

STUDIES IN
CLASSIC AMERICAN
LITERATURE

D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITED BY
EZRA GREENSPAN
LINDETH VASEY
AND
JOHN WORTHEN

 **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
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, 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 *Studies in Classic American Literature* is established from the original sources and first published in 2003, © the Estate of Frieda Lawrence Ravagli 2003. Introduction and notes © Cambridge University Press 2003. 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, 3rd Floor, Goldsmiths' House, 137–141 Regent Street, London W1B 4HZ. 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 copyright 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 2003

Printed in India at TechBooks Electronic Services

Typeface Ehrhardt 10/12 pt *System* L^AT_EX 2_ε [TB]

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress cataloguing in publication data

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

Studies in Classic American Literature / D. H. Lawrence; edited by Ezra Greenspan,
Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen.

p. cm. — (The works of D. H. Lawrence)

ISBN 0 521 55016 5

I. Greenspan, Ezra. II. Vasey, Lindeth. III. Worthen, John.

IV. Series: Lawrence, D. H. (David Herbert), 1885–1930. Works. 1979.

PR6023/A93A19 2003

882'.912 — dc21 98-8068 CIP

ISBN 0 521 55016 5 hardback

CONTENTS

General editor's preface	<i>page</i> vii
Acknowledgements	ix
Note	x
Chronology	xiii
Cue-titles	xix
Introduction	xxiii
Background	xxiii
First Stage 1916–17: reading and note-making	xxvi
Second Stage 1917–19: MS and TS essays	xxxii
<i>English Review</i> publication of the First Version	xxxvi
Third Stage 1919: revision of unpublished MS and TS essays	xxxviii
1919: Intermediate Version assembled and sent to Huebsch	xl
Fourth Stage 1920–1: revised text to Robert Mountsier	xlii
1920–1: 'Foreword' in the <i>New Republic</i> ; Mountsier's attempts at periodical publication; version of 'Whitman' in the <i>Nation & Athenaeum</i>	xlv
1920–1: <i>Studies</i> volume not published	xlvi
Fifth Stage 1922–4: the publication of <i>Studies</i>	xlviii
1922–3: Autumn 1922 TCC, Final MS, Final Corrected TS	li
1923: Seltzer's proofs, 'Whitman' MS and TS extra revision	lv
1923: American First Edition	lvi
1924: English First Edition	lviii
Reception	lix
Texts	lxvi
The Cambridge Text of the Final Version (1923)	lxxiv
STUDIES IN CLASSIC AMERICAN LITERATURE	I
Final Version (1923)	7
First Version (1918–19)	163

Intermediate Version (1919)	305
Appendixes	
I Reading notes for <i>The Scarlet Letter</i> (1917)	371
II Foreword to <i>Studies in Classic American Literature</i> (1920)	379
III Foreword (1922)	387
IV Nathaniel Hawthorne's <i>Blithedale Romance</i> (1920-1)	391
V XIII. Whitman (1921-2)	401
VI XII. Whitman (1922)	419
Explanatory notes	431
Textual apparatus	541
Variorum apparatus (manuscript and typescript variants)	591
Line-end hyphenation	631
A note on pounds, shillings and pence	632

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-cœur	Cooper I White Novels	Cooper II Leatherstocking Novels
FIRST STAGE 1916–17: reading and making notes				?	?	?	
SECOND STAGE 1917–19: MS and TS Essays			lost	lost	lost	lost	
<i>English Review</i> 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 <i>New Republic</i>	15 Dec. 1920						
RM's attempts at periodical publication							
Version of 'Whitman' in the <i>Nation & Athenaeum</i>							
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							
English First edition							

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 <i>Scarlet Letter</i>	The Two Principles	Dana	Melville I	Melville II <i>Moby Dick</i>	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 'Ranim', 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. Kotliansky ('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.

colour or ethnicity: Macy, for example, had chosen only white Anglo-Saxon Protestants as the major figures of his study. But the argument that equates Lawrence's practices with those of his contemporaries has only limited value, since he saw far more deeply into and cared more passionately about the aboriginal origins of Native American culture than did his contemporaries; his essays on Cooper and Hawthorne, in particular, are evidence of this.

The nonchalant manner in which Lawrence stated his request for the Everyman's Library books to Mountsier – 'I make a list of the books', followed immediately by their titles – demonstrates that he and Mountsier had already discussed the subject of American letters, Lawrence's need for books and no doubt also his projected essays. Within a couple of days of his request, Lawrence acknowledged the arrival of twelve of the eighteen books and thanked Mountsier for his help (iii. 67–8), and by the following day he had 'already begun to study'.¹⁵

Two days later, he expressed his mind openly to J. B. Pinker, his literary agent in Britain, about his twin American desires: 'I want to go to America. It is necessary now for me to address a new public. You must see that. It is no use my writing in England for the English any more. I want to go to New York and write a set of essays on American literature, and perhaps lecture . . . I have got in my head a set of essays, or lectures, on Classic American Literature' (iii. 73).

His planned visit was forestalled, however, when in February 1917 his passport applications for Frieda and himself were rejected. Despite that 'bitter blow' (iii. 92), his visceral fascination with his subject persisted, as did his resolve to make the journey, if only at some still unforeseeable date. Even America's entry into the war against Germany a couple of months later, on 6 April – his immediate reaction was that America was now 'a stink-pot in my nostrils, after having been the land of the future for me' (iii. 124) – could not completely destroy his belief in it. As Frieda had put it to Esther Andrews in February, it was 'America in our sense' which mattered, even more than the reality (viii. 20). In July 1917, feeling himself cooped up, he complained to Waldo Frank, using a significant metaphor, that he could see no 'Rainbow' in Europe but assumed one still reached across to the West. And he expressed his desire to see it in person: 'I want to come to America, bodily, as soon as the war stops and the gates are opened. I believe America is the New World.'

¹⁵ One of the missing books he really wanted ('it is a book I like *very* much') was the Everyman *Moby Dick* and he was still asking for it on 16 January – as a result, by 12 March he had 'two copies' (iii. 77, 104); Louise Wright, 'Dear Montague: Letters from Esther Andrews to Robert Mountsier', *D. H. Lawrence Review*, xxvi (1995–6), 184.

He was not so sure, however, either then or later, that he was as eager to make the acquaintance of 'Uncle Samdom' (iii. 142–4).

Second Stage 1917–19: MS and TS essays

Within weeks of opening himself to Waldo Frank, Lawrence had launched himself into his American project.¹⁶ In a letter written in late August 1917 to Amy Lowell, his benefactress on previous occasions, he indicated that he was at work on his set of essays, which he was then calling 'The Transcendental Element in American (Classic) Literature'.¹⁷ Filled with the quick pride he took in his project, he described his work as 'very keen essays in criticism – cut your fingers if you don't handle them carefully . . . Tis a chef-d'oeuvre of soul-searching criticism' (iii. 156–7). Already thinking ahead to their publication, he went on to ask her help in placing them with an American periodical, such as the *Yale Review* or the *New Republic* ('or some such old fat coach'), both of which had recently published his work. The same day, he took the more practical step of stating his desire to publish what he was labelling 'this ten-barrelled pistol of essays of mine' to Pinker,¹⁸ indicating

¹⁶ It is not self-evident that DHL originally conceived of *Studies* as a book. In January 1917 he had referred to 'a set of essays, or lectures' (iii. 73), while in August and September 1917 he described it as 'a set of essays' (iii. 155, 156, 160, 163), a term he repeated as late as January 1918 (iii. 201). The following month, he noted that 'I don't think the American essays will be so impossible for the editors, if we let the poor puppies chop them up for puppy-meat, and take out all the bone and gristle' (iii. 206): he was still thinking primarily of magazine editors. The first reference to a 'book' of essays came from Frieda Lawrence in April (see next note) and not until June 1918 did DHL himself refer to the work as 'a book of American essays' (iii. 247), something he confirmed in September: 'they would make a decent little book – about 70,000 words' (iii. 287).

¹⁷ *Letters*, iii. 156. At the time, the title was still uncertain: variants that he mentioned during late summer 1917 were 'The Transcendental Element in American Literature' (iii. 155), 'The Transcendent Element in Classic American Literature' (iii. 158) and – a probable title – 'Essays on The Mystic Import of American Literature' (iii. 163). Frieda Lawrence was still using the latter on 15 April 1918 when she said he was 'writing a book on "the mystic significance of American Classic Literature"' (*The Letters of D. H. Lawrence & Amy Lowell 1914–1925*, ed. E. Claire Healey and Keith Cushman, Santa Barbara, 1985, p. 133).

¹⁸ Clearly a set of ten essays: probably 'Crèvecoeur', 'Franklin', 'Cooper I', 'Cooper II', 'Poe', 'Hawthorne', 'Dana', 'Melville', 'Whitman' and either 'The Spirit of Place' or 'The Two Principles'. If the Cooper essay were still planned as a single work, then probably both the non-author-based essays were included in the count; it is just possible that DHL was contemplating an essay on another author (e.g. Emerson). In January 1919, however, while the essays were coming out in the *English Review* but before either part of 'Cooper' had appeared (and before Harrison split the Hawthorne essay and only printed its first part), DHL referred to them as 'a dozen essays in all' (iii. 324) and then on 1 February as 'twelve essays in all' (iii. 325). 'The Spirit of Place' and 'The Two Principles' both existed by then and would have been included

that his wish to do so was 'in the hopes of relieving my ominous financial prospects' (iii. 155–6). That wish was so strong during this low point in his professional and financial affairs that it found its way repeatedly into his letters.¹⁹

He was already drafting the essays when, a few weeks later, in mid-September 1917, he informed Frank that he was writing a set of essays on American literature 'beginning with Crèvecoeur' (iii. 160). It sounds as if he may have initially been giving Crèvecoeur, Franklin's younger contemporary, a priority which would pass to Franklin by the time the essays began appearing in print the following year; he had probably not yet thought of starting with the more general essay 'The Spirit of Place'. One thing that did not change, however, was Lawrence's pioneering view of Crèvecoeur's formative position in American letters and of his stature as an 'artist' (36:9) equal to the American writers who had followed him. Lawrence's progress was interrupted in October 1917, however: the authorities expelled him and Frieda from Cornwall. This was a major disruption in their lives which left composition of the essays at a 'standstill', as he told his friend Cecil Gray on 23 October (iii. 172), and the 'standstill' stretched into mid-January, when he reported to Gray, 'I'm not writing anything' (iii. 197). He appears finally to have worked through that blockage toward the end of the month, by which time he and Frieda were installed at Chapel Farm Cottage, Hermitage, to which they had their possessions (probably including some at least of the texts from which he was working) forwarded from Cornwall.²⁰ In mid-February he was writing the essay on Poe, for which he requested from Kot a second copy of *Tales of Mystery and Imagination* to replace his lost original (iii. 212). By that point, he had probably reached the approximate midpoint of the work – if, as seems likely, he were composing the author-specific essays (with the exception of 'Franklin') from 'Crèvecoeur' onwards in the loosely chronologically

in the count, but the fact that DHL only split the Melville essay in two at a later date shows that – to reach the figure of twelve – DHL may himself have been responsible for the two-part form of the Cooper work.

¹⁹ E.g. *Letters*, iii. 158, 160 and 163, although his statement in the last seems more nearly accurate than simple protestations about writing for money: 'These [essays] were begun in the hopes of making money: for money is a shy bird. – But I am afraid they have already passed beyond all price. It is a pity.'

²⁰ *Letters*, iii. 201, 205–6. Like Harriett and Somers in *Kangaroo*, when leaving in October they would probably have left 'the house as it was, the books on the shelves' (*Kangaroo*, ed. Bruce Steele, Cambridge, 1994, 245:20). The fact that the notebook containing DHL's reading notes for *The Scarlet Letter* remained in Cornwall and was never sent on (see 'Texts', p. lxix), and that DHL needed a replacement copy of Poe's stories (*Letters*, iii. 212), shows that by no means everything in Cornwall had been forwarded to Berkshire.

determined order in which they would be published in the *English Review*.²¹ By the end of that month, he felt confident enough about his progress to think ahead toward the next stage of their preparation. Drawing on his close friendship with Kot, on whom he had relied in 1914 for the typing of 'Study of Thomas Hardy' (ii. 220), Lawrence sent him 'the first part of the essays' for typing, no easy task given the many alterations in the manuscripts, and warned him, 'there is much more to follow'. While declaring them 'a weariness to me', Lawrence also stated that he considered them 'really very good' and hoped that they would bring him an infusion of money (iii. 214, 217-18).

The interrelated acts of enlisting Kot's help in preparing typescripts, and of alerting Pinker early in February 1918 that he would be sending him the essays 'in a little while' (iii. 205-6), did not take account of the amount of writing and revision that lay ahead during the first half of 1918. Lawrence's frustration with his slow progress showed in May when he described his daily life to his friend Edith Eder: 'I set potatoes and mow the grass and write my never-to-be-finished *Studies in Classic American Literature*' (iii. 242). The work was still not completed in early June, when he reported that he was writing 'a last essay on Whitman - then I have done my book of American essays' (iii. 247). Later in June, he again alerted Pinker, to whom he had by then mentioned the essays several times, that he meant to send them to him 'shortly' (iii. 255); it was not until 3 August, however, that Lawrence sent him the first of the essays, which he identified as 'The Spirit of Place' (we do not know when he had written this), and promised to send 'six or seven more' the following week (iii. 270).

Why this delay between his statements to Pinker in February that he would send the essays 'in a little while' and to Gray in mid-March that the essays were 'in their last and final form' (iii. 224), and his mailing of the first essay to Pinker only in August? For one thing, Kot was not able to complete more than a portion of the typing of the manuscript sent to him; as a result, the completion of the typing remained stalled for months.²² For another,

²¹ Scarcity of surviving early manuscripts and infrequency of references to individual essays during 1917-18 makes reconstruction of the chronology of composition extremely difficult; we only know of (1) an opening essay on Crèvecoeur (reported in September 1917), (2) an essay on Poe (February 1918) and (3) a closing essay on Whitman (June 1918). Since DHL halted composition from mid-October 1917 until late January 1918, he might well not have got any further than midway by February 1918, when he was at work on 'Poe'.

²² He returned a single typed essay to DHL in mid-March (*Letters*, iii. 228), but then apparently made no further progress; his inactivity may well have provoked DHL's remark of 28 April 1918: 'stick pins or something into Kot - I believe he's getting into a state of gangrened inertia' (iii. 240). In July DHL wrote to Gray: 'I sent the American Essays to a friend in London, who was going to put them with a "safe" friend to have them typed. The friend collapsed, and they are hung up' (iii. 261).

the frequent moves that Lawrence and Frieda were making up until 1 May, when they acquired a place of their own in Derbyshire, interrupted whatever progress he was making. But the primary reason for the delay may well be signalled by that mention of 'The Spirit of Place', the essay that had by then replaced 'Crèvecoeur' (or 'Franklin') as the opening piece in the projected book. In all likelihood, the originating impulse behind *Studies* had altered significantly as Lawrence worked through the essays during the first half of 1918. The most plausible explanation for the change of plan is that given by Mark Kinkead-Weekes, who infers a profound transformation experienced by Lawrence during the spring of 1918 as he read deeply in works of psychology and cosmic history that resonated with his revulsion from war-torn Europe. The result showed most graphically in his reconfigured work, which came that spring to include not only 'The Spirit of Place' and 'The Two Principles', but also what must have been texts of the author-specific essays rewritten to accord with the ideas about the psyche and world history expressed at length in those two new essays.²³ If so, the completion of the last essay, on Whitman, after the expense of so much time and energy over that half-year in the composition and revision of the essays, must have brought Lawrence to a point of deep release. Furthermore, it presumably served as the *Consummatum est* of the book, for in all versions of *Studies* known to arrive at a culminating essay on Whitman, the latter was to be the figure with whom Lawrence wrestled – to use the figure dear to both men to describe the engagement of the artist with the self and the universe.²⁴

With the set of essays now complete, and his earlier fears about their unpublishable character having given way, at least for the moment, to excitement, Lawrence wrote to Pinker on 3 August 1918 to express as eager and optimistic a reading as he had yet voiced about the prospects of the work: 'I think we may really sell these essays, both in America and in England – and really make something with them.' His dependence on them was manifestly acute: 'Really, I place my hopes of the world on these essays' (iii. 270). As a practical measure, he suggested that Pinker send that first essay for initial publication to the *English Review*, whose editor Austin Harrison had been one of his steadiest patrons in recent years. In preparation for the possible publication of the whole

²³ Kinkead-Weekes, *Triumph to Exile*, pp. 438–40; it should be pointed out, however, that no MS evidence survives of such rewriting.

²⁴ As early as 1913, DHL had expressed his ambivalence about Whitman:

But writing should come from a strong root of life: like a battle song after a battle. – And Whitman did this, more or less. But his battle was not a real battle. . . . He never fought with another person – he was like a wrestler who only wrestles with his own shadow – he never came to grips. He chucked his body into the fight, and stood apart, saying 'Look how I am living'. He is really false as hell. – But he is fine too. (ii. 130)

series, Lawrence sent off his remaining essays to an unidentified person for typing, while also continuing to revise.²⁵ Having previously informed others of the project, he also solicited the opinions of his old friends Donald and Catherine Carswell, at whose house he had left copies of some of the essays (he mentioned ‘Melville’ specifically).²⁶

English Review publication of the First Version

The process of revision continued into September as the last essays came back to him from the typist (iii. 286, 287), even while Pinker’s negotiations with Harrison were continuing. Late that month, Harrison responded positively to Lawrence by offering him five guineas for the opening essay (iii. 286–7), the same sum the *English Review* had paid for each of the (considerably shorter) four parts of ‘The Reality of Peace’ which it had printed the previous year (iii. 159). That was a sum which Harrison had thought of in 1917 as charity to a needy author: six years earlier, as an almost unknown young author, Lawrence had been paid almost twice as much by the *English Review* for a rather briefer short story (i. 282 and n. 4). Lawrence wrote to Pinker on 25 September to ask him whether five guineas really constituted reasonable payment (iii. 286–7). Pinker must have urged Lawrence to accept it, and each subsequent essay appears to have earned the same (iii. 286–7, 310, 315, 319 and 327). ‘The Spirit of Place’ was printed as the lead article in the November 1918 issue; by 13 November Harrison had committed himself to publishing at least one additional essay beyond ‘The Spirit of Place’ (iii. 298), and by 23 November to at least two more (iii. 299). In succeeding issues he actually went on to publish seven more of the essays, each appearing in the *English Review* with its sequential series number as part of what Lawrence was by now definitively calling *Studies in Classic American Literature*: ‘Benjamin Franklin’ (December), ‘Henry [*sic*] St. John de Crèvecoeur’ (January), ‘Fenimore

²⁵ *Letters*, iii. 276. Probably still anxious about the ‘Whitman’ essay, he remarked that he did not want them to go to ‘the ordinary typist’ (iii. 261). Kinkead-Weekes plausibly speculates that DHL found a typist through his new friend, Nancy Henry, a part-time editor for Oxford University Press to whom he was sending manuscript chapters of *Movements in European History* at roughly the same time that he was looking to have the *Studies* typed (*Triumph to Exile*, p. 464). DHL’s remark to her on 23 August – ‘I have got more typed MS. of the Essays’ – suggests that *Studies* manuscripts had passed through her hands (iii. 276): he mentioned them again to her the following month (iii. 286). No *Movements* typescript survives for comparison.

²⁶ *Letters*, iii. 278, 279, 288. DHL remarked in his letter of 11 September to Donald Carswell, ‘Glad you like “Moby Dick”’ (iii. 279); it seems more likely that he was referring to an essay than to the novel, and – if so – he was referring to a version of ‘Melville’ which treats *Typee* and *Moby-Dick* together (Roberts E382s, UN).

Cooper's Anglo-American Novels' (February), 'Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking Novels' (March), 'Edgar Allan Poe' (April), 'Nathaniel Hawthorne' (May) and 'The Two Principles' (June).²⁷

With the June 1919 publication of 'The Two Principles', the serialisation stopped. We do not know whether Harrison had ever actually agreed with Lawrence to publish the other essays, or – if he had – why he failed to carry through his intention. The nearest basis of comparison is Harrison's initial offer the previous year to publish only three of Lawrence's seven 'The Reality of Peace' essays, of which he actually printed four.²⁸ If Harrison had in fact initially planned to print all of the *Studies* essays, he might well have been persuaded by their length to end the run prematurely, since they typically constituted the longest pieces in their respective numbers of the journal. In at least one instance, length was unquestionably a problem. With the series progressing into its second half-year, Harrison chose to print only the first 60 per cent of the very long seventh essay, 'Hawthorne'. The remaining part, which had already gone into proof,²⁹ would remain unpublished for years; but the effective division of the essay into two would become the basis of the two-part strategy which Lawrence himself adopted when he revised it the following year. If Harrison had seen a copy of 'Melville', he would have known that that essay, too, ran even longer than the pieces already in print. But he would have had another reason to end the publication prematurely if he had ever seen the 'Whitman', which Lawrence himself considered in 1919 too controversial for a publisher to print (because, almost certainly, of its frank treatment of homosexuality); as late as September 1919 Lawrence would note that 'no one has seen the essay on Whitman – no one in the world'.³⁰ It may well have been the fact that he kept the 1918 essay to himself, and possibly never even sent it out for typing, which led to its being the only one of the original 1917–18 essays not to survive.

²⁷ There is no direct evidence to establish whether DHL or Harrison was responsible for the publication of 'Cooper' as a two-part sequence, but see footnote 18.

²⁸ From May to August 1917; for DHL's wavering hopes and expectations over their publishing prospects, see *Letters*, iii. 104, 106, 107, 108, 110–11 and 113–14.

²⁹ Roberts E382f (Smith). Once part of the collection of Charles Harold Bennett Smith of Bermuda, and deriving from the papers of Robert Mountsier, all the originals of the *Studies* essays (and of the other manuscripts and typescripts in his collection) were subsequently sold and are currently unlocated; the editors have had to rely upon photocopies made (with equal stamina and forethought) by Warren Roberts in 1979; see the 'Note' to the Acknowledgements for further details. The collection was auctioned again in 1990 by Sothebys in London; the buyer (using the bidding name of 'Beckett') paid £26,000. A letter from the volume editors to Sothebys for forwarding to the buyer brought no reply.

³⁰ *Letters*, iii. 400. The nearest surviving text is Roberts E382b (Smith), here printed in the Intermediate Version (1919) as 'Whitman'.

Whatever the formal understanding between Harrison and Pinker had been, it certainly seems plausible that Lawrence, for his part, harboured hopes, if not necessarily expectations, that Harrison might publish the work all or nearly all the way to its conclusion. In a letter of 27 January 1919, however, Lawrence remarked: 'There are a dozen essays in all: I don't know if he'll go patiently on to the end' (iii. 324), which suggests that he had reason to believe that Harrison was likely to balk. Moreover, the last essay printed in the *English Review*, 'The Two Principles', was hardly a desirable place to conclude. As its opening paragraph indicates, it was meant to lead into the Dana and Melville essays that were to follow. For Harrison, by contrast, its broad philosophy might have made it seem suitable as a concluding bookend to match 'The Spirit of Place'. But – combined with the very small sum he had been paid for each essay – the result was that, rather than being grateful to a supporter at a difficult time, Lawrence felt considerable dissatisfaction with, even distrust of, Harrison. He expressed very guarded feelings to Kot about Harrison two months after the appearance of the eighth essay, and advised his friend to 'Manage him about money', as a necessary negotiating strategy for getting selections from Kot's translation of Leo Shestov into the *English Review* (iii. 383). Harrison, it should be added, published nothing else of Lawrence's for a year.³¹ He presumably felt that this act of charity – and the extensive space of each issue that the essays had occupied – was all that either Lawrence or the magazine's readers deserved for the moment. But at least a substantial part of the First Version of the *Studies* – Lawrence calculated it as 'about $\frac{2}{3}$. . . not quite so much' (iii. 407) – had got into print.

Third Stage 1919: revision of unpublished MS and TS essays

Even while Lawrence was revising the proofs of the essays as they passed through the *English Review*, his main ambition for *Studies* by the autumn of 1918 was to see the essays published in America too. Like many of his British peers, he had previously pursued a two-coast publication strategy with regard to both book and periodical publication, if with only limited success. As early as November 1918, he had told Pinker that Harrison had informed him of the purchase by an American of twenty copies of the November *English Review* containing 'The Spirit of Place' for distribution in the United States (iii. 299). To advance his ultimate goal of the essays' publication as a book, too, Lawrence decided by early 1919 to give first preference for the essays to an American publisher (with English publication arrangements to be made subsequently).

³¹ 'The Blind Man' appeared in July 1920 (xxxii, 22–41).

In order to expedite matters, he bypassed Pinker, whose competence in dealing with the American market he rightly doubted, and made his own appeal directly to the New York publisher Benjamin Huebsch³² in late January 1919, informing him that Harrison would be sending him copies of the four essays already published. A few days later Lawrence alerted Harriet Monroe, in whose *Poetry* (the February issue) six of his poems were about to appear, that she, too, would be receiving copies of those essays from Harrison: 'I wish you would tell me if you liked them' (iii. 325 and n. 1). No record survives, however, of how (or whether) she replied; and Huebsch did not respond until April, when he wrote a friendly letter inviting Lawrence to come to America to visit and lecture. He also asked noncommittally to see, among other works, the complete *Studies* (iii. 356–7 n. 1).

Huebsch's caution was understandable. Although he admired Lawrence's writings, he hesitated about the wisdom of publishing his more controversial works in the uncertain, censorious climate enveloping the publishing industry following the United States's entrance into the war. On the other hand, he remained well-disposed to Lawrence and seriously considered paying a visit to England (and to Lawrence) in July, a plan which paralleled Lawrence's own thinking in June about travelling to the United States 'at once', provided that proper arrangements could be made for him there: 'I weary myself here' (iii. 364). In the event, however, neither man would make his planned journey in 1919. The extent of Lawrence's desire to write for America can, however, be gauged by a letter he sent to Amy Lowell in July 1919 when – in apparently a unique mention – he said he was considering writing a second series of essays 'on the Moderns, next' (iii. 369).

He was, however, also still harbouring reservations during the first half of 1919 about the current state of at least some of the essays' formulations. As a result of this dissatisfaction, he postponed responding to Huebsch's request to see the full text of the volume until the end of August 1919, when he claimed that after a period of inactivity on the essays he would 'do them' and send them on 'soon' (iii. 388). And within days he began an intensive revision of the unpublished essays, which continued throughout September 1919. Out of this effort came new or revised versions of four or five of the essays (he was obviously ignoring those essays which had already appeared in the *English Review*): perhaps a second 'Hawthorne' (though this may have

³² *Letters*, iii. 324. Known throughout the industry simply as 'Ben', Huebsch was one of the dynamic figures in early twentieth-century American literary publishing. The first Jew to break through the nearly impermeable Protestant wall surrounding the industry, he also broke through barriers of taste by publishing such authors as Joyce (*Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*), Sherwood Anderson (*Winesburg, Ohio*) and DHL (*The Rainbow*).

been written earlier),³³ ‘Dana’, ‘Melville’ (now also separated into two parts) and a ‘Whitman’. The fact that this set of five manuscripts ended with a Whitman essay confirms that ‘Whitman’ had always been part of the whole project, and that the lack of a 1918–19 version is simply mischance. On 24 September 1919 Lawrence would ask Kot to make clean copies of three of these five essays – ‘Your handwriting is so nice and plain’ – on ‘smallish’ stationery, suitable in size to be incorporated with *English Review* pages (iii. 397 and n. 2, 399). He already had a fair copy of one essay, recently made for him by his friend and hostess for much of August, Rosalind Baynes, while he presumably made a fair copy of the fifth essay (probably the Whitman essay) himself. He obviously planned to incorporate the handwritten copies with pages removed from copies of the *English Review* of the first eight essays, so as to make two copies of the complete work to send to publishers.³⁴

1919: Intermediate Version assembled and sent to Huebsch

He had thus for the second time – the first had been for Harrison in the autumn of 1918 – assembled a complete text; we can entitle this stage of the work the Intermediate Version, which at this stage was the volume he wanted published. Only a week after asking for Kot’s help, Lawrence was therefore able to write to Huebsch that he would shortly send him the full text of the ‘*Classic American essays*’, ‘the result of five years of persistent work’ (iii. 400). Before we dismiss this as understandable exaggeration, or simple inaccuracy, we should consider whether he might not have regarded his ‘Study of Thomas Hardy’ of late 1914 as the real start of the project he still sometimes thought of as his ‘philosophy’: he had told Harriet Monroe in February 1919 that he had worked at the essays ‘for more than four years’ (iii. 325), confirming that late 1914 was the date he was giving to the project’s start.³⁵ He still had a lingering

³³ The composition of ‘Hawthorne II’ might have begun shortly after DHL received page proofs from the *English Review* printer in April, several of whose pages he incorporated into MS2. It is just as plausible, however, that he retained the proofs and turned to ‘Hawthorne II’ only when he prepared to redraft the other unpublished essays.

³⁴ *Letters*, iii. 399; see Kinkead-Weekes, *Triumph to Exile*, p. 522. If Rosalind Baynes, as seems likely, copied the first of the unpublished essays (on Hawthorne), then Kot would have been sent the Dana essay and the two Melville essays; DHL did not ask Kot to use carbon-paper between the ‘smallish’ sheets of paper on which he was writing, so presumably only two copies of the complete work were planned. (None of the copies made by Rosalind Baynes or Kot survives.)

³⁵ See *Hardy* 7–128. He might even have considered his brief ‘Foreword’ to *Sons and Lovers* of January 1913 – see *Sons and Lovers*, ed. Carl Baron and Helen Baron (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 467–73 – as the start of that ‘philosophy’.

unease, however, about the final – and, no doubt, most provocative – essay, the task of whose copying he had most likely reserved for himself: he told Huebsch ‘The essay on Whitman you may find it politic not to publish – if so leave it out altogether – don’t alter it’ (iii. 400).

A rail strike prevented the operation of postal services for a few days, and it was not until 10 October 1919 that Lawrence informed Huebsch that he was that day posting him one of the new, complete sets of *Studies* – printed pages from the *English Review* supplemented with handwritten copies: ‘I’m sorry I can’t send you typed MS’ (iii. 405). To cover all possibilities, he also sent along with the text for Huebsch the pages of the Whitman-centred essays on ‘Democracy’ that he had also written the previous month (iii. 405), thus giving Huebsch the option of using ‘Democracy’ as a substitute for the closing essay on Whitman.³⁶ He expressed no such hesitation about the only other pieces still unpublished in any form, the Dana and Melville essays, the latter of which (like the lengthy Hawthorne original) he had recently adapted into separate essays on *Typee/Omoo* and *Moby-Dick*.³⁷ He also asked Huebsch if he might try to place those unpublished essays with the *Atlantic Monthly*, a magazine of serious opinion long associated with the cultural elite but in recent years moving toward the journalistic mainstream: ‘If you could get some of the essays in respectable sound periodicals, I’m sure it would help my reputation immensely, and simplify your job’ (iii. 405). Six days later, he offered the complete work, whose length he was now estimating as about 80,000 words – a figure greater by 10,000 than the one he had given Pinker the previous autumn (iii. 287) – to Martin Secker, his English publisher (iii. 406–7), although he did not yet send it to him. He must have retained a complete duplicate copy himself.

Once the full text of *Studies* was finally in Huebsch’s possession, it became the publisher’s turn to waver. His reaction had been indecisive in April 1919 when he had seen the first four essays – ‘I shall have to ask you for more patience before I reply with regard to your articles in *The English Review*’ (iii. 356–7 n. 1) – and indecision remained his position, even with the full work at hand, through the remainder of 1919 and into 1920. That delay, not surprisingly, left Lawrence frustrated about a work he increasingly considered important to his career and reputation in the United States. He found himself inclined to wonder about Huebsch’s intentions not only for this project but also for other works already offered to him. Letters from Lawrence first requesting,

³⁶ *Letters*, iii. 405. DHL was still so concerned over the Whitman essay in July 1920 that he instructed Seltzer, should he agree to publish the essays, to wait for a revised version before sending the work to press (iii. 565).

³⁷ Roberts E382i and E382l (Smith).

then demanding, a decision on *Studies* would obtain no definite response from New York (iii. 423, 430, 456, 493, 501).

In August 1919, however, Lawrence had received a cable from a second New York publisher, Thomas Seltzer, tendering him his publishing services, an offer which Lawrence – more accustomed in recent years to soliciting than being solicited by publishers – did nothing to discourage, despite his prior relationship with Huebsch. In many regards, Seltzer struck a publishing profile similar to that of Huebsch – young, enthusiastic, literary, cosmopolitan, Jewish – but with one significant difference: he was conspicuously less worried about possible legal entanglements arising from the publication of Lawrence's works.³⁸ Despite their differing assessments of the legal and financial risk of publishing his books, and of their willingness to take that risk, Huebsch and Seltzer each epitomised the kind of publisher most available to Lawrence and best able to bring his works before the contemporary reading public. As small, independent publishers specialising in belles lettres, their firms were part of a new sector in early twentieth-century American publishing which emerged alongside the larger, established houses and which successfully competed for the works of the most innovative writers of the current generation.

Fourth Stage 1920–1: revised text to Robert Mountsier

The period between the autumn of 1919 and the spring of 1920 was an especially complex time in Lawrence's writing career. With the war over and professional opportunities slowly opening up for him on both sides of the Atlantic, he had become involved not only with Huebsch and Seltzer in New York but also with Secker in London in a complicated conflict of interests over publishing priority for a variety of his works, new and old, but in particular *Women in Love*. What made the dealings of this publishing troika still more awkward was the fact that Lawrence (by this time living without a fixed residence on the Continent) no longer had an agent to serve him as a clearing house for his affairs, Pinker having been formally fired in the last days of 1919 but effectively dispensed with months before.³⁹ Feeling renewed confidence in his creative powers and hopeful about his career, yet unsure about the commercial chances of his works in the post-war economy, Lawrence had to try

³⁸ Seltzer was DHL's main American publisher from 1920 until 1925. Born in Tsarist Russia and brought to America as a child, he had graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, gained experience as a journalist, editor and translator, and eventually formed a connection with his nephew, Albert Boni, in the avant-garde publishing house of Boni and Liveright. He went into business on his own in 1920. See G. Thomas Tanselle, 'The Thomas Seltzer Imprint', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, lviii (1964), 380–448.

³⁹ On his firing, see *Letters*, iii. 439.