

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

THE WORKS OF D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITORIAL BOARD

GENERAL EDITORS

James T. Boulton

M. H. Black

Paul Poplawski

John Worthen

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

# MORNINGS IN MEXICO

AND OTHER ESSAYS

D. H. LAWRENCE

EDITED BY

VIRGINIA CROSSWHITE HYDE



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
 978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays  
 D. H. Lawrence  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
 Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi  
 Cambridge University Press  
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)  
 Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521652926](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521652926)

This, the Cambridge Edition of the text of *Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays*, is established from the original sources and first published in 2009, © the Estate of Frieda Lawrence Ravagli 2009. Introduction and notes © Cambridge University Press 2009. 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, Pollinger Ltd, 9 Staple Inn, Holborn, London WC1V 7QH. 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 2009

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2009

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*

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

Mornings in Mexico and other essays / D. H. Lawrence ; edited by Virginia Crosswhite Hyde.  
 p. cm. – (The Cambridge edition of the letters and works of D. H. Lawrence)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-0-521-65292-6 (hardback)

I. Hyde, Virginia. II. Title. III. Series.

PR6023.A93M67 2009

824'.912 – dc22 2008052015

ISBN 978-0-521-65292-6 hardback

---

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

---

Cambridge University Press  
 978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays  
 D. H. Lawrence  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

## CONTENTS

List of illustrations	page viii
General editor's preface	ix
Acknowledgements	xi
Chronology	xii
Cue-titles	xix
Introduction	xxi
Taos and Del Monte Ranch (September 1922 – March 1923)	xxxix
'Pueblos and an Englishman'	xxxix
'Certain Americans and an Englishman', 'Indians and an Englishman', 'Taos'	xxxix
Mexico (March–July, September–November 1923)	xxxix
'Au Revoir, U. S. A.'	xxxix
Europe (November 1923 – March 1924)	xl
'Dear Old Horse, A London Letter'	xl
'Paris Letter'	xlii
'Letter from Germany'	xliii
Taos and Kiowa Ranch (March–October 1924)	xliv
'Indians and Entertainment'	xliv
'The Dance of the Sprouting Corn'	xlvi
'Pan in America'	xlvi
'The Hopi Snake Dance'	xlix
Mexico (October 1924 – March 1925)	lii
'Mornings in Mexico': 'Corasmin and the Parrots', 'Market Day', 'Walk to Huayapa', 'The Mozo'	lii
'See Mexico After, by Luis Q.'	lvii
Italy (November 1925, November 1926 – August 1927)	lviii
'A Little Moonshine with Lemon'	lviii
<i>Mornings in Mexico</i> : the volume	lx

Cambridge University Press  
 978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays  
 D. H. Lawrence  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

vi	<i>Contents</i>	
	France (December 1928)	lxv
	‘New Mexico’	lxv
	Reception	lxvi
	Texts	lxix
MORNINGS IN MEXICO		
	Note on the texts	3
	Corasmin and the Parrots	9
	Walk to Huayapa	19
	The Mozo	33
	Market Day	47
	Indians and Entertainment	57
	The Dance of the Sprouting Corn	69
	The Hopi Snake Dance	77
	A Little Moonshine with Lemon	95
OTHER ESSAYS, 1922–1928		
	Certain Americans and an Englishman	103
	Indians and an Englishman	111
	Taos	123
	Au Revoir, U. S. A.	129
	Dear Old Horse, A London Letter	135
	Paris Letter	141
	Letter from Germany	147
	Pan in America	153
	See Mexico After, by Luis Q.	165
	New Mexico	173
Appendixes		
	I ‘Just Back from the Snake Dance’	183
	II [‘Indians and an Englishman’ and ‘Certain Americans and an Englishman’]: early fragment	189
	III ‘Pan in America’: early version	197
	IV [‘See Mexico After, by Luis Q.’]: early fragments	207
	V Mesoamerican and Southwestern American myth	211
	VI History timelines	225
	1 Pre-Columbian Mexico	227
	2 Peru	227
	3 Republic of Mexico	227

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays  
D. H. Lawrence  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

<i>Contents</i>		vii
4 Oaxaca		228
5 Southwestern United States		228
VII Maps		231
Explanatory notes		239
Glossary of selected Spanish and Indian terms		323
Textual apparatus		329
Line-end hyphenation		369
A note on pounds, shillings and pence		370

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays  
D. H. Lawrence  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

## ILLUSTRATIONS

I <i>The Corn Dance</i> by Lawrence	<i>page</i> 69
II <i>A koshare</i> by Lawrence	72

(Originals in the Charles Deering McCormick Library,  
Northwestern University.)



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

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

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

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

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

Editors have adopted the principle that the most authoritative form of the text is to be followed, even if this leads sometimes to a 'spoken' or a 'manuscript' rather than a 'printed' style. We have not wanted to strip off one house-styling in order to impose another. Editorial discretion may be 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 is a twentieth-century writer and in many respects remains our contemporary, the idiom of his day is not invariably intelligible now, especially to the many readers who are not native speakers of British English. His use of dialect is another difficulty, and further barriers to full understanding are created by now obscure literary, historical, political or other references and allusions. On these occasions Explanatory notes are supplied by the editor; it is assumed that the reader has access to a good general dictionary and that the editor need not gloss words or expressions that may be found in it. Where Lawrence's letters are quoted in editorial matter, the reader should assume that his manuscript alone is the source of eccentricities of phrase or spelling.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To previous editors Roberta Armstrong and Ian MacNiven, I am grateful for the useful base they provided for this volume. For help with rare material in private hands, thanks and special regards are due to Sara Quintanilla of Mexico City; the late Ross Parmenter of Oaxaca and New York; and Philip Peralta-Ramos of New York and Colorado. I am grateful to L. D. Clark, Keith Sagar and others for the example of their work on Lawrence's American period, and also John Worthen for extensive special assistance.

My appreciation is due, as well, to James T. Boulton, Lindeth Vasey, Michael Black, Paul Poplawski and Andrew Brown, all of whom, with Worthen, aided and encouraged me in the course of my editing; and also to Linda Bree and the staff of Cambridge University Press – including Leigh Mueller, who did meticulous sub-editing of the full text for this volume. For help with Lawrence's manuscripts and typescripts in libraries, I am grateful to Cathy Henderson, Richard Workman and the staff of the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas; Susan Snyder and the staff of Manuscripts and Archives at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; William R. Erwin, Jr, and Janie Morris of the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University; Adam Marchand and Eva Guggemos of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; Scott Krafft, Sigrid P. Perry and the staff of the Charles Deering McCormick Library, Northwestern University, which contains Lawrence's sketches of Pueblo dancers (Illustrations I and II); and the staff of the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana. I thank these libraries and Gerald Pollinger for permissions to use Lawrence materials. I am grateful to Tina Ferris for permission to consult her site map of the Kiowa Ranch (first produced for the US National Register of Historic Places).

I wish to express high praise for excellent research assistance from Mark Dodd, Diana Archibald, Nathanael Gilbert and Bryce Campbell.

For research time and travel grants in early and intermediate stages of this project, thanks to the Washington State University Department of English and College of Liberal Arts.

## CHRONOLOGY

11 September 1885	Born in Eastwood, Nottinghamshire
September 1898–July 1901	Pupil at Nottingham High School
1902–1908	Pupil teacher; student at University College, Nottingham
7 December 1907	First publication: ‘A Prelude’, in <i>Nottinghamshire Guardian</i>
October 1908	Appointed teacher at Davidson Road School, Croydon
November 1909	Publishes five poems in <i>English Review</i>
9 December 1910	Death of his mother, Lydia Lawrence
19 January 1911	<i>The White Peacock</i> (New York)
19 November 1911	Ill with pneumonia; resigns his teaching post on 28 February 1912
March 1912	Meets Frieda Weekley; they leave for Germany on 3 May
23 May 1912	<i>The Trespasser</i>
February 1913	<i>Love Poems and Others</i>
29 May 1913	<i>Sons and Lovers</i>
1 April 1914	<i>The Widowing of Mrs. Holroyd</i> (New York)
13 July 1914	Marries Frieda Weekley in London
26 November 1914	<i>The Prussian Officer and Other Stories</i>
30 September 1915	<i>The Rainbow</i> ; suppressed by court order on 13 November
June 1916	<i>Twilight in Italy</i>
July 1916	<i>Amores</i>
26 November 1917	<i>Look! We Have Come Through!</i>
October 1918	<i>New Poems</i>
November 1919–February 1922	In mainland Italy, then Capri and Sicily
20 November 1919	<i>Bay</i>
May 1920	<i>Touch and Go</i>
9 November 1920	<i>Women in Love</i> (New York)
25 November 1920	<i>The Lost Girl</i>
15 December 1920	‘America, Listen to Your Own’ in <i>New Republic</i> ; Walter Lippmann opposes DHL’s celebration of American Indians
February 1921	<i>Movements in European History</i>

Cambridge University Press  
 978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays  
 D. H. Lawrence  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

## Chronology

xiii

10 May 1921	<i>Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious</i> (New York)
5 November 1921	DHL receives invitation from Mabel Dodge Sterne to come to Taos, New Mexico
12 December 1921	<i>Sea and Sardinia</i> (New York)
26 February 1922	Leaves Naples with Frieda for Ceylon, en route to western hemisphere
March–August 1922	In Ceylon and Australia
14 April 1922	<i>Aaron's Rod</i> (New York)
20 July 1922	Bursum Bill, on Pueblo Indian property rights, introduced in US Senate by Senator Holm O. Bursum of New Mexico
11 August 1922	DHL and Frieda leave Sydney for USA
September 1922	Signs 'Protest of Artists and Writers Against the Bursum Bill', along with Zane Grey, Vachel Lindsay, Edgar Lee Masters, Harriet Monroe, Carl Sandburg and others
4 September 1922	In San Francisco
8–10 September 1922	San Francisco to Lamy, New Mexico; met by Mabel Sterne and Tony Lujan
10 September 1922	Meets Witter Bynner, Willard ('Spud') Johnson and Alice Corbin Henderson
11 September 1922	Moves into house, at Taos; DHL turns thirty-seven years old
14–18 September 1922	DHL at Jicarilla Apache Reservation with Tony Lujan and Bessie Freeman, for Stone Lake festival
18 or 19 September 1922	DHL writes earliest section of 'Pueblos and an Englishman' (later 'Indians and an Englishman')
29–30 September 1922	Attends San Geronimo Festival at Taos Pueblo; probably writes 'Taos' section of 'Pueblos and an Englishman'
23 October 1922	<i>Fantasia of the Unconscious</i> (New York)
24 October 1922	<i>England, My England and Other Stories</i> (New York)
25 October 1922	Tells American agent Mountsier he is working on an article 'about Indians and the Bursum Bill'
30 October 1922	Asks Mabel for his 'Bursum article'
31 October 1922	Sends composite article on 'Indians and the Bursum Bill' to Mountsier and duplicate to the <i>Dial</i>
November–December 1922	Revises <i>Studies in Classic American Literature</i>

xiv

*Chronology*

5 November 1922	Pueblo Indians discuss Bursum Bill at Santo Domingo
6 November 1922	Back from camping with Frieda at Lobo Ranch (later Kiowa)
11 November 1922	DHL authorises cutting 'Bursum' section from <i>Dial</i> article
14 November 1922	Agrees the <i>Dial</i> can publish 'Indian article' (later divided into 'Indians and an Englishman' and 'Taos')
1 December 1922	Moves with Frieda to Del Monte Ranch
12 December 1922	Difficulty with <i>Dial</i> 's managing editor (Gilbert Seldes) over 'Indian article'
14 December 1922	Bursum Bill debated in US House of Representatives
24 December 1922	'Certain Americans and an Englishman' ('Bursum' section) in <i>New York Times Magazine</i>
25 December 1922	Thomas and Adele Seltzer at Del Monte Ranch (until 2 January)
January–February 1923	Hearings in US Congress over Bursum Bill and compromise legislation
1 January 1923	Mountsier at Del Monte Ranch (until 28 January)
February 1923	'Indians and an Englishman' in <i>Dial</i>
3 February 1923	DHL dismisses Mountsier as agent
10 February 1923	Tells Curtis Brown (London) that 'Indians and an Englishman' might be taken by an English periodical
March 1923	'Taos' in <i>Dial</i> ; <i>The Ladybird</i> , <i>The Fox</i> , <i>The Captain's Doll</i> (in New York as <i>The Captain's Doll</i> , <i>Three Novelettes</i> , April 1923)
18 March 1923	DHL and Frieda leave Del Monte Ranch for Mexico via Taos and El Paso
23 March 1923	Arrives in Mexico City, staying until 27 April
3–5 April 1923	Visits pyramids at San Juan Teotihuacán (described in 'Au Revoir, U. S. A.') and Cuernavaca
13–21 April 1923	Visits Puebla, Tehuacan and Orizaba
27 April 1923	DHL learns of Mabel Dodge Sterne's marriage to Tony Lujan (on 23 April 1923)
May–June 1923	DHL writes <i>Quetzalcoatl</i> , first version of <i>The Plumed Serpent</i>
2 May 1923	DHL and Frieda move into Chapala house (until 9 July)

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Chronology*

xv

9 July 1923	DHL and Frieda leave Mexico for New York via Laredo, San Antonio and New Orleans
11 July 1923	'At Taos, An Englishman Looks at Mexico' ('Taos') in <i>Cassell's Weekly</i>
19 July 1923	DHL and Frieda arrive in New York
18 August 1923	Frieda sails alone for England
27 August 1923	<i>Studies in Classic American Literature</i> (New York)
27–30 August 1923	DHL to Los Angeles via Chicago and Omaha
September 1923	<i>Kangaroo</i>
25 September–22 November 1923	DHL and Kai Götzsche travel through Mexico, eventually to Guadalajara and Vera Cruz
9 October 1923	<i>Birds, Beasts and Flowers</i> (New York)
13 October 1923	<i>Mastro-don Gesualdo</i> (New York)
November 1923	'Indians and an Englishman' in the <i>Adelphi</i>
22 November 1923	DHL and Götzsche leave Mexico for Europe
December 1923	'Au Revoir, U. S. A.' in <i>Laughing Horse</i>
December 1923–March 1924	DHL in England, France and Germany
9 January 1924	DHL receives <i>Laughing Horse</i> (December issue); sends 'Dear Old Horse, A London Letter' to Johnson; offers to write letter series
23 January 1924	DHL and Frieda to Paris
1 February 1924	Has sent 'Paris Letter' to Johnson; requests typescript of 'London Letter' and especially of 'Paris Letter'
6 February 1924	Leaves Paris with Frieda for Baden-Baden via Strasbourg
9 February 1924	Reports that Germany is 'queer – seems to be turning'
19 February 1924	Sends 'Letter from Germany' to the <i>New Statesman</i>
20 February 1924	Leaves Baden-Baden with Frieda for Paris and London
5 March 1924	DHL and Frieda leave London with Dorothy Brett for New York (arrive 11 March)
15–16 March 1924	Visits Willa Cather in New York
15–21 March	Travels to Santa Fe via Chicago (visits Harriet Monroe in Chicago 18 March)
22 March–5 May 1924	In Taos at Mabel Luhan's
by 4 April 1924	Mabel gives Lobo Ranch to Frieda
7 April 1924	DHL inquires about Easter dances at San Felipe and Santo Domingo; sends Johnson the sketch of the Corn Dancers (traced by Brett from his original); will not revise 'London Letter'

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xvi

*Chronology*

9 April 1924	Attends dance ceremony at Taos Pueblo
before 14 April 1924	Writes 'Indians and Entertainment'
18–20 April 1924	Bureau of Indian Affairs officials meet with Taos Indians over dance ban (described in 'O! Americans'); Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke visits Taos Pueblo
20 April 1924	DHL sends 'Indians and Entertainment' to Curtis Brown (New York)
22–23 April 1924	Attends dances at Santo Domingo Pueblo; writes 'The Dance of the Sprouting Corn'
May 1924	'Dear Old Horse, A London Letter' in <i>Laughing Horse</i>
5 May–11 October 1924	Lawrences and Brett at Lobo Ranch
12 May 1924	DHL hopes to finish first half of 'Pan in America' (first version)
between 12 May and ? June 1924	Writes revised version of 'Pan in America'
7 June 1924	US Congress passes Pueblo Lands Act (compromise substitute for Bursum Bill); ranch repairs finished
July 1924	'The Dance of the Sprouting Corn' and <i>The Corn Dance</i> (drawing) in <i>Theatre Arts Monthly</i>
August 1924	'The Dance of the Sprouting Corn' in the <i>Adelphi</i>
by 9 August 1924	DHL renames Lobo Ranch 'Kiowa'
13 August 1924	Goes to Taos and Santa Fe
14–23 August 1924	Goes to Hotevilla, Arizona, for Snake Dance (17–18 August) via Santa Fe (14 August), Laguna (15–16 August), St Michael's (16 August); returns via Chin Lee (19 August), Cañon de Chelly (20 August), Gallup (21 August), Santa Fe (22 August)
22 August 1924	Writes 'Just Back from the Snake Dance'
23–25 August 1924	To Taos and Kiowa
26 August 1924	Begins 'The Hopi Snake Dance' notebook
28 August 1924	<i>The Boy in the Bush</i>
30 August 1924	Sends 'The Hopi Snake Dance' to Curtis Brown (London); asks J. M. Murry to read it – 'it defines somewhat my position'
September 1924	'Just Back from the Snake Dance' in <i>Laughing Horse</i> (as 'Just Back from the Snake Dance – Tired Out')
6 September 1924	Has had copy of 'The Hopi Snake Dance' sent to <i>Theatre Arts Monthly</i>



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Chronology*

xvii

10 September 1924	Asks E. M. Forster to read 'The Hopi Snake Dance'; death of DHL's father, Arthur John Lawrence
29 September–1 October 1924	Lawrences and Brett in Taos; attend San Geronimo Festival at Taos Pueblo
30 September 1924	DHL sends 'Indians and Entertainment' to Curtis Brown (New York)
October 1924	'The Dance of the Sprouting Corn' (as 'Der Tanz vom Sprießenden Korn') in <i>Der Neue Merkur</i>
11–23 October 1924	Lawrences and Brett to Mexico, via Taos and Santa Fe
23–28 October 1924	In Mexico City
between 25 and 28 October 1924	DHL and Brett visit National Museum and Virgin of Guadalupe
26 October 1924	'Indians and Entertainment' in <i>New York Times Magazine</i>
31 October 1924	DHL dines with P.E.N. Club, meets Luis Quintanilla
November 1924	'Indians and Entertainment' in the <i>Adelphi</i>
2 November 1924	Meets Edward Weston
9 November 1924–14 February 1925 before 14 November 1924	At Oaxaca DHL calls on Governor Isaac Ibarra in his palace
19 November 1924	Begins second version of 'Quetzalcoat' ( <i>The Plumed Serpent</i> )
30? November 1924	Visits Mitla with Donald Miller via Santa Maria del Tule
December 1924	'The Hopi Snake Dance' in <i>Theatre Arts Monthly</i>
19?–30? December 1924	Writes four 'Mornings in Mexico' essays
19 December 1924	Suggests that Luis Quintanilla write an article for <i>Vanity Fair</i> , to be accompanied by Edward Weston photograph of Lawrence; 'Friday Morning' of 'Mornings in Mexico' ('Corasmin and the Parrots')
20 December 1924	'Saturday Morning' ('Market Day')
21 December 1924	'Sunday Morning' ('Walk to Huayapa'); DHL and Frieda walk to San Andrés Huayapan
29 December 1924	Probably 'Monday Morning' ('The Mozo')
January–February 1925 by 10 January 1925	'The Hopi Snake Dance' in the <i>Adelphi</i> Rewrites Quintanilla's 'Mexico, Why Not?' ('See Mexico After, by Luis Q.') and returns it on 12 January

Cambridge University Press  
 978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays  
 D. H. Lawrence  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

xviii

*Chronology*

10 January 1925	DHL sends four 'Mornings in Mexico' essays to Curtis Brown (London)
19 January 1925	Brett leaves Oaxaca for Mexico City
c. 1 February 1925	Finishes <i>The Plumed Serpent</i>
1–14 February 1925	DHL seriously ill in Oaxaca with influenza, malaria or typhoid fever
25–26 February 1925	DHL and Frieda to Mexico City via Tehuacan
26 February–25 March 1925	In Mexico City
6–11 March 1925	DHL examined by Mexico City doctors, tuberculosis diagnosed
25–29 March 1925	DHL and Frieda to Santa Fe via El Paso
29 March 1925	In Santa Fe
1–5 April 1925	At Del Monte Ranch
6 April–9 September 1925	At Kiowa Ranch
17 April 1925	DHL tells Nancy Pearn of Curtis Brown (London) that he doesn't want Murry to publish 'Mornings in Mexico' essays
by 12 May 1925	Has asked Curtis Brown (London) to send four 'Mornings in Mexico' essays to the Insel Verlag
14 May 1925	<i>St. Mawr Together with The Princess</i>
September 1925–May 1928	In England, France and Italy
10–13 September 1925	DHL and Frieda to New York via Denver; Brett remains at Kiowa
21 September 1925	DHL and Frieda leave for England
by 2 November 1925	'Rosalino' ('The Mozo') in <i>Insel-Almanach auf der Jahr 1926</i>
25 November 1925	DHL writes 'A Little Moonshine with Lemon', sends MS to Brett
December 1925	'Corasmin and the Parrots' in <i>Adelphi</i>
7 December 1925	<i>Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays</i> (Philadelphia)
January 1926	<i>The Plumed Serpent</i> ; 'Pan in America' in <i>Southwest Review</i>
March 1926	<i>David</i>
April 1926	'The Gentle Art of Marketing in Mexico' ('Market Day') in <i>Travel</i> ; 'A Little Moonshine with Lemon', 'Paris Letter', drawing of 'Pueblo Indian Dancers' (traced version of <i>The Corn Dance</i> ), etc., in <i>Laughing Horse</i> (special D. H. Lawrence number)
19 April 1926	DHL asks Nancy Pearn to take 'Walk to Huayapa' and 'The Mozo' away from the <i>Adelphi</i>

## Chronology

xix

- 13 May 1926 Advises Nancy Pearn to handle the *Adelphi's* claim to the remaining 'Mornings in Mexico' essays as she wishes
- June 1926 'Mornings in Mexico/Saturday' ('Market Day') in *New Criterion*
- November 1926 'Sunday Stroll in Sleepy Mexico' ('Walk to Huayapa') in *Travel*
- 15 November 1926 Has misgivings about 'half baked' essays for a book suggested by Secker; only feels confident of 'Mornings in Mexico' essays
- 23 November 1926 Lists planned contents of 'essay book' to Secker; agrees with title *Mornings in Mexico*; wants *The Corn Dance* drawing included; sends Secker *Travel* copy of 'Market Day'
- 26 November 1926 Sends Secker *Travel* copy of 'Walk to Huayapa'; suggests photographs for *Mornings in Mexico*; offers to write 'a little introduction'
- 6 December 1926 Asks Curtis Brown (London) to obtain *Theatre Arts Monthly* issues containing 'Dance articles' and illustrations; requests illustrations of 'Indian dances' from Mabel Luhan and offers to dedicate volume to her
- 8 January 1927 Tells Secker he has not yet received photographs (from Taos and from *Travel*) for *Mornings in Mexico*
- 12 January 1927 Asks Secker if he received '*Theatre Arts Magazines*' with "'Dance" articles'; suggests March as publication date for *Mornings in Mexico*
- 17 January 1927 Asks Nancy Pearn if she is 'managing illustrations' for *Mornings in Mexico*
- 27 January 1927 Believes that *Mornings in Mexico* will appear in 'late spring or early autumn'
- February 1927 'The Mozo' in *Adelphi*
- 8 February 1927 Has still received no illustrations from America for *Mornings in Mexico*; urges Secker to use 'a few pictures'
- March 1927 'Walk to Huayapa' in *Adelphi*
- 15 March 1927 Expecting proofs of *Mornings in Mexico*
- 27 March 1927 Asks Secker why he decided against illustrations in *Mornings in Mexico*; tells Nancy Pearn he is 'a bit vexed' with Secker

Cambridge University Press  
 978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays  
 D. H. Lawrence  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

xx

*Chronology*

- 28 March 1927 Starts walking trip with Earl Brewster (returns 11 April)
- 1 April 1927 'Sons of Montezuma' ('The Mozo') in *Living Age*
- 13 April 1927 Corrects proofs for Secker's *Mornings in Mexico* and returns them
- June 1927 *Mornings in Mexico* published by Secker in London (in New York by Knopf, 5 August 1927)
- 24 May 1928 *The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories*
- June 1928–March 1930 In Switzerland, Germany, Spain and, principally, France
- late June 1928 *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (Florence)
- September 1928 *Collected Poems*
- 19 December 1928 Tells Mabel Luhan he will write article for *Survey Graphic* ('New Mexico')
- 25 December 1928 Sends 'New Mexico' to Nancy Pearn; tells Mabel Luhan would like to return to New Mexico 'in spring'
- 5 January 1929 Asks Nancy Pearn if she received MS of 'New Mexico' – the 'only copy'
- 2 March 1929 Tells Mabel Luhan he will not return to America this year because of ill health and fear of 'unpleasantnesses with authorities'
- June 1929 *The Paintings of D. H. Lawrence*
- July 1929 *Pansies*
- September 1929 *The Escaped Cock* (Paris)
- 2 March 1930 Dies at Vence, Alpes Maritimes, France
- 13 March 1930 *Nettles*
- April 1930 *Assorted Articles*
- 17 May 1930 *The Virgin and the Gipsy* (Florence)
- 25 November 1930 *Love Among the Haystacks & Other Pieces*
- March 1931 *The Man Who Died (The Escaped Cock)*
- 1 May 1931 'New Mexico' in *Survey Graphic*
- 3 June 1931 *Apocalypse* (Florence)
- 25 June 1932 'The Spell of New Mexico' ('New Mexico') in *John O'London's Weekly*
- September 1932 *Etruscan Places*
- 26 September 1932 'Dear Old Horse, A London Letter' in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*
- 1 October 1932 *Last Poems* (Florence)
- 13 October 1934 'Letter from Germany' in *New Statesman and Nation*

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays  
D. H. Lawrence  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

*Chronology*

xxi

19 October 1936

'Taos', 'Au Revoir, U. S. A.', 'Paris Letter',  
'Letter from Germany', 'Pan in America',  
'See Mexico After, by Luis Q.' and 'New  
Mexico' in *Phoenix*

15 January 1968

'Certain Americans and an Englishman' in  
*Phoenix II*

## CUE-TITLES

### A. Manuscript and typescript locations

DU	Duke University
NWU	Northwestern University
Quintanilla	Sara Quintanilla
UCB	University of California at Berkeley
UIII	University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
UT	University of Texas at Austin
YU	Yale University

### B. Printed works

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

- Brett Dorothy Brett. *Lawrence and Brett: A Friendship*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1933.
- 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*, v. James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume V. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Cue-titles

xxiii

- Letters*, vi. James T. Boulton and Margaret H. Boulton, with Gerald M. Lacy, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume VI. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Letters*, vii. Keith Sagar and James T. Boulton, eds. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume VII. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Letters*, viii. James T. Boulton, ed. *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*. Volume VIII. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Nehls Edward Nehls, ed. *D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography*. 3 vols. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957–9.
- OED* Sir James A. H. Murray *et al.*, eds. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. 10 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884–1928.
- Parmenter Ross Parmenter. *Lawrence in Oaxaca: A Quest for the Novelist in Mexico*. Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1984.
- Phoenix* Edward D. McDonald, ed. *Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers of D. H. Lawrence*. New York: Viking, 1936.
- Poems* Vivian de Sola Pinto and Warren Roberts, eds. *The Complete Poems of D. H. Lawrence*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977.
- PS* D. H. Lawrence. *The Plumed Serpent (Quetzalcoatl)*. Ed. L. D. Clark. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- 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*. 3rd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Sketches* D. H. Lawrence. *Sketches of Etruscan Places and Other Italian Essays*. Ed. Simonetta de Filippis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Studies* D. H. Lawrence. *Studies in Classic American Literature*. Ed. Ezra Greenspan, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Tedlock E. W. Tedlock. *The Frieda Lawrence Collection of D. H. Lawrence Manuscripts: A Descriptive Bibliography*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## INTRODUCTION

When D. H. Lawrence was awaiting publication of the first edition of his book *Mornings in Mexico* (1927), he described it to his sister Emily King as ‘a little book of Red Indian and Mexican essays’,<sup>1</sup> and it was the focus on indigenous life in the American Southwest and Mexico that unified the volume even then. His sense of the original volume as a unit with ‘one basic theme’ (vi. 36) had begun to form as early as 1925 when he commented that essays ‘on Indian dances’ might best be ‘kept apart’ from the pieces that eventually formed *Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine and Other Essays* (1925).<sup>2</sup> The title ‘Mornings in Mexico’ belonged in the first place to four essays Lawrence wrote in Oaxaca in 1924–5 while he was working on the last half of his one ‘real novel of America’ (iv. 457), *The Plumed Serpent*. Like the novel, these essays – which formed half of the original volume *Mornings in Mexico* – take the local Indians as a vital key to national identity and spirit of place. So do the next three of that book’s essays, all ‘Indian’ pieces, followed by ‘A Little Moonshine with Lemon’, in which Lawrence reminisces in Italy about the Kiowa Ranch in New Mexico. In this present volume, which adds ten essays to the original eight (as well as some early versions), the same American and Native American themes prevail. Although five of the eighteen essays were written in Europe, the preoccupation with America – and ‘not the America of the whites’ (v. 63) – is evident in nearly all. Only ‘Letter from Germany’, though sequentially tied to two others, lacks overt reference to the indigenous America. Even ‘Paris Letter’ attributes a Homeric nobility to Native Americans. Here, in fact, are all the essays Lawrence wrote about Southwestern and Mexican Indians; and they are joined by attempts to capture the essence of Mexico and New Mexico (‘See Mexico After, by Luis Q.’ and ‘New Mexico’).

Because he participated in plans for the original *Mornings in Mexico* (along with his English publisher Martin Secker), its contents appear first in this

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*, v. 635 [25 January 1927]. Hereafter letters are cited in parenthesis in the text by volume and page number unless accompanied by a footnote.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters*, v. 241, DHL to Harold Mason of Centaur Book Shop and Press, 17 April 1925. Thus the ‘Indian’ pieces remained available for a later, more thematic volume.



Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xxvi

*Introduction*

volume. Next come (in chronological order) the essays he wrote in Taos in 1922, those from his following travels in Mexico and Europe in 1922–3, one from the Lawrence ranch (later Kiowa) in 1924, one from Mexico in 1924–5 and a final retrospective study from Europe in 1928. Like the original volume, this one presents a certain bifurcation in its sense of place – divided between Mexico and New Mexico with Europe rather at its margins. Before going to America, Lawrence's mental geography of it was somewhat vague and idealised, linking widely disparate cultures. For example, in the 1920 'Foreword to Studies in Classic American Literature' – first published as 'America, Listen to Your Own' – Americans are urged to turn from Old World standards to 'pick up the life-thread' from 'the Red Indian, the Aztec, the Maya, the Incas'.<sup>3</sup> In America, however, his engagement with specific peoples and issues became much more particularised and even, at times, topical.<sup>4</sup>

The first of these essays to be published, 'Certain Americans and an Englishman', was written late in 1922 when *Aaron's Rod* and *Women in Love* were both prominently on the market (the former having appeared in the spring and the latter having triumphed in September over suppression, based on an obscenity charge). The last essay, 'New Mexico', was written in France in December 1928 when Lawrence had published *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and pirated copies flourished. These essays have interconnections, therefore, with a wide range of his other works.

In fact, he had been thinking about America throughout much of his career,<sup>5</sup> referring to it in 1915, for example, as a goal and an escape from the 'past' for some of the people in *Twilight in Italy*.<sup>6</sup> All during the First World War, Lawrence had imagined a retreat from the conflict, for he felt his heart 'torn out' (ii. 413) by what had happened to civilisation, by the destruction itself and by the suspension of civil liberties which he and his

<sup>3</sup> *Studies* (Appendix II), 384:35, 34–5. This essay appeared in the *New Republic*, xxv (15 December 1920), 68–70.

<sup>4</sup> DHL witnessed and wrote about some of the key circumstances that would fuel the later 'Indian New Deal' – Pueblo property rights, Indian boarding schools, and rules against native rituals. The architect of the 'Indian New Deal', John Collier (1884–1968), Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1933–45), wrote about DHL's relations with the Pueblo Indians, stating that they 'accepted him and liked him' and walked uphill to the Kiowa Ranch to honour him 'when they learned of his death' (Nehls, ii. 198).

<sup>5</sup> See *Studies* xxvi–xxxii, for DHL's reading in American literature, and lix–lxvi for his own considerable impact on the criticism of American literature.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, the character John, whose 'face was set outwards, away from it all—whither, neither he nor anybody knew, but he called it America' (*Twilight in Italy and Other Essays*, ed. Paul Eggert, Cambridge, 1994, 186:40–1).

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Introduction

xxvii

German-born wife Frieda suffered.<sup>7</sup> The good society which he imagined in 1914, even before the war, was to be an island or a colony both utopian and geographically real; and it was increasingly localised somewhere in America.<sup>8</sup> The prospect of going to America appeared, too, in a cluster of post-war fictions between 1920 and 1923: *The Lost Girl*, the expanded *Dial* version of 'The Fox', *Aaron's Rod* with its vivid dream of a 'lake-city, like Mexico',<sup>9</sup> and *Kangaroo*.<sup>10</sup> In addition, a mystical idea of America entered into the Foreword to *Fantasia of the Unconscious* (1922), which names 'the Amerindians' among those who perpetuated the old myths and rituals of Atlantis and 'the great world previous to ours'.<sup>11</sup> The Maya were mentioned in a similar vision in the first version of 'The Spirit of Place' (1918),<sup>12</sup> which Lawrence rewrote in New Mexico for *Studies in Classic American Literature*, omitting the Atlantean frame of reference. Lawrence had compared himself in 1916 to 'a Columbus who can see a shadowy America before him' (ii. 556), and, like Columbus, he expected a 'new world' that was inevitably different from his projections of it.

Reactions to the publication of 'America, Listen to Your Own' had revealed to Lawrence a profound split in American literary criticism – with advocates of Europeanised models on one hand, typified by the well-known commentator Walter Lippmann, and with proponents of Native American culture on the other, represented by the novelist and essayist Mary Austin, who knew Taos

<sup>7</sup> DHL chafed at 'having been badgered about . . . kicked out of Cornwall, and pushed about by the police' (*Letters*, iii. 281).

<sup>8</sup> DHL adopted its name 'Ranim' in 1914 from the Hebrew music sung by his friend S. S. Kotliansky – ironically, just before the two learned of the declaration of war (*Letters*, ii. 268). Some of the locations associated with this dream included an unnamed island (ii. 266), England itself (ii. 277, 292), Cornwall (ii. 564), perhaps 'California or the South Seas' (iii. 70), the Andes (iii. 173, 174), Palestine (iii. 214, 316), Florida (e.g. ii. 485, 486, 488–92), America's 'far west mountains' (iii. 25), possibly ('a bit') New Mexico (iv. 334, 350) and Mexico (v. 513).

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Mara Kalnins (Cambridge, 1988), 288:11.

<sup>10</sup> In poetry, too, the same progression is clear. *Birds, Beasts and Flowers* (New York, 1923) illustrates the geographical transition to America because of poems identified with places: not only Europe but also Asia ('Elephant'), Australia ('Kangaroo') and the American Southwest (nine poems located there) – 'Eagle in New Mexico', 'The Blue Jay', 'Bibbles', 'Mountain Lion', 'The Red Wolf', 'Men in New Mexico', 'Autumn at Taos', 'Spirits Summoned West' and 'The American Eagle'. In addition, 'Humming-Bird' was given the location 'Española' (a New Mexico village) although published in one version before DHL's arrival in America; and 'The Evening Land', given the location 'Baden-Baden', confronts white America ('the open tomb of my race', *Poems* 289).

<sup>11</sup> In *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious and Fantasia of the Unconscious*, ed. Bruce Steele (Cambridge, 2004), 63:33, 11–13.

<sup>12</sup> *Studies* 169:5.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xxviii

*Introduction*

well.<sup>13</sup> She was a member of the circle around Mabel Dodge Sterne (later Luhan), who would invite the Lawrences to New Mexico. Lawrence had argued in this essay that, while European culture was born of a great creative link between opposites (East and West), it had gone dead, obliging Americans to ‘start from Montezuma’ and the ‘great and lovely life-form, unperfected’ that he represented.<sup>14</sup> They must shed the moribund mechanistic civilisation which Lawrence believed was in even further decadence in the United States than in Europe (and therefore closer to rebirth),<sup>15</sup> and find a clue to the future in primordial America. But Lippmann immediately assigned Lawrence to ‘the Noble Savage phase’. Americans cannot ‘start from Montezuma’, he said, because ‘there is nothing to start from’. Austin’s reply charged Lippmann with ‘complacency’ over this national ignorance, challenging ‘the attitude of a small group of thinkers residing mostly in New York’ and calling attention to the surviving ‘remnants’ of American Indian culture, the successful native struggles in Mexico, and ‘a lusty art movement’ flourishing on the ‘Amerind’ foundation.<sup>16</sup> Although Lawrence’s position was in fact similar to Austin’s, he called her defence ‘boring’ (iii. 654), and he would later bridle at his association with the appropriation (as he saw it) of Indian subjects by New Mexico artist colonies; because he was seeking popular acceptance in America, he may have been sensitive, too, to the influential Lippmann’s broadside national assault.

Whether this criticism contributed or not to Lawrence’s later writing about America, he did set about revising his *Studies* radically after his arrival in America – not only removing much of the earlier mystique about the Aztecs but also adopting a new, combative style and a tougher stance towards sentimental primitivism that are evident at times, too, in *Mornings in Mexico*. Lawrence was on an arc of reaction and reassessment, exploring Cooper’s

<sup>13</sup> Walter Lippmann (1899–1974), influential journalist and author, was a founding editor of the *New Republic*. Mary Hunter Austin (1868–1934), American novelist and poet, author of *The Land of Little Rain* (1903), was a leader of the arts community in Santa Fe and a good friend of Mabel Luhan. See also *The Plays*, ed. Hans-Wilhelm Schwarze and John Worthen (Cambridge, 1999), p. 687, for a note on Austin’s place in DHL’s drama *Altitude*.

<sup>14</sup> *Studies* 385:11, 1.

<sup>15</sup> Even in 1916, he had explained to Catherine Carswell ‘that America, being so much *worse*, *false*, further gone than England, is nearer to freedom’, having ‘dryrotted to a point where the final *seed* of the new is almost left ready to sprout’ (*Letters*, iii. 25).

<sup>16</sup> Lippmann, ‘The Crude Barbarian and the Noble Savage’ (with the additional header ‘Apropos of Mr. Lawrence’), *New Republic*, xxv (15 December 1920), 70, and Austin, ‘Mrs. Austin Protests’, *New Republic*, xxv (5 January 1921), 170. See also *Studies* lxii–lxiii on the literatures of ‘Nature’ and ‘Culture’ – and on Philip Rahv’s 1939 categories ‘Paleface’ and ‘Redskin’ in American literature.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Introduction

xxix

theme of a 'communion' between the souls of the races<sup>17</sup> and questioning the possibility of a utopian state, only to return in the end to some of his earlier vision.

But his interest in the United States also had a decidedly practical side, for he was actively attempting to enlarge his American audience in order to earn money. After the suppression of *The Rainbow* in 1915 and the publishers' timidity about *Women in Love*, Lawrence wrote to his agent J. B. Pinker that he must go to America to 'address a new public' and that he could not 'write for America here in England' (iii. 73). That was in 1917, after *Women in Love* had been rejected by Methuen, Duckworth, Secker, and Constable and Co., and Lawrence hoped increasingly for an American audience. Despite repeated attempts, however, he and Frieda were unable to obtain passports until 1919, and they were obliged to accept gifts and loans in order to live. Even in September 1922, from better financial times in America, Lawrence wrote to his principal English publisher, Martin Secker, that his yearly income from England was only about £120: 'Therefore America must have the first consideration. On the English crust I could but starve, now as ever' (iv. 299). Partly due to receptive American periodicals, the New York publisher Thomas Seltzer<sup>18</sup> and the American Robert Mountsier,<sup>19</sup> who had begun to act as Lawrence's agent in 1920 a few months after Pinker's dismissal (iii. 439, 476, 504), Lawrence's fortunes were improving by the time he set sail beyond Europe, first to Ceylon and Australia, then to America across the Pacific. To Mabel Sterne,<sup>20</sup> the American patron of the arts who had offered the Lawrences a house in Taos, New Mexico, he would affirm a certain self-sufficiency as an initial gesture (iv. 269).

<sup>17</sup> *Studies* 209:30–1. 'Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking Novels' (First Version) also refers to 'ultimate atonement between races' but the version finds 'an unpassable distance' between them (*Studies* 64:35).

<sup>18</sup> Seltzer (1875–1943), translator, journalist and publisher, born in Russia, grew up in the USA from the age of twelve; he entered the publishing firm Boni and Liveright in 1917, then began Scott and Seltzer in 1918 with Temple Scott. He was DHL's leading publisher for five years (1920–5).

<sup>19</sup> Mountsier (1888–1972), journalist and literary editor at the New York *Sun* (1910), was a friend of DHL when he accepted his position with Lawrence (1920–3) for the US market. Curtis Brown remained DHL's English agent (as he had been since April 1921).

<sup>20</sup> Mabel Dodge Sterne Luhan (1879–1962) was born Mabel Ganson and later married Karl Evans, architect Edwin Dodge, artist Maurice Sterne and Taos Indian leader Antonio (Tony) Lujan (1923) (see footnote 27). She conducted salons in Greenwich Village, Florence and Taos. DHL presented a copy of Seltzer's *Women in Love* to Mabel to commemorate the occasion of their meeting: 'Mabel Sterne / from D. H. Lawrence / on arriving in Taos / 11th September 1922'. He would dedicate *Mornings in Mexico* to 'Mabel Lujan'.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xxx

*Introduction*

Although he arrived in San Francisco ‘penniless’, as he wired Mountsier (iv. 287), *The Captain’s Doll* had recently sold for \$1,000 to *Hearst’s International*,<sup>21</sup> and soon he was repaying earlier small loans (e.g. iv. 297, 305) and offering money to his old friend, S. S. Koteliensky (iv. 296–7). The struggle with poverty never really ended for Lawrence, but his ‘American period’ – actually consisting of three separate periods in New Mexico and three trips to Mexico<sup>22</sup> – was itself remarkably productive, and his publication rate was at its all-time high. The Lawrences’ arrival in Taos all but coincided with the propitious outcome on 12 September of a ‘suppression’ case that had been brought against Seltzer after the publication of *Women in Love* (and two books by other writers). A week after receiving a telegram from Seltzer on his ‘triumph’ (iv. 296), Lawrence replied, ‘I am glad you won that case: now you ought to be able to go freely ahead’ (iv. 297). By 17 December, Lawrence could announce to his friend, the writer Catherine Carswell, the sale in America of almost 15,000 copies of *Women in Love* (iv. 363).

Moreover, in just the next thirteen months, Seltzer published seven of his books: *Fantasia of the Unconscious* and *England, My England* in October 1922, and then, in 1923, *The Captain’s Doll* in April, *Studies in Classic American Literature* in August, *Kangaroo* in September, and *Birds, Beasts and Flowers* and *Mastro-don Gesualdo* (Lawrence’s translation of Giovanni Verga) in October.<sup>23</sup> In addition, Lawrence was regularly publishing poems, essays and stories in American periodicals. When Lawrence reported his 1922 income to Mountsier for tax purposes, he listed \$5,439.67 from American royalties and periodicals (iv. 400), and his balance in the Charleroi Bank was \$2,262.86 in the same month.<sup>24</sup> He was by that time, in February 1923, breaking with Mountsier, whose conflicts with Seltzer could not be resolved, and he would begin to detach himself from Seltzer, too, less than a year later, when the

<sup>21</sup> *Letters*, iv. 287 n. 2. Seltzer’s correspondence with Mountsier indicates that the publisher was responsible for the sale to *Hearst’s* and actively conducted other negotiations with periodicals, sometimes attributed by DHL to Mountsier (e.g. *Letters*, iv. 302 to Curtis Brown). *Hearst’s* delayed periodical publication and had to relinquish the novella because of Secker’s and Seltzer’s publication schedules.

<sup>22</sup> His travels within the United States also took him to San Francisco, New Orleans, New York, Chicago and Los Angeles.

<sup>23</sup> Five of these were published first by Seltzer who had already published (besides *Women in Love*) *Sea and Sardinia* and *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* in 1921 and *Aaron’s Rod* in 1922. Jonathan Cape published *Mastro-don Gesualdo* in 1925.

<sup>24</sup> DHL’s diary notes, Tedlock 96. In June 1924 his balance in the Charleroi Bank was holding fairly steady at \$2,198.02 (Tedlock 98). On 31 August 1924, he assured his sister Ada Clarke that he had ‘plenty’: ‘I keep a thousand dollars in hand if I can, now’ (*Letters*, v. 114).

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-65292-6 - Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays

D. H. Lawrence

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

publisher suffered financial disaster; but both had been important in bringing his work successfully to the American market.

## Taos and Del Monte Ranch (September 1922 – March 1923)

### ‘Pueblos and an Englishman’

Lawrence had just turned thirty-seven when he and Frieda arrived in Taos after meeting their hostess Mabel Sterne at Lamy, New Mexico, and lodging overnight at writer Witter Bynner’s Santa Fe home, where they also met Willard (‘Spud’) Johnson, Bynner’s secretary and companion.<sup>25</sup> From this little group would come two memoirs of Lawrence, Mabel’s *Lorenzo in Taos* and Bynner’s *Journey with Genius*, both cited below. Johnson, who became Lawrence’s typist on occasion, was co-editor of the little magazine *Laughing Horse*, which later published several of the essays in this volume. Lawrence described his hostess ironically as a cultural ‘cooing raven of misfortune’ (iv. 351–2). A benefactor in her lifetime to significant artists like Gertrude Stein, Georgia O’Keeffe and Willa Cather,<sup>26</sup> she was a principal instigator of the Taos artists’ colony. At the same time, she dedicated herself to causes favourable to Southwestern Indians and married the Taos Indian Tony Lujan in 1923,<sup>27</sup> electing to spell her new married name phonetically.

Lawrence was initially pleased with the ‘very pretty adobe house’ (v. 313) which she provided about 200 yards from her own home, a mile from the ‘plaza’ (as the town-centre was termed), and some three miles from the world’s largest pueblo on the adjoining Taos Indian Reservation. Next door to the Lawrences was John Collier, the future Commissioner of Indian Affairs

<sup>25</sup> Witter Bynner (1881–1968), American poet and playwright, shared some interests with DHL, as in *A Canticle of Pan* (1920) and *Indian Earth* (with its sections ‘Chapala Poems’ and ‘Pueblo Dances’), dedicated to DHL in 1929. Walter Willard (‘Spud’) Johnson (1897–1968), a founder of *Laughing Horse* (originating at UCB), close friend and once secretary to Witter Bynner in Santa Fe. An early co-editor of *Laughing Horse* was Roy E. Chanslor (1899–1964), who was disciplined by UCB for publishing DHL’s review of a controversial book by Ben Hecht in issue no. 4 (December 1922). (See ‘Review of *Fantazius Mallare: A Mysterious Oath*’, in *Introductions and Reviews*, ed. N. H. Reeve and John Worthen, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 215–17.)

<sup>26</sup> Gertrude Stein (1874–1946), American writer and patron of arts, interacted with famous painters and authors in Paris; Georgia O’Keeffe (1887–1986), American painter, famed for her close-up studies of plants and of New Mexico landscape and architecture; Willa Cather (1873–1947), Pulitzer Prize-winning American writer and managing editor of *McClure’s Magazine* (1908), best known for pioneer themes set in the Midwestern and Southwestern USA.

<sup>27</sup> Antonio (Tony) Lujan (d. 1963), activist with John Collier for protection of Pueblo culture; delegate to the First Inter-American Conference on Indian Life held at Patzcuaro, Mexico (1940). He married Mabel Sterne in 1923.