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

THE WORKS OF D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITORIAL BOARD

STUDIES IN CLASSIC AMERICAN LITERATURE

D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITED BY
EZRA GREENSPAN
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AND
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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

D. H. Lawrence was 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 inflexible house-styling of his printers, which overrode his punctuation and even his sentence-structure and paragraphing. He sometimes overlooked plausible printing errors. More important, as a professional author living by his pen, he had to accept, with more or less good will, stringent editing by a publisher's reader in his early days, and at all times the results of his publishers' timidity. So the fear of Grundyish disapproval, or actual legal action, led to bowdlerisation or censorship from the very beginning of his career. Threats of libel suits produced other changes. Sometimes a publisher made more changes than he admitted to Lawrence. On a number of occasions in dealing with American and British publishers Lawrence produced texts for both which were not identical. Then there were extraordinary lapses like the occasion when a typist turned over two pages of MS at once, and the result happened to make sense. This whole story can be reconstructed from the introductions to the volumes in this edition; cumulatively they form a history of Lawrence's writing career.

The Cambridge edition aims to provide texts which are as close as can now be determined to those he would have wished to see printed. They have been established by a rigorous collation of extant manuscripts and typescripts, proofs and early printed versions; they restore the words, sentences, even whole pages omitted or falsified by editors or compositors; they are freed from printing-house conventions which were imposed on Lawrence's style; and interference on the part of frightened publishers has been eliminated. Far from doing violence to the texts Lawrence would have wished to see published, editorial intervention is essential to recover them. Though we have to accept that some cannot now be recovered in their entirety because early states have

not survived, we must be glad that so much evidence remains. Paradoxical as it may seem, the outcome of this recension will be texts which differ, often radically and certainly frequently, from those seen by the author himself.

Editors adopt 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 which records variant 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. Significant MS readings may be found in the occasional explanatory note.

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 was a twentieth-century writer and in some 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 forms 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.

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July 2001

E.G.
L.S.V.
J.W.

Note

Early in 1978 the late Charles Harold Bennett Smith wrote to Gerald Pollinger (agent for the Estate of D. H. Lawrence) announcing that he possessed a number of Lawrence manuscripts. When Gerald Pollinger asked for some idea of what Smith might have, the latter replied (on 6 September 1978) with a list that included a great many unpublished *Studies* essays and over 300 previously unknown letters and postcards. As Gerald Pollinger made enquiries in Lawrence circles, it became clear that no-one had ever heard of Smith as a collector, let alone had any knowledge of him as the owner of such an extraordinary archive. Very little is in fact known of Smith; he had lived in New York for some years and in 1978 was residing in Bermuda. He explained that he had long been enthusiastic about Lawrence's writing and had seen the manuscript material for sale in a small bookshop; as he was not a man of means he had had to acquire his collection slowly, piece by piece.

What he possessed all turned out to be linked in one way or another with Lawrence's American agent of the early 1920s, Robert Mountsier. When Lawrence had originally broken with Mountsier in February 1923, he had asked him to 'Tell me what MSS you have. And if you would like to keep any of them' (*Letters*, iv. 400). In September 1924, however, he had asked Mountsier to hand over to his New York agent, Curtis Brown, 'all the manuscripts and papers I left in your keeping' (v. 127); the agency also wrote to Mountsier asking what manuscripts he still retained, so that they could 'arrange to have them collected' (v. 128 n. 2). Mountsier objected, and Lawrence wrote a good deal more strongly to him on 5 October 1924: 'I must once more ask you, therefore, to hand over to Mr Barmby all Manuscripts and papers of mine you have in your possession. They are not in any sense your property. And what name does one give to a man who deliberately detains property not his own?' (v. 145). Mountsier, however, kept his Lawrence manuscripts: as late as 1929, Lawrence was complaining 'I've lost so many MSS already – Seltzer has some – Mountsier – some have disappeared unaccountably – and it seems a shame' (vii. 204). When, some years later, the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center in Austin, Texas, acquired Robert Mountsier's papers, it turned out that, although much of the material concerned Lawrence, none of Lawrence's letters or manuscripts – indeed, practically nothing in his handwriting – was included. Someone had carefully separated this material off from the rest and removed it; and it seems undeniable that this was what had now turned up in Smith's possession. How he acquired it we shall probably never know.

Gerald Pollinger invited Smith to the D. H. Lawrence Conference at the University of Southern Illinois at Carbondale in April 1979, and Smith

brought with him photocopies of some of the letters he owned, and a photocopy of a Seltzer contract for *Studies* dated 2 January 1923. Lawrentians who saw the materials agreed that they were genuine, that they were completely unknown, and that they would utterly alter our understanding of Mountsier's role in Lawrence's life. It was decided that the late Warren Roberts (then Director of the HRHRC, but also Lawrence's bibliographer and an eminent Lawrence scholar) would go to Bermuda to see exactly what Smith possessed. Warren Roberts and his wife Pat stayed in Smith's house, where they found large numbers of Lawrence manuscripts, typescripts and letters lying about. With Smith's permission, Warren Roberts began to photocopy the collection on a nearby machine, making two copies of everything, and ensuring that the photocopies were clear and complete – something which would turn out to be vital for the editors of this edition. Pat Roberts meanwhile attempted to entertain an increasingly impatient Smith, who may have been starting to realise how the value of his collection would be affected if copies were made available. Another example of the unexpected richness of Smith's collection came just as Warren and Pat Roberts were leaving for the airport. Warren spotted still further unpublished material – the carbon typescript of *The Lost Girl*, a not inconsiderable stack of 486 pages, and totally unexpected; it was something Smith had never previously mentioned. In January the following year, Lindeth Vasey went to Bermuda to photocopy this and any other material which she could find or Smith could turn up – and one item which emerged from this visit was the photograph of Robert Mountsier reproduced in *Letters*, iv. Smith died in the early 1980s and his collection was sold at auction by Sothebys in New York; much of it is now unlocated (see footnote 29 to the Introduction).

As can be seen by the large number of Smith items referred to in footnotes to the Introduction (their Roberts numbers taken from the manuscript section in the third edition of Roberts's *Bibliography*), this edition of *Studies* is hugely indebted to Smith's materials; without them it would not have been possible to assemble very much more material than Armin Arnold had included in *The Symbolic Meaning* in 1962. Of the twenty manuscripts or groups of manuscripts used in this edition, no fewer than ten came from the Smith collection; to cite just two examples, not only the crucial final manuscript (E382q) of *Studies*, containing Lawrence's references to Whitman's naked peregrinations in senility, but the very earliest surviving example of that same essay, dating from 1919 (E382b), shocking and fascinating in quite a different way.

The first person to work on an edition of *Studies* for the Cambridge Edition, Harold Shapiro, abandoned his work on hearing of the Smith collection; it not only rendered what he had done up to that point incomplete but ensured that nearly all of his work would have to be done again. The history of the *Studies*

manuscripts since 1980, however (and the fact that no scholarly or indeed any kind of access to them has been possible), means that the opportunity which Warren Roberts took to make photocopies of them in 1979 effectively rescued them for this edition, and their texts for posterity. The textual editors would therefore like to dedicate their work on this volume to the patience and generosity of Harold Smith, and the forethought and perspicacity of Warren Roberts.

Lindeth Vasey
John Worthen

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 *Nottinghamshire Guardian*
October 1908	Appointed as teacher at Davidson Road School, Croydon
November 1909	Publishes five poems in *English Review*
9 December 1910	Death of his mother, Lydia Lawrence
19 January 1911	*The White Peacock* published in New York (20 January in London)
19 November 1911	Ill with pneumonia; resigns his teaching position 28 February 1912
March 1912	Meets Frieda Weekley; they leave for Germany on 3 May
23 May 1912	*The Trespasser*
February 1913	*Love Poems and Others*
29 May 1913	*Sons and Lovers*
13 July 1914	Marries Frieda Weekley in London
26 November 1914	*The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*
30 September 1915	*The Rainbow* published; suppressed by court order on 13 November
February 1916	Reading Melville's *Moby Dick*
May 1916	Reading Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (and wants to read Melville's *Typee* and *Omoo*); requests Everyman's Library catalogue
June 1916	*Twilight in Italy*
July 1916	*Amores*
summer 1916	Gives Murry copy of Crèvecoeur's *Letters From an American Farmer*

4 January 1917	Requests from Mountsier copies from Everyman's Library of works by Melville, Cooper, Whitman, Crèvecoeur, Hawthorne, Rousseau, Lincoln, Emerson, Franklin, Hamilton and Poe
February 1917	Planned visit to USA postponed when passport applications denied
August 1917	Begins work on *Studies*
15 October 1917	Composition interrupted when the Lawrences are expelled from Cornwall by authorities; DHL probably resumes only in January 1918
26 November 1917	*Look! We Have Come Through!*
mid-February 1918	At work on 'Poe' essay
June 1918	Writing 'a last essay on Whitman'
August 1918	Sends his agent James B. Pinker the first essay ('The Spirit of Place') for possible publication in the *English Review*
October 1918	*New Poems*
November 1918–June 1919	Publication of first eight essays from *Studies in Classic American Literature* in *English Review*: 'The Spirit of Place' (November), 'Benjamin Franklin' (December), 'Henry [*sic*] St. John de Crèvecoeur' (January), 'Fenimore Cooper's Anglo-American Novels' (February), 'Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking Novels' (March), 'Edgar Allan Poe' (April), 'Nathaniel Hawthorne' (May) and 'The Two Principles' (June)
February 1919	DHL tries to interest his American publisher, Benjamin Huebsch, in *Studies* by having first four essays from *English Review* sent to him
7 September 1919	Receives offer from Thomas Seltzer to act as American publisher of *Women in Love*

September 1919	Revises essays on Hawthorne (second part), Dana, Melville and Whitman
10 October 1919	Sends revised composite text of *Studies* to Huebsch; Huebsch remains indecisive well into mid 1920
November 1919	To Italy, then Capri and Sicily
20 November 1919	*Bay*
16 February 1920	Asks Robert Mountsier to act as his American agent (accepted on 26 March)
May 1920	*Touch and Go*
June 1920	Returns to work on *Studies* in anticipation of its book publication; negotiates with Martin Secker and Cecil Palmer for publication in England, with Huebsch and Seltzer for publication in USA
July 1920	Huebsch announces that he is ceding American publication of *Studies* to Seltzer
2 August 1920	DHL sends revised composite text of essays to Mountsier in New York
7 September 1920	Sends Mountsier new introduction to *Studies*, published as 'America, Listen to Your Own' in December 1920 *New Republic*
9 November 1920	*Women in Love* published in USA by Seltzer (in England by Secker on 10 June 1921)
25 November 1920	*The Lost Girl*
February 1921	*Movements in European History*
4 April 1921	Asks Curtis Brown to act as his English agent
10 May 1921	*Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious*
23 July 1921	'Whitman', shortened by Mountsier, in *Nation and Athenaeum* (reprinted in *New York Call* on 21 August 1921)
5 November 1921	Receives invitation from Mabel Dodge Sterne to stay in Taos, New Mexico
12 December 1921	*Sea and Sardinia*

9 December 1921	*Tortoises*
18 February 1922	Sends Curtis Brown text of *Studies* to offer to Jonathan Cape for publication in England; Cape declines
26 February 1922	Departs with Frieda for Ceylon from Naples, en route to Western Hemisphere
13 March 1922	Arrives in Ceylon; departs for Australia on 24 April and arrives in Perth on 4 May
14 April 1922	*Aaron's Rod*
11 August 1922	Sails out of Sydney for San Francisco on the *Tahiti*
4 September 1922	Arrives at San Francisco
11 September 1922	Reaches Taos, New Mexico
22 September 1922	Requests copy of text of *Studies* from Seltzer (and from Mountsier), as well as Raymond Weaver's Melville biography
11 October 1922	Asks Mountsier his opinion of 'Studies of the American Daimon' as an alternative title
23 October 1922	*Fantasia of the Unconscious*
24 October 1922	*England, My England and Other Stories*
by 11 November 1922	Starts rewriting *Studies* one final time
28 November 1922	Informs Mountsier that *Studies* is 'nearly done'
1 December 1922	Moves with Frieda to Del Monte Ranch north of Taos
3 December 1922	Sends Mountsier texts of rewritten essays up to 'Dana'
12 December 1922	Finishes rewriting *Studies* and prepares to send last four essays to Mountsier
late December 1922–early Jan. 1923	Visits of Seltzers and Mountsier at Del Monte Ranch
19 January 1923	Mails Seltzer text of *Studies*
3 February 1923	Severs connection with Mountsier
25 February 1923	Accepts Secker's terms for publication of *Studies* in England

March 1923	*The Ladybird, The Fox, The Captain's Doll*
March–April 1923	Leaves New Mexico and settles in Chapala, Mexico
1 May 1923	Second contract with Seltzer for *Studies*
May-June 1923	Reads proof of *Studies* and rewrites ending of 'Whitman'
7 June 1923	Returns contract for Secker edition of *Studies* to Curtis Brown
9 July 1923	Departs Mexico; arrives in New York on 19 July
20 July–21 August 1923	Stays with the Seltzers at a rented cottage in New Jersey; reads proofs of various works and meets New York literati
22 August 1923	Departs New York en route to return trip through south western USA and Mexico
27 August 1923	*Studies in Classic American Literature* published in USA by Seltzer
September 1923	*Kangaroo*
9 October 1923	*Birds, Beasts and Flowers*
December 1923–March 1924	In England, France and Germany
March 1924–September 1925	In New and Old Mexico
June 1924	*Studies in Classic American Literature* published in England by Secker
August 1924	*The Boy in the Bush* (with Mollie Skinner)
10 September 1924	Death of his father, Arthur John Lawrence
February 1925	Replaces Seltzer with Alfred A. Knopf as US publisher
14 May 1925	*St. Mawr and Other Stories*
7 December 1925	*Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine*
January 1926	*The Plumed Serpent*
June 1927	*Mornings in Mexico*
24 May 1928	*The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*
June 1928–March 1930	In Switzerland and, principally, in France

June 1928	*Lady Chatterley's Lover*, privately printed in Florence
September 1928	*Collected Poems*
September 1929	*The Escaped Cock*
2 March 1930	Dies at Vence, Alpes Maritimes, France
7 May 1962	*The Symbolic Meaning*

CUE-TITLES

A. Manuscript locations

BucU	Bucknell University
Pierpont Morgan	Pierpont Morgan Library
Smith	The late Charles Harold Bennett Smith
UIll	University of Illinois
UN	University of Nottingham
UNM	University of New Mexico
UT	University of Texas at Austin
UTul	University of Tulsa
YU	Yale University

B. Printed works: American Literature

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

BFA	*Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography* (1791). Introduction by William Macdonald. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1908.
BR	Nathaniel Hawthorne. *The Blithedale Romance* (1852). Introduction by Ernest Rhys. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1912.
DS	James Fenimore Cooper. *The Deerslayer, or the First Warpath* (1841). Editor's Note anon. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1906.
HB	James Fenimore Cooper. *Homeward Bound* (1838). George Routledge & Sons, 1888.
LAF	Hector St Jean de Crèvecoeur [Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur]. *Letters From an American Farmer* (1783). Introduction by Warren Barton Blake. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1912.

LG	Walt Whitman. *Leaves of Grass* (1) & *Democratic Vistas*. Introduction by Horace Traubel. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1912.
LOM	James Fenimore Cooper. *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826). Editor's Note anon. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1906.
MD	Herman Melville. *Moby Dick, or the White Whale* (1851). Editor's Note anon. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1907.
OMO	Herman Melville. *Omoo* (1847). Introduction anon. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1908.
PF	James Fenimore Cooper. *The Pathfinder, or the Inland Sea* (1840). Editor's Note anon. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1906.
PI	James Fenimore Cooper. *The Pioneers* (1823). Editor's Note anon. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1907.
PR	James Fenimore Cooper. *The Prairie* (1827). Editor's Note anon. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1907.
TMI	Edgar Allan Poe. *Tales of Mystery and Imagination*. Introduction by Pádraic Colum. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1908.
TSL	Nathaniel Hawthorne. *The Scarlet Letter* (1850). Introduction by Ernest Rhys. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1906.
TYB	Richard Henry Dana. *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840). Introduction anon. Nelson (Nelson's Classics), n.d. [1912].
TYP	Herman Melville. *Typee* (1846). Introduction anon. J. M. Dent & Sons (Everyman's Library), 1907.

C. Other works

FWL	D. H. Lawrence. *The First 'Women in Love'*. Ed. John Worthen and Lindeth Vasey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Hardy	D. H. Lawrence. *Study of Thomas Hardy and Other Essays*. Ed. Bruce Steele. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
KJB	*The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments (Authorised King James Version)*.
Letters, i.	James T. Boulton, ed. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume I. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
Letters, ii.	George J. Zytaruk and James T. Boulton, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
Letters, iii.	James T. Boulton and Andrew Robertson, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume III. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
Letters, iv.	Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton and Elizabeth Mansfield, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume IV. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
Letters, viii.	James T. Boulton, ed. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume VIII. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
Movements	D. H. Lawrence. *Movements in European History*. Ed. Philip Crumpton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
Nehls	Edward Nehls, ed. *D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography*. 3 volumes. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957–9.
OED2	*The Oxford English Dictionary*. Second edn. on Compact Disc. Oxford University Press, 1994.
Phoenix	Edward D. McDonald, ed. *Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence*. New York: Viking, 1936.
Reflections	D. H. Lawrence. *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays*. Ed. Michael Herbert. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
Roberts	Warren Roberts and Paul Poplawski. *A Bibliography of D. H. Lawrence*. Third edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
Seltzer	Gerald M. Lacy, ed. *D. H. Lawrence: Letters to Thomas and Adele Seltzer*. Santa Barbara, California: Black Sparrow Press, 1976.

Studies	*Studies in Classic American Literature*
Symbolic Meaning	Armin Arnold, ed. *The Symbolic Meaning*. Arundel: Centaur Press Limited, 1962.
VOA	Leo Frobenius. *The Voice of Africa*, tr. Rudolf Blind. 2 volumes. Hutchinson & Co., 1913.
WL	D. H. Lawrence. *Women in Love*. Ed. David Farmer, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

INTRODUCTION

Background

Judged even by the standards of the sometimes tortuous publishing history of Lawrence's work, *Studies* occupies a unique position. The essays span vastly different periods in his writing career; the esoteric subjects which interested him in the period 1917–19, for example, and which profoundly influenced the essays of that date, had almost no connection with the much brisker and hard-hitting concentration on America demonstrated in the final revision, which he wrote at the end of 1922. There were, at various times, fifteen separate items which belonged to or were designed for the book, all of them revised on different occasions, nearly all of them more than once, some of them four or five times, and each time corrected with the errors of their predecessors preserved or extended. Two items (a 'Foreword' drafted in 1920 and the essay called 'The Two Principles') were discarded before the final book was assembled; other essays grew so much in revision that they split into two separate items. Tracing a clear textual history is at times almost impossible, because so many of the significant artefacts of the various stages of revision are lost. The Textual Diagram may help to reveal at least some of the textual paths of the various items, but it also shows just how many individual items are missing.

It is convenient, however, to posit five main stages in the creation of the book. There was a first stage of preliminary reading and planning, which extended from early in 1916 into the first half of 1917. The second stage, of actual composition and revision, occurred during the years 1917–19, and culminated in eight of what were at that stage twelve essays being published in the *English Review*. The third stage involved Lawrence's continued revision of the essays not printed by the *English Review*, and his efforts in 1919 to get these revised forms into print, together with attempts to interest publishers in the idea of the book. The fourth stage of work came through his attempts between 1920 and 1921 to establish a new (though also frequently revised) text of the book, along with fresh attempts to get a new Foreword and versions of the last five essays published in magazines. Fifth came his creation of the final version of the book between October 1922 and June 1923, culminating in the

TEXTUAL

	'America, Listen to Your Own'	Foreword	The Spirit of Place	Benjamin Franklin	Crève-coeur	Cooper I White Novels	Cooper II Leather-stocking Novels
FIRST STAGE 1916–17: reading and making notes				?	?	?	
SECOND STAGE 1917–19: MS and TS Essays			lost	lost	lost	lost	
English Review publication *of the* **First Version**			**Nov. 1918**	**Dec. 1918**	**Jan. 1919**	**Feb. 1919**	**Mar. 1919**
THIRD STAGE 1919: revision of unpublished MS and TS essays							
1919: **Intermediate Version** assembled and sent to Huebsch							
FOURTH STAGE 1920–1: revised text to RM	E382.5a E382.5c						
'Foreword' in the *New Republic*	**15 Dec. 1920**						
RM's attempts at periodical publication							
Version of 'Whitman' in the *Nation & Athenaeum*							
FIFTH STAGE 1922–4: Autumn 1922 TCC		**E382p**					
Autumn 1922 Final MS						E382q	
Lost duplicate Final MS		E382o	E382o	E382o			
1922–3 Final corrected TS						lost	
1923 Seltzer's proofs						lost	
'Whitman' extra revision MS							
'Whitman' extra revision TS							
American First edition: **Final Version**						**New York, 1923: Thomas Seltzer**	
English First edition						London, 1924: Martin Secker	

Texts in **bold** are printed in full in this volume: other surviving texts are recorded in the Textual apparatus. Shadings in column one show development from First to Fifth Stage.

DIAGRAM

Edgar Allan Poe	Hawthorne I	Hawthorne II *Scarlet Letter*	The Two Principles	Dana	Melville I	Melville II *Moby Dick*	Whitman	Textual apparatus
?	**E382e**		?	?	?		?	
lost	**E382g**		lost	**E382r**	**E382s**		lost	TS1
Apr. 1919	May 1919	Proofs	**June 1919**					Per
		E382f		**E382n**	**E382l**	**E382i**	**E382b**	MS2
lost								
lost								
								Per
		E382h						TS3
					E382m			TS4
						E382k/j		TS5/ TCC5
							E382d	TCC6
							23 July 1921	Per
E382p							**E382p**	TCC7
				E382q			**E382q**	MS8
lost				lost				
				lost				
				lost				
							E382a	MS9
							E382c	TS10
				New York, 1923: Thomas Seltzer				A1
				London, 1924: Martin Secker				E1

Diagonal hatchings represent versions which belong together. E nos. are those of manuscripts in Roberts. Per = periodical RM = Robert Mountsier

publication of the book on 27 August 1923 in the USA and in June 1924 in England.

First Stage 1916–17: reading and note-making

The idea of a study of the 'American classics' – the term so new in the second decade of the twentieth century that it was still an oxymoron to many of his contemporaries in the United States, no less than in Britain – seems to have come to Lawrence late in 1916–17. In a real sense, though, the seed of *Studies in Classic American Literature* lay buried deep in his sensibility and can be traced back to his childhood, when he first read James Fenimore Cooper's 'Leatherstocking' novels and absorbed their portrayal of the New World with a boy's wide-eyed fascination. When and to what extent he developed a further acquaintance with American writing is a matter of conjecture. He would have encountered, at home in Eastwood, extensive selections from various American writers in Richard Garnett's remarkable twenty-volume anthology, *The International Library of Famous Literature* (1899), a set of which had been purchased by his brother Ernest.[1] Of Walt Whitman, the central figure in his appreciation of American culture and society and the one to whom he was most often compared, Lawrence was certainly well aware (he quoted Whitman in *The White Peacock*[2]), as he was aware of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Jack London – writers all mentioned (and Whitman and Longfellow quoted) in his early letters. Of William James, especially on pragmatism, he was also cognisant, as he was of Henry James, although the former would probably have been the more compatible with Lawrence's thought and sensibility.[3] Two additional writers whom he had not only encountered by 1906 but also

[1] *Letters*, i. 4–6. (*Letters* hereafter usually cited in text and footnotes by volume and page number.) Garnett saw the literatures of Britain and the United States 'not as two great literatures regarding each other across the Atlantic, but one colossal literature bestriding that vast ocean' (*The International Library of Famous Literature*, i. xv). He was aided in the project by various critics and writers, including three Americans: Donald G. Mitchell ('Ik Marvel'), Henry James and Bret Harte. Volume xiv featured as its introduction James's 'The Future of the Novel' and contained numerous selections from nineteenth-century writers; volume xv, edited by Harte, consisted exclusively of works by American writers or about the United States. The set included extracts from Franklin's *Autobiography* (xv. 6860), Cooper's *The Pilot* (xiv. 6645) and *The Spy* (xv. 6994), complete texts of Poe's *The Fall of the House of Usher* (xii. 5789), *The Gold Bug* (xv. 7122) and *William Wilson* (xvii. 7944), extracts from Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* (xv. 7088), Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (xiii. 6122) and Melville's *Moby-Dick* (xii. 5806), and complete texts of Whitman's 'O Captain! My Captain!' (xv. 7304), 'Death's Valley' (xviii. 8392) and 'Song of the Banner at Daybreak' (xix. 8826).

[2] *The White Peacock*, ed. Andrew Robertson (Cambridge, 1983), 171:5 ('uttering joyous leaves', from 'I saw in Louisiana a Live-Oak Growing' – *LG* 106). DHL's friend Jessie Chambers quoted the poem in February 1908, suggesting that they both knew it by then ('The Collected Letters of Jessie Chambers', *D. H. Lawrence Review*, xii, 1–2, Spring–Summer 1979, 2).

[3] John Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence: The Early Years, 1885–1912* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 180.

responded to enthusiastically were Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau.[4] Frank Norris was still so much in Lawrence's mind that in the first published version of 'Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking Novels' he would refer to 'the late book of Frank Norris, the book about the wheat' (*The Octopus*, 1901); he had first encountered Norris's work back in 1909.[5] As for American writers in the flesh, he was to make the acquaintance in 1909 of one of the finest among the younger generation settled in Europe, Ezra Pound (i. 144–5, 147–8), who would have been capable of putting Lawrence through the ABCs of a schooling in American letters had his energies not then been generally directed elsewhere.

Lawrence's interest in American writers gradually became coupled during the next decade with a growing desire to see the New World with his own eyes. By the beginning of the First World War, matters personal, artistic and historical were combining to redirect his attention toward not just the physical reality of the New World but also its psycho/cultural status as an alternative location for a writer and thinker. Affected, like many of his European contemporaries, by the shadow cast by the war over Britain and the Continent, Lawrence came to see the New World during the war years, L. D. Clark has claimed, 'as a haven for the rebirth of self and society'.[6] Over the course of those years, it emerged as the nearest territorial approximation to several of Lawrence's most passionately held ideas about the life of the self, the spirit and the psyche.

As early as October 1915, he was making plans to travel to the New World.[7] What he then wrote to Harriet Monroe, a leading supporter of the Imagist movement in the United States and the founding editor of *Poetry*, he was to state many times in the years to come: 'I must see America. I think one can feel hope there. I think that there the life comes up from the roots, crude but vital. Here the whole tree of life is dying. It is like being dead: the underworld. I must see America. I believe it is beginning, not ending' (ii. 417). Such thoughts and wishes at times intersected, at times merged with, his desire to go away to the place which he had originally, in the English winter of 1914–15, called 'Rananim', but which by the winter of 1915 had become an unnamed retreat sometimes identified with Florida (ii. 444); by the still drearier winter of 1918 he would be thinking of his retreat as a place as far removed physically and spiritually as possible from 'Britannia's miserable shores' (iii. 215). With his

[4] E. T. [Jessie Chambers], *D. H. Lawrence: A Personal Record* (1935), p. 101.
[5] See Explanatory note on 60:40.
[6] Introduction, *The Plumed Serpent* (Cambridge, 1987), p. xix.
[7] On DHL's impassioned desire in autumn 1915 to leave Europe for the New World, see Mark Kinkead-Weekes, *D. H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile, 1912–1922* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 275–82.

career desperately set back by the banning of *The Rainbow* in 1915, and his own emotions about England, the war and the state of his career complicated in the extreme, he considered at various times the possibility of setting down his fantasia on the terra firma of such places as the Andes, California or a South Sea island inspired by Herman Melville's *Typee*. References to America, made often by way of contrast to Europe, and his own wish to take its measure in person, became common in Lawrence's letters during the latter years of the war. One of the strongest statements he made in this respect came late in 1916, when he stated his disgust with Europe and his hopefulness for America in a letter to his friend Catherine Carswell:

> I *know* now, finally:
>
> a. that I want to go away from England for ever.
> b. That I want *ultimately* to go to a country of which I have hope, in which I feel the new unknown.
>
> In short, I want, immediately or at length, to transfer all my life to America. (iii. 25)

The least formalist of writers and readers in his habits and temperament, Lawrence was no more inclined to separate his views of literature and culture from his ideas about history, society and psychology than he was given to detach his writing from his life. Over the course of 1916, by now occupying with Frieda a house in Cornwall – 'a sort of no-man's land . . . not England' (ii. 494) – his intensifying interest in the New World increasingly coincided with a fascination with American literature. Despite his prior general introduction to the subject of American writing, it was during 1916 that Lawrence entered for the first time into a more sustained, focused engagement both with the subject and with some of the writers who would figure in his American literary essays. In February, he was reading Melville's *Moby-Dick*[8] – 'a very odd, interesting book' – and wishing that he was 'going on a long voyage, far into the Pacific. I wish that very much' (ii. 528–9). Still in a sea-faring mood in June, he reported to his friend Barbara Low that he had recently read Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* ('*very good*'), and enquired whether she had copies of either of Melville's first two novels, *Typee* and *Omoo* (ii. 614). Two days later, he expressed his enthusiasm for Cooper, whose *The Last of the Mohicans* and *The Deerslayer* he found 'lovely beyond words' (ii. 615); he and Frieda had been reading Cooper together.[9] Furthermore, he was then contemplating a

[8] DHL possibly recognised this phenomenon himself; a year later he referred to himself in a letter to the American novelist–critic Waldo Frank as 'hav[ing] *really* read your literature' (iii. 160). For DHL's references to *Moby-Dick* as *Moby Dick* see Explanatory note on 133:3.

[9] *Frieda Lawrence: The Memoirs and Correspondence*, ed. E. W. Tedlock (1961), p. 108.

more extensive immersion in American literature, since directly after stating his high valuation of Melville and Dana to Barbara Low he requested that she send him an Everyman's Library catalogue (ii. 614), which he probably knew contained the fullest list of American literary texts then available in Britain. In August 1916, Lawrence spoke warmly about his wish to come to the United States in a letter to the American poet Amy Lowell, whom he had first met in 1914 and who had made him a gift of the typewriter on which he was then typing out *Women in Love*. By August, too, his desire to make the journey was spilling over into a special appreciation of American writing, as he expressed it to her: 'Often I have longed to go to a country which has new, quite unknown flowers and birds. It would be such a joy to make their acquaintance. Have you still got humming birds, as in Crèvecoeur?' (ii. 645). At what stage he had first read *Letters From an American Farmer* we do not know (he liked it '*so* much'), but some time in the late summer of 1916 he sent his friend John Middleton Murry a copy which must have been the Everyman reprint of 1912.[10] And both in his letter to Amy Lowell and in the first surviving version of *Women in Love*, written no later than August 1916 (and drafted in May), he stressed how 'splendid' (ii. 645) and 'astonishingly good' the writing of Melville was: 'It surprises me how much older, over-ripe and withering into abstraction, this American classic literature is, than English literature of the same time.'[11] He also praised Dana again, and ended: 'But your classic American Literature I find to my surprise, is *older* than our English. The tree did not become new, which was transplanted. It only ran more swiftly into age, impersonal, non-human almost. But how good these books are! Is the *English* tree in America almost dead? By the literature, I think it is' (ii. 645).

If his ambition to set down his thoughts about the United States and its culture in a formal study had not yet crystallised, it soon did. His letters during the last months of 1916 and early 1917 were filled with intensely stated feelings about the New World. In November 1916 he wrote to his friend S. S. Koteliansky ('Kot'), in London, to request that he send, among other works, copies of Melville's *Typee* or *Omoo* and of Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* and *The Pathfinder* (iii. 40). The next month he enjoyed a Christmas visit from an American friend (and later his US agent) Robert Mountsier, in the company of another American whom Lawrence found appealing, Esther

[10] John Middleton Murry, *Between Two Worlds* (1935), p. 424. Apart from an expensive edition published in 1908 by Chatto & Windus in London and by Duffield & Co. in New York, the only previous printing of the book in England had been in 1783. DHL's spellings and forms 'Henry', 'Henri' and 'Crèvecoeur' in all the versions of the essay he himself wrote are unaccountable; for the correct forms see Explanatory note on 32:3.

[11] *FWL* 135:21–3.

Andrews (iii. 64). As an immediate consequence of the visit, on 4 January 1917 Lawrence ordered a list of Everyman's Library books from Mountsier, now back in London, consisting of Melville's *Moby Dick* and *Omoo*, Cooper's *The Pioneers*, *The Prairie* and *The Deerslayer*, Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (the edition also included Whitman's long essay 'Democratic Vistas'), Crèvecoeur's *Letters From an American Farmer*, Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales*, *The Scarlet Letter* and *The Blithedale Romance*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Emile*, Abraham Lincoln's *Speeches*, three volumes of Emerson's essays, Franklin's *Autobiography*, Alexander Hamilton's *The Federalist* and Poe's *Tales of Mystery and Imagination* (iii. 65–6). That list already included seven of the eight writers destined for *Studies in Classic American Literature* – the eighth (Dana) in all likelihood omitted because Lawrence had kept his Nelson's Classics copy of *Two Years Before the Mast* after reading it the previous June (ii. 614–15).

Lawrence's list, even in this preliminary form, reflected as much as it departed from contemporary taste. It encompassed writers widely recognised at the time – Franklin, Hawthorne, Poe and Whitman – and also those generally ignored, or regarded as writers for children: Crèvecoeur, Cooper, Dana and – until his 'renaissance' in the early 1920s, heralded by Raymond Weaver's book – Melville.[12] It entirely passed over the still popular 'Fireside Poets' (Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, James Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes and John Greenleaf Whittier), as well as the New England Transcendentalist Thoreau, whose personal and fictional example of a self-reliant life, according to Jessie Chambers, had greatly appealed to Lawrence in the previous decade.[13] Lawrence had also admired Emerson as a 'great man' and 'great individual', but concluded that he was a narrow-minded romantic idealist out of touch with current reality: 'Emerson listened to one sort of message, and only one. To all others he was blank . . . He was only connected on the Ideal 'phone.'[14] And Lawrence never included him in the project, in spite of his renewed reading of him in 1917.

Lawrence's list, characteristically for its time, included no women; but we need only compare this with the work of the prominent writer and critic John Macy (who would review the 1923 *Studies*), whose well-regarded, often-reprinted study of American literature (*The Spirit of American Literature*, 1908) consisted of seventeen chapters each titled after a male writer. Similarly, Lawrence's list followed current critical practice in excluding all writers of

[12] See footnote 62. [13] *D. H. Lawrence: A Personal Record*, p. 101.
[14] 'Model Americans', *Dial*, lxxiv (May 1923), 506–7.