

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-23565-5 - Women in Love

D. H. Lawrence Edited by David Farmer Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen

Frontmatter

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



Cambridge University Press

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THE WORKS OF D. H. LAWRENCE

GENERAL EDITORS

James T. Boulton

† Warren Roberts

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WOMEN IN LOVE

D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITED BY

DAVID FARMER

LINDETH VASEY

AND

JOHN WORTHEN



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GENERAL EDITORS' 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 compositor 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

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General editors' preface

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 are 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 not so far been printed in the Cambridge edition.

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We are very grateful to the following for all their encouragement, advice and support; without them, our work on this volume could not have been carried through: Michael Black, James T. Boulton, Carol A. Farmer, Warren Roberts, Cornelia Rumpf-Worthen, Ronald Vasey. The preparation of the volume was also made possible (in part) by a grant to David Farmer from the Program for Editions of the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency.

We are also grateful to the staff of Cambridge University Press; to Charlotte Carl-Mitchell, Ken Craven, Cathy Henderson, John Kirkpatrick and the staff of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center; to Richard Landon and the staff of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

We would like to thank the following for their generosity in making available manuscript materials: the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, for all their manuscripts, typescripts and corrected proofs of *Women in Love*; to the University of Toronto, for their typescript of *Women in Love*; to George Lazarus and to W. Forster.

We would like to thank the following for their particular contributions: Harold Acton, Lynn Alexander, Frank Bacon, the late John Baker, Jr., Michael Balfour, Helen Baron, Marshall Best, Andrew Brown, Brian Cainen, Chris Calladine, L. D. Clark, Christopher Collard, Malcolm Cowley, Philip Crumpton, Keith Cushman, Tom Davis, Eric Domville, Priscilla Dorr, Ellen Dunlap, John Dunlop, George Evans, Marie Flagg, Susan Gagg, Franklin Gilliam, Andor Gomme, Mary Grant, Rachel Grover, Charles W. Hagelman, Jr., Nora Haseldine, Alice and Paul Heapy, Jane Hodgart, Terry Holmes, Otto Holzapfel and the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Alistair Horne, J. M. Irvine, Dennis Johnson, Lisa Jones, Rüdiger Joppien, Mara Kalnins, Charles Kemnitz, Denise Kidd, Mark Kinkead-Weekes, Gerald Lacy, Richard Landon, Guy Logsdon, C. H. C. Lyal and the Natural History Museum, Mary McMonagle, M. D. McLeod and the Museum of Mankind, Sue Martin, John Merritt, the late Harry T. Moore, D. B. Nash and the Imperial War Museum, A. J.

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March 1985

D.F.

L.V.

J.W.

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CHRONOLOGY

11 September 1885	Born in Eastwood, Nottinghamshire
September 1898–July 1901	Pupil at Nottingham High School
1902–1908	Pupil teacher; student at University College, Nottingham
7 December 1907	First publication: ‘A Prelude’, in <i>Nottinghamshire Guardian</i>
October 1908	Appointed as teacher at Davidson Road School, Croydon
November 1909	Publishes five poems in <i>English Review</i>
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	<i>The White Peacock</i> published in New York (20 January in London)
19 November 1911	Ill with pneumonia; resigns his teaching post on 28 February 1912
March 1912	Meets Frieda Weekley; they elope to Germany on 3 May
23 May 1912	<i>The Trespasser</i>
September 1912–March 1913	At Gargnano, Lago di Garda, Italy
February 1913	<i>Love Poems and Others</i>
mid-March 1913	Begins ‘The Sisters’
22 March 1913	‘The Sisters’ – 46 pages
5 April 1913	‘The Sisters’ – 110 pages
23 April 1913	‘The Sisters’ – 145 pages
c. 2 May 1913	‘The Sisters’ – 180 pages
17 May 1913	‘The Sisters’ – 256 pages
29 May 1913	<i>Sons and Lovers</i>
1 June 1913	‘The Sisters’ – 283 pages: ‘nearly finished’
c. 4 June 1913	Finishes ‘The Sisters’
June–August 1913	In England
August 1913–June 1914	In Germany, Switzerland and Italy
24 August 1913	‘The Sisters II’ – ‘two false starts already’
4 September 1913	‘The Sisters II’ – ‘has quite a new beginning’
15 September 1913	‘The Sisters II’ – 100 pages
18–30 September 1913	Travels from Germany through Switzerland to Lerici, Gulf of Spezia
2 December 1913	‘The Sisters II’ – ‘writing . . . slowly’

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Chronology

6 January 1914

19 January 1914

30 January 1914

by 7 February 1914

7 March 1914

3 April 1914

22 April 1914

by 16 May 1914

24 June 1914

c. 29 June 1914

13 July 1914

c. 8 August 1914

26 November 1914

Late November 1914

5 December 1914

18 December 1914

5 January 1915

7 January 1915

2 March 1915

30 September 1915

18–26 April 1916

19 May 1916

24 May 1916

30 May 1916

June 1916

19 June 1916

c. 27 June 1916

July 1916

by 12 July 1916

13 July 1916

21 July 1916

c. 1 August 1916

23 August 1916

1 September 1916

9 September 1916

26 September 1916

'The Sisters II' – first half sent to E. Garnett

'The Sisters II' – 340 pages

'The Sisters II' – 150 pages of second half sent to Garnett

'The Wedding Ring' – 'begun it again'

'The Wedding Ring' – 'going strong'

'The Wedding Ring' – 'done two-thirds'

'The Wedding Ring' – '80 pages more to write'

Finishes 'The Wedding Ring'

Returns to England

Signs contract with Methuen for new novel

Marries Frieda Weekley in London; they remain in England

Methuen return 'The Wedding Ring'

*The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*Begins revision of 'The Wedding Ring' which will create *The Rainbow* and leave material for *Women in Love**The Rainbow* – 100 pages*The Rainbow* – 200 pages*The Rainbow* – 300 pagesDivides the novel into two volumes: *Women in Love* material abandoned until 1916Finishes *The Rainbow**The Rainbow* published; suppressed by court order on 13 NovemberBegins 'The Sisters III' (to become *Women in Love*)

'The Sisters III' – 'half way through'

'The Sisters III' – 'comes rapidly'

'The Sisters III' – 'Two thirds . . . written'

Twilight in Italy

'The Sisters III' – 'nearly done'

Finishes 'The Sisters III' 'in effect'

Amores

Starts typing 'The Sisters III' (TSIa and TSIIb); then pauses

Suggests *Women in Love* as title*Women in Love* – 'fourth and the final draft . . . † done'

Resumes typing TSIa and TSIIb

Women in Love – 'busy typing out'Katherine Mansfield leaves the Café Royal with *Amores**Women in Love* – 'half done'*Women in Love* – 'only a week or two'

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12 October 1916	<i>Women in Love</i> – ‘still typing’
13 October 1916	<i>Women in Love</i> – ‘about two-thirds’ done; abandons typing
25 October 1916	Sends untyped MS to Pinker; ‘nearly finished’
31 October 1916	Sends conclusion to Pinker for typing
6 November 1916	Pinker returns first batch of typescript
by 13 November 1916	Pinker returns second batch of typescript
20 November 1916	Sends revised and assembled TSIa to Pinker, revised and assembled TSIb to Catherine Carswell
by 20 December 1916	Methuen reject novel (rejected mid-January 1917 by Secker, Duckworth and Constable)
c. 29 January 1917	Sends TSIb to Pinker for retyping as TSII
23 March 1917	Copies of TSII sent to DHL, Pinker and Koteliansky
after 9 July 1917	Sends TSII to Cecil Palmer (returned in August)
11 July 1917	Little, Brown & Co. reject novel
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
November 1917	Plans private publication of novel backed by Bennett and Galsworthy; revises TSII
December 1917	<i>Look! We Have Come Through!</i> ; Hone and Fisher
19 February 1918	Unwin reject novel
	Sends TSII to Beaumont for private publication backed by Bibesco and Beaumont; TSII returned in April 1918
October 1918	<i>New Poems</i>
Late August–September 1919	Seltzer cables for <i>Women in Love</i> ; Secker reads it, probably in September
by 7 September 1919	Revises TSII and sends it to Seltzer
12 September 1919	Writes ‘Foreword’ to the novel
2 November 1919	Requests Seltzer to return TSII for Secker; repeats request until June 1920
November 1919	To Italy, then Capri and Sicily
20 November 1919	<i>Bay</i>
17–27 December 1919	Negotiating with Secker
January 1920	Secker offers to purchase rights of novel; DHL rejects Secker’s offer; offers novel to Duckworth. Asks Seltzer to give up novel to Huebsch; Seltzer refuses
9–11 February 1920	Seltzer sends contract for novel
c. 3 March 1920	Moves to Taormina, Sicily
22 March 1920	Renews offer to Secker; Secker offers terms on 28 March

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14 April 1920	Secker sends contract for <i>Women in Love</i> (signed 7 May)
June–July 1920	Seltzer sends typed copy of TSII to Secker
August–October 1920	Seltzer sends proofs to DHL
14 October 1920	Secker sends DHL proofs to p. 128
9 November 1920	Seltzer's private publication of <i>Women in Love</i> (New York)
10 November 1920	Returns Secker's proofs to p. 320
22 November 1920	Returns Secker's proofs to end (p. 508)
25 November 1920	<i>The Lost Girl</i> ; Secker requests revision of chap. vii of <i>Women in Love</i> (done by 30 November)
12 December 1920	Instructs Secker not to publish before May 1921
31 December 1920	Secker requests 'excisions or paraphrases'
28 January 1921	Secker requests further alterations; emendations sent 4 February
10 May 1921	<i>Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious</i> (New York)
10 June 1921	Secker's <i>Women in Love</i> (London)
September 1921	Heseltine threatens law-suit; Secker requests textual changes from DHL
October–November 1921	Secker negotiates (and settles) with Heseltine's solicitors
8 October 1921	DHL returns altered pages to Secker
November 1921	Secker publishes altered <i>Women in Love</i> (second printing, reprinted December)
12 December 1921	<i>Sea and Sardinia</i> (New York)
March–August 1922	In Ceylon and Australia
14 April 1922	<i>Aaron's Rod</i> (New York)
June 1922	Secker publishes limited autographed edition
July–September 1922	Seltzer's <i>Women in Love</i> confiscated, then exonerated
September 1922–March 1923	In New Mexico
October 1922	Secker's third printing of <i>Women in Love</i>
18 October 1922	Seltzer's trade edition of <i>Women in Love</i>
23 October 1922	<i>Fantasia of the Unconscious</i> (New York)
24 October 1922	<i>England, My England</i> (New York)
3 November 1922	Seltzer's second printing of trade edition; third printing in December
March 1923	<i>The Ladybird, The Fox, The Captain's Doll</i> ; Seltzer's fourth printing of trade edition
March–November 1923	In Mexico and USA
August 1923	Seltzer's fifth printing of trade edition
27 August 1923	<i>Studies in Classic American Literature</i> (New York)
September 1923	<i>Kangaroo</i>
9 October 1923	<i>Birds, Beasts and Flowers</i> (New York)
December 1923–March 1924	In England, France and Germany
March 1924–September 1925	In New Mexico and Mexico

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August 1924	<i>The Boy in the Bush</i> (with Mollie Skinner)
10 September 1924	Death of his father, John Arthur Lawrence
February 1925	Secker's fourth printing of <i>Women in Love</i>
14 May 1925	<i>St. Mawr together with The Princess</i>
September 1925–June 1928	In England and, mainly, in Italy
7 December 1925	<i>Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine</i> (Philadelphia)
January 1926	<i>The Plumed Serpent</i>
June 1927	<i>Mornings in Mexico</i>
24 May 1928	<i>The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories</i>
June 1928–March 1930	In Switzerland and, principally, in France
July 1928	<i>Lady Chatterley's Lover</i> privately published (Florence)
September 1928	<i>Collected Poems</i>
July 1929	Exhibition of paintings in London raided by police; <i>Pansies</i> (manuscript earlier seized in the mail)
September 1929	<i>The Escaped Cock</i> (Paris)
2 March 1930	Dies at Vence, Alpes Maritimes, France

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CUE-TITLES

A. Manuscript locations

BL	British Library
LC	Library of Congress
NWU	Northwestern University
NYPL	New York Public Library
UIII	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
UT	University of Texas at Austin
UTor	University of Toronto

B. Printed works

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

Draper	R. P. Draper, ed. <i>D. H. Lawrence: The Critical Heritage</i> . Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970.
Garsington	Robert Gathorne-Hardy, ed. <i>Ottoline at Garsington: Memoirs of Lady Ottoline Morrell 1915–1918</i> . Faber & Faber, 1974.
Letters, i.	James T. Boulton, ed. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
Letters, ii.	George J. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton, eds. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
Letters, iii.	James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson, eds. <i>The Letters of D. H. Lawrence</i> . Volume III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
Nehls	Edward Nehls, ed. <i>D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography</i> . 3 volumes. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957–9.
OED	Sir James A. H. Murray and others, eds. <i>A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles</i> . 10 volumes. Oxford University Press, 1884–1928.

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- Ottoline* Robert Gathorne-Hardy, ed. *Ottoline: The Early Memoirs of Lady Ottoline Morrell*. Faber & Faber, 1963.
- Phoenix* Edward D. McDonald, ed. *Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence*. New York: Viking, 1936.
- Phoenix II* Warren Roberts and Harry T. Moore, eds. *Phoenix II: Uncollected, Unpublished and Other Prose Works by D. H. Lawrence*. Heinemann, 1968.
- Roberts Warren Roberts. *A Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Twilight* D. H. Lawrence. *Twilight in Italy*. Duckworth, 1916.
- Whitelock G. C. H. Whitelock. *250 Years in Coal: The History of Barber Walker and Company Limited*. N.p., n.d. [1957].

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INTRODUCTION

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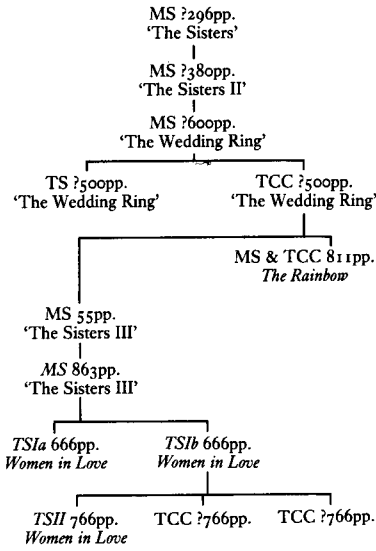
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'The Composition of *Women in Love*'

<i>Bibliographical Notes</i>
Pp. 291-6 in Warren Roberts's <i>Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence</i> , MS Catalogue no. E441a
Unfinished; pp. 373-80 in Roberts E441a
Not extant
Typed by Dunlop; TCC pp. 219-75, 279-84 in Roberts E331a
Roberts E331a
Unfinished first draft; Roberts E441b
Pp. 650-863 in Roberts E441c
Pp. 1-368 typed by DHL, pp. 369-666 typed by Pinker; Roberts E441d & e
TCCs not extant; <i>TSII</i> = Roberts E441f



Version	Date
One	March-June 1913
Two	August 1913-January 1914
Three	February-May 1914
Four	November 1914-March 1915
	April 1916
Five	April-June 1916
	July 1916-January 1917
Six	March 1917-September 1919

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INTRODUCTION

D. H. Lawrence began the composition of his two greatest novels as a single work named 'The Sisters', the first stages of which he wrote in the spring of 1913. As the writing progressed, the novel grew so dramatically in scope (coming to include a great deal not only about the sisters Ursula and Gudrun Brangwen and their relationships, but about their parents and grandparents) that Lawrence decided eventually to split the book into two volumes. He finished one novel – *The Rainbow* – for publication in 1915, and in 1916 returned to the other, which he rewrote as *Women in Love*; he was, however, unable to find a publisher for it until 1920.

'The Sisters' (first version, March–June 1913)

In the middle of March 1913, while living at Gargnano on the Lago di Garda, Lawrence began to write a novel¹ which on 5 April he could cheerfully refer to as a 'pot-boiler' (i. 536) then 110 pages long. He badly needed to write a new book; *Sons and Lovers*, finished five months earlier, was accepted but as yet unpublished and he had little other prospect of income. He had also spent a good deal of time that spring writing a novel ('The Insurrection of Miss Houghton') which seemed at that stage to be unpublishable.² By 23 April he had moved to Germany and was up to page 145 of the new book, but complained to his friend Arthur McLeod³ that it was 'a novel which I have never grasped . . . and I've no notion what it's about. I hate it. F[rieda] says it is good. But it's like a novel in a foreign language I don't know very well – I can only just make out what it is about' (i. 544). Around 2 May he told Edward Garnett,⁴ his literary adviser and reader for Duckworth (about to publish *Sons and Lovers*), that he had written 180 pages of a projected 300-page work titled 'The Sisters':

¹ See *Letters*, i. 530; on 22 March it was 46 pages long. (Subsequent references to *Letters*, i., ii. and iii. are given in the text with volume and page number.)

² Totally rewritten in 1920 as *The Lost Girl*; see the Cambridge edition, ed. John Worthen (Cambridge, 1981), pp. xix–xxiv.

³ McLeod had been a fellow-teacher of DHL's at Davidson Road, Croydon (*Letters*, i. 136 n. 3).

⁴ See *ibid.* 297 n. 2.

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It was meant to be for the ‘jeunes filles’, but already it has fallen from grace. I can only write what I feel pretty strongly about: and that, at present, is the relations between men and women. After all, it is *the* problem of today, the establishment of a new relation, or the re-adjustment of the old one, between men and women.

(i. 546)

At this point Lawrence estimated a month to completion. He was at page 256 by 17 May ‘but still can’t see the end very clear’ (i. 550). A fortnight later he told Garnett that he was ‘nearly finished’, having reached page 283, and around 4–5 June ‘The Sisters’ must have been complete for on 10 June he asked Garnett if he had received its second half (ii. 20).

A few pages, numbered 291–6, are the only surviving fragment of an early version which was probably chronologically (and perhaps textually) close to the first draft; they are not, however, written in the first person which Lawrence twice indicated was the format of the novel’s first draft, and so probably derive from a slightly later revision.⁵ The fragment tells of Gudrun Brangwen back in England, pregnant with Gerald Crich’s child. There is an altercation between Gerald and the sculptor Loerke, who both wish to marry her. Loerke departs in a rage, and although Gudrun believes Gerald only wants to marry her because of the baby, she accepts his offer. As the fragment ends, she admits that she would not have cared for any other man’s child. The two sit quietly: ‘There was a good deal that hurt still, between them.’ Since Lawrence had estimated that the first draft would be 300 pages long, this early fragment is most likely the ending itself.

‘The Sisters II’ (second version, August 1913–January 1914)

After spending the first part of the summer in England, Lawrence and Frieda returned to Germany in August 1913, when Lawrence again began work on the novel. By 24 August, he had ‘made two false starts already’ (ii. 66); a week later, complaining that he was writing things ‘about which I know nothing – like a somnambulist’, he seems to have begun yet again: ‘I’ve begun a novel on the same principle: it’s like working in a dream, rather uncomfortable – as if you can’t get solid hold of yourself. “Hello my

⁵ Roberts E441a, UT. For a description of the manuscript, see David Farmer, ‘A Descriptive and Analytical Catalogue of the D. H. Lawrence Collection at The University of Texas at Austin’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, UT, 1970), A57. The fragment will be printed in the Cambridge edition of *The Rainbow*, ed. Mark Kinkead-Weekes. If Birkin or Ella (the name of the Ursula figure in ‘The Sisters’) had been the first person narrator, it is possible that no ‘I’ narration would appear in the surviving pages.

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lad, are you there!" I say to myself, when I see the sentences stalking by.⁶ This second sustained writing of the novel he would eventually (provisionally) retitile 'The Wedding Ring'; he wrote on 4 September that 'The Sisters has quite a new beginning – a new basis altogether. I hope I can get on with it. It is much more interesting in its new form – not so damned flippant' (ii. 67–8). By 15 September Lawrence was planning a walking trip across Switzerland, having finished the first hundred pages; he hoped to complete the draft in another month (ii. 74–5). The walk, however, followed by a move to Italy, prevented much consecutive writing; although he remarked that he was working on the novel at the beginning and at the end of October (ii. 82, 93), it was probably not until early in December that he was able to concentrate on it. This time it went 'slowly' (ii. 118). At the end of the year we find him telling Edward Garnett that, in a few days, he would send

the first half of the Sisters – which I should rather call *The Wedding Ring* – to Duckworths. It is *very* different from *Sons and Lovers*: written in another language almost. I shall be sorry if you don't like it, but am prepared. – I shan't write in the same manner as *Sons and Lovers* again, I think: in that hard, violent style full of sensation and presentation. You must see what you think of the new style. (ii. 132)

He sent Garnett the first half of 'The Sisters II' on 6 January 1914 (ii. 134). Garnett must have read it and sent his observations to Lawrence immediately, for on 29 January Lawrence wrote to him that 'I am not very much surprised, nor even very much hurt by your letter – and I agree with you': but he stood his ground on one point: 'I *must* have Ella [later to be called Ursula] get some experience before she meets her Mr Birkin . . . tell me whether you think Ella would be possible, as she now stands, unless she had some experience of love and of men . . . I feel that this second half of the Sisters is very beautiful, but it may not be sufficiently incorporated to please you' (ii. 142–3).

In this letter Lawrence gave some indication of how 'The Sisters II' was moving closer to *The Rainbow*, which in its later sections would deal with Ursula's (Ella's) 'experience of love and of men'. But he also voiced satisfaction with the second half of the novel, that portion which apparently began to deal at length with Ella and Birkin, and would finally be transformed into *Women in Love*: 'I prefer the permeating beauty. It is my transition stage – but I must write to live, and it must produce its flowers,

⁶ Letter to John Middleton Murry, 30 August 1913; quoted in Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 'English Literature and History', 22–23 July 1985, item 269. Murry (1889–1957), journalist and critic, and his companion Katherine Mansfield (1888–1923), New Zealand short-story writer, had met the Lawrences in July 1913 (*Letters*, i. 507 n. 3, ii. 31 and n. 3).

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and if they be frail or shadowy, they will be all right if they are true to their hour.' He again explained that 'I have no longer the joy in creating vivid scenes, that I had in *Sons and Lovers*', and described his new method as 'exhaustive': he was no longer writing 'pure object and story' (ii. 142–3). He had reached p. 340 by 19 January (ii. 137). And he was going to send on 150 pages of this second half on 30 January (ii. 142).

Only one fragment, probably from the last part to be written of 'The Sisters II', has survived in a brief set of pages numbered 373–80. It reveals that the relationship between Ella and Birkin has begun, but also describes the continuing power over Ella of an earlier relationship with Ben Templeman, apparently a new development (ii. 142), and strong evidence that this draft succeeded the fragment numbered 291–6:

Ella felt the blood rush from her heart. For a second she seemed to lose consciousness. A wave of terror, deep, annihilating went over her. She knew him without looking; his peculiar, straying walk, the odd, separate look about him which filled her with dread. He had still power over her: he was still Man to her . . .⁷

However, shortly after responding to Garnett's criticism Lawrence left off writing 'The Sisters II', and embarked upon the next sustained composition.

'The Wedding Ring' (third version, February–May 1914)

By 7 February 1914, Lawrence had 'begun it again'; two days later he wrote to McLeod that it was for 'about the seventh time', and a month later claimed to be starting for 'about the eleventh time' (ii. 144, 146, 153). But after the initial difficulties he seems to have grown in confidence as this third sustained version developed. In the same March letter, the novel was 'on its legs and . . . going strong' (ii. 153); as proof of what he saw as its publishable quality, he began to have a ribbon and a carbon copy typescript made of it as he wrote.⁸ On 22 April, with only 80 pages remaining to be written, he sent the available typescript to Garnett: 'I am sure of this now, this novel. It is a big and beautiful work. Before, I could not get my soul into it. That was because of the struggle and the resistance between Frieda and me. Now you will find her and me in the novel, I think, and the work is of both of us' (ii. 164). Early in May, Frieda suggested the new title *The Rainbow* (not adopted at this stage); by the 16th Lawrence had finished the novel and checked the typescript (ii. 173, 174). Sixty-two pages of carbon

⁷ Roberts E441a, UT, p. 380. See Farmer, 'A Descriptive and Analytical Catalogue', A57. The fragment will be included in the Cambridge edition of *The Rainbow*.

⁸ His typist was Thomas Dunlop, British Consul in Spezia; see *Letters*, ii. 152 n. 1.

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copy incorporated in the final manuscript of *The Rainbow* survive from this third major version,⁹ and it is possible to learn still more about it from a contemporary reader's report. Submitted on 10 November 1914 in the form of a letter from Alfred Kuttner to Mitchell Kennerley, who had published four of Lawrence's first five books in the USA, the report reads in part:

The real story is concentrated in the lives of Ella and Gudrun and the novel does not strike its best pace until we deal with them. But that does not become clear until we are almost half way through the novel so that the first part of the plot has a rambling quality which greatly contributes to the feeling of over-lengthiness. Mr. Lawrence takes us through practically three generations but our real interest lies only in the third.¹⁰

Kuttner clearly responded most readily to the stories of Ella and Gudrun, who had been the central characters – the sisters of the title – since the very first version. He generally liked what he read, but argued strongly for it to be 'condensed and foreshortened', as well as 'expurgated, not for moral reasons but for artistic effect. Mr. Lawrence sees sex too obsessively.' Kuttner also reported that this version of the novel contained a scene of 'Gerald Crich raping Gudrun in a boathouse'; he criticised Lawrence's lack of restraint in phrases like 'With what an agony of relief he poured himself into her'. It seems probable that the 'rape' was Kuttner's way of describing a preliminary version of the encounter which takes place in Gudrun's bedroom in chapter XXIV of *Women in Love*.

From Kuttner's report we can also gain a sense of the structure of 'The Wedding Ring': 'the whole story of Tom Brangwen's courtship of the Polish woman as well as Anna's marriage could be told in retrospect in much less space if the novel began with Ella's childhood.' After a year of writing and many drafts, the novel had come to contain a great deal of what became *The Rainbow* as well as much that would become *Women in Love*.

'The Wedding Ring' also provoked from Lawrence the famous defence of his fictional method in a letter to Edward Garnett of 5 June 1914. Garnett had been critical both of the second version of the novel and of the third, but Lawrence was now prepared to resist his criticism.

I don't agree with you about the Wedding Ring. You will find that in a while you will like the book as a whole. I don't think the psychology is wrong; it is only that I have a different attitude to my characters, and that necessitates a different attitude in you,

⁹ In Roberts E331a, UT. The surviving typed pages were originally numbered 219–75, 279–84, are re-numbered 548–604 and 608–13. See Farmer, 'A Descriptive and Analytical Catalogue', A40.

¹⁰ Located at LC; the report will be printed in the Cambridge edition of *The Rainbow*.

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which you are not as yet prepared to give . . . somehow – that which is physic – non-human, in humanity, is more interesting to me than the old-fashioned human element – which causes one to conceive a character in a certain moral scheme and make him consistent. The certain moral scheme is what I object to . . . You mustn't look in my novel for the old stable ego of the character. There is another ego, according to whose action the individual is unrecognisable, and passes through, as it were, allotropic states which it needs a deeper sense than any we've been used to exercise, to discover are states of the same single radically-unchanged element. (Like as diamond and coal are the same pure single element of carbon. The ordinary novel would trace the history of the diamond – but I say 'diamond, what! This is carbon.' And my diamond might be coal or soot, and my theme is carbon.)

You must not say my novel is shaky – It is not perfect, because I am not expert in what I want to do. But it is the real thing, say what you like. (ii. 182–3)

Garnett's criticism also mattered less because the novel was not now going to Duckworth;¹¹ by the middle of May 1914, the firm of Methuen had offered an advance of £300 (in two payments) for the new novel. The news had come to Lawrence through the literary agent J. B. Pinker, whom Lawrence would take as his own agent in July,¹² and the money (as Lawrence told Garnett) was 'a pretty figure that my heart aches after' (ii. 174). He signed Methuen's contract and received £150 in late June, but his happiness was short-lived; early in August, while on a walking tour in the Lake District, he learned of the outbreak of the First World War, and by 10 August Methuen had returned his typescript.¹³

***The Rainbow* and 'The Sisters III' (fourth version, two novels, November 1914–March 1915 and April–June 1916)**

Lawrence must have begun his next sustained version of the novel late in November 1914; on 3 December he wrote that he was 'working *frightfully* hard – rewriting my novel' (ii. 239). On 5 December he sent the first 100 pages to Pinker, followed by another instalment on the 18th (ii. 240, 245). By 5 January 1915 he had done 300 pages, and on the 7th sent Pinker a further 100 pages (ii. 255, 256).

But the single most important development in the writing of *The*

¹¹ Duckworth accepted a book of short stories in lieu of the novel; see *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*, ed. John Worthen (Cambridge, 1983), p. xxvii.

¹² See *Letters*, ii. 31 n. 1.

¹³ *Ibid.* 206–7, 240–1. Methuen would claim at the *Rainbow* prosecution in November 1915 that they had asked for the novel to be rewritten, but a great many literary manuscripts were returned to their authors simply because of uncertainty following the outbreak of war. Methuen probably did no more than return the novel in a routine way, with a suggestion that some changes would be in order.

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Rainbow and *Women in Love* now occurred. In that letter of 7 January to Pinker, Lawrence announced that he had decided 'to split the book into two volumes: it was so unwieldy. It needs to be in two volumes' (ii. 256). It may have been Kuttner's suggestion that the Brangwen saga was really separate from the story of Ella and Gudrun that prompted Lawrence to consider dividing and expanding his work rather than shortening it; there is evidence that he read Kuttner's report.¹⁴

From January to March work on what was now simply *The Rainbow* progressed rapidly, while the *Women in Love* material was put aside. The manuscript of *The Rainbow* was finished on 2 March 1915, and the novel itself was published on 30 September 1915, only to be suppressed in November;¹⁵ Lawrence turned to revision of his travel essays for their collection in *Twilight in Italy*, to philosophical work and to some short stories and poems.

However, in March 1916, when he and Frieda had been living for two and a half months in Cornwall, he began to consider writing another novel: novels had always been his major source of income. His first plan was to resume work on the unfinished 'Insurrection of Miss Houghton', which he had given up in 1913, but the manuscript was in Bavaria and he could not get it back (ii. 580, 595). After a month's wait – and just after Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield had come to live in the next cottage at Higher Tregerthen (ii. 596–7) – he went back instead to the *Women in Love* material. His income was tiny, his health had been bad in the winter, his attitude to the war and to British society in general had grown wholly antagonistic. As he told Barbara Low in May 1916:

I would write to you oftener, but this life of today so disgusts one, it leaves nothing to say. The war, the approaching conscription, the sense of complete paltriness and chaotic nastiness in life, really robs one of speech . . . I have begun the second half of the *Rainbow*. But already it is beyond all hope of ever being published, because of the things it says. And more than that, it is beyond all possibility even to offer it to a world, a putrescent mankind like ours. I feel I cannot *touch* humanity, even in thought, it is abhorrent to me.¹⁶

Nevertheless, by 26 April he had begun writing, with that combination of optimism and bewilderment which so often attended the start of a major piece of work. That day, he told the artist Mark Gertler and Lady Cynthia

¹⁴ Letter from Kuttner to Kennerley, n.d.: 'Of course I should not have written my criticism in just that way if I had intended it for Mr. Lawrence's ears but . . . I don't mind your sending it on to him' (LC).

¹⁵ See Explanatory note on 485:11.

¹⁶ *Letters*, ii. 602. Barbara Low was a pioneer in psychoanalysis, and an aunt of Catherine Carswell (see below); see *ibid.* 279 n. 6.

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Asquith how 'this last week' he had begun a novel 'that really occupies me'.¹⁷ Ten days later, Lady Ottoline Morrell was told about 'a new novel: a thing that is a stranger to me even as I write it. I don't know what the end will be.'¹⁸ He was not, then, going to end the novel where 'The Sisters' had ended, with Gerald and Gudrun together; nor, presumably, where 'The Wedding Ring' had ended. April was most likely the time when Lawrence wrote the opening two chapters (later abandoned) entitled 'Prologue' and 'The Wedding'.¹⁹ While the former explores the deteriorating relationship between Rupert Birkin and Hermione Roddice, it concentrates upon Birkin's feelings for men and his attraction to Gerald Crich. Such writing would perhaps be one reason why Lawrence felt that his new novel was already 'beyond all hope of ever being published'.

On 19 May Lawrence wrote to Pinker that he was 'half way through a novel, which is a sequel to the *Rainbow*, though quite unlike it' (ii. 606). On the 24th he told Lady Ottoline: 'I have got a long way with my novel. It comes rapidly, and is very good. When one is shaken to the very depths, one finds reality in the unreal world. At present my real world is the world of my inner soul, which reflects on to the novel I write' (ii. 610). Six days later his sense of accomplishment was still strong as he wrote to Barbara Low that Ursula was now married, and the novel 'two thirds' written: 'It goes on pretty fast, and very easy. I have not travailed over it. It is the book of my free soul'.²⁰ By 19 June he was 'nearly done'; he probably finished before 28 June, when he had to go to Bodmin for medical examination: on 30 June he told Pinker that 'in effect' the novel was finished (ii. 617, 619). What he meant is clarified in a letter to S. S. Koteliensky ('Kot') of 4 July: 'I have finished my novel – except for a bit that can be done any time' – and his friend the Scottish writer and critic Catherine Carswell was told about 'a last chapter to write, some time, when one's heart is not so contracted'.²¹ The novel as it now stood consisted of an autograph manuscript (no longer

¹⁷ Ibid. 599, 601. Lady Cynthia had been a friend of the Lawrences since 1913 (ibid. 41 n. 4), Gertler since 1914 (ibid. 214 n. 1).

¹⁸ Ibid. 604. The Lawrences had stayed with Lady Ottoline at Garsington Manor in 1915 (ibid. 253 n. 3).

¹⁹ Roberts E441b, UT (see Farmer, 'A Descriptive and Analytical Catalogue', A58); first edited by George Ford and published in *Texas Quarterly*, vi (Spring 1963), 98–111 and *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, vi (Summer 1964), 137–47 respectively. They are printed as Appendix II below.

²⁰ *Letters*, ii. 614. Having written half the novel in almost exactly four weeks, and two-thirds in less than six weeks, DHL seems to have taken three to four weeks over the last third.

²¹ Ibid. 621, 627. For Koteliensky, see ibid. 205 n. 4; for Catherine Carswell, see ibid. 187 n. 5. Pinker must immediately have asked Methuen if they wanted the book; they replied cautiously on 10 July that they 'should prefer to see the MS. of his new book before deciding if we would care to cancel the agreement or not' (NYPL).

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extant), probably in notebooks, up to page 649, and five further notebooks paginated 650–863 which do survive; the last of them almost completely empty, leaving space for that ‘last chapter . . . some time’.²²

Women in Love (fifth version, July 1916–January 1917)

Lawrence decided to type his novel himself; he could not afford to pay anyone else, he probably foresaw that he would want to revise it (and could do so while typing) and it was a book to which he felt so close that he was reluctant, at this stage, to let anyone else see it. He had probably begun by 12 July (ii. 529, 630); when complete, in ribbon and carbon copies, this typescript would constitute the novel’s fifth version. But he typed fewer than fifteen pages in July; ‘it got on my nerves and knocked me up’ (ii. 637), and he also needed a new typewriter ribbon.²³ But having done some pencil rewriting around 21 July to what he was now confident was ‘the fourth and the final draft’, now ‘ $\frac{4}{5}$ done’,²⁴ and having also been on the point of sending the untyped manuscript to Pinker to be typed (ii. 637), he settled down in earnest in August to the typing, and probably typed for most of the month, telling Amy Lowell on the 23rd that the typewriter she had given him ‘runs so glibly, and has at last become a true confrère. I take

²² Notebooks 3 and 7–10 of the surviving ten (the other five dating wholly from October 1916), Roberts E441c, UT (see Farmer, ‘A Descriptive and Analytical Catalogue’, A59): see also footnote 28. A calculation (almost certainly by DHL) on the inside cover of notebook 7, opposite original page 650, shows 700 multiplied by 135 to calculate word length: i.e. the number of pages written and the number of words per page (between 130 and 150 in notebook 7). If the first 649 pages had contained the same number of words as pp. 650–700, they would have been pages of the same size; the whole of the April–June draft was probably, therefore, written in similar notebooks.

²³ His typewriter (an L. G. Smith & Bros. No. 2 model) had been given him by Amy Lowell (*Letters*, ii. 222–3), and he had typed the first seven pages of *The Rainbow* on it (in Roberts E331a, UT). Between 4 July and 21 August he had had trouble securing a new ribbon from London for it; it took five letters (and two wrong ribbons) before he got what he needed (*Letters*, ii. 621–38). The ribbon copy p. 15 (in Roberts E441d, UT) shows the impression of a much blacker typewriter ribbon, two-thirds the way down the page, and must mark the new ribbon’s arrival.

²⁴ *Letters*, ii. 637. DHL’s ‘fourth and the final draft’ can be explained in one of two ways. If he started counting from the original ‘Sisters’ of 1913, the second complete draft (not counting the false starts, and the ‘Sisters II’ incomplete draft) would have been the ‘Wedding Ring’ of February–May 1914, the third complete draft (again, not counting the *Rainbow* version of November 1914–March 1915) would have been ‘The Sisters III’ of April–June 1916, and the ‘fourth and the final draft’ the typescript and revised notebook *Women in Love* of July–October 1916. If, however, he had started the count of drafts from the division of the novel into two volumes in January 1915, then the unused typescript left over from *The Rainbow* would have constituted the first draft, the April 1916 false start evidenced by the two abandoned opening chapters the second, the ‘Sisters III’ version the third, and the July–October 1916 *Women in Love* the fourth.

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so unkindly to any sort of machinery. But now I and the type writer have sworn a Blutbruderschaft' (ii. 645). Earlier in the month he had given Catherine Carswell – who was also writing a novel – his reasons for abandoning 'The Sisters' as a title: it was too close to May Sinclair's *The Three Sisters*, published in 1914.²⁵ On 9 September, he told Pinker that the novel was 'half done' (ii. 653), meaning (presumably) half typed; on 26 September, Lady Ottoline heard that only a week or two more would be needed. But the ease of his writing between April and June had been replaced by the old sense of struggle: 'I only want to finish this novel, which is like a malady or a madness while it lasts' (ii. 656). He was not a skilled typist,²⁶ remarking in 1921 that 'I hate doing it' (iii. 677), and he was actually revising as he went: 'I recomposed all the first part on the typewriter'.²⁷ He was also ill from early September onwards, and was depressed by the continuously wet weather of the late summer. Although he told Amy Lowell on 12 October that he was still typing (ii. 665), that remark was probably designed to please the typewriter's provider; the very next day he asked the mother of Douglas Clayton (who had typed for him 1913–15) if she would type the remaining third of the novel (ii. 666), as he could take no more of the strain. Altogether, he typed 368 pp., but had only managed to type about a sixth of it between 9 September and 12 October. Katherine Clayton agreed to finish the typing, but instead Lawrence took Pinker up on an offer to have the rest of the manuscript typed without charge (ii. 668) in his office; Pinker would, of course, go on making both a ribbon and a carbon copy.

From 13 October, then, Lawrence began preparing the end of the novel for Pinker's typing; he did this by writing out the penultimate part in notebooks 1–6 of the ten which still survive, and then revising notebooks 7–10 to create the very end of the novel. It is at this stage that we find him confidently naming it *Women in Love*; the title appears with no alternative

²⁵ *Letters*, ii. 639. See *ibid.* 640 for other suggestions – some facetious – about titles. DHL first mentioned the final title to Pinker on 13 July 1916 (*ibid.* 631). He later considered using 'Dies Irae' (see below); in November 1917, thinking about the book as 'more or less a sequel to *The Rainbow* . . . I think I'll call it "Noah's Ark"' (*ibid.*, iii. 183). As well as May Sinclair's novel, a novel called *Sisters* (1904) had been published by Ada Cambridge (1844–1926). *Women in Love: eight studies in sentiment* had been published by Alfred Sutro (1863–1933) in 1902, but DHL did not learn that until 1921: see Sutro, *Celebrities and Simple Souls* (1933), p. 100.

²⁶ He had to type a page twice on six occasions (pp. 57, 144, 228, 275, 305 and 338) because he failed to insert carbon paper, or inserted it reversed.

²⁷ *Letters*, iii. 79. The process is visible when he had to retype the pages described in the previous footnote; he would incorporate autograph revisions made to the first typing, and make still further changes as he typed.