THE
CAMBRIDGE EDITION OF
THE WORKS OF
D. H. LAWRENCE

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THE FIRST AND SECOND LADY CHATTERLEY NOVELS

D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITED BY
DIETER MEHL
AND
CHRISTA JANSOHN

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

D. H. Lawrence is one of the great writers of the twentieth century – yet the texts of his writings, whether published during his lifetime or since, are, for the most part, textually corrupt. The extent of the corruption is remarkable; it can derive from every stage of composition and publication. We know from study of his MSS that Lawrence was a careful writer, though not rigidly consistent in matters of minor convention. We know also that he revised at every possible stage. Yet he rarely if ever compared one stage with the previous one, and overlooked the errors of typists or copyists. He was forced to accept, as most authors are, the often stringent house-styling of his printers, which overrode his punctuation and even his sentence-structure and paragraphing. He sometimes overlooked plausible printing errors. More important, as a professional author living by his pen, he had to accept, with more or less good will, stringent editing by a publisher's reader in his early days, and at all times the results of his publishers' timidity. So the fear of Grundyish disapproval, or actual legal action, led to bowdlerisation or censorship from the very beginning of his career. Threats of libel suits produced other changes. Sometimes a publisher made more changes than he admitted to Lawrence. On a number of occasions in dealing with American and British publishers Lawrence produced texts for both which were not identical. Then there were extraordinary lapses like the occasion when a typist turned over two pages of MS at once, and the result happened to make sense. This whole story can be reconstructed from the introductions to the volumes in this edition; cumulatively they will form a history of Lawrence's writing career.

The Cambridge edition aims to provide texts which are as close as can now be determined to those he would have wished to see printed. They have been established by a rigorous collation of extant manuscripts and typescripts, proofs and early printed versions; they restore the words, sentences, even whole pages omitted or falsified by editors or compositors; they are freed from printing-house conventions which were imposed on Lawrence's style; and interference on the part of frightened publishers has been eliminated. Far from doing violence to the texts Lawrence would have wished to see published, editorial intervention is essential to recover

them. Though we have to accept that some cannot now be recovered in their entirety because early states have not survived, we must be glad that so much evidence remains. Paradoxical as it may seem, the outcome of this recension will be texts which differ, often radically and certainly frequently, from those seen by the author himself.

Editors have adopted the principle that the most authoritative form of the text is to be followed, even if this leads sometimes to a 'spoken' or a 'manuscript' rather than a 'printed' style. We have not wanted to strip off one house-styling in order to impose another. Editorial discretion has been allowed in order to regularise Lawrence's sometimes wayward spelling and punctuation in accordance with his most frequent practice in a particular text. A detailed record of these and other decisions on textual matters, together with the evidence on which they are based, will be found in the textual apparatus or an occasional explanatory note. These give significant deleted readings in manuscripts, typescripts and proofs; and printed variants in forms of the text published in Lawrence's lifetime. We do not record posthumous corruptions, except where first publication was posthumous.

In each volume, the editor's introduction relates the contents to Lawrence's life and to his other writings; it gives the history of composition of the text in some detail, for its intrinsic interest, and because this history is essential to the statement of editorial principles followed. It provides an account of publication and reception which will be found to contain a good deal of hitherto unknown information. Where appropriate, appendixes make available extended draft manuscript readings of significance, or important material, sometimes unpublished, associated with a particular work.

Though Lawrence is a twentieth-century writer and in many respects remains our contemporary, the idiom of his day is not invariably intelligible now, especially to the many readers who are not native speakers of British English. His use of dialect is another difficulty, and further barriers to full understanding are created by now obscure literary, historical, political or other references and allusions. On these occasions explanatory notes or a dialect glossary is supplied by the editor; it is assumed that the reader has access to a good general dictionary and that the editor need not gloss words or expressions that may be found in it. Where Lawrence's letters are quoted in editorial matter, the reader should assume that his manuscript is alone the source of eccentricities of phrase or spelling. An edition of the letters is still in course of publication: for this reason only the date and recipient of a letter will be given if it has so far been printed in the Cambridge edition.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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We also wish to thank the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas, Austin, for making freely available the manuscripts of the three versions on several research visits and for awarding an Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Research Fellowship to Christa Jansohn. Cathy Henderson and Pat Fox were especially helpful. We are also both grateful to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for several travel grants. Among many friends and colleagues who supported us with advice and encouragement at various stages we should like to name Paul Eggert, Willi Hirdt, Mark Kinkead-Weekes, the late Warren Roberts and Stefan Wild. The work of checking and correcting the text and notes was made easier by the cheerful help of Oliver Groß, Mark-Sven Kopka, Julia Kühn and Axel Stähler.

D.M.
April 1998 C.J.

CHRONOLOGY

11 September 1885	Born in Eastwood, Nottinghamshire
September 1898–July 1901	Pupil at Nottingham High School
Winter 1901–2	First attack of pneumonia
October 1902–1908	Pupil teacher; student at University College, Nottingham
7 December 1907	First publication: 'A Prelude', in *Nottinghamshire Guardian*
October 1908	Appointed as teacher at Davidson Road School, Croydon
November 1909	Publishes five poems in *English Review*
3 December 1910	Engagement to Louie Burrows; broken off on 4 February 1912
9 December 1910	Death of his mother, Lydia Lawrence
19 January 1911	*The White Peacock* published in New York (20 January in London)
19 November 1911	Ill with pneumonia; resigns his teaching post on 28 February 1912
early March 1912	Meets Frieda Weekley; they elope to Metz and then to Germany on 3 May
23 May 1912	*The Trespasser*
September 1912–March 1913	At Gargnano, Lago di Garda, Italy
February 1913	*Love Poems and Others*
29 May 1913	*Sons and Lovers*
June-August 1913	In England
August 1913–June 1914	In Germany, Switzerland and Italy
1 April 1914	*The Widowing of Mrs. Holroyd* (New York)
July 1914–December 1915	In London, Buckinghamshire and Sussex
13 July 1914	Marries Frieda Weekley in London
26 November 1914	*The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*
30 September 1915	*The Rainbow*; suppressed by court order on 13 November

June 1916	*Twilight in Italy*
July 1916	*Amores*
15 October 1917	After twenty-one months' residence in Cornwall, ordered to leave by military authorities
October 1917–November 1919	In London, Berkshire and Derbyshire
26 November 1917	*Look! We Have Come Through!*
October 1918	*New Poems*
November 1919–February 1922	To Italy, then Capri and Sicily
20 November 1919	*Bay*
May 1920	*Touch and Go*
9 November 1920	Private publication of *Women in Love* (New York)
25 November 1920	*The Lost Girl*
10 May 1921	*Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* (New York)
12 December 1921	*Sea and Sardinia* (New York)
March-August 1922	In Ceylon and Australia
14 April 1922	*Aaron's Rod* (New York)
September 1922–March 1923	In New Mexico
23 October 1922	*Fantasia of the Unconscious* (New York)
24 October 1922	*England, My England* (New York)
22 March 1923	*The Ladybird, The Fox, The Captain's Doll*
March-November 1923	In Mexico and USA
27 August 1923	*Studies in Classic American Literature* (New York)
September 1923	*Kangaroo*
9 October 1923	*Birds, Beasts and Flowers* (New York)
December 1923–March 1924	In England, France and Germany
March 1924–September 1925	In New Mexico and Mexico
28 August 1924	*The Boy in the Bush* (with Mollie Skinner)
10 September 1924	Death of his father, John Arthur Lawrence
14 May 1925	*St. Mawr together with The Princess*
September 1925–April 1926	In England and, mainly, Italy
7 December 1925	*Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine* (Philadelphia)
21 January 1926	*The Plumed Serpent*

25 March 1926	*David*
May 1926	Goes from Spotorno to Florence, rents Villa Mirenda nearby
12 July 1926	To Baden-Baden
30 July 1926	To London, Scotland and Lincolnshire
13 September 1926	To his sister, Emily King, in Nottingham (Frieda to London)
14–16 September 1926	With his sister Ada Clarke in Ripley (makes final visit to Eastwood)
4 October 1926	At Villa Mirenda
c. 22 October 1926	Starts version 1 of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*
26 October 1926	Reaches p. 41 of version 1
27 October 1926	'I am working at a story – shortish – don't feel like a long effort'
24 November 1926	'hope to break it off quite soon'
c. 25–30 November 1926	Finishes version 1
c. 1 December 1926–by 25 February 1927	Writes version 2 of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*: 'not sure' whether to publish it
6 December 1926	'Novel goes nicely'
9 January 1927	'I'm slowly pegging at a novel'
25 February 1927	'I've done all I'm going to do of my novel for the time being'
c. 3–11 April 1927	'Etruscan' tour with Earl Brewster; returns to Villa Mirenda
27 May 1927	Has decided not to publish version 2 of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* 'this year'
June 1927	*Mornings in Mexico*
July 1927	Suffers tubercular haemorrhage
4 August -19 October 1927	Convalesces in Austria and Germany
20 October 1927	At Villa Mirenda
17 November 1927	Meets Norman Douglas, Michael Arlen (and probably Pino Orioli) in Florence
c. 26 November 1927–8 January 1928	Writes version 3 of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*
20 January-5 March 1928	At Les Diablerets, Switzerland; corrects typescripts of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (version 3) and expurgates duplicate copies

5 March 1928	Mails expurgated typescripts to Martin Secker and Alfred Knopf
7 March 1928	At Villa Mirenda
1 April 1928	Orioli delivers first batch of proofs of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*
2 April 1928	Has corrected forty-one pages
16 April 1928	First order from USA arrives
24 April 1928	Has done 'rather more than half' of proofs
24 May 1928	*The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*
31 May 1928	Receives finally 'the last of the proofs'
4 June 1928	'Finished the proofs of *Lady C*'
10 June–1 October 1928	To Switzerland and then Baden-Baden
28 June 1928	Receives copy of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*
July 1928	*Lady Chatterley's Lover* privately published (Florence)
September 1928	*Collected Poems*
17 November 1928–11 March 1929	At Bandol, France
22 June–22 September 1929	To Florence, is ill again; to Germany on 17 July
July 1929	Exhibition of paintings in London raided by police; *Pansies* (manuscript earlier seized in the mail)
September 1929	*The Escaped Cock* (Paris)
1 October 1929–March 1930	At Bandol and then Vence
2 March 1930	Dies at Vence, Alpes Maritimes, France
mid 1930	London edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* published
February 1932	Secker issues authorised expurgated edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (version 3); Knopf issues American impression in September
10 April 1944	*The First Lady Chatterley* published by Dial Press, New York
29 May 1944	*The First Lady Chatterley* declared obscene; decision reversed on 1 November

June 1954	*Le Tre Lady Chatterley* (the three versions of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*) published by Mondadori (Verona)
4 May 1959	Grove Press publishes unexpurgated text of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (version 3) in New York (impounded by US Post Office)
16 August 1960	Penguin Books publishes unexpurgated text of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (version 3) in England
20 October–2 November 1960	Trial of Penguin edition: prosecution fails
29 August 1972	*The First Lady Chatterley* and *John Thomas and Lady Jane* published by William Heinemann, London; *John Thomas and Lady Jane* published by the Viking Press, New York

CUE-TITLES

A. Manuscript locations

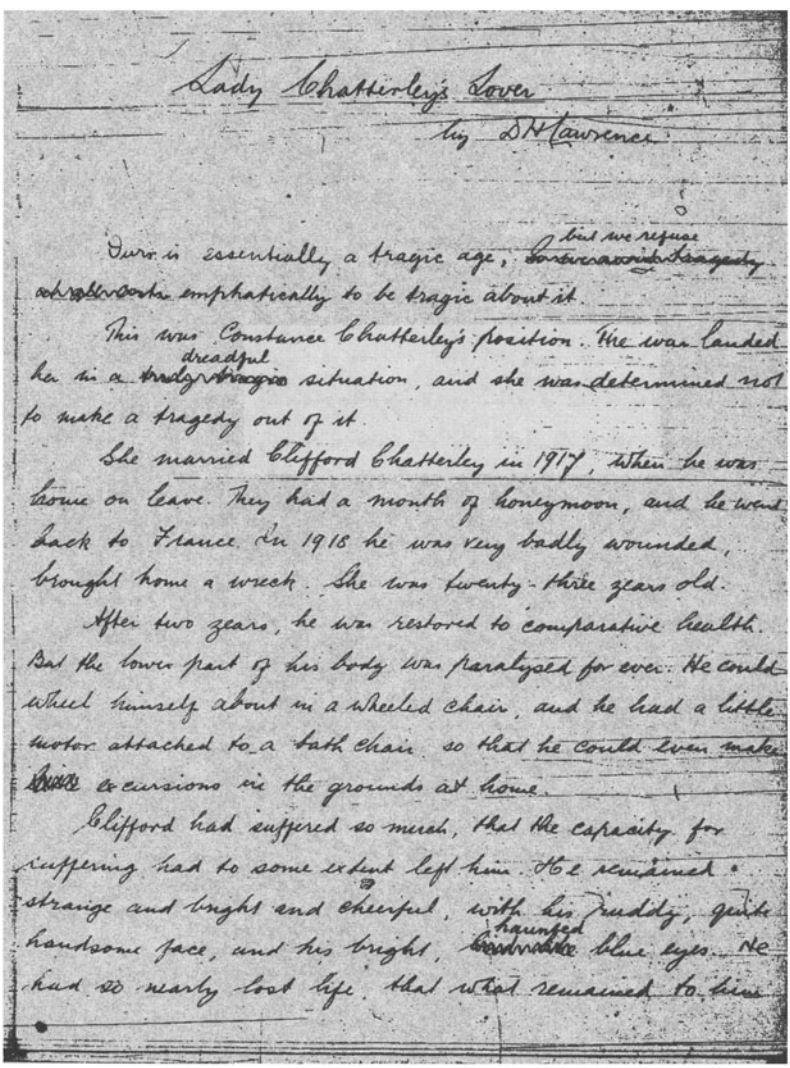
UT	University of Texas at Austin

B. Printed works

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

1LC	*Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Version 1: *The First Lady Chatterley*. New York: Dial Press, 1944.
2LC	*Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Version 2: *John Thomas and Lady Jane*. London: Heinemann, and New York: Viking Press, 1972.
LCL	D. H. Lawrence. *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, ed. Michael Squires Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
Britton	Derek Britton. *Lady Chatterley. The Making of the Novel.* Unwin Hyman, 1988.
Letters, i.	James T. Boulton, ed. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
Letters, ii.	George J. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
Letters, iii.	James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
Letters, iv.	Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton and Elizabeth Mansfield, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume IV. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
Letters, v.	James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume V. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
Letters, vi.	James T. Boulton and Margaret H. Boulton with Gerald M. Lacy, eds. *The Letters of D. H.*

	Lawrence. Volume VI. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
Letters, vii.	Keith Sagar and James T. Boulton, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume VII. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
OED2	J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd edn. 20 volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
Phoenix	Edward D. McDonald, ed. *Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence*. New York: Viking Press, 1936.
Phoenix II	Warren Roberts and Harry T. Moore, eds. *Phoenix II: Uncollected, Unpublished, and Other Prose Works by D. H. Lawrence*. New York: Viking Press, 1970.
Roberts	Warren Roberts. *A Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.



Lady Chatterley's Lover

by D H Lawrence

Ours is essentially a tragic age, but we refuse ~~Consequently we are tragedy~~ absolutely emphatically to be tragic about it.

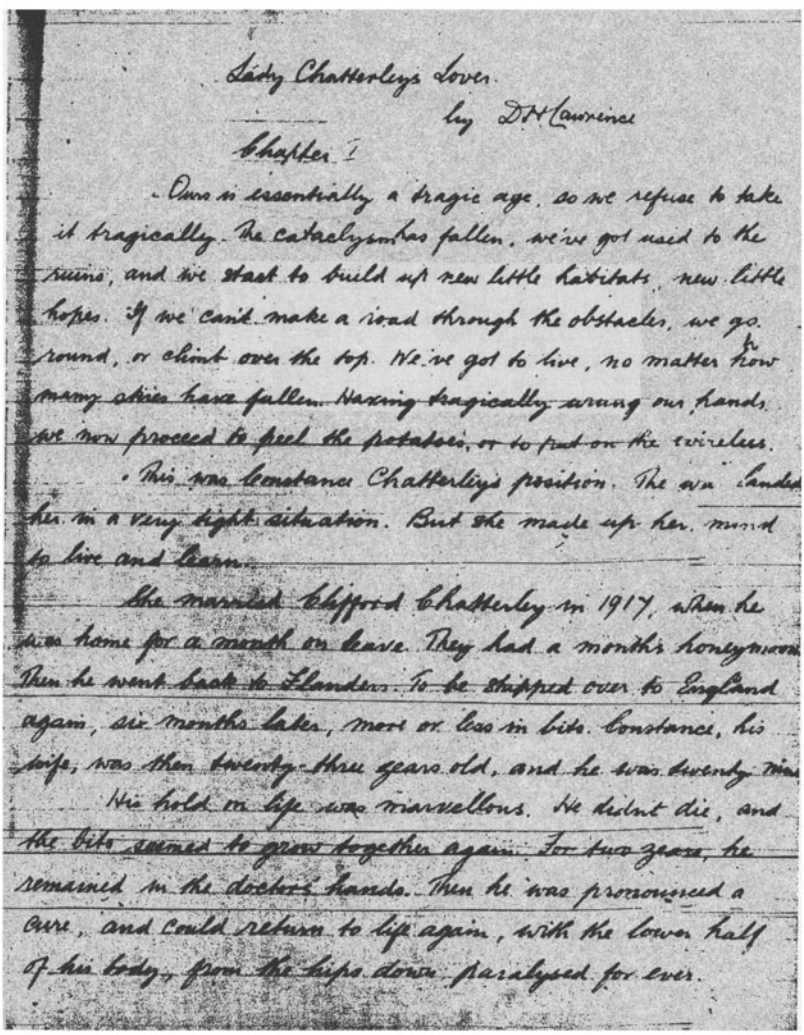
This was Constance Chatterley's position. The war landed her in a dreadful situation, and she was determined not to make a tragedy out of it.

She married Clifford Chatterley in 1917, when he was home on leave. They had a month of honeymoon, and he went back to France. In 1918 he was very badly wounded, brought home a wreck. She was twenty-three years old.

After two years, he was restored to comparative health. But the lower part of his body was paralysed for ever. He could wheel himself about in a wheeled chair, and he had a little motor attached to a bath chair so that he could even make excursions in the grounds at home.

Clifford had suffered so much, that the capacity for suffering had to some extent left him. He remained strange and bright and cheerful, with his ruddy, quite handsome face, and his bright, haunted blue eyes. He had so nearly lost life, that what remained to him

1 Manuscript of first version, p. 1



Lady Chatterley's Lover.

by D.H.Lawrence

Chapter 1

Ours is essentially a tragic age, so we refuse to take it tragically. The cataclysm has fallen, we've got used to the ruins, and we start to build up new little habitats, new little hopes. If we can't make a road through the obstacles, we go round, or climb over the top. We've got to live, no matter how many cities have fallen. Waving tragically among our hands, we now proceed to peel the potatoes, or to put on the wireless.

This was Constance Chatterley's position. The war landed her in a very tight situation. But she made up her mind to live and learn.

She married Clifford Chatterley in 1917, when he was home for a month on leave. They had a month's honeymoon. Then he went back to Flanders. To be shipped over to England again, six months later, more or less in bits. Constance, his wife, was then twenty-three years old, and he was twenty-nine.

His hold on life was marvellous. He didn't die, and the bits seemed to grow together again. For two years, he remained in the doctors' hands. Then he was pronounced a cure, and could return to life again, with the lower half of his body, from the hips down, paralysed for ever.

2 Manuscript of second version, p. 1

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The 'novel in the Derbyshire coal-mining districts'

In September 1926 D. H. Lawrence paid what was to be his final visit to the Midlands and to his home-town, Eastwood, before returning to Italy and to the Villa Mirenda near Florence, which he and Frieda had rented in May for a year and which became their home for the next two years. They had left Italy early in July, visited Frieda's mother in Baden-Baden, spent a month in London (Lawrence touring in Scotland part of the time) and a fortnight on the Lincolnshire sea-coast and then returned to London for another two weeks. On the way to London, Lawrence stopped for two days with his sister, Ada Clarke, in Ripley, Derbyshire, and – while there – also went to Eastwood for a day. During his stay in the Midlands, he was most vividly impressed and disturbed by the miners' strike in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, which had been going on for five months and had led to a general mood of social unrest. It appeared to him 'one of the greatest disasters that has ever happened to England', as he wrote to Ada Clarke about three weeks after his return to Italy. Earlier, while still in England, he had written to the painter Millicent Beveridge, with whom he had stayed in Inverness, that 'It seems, for the first time as far as I know it, to have made the miners really class-conscious and full of resentment.'[1]

On the day Lawrence spent at Eastwood (14 September 1926), he took a long walk with his old friend Willie Hopkin, revisiting many haunts of his boyhood and adolescence and evidently refreshing his memory of places he had used in his earlier fiction and was to use once more in his last novel, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.[2] The first version was begun very soon after his return to the Villa Mirenda on 4 October.

[1] *Letters*, v. 565 and 533 (subsequent references to *Letters* will usually be given in brackets in the text). See Britton 131–9 for details of the strike and the effects of the coal dispute. DHL's impressions of the strike and of Eastwood are recorded in the essay 'Return to Bestwood', *Phoenix II* 257–66.

[2] William Edward Hopkin (1862–1951), an active socialist, first a colliery and then a post office clerk, was a leading member of the Congregational Literary Society. He is portrayed as Lewie Goddard in *Mr Noon*, ed. Lindeth Vasey (1920–1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) and as Willie Houghton in *Touch and Go* (1920; Cambridge:

1926–7: composition of the first two versions[3]

Most of the evidence for the dating of the two early versions of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* comes from Lawrence's letters. They tell us roughly when he began writing his new work and when he laid it aside as completed for the time being. However, during this period of composition, Lawrence never distinguished between the first and the second versions; it is therefore difficult to be certain about much of the dating of the two extant manuscripts, in particular the point at which the first version was completed and the second begun. However, a number of circumstantial reasons make it possible to give a fairly accurate account of the novel's genesis.

During the first two weeks at the Villa Mirenda, Lawrence seems to have done very little except go for walks, visit or receive friends, write letters and get settled. The weather was at first very warm, 'almost too hot' (v. 552), the grape harvest just finished and he did not feel inclined to work 'at anything in particular' (v. 555). On 16 October he sent the music he had written for his play, *David*, to the theatre director Robert Atkins, who was planning a London production. Parts of Lawrence's score had been drafted by him on the first five pages of the same note-book in which, starting from the other end, he wrote the first half of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (version 1).[4] Three letters Lawrence wrote on 18 October 1926 show that he had not yet seriously started writing: to his sister-in-law, Else Jaffe, he confessed, 'I feel I'll never write another novel' (v. 559), and he told his friend, the artist Dorothy Brett, as well as his childhood neighbour Gertrude Cooper, that he did 'very little work' (v. 559–60). On 22 October there was a visit from the novelist Aldous Huxley, which makes it unlikely that the first stint of the novel was written on that day.

The first clear mention of the new book comes on 27 October 1926 when Lawrence wrote to Martin Secker: 'I am working at a story –

Cambridge University Press, forthcoming). See Britton 104–28 for an account of the walk with Hopkin, based mainly on Hopkin's own memories recorded in W. E. Hopkin, 'D. H. Lawrence's Last Visit Home', *Nottingham Journal*, 11 September 1942.

[3] Version 1 (hereafter *1LC*) and version 2 (hereafter *2LC*).

[4] This does not necessarily provide us with a precise date for the actual beginning, because Lawrence may already have started on the novel when he reversed the note-book to draft the music for *David*. The layout of printed lines, with the larger margin at the top of the page, suggests that he used what he considered the back of the note-book for the music, but one cannot be certain. It was not the first time he had used note-books in this way. See *The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*, ed. Dieter Mehl and Christa Jansohn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. xxii–xxiv, for a similar, though more complicated, instance.

shortish – don't feel like a long effort. – Haven't seen anybody but Huxleys and Orioli . . .' (v. 563). It seems certain that on 26 October 1926 he had already written as far as p. 41 of the first version because, on that page of the autograph manuscript, he wrote: 'Smudges made by John, the dog, near the stream behind San Polo Mosciano! 26 Oct 1926.'[5] This does not allow us to fix a precise date for the novel's beginning, but it makes a date at some time between 18 and 22 October most likely.[6]

First hints of the novel's 'impropriety', as well as of its relative brevity, begin to occur from about three weeks later in letters to his British publisher Martin Secker, and to Brett. On 15 November, Lawrence told Secker: 'I have begun a novel in the Derbyshire coal-mining districts – already rather improper. The gods alone know where it will end – if they'll help me out with it', and on the 23rd: 'The novel goes pretty well – is already very improper – and will apparently be quite short' (v. 576, 581). A day later, Lawrence wrote to Dorothy Brett: 'I'm doing a little novel – in the Midlands, in England – I hope to break it off quite soon, keep it quite short' (v. 584). He probably completed work on the manuscript between 25 and 30 November.[7]

These early references suggest that *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was originally conceived as a novella rather than as a full-length novel, and this is confirmed by the text's lack of chapter-divisions in version 1. There is therefore some reason to assume, though no definite evidence, that, when Lawrence told Secker on 6 December 1926 that the 'Novel goes nicely – so does my Boccaccio picture!!' (v. 596), he had already started on the second

[5] See Britton 178 and n. 17, *LCL* 4 and n. 3. See also *LCL* xx–xxii. The smudge is still clearly visible.

[6] There is, however, no evidence that DHL worked on the manuscript on each of the days 18–26 October. The manuscript of the first version (Roberts E186a, hereafter *1LC* MS) and of the second (Roberts E186b, hereafter *2LC* MS), is located at UT. Squires (*LCL* xx–xxi) gives lists of 'breaks' in the two manuscripts and believes they can be used for dating the stages of composition. On this basis he assumes that on the day DHL made the note on p. 41, he had completed four days' work on the novel and that he 'probably started writing four days before the 26th'. Our own examination of the manuscripts has made us less confident and has not in all cases led to the same conclusions. Some 'breaks' are more 'certain' than others, but there is no evidence that all of them mark the start of a new day's stint. They may often just as well indicate a change in DHL's writing position, having been stopped by a relatively brief interruption (e.g. a meal or a visitor), or, even more likely, a new filling of the pen, especially when these 'breaks' occur in the middle of a sentence. See 'Texts', below. Squires's account of the novel's genesis, for the most part, however, agrees well enough with all the other evidence.

[7] See *LCL* xxi; Squires's attempt at an exact calculation remains speculative, but our study of the manuscript supports his conclusion that it took Lawrence about five weeks to write the first version.

draft and that all subsequent references to the book's progress are to the second version.

Analysis of the two autograph manuscripts suggests very strongly that Lawrence was revising version 1 and rewriting it as version 2 almost simultaneously and as soon as he had finished version 1. One clear instance is the close correspondence between the description of Connie's room close to the end of version 1 (pp. 215–16) and the very similar passage at the beginning of the second chapter of version 2, transferred practically unaltered from its original place to the beginning of the novel. The handwriting also suggests a very close relationship between the two manuscripts at this place.[8] Some major interlinear revisions near the beginning of version 1 were made in the same dark ink used for the first pages of version 2, as if Lawrence had begun revising the manuscript of version 1 and then decided to make a completely new start. The passage in version 1 that had undergone such thorough revision was completely rewritten in version 2 where it became part of the third chapter.[9]

The impression that a new beginning had probably been made is also supported by the letter Lawrence wrote on 12 December 1926 to the American journalist Willard ('Spud') Johnson: 'I pretend to write a novel – scene in England – but am much more of a *Maestro* painting a picture of Boccaccio's story of the nuns who find their gardener asleep in the garden on a hot afternoon . . .' (v. 600). A week later, on 19 December, he told Brett: 'Now it's a lovely sunny day, and I sat out in the wood this morning, working at my novel – which comes out of me slowly, and is good, I think, but a little too deep in bits – sort of bottomless pools.'[10] This can be read as evidence that version 2 was composed more slowly and elaborately than the first, a view which is reinforced by the superior quality of the writing and the far heavier manuscript revision than in version 1.

On 12 January 1927 Lawrence wrote to Secker: 'The new novel is getting on. The world will probably call it very improper. It isn't *really* – but there you are' (v. 623); and on 20 January, to his old friend S. S.

[8] Squires also speaks of 'the possibility of virtually continuous composition' and notes that the 'interlinear revisions in version 1 are inserted in the same black ink that appears on the opening pages of version 2' (*LCL* xxi).

[9] See Textual apparatus for 9:29–12:33.

[10] *Letters*, v. 605. Cf. also the letter of 14 December to S. S. Koteliansky: 'Think I'll turn into a painter, it costs one less, and probably would pay better than writing. Though for that matter I'm patiently doing a novel – scene in the Midlands' (v. 601). A similar statement occurs three weeks later in a letter of 9 January 1927 to Nancy Pearn, manager of the Magazine Department, Curtis Brown (London): 'I'm slowly pegging at a novel, and painting my 4th. picture, very smart this last. Painting is more fun and less soul-work than writing' (v. 620).

Koteliansky: 'The will-to-write seems to be departing from me: though I do write my new novel in sudden intense whacks' (v. 627–8). The letters which follow describe the fast progress of the novel through February; on the 6th, Lawrence informed the American painters, Earl and Achsah Brewster, with whom he had stayed in Ceylon (1922) that 'My new novel is three parts done, and is so *absolutely* improper, in words, and so really *good*, I hope, in spirit – that I don't know what's going to happen to it' (v. 638); and on the 8th he wrote to Secker:

> It won't take me very long, I think, to finish the novel; so it won't be too lengthy – 80 to 90 thousand, I suppose. But you'll probably hate it. I want to call it *Lady Chatterley's Lover*: nice and old-fashioned sounding. Do look up in *Debrett* or *Who's-Who* and see if there are any Chatterleys about, who might take offence. – It's what they'll call *very* improper – in fact, impossible to print. But they'll have to take it or leave it, I don't care. It's really, of course, very 'pure in heart.' But the *words* are all used! Damn them anyhow. (v. 638)

A day later, in a letter to Brett, Lawrence repeated that he would soon reach the end of the novel; but as his letter to Secker reveals, he was already beginning to have doubts whether it was really fit to be published: 'I've nearly done my novel – shall let it lie and settle down a bit, before I think of having it typed' (v. 639). Finally, on 25 February, he wrote to Nancy Pearn in London: 'I've done all I'm going to do of my novel for the time being, so shall have a shot at a few little things. They keep me going best' (v. 647), and on 8 March he told Brett, with more inklings of the coming difficulties over publication: 'I've done my novel – I like it – but it's so improper, according to the poor conventional fools, that it'll never be printed. And I will *not* cut it' (v. 651). A week later, on 15 March 1927, Lawrence announced to Secker: 'I've finished my novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* – not long – but about 80,000 I suppose – or ninety' (v. 655).

There is no doubt that all these statements refer to the second version, although Lawrence's estimate of the novel's length fits version 1 much better: it has about 94,000 words, as against about 150,000 in version 2. The decisive proof comes from Lawrence's letter to Brett of 24 March, where he told her, 'my novel is done in the two best books you gave me, very neat and handsome' (vi. 23). This can apply only to the manuscript of version 2, consisting of two nicely bound books, whereas the two simple note-books containing version 1 were bound only later. It is also clear that the emphasis in the letters from January 1927 on the novel's unprintable impropriety must refer to version 2, even though hints of that tendency had appeared as early as the middle of the previous November.

Equally important is the fact that, after February 1927, Lawrence

consistently refers to the novel as a completed work, though in need of revision.[11] There is no reference in the letters, throughout spring, summer and autumn of 1927, to further work on the novel; indeed, Lawrence's timetable and itinerary made it all but impossible that he had the leisure to produce the second version during those months.

We can therefore be confident that Lawrence wrote the first two versions of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* between October 1926 and February 1927 in virtually a single creative effort; that around about the end of November and the first two weeks of December he finished version 1, only to start rewriting immediately; and that when he had completed version 2, he laid it aside, undecided what to do with it. Whenever, during the following months, he referred to his novel, it was to version 2 which, for him, had completely superseded his first draft.

From Lawrence's letters during February and March 1927 it appears that he became increasingly reluctant to consider publication of the new novel or even to have it typed.[12] When he told Secker about the book on 15 March, he added, 'It's verbally terribly improper – but I don't think I shall alter it. I'll send it you one of these days – am not keen, somehow, on letting it go out. What's the good of publishing things!' (v. 655). He was evidently sounding Secker to discover whether he was eager to see the new novel. No reply is extant,[13] but it is likely that before Secker even had a chance to react or even to see the novel, Lawrence had decided not to proceed any further. A week after his letter to Secker he wrote to Nancy Pearn, 'Tell Secker not to do anything about *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. I must go over it again – and am really not sure if I shall publish it – at least this year. And I think it is *utterly* unfit for serialising – they would call it indecent – though really, it's most decent. But one day I'll send it you to have typed'.[14] This was not the end of Lawrence's agonising over the second version of the novel. 'I'm in a quandary about my novel, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*' he wrote to Nancy Pearn on 12 April, and again insisted on its being 'beautiful and tender'. He repeated his doubts about having it typed.[15] On 29 April,

[11] E.g. *Letters*, v. 647, 651, 655; vi. 21, 23, 29.
[12] See *Letters*, vi. 31, 41–2, 43, 45, 46, 74, 77.
[13] But see the letter of 12 April to Nancy Pearn, 'Secker wants me to send it him at once' (vi. 29).
[14] *Letters*, vi. 21. Tedlock took this as the 'first hint that Lawrence might rewrite the book' and, mistakenly, dated the second version 'in the spring and summer of 1927'. See E. W. Tedlock, Jr, *The Frieda Lawrence Collection of D. H. Lawrence Manuscripts. A Descriptive Bibliography* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948), p. 23.
[15] 'I shrink very much even from having it typed. Probably the typist would want to interfere–' (*Letters*, vi. 29). As subsequent events proved, his fears were justified. See Squires, *LCL* xxiv. To his old friend and later biographer, the writer Richard Aldington, he

Lawrence once more mentioned the novel to Secker: 'I've been thinking about *Lady Chatterley's Lover* – and think I'll get him typed in London before long, and let you have a copy, so that you can see how possible or impossible he is' (vi. 45). However, four weeks later, on 27 May, he announced his final decision to Secker: 'No, I won't publish *Lady Chatterley's Lover* this year – I've decided not to. But perhaps in the spring next year. – When I rouse myself I'll be sending along the MS to be typed.'[16] There is some indication that Lawrence himself began typing the text of version 2 at one point,[17] but there is no reference to this in his correspondence.

During Lawrence's absence from the Villa Mirenda in Austria and Germany, between 4 August and 19 October, the novel was left there and afterwards kept 'under lock and key' (vi. 196). When, in October and November 1927, Lawrence again gave some serious thought to the book and, encouraged by the example of his two writer acquaintances, Norman Douglas and Michael Arlen,[18] hit on the idea of private publication, it was for him the 'novel I wrote last winter' (vi. 182) and 'my last winter's novel' (vi. 223). Asking the advice of his English agent, Curtis Brown about private publication, Lawrence declared his determination 'to put it into the world, as it stands' (vi. 222). Again, this can only mean version 2.

Exactly when he decided to rewrite the novel altogether, instead of revising version 2, remains a matter of speculation. On 8 December 1927 he told Koteliansky: 'My novel I'm writing all over again' (vi. 233); it is clear that by this time the creation of the third and final version of the novel had begun.[19] It is also almost certain that when composing it he had

wrote on 28 April: 'I did a very nice novel – English Midlands – which they'll say is pornographic – and I feel tender about it – it's sort of tender – so I'm holding it back. Shan't give it to anybody this year anyhow' (*Letters*, vi. 43).

16 *Letters*, vi. 68. See also DHL's letter to Secker of 13 April 1927 about the possibility of American publication by Alfred Knopf: 'I am to send the MS direct to New York, not to London. I shan't. I shall just let it lie here' (*Letters*, vi. 31). On 27 April he wrote to Koteliansky, 'I'm holding the MS. and shan't even have it typed, yet awhile. Secker wants it this year, but wont get it' (vi. 41–2). On 17 August, from Villach in Carinthia, DHL told Secker that he had 'left the MS. of *Lady Chatterley* at the Mirenda – one day I'll show it you privately. I want to write a continuation of it, later' (vi. 130). In an earlier letter to him (6 June) DHL had even talked of burning the manuscript ('that young woman may still go in the fire', vi. 77).

17 See below, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.

18 On Lawrence's association with George Norman Douglas (1868–1952) and the novelist Michael Arlen (1895–1956; his original name was Dikran Kouyoumdjian), see *Letters*, vi. 9, 222–5 and 241–2.

19 Squires suggests that DHL may have started around 26 November (xxiii); this depends on the assumption that he wrote a more or less equal number of pages each day which is by no means certain.

the manuscript of version 2 in front of him, at least for many of the crucial episodes. In the first chapter of version 3 he used a passage cancelled in version 2 as the basis for the Dresden episode,[20] and large sections were taken over more or less unchanged into the final version, though mostly revised in detail. It is only in its last two chapters (three chapters in version 2) that version 3 is completely independent of version 2.

Publication

During the hectic period of printing and distributing *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in its final version, Lawrence apparently never gave a thought to the earlier texts. It was not until a year after the publication of the final version, and after considerable difficulties with customs officials, publishers and booksellers, that he remembered his first version as much more innocent than the third, and considered publishing it as an alternative to expurgating his final text. On 22 July 1929 he wrote to Pino Orioli, the bookseller who had published *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in Florence:

> Suddenly I have the bright idea that the *first* version of *Lady C.* may be the right one for Knopf and Secker. I believe it has hardly any fucks or shits, and no address to the penis, in fact hardly any of the root of the matter at all. You remember the first version is the one you had bound for Frieda, and it is in your flat. I wish you would just glance through the so-called hot parts, and tell me how hot they are. I'm sure they are hardly warm. And I'm sure I could expurgate the few flies out of that virgin ointment – whereas *our Lady C.* I cannot, absolutely *cannot* even begin to expurgate. (vii. 383)[21]

This is Lawrence's first explicit reference to version 1 as a work in its own right. The idea was not pursued in earnest, and it was not published until 1944, when much of the excitement over the book had died down.

[20] See Textual apparatus; Dresden is not mentioned in version 2 after revision.

[21] The idea is repeated in a letter of 25 July 1929 to Laurence Edward Pollinger (1898–1976), who worked in the firm of Curtis Brown and after 1958, in his own agency, represented D. H. Lawrence's Estate; this also shows that DHL himself recognised the existence of three versions of the novel and of their differences, although he does not seem to remember them very accurately:

> I had the bright idea that perhaps we might print the *first* version of *Lady C.* as it stands. In my usual way, I wrote the whole novel, complete, three times. The first time is almost quite proper – but very much tamer than the second and third time – and a good deal different – *quite* a different gamekeeper, for example – a little man of the people, merely of the people – I glanced at the MS, when I was in Florence – it is there, bound up complete. (vii. 391)

> Like the letter to Orioli this clearly refers to the manuscript of *1LC*, which originally consisted of two exercise books (and some separate leaves), now bound up into one volume after composition.

On 17 January 1938, Frieda Lawrence, who had returned to Taos after Lawrence's death to live with Angelo Ravagli (owner of the Villa Mirenda), asked Ravagli (visiting Italy in 1938) to bring the manuscripts back with him to the United States if he could possibly get them past the customs officials, but to have copies made of the first two versions as a safety measure: 'Don't forget to have the two Mss. of Lady C. typed. Leave them at Savona and bring the originals. Also the book.'[22] On 5 May she reminded him: 'I am worried about the Lady C's. If they were confiscated, it might be a great loss and yet you might get through easily. *If* you could have them typed, it would be better and yet it would have to be *a person of confidence*, somebody might tell. Surely Lawrence's handwriting is so clear, somebody Italian might do it.'[23] The mission was successful and Frieda was able to negotiate with agents and publishers about publication. Willard Houghton, Assistant to the Director of the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, acting for Frieda, had both versions typed and sent them to Esther Forbes, novelist and publicity director for Houghton-Mifflin, who wrote 'A Manuscript Report' for the Dial Press edition in which she praised the first version as the work of 'a novelist – pure and simple' and deplored the 'fact Lawrence took good work and ruined it'.[24] Frieda Lawrence authorised the publication and contributed a preface in which she declared this first version to be her own favourite: 'It seems as if the book has at last come into its own.'[25] The Dial Press edition of version I was published in New York on 10 April 1944; according to the *Publishers' Weekly* of 8 April 1944, 10,000 copies were printed. The transcription of the text has a number of minor errors, and there is a minimum of expurgation: 'cunt' and 'fuck' and derivatives are replaced by 'c—t' and 'f—' respectively (pp. 77, 108–11 and 232). The novel was divided into 24 chapters.[26] An Australian reprint was published, probably in 1946, by Peter Huston in Sidney,[27] and on p. 3 it is stated that 'This edition differs slightly from the original American version, published by Dial Press, Inc., in that a few minor expurgations have been made in order to conform with

[22] *Frieda Lawrence: The Memoirs and Correspondence*, ed. E. W. Tedlock (Heinemann, 1961), p. 253. The typescripts made in Italy eventually reached the library of Laurence Pollinger. See Michael Squires, *The Creation of 'Lady Chatterley's Lover'* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), p. 200. See also Jay A. Gertzman, *A Descriptive Bibliography of* Lady Chatterley's Lover, *With Essays Toward a Publishing History of the Novel* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), pp. 211–36.

[23] *Frieda Lawrence: The Memoirs and Correspondence*, p. 255.

[24] 'A Manuscript Report by Esther Forbes', *The First Lady Chatterley* (1944), pp. xv, xviii.

[25] 'A Foreword by Frieda Lawrence', *The First Lady Chatterley* (1944), pp. v–xiii, vii.

[26] See Textual apparatus for the chapter divisions in A1.

[27] See Gertzman, *Descriptive Bibliography*, p. 218.

local requirements.' The expurgations are far more thorough than implied: interfering with the text in more than 20 places and reducing it by some 15,000 words.

The first completely unexpurgated edition of version 1 was published by Heinemann in 1972, with a 'Publisher's Note' by Roland Gant, Editorial Director at William Heinemann Ltd, explaining that the chapter division introduced in the Dial edition had been removed and that 'through a line-by-line reading of the manuscript against the American printed edition, typist's and printer's errors have been set right and American spelling has been changed back to Lawrence's own'.[28] Frieda's preface to the 1944 edition was reprinted unchanged. Most later reprints are based on this edition.

The second version was first published, in an Italian translation by Carlo Izzo, by Arnoldo Mondadori in Verona in June 1954; the volume also contained translations of the first and third versions. The first publication of version 2 in English came in 1972, when Heinemann brought it out 'as a companion'.[29] The title *John Thomas and Lady Jane* was first suggested, 'rather savagely', by Lady Juliette Huxley for version 3 of the novel; Lawrence seized on it with delight, used it as a subtitle on the publicity leaflets he drew up during the second week of March 1928,[30] and continued to use it in letters to his friends down to the time of the novel's publication. He also used it on the actual order forms for the novel, but it does not appear as the title or subtitle for the published novel, nor does it appear in any edition published in his lifetime. On no occasion did DHL ever use the title for version 2 of the novel. Roland Gant's use of it was therefore neither justified nor authorised.

In his 'Publisher's Note' Gant explained that nearly twenty years earlier

[28] D. H. Lawrence, *The First Lady Chatterley* (*The first version of 'Lady Chatterley's Lover'*), with a foreword by Frieda Lawrence (Heinemann, 1972), p. vi.

[29] Cf. Roland Gant's Note in *The First Lady Chatterley* (1972), p. vi. The second version was published under the title *John Thomas and Lady Jane* (*the second version of 'Lady Chatterley's Lover'*) (Heinemann, 1972).

[30] See *Letters*, vi. 313–16, and see Squires, *The Creation of 'Lady Chatterley's Lover'*, p. 12, for a reproduction of the leaflet. On 13 March 1928, Lawrence wrote to his Taos friend, Mabel Dodge Luhan: 'Now I'm so busy with my novel. I want to call it "John Thomas and Lady Jane" (John Thomas is one of the names for the penis, as probably you know): but have to submit to put this as a sub-title, and continue with *Lady Chatterley's Lover*: for the publisher's sake' (vi. 318). At the start of April, DHL apparently was told that he had to leave the title out: 'I'll have to leave out "John Thomas", shall I? What a pity! But it's too late to leave it from the leaflets' (vi. 352–3). After that, the title appears only in letters to friends, more often than not as a joke or regretfully.