

# THE BOY IN THE BUSH

D. H. LAWRENCE  
AND  
M. L. SKINNER

EDITED BY  
PAUL EGGERT



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE  
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK  
40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011-4211, USA  
10 Stamford Road, Oakleigh, VIC 3166, Australia  
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain  
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa  
<http://www.cambridge.org>

This, the Cambridge Edition of the text of *The Boy in the Bush* now correctly established from the original sources and first published in 1990, © the Estate of Frieda Lawrence Ravagli and the Estate of Mary Louise Skinner 1990. Introduction and notes © Cambridge University Press 1990. Permission to reproduce this text entire or in part, or to quote from it, can be granted only by the Literary Executor of the Estate, Laurence Pollinger Ltd, 18 Maddox Street, Mayfair, London W1R 0EU. Permission to reproduce the introduction and notes entire or in part should be requested from Cambridge University Press. Acknowledgement is made to William Heinemann Ltd in the UK and the Viking Press in the USA, who hold the exclusive book publication rights for the work as published (copyright 1924, 1952, 1955) in their respective territories, for the authorisation granted to Cambridge University Press through the Frieda Lawrence Ravagli Estate for use of the work as published in preparing the new scholarly text.

First published in paperback 2001

*British Library cataloguing in publication data*

Lawrence, D. H. (David Herbert), 1885-1930

The boy in the bush. –

(The Cambridge edition of the letters and works of D. H. Lawrence)

- i. Title ii. Skinner, M. L. (Mollie L.) iii. Eggert, Paul  
823'.912 [F]

*Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data*

Lawrence, D. H. (David Herbert), 1885-1930.

The boy in the bush / D. H. Lawrence and M. L. Skinner

p. cm. – (The Cambridge edition of the letters and works  
of D. H. Lawrence)

ISBN 0-521-30704-X hardback

i. Skinner, M. L. (Mary Louisa), 1876-1955. ii. Eggert Paul. iii. Title

iv. Series: Lawrence, D. H. (David Herbert), 1885-1930. Works. 1979.

PR6023.A93B6 1990

823'.912-dc20 89-7348 CIP

ISBN 0 521 30704 X hardback

ISBN 0 521 00714 3 paperback

## CONTENTS

|  |          |
|--|----------|
| General editors' preface   | page vii |
| Acknowledgements   | ix       |
| Chronology   | xi       |
| Cue-titles   | xvi      |
| Introduction   | xix      |
| Perth and Mollie Skinner   | xxi      |
| The writing of <i>The Boy in the Bush</i>                                  | xxv      |
| The revision of the typescripts  | xxxiii   |
| Publication  | xxxviii  |
| Mollie Skinner's and Lawrence's relative responsibilities for<br>the novel | xlv      |
| Reception  | liii     |
| Text   | lvii     |
| <i>THE BOY IN THE BUSH</i>   | I        |
| Appendixes   |          |
| I Chronology of <i>The Boy in the Bush</i>                                 | 349      |
| II Jack Grant's family tree  | 353      |
| III Maps   | 357      |
| IV A historical background to the setting of <i>The Boy in the Bush</i>    | 363      |
| V Note on Miss M. L. Skinner   | 371      |
| VI Preface to <i>Black Swans</i>   | 375      |
| Explanatory notes  | 381      |
| Textual apparatus  | 435      |
| A note on pounds, shillings and pence                                      | 498      |

## INTRODUCTION

### Perth and Mollie Skinner

The genesis of *The Boy in the Bush* may be traced to D. H. Lawrence's visit to Perth, Western Australia in May 1922. He had spent the winter of 1921–2 at Taormina, Sicily. Although it had been a productive period for Lawrence, he was itching to be on the move.<sup>1</sup> The Italy he remembered from before the war had gone, and his pre-war dissatisfaction with modern Western society was hardening into a revulsion. He was tempted by an offer from an American admirer of his writing, Mabel Dodge Sterne (later Luhan), to come to live in Taos, New Mexico where a pre-white culture still subsisted: 'a tribe of 600 free Indians . . . sun-worshippers, rain-makers, and unspoiled' (iv. 123). But he was also sceptical of the USA: 'What is the good . . . of going to [America]', he wrote to Earl Brewster, 'where everything is just *unlearned* and confused to the utmost' (iv. 171). What then of the East, where Brewster, an American painter friend, was studying Buddhism in Ceylon? At least Ceylon would provide a breathing space before Lawrence tackled America; it would satisfy his need to experiment. But disappointment came almost at once. Stifled by the heat, disillusioned almost immediately with Buddhism, and able to do little but translation,<sup>2</sup> Lawrence left Ceylon for Australia after a stay of only six weeks. Despite his keen sensitivity to spirit of place, the country seems to have offered little stimulation to his imagination.<sup>3</sup> Australia, on the other hand, was to prove a very different case.

Lawrence's decision to go to Australia was initially little more than an accident. Travelling to Ceylon on the *R. M. S. Osterley* which left Naples on 26 February 1922, Lawrence had become friendly with some Australi-

<sup>1</sup> DHL had written 'The Captain's Doll', 'The Ladybird' and his introduction to Maurice Magnus's *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion*, had expanded 'The Fox' to a novella and had revised the *England, My England* stories and *Fantasia of the Unconscious*. See *Letters*, iv. 25–159. (Subsequent references to *Letters*, ii., iv. and v. are given in the text with volume and page number.)

<sup>2</sup> He completed his translation (New York, 1923) of Giovanni Verga's novel, *Mastro-don Gesualdo*, and began Verga's *Novelle Rusticane* (published as *Little Novels of Sicily*, New York, 1925).

<sup>3</sup> Producing only the poems 'Elephant' and 'Apostrophe to a Buddhist Monk'.

ans, among them Annie Louisa Jenkins. Only a fortnight after arriving in Ceylon Lawrence wrote to her, responding to a suggestion she had evidently made on the voyage that he and Frieda should visit Western Australia.<sup>4</sup> They left Ceylon on 24 April 1922, arriving in Fremantle near Perth on 4 May; Annie Jenkins arranged accommodation for them at 'Leithdale', a guesthouse mainly for convalescents, situated in the hills, sixteen miles from Perth. Installed there by 6 May (iv. 236), they were to stay until sailing for Sydney on the 18th. To his surprise Lawrence discovered that one of the nurses at 'Leithdale', Mary Louisa ('Mollie') Skinner, was a writer.

Mollie Skinner had been born in Perth in 1876 but was taken to England at the age of two when her father, a British army officer, was recalled. Not until 1900 did she return to her birthplace. Having completed nursing training before leaving England, she gave herself to demanding years of nursing in country districts in Western Australia. She returned to England for a year to study midwifery and, when World War I broke out, volunteered for medical service in India and Burma – experience which, with the setting transferred to the Western Front, provided the subject matter for her first (epistolary) novel: *Letters of a V.A.D.* Because it sold poorly her writing continued to be a part-time activity, tolerated but not encouraged by family and friends.<sup>5</sup>

Lawrence's interest gave her new hope. He read her novel and then approached her with an idea for another one, prompted by his nocturnal excursions into the nearby bush. Mollie Skinner recounted the conversation in her autobiography, *The Fifth Sparrow*:

<sup>4</sup> *Letters*, iv. 218. Annie Louisa Jenkins (1873–1945; née Burt, a prominent Western Australian family) was a keen musician and frequent traveller to England; widowed in 1917. See *ibid.*, p. 217 n. 2 and her memoir in Edward Nehls, *D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography*, 3 vol. (Madison, 1957–9), ii. 115–17.

<sup>5</sup> Before she died at York on 25 May 1955, having spent the rest of her life in Western Australia (hereafter WA), she had published six volumes of fiction – *Letters of a V.A.D.* [Voluntary Aid Detachment nurse], pseud. 'R. E. Leake' (1918), *Black Swans* (1925), *Men Are We* (Perth, 1927), *Tucker Sees India* (1937), *W.X. – Corporal Smith* (Perth, 1941), *Where Skies Are Blue* (Perth, 1946) – as well as short stories, without having achieved much fame.

In her papers at Battye are several unpublished novels (including 'Eve in the Land of Nod': see p. li below); radio scripts on pioneer women of WA, nursing, etc.; an unfinished biography of John Forrest (1847–1918; explorer and first Premier of WA; see also Explanatory note on 226:18); and play scripts. Information about Mollie Skinner (hereafter MLS) is derived from her *Fifth Sparrow*; 'Fifth Sparrow' Draft, 1955, of which *Fifth Sparrow* is an edited abridgement; 'D. H. Lawrence and *The Boy in the Bush*', *Meanjin*, ix (1950), 260–3; 'D. H. Lawrence and M. L. Skinner', typescript, n.d. (Battye); published, in part, in *Australian Observer*, 24 July 1948, p. 110; 'D. H. Lawrence and *The Boy in the Bush*', unpublished typescript, n.d. (Battye); letter to Guy Howarth, *Southerly*, xiii (1952), 233–5.

'It frightens me – all the bush out beyond stretching away over these hills frightens me, as if dark gods possessed the place. My very soul shakes with terror when I wander out there in the moonlight . . . Why don't you write about this strange country?' he said. 'About how it was met by the first settlers? . . . A Mr Siebenhaar brought me his poems<sup>6</sup> to read, and – much more interesting – a little year book, a kind of diary of events from the foundation of the colony till it became a State. You should write of it. I would if I stayed. The settlers – men and women with their children arriving here, dumped on the sand with the surf behind them, a few merchants, a few soldiers, a few packing cases into which they crept for shelter after chucking out the pianos; building camp ovens, burning their hands, looking for fresh water, longing for achievement, hungry for land, their cattle starving, their women scolding, homesick but full of courage, courage carrying them forward. What kept them here?' (pp. 112–13)

The 'little year book' was the *Western Australian Year-Book For 1902–1904* (Perth, 1906), edited by Malcolm A. C. Fraser, Government Statistician and Registrar-General of Western Australia. Siebenhaar's name appears on the title-page; his function is given as 'sub-editor'.<sup>7</sup>

The historical account which makes up the first section of the *Year-Book* is rather dry and matter-of-fact; indeed much of it is simply a year-by-year calendar of events. But Lawrence was as much a creative reader as he was a writer and he may have responded to the pride in colonial achievement never far from the surface in the *Year-Book*. He had long entertained the idea of establishing a colony of his own. Sometimes a whimsical inclination, sometimes a firm utopian intention, Lawrence's 'Rananim' (as he had called the idea ever since 1914; ii. 252 and n. 3) would have faced many practical difficulties – to which Lawrence's 'odd streaks of prudence', as Bertrand Russell put it,<sup>8</sup> could not have failed to alert him. But the hope persisted in the face of them. The *Year-Book's* determinedly optimistic account of the dispiriting obstacles which the West Australian settlers had doggedly overcome would, accordingly, have had a personal meaning for Lawrence.

<sup>6</sup> Dutch-born William Siebenhaar (1863–1937) – translator, reviewer, poet and anarchist sympathiser – rose to Deputy Registrar-General of WA (suspended – temporarily – in 1916). By 1922 his principal publications were *Dorothea: A Lyrical Romance in Verse* (Perth, c. 1910) and *Sentinel Sonnets* with Alfred Chandler (Melbourne, 1919). DHL met Siebenhaar in Perth on 5, 6 and 18 May 1922 (Nehls, *Composite Biography*, iii. 104–5, 108). See also N. Segal, *Who and What Was Siebenhaar: A Note on the Life and Persecution of a Western Australian Anarchist* (Studies in Western Australian History Occasional Papers No. 1, Perth, 1988).

<sup>7</sup> MLS stated in 'DHL and *The Boy in the Bush*', p. 2 (Battyc) that 'It seemed that he had got hold of Malcolm Fraser's *Western Australian Year Book, 1902*', which she was to use (see p. xlvi and footnote 104). For its documentation of the colony's (by 1902) success, this volume is the *magnum opus* of the early *Year-Books*.

<sup>8</sup> *The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell* (1968), ii. 21.

However, with further evidence of Mollie Skinner's literary strengths and shortcomings before him – he had now read 'with despair' her typescript of an early version of a novel, *Black Swans*, set in the early days of the colony<sup>9</sup> – he somewhat changed the nature of his advice:

'You are going to write that book about the settlers, eh?' he kept urging. 'Put *Black Swans* aside. Take the new book from the time when you became aware of what went on in this empty country. Know your characters, strip them to the bone. Away with fancy and sentiment, be spiteful.'<sup>10</sup>

Lawrence's suggestion that Mollie Skinner treat not of the first settlers but of the difficulties encountered by a later generation of colonists – 'the time when you became aware of what went on in this empty country' – was probably calculated to make her *record* Western Australian life rather than elevate it. He had good reason to offer this counsel: 'You can splash down what you see', Mollie Skinner reports Lawrence as observing. 'What you don't know is that you can only do that . . . you can't dress with imagination. You have the power of seeing things and making them live, but not the power of flight from your subject.'<sup>11</sup> Evidently Lawrence was attempting to shepherd her away from the self-protective coyness and sentimentalising he had come across in *Letters of a V.A.D.* and away from what Edward Garnett would criticise as the 'soft and dithyrambic' in the manuscript of *Black Swans* which she gave him to read in 1924.<sup>12</sup>

Undoubtedly it was the tougher, more resilient side of Mollie Skinner's writing that Lawrence wished to encourage. In *Letters of a V.A.D.* for instance, when she withholds the emotional embroidery she can tell a story simply, effectively and even memorably.<sup>13</sup> She is at home with the flat ironies, the droll idiom and the shifts and contrivances produced in response to the exigencies of outback life; she is a gifted spinner of yarns. In any case, Lawrence's encouragement was to lead to his rewriting her novel (which she titled 'The House of Ellis') as *The Boy in the Bush*.<sup>14</sup>

This was to be his major literary occupation from September to November 1923 and in January 1924. He did not, as Mollie Skinner

<sup>9</sup> 'Preface to *Black Swans*' (Appendix VI, 377-14).

<sup>10</sup> *Fifth Sparrow* 114.

<sup>11</sup> 'DHL and M. L. Skinner', p. 6 (Battye).

<sup>12</sup> From the detailed criticism (Battye) of *Black Swans* by Edward Garnett (1868-1937), reader for Jonathan Cape (see *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. James T. Boulton, Cambridge, 1979, i. 297 n. 2); for DHL's reaction, see Appendix VI. On MLS's visit to London in the second half of 1924, see *Fifth Sparrow* 138-51.

<sup>13</sup> DHL must have been impressed by her description of 'counting-out' (p. 98): cf. *Kangaroo*, chap. XVI.

<sup>14</sup> DHL later wrote a preface for MLS's *Black Swans*, revised her story 'The Hand' and her novel 'Eve in the Land of Nod' (see below), and wrote a preface to Siebenhaar's translation of *Max Havelaar* which he also helped to get published (see Roberts B21).

believed, dash off the novel in a fortnight.<sup>15</sup> He devoted at least as much time to it as he did to *Kangaroo* or *The Lost Girl*.<sup>16</sup> As will be shown, a study of all the extant manuscript material, early printed editions and Mollie Skinner's contemporaneous writings leads inevitably to one conclusion: that *The Boy in the Bush* merits the description, a 'Lawrence novel'.

### The writing of *The Boy in the Bush*

After arriving in Sydney in late May 1922 Lawrence and Frieda secured accommodation at Thirroul, south of Sydney, where Lawrence wrote his first Australian novel, *Kangaroo*, to be published in 1923. While registering with both fear and admiration the remote primeval nature of the bush, Lawrence reacted with distaste to the egalitarian ethic and unformed rawness (as he felt it to be) of social life.<sup>17</sup> Arriving in the USA in September 1922, he soon found himself entertaining a related response to *that* country: the natural glories were counter-balanced, he sensed, by a human emptiness and a lack of national direction.<sup>18</sup>

Travelling on to Mexico in mid-March 1923, however, he was relieved to find that there the 'great paleface overlay hasn't gone into the soil half an inch . . . And the peon still grins his Indian grin behind the Cross . . . He knows his gods.'<sup>19</sup> The first step towards *The Plumed Serpent* had been taken; indeed Lawrence started writing the first version (titled 'Quetzalcoat') in early May. It was an ambitious project. Not only had he in mind to offer a diagnosis of the inner sickness of American and generally Western civilisation, but also to imagine a cure inspired by a lost religion set in a country to which he was a virtual stranger. Lawrence realised that he could hope to complete only a 'first rough draft' (iv. 454) of the novel before returning, as he then planned, to England. It was at this stage (2 July 1923) that Mollie Skinner's first letter to him arrived (iv. 466), telling him that she had finished her novel about the settlers and would be sending the typescript to him in New York. Lawrence promised to 'read it carefully, and see what publisher it had best be submitted to', adding: 'If there are a few suggestions to make, you won't mind, will you' (iv. 467).

<sup>15</sup> 'DHL and *The Boy in the Bush*', *Meanjin*, p. 261.

<sup>16</sup> I.e. to the 1920 rewriting of *The Lost Girl*: see Cambridge edition, ed. John Worthen (1981), pp. xxv–xxviii. Apart from some concluding material, *Kangaroo* was written c. 3 June–15 July 1922 (*Letters*, iv. 251, 278).

<sup>17</sup> *Letters*, iv. 241, 249, 250; and cf. *Kangaroo*, chap. II.

<sup>18</sup> See 'Certain Americans and an Englishman', written October 1922 (*Phoenix II* 243).

<sup>19</sup> 'Au Revoir, U.S.A.', written April 1923 (*Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. Edward D. McDonald, New York, 1936, p. 105).



Lawrence and Frieda left Mexico for New York a week later, but 'The House of Ellis' did not arrive till 19 August,<sup>20</sup> a day before Lawrence set off by himself for the West Coast, Frieda having sailed to England – in what amounted to a temporary separation. In reading Mollie Skinner's novel, the tantalising possibility that he had entertained in Australia – that it was a country large enough, in 'the North West particularly', to 'lose oneself away from the world' (iv. 245) – must have returned to him with a new force and relevance, given the issues he had been addressing in 'Quetzalcoatl'.

In revising *Studies in Classic American Literature* in November 1922, Lawrence had foreshadowed those concerns: 'Men are free when they belong to a living, organic, *believing* community, active in fulfilling some unfulfilled, perhaps unrealized purpose.'<sup>21</sup> In *Kangaroo*, in the character of Somers, Lawrence had explored the possibility of taking active part in political action that would define such a purpose. Worn down by the anxieties of English and Christian culture, democracy and, significantly, politics, Kate Burns, the heroine of 'Quetzalcoatl', is powerfully attracted to Don Ramón Carrasco's attempt to peel off the 'great paleface overlay' in order to restructure Mexican society along revitalised patriarchal lines. To him falls the task of articulating the so far 'unrealized purpose' so that the peons may share in it:

[he had come] to many conclusions . . . that liberty is an illusion . . . Man is never at liberty to do anything except obey some dictate, some dictate from his own soul, or some dictate from without. The mass of men can never know the dictates of their own soul. It needs a greater man than the ordinary, a man more sensitive and more pure, to be able to listen to the unknown of his own innermost soul. The mass of people . . . hear nothing but the confused roaring of old ideas, old phrases, old injunctions, old habits.<sup>22</sup>

The seer's mantle also descends, gradually, on Jack Grant in *The Boy in the Bush* as he identifies the giver of the dictates as a personal god, nothing like the Christian god of his childhood. His clarity of purpose is achieved only by 'los[ing himself] away from the world': firmly rejecting the old ideas, injunctions and habits of, in his case, Perth society, and acting on that rejection by founding a community in the North-West.<sup>23</sup> By the end of the novel he is fast becoming a latter-day biblical Patriarch, enjoying (as does

<sup>20</sup> Posted by Robert Mountsier (DHL's US agent from mid-1920–February 1923) then in Taos (*Letters*, iv. 489, 477).

<sup>21</sup> 'The Spirit of Place' (vol. published 1923).

<sup>22</sup> Autograph manuscript, Roberts E313a, p. 154; UT.

<sup>23</sup> I.e. the n.w. of Australia: see Explanatory note on 7:29.

Don Ramón) 'the faithful complete attachment of one man . . . a life-and-death fidelity',<sup>24</sup> and entertaining unashamedly polygamous intentions.

Lawrence must have foreseen, at least in dim outline, how Mollie Skinner's novel would enable him to explore his current preoccupations.<sup>25</sup> This helps account for his willingness to take her novel over. On 2 September, a fortnight after having received the typescript, he wrote to her from Los Angeles:

I have read 'The House of Ellis' carefully: such good stuff in it: but without unity or harmony. I'm afraid as it stands you'd never find a publisher. Yet I hate to think of it all wasted. I like the quality of so much of it. But you have no constructive power. – If you like I will take it and re-cast it, and make a book of it . . . If you give me a free hand, I'll see if I can't make a complete book out of it. If you'd rather your work remained untouched, I will show it to another publisher:<sup>26</sup> but I am afraid there isn't much chance. You have a real gift – there is real quality in these scenes. But without form, like the world before creation. (iv. 495–6)

The fact that Lawrence did not wait to receive her permission to rewrite the novel<sup>27</sup> suggests that he had glimpsed a significantly new direction and new emphases for the novel, and wanted to pursue them immediately.

Most of September Lawrence spent in Los Angeles working on the novel.<sup>28</sup> The pattern of his responses to American life of the previous year was being repeated: the initial attraction of the place ('It's sort of crazy-sensible. Just the moment: hardly as far ahead as *carpe diem*'; iv. 503) gives way to a need to escape to a more sensible clime where the

<sup>24</sup> Roberts E313a, p. 121.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. an interview DHL gave to the *New York Evening Post* (20 August 1923, p. 4) on the day (18 August) Frieda left for London. On the aftermath of an approaching cultural collapse, DHL was quoted: 'There has got to be a thread that carries through from our Western civilization . . . Christianity cannot do it again . . . I think it will hasten the crash . . . A few people make the destinies of the world . . . It is the few people of the world I care for, not the many . . . the people who are living forwards . . . [not the] people who are just sitting and eating their Sunday dinner in their cottages every week . . . They are the stomach of humanity.' Cf. 319:28–31 below.

<sup>26</sup> It is possible that Mountsier and DHL's American publisher, Thomas Seltzer, commented on it before DHL left New York.

<sup>27</sup> MLS's cable giving it ('DHL and *The Boy in the Bush*', *Meanjin*, p. 260) could not have arrived before the end of October: MLS received his letter of 2 September on 25 October (date stamped on the envelope by Darlington Post Office), and her cable would have been sent, as DHL requested, care of Seltzer and re-directed.

<sup>28</sup> He also wrote 'The Proper Study' and a review of *A Second Contemporary Verse Anthology* (*Phoenix*, ed. McDonald, pp. 719–23, 322–6), and began making alterations to an essay by Frederick Carter (*Letters*, iv. 497). Carter, a painter and etcher, was also a writer on astrology and the occult (iv. 365 n. 3).

'consciousness' was not 'pot-bound',<sup>29</sup> where one could regain contact with 'the natural springs of one's soul'. The letter of 24 September to Adele Seltzer, the wife of his American publisher Thomas Seltzer, in which Lawrence uses the last expression is the one in which he reports sending them 'the first part of the *Boy in the Bush*' (iv. 503) – his first use of the title.

He had finished writing out in longhand 'the first part' – notebooks 1 to 3, totalling 208 pages – of his manuscript. The whole manuscript (hereafter MS) consists of five notebooks totalling 580 pages and a separate last chapter on ten sheets of typing paper.<sup>30</sup> No pages from the 'badly typed' version which Mollie Skinner sent Lawrence<sup>31</sup> are interleaved with the manuscript; no trace of any version of 'The House of Ellis' has been found. The rate of composition (approximately 40,000 words in twenty-two days – an average of about 1,800 words per day) indicates that Lawrence did not find rewriting someone else's novel easier than writing his own. Lawrence often wrote quickly: the first 50,000 words of *The Lost Girl* were written in twenty-two days (an average of about 2,250 words per day); with *Kangaroo* he averaged 3,500 words per day.<sup>32</sup>

Lawrence set off for Mexico on 25 September 1923 with a Danish artist, Kai Götzsche whom he had met in Taos in 1922; they travelled by train down the west coast and then, partly by mule, over the mountains to Guadalajara, a city near Lake Chapala (where Lawrence and Frieda had been living earlier in the year), arriving on 17 October. According to Götzsche's account of the trip the heat was sometimes stifling; but, as they broke the trip on three occasions for a few days, Lawrence had the opportunity to work on *The Boy in the Bush* ('I have been busy over your novel, as I travelled', he wrote to Mollie Skinner a fortnight later).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Review of *A Second Contemporary Verse Anthology* (Phoenix, ed. McDonald, p. 325).

<sup>30</sup> Roberts E55a and b: the notebooks (with many pagination errors) are of USA manufacture and are located at UCBC; the last chap. is at IEduc. On the front covers of notebooks 4 and 5 is an inscription in DHL's hand: 'To Curtis Brown 6 Henrietta St. London W.C.2.' (DHL's English agent), and Curtis Brown's sticker – he arranged for their typing. Notebook 4 begins mid-sentence, precisely where a new size and grade of paper is introduced in the typescripts (T51a and b: 20.5×26.7 cm., no watermark, changes to 20.3×25.4 cm., W.M & A/BOND), and where the typed page-numbering ceases (p. 167). Thus it is certain that DHL sent Seltzer notebooks 1 to 3.

<sup>31</sup> *Fifth Sparrow* 117.

<sup>32</sup> See *The Lost Girl*, ed. Worthen, p. xxviii; information on *Kangaroo* from Bruce Steele, editor of forthcoming Cambridge edition. See also *Mr Noon*, ed. Lindeth Vasey (Cambridge, 1984), p. xxiv.

<sup>33</sup> *Letters*, iv. 523. They stopped at Guaymas, 27 September–1 October, Mazatlán, 6–9 October and Tepic, 10–14 October (iv. 505–12). Götzsche gives no indication that DHL did any writing en route (Knud Merrill, *A Poet and Two Painters: A Memoir of D. H. Lawrence*, 1938, pp. 332–9).

As Lawrence had envisaged, Mexico did inspire hope and a qualified optimism in him – which he described in a letter to Adele Seltzer on 28 October: ‘The USA and the world shut the flood-gates of my soul tight. And here they begin to open, and the life flows . . . our tough, dry, papier-mâché world recedes’ (iv. 522). Perhaps the change gave Lawrence the confidence to rewrite fully the last section of ‘The House of Ellis’ in a way that would allow him to explore ‘a whole new line of emotion’,<sup>34</sup> however heterodox.<sup>35</sup>

As early as 18 October he had realised this might present difficulties for Thomas Seltzer (‘*The Boy* might be popular – unless the ending is a bit startling’; iv. 517); by 1 November he felt the need to prepare Mollie Skinner for a shock:

The only thing was to write it all out again, following your MS. [i.e. typescript] almost exactly, but giving a unity, a rhythm, and a little more psychic development than you had done. I have come now to Book IV.<sup>36</sup> The end will have to be different, a good deal different.

Of course I don’t know how you feel about this. I hope to hear from you soon. But I think, now, the novel will be a good one. I have a very high regard for it myself. – The title, I thought, might be *The Boy in the Bush*.<sup>37</sup> There have been so many ‘Houses’ in print . . .

Your hero Jack is not quite so absolutely blameless an angel, according to me. You left the character psychologically at a standstill all the way: same boy at the beginning and the end. I have tried, taking your inner cue, to make a rather daring development, psychologically. You may disapprove. (iv. 523–4)

<sup>34</sup> ‘The Future of the Novel’, completed 1 February 1923, *Study of Thomas Hardy and Other Essays*, ed. Bruce Steele (Cambridge, 1985), p. 155.

<sup>35</sup> DHL made a list on the inside cover of a notebook (Roberts E55c, privately owned):

Surgeon Capt Reid –  
 father of Jack’s mother –  
 Mrs Grant.  
 Mary “Stopford.”  
 Aunt Matilda Watson  
 Mr Ellis – Jacob

(See E. W. Tedlock, *The Frieda Lawrence Collection of D. H. Lawrence Manuscripts: A Descriptive Bibliography*, Albuquerque, 1948, p. 134). ‘Watson’ and ‘Jacob’ appear in the post-Los Angeles section of MS, i.e. notebooks 4 and 5 (earlier the names are ‘Hawkins’ and ‘Frank’). If DHL bought the E55c notebook while he was in Mexico City, 16–21 November 1923 (it has a ‘Mexico D. F.’ stationer’s label), then he must have written the list to sort out the confusing family names while revising the typescripts in January 1924; if he got it in Guadalajara, then he could have used it while completing notebooks 4 and 5.

<sup>36</sup> I.e. not notebook 4 of MS, so probably a division in ‘The House of Ellis’.

<sup>37</sup> The title had already been used for an Australian novel by Richard Rowe (‘Peter Possum’), serialised in 1869 in *Good Words* under the pseudonym ‘Edward Howe’ and then published anonymously. An illustrated edition of 1885 was subtitled ‘A Tale of Australian Life’. DHL could have heard the title in his youth, but there is no evidence.

Lawrence's wave of interest in Jack's 'development' must have held, because only a fortnight after writing the letter to Mollie Skinner he had completed the manuscript (iv. 532) apart from the last chapter. He had written and corrected 372 pages of autograph manuscript in notebooks 4 and 5 (about 84,000 words) in a little over seven weeks,<sup>38</sup> three of which were spent travelling. If it is assumed that he was able to utilise half of those three weeks for writing, then he can be seen to have maintained a higher average rate than in Los Angeles: roughly 2,150 words per day (if a quarter, then 2,500). Surer, evidently, of where the novel was going Lawrence increased his speed of composition by some twenty (to forty) per cent<sup>39</sup> in its last two-thirds – the section which Mollie Skinner was later to claim contained the bulk (on a line count, 86 per cent) of Lawrence's contribution.<sup>40</sup> As Lawrence was not to write the last chapter till after his arrival in England in mid-December (see below), the 'daring development' he refers to is not the plan for Hilda Blessington to join Jack in the North-West the following Christmas. Rather it is Jack's continuing to seek out Monica after having been saved by Mary when lost in the bush and, having married Monica and become a successful gold miner, his making his bigamous proposal to Mary.

Although Lawrence had sent off the first three notebooks to Seltzer for typing on 24 September, a month later he still had not heard whether Seltzer had received them. Having already inquired about them in letters to Seltzer of 18 and c. 20 October, Lawrence wrote again on 28 October – a letter which marks the beginning of a train of complications concerning the typescript: 'Have you got *The Boy in the Bush* MS. If the office is busy, have it typed by a hired typist. I will pay it. Very soon I'll send you another booklet of it. It's really good, and I want it out in the spring, before "Quetzalcoatl!"' (iv. 523). In his next letter to Seltzer (3 November) Lawrence, still not having had a reply, tells the publisher that he will 'take all this remainder' with him to England and 'have it typed in London' (iv. 527). In the event, however, he posted notebooks 4 and 5 to his English agent, Curtis Brown, in London on 15 November, the day after he had completed the manuscript: 'I am sending you today the chief part of the MS. of a novel *The Boy in the Bush*. Seltzer has the first part: he is having it

<sup>38</sup> The corrections are light throughout MS (see Explanatory note on 7:21), except for three pages in chap. XXIV (see notes on 317:17 and 38, 318:11 and 319:5).

<sup>39</sup> If DHL did not work en route then his average was 2,950 words per day, and his increase about 65 per cent. While in Guadalajara he also contributed to and helped with the production of the poetry magazine, *Palms*, edited by Idella Purnell: see *Study of Thomas Hardy*, ed. Steele, pp. xlvi–xlvii, 159.

<sup>40</sup> See below, p. xlvi.

typed and will send it to you. Please have this MS. typed so that it can be ready when I get to England: and have *two* carbon copies made' (iv. 533).

Lawrence left Guadalajara on 16 November and sailed from Veracruz for England, arriving in London on 14 December. Almost immediately he wrote to Seltzer: 'Shall see Curtis B. tomorrow and get MSS. – I hope he has them all safe: will write you' (iv. 543). Three days later, and having heard disquieting rumours about Seltzer's financial position (iv. 543), a further letter was necessary: 'Have you sent the MSS of *Boy in the Bush* and "Quetzalcoatl": neither is here . . . I feel something's the matter – what is it?' (iv. 544) Lawrence saw Curtis Brown the following day, the 18th (iv. 548); the typescript copies of the 'chief part' of MS (that is, of notebooks 4 and 5) were probably given to him then (or, if not, soon after), for in his next letter to Seltzer on the 24th, he wrote: 'I am still waiting for that MS of *Boy in the Bush*. I have all the typescript from Curtis Brown – am hung up for your part' (iv. 549). The fact that Lawrence was 'hung up for [Seltzer's] part' suggests that, preferring to start at the beginning, he did not immediately commence his checking of the long, second section of typescript. This was to mean a considerable delay and his having to put off for three weeks his plans for travelling to Paris (iv. 544). He did not get Seltzer's typescript until around 13 January.

As he waited, his dislike of England and Europe hardened, and new lines of thought began to develop – which soon had their effects on *The Boy in the Bush*. Images of entrapment, testifying to his depression, are sprinkled through his letters of December 1923 and in his essay 'On Coming Home' (which he had completed by 24 December).<sup>41</sup> Fortunately release soon came, and from an unexpected quarter: Willard Johnson sent him the Christmas 1923 number of the magazine he edited, *Laughing Horse*. It arrived by 9 January 1924.<sup>42</sup> Johnson reprinted the Navajo 'Song of the Horse' as recorded by Natalie Curtis in her recently republished work, *The Indians' Book*.<sup>43</sup> The commentary he included with the translation draws attention to the joyous neigh of the Navajos' mythical turquoise horse as it 'travels across the sky' daily from east to west.

Lawrence's reply, which he sent on the 9th (iv. 555) and which was published in the next number of *Laughing Horse*<sup>44</sup> as 'Dear Old Horse: A

<sup>41</sup> *Letters*, iv. 549; printed in *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays*, ed. Michael Herbert (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 175–84.

<sup>42</sup> *Letters*, iv. 555; *Laughing Horse*, No. 9; Johnson (1897–1968), a poet from Santa Fe (see *Letters*, iv. 316 n. 5), had travelled with the Lawrences in Mexico in March–July 1923.

<sup>43</sup> New York and London: Harper Brothers, 1923 (originally published 1907), pp. 359–62.

<sup>44</sup> No. 10, May 1924.

London Letter', applies the legend, with a mixture of whimsy and earnestness, to his own situation in Europe:

It would be a terrible thing if the horse in us died for ever: as he seems to have died in Europe. How awful it would be, if at this present moment I sat in the yellow mummy-swathings of London atmosphere – the snow is melting – inside the dreadful mummy-sarcophagus of Europe, and didn't know that the blue horse was still kicking his heels and making a few sparks fly, across the tops of the Rockies. It would be a truly sad case for me.

In concluding that man must again become like the centaur, Lawrence enumerates its qualities: 'First of all, Sense, Good Sense, Sound Sense, Horse Sense. And then, a laugh, a loud, sensible Horse laugh. After that, these same passions, glossy and dangerous in the flanks. And after these again, hoofs, irresistible, splintering hoofs, that can kick the walls of the world down.' Under the influence both of this newfound stimulus and his inkling that his friend Dorothy Brett *would*, as she had recently promised, come back with Frieda and himself to create the nucleus of a Rananim in New Mexico,<sup>45</sup> Lawrence conceived of a more heartening ending for his novel – an ending it might never have possessed had Seltzer been more efficient.

The new last chapter echoes the 'London Letter' in a number of significant ways, suggesting that it was written at about the same time.<sup>46</sup> Jack finds a oneness with his horse, Adam, as if 'he himself were the breast and arms and head of the ruddy, powerful horse, and it, the flanks and hoofs' (339:31–3). Adam is not only the present means but also a vindication of Jack's escape from the entanglements of Perth society: the horse registers the falseness of Jack's 'affable, rather loving manner' when he is chatting with casual acquaintances, and becomes 'irritably, chafing to go on' (340:7–8). This natural 'horse-sense' culminates dramatically towards the end of the chapter as Adam, having scented Hilda Blessington's

<sup>45</sup> Several friends said they would come, at a drunken dinner party at the Café Royal, inferentially dated as ?19 December 1923: see *Letters*, iv. 546–7, v. 143; Catherine Carswell, *The Savage Pilgrimage: A Narrative of D. H. Lawrence* (1932, reprinted Cambridge, 1981), pp. 199–200, 205–13; John Carswell, *Lives and Letters: A. R. Orage, Beatrice Hastings, Katherine Mansfield, John Middleton Murry, S. S. Kotliansky 1906–1957* (New York, 1978), p. 201. Only one did – the Honourable Dorothy Eugenie Brett (1883–1977), artist and daughter of the 2nd Viscount Esher; see *Letters*, ii. 427 n. 2 and her *Lawrence and Brett: A Friendship* (Philadelphia, 1933; re-issued with 'Epilogue', Santa Fe, 1974).

<sup>46</sup> Parallels between Brett and the Hilda Blessington of the last chap. reinforce the dating. Brett was the daughter of a viscount, and cf. Hilda's 'pure breeding' (345:2); both have seriously impaired hearing. Jack thinks of Hilda as 'the queerest, oddest, most isolated bird he had ever come across' (344:40–345:1); DHL had described Brett to a friend as 'a real odd man out' (Carswell, *Savage Pilgrimage*, p. 200). DHL had, accordingly, to revise nearly all Hilda's earlier appearances (see footnote 50).

'blue-grey mare' (347:21), has to be let out of his stall in the barn lest he smash it to pieces: 'The shut-up stallion sounded like an enclosed thunder-storm' (342:31-2). The idea of enclosure, mentioned in the 'London Letter', is a development of the Chinese boxes image in 'On Coming Home'; the centaur figure<sup>47</sup> offers a symbolic way out.

The physical state of the autograph manuscript of the last chapter confirms a date of *c.* 9 January 1924 for its composition. The paper is of the same kind Lawrence used for the substitution of several pages of typescript at typescript revision stage,<sup>48</sup> a process which was to occupy him virtually until the moment he finally left London for Paris on 23 January.

### The revision of the typescripts

Lawrence had received the Seltzer (partial) typescript (i.e. of notebooks 1 to 3; hereafter, the original typescript) by 13 January. As he already had the three typed copies of notebooks 4 and 5 he was able to write on that day to Mollie Skinner:

I have got the complete typescript of *The Boy in the Bush* now, and am going through it. It's awfully good, I like it immensely. I hope in about four day's time to post you the third of the typed copies. Will you go through it at once, and let me have *by return* any suggestions you can make. Be quick, and you'll be in time for the proofs . . . (iv. 557)

Seltzer had sent Lawrence only one copy of the original typescript (iv. 559), retaining one copy for himself.<sup>49</sup> As Lawrence needed three complete copies – for his English publisher Martin Secker, for Seltzer and for Mollie Skinner – he probably sent off the original typescript for re-typing as soon as he had corrected it, because the re-typing was completed by the time Lawrence and Frieda left for Paris (iv. 560). Further, it is very likely that Lawrence's writing of the last chapter (*c.* 9 January) determined the new emphasis displayed in the revisions of at least the 'chief [second] part' of the typescript (*c.* 13-22 January) – rather than vice versa.<sup>50</sup> Considerable revision was necessary because of the newly optimistic (and polygamous) future in the North-West now envisaged for

<sup>47</sup> DHL had foreshadowed the idea when writing chap. VIII (see 121:15).

<sup>48</sup> C. 21.4×27.4 cm., watermark 'DESPACHO BOND'. DHL used a sheet for the title-page of TS1a (see below).

<sup>49</sup> 7 pp. of it (the remainder is lost) were later included in TS1a (see below).

<sup>50</sup> E.g. Hilda's physical appearance and Jack's self-sufficiency and mastery: see Textual apparatus for 251:21, 313:38, 314:21 and 301:28, 303:38, 335:38.



Jack. His fierce alienation from Perth society had to be carefully prepared for.

Only two of the three typescripts are extant: the setting-copies used by Seltzer (hereafter TSIa) and Secker (hereafter TSIb).<sup>51</sup> Both are a mixture of ribbon-copy and carbon-copy pages: TSIa consists of 326 ribbon-copy pages and 217 carbon-copy; TSIb of 220 ribbon-copy and 323 carbon-copy. (There are three cases of carbon reversal.) The typed page-numbering of TSIa and TSIb extends to p. 166 and continues for the last chapter, type-numbered 167–81. (Evidently Lawrence sent them to the typist together, and they were given sequential pagination.<sup>52</sup>) Auto-graph corrections of wording in these 181 pages appear to be those of a typist or typists; in almost every case the correction (from the original typescript) restores the manuscript reading. Probably Lawrence decided not to correct this re-typing: he was short of time and, as he had submitted a revised typescript, he may not have anticipated any problems.<sup>53</sup> He did, however, see the re-typed section and note its final page number (p. 166), for most of the subsequent page-numbering from p. 167 to the end of the novel (p. 543) is in his hand.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> TSIa (Roberts E55f) and TSIb (E55e); proof is provided by the marking-up and by variant typescript revisions transmitted to the first editions (e.g. Textual apparatus for 39:37, 163:9 and 159:22, 301:28).

<sup>52</sup> For the pagination of chap. xxvi, see Explanatory note on 340:31. It must have been typed in triplicate, to provide a copy for MLS, because DHL referred unproblematically to the last two chapters which she had asked him to delete (*Letters*, v. 22, 24; see below, p. xl). He must have meant chaps. xxv and xxvi, and her description of the novel in typescript (*Fifth Sparrow* 128) includes matter contained in xxvi.

<sup>53</sup> He did not revise the re-typing of *Kangaroo* (Roberts E182e) either, even though it is very likely that he saw it (information from Bruce Steele). See Explanatory note on 24:11.

<sup>54</sup> DHL must have asked for two copies of the revised original typescript to be made so as to have three. MLS's copy (now unlocated) must have included that original typescript: two of the deletions she subsequently requested (see below, pp. xxxix–xliv) were cited by page numbers, which do not correspond to TSIa and b, and DHL no longer had a copy.

The paginations of the original typescript and TSIa and b were different. The first cancelled pagination of the part of TSIa corresponding to notebooks 4 and 5 commences with '138', and was probably done before the re-typing was returned. After receiving it DHL made an (uncompleted) attempt to re-paginate, starting with '140' and working backwards, which would have led to negative numbers at the beginning of TSIa; evidently he got '138' or '140', or both, wrong. Since p. '137'/'140' in TSIa and b is type-paginated '166', the difference in the number of pages is about 28; thus the re-typing is about 20 per cent longer, and when this is taken into account, the page numbers of both of MLS's requested deletions are redesignated correctly in TSIa and b.

MLS's copy of pp. 167–543 must have been entirely carbon (no ribbon-copy pages are unaccounted for), which suggests that it was not included in DHL's revision and collation (including pagination) of the copies, when the mixing of ribbon and carbon pages in TSIa and b must have occurred. Hence the absence of page numbers for MLS's requested changes after p. 166.

DHL paginated TSIb once, correcting a mistake in his last (of several) attempts in