroy. Thank God for that.

31/5/94 Perth: Our "In the Footsteps of Lawrence" seminar went off reasonably well on Sunday - 20 attendees, & no obvious flagging. (AM did a good paper on Wyewurk [see *Rananim* 3/1].) My TKS revelation [of Yeend's letter, cited above] had the desired effect, which was to hit back at the "sceptics", via Eggert (who attended). He said Steele in his [CUP] edition of *K* had taken the "not proven" line. Sandra went to see Dick Swift again & asked, as Yeend had enjoined us, who lived in Beach Road in 1922 (Dick, who must be in his 90s, has been here since 1917). A list has been duly made, & only two of interest emerge. One is W.J. Treloar (cf. WJ Trewhella) and the other a Bob Friend, who Dick recalls "coming down from the country" to the Basin in the early 1920s. This is, of course, Robert Moreton Friend, Walter's next younger brother. I have written a pleading letter to Fiona F[riend] & await a reply.

12/6/94 ditto: Letters to Peter Yeend & FF [see 29/8/94 below] went off last week. The hooks are in the water. We should soon get some bites. In the meantime, I have gone back over my Collaroy research, focusing (naturally) on Beach Road. But going over it has, alas, revealed nothing fresh, nothing apparently overlooked. The houses & their inhabitants stand there, like ghosts, waiting to come to life. I peer at & around them, but can see nothing. Yet, I know, lurking in the half-light is someone, something, somewhere. What a fascinating prospect. Within perhaps days, I will know more, revealing a new insight, or illuminating an old, discarded one. I am now constructing a detailed map of the "suspicious parts" of the street, mainly the houses on either side of Florence Avenue.

17/6/94 ditto: A really curious day to be writing such an entry. Today, this afternoon, I will probably be sacked, or otherwise got rid of, from what is almost certainly (at 54) my last job in journalism: as publisher of my little group of mining newsletters. A sad enough occasion in anyone's life. Yet also today I received a letter - from Peter Yeend - that almost certainly spells the end to all this, the answer to my long, 20-year quest. In it (see full text) Yeend reveals some crucial clues. The Friend involved is Robert Moreton Friend. The Beach Road house was rented, not bought. It was occupied (presumably) in May

1922 by RMF. But here's the crucial piece of information. NH Wright, bro-in-law of Walter Friend, was married in 1920 to a lady whose name was Victoria (nee Saclier)!!!! And, of course, the Wrights lived at Cremorne, just above Mosman Bay. That's it!!!! (PY is trying to convince the Friend family to release the precious documentation.)

[unfortunately it was not "it"]

27/6/94 ditto: Yeend replied re Mrs Wright. Alas, not Victoria Saclier, but Vida. Pity. Father was LF Saclier, a public servant (the only Saclier in Sydney, according to Ruffels). He says they lived in Redan Street, Mosman (so right area). Married "Wilbur" Wright, woolbroker, in March 1920 & they lived in Wallaroy Rd, Double Bay [*inner eastern suburb, next to Edgecliff*]. The name Saclier rang a bell with R. A Saclier is in charge of the CSR [Colonial Sugar Refining company] archives. AM confirmed this. He's also archivist at ANU [Australian National University in Canberra]. Both are hot on the scent, & Yeend says he'll do his best to help. Meanwhile H[umphry] McQ[ueen] wrote a stinging article in [ABC magazine] *24 Hours* ("Kangaroo Revisited"). He was nt too complimentary about me, but worse about Ryckmans & the procrastinating Steele. I'm drafting a riposte.

30/6/94 ditto: Nothing v. new. Wrights lived at 17 Shell Cove Rd (ie, on Cremorne peninsular, overlooking Shell Cove). Saclier parents Fanny & Louis.

2/7/94 ditto: Reading an MA thesis by one of Steele's students. [*I do not recall who sent it to me*] Mostly tosh. Main theme: *K* is about "fire & cold", & the key chapter is "Volcanic Evidence". [*well, he could have been warm here - see note 9/11/91 above*] But he did have a good point about R[obert] L[ouis] S[tevenson] & Lloyd Osborne, co-authors of RLS's *The Wreckers*. Lloyd Osborne was probably on Capri in 1921, & so cd have met L. [*RLS's novel has some parallels with Kangaroo, having a South Coast setting and actually opening, as K does, in Macquarie Street*] However, he also focused on the Mosman Bay meeting, & this caused me to do likewise. Clearly L went there to meet Scott. The conversation with "Jaz" is obviously with Scott. And he is clearly sounding L out about his politics, etc: "What do you think of this Irish business?" "And what about the British Empire?" "What about socialism then?" All prime KEA concerns. The holograph MS text - the original or first version L wrote in Thirroul - then goes on: "And supposing the bulk of the people won't have capital kept alive any more?" [and Somers replies:] "Then, as in war-time, as in cases since the world began, you've got to substitute an absolute one-man rule, quick, a sort of military rule and martial law...you've got to have [military rule] at the back of you. Then you can carry through change." No wonder Scott went straight to Rosenthal & sd, no doubt, "I've just seen a chap you *must* meet."

8/7/94 ditto: Michael Saclier (ANU/CSR archivist) has replied to AM re Vida Wright, nee Saclier. Nothing. A Mosman connection, & that is all.

8/7/94 ditto: Have done for *Rananim* a piece ["The Evidence of the Letters", 2/3] about L's repeated "I want to be alone" & "No one knows me" statements, showing that what L actually meant by this was that he did not want anyone to know he was an author & perhaps writing something about them. Also gave me a chance to answer Ellis's *DHLR* piece. Sent Hump[hrey McQueen] piece to *24 Hours*. Ryckmans wrote a friendly letter. Played cicerone to visiting Japanese professor [Yoshi Niwa] (he's translated *K* into Japanese). New editor of *DHLR* (Chuck Rossman?) also wrote appreciatively.

28/7/94 ditto: A great deal has happened since my last entry, though nothing individually significant enough to warrant a substantive entry by itself (still waiting for word from Yeend & FF). Did an article for *Rananim* on "The Evidence of the Letters" [see above]. But the major development has been a burst of research by Sandra & myself on L in WA. I won't go into it all now, for Sandra is planning to write a

book on the subject. However, one point is worth noting here. L definitely arrived intending to stay for some time (for he told a reporter who boarded the boat before it docked that that was his intention). Yet within hours of his disembarking he had changed his mind & instead decided to catch the first available boat to Sydney. Almost certainly this was because he opened a letter from Sydney that had bn waiting for him & whose content made him change his plans. Looking at Mollie Skinner's MS for *Eve in the Land of Nod*, which was edited by Lawrence. Deserves to be published, for it shows how L corrected someone else's work. Also found an "undiscovered" TS, miscatalogued, in the otherwise excellent Battye Library here. However, I begged them to take more care of their cache of Lawrence letters to Mollie Skinner. They are just available to anyone, the originals! I advised them to put them under lock & key & only let bona fide scholars touch them. I hope they take my advice.

8/8/94 ditto: Two very interesting things have come out of this current spate of research. I have bn going through the cancelled [crossed out] parts in the holograph, and something quite odd is emerging. There is, I have observed, a subtle & totally unexpected pattern in them. Surprisingly, the more he re-writes, the closer (as a rule) he reverts to the original reality (when one wd expect the exact opposite). I glanced at the several versions of *Lady Chatterley*, & there's a similar pattern there, I think. This cd be a general rule. By a happy coincidence, I have also been reading back through my (complete) run of *DHLRs*, & came across a 1968 article in which a Professor Elsie Adams remarked on the similarity between G[eorge] B[enard] S[haws] *Cashel Byron's Profession* and *Lady Chatterley*. She cited a similar quote from both books where the houses of both heroines are described. Both Shaw and L use the phrase [that the house] was on an eminence in the park. However, L used this "steal" only in the 3rd version. In the 1st version, no such eminence is mentioned. In the second, it is called an "elevation". Only in the third does it become, as in the original, an "eminence". This appears to be confirmation of my proposed new rule. But it is the second find, which comes from reading the three versions of *Lady C*, that is of real significance. In the second *LCL* a character called Jack Strangeways appears. It looks as if he is based on Jack Scott (as I had suspected might happen). The detail (on p 54 of my edition of *John Thomas and Lady Jane*) is outlined separately in my extra notes.

[I go into greater detail re this and associated matters in Rananim 5/3, "*A Ruse by any Other Name*", the third part of my "*Mining Lawrence's Nomenclature*" series.]

8/8/94 ditto: I shld record that we drove the other day up to Darlington* & tracked down the cottage occupied by Mollie Skinner's mother & brother. We can now show that L [*when he went for his scary walk in the bush*] went up the hill behind Leithdale [Mollie's house, where the Lawrences stayed], then down to the brook, a track that is still partly there.

[*Lawrence used the name Darlington in the second version of *LCL*.]

15/8/94 ditto: (Definitely a right-hand-page entry.) Something interesting has happened. It looks as if I may have discovered a major clue. (Though I shld have thought of it earlier.) As my 8/8 previous entry indicated, I have bn pursuing a line of research that started with my decision - pending news of the Friend front - to go through the entire run of *DHLRs* & extract anything about K, etc (partly for information, partly as a reflection of knowledge on the matter over a period now spanning over 25 years). This line led me to Prof Adams' article on *LCL* & *CBP*. This in turn led to the discovery of Jack Strangeways in *LCL* #2. Yesty I read Derek Britton's 1988 book on *The Making of [LCL]*, which actually has a chapter on Jack Strangeways. Britton identified JS as JMM [John Middleton Murry]. But, of course, he knew nothing of Jack Scott. (And JMM doesn't really fit, for he was not notably a fascist, & I don't think he wd have machine-gunned the proletariat [*as Jack Strangeways urges in LCL* #2].) But Britton also mentioned *The Virgin & The Gipsy*, which preceded *LCL* & largely pre-figured it. It features a military figure, too. He is Major Charles Eastwood. We know where the name Eastwood comes from. But where did L get Major

Charles? Well, in the novelette (unpublished in Lawrence's time) he is described as "surely Danish". Does this ring a bell? Cooley in *K* is described as "surely Jewish". Moreover, [Major-General Charles] Rosenthal was Danish (though he looked Jewish). But leaving that aspect aside for the moment, this led me on to think what L might be doing, generally, when he needs the names of characters (& places, for that matter). I think he has some mental equivalent of a rag-bag, filled with names & other ingredients he needs for his fiction. This bag is stuffed with names he has come across, from his childhood in Eastwood, down to his present day. If I am right (and I think I am), then that bag wd contain names like Scott, Rosenthal, Hum, Friend, etc, and, more importantly, their characteristics, both appearance-wise & behaviour-wise. And in subsequent works these patchwork "bits & pieces" wd be pulled out, when necessary, to do their fictional duty. (I must catch up on my L reading, for a Robert Moreton Friend, or parts of him, might be lying there, out in the oeuvre somewhere.)

23/8/94 ditto: (Our day in court!) Good things are emerging from my analysis of how & where L obtained his character names & fictional places. (See later exposition on this.) Already some interesting patterns are coming forward. I have identified 8 different "shift" mechanisms, so far. [*for a full "exposition" on what I have immodestly labeled, temporarily, "the Darroch shift", see the "Mining Lawrence's Nomenclature" series in Rananim 5/1, 5/2, 5/3*] Nevertheless, the main object of all this is to find evidence in his later works of his Australian period & experience. Already we have Jack Strangeways & probably Major Charles Eastwood. Now, from the other end, as it were, another "clue" emerges. I discovered yesty (reading Holderness's list of characters in L's works) that L had used the name "Struthers" before - in *A[arons] R[od]*. So I looked it up & found he is an artist-Bohemian in London (no first name) supposedly based on Augustus John. So what is the connection with *K*? Well, it's a complicated chain of association, but it fits in with what is emerging as typical L "shifts". The basic question is: what is the link between the Struthers in *AR* and the Struthers in *K*? In *AR* Struthers meets Lilly etc at the opera...at Covent Garden...[Jock Garden]...Trades Hall...St Martin's Lane...[later they go to the Adelphi...there Jim Cunningham talks about]...[Scottish miners' leader] Robert Smillie & Bolshivism. Now, I wd not place any firm credence in this "chain of association". But it's possible, & I am becoming convinced that something *like* this went on in L's creative processes.

29/8/94 ditto: DHL research progressing & expanding. I have bn reading *AR* (again). In *AR* Aaron visits Sir William Franks in "late September". Actually it was L visiting Sir W Becker in late November - a "shift" or two months. Then, a few paragraphs later, L makes the visit indeed November. Now, this is very similar to "reversions to reality" found in *K*. First it's Murdoch Street, then Road (for the reality is Wycombe Road). First St Columb is opposite a lagoon, then a few paragraphs later it is the correct sea. This fits in with the *LCL* "shifts", mentioned above (elevation-eminence). Yet the shift phenomenon cd have an greater significance, for it might be used to "translate" L's fiction, esp *K*. When you see L making such "errors", then there is a very good chance the second manifestation is the truth, or closer to it, at least.

[Hence why I did not find copious alterations or "backward revisions" when I examined the holograph MS in the British Museum library back in 1977. Or, rather, this points to part of the reason, for it is more complex than that, as we shall see when we start to get an inkling of how Lawrence actually composed his novels - see Rananim 6/2, "Down in the Forest, Something Stirred".]

29/8/94 ditto: I was in the middle of writing the [*here much truncated*] note [above], when the phone rang. It was FF, calling from Sydney. She sd she hd some news for me. You might imagine how my heart leapt. [*In my last letter to her I hd proposed a "deal" with the Friend family, whereby in exchange for access to the material they had proscribed, I wd undertake to treat their involvement with Lawrence, secret armies, etc, with "sensitivity", and to ensure their point of view was properly advanced.*] I even

thought of alerting Sandra, who was sunning herself on the verandah with Tribly, our cat, so that they might be present to witness the moment of ultimate revelation. As FF spoke, my expectations rose even higher. She sd she had some good news for me. (What other good news cd she have than the word of co-operation I wanted to hear from the Friend family bunker?) But it was nothing of the sort! She sd her parents hd just sold the family house (somewhere in Pymble, I think [*yes, another leafy, affluent NS suburb*] - it must have been almost a palace, for the buyer was Ken Cowley, of News Ltd). In cleaning it out, they had found, in what they called "the cat's cupboard", a file of papers. (This is bizarre!) And amongst them was a single sheet of paper with some form of comment, by Walter Friend, that - wait for it - his brother Ernest Adrian Friend had been a member of a secret army! Surprise, surprise! (Apparently his role was to help protect Harden, a NSW country town.) It came as a severe shock to FF's parents. Uncle Ernest, a secret soldier. Fancy that. Well, they never.

29/8/94 ditto: (Clearly a big day in Lawrence research - this being the third entry for the day, and the most important one.) Today, this afternoon, we, or rather Sandra, solved perhaps the last outstanding mystery (except the exact nature of the Friend connection, of course). Yet, & this is very peculiar, the solution - the identity of Victoria Callcott - does not lie in the Friend family, at least not on the surface. For it turns out that VC is, in large part, none other than Maudie Cohen, wife of Eustace Cohen, the couple that befriended fellow guests L&F at Mollie Skinner's guest-house-cum-convalescent-home, Leithdale, when L was in WA in early May, 1922. [*for a full account of this matter, see Sandra's "Take Me to your Liedertafel" in Rananim 6/2*] (And it is a sobering thought that we wd not have had any chance of uncovering this had we not, by accident almost, come to this Godforsaken place [WA].) So why Maudie? Well, she's recently married (like VC) [in fact the young couple were on their honeymoon]; her mother (a Brazier) came from Somerset (like VC); her father was a surveyor who had given up surveying and taken up dairy farming on the South Coast (of WA, not NSW, as everyone had assumed); and she was the eldest of a large family. (And her father came from Victoria [like VC]!) There is no question now where L got the family & other details he invests VC with. Nor is there much doubt they are grafted on to someone in NSW & who is the real VC, and who we now have to track down. However, we can at last conjure up a mind's-eye picture of Lawrence, sitting or standing on the wide verandah of Leithdale with Maudie Cohen, chatting about her family, while she waits anxiously for hubby Eustace return from Perth, perhaps on his motor-cycle. A very good day's work, all in all.

[*Sandra had got most of this from Mary Brazier, via a librarian at the Batty, Perth being an even smaller place than Sydney.*]

29/8/94 ditto: So how does this discovery fit in with the Darroch shift? Here we will have a golden opportunity, when we discover whom Maudie is the cover for, to test it out. Perhaps it will be Maudie-Dawdie. (And Cohen-Callcott?) We shall see.

2/9/94 ditto: This is really a right-hand page entry, for it is, I believe, as an important an entry as I have ever made. A major "discovery" has come out of the WA research. It began with my decision to use the time I hd left in WA to do something substantial. [*this period - July-October 1994 - was the first time I had devoted all my attention entirely to Lawrence research*] I began going through my DHLRs, partly to find references to K, partly to augment my general knowledge about L & his works & the research thereon. (It is important to note that, when I started this research effort back in the early 1970s, I deliberately avoided reading widely on Lawrence, only - and later - on & re K, so that my mind wd be uncontaminated by what other people had written. I hd adopted this approach after *Ottoline*, where we found that written sources were unreliable & misleading. I wanted to be as naïve & open-minded as possible.) Now it seemed sensible that, as the primary research was nearing an end, I shld "break out" of that self-imposed strait-jacket & begin to "bring in" that wider Lawrence world. This soon led via the DHLR to the Elsie Adams piece on BCP/LCL [see above] & to Jack Strangways & Major Charles

Eastwood. This struck a chord. For in analysing the changes L had made in *K* (see, eg, 8/8/94) I had begun to discern a pattern in L's changes in *K*. This picked up on earlier observations about L's use of names, etc [cf note 6/1/94 et seq], & led to the "Darroch shift" hypothesis. This led to the next step, which was to begin looking for such "shift changes" in L's works in general (eg, in *AR*, Algy Constable (fiction)/Reggie Turner (reality): an associated name shift). This led to me reading CUP *AR*, which I finished yesty. *AR* is very similar to *K*. The authorial tone is similar, though *K* is more markedly L. Indeed, there are 2 Ls in *AR*, as he is both Aaron & Lilly, though more the former, the latter being most a physical "shift". The pace is identical. The span of time covered is similar. The "narrative" (rather than introspective) passages are similar (L goes here, does this, observes that, meets so-and-so, etc). *AR*, in fact, reads very much like a prelude to *K* (which it was), esp in the last chapter, where the "power urge" is specifically introduced, & even the Dark Gods make a shadowy entrance. But the parallels go beyond that. There is a nightmare, & evidence of L being "stuck". There are riots (2 at least), a bomb outrage, mentions of secret army activity (proto-), socialism, Bolshevism, workers uprisings, etc. The political stuff is quite overt, & presages *K*. There is even an Australian connection, a barrister from Sydney. Contrary to what I have hitherto believed, *K* is linked to *AR*, but not via the "standard" Leadership Novel interpretation. Rather, L is using, even developing, his new writing, or rather composing, technique, & particularly his various "shift" or transposition techniques. So "shift analysis" could be applied more widely than *K*.

12/9/94 ditto: The Darroch shift is growing more sturdy by the day. ("Darroch shift" seems too grandiose, or grandstandy, but I don't know what else to call it at the moment.) I have a new example of it. But to save labour I shall simply record, in good sub-editorial fashion (my fading profession!): take in "A copy" (entry 12/9/94 re RLS from notebook 3).

12/9/94 ditto: Peter Yeend has written. He says (see his letter) he will soon approach key members of the Friend family to plead my case, "for the greater good"*. Let us hope they cleave to his earnest entreaties. Meanwhile I'm ploughing through L's works, making various side excursions into associated books, memoirs, critiques, etc. Lots of minor insights, but hardly worth recording in this now Spartan chronicle. But one item might be worthy of mention here. In *TLG* [*The Lost Girl*] L pillories leading Eastwood identity George Henry Cullen, master draper, & his family too. And he satirises or parodies much of the populace of Eastwood, into the bargain. This was in 1920, two years before *K*. And with not the slightest hint or fear or remorse. His home town. Had Jack Scott had any inkling of this, he would have kept his mouth shut.

*[*ie, that their interests lay - their "greater good" - in allowing the information out via a "sympathetic" source, rather than run the risk of less sensitive handling]*

13/9/94 ditto: The "O'Reilly speculation" [*that Lawrence's key contact on the Malwa was the Rev. Maurice O'Reilly, a prominent Catholic cleric in Sydney who was returning from a conference in Europe - the "speculation" being advanced by author Richard Hall as a counter to the Darroch Thesis*] bites the dust. Looked at newspapers in the Battye yesty. The *Malwa's* shipping list showed the Rev. M. O'Reilly in first class! So it is little wonder L showed no sign of having encountered that turbulent priest [*Lawrence travelled second class*]. Also Scrivener in first, too, so it is very unlikely he was "the young Army captain" referred to by L&F.

[this pretty well put paid to the Scrivener conjecture (or red herring), though it re-opened the question of who that "young Army captain" (who told Lawrence about the sound of the rain on the tin rooftops) actually was]

13/9/94 ditto: A further perusal of the shipping lists & movements has given added weight to my growing suspicion that Hum's role may have been less than I have previously thought (or guessed at), & that the

Friend connection might be stronger, & date back further, than I have hitherto suspected. The lists show that Mrs MK Friend did leave Perth *sans* children. This means they must have been left behind in Ceylon. *[Mrs MK Friend was shown in the ex-Sydney shipping lists (this by courtesy of Ruffels) as being accompanied with, I think, two children, & (from the Colombo lists [examined in Colombo and at the BM]) arriving in Ceylon thus encumbered.]* Which surely implies they had been left behind with people who knew the NSW Friends very well indeed. (You do not leave your children with casual strangers.) We already know L moved in the sort of circles that the Friends would have mixed with in Ceylon. So it is not beyond belief (& I put it no higher than that) that L cd have been "introduced" to the Friend's milieu in Ceylon. This wd explain things much better. They cd have provided the vital letter of introduction. The Collaroy excursion cd have bn a Friend-only operation. Which makes Whiting look even more right. At the very least, it shld make a Friend pre-Sydney contact as likely as a Hum one. (Though L's address book wd still argue Hum.) Also: a slight curiosity. *TLG* has Alvina [Houghton] becoming engaged to a Dr Alexander Graham, who is from "Sidney" in the holograph, though L later corrects it to "Sydney". Did he first hear rather than read that name? Maybe the Graham figure was a locum in Eastwood, or else someone L met at one of the Woods musical evenings in London. In any case, it wd seem that L indeed had some knowledge of A[ustralia] c. 1920.

14/9/94 ditto: On the *Malwa*, the name "Marchbanks" wd certainly have caught his attention. *[on the Malwa L&F met two English migrant couples, the Forresters and the Marchbanks]* For when they were young, L & his sister Ada used to play games in which L was "Mr Marchbanks" & Ada was "Mrs Lawson" (see l[etter] to A. Lowell 18/12/14).

16/9/94 ditto: A nice example of L's "reversion" shift is in *TLG* where James Houghton opens his cinema enterprise. L is borrowing from reality here. The real-life model of Houghton was George Cullen, the local Eastwood draper, who did open a cinema. It was called "Cullen's Picture Palace". To disguise (or shift) the original, L wants to change this to "Houghton's Pleasure Palace", which he does at first, but is drawn back, magnet-like, to the original. Several times he writes "Houghton Picture Palace", and crosses out the ["shifted"] word, "Picture". Then he gives up the fight, & leaves it unchanged, & it is printed confusingly thus. Here is the Darroch shift in full flight, & a perfect example of L reverting to reality.

[Shortly after this note was written we packed up & returned to Sydney and Collaroy.]

23/9/94 Collaroy: A letter from Yeend was waiting for me. Much excitement, as it enclosed a page of unfamiliar handwriting. I expected the best. But the accompanying news was not good. He has approached one of the key Friends, with quite negative results. His exact words are: "I was given a strong hint last night by one of the Friend family that their problem is they want no publicity and that is where the problem lies." However, he was approaching another Friend, & wd press my case further. However, the enclosed page of handwriting was quite interesting. It was numbered [page] 3 & was clearly part of a longer document. It detailed, as in a memoir, how, in 1917, a group of TKS boys went to Victoria Barracks in Paddington to enlist. (They marched all the way from Parramatta in their school uniforms!) Obviously Yeend was trying to be helpful, under his Friend constraints. He did nt say whose memoir it was, nor what else its other pages might contain. Yet it was probably a Friend memoir, & I will be much mistaken if that Friend is not Robert Moreton Friend. I wrote back begging for more, & intimating again the danger they run if the truth were to get out via less sympathetic sources. However, in the wings, other forces are now at work. M Jones rang to say she hd learned from Ruffels that Steele's *K* is out, & that it rubbishes me. (So much for Eggert's "not proven" line.) Sandra & Margaret thought I wd be unhappy about this. On the contrary, it's exactly what I wanted, for I can now use this to prise info out of Yeend & the Friends. Also, it "sets up" my discoveries all the better.

24/9/94 ditto: Went today to Abbey's bookshop to buy some CUP editions. Asked re *K*. No sign of it. So Ruffels must have had an early copy - probably via Steele, in gratitude for his assistance. Hope Steele *does* pooh-poo my theories, for the stronger his attack on them, the more pressure I can put on the Friends, etc. It's an ill wind...

27/9/94 ditto: CUP *Kangaroo* arrived yesty. At first glance, no unexpected [*ie, nasty*] surprises. A lot of things of interest, but some boo-boos, too [*as one wd expect in such a complex work*]...Charles McLaurin, etc. The argument he advances about his chosen ending (the Seltzer) looks, also at first glance, to be shonky. But I will have to check this against my own analysis.* Nevertheless, he has some important information re this. He utterly rejects - contemptuously - the Darroch Thesis (which, according to him, "has now been found to be without foundation"). I don't even warrant a cue-title, though Davis does! Well, he has gratifyingly gone out all the way on his limb. Fortunate it is that I have at hand my saw, or axe, to cut or hack him into little pieces. But I will play this game carefully, & extract maximum benefit & satisfaction. Death to Professor Steele by a thousand cuts! (But his book is v. useful & praiseworthy, the DT apart.) He does bring out one point, & that concerns the reference in *Fantasia [of the Unconscious]* to a mythical "League of Comrades" [*and written just before Kangaroo, in which extract Lawrence extols a Whitmanesque concept involving organising bands of young men, specifically in groups of 10, similar numerically to the Maggie squads in Kangaroo*]. This might go some way to explaining L's confusion about the make up of the Maggie's structure (eg, squads choosing their leaders, etc). Obviously [*perhaps*] L grafted this on to Scott's descriptions of his secret army, the proto-Old Guard. (It might also have played a role in convincing Scott that L was his sort of chap.)

*[*As mentioned above, I had done some deep analysis on this vexed matter during my preparation for my abortive submission to be appointed CUP editor of Kangaroo, and had drafted an article on it, see 31/5/79 above.]*

28/9/94 ditto: In an as-yet unpublished l[etter] to Seltz[er] dated 18/10/22, L says *K* is "the deepest of my novels" (his emphasis). What on earth could he mean by that? Am planning a "council of war" re our response to the CUP *K* at Collaroy next Sunday - M Jones, Moore, Lacey. Ruffels rang last night. Steele did send him an advance copy of *K*. Clearly not because of his championing of the DT.

6/10/94 ditto: I have now analysed Steele's argument for the Seltzer ending [to the CUP *Kangaroo*] and, though I myself originally cleaved to this ending (see my [unpublished] 1979 article on "The Endings of *Kangaroo*"), I now suspect that he is wrong, mainly because of his interpretation of how Lawrence's "last page" (sent to Secker on 10/2/23) came about, & what it consisted of. Even Steele concedes it must have consisted of Berg III (TS2) pp 475, 475a & 476*. But it is inconceivable that this Secker "last page" is not the same last page he sent Seltzer on 4/1/23, yet Steele alleges just that. However, his arguments carry some weight, & I must look into this more closely. (*Steele also seems to allege that this "last page" must also have included 474a, saying that L originally wanted to end *K* on 474, which, I think, is nonsense.)

8/10/94 ditto: Two, somewhat enigmatic, letters from P. Yeend. He has spoken to Brian Friend, son of Robert Moreton Friend. Answer still no. BF told Yeend that "the young men" (ie, his father & elder brother Walter) should not be blamed for "what they did" (presumably joining Jack Scott's secret army in 1920-22). No sign of any softening of attitude, tho Yeend says "there is still fuel on the fire", whatever he means by that. However, in his two letters he did let drop some useful tidbits of information. First, one of Rosenthal's sons was in that group that marched to Victoria Barracks to join the colours (there were 12-14 in the detachment). He said the Rosenthals & Friends were very close, exchanging family visits. Also he revealed that Walter's TKS nickname was "Jimmy" [*all TKS boys had nicknames, hence "Wilbur" Wright*]. Yeend added that Brian Friend believed that his father had owned Wyewurk.* This is where the belief that the Friends installed Lawrence in Wyewurk came from [*and they probably did*].

*[*As far as we know, no Friend ever owned Wyewurk. However, it is obvious that the house was associated in Friend lore with the Friend family.]*

8/10/94 ditto: I have bn analysing Steele's argument for the Seltzer ending. I am convinced now that he has blundered. Moreover, as a result of the analysis I think I now know what happened: how the different endings *did* come about. I may do an article on this.

19/10/94 ditto: Finished first draft of my *Kangaroo* endings article ("Not the End of the Story"). Pretty devastating re Steele. Also proposed to Yeend that he set up a meeting with the Friends (Brian & Bill), perhaps at the U[nion] C[lub]. Coincidentally, I'm playing golf on Friday at RSGC [Royal Sydney Golf Club] in the annual Union Club vs Australian Club match, and in the four behind me is none other than Brian Friend! (He's a member of the AC.) It's a small world.

16/11/94 ditto: Finished second revise of my "Not the End" article & sent it off to LD Clark for unofficial appraisal & advice. Spent most of the last four weeks polishing what is now a powerful & convincing piece. Steele will not be left with much credibility after this. He actually had the gall to write to Lacey & say that he thought *Rananim* was "concentrating too much on L's Australian period", which was only "a brief interlude". The cheek of him. Wait till he reads "Not the End"! He went on to deign to offer (in reponse to an invitation from Lacey) to provide a few thoughts, when he cd spare the time, on "some of the editorial decisions" he made with his CUP *Kangaroo* edition. Jolly D of him. Whatever sympathy I might have hd for him (which wasn't much, I admit) has now evaporated entirely. He brought to the *Kangaroo* endings the same lack of intellectual rigour he applied to the question of how the novel was written. It's strange how Lawrence attracts second-class minds. (Oops! That's me, too!) I am fortunate that he has given me such good evidence to expose his duplicity*. We decided to ask Eggert to do a "straight" review of the CUP *Kangaroo*, & he, innocent soul, has agreed. After that, we can open up the question for comment & discussion. Meanwhile, Yeend has written again repeating his detemination "to allow the truth to come out". My next move will be to write again to FF, apprising her of our intended move back to Bondi, & trying to elicit some idea of the state of play with the Friend family.

*[*In his flawed explanation of how the variant endings came about, Steele deliberately failed to mention perhaps the most germane point - that the Seltzer ending, and now his chosen CUP ending, ended in mid-sentence.]*

25/3/95 Bondi: Sent off the endings article to the *NYRB* [*New York Review of Books*], at their invitation [courtesy of a recommendation by Pierre Ryckmans]. It is rock-solid now, & shld so undermine Steele's editing credibility as to neutralise, if nt destroy, his anti-DT activities. But the main news is another Yeend letter. He wrote, after reading my article in the latest *Rananim* ("Darroch Thesis Put to Flight?") [3/1], reassuring me that, despite such setbacks, I was correct (he cited Rosenthal/Monash, etc - see letter). So, sensing an opportunity, I replied, waxing sorrowful, & asking if a way round the dilemma was to tell me something - give me a hint, as it were - chosen from his knowledge of what did actually happen, that might put me on the right track, independent of the proscribed Friend material, & wd lead me to the truth. There was subtlety here. I was trying to get him to commit to paper some written confirmation that the material he hd access to did, independent of his assertions, truly did confirm that I was correct. (I was hoping for something definitive about Scott.) Alas, his response was quite unhelpful, even negative. No extra confirmation (except a new name - "Walter's good friend George Sutherland"), and, worse, an intimation that he hd given up hope of breaking down the Friends' determination to keep their secret intact. His final words, however, reiterated his belief that I wd be vindicated in the end. Not much of a consolation. So I now have a problem. If the Yeend avenue is really closed, I may have to break through to the Friends myself. I may have to play my threat card - to tell them they have two choices: co-operate, or face the consequences. Tricky times ahead.

30/5/95 ditto: Last week I went to the [Sydney] Trades Hall [*in Goulburn Street, opposite what used to be the Sydney Markets, and where Jock Garden reigned in 1922*]. I went there because I had noticed, recently passing by, that its full name (given on a plaque by the door) was, or had been, not "the Trades Hall", but "The Trades & Labor Association Hall & Literary Institute". The latter obviously called for further investigation. [*L favoured such literary institutes, mentioning, for example, that he had found a copy of his banned Women in Love in "the Mechanics Institute" in Perth*] I rang the Secretary & she invited me along, saying that D.H. Lawrence had visited the Trades Hall, & that this was "recorded in the Minutes". You can picture me, tripping down Goulburn Street, like, as Lytton Strachey described his gait in a letter to Ottoline in the dark days of WW1, "a gazelle, or a special constable". Alas, it was not D.H. Lawrence who had paid a visit to the Trades Hall, and whose visit had been recorded "in the Minutes", but his fellow scribe Ryder Haggard, of *King Solomon's Mines* notoriety. [*More recently - see Rananim 10/1 - a student wrote to me saying that he was "doing a thesis" on Kangaroo putting the argument that it was in the same genre as King Solomon's Mines. Had I been still in touch with him, I could have directed him to the Trades Hall Minute Book, for which, no doubt, I would have forever been in his debt, or at least earned a footnote.*] However, my visit, this disappointment aside, was not without interest. In 1922, I learned from the ever-helpful Secretary, it would have had two reading rooms, one for contemporary newspapers, the other a reading-and-lending library, the former by the front door, the latter on the first floor (& which was still there). The newspaper room had been well-stocked, & even had had journals from South Africa (eg, the *Natal Mercury*) & from elsewhere in Australia (eg, the *Newcastle Herald*). They were kept, I learned, in large folders, & thus would have been preserved for some period [*I saw the extant folders for the two above publications*]. So L had access, had he visited the Trades Hall (as it seems he did), to back copies of newspapers that could have, for example, reported the 1921 May Day incident & subsequent disturbances. I perused the now dusty, & obviously now ill-patronised, shelves of the first-floor library, looking for a title that might have interested L, but came across only *Towards Democracy* by Edward Carpenter (1911). [*Lawrence had been something of a disciple of Carpenter*] Still, L's sort of stuff. The Hall's ambiance conformed with L's descriptions of "the Canberra Hall" (it seemed its dingy corridors had hardly been swept in the intervening 70-odd years). On a more downbeat note, the *NYRB* has rejected my endings article, but, on a positive note, Warren Roberts [*see above*] wrote asking if I would like to send it to the *DHLR* (Clark must have told him about it). Win some, lose some. Eggert has agreed to be President [*of the DHLA, Southall having resigned*].

22/10/95 ditto: Almost a five-month gap. My main activity has been re-polishing my endings article for the *DHLR*. Warren Roberts, bless his big Texas heart, has taken it under his wing, & himself sent it to the *DHLR*, with his blessings. As he's the general editor of the CUP project, & an ex-head of the HRC [Humanities Research Centre at the University of Texas, publisher of the *DHLR*], I think it's in with a chance. Re-read the Vernon papers (to find Friend names in Vernon's nominal rolls for the North Shore) & sent the guilty page [*containing Walter Friend's name*] to Yeend, along with something of an ultimatum, saying that if the Friends still refuse to co-operate, I would be obliged to consider using other means to achieve my end (but promising sensitivity if they agree to co-operate). [*the "Walter Friend" page was meant to show them that his identification as a secret army member was already in the "public domain", and thus this fear need not hold them back any longer*] It will be interesting to see their response. Meanwhile I'm planning to go to Nottingham for a DHL International Conference [*the main DH Lawrence gathering, held every two years*] in July, where I will detonate my endings bombshell. Also meanwhile, the "sceptics" grow in brazen self-assurance. Our new DHLA president, Eggert, has apparently hitched his caboose to the Steele bandwagon [*in his review for Rananim of Steele's Kangaroo - see Rananim 3/1*]. Even though he knows about the Yeend letters saying that I am right & Steele is wrong! Elsewhere, embarrassed silence (JR, MJ, etc). If only there's a letter from Lawrence in the Friends' family vaults. Too much to hope for, I suppose.

14/3/96 ditto: Another five months since my last entry, & I can see on the next page of this notebook Sandra's handwriting, dating back to June 1974, when we bought it, prior to going on our Greek cruise, to

record late *Ottoline* research notes. So the end of this notebook is in sight [*though I had quite a number of right-hand pages yet to exhaust*]. I must husband these last few pages carefully, for a third notebook is well-nigh unthinkable. Yet today deserves an entry, partly to report an odd encounter, partly to update the diary on recent & upcoming happenings. The odd encounter was with Phillip Simpson, husband of Caroline, nee Fairfax [*until recently owners of the SMH*], whose (excellent) book on Eveleigh was launched in the Rocks last night [*Eveleigh was the historic site of the main railway workshops in NSW, and now the site of the Australian Technology Park, where we had an office*]. His grandfather was EP Simpson of Minter Simpson, the "establishment" firm of Sydney solicitors who were linked with the Old Guard (*they were, among other things, solicitors to CSR & the King's School*). (He told me that he went to Kings with a boy called Robert Darroch! [*No kin - for I was a New Zealand-fathered Darroch - but one might suspect here, if it were anyone else than the charming, naïve Phillip Simpson, a Kim Philby ploy*.*]) He says EP had been a member of the Union Club who was kicked out because he was living in sin (his phrase!) with a lady called Mollie Earle. Rings a bell. Didn't Sandra's father mention some shady lady re secret armies? [*alas, he cannot remember any such mention*] Meanwhile, no news from the DHLR & the Lawrence mafia. Still scheduled to go to Nottingham [*for the DHL conference*] to give my hopefully explosive paper on "The Curious Incident of the Missing Full Stop". [*which later became the basis of the "Not the End of the Story" DHLR & Rananim articles - see above*]

[**Kim Philby, the English traitor, had a nice ploy which he used to win over & cement relations with casual acquaintances whom he thought might be useful to him later. He would ask the date of their birthday. Then he would say, "What a coincidence! That's my birthday, too." And thereafter the two would exchange cards on the day, and otherwise enjoy the relationship afforded by natalistic propinquity. Of course, the turncoat of Acol Road altered his supposed birthday to suit the contact and occasion. (This, otherwise extraneous, diversion is, nevertheless, justified because it allows an explanation to be advanced for the Friends' deep reluctance to admit that their forebears had been involved in secret army plotting. For such plotting was, to put it bluntly, treason - a realisation reflected in Kangaroo, when Jack Callcott - and in this guise it may well have been Robert Moreton Friend - said, when asked by his "wife", Victoria, what he and Somers had been talking about down on the beach at Thirroul, replied: "Politics, and red-hot treason."*)]

20/3/96 ditto: Wrote to Yeend re Phillip Simpson & Minter Simpson. He confirmed the Minter Simpson connection. FDW Oatley (deceased husband of AAK) did not go to Kings. Yeend added, bleakly: "No change in the Friends' position," then adding, "I still have the matter in my daily work file, for you are right, but we are prevented from proving it." Nice to know.

22/3/96 ditto: A little flurry of unexpected activity. I had been re-reading my (still unpublished) Darroch Thesis article [*languishing with the DHLR*] when I came across the reference in it to *Kangaroo's* "Colonel Ennis" being General Macarthur-Onslow. A sudden thought struck me. My theory now is that L did not invent things, but took them from reality (his "rag-bag"), then changed them, as per the Darroch shift. I know, of course, where he got the name Ennis from (Ceylon). But why did he choose that particular name? What was it in Macarthur-Onslow that connected to Ennis? (For he did not rummage aimlessly around & pluck things out at random. There always had to be a connecting link.) Then a vague memory tinkled in the back of my mind. What was Ennis's first name? Of course, it was George, as in George Macarthur-Onslow. And even better, Ennis's middle name was McDaniel. So there it is. [General] George Macarthur-Onslow became Colonel [George McDaniel] Ennis. (Note that habitually L demotes officers, General Rosenthal becoming Major Eastwood (and a mere lieutenant in *Kangaroo*), & General Macarthur-Onslow becomes Colonel Ennis. That's working-class democracy for you.)

23/3/96 ditto: So, following on from yesty's insight, are there any indications that the truth is hidden in the place & person names in *K*? Does reality lie behind them? Can we use the Darroch shift to get at the truth through these shifted [*ie, transposed or altered*] names? For example, does the [house] name St Columb tells us anything? Perhaps the actual place L met the Friends at Collaroy had such a Cornish name? Is this the place that Yeend (& others) have been hinting at? (Even Sonja's acquaintance - I can't use "friend" any more, for obvious reasons - telling her "There is the place Lawrence stayed in", or whatever?) Is St Columb Trixie's place? This deserves closer examination, which it will get.

24/3/96 ditto: I was reading though Steele's endnotes when I came to his reference to the name Trehwella. I had speculated (before I came across Hum) that the name had come, perhaps, from L reading an ad in the "to let" columns of the papers, for a Trehwella advertised a boarding house in Coogee the weekend the Lawrences arrived in Sydney - or, more likely, it was from a Cornish source, recalled from L's time in Cornwall during the war. But Steele suggested for the source an item on "May 26" in the *SMH* about the death of JTS Trehwella, "manager of Cameron, Sutherland p/l, of Neutral Bay", or, alternatively, Matthew Trehwella, a Zennor (near where L stayed in Cornwall) choirster. It was, of course, possible that L had read that Sydney Trehwella item (not in the *SMH* of 26/5, but 24/5, the Wednesday before L's Saturday arrival), but it was unlikely, partly because the spelling was wrong, and partly because of the Wednesday dateline. Yet that item, when I checked it, did engage my attention. For one thing, Yeend had just dangled the name Sutherland before me. For another, there was this Trehwella's address, which was Claude Avenue, Neutral Bay, a short distance from 112 Wycombe Road, and Scott. But there were two more things. The obituary mentioned that JTS Trehwella was a prominent Mason (and there is a strong Masonic element in *Kangaroo*), and that he had been a member of the Sydney Liedertafel, a choral society (and singing also figures prominently in *Kangaroo*, Rosenthal in particular being a leading Sydney bass-baritone). So I will high myself off to the ML next week & see what I can dig up about Sutherland, Trehwella, etc. But it certainly is odd: a Trehwella dies on 22/5, is buried on 24/5, L arrives on 27/5 & alights on the name Trehwella, injecting into his novel the man's environs, a similar Masonic background, and a musical element. Hmmm... Steele might have something here.

28/3/96 ditto: Went to the State Library yesty & perused the [news]papers. Found obit for Joshua Thoman Samuel Trehweller (nt Trehwella). However, the *DT* [*Daily Telegraph*] (29/5) ran an editorial par that gave the extra information that Cameron, Sutherland p/l were machinery merchants. Rang JR who dug up a 1949 Sydney telephone book which had George Sutherland listed as a consultant engineer at 14 Spring St [city] & 33 Telegraph Rd (Pymble? St Ives?). Still probing.

29/3/96 ditto: Went through my old friend the *Sands Directory* for 1922. No Sutherland in Telegraph Rd nor any George Sutherland listed anywhere. But Cameron Sutherland p/l was not only listed, but had an ad. And the type of machinery they specialised in? Mining machinery - winding gear, etc. [*In Kangaroo Victoria's brother is a mining engineer who travels down to "Mullumbimby", as does, at one point, "Jaz" the North Side coal merchant*] So if George Sutherland was a mining engineer, he would have had every excuse to visit the Excelsior Colliery in Thirroul. Will write to Yeend seeking more information about "his" Sutherland. (And according to Dick Swift, the Basin was a particular haunt of people from St Ives, which is, of course, a Cornish name.)

5/4/96 ditto: Letter from Yeend waiting for me at our Millers Point PO box. But, despite his opening line, "Yes, you are hot on the trail...", nothing especially helpful. "Sutherland leads you straight to Friend," he says, but he doesn't *show* me the way to get there. Anyway, I'm at Friend already. It's the way from Friend to Lawrence that I'm trying to uncover. Still, he's trying to be helpful, & there's probably a big clue somewhere in what he says. (He adds that George Sutherland had two brothers at uni, but that's getting

further away, nt closer.) I wish I still hd my team of ferrets so I cd sool them on to the problem. But they've run off in their own directions. Most frustrating.

8/4/96 ditto: I have, for the past few days, & while drafting my "What's in a Name" article [see Rananim 5/1], bn racking my brains to work out the shifts involved in {Rosenthal} = {Major Charles Eastwood}. [I have decided to use the equal sign to denote shifts and pointy brackets to enclose shift elements] (see note 15/8/94) {Major Charles} = {Major-General Charles Rosenthal} is fine as far as it goes. But how could Rosenthal become Eastwood? Some have found in Major Charles Eastwood an echo of Major T.P. Barber, the "squire of Eastwood". Far stronger, of course, is the link with Rosenthal (Danish, etc). So cd the line or chain of association be *via* Barber? (ie, {Rosenthal} = {Barber} = {Eastwood}) It's possible. Barber & Rosenthal have a lot in common. Barber was High Sheriff; Rosenthal GOC NSW. Both were local conservative, even right-wing politicians. Both went to WW1. Both were figures of local authority. And so on. There's even a hint of a connection in Barber's second name, Phillip, which L seemed to associate with Sidney/Sydney. But that's very tenuous, & I mention it only as a possible chain or shift set.

11/4/96 ditto: I think I might have stumbled on where L might have got the name Benjamin Cooley. It turns out that the father of George Cullen (of London House & Picture Palace fame) was Benjamin Cullen. L knew the Cullen family well, for he portrayed them in *TLG*. Might also make the possible shift {Rosenthal} = {Barber} stronger. Also, according to one of my young helpers, Sacha Davis, whose family is German, the name Rosenthal means "valley of the roses", and there is a village called Rosenthal in Germany! Must visit it.

17/5/96 ditto: Have written to Yeend to see if any of Sydney's big store-owning families sent their offspring to TKS. (L mentions almost in the first chapte of *K* that Sydney's "aristocracy" seemed to be the owners of the big department stores.) I seem to recall that wyewurrie in the Basin was once owned by the Horderns [*owners of perhaps Sydney's biggest department store in 1922*].

21/5/96 ditto: Why did L change (shift) Wyuna - the house opposite Wyewurk in Craig St - to Verdun? Why change it at all? He only changed things when he had to, when he wanted to "fictionalize" them. What was the reason for disguising Wyuna? It had been owned, until a few months previously, by Lucy May Friend. Perhaps it was still available for visiting Friends? (eg, Robert Moreton Friend) Or Scott?

31/5/96 ditto: Yeend replied implying I was getting cold with my Hordern, etc, speculation, despite his info that the Horderns, Nocks, Snows, Peapes, McCathies all hd nippers at TKS.

1/7/96 ditto: I'm off to Nottingham tomorrow for the DHL conference & to give my (brief) paper - aka bombshell - on the endings. Chuck Rossman, who will be at the conference, now has the article. Says he will publish later this year. Will also go to Germany & try to visit Rosenthal. Had a thought last night. The car trip back from Collaroy that Sunday wasn't in Hum's car, but in Robert Moreton Friend's car, garaged, as L says Jack Callcott's was, in town, no doubt in the Taylor's garage.

6/7/96 Frankenberg: An exotic dateline, as exotic as any I have penned. I arrived here at 8pm, so the Rathaus bell just told me. It's a hilltop, early medieval town, in Hessen. I left Waterloo at 7am this morning, by the Eurostar express & the Channel tunnel. Changed at Brussels & arrived Cologne at 2.20pm. Then the troubles started. Walked from station into town to Eurocar office. Closed. Hd to get cab to airport to hire a car there. Then I cd not find my way. Finally, more by luck than anything, I found the right road, & nosed my way towards my destination. Am now 13 km from Rosenthal, according to the sign down the hill. Passed Waldbrol, Numbrect & Dallenberg on the way (all places L mentions when he was in Germany in 1912). Too far [for him] to walk or ride. But a train line all the way. And Frankenberg is a major tourist spot. Just the place to bring a bored & frustrated nephew [Lawrence had been staying at

Waldbrol with his German relatives]. Tomorrow to Rosenthal. Shall report further. Now, a stroll round town, dinner & bed. A good day - & only a journalist cd probably have made it.

6/7/96 Frankenberg: It is now 10.15pm, the same day as the above entry. I hope whoever reads this journal might pause for a moment & imagine the state of mind I am in as I write this entry. To recap - I have come all this way, from Sydney, to test a hypothesis: that the "red wooden heart" L mentions in "Volcanic Evidence" came from Rosenthal, here in Hessen. I am here to find some evidence for this rather remote - but worth exploring - possibility. And as I drove the long miles from the environs of Waldbrol, my hypothesis has looked shakier & shakier. Too far, too far. Yet, and yet...hope (and expenditure) springs eternal. So, after writing the previous entry, I went for a pre-prandial stroll. As luck (fickle mistress!) wd have it, I came across a poster on the front of a [motor] garage advertising a "disco nite" at the nearby village of Rosenthal. Nice souvenir, & some indication that Rosenthal performs some sort of festival function, at least vis-à-vis Frankenberg. But back to the hotel. And dinner. I was placed in what seems to be the guests' dining room. I ordered. As I waited, my eyes drifted around the room. Suddenly they were arrested by the sight of a plate hanging on the wall, not more than 8ft away. An ordinary plate, glazed brown, & somewhat garish. But in the centre was something that riveted me: a heart, and, far more significantly, a heart with dots around its perimeter [*just as Lawrence describes in Kangaroo*]. Well, that's too much of a coincidence not to be meaningful. And there was a second one, too. I asked, but they knew nothing about them, except that they came from somewhere locally. You might picture with what emotions I went up to bed...

13/7/96 Nottingham: The first chance I've had of recording what happened the following day. Nothing, or very little. I drove to Rosenthal the next day (a day of accidents). The road was through a forest of great firs. It was foggy. As I arrived, the outskirts were marked by a sign, on which a rose was carved & painted. But it was a small hamlet, not really a tourist venue, though there was a hotel & a village green that sported a marquee, so some sort of festival was in progress, adding weight to impression the poster imparted. Indeed, there was another medieval rathaus & attendant architecture. Roses in abundance & carved wooden weather vanes. But no wooden hearts. After a chapter of accidents (car broke down, cdn't find drop-off point in Cologne), I got to the station just in time to catch my train back to London. Not a let-down, but needing further research.

13/7/96 ditto: Am now in Nottingham, at the uni, for the DHL conference. Not so much Daniel in the lion's den, as a mouse in a den of mice, or rats. No, no - that's beneath me. But it is an interesting experience, face-to-face at last with the enemy. Pained politeness on their part - Worthen, Kinkead-Weekes, Ellis, etc. (See separate diary of the occasion.) It will be interesting to see what happens when I give my talk on Monday.

[It was received politely, and ignored (though [CUP general editor] Professor [Geoffrey] Boulton, who attended with Ellis in tow, came up afterwards and asked: "Have you spoken to Bruce [Steele] about this?", and when I replied that we had not spoken since the Wyewurk inquiry day, added, wistfully, "Pity."]

6/10/96 Bondi: (The morning of our second [Sydney] DHL conference, at which I am to deliver a paper on my recent trip to Rosenthal [*also see "In the Valley of the Roses" in Rananim 4/2-3*].) It is disconcerting how things from the past, missed or glossed over, can re-emerge to become of the highest importance. (Hum, for example.) When we were in Perth & Sandra was doing her L in WA research, she came across the fact that Pussy Jenkins' husband, George, a lawyer, had been in Coolgarie [*a WA gold town to the east of Perth*] at the same time (1897-98) Rosenthal was there, practising as an architect. At the time she remarked that such a coincidence might have some significance. But I was in full flight with the Darroch shift, & took no special notice of this fact. But yesty, as S[andra] was keying in her talk for

today's conference [*later published as "Pussy Jenkins & Her Circle"*, *Rananim* 4/2-3] she read out - no, I read her print-out - which said Pussy was a good amateur pianist (indeed, a student of Percy Grainger). Suddenly the penny dropped. I recalled that in Perry's monograph on Rosenthal it was mentioned that Rosenthal, while in Coolgardie, was "the resident basso" in the local musical society, the Coolgardie Liedertafel. In fact, the Liedertafel's first concert [*and Rosenthal's arrival in town might well have led to the society's formation*] was given in the local Tivoli theatre on September 23, 1898. Had Pussy bn in Coolgardie, which she almost certainly was (George Jenkins was Mayor of Coolgardie in 1897), then she, too, wd probably have been at that premier concert, & may even have played accompanist for "the resident basso". (The cutting of the occasion sd Rosenthal sang "The Nightwatchman's Chorus", otherwise known as "Lardbord Watch Ahoy".) So, 20 or so years later, when Pussy was pressing on Lawrence letters of introduction to people she knew in Sydney, she may have recalled that resident basso, and included one to him. And we can take this speculation further. Had L & Rosenthal met in such a context, one of them cd have referred to those Coolgardie and Liedertafel days, & Rosenthal might have mentioned that Sydney, too, had a similar musical body, the Sydney Liedertafel, whose name had now bn changed to the Sydney Appolo Society, & which hd, only the previous week, lost one of its most active members, Joshua Trewheeler, of Cameron Sutherland & Co, mining engineers.

[*rank, journalistic, even Davisesque, speculation of the worst type - but see note 29/5/02 below*]

10/2/97 ditto: Out of my extensive work on L's "transformation techniques" (a better phrase than "the Darroch shift") have come three articles on the matter, which will be published shortly in *Rananim* [5/1, 5/2, & 5/3]. I am now working on something else, but which came out of this research, & is closely associated with the transformation phenomenon. The question has always bn: what was L doing, or trying to do, with *K*? I *had* thought that he was experimenting with a new technique (the diary form), & that *K* was a "one-off". But the transformation techniques I have identified persist throughout his works, before & after *K*. I am coming to believe, therefore, that they are part of some automatic process (ie, not separate & conscious or objective) that was at the heart of his creative process, dating back to 1908 or thereabouts. But there is something else, too. Around the time he finished *K* - indeed, immediately after - L began a series of essays about the form of the novel. Immediately before *K*, he had been putting down, in *Fantasia [of the Unconscious]*, his thoughts about the creative process. I am beginning to think that *K* - or a proper understanding of it - is crucial to understanding how he wrote his fiction, how his creative processes worked. It may well prove that this, really, is what *K* is "about".

19/2/97 ditto: I now think I have an insight into something of fundamental importance about *K* & L's creative processes. I will nt explain here how I came to this insight, except to say that it is the result of a process involving a long series of smaller insights, recorded separately in the Darroch shift extra notebook. I will just state it baldly. I now believe that there are two Lawrence "voices". There are almost two Lawrences. There is the "authorial" voice - the "dear reader" voice of his letters, essays & parts of his fiction (but not, I think, most of his poetry). Then there is the voice of what he called "his daemon" - the creative voice. Time & time again, he refers to this latter "beast", whom he can't seem to control, & which (for it seems a "thing" rather than something animate) he has to conjure up, or else it makes unscheduled, uninvited manifestations of itself, & which is the "real author" of much of his fiction, & perhaps all his poetry. This, if I'm right (& I'm investigating further), cd help explain some profound puzzles about, in particular, *K*, such as why L seemed incapable of changing some things, such as the repetitions. Maybe, & I realise I'm drawing an enormously long bow here, maybe these bits were "written" by the daemon, & the "other" L cdn't (or wdn't) change them.

23/2/97 ditto: An amusing thing has happened. AM related it on our annual DHL Harbour Cruise [on the *Lady Hopetoun*]. A woman from Ermington [a Sydney western suburb] rang AM to tell him about her father, Jack Davies, who was high up in the Old Guard (the Country Movement) in 1930-32 around Scone

[a country town/center north-west of Sydney]. His name is on the cigarette case. *[Andrew had found a cigarette case, presented I think to Colonel Hinton (see note c. 1/1/78 above), bearing the engraved initials of all the Old Guard "top brass", including, of course, "JWRS"]* She told AM a lot about the OG around Scone & the Hunter [River]. As she reached the end of her recollection, Andrew, ever alert to possibilities, asked her if she was aware, by chance, of any link between her father's organisation & DHL & Kangaroo. Yes, she said, brightly. She knew of a book that had been written locally to explain how the OG came into existence, & it included the story of how Lawrence came to be involved with the organisation. She sd she would get the book & show it to Andrew, who made the earliest possible appointment to see the lady & her book. Had our ship come in at long last? She greeted him at her door with an apology. She did indeed have the book, & it did give a history of the OG, at least in the Scone area, but it had nothing about Lawrence. She had mixed it up with another book that had mentioned Lawrence & secret armies, a book by a chap called Andrew Moore. However, that aside, she did have some important information. The local book (by Sandy McTavish or some similar name) recalled that the local OG branch was run out of someone's house, & that they used to meet in its garage. The two chaps in charge of the local group were called "the two rats from the garage*". Interesting.

*[*We now believe that one of the pseudonyms or euphemisms for the 1920s NSW predecessor of the Old Guard was "the garage" - which makes Callcott's profession in Kangaroo ("garage proprietor") more than a little pertinent.]*

17/4/97 ditto: A lot has happened since my last entry. Concentrating mainly on my new "insight" into (dare I say it?) "the other Lawrence", that "daemon" whose dark side is beginning to make the Picture of Dorian Gray look like The Laughing Cavalier. Thus the secret army side has lain dormant, until last week, when I decide to take matters into my own hands. Enough is enough, I said to myself, & sat down & drafted an ultimatum to the Friends, warning them that unless they agreed to remove their ban on the TKS material, or otherwise agreed to co-operate, then I would be left with no option than to reveal to the world their terrible family secret. I also wrote to Yeend, telling him what I intended to do. I waited a week, then, having received no reply, I saw Fiona Friend, showed her the Kings letters from Yeend, and enlisted her aid in getting the ultimatum into the hands of the relevant Friends (Bill, Brian & her father). It will be interesting to see what happens, or doesn't happen. However, I will not let the 75th anniversary of L's visit pass without attempting to flush out the truth.

30/4/97 ditto: I received from Yeend a short note saying that he had referred the matter to the Headmaster [of Kings] - what authority & power does that title conjure up! - and who is now "reviewing" the correspondence. I don't know what the result of this will be, but at least he should contact the relevant Friends & inform of the danger. At any rate it adds to my cache of documentary evidence. I am optimistic, & am beginning to compose what I'll say when I am given access to (what I assume is) the confession of Robert Moreton Friend. (Also I have bn having a rather dusty exchange of emails with John Worthen [*Lawrence biographer and head of the DH Lawrence Centre at Nottingham*], whom I have apprised of the existence of the TKS letters. He says he prefers to remain one of the sceptics, however.)

1/5/97 ditto: Of course, a Lawrence transposition cd explain Vida = Victoria [*see note 27/6/94 above*]. Also yesty I played the Minter Simpson card. Wrote to Phillip Simpson [*see note 14/3/96 above*] asking if he had heard of any possible link between the law firm & DHL.

21/9/97 ditto: On the ABC the other night, Mrs Ritchie (dau[ghter] or g-dau of Major Jack Davies of Scone OG notoriety), whom AM interviewed [*see 23/2/97 above*], sd she was told by her mother that Davies joined the predecessor of the OG in 1922 (precisely). He was enlisted by Macarthur-Onslow & a Colonel Arnott. They used to meet in the garage. (Date is important.)

[To some, this fixation with garages might seem strange. But garages performed a number of useful functions for secret army plotters. First, they were, like the shed, a male preserve, for "the women" were not to be included in any plotting. Second, the car was there, and the car was the main item of secret army ordinance, as it afforded both speed of mobilisation, and could double as an offensive weapon in riot situations. Third, meetings in them were unlikely to arouse much suspicion, for blokes, or rather chaps, naturally congregated around motor machinery, discussing camshafts, universals, big-ends, and the other arcane paraphernalia of automobiling.]

7/3/98 Bondi: More than six months since my last entry. Nothing very exciting to report. FF never replied, despite various reminders. No doubt "got at" by the Friends (inheritance concerns, etc). Nothing, too, from Kings, so the Yeend opening is totally closed now. The vault door has slammed shut, and I am back in stygian gloom again. Ellis's volume covering L's time in Australia has been published, but though I asked Peter Preston [*of the Nottingham DHL Centre*] for a photocopy of the Australian bits, I got no reply. Have ordered a copy via *The Spectator*. I hope it is dismissive [*it was*] as it helps keep up the pressure on the Friends, Kings, etc (but not with any hope of success). Been corresponding with Taos [*where the next DHL Conference was to be held, and to which Sandra and I planned to go*] but silence since I revealed my non-academic background. No reaction to either my endings piece in the *DHLR* or my nomenclature series in *Rananim* [5/1 etc]. Warren Roberts, my good & true friend, died, & I did a little item about him - having inspired me, etc - which I sent to the DHL list [*a short-lived website run by Chuck Rossman out of HRC*]. Our DHLA society hangs on, but by a thread, with membership & enthusiasm eeking away. But to end on a positive note. Last night at the ATP [*Australian Technology Park, where our Internet company had its office*] I met the financial controller, Charles Summers. He is egregiously Scottish (so we got on well!) & revealed that his family came from Cruden Bay, near Aberdeen, & confirmed that Summers is a Scottish name. (The Murdochs also come from Cruden Bay, & Charles's father [or grandfather] knew Keith Murdoch, Rup's pop.) However, this [Scottish information] might help with a Darroch-shift transformation: {Lawrence} = {RLS} [Robert Louis Stevenson] = {Richard Lovatt Somers}. Well, anything's possible.

3/4/98 ditto: Completed the draft of my proposed talk/paper for Taos in July. It will be an update on the DT, with Yeend embellishments, with a substantial APL [American/Australian Protective League] historical piece tacked on to the front [*eventually published in Rananim 7-8/1 as "Nothing to Sniff At"*]. Reads OK, but may be too long, or too arcane, for the Taos organisers. Also wrote to Lloyd Waddy, chairman of the TKS Council, with a final appeal, suggesting someone else (such as [my TKS friend and fellow journalist] Chris Ashton) read [the Robert Moreton Friend "confession"] & give me a clue that might lead me, independently as it were, to the truth, while preserving the Friend family honour, etc. A desperate throw, but one worth trying, for everyone's sake. Sent off to NY the text of my talk for approval by the Taos organisers. Read the Ellis bio. As expected, he gives no credence to the DT, using as his main rebuttal the "time" argument. [*the argument, also put forward by Joe Davis, that Lawrence would not have had time to mix with secret army types in Thirroul and NSW*] He, surprisingly, relegates Steele's "League of Comrades" revelation [*see 27/9/94 above*] to a footnote. Goes on about "the unconvincing nature" of the DT & eventually plumps for invention. Really? However, he does concede some possibility of reality content, perhaps, he suggests, garnered from the local barber, Laughlin. Yes, I can see it now. Lawrence comes in on his weekly visit, perhaps after a strenuous game of tennis with Dr Crossle. After leafing through a new magazine, a chair becomes vacant. "A beard trim is it today, Mr Lawrence?" asks the gossipy Laughlin. "By the way, have you heard the latest about the secret army...?" Already the local reviewers (*SMH*, etc) are cleaving to his views. The DT is dead, caput, as far as the outside world is concerned.

4/4/98 ditto: Ellis has, however, some useful stuff. For example, he mentions that the Brewster daughter, Harwood, is still alive (or was) & she remembered going to the Pera-hera with Lawrence, accompanied by Mrs Ennis "and two other women". So L had met the Ennises *before* he went up the Nuwra Elyia. That's interesting. It means that L was mixing in the highest social circles almost on arrival in Kandy. Which gives him ample time to come across someone who knew Mrs MK & the other Friends.

9/4/98 ditto: Ill winds continue to blow me some good. Ellis made much of L's constrained timetable for writing *K*. He sd 3000-4000 words a day wd have precluded him going up to Sydney regularly & meeting people such as Scott & Rosenthal, as the DT insists he did. (Indeed, Davis wd hardly allow him to lift his head from his darg, permitting him only two trips up - one to collect his trunks, the other to book passage to Taos - ie, arriving at Thirroul, & departing therefrom.) In considering this point, a sudden thought struck me. L gave his mail address in Syd[ney] as the Thomas Cook office in Martin Place, not Wyewurk in Thirroul, for he did nt know he wd be staying in Thirroul before arriving in Sydney, & by the time he did tell someone his actual local address, he wd, in all probability, have left for America. As he was expecting important letters, such a cheques, etc, almost weekly, he wd, of course, have hd to make regular trips up to Syd to collect his mail, at least. Now, the point here is that we know that overseas mail came to Sydney by one means only: by ship. Also, we know the arrival dates of those ships, as we also know L did (he kept very good track of such things). So we can, in fact, correlate the ship arrival dates with the trips he wd have had to make up to Cooks. In other words, we *know* when he was likely to have made a trip up to Sydney. Not only that, but this "excuse" cd also have disguised, from Frieda at least, the "other things" he might have bn doing while up in town. And there's another possibility here. He had to send mail overseas by ship, so the departure times of the mail boats wd also have bn important to him, & he may have made even more visits to Sydney to ensure his letters caught those boats.

16/4/98 ditto: In trying to work out, apropos of the above entry, L's probable Sydney excursions (& thus his possible meetings with Scott, etc), I remembered something that I should have thought about more closely at the time. (I now believe Lawrence made either four or five trips up to Sydney, before he was "cut off" by Scott & Rosenthal, probably around 2/7/22.) As I began to try to picture in my mind these Sydney excursions, I recalled that L says in *K* that Somers, when collecting his trunks, went up to Sydney "for two days". Two days? Why *two* days? That is odd. It implied an overnight stay in Sydney. Why wd he stay overnight in Sydney? [*one possibility was that the trunks weren't available on the Thursday or Friday, so he had to stay overnight to arrange their forwarding the following day*] Clearly, I then calculated, this overnight stay was the visit during which L met Scott (& so spanning the day of the Friday ferry collision [*which is mentioned in K & reported in Saturday's Sydney papers*] - ie, Thursday-Friday or Friday-Saturday, June 2-3-4). Then I suddenly recalled Whiting's letter [*see 14/9/77 above**] in which he said that he hd information, from obviously reliable sources, that "Scott fits the description I had of the man who met Lawrence at the wharf & look him to stay with him on the North Shore for two days." Two days! That had to be the same two days mentioned in *K*. Then it hit me. I had hd the wrong wharf! I had always assumed that the wharf Whiting had bn referring to was the P&O wharf at the bottom of Macquarie Street, where L was met on arrival in Sydney, presumably by Gerald Hum. No reconstruction I cd envisage wd have Scott at that wharf on that day, so I dismissed this (otherwise very strong) piece of "evidence". Besides, the trip up to Narrabeen/Collaroy on the following day, the Sunday, cd hardly be described as "being taken to stay with him of the North Shore for two days". Now, however, I realised that the wharf Whiting hd, of course, bn referring to (or hd bn told about) was nt the P&O wharf, but the wharf at Mosman Bay! Then it all slotted into place. L hd come up to Sydney on the Thursday or Friday morning [*we still don't know which*], caught a ferry (hence his description of the ferry collision in ch 2) to Mosman Bay, & there met Scott. They then walked around to the little park opposite the wharf & there sat & talked, possibly in the company of Robert Moreton Friend. Later that day, after L hd arranged for his trunks to be sent down to Thirroul by rail, he returned to Mosman, by inviation, to spend the night at Scott's flat at 112 Wycombe Road (for, no doubt, he hd discerned in Scott - a la Maurice Magnus - the germs in him of a novel). It was *then* he climbed up the slat ladder to the tub-top

lookout in Scott's backyard, & looked down to the Harbour in the fading light. Then, the next day, he wd have returned to Thirroul, possibly - no, almost certainly - in the company of Scott. And, of course, he *could* easily have stayed that Friday (orm Thursday) night at 112, for Frieda was not with him, & he cd have bedded down on the sofa, or whatever, perhaps after a game of chess with Scott. Next morning, he wd have walked to Mosman Wharf with Scott, as Somers does with Callcott, meeting "Ant'ny", "Bill, old man", etc, on the way down. Yes, it all fits now.

*[*Above I say "three days," but my better recollection is that Whiting sd either two days or "several days".]*

17/4/98 ditto: First, the bad news. Most of L's ex-NSW letters are postmarked "Thirroul", so he posted from there, not from Sydney (though he mentions going to the GPO in Sydney). But he still wd have hd to come up to Sydney to collect his mail (unless it was redirected, which is unlikely, particularly as, in all probability, he needed to come up to Sydney regularly). We can now date those Sydney excursions, & they are: June 2/3; June 8/9; June 15; June 24 & July 4/5 (plus, probably, July 15). [*ie, once a week*] These excursion dates correlate well with the [content of the] letters themselves, the weather, tides, sun/moon phases, the text of *K*, current events, issues of the *Bulletin*, & other associated information*. We can almost (but not quite, yet) follow his day-to-day, even, sometimes, his hour-to-hour movements. Most especially, they fit in with the information he was getting from Scott & Rosenthal (eg, when he tells correspondents he is "stuck" in his novel - for Frieda mentions this in a dated letter giving a precise page-number in the MS for this "stuck" event).

[I suppose I should explain how I know this. Over many years I have reconstructed a detailed "diary" of Lawrence's time in Sydney and Thirroul, correlating and cross-referencing such things as weather, newspaper reports, etc, etc. For example, in his letter dated June 6 to Mountsier, Lawrence said: "I had your letter of May 9 yesterday - direct to Sydney - and yours of April 20 today." - ie, on consecutive days. The explanation was that the May 9 letter arrived via an ex-U.S. ship on June 8 and the UK letter, sent to Kandy and readdressed, via an ex-UK ship on June 9.]

17/5/98 ditto: My analysis of the holograph (to determine what he wrote when) is going well, & providing some useful new insights. [*I have, courtesy of the late Dr Warren Roberts, a photographic copy of the text he wrote in Thirroul, as well as photocopies of the extant typescripts, which he corrected in Taos*] I am beginning to develop a picture of his daily writing regime (I can now tell the breaks in the writing sessions from the changes in his handwriting). He wrote 3000-4000 words a session, or between 10 and 18 pages a sitting (the MS has 559 pages) - necessitating between 30 and 38 sittings [*ie, he could not have done it in less than 30 sittings, and it seems unlikely he took more than 38*]. He probably started on Wednesday or Thursday May 31/June 1 & put down his pen on July 15 - a writing span of 46 or 47 days. On average, he wrote about half a chapter a day (there are 18 chapters). So on a number of days he did not write at all (ie, when he was up in Sydney staying with Scott, or at the Carlton Hotel, for example). [*This pace of writing, which is phenomenal, and has been remarked on by a number of critics - eg, Aldington in his Phoenix edition Introduction - has flummoxed many people, Ellis, Steele & Davis in particular. They cannot see how he cd have kept this up, and still have had time for the sort of extensive socialising (not to mention research) the DT says he must have had with Scott, Rosenthal and the Friends. And this is a problem, especially if you also allow him time to think up the plot, etc. For the DT to work, Lawrence must have been writing almost at dictation speed.*]

17/5/98 ditto: I have begun my attack on the Friends, or rather their intransigence. I fired the first, warning, shot via a letter in *The Australian*, assisted by the good offices of an old ACP colleague, Shelley

Gare (who is now features editor there). The letter began with the words "While researching the links between anti-democratic movements in the 1920-30s, D.H. Lawrence, and a leading Sydney boys' school, I came across...." That should put the wind up them.

July-August 1998 Bondi: *[This is a retrospective entry, re-created to fill a gap. It concerns my Taos trip, itself described, in somewhat tongue-in-cheek (with emphasis on the cheek) fashion, in Rananim 6.2, "Fear & Loathing in Las Taos". I am taking the liberty of reconstructing it in diary format so as to maintain the diary form of the narrative. I justify this "fiction" by the fact that I should have made an entry describing the Taos trip, but that I was in no mood to do so, and so this entry is redressing that omission.]* The trip to Taos, from which I have just returned, was a mixture of farce & deep disappointment, or more accurately, disillusionment. I went with fairly high hopes - indeed, we both did, for Sandra left Sydney with me, intending to also give a paper in Taos on her WA discoveries. I was to deliver a paper on the present state of the DT, a copy of which I had sent to the conference organisers for their OK, which they gave, or at least that's what I thought they did. Sandra, however, fell ill in Singapore, & we thought it prudent to send her back to Sydney, as the risk of her condition worsening in London or America, out of reach of familiar care, was one we could not take. So I went on alone, intending to read her paper for her, along with my own. The trip to Taos was long & arduous, culminating on a long bus ride from Denver to Taos, where I arrived, after more than 12 hours in the bus, late in the afternoon of the day before the conference was to begin. There was a glitch about my room, but it was sorted out, and I picked up my copy of the conference program, which, I was dismayed to discover, had me slotted in for a talk I had not prepared. Instead of "Nothing to Sniff At", an update on my secret army research, I was expected to deliver a paper on "Lawrence's Response to the New Worlds of Ceylon & Australia". What on earth could I say about that? - especially on the third day of the conference, after such papers as "Celtic Cycles Recycled in *The Horse-Dealer's Daughter*" and "Lawrence, Silko and Southwestern Multiculturalism". As I later remarked in my "Fear & Loathing" piece, a bit hard to go back to Australia from there. So, as I already had some concerns about how my anti-Lawrence-establishment DT paper would go down (concerns exacerbated by the frosty reception I had got from other - for I consider myself one - Lawrence scholars), I decided instead to give a hastily-complied paper on my new obsession: Lawrence and trees. *[For my transformation research had advanced apace in the past few years, and was now pushing into very new territory indeed. Putting it baldly and briefly, I was developing a theory involving Lawrence needing the companionship, even the collaboration, of trees to compose his fiction. This will sound utterly mad, but the DT had taught me that mad ideas about Lawrence may not turn out to be so crazy after all. Lawrence was a very peculiar and complex person. As luck would have it, there was another scholar giving a paper at the conference which touched on this idea. Michele Potter of the University of New Mexico was giving a talk on the influence of various trees on Lawrence and some of his works. She gave, for example, a list of the trees that had influenced various Lawrence works - and I kid you not - such as an apple tree (The Fox), various fir trees in Bavaria (Aaron's Rod), a willow in Mexico (The Plumed Serpent), umbrella pines outside Florence (Lady Chatterley's Lover), a Swiss pear tree (The Man Who Died), and the famous pine tree at the Kiowa Ranch (St Mawr, The Woman Who Rode Away, and Pan in America). And if anyone has doubts about this, and I don't blame them if they do, then I would urge them, most earnestly, to read "Trees and Babies and Papas and Mamas", which is chapter 4 in Lawrence's Fantasia of the Unconscious. You will not laugh about Lawrence and trees after that. (In fact, read the whole of Fantasia, for it will alter your view of Lawrence most substantially. It was written just before Kangaroo.)]* So that is what I did (for I had brought with me my "Darroch shift" notebook, in case I ran across anyone else at Taos with whom I might discuss this somewhat outré new theory of mine). This necessitated some absences from the conference events, particularly the social ones, but as I had come to regard my presence there as as welcome as Adolf Eichmann's at a bar mitzvah, this didn't much worry me. I finished the paper and delivered it [see "*Down in the Forest, Something Stirred*" in Rananim 6/2], and then gave Sandra's paper at a session I had to chair. Perhaps the saddest part of the experience was coming across LD Clark, who had been so enthusiastic and helpful over my DHLR pieces, and him turning away, as though I were a stranger. Which, I suppose, in that company, I was. I got out as soon as I

could, and returned to Sydney as swiftly as possible. For some time after that, the name Lawrence and the thought of research were as ashes in my mouth. I did very little work on Lawrence in the next year or so, except for *Rananim*.

19/2/00 Bondi: A new century, and a new millennium - and almost two years (!) since my last [actual] entry (made just prior to my trip to Taos and the 7th DHL Conference [*see above*]). I had foresworn DHL after Taos, apart from the subsequent *Rananim*, and indeed little has happened since, except my correspondence with Kings (see letters). So what justifies this entry? Nothing very substantive. I opened my notebook at the entry re Markie Vernon, partly to include something from it in the next issue of *Rananim* (which we are now finalising), and partly because at the [Union] Club last week [fellow Member] Geoff Dobbyn revealed that he was - wait for it! - the nephew of Markie Vernon (his mother, apparently, is, or was, a Vernon). He has agreed to approach her and beg, on my behalf, for her to reopen the door* just a crack. It might even make a footnote to my "Nothing to Sniff At" DT article in *Rananim* 7-8/1.

*[*This "door" reference might becoming confusing. What I mean to convey here is a door between the outside, ignorant world, which I and others inhabit, and the light of knowledge behind the door of the truth about Lawrence, Kangaroo and the secret army.]*

7/3/00 ditto: Posted *Rananim* out yesty, with my "best case" for the DT in it ("Nothing to Sniff At"). Sent it to Kings, Yeend, FF, SMH, Australian, Steele, etc, etc. The die is now cast, as I told the new Head of Kings, Dr TF Hawkes. It will be interesting to see what happens. G Dobbyn is writing to Markie. But she's "reclusive", he sd. Not promising.

17/3/00 ditto: Peter Yeend has sent in a personal (not TKS) renewal for *Rananim*. He has added his fax & email address. Is this the hint of a rapprochement? I will send him a nice note & see what happens. (No news from Markie Vernon.)

20/3/00 ditto: Geoff Dobbyn rang last night. Sd Markie asked him to apologise and decline a meeting with me. Various medical grounds cited. Slight chance GD might visit her and try to get something. We'll see. Meanwhile I posted a groveling letter to PY, with my email address. We shall see. [*no response*]

10/9/01 ditto: Again, over a year since my last entry. A year in which our DHLA society has fragmented, due to Paul Eggert's defection. [*Well, not so much a defection as an expulsion. Following publication of my "Fear & Loathing" article, Eggert made overtures to some academics at Wollongong University about taking over the running of the DHLA and "refocusing" its activities from Sydney to the South Coast. This did not work out and led to an exchange of letters between myself and Eggert, published in Rananim 9.1. At the next AGM, John Lacey became the DHLA President, and Eggert did not renew his membership.*] John Lacey is our new President, and our main activity now, socialising apart, is building our DHLA website. But that is not the reason for this entry. Rather it is my realisation, when subbing my "Nothing to Sniff At" article, that Scott is probably Lawrence's cover for Robert Moreton Friend (or have I mentioned that before?).

4/4/02 ditto: Seven months since my last entry. I had thought that there wasn't, miracles apart, much scope for further advances that wd warrant new entries (esp as I have only one side to write on, so my entries must be fairly substantive). But now something has cropped up, quite unexpectedly, from "left field", as it were, which certainly deserves a substantive entry. I won't go into the whole thing here, for it is outlined in the article "The Man Who Wasn't There" I am writing for *Rananim* [10.1]. The man in question is George Augustine Taylor - not a name that has impinged on these notebooks hitherto. I had never heard of him until AM sent his letter about him to me a couple of weeks ago. Now he is the center

of attention. His use of the name Cooley (twice!) and his closeness to Rosenthal make for a fascinating mystery. I have not solved the mystery yet - and I never might. But I can say that it is highly unlikely that the use by L of the name Cooley to describe Rosenthal can scarcely be unrelated to Taylor's use, twice, of the same name Cooley in his 1915 novel, *The Sequel*. Exciting days again!

11/4/02 ditto: I have just finished the Cooley/Taylor article, leaving the answer to the mystery quite open. I ended it by posing the question: Is it a coincidence that Taylor conjures up the same unlikely name Cooley that L uses in *K* to describe their mutual friend, Rosenthal? Clearly not. There must be an explanation. Moreover, the clue to that explanation must lie in *K*, or elsewhere at hand. What cd that answer be? One possibility is that Taylor put some element of his hero Rosenthal into *The Sequel*. That's possible, given their mutual interests & close association. (Ruffels is equally fascinated by the mystery, & is using his very considerable skills & resources to probe further.) If L found Rosenthal charismatic & visionary, so wd Taylor. Did he associate Rosenthal with the name Cooley via his contact with *The Public* & *The Arena* (ie, via Henry George)? [see Rananim article] But how, when & via whom was the information imparted to L, esp as Taylor wasn't in Sydney at the time?

23/5/02 ditto: I have bn spending the past week or so keying in & editing my complete diary - both notebooks, from 1976 to the present day. It is to be the main content of the "Darroch Thesis" section of our DHLA website, which itself is now the main focus & activity of our society (Lacey will be running it, with Sandra providing the technical & other assistance). An interesting exercise, for it both reminds me what has happened, & allows me to add a few flourishes that make it quite readable, even interesting (I think anyway). I'm now up to Nov 1993, & up till now no new insights have materialised. But now one has, I think. *[One good thing about "digitising" the diary is that I'll be free from now on - for I will using the diary was my primary recording medium - to go back & remove deadwood & deadends. Indeed, there are some interesting "technical" possibilities emerging (such as the use of hyperlinks) that cd convert these bland words into...well, I'll leave that matter open for the moment, but something is beginning to stir in my mind about a new online form of - I suppose the best term now is - "literary content". But that's down the track, to use an Australianism.]* This new insight came from entry 19/11/93 (see above) where I put down what Phyl Cope hd told Sandra about the Friends. She sd, inter alia, that the Friends "often played poker at a house opposite Hinemoa". Why I missed the possible sig[nificance] of this, I do nt know. Of course, "the house opposite" must be that white stucco bungalow facing the beach, immediately to the north of Hinemoa. When reading this, or keying it in, I suddenly remembered Yeend's letter that advised me to divert my attention away from Hinemoa, Florence Avenue & Walter Friend, & instead focus on Beach Road & "one of Walter's brothers". Then there was Markie Vernon's haunting question, when I was rabbiting on about Hinemoa, Hum & Scott: "Are you sure?" So I sd to myself, cd L have met the Friends - specifically Robert Moreton Friend - in that white stucco bungalow? The something really clicked. Cd it have some Cornish connection? (L called the place Somers has tea with Callcott - at what I now know was Collaroy Basin - "St Columb", mentioning that the name came from St Columb Major in Cornwall.) From the recesses of my fading memory of the Basin I seemed to recall that that place had an entrance in Beach Road, next to Fox Park, & that on its stone entrance gateposts was a name, Edgumbe. I sd to myself, I bet that's a Cornish name. And I consulted my new electronic ferret, Google, & sure enough, Edgumbe is a place in Cornwall, near Torquay. I will heigh myself up to the Basin tomorrow, & I will be most surprised if that white stucco place is not Edgumbe.

24/5/02 ditto: Well, it isn't. The name on the gatepost is "The Reef", & the driveway indeed leads to the white stucco cottage (now in very poor repair) on whose verandah is a fading nameplate that reads "Seaview Cottage". Puzzling. Also, there is a closer house "opposite Hinemoa", & it is 8 Florence Avenue, & cd date from about 1922. But it's nt in Beach Rd, so the "Yeend Razor" wd seem to rule it out, for he sd, or implied, that I shld be looking for Robert Moreton Friend, & the place he & L met, not in

Florence, but in Beach Rd. (I think there's a house in Cliff St, parallel with Beach Rd, that has the name Edgumbe on it.)

[however, this indeed proved to be the Friend holiday cottage in Beach Road, as will become apparent much later]

29/5/02 ditto (*my first "electronic" - ie, non-written - entry*): A second "insight", or, more accurately, a "second sight", has emerged from the current keying-in exercise. When typing in the entry about George Sutherland (see 5/4/96 above) it occurred to me that I didn't really follow that Yeend "tip" up, properly, & when reading it again, especially alongside the later entry about "you're on the right track...Sutherland leads straight to Walter Friend", I realised that, probably, Yeend was doing his best to tell me something significant here. What? At the time (mid-1996) I did quite a bit of poking about, with Ruffels' help, into Sutherland, but nothing seemed to gel. However, I was about to go off to Nottingham & Hessen, so I got diverted. I did not come back to it, & I shld have probed deeper. The link between Yeend's (independent) tip, the Trewheeler obit (published almost the day before L's arrival in Sydney), the fact that that Trewheeler worked for mining engineers Cameron Sutherland, & that in *K* there is a shadowy figure, Victoria's brother, who is a mining engineer who goes down to Mullumbimby (Thirroul) regularly, shld have interested me more. I'll see what I can do now to rectify that. Was Sutherland related to Robert Moreton Friend? What was RMF's wife's maiden name?

[This entry marks a turning point, or watershed in the diary. From now on the entries will be electronic, nt in hard copy. (The notebooks have come to an end.) In fact, as of this departure, the diary now falls into three parts. The first part covered the period from 1976, when it started, to around March 1990. It was mainly factual, & reported the ongoing research "straight". The second stage - from early 1990 until now - comprised fewer "straight" entries (for discoveries were nt coming as quickly) & more "discursive" ones. It contained more observations & comments than previously (& some of this content was, as I explained in an extra comment to entry 30/1/90, "upgraded" during the keying in process by the replacement & interpolation of preferable words and phrases). Now the third stage starts. It is, or begins, in an experimental mode. Hopefully, it will lead to a better & more interesting (even more productive) format. Meanwhile, I will also be going back & progressively inserting extra material, such as letters, etc, & hyperlinks to other germane material. Most important of all, from now on the diary will be "live" & progressive. When new items are written, they will be "put up" on the site shortly thereafter, for all to see &, hopefully, comment on. This is an experiment - unique, as far as I know - that excites & intrigues me, & I hope it will engage the interest & involvement of others as well.]

Part 3: May 2002 onward

28/5/02 (*from now on, the "dateline" will be this, our DHLA site URL*): Ruffels has responded to my email to him about Edgumbe, the Basin, etc, viz:

28/5/02 www.cybersydney.com.au/dhl (*from now on, the "dateline" will be this, our DHLA site URL*): Ruffels has responded to my email to him about Edgumbe, the Basin, etc, viz:

"Thanks for yours of last Wednesday. Your proposition about the Oatleys and "Edgecumbe" is interesting. According to the Sydney 1949 phone book, Mrs B.M. ("Trixie") Oatley resided at 33 Beach Road, Collaroy. Trixie's husband is listed as attending Andree's FWD Oatley's funeral (*SMH* 31/3/19, p10). ("Cecil Oatley [RFA]"). I seem to recall telling you of a house opposite "Hinemoa" called "Dunoon", ("Hinemoa" was on lot 9 and "Dunoon" on lot 3 opposite). Lot 3 was purchased in October 1919 by Eleanor Collins, wife of Robert Collins, grazier, of Narrawa (175 miles by rail to Goulburn, near Crookwell). I cannot tell what type of building was on lot 3 in 1922. The 1931 electoral roll shows Eleanor Collins residing in "Dunoon". Perhaps Robert Collins was an invalid convalescing at the Basin too? Note, the house is in his wife's name in Florence Street. The street directories are no help, because these were all holiday houses in 1922. I have found nothing further regarding Taylor (whom I regard as worthy a subject as Scott for his own biog.). I even consulted the list of members of Lodge Neutral Bay No 267 for 1910-1930. No George A Taylor. I believe he lived in the outer suburbs, where he conducted his flying (Penrith) or his wireless experiments (Sutherland). Nothing further on Stoughton Cooley either.

[Ruffels had told me on the phone earlier that he had looked up Taylor's other works in the ML & found nothing of interest or relevance to L or K.]

1/6/02 www.cybersydney.com.au/dhl: I just wrote an editing comment to the item above dated c.31/8/78 in which, to use another Australianism, I poked borak at Steele & Ellis for down-playing Lawrence's 7/10/22 letter to Seltzer in which he asked, "Do you think the Australian Govt. or the Diggers might resent anything?" I sd in that note that L must have bn referring to his Diggers secret army, not, as Steele & Ellis wd have it, Australian ex-servicemen generally – ie, Steele at least is still denying that L's "Diggers" is a real secret army. (I do not know what his, or the CUP's for that matter, current position is on this. I cannot conceive that they are still denying that there was a real secret army in Sydney in 1922. They have probably now moved forward & taken up a position behind Eggert's "not proven" line.) In any case, the point I have to make here is that L in his 16/1/22 letter to Mountsier also sd: "Ought one to put a tiny forward note, apologising to Australia?" I must be honest here & say that this sentence, coming immediately after the "resent" remark made to Seltzer on 7/10, might tend to support Steele's interpretation. However, I think it can be read both ways – ie, if, as I maintain, he was referring to a real secret army of Diggers/Maggies, then this "apology" remark wd reflect a residual concern that he had done something wrong with *Kangaroo*: revealed something he should not have (ie, a pang of conscience over his duplicity). But I concede that the more obvious meaning wd be that he might have sd something in *K* about Australia that might need apologising for, that might reflect poorly on the country. Nevertheless, such a possible interpretation does nothing, I wd argue, take any sting out of the previous remark to Seltzer about "the Australian Government or the Diggers" resenting what he had written in *K*. The crucial question is, does his use of the word "Diggers" refer to the KEA or to Australian ex-servicemen generally? Nowhere else does L refer to Australian ex-servicemen as "the Diggers". The only use he makes of the word is to describe the "front" organisation behind his "Maggies". Indeed, the dual nature of Callcott/Cooley's organisation – "the Diggers clubs*" and the "secret organisation" behind them, as Trewhella refers to it (see 29/1/78 & *K* [Heinemann] pp 160-61) – so reflects Brookes' APL arrangement (see 15/3/78) as to make it well nigh indisputable that here L is referring to the KEA, & his (admittedly fuzzy) understanding of Rosenthal's organisation.

*[*In this single & particular context, a reading of "RSL clubs" for "Diggers clubs" is probably the natural one. Indeed, the Bondi Diggers Club, which is still clinging tenuously to existence, & of which I was once a member, was founded in 1922, & it was not a front for a secret army, as far as I know, anyway. Elsewhere in K, however, it is clear that the "Diggers movement" L is referring to is Cooley's organisation, founded "18 months to two years" previously – the precise*

time the KEA was founded and launched – & not the RSL, or RSSILA, clubs, as L makes quite clear in the “Diggers” chapter, see K (H) pp 186-189.]

2/6/02 www.cybersydney.com.au/dhl: In writing the above, I had cause to read all of Seltzer’s letters to L[awrence] over this 1922-23 period, & this entailed reading my just-acquired copy of the recently-published (ie, 2000) edition of vol 8 of the *[Un]Collected Letters*, containing Lawrence letters hitherto unpublished, but dating back to that period. And in two of these new letters (DHL-Seltzer 16/1/23 & Seltzer-DHL 26/1/23) fresh information emerges that obliges me to amend my explanation of how the variant endings to *Kangaroo* came about (see “Not the End of the Story”, *Rananim* 9/1 & *DHLR* 26 1-3). In the first letter, L says to Seltzer: “You haven’t told me what you think of *Kangaroo*.” And in the second letter, Seltzer replies: “Congratulations on KANGAROO! It is superb....” Now, there can be little doubt that the first quote implies that Seltzer had only recently had an opportunity to read [the typescript of] *K*. And the second quote just as obviously implies that he had only just read it. Therefore I am probably wrong in saying, as I did in my “Not the End” article, that Mountsier must have given Seltzer his setting copy of *K* before Christmas 1922. (I had said, in refutation of Steele’s Introduction & his explanation of how the variant endings came about, that Mountsier wd have given Seltzer the U.S. setting text soon after the collation was complete, which was around 23/11/22. [Steele, on the other hand, in his Introduction proper, sd Mountsier brought the two setting texts to Del Monte around Christmas 1922, & that it was a few days later that the decision to cut the texts was made.]) It is now probable that it was indeed Mountsier – not Seltzer, as I had supposed – who brought the U.S. (but nt the UK*) setting text to Del Monte. However, that does not change or affect the gravamen of my argument that the original cutting decision was made in Taos by L back in October (& nt, as Steele wd have it - at least in his Introduction proper - at Del Monte around 1/1/23), & also that it was Mountsier’s confusion over L’s instruction of where the cut was to be made (created by the variant TS1R paginations & the missing TS1R p 466 in Mountsier’s copy of TS1R) that caused the texts to be cut in the wrong place (at “broken attachments, broken”, instead of L’s intended ending [“It was four days...”]). Yet that leaves me to provide an explanation for why Mountsier did not, as L had clearly instructed him to do, give the U.S. setting text (TS2) to Seltzer “as soon as possible”. (L wrote to Seltzer on 19/11/22: “I hope Mountsier has given you *Kangaroo*.”) I think the explanation lies in the breakdown in relations between Mountsier & Seltzer after September 1922 (see, eg, *Letters* vol 8 p 58, footnote #5: “Seltzer had been at ‘daggers drawn’ with Mountsier since at least September 1922 [iv. 298].”). He probably disobeyed L’s instructions because he did not *want* to go and see Seltzer in New York in November 1922. They were not on speaking terms, apparently. (I was unaware of, or had not remembered, the poor state of relations between Mountsier & Seltzer in the months running up to L’s break with Mountsier in early 1923.) And Mountsier was to go to Del Monte in a few weeks, anyway, where Seltzer was also due (for it is unlikely that Seltzer would not have read a text which he was going to Del Monte, in part, to discuss with Lawrence). So Mountsier no doubt brought the U.S. text with him to Del Monte, & it was there, on the evening of 31/1/22, that Mountsier’s cutting error was discovered, Seltzer departing the next morning, New Year’s Day 1923, carrying with him the intended *Kangaroo* U.S. setting text (ending “broken attachments, broken”), & L promising to copy out from his retained (single) copy of TS1R the missing words – the infamous “last page”, containing the correct (“It was four days...”) ending, which Seltzer subsequently received & incorporated, but whose printers later re-deleted, & which Secker also received, sometime after 10/2/23, but who then *did* print it, thus bequeathing to posterity the much-vexed variant endings, on which, in large part, as Warren Roberts had sd, the whole CUP exercise was predicated, & which the CUP, courtesy of Bruce Steele, has seen fit to incorrectly perpetuate (& refuse, as of my encounter with their new Publisher in Taos in 1998, to correct in their “definitive” Complete Works edition). Something of an irony, I think.

[*As Steele conceded in his “footnote scenario”, Mountsier probably gave or sent the UK TS2 setting text – mistakenly cut by him at the “broken attachments” ending - to Seldes of The Dial before Christmas 1922.]

3/6/02 www.cybersydney.com.au/dhl: As I went through these entries, I came to my first letter from Joe Davis, reported in note 31/8/78. In it he sd he had been told by an old Thirroul resident, an 84-year-old Mrs Smith, I think, that “the Friends owned Wyewurrie, next to Wyewurk”. As I can’t remember everything I’ve seen & done, I sent off an email to Ruffels, the font of such wisdom, asking if he knew anything about this. He replied yesty, thus: “Regarding the Friends and Craig Street. If there is one question you have asked me more than any other, it is this one. If I had the time I could dig out the dates of those replies and refer you to them. This will be my fourth, I think. Lucy Friend owned all the lots on the western side of Craig Street and round the corner in Surfers Parade. The house 'Wyuna' must have been the Friend's holiday bunker in Thirroul. Lucy Friend sold [it] in August, 1921. The purchaser, Arthur Woodhill of Burwood, sold [it] to Mr Ible in April, 1922. He ran his milk-vending business from 'Wyuna'. I have never been able to discover if there truly was a 'Wyewurrie' in Craig Street. I doubt it. (I quoted the somewhat spurious legend 'Wywurk' was flanked by 'Wyewurrie' and 'Cheerup' in a *Good Weekend* par on house names, many years ago). I think I picked the story up in a [Illawarra]Mercury or Sydney Press article photocopy in some long ago library search. The house on 'Wyewurk's' north was 'Cheerup' but the gate sign said 'Chirrup'- which I like better. Next to that, on south-east corner of Craig Street and Surfers Parade, was 'Ripples'. J[oe] D[avis]'s book will probably tell you. I think JD originally told you the Friends owned or stayed in 'Wyewurk', [no, Wyewurrie] but he said that early on. A bit of local oral legend. Doubt it. I think your diary says the Friends (mistakenly) thought their family owned 'Wyewurk'. A thought has just occurred to me as to where the confusion might have arisen. 'Chirrup', or 'Ripples', and 'Wyuna' were conscious copies of 'Wyewurk's' design. Their owners consulted the Irons family - or the Southwoods, about the layout of this ideal holiday house. In a second email yesty, John added this information: “I have had a think about your question about 'Wyewurrie' being in Craig Street. The story of this arose from two sources: 1] when Joe Davis interviewed Lodelia Smith, daughter of long-time Thirroul shop-keepers, early on in the piece, she told him that Lucy M[ay] Friend's block in Craig Street had its frontage in Surfers Parade. The name of the house was 'Wyewurrie' [Mrs Smith sd]; 2] [local historian] Edgar Beale, enquiring into ‘Wyewurk's’ early history, claimed it was originally called 'Wyewurrie' (*Illawarra Historical Society Journal*, 1 October, 1983, pp 60-61). The source of my previous contention to you, that others copied from the layout design of 'Wyewurk', was the late Rita Brown [as told to] to Joseph Davis. She told him her house 'Chirrup' was on and the other was the house on the north west corner diagonally opposite her house. Probably 'Wyuna'. In my reply, I acknowledged that I now recall I hd asked him that before, no doubt more than once. However, I added: “But my memory that Wyewurrie was next to Wyewurk dates from very early. I must have read it somewhere. I will check my records & get back to you on this, for I feel it could be important. There is something odd about the Friends relationship with Craig Street.” This is now my email to JR of today: “John – I sd I wd look at my records re Wyewurrie, etc. The only reference to the name I can find is in an article in Walkabout dated 1/8/57 (which is very early – I don’t think I have anything earlier that this on Wyewurk) by Beverly Longworth Lee (whom I do not know). Its “hook” (as we say in journalism) was the “recent” Royal Tour by HM, & I quote the intro: “During the recent Royal tour of Australia, Queen Elizabeth paused in her journey...to admire the panorama that spreads out below The [Sublime Point] Lookout. The Queen is reported to have said the view was one of the most breath-taking she had ever seen.” (Well, she wd, wdn’t she?) The article, which is probably the one you can recall, went on to imply that Ms Lee had visited Wyewurk, for she mentions the crockery and furnishings inside. She then says: “Behind the walls of the house, that still stands between its neighbours, “Chirrup” and “Wyewurrie”, the great English author wrote...”. I think this pretty well implies that she actually saw, or heard from a reliable source, that the place next door to Wyewurk was, either then or previously, Wyewurrie. The fact that Joe’s Mrs Smith also used that name wd tend to

confirm that identification, despite your (and my) fruitless researches to the contrary. Edgar Beale's info ditto. But that is not the point. The point is: could the Friends have had some closer relationship with Craig Street other than the "statistical" fact that Lucy May Friend owned the other side of the street up to 1921? There is a body of evidence that would imply that the answer is yes. What is that evidence? (And it's reasonably important to establish the truth here, for it would illuminate how L found out about Wyewurk, & the circumstances of his taking up residence there, not to mention his relationship with the Friends & how he found out about the secret army.) The major evidence comes from Yeend, which means from "behind the closed door". He said originally to Andrew [Moore] that Wright [Walter Friends' bro-in-law] had told him that one of the Friends gave the key of Wyewurk to L. A little later Yeend told me, or Andrew, that one of the Friends had owned Wyewurk. (Incidentally, when I was chasing the Scriveners, one relative recalled that the Scriveners used to go down to Thirroul & stay in a place owned by the Friends, & I seem to recall they implied it was Wyewurk.) Then there is the "circumstantial" evidence, outlined in my "Barber of Thirroul" article [Rananim 2.1], that implies that it had to be a Friend who knew Wyewurk had been vacated the previous day (Saturday), took L&F down to Thirroul, got the key from Lucy Callcott, showed the Lawrence's the still-warm Wyewurk, & negotiated their immediate occupancy. This female Friend, I strongly believe, was either Dawdie Friend or the wife of Robert Moreton Friend. Finally, there is the evidence of the novel, which we know is fact turned into "fiction". This implies that the house next door to Cooe (ie, next door to Wyewurk) was at least occupied by the Callcotts (probably Robert Moreton Friend & his wife). All this implies a closer Friend relationship or intimacy with the environs of 3 Craig Street than would come from the "historic" link via Lucy May Friend's property dealings. One extra point. The names of the various houses involved, on both sides of Craig street, seemed to have chopped & changed down through the years. The original name of 3 Craig Street was not Wyewurk. (Was it "Idle Here" or something similar?) Indeed, the whole of Thirroul was a seething mass of similar names & name changes – Sans Souci, Take-it-Eazee, Linga Longa, Rest Well, Bide-a-Wee, etc. I have a note that says the original name of 1 Craig Street (I don't know if it's 1, or lot 1) was "Ocean View". (All of the above is a bit heavy, research-wise, so I'll conclude in a lighter vein. L had used the name of his Thirroul residence before, in 1918, in a letter to Katherine Mansfield, in which he said: "I'm supposed to be doing that little European history, and earning my living, but I hate it like poison, and have struck. Why work?" Also, it will amuse you to learn that in the will of Thomas Irons [who had owned Wyewurk up to 1919] there is a list of the cars his motor-firm Taylors was working on at the time of his death. They included not only the Friends' two Austins, a limo for Sam Hordern, a Buick for T.B. Nossiter, and a Coey for Dalgetys [probably Sir Henry Braddon]! And you will know, of course, that in 1922 there was a make of car [or motor-cycle] called a Callcott! Pip, pip.)

13/6/02 www.cybersydney.com.au/dhl: I am now correcting/editing some articles we scanned in from back issues of Rananim for the website (we did not keep them electronically, unfortunately, though from now on we will have them intact from the last two issues forward). The one I'm doing now - "What's in a Name?", the second part of the "Nomenclature" series (Rananim 5/2) - is very "dirty", and in need of a lot of subbing. However, in going over it I came to the part that tried to analyse where the name "Fred Wilmot" came from. I remarked that he appears in two manifestations in the novel. First he is Alfred John, [WJ] Trewhella's dead brother and first husband of Rose Trewhella (she married her late husband's younger brother, William James, or Jaz). Then he changes to Victoria Callcott's older brother, "Fred Wilmot", Jack Callcott's "best mate". In this second manifestation he is a mining engineer on the South Coast. Very odd and confusing, and plainly some reflection of reality and Lawrence's ham-fisted effort to disguise what was obviously "sensitive" and in need of camouflage. I originally thought he may have been based on the brother of AAK [Andree Adelaide Oatley, nee Kaepfel], Carl Oatley (the family "wastrel"). This was for two reasons, mainly. First, like the fictional Alfred John, he does not appear in the novel, except in name (and Carl Oatley was in Melbourne in 1922). Second, he went to school with Jack Scott, and was probably his "best mate". But that was before the Friends hove into view. Now it seems far more likely that some Friend is mixed up in the fictional Alfred John Trewhella and Fred Wilmot, Jack Callcott's best mate. Who might he be? The names "Alfred John" and "Fred Wilmot" should

give us some clue (for, as pointed out in the "Nomenclature" series, Lawrence's names almost always have meaningful echoes embedded in them). But you can seldom argue from the name to the real "departure point". At best, they provide confirmation (ie, "Ah - so that's the link!"). So the starting point has to be: Who are the likely suspects? This is complicated by Lawrence's tendency to deal in amalgams - combining bits of real people to make up his characters*. One also wonders why Lawrence put this shadowy character in at all. He doesn't contribute anything to the plot in either manifestation. On the other hand, his persistence is interesting, and probably indicative. He intrudes, most probably, because he is intimately connected with another character, to whom he is (almost inextricably) attached in some way. (Or else he is the ghost of someone whose characteristics have been "strip-mined" by Lawrence.) It is highly probable that he is someone's brother. And the brother of a female "original", too. One strong possibility is that he is the brother of the "real" elements Lawrence borrowed for the character Victoria Callcott. At present, there are two prime suspects. First, Walter Friend. Second, George Sutherland. In this entry I will not go into why these are the two main candidates, though it would be obvious from the mentions of their names above (and especially Yeend's chortle [see 29/5/02 above]: "...you're on the right track...Sutherland leads straight to Walter Friend"). So my next job, when I can spare the time, is to devote some thought and research to the task of unmasking the enigmatic "Fred Wilmot". (*I should try to coin a term for these "amalgam" elements, or bits of people. Something catchier than "ingredient people". If anyone has a suggestion, please email me.)

24/6/02 www.cybersydney.com.au/dhl: Well, something strange and perhaps wonderful has happened. On Friday night John Shaw rang. (John is the NY Times rep in Australia, an old journo and friend who recently migrated to Canberra.) He said he had run across a lady, with the interesting name of Wendy Brazil, who has a Lawrence connection. She grew up in Austinmer (next town/suburb north of Thirroul) and says her father knew Lawrence while he (DHL) was in Thirroul, and used to go for walks on the beach with him! It's possible, though very unlikely - unless her maiden name was Crossle or, better still, Friend - or best of all, Sutherland. She's no dill, however, for John says she's a academic with a double doctorate, one in literature. I have written to her today, and await her response with sceptical optimism bordering on hope.

2/7/02 www.cybersydney.com.au/dhl: Wendy has replied. Her father's name was, disappointingly, Kelly. He was some sort of boarding-house keeper, and was certainly around Thirroul and its environs (but mainly Wollongong and Austinmer) in 1922. Yet she repeats her claim that her father walked on the beach with Lawrence and had long talks with him. I would place no credence in this claim were it not for the fact that she says she still has in her possession a copy of Kangaroo in which her father had highlighted certain passages. She also mentions the "two ladies" who lived next door to Wyewurk and who also knew Lawrence when he was in Thirroul. I am seeking more information from her about the marked passages and from Ruffels re where Kelly might have lived in 1922. If he was in Thirroul, this might add to the credence of the claim.

20/2/03 www.cybersydney.com.au/dhl: Went down to Canberra this week to attend an Open Source in Government seminar. While there, I took the opportunity to look up Wendy Brazil, who came to the Commonwealth Club for drinks with her husband Norman. She brought with her not one but two annotated copies of Kangaroo, which had belonged to her father. I had a quick glance at the copies (a pocket 1950 Heinemann and a 1954 reprint Penguin - much the same text, however). Nothing of immediate note (and later examination - she let me take them away - confirmed that there was nothing dramatic or especially significant in the annotations). I questioned her closely, and although nothing resembling proof of her statement that Lawrence met and talked with her father Ron Kelly on the beach below Wyewurk in 1922 emerged, there seems to be some basis for the claim. She was not making it up - her father did tell her - and it also seemed unlikely that he would have made it up. So, on balance, I think it is likely to be so. However, as later examination also confirmed, there is nothing I could find in the

annotations that would indicate that Lawrence used in Kangaroo material gathered in any conversations with Kelly. (For a fuller account of this - plus the very useful "discovery" about "who put the comma in" - see the two articles I have written in Rananim 11.1 (accessible elsewhere on this site).

18/3/03 Bondi: Finished Rananim 11.1 last week and posted it out on Friday. Best issue yet, I think (but I always think that). However, I made a bit of a boo-boo with my "Who Put A Comma In?" feature. On the other hand, the error rendered the point I was making - that the CUP and Bruce Steele had got the "Kelly correction" passage wrong - even stronger, if anything. I had remarked in the article that "For the life of me, however, I cannot see why Lawrence left out the question-mark," adding that I thought Steele should have put it in (and then going on to suggest what the correct text* was, which reinstated the omitted question-mark). But of course I was wrong. Lawrence did put the question-mark in - on the galley proofs, just as he had also inserted the comma at the proof stage. In a footnote to the previous [text] paragraph I had remarked that Lawrence's final proof corrections - which must establish the final and correct text - could be deduced by comparing Seltzer's setting text (Berg 3) with the Seltzer edition (ending apart). And by comparing these two texts (ie, "Alone, what sort of alone. Physically..." [Seltzer setting text, Berg 3] and "Alone, what sort of alone? Physically..." [Seltzer 1923 edition]) we can deduce that the question-mark was indeed inserted by Lawrence as a galley-proof correction, and thus must stand as the correct and final text. (It is, to say the least, slightly worrying that the CUP, through its chosen editor Bruce Steele, has omitted these two of Lawrence's final proof corrections - the comma and the question-mark - in the one paragraph. I have not analysed the rest of the CUP text on this matter, but one wonders how many more of Lawrence's final proof corrections have not been included in the CUP text of Kangaroo: a question one almost dares not contemplate, even though Steele implies in his introduction to the CUP Kangaroo [p. xlvii - "Lawrence's corrections can be readily identified from a comparison of TSII and A1", ie Seltzer's setting text and the Seltzer edition], that he has taken these proof changes into account.) * This refers to the paragraph in the "The Battle of Tongues" chapter beginning "Alone, what..." and ending "...depend on." I should add, in passing, that our Lady Hopetoun twilight cruise last Friday night was an outstanding success, verging on triumph. The change to night-time, which was inconvenient for many prospective participants, far from being a minus, was a considerable plus. Dining by moonlight on the still and silent upper reaches of Middle Harbour is an experience not to be missed. And we now intend to make all future Lady Hopetoun cruises twilight ones, and even upgrade our on-board dining arrangements with candles, silver, napery, crystal, and other more formal trappings. We felt much like the Czar's family on the Imperial Yacht. Sydney can be uniquely beautiful, if you know how and when to approach her.

20/5/04 Bondi: Some interesting developments. First, I was contacted last week by a Wendy Carlisle from the ABC. She is a researcher or assistant producer on a projected new ABC TV programme, provisionally entitled "The History Detectives". (I think AM put her in touch with me.) It is scheduled to go out at 7.30 on Sunday nights - prime time. She wanted to explore the possibility of doing a segment on the DT, etc. I said I was amenable, if they were serious. She was somewhat trepidatious, as her boss was Michael Cathcart, a Melbourne-based historian who wrote "Defending the National Tuckshop" (an expose of the Victorian League of National Security) which I apparently rubbished in a review (in Quadrant, I think). I remember him, for I attended in London a talk he gave on secret armies in Australia at the Institute of Australian Studies. He made fun of the phenomenon (reflecting his book title) and I thought him rather juvenile, or at least under-graduate, and probably said as much. Nevertheless, she came out to Bondi to see me, and we talked about such a possible segment (I tried to mollify Cathcart in the process). I showed her the Yeend letters - by way of the proof she sought - and we photocopied them for her to take away and digest. And there it stands (though she apparently was to see AM today). I will see what happens, but if it works the way I hope it might, I might be able to use this - immanent prospect of exposure and scandal - to prise the proof I need out of Kings, etc.

20/5/04 Bondi: Meanwhile (for this deserves a separate entry) I had been re-reading my notes (in preparation for the possible programme) and I came across the entry dated 8/5/89 in which I speculated

what might have happened at The Basin that crucial first Sunday, May 28. A penny (or cent) dropped, and I now think I know (after all these years and effort - and frustration) what happened, and how it all came about. The key is linking what Yeend said (when the door creaked open for a brief moment) about what happened that Sunday afternoon ("Again, why does it have to be Walter Friend? - his father and brothers had equal claim [or words to that effect]") And: "If I were you I would look at Beach Road [rather than Florence or Seaview.]" with what we are pretty certain happened re Hum and Hinemoa. Now, the point here is that we know, or can be pretty sure, of some things, which I will go on to enumerate. The problem is connecting them up into a credible, indeed almost-certainly-true, explanation. So, this is what I now believe happened: Hum met L at the wharf. He installed him in Macquarie Street. Hum's family were staying up at Collaroy (school holidays), even perhaps in Hinemoa (or at least nearby in Seaview Pde). L urgently needed cheap accommodation, preferably by the sea. Hum had invited him up for tea on Saunday afternoon and to see the accommodation possibilities nearby. Ferry, tram up to Narrabeen, then to The Basin and Hinemoa. At tea were Robert Morton Friend (who was staying in rented holiday accommodation in Beach Road, around the corner from Hinemoa), and probably Dawdie Friend (his elder sister) and Jack Scott, plus AAO and family (and Hum, etc). At tea the possibility of Wyewurk was mentioned by RMF/Dawdie. At dusk, RMF, who had the Friend family car, offered to drive L&F back to the city. They went round to Beach Road to pick up the car. Then back down Pittwater Road and across the Spit. Probably dropped Scott off at Wycombe Rd on the way to Milson Point. Then across on the ferry. RMF drops the Ls off at their Macquarie Street hotel, and takes the Friend car to Taylor's Garage in Grosvenor Street (or wherever). Next day they meet at the station and RMF and Dawdie take them down to Thirroul and install them in W. Later in the week, L comes up for his trunks, meets up with RMF, who takes him to Mosman Bay to meet Scott. Chat overlooking the wharf as per book. L stays night with Scott at 112 (tub-top lookout, etc). Next weekend Scott comes down to T and begins to tell him about the secret army. The rest is history. I will be quite surprised if this is not what happened. It fits in with all we know and with K. (Callcott being an amalgam of RMF and Scott.) Maybe I don't need the Kings confession after all! (No - I do, for we need proof.)

16/06/04 Bondi: No word back from the enigmatic Wendy. Silence (stunned or otherwise). However, something quite nice has now happened. Got an email from AM last night enclosing (attached) an essay written by one of his honours students. It is about the DT, and cleaves rather firmly to it. (See separate file "AM student".) Most gratifying. The student is actually doing a (I assume honours) thesis on "the Pacific Highway nucleus" of the Old Guard (cf. the Vernon papers). Replete with Friends, etc. Looking forward to reading it. Have thanked Andrew. (Also my Brazilian contact has evaporated. Odd.) Also the DT gets a bit of an airing in a somewhat sinister publication that has sprung out of the woodwork called The New Citizen. It is apparently the journal of an organisation called the Citizens' Electoral Council of Australia (www.cecaust.com.au). This seems to be a new (new to me anyway) and vaguely right-wing (though the content is overtly anti-fascist) organisation devoted primarily to the beliefs of Lyndon H. LaRouche, an American political figure with stange economic ideas, rather Douglas-Creditish. Anyway, the journal issue Ruffles sent to me (and my own copy of which I later acquired directly from the CEC) contains, inter alia, an extensive précis/review of Drew Cottle's book (which I did not know had been published) on the Brisbane Line. I get a mention (as a "secret army expert") as does Dr William Richards (the "Mad Psychiatrist"). Picture of Scott, etc. And so it goes.

10/9/04 BOND: I just had a call from Wendy Carlisle of Rewind she said that they are going to air with a program "about secret armies" specifically about "the secret army that came out of the first world war" "going up to the New Guard and the de Groot affair" (this is the only contact I have had with her since she came here a few months ago and tried to find out what I had and I gave her copies of the Yeend letters) she said the "Lawrence" material would be included as a literary interlude and would canvass the possibility that Lawrence was "prescient" (ie, the orthodox interpretation) she said "they" (and I think this meant she) had looked into the matter but had come up with nothing conclusive but they had interviewed Joe Davis and discovered that Joe had found something "interesting" (I think she implied almost

"sensational") (remember, the primary aim of the series is for the program to do its own research and make its own discoveries, not report others' research) Joe, she said, had found out that the barber's (George Laughlin's) family had a book with annotations in it!!!! of course, one's mind begins to boggle alas, it is not even Frieda's Not I But the wind (which the lovely Wendy neither knew about nor knew what it was - "What is it?" - so much for ABC research) it turns out, according to her, that it is a "second edition" of Kangaroo which George made marginal notes in one does not want to take the shine off a reported Joe find so I will not speculate what the notes say (they could be interesting, if they are more than "That's me") the other "discovery" is that they have found a letter or something similar from (this might be Joe) members of the New Guard congratulating de Groot on his bridge work but the big news is that she went to see Bill Friend at his flat at the Quay (she pushed a note under his door and he rang her on his return from the UK) he rang her back and agreed to see her (she told me nothing of this at the time - she wanted to make her own "discoveries") Bill, in his late 70s, was polite and listened to her interest he expressed surprise at the content of the Yeend letters (she had rung Yeend, who has Parkinson's, and he was curt and did not want to talk to her) he said he knew nothing of any possible connection between the Friend family and DHL nor that their family had anything to do with secret armies she mentioned his brother Brian (Yeend letters) but said there would be no use going to see him because he was "out of this world" (implying ga-ga) (which I do not believe he is) but he volunteered to go to Kings and have a look in "the Friend papers" and see if there was anything there (she did not mention the RM Friend memoir, even though there was a copy of some of its pages in the Yeend letters) he rang her back some time later and told her he could find nothing in the papers about Lawrence or secret armies so they decided to drop that line of "research" OK bulls in china shops, etc and maybe the memoir was destroyed earlier or maybe it's still there? thank God I have nothing to do with the program (though I will no doubt get a dismissive passing reference) still, an opportunity wasted

BONDI 6/3/06: I received the following email today: "Hi Mr. Darroch - My name is Pamela Smith and I am a working associate of John Low (Local Studies Librarian Springwood). Actually, John gave me your email address and I hope you don't mind. I am currently writing a short essay 4,500 words for a Uni essay on the Blue Mountains Old Guard. I've read an article written by yourself and some of the info on the D.H. Lawrence web site. Also books by Andrew Moore, Cathcart and I have read Kangaroo. So I have a fairly good knowledge of the Old and New Guard.

What I wanted to ask you, were you aware that Aubrey Abbott's brother in law (grazier Charles John Harnett) was married to Dora Scrivener the daughter of C.R. Scrivener?

I came across this information when I was dissecting the layers (Andrew Moore's words) of OG kinship patterns. Given Abbott and Scotts association I wondered if this was any value in confirming the Scrivener Lawrence meeting on the Malwa." **I replied:** that's an interesting piece of information. have you read my secret army diary on the dhla website? if so, you will be aware of my years of fruitless chasing up the scrivener connection (which is, or was, very strong - mainly because of the harbour lights connection) but i finally discarded it as a dead end. and we now know that the connection between the old guard and lawrence was via the friend family and collaroy basin (the sunday may 28 meeting) but i will ponder this, for scott certainly knew abbott (the old guard, or part of it, has been called "abbott's group") if memory serves me, the cr scriveners are the mount irvine ones? perhaps we could meet, if you are local to the blue mountains am knows more about abbott than i do (though i know more about the scriveners)

ditto 6/3/06: (email to Andrew Moore) Andrew - I have just had a call from Hawaii which will interest you. out of the blue a chap called Doug Arnott, who apparently runs a backpacker operation in Honolulu, said he had found, and read, my secret army diary via Google. he thinks he has information that would be of interest (he knows nothing of your book) his mother was the daughter of Sir Henry Braddon (and the grand-daughter of Sir Edward Braddon, of blot fame) his elder brother, who lives in Thornleigh, knows something he is about to divulge. he (the brother) went out with Judy Friend. and went to Kings. his father was an Arnott (rural, not biscuit). who was a Captain in WW2 - on Ambon! his paternal

grandfather, a Colonel Arnott, was in the Light House and close to Macarthur-Onslow. and knew Colonel Davies. the names he spouts we all know. he spoke of a fortified rural property in New England, built for secret army purposes. he says that, according to his brother, Sir HB was being prepared to take over as dictator in the 1920-30s

BONDI 19/2/08 (email from Michael ?????) "As you know, it was a great delight to meet you at Babette's and to find so much in common. In fact it was quite staggering. In my first trawl through family photos I find the enclosed but no photo of Jack Scott. The photo called "Sir John Monash and his staff in France, 1918" may well be of most help to you in identifying members of the secret army or it may just be annoying as the quality is poor and they have their hats on! On the other hand, you, with your far greater knowledge, may well pick out key figures - just like that! For the record. My grandmother was Gertrude Florence Edwards (b. 1875) who was the second wife of Dr Charles Percy Barlee Clubbe (knighted 1927). She was the youngest sister of Barbara Edwards (Kaepfel) always known as 'Barbie'. 'Barbie' had two children, Andre and Carl. Gertrude was Andree's godmother. My mother, Elizabeth Clubbe (b. 1911) was Andree's god-daughter and I was her godson. (see page 4) Was the family photo taken on the front verandah of their house in The Avenue, Collaroy? When we lived in Onslow Avenue Potts Point I saw Andree almost daily (1948-49) as she lived in Greenknowe Avenue. She was v. Frail trained on Bex. But so full of intellectual energy. She was the first person with whom I had a true intellectual discussion - on flying saucers! When we moved to Vaucluse in 1950 we saw Andree once a week on Sundays. We spent weekends with John at Avalon, Peter at Spencer Street Killara and holidays with Rachel at Moree. I saw Carl only once. He was tragically drunk on a train crossing the Sydney Harbour Bridge. He stood up and shouted, as the sun set "You will never see a greater sight than that. Look at that you narrow minded fools! My grandmother with who I was travelling broke down & cried but would not even acknowledge his presence directly. Jack Scott died before I came to Australia. My grandmother spoke of him with hatred in her voice. The charges did not relate to any secret army but to his stealing money from Andree and his cruelty to her. I asked Andree about this (typical precocious child question). She said that he was "handsome, charming, a rogue and totally amoral" (she then explained what amoral meant). My grandfather told my mother that "Kangaroo" was a fascinating picture of Australia after W.W.I and that there was more to it than meets the eye - no direct reference to any secret army. My grandfather arranged the purchase of the Collaroy property in 1920 that became the RAHC Convalescent Home and bought more land so that the garden extended almost to the beach. I never asked Peter Oatley about Jack Scott but I asked John Oatley. He called Scott a total rogue who won my mother [AAO] over with his charm. He could not believe that she did not see through him, but we all have our blind spots. Again, nothing about a secret army, but, of course, I did not ask the right questions. Jack Scott was so disliked by my grandmother that I am not at all amazed that we have no photo of him. You never know what I may turn up though I fear these will only be of little use - merely of interest. Anyway I am showing that I want to keep in touch and do thank you for all your articles and the book, the thesis of which I totally accept.

19/11/08 (BONDI): It is a long time since I wrote a substantive entry in my diary. I note that I recorded a letter from Michael Preston in February last year, but that was for the record, as it revealed nothing of significance. The one before that was also a letter to Andrew about Doug Arnott (1/5/05) and his Braddon/Arnott connections (I went to school at Cranbrook with him). The entry before that (27/4/05) was a note from Ruffels about Thirroul neighbours. The previous one was an exchange about the Old Guard in the Mountains, and of little interest otherwise. Which takes me back to the last substantive entry, dated 10/9/04 (about that appalling ABC Cathcart "history" program, Rewind). That's more than four years ago. So I should say something now, for I think I do have an item of substantive interest. It is strange (as I say in the associated blog - dated 20/11/08) how you can read over something a myriad times and not pick up its significance (see that blog, and the previous week's one). Especially such an important quote as the "horrible paws" one. That it should have read "claws" never occurred to me. But it has now led to something worthy of note in this diary. As I remark in the second blog, it is clear that Lawrence

went to see Rosenthal, almost certainly on Saturday night June 24, to get past his Ballam's Ass. (Because of the two - Frieda's and L's - letters dated Tuesday June 20.) So I think we can date the end of the "Sea of Marriage" chapter to the previous weekend - June 17-18. That was where he was stuck (though probably he had been stuck for some time before that, as the chapters "Volcanic Evidence" and "At sea in Marriage" are just padding, with Lawrence scratching around for something to say). Frankly, his plot - such as it was - had stopped with "The Battle of Tongues" (probably based on a visit from Robert Moreton Friend). In any case, he was desperate for information to take the novel forward. However, he did not immediately use the meeting with Rosenthal, and its subsequent nightmare. Or maybe he did, for following the "At Sea in Marriage" chapter is the cut-out section. We don't know what was in this. (Maybe it was an initial account of the Rosenthal meeting which he discarded for one reason or another.) Instead it seems he recycled an earlier meeting with Scott (when Scott first told him details of the secret army structure) plus, probably a visit by RMF and his wife. This formed the chapter "Diggers". The following chapter, "Willie Struthers and Kangaroo" is the chapter wherein he does record the final confrontation with Rosenthal (followed by the Nightmare chapter). But this starts with a visit to "Canberra Hall" to see Willie Struthers (ie, Jock Garden). It is probable that Lawrence did make such a visit. (Struthers' offer to get Somers to write for them is almost certainly Rosenthal's offer earlier recycled). It may well be that such a Canberra Hall meeting took place before that final Saturday night. In the text L says he went to see Struthers the morning before the Saturday night meeting. If he did see Garden before Rosenthal, and mentioned it to Rosenthal that night (as the text says), then that would have been enough to tell Rosenthal that something was very amiss, and could well have sparked his violent reaction, irrespective of L's possible fishing for more information about the secret army.

Bondi (02.01.10): A new decade, and going on for two years since my last entry. But I have a substantive titbit that is worth mentioning. I am constructing the third of our CyberXs (CXs), Cyber South Sydney (CSS), as part of our plan to accelerate our now 13-year-old CyberSydney project. I won't go into that, except to mention that it was in the course of this chore that I came across a quite unexpected item of possible interest, or maybe relevance (though it's probably just coincidence). But even if it leads nowhere, which is almost certainly its fate, it shows that, even at this late date, such items can still crop up. It's worth a smile, or smirk, at the very least. I was inserting the MPRO (ex-July 2004 Yellow Pages) material into Gardeners Road when I came across the address: 337A Gardeners Road (Rosebery). The business listed in MPRO at that address stopped me in my tracks. It was "Cooley & Cooley", and their line of work was "lawyers". Today's is Saturday, but on Monday I will give them a ring and see if anyone of that name was around in 1922 (though surely I or John Ruffels would have picked that up if they had been*). It's worth a call, anyway (and I will add to this entry with the result of the call). Meanwhile, while I am adding, I will mention that we, the DHLA, are still going, if not strong, then at least actively. We visited Garry Shead's studio earlier last year and had a nice picnic there (see report in Rananim). We had our spring picnic at Balmain (five of us) but missed the annual get-together in the Botannic Gardens (not enough interest). However, we have an event coming up that is arousing some interest. It's Andrew's Margaret Jones Memorial lecture at Minh's (where we will have our AGM), and he will refute some lady historians allegation that the Old Guard did not exist (and hence the Darroch Thesis could not be correct). We will reproduce this in Rananim. Oh, yes - I should also add that there is a rumour (from Jonathan Long in London) that there will be a DHL International Conference in Sydney in August. That should be interesting. *they might have been active in some country area we have not trawled though

17.01.10 (Bondi): I think I now have the key to who's who in Kangaroo. The insight came to me as I was writing a Friday blog to coincide with Andrew's talk on Saturday week (January 30) at Minhs Restaurant - see blog, details, and report on our DHLA website. In it I wrote this: It turned out that he [Yeend] had in his archives a memoir written by Robert Moreton Friend - Walter's younger brother (and the man whom Walter had urged me to contact back in 1981). This memoir, he eventually told me, revealed how Lawrence had found out about the secret army, via the Friend family. It was not Scott whom Lawrence had met that first Sunday at "Hinemoa", but Robert Friend. All these years, I had been barking up the

wrong tree. It was Robert Friend who had introduced Lawrence to Scott and Rosenthal. He was Jack Callcott. It was Robert Friend who had taken Lawrence and Frieda down to Thirroul and installed them in "Wyewurk". Paradoxically - and ironically - Scott was Lawrence's "cover" for his main Australian contact: Robert Friend. This at last explained one of the great mysteries of Kangaroo - why Lawrence so foolishly put such a dangerous man as Scott into the novel without taking any effort to disguise him. For Scott was the disguise for Robert Friend. And now I think this is true for most of Kangaroo. Each character is two people (I had guessed this long ago - but the full import of that insight only dawned on me today, as I was finishing the blog). The first one is the real person L wants to put in the novel - Friend, his wife, Hum, and so on. The second is the person he is going to use to disguise that original person. Callcott is Robert Friend overlaid with Scott. Scott, in turn, is probably overlaid with RMF. Ditto RMF's wife, and so on. L&F are left intact, and probably Rosenthal too (L could not find an overlay for him). The point about this is that the characters are not merely an amalgam of two people, but a real person and a disguise consisting of someone else. (And L is not trying to conceal the identity of the disguise.) A subtle point, perhaps - but it explains L's thinking, and why he did not take the precautions he should have with Scott. His mind was on trying to protect the identity of his main Sydney contact - Robert Moreton Friend.

[alas, still barking up the wrong Friend tree]

20.01.10 (Bondi): Well, well, well. The door has creaked open again. Let me describe what has happened. (This is uncannily familiar to that bust of activity in 1978, just before I was about to depart for London - and eight years away - and I found, courtesy of the wrong electoral roll, where Jack Scott lived in 1922.) But first, let me correct that I said above, and make the add I had intended to make before I met Peter Fay. The previous entry contains an inadvertent error. I wrote: "The first one is the real person L wants to put in the novel - Friend, his wife, Hum, and so on." Yes, he did want to put Robert Friend in, and Scott was the "cover". But not Hum. For Hum was someone else's cover! And I will come to that in a moment. But now let me make this add. What I wanted to explain was the extra subtlety involved with the insight that (and I again quote what I said above) "The point about this is that the characters are not merely an amalgam of two people, but a real person and a disguise consisting of someone else." Again, true. But it is the way, the technique Lawrence used, to put the two together that is now the crucial point. For he overlay the "real" character with the appearance, etc, of the "cover". Almost as if he were covering them with an animal skin. Just as RMF is overlaid with Scott (and this is why Scott comes through so accurately - he was not being disguised, merely being used as a disguise) - so are some of the other characters...and in this case, Hum. For I am now pretty certain how the third Australian (male) character in the novel is made up, and who he is. He is George Sutherland, overlaid with Hum. So now let me relate what has happened this week. A week or so ago I was rung up, out of the blue, by a man who said his name was Peter Fay, and though I did not know him, he knew who I was, and wanted to ask a favour of me. He was, he explained, "curating" an exhibition of paintings by someone called Frank Nowlan, a Thirroul artist. The exhibition, which was to be staged somewhere in the west of Sydney a few months hence, contained a number of paintings depicting Lawrence and Frieda in Thirroul. (A few days previously we ourselves had decided to hang an exhibition of Paul's 1975/7 DHL painting in the UUSC to coincide with Andrew's talk on the Old Guard - but Fay had known nothing of this - his approach was purely coincidental). He had heard (from Joe Davis, it turned out) that I had a photocopy of the Kangaroo manuscript. He wondered if I would agree to let him photograph a couple of pages of the MSS to be displayed (as "montage") at his exhibition. (Specifically he wanted the pages that mentioned the subject-matter of several of the paintings - the football match, etc.) I readily agreed, and mentioned that his call had been fortuitous, as we are staging an exhibition of DHL works, and maybe his ones might be suitable to be added to the show. He saw no reason why that might not be possible. He would bring some photos of the pictures when he came to the lunch I had invited him to on Tuesday of this week. He arrived - a tall gentleman in his early 60s I would guess - carrying a portfolio. Before lunch, he showed us some of the

pictures. They were the work of a primitive, untrained artist, rather Sam Burnsish with a touch of Malcolm Lowry. They depicted a number of scenes with L&F, and were rather cute. They certainly would go well in the exhibit. He said he thought he could get their owners to agree to lend them (Garry Shead owned at least one, and I think Joe Davis might have had another.) I showed him my MSS, and the deal was agreed. Then we went out on the balcony for lunch. I began (as a journalist would) asking about who he was and what he did. In the course of this he happened to mention that he had once been a teacher at Kings. Well, you can imagine how my ears pricked up. Did he know Peter Yeend? Of course he did. He had been quite close to Yeend at Kings (about 10 or 15 years ago, I gathered). So I blurted out my story...about the Friends, Yeend, the clues, the letter from the headmaster - everything. He was most interested. Yeend was still very much alive. He had left Kings and gone somewhere else to be an archivist (Barker?). He was quite frail now (Parkington's), but alert. He met him at the opera occasionally. Would I like him to contact Yeend? I won't go into detail about our subsequent email and phone contact, but jump to today. On Tuesday - yesty - I sent him my recent "Darroch Thesis" blog. Oh, yes, during the email/phone conversations I had asked him to ask Yeend - to test his inclination to forgive and forget - if George Sutherland was Hum (see above). I explained that Yeend in his correspondence with me had dropped the name Sutherland (in conjunction with the Friends) on a number of occasions. I had suspected that Sutherland was in the novel, disguised as Hum. He then remarked that he knew the Sutherlands, and in fact had taught George Sutherland's grandson at Kings. He rang me this morning to say he had rung Mike Sutherland (the grandson) who lived in Dubbo. He had in fact sent him my blog. He had been most friendly. Were there any Sutherland papers? Yes, GBHS had been an avid retainer of papers. He had a safe he put them in. (These might have been culled in 1985). His aunt, who lived in Cremorne, had the rest, he thought. He offered to put me in touch with Mike Sutherland, whom I rang around 2pm. He was most co-operative, even interested. He had read my blog. He had sent it on to his aunt. I told him about Trewhella and the possibility he might be based on GBHS. I told him about the Thirroul mining connection, and my research that showed GBHS was a engineer whose firm might have been in mining engineering (like Trewhella). A half an hour later he rang back. His aunt had said that GBHS indeed had a strong or at least substantial connection with the coal mine in Thirroul. She had photos of GBHS in Thirroul. And that is what happened today. All sorts of possibilities and prospects spring to mind. Could GBHS have written a memoir (like RMF) for Kings? Could he have kept a copy? Is it in his papers? I daren't speculate. Let's hope the door remains open. Who knows? It might creak open even more in the next few days. But at least it seems we will have a photo of Sutherland (aka Trewhella).

[alas, yet another wrong tree – but this one did have a vine on it that led to somewhere very important – indeed, the denouement, four years later, of my long quest]

29/1/10 (Bondi): Mike Sutherland came to lunch (with his son, who wants to be a journalist, and is at UTS). He was very friendly. He knows nothing about any Lawrence connection concerning his father. But he told me a lot about his father. He promised to read Kangaroo. (I gave him a precious copy of my book.) His father was born around 1903, and did not marry until well into the 1920s. So he would have been a young, single man in 1922 (as would have Robert Moreton Friend). Still, that might be Lawrence disguise, or opposite technique. (But it is worth noting that the three likely candidates for male characters in K were all single in 1922 - Scott, RMF and GBHS...which at least makes Dawdie Friend the most likely as the "original" for Rose Callcott.) GBHS was not a mining engineer, but a civil one. Mike aunt is also reading K. He said Yeend was known at Kings for his indiscretion (his nickname was "Bullshit" Yeend). Either he or Fay told me that the Friend family threatened to withdraw funding for the Walter Friend Gym at the school is Yeend revealed any more. (Later) Mike returned my book and said he was about half-way through K (not further mention of his aunt). I am putting no pressure on him. He is still in touch by email, and friendly. I will follow this up in the next few weeks. (26.10.10 - nothing came of this - no papers, no memory or record of any connetion between Sutherland and Lawrence. Pity.)

26/1/10 (Bondi): The DHLA (Margaret Jones Memorial) lecture went off well (at Minhs). Andrew did me proud. Of course the "Darroch Thesis" (whose parenthood he happily acknowledged) is correct. I gave a little addendum about the new Sutherland connection. (The DHLA, of which this was the AGM, is healthy - about 20 attended, and all office-holders were re-elected by acclamation.) I will write something (as promised) about the talk for Rananim. I told them about the putative DHL International Conference in Sydney next year. Later Andrew said he would consider doing a paper for it, if asked. (I have sent a copy of by UUCS blog - which has yet to go out, as I feel the exhibition opening on March 2 should precede it - to the DHLANA, more as a warning shot than anything else. No reaction.)

17/2/10 (Bondi): A minor entry. I was going through a list of businesses in Rosebery (for our Cybersydney business) when I came across the name of a solicitor in Gardiners Road - a Cooley and Cooley, lawyers. (See above entry.) Maybe, I idly thought, there might have been a Cooley who was a lawyer around in Sydney in 1922. I got in touch and was eventually redirected to a firm of another name in Pagewood. I rang and emailed them asking if they could give me a contact for the Cooley connection. Some weeks later - yesty - a Mr Cooley of Vacluse rang. He was the retired Cooley who used to be with the firm. His Cooley ancestor came from Philadelphia around the turn of the last century. They were working class grocers. No professional identity until well after 1922. However, he did tell me a bit about the name Cooley, which apparently derives from an Irish legend involving some dispute involving a bull - ie, there is a link between the Irish name Cooley and a bull. Of course, Rosenthal was "as strong as a bull". But I think I will leave it there. (My Cooley contact also pointed out to me that there is a character called Cooley in David Williamson's play, Don's Party - about an election party, no doubt the 1975 one. This Cooley is also a lawyer, and a rather nasty character. Maybe Williamson has read Kangaroo?)

19/2/10 (Bondi): Well, another door has, if not yet creaked open, then at least hove into view. At the club last Monday I was accosted in the foyer by a lady whom I did not know who said she would like to have a word with me. She said she had a friend in Bowral who would like to meet me. It turned out that the friend was the youngest daughter of Eric Campbell of New Guard notoriety. She (the daughter) wanted to have a chat about a memoir she wanted to write (or have written) about her father, rescuing his tarnished (fascist) reputation. She (the lady from Bowral) said the daughter - Helen de Sallis - had "found" something that would allow or help her to do this. We are to meet at the club for lunch on March 8. There are a couple of points here. First, Andrew says that Campbell's papers were reputedly destroyed in a fire many years ago. (Well, we know about that story - cf Ottoline's journal.) Secondly, if there are papers, maybe a decent - so far lacking due to the absence of records - biography could be written. I might take it on, if asked. But thirdly there is the possibility - faint at the moment - that if papers do exist, there might be something in them about Lawrence and Scott (who was, of course, Campbell's "partner in secret army crime" in the 1920s). I have no objection to writing something accurate (ie, stripped of politically-correct, anti-fascist rhetoric) about Campbell, especially if it is in my interest to do so. Watch this space. (Meanwhile, preparations for our March 2 DHL pictures show at the club progress favourably.)

2/4/10 (Bondi): The DHL show at the club went well (over 55 turned up) and we sold quite a few Kangaroo's for the society's coffers. (One of Paul's pictures was stolen but returned, probably by a member of the casual staff). GBHS's two daughters came, and were quite friendly. Janet - my main contact (courtesy of Mike Sutherland) promised to see if there was anything in the family records that might explain Yeend's injunction to follow the Sutherland/Friend connection (26.10.10 - no luck). Meanwhile Geoffrey Sherington (fellow club member, professor of Education at SydU, and GPS historian) promised to contact Kings to see if the new archivist there (a lady) might be more forthcoming re the Friend memoir. (Later: no luck - but he did report that someone from the Friend family had been to see or inspect the memoir...or something similar. He confirmed that the Friends were still adamant that the memoir should not be shown to anyone. Indeed, I believe it has now been removed from the school.) I

heard back this week from Janet Walker (GBHS's daughter) that the family had met last week - the "family historian was down in Sydney for a visit - but that they could find no "connection with Lawrence". I wrote a rather terse reply saying I did not expect they would find such a connection, for if there was one, they probably would not realise what it was. This brought some softer responses and promises (from her and Mike Sutherland) to, in effect, keep looking. In this regard, I cited the Cameron Sutherland/Trewhella connection as something they would not recognise as significant. And this in turn led me to try to find out if the Sutherland there could be connected to GBHS, and thus satisfy Yeend's hints. But first I tried to track down where in Neutral Bay Cameron Sutherland was situated (for it might fulfil the description in K of the meeting between Somers, Callcott and Trewhella, across from the Mosman ferry wharf). I Googled up Cameron Sutherland and found some newspaper references to the firm, which turns out to have been a mining machinery company - so fulfils the Trewhella/Thirroul link. This made finding where it was in 1922 more germane. So I went to the Mitchell yesty and tried to find its address. No luck - but what I did find was a piece of land along Mosman Bay in Neutral Bay opposite the ferry wharf called Harriett Park. Well, that pretty well confirms L's presence there - but, more significantly - makes Cameron Sutherland even more important. For there is now little doubt in my mind that someone connected with that company is at least part of the Trewhella character in K. Next week I will initiate two searches, one in the Mitchell (courtesy of Paul Brunton) to see if there is a photo of that side of Mosman Bay - which could show the CS depot or whatever, and in State Records (courtesy of Alan Ventress) to see if we can unearth company or other records of Cameron Sutherland - and in particular who the Sutherland of CS might be. (The Eric Campbell project looks like it will go ahead.) I am a feeling I am close to something. (26.10.10 - alas, I wasn't.)

5/4/10 (Bondi): Bugger! It's not Harriett Park, but Harnett Park. I misread it on the microfiche (an easy-enough mistake). However, it has had the purpose of focussing my attention on that crucial incident in K and its possible genesis. How I am trying to find where in Neutral Bay Cameron Sutherland (and Seward) had their office (and, I hope, harbourside wharf/landing), and, who the Sutherland in the firm was. I still think I am close to something. (26.10.10 - the historian for North Sydney council says there were no timber/coal yards on Mosman Bay - curses!)

25/10/10 (Bondi): I was asked to give a talk to the Marrickville Historical Society last Saturday on Sir Charles Rosenthal (for the text of my talk, see the next edition of Rananim). It went down well. My new helper, Robert Whitelaw, came along and, a la Ruffels, had some goodies for me. He has been very helpful since he learned about my Lawrence and secret army interests at the UUSC (of which we are both members, and dine there together most Fridays). Robert, who used to move in security circles when he was a public servant, has pointed me in the direction of Martha Rutledge, who is as close to the historical secret army action as anyone can be (she is the daughter of a Knox and a Stephens! - even better than Doug Arnott, whose grand-father was Sir Henry Braddon and whose grandfather was the Arnott who was no2 in the northern division of the Old Guard - see previous entries). I have written to Martha - who is a historian of some note (she wrote scores of entries in the ADB) - asking if she can help re knowledge in her family's circles about Kangaroo, etc. If anyone alive knows, she would. She could give me the brush-off (as others like Markie Vernon have), but, being an historian, she just might come good, see the larger interest, and spill the beans. Of course, this is part of my push to find conclusive evidence for my thesis prior to the DHL conference in Sydney next June - conclusive enough to convince even the most diehard "Darroch Thesis" sceptic. (I am also being helped by the National Archives, who are, most helpfully, delving into ASIO and SIB records for me.) I am also preparing a plea to MI5 in London (for Major Jones, head of our security service between 1919 and 1945. was a MI5 agent, and certainly knew what was going on, and, as a MI5 agent, must have been sending reports back to London). For it may be that, come next June, an opportunity might come my way to prove before the conference that the much-maligned "Darroch Thesis" is correct. (A panel discussion between me and Andrew on one side and

Steele and Joe Davis on the other would be the ideal format for such a decisive showdown.) Meanwhile, incredibly, almost 40 years on, I am still stumbling on significant evidence, and this is the justification for this diary entry. Firstly, my talk, which has something new in it. In writing it, I cast round for a quote to use showing the dark side of Rosenthal. I chose the pre-nightmare chapter telling of the final confrontation between Somers and Cooley (ie, Lawrence and Rosenthal) when L/S tells R/C that he has been to see Willie Struthers (ie, in reality Jock Garden at Trades Hall). The confrontation ends like this, "fictionally": *...Kangaroo's face had gone like an angry wax mask...an angry wax mask of mortification, haughty...with two little near-set holes for eyes, behind glass pince-nez...He had become hideous, with a long yellowish face and black eyes close together, and a cold, mindless, dangerous hulk of his shoulders. For a moment, Somers was afraid of him, as of some great ugly idol that might strike. He felt the intense hatred of the man coming at him in cold waves. He stood up in a kind of horror in front of the great, close-eyed, horrible thing that was now Kangaroo. Yes, a thing, not a whole man. A great Thing, a horror.* When I wrote this - which, of course, I believe reflects an actual event - I suddenly saw the reference to R/C's "two little near-set holes for eyes". Did Rosenthal have such eyes, I asked myself. You bet he did...I then went on to mention that L had re-used both Rosenthal and Scott again in two subsequent novels (JTLJ and the V&G). It made a nice point, and a nice piece. But, then, something even better emerged. With an eye to what delegates to the conference might do, I was browsing through these, my online research notes, when I came across a reference to the name Rutledge (see 27/1/90 above) - a name that means more to me today, of course, than it did then. He was Rosenthal's architect partner. What caught my eye, however, was his Christian name - Lovatt. In point of fact, I noted in passing in that 1990 entry that this could imply Lawrence had met Rosenthal before he started the novel. However, this comment was made before I knew some of the things I know today (and I glossed over it). Now that later knowledge (and the work I did on my talk on Saturday) throws a new light on this point. For it seems significant that L used two names associated with Rosenthal in the novel that he started no later than the Friday after he arrived (and possibly as early as Tuesday) - ie, Somers's wife, Harriett (2xTs), and Lovatt (2xTs) for Somers himself. Moreover, he probably got the name Trehwella also via Rosenthal (as Steele pointed out, there was a funeral in Sydney a few days before L arrived of a Trehwella, a prominent member of the Sydney singing society, which almost certainly would have included Rosenthal, and he was very probably at that funeral), and I am now certain that's where the name Trehwella came from. So - L was using three names associated with Rosenthal before the fictional meeting in chapter six, which was not written for at least a week or more after L went down to Thirroul on the Monday after his arrival in Sydney. The consequence is that L could have met Rosenthal much earlier than I had said, perhaps even that first Sunday at Collaroy. (It would be ludicrous to think - as Steele apparently does - that L got the name Trehwella from newspaper research - especially as the dead Trehwella was the CEO of a mining engineering company, and Jaz Trehwella in the novel is a mining engineer.) Was Rosenthal at that afternoon tea-party? I think there is now a strong possibility, even probability, that he was. He may well have been there with his partner, Lovatt Rutledge (and Rosie's wife, Harriett). Was Scott there? I think he probably was, given Peter Oatley's confirmation that the description of the fictional venue for the tea-party tallies exactly with Hinemoa (though there is some doubt about this - Yeend implies otherwise ("I would be looking in Beach Road") - and, indeed, two houses at Collaroy, one in Florence and another in Beach Road, might have been involved). We know, of course, that Robert Moreton Friend was there (and may have been renting the other Beach Road place), and it was almost certainly he who drove L&F back to town (in the open-topped Friends' Austin, garaged at Taylors garage in the Rocks). Hum was obviously there, and maybe Dawdie Friend. Was George Sutherland - almost certainly the model for Jaz Trehwella - there? Probably. Certainly from this occasion and meeting L must have derived the idea that in these new-found acquaintances were the germs of a novel, the "romance" he told Mountsier he intended to try to write in Sydney. (Indeed, the entire dramatis personae of Kangaroo, Struthers apart, must have been there.) What they all did not realise was the sort of person they were being so friendly to and communicative with, and what his spectacular agenda was to be.

31.10.10 (Bondi) : Following on from my last entry...the more I consider the question, the more it seems likely that Rosenthal was at that Sunday afternoon tea party at Collaroy on the day after Lawrence arrived in Sydney. For surely Scott – and indeed the Friends – would not have mentioned to this complete stranger, just arrived from the UK (as they would have viewed it), such an important, and still highly secret and “sensitive” matter as their secret army organisation, without the knowledge and approval – and perhaps encouragement – (derived from actual acquaintanceship) of its authoritarian leader, Rosenthal. Indeed, they surely would not have mentioned it unless they (Rosenthal and Scott in particular) wanted something from him – help with the onward activities of the K&E Alliance (since the end of the main reason for its existence following the defeat in March of the Dooley Labor Government). For no doubt they realised that the secret army infrastructure that they had so successfully organised behind the facade of the K&E had to be kept “in mothballs”, for they would have believed that it would be called upon again when another radical Labor Government came to power, either locally or Federally. Given that L had in mind (as he had told Mountsier a few days earlier) to write “a romance” while in Sydney, and that he had decided perhaps already to use “the diary technique”, and thus would be in need of “material” for that, it would not have taken much in the way of encouragement from him to lead them on (“you did not try to draw us out? I would have said you did” as Callcott tells Somers in the “Jack Slaps Back” chapter) and give them the impression that he could be of help in, probably, writing or even editing their K&E journal (“you are going to write something for us?” as Cooley says to Somers in the “Kangaroo” chapter). No, the later meetings with “Callcott and Trehwella” (the amalgam figures) must surely have been as a consequence of, a) that initial Collaroy meeting, and b) subsequent discussion between Rosenthal and Scott to explore the possibility of much-needed help with the continued existence of the K&E, and thus its shadow secret army infrastructure. By the way, National Archives have reported back that they could find no “secret army” files in Melbourne (where, apparently, the pre-Canberra files of the SIB are kept, to the extent they have survived) on the K&E. Bad news. However, they have yet to see if the Sydney NAA archives have anything, and promise to report further. (I have made some helpful suggestions to them in this regard, such as contacting MI5 in London to see if they still have reports from their man in Australia, Major Jones). Nevertheless, they have found a reference to a K&E file that, apparently, once existed – ie, it was created (I think, in 1920). So at least we know, “officially” as it were, that they thought the K&E was something to keep tabs on. No word from Martha Rutledge, however, which is most disappointing. Either she is dead, or disinclined to help. (Also I contacted the DHLANA re the coming conference and offered help – in response from a suggestion that I might contribute something – proposing a panel discussion, should they wish to open “that can of worms”. No reply yet.)

1.11.10 (Bondi): This little burst of activity, brought on by the looming DHL conference, has sent ferrets scattering in all directions. My chief ferret at the moment (and I hope he won't mind that description) is Robert Whitelaw, and his latest email to me has led to yet another reappraisal of that much-scratched-and-buffed portmanteau, the “Darroch Thesis”. Robert has found the military records of Walter and Robert Friend. Robert enlisted in late 1918, and we know from Yeend that he was one of a group of Kings boys who marched from Parramatta to Victoria Barracks to enlist. They did this after they finished their last year at school. So Robert could not have been any older than 17. Which means he was 21 or 22 in 1922, when he (according to Yeend) met L in Sydney in May 1922. He was not married. So it would seem that he was probably not the “physical” model for Callcott, who was at least 28 or 30 (if not older) and married (though this is probably mostly disguised Scott). It is unlikely this is a portrait of RMF. Yet L must have met someone that fits Callcott's description, at least to provide some element of the Callcott amalgam. I am beginning to wonder if that element could have been RMF's older brother, Walter. Which would make sense, and also make Victoria Walter's wife-to-be, Edna (who would have been about 21 in 1922), Callcott's young and flirtatious future wife, Victoria (Edna, apparently, was thus). Walter was certainly around Collaroy and Thirroul in 1922. More pertinently, he had (according to Edna, interviewed in the mid-1990s by Sandra) a motor-cycle, and he and Edna used to ride down to Thirroul on it (see 15/1/94 et seq). This fits with the first Thirroul manifestation of Callcott (the young couple next door) whom L depicts as wheeling a motor-cycle out of the garage next door. Rank speculation at this stage, but

worth a passing thought, and following up. (Geoff Sherington, who knows the archivist at Kings, is making some discreet inquiries - it is very handy being a member of the UUSC.) Also, I should add here, vis-a-vis the speculation re Walter Friend, that Yeend once said (see 13/6/02 above) that I was (re my speculations re George Sutherland) "on the right track...George Sutherland leads straight to Walter Friend". Not, it should be noted, to Robert Moreton Friend. Hmmm..

2/11/10 (Bondi): Well, well, well. Something new and significant has emerged from this reassessment, or revisiting, of my research notes. This will be a long entry - in fact it deserves a separate article - so be patient. It is, to say the least, an interesting story. However, it behoves me, because it is such a long and complex tale, to flag its significance up-front. So I will give it a heading..."FROM WHERE DID LAWRENCE GET THE NAME COOLEY?" This has long been an unanswered, but significant, question. I do not say I know the answer. But I think - and how this develops in the next few days and weeks will be interesting, for I have my ferrets going off in all directions - I am getting warm...perhaps very warm. But let's start by going back to the departure point. This was an entry in my research diary in May, 2002. Now, the point here is that this was the month in which I switched from the written diary to the online one. And in re-reading the diary this morning, I realised that something was missing, probably due to the dislocation, or change of medium. So I was, this morning, of a mind to put in, as I have done on one or two occasions before, a retrospective entry, for the missing information was, even when it was generated (let alone what has happened to it now), of interest and significance, and should have been recorded. At that time (as the May 2002 entries show) I had become interested in George Taylor, whose name had been brought to my attention by Andrew (Moore). In point of fact, though I did not note it in my diary at the time (and maybe this was the reason for that omission), I did write a substantial article in the May 2002 issue of *Rananim* about it. And so that article (which is on our DHLA website) is the departure point, rather than my research notes, for this new and belated (but now considerably updated) entry. My 2002 *Rananim* article ("THE MAN WHO WASN'T THERE") started with some observations about aviation and *Kangaroo* (Taylor had been an Australian aviation pioneer). It then went on to quote Andrew's email to me about an article he had just come across by a University of New England lecturer, entitled (provocatively) "The Taylors, Sir Charles Rosenthal and Protofascism in the 1920s". The author, Elizabeth Teather, had somehow come across a book Taylor had written c. 1915 (*The Sequel*) in which he had used the name Cooley - twice. Given (as she had observed) that Taylor had rather fascist views, and that he was close to Rosenthal (in a number of ways), could this have been the genesis of the name Cooley in *Kangaroo*? In that 2002 article I examined this question, and ended up, inconclusively, with this observation: [as Taylor was not in Sydney when Lawrence was here] "...it could not have been him who suggested the name Cooley to Lawrence. So who - or what - did? Was this just co-incidence? Surely not. If not, what is the connection?" And that's where I left it, hanging, as it were. But today (and all this has taken place in the last 24 hours) I decided to see if I could take that unanswered question any further. Of the two Cooleys mentioned in Taylor's 1915 book, *The Sequel*, he identifies (see my *Rananim* article) one as "Stoughton Cooley" - a distinctive name - whom he describes as "a great writer". When I wrote the article in 2002, I googled that name in, and came up with a reference to Henry George, of single-tax fame (cited in the late 1800s as one of the three most important people in America, alongside Twain and Edison). Though there was some link between Henry George and Stoughton Cooley, here was nothing to independently connect that Cooley to Australia, Rosenthal or *Kangaroo* (or to Lawrence and Henry George, for that matter). But since then (I speculated today) the internet and Google have advanced further. So I thought it worthwhile this morning to key in Stoughton Cooley again, and see what it turned up. Bingo! The first thing that came up was a reference to "the Cooley House" in America. Any reference to architecture and Cooley (cf. Rosenthal) was obviously worth following up. Fortunately, there was a long article on the internet about the Cooley House. The first point that caught my attention is that it was designed (around 1908) by Walter Burley Griffin. So, immediately, there was a possible "Australian connection". The next thing that clicked in was who the Cooley was who commissioned Walter Burley Griffin to design the Cooley House. This was George Brian Cooley, who was a Mississippi river-boat

captain (in the days when running a Mississippi gambling boat was no doubt a profitable business). (Still no hint of a Lawrence connection - had we been talking about Henry George's mate, Mark Twain - another sometime visitor to Sydney - we would have been closer to the money.) However, riverboat Captain Cooley had an elder brother, whose name was Stoughton Cooley. Was this the same Stoughton Cooley that Taylor lauded in his (rather fascist) book, *The Sequel*? I now think it must be. This Cooley himself wrote a book (around 1919), *The Captain of the Amaryllis*, which is set on the Mississippi (the Amaryllis is a riverboat steamer). (...remember, his brother George owned a Mississippi steamboat) And, as my 2002 Rananim article pointed out, the probability is that George Taylor knew Stoughton Cooley (cf. the favourable review in *The Public* of one of Taylor's books, no doubt by courtesy of "that great writer", Stoughton Cooley). And, being a town-planner, and married to a Sydney architect, Taylor would probably have known Griffin, and perhaps his Cooley House project. Rosenthal, of course, was close to Taylor (see *Rananim*) and also, probably, to Griffin when the latter was in Sydney (the practice in which Griffin was a partner designed the Holy Trinity Church in Dulwich Hill where Rosenthal was choirmaster - see my 25/10/10 diary entry above) But there was an even closer connection (as Ruffels pointed out to me last night). The Cooley family in America had, apparently, links with the American Protective League, the daughter of one of whose Chicago co-founders (Frey) was married to a Cooley (Stoughton's brother, I think - or maybe to Stoughton himself). As well as that, Stoughton was closely linked (via *The Public*) to President Wilson's Secretary for Labor, Louis Freeland Post (they had co-founded *The Public*), who, among other things (though he was a "liberal") was involved with the suppression of the "Red Scare" in America, and particularly in New York, in 1919-20 (Post was in charge of the subsequent deportation of foreign-born radicals). We know (from Joan Jensen's excellent book on the American Protective League, *The Price of Vigilance*) that the "Red Scare" was almost the main "work" the APL was involved in before it was disbanded (or morphed into Hoover's FBI). (By the way, the second "manifestation" of Cooley in Taylor's *The Sequel* was probably a portrait of Taylor himself - he seemed to particularly identify with Stoughton Cooley.) So, where does that leave us re Lawrence and the origin of the name Cooley? A bit closer to the truth, I think. Certainly we can show that Taylor knew the name Cooley, which he derived (and identified with) from Stoughton Cooley in America (whom he probably met on one of his trips to America). We can show that Taylor and Rosenthal were close. It is reasonable to deduce that Taylor was part of the K&E and its secret army (he was among the audience at its launch in the Sydney Town Hall in July 1920, and later edited the principal veterans magazine in Sydney). It is even possible that Taylor provided part of the local APL-K&E link back to the APL in America via Stoughton Cooley. Given that Taylor and his wife were closely involved with architecture, it is a reasonable deduction that Taylor was familiar (again via Stoughton Cooley) with Griffin's Cooley House. If so, then it is highly probable that Rosenthal was, too (ie, Taylor is a sufficient link between the Cooley House and Rosenthal). As well, there is a significant possible link between the K&E in Sydney and the APL in America, also via Taylor and Stoughton Cooley. Thus we can bring the name Cooley to Sydney and up to Rosenthal's door. But how might Lawrence have learned of this, and the Cooley name-link with Rosenthal - sufficient to provide him with Rosenthal's "fictional" name Cooley in *Kangaroo*? We do not know, and it is idle in the absence of further evidence to speculate. There is no hint either in the novel nor in Lawrence's Australian correspondence (nor Frieda's) of any architectural interest (despite the fact that Wyewurk was an architecturally-important building, derived from the Californian bungalow design that the son of its first owner brought back from America). The truth may not involve architecture at all. The origin of the Cooley name may prove to have been political or even philosophical (via Stoughton Cooley, Frey or Henry George). However, if I may be excused a parthian shot, we now have a more likely origin than Bruce Steele's speculation that the name Cooley might have been derived from the ex-Premier's name, Dooley.

08.11.10 (Bondi): A correction and an addition. I erred in my last entry saying that someone connected to the American Protective League had married into the Cooley family. I had got this information from Ruffels, but he has since told me it is incorrect. It was not a Cooley or Frey in Savannah Louisiana (or wherever) but in Savannah Illinois. (Still, I think there may have been a Cooley House in Illinois – I must

check that). The addition comes from my further investigation about the Cooleys. It seems that Lawrence might have – no, might conceivably have – got the Benjamin of Benjamin Cooley from a US Cooley source, too. As the Cooley family website reveals, the original Cooley in New England (in the 16th century) was called Benjamin Cooley, and since then many Cooleys in America adopted that Christian name. So a Cooley called Benjamin in Lawrence’s novel should not be automatically sheeted home to suspicions about Rosenthal’s reputed Jewishness (as I did).

09.11.10 (Bondi): An exchange of emails yesty with Ruffels seem (as he remarked) to be bringing us to the verge of something...how Lawrence learned of the link between Rosenthal and the Cooley House, and thus where he got the name Cooley for Kangaroo. As I said above, we can show how the Cooley House name might have come to Australia (via George Taylor and/or Walter Burley Griffin). We can see how it might have come up to Rosenthal’s door via either his role as an architect or, more probably, via Taylor (Ruffels has dug up a photo of his wife shaking hands with de Groot). Now I am beginning to suspect it might have cropped up at that Sunday tea-party at Collaroy (where so much else of the novel comes from). If we are right, then somebody at that tea-party probably (may have? possibly? inconceivable as it might seem?) mentioned architecture and the Cooley House. Who that person was I feel we may be on the verge of discovering. As I told Ruffels yesty, I am beginning to suspect that the link has something to do with Roy Irons, the architect of Wyewurk (and whose father was, or had been, part-owner of the garage in the Rocks where the Friends garaged their two Austins – cf. “the garage”, the nickname of the real K&E secret army). (By the way, there were two Cooley Houses, the original one in Savanna Illinois, built by George and Stoughton’s father, Captain Stoughton Cooley, and the second one that Cooley jr commissioned in Monroe Louisiana from Walter Burley Griffin – and built later by his “young Australian architect”. It would, as I remarked to Ruffels yesty, surely too much to hope for that that “young Australian architect” was Roy Irons.)

12.11.10 (Bondi): Well it wasn’t Irons. It was (as Robert Whitelaw has pointed out) a young rising modernist Melbourne architect Henry Pynor, who had been working with Burley Griffin (presumably in Sydney). He supervised the building of the second Cooley House in Monroe, Georgia, around 1925. So we can rule that avenue out. On the other hand, Robert also drew my attention to the ADB entry on George Augustine Taylor, which tells us some interesting things about the man whose statue stands next to the lagoon at Narrabeen. (No, Lawrence did not see it – it was put up many years later.) What is germane to us is his strong connection to many of the things of interest re Lawrence and Kangaroo. He must have been a member of the K&E (he was at its launch in 1920) and closely associated with Rosenthal (but we know that). He was extremely interested in modernist domestic architecture in Australia, and was a firm disciple of WBG, whom he obviously knew personally (he championed the cause of the new capital in Canberra and WBG). Clearly he would have known about Wyewurk and the Californian bungalow, and thus Irons. He would have known about WBG’s at that stage unbuilt Cooley House. The probability is emerging that the link between Lawrence and the name Cooley is via Taylor. But what is that link? Had he been at the Sunday tea-party, we would know the answer. But, according to Ruffels, he was overseas on another trip to America. I wonder what his departure date was? John?

15.11.10 (Bondi): Actually, a Taylor departure date in early 1922, prior to Lawrence’s arrival in Sydney, might, perversely, help the Cooley cause. Let’s assume (as I of course do) that Kangaroo is largely factually-based (cf. the “diary technique”). Then let assume that, as the novel implies, Scott and Rosenthal wanted L “to write something” for them. What could they have had in mind – or, more pertinently – what had Lawrence in mind when he wrote this? There is nothing in the K&E journal that smacks of the sort of thing L might have written, or been expected to write. It’s all very low-key stuff – newsletterish. In fact the sort of stuff Taylor might have written...and perhaps he did. Maybe he was the editor of the K&E. Given his journalistic activities and experience, not to mention his later editorship of *Soldier* (presumably for Rosenthal and the RSL), that is a strong possibility. (Who else?) So if he had just

departed on his overseas trip, the K&E would be lacking an editor. And now Lawrence pops up Sydney, looking for work (why else would he have a letter of introduction to Bert Toy of the Bulletin?). But by the time of his arrival, he had, I think we can now safely assume, given up the idea of journalism in Sydney, and instead was looking for material to write his pseudo-diary "romance". What better way to do that than to make out to two likely sources of information that he might consider their (presumed) suggestion that he take on the temporarily-vacant post of K&E editor. (There was a publishing company on the same floor as Rosenthal's rooms in Castlereagh Street – Pinkie Publishing, I think.) OK, that's all very, very speculative, and may be entirely wrong. But that's where we are at the moment – in the realms of speculation, trying to find the link from Lawrence to Rosenthal via the Cooley House. I certainly think we can say that the closest journalist – qualified editor – to Rosenthal was George Augustine Taylor. So that's now another ball in the air. But there might be something else. Consider...why did Lawrence, not only catch the tram from Manly to the terminus at Narrabeen – a good 20 or more blocks beyond Collaroy, where, we now assume, he had a rendezvous with Hum - but then walk the eight or nine blocks (a good 15-minute trek) to the lagoon beach at North Narrabeen? Why there? Who told him there was even a beach there? I have always assumed it was to look at possible cheap holiday houses to rent (and, indeed, the text backs this up). Even so – why there? Well, there was something else there. It was the precise place where Taylor (in the company of Rosenthal) conducted his gliding experiment (see my May 2003 Rananim article for pictures, etc) back in 1908, or whenever (as the statue of Taylor and its commemorative plaque outside Woolworths presently testify to). Coincidence? One is beginning to wonder. Robert Whitelaw reports that when in Canberra on the weekend he looked up some books on WBG. There is no doubt that, initially, Taylor and WBG were very closely associated. R says that Taylor met WBG's arrival boat in 1914 and took him to stay with him at his home in Cremorne. (He was especially interested in WBG's ideas on domestic architecture.) They fell out around 1916, however, and WBG later moved to Greenwich and later Melbourne. (I wonder where Taylor lived in Cremorne?)

18/11/10 (Bondi): Both Ruffels and Robert Whitelaw have been busy looking into "the Taylor connection". But, first, R clarifies the Savanna Illinois Cooley matter (and a possible family link to the APL via a Frey). The Frey lady married an Elmer Cooley of Savanna. However, we do not know the Frey/APL link, nor the Cooley connection. So it's just a possibility that there is a link between the APL and the Cooleys. (And even if there was a link – which is probable – it doesn't tell us much.) Robert, bless his heart, went to the Mitchell yesty and did quite a bit of research on the Taylors. Points to note: the Taylors lived in Bannerman Street Cremorne, which is one down from Florence and thus a stone's throw from the Canberra Flats on the corner of Murdoch (which address L had on his letter to Bert Toy of the Bulletin). So we have enhanced propinquity. (Their office, and later residence, was in Loftus Street, just down from the Union Club in Bligh.) However, the real gem in Robert's research is the date of the Taylors' departure from Sydney in 1922. It was May 1922! They left on the RMS Ormutz, or whatever, for Europe via Ceylon. It is unlikely their paths could have crossed with L (though, intriguingly, that's like the same-day arrival/departure in Colombo of Mrs Friend and L). However, it does lend a bit of weight to my (mad?) speculation that Taylor might have had a hand in the editing of the K&E Journal, and his departure might have left a vacancy that L might have been asked to fill (see above). As I remarked to Sandra, there might have been two ghosts at that Sunday afternoon tea-party – Trehwella and George Augustine Taylor. (If we only had a medium who could take us back there.) As a sidelight, Richard Blair of the Marrickville Historical Society sent me his 1996 article on "DH LAWRENCE AND CAMPERDOWN" (which I had asked for). It's quite nice and has a few extra facts that I was unaware of, and is illustrated by one of the Forrester post cards (addressed to 206 Australia Street Camperdown, where the Forresters were living) got via Joe Davis. He also sent me the latest issue of his society journal, which has an article on my Rosenthal talk. The author did not think much of my "thesis": "I find this idea [that Rosenthal is Cooley] strange because Rosenthal had a very warm relationship with the diggers he led...The character 'Kangaroo' is a hideous, malevolent person...with eyes close together..." I suppose I should send her the famous "reptile" quote..."It was as if the silvery freedom suddenly turned, and showed the scaly back of the reptile, and the horrible paws." Oh, yes, one other minor thing. Robert

(bless him) tracked down the birth record at the Granville Historical Society of Thomas Roy Irons (the architect of Wyewurk). He was born (at Granville) in 1889. Rather amusingly, the Society lists (on its website presumably) names of people with some "family history" connection to the suburb. One of the names cited is "Lawrence, DH". Not something, however, to get very excited about, for under that entry is "Lawson, Henry". One suspects their connection with Granville might have been via a local bookshop.

24/11/10 Bondi: There is now little doubt that George Augustine Taylor was either editor of the K&E journal, or a substantial contributor to it. His publishing company might well have produced it for Rosenthal (the registered address of the K&E was Rosenthal's office at Mendes Chambers, 8a Castlereagh Street). Having just gone through the 36 monthly copies of the K&E (January 1921 to December 1923) I can report that it reeks of GAT influence and interests (aviation, wireless, planning, etc). My best guess is that it was a joint effort by Rosenthal and Taylor - as I think *The Soldier* (contemporary with the K&E Journal) was. R might - probably was - the "titular" editor, but I think Taylor did all the journalistic work. I think he also sold the ads, for it is full of building supplies ads (eg, WS Friend and Co). A major element of its editorial content was an almost obsessive interest in promoting aviation - Taylor's main interest at this time. It has an article about a visit (no doubt by Rosenthal) to Taylor's aircraft factory at Mascot, urging its value to, for example, the defence of the Northern Territory (a need Taylor expressed in his 1916 novel, *The Sequel*). More significantly, in the October 1923 issue is a major article about a visit to Canberra led by Rosenthal, who was then President of the NSW Institute of Architects. In the party were GAT and his wife. (It is probably that GAT wrote this article.) However, I could not find what I was looking for, which was some sort of editorial break around May 1922 when GAT left for Europe and America, and Lawrence hove into view. Yet I am just as certain that when in Kangaroo Cooley asks Somers "Are you going to write something for us?", this reflects an actual approach by Rosenthal to Lawrence to contribute in some way to the K&E. There is a well-written editorial in the July issue that includes some literary quotes, and it is conceivable that this might have been contributed by Lawrence, but that is drawing a very long bow. And still no link to the Cooley House (though we are circling closer - for example, Walter Burley Griffin, architect of the Cooley House, started a club in Melbourne while he had an office there: the Henry George (of single-tax fame) Club, the "hero" of Stoughton Cooley in America, and GAT's "great writer"). Incidentally (though I have noted this before) reading through the K&E there can be little doubt that the K&E Alliance is Lawrence's Diggers organisation (comparing, for example, his description of "Cooley" organisation in the Diggers chapter (p. 147 Heinemann) with the K&E organisation, most especially the date in both accounts of its starting date - mid-1920). Oh, yes - I should add here that a passage in the earlier "Cooee" chapter mentions that a new branch can be formed by "30 or so" members of one branch going off and forming a new branch. This is precisely what is reported in the March 1921 issue of the K&E when 50-odd members of the Epping branch of the K&E break away to form the new Thornleigh branch.

26.11.10 Bondi: A somewhat seismic email from Robert Whitelaw yesty. He has discovered that there is an end house at Narrabeen, and a rather significant one too. Some days ago in an email I asked the question (of Robert and Ruffels) why did Lawrence go to Narrabeen, and in particular why did he walk the 10 or so blocks from the tram terminus at Narrabeen to the lagoon beach where he and Frieda sat on the sand and watched the "thick legged boys" frolicking nearby. It's a long walk - 15 or 20 minutes. Previously, I had somewhat glossed over this, treating it merely as a prelude to the more important tea-party at what I had assumed was Collaroy and Hinemoa (I had assumed that Lawrence had been early for an afternoon-tea appointment, had gone to the terminus, and was looking around for possible housing before catching the tram back to Collaroy). I had assumed that the St Columb bungalow, described by Lawrence as "the end house" and later as a house "sideways facing the lagoon", was Hinemoa - the end house in Florence Street, Collaroy. Peter Oatley's evidence seemed overwhelming and irrefutable (despite Peter Yeend questioning it..."I would be more interested in Beach Road"). Not to mention Scott's

association with Hinemoa and the Oatley family (see earlier diary entries). But the intrusion of George Augustine Taylor and his aviation experiments in 1909 at Narrabeen (and his general intrusion on the matter via the Cooley House) redirected my – and Robert’s – attention back to Narrabeen. Hence the question – why there? What was, or rather could be, the connection with Taylor? Well, Robert has come up, not only with a possible answer, but something that has the potential to change my whole Darroch Thesis scenario – at least so far and Collaroy and Narrabeen are concerned. But before that, I re-read the text and, again, I had glossed over something. L&F got off the tram (according to the text), bought some pears and fizzy drink, then walked up what must have been Albert Street to where there was “a ridge of sand” over which they walked to the ocean beach (North Narrabeen). It was there they sat in the sand and peeled their pears (not the lagoon beach). They then, apparently returned to the (unmade) road – Ocean Avenue, and walked along it the 10 or so blocks to the lagoon beach, no doubt looking at houses (as the text says) on the way (Stella Maris, “4-sale”, etc). Then they sat in the sand and watched the boys, etc, as the text says. However, it is what happened next that is now changed. (Again, I had assumed they walked back to the terminus and took the tram back to Collaroy.) But that’s not what the text says. And I will quote it: *Harriet sat up and began dusting the sand from her coat--Lovat did likewise. Then they rose to be going back to the tram-car. There was a motor-car standing on the sand of the road near the gate of the end house. The end house was called St. Columb, and Somers' heart flew to Cornwall. It was quite a nice little place, standing on a bluff of sand sideways above the lagoon.* There, according to the text, they encounter Mrs Callcott, who invites them to come to tea in the end house which is, the text says, owned or occupied by her sister. And that, says the text, is where the tea-party and everything else happened. Not a few miles back to Collaroy and Hinemoa, but at Narrabeen. But I did not know what we know now, courtesy of Robert’s excellent research. I had assumed there was no end house in Ocean Avenue, hence no car, no Mrs Callcott, no sister (“Rose”) and no tea-party (hence no meeting there with Scott or the Friends). But there was an end house!!! It apparently (and Robert is checking further) was (as the text says) standing sideways facing the lagoon. It was owned by a Mr and Mrs Shultz (certainly not a name I have ever come across). And it was a substantial house, with servants. But – and here’s the vital part – it has a crucial Taylor connection. For Taylor apparently stayed there when he was conducting his aviation experiment in 1909 over the sandhills nearby. Not only that, but Mrs Shultz actually flew in one of the flights. (Her maiden name was Emma Brookes, R tells me). Well, isn’t that something. Precisely what we do not yet know. All sorts of possibilities come to mind. And Robert is delving deeper. But it does strengthen the Taylor perspective, and may give us a reason why L&F made that long trip from Manly and went that long walk along Ocean Avenue (or Road) that first Sunday at Narrabeen. Watch this space.

Bondi (06.02.11): Sandra’s *Lost Girl* paper has been accepted by the organisers of the DHL conference, which is excellent news. (I proposed, in response to a second call for papers, an uncontroversial paper on Lawrence in Ceylon – which would have rather helped their “post-colonial” theme – but have received no reply yet.) Meanwhile I wrote a long article on the name Cooley and George Augustine Taylor that I also sent off to the conference organisers, ostensibly to show what I was doing to help promote the conference. I have offered the article, as an introductory piece on the conference, to The Australian’s literary supplement (again, no reply yet). However, that is not the reason for this entry, which is to remark (again) on the role co-incidence plays in all this (eg, the tennis party at Turramurra after my first Lawrence article was published at which Sally Oatley told us that her father was Scott’s stepson). I have remarked before on the role of coincidence in Kangaroo. Now it’s happened again. We – Robert Whitelaw and myself - have been trying to track down the origin of the name Cooley and had focussed on Taylor and his flying experiments at Narrabeen in 1909 (which is what I led off my article on). In the course of this research Robert came across (at the RAHS library) a monograph on Taylor written by David Craddock, among other things (he’s ex-president of the Royal Society in NSW) a historian of aviation (he actually reconstructed Taylor’s experiments at Narrabeen a year or so ago). Robert suggested we should meet and have a chat with him, which we are going to do next week. However, in replying to my invitation Craddock said he finds that he has another, quite separate link with our interest in Lawrence, Taylor, etc.

His wife is a Southwell! An aunt sold Wyewurk! Her family let Wyewurk to Lawrence! So on Tuesday week we will have more than aviation to talk to Craddock about.

BONDI 1.03.11: Robert (Whitelaw - now my right-hand) and I are leaving no stones unturned in our quest to find the clinching evidence that will show what really happened to Lawrence in Sydney and Thirroul. Our interviews with the surviving descendants of the Irons and Southwell families have yielded much valuable "background" material, yet so far nothing conclusive. But we still have some stones left to turn, and I think we both believe that we will soon uncover something reasonably convincing, if not the proverbial "smoking gun". (The key, we now believe, is who was at that Sunday tea-party at Narrabeen - and we think we can get close to answering that vital question before the Sydney DHL conference kicks off in June.) Meanwhile, I have composed an article which I hope to use as the basis of an eventual article. (see THE RIDDLE OF THE SANDS on the DHL Rananim website)

Bondi (06.04.11): The Narrabeen "end house" – the Schultz House - scenario is firming up (but is as yet by no means a certainty). Following Robert's "discovery" that there was indeed an "end house" opposite the lagoon at Narrabeen, we have interviewed David Craddock (re George Augustine Taylor's presence and activities at North Narrabeen) and now relatives of both Taylor and the Schultzes. Robert went down to Cooma on Saturday to interview a granddaughter of GAT and his wife Florence, and yesterday we went to Clifton Gardens to interview Michael Schultz, the grandson of Charles and Emma Schultz, who built and owned "Billabong", the "end house". Our aim was to see if we could connect what Lawrence says in Kangaroo about "his" end house, and the Schultz House. (The Cooma GAT relative had some useful snapshots of the lagoon, but little else). Firstly, we got some useful pictures and other information about the Schultz house (including a nice watercolour of it by GAT). It occupied the whole block bounded by the lagoon, Ocean Street, Lagoon street (its actual address-frontage), and Malcolm Street (on the Ocean street corner of which was "Tres Bon" – mentioned by Lawrence in K). It seems it was almost an estate – certainly containing the most substantial (two-storey) house for miles around. Michael could add nothing from his own knowledge to help us connect the novel to the house (though he did remember the house and property, which he visited as a child). Otherwise he was most helpful, and had a small pile of photos and other documents that he thought (following Robert's approach) might be of interest. Crucially, he had a picture of the house itself (and its surrounds), and he described its interior and aspects. He confirmed it had a large lounge-room with smaller rooms and verandahs off it (confirming L's description – though Wyewurk would fit it just as well). He told us about his family, who must have been very well off, owning considerable property elsewhere in Sydney. Master builder Charles Schultz was clearly a man of substance and repute. Michael confirmed that it was a place – a weekender – that others flocked to. It had, for example, something at the rear of the property that could have been an extra cottage, and later there was certainly a separate flat attached to the main house. Clearly, it could have afforded accommodation for friends and acquaintances (even casual travellers). Most crucially of all, he had a reproduction of a photo of Rosenthal and Taylor in the grounds (with a Major McLeod). It clearly dated from around - no, probably before - WW1. So, what can we draw from all this? It is now quite feasible that this is L's "end house" (but see caveat below). Indeed, had we not previously identified L's "end house" as Hinemoa in Collaroy, we would have said it was certainly the "end house" in K. It fits the "looked up" quote in K (as Hinemoa does not). It is the end house next to where we know L went that first Sunday. Significantly, it is unquestionably "sideways facing the lagoon" (we had to stretch Hinemoa to be "facing the lagoon"). We can place Rosenthal there, if not on that Sunday, then as a regular visitor (so he could have been there that Sunday). It was owned by Emma Schultz ("my sister has the end house"), and that does not apply to Hinemoa. It was a house associated with building and architecture (giving us a possible – remote - explanation for WBG's Cooley House connection). It is conceivable – just – that an architect named "Louatt" was there (which L could have made into Lovatt, though that is drawing a very long bow). However – before I get on to the caveats – its main claim to being L's "end

house” is that it provides a reason why L made his otherwise inexplicable trip – trek - that Sunday to North Narrabeen. It now looks as though he went in order to go to that house, either for reasons of possible accommodation, or to see Rosenthal re a K&E writing job (a possibility that is also firming in our minds). Hinemoa lacks all this. (Robert has also found a possible link between the Schultz house and the houses in St Cloumb in Cornwall.) But, worryingly, it goes against the Yeend material (and we must concede that Yeend knows the truth – for he had read RMF’s crucial Kings School memoir). In our exchange of letters, Yeend seemed to be quite certain that the meeting with the Friends took place in Collaroy – indeed, specifically in Beach Road, Collaroy. (Though it is conceivable that Yeend could have mixed Beach Road up with Ocean Street Narrabeen.) Just as crucially (though not fatally) we have no known Friend connection with the Schultz house – except that WS Friend & Co was a hardware supplier that builder Schultz would certainly had business with (and which advertised each month in GAT’s journal). But there is no explanation – yet – of the other “clues” L drops – the Cornish connection, the Trewhella relationships (married his friends widow, etc – while this could be true (via the Oatley connection) of Hinemoa), the “settles” round the (bay) windows, the framed picture, etc, etc. Also we have nothing to place Gerald Hum there or thereabouts (Ruffels found that the Hums stayed in the Collaroy basin area on school holidays – just a stone’s throw from Hinemoa). Hum is our only Cornish connection (but now see below*) at the moment (Mrs Delprat remembers her cousin Hum being called “a typical Cornishman”). The only person we know of who could have arranged a visit by Lawrence to the northern beaches area Collaroy or Narrabeen is his shipmate Hum (and his is the only Sydney name in L’s address book). Problems. Nevertheless, I feel we are homing in on the truth. Robert is pursuing the various lines of research (did Emma Schultz have a sister? Was she well-off? Why did she part-own other Schultz property? etc). (LATE NEWS – Michael Schultz reports that Emma had a sister – Robert is chasing this up.) Meanwhile some MI5 files were released in London earlier this week. We are trying to find out if there might be available MI5 files on Major H Jones which might also be accessible (for he would have told his MI5 superiors in London what was going on in 1920-22 - as the US consult Norton did to Washington). So the quest continues. *of course, the more likely incident that touched off in Lawrence a memory of Cornwell was his hearing the name "Trewhella" at that afternoon tea-party. As Bruce Steele pointed out in his CUP edition of Kangaroo, a few days before L arrived in Sydney a funeral was held for Joshua Trewhella, the manager of Cameron Sutherland, a firm of engineers who repaired mining machinery. Trewhella (who lived in Neutral Bay) was a member of the Sydney Liedertafel, or choir society - a group that Rosenthal was almost certainly a fellow member of, and whose funeral he was most likely to have attended. Our speculation is that this funeral and the name Trewhella was mentioned at the tea-party - no doubt by Rosenthal (or, if he was also present, "Walter Friend's good friend George Sutherland", whom Yeend urged me to connect to the Friend family and Kangaroo). Trewhella was a name L would surely have recalled from his time in Cornwall, for the nearest village to where he was staying in Higher Tregarthen was Zennor, whose church commemorated a legendary mermaid who, so myth went, had lured a local choirester, Mathew Trewella to his watery death because she was entranced by his singing. (Zennor in Lawrence's transformation process could well have become St Columb Major.) So we don't really need Hum's Cornish typicality (however, we still need his "stuggy" appearance for the fictional Trewhella).

BONDI (17.6.11): The key person in all this, I am beginning to think, is Jaz. Hitherto I have concentrated on Jack Callcott and Ben Cooley. Yet the clue to it all may be the true identity of Jaz. (Of course, I have touched on this before. But now I am reassessing the evidence.) This new appraisal was inspired by re-reading (for the purpose of fashioning a map of “Lawrence’s Sydney” for the DHL conference) the “Sydney” parts of K. In tracing L’s Sydney footsteps, I happened upon L’s last few days in Australia, which obviously entailed another trip up to Sydney and an overnight stay somewhere in the city or suburbs prior to embarking for NZ and America. I noted L’s final remarks, as his ship sailed **down the Harbour and out the Heads** (wrongly excised from the CUP edition). He recalls his trip to Narrabeen, where he first met Jaz. (Not, he implies, Jack Callcott.) This reference, I now believe, adds some primacy

to the character Jaz and whom he might be a portrait of. After all, Jaz if anything plays a larger (though less gaudy) role in the novel than Jack Callcott (whom, we assume, is based on an amalgam of Jack Scott and Robert Moreton Friend). So let's turn the spotlight on Jaz – William James Trewhella - and see what we can make of him and whom he might in reality be based on. Like everything in K, we are faced with the dilemma of untangling Lawrence's disguise techniques. We have to try to strip away what is disguise (or deconstruct the amalgam) and what might be real. It might help in this endeavour if, instead following Jaz from Narrabeen through the text, we start at the other end of the novel – L's departure – and read backwards – for his various disguise techniques tend to slip and the novel progresses. Jaz is either married or associated with a female who plays a prominent role in L's association with local Australians. Somers is seen off at the wharf (broken streamers, no less) by two women (no men, note – probably because of either alienation or work – more likely the latter). Moreover, he had clearly stayed with someone the previous night, and he implies (because of the ferry reference) that this was north of the Harbour (indeed, Jaz is always portrayed as living north of the Harbour). One of these women is very probably Jaz's wife, for the people he stayed with would be the most likely to see them off. The "other" female could be anyone – Mrs Hum, Mrs Forrester or Maudie Friend – I would bet on Mrs Hum. (But I don't think L&F stayed with the Hums at Chatswood, for that is not a likely destination of a ferry-ride across the Harbour.) We have good reason to believe that Jaz is also an amalgam. His outward guise is almost certainly Gerald Hum (Cornish*, stuggy, etc). (By the way, it could not have been Hum who drove L&F back to Sydney from Narrabeen – for he would have had to remain with his family, either at a holiday cottage in Narrabeen or nearby, or at his home in Chatswood. No, that car back was almost certainly driven by a Friend – for the Friends garaged their cars at Taylor's garage in the Rocks, and L says the car had to be dropped off.) So who was "the other half" of Jaz? (* though the Trewhella name – derived from Joshua Trewhella's Wednesday funeral - is sufficient for a "Cornish connection") Note that on that trip back, someone had to be dropped off in North Sydney, before the vehicular ferry across the Harbour. I had thought this was Scott, but I am now convinced L did not meet Scott until a later trip up to Sydney – at Mosman Bay. The "drop-off" had to have been Jaz or/and his wife. So, we can speculate, whoever Jaz and his wife were, they lived north of the Harbour, most likely within walking distance of Mosman Wharf, which implies the Neutral Bay/Cremorne area. (The complication here is that Jack Scott lived in Wycombe Road Neutral Bay. and L certainly went there – cf. the "tubtop" lookout at 112.) Jaz takes L around Sydney and to the Trades Hall (and to Willie Struthers/Jock Garden). L implies he is a union official (most unlikely) – this on top of his "coal and wood merchant" and mining engineer personas. He is clearly a member of the secret army, and a very prominent one. (So he should have known Rosenthal). And there is the initial connection with "the end house" at Narrabeen. Then there is that later visit to Neutral Bay, where L clearly catches the ferry to Cremorne, the tram up to Florence street, and then apparently walks to where Jack/Jaz lives. I had always assumed this was Scott's flat at 112 Wycombe Road, but it is more likely to be where Jaz lived, probably nearby. Finally, still working backwards, we come to the first-Sunday trip up to Narrabeen, and the tea-party in "the end house", where L first encounters "Jaz". Here things must be heavily disguised. According to the text, Jaz is young, recently married, with a wife better off than he is, and has some sort of eye complaint. There also seems some sort of mix-up in L's description of Jaz's family arrangements (indeed, Somers confesses he can't follow it all). Some inter-marrying is hinted at. There is also little doubt that Jaz is connected with Thirroul and the coal industry there. This, of course, points to George Sutherland and his firm of engineers (and suppliers/maintainers of mining machinery) and Joshua Trewhella, the late general manager of Cameron Sutherland. And Yeend definitely pointed me in the direction of Sutherland ("Walter's good friend"). So, what is real, what disguise, and what "fiction"? Here we must keep Occam's Razor in mind, and not multiply characters unnecessarily. Is Jaz someone we already know, or someone yet to be identified? The latter seems unlikely. Sutherland was not married in 1922, so it seems unlikely that he is Jaz (despite the Thirroul mining connections – and the Trewhella name associated with his company). Indeed, my latest information from Mike Sutherland seems to rule out any involvement by George Sutherland. He was still at uni, doing engineering, in 1922 (third year), and was only a lad. He cannot be Jaz. Yeend must be referring to a later connection with Walter Friend. Then is Jaz a Friend? The car/garage reference would

argue so. Could he be Robert Moreton Friend (the bits not attached to Jack Callcott)? That is the best-looking fit at the moment. Clearly, his address in Sydney in 1922 is crucial. I will look into this further. Meanwhile, the full program for the DHL conference has come out. Amazingly, no mention of Kangaroo or Lawrence' time in NSW. One wonders why they have bothered to come to Australia at all. (Perversely, however, it might be taken as a back-handed compliment to the dreaded Darroch Thesis – though I can hardly take comfort from that.)

BONDI 20.06.11: This is probably an item for *Rananim*, too. But I'll start it as a diary entry. It was sparked by something that John Ruffels (bless him!) sent me, the result of his ongoing research into Lawrence references in Australian newspapers going back to 1922 and beyond. What he sent was a 1950 review in *The Argus* in Melbourne of the then recently-published 1950 Heinemann edition of *Kangaroo*, with that so-influential introduction by Richard Aldington. *The Argus's* 1950 review (by Geoff Hutton – maybe a misprint for the litterateur Geoff Dutton?) praised the novel, but highlighted Aldington's introduction's comment that, although it was written as the product of L's daily experiences in NSW, its secret army plot was, on the other hand, entirely fictional, being merely some possible reflection of L's time in Italy and his experience there of Italian fascism. (The review mentioned the 1930-32 New Guard, but only to dismiss any connection between Eric Campbell's private-army and L's secret army of Diggers and Maggies.) My purpose in commenting on this now is that it indicates again how much even knowledgeable Australians – who were aware, unlike overseas critics, of Campbell's New Guard – relied on Aldington's interpretation and comments on the novel. Now, I have written something about this, both in a diary entry in 1992 (see above), and more extensively in *Rananim* 3/2 (June 1995). This was sparked by a letter my colleague Professor Andrew Moore had recently (in 1995) come across in the Adrian Lawlor papers in the Victorian State Library. Lawlor, a minor literary figure and artist in Melbourne, is mentioned in Aldington's *Kangaroo* introduction as "an Australian friend Mr Adrian Lawlor" who, although he had never been to coast south of Sydney, had said that "after reading Lawrence, God! I've been there". Professor Moore could not copy the letter, but told me that it was about *Kangaroo*, so I was anxious to read it myself to see what Lawlor and Aldington might have discussed. The Lawlor letter proved to be of considerable significance, and indeed showed how Aldington no doubt arrived at his conclusion that the secret army plot (what he called in his correspondence with Lawlor "the spy episode" – a reference to Jack Callcott's accusation that Somers had been spying on his Diggers organisation) was invented by Lawrence, or else imported from Italy. (Which is, by the way, the current anti-Darroch-Thesis interpretation.) Aldington was referred to Lawlor as some sort of local expert by a mutual acquaintance, Alister Kershaw, an Australian expat who was living in France (and who later became Aldington's literary executor). Apparently Aldington had spoken to Kershaw in 1948 when he was preparing to write his major post-war biography of Lawrence *A Portrait of a Genius But...* and the subsequent Heinemann introductions. It seems that Kershaw had passed on Aldington's queries to his friend Adrian Lawlor in Melbourne, who had responded with some information. Aldington then wrote to Lawlor himself *Dear Adrian Lawlor - Alister sent me your interesting notes on DHL, and I write to ask if you will allow me to quote from them, making all due acknowledgement. You will see at once the importance of Australian confirmation of DHL's insight and even prophetic vision...* Prophetic? That was probably a reference to Lawlor's "notes", which mentioned the 1930-32 New Guard (see text below). Aldington in his letter to Lawlor was critical of a pre-war Lawrence biography written by Hugh Kingsmill which had dismissed *Kangaroo* as "invented twaddle". Aldington apparently had a special interest in "the spy episode" (ie, the novel's secret army plot), for he went on: *Then the "spy" episode. Oddly enough, that followed him about everywhere. Even on the island of Port Cros in 1928 [where Lawrence and Frieda were staying with the Aldingtons] we were visited by three staff officers from Toulon who were most pertinacious in enquiries about Mr Lawrence and in wanting to see him...If that "spy" scene between Somers and Jack is invented [in the "Jack slaps Back" chapter], I should be surprised. There is real rage in it, which I don't think Lorenzo could have worked up over an imaginary incident....I have long thought that Lawrence's departure from Australia was precipitated by that "spy" episode.* Aldington's interest in "the spy episode" was neither casual, nor recent. Two years earlier Aldington

(researching his biography) had asked Frieda about it. We do not have his letter, but we have Frieda's reply, dated 20/11/48: *...I think Cooley was a mixture of Dr Eder and Kot[ielansky] – no Lorenzo never went to political meetings – Jack and Victoria something like them were on the boat – No the spy story did not happen. The only paper Lawrence read was the Sydney Bulletin.* So, two years after Frieda had categorically stated that the "spy story" was fiction, Aldington still believed otherwise, and had "long thought" so. Moreover, Aldington was still pursuing the matter of "the spy episode" even after he read Lawlor's "notes" sent to Kershaw. In those "notes" Lawlor was equally categorical that "the spy episode" was invented. Fortunately, we now have those "notes" and can see where the "no factual basis" conclusion Aldington eventually settled on came from. The "notes" come in the letter from Lawlor to Kershaw, dated 30/12/48: [Lawlor, who was no historian himself, had consulted two people he thought might know about such matters – the historian Brian Fitzpatrick and an ABC producer called Norman Robb – and he outlined what they had told him about the New Guard, concluding that there was nothing in its reality of any relevance to Kangaroo. He then went on] *...The coincidental resemblances between the "action" of Kangaroo and that of the New Guard shennanigans [is] merely another proof of the baffling prescience of Genius...Indeed, the only point in my retailing all this deracinated gibble-gabble about the New Guards and all that is that L. anticipated, in Kangaroo, and in 1922, what did come to happen in 1930.* Despite his previous and persistent suspicions that there was more to "the spy episode" than Lawrentian invention, Aldington eventually took Lawlor's – and his Australian contacts' – assurances, and dismissed from his mind, and his *Kangaroo* Introduction, (and his biography of Lawrence) any possibility that Lawrence had run across a real secret army in Sydney in 1922, and that there was any "reality" in the politics in the novel. Yet why was he so persistent? Very few other literary critics or biographers have been so reluctant to accept the plot of *Kangaroo* as anything other than invention. Did he know – or suspect – something that others did not know? Consider the sentence in his letter to Lawlor *"...I have long thought that Lawrence's departure from Australia was precipitated by that 'spy' episode".* Why should Aldington have "long thought" that? No other literary critic or Lawrence biographer has thought that, even for a passing moment – indeed, quite the contrary. So where could Aldington have got the impression, indeed belief, that "the spy episode" – the secret army plot – was real enough to oblige Lawrence to leave Australia, hurriedly? He could have got it from only two sources – Lawrence or Frieda. Aldington was present when the three staff officers from Toulon visited Port Cros in 1928, asking "pertinacious" questions, after which Lawrence fled the island. Might Lawrence have said something then that linked that incident to his hurried departure from Australia? * It would certainly explain Aldington's persistence about "the spy episode". In retrospect, one wonders what Aldington might have written had he had the advantage of reading a year later in 1951 Witter Bynner's memoir of Lawrence, *Journey with Genius*, an account of a trip the American poet made with Lawrence and Frieda to Mexico in 1923, just after *Kangaroo* was published. In it Bynner recounts an incident when he was staying with Lawrence in a Mexican village and someone apparently tried to break into Lawrence's room at night. Lawrence was clearly terrified, and came running to the rest of the party, crying: "They've come!" Maybe Lawrence was remembering Jack Callcott's threat in "the spy episode" in *Kangaroo* *...we want some sort of security that you'll keep quiet, before we let you leave Australia.* Perhaps the "we" in Jack Callcott's sinister threat may have been the "they" Lawrence was so afraid of in Mexico, and probably in Port Cros too. (*And it may indeed have had to be a hurried departure, for Lawrence might have found himself in considerable physical peril if he had still been within reach of Callcott's Maggie squads when a copy of *Kangaroo* reached Australia, following its publication in London and New York in September 1923. Lawrence may well have remembered what Cooley says to Somers in *Kangaroo*: "I could have you killed.")

BLACKHEATH - 26.06.11: No, no, no. It's not Jaz who is the key to it all, but Victoria Callcott. (But maybe Jaz too.) I suddenly realised this on the way up to our place at Blackheath this morning (hence the bucolic dateline). Sandra and I were discussing "the end house" at Narrabeen and whom might have been there at afternoon tea that last Sunday in May (the 28th). In my previous entry, written yesty, I had got L&F from the Malwa up to Narrabeen (at the invitation or urging of Hum). The question we were discussing was whose sister (as the text says) owned "the end house" that was "sideways facing the

lagoon”? We wondered if this could have been a reference to Mrs Shultz’s sister (presumably nee Brooks, whom Robert Whitelaw is currently trying to trace – the house, “Billabong”, being in her name). I in turn wondered if Lillian Hum had a sister (maybe Ruffels and his famous cardboard computer might be able to tell us). Sandra then remarked that we must be careful to factor in L’s Perth experiences, for that was (she added) where L got the superficial details for Victoria Callcott - from the newly-married Maudie Cohen, wife of Eustace, whom L had talked to on the verandah of Leithdale in Darlington (see diary entry 29/8/94 above, where I first raised the Maudie/Dawdie parallel). Suddenly, it struck me...Maudie? Isn’t there some echo of that name in Sydney or Thirroul? Yes! Of course – Dawdie Friend! Now, to appreciate how L could have “transposed” (see my various Rananim articles on L’s transposition techniques, eg Rananim 5/2) Maudie [Cohen] to Victoria [Callcott] via Dawdie [Friend] it must be understood (as I point out in those articles) that L was almost incapable of inventing things (as Lawrence’s childhood friend, George Neville, had pointed out in his memoir of L, *The Betrayal*). Habitually, he would deploy a complex associative process to come up with a fictional place or character name that he needed for his “fiction”. Thus the real name Dawdie could have reminded him of the similar-sounding name Maudie, and thus Maudie Cohen. And so he could have transposed Maudie’s various characteristics to Dawdie, thus disguising Dawdie’s real details. Which is why (as Sandra discovered in Perth) Victoria Callcott resembles Maudie Cohen - yet is (we now believe) actually Dawdie Friend. Once this is accepted, a lot of things tend to fall into place. Keeping in mind my new Occam’s Razor stricture (not multiplying people L could have used in Kangaroo more than those we already know he met), everything which Victoria Callcott does in the novel (with some discrete exceptions) could have been in fact done by Dawdie Friend. It was probably she who took Lawrence and Frieda down to Thirroul the next day (Monday, May 29). It was she who went to the local house agent, Mrs Callcott, and got the key for Wyewurk (which she would have known had just become vacant, as her aunt had owned the house opposite, Wyuna). It was she who lived nearby (in the Friend Thirroul “compound”) and who had a younger brother (the lad of 17 mentioned in chapter v), and whose father (the Friend patriarch WS Friend) was a keen fisherman. As the eldest, she was “the mother of the family” mentioned in chapter ii, “Neighbours”. And it was she who must have seen the Lawrences off (with Lillian Hum) at the wharf on August 11 when they left on the Tahiti. And it was no doubt she who was the recipient of Frieda’s presentation copy of *Not I But the Wind* mentioned by the local barber to Tom Fitzgerald in 1952 (see “The Beard of the Prophet” article in *Nation*). It may even be that we do not need Robert Moreton Friend. The Kings School memoir (see above) may merely have been his reminiscence of what his older sister got up to in between May and August 1922 (and thus gets rid of the problems of linking RMF to the character Jack Callcott...age, marital status, job, etc). (Occam’s Razor again.) Also she was a member of the Harbour Lights Guild. All very speculative, of course. However, it has something important going for it. When I was still on good terms with the Friend family, and being greatly assisted by Fiona Friend (whom we had employed – she provided me with the Friend “family tree”) she reported that she had mentioned to her father Colin Friend my speculation that Dawdie Friend might have provided some of the ingredients for Victoria Callcott in Kangaroo. Fiona told me (and I diarised this on 21/9/93) that her father told her that Dawdie might indeed be “the lady you are looking for”. Specifically, I remember Fiona telling me that she said to her father words to the effect: “Could she really have been involved with that?” and he father replying “Yes she could.”

BONDI 27.06.11: Ruffels’ cardboard computer tells me this morning that Lillian Hum’s maiden name was Reynolds (not, alas, Brooks). However, he has also come up with what could be a gem. His newspaper research had revealed that Mrs Shultz organised a function at the Queen Victoria Club in Sydney in 1921 which had a “Mrs Cooley” among its list of attendees. He adds that she may have been the wife of a Dr Cooley who had some connection with the St George Hospital in Hurstville. (I think I have mentioned this Cooley before.) Moreover, they had a son, Max, who was probably a school age in 1922, and thus would have been on his school holidays that May weekend. Narrabeen is a long way from Hurstville, but the fact that this Mrs Cooley might have known Mrs Shultz of Narrabeen is a promising lead. (We had the visiting DHLNA president Nancy Paxton and her husband to lunch at Bondi yesty – the

DHL conference opens on Wednesday. No talk of Kangaroo or the Darroch Thesis, but a pleasant occasion. Robert Whitelaw also came, and an ailing John Lacey rang to apologise for his absence, and spoke to Nancy). Also my letter to the SMH protesting about Joe Davis's description in Friday's letters page of Kangaroo as "whacko" was published this morning. (It usefully gave the conference a bit of publicity, as I tied JD Pringle's description of K was being one of the two "most profound books ever written about Australia" to the opening of the conference at the State Library this week.)

BONDI 5/8/11: The DHL Sydney International conference has come and gone, and, despite my caveats and non-attendance (so I would not be a disruptive or negative element), it must be deemed a success from our DHLA point-of-view. (Though the fact that John Lacey was too ill to attend was a bit of a downer.) The high point for us was Sandra's Katherine Mansfield/*The Lost Girl* paper, which went down well (and which she has sent to the *DHLR*). Also we organised a post-conference tour up to Narrabeen for delegates (about 40 came), led by Sandra and Robert Whitelaw, and that was a success, too. Added to that was our pleasant and amicable Bondi balcony lunch for the DHLNA's Nancy Paxton who helped (with David Game) organise the event. So, apart from the non-mention of Lawrence in Australia, the Darroch Thesis, and *Kangaroo*, and similar germane topics, it all went well – though one does wonder why they bothered to come all this way and omit to discuss such things. (However, that very omission spoke volumes.) Nevertheless, the DT did surface, briefly, when Melbourne former DHLA member John Lowe delivered a paper on whom Cooley/Kangaroo might have been based on. He firmly rejected (Sandra, who attended, told me) any suggestion that Rosenthal was the model and instead came up with a mix of Jewish "ingredients" including the usual suspects (Kot and Dr Eder) and a new one, Benjamin Disraeli, somehow linking the Derbyshire Bentincks, who helped Dizzy to power, and Lawrence. I am glad I was not there to bridle at such tosh. Later, post-conference, I decided to send a copy of my 1988 *Quadrant* article ("The Man Who was Kangaroo") to him to show how wrong he was, especially about Cooley's "Jewishness". He was not a bit abashed, and said he had read the article in preparation for his paper! There are none so blind as those who will not see the obvious when it is put in front of their very eyes. However, very few others will have seen that *Quadrant* article, so for the sake of completeness, I have appended the text below*. Since it was published, of course, we have placed Rosenthal physically at the "end house" at North Narrabeen, which Lawrence mentions specifically in *Kangaroo*. (We have a photo of Rosenthal in the garden!) All we need now is a snap of him shaking hands with Lawrence as afternoon tea is served (I joke!). Meanwhile Robert is tracing Mrs Schultz's sister (who seems to have a husband who might be of interest to us.)

CLEVELAND STREET 5/8/11: (I am writing this in the office.) Something very exciting has happened. As I was polishing my previous diary entry, ready to be put up (on the DHL conference, etc), came an email from Mike Sutherland, and a rather momentous one at that. Potentially it could herald the end or culmination of my 40-year quest. (Actually it was from his aunt, Janet Walker, on passing it to me.) It is so important, it is worth quoting at length. *Michael, I spoke with Jim Friend this morning. He knew about Lawrence and Kangaroo. He said his grandfather's brother Adrian was a supporter of the King & Country League but did not believe he would be plotting to overthrow the government. Somewhere he has seen a record of a donation to the league. His Uncle Walter was indignant about the inferences and as you said Brian has just died and I believe he was the last of the family historians. Walter had a house at Collaroy. Jim had not heard of Billabong at N Narrabeen He suggested the King's (TKS!) archives?? It appears Rob and Sandra know Fiona McGuinness (nee Friend). This is one of Jim's daughters, who has just returned to journalism after many years child raising. I'd suggest leaving it to Rob and Fonia. I have Jim's phone numbers. Well, I took that as a friendly (sorry!) response from Fiona's father. The fact that Brian ("the last of the family historians") has passed on might open the door again. At the very least I might be able to ask the Friend family to remove the ban on the RMF memoir (or allow Yeend to tell me what's in it). But much bigger thinks could beckon. This was my reply to Mike:*

CLEVELAND STREET 22.10.11: This is probably the most important diary entry I have ever made, or am ever likely to make (unless Jim Friend comes up with the Kings RMF memoir, and it reveals something dramatic or unexpected.) I believe I now know, at last, what happened. But first, I should report that my new book - now entitled ABOUT KANGAROO The Search for the Truth about DH Lawrence's Australian Novel, Kangaroo - is all but finished. And, indeed, it was in the process of completing it that the final crystallizing breakthrough came. I am currently revising the text, and making some editing embellishments. In doing so, I have made some minor "discoveries", or rather points to add to it. For example, I have added that I believe I now know where Lawrence's choice of the name Struthers for Jock Garden came from - Aaron's Rod, where there is a character also called Struthers whom Lawrence associates with the opera and Covent Garden (Covent Garden=Jock Garden=Willie Struthers.) Also I recently became convinced (where I was merely speculating before) that the meeting with "Trehwella" at Mosman Bay was in fact a meeting with Jack Scott. In my new text I wrote that this would explain an anomaly about Ernest Whiting's remark about being told that my description of Jack Scott matched the description he had been given of the "man who met Lawrence at the wharf and took him to stay on the North Shore for three days". I now believe that this was the first time Scott met Lawrence (and that the wharf was not at Circular Quay, but at Mosman). It then occurred to me that Lawrence must have come back to Sydney that first Friday to retrieve his trunks (I bet that ferry collision in the Harbour, mentioned in Kangaroo, occurred that Friday). That was when someone took him - probably RMF - to see Scott, having previously told Scott of Lawrence's arrival in Sydney and his possible availability as a fill in for Taylor. I then went on to "deduce" that, after the interview, Scott had invited Lawrence up to his place at 112 Wycombe Road, where Lawrence mounted the summer-house and stayed the night. The "second meeting" with Callcott at 112 probably occurred later that same day - when Lawrence returned in the evening by ferry and tram, as per the text. (Next morning - Saturday - L and Scott no doubt walked back down Neutral Bay/Cremorne to Mosman wharf to catch the ferry into town and thence the train at Central.) Scott and Lawrence must have gone down to Thirroul on that Saturday. Then it clicked that that then was when they watched the football game on the field opposite the station (and so I inserted Paul's picture of that game in the text). Finally, the truth of what happened had dawned on me....

Lawrence arrives on Saturday, May 27. Next day he is invited to go up to Narrabeen where the tea-party meeting occurs and L is befriended by RMF and Dawdie. Next day the (or perhaps Dawdie herself) take L&F down to Thirroul and install them in Wyewurk. On the following Friday L returns to Sydney to collect his trunks. Rendezvous with RMF, who takes him to Mosman Bay to see Scott (re a writing job on the K&E). Scott is very impressed. Decides or arranges to take Lawrence to see Rosenthal on Monday. Next day - Saturday - accompanies L down to Thirroul, and that evening (most indiscretely) tells him about the secret army, etc. On Monday they return to Sydney and have lunch (or whatever) in Rosenthal's chambers. But by then L does not want a job, but material for the book he is already writing. Acts vague about a reporting/writing job (as per the Garden interview), but Rosenthal realises that Scott has blabbed. Scott is warned not to say any more. But L has enough already for the Cooee and Diggers chapters. He does not see either of them again until, in Rosenthal's case, the meeting after the visit to the Trades Hall, and in Scott's case, until his trip down to Thirroul to issue a Draconian warning to L (and that terminates Lawrence's hope of obtaining any more information about secret armies, etc)...

Now comes the new breakthrough - this scenario tells us, at long last, who Trehwella is. The answer (I now think) is...nobody. Or nobody we don't know or have already met. He is in fact - unless the RMF memoir shows differently - RMF himself. Lawrence got double duty from RMF. He is part of Jack Callcott, and then does double duty as Trehwella (who is RMF with a "cover" of Hum - just as Scott is RMF's cover as "the other half" of Jack Callcott). This scenario, which I will be very surprised is wrong - solves a lot of problems and anomalies in K. For one thing, we don't have to look for Trehwella elsewhere - not to George Sutherland or Wilbur Wright. It also explains another thing that has worried me - the "sex" scene in the "Jack and Jaz" chapter. That did not fit in with what we knew about Scott - and RMF was still a teenager in 1922. No (I am now reasonably sure), was Maudie and Eustace Cohen being frisky - as honeymooners tend to be - at Leithdale. The scenes re Trehwella in Thirroul are also RMF (when he explains such things as the make-up of the Diggers/Maggies - architects, etc). We simply do not need

another person in the plot (Occam's Razor comes into its own). A great day for Lawrence research, or at least my research. (It could even be that it was RMF who sang Larboard Watch Ahoy at a Rawson Institute function.)

BONDI 20.01.12: Some months since my previous diary entry last October, and since then a lot has happened. I have written a book – on my now 40-year “search for the truth about Kangaroo” – and in doing so have made, or found, many new insights into my “Quest for Cooley”. (Not the least of which was the discovery of Sidney Nolan’s Kangaroo series of paintings, and thus the illustration for the cover of the book, which will be entitled THE SCALY BACK OF THE REPTILE AND THE HORRIBLE PAWS. The cover shows Nolan’s Kangaroo, its arms caked in dried blood.) In fact, I am writing this now in the belief it will be the last entry in this diary and follows on my answer the question I was asked at that literary salon back in 1975 – “What is Kangaroo about, Mr Darroch?”. The answer I finally came to is that it is about Lawrence’s discovery that behind Australia’s “silvery freedom” is something “horrible” – the insipient fascism of its extreme right – as personified by Scott and Rosenthal and their secret army organisation. However, I want to use this occasion to reveal – or knit up - what I think (short of reading the RMF memoir) is the last remaining “loose-end” in my long quest. It came to me this morning as I was polishing the text of my book. For some time I have been worried about the explanation I give about where that Sunday afternoon tea-party in “the end-house” was held, and who was at it. I was obliged to agree with Robert Whitelaw that it must have been held at the Schultz house (“Billabong”) at North Narrabeen. (The photo of Rosenthal and Taylor having tea in its garden is very hard to ignore.) But there were some unexplained – and significant - anomalies here (which I mentioned in my text). Let me list them: 1. Scott’s stepson – Peter Oatley – said the description I read out to him over the phone in 1979 of Lawrence’s “end-house” matched his memory of “Hinemoa” – where, of course, we can place Scott in May-June 1922 (the settles around the window, and the framed prints and medal on the wall of the “first Trehwella” – clearly a reference to the late Major Oatley, Scott’s “best mate”). That is very difficult to put aside in favour of “Billabong” (which is equally unassailable now we know about Taylor and The Sequel). 2. We can place Hum at the Basin (“Red Beach”), probably in Seaview Parade, a block away from “Hinemoa”. 3. Vitally, Yeend said the “house you are looking for” was not, repeat NOT, “Hinemoa” but in Beach Road. (“You mention Seaview Parade,” he wrote in a letter dated May 24 1994. “I’d be more interested in Beach Rd. A check on the owners of cottages there might be very productive.”) 4. Then there are Yeend’s repeated mentions that the Friends rented a cottage in the Basin. 5. Additionally, he said that RMF holidayed in Beach Road with his children in the 1920s. This is too strong to ignore, especially as most of it comes from Yeend, who had read the RMF memoir. So – what can the explanation be? Let’s look at the pieces of the jigsaw and see if we can put them together and make some sense of it all. Piece 1 – Lawrence describes the interior of “Hinemoa” (which he could only have seen that first Sunday). Piece 2 – Yeend goes out of his way to tell me that the Friends had a cottage in Beach Road. (“A check on the owners of cottages there might be very productive.”) Moreover, he does not mention Narrabeen at all. Piece 3 – Someone drives L&F back to the city at dusk that first Sunday. (That would be about 5pm, or even later.) Piece 4 – on the way they drop someone off north of the Harbour, before “Callcott” takes the car to a garage in the city. Piece 5 – The car that leaves Narrabeen is almost certainly driven by Hum (“If you like to crowd in,” said Jack, “we can take you in the car. We can squeeze in Mr. Somers in front, and there’ll be plenty of room for the others at the back, if Gladys sits on her Dad’s knee.”) Piece 6 – But Hum was probably not the driver of the car that went back to Sydney, for he and his family were almost certainly staying at the Basin, probably in Seaview Parade, around the corner from “Hinemoa”. Piece 7 – The driver of that car was probably Robert Moreton Friend. So this is what I now think happened...Scott was at that afternoon tea-party (the “Callcott” in that exchange of conversation can only have been him). He was in the car that drove back, and he was (as per the text) dropped off at 112 Wycombe Road. Hum drove the party back to the Basin where he was staying. Robert Moreton Friend was staying in Beach Road in the Friend cottage in Beach Road with the Friend family Austin. Scott took L&F to Hinemoa to meet his future wife, Andree Adelaide Oatley. They stayed there until Scott went and got RMF, who he knew was driving back to town. (Or Dawdie Friend did – for she

was almost certainly at the tea-party, and had been the one to tell L+F about “Wyewurk”). This is the picture that emerges from putting the jigsaw pieces together. It fits in with the novel, with Yeend, with Peter Oatley, and with the timing and logistics of the afternoon-tea. And it solves the problem I had with the Narrabeen end-house scenario.

BONDI 24/11/12: I have finished my reconstruction of Lawrence’s time in Sydney (cf “Looking Over Lawrence’s Shoulder”). It is a day-by-day (on one day, an hour-by-hour) account of what he did and how that was converted into the text of *Kangaroo*. It completes the research on Kangaroo and Lawrence’s time in Australia – after 40 years of often intensive work. I can now, indeed, “throw down my pen”. How I intend to “publish” it is still undecided, but my mind is turning away from a hard-copy “book” and towards the Internet. (I may, however, offer this 18,000-word “chronology” to the DHLR for consideration, though I have little confidence that they would print it - but at least it gets it, to some extent, into the public domain). The other book – “The Horrible Paws” - I may publish myself in some form or another. Meanwhile I am going through my voluminous research notes, cuttings, papers, etc and thrown out all but the material that might have some further use (such as the “daemon” material, and the Campbell files). In going through this massive culling (five or six rubbish-bags full) I came across a few references that fill in perhaps the last gap. I have never been confident that Dawdie Friend is a sufficient explanation for Victoria Callcott (even taking into account the “WA Victoria” – Maudie Cohen). There was something missing – another element of the amalgam. I noted along the way while culling that L occasionally used names associated with Frieda in text about Victoria Callcott (“Tanny”, Mrs Somers, etc – see notes). I now think that part of VC was in fact derived in some way from Frieda. Certainly VC is not closely associated with Jack Scott, and Dawdie is not sufficient to explain all the references in the text to her. It is of a piece with L’s other amalgam techniques used in the novel. I will, however, give the matter more thought.

BONDI 03.01.13 - It was probably inevitable that in constructing a detailed, day-by-day account of Lawrence's life in Sydney and Thirroul (and Taos) between his arrival on May 27 and the subsequent completion of *Kangaroo* in August 1923 I would come across insights that had previously escaped my notice. This one concerns his contact with Rosenthal in the run-up to his climactic confrontation with the secret army leader on Saturday, June 24. When I was composing my entry for the previous Thursday I first wrote that "If Lawrence were to advance his stalled narrative, he had to find something more substantive than causal plagiarism or flippant comment (though the latter did probably reflect some "real-life" domestic conflict in Wyewurk - overheard and later recorded via a passing milk-boy)." This was my memory of what (I now remember) an ABC producer called Shan Benson had told me in 1976. (Benson was preparing a radio adaptation of *Kangaroo*.) My point was that such an "independent" source confirmed that L&F did indeed argue with each other in Wyewurk, as the text says (eg: "They had another ferocious battle, Somers and Harriet; they stood opposite to one another in such fury one against the other that they nearly annihilated one another. He couldn't stay near her...".) However, when adding references/sources to my current day-to-day reconstruction I had cause to look into my diary/notes to get the exact reference and its date (which I could then cite). In doing so, I came across something of considerable importance. For what I had actually written more than 35 years ago was: **14/11/76 Victoria Street:** Shan Benson (ABC producer) to dinner last night. Said Bill Fancourt PR [public relations] staffer at BHP at Port Kembla stayed in Thirroul and heard a rumour that messenger boys had to stop at the gate to Wyewurk because of the virulence of the rows inside between Lawrence and Frieda. Clearly what I recalled was just that boys of some sort had heard L&F quarrelling in Wyewurk. I merely guessed that it was in fact a milk-boy who was involved, for the actual type or sort of delivery boy did not strike me today as of any moment. Paper-boy, grocery-boy, milk-boy - it didn't seem to matter. However, I now had to reconstruct the precise circumstances that led to Lawrence's trip up to Sydney to see Rosenthal, on that dramatic Saturday. I had deduced that he would have had to seek an appointment to see the busy Rosenthal - and to have that crucial appointment confirmed. When I first wrote the entry for Saturday June 24 (a few weeks ago) I was vague about how he had made contact with Rosenthal. I speculated that

the contact might have been by telephone (for an exchange of letters would seem to have been too slow and cumbersome for something that the information-starved Lawrence had only decided to initiate in the few days running up to that Saturday meeting). There was, of course, no phone in Wyewurk, so if the appointment had been made by phone, Lawrence would have had to go to the local post-office or some other place equipped with what in those days was a rather rare facility. Now, however, after reading again my note of 14/11/76 I realised that it was - according to Fancourt via Benson - actually a "messenger boy" who had paused outside the gate of Wyewurk, almost certainly on Thursday June 22, daunted by the noise of L&F shouting at each other inside, as the text says. But why was he there, deterred from entering and knocking on the side-door? Because he was there to deliver a telegram to Lawrence. That "messenger-boy" was in fact a post-office telegram delivery-boy, and the telegram he no doubt had in his leather pouch was - almost certainly - from Rosenthal, telling Lawrence that he could spare some time to see him on the following Saturday afternoon, about 5.30pm. Nice.

BONDI 13/2/13: A small - but highly important - insight (derived from currently "polishing" the text of my "chronology" piece, which the DHLR, in consultation with its numerous scholarly advisers, is no doubt considering what to do with). In the final text of chapter 18, written in Taos (but omitted by Steele from the CUP edition), Lawrence recounts sailing down the Harbour on his way to NZ. He writes: "On the left was Manly, where Harriet had lost her yellow scarf. And then the tram going to Narrabeen, where they had first seen Jaz." Jaz? Surely he is referring to Jack Callcott, ie, Jack Scott. In fact, much of what L says, throughout the text, about Jas probably refers to, or is based on, Jack Scott. (Remember he confused Jas and Jack in an earlier section, crossing out Jack and replacing it with Jas.) Also, much of the "Jas" dialogue in ch 18 is clearly a reprise of Scott's earlier visit. It could be - and probably is - that L "split" Jack Scott into two personas. I now believe that Jas hardly existed at all (except as a depiction of Hum, both at Narrabeen and later at the Botanic Gardens). The conversation at Mosman Bay, I am certain, was not with - as per text - Jas, but Jack Scott. And, of course, it was not "the Trehwellas" - "Jas" and his wife - they "put off" in North Sydney that first Sunday, but Jack Scott at his flat in Neutral Bay*). This could explain a lot. Thus yet another layer of "fiction" is lifted from the text - to expose a new, and rather stunning, example of L's "double-use" technique. (And so we also lose a major - and hitherto unexplained - character in the novel, thus joining Frieda and Victoria Callcott (see above) in her unexplained guise as Jack Callcott's flirtatious wife - cf also Sandra's discovery that part of the Vikki character is based on Maudie Cohen in WA.) * This quote ("They put down the Trehwellas at their house in North Sydney") obviously reflects the Hums being "put off" at their holiday house in Collaroy Basin that first Sunday, prior to RMF driving them back to Macquarie Street (via Jack Scott flat at 112 Wycombe Road). PS - and here's another thought. Perhaps that sex passage between Vikki and Jack was not set in Thirroul, but came from Darlington, in WA, and reflected the honeymoon activities of Maudie and Ernest Cohen. (The "sing-a-long" might also have taken place then, and there, too. No doubt Leithdale had a piano, while a holiday cottage in Thirroul would not. That it was in fact a milk-boy who was involved, for the actual type or sort of delivery boy did not strike me today as of any moment. Paper-boy, grocery-boy, milk-boy - it didn't seem to matter. However, I now had to reconstruct the precise circumstances that led to Lawrence's trip up to Sydney to see Rosenthal, on that dramatic Saturday. I had deduced that he would have had to seek an appointment to see the busy Rosenthal - and to have that crucial appointment confirmed. When I first wrote the entry for Saturday June 24 (a few weeks ago) I was vague about how he had made contact with Rosenthal. I speculated that the contact might have been by telephone (for an exchange of letters would seem to have been too slow and cumbersome for something that the information-starved Lawrence had only decided to initiate in the few days running up to that Saturday meeting). There was, of course, no phone in Wyewurk, so if the appointment had been made by phone, Lawrence would have had to go to the local post-office or some other place equipped with what in those days was a rather rare facility. Now, however, after reading again my note of 14/11/76 I realised that it was - according to Fancourt via Benson - actually a "messenger boy" who had paused outside the gate of Wyewurk, almost certainly on Thursday June 22, daunted by the noise of L&F shouting at each other inside, as the text says. But why was he there, deterred from entering and knocking on the side-door?

Because he was there to deliver a telegram to Lawrence. That "messenger-boy" was in fact a post-office telegram delivery-boy, and the telegram he no doubt had in his leather pouch was - almost certainly - from Rosenthal, telling Lawrence that he could spare some time to see him on the following Saturday afternoon, about 5.30pm. Nice.

BONDI 24/2/13: The DHLR has accepted my "Looking Over Lawrence's Shoulder" piece, and will publish it when they get the necessary space. That is a brave decision on their part (and I have thanked Eleanor Green, the editor, for it). This is the best way for my research to come out. Indeed, it could not be a better result for me - the culmination of over 40 years of research. What the reaction of, initially, the Lawrence world will be, I can but wonder (and savour). Of course, I don't want fame or whatever (though it would be nice if some recognition came my way). All I want is for it to be published. (I had always feared it would not be, and that all that effort would just peter out and come to nothing.) No - it is very, very nice, and I can now sit back and relax (or scale down my efforts). What would, however, be very pleasant would be to see it taking effect, as it filters through academia. But that will take a long time. Of course, I will thank all those who helped, and especially those who had faith - Sandra, Andrew Moore, Garry Shead, John Ruffels, (despite some wavering in the 1990s, for which I willingly forgive him), and more latterly Jonathan Long and Robert Whitelaw. I should also remember Warren Roberts, for first putting my (our) nose on the trail, and who was always very supportive, when the rest of the Lawrence world rejected - indeed derided - the infamous "Darroch Thesis". I do not know whether Bruce Steele is still alive, but I must feel some sorrow for him now, too. He was largely a victim of the (incorrect) knowledge at the time, and he just went along with it. I suppose I should feel sorry for the CUP, too (for much the same reason). I should also pay tribute to Richard Aldington, for he was probably the first to suspect something was wrong with the received wisdom on Lawrence's time in Australia, and the writing of *Kangaroo*. Finally, I must pay tribute to Lawrence himself. The writing of *Kangaroo* was a triumph over problems and circumstance. It is a great novel (all the greater now that we know what it is about, and how it came to be written). As we say in Australia, I dips my lid to you, Lorenzo. You have, unwittingly no doubt, given some meaning to my life, and justified my (very Darroch) stubbornness and determination. Thank you.

BONDI - 25.02.13: At the end of my long and winding road - cut through some pretty dense undergrowth - it has turned out that the story of how *Kangaroo* came to be written is a rather brief and straight-forward one. It is not, as I had assumed, encumbered with a lot of activity on Lawrence's part, but rather his fairly minimal doings in Sydney and Thirroul. This is what I now think happened: L&F arrive in Sydney on SS *Malwa* early on Saturday morning, May 27, and are met at the wharf by an acquaintance they had encountered on the voyage between Naples and Colombo, and who had booked them into a guest house in Macquarie Street. He invites them up to Narrabeen for afternoon tea the next day and to see some places where they might stay while in Sydney. There L meets a group of people that includes members of the Friend clan, and former Army officer, Jack Scott. The Friends invite L&F down to Thirroul to view a holiday house that had just become vacant. Next day L&F go down to see Wyewurk, which they settle into that evening. L had already decided to try to write "an Australian novel", and he begins work on it on two days later, Wednesday, May 31, using a new "fictionalised-diary" technique (to overcome compositional problems he had been having). He returns to Sydney next day, and there rendezvous with Jack Scott at Mosman. The two "hit it off", and Scott invites L to stay two nights in his flat at nearby Neutral Bay. On Saturday they travel down to Wyewurk, where Scott stays over the weekend. Next day he tells L - under a vow of secrecy - about the organisation he belongs to, and the secret army that hides behind its public façade. He invites L to return to Sydney the following week to meet its leader, Sir Charles Rosenthal, possibly to do some writing for them. L sees in this the plot of the novel he wants to write. For the next week or so he diligently turns what has happened to him since arriving in Sydney and Thirroul into the first six chapters of the novel - his fictionalised-diary. However, he starts to run out of "diary" ingredients, and after inserting two repetitious and two "weak" chapters, he decides to return to Sydney to gather more-substantial plot material. On Saturday June 24 - a day that L will remember for the

rest of his life - he travels up to town to, first, meet union-leader Jock Garden, then to see Rosenthal in the evening. When Rosenthal learns that L has been talking to Garden, he threatens L with dire consequences and insists that he departs Australia immediately. Shocked and bewildered, L spends the night in a hotel, where he recalls "the nightmare" of his wartime experiences with the military authorities in England. Returning to Thirroul on Sunday, he writes three quick chapters describing his Saturday experiences (and nightmare). Next weekend (and after L&F make a day trip to nearby Wollongong), Scott comes down to find out what L is up to. He too threatens L and is only placated when L promises to leave Australia by the next available boat. A day or so later L travels up to Sydney to arrange his onward travel to America. But there are complications, and Frieda has to also come up to the consulate. The two make contact with some English migrants they had met on the Malwa, and they stay overnight with them. Meanwhile L takes the opportunity to do some research into an incident he had been told about that had occurred a year or more previously, and which was to provide him with the material for the climactic "Row in Town" chapter of his again-stalled novel. He tells his overseas correspondents that he has nearly finished the "weird" novel, adds two more weak chapters, and posts the manuscript off to New York on July 15, a scant six weeks after he began it. L&F leave Sydney on August 10, first for New Zealand, then America. They travel down to Taos in New Mexico, where L revises the first typescript, adding details of what happened in Thirroul and Sydney in late July and early August. There is some confusion over the editing of the text, and the novel is finally published in the US and UK a year later in two slightly different versions, and with slightly different endings.

BONDI (03.05.13) - Two "discoveries" worth reporting. I am continuing to revise, refine and edit the DHLR "Looking over Lawrence's Shoulder" article (which they are yet to schedule). In writing about L's trip up to Sydney on July 5 (when he visited the Forresters in Camperdown, and stayed overnight) I thought more about where he got the "ingredients" for the Row in Town. I had speculated that they might have come from contemporary newspaper reports of the 1921 May Day incident and its aftermath. I had assumed that L read about this at a local library. But it seemed more likely that he went to The Sun newspaper office in Elizabeth Street (perhaps at the suggestion of Gerald Hum) and read the reports there (Hum's cousin, Howard Ashton, being on the staff there). Two thin straws in the wind support this speculation. First, L cites The Sun in the Row In Town chapter. He calls it "the radical paper", which of course it was not, rather the opposite in fact. In my work on L's nomenclature (see various Rananim articles) he only changes names if he wants to hide where he got them from (and the opposites switch is one of his favourites). (He does not, for example, change the name of the "Sydney Daily Telegraph" when he quotes Meston's volcano article.) So why did he change The Sun's political stance, other than to disguise the source in some way? The other straw is even thinner. Mrs Delprat insisted that her father Howard called Hum "a typical Cornishman", which he was not. I can only think this was an "in-joke" on Howard's part and a reference to Hum's portrayal in K as Trewhella, the Cornishman. (I can see no other explanation for this.) Needless to say, the various reports (especially in the SMH) of those May-Day incidents would have given L enough material to construct the Row in Town chapter (he could hardly have got the "counting out" incident from anywhere else). The second "discovery" is more, much more, substantive and important. It is, I like to think, my "dog in the night" incident in K. Why didn't L bark when he learned about Scott and Rosenthal's secret army activity? (I think it was Daniel Schneider also remarked on this - see diary entry 1/5/90). This is the fundamental unexplained mystery of Kangaroo. Why didn't he (as Schneider remarked) run down the street looking for a policeman, once he heard what Scott and Rosenthal were doing? He surely must have realized the illegality (treason, as Scott called it) of what the Diggers and Maggies were up to. More significantly, perhaps, is why he didn't make more of the secret army aspect of his plot? If ever there was grist for a novelist's mill it was this. Imagine what Buchan would have done with such a windfall. Yet Lawrence didn't bark. Not because of any familiarity with Scott et al, but - I am now convinced - because he did not want to go deeper and ask such questions as what was the significance of what the Diggers were doing. He had the dots, but he did not connect them up. He did not see the bigger picture. For him, the description of the trip back to Thirroul in the local bus was just as important (or unimportant) as Jack Scott's revelations on the beach below Wyewurk. He

did not - and had no reason to - go below the surface of what he was describing and encountering. K is almost the equivalent of a travel book (like Sea and Sardinia). It is two-dimensional. Little wonder at his shock when Rosenthal threatened to have him killed. Little wonder of the naivety of his letter to Seltzer about the Diggers and Aust Govt being concerned about anything. He didn't even wonder what it was all about, and what it meant. He was a babe in the woods. (But he was not alone - generations of literary critics were similarly blind to the significance of the dots in Kangaroo.) Scott and Rosenthal need not have worried. Their secrets were safe with Lawrence.

7/10/13 CLEVELAND STREET: Quite a bit to report. The DHLR article ("Looking Over Lawrence's Shoulder") has been published - not much of a reaction, yet. I finished the text of my "book", entitled *The Scaly Back of a Reptile, and the Horrible Paws*, a months or so ago, and now it too has been "published" as an e-book (on CD) with a "cover" illustration showing Nolan's scarifying image of Patrick White portrayed as Cooley. I am most fortunate to have that as the cover, for it should create some general interest, as well as providing the perfect image (of a fascist beast). Indeed, the book is ideal for what is, perhaps, the more important event - the advent of a new form of the traditional book. I quote from the blurb I sent out with the CD to various outlets, friends, colleagues, etc: Ordinarily, a book like this would be "published" after being printed and distributed by an orthodox publishing house. It would be "launched" in a bookshop or somewhere similar. This traditional publication process would take, after delivery of the text to a publisher, more than a year. This e-book achieved that in less than two weeks. For the Internet is revolutionising the world of books and publishing. Old ways and practices and customs need to make way for new approaches and initiatives (some of them yet to be developed). Indeed, an important aspect of this e-book's "publication" is to explore the potential future of the written word and its various forms and formats. "The Quest for Cooley" strikes out across a new frontier into largely unexplored territory. It is, for example, being e-published - a new term - in several different Media at the same time. Its primary format is a CD, intended to be viewed on a computer monitor or similar (even portable) device. It can be, as mentioned above, accessed via our society website (where our newsletter, Rananim, is already accessible "online"). It can also be, by request or on demand, printed out in orthodox "hard-copy" (ie, on paper) format - either as a collection of single-sheets, or in any book-format required or requested. It also has the potential to be converted into other Media formats, audio and visual. As part of the new e-book project, I have tried to emulate, as best I can, the events, etc, that go with a traditional or orthodox book launch - sending out review copies, telling people about it, finding various publicity and promotional forums, etc. (I will, for example, be in a week or so addressing Sandra's next Media Lunch on it.) It was in that spirit that I hosted the "official launch" of the e-book at our place at Bondi last Sunday, October 6 (the "official" publication date). As this will be reported - by Sandra - in Rananim, I will give an account of that "book launch". Sandra is actually the official publisher of the book - she took it from my finished text to designing the production (for that is now what it is, a "production" rather than "a book"), cutting the CD, and packaging it all up. We decided to invite those people who have most helped in the 40-year-long "Quest for Cooley" (the e-book's subtitle). The invitees were (in no particular order): Robert Whitelaw, Paul Delprat, Garry Shead, Robert Douglass, John Ruffels and Peter Coleman (they turned up) plus Bob Carr, Andrew Moore, Humphrey Macqueen, Evan Williams and Sally Rothwell. All except Bob Carr sent their apologies (they had genuine excuses - and it was late notice anyway). For it was at Evan's Australia Day party in January 1976 where Tom Fitzgerald told me about the Old Guard, which revelation launched the four-decade-long quest for Cooley. Bob Carr got the preservation order put on "Wyewurk" (and which Evan later helped to preserve against rapacious estate agents). It was Humphrey who opened for me the seething underworld of Australia's far-right - and who, crucially, put me on to Herbert Brookes, who originally founded what Lawrence called in Kangaroo the Diggers clubs and the Maggie squads. It was Andrew who tracked down and fleshed out the Old Guard and who coined the term "the Darroch Thesis" (plus much, much else - see above). And it was Sally who, at tennis one Saturday in 1976, told us that her father was Jack Scott's step-son (and so Jack Callcott in Kangaroo). I mentioned some of this at the lunch on Sunday. I then went round the table. Robert, who

was on my left, helped make the ultimate breakthrough, which in turn made the e-book practicable. He tracked down where the "end house sideways facing the lagoon" was, and placed Charles Rosenthal in it. He also tracked down the biographical details of George Augustine Taylor, the other half of the amalgam that made up Benjamin Cooley. Paul, of course, was there from the start. He accompanied us down to Thirroul in 1975 and did a series of wonderful water-colours based on Lawrence and Kangaroo. He also illustrated a number of my newspaper articles on Lawrence and Kangaroo. Crucially he was also related to DG Hum, who was the "man on the boat that brought Lawrence to Sydney", and who introduced Lawrence to Scott and Rosenthal, and through them to the secret army. I first met Peter Coleman at a post-dismissal conference in Hobart in 1976, when he told me about Jack Lang and Lawrence. He also, as NSW Chief Secretary, got me permission to peruse the "secret bundles" that revealed the activities of the Old Guard in 1930-32. Garry Shead has been a loyal supporter on our DH Lawrence Society (and a "believer" of the Darroch Thesis - when few others were). He painted half of the famous diptych of "Wyewurk" and has been very generous to our society and to me personally. His famous series of paintings and etchings based on Lawrence and Kangaroo have been a major contribution to Australian art. Rob Douglass has also always been a strong believer in the Darroch Thesis, and it was he who positively identified Jock Garden as the model for the key figure of Willie Struthers in Kangaroo - an insight helped by the fact that Jock Garden happened to be his great-uncle. Next to him was John Ruffels, whose contribution to the research and the content of the ultimate e-book cannot be over-stated. I encountered John in 1981, after my first book on Lawrence was published, and from that day forward he was my skilled and dedicated research partner. He tracked down Hum and the Friends and much else, selflessly and tirelessly. I could not have kept going throughout the 1980s in particular (when I was working in London) without John's help. Finally, on my right, was Sandra herself, who never wavered for one instant in her trenchant belief that I was right, in the face of all the knockbacks, setbacks and calumny that we were subject to during the long quest for the truth about Lawrence's great novel of Australia. Her belief and support (not to mention her considerable research skills) were the sine qua non of the project - to which, frankly, we feared we would never find a successful denouement. But we did, and those around that table on Sunday - each one of them a true believer - deserve enormous praise and our warmest thanks. For they helped write the e-book, too.

CLEVELAND STREET 05.05.14: Is this my final entry? I have spent much of the time since my *DHLR* article turning that diary format into the text of my new, and hopefully last, Lawrence book. I have called it *DH Lawrence in Australia*, explaining in the Introduction that it is, in effect, a second and much-revised edition of my 1981 book of the same title. In the course of writing it I made some new "discoveries" since that *DHLR* article, and revised the chronology. What I found - deduced mainly - also makes some of what I wrote in *Scaly Back* also outdated and partly incorrect. (It's surprising what you find out when you try to do a day-by-day reconstruction of Lawrence's time in Sydney and Thirroul.) By far the major insight is that I now believe, and am in fact convinced, that I was wrong about Robert Moreton Friend. He was not the main contact between the Friends and Lawrence, nor was he the Friend who met Lawrence at Narabeen and later took him down and installed him in *Wyewurk*. That was, I am now certain, Ernest Adrian Friend, his younger brother - and more particularly his 25-year-old wife, Fanny Beatrice Friend (nee Owen). She is Victoria Callcott...in the car trip back to town, in the house next door (in the "sex scene"), most particularly the young woman who flirts with Lawrence (and visa-versa) at 112 Wycombe Road, when L&F travel up to town for Lawrence to meet Cooley again. It was obvious once last weekend I rewrote that section of my new text - that she was the same flirty woman who appeared as Victoria earlier in the text. The clue was in the Welsh rarebit, and Lawrence's reference to it as "coincidental". What, I was obliged to ask myself, was the coincidence? It had to be that the young woman was Welsh. And, of course, Fanny Beatrice was Welsh. Moreover, she was the right age - a small matter that I had glossed over before. I had to rewrite my text (or will tonight) while I await a response from the CUP, where I have sent a draft. This will be their almost last chance to rescue the "Complete Edition" of Lawrence's works from the disaster of Steele's mangled *Kangaroo* effort. Let's hope they see it this way too.

CLEVELAND STREET 06.05.14: I said that my add yesty might be my last diary entry. How wrong could I have been. After I wrote it I decided to send an email to Jim Friend: *"Jim - I thought you would like to know that I have just completed my new book on Lawrence, entitled "DH Lawrence in Australia". I have sent it to the Cambridge University Press, who seem interested in it. It is not long - about 45,000 words and is my final say on the matter. The friend family are, obviously, mentioned but I was wrong about Robert Moreton Friend being the main Friend link with Lawrence. It was (as I think you hinted) Ernest Adrian Friend and more particularly his wife Fanny Beatrice (nee Owen.) She provides, I now believe, the main ingredients for Victoria Callcott in the novel (not, as I had thought, Dawdie Friend). Interestingly, I had a brief contact with this back in 1992 when my father's doctor, Dr O'Gorman in Kirribilli, asked him (my father) about me at the request of another patient, called Friend ("who came from New England") Alas I didn't follow it up. You might pass this on. R* Later in the day I received this email from his wife (now widow): *Dear Robert, I regret to inform you that Jim died on March 10 2014. He had secondaries from his lung cancer which progressed to both hips and then throughout. He spent 3 weeks in palliative care from February. As you know he was interested in your work on Laurence and would not have been at all surprised of your conclusions re Ernest Adrian and Fanny. I shall be interested to read the book when published. Kind regards, Judy Friend.* If that is not a smoking gun, I don't know what is. He (Jim Friend) *"would not have been at all surprised of your conclusions re Ernest Adrian and Fanny"*. So it was not after all Robert Moreton Friend whom Lawrence encountered at the Narrabeen afternoon-tea, and subsequently, but his younger brother Adrian (and his 25-year-old flirty wife Fanny). Of course, I went back and changed "Bob Friend" to Adrian Friend, and added Fanny. (Fanny!) More importantly, I sent Judy (the mother of our ex-employee and chief Friend contact Fiona) the text of my book, hoping she will read it and suggest any corrections or additions. At long last – after more than 40 years - the door has finally creaked open, and from the hitherto secret room inside, some light is beginning to emerge. I expect I will have more to add to my secret army diary soon. (But - wow!)

CLEVELAND STREET (04.06.14): No word back from the CUP yet. But I cannot conceive how they could not at least consider publishing my new book. The current CUP *Kangaroo* is a rotting carcass, and its incomplete text and shonky introduction must be beginning to smell across the Lawrence world. And most particularly in Gargnano, where the 13th International Lawrence Conference is due to kick off in two weeks on June 23. All the Australia DHL mafia are there – Eggert, Pollnitz, Game (where is Steele?). I do not know to whom the CUP has given my text to evaluate, but one of them – being their "designated Australian" – must be there (probably discussing what to do alongside an overseas expert, hopefully John Worthen). No matter what happens, I should imagine my book might come up as a topic of conversation at that star-studded gathering. (I have a "spy" there in the person of Nancy Paxton.) One night they are having a celebration of the "completion" of the CUP project. (Pollnitz is obviously there as the "final" book in the edition.) I wonder who will bell the cat?...point out, most embarrassingly, that the edition is not complete, and that there is another work that must be added to it to finish it. If only I were a fly on the wall! There will certainly be a disruptive ghost at their many, no doubt otherwise pleasant, Italian repasts. But I think I will hear back soon. Will it be a yes or a no? The next few weeks will surely tell. Meanwhile the sound you think you are hearing is of hands being rubbed together in restrained glee. (But I will play the game and be most generous and circumspect in my re-admission to the fold and long-delayed recognition – if that's the way the cards in fact fall.) Nancy wants me to come to the next DHL conference in London. I told that I would, if those cards fell my way.

CLEVELAND STREET (11.06.14): In the hope that my book will be accepted by the CUP (no word yet), I am going back over my DHLA research notes (back to 1972) and seeing if there are

things that might be put in the footnotes (which I have yet to write). Very productive. (And will save me a lot of time if I do get to write the footnotes, etc). It is an interesting experience, going back and reading the progress and results of 40 years of often intensive research in the light of what I now know to be the truth. It casts a very different light on the entries – what helped the ultimate solution, and what was wrong. Oh, the deadends and wrong tracks I went down! Yet it is nice to see how the trail finally led to the truth. But 40 years!!! If I may say so, only a Darroch could have lasted the course. (It is also interesting to see, in passing, the bodies by the wayside – Davis, Steele, Eggert, Ellis, Clark, Riemer, etc, etc, etc...)

CLEVELAND STREET 07.09.14: Much binding in the marsh over my DHL in Australia manuscript, first sent to CUP Australia in (I think) April this year. I must say that although tardy, the CUP – in Australia at least – has treated me politely and professionally. I had, of course, expected it (my TS) to make something of an impact at the DHL conference in Milan last June (and I sent it to two leading American attendees, Betsy Sargent – who lunched with us in Sydney during the previous DHL conference – and Nancy Paxton with a request to report any interest, but got no reply). Yet surely it must have been mentioned in a CUP context at least, seeing because at the conference they celebrated the end of the complete edition (which of course included their compromised and faulty *Kangaroo*). I held off doing anything, but last month I asked Macmillan Australia if they would be interested in seeing the text, but no response there either. I also sent the Nolan cover to CUP Australia, suggesting that it might make my book attractive to at least an Australian audience. No response. I was beginning to despair and wonder if it would ever be published (and it still might not) when the CUP replied last week saying it was being assessed, and to be patient for six weeks. It may be – and this is rank speculation (or forlorn hope) – that the CUP in the UK has decided to allow CUP Australia publish it, and wait to see the reaction here to that, before deciding what to do with their CUP *Kangaroo*. If true, that would suit me fine (and would be a sensible way of going about things). Meanwhile I keep polishing, and hoping.

BLACKHEATH Friday, 24/10/14 – An email was waiting up here from the Cambridge University Press (local branch) telling me that the CUP had decided not to publish my manuscript on DH Lawrence in Australia. This was not unexpected – indeed, I was almost half-hoping that they would turn it down, as it supplies me with a way of ending my *Lifebook* on a note of rejection, for otherwise there is not much else in it to justify the title *Against the Grain*. (No, that's not quite right. I would have much preferred them to publish, as they were the right and proper publishers to do so, given their deeply-flawed – embarrassingly-so - “Collected Works” edition of *Kangaroo*, with its incorrect ending and Bruce Steele's crippled Introduction.) Still, they have given me my Huxley moment. (“The Lord hath delivered him into my hands, said “Darwin's Bulldog” at the famous Oxford debate on evolution.) Trying, apparently, to find an intellectually acceptable way to cover themselves, the CUP referred my manuscript to their textbook division, and their rejection email today said: *As you would already be aware, the market for academic books is extremely competitive and we are forced to be increasingly selective in what we take on. In this instance we felt that your book would not be appropriate for our current publishing list...* One is reminded of what happened when the MS of *Animal Farm* was sent over to New York to the Orwell's America publishers, who, being of a left-wing persuasion, had happily published his previous “progressive” works, like *Down and Out in London and Paris*. They declined to publish *Animal Farm* “because we do not publish children's books”. Now I have to decide what to do with the manuscript. But I will certainly rewrite my ending to *Against the Grain*, in which exercise I do not anticipate the CUP will fare well. (I should add here that this is my second rejection from the CUP. In 1974 I was invited by its then publisher, Michael Black, to put in a submission to edit *Kangaroo* for the CUP “Collected Works”

edition. My submission, which I had slaved over, was knocked back, without explanation or excuse – probably because it had suddenly dawned on them that I was a journalist, not an academic.)

BONDI Thursday, 29/10/14 - Today we resolved to dedicate our Lawrence function next Saturday to launching the new publishing and distribution division of the DH Lawrence Society of Australia (DHLSA). We have decided to call the new venture “Rananim Media”. (An obvious name, given that we already publish *Rananim*, the journal of our DHLSA society.) This is our considered response to the CUP turning down my DH Lawrence in Australia manuscript. Last Friday I said in my diary that now I had to decide what to do with the rejected MS. We had a number of options, or possibilities. We could look for an alternative publisher (perhaps a university press in Australia). We could seek advice from our publishing contacts (Curtin Brown, Tom Thomson, Carl Harrison Ford, etc) about how to proceed. We could look outside Australia for a possible overseas publisher. Or we could publish it ourselves - which is what we have decided to do. Our Library of Life project now has a publishing arm, The Svengali Press, designed to print, on demand, the autobiographies generated through our main *Lifebook* project. The first hard-copy production - Sandra’s *On the Write Side of the Tracks* - arrived from the printers in Melbourne today, and very handsome it looks. (So “professional” in fact that it led to this new Rananim Media idea.) My *Against the Grain* will go down in a few weeks time (I am subbing the final text now). We have several other *Lifebooks* preparation for publication, including super-computer pioneer Peter Jones’s important life-story. We also intend to use The Svengali Press to publish other titles – anything covered by the Dewey Decimal System, in fact. We now have the means and resources to do this. Indeed, we plan to use the term “Media” to the full, and will also distribute Garry Shead’s wonderful video on Lawrence and *Kangaroo*, through the distribution network we will now set up, augmenting our online “Library in the Cloud”. This decision means that last week’s ill wind has blown us some good. Importantly, we will also publish what will become the first-ever “correct” edition of *Kangaroo*, thus finally realising Warren Roberts’ original vision of producing the definitive text of *Kangaroo* “that Lawrence really wanted”. It will be made up of Seltzer’s 1923 text, including Lawrence’s final proof corrections, and the Secker ending - missing, scandalously, from the CUP version - together with my annotations and introduction. (Given my 40 years of research into *Kangaroo* and Lawrence’s time in Australia, I should be able to improve on Bruce Steele’s Melbourne-based efforts.) This will be quite a coup, and a prominent feather in the cap of our new publishing arm.

BONDI Sunday, 02/11/14 – Our DHLSA event yesty went well – very well, in fact. It was intended as a memorial occasion to our late President John Lacey and our late Secretary Margaret Jones. It had three other purposes: a talk on secret armies by Andrew Moore (who coined “The Darroch Thesis”); our announcement of the launch of Rananim Media (the new publishing arm of our DHLSA); and a showing of Garry Shead’s film on Lawrence and *Kangaroo*. Garry has re-edited the version we saw premiered at the Chauvel, and it’s a much-more-polished production now. He liked our idea of publishing the “correct” text of *Kangaroo*. “You can copyright it,” he said. And so we can – and will. At home afterwards I somehow cut my finger, and it started bleeding copiously (my blood-thinning medication makes me a “bleeder”). I now have an inkling of what it must be to have hemophilia.

BONDI Thursday, 13/11/14 – I have been having an exchange with Geoffrey (Lehmann) over my book and who might publish it, now the CUP has turned me down. Rather than publish it ourselves, he suggested a Melbourne publisher called Text, which was of a “progressive” tendency (and so might be interested in the secret-army side). In thanking him for this, I attached to my reply the text of the ending of my book, with its summing-up that *Kangaroo* is an anti-fascist novel (“Scaly back...” etc). He replied that my “conclusion” was “masterly”, and even persuaded him to have another look at the novel, having not liked it when he read it in English I, or whatever. Coming from Geoffrey – who has previously condemned Lawrence as a novelist - that is praise indeed. Moreover I can take it as honest praise, for Geoffrey does not dissemble, nor say things that make people feel better. So that’s nice. Meanwhile I am

ploughing through my research notes and papers (those that keep glaring at me from the left of my monitor screen), tracing footnote references and sorting out what to ultimately keep or throw out. I came across the article Pierre Ryckmans wrote in the *NYT Review* praising Lawrence's novel and my interpretation of it ("The Darroch Thesis"). That was even higher praise than Geoffrey's. (Ryckmans died a few weeks ago.) It's doubly nice to have the support of two people whose opinions I respect. So up you, CUP.

BONDI 16/9/15 - I am just finishing the footnotes to my book and I need to scan Warren Roberts' article that he sent me, and I will append it to this note (see below). However, in looking for its reference (which I have lost) I came across a letter from Gerald Pollinger, dated 26/10/77 (addressed to Victoria Street). It contains a quite startling piece of information. I will quote it: "Thank you for your letter of 1st October, and for telling me that you have been approached by Cambridge University Press in regard to editing Kangaroo for their Critical Edition. As I understand it, the Professor who was to edit KANGAROO, namely F.P. Jarvis was murdered..." [the letter went on to talk about the holograph in Texas and the sale of film rights] Murdered! (Warren Roberts had sent me a copy of Jarvis's article on Kangaroo written for a bibliographical journal.) So he would have been the CUP editor of Kangaroo. Perhaps this was why Warren was so friendly to me when I called in on him in Austin in late 1978. What a wonderful mystery story that would be. When all this is over, I might give some thought to that. (I wonder who murdered him, and why?)

BONDI 01.10.15 - Looking through my Diaries (which I have transferred from Bondi to Blackheath) I see that on March 17, 1980, on a visit to Sydney to see ACP I rang Walter Friend and asked to come up and see him at Collaroy. My Diary entry records: "rang Friends (no luck) [to] Collaroy". In actual fact I called in to his flat in Beach Road, Collaroy Basin, where he and his wife had been living since they moved there from Collaroy beach after their house was washed away in a storm in 1942. He was cagey and when I raised the possibility that Lawrence might have portrayed members of the Friend family in *Kangaroo*, he was quite firm that that was not true, and I left shortly afterwards believing that he could be of no help to my research. However, as I left he gave me the name of his brother who lived somewhere in the country and suggested I might write to him in case he might remember something he, himself, might have forgotten. When I returned to London a few weeks later I did write to his brother - I believe this was Adrian Friend - but got no reply.

Of course, Walter was lying through his teeth. he knew all about Lawrence's contact with the Friend family, and although I did not know it at the time, the brother he told me to write to was in fact (as I found out later from Fiona Friend's father, Jim's widow, Adrian Friend and his wife, Fanny, were Lawrence's next door neighbours in Thirroul) - see 06.05.14 above.

BONDI 07.12.15: I write this as I finish polishing my footnote for my last and definitive book on Lawrence in Australia (entitled *THE NIGHTMARE – Lawrence's 100 Days in Australia*). I hope it will go off to the printers – we are publishing it ourselves as The Svengali Press – before Xmas. However, I promised I would include in these notes the material Warren Roberts sent me about the Kangaroo text most in need of "the text he really wanted". This was a page from some academic journal recording an interview he had with someone called Cohen in, I believe, a university in Florida. I do not know the name of the journal, who Cohen was, what the university was, nor anything else. But I do have in my possession the crucial page he sent me, and it is reproduced below (as promised in my book).

BONDI 06.01.16: I've had (finalising my "nightmare" book) a bit of a breakthrough re Hum. As I was re-doing a footnote explaining where Lawrence got the name Trehwella for Hum, it suddenly occurred to me what his process of transformation was. I quote the footnote: What was the process or technique that led Lawrence from the real name Hum to the fictional Trehwella? From his other transformation habits

(see “Mining Lawrence’s Nomenclature”, *Rananim* vol 5 no 1 pp 10-16 [April 1997]), we can venture an educated guess. Once Lawrence decided to portray Hum in the novel that he would start in three days time, he would have needed a fictional name for him – a transformation or switch. Lawrence’s mind would have cast round for someone or something he associated with the name “Hum”. At the Sunday afternoon-tea party at Narrabeen the name “Trehwella” – whose funeral was held the previous week -- would have rung a bell with him, for, as Bruce Steele pointed out: “DHL probably knew of the legendary chorister Matthew Trehwella of Zennor, Cornwall, who was seduced by a mermaid. There is a wood carving of a mermaid...in Zennor church not far from DHL’s cottage.” [Steele p365]. (Actually it’s a metal bas-relief attached to a chair made from a pew.) But why attach it to Hum? Probably because Lawrence knew that choristers often have to hum. (Puccini composed a humming chorus for *Madam Butterfly* [I am grateful to Australian composer & former Vice-Chancellor of Southern Cross University, Barry Cunningham, for pointing this out – see a snapshot of Barry & the author standing outside *Wyewurk* in *Scaly Back* p34.) But I should also explain why I put the heading A TYPICAL CORNISHMAN in our DHLA site above the picture of the Cornish Trehwella serenading a mermaid. It is because that’s what Howard Ashton called his cousin Hum. (I say in my book that this was, according to the Ashton family, “Howard’s little joke”. Obviously Howard – a very educated gentleman, had connected Trehwella in Kangaroo with his cousin Hum – in fact, Hum probably told him [proudly no doubt] – that he had been portrayed in a Lawrence novel was one of its principal characters.)

BONDI 08.01.16: It’s unusual to have two diary entries in the one week, but after finishing the text of “*NIGHTMARE*” I decided to go back and prepare *Scaly Back* for publication in hard-copy form. In the process of doing this – the revising and updating – I came to the part when I was describing what Peter Yeend had said about the Friends having a holiday place in Collaroy Basin – in Beach Road in fact. Even more indicatively than that, Yeend had said in his letters to me, several times, that the “house I was looking for” was in Collaroy Basin. He indicated that this was where the Friends holidayed (see the Yeend quote cited above). When I mentioned Seaview Parade – the Hum vacation venue - Yeend told me that I would be better off looking in nearby Beach Road (where I had earlier interviewed Walter Friend). And to cap it all, Yeend told me that in the 1920s and ‘30s Friend family spent school holidays in The Basin. However, later research (following my realisation that Hum drove the Lawrence back from Narrabeen that first Sunday afternoon to change cars there to Adrian Friend’s Austin) indicated that L&K and Jack Scott had walked along the track from Seaview Parade to Florence Avenue between the houses and the Basin to Hinemoa (so Scott could show off Lawrence to Mrs Oatley, who was living in Hinemoa), where they waited for Adrian Friend and Fanny to bring the Friend’s Austin from where they had been staying the weekend in Beach Road. Then I suddenly remembered what Sonja Ashton had told me back in March 1992, and I quote from my research diary (note – this is before Yeend hove into view):

23/3/92 ditto: Paul’s [Delprat] 50th birthday yesty & he hosted a party for 40-50 at [his studio in] Balmoral [Mosman], one of whom was Sonja Ashton, wife of Cedric [Paul’s uncle and his mother’s elder brother]. Sandra mentioned Hum to her, and it rang a bell. Then S explained why she was asking, and S[onja] A[shton] came up with the news (confirmed under my close questioning) that she knew a lady, since deceased, with whom she was walking one day at Collaroy Basin & who told her, as they passed one of the cottages, “That’s the house where L[awrence] stayed.”

30/3/92 ditto: Yesty visited Cedric Ashton (aged 81) & his wife Sonja, at Newport. Sonja expanded on the “house where L stayed” incident. She was walking up the Basin beach (from the rock pool towards the golf course) with a local resident, a Mrs Worsted. As they passed an old

house facing the water [*unquestionably Hinemoa**] she said: "That's where L stayed." Mrs W lived nearby (in Beach Road, abutting the Basin beach) & was "very literary".

So that seems to confirm that the "Friend house" in Beach Road was the one which faced the beach, and indeed would have been the one that Mrs Worsted walked past with Sonja Ashton (and not Hinemoa, as I had earlier thought). As Mrs W lived in Beach Road, she is likely to have known where the Friend place was. Indeed, she would have known the Friends and chatted to them – which is no doubt where she got the information about Lawrence's connection with the Friends and Collaroy. They probably told her that they had been responsible for setting up the Lawrence's in Thirroul, and Mrs W confused this information with the house in Beach Road. (I will clear all this up when I rewrite the end of *Scaly Back*.)

BONDI 28/3/16: My Quest for Cooley went off to be printed last week and yesty I finished the text of what I call the Nightmare book (volume 2 of my Lawrence's 99 Days in Australia), save for the appendix on Lawrence's Dark God. I have been waiting for my DHL library to be installed in our extended study at Blackheath (so I can access all my Lawrence books) before completing it – and this will happen next Friday when we go up again. However, the research on this is nearly ended, and in nearing that end I have come across something that I think is significant in the context of Steele's work on this. For he has not, as far as I can discern, mentioned Lawrence's Dark God(s) in his edition of Kangaroo. And this is most odd. For it/they are mentioned over 40 times in the text, and are a major theme in Lawrence's work generally. Yet he does not say a word about it. Not a single explanatory note, when clearly there should be at least one. Why? I think I have a theory which we can test, for I will state it here and when up at Blackheath, and have access to his edition of Fantasia, I can see if I am right. I suspect he didn't because he wanted to "save his powder" for Fantasia. So I should find, next Friday, some mention of Kangaroo in his Introduction to Fantasia. I hope I am right (or I will have to think again why he has omitted mention of it in his Kangaroo edition). We shall see.

BONDI 31/3/16 - A quick entry. Busy day today, coming and going between the office and Bondi letting in and paying plumbers, etc. (Air-conditioning being installed this morning.) Big – huge - Lawrence breakthrough made last night, and got up to start writing it before 2am (when the idea woke me, with a start). Very dramatic, but I can't reveal why, for, as Sandra warns me, it could be stolen and used by someone else. So readers (or reader – see Tuesday's entry) will have to wait to relish it. But it is something that will shake the Lawrence and literary worlds. (Later I sent this off to my loyal band of questing ferrets, telling them: MORE LATER - which there certainly will be!)

BONDI 08/4/16 – I had better record this today, while how it happened is still fresh in my mind. It seems that Lawrence had some sort of homoerotic encounter with Rosenthal in his rooms on Saturday June 17. How much more than "an encounter" it may have been is yet to be determined – for it may have gone beyond some words exchanged to something physical – to even something quite dramatic, like a sexual assault – is uncertain as of now. But something of a homosexual nature did occur, and that I am now quite certain. But I know how dangerous this ground can be, and I have to tread very warily indeed. (Though it would give me something pretty sensational to say at the DHL conference in Cornwall in September.) The facts and inferences and possibilities are set out in Appendix #1 of my "Horrible Paws" volume 2. Here I want to record how I realised it probably happened. The gravamen of the Appendix – called Lawrence's Dark Gods and the Provenance of The Nightmare chapter – is that L uses the term "dark god" more than 25 times in Kangaroo (and nowhere else in his novels). I did a lot of research into these dark deities, focussing especially on "the dark God that enters from below". My speculation was that Lawrence encountered this dark god in the shape of some sort of homoerotic encounter, and this brought back memories of Cornwall, the farm-boy next door, Middleton Murry, etc, and took him back to Zennor in 1915-16 (and the intrusive medical examinations). Up to here I was on pretty firm ground, and I could see how I could argue a case for such a provenance to the Nightmare chapter. Then I wondered –

almost as an afterthought - where in *Kangaroo* Lawrence first mentions his dark gods. To my considerable surprise I discovered it was in chapter 9, "The Battle of Tongues". That's a long way into the text. But it is then followed by almost a shower of dark gods in subsequent chapters. So what sparked it off? (I wondered). It comes immediately after his meeting with Rosenthal in his rooms (a *deux*!) on Saturday June 17 in the form of "the dark god that enters from below". Immediately I asked myself - could something have happened at that evening (it was a dinner!) to spark L's homoerotic memories? Reading the text it soon became almost blindingly obvious - especially as L wrote no less than three accounts (and possibly five) of whatever did happen, using such terminology as (and I take this from my appendix)...*But he found himself again WANTING to be convinced, wanting to be carried away. The desire hankered in his heart. Kangaroo had become again¹ beautiful: huge and beautiful - like some god that sways and seems clumsy, then suddenly flashes with all the agility of thunder and lightning. Huge and beautiful as he sat hulked in his chair. Somers DID wish he would get up again, and carry him quite away. If Kangaroo had got up at that moment Somers would have given him heart and soul and body, for the asking, and damn all consequences. He longed to do it. He knew that by just going over and laying a hand on the great figure of the sullen god he could achieve it. Kangaroo would leap like a thunder-cloud and catch him up - catch him up and away into a transport. A transport that should last for life. He knew it. [K *ibid*] "I love you so. I love you so." They made the marrow in Lovat's bones melt, but they made his heart flicker even more devilishly. [K p208] "...you have the most loveable eyes I have ever known, and your voice can be the most loveable voice in the world. I have never loved a man as I love you." He made the statement so simply, that Somers for once was not embarrassed in the least. He looked up and smiled. "Ah no," he [Somers] said. "You are the most loveable man in the world, by far: and the most loving. Your love is wonderful. You almost convert me." "Do I?" The hand sank a little heavier on Somers' shoulder. "Do I almost convert you? Do I? That would be like heaven, if it were so." And so on. Tellingly, L in *Taos* adds a sentence that could be read as Rosenthal forcing himself on Lawrence. *Damn his love. He wants to FORCE me.*" [K *ibid*] Whatever Lawrence's possible homosexual proclivities may or may not have been, they would have been of the less robust, or passive kind, and had Rosenthal (who was nothing if not robust) suggested anything physical - and there is no evidence, apart from these homoerotic passages in *Kangaroo*, that there might have been - they could have come as a rather rude shock to Lawrence (whose reaction to any such "rough trade" approach might have been akin to Ruskin's discovery of pubic hair on his wedding night). (And is it merely coincidence that Lawrence in *Kangaroo* chose words and phrases - like "unutterable", "unknowable", "it can never have a name" - which echo the famous line of Oscar Wilde's young friend Lord Alfred Douglas [in his 1894 homoerotic poem, "The Loves"] about "the love that dare not speak its name"?)*

BONDI 9/4/16 - Two entries in 24 hours! However, I have now decided to incorporate this new insight into the body of my "Horrible Paws" text and, furthermore, to include an account of its discovery at the end of the *Quest* text. Dramatic decisions at this late stage, but I have no choice. But if my secret army stuff is controversial, God knows what the Lawrence world will make of this new element to the *Darroch* Thesis. They won't like it I am sure. But, as Luther said, what else can I do? I may as well be hung for a sheep as a goat. (Though that's not quite the animal analogy I am seeking ...perhaps crucified for a queer dark god as one who is "straight" - no, that's not it either, but I will leave it there, for the moment anyway.)

CLEVELAND STREET 04.06.16 - I promised in my "Silvery Freedom" text that I would include the page that Warren Roberts sent with his exchange about the "text he really wanted". This it:

ROBERTS: Well, I don't know. He certainly would, I think, have been entitled to enough cynicism to have been gratified at the profit he realized. He must have derived some financial benefit from his privately printed books, but I suspect it would have been of greater benefit to him for his books to have been published in the regular way.

COHEN: As Lawrence's bibliographer, what do you regard as the most interesting or the most complicated textual problem?

ROBERTS: I think *Women in Love* and *Kangaroo*, as far as the actual textual problems are concerned. *Kangaroo* and *Women in Love* are textually both complicated books, and the texts differ in the various editions. *Kangaroo*, I think, is perhaps more complicated even than *Women in Love* because Lawrence revised or made deletions in the text for the English edition which have never been restored. More than this, he added a chapter which somehow was left out of the American edition. I don't think there is now a text of *Kangaroo* in print anywhere with the text he really wanted. You would have to get the original American edition and read it to the end and then skip over to the current English edition and read the ending to get the text Lawrence originally wanted.

COHEN: This would constitute a definitive text, would it not?

ROBERTS: Well, a definitive text would have to be very carefully reconstructed. It would be necessary to review Lawrence's correspondence with his publishers, from which it seems obvious that Lawrence wanted the ending which is in the English edition, but not published in America. There are other important textual problems in addition to the final chapter. For some reason, Lawrence softened his nightmare chapter in *Kangaroo*. It's markedly different in the English edition. He cut down his references to the war for his English readers. It would be difficult, I think, to make any kind of valid critical statement about the nightmare chapter unless you were fully aware of all the various readings which have been printed.

COHEN: What about his other major novels? Are there reliable texts available today?

ROBERTS: I think the others are in much better condition than *Women in Love* and *Kangaroo*.

COHEN: Have the suppressed poems that were to appear in *Pansies* been published?

ROBERTS: Yes, they were published in the definitive edition at the same time, but that's never been very readily available. They are

CLEVELAND STREET 15/8/16 – (from my Bondi Boy diary) - A somewhat (I'm using that adjective too much) seismic (that, too) meeting yesty with John James. (I will record it here, just after it happened, then copy it to my DHL Research Diary). He told me about how he came across the Old Guard and, most interestingly, what happened at the Union Club meeting with Eric Campbell. For a start, he was present at that meeting! Apparently Tom Fitzgerald had published the first of what was to be John's two-part "exposé" of the New Guard and its predecessors. Campbell arranged to meet the two of them at the Club (of which he was a member). He knew that there was to be a part two, and he was determined to stop them. He threatened legal action. (Fitzgerald pulled part 2). But he did (as Tom told me in 1976) reveal to them that there was an Old Guard. (Which John knew only as "the movement".) John says that when Campbell published his *The Rallying Point* book (obviously sparked by the *Nation* exposé) he reviewed it for *Nation* and, he says, he got in everything that Campbell had stopped (obviously I must get that review - I wonder if John has a copy?). He then told me something very interesting - and relevant to my research. He said that Campbell told them that the purpose, the objective, of the New Guard was to provoke an uprising - a revolution - by the "workers", so that the New Guard could "step in" and impose a fascist regime in NSW. This, of course, is precisely the scenario that George Augustine Taylor presaged in *The Sequel* in 1915 - and which Lawrence regurgitated in *Kangaroo* (as coming from Jack Scott). This very much has the ring of truth about it. It is too much of a coincidence not to have some strong element of reality in it. I gave John copies of my two books. I hope this will open up something else in his memory-locker to send back to me.

CLEVELAND STREET 26/8/16 – The book launch last night went off very well. Here is my diary report of the event: "It was a great launch and a great evening and everything went off perfectly. Bob Carr indeed did me proud. I watched the faces of the audience (about 40 or so) as he spoke about my books and my long search – my Quest for Cooley – and they were rapt. No one could have wished for a better book launch. The "Bulletin" dinner at the Club after was also a success. I ran it well and the speeches and toasts after were also good. Everyone – as far as I could tell – enjoyed themselves. And the Club also managed the event (in difficult circumstances, with unexpected guests turning up) exceedingly efficiently. It was a great day all round. (The Squiz AGM in the morning also went off well.) As I was deputed to do so, I asked Bob if he would like to join the Club, and he said he would. I will nominate him accordingly. As good a day as it gets. (It's a cold clear morning at Bondi, but it will warm up. All's well with the world.)"

CLEVELAND STREET 26/8/16 – Although the text of my two books is finished and published, my research goes on. I suspect we will publish a second edition, so I am continuing to revise and update both texts in that hope and expectation. Earlier this week an important thought occurred to me, and that justifies this new add-diary entry. When I originally wrote volume two, it had three appendices – two about the Nightmare chapter, and the "Claws in the Arse" one. Just before its publication I made a major discovery (described in two entries above and added to the end of my Quest for Cooley volume 1). So I scrapped the first two appendices in volume 2 and replaced them with the printed - first edition - one, entitled "The Curious Incident of the Red Wooden Heart". But that left hanging in volume 2 how I discovered the "Curious Incident", and so I will rectify that omission with the following explanation (and will add an appropriate footnote, referring to this entry, to the "Curious Incident" appendix for the

hopeful second edition). What happened was this. Given that we are going to the DHL conference in Cornwall in September, and that I wanted to give a paper on The Nightmare chapter in Kangaroo, I began preparing its text. My original intention had been to say that The Nightmare chapter was sparked by Lawrence's interest in dark gods. To this end, I had searched (via Gutenberg) all of Lawrence's 10 major novels for the term "dark god" and was rather surprised to find that, not only did it occur in Kangaroo alone of his novels, but occurred something like 20 or 30 times in that novel. My developing conviction – theory - was that there was a cause-and-effect link between The Nightmare chapter and what sparked it, and Lawrence's use of the term "dark god" in Kangaroo. In other words, The Nightmare chapter seemed to me to be the product of Lawrence encountering something in Australia that had conjured up his dark gods, or at least something that he referred to as his "dark god". The fact that his dark gods appeared in only one novel – and then several times in the chapter immediately after The Nightmare chapter ("Revenge", Timotheus Cries") – seemed to be not only significant, but the possible reason for The Nightmare chapter being – unexpectedly – plonked down in the middle of Kangaroo. So far, so good. Then came my stroke of inspiration (or luck). When, I asked myself, did Lawrence first use the term "dark god" in Kangaroo? What had evoked it? I googled up the Gutenberg text and searched for "dark god". To my surprise it occurs first half way into chapter 7, "The Battle of Tongues". That was more than a third of the way into the novel. A lot of compositional water had flown under the bridge by then. So why there, especially given that it occurs more than 25 times after that? What had happened in chapter 7 that caused its sudden, totally unexpected and unprecedented appearance? (for it had not occurred once before in his 7 previous novels). To show the drama of the subsequent insight, I will quote the words of the novel that I now read with new eyes (for I had read over these words many times before, without realising their significance and ramification). Cooley [Lawrence] had come up to Sydney to have dinner – alone – with Cooley [Rosenthal] in the secret army leader's apartment in Castlereagh Street. They begin to argue (over the men Cooley/Rosenthal is recruiting for the Maggies). Suddenly the big man becomes angry. Lawrence says: "he sat hulked in his chair glowering like some queer dark god at bay". (So here it is Cooley/Rosenthal who he is calling a "queer dark god".) A few paragraphs further on, however, Lawrence refers to his own "dark god" (and I quote again) "I know the dark god at the lower threshold--even if I have to repeat it like a phrase. And in the sacred dark men meet and touch, and it is a great communion." Men "meet and touch in the sacred dark"? That sounded highly suspicious (and had been specifically cited by David Ellis, Lawrence's CUP biographer, as carrying overt homosexual implications). What was going on here? So I now read the whole section of the "dinner" text much more closely, and with fresh (and more suspicious) eyes. It was obvious, to me at least, that some sort of homoerotic encounter was taking (or had taken) place that night in Rosenthal's apartment. Yet how could such an (unexpected) encounter have happened? When and how was it "set up"? (For it could hardly have been spontaneous.) I went back to their previous meeting in chapter 5, when Scott first took Lawrence to meet Rosenthal in his "chambers" (but actually, I now realised, in his apartment above his Castlereagh Street chambers). There is a significant (and now curious) sentence in this section of text, when Cooley says to Somers: "We're birds of the same feather, aren't we?" (I now suspect Lawrence had stayed behind, alone, with Rosenthal after Scott left to return to his office in Pitt Street, and that this crucial exchange was part of their subsequent a deux conversation – and so that was then that the assignation to have dinner alone with him on June 17 had been made.) Now, there happen to be three separate versions of the conversation that took place on that later Saturday

night, June 24. There is the printed one; the original holograph one (which he rewrote in Taos); and another version in the subsequent “Willie Struthers and Kangaroo” chapter, when Lawrence comes up on Saturday to again have dinner alone with Rosenthal in his Castlereagh Street (third-floor) apartment (for there was little or no conversation on that occasion, once Lawrence had revealed to Rosenthal that he had been to see (the Communist union leader) Jock Garden in the morning – and when Rosenthal then “erupted”, and Lawrence had fled to escape “The Thing”). However, it is my strong belief that Lawrence made a fourth and fifth attempt to describe what had happened that June 17 night (after which he had returned to Wycombe Road and Jack’s Neutral Bay flat visibly shocked and with an expression “like a curious seashell”). The fourth version was probably the half page of text on holograph p299 which he deleted to replace it with the existing “At Sea in Marriage” chapter. And the fifth may well have been in the 10 pages he cut out of the manuscript prior to the “Diggers” chapter (and in which the name Cooley occurred a number of times, according to Bruce Steele). In the first three versions it is obvious (and blindingly so, once you read it with suspicious eyes) that Rosenthal is “making a pass” to Lawrence (and it might well have gone beyond mere words, as I imply in my “Curious Incident” appendix). More than once Cooley tells Somers he loves him and embraces him (clasps him to his breast, puts his hand on his shoulder and squeezes it, etc) . Most tellingly, in one of the several versions Somers indicates that he reciprocates his assurances of love, and Cooley says “Do you? Do you? That would be heaven if it were so.” Little wonder then that Lawrence plunged naked into the surf below Wyewurk almost immediately he returned to Thirroul after that weekend up in Sydney. He did indeed have something “to wash off”. Little wonder he wanted to “prove” his masculinity by making love to Frieda after coming out of the surf. And no wonder Frieda forgave him when he explained to her what Rosenthal had done that previous Saturday evening...and to seal her forgiveness with a kiss. (Now read on.)