

THE CAMBRIDGE EDITION  
OF THE WORKS OF  
D·H·LAWRENCE



QUETZALCOATL

EDITED BY  
N. H. REEVE

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



# THE WORKS OF D. H. LAWRENCE

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## 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

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, Appendices 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.

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## CHRONOLOGY

11 September 1885	Born in Eastwood, Nottinghamshire
September 1898–July 1901	Pupil at Nottingham High School
1902–1908	Pupil teacher; student at Nottingham University College
7 December 1907	First publication: 'A Prelude', in <i>Nottinghamshire Guardian</i>
October 1908	Appointed as teacher at Davidson Road School, Croydon
November 1909	Publishes five poems in <i>English Review</i>
3 December 1910	Engagement to Louie Burrows; broken off on 4 February 1912
9 December 1910	Death of his mother, Lydia Lawrence
19 January 1911	<i>The White Peacock</i> published in New York (20 January in London)
19 November 1911	Ill with pneumonia; resigns his teaching post on 28 February 1912
March 1912	Meets Frieda Weekley; they travel to Germany on 3 May
23 May 1912	<i>The Trespasser</i>
September 1912–March 1913	At Gargnano, Lago di Garda, Italy
February 1913	<i>Love Poems and Others</i>
29 May 1913	<i>Sons and Lovers</i>
June–August 1913	In England
August 1913–June 1914	In Germany, Switzerland and Italy
1 April 1914	<i>The Widowing of Mrs. Holroyd</i> (New York)
July 1914–December 1915	In London, Buckinghamshire and Sussex
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
30 December 1915–15 October 1917	In Cornwall
February 1916	Begins reading American literature: Melville, Dana, Crèvecoeur, Cooper and others
June 1916	<i>Twilight in Italy</i>
July 1916	<i>Amores</i>

by 24 August 1917	Reads Blavatsky's <i>The Secret Doctrine</i> and Pryse's <i>The Apocalypse Unsealed</i>
August 1917–October 1918	Works on early versions of essays on American literature
15 October 1917	Ordered to leave Cornwall by military authorities
October 1917–November 1919	In London, Berkshire and Derbyshire
26 November 1917	<i>Look! We Have Come Through!</i>
October 1918	<i>New Poems</i>
November 1918–June 1919	Eight essays on American literature published in <i>English Review</i>
September–October 1919	Revises American essays
November 1919–February 1922	In Italy, Capri and Sicily
20 November 1919	<i>Bay</i>
January 1920	Writes <i>Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious</i>
May 1920	<i>Touch and Go</i>
June 1920	Further revision of American essays
September 1920	Writes 'Foreword' to <i>Studies in Classic American Literature</i> ; published as 'America, Listen to your Own', in <i>New Republic</i> , 15 December 1920
9 November 1920	<i>Women in Love</i> published in New York (10 June 1921 in England)
25 November 1920	<i>The Lost Girl</i>
February 1921	<i>Movements in European History</i>
10 May 1921	<i>Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious</i> (New York)
5 November 1921	Receives letter from Mabel Dodge Sterne inviting him to Taos, New Mexico
by 18 November 1921	Begins writing <i>Memoir of Maurice Magnus</i>
12 December 1921	<i>Sea and Sardinia</i> (New York)
26 February 1922	Sails from Naples for Ceylon
March–April 1922	In Ceylon
14 April 1922	<i>Aaron's Rod</i> (New York)
4 May–11 August 1922	In Australia
Late May–early July 1922	Writes <i>Kangaroo</i>
11 August 1922	Sails from Australia to USA, via New Zealand and Tahiti
4 September 1922	Lands at San Francisco
10 September 1922	Meets Witter Bynner and Willard Johnson in Santa Fe
11 September 1922	Arrives in Taos
14–18 September 1922	Observes the Jicarilla Apache ceremonies

- 20 September 1922 Starts writing the 'Mabel novel', 'The Wilful Woman'; abandoned soon after
- 6 October Writes 'Pueblos and an Englishman', later split into three shorter essays and revised, as 'Indians and an Englishman', 'Certain Americans and an Englishman', and 'Taos'
- October 1922 Revises *Kangaroo*
- October 1922–January 1923 Extensive revisions of *Studies in Classic American Literature*
- 23 October 1922 *Fantasia of the Unconscious* (New York)
- 24 October 1922 *England, My England and Other Stories* (New York)
- 1 December 1922 Moves with Frieda to Del Monte ranch; joined there by Kai Gøtzsche and Knud Merrild
- 31 December 1922 First correspondence with Frederick Carter
- 1 January 1923 'I think of going in a few weeks' time down into Mexico'
- 10 February 1923 Asks Seltzer to send a copy of *Terry's Guide to Mexico*
- March 1923 *The Ladybird, The Fox, The Captain's Doll*
- 8 March 1923 Invites Bynner and Johnson to join the Mexican trip
- 19 March 1923 Leaves Taos for Mexico via Santa Fe
- 23 March 1923 Arrives in Mexico City; stays first night in Hotel Regis, then moves to Hotel Monte Carlo until 27 April
- 30 March 1923 Meets Bynner and Johnson in Mexico City
- 1 April 1923 Attends bullfight in Mexico City
- 3 April 1923 Visits pyramids at Teotihuacán
- 5 April 1923 Visits Cuernavaca
- April 1923 Writes 'Au Revoir, U.S.A.'; published in December issue of *Laughing Horse*
- 13–21 April 1923 Visits Puebla, Cholula and Orizaba
- 27 April 1923 Travels to Chapala
- 2 May–9 July 1923 At Calle Zaragoza no. 4, Chapala
- 10 May 1923 Begins work on *Quetzalcoatl*
- 26 May 1923 Hopes to finish *Quetzalcoatl* 'in first rough form' by end of June
- 31 May 1923 'I have already written ten chapters' of *Quetzalcoatl*
- 8 June 1923 *Quetzalcoatl* 'more than half done'

- 15 June 1923 Acknowledges receipt of Carter's manuscript of *The Dragon of the Alchemists* and accompanying drawings
- 15 June 1923 Writes to his American publisher Thomas Seltzer: 'The novel has gone well. Shall I call it "*Quetzalcoatl*"? . . . I've done 415 MS. pages – expect about another 100'
- 18 June 1923 Letter to Carter responding to the manuscript of *The Dragon of the Alchemists*
- 22 June 1923 'Novel done, save for last three chapters'
- 27 June 1923 'The novel is *nearly* finished – near enough to leave'
- 9 July 1923 Leaves Chapala for New York
- 19 July–22 August 1923 In New York; gives manuscript of *Quetzalcoatl* to Seltzer for typing
- 22 August 1923 Leaves New York after Frieda sails alone for England; visits Buffalo, California and (with Göttsche) Mexico again
- 27 August 1923 *Studies in Classic American Literature* (New York)
- September 1923 *Kangaroo*
- 9 October 1923 *Birds, Beasts and Flowers* (New York)
- 13 October 1923 *Mastro-don Gesualdo* (New York)
- 17 October 1923 Arrives in Guadalajara
- 21 October–November 1923 In Guadalajara and later Mexico City
- 22 November 1923 Sails from Vera Cruz for England
- December 1923–March 1924 In England, France and Germany
- 11 March 1924 Arrives in New York; collects MS of *Quetzalcoatl* from Seltzer
- March–May 1924 At Taos
- May–October 1924 At Lobo Ranch
- 28 August 1924 *The Boy in the Bush* (with Mollie Skinner)
- 10 September 1924 Death of his father, Arthur John Lawrence
- 1 October 1924 *Memoirs of the Foreign Legion*, by 'M. M.' (Maurice Magnus) published, with DHL's *Memoir of Maurice Magnus* as introduction
- 16 October 1924 Leaves Taos for Mexico City, taking MS of *Quetzalcoatl*; stays again in Hotel Monte Carlo
- 9 November 1924–February 1925 In Oaxaca
- 19 November 1924 Begins complete rewriting of *Quetzalcoatl*; finishes by 2 February 1925; gravely ill afterwards
- 26 February–25 March 1925 In Mexico City
- 29 March 1925 Arrives back in New Mexico

14 May 1925	<i>St. Mawr together with The Princess</i>
June–July 1925	Revises typescript of rewritten <i>Quetzalcoatl (The Plumed Serpent)</i>
September 1925–June 1928	In England and, principally, in Italy
7 December 1925	<i>Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine</i> (Philadelphia)
21 January 1926	<i>The Plumed Serpent</i> published in London (5 February in New York)
25 March 1926	<i>David</i>
June 1927	<i>Mornings in Mexico</i>
24 May 1928	<i>The Woman Who Rode Away and Other Stories</i>
June 1928–March 1930	In Switzerland and, principally, in France
Late June 1928	<i>Lady Chatterley's Lover</i> privately published in Florence
September 1928	<i>Collected Poems</i>
July 1929	<i>Pansies</i>
5 July 1929	Exhibition of paintings in London raided by police
September 1929	<i>The Escaped Cock</i> (Paris)
2 March 1930	Dies at Vence, Alpes Maritimes, France
1 September 1995	<i>Quetzalcoatl</i> , ed. Louis Martz (Redding Ridge, Connecticut)

## CUE-TITLES

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## INTRODUCTION

### 'The first complete sketch'

On 31 May 1923, Lawrence wrote to his mother-in-law, Anna von Richthofen:

I always had the idea I should like to write a novel here in America. In the United States I couldn't begin anything. But here it will probably go well. I have already written ten chapters, and if only the good Lord helps me, I shall have the first complete sketch done by the end of June.<sup>1</sup>

The novel that was now making such good progress was *Quetzalcoatl*, the name Lawrence gave to the first version of what would later become *The Plumed Serpent*. 'Here' was the village of Chapala, by the shore of the lake of that name, in the Mexican state of Jalisco, about thirty miles south of the state capital, Guadalajara. He predicted his schedule accurately; after seven weeks' work, on 27 June, while he and his wife Frieda were packing to leave Chapala, he wrote to Bessie Freeman: 'The novel is *nearly* finished – near enough to leave.'<sup>2</sup> The expression '*nearly* finished' is open to interpretation: it could imply that the narrative still had a little way to go, or that the end had been reached, but the work as a whole needed polishing. It is not possible to be certain; there is some evidence on both sides. In a letter dated 22 June, to his American publisher, Thomas Seltzer,<sup>3</sup> Lawrence had said: 'Novel done, save for last three chapters – me got a cold so postponing finishing it.'<sup>4</sup> Was he thinking that three further chapters would be needed, in addition to the

<sup>1</sup> *Letters*, iv. 451. Baroness Anna von Richthofen, née Marquier (1851–1930). Lawrence enjoyed excellent relations with her, and wrote to her frequently. His German original reads as follows: 'Nur hatte ich immer die Idee, ich möchte einen Roman hier in Amerika schreiben. In den Ver. Staaten könnte ich nichts anfangen. Hier aber es geht wahrscheinlich gut. Ich habe zehn Kapitel schon geschrieben, und wenn der Herr Gott nur mich hilft, habe ich die erste volle Skizze schon fertig bei dem Ende Juni.' Subsequent references in the Introduction to *Letters* volumes appear in the form (iv. 435), etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters*, iv. 462. Elizabeth (Bessie) Wilkeson Freeman (1876–1951), whom the Lawrences met in Taos in the autumn of 1922, was a childhood friend of Mabel Dodge Sterne (see n. 22 below).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Seltzer (1875–1943), DHL's American publisher between 1920 and 1925.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters*, viii. 81.



nineteen the manuscript contains, or was it that the 'last three' of the nineteen were drafted quickly, in the final few days of his stay in Chapala, once his cold had cleared up? On 15 June he had told Seltzer 'I've done 415 MS pages – expect about another 100' (iv. 457): at page 415 he would have been nearing the end of the sixteenth chapter, and the three remaining chapters in the manuscript take up another sixty-four pages, rather than the 100 he was expecting (there are 479 pages in all). Chapters XVII and XIX are the two shortest in the novel, and Chapter XIX does break off rather abruptly, in a manner which might suggest that more was to come; on the other hand, the ending as it stands could just as readily be regarded as an appropriate conclusion to a fully coherent work.<sup>5</sup> But whichever sense is adopted of 'nearly finished', or 'last three chapters', Lawrence's earlier phrase, 'the first complete sketch', suggests that he recognised from the beginning that he would want to return to what he had written and revise it, even if only to the moderate extent implied by the comment 'near enough to leave'. In the event, he did not resume work on the novel for fully seventeen months, and by that time his sense of what he wanted from it had considerably altered. Already in July 1924 he was describing it to his friend Earl Brewster<sup>6</sup> as 'half finished' (v. 75), rather than 'nearly finished', and when he finally settled to it again, in the southern Mexican town of Oaxaca, on 19 November 1924,<sup>7</sup> he realised that his new conception required not a revision of the original manuscript, but a wholesale rewriting. L. D. Clark gives a detailed account of this process in his introduction to the Cambridge edition of *The Plumed Serpent*.<sup>8</sup> The result of the 1924–5 rewriting was a work sufficiently changed from the 1923 *Quetzalcoatl* as to make the relationship between the two similar to that between, say, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and the works known as *The First and Second Lady Chatterley Novels*; in such cases Lawrence's early versions can stand as significant and substantially achieved creations in their own right, as well as the base materials from which something very different would evolve. The publication here of the 1923 *Quetzalcoatl* makes it possible to trace that evolution, and ensures that all Lawrence's fictional work,

<sup>5</sup> The ending as it stands is not unlike that of *Kangaroo*, with the heroine about to resume her travels, their outcome uncertain. Meanwhile, in a neatly comic reversal of *Quetzalcoatl*'s earlier mood, the native Mexicans gaze in amused wonder at an example of elaborately coloured English textile-work, a knitted tea-cosy.

<sup>6</sup> Earl Brewster (1878–1957), American painter. DHL had met Brewster and his wife Achsah (1878–1945) on the island of Capri in 1921, and visited them in Ceylon in 1922.

<sup>7</sup> The date is written on the top of the first new page of manuscript.

<sup>8</sup> *PS* xxiv–xxxii. DHL did not, however, make the 'scattered revisions in the typescript' of *Quetzalcoatl* (*PS* xxxi); these were done by Seltzer, or by a typist in Seltzer's office. See xli below.