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**THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF  
THE *LETTERS* AND *WORKS* OF D. H. LAWRENCE:  
A FIRST STUDY**

JONATHAN LONG

The title of this essay is an allusion to Stephen Potter's *D. H. Lawrence: A First Study*, published in 1930. In fact, as Potter was aware, it was not the first book published on Lawrence. That was Herbert Seligmann's *D. H. Lawrence: An American Interpretation*, published in 1924.<sup>1</sup> As Potter knew, his study was only the first published in England. Since then hundreds have been published across the world. And there will probably be much more to say about the Cambridge Edition than it is possible to suggest here, reflecting the significance of the Edition and, in turn, the significance of Lawrence, as demonstrated by the number of books published on him.

Lawrence's prolific but relatively short career as a writer of novels, novellas, short stories, poems, essays and articles, reviews, plays, travel books and other non-fiction has left a legacy of over a thousand manuscripts and related texts in university and other collections across the world for editors to work on in conjunction with his work as published.<sup>2</sup> He was also a prolific letter writer and his significance as a writer even during his lifetime (sadly not reflected in numbers of books sold) has resulted in approaching six thousand of his letters and postcards having been preserved, either as a whole or quoted in the writings of their recipients, with manuscripts in over one hundred locations throughout the world. All this left the Cambridge editors with an enormous task. The purpose of this essay is to assess the achievement of this scholarly edition of one of the twentieth century's greatest writers in the context of the prospectuses published for volume editors of the *Letters* and the *Works* – little known of and even harder to come by,

which is not surprising given how long ago plans were laid for the Edition. It is an appropriate time to make this assessment, now that two volumes of *The Poems* have been published, the final titles in the thirty-nine volumes of the *Works* and eight volumes of the *Letters*. Indeed Christopher Pollnitz in the Introduction to *The Poems* describes the near completion of the Edition as celebrating “not only the extraordinary range of Lawrence’s work but also one of the greatest achievements of twentieth-century writing in English” (*Poems I* xxxvi).

The genesis of the Cambridge Edition is well recorded in Michael Black’s *Learning to be a Publisher*, published in 2011 when the Edition was complete except for *The Poems*. Black was a member of the Cambridge University Press (“CUP”) Editorial Board for the *Works* (not the *Letters*) at that time, as he had been since the first volume of the *Works* was published. As a university publisher with a great admiration for Lawrence his role was critical. In short, the first item in CUP’s huge file on the projected complete edition is a note from Keith Sagar to Michael Black reminding him that he had shown an interest in a new collection of Lawrence’s letters. The shortcomings of Aldous Huxley’s 1932 *Selected Letters* and the Harry T. Moore *Collected Letters* of 1962 were well-known. James T. Boulton had edited Louie Burrows’ letters for publication in 1968 and many more letters were unpublished in full or at all. Black indicated that if Lawrence’s usual publishers, Viking in America and Heinemann in the UK, were not interested, then CUP would “certainly think about it”.<sup>3</sup> There was no interest from those publishers and so Black met Lawrence scholars Moore, Boulton, Sagar, Warren Roberts and Gerald Lacy in June 1972. The commitment from the Syndics of CUP in principle to publish the *Letters* was obtained by Black shortly afterwards, enabling him to negotiate terms with the Lawrence Estate.

A further meeting of Lawrence scholars was held in 1973 at the Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin, the holder of the largest Lawrence collection in the world, where Warren Roberts was director. That resulted in the drafting of the

prospectus and notes for editors of the *Letters* volumes. It would appear to be very much Boulton's work. Published by CUP in 1973, it runs to eighteen pages, "briefly making the case for an edition, setting out exhaustive working-rules for an edition and supplying a sample edited letter showing all the conventions in use".<sup>4</sup> The title page states that the volumes would be published "from 1977 onwards".<sup>5</sup> With momentum gathering, the suggestion was that the *Works* should be published in a scholarly edition by CUP as well. This was a more difficult proposal. The Syndics had to be persuaded that Lawrence was a classical modern author and that, notwithstanding modern printing processes, his texts needed the sort of attention afforded to long-established classics. Carl Baron, who was to become joint editor with his wife Helen Baron of the *Sons and Lovers* volume, provided the evidence, which was also used to persuade the Lawrence Estate and in particular Lawrence's literary executor, Laurence Pollinger. As the copyright in many of Lawrence's works was due to expire in 1980, the creation of a new edition with a new copyright was an attractive proposition: controversial – but the same would apply to a new edition of Shakespeare. Black made a direct approach to beneficiaries of the Lawrence Estate to help persuade Pollinger of the need to proceed. They agreed and in 1975 CUP Syndics did too.

The prospectus for the *Works* was published in 1978, in similar format to the one for the *Letters*. On the cover it has a fresh engraving of Lawrence's phoenix device, commissioned from Reynolds Stone, which has since been used in all the Cambridge Edition *Works* volumes.<sup>6</sup> The members of the Editorial Board of the Edition were chosen. The Board set standards, defined methods and selected volume editors. Candidates were asked to write a proposal, in substance a draft introduction, and to provide a sample edited passage. Once a suitable candidate had been chosen (some fell at this first hurdle), the Board recommended that he or she be awarded a contract by CUP. The Board then supervised progress, its members read drafts of introductions and notes, and approved the final version.<sup>7</sup>

Subject to the usual funding constraints, the case for the edition of the *Letters* was unassailable and is well set out in the first section of the prospectus for the *Letters*, 'The Case for an Edition'. Lawrence was a distinguished and voluminous letter writer with a good number of well-known correspondents, yet more than a third of his surviving letters remained unpublished. And if you wanted to look at all the published letters, in addition to the collected editions you would need to have the collections of those to Louie Burrows, S. S. Kotliansky, Martin Secker, E. D. McDonald et al., not to mention those published in journals and secondary sources. All this should be set in the context of his achievement as a great writer deserving a scholarly edition. These thoughts are expanded on in Boulton's preface to the *Letters*, published in the first volume. In the section headed 'The Plan' the prospectus went on to set out the names of the editors responsible for each of the seven planned volumes (and one index volume), and the date range each volume would cover, plus the format of each volume. There followed the 'Editorial Principles', setting out how the text should be presented and the detail of the editorial apparatus (anticipating similar sections in the published volumes) and how copy should be prepared for the General Editor. These were the days of the typewriter, not the word processor, and volume editors were required inter alia to use "medium-weight paper", to submit the "MS in *ribbon* copy" and to "draw a line through a deletion".<sup>8</sup> Cutting and pasting where there had been more substantial typographical errors then required scissors and glue, not a keyboard and a mouse. Finally, letters were to be indexed "on lined cards size 6 x 4 inches". The prospectus ended with four examples of how letters should be presented.

Professor Boulton was the General Editor and such was his contribution that he was the sole editor of the first and the eighth volume and – although the original plan had been that volumes two to seven should each be the work of a single editor – he became joint editor of each of the others. It is likely that the prospectus was very much his work, and the development of practices going

forward. Most of the editors completed the volumes assigned to them, although Andrew Robertson replaced Harry T. Moore, who was due to edit Volume III, and Lindeth Vasey took David Farmer's place for Volume V. Volume VI was co-edited by Boulton's wife Margaret. The final volume (VIII) became not just the index volume planned but also contained unpublished letters coming to light after the previous volumes were published, and a section of corrigenda and addenda, as explained in the preface to that volume. The publication of unpublished letters has continued, following the Cambridge Edition format, in this journal since Volume 1, Number 1 in 2006.

As mentioned in the prospectus, only the first volume of the *Letters* sets out the editorial principles in full. Allowing for the fact that the prospectus also contains instructions to volume editors on how copy should be presented for approval by the General Editor, these instructions appear in very similar form as they do in the prospectus, including the order they appear, only slightly tweaked and compressed, and under the headings 'Rules of Transcription' and 'Editorial Apparatus'. It is difficult to fault the format of these volumes, which provide all the information the reader could reasonably require to accompany the texts, with full chronologies, maps and introductions covering the period of the particular volume and notes. Photographs of most of the key recipients of Lawrence's letters are included and a comprehensive index.

There have been some niggles though with the *Letters* volumes. The preface states that "If there is a matter for regret it is that letters to Lawrence are relatively rare ... whenever appropriate they will be quoted in footnotes so as to make his own letters more intelligible" (*IL* xiii). Printing costs are high but this principle gives the volume editor some discretion as to whether a letter to Lawrence is included in part or at all. Admittedly the publication is of Lawrence's *Letters* not his *Correspondence* (the latter suggesting potentially both sides of the dialogue) but this would have been a great opportunity to see published in full both sides of the correspondence for example with Curtis Brown and his team, or

Martin Secker, or Thomas Seltzer, and thus to see the business relationships in the round. Some of these correspondences have been separately published but it would have been better to have everything in one place.<sup>9</sup> If these letters are “rare” include them all: then no judgement is required. (To be fair, as the Edition proceeded, more such material was included; Volume VIII prints a good deal of the correspondence, so far as it survives.)

A more significant point, perhaps, is the general policy of not including the sketches, maps and other pictorial parts of the letters. Some of these are included as illustrations within the text but they are relatively few and pages from manuscript letters appear as illustrations nearly as often. In Volume IV, Lawrence’s letter to John Middleton Murry believed to have been written at Christmas 1923 is reproduced as a facsimile, including the sketch of a phoenix. Volumes I and VII each reproduce a page from a Lawrence letter, but as little more than as examples of his handwriting. This means that Lawrence’s designs for the heraldry of Ranim in his letter to Kotliansky of 3 January 1915 are not reproduced, only given a verbal description in a footnote (2L 252);<sup>10</sup> nor is the sketch of the men “gathering the olives ... They perch like queer birds on a ladder made so” in his letter to David Garnett of 19 November 1912 (IL 474),<sup>11</sup> the “maned lion drooping and unsteady on its legs” in another letter to Garnett of 29 December 1912 (IL 493), his naïve but amusing representation of a sketch by Van Gogh of a dock and raising bridge in his letter of 4 March 1915 to Ottoline Morrell, and the rough map of part of the American east coast showing the location of Florida (and his enthusiasm to go there), in his letter to her of 22 November 1915. These are just some examples of the variety of Lawrence’s sketches and their significance in helping the reader of the Cambridge Edition get as close as possible to the experience of the original correspondent, bringing additional character to what Lawrence wrote.<sup>12</sup> To quote Boulton, whilst not providing facsimiles, “The general intention ... is to provide readers with a literary experience which approximates to that enjoyed by the original recipients of

Lawrence's letters".<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, Lawrence's attempt at the words "Zu Else" in "German characters" in his letter to Pinker of 31 May 1915 has been reproduced in the text, as has the layout of the tower house and cottages at Zennor in his letter of 5 March 1916 to Murry and Katherine Mansfield. Overall, however, the exclusions comfortably exceed the inclusions. As a comparison, the Cambridge Edition of *The Letters of Ernest Hemingway* includes all such sketches integrally with the text and the photographic illustrations are of a higher quality.

The next point, which relates to the *Works* as well, is one of annotation. To quote Boulton again, an editor "must avoid the temptation to make his annotation into a monument to his own scholarship; but equally he must ensure that his readers understand what Lawrence is saying".<sup>14</sup> This has proved to be one of the more controversial aspects of the Cambridge Edition, although hardly as significant as textual issues. As Boulton went on to say, "The charge that annotation dulls the response to the liveliness and spirited creativity of the letters is a gross overstatement. What is less often admitted is the irritation caused in an attentive reader when he cannot understand the text he is presented".<sup>15</sup> John Worthen, in an essay on annotating Lawrence's texts 'Clearing Melville's Crowded Deck', employed the words of Dr Johnson when he wrote how notes are "necessary evils".<sup>16</sup> If there is agreement on this at all, the general opinion appears to be that annotation should go no further than is necessary for the reader likely to read Lawrence in a scholarly edition. Practice has changed and as Black acknowledged in his essay, 'Editing a Constantly-revising Author: the Cambridge Edition of Lawrence in Historical Context', the earlier volumes tried to "satisfy as many kinds of reader as possible with one edition" (referring in particular to those with different cultural backgrounds) and that "we have been much criticised and accepted some of the criticism and modified our practice".<sup>17</sup> Whilst the changes are logical and should be welcomed, such faults as there were hardly undermine the exceptional annotations generally to be found in these volumes. The editors



have gone to great lengths to keep the notes as factual and therefore as timeless as possible, steering clear of personal opinion and critical judgement. In the life of the Edition before it is superseded, which could be fifty years, problems are more likely to arise with references to matters that are clear to us now but which may not be readily apparent to future readers, such as cultural conventions.

Finally, an important but unavoidable consequence of an endeavour such as this is that the time it takes for volumes to be produced inevitably means that cross-referencing is not consistent; some is to Cambridge Edition volumes but of course not all volumes were available, especially to early editors. The dust jacket of the first volume of the *Letters* states that "The Letters will form companion volumes ... to the Cambridge Edition of the Works of Lawrence to be published from 1980". It took until 1993 for the seventh volume to appear, by which time more than half the *Works* volumes had been published, resulting in the latter inevitably referring to unpublished letters not then available in the Cambridge Edition: the publication dates are given in Appendix 1.<sup>18</sup> The issue occurs in reverse less often in the *Letters* volumes where references to the *Works* are relatively infrequent. The three volumes of the companion biography appeared in 1991, 1996 and 1998 respectively, so the problem is repeated there with references to *Letters* and *Works* volumes. This is less of an issue with the other companion volume, the Warren Roberts and Paul Poplawski *Bibliography* published in 2001, which did not change the numbering of the previous edition for Lawrence's works and which the *Works* volumes refer to in a consistent fashion – with the unexplained exception of *Late Essays and Articles*, which does not use the E section references for manuscript sources.<sup>19</sup> Realistically they will never be produced, but revised editions of each volume, cross-referenced to all the other completed volumes would be very useful.

Turning to the *Works*, the prospectus is inevitably somewhat longer than the one for the *Letters*, extending to 24 pages, having much more ground to cover (but still a fraction of the length of the

one produced for the Cambridge Conrad). The overall format is similar, with sections headed 'The Case for an Edition', 'The Cambridge Edition', 'Plan of the Edition', 'Editorial Principles', 'Structure of the Volumes' and 'Editorial Procedures', ending with specimen pages from *The White Peacock* (the 'Note on the Text', some specimen text, together with the corresponding 'Explanatory Notes' and 'Textual Apparatus'). 'The Case for an Edition' is much shorter and focuses on the unsatisfactory state of the published texts, the volume of manuscript and other sources to work from and the care required by editors, acknowledging that "there will be no single answer to every problem".<sup>20</sup> Sadly much criticism that has followed has been based on the assumption that there is only one such answer.

The prospectus section headed 'The Cambridge Edition' records the agreement with the Lawrence Estate, CUP's commitment to the Edition and how it would be undertaken, the General Editors being James T. Boulton and F. Warren Roberts. The controversial new copyright was referred to as well: the fiftieth anniversary of Lawrence's death and therefore the expiry of the current copyright were approaching.<sup>21</sup> The 'Plan of the Edition' of course required much more thought than did the *Letters*. This listed the titles and outlined the contents, and in substance these have been followed fairly closely. There have been some title changes for volumes and some groupings were only provisional. Reflecting difficulties associated with them perhaps, there was a category of 'Deferred' titles, namely *Movements in European History*, *Translations*, *Paintings*, *The First Lady Chatterley* and *John Thomas and Lady Jane*. The section concluded: "Supplementary volumes will incorporate early draft material".<sup>22</sup> Those 'Deferred' titles were of course published, except for the translations and the paintings. And 'Supplementary volumes' started coming out in 1998 with *The First Women in Love*, followed by *The First and Second Lady Chatterley Novels*, *Paul Morel*, *The Vicar's Garden and Other Stories* and *Quetzalcoatl*. The 'Editorial Principles' include perfectly reasonable statements about the choice of base-text, in spite of

which much of the criticism of individual volumes has centred on the choices made by volume editors. They were asked to survey the material available and "give reasons why the editor adopts as his base-text one particular state in the whole succession. No general rule is laid down ... neither the current fashion for selecting the MS as copy-text nor the claims of the first edition can be regarded as overriding".<sup>23</sup>

The prospectus for the *Works* continues with the section on the structure of the volumes, setting out the nine key elements of each volume (chronology, cue-titles, introduction, and so on) in the order followed for all volumes except *The Poems*. Together the introductions have formed a history of Lawrence's writing career. The editorial procedures that follow provide instructions on how those elements are to be addressed, all in much greater detail than was provided for the *Letters*. This was essential as much more guidance was needed. One of the hallmarks of the Cambridge Edition is the objective approach of the editors, avoiding critical judgement wherever possible. This follows the instructions given, for example, for the writing of an introduction, which "will deal, in the main, with matters of fact. Inevitably these are transformed into critical thinking, but we should like to give the reader the elements which will help him to do his own thinking, rather than present him with a ready-made interpretation or evaluation".<sup>24</sup> The prospectus rightly pointed out that extended criticism quickly becomes "dated". Details about particular editorial decisions were thereafter hammered out at meetings of the Board.<sup>25</sup> To give one example, to start with, the plan had been that inconsistent usage by Lawrence of hyphenated words such as "pale-blue" and "pale blue" within a particular text should be rationalised, so that if (for example) "pale-blue" appeared five times but "pale blue" appeared six times, then an editor would emend all the occasions of "pale-blue" to "pale blue". In the case of a novel-length edition, this was hugely time-consuming, and a number of editors also disagreed with such a policy. In consequence, an enormous amount of time was spent at one Board meeting discussing whether some hyphens should be

considered “meaning-bearing” and so should not be rationalised. Fortunately, the matter faded away when the requirement for editors to make their texts consistent in such details lapsed and was finally ignored: if Lawrence were inconsistent, then his texts should be too. The original plan had been to produce texts available for the general reader; as the Edition progressed, it became clear that its volumes were mostly for specialist readers who would not be upset by inconsistencies. It should be said, too, that many of the later editors not only never read but never even saw the original ‘Prospectus’; they simply followed the precedents set by previously published volumes in the Edition, as indeed CUP encouraged them to do.

In terms of the *Works* volumes the most obvious benefit has been to see significant amounts of Lawrence’s writing published for the first time. In addition to the early draft material referred to above, this has resulted in the publication in full of *Sons and Lovers* without the cuts made by Edward Garnett that had reduced its length by about a tenth, and *Mr Noon*, where only 140 of the 407 pages written had been published, plus the 80 pages of additional material Lawrence wrote for *Apocalypse*.<sup>26</sup> Realistically these were not going to be published other than by a university press. Sadly, as the Edition is unlikely to be extended, the translations and the paintings in the ‘Deferred’ category will not be published. Therefore Lawrence’s much praised translations of works by Giovanni Verga, *Cavalleria Rusticana*, *Mastro-Don Gesualdo* and *Little Novels of Sicily*, will continue to be available only in what will inevitably be corrupt texts without a scholarly apparatus, as are those of Lasca’s *The Story of Dr Manente* (which has not been reprinted since it was published by Orioli in 1929) and of another story by the same author only published in the *Sunday Telegraph Magazine* in 1981.<sup>27</sup> There is a partial justification for this in that they are not solely Lawrence’s work (and the same clearly applies to Lawrence’s collaboration with Koteliansky on the translation of *The Gentleman from San Francisco and Other Stories* by I. A. Bunin).<sup>28</sup> More serious perhaps is the lack of a Cambridge Edition

of the paintings, so important particularly in relation to Lawrence's last years. There would no doubt be considerable issues with rights for these (though not of course for those included in the Mandrake Press volume of 1929), but although Keith Sagar's *D. H. Lawrence's Paintings* (2003) reproduces quite a number of the paintings, the only book that is anywhere near comprehensive is Tetsuji Kohno's *The Collected Art Works of D. H. Lawrence*, published in a limited edition in Japan in 2004 and now virtually unobtainable.

Arguments about the choice of base-texts (more widely known as copy-texts) have been a regular feature of reviews of Cambridge Edition volumes. The difficulty is that there is no agreement on what editorial principles should be, and therefore the best a text can be is one properly established on clear, selected principles. The statement in the copyright notice in the early volumes that the text was "correctly established" suggested an authoritativeness that could not be justified, particularly as new manuscript material still comes to light that challenges the Cambridge texts; the word "correctly" was later removed.<sup>29</sup> Particularly in the earlier volumes the base-text was a text produced some time after the manuscript. As the Cambridge Edition is not a variorum edition and editors had discretion over whether or not to include earlier versions, the textual apparatus in those earlier volumes is often shorter, the objective stated in the prospectus being to "constitute a text which represents as closely as possible the last state containing all the author's revisions, excluding changes arising from external interference".<sup>30</sup> This is the traditional "final intentions" approach in the UK but it represents a radical divergence from the French/German approach used for example in the Gabler edition of Joyce's *Ulysses*, an historical approach looking at the whole life of the text, comparing the base-text with all the variants.<sup>31</sup> Despite all this, reference in Cambridge Edition volumes has frequently been made to earlier Lawrence texts, particularly in the matter of his all-important but idiosyncratic punctuation, which often clashed with publishers' house styles. Later volumes were more likely to choose

earlier texts as base-texts, producing a more satisfactory result, and allowing for example the textual apparatus to reflect Frieda's interesting involvement in the composition of *Women in Love*.

The generally increasing cost of Cambridge Edition volumes has been a frequent issue in reviews. As publication numbers have declined, prices have gone up, compounded by inflation, although the length of time it has taken for volumes to come out has spread the cost for readers. Publication information appears in Appendix 1. Typically, numbers of the later volumes sold declined to only half or even a third of the earlier ones. *Mr Noon* was, unsurprisingly, an exception to the general downward trend. The market for well over half the hardback volumes will have been in libraries and with budget cuts continuation orders will have reduced, particularly as the Edition has become available in cheaper paperback formats.<sup>32</sup> The availability of Cambridge Edition texts in Penguin paperback is to be celebrated though, and hopefully the unarguably corrupt texts will, over the years, fall by the wayside so that Lawrence studies will be based on good texts (although Penguin also sell corrupt texts more cheaply, as do Wordsworth Classics). These Penguin texts have had new (shorter) introductions and fewer notes, and lack the textual apparatus. In other words, they are aimed at a different market. Notwithstanding the decline in publication numbers the magnificent achievement of the Cambridge editors is being preserved, in that CUP paperback versions of the full scholarly editions are still widely available. Work started on the Cambridge Edition too early to make it as achievable as it might be but the next step would be for the whole edition to be made available in digital format.<sup>33</sup> Creating a full apparatus with every text available in every available version from manuscript to first English and American editions (as well as the Cambridge Edition texts) would though be an enormous task; in effect every edition would have to be re-edited, with electronic copy being produced. That seems an extremely unlikely prospect.

It is a sign of the size of the undertaking that the composition of the Editorial Board for the *Letters* and the *Works* has changed

several times, as members have retired or died. It is a testament to the foresight of the original editors that the only major change to the demands made in the Prospectus has been implemented in *The Poems* volumes. A short time spent reading the Roberts and Poplawski bibliography will indicate the large number of books and journals one has to locate to have all Lawrence's works and letters published before the Cambridge Edition. Subject to the exceptions mentioned above, these are all now compressed into less than fifty volumes, which include previously unpublished material too, and in scholarly, more accurate texts. It has been a great pleasure to read the individual volumes as they were published and to cross-refer to other volumes, assisted by their uniform style and approach. In spite of the controversies, the Edition has routinely been described with adjectives such as "monumental", "unashamedly scholarly" and "authoritative", involving editors from the UK, North America, Australia, Italy and Germany, who in turn acknowledged the help of many others. We owe those editors a great debt particularly as they will have received little financial reward.<sup>34</sup> It is self-evident that a writer of Lawrence's stature merits not only a scholarly edition but also a text that although it can never be perfect can be justified and is much better than what was available before. These "best texts" are also generally available as volumes have been appearing in paperback editions.<sup>35</sup> Hopefully more and more Lawrence studies will make use of the new texts, though a radical revisiting of previous work based on the corrupt texts is some way off. Readers of this essay may have some niggles about the Edition but CUP has made a substantial commitment of over forty years. As with all such publishing ventures it has taken much longer than anticipated, but, coupled with the three-volume biography and the bibliography, it has produced, in comparison with most publications of other twentieth-century writers, material unsurpassed in quality and quantity. How ironical, given Lawrence's view of Cambridge!

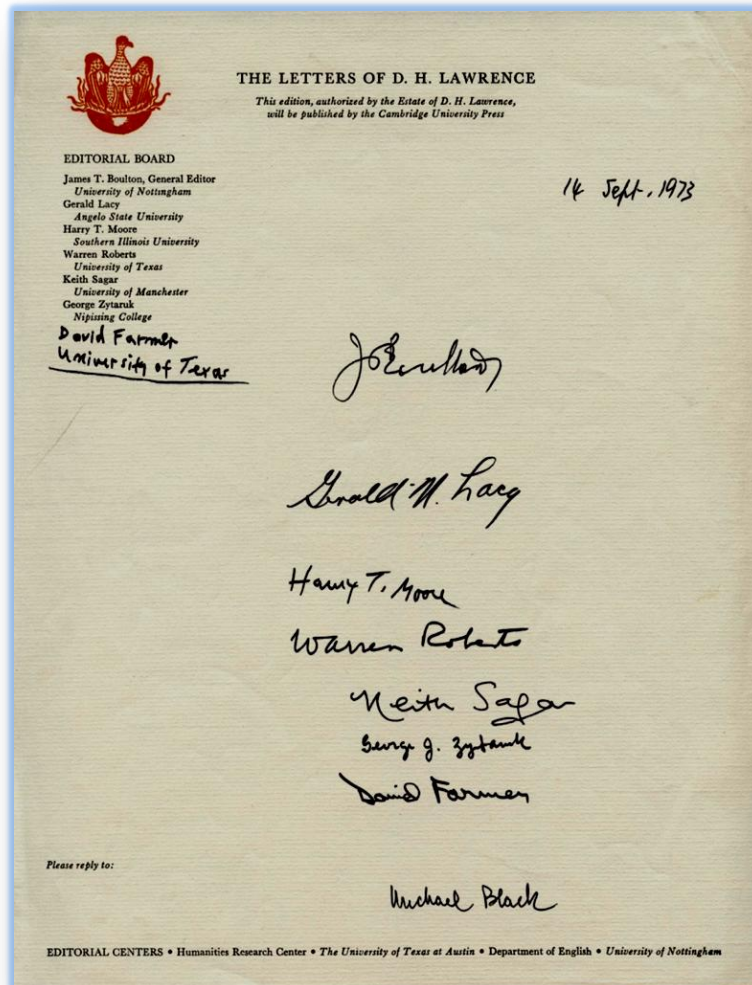


Figure 6: A sheet of notepaper of the Cambridge Edition of the *Letters*, signed by the original team of editors together with Michael Black of CUP.



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<sup>1</sup> Adele Seltzer's *D. H. Lawrence: The Man and His Work*, published in 1922 by her husband Thomas Seltzer, Lawrence's most enduring publisher in America, was just a publicity leaflet.

<sup>2</sup> See the 'E section' of Warren Roberts and Paul Poplawski, *A Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001). And many of those manuscripts contain numerous other manuscripts. For example, a poetry notebook may contain multiple drafts of (say) 70 poems. Over 1,000 "artefacts" were consulted for the two volumes of *The Poems* alone.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Black, *Learning to be a Publisher: Cambridge University Press 1951–1987, Personal Reminiscences* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011), 228.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 230. In these days of email it may now seem difficult to believe that the Cambridge Edition of the *Letters* even had its own headed notepaper. Figure 6 provides a page of it, signed by the editors named in the prospectus plus Michael Black and dated 14 September 1973.

<sup>5</sup> The eight volumes of the *Letters* came out in chronological order, although predictably over a somewhat longer period than was planned, respectively in 1979, 1982, 1984, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993 and 2001. Some explanation of how the letters were divided between volumes is given by George J. Zytaruk in 'Editing Lawrence's Letters: The Strategy of Volume Division', in *D. H. Lawrence: The Man Who Lived*, eds Robert B. Partlow Jr. and Harry T. Moore (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1980). The prospectus stated that after the first volume the others should follow "in sequence at brief, regular intervals". Newly discovered letters not in those volumes appear annually in the 'Further Letters of D. H. Lawrence' section of this journal, but there is no equivalent for newly discovered material that did not appear in or was not available for consideration in the volumes of the *Works*. Examples of such material include the extracts of the early version of chapters in *Movements in European History* (Roberts and Poplawski, *Bibliography*, E255b), deposited at the University of Nottingham only after the Cambridge Edition volume had been published (and in which logically it would have been an appendix), and the

manuscript of 'Laura Philippine' (ibid., E194a), which was unlocated until it was acquired by the University of Nottingham at auction in 2011, after the Cambridge Edition *Late Essays and Articles* had been published (and in which the typescript was relied on). There is, too, a piece first published in the *Times Literary Supplement* on 29 March 2013 titled 'Meat-lust'.

<sup>6</sup> The dust jacket of the *Letters* volumes was designed by Richard Senior and incorporated a picture of Lawrence from the miniature owned by Louie Burrows instead of the Lawrence phoenix. The volumes are generally uniform in size and appearance, and together form an impressive collection, clearly intended to present Lawrence as a major writer worthy of a scholarly edition of similar stature to others in critical editions by CUP and indeed the Oxford University Press. However, the great Lawrence collector George Lazarus, to whom the Edition was greatly indebted, described the dancing phoenix on the jacket of the *Works* volumes as looking like "a dessicated chicken" (George Lazarus to John Worthen and others, Elizabeth Cottage, Slough, mid-1980s).

<sup>7</sup> Black, *Learning to be a Publisher*, 239; a very great deal of this work, down to 1997, was in the extraordinarily capable hands of Lindeth Vasey, without whose detailed work and brilliant perceptiveness the Edition could not have succeeded in the way it has.

<sup>8</sup> James T. Boulton, *Prospectus for the Works of D. H. Lawrence* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1977), 10–11.

<sup>9</sup> See for example *D. H. Lawrence: Letters to Thomas & Adele Seltzer*, ed. Gerald M. Lacy (Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press, 1976), which includes many letters from the Seltzers, including those to Lawrence; *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence & Amy Lowell 1914–1925*, eds E. Claire Healey and Keith Cushman (Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press, 1985) and Martin Secker, ed., *Letters from a Publisher: Martin Secker to D. H. Lawrence & others 1911–1929* (London: Enitharmon Press, 1970).

<sup>10</sup> Fortunately the designs appear in the illustrations in Mark Kinkead-Weekes, *D. H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile, 1912–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), 306–7. This and the other Cambridge biography volumes reproduce photographs also appearing in the *Letters* volumes – some duplication is inevitable.

<sup>11</sup> See Richard Dury and Umberto Perini, *D. H. Lawrence a Gargnano 1912/1913* (Gargnano: Comitato per Gargnano Storica, 2012), 23.

<sup>12</sup> Other significant examples include the map providing Enid Hilton directions on how to get to Villa Mirenda, Scandicci, in Lawrence's letter

to her of 25 April 1928 that is reproduced in Harry T. Moore and Warren Roberts, *D. H. Lawrence and his World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), 107, and the detailed sketch of the Del Monte Ranch in Lawrence's letter of 31 August 1924 to his niece Peggy King reproduced in Keith Sagar, *The Life of D. H. Lawrence* (London: Chaucer Press, 2003), 200.

<sup>13</sup> James T. Boulton, 'The Cambridge University Press Edition of Lawrence's Letters, Part 4', in *D. H. Lawrence: The Man Who Lived*, eds Robert B. Partlow Jr. and Harry T. Moore (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1980), 225.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 227. And in fairness there have inevitably been occasions when meaning has been obscure and the fact that it cannot now be explained has not been mentioned.

<sup>16</sup> John Worthen, *Experiments: Lectures on Lawrence* (Nottingham: Critical, Cultural and Communications Press, 2012), 40. He goes on to say that notes "serve a function beyond that of simply providing selective information; and this perhaps is their best defence of all" (43).

<sup>17</sup> Michael Black, 'Editing a Constantly-revising Author: the Cambridge Edition of Lawrence in Historical Context', in *D. H. Lawrence: Centenary Essays*, ed. Mara Kalnins (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1986), 205.

<sup>18</sup> After a long gap the eighth volume came out in 2001. The *Works* have already taken comfortably more than a decade longer than expected to be published. The order of publication of titles appears random, reflecting the timings of volume editors presenting their work to the Editorial Board. The exception to this has of course been the fact that early drafts of novels and short stories have appeared after the previously published versions. To address a point I make later on about the increasing cost of volumes being mirrored by the declining number of copies sold I have taken the opportunity in Appendix 1 to include the publication numbers for the first issue of the hardback edition.

<sup>19</sup> In an email to me of 22 January 2009 Professor Boulton wrote "I have no idea now why I didn't use the Roberts E numbers". He also ignored the format of all previous volumes in the Edition by providing notes before each piece which in effect replaced material otherwise always appearing in the Introduction. See my review essay in the last issue of this journal in relation to the additional referencing system used by Christopher Pollnitz in *The Poems: Jonathan Long, The Cambridge Edition's Poetic Climax*, in *Journal of D. H. Lawrence Studies*, vol. 3.2 (2013), 167–77.

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<sup>20</sup> Boulton, *Prospectus for the Works of D. H. Lawrence*, 2. The differences between the two prospectuses are reflected in the different General Editor's Preface in the *Letters* and *Works* volumes.

<sup>21</sup> There is not space here to discuss this difficult issue but the CUP view is very well set out in: Michael Black, *Learning to be a Publisher*, 233–8; Michael Black, 'The Works of D. H. Lawrence: The Cambridge Edition', in *D. H. Lawrence: The Man Who Lived*, eds Robert B. Partlow Jr. and Harry T. Moore (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1980), 54; and Michael Black, 'Text and Context: The Cambridge Edition of Lawrence Reconsidered', in *Editing D. H. Lawrence New Versions of a Modern Author*, eds Charles L. Ross and Dennis Jackson (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1995), 8–13.

<sup>22</sup> Boulton, *Prospectus*, 6. There is an ambiguity here. Those supplemental volumes have all been novels with the exception of *The Vicar's Garden and Other Stories*, which contains early versions of stories published in *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*, *Love Among the Haystacks and Other Stories* and *England, My England and Other Stories*. There is a strong argument that for consistency those volumes should have contained early versions in the way that the collections of short stories subsequently published did.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 6–7.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>25</sup> My thanks to John Worthen for supplying detailed examples of how decisions were reached by the Editorial Board.

<sup>26</sup> See Michael Black, 'The Works of D. H. Lawrence: The Cambridge Edition', 49ff. for further examples. For the sake of completeness I would mention that items not suitable or intended for publication have been omitted, such as a collaboration Lawrence started working on with Mollie Skinner called *Eve in the Land of Nod*, his diary, his address books and his accounts for *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.

<sup>27</sup> Roberts and Poplawski, *Bibliography*, C273. Perhaps it was not a considered remark but in a letter of 30 April 1922 to Cynthia Asquith Lawrence dismissed the translation he was doing as something "to keep myself occupied" (4L 235).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 393.

<sup>29</sup> See for example the manuscript of 'Laura Philippine' referred to in note 5 above, and Black, *Learning to be a Publisher*, 249–50.

<sup>30</sup> Boulton, *Prospectus*, 6. This is echoed in the General Editor's Preface to each volume of the *Works*, which refers to texts being "as close as can now be determined to those [Lawrence] would have wished to see printed". That is a particular challenge where the first English and American editions, with different texts, appeared at a similar time, with *Kangaroo* and its variant endings being a notable example: see Roberts and Poplawski, *Bibliography*, 93–5.

<sup>31</sup> There is not space here to discuss the relative merits of each approach but see for example Paul Eggert, 'The Silent Witness of Book Logic: The Cambridge Lawrence at its 35<sup>th</sup> Volume', *Journal of D. H. Lawrence Studies*, vol. 2.2 (2010), 153ff., and Paul Eggert, 'Reading a Critical Edition With the Grain and Against: The Cambridge D. H. Lawrence', in *Editing D. H. Lawrence: New Versions of a Modern Author*, eds Ross and Jackson, 27ff. Eggert interestingly points out that the Cambridge Edition can only be of a version of a work rather than the work itself, as the claim to authoritativeness would suggest.

<sup>32</sup> Equally it is galling for a Lawrence specialist or specialist library that the CUP volumes of letters by Hemingway and Beckett for example are currently only about £30 each. Some saving could perhaps have been achieved by having books printed outside the UK or the USA, but *Studies in Classic American Literature*, printed in India, was the only exception. Commercial reality has clearly had to be a factor in ensuring the completion of the Cambridge Edition, CUP being a charity that has to break even. This perhaps partially explains why there is no volume of paintings and the general absence or shortage of illustrations in the *Letters* and *Works* volumes, the best example being the absence of Jan Juta's colour illustrations for *Sea and Sardinia*, which Lawrence was so insistent upon, and which have not appeared in any edition of the book since the American and English first editions: see Keith Cushman, 'Lawrence, Jan Juta and *Sea and Sardinia*', in *D. H. Lawrence: Literature, History, Culture*, eds Michael Bell and Keith Cushman (Tokyo: Kokusho-Kankokai Press, 2005), 285 ff.

<sup>33</sup> Following the publication in 2012 of the print edition of the works of Ben Jonson, CUP has now launched an online version with the assistance of the Department of Digital Humanities at King's College, London. Even if an online Lawrence offered little more than a republication of the print edition, the permission of the Lawrence Estate would be required. Negotiations are currently taking place. It would also require substantial

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funding (the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation assisted with the Jonson project). A digital edition would potentially enable some of the errors and omissions to be addressed, as some have been in Penguin editions; there are, too, for example, some in *Sons and Lovers* reported in Roberts and Poplawski, *Bibliography*, 17. Errors were inevitable, particularly as much of the edition was worked on before the widespread use of computers.

<sup>34</sup> There is a fair amount of literature on individual volumes as editors have written about aspects of their work before and after it has been published. Ross and Jackson, eds, *Editing D. H. Lawrence* includes several essays by volume editors (along with some fairly harsh criticism of the Cambridge approach by others) and a bibliography of works on the subject (93). A second volume surveying the Cambridge Edition since that time would be most welcome. The existing essays cover many of the challenges but, although L. D. Clark's essay on his edition of *The Plumed Serpent* gets close, none of them deal comprehensively with the whole experience of being a volume editor from commission to publication. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the nature of the experience for some has been one that they would rather not now try to put in writing. The Cambridge Edition papers are held by the University of Nottingham and some of them will not be accessible for some time due to their sensitivity. There were clearly frustrations: see for example John Worthen's essay on the errors in his own published text arising as a consequence of working from a photocopy and not seeing the original manuscript: John Worthen, 'Paper and Ink in a Digital Age', *Experiments: Lectures on Lawrence*, 225–8. The process has been such a long one that some editors did not complete their work. Carole Ferrier, for example, was initially chosen to be the editor of *The Poems*, as Harold Shapiro was for *Studies in Classic American Literature*.

<sup>35</sup> This process began with Grafton hardback and paperback versions in the 1980s, Penguin paperbacks in the 1990s and Penguin Classics today, with appropriate notes for the intended readership.

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**APPENDIX 1:  
DATES AND PUBLICATION NUMBERS  
(FIRST EDITION HARDCOVER)<sup>35</sup>**

1980	<i>Apocalypse and the Writings on Revelation</i>	3,042
1981	<i>The Trespasser</i>	1,285
	<i>The Lost Girl</i>	1,263
1983	<i>St Mawr and Other Stories</i>	2,392
	<i>The Prussian Officer and Other Stories</i>	1,794
	<i>The White Peacock</i>	1,247
1984	<i>Mr Noon</i> (in the UK alone)	3,942
1985	<i>Study of Thomas Hardy and Other Essays</i>	1,000
1987	<i>Women in Love</i>	2,000
	<i>Love Among the Haystacks and Other Stories</i>	1,042
	<i>The Plumed Serpent</i>	1,100
1988	<i>Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays</i>	1,109
	<i>Aaron's Rod</i>	1,173
1989	<i>The Rainbow</i>	1,155
	<i>Movements in European History</i>	1,325
1990	<i>England, My England and Other Stories</i>	1,215
	<i>The Boy in the Bush</i>	1,266
1992	<i>The Ladybird, The Fox, The Captain's Doll</i>	1,134
	<i>Sons and Lovers</i>	1,100
	<i>Sketches of Etruscan Places and Other Italian Essays</i>	927
1993	<i>Lady Chatterley's Lover</i>	1,274
1994	<i>Kangaroo</i>	1,050
	<i>Twilight in Italy and Other Essays</i>	950
1995	<i>The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories</i>	1,000
1997	<i>Sea and Sardinia</i>	950
1998	<i>The First Women in Love</i> (c.)	1,000

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1999	<i>The Plays</i>	1,000
	<i>The First and Second Lady Chatterley Novels</i>	1,000
2002	<i>Studies in Classic American Literature</i>	1,000
2003	<i>Paul Morel</i>	900
2004	<i>Late Essays and Articles</i>	900
	<i>Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious and</i>	
	<i>Fantasia of the Unconscious</i>	900
	<i>Introductions and Reviews</i>	800
2006	<i>The Virgin and the Gipsy and Other Stories</i>	800
2009	<i>The Vicar's Garden and Other Stories</i>	800
	<i>Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays</i>	800
2011	<i>Quetzalcoatl</i>	550
2013	<i>The Poems, Volumes I and II</i>	600

The dates and publication numbers for the *Letters* are as follows:

1979	Volume I	5,134
1982	Volume II	3,760
1984	Volume III	2,747
1987	Volume IV	2,100
1989	Volume V	2,132
1991	Volume VI	1,443
1993	Volume VII	1,486
2001	Volume VIII	1,600

1. Much of the above information is derived from Warren Roberts and Paul Poplawski, *A Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001). Linda Bree of CUP, to whom I am indebted, has kindly supplemented the gaps in published information.