D. H. LAWRENCE AND GENETIC CRITICISM

Fictional Processes from 1913-1925

Elliott Morsia

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Royal Holloway, University of London

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Elliott Morsia, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed:

Date: 28/10/16

"This new novel is going quite fast. It is awfully exciting, thrilling, to my mind – a bit outspoken, perhaps. I shall write it as long as I like to start with, then write it smaller. I must always write my books twice."

D. H. Lawrence to Edward Garnett, 18 February 1913 (i. 517)

ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that genetic criticism offers a new and more open methodology for studying the literary manuscripts of D. H. Lawrence and introduces some of the ideas of genetic criticism to the study of Lawrence by analysing the textual genesis of two of Lawrence's major novels, *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent*. Two introductory chapters provide a survey of the relationship between genetic criticism and traditional Anglo-American textual and literary criticism, as well as a more specific survey of Lawrence studies and the traditional treatment of Lawrence's manuscripts. Introducing genetic criticism to Lawrence studies in detail for the first time, while contributing towards a wider critical re-evaluation of Lawrence, these surveys also provide a unique reflection upon the work of contemporary "genetic" (or compositional) critics of English literary manuscripts. The primary chapters of this thesis contain, though are not limited to, the following major arguments: (1) a major theme in Lawrence's fiction consists in the opposition between flux and stasis, and this opposition is partly grounded in a writerly opposition between textual processes and textual products; (2) as the point at which creative flux was forced to resolve itself into stasis, writing an ending represented a major dilemma for Lawrence; (3) Lawrence's fiction is often structured by a rhythmic counterpoint between passages of dialogue, which are constrained, and passages of description, which are more restful, and this pattern is also grounded in processes of writing as Lawrence tended to heavily revise the former and only lightly revise the latter segments. Finally, while championing genetic criticism as a general methodology, this thesis also challenges the preponderance of "constructivist" metaphors for writing in genetic criticism and, as an alternative, outlines a genetic concept of "dialogism" as a model for Lawrence's

particular mode of writing and revision: one which places more emphasis upon multiplicity and discontinuity in the creation of text.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

All publications listed below refer to volumes in the Cambridge Edition of the Letters and Works of D. H. Lawrence, while all manuscript materials refer to items housed in the D. H. Lawrence Collection at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas (see bibliography for full details).

i.-v.	-	*The Letters of D. H. Lawrence Vol. 1-5*
FWL	-	*The First 'Women in Love'*
PS	-	*The Plumed Serpent*
Q	-	*Quetzalcoatl*
WL	-	*Women in Love*
SI	-	'The Sisters I', holograph fragment, pp. 291-296
SII	-	'The Sisters II', holograph fragment, pp. 373-380
SIII	-	'The Sisters III', holograph fragment, 55pp.
WR	-	'The Wedding Ring', typescript fragment, pp. 219-75 & 279-83 (pp. 548-604 & 608-13 in the first manuscript of *The Rainbow*)
N1-10	-	Notebooks of 'The Sisters III'/*Women in Love*
TSI	-	First typescript of *Women in Love*
TSII	-	Second typescript of *Women in Love*
MSI	-	First manuscript of *The Plumed Serpent*
MSII	-	Second manuscript of *The Plumed Serpent*
TS	-	Typescript of *The Plumed Serpent*

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For permission to use the manuscripts of D. H. Lawrence, I would like to thank: Pollinger Limited and the Estate of Frieda Lawrence Ravagli; The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis argues that genetic criticism offers a new and more open methodology, in comparison to traditional Anglo-American approaches, for studying the literary manuscripts of D. H. Lawrence and introduces some of the ideas of genetic criticism to the study of Lawrence by analysing the textual genesis of two of Lawrence's major novels, *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent*. Deriving from this analysis, the primary chapters of this thesis contain, though are not limited to, the following major arguments:

(1) A major theme in these novels consists in the conceptual opposition between flux and stasis, which is also figured as an opposition between completion and incompletion, and this opposition can be placed within a writerly context, in terms of the opposition between textual processes and textual products.

(2) Building on this opposition, as the point at which creative flux was, at least temporarily, forced to resolve itself into the stasis of a finished work, writing an ending represented a major dilemma for Lawrence.

(3) Lawrence's fiction often contains a rhythmic, dialogical structure that shifts between passages of dialogue, which are social and often conflict-orientated, and passages of description, which are more restful and often depict natural scenes; this structure (or pattern) is also grounded in processes of writing, as Lawrence often heavily revised and rewrote dialogical passages, in which the process of textual production itself becomes conflicted, whereas descriptive passages are often left intact or only lightly revised, which provides a restful counterpoint.

As an alternative to more popular "organicist" and "constructivist" metaphors for writing, the latter of which is particularly influential within genetic criticism, in the primary chapters of this thesis I also outline a genetic concept of "dialogism" as a model for Lawrence's mode of writing and revision, which responds to two dominant features: (a) Lawrence produced new versions of passages via a kind of "dialogue" with earlier versions, while the relationship between the alternate versions of text can also be understood as "dialogical," in that each version shares a theme or object, but provides an alternative viewpoint upon them; Lawrence does not develop text from within, in a single, continuous process (as in growth or construction), but rewrites and replaces entire segments (and occasionally entire drafts), despite the common presence of verbatim passages within the rewritten version; (b) "dialogism" is also used in reference to the more general, rhythmic counterpoint between revised and unrevised passages, which, as mentioned, usually shift from dialogical to descriptive scenes.

Prior to the primary chapters, which focus on the composition and revision of the two novels, and the content of which I outline in more detail below, the thesis begins with two introductory chapters. These provide a survey of genetic criticism, focusing particularly on recent developments in the study of English literary manuscripts, as well as a critique of the traditional treatment of manuscripts in Anglo-American criticism and in Lawrence studies specifically. The first of these, '1.1 Genetic Criticism and Anglo-American Traditions', considers the relationship between genetic criticism and existing Anglo-American traditions, which are marked by a division between textual and literary criticism and which tend to treat manuscripts in a restrictively teleological manner, either by producing an eclectic text

for an edition, which aims to represent the author's "final intentions," or by considering the manuscripts solely in relation to the final work, as offering insight into the biographical or historical backgrounds behind the final text. A number of other critics have provided accounts of the respective histories of Anglo-American, French, and German textual criticism or textology, while considering their respective relationships with French genetic criticism.[1] The chapter is indebted to each of these accounts, along with a number of others discussed within the chapter itself, which discuss either the various traditions of textual criticism or genetic criticism in isolation, rather than considering the relationship between the two. Unlike these various previous accounts, however, the chapter incorporates and assesses the recent work of genetic critics working on English literary manuscripts, particularly Dirk van Hulle, Sally Bushell, Finn Fordham and, to a lesser extent, Hannah Sullivan; aside from short reviews, these critics have thus far tended to pursue their own work

[1] See in particular Klaus Hurlebusch, 'Understanding the Author's Compositional Method: Prolegomenon to a Hermeneutics of Genetic Writing', *Text*, Vol. 13 (2000), 55-101, Dirk van Hulle, *Textual Awareness: A Genetic Study of Late Manuscripts by Joyce, Proust, and Mann* (Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 2004), pp. 15-47, Sally Bushell, *Text as Process*: *Creative Composition in Wordsworth, Tennyson and Dickinson* (London: Virginia UP, 2009), pp. 1-74, and Hannah Sullivan, *The Work of Revision* (London: Harvard UP, 2013), pp. 13-61, and, to a lesser extent, Michael Groden and Daniel Ferrer, 'Introduction: A Genesis of French Genetic Criticism', in *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-Texts*, trans. by Jed Deppman, ed. by Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer, and Michael Groden (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania UP, 2004), pp. 1-17.

without comparison.[2] This chapter therefore contributes to existing accounts by mapping out recent developments in genetic criticism.

The second chapter, '1.2 Genetic Criticism and Lawrence Studies', extends this discussion to consider Lawrence criticism in particular. Aside from the recent "Odour of Chrysanthemums: a text in process" website, developed by Sean Matthews and the University of Nottingham as a pedagogic tool encouraging the "genetic" study of four versions of Lawrence's renowned short story, as well as my own essay entitled 'A Genetic Study of 'The Shades of Spring'', which appeared in the *Journal of D. H. Lawrence Studies* in 2014, genetic criticism has yet to make any major inroads into the study of D. H. Lawrence. The second introductory chapter therefore provides a brief survey of trends and considers the role of textual and critical theory more generally in Lawrence criticism in order to outline probable reasons for this gap, before discussing the treatment of Lawrence's manuscripts more specifically in existing studies of Lawrence. While I reserve praise for a number of recent critics, this chapter also provides what I believe to be an overdue critique of certain traditional treatments of Lawrence's manuscripts from influential critics such as Mark Kinkead-Weekes and Keith Cushman. In recent decades, numerous attempts have been made to re-evaluate Lawrence, with various critics suggesting the need to wrestle the writer and his writings away from the normative perceptions of traditional, often Leavisite, critics.[3] While this thesis does intend to contribute towards this effort,

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[2] See Hannah Sullivan, 'Review of *I do I undo I redo*', *Modernism/modernity*, 21:4 (2014), 1029-1031, and Finn Fordham, 'Review of *Modern Manuscripts*', *Modernism/modernity*, 22:2 (2015), 412-415.

[3] See, for example, *Rethinking Lawrence*, ed. by Keith Brown (Philadelphia: Open UP, 1990), Tony Pinkney, *D. H. Lawrence and Modernism* (Iowa City: Iowa UP, 1990), *D. H. Lawrence*,

I also believe previous attempts to re-evaluate Lawrence have been restricted by maintaining the underlying and traditional approaches to textuality (overlooking the most basic question, "what is "the" text of a work?").

Though I have undertaken further research into Lawrence's manuscripts during the course of its completion, the rest of the thesis focuses on the two novels, *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent*, and divides into a series of sub-chapters (2.1-4 and 3.1-2), which progress in chronological order. These novels were chosen in order to fulfil the following two, contrasting aims for the project: (1) on the one hand, to provide dedicated and detailed genetic studies of Lawrence's writing, which necessitated the selection of one or two works; (2) and on the other hand, to ensure the resulting arguments be as representative as possible for Lawrence: *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent* thus enable me to track a significant period of time, from 1913 to 1926, which covers different periods in Lawrence's career; the former novel is mainly set "at home" in England and was predominantly written prior to Lawrence's so-called "savage pilgrimage," while the latter is set in Mexico and was written during the latter stages of Lawrence's explorations abroad; finally, while *Women in Love* is held in high-regard by the majority of critics, *The Plumed Serpent* is more often disparaged.

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ed. by Peter Widdowson (London: Longman, 1992), Anne Fernihough, *D. H. Lawrence: Aesthetics and Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993), Robert Burden, *Radicalizing Lawrence* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), Earl G. Ingersoll, *D. H. Lawrence, Desire, and Narrative* (Gainesville: Florida UP, 2001), Amit Chaudhuri, *D. H. Lawrence and 'Difference'* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003) and Jeff Wallace, *D. H. Lawrence, Science and the Posthuman* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

The first of the aforementioned chapters, '2.1 *Women in Love*: Composition', provides an overview of the extremely complex compositional history of *Women in Love*, which may seem like well-trodden territory. However, unlike previous accounts, I focus more exclusively on Lawrence's processes of writing, outlining the nature of the extant materials and highlighting gaps and unknowns in the record, which previous critics neglect or downplay. The following three chapters, '2.2 *Women in Love*: Fragments', '2.3 *Women in Love*: Notebooks' and '2.4 *Women in Love*: Typescripts', zoom in on the major extant materials of composition, beginning with the early fragments, moving on to the notebook drafts and finishing up with typescripts. As in all of the primary chapters, these chapters emphasize the nature of Lawrence's drafts *as* drafts: provisional materials written explicitly as part of an incomplete and larger overall process of writing.

In Chapter 2.2, rather than passing over them quickly and casting them aside as "pot boiler" material, I treat the early manuscript fragments from 'The Sisters' and 'The Wedding Ring' (1913-14) in detail, appraising their own merits and outlining the ways in which they already present various characters, character dynamics and thematic concerns familiar to readers of the later, published novel. I also consider the ways in which the later 'Sisters' draft fragment, from April 1916, rather than representing an abandoned false-start, functioned as an important draft, which Lawrence altered and made use of in fascinating ways. In Chapter 2.3, while discussing the ways in which the notebook draft sections of *Women in Love* (1916) were revised, I argue that the distinctive section of the narrative contained within them, where the characters journey abroad and experience a greater sense of alterity, alienation and conflict than at any previous point in the novel, has a genetic grounding, as the relevant sections of the notebooks were actually retrieved from a previous draft

by Lawrence and were hence interpolated (or re-inserted) into a subsequent draft and reframed in the newly written notebooks. Finally, in Chapter 2.4, I consider a number of heavily rewritten passages from the typescripts of *Women in Love*. Besides emphasizing the "dialogical" nature of Lawrence's writing and revision, many passages are speeches by Birkin which provide fascinating insights into the conceptual opposition between flux and stasis. I suggest the latter passages were cut or rewritten for dramatic reasons, in order to incorporate Birkin more fully into the narrative.

Chapter '3.1 *The Plumed Serpent*: Criticism, Composition and Revision' provides a concise overview of the later novel's composition, outlines the various phases of writing and revision and discusses the critical reception of the novel, before focusing in more detail on a number of specific rewritten sections of the novel. I argue the first manuscript was clearly written as a rough draft and was subsequently consulted and referred to by Lawrence throughout the composition of the second manuscript. I also argue that Lawrence's revisions and rewritings emphasize the novel's protagonist Kate's role as a focaliser; hence I discuss the presence of shock and depression, which inflect the depiction of people and place in the narrative.

Finally, Chapter '3.2 *The Plumed Serpent*: Writing an Ending' examines in detail Lawrence's extensive rewriting of the novel's final chapter. Besides providing perhaps the most detailed example of Lawrence's "dialogical" mode of writing, whereby dialogical passages are heavily rewritten while descriptive passages are left intact or are only light revised, this chapter also discusses oppositions between flux and stasis, which figure especially in terms of the characters' conceptions of the self, as divided between past and present, complete and incomplete forms.

1.1

Genetic Criticism and Anglo-American Traditions

Textual Genetics and Anglo-American Criticism: the "unsought encounter"

Genetic criticism represents a recent development in literary studies wherein the literary manuscript is taken as an object of study, specifically for the processes of writing to which it bears witness. Despite its establishment as a scientific discipline in France in the 1970s, its nominal founder, Louis Hay, in his afterword to *Essais de critique génétique* (1979), lists early precursors elsewhere, from German Romanticist writers like Goethe and Schlegel, who declared, "one can only claim to have real understanding of a work, or of a thought, when one can reconstitute its becoming and its composition," to specific Anglo-American works like Coleridge's *Biographia Litteraria* (1817) and Edgar Allan Poe's 'The Philosophy of Composition' (1846); according to Hay, the focus on process was not fully "written into" French poetics until Valéry.[1]

Explaining the historical gap between these early ideas and the emergence of genetic criticism, Hay outlines *two* conditions necessary for "all genetic study." The first of these is practical:

> First, to analyse work habits, we must be able to "go backstage," to enter into "the workshop, the laboratory" of the writer.[2]

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[1] Louis Hay, 'Genetic Criticism: Origins and Perspectives', *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-Texts*, trans. by Jed Deppman, ed. by Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer, and Michael Groden (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania UP, 2004), pp. 17-27, p. 18.

[2] Hay, 'Genetic Criticism: Origins and Perspectives', p. 19.

The preservation of literary manuscripts grew steadily over the course of the nineteenth century, supported by the emergence of major literary archives. The rise of national traditions during the Romantic era raised the prestige of literary documents, which encouraged their collection by wealthy benefactors, leading, by the end of the nineteenth century, to the establishment of the iconic Goethe and Schiller Archive in Weimar. French *critique génétique* itself began taking shape at the National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) in Paris when, in 1966, Hay helped the National Library of France acquire the Shocken collection of Heinrich Heine's manuscripts and proceeded to assemble a group of French and German scholars to organize and study them. This group became the Centre d'Analyse des Manuscrits (CAM), which grew by adding new authors' manuscripts and scholars until, in 1982, it became the Institut des Textes et Manuscrits Modernes (ITEM), directed by Hay until 1985. Florence Callu, a later director at ITEM, has described the modernist period itself as the beginning of a "golden age" of manuscripts and, as far as D. H. Lawrence is concerned, there is indeed an embarrassment of riches, housed in several Lawrence collections in both North America (the largest is at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre at the University of Texas) and the UK (where the largest is at the University of Nottingham).[3]

More pertinent for the present introduction to *Lawrence* and genetic criticism, however, is Hay's second condition, which is more theoretical:

> Next, to be able to interpret the meaning of what we discover there, we must also be equipped with sufficient theoretical intelligence about these "internal

[3] Florence Callu, 'La Transmission des manuscrits', in *Les Manuscrits des écrivains*, ed. by Anne Cadiot and Christel Haffner (Paris: CNRS editions/Hachette, 1993), pp. 54-67, p. 64.

> mechanisms." It is clear that these conditions have been fulfilled only relatively recently.[4]

Most commentators discuss the significant fact that genetic criticism emerged during the first wave of structuralism in France in the 1960s, when a rapid development in textual theory followed controversies over the *nouvelle critique*; although the structuralist focus upon closed systems is opposed to genetic criticism, analysis of the internal workings of writing anticipated its focus upon the "historical dimension" and "*temporal* unfolding" of writing itself. It is in reference to this particular context that Hay made his suggestion, in the late 1970s, that sufficient theoretical intelligence had "only relatively recently" been achieved.[5]

In this respect, however, it is worth considering the later development of textual theory in the Anglo-American world. Although cultural materialist and new historicist perspectives, from the likes of Raymond Williams and Stephen Greenblatt, helped puncture the wider norms of New Critical formalism and Leavisian moralism from the 1960s onwards, French and German textual theory did not gain any real influence until at least the 1980s.[6] This circumstance might explain the belated

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[4] Hay, 'Genetic Criticism: Origins and Perspectives', p. 19.

[5] Hay, 'Genetic Criticism: Origins and Perspectives', p. 21.

[6] On the rise and decline of "theory" in literary studies, in terms of broader philosophical traditions, see Herman Rapaport's *The Theory Mess: Deconstruction in Eclipse* (New York: Columbia UP, 2001), whose preface stats that "by the late 1980s it was clear that no new episteme from continental Europe was going to supplant Anglo-American pragmatisms or empiricisms and that at best we might see the success of compromise formations like New Historicism and postcolonial studies" (p. xi), and Terry Eagleton's *After Theory* (London: Allen Lane, 2003).

emergence of genetic criticism in the study of English literature over the past two decades, although it remains a marginal field, and has barely figured at all in the study of D. H. Lawrence.[7] While the specific question of Lawrence studies provides the focus of the following chapter (1.2), the present one seeks to account for the "unsought encounter" (a phrase used by Hans Walter Gabler, as discussed below) between Anglo-American and genetic criticism more generally.

Numerous critics have discussed the paradoxical manner in which the New Criticism, despite Wimsatt and Beardsley's famous eschewal of authorial intentions in 'The Intentional Fallacy' (1946), was reliant upon editions that were themselves edited using the principle of the author's final intention.[8] The foundations for modern

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[7] Although Lawrence's manuscripts have formed a major part of Lawrence studies, not least in the production of the immense Cambridge Edition of D. H. Lawrence, which I discuss in the following chapter (1.2), prior to my own introductory essay, 'A Genetic Study of 'The Shades of Spring'' (*Journal of D. H. Lawrence Studies*, 3:3 (2014), 153-178), the specific ideas of genetic criticism – which, as I discuss throughout this PhD, are often hostile towards traditional Anglo-American manuscript studies – had only previously figured in Jacqueline Gouirand's little-known and untranslated essay '*The Trespasser*: aspects genetiques' (*Etudes Lawrenciennes*, Vol. 1 (1986), 41-57) and Alexandra Mary Davies' unpublished 2008 thesis 'Poetry in Process: The Compositional Practices of D. H. Lawrence, Dylan Thomas and Philip Larkin'.

[8] See, for example, D. C. Greetham, 'Textual and Literary Theory: Redrawing the Matrix', *Studies in Bibliography*, 42 (1989), 1-24, esp. 7, Michael Groden, 'Contemporary Textual and Literary Theory,' *Representing Modernist Texts: Editing as Interpretation*, ed. George Bornstein (Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 1991), pp. 259-286, esp. pp. 264-267, and Philip Cohen and David H. Jackson, 'Notes on Emerging Paradigms in Editorial Theory,' *Devils and*

eclectic editing were laid by W. W. Greg in his classic 'Rationale of Copy-Text' (1950-51), which developed R. B. McKerrow's term "copy-text" by introducing an internal distinction between "accidental" and "substantive" readings, and continues to provide a basis for Anglo-American scholarly editions today. While Greg's modest rationale applied specifically to the editing of English literature from "1550-1650," his principles were developed for modern editions by Fredson Bowers and adopted by the Centre for Editions of American Authors.[9] This provided a general template for scholarly editions in English literature and inspired numerous single-author projects, of which the Cambridge edition of D. H. Lawrence (first volume published in 1979) is one example, creating single reading texts, edited in an eclectic manner, which aim to present "texts which are as close as can now be determined to those [the author] would have wished to see printed."[10] Finally, while Bowers introduced Greg's rationale to the editing of modern editions, G. Thomas Tanselle has been the staunchest defender of this tradition, contributing to debates in recent decades over issues such as intentionality, textual instability, and idealism.[11]

Angels: Textual Editing and Literary Theory, ed. Phillip Cohen (London: Virginia UP, 1991), pp. 103-123, esp. p. 103.

[9] W. W. Greg, 'The Rationale of Copy-Text', *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 3 (1950), 19-36, 22. See Fredson Bowers, 'Some Principles for Scholarly Editions of Nineteenth-Century American Authors', *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 17 (1964), 223-228.

[10] The 'general editor's preface' is located at the front of every volume in the Cambridge edition of Lawrence; see, for example, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, ed. by Michael Squires (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), p. xii.

[11] Among others, see G. Thomas Tanselle, 'The Editorial Problem of Final Authorial Intention', *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 29 (1976), 167-211, 'Textual Criticism and

In contrast to the *author*-based approach of Anglo-American textual criticism, German textual scholarship became increasingly *text*-based in the 1960s, following the influence of textual theory via Prague-based structuralism. This German mode of editing is documentary, presents multiple versions (*fassungen*), and often provides a central role for the apparatus. Its theory and principles were first laid out in the collection of essays *Texte und Varianten* (1971), edited by Gunter Martens and Hans Zeller, which Sally Bushell describes as "a seminal text that establishes the core principle of modern German editorial theory."[12] Although this collection has not been translated, three of its essays were collected in *Contemporary German Editorial Theory* (1991), including Zeller's 'Record and Interpretation'. In this essay, Zeller makes a number of crucial points for contemporary textual criticism, on the "subjective nature of editing," questioning the fact that "the texts of scholarly editions are largely understood and treated as if they were objective givens," and offering the following analysis:

> From the wording of the text to the decision about which texts to include […] all the way to the structure of the edition itself, an edition affirms a particular view of literary studies and of the author.[13]

Deconstruction', *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 43 (1990), 1-33 and 'Textual Instability and Editorial Idealism', *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 49 (1996), 1-60.

[12] Sally Bushell, *Text as Process*: *Creative Composition in Wordsworth, Tennyson and Dickinson* (London: Virginia UP, 2009) p. 18.

[13] Hans Zeller, 'Record and Interpretation: Analysis and Documentation as Goal and Method of Editing', *Contemporary German Editorial Theory*, ed. by George Bornstein, Gillian Borland Pierce, and Hans Walter Gabler (Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 1991), pp. 17-58, p. 19.

In another essay, translated in the same collection, 'Structure and Genesis in Editing', published in German in 1975, Zeller also points out that:

> Editing is not immune to or a refuge from the discussion of literary theory; one can only make relevant literary statements and editorial decisions on the basis of theoretical premises, whether consciously held or not.[14]

These insights have been central to contemporary developments in textual criticism and were introduced to Anglo-American textual scholars by another of Zeller's essays, 'A New Approach to the Critical Constitution of Literary Texts' (1975), which was published in the major English journal *Studies in Bibliography* and which D. C. Greetham has suggested "was by default the standard and most influential survey of German scholarly editing for Anglophone editors" and "proved a salutary balance to the prevailing intentionalist, or "author"-based predilectons and "ideal," "clear-text" practices of Anglo-American scholarship."[15] Interestingly, this essay was also partly translated by Hans Walter Gabler, whose own synoptic edition of *Ulysses* (1984), discussed below, provided a practical intervention of German editorial concepts and procedures into the Anglo-American world.

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[14] Hans Zeller, 'Structure and Genesis in Editing: On German and Anglo-American Textual Criticism', in *Contemporary German Editorial Theory*, pp.95-124, p. 95.

[15] Hans Zeller, 'A New Approach to the Critical Constitution of Literary Texts', trans. by Charity Meier-Ewert and Hans Walter Gabler, *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 28 (1975), 231-264. In it, Zeller begins by pointing out that "what distinguishes more recent German editions both from most earlier editions and from recent English ones is fundamentally a different understanding of the notions of version ("Fassung") and of authorial intention and authority ("Autorisation"), and ultimately a different theory of the literary work and its mutations" (232). See D. C. Greetham, 'Review of *Contemporary German Editorial Theory*', *Modern Philology*, 95:2 (1997), 285-289, 285.

Aside from Zeller and Gabler's diplomatic interventions, though, the Greg-Bowers-Tanselle tradition of textual criticism received a more direct challenge from critics adopting a *sociological* approach to texts, beginning most iconically with Jerome McGann's *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1983). As in D. F. McKenzie's subsequent lectures on *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (1986), McGann's critique undercut traditional Anglo-American author-centrism by discussing the social nature of literary works, as well as the role of material form in determining the meaning of texts. For McGann, while the "concept of the autonomy of the creative artist" is implicit in any formulation of authorial intention, "literary works are fundamentally social rather than personal or psychological products," and "do not even acquire an artistic form of being until their engagement with an audience has been determined."[16] As in McGann's own *Black Riders: The Visible Language of Modernism* (1993) or George Bornstein's *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page* (2001), this critique had a significant impact upon modernist studies, contributing towards an increased focus upon the materiality and historicity of the literary work.

More generally, though, these developments helped to redress the problematic division between "textual" and "literary" criticism, leading to a surge of reflections upon the topic in the 1990s, and the titles listed in the following paragraphs have provided essential reading for the present chapter. Bornstein is an important figure in this interchange, not only as editor of the collection *Representing Modernist Texts: Editing as Interpretation* (1991), but also as series editor of the Ann Arbor series on 'Editorial Theory and Literary Criticism', which has included *Palimpsest: Editorial*

[16] Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1983), p. 40 and pp. 43-44.

Theory in the Humanities (1993), coedited by Bornstein and Ralph G. Williams, the aforementioned *Contemporary German Editorial Theory* (1995), coedited by Bornstein, Gabler and Gillian Borland Pierce, and the third and revised edition of Shillingsburg's *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age* (1996). The separate though equally important collection *Devils and Angels: Textual Editing and Literary Theory* (1991), edited by Phillip Cohen, included essays by the likes of McGann, Greetham and Shillingsburg, while this period also brought an appraisal of the Cambridge edition of Lawrence, *Editing D. H. Lawrence: New Versions of a Modern Author* (1995), edited by Charles L. Ross and Dennis Jackson and introduced explicitly in reference to the collections listed above. It should however be noted that each of these collections or works focus upon *editing* and it was not until the turn of the century that textual theory and the compositional materials traditionally associated with textual criticism began to figure more prominently in the context of *literary criticism*.

Towards the end of the aforementioned decade, each of the following English language journals dedicated editions to genetic criticism: *Romanic Review* (1995), *Yale French Studies* (1996) and *Word & Image* (1997). Following on from Gabler's *Ulysses*, which was itself produced using the extensive *James Joyce Archive* (containing facsimiles of all then-extant Joyce manuscripts in 66 volumes, published from 1977-79) and which Groden helped amass, the electronic journal *Genetic Joyce Studies* was set up by Dirk van Hulle in 2001, while van Hulle also published *Textual Awareness*, a comparative genetic study of Joyce, Proust and Mann, as part of the aforementioned Ann Arbor series in 2004. In the same year, a collection of essays were finally introduced and translated into English in *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-Textes* (2004), edited by Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer and Michael Groden.

Although research into Joyce's manuscripts (many more of which have since been discovered) has continued apace, *Joyce* represented a somewhat exclusive subject for genetic criticism in English literature during the aforementioned periods. This is not to overlook the publication and existence of work on manuscripts by the likes of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, with Valery Eliot's edition of *The Waste Land Facsimile* in 1971 and Ronald L. Bush's *The Genesis of Ezra Pound's Cantos* (1974) being two particularly influential early examples.[17] Indeed, in *The Work of Revision* (2013), which includes a chapter on Eliot's iconic poem, Hannah Sullivan has more recently suggested that the very concept of "revision," in the modern (or modernist) sense, as a distinct and innovative phase of work within a process of writing, is in fact rooted in the particular historical technologies and transmission processes of that period, around the turn of the twentieth century, commonly associated with modernist literature.[18] However, as with the rich study of Lawrence's own manuscripts during this period, which I discuss in the next chapter (1.2), as well as the earlier study of Joyce's manuscripts by the likes of Michael Groden, this type of work does not adopt the explicit principles of genetic criticism, in which manuscripts are treated as witness documents for processes of writing, processes which are traced and interpreted on

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[17] See also Christine Froula's study of some of Pound's *Canto* drafts in *To Write Paradise: Style and Error in Pound's Cantos* (London: Yale UP, 1984).

[18] See Hannah Sullivan, *The Work of Revision* (London: Harvard UP, 2013); in the book's 'Coda', for example, Sullivan suggests: "Revision is a feature of the print culture, of the modern printed book. A large number of discrete textual stages fosters rereading and reworking. […] The modernist practice of revision began in the service of avant-garde action, but it was perhaps also an exploration of the limit point of print culture, the final flowering of composition through documented paper stages" (pp. 267-269).

their own terms, rather than as subsidiary to the final work or to the author's biographical "progression."

Since the turn of the century, however, genetic criticism has made many more inroads into the study of nineteenth- and twentieth-century English literature via the work of critics such as van Hulle, Sally Bushell, Finn Fordham, and Hannah Sullivan, each of whom applies the ideas of genetic criticism, to varying extents and for different purposes, to a much wider array of authors. That said, the juncture between genetic and Anglo-American criticism remains a work in progress. In the same 2006 volume of the journal *Text* (now *Textual Cultures*) in which Dirk van Hulle discussed the ways in which "genetic criticism can contribute to a richer understanding of the poetical, intertextual and semantic implications" of a text by drawing from his own research into the manuscripts of Samuel Beckett, Peter Shillingsburg suggested that, despite abandoning the quest for the "archetype text, the one closest to the lost original text" and adding many new goals, "what textual criticism has not done either well or ill is to develop the principles and practices of the interpretive consequences of its findings."[19] Meanwhile, in the same journal the following year, Sally Bushell pointed out that "a full critical engagement with textual process and the coming-into-being of the literary work has not yet occurred in any systematic way within Anglo-

[19] Dirk Van Hulle, 'Undoing Dante: Samuel Beckett's Poetics from a Textual Perspective', *Text*, Vol. 16 (2006), 87-95, 88, and Peter Shillingsburg, 'Interpretative Consequences of Textual Criticism', in the same volume of *Text*, 63-65, 63. In 'Compositional History as a Key to Textual Interpretation', also in the same volume of *Text*, 67-78, H. T. M. van Vliet suggests, "to fill the gap between textual and literary criticism, we urgently need more interpretative studies of variants and fewer multi-volumed editions with huge apparatuses" (77).

American scholarship."[20] Furthermore, rather than adopting the ideas of genetic criticism directly, Bushell has attempted to "define a distinctive Anglo-American "genetic" or "compositional" criticism," outlining Hershel Parker's *Flawed Texts and Verbal Icons* (1984) and Jack Stillinger's *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (1991) and *Coleridge and Textual Instability* (1994) as precursors.[21]

Bushell's suggestion that Anglo-American genetic criticism should reflect its own traditions circles mainly around the issue of intentionality, which is central to Bushell's own 'Philosophy of Composition' in *Text as Process* (2009). However, while this issue forms one focus of this chapter, it is worth revisiting a point made by Gabler in his indicatively titled essay 'Unsought Encounters', relating specifically to Parker's *Flawed Texts and Verbal Icons*, which is that many Anglo-American critics are simply "unaware" that questions concerning textual process and textual instability have formed part of a problematic for which genetic criticism has been "developing theories and a discourse for some time."[22] Besides discussing its relation to Anglo-American traditions, then, this chapter also serves to map out recent developments in genetic criticism, especially regarding the study of English literary manuscripts.

Authorial Intention and Sociology

Issues surrounding the author and authorial intention have indeed figured prominently in Anglo-American literary critical debates over the course of the twentieth century,

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[20] Sally Bushell, 'Textual Process and the Denial of Origins', *Textual Cultures*, 2:2 (2007), 100-117, 100.

[21] Sally Bushell, 'Intention Revisited: Towards an Anglo-American "genetic criticism"', *Text*, Vol. 17 (2005), 55-91, 55, and *Text as Process*, pp. 2-3.

[22] Hans Walter Gabler, 'Unsought Encounters', in *Devils and Angels*, pp. 152-166, p. 158.

reaching as far back as the dispute between T. S. Eliot and John Middleton Murry over terms such as "romanticism," "classicism" and "impersonality" in the 1920s, as respective editors of *The Criterion* and *The Adelphi*, as well as the debate between C. S. Lewis and E. M. W. Tillyard over Lewis's conception of "the personal heresy" in the 1930s, originally in the journal *Essays and Criticism* but published altogether in *The Personal Heresy* (1939).[23] Eliot and Lewis provide an interesting theological context to the debate, which concerns "objective value" and transcendence of the "personal," perhaps suggesting a connection between the threat of intentionality/personality to Eliotic critical orthodoxy and the threat of subjectivity/relativity to religious orthodoxy in disputes over theological modernism.[24] However, the debate became a well-established part of Anglo-American literary criticism during the rise of New Criticism with Wimsatt and Beardsley's famous concept of "the intentional fallacy," which denied validity to the author as a source of interpretation or evaluation and defined the "proper" object of criticism as the (public) language of the text.[25] This by no means closed the question, however, and the most

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[23] For Eliot and Murry, see David Goldie, *A Critical Difference: T. S. Eliot and John Middleton Murry in English Literary Criticism, 1919-2928* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); for Lewis and Tillyard, see Bruce L. Edwards's 'Introduction' to *The Personal Heresy*, ed. Joel D. Heck (Austin: Concordia UP, 2008).

[24] For the context of theological modernism, see Finn Fordham, 'Between Theological and Cultural Modernism: the Vatican's Oath against Modernism, September 1910', *Literature and History*, 22:1, (2013), 8-24.

[25] See W. K. Wimsatt Jr. and M. C. Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', *The Sewanee Review*, 54:3 (1946), 468-488. Bushell and Sullivan both dedicate passages to 'The Intentional Fallacy' in *Text as Process*, pp. 15-16 and pp. 46-48, and *The Work of Revision*, pp. 45-48, respectively.

renowned and systematic subsequent defence of authorial intentionality came in E. D. Hirsch's *Validity in Interpretation* (1967).

Debates over "the personal heresy" or "the intentional fallacy" are, however, fairly superficial in their treatment of the actual *object* of study (i.e. the literary work) and, as a result, both sides end up sharing an unconscious defence of, or desire for, "the text itself," as an idealistic, free-floating object. For Wimsatt and Beardsley, critics who treat the person of the *author* as a source of interpretation pose a threat to the text's autonomy, while for Hirsch, critics who give too much reign to the *reader* pose a similar threat. The former position defends "the true and objective way of criticism" from the threat of "biographical or genetic inquiry," which attempts to resolve uncertainty by referring to a source outside of the text (treating the author like an "oracle"), while the latter position recognizes the problem of pluralism, which arises when critics rely purely upon their own, readerly response to the text; Morse Peckham labels this the "infinitude of pluralism," which "leads inevitably to the position that any interpretation is as good as any other."[26]

By focusing on the origins of the interpretation (the enquiring subject), neither position questions the origins of the literary work itself (the object of study), which remains idealistically determinate. Both positions suppress a romantic notion of the autonomous artist (either a personal creator *or* an impersonal medium) as responsible for the production of art, which is indicated by Wimsatt and Beardsley's suggestion that a poem is "detached from the author at birth."[27] In this conception, both artist and artwork share a kind of symbiotic autonomy. This autonomy remained (or remains) an

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[26] Wimsatt and Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', 487 and Morse Peckham, 'The Infinitude of Pluralism', *Critical Inquiry*, 3:4 (1977), 803-816, 803.

[27] Wimsatt and Beardsley, 470.

important stake in traditional Anglo-American literary criticism and famously came under assault from a more theoretical angle, beginning with Roland Barthes's (postmodernist) essay on 'The Death of the Author' (1967). This essay effectively turns Wimsatt and Beardsley's conception of the "birth" of a poem, which "belongs to the public" and is "the peculiar possession of the public" because "it is embodied in language," inside out, negating the author as a single point of origin.[28] This critique of individual autonomy can also be interpreted as an irresponsible gesture, however: a denial of origins. In contrast, Foucault's near-contemporary lecture on the question 'What is an Author?' (1969), which is often read as a companion to Barthes's 'Death of the Author', focused less on the contentious issue of origins and more on the *function* of authorship (in relation to the literary work). Subsequently, as a less top-heavy, postmodernist erosion of autonomy, Foucault's sketch for an historical and sociological approach to the literary work anticipated the influential move in Anglo-American literary criticism towards historicity, sociality, and materiality, away from the more romantic conception of the sublime artist or artwork.

Anglo-American critics subsequently reassessed the editorial construction of editions, questioning the centrality of authorial intention within the dominant mode of Anglo-American textual criticism. As mentioned, McGann and McKenzie are the primary spokesmen for this sociological critique, which Peter Shillingsburg outlines in 'An Inquiry into the Social Status of Texts and Modes of Textual Criticism' (1989), providing the following overview:

> Publishers, therefore, are not primarily handmaidens to authorship exercising helpful servant roles, which they may fail to do well; they are, instead, part of

[28] Wimsatt and Beardsley, 470 and Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', *Aspen*, 5-6 (1967).

> the authoritative social complex that produces works of art. […] We are asked to acknowledge a higher order of historical determinism that operates regardless of individual intentions.[29]

Emphasizing the material context in which a work is read, McGann introduced the term "bibliographic code" in *The Textual Condition* (1991) and provided examples of how to read this "code" in his own study of modernist poetry in *Black Riders*; McGann considers William Morris's medieval artisan-inspired handcrafted designs and their subsequent influence upon both Yeats and Pound. Another such study is Bornstein's *Material Modernism*, which questions the depoliticized nature of modern Anglo-American editions for conflating different historical materials into an eclectic text; Bornstein argues that these editions provide a politically neutered aesthetic framework and offers the anthology as an iconic example.

Although this materialist focus foregrounds the historical dimension and hence the social and political contexts in which an author's work takes on greater meaning, by focusing on "a higher order of historical determinism that operates regardless of individual intentions," sociological approaches simultaneously undermine a work or author's individuality and this is particularly problematic for an *unorthodox* writer like Lawrence. In 'Censorship and Self-Censorship in D. H. Lawrence', while acknowledging the critique of the author as a potentially dogmatic interpretative figure, Eugene Goodheart suggests that "publishers and readers may constitute their own tyranny (Lawrence's career provides ample evidence)" and argues, "we diminish

[29] Peter Shillingsburg, 'An Inquiry into the Social Status of Texts and Modes of Textual Criticism', *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 42 (1989), 55-79, 63.

the audacious authority of Lawrence's work, its subversive message, if we prematurely absorb it into an author-publisher-audience collaborative."[30]

Pointing out the general capacity for writers to serve as "critics of the prevailing power," Goodheart suggests that power, in contemporary cultural production, is "not a government," but "public opinion: the publisher and the audience toward whom the book is directed," and hence he argues that "a truly liberating critical act" is to discover and preserve "the intentions of the writer against the appropriating, bowdlerizing efforts of communities of readers to domesticate the intentions to the mere needs and desires of the readers."[31] This point is particularly relevant for a writer like Lawrence and it is not a coincidence that, in an appendix to the second edition of his *Critique* – in which McGann acknowledges that his championing of first editions, because they "can be expected to contain what author and publishing institution together worked to put before the public," is "open to attack" for these very reasons – McGann quotes a "friendly critic" who posits Lawrence as an example of "an unwilling partner in a downright repressive process."[32] However, Goodheart's defence of intentionality is also representative of a more general Anglo-American response to the potential threat, posed by contemporary theory, to the integrity and autonomy of the individual:

> Historicism is inimical to the individual will, or rather it transforms intention into an instrument of forces always greater than itself. […] The interaction between history and self, between context and text, however, is possible only

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[30] Eugene Goodheart, 'Censorship and Self-Censorship in D. H. Lawrence', *Representing Modernist Texts*, pp. 223-240, p. 238.

[31] Goodheart, p. 238.

[32] McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*, p. 125.

> if the integrity of each term is preserved; in historicism the integrities are dissolved and absorbed into "process," an appealing word with sinister potential.[33]

The distinction between "history" and "self" is clearly important. However, other, potentially more fundamental questions are being overlooked here: What *is* a self? What *is* a text? Why should we consider the temporal dimension of history and context but not of self or text? What if we wish to consider self or text as process? Before moving on to consider the question of process, however, I want to draw a distinction between authorial intentionality and the concept of "authority" as deployed in textual criticism (to identify an editorially constructed text with the "final intentions" of an author).

Author versus Authority

In terms of intentionality, the notion of "final intentions" in traditional textual criticism is a general and ideal one: one version of a work is presented as a closer approximation of the author's "final intention" than another. However, once a text has been identified as "authoritative," the edition itself is able to assume a certain degree of authority above and beyond that of the author. The traditional concept of an author's "final intention" potentially draws more attention to the editor's own interpretation of material, therefore, than it does to the author's activities.

In contrast, genetic criticism, as Almuth Grésillon points out, "established a new perspective on literature […] by defining the axes of reading through the act of *production*" (i.e. the actions of the author).[34] Bushell, who expands and complicates

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[33] Goodheart, p. 239.

[34] Almuth Grésillon, 'Slow: Work in progress', *Word & Image*, 13:2 (1997), 106-123, 106.

intentionality by applying it to the activity of writing, similarly points out that while "it is easy to agree that intention should not be used as the fundamental basis for interpretation of a work of art […] the question remains whether this is true in the same way, and to the same extent, for the interpretation of the coming-into-being of the work of art."[35] While Bushell's related point, that "although language as a thing existing beyond and above individual use denies agency, an individual sense of agency may be necessary in order to create," responds to the New Critical/Barthesian emphasis upon the public nature of language, as Grésillon points out:

> Manuscripts are not only an observation of the genesis of the work but also a place where the question of the author can be studied in a new light: a place of significant conflicts, a place of the genesis of the author.[36]

Rather than erode authorial agency within a linguistic or textual system, then, as in structuralist and post-structuralist theory, manuscripts provide positive evidence of complex individual agency. This is a long way off from the more theoretical notion of a discursive field, which, as Ferrer and Groden point out, leads to a conception of the text "as methodologically separate from its origins and from its material incarnation" and hence "to a paradoxical sacralization and idealization of it as *The Text*."[37] By giving importance to pre-texts (i.e. the avant-texte), therefore, genetic criticism "undermines the sacrosanct *auctoritas* of the text, because it is reduced to the status of just another state among others."[38]

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[35] Bushell, *Text as Process*, p. 50.

[36] Bushell, *Text as Process*, p. 50, and Grésillon, 123.

[37] *Genetic Criticism*, p. 5

[38] Grésillon, 115. See also Louis Hay's 'Does 'Text' Exist?', *Studies in Bibliography*, Vol. 41 (1988), pp. 64-76; originally published in French as '*Le texte n'existe pas*' (1985).

Manuscript transcriptions (as in genetic editions or, less directly, in German synoptic editions), which show the author at work, draw the reader's attention to the contingent nature of texts and allow us to interpret specific processes of writing. The primary volume of Gabler's *Ulysses*, for example, presents on its verso pages a synoptic text, in which the "apparatus" becomes the main body of text, with multiple manuscript stages presented simultaneously and distinguishable via the editorial sigla.[39] Michael Black has, rather oddly, suggested that the editorial board of the Cambridge edition of Lawrence ended up producing "comparable principles" to Gabler's team.[40] To all intents and purposes, however, the Cambridge edition is a fairly typical Anglo-American edition, presenting (idealized and detached) eclectic texts, which are supported by a list of variants at the back of volumes.[41]

In an essay on the Cambridge edition, in which the bibliographic code is described as a display of "textual authority and rationality," Paul Eggert suggests that, rather than "as traditionally, using the apparatus to check the validity of the editor's decisions for the text," one could read in the opposite direction, using the "reading

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[39] For a discussion of the synoptic mode of editing, see Elisabeth Hopker-Herberg, 'Reflections on the Synoptic Mode of Presenting Variants, with an Example from Klopstock's *Messias*', *Contemporary German Editorial Theory*, pp. 79-93.

[40] Michael Black, 'Text and Context: The Cambridge Edition of Lawrence Reconsidered', *Editing D. H. Lawrence: New Versions of a Modern Author*, ed. Charles L. Ross and Dennis Jackson (Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 1995), pp. 7-27.

[41] Although the Cambridge edition does introduce draft and alternative version editions, it does not theorize textual process, nor does it reflect on the potentially innovative nature of these volumes.

text to open up the textual apparatus."[42] Unlike Gabler's *Ulysses*, however, this is very much reading "against the grain": the Cambridge edition of Lawrence itself makes no suggestion of such a practice and the kinds of ideas that would motivate it are also absent (i.e. a discussion of textual process or instability). Eggert does however introduce these ideas in a separate essay on 'Textual Process or Textual Product', in which, while reflecting on his own experience as editor of *The Boy in the Bush*, he argues the following:

> The conventional single-reading-text critical edition has reinforced what I believe was always an illusion: that the writer wrote a series of finished and thus essentially separate works in which his or her development or deterioration can be adequately studied.[43]

Before considering text as process, however, it is worth pursuing the question of textual authority slightly further.

In 'Record and Interpretation', Zeller notes that an author's intention changes over time and can "only speculatively be established on the basis of the written record"; rather than make editorial decisions "from instance to instance as under the auspices of authorial intention," therefore, Zeller suggests that decisions "should be based on a rationale formulated in advance by the editor or by others."[44] Zeller does, though, retain a concept of "authorization," wherein the editor reproduces

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[42] Paul Eggert, 'Reading a Critical Edition With the Grain and Against: The Cambridge D. H. Lawrence', *Editing D. H. Lawrence*, pp.27-40, p. 29 and p. 37.

[43] Paul Eggert, 'Textual Product or Textual Process: Procedures and Assumptions of Critical Editing', *Devils and Angels*, pp. 57-77, p. 65.

[44] Zeller, 'Record and Interpretation', p. 25.

"authorized" versions of a work by playing a *documentary* role.[45] More recently, however, Peter Shillingsburg has questioned the merit of the term "authority" altogether:

> It is important for critic and editor alike to see that authority is a concept about which there is legitimate disagreement and that it is not an inherent quality of works of art but is, instead, an attribute granted by the critic or editor and located variously or denied entirely depending on the critical orientation of the perceiver.[46]

This acknowledgment of relativity allows Shillingsburg to accept a variety of different critical orientations for editing a work and, in a chapter of *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age* entitled 'Forms', Shillingsburg lists five major approaches: documentary, aesthetic, authorial, sociological, and bibliographic.[47] Armed with a postmodern sense of textual authority not as an "inherent" quality but as "an attribute" granted by the critic, however, Shillingsburg suggests "the word *definitive* [be] banished from editorial discussion."[48]

While Shillingsburg suggests an edition should make its own particular critical orientation plain and authority cannot extend to innate substance, as Greetham has pointed out, when differentiating between "substantives" and "accidentals" eclectic editors are "taking advantage of the theological grounding for the distinction [between

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[45] Zeller, 'Record and Interpretation', p. 25.

[46] Peter Shillingsburg, *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age: Theory and Practice*, revised 3rd edition (Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 1996), p.14.

[47] Shillingsburg, *SECA*, pp. 15-27.

[48] Shillingsburg, *SECA*, p. 90.

substance and accidence]."[49] Similarly, Fredson Bowers' famous observation that "many a literary critic has investigated the past ownership and mechanical condition of his second-hand automobile, or the pedigree and training of his dog, more thoroughly than he has looked into the qualifications of the text on which his critical theories rest," implies that a scholarly edition may achieve a degree of certitude comparable to that of a dog's "pedigree" or a car's "mechanical condition."[50] By contrast, Greetham encourages editors to emerge from the Greg-Bowers-Tanselle shackles and suggests that contemporary textual criticism is a "postmodernist antidiscipline," a "co-option of reference" or "paradoxical quotation without a consistent transcendental grounding, without a fixed position from which this co-option can be evaluated."[51]

As a practical example of these different claims, we might consider the ways in which the Cambridge edition of Lawrence, a monumental Anglo-American edition, appears to seek a level of authority whereby the textual product becomes a kind of church, "entering" which the reader inhabits a locus of true Lawrentian revelation. By contrast, rather than encouraging obeisance, contemporary editions (documentary, genetic, synoptic, hypertextual, etc.) present a kind of event-space, in which the reader is given a more active role and is encouraged to renegotiate and reconstruct the text. While Gabler's *Ulysses* represents an iconic example, an approximation for

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[49] D. C. Greetham, 'Editorial and Critical Theory: Modernism and Postmodernism', in *Palimpsest: Editorial Theory in the Humanities*, ed. by George Bornstein and Ralph G. Williams (Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 1993), pp. 9-28, p. 23.

[50] Fredson Bowers, *Textual and Literary Criticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1959), p. 5.

[51] D. C. Greetham, 'Textual Forensics', *PMLA*, 111:1 (1996), 32-51, 32-33.

Lawrence would be the online '*Odour of Chrysanthemums*: a text in process' project, overseen by Sean Matthews for the University of Nottingham.[52]

Reducing the significance formerly attached to a single text or state of the literary work, these developments in editing practices "clearly anticipate the emergence of "compositional" or "genetic" criticism in Anglo-American studies," as Bushell suggests.[53] That said, as Ferrer and Groden note in their introduction to *Genetic Criticism*, while genetic and textual criticism both deal with manuscripts and textual variation, "their aims are quite different. Rather than trying to establish texts, genetic criticism actually destabilizes the notion of "text" and shakes the exclusive hold of the textual model. One could even say that genetic criticism is not concerned with texts at all but only with the writing processes that engender them."[54]

Process versus Product

For Wimsatt and Beardsley, a successful poem achieves a state of "organic unity," and "for every unity, there is an action of the mind which cuts off roots, melts away context."[55] In *Flawed Texts and Verbal Icons*, Parker attempted to challenge the New Critical idea of "the text itself" by describing texts as "flawed." For Parker, "the truth is that as editors, editorial theorists, literary critics, and literary theorists we have

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[52] For a response to Gabler's edition see Jerome McGann, '*Ulysses* as a Postmodern Text: The Gabler Edition', *Criticism*, 27:3 (1985), 283-305. The '*Odour of Chrysanthemums*: a text in process' website is accessible at http://odour.nottingham.ac.uk.

[53] Bushell, *Text as process*, p. 15.

[54] Daniel Ferrer and Michael Groden, 'Introduction: A Genesis of French Genetic Criticism', *Genetic Criticism*, p. 11.

[55] Wimsatt and Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', 480.

shied away from the creative process […] and have tended to fix our attention on the writer at too late a stage, after he has passed out of the creative process."[56] According to Parker then, the creative process has a limited lifespan, and "an expanded notion of the text itself" must be founded "in relation to the creative process and only if it respects the determinacy of that process – the fact that (contrary to Greg) authors can lose control of their literary works, and in fact do so all the time."[57]

Although Parker challenges the organic unity of composition and the concept of "final intentions," his basic model is still of texts as products and it is the creative process which he highlights as contingent. In contrast, genetic criticism brings into focus the contingent nature of any single textual product and, indeed, the study of genesis constantly blurs the line between product and process. Genetic criticism initially orientates the text in relation to processes of writing via its focus upon the *avant-texte*, a term coined by Jean Bellemin-Noël to denote all the relevant documents that come before and contribute towards the genesis of a work when that work is considered a text and when those documents and the text are themselves considered as part of a textual system (or process). As noted by Hay, genetic criticism is less interested in the "constituted text" than in the "plurality of virtual texts behind the surface of the constituted text."[58] However, aside from this question of singleness or multiplicity, the main distinction in genetic criticism is between text as static product and text as open and contingent manifestation of writing:

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[56] Hershel Parker, 'The Text Itself'-Whatever That Is', *Text*, Vol. 16 (1987), 47-54, 52.

[57] Parker, 'The Text Itself'-Whatever That Is', 53.

[58] Hay, 'Genetic Criticism: Origins and Perspectives', p. 22.

> Thus, for geneticists, instead of a fixed, finished object in relation to which all previous states are considered, a given text becomes – or texts become – the contingent manifestations of a *diachronous* play of signifiers.[59]

The suggestion of infinite play in the above description does raise problems for genetic criticism in relation to *teleology* and, more basically, to endings. I address the former point in the following paragraphs, while the more basic question of endings features prominently in some of the later, primary chapters of this thesis. First though, besides suggesting an affinity between genetic criticism and German editorial theory, the structuralist distinction between synchrony and diachrony, as well as the notion of the avant-texte as a discrete textual "system," may well suggest a totalizing and ahistorical potential, whereby multiple temporal versions may together comprise a massive synchronic text. A schema or table for an avant-texte makes this problem plain, as in the compositional overviews for *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent* contained in this thesis (see pp. 103 and 260); in his essay 'Towards a Science of Literature', and Pierre-Marc de Biasi has even envisaged a future where computerized approaches "should allow us to develop the basis for a real calculus in genetic matters."[60] However, while such schemas may be essential to the production of genetic editions (de Biasi is himself the editor of Flaubert's carnets) or the pure analysis of genetic materials, they are merely preparatory to the *interpretation* of process and are hence peripheral in the work of more recent genetic critics such as Bushell, Fordham, Sullivan and others.

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[59] Deppman, Ferrer and Groden, *Genetic Criticism*, p. 5

[60] Pierre-Marc de Biaisi, 'Towards a Science of Literature: Manuscript Analysis and the Genesis of the Work', *Genetic Criticism*, pp. 36-69, p. 66.

A bigger question for genetic criticism, moving forwards, concerns the issue of teleology raised above (the logic of unidirectional progression towards a fixed and unifying goal). As Fordham discusses in *I do I undo I redo* (2010), teleology is not something geneticists can simply discard as it plays an important role in virtually all processes of writing: "the pressures and pleasures experienced by writers. The desire and need to disseminate and publish, or the attitudes and social facts and contexts around publication."[61] However, as I will discuss further on in relation to the work of Daniel Ferrer, the principle of teleology in writing need by no means be singular *or* unidirectional. Furthermore, an end does not automatically equate to a greater achievement or a unifying principle (unfortunately). These misleadingly idealistic notions of "process," which lead to the jettisoning of contingency and temporality and the awarding of a subordinate ontological status to drafts and the materials of process, are precisely what genetic criticism challenges.

In *Text as Process*, Bushell suggests that "a phenomenological account of being is partly responsible for a critical marginalizing of textual process and composition as an area of study," and discusses the ways in which Heidegger "dwells on the self-sufficiency of the *completed* thing at the expense of the "coming-into-being" of the thing," which echoes the New Critical conception of poetry alluded to above.[62] Recapitulating the various forms of *Dasein* (ways of being-there) in *Being and Time* (1931), Bushell proposes that the materials of process flit between multiple dimensions: from everyday, "ready-to-hand" objects, such as the pen while writing, or self-conscious, "present-to-hand" equipment, such as the pen that runs out of ink, to a

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[61] Finn Fordham, *I do I undo I redo: the Textual Genesis of Modernist Selves in Hopkins, Yeats, Conrad, Forster, Joyce and Woolf* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010), pp. 26-28.

[62] Bushell, *Text as Process*, pp. 215-216.

more "authentic" way of being that modulates between these two forms, existing in a state of permanent anticipation or "thrownness," as in the manuscript during the process of composition. Bushell therefore suggests the latter exists as:

> The crucial third dimension of process […] the displaced body or "textual self" of the writer, but also as an object existing through time and bearing witness to textual process and product.[63]

While, at a more obvious level, Bushell, like any genetic critic, automatically de-subordinates the materials of process by treating them as an object worthy of study, we see here the manner in which she attempts to elevate their ontological status.

In *I do I undo I redo*, Fordham similarly acknowledges how, "in phenomenological philosophy […] the processes of writing and production have played scarcely any role at all."[64] Rather than ponder the ontology of manuscripts, however, Fordham suggests that textual genesis is an inevitable "problem for philosophy because the self that seeks knowledge," from Descartes to Heidegger, "should be universal, whereas this idea [i.e. the textual genesis of selfhood] argues that the form of the self is shaped by how a given culture relates to the modes of its symbolizing practices."[65] The locality and contingency of particular "symbolizing practices" undercut, therefore, the universalism of being and selfhood in traditional philosophical accounts, which tend to neglect "the kind of room needed for particular accounts of formation due to some local and personal forms of experience."[66] In

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[63] Bushell, *Text as Process*, p. 229.

[64] Finn Fordham, *I do I undo I redo: The Textual Genesis of Modernist Selves in Hopkins, Yeats, Conrad, Forster, Joyce, and Woolf* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2010), p. 60.

[65] Fordham, *I do I undo I redo*, pp. 73-74.

[66] Fordham, *I do I undo I redo*, p. 59.

contrast, *I do I undo I redo* tries to remain "alive to the fugitive movements within processes rather than favouring and making an aesthetic principle out of any one state."[67]

In a sense, Bushell's conception of a "textual self" concerns the author's experience of composition, in which manuscripts form an intrinsic part, and hence her 'Philosophy of Composition' provides a phenomenology of writing, which is seen to involve "a movement into and out of self-awareness," whereas Fordham's study focuses on individual processes of writing, which are "studied for what they can say about the movements within narratives between conscious and unconscious, confederate and dissolute forms of selfhood."[68] However, I discuss the question of textual selves in more detail in a subsequent section of this chapter. In relation to the present topic, the relationship between text as process or product in genetic criticism, Christine Froula provides a neat summary when discussing "the changing ontology of the art object in modernity" in her essay on 'Modernity, Drafts, Genetic Criticism':

> The documents of a work's genesis only underscore what many a modernist experimental work already expresses: that the boundaries of its achieved form […] are virtual, provisional, permeable by the evidences of its own history as by the known, unknown, and unknowable conditions of its making. The stilling of time in the achieved art form is implicitly disturbed by its ontological status as arbitrary or accidental endpoint of a historical process,

[67] Fordham, *I do I undo I redo*, p. 25.

[68] Bushell, *Text as Process*, p. 231 and Fordham, *I do I undo I redo*, p. 25.

> even before the palimpsestic layers of its genetic history dissolve it into process, history, temporality itself.[69]

The permeability of endpoints will become increasingly relevant in the primary chapters on Lawrence, who, not only continually rewrote and re-envisioned *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent*, but, as an author more generally, frequently rewrote endings.

Writing Process

While the author's work can be divided into exogenetic (pre-compositional), endogenetic (compositional) and epigenetic (post-compositional) phases, and the materials of composition can themselves be arranged systematically into a "genetic dossier," with tables to provide an overview of the avant-texte, the single most important topic for genetic criticism is the compositional process itself.[70]

As Jean-Louis Lebrave and Denis Alamargot outline in their joint essay on 'The Study of Professional Writing', French genetic criticism identifies two basic writing methods, which are referred to as "program writing" and "process writing."[71]

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[69] Christine Froula, 'Modernity, Drafts, Genetic Criticism: On the Virtual Lives of James Joyce's Villanelle', *Yale French Studies*, Vol. 89 (1996), 113-129, 114.

[70] Dirk van Hulle divides his recent study of *Modern Manuscripts: The Extended Mind and Creative Undoing from Darwin to Beckett and Beyond* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013) into three parts based on these divisions. However, the endogenetic phase is central to Bushell's account of composition, as in the tables, which are used to describe intention in process, provided in 'Intention Revisited', p. 78, and described in more detail in *Text as Process*, pp. 72-74.

[71] Set out by Louis Hay in *La littérature des écrivains* (Paris: Conti, 2002).

Program writing is a more controlled form, "requiring a succession of preparatory phases," which essentially involve detailed paper planning, while process writing "ignores programmed strategies and planning details. It consists of a succession of writing and revision phases until the author arrives at a stabilised manuscript."[72] While Lebrave and Alamargot point out a similar distinction in cognitive psychology, between "classical" and "romantic" modes of writing, I would draw a further connection to the distinction between "constructivism" and "organicism" as common metaphors for writing, a pairing discussed by Almuth Grésillon in her essay 'Slow: a work in progress'.[73] These distinctions can, however, be complicated by Klaus Hurlebusch's alternative distinction, in 'Understanding the Author's Compositional Method', between "constructive" and "reproductive" functions of writing. Hurlebusch's terms largely distinguish between writers who plan on paper ("constructive") and writers who plan "in their heads" ("reproductive").[74] Incidentally, it should be noted that all of these terms are used heuristically, which is to say that the contrasting methods or functions of writing are not understood as pure opposites, but as "the opposite ends of a continuum."[75]

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[72] Jean-Louis Lebrave and Denis Alamargot, 'The Study of Professional Writing: A Join Contribution from Cognitive Psychology and Genetic Criticism', *European Psychologist*, 15:1 (2010), 12-22, 14-15.

[73] D. Galbraith, 'Writing as a knowledge-constituting process', *Knowing what to write: Conceptual processes in text production*, ed. by M. Torrance and D. Galbraith, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam UP, 1999), pp.139-160 and Almuth Grésillon, 'Slow: a work in progress'.

[74] Hurlebusch, 'Understanding the Author's Compositional Method', 85-86.

[75] Lebrave and Alamargot, 'The Study of Professional Writing', 17.

Hurlebusch's distinction is helpful in drawing attention to the fact that a lack of a *paper* plan does not automatically mean a lack of a *plan*, and it is best not to exaggerate the programmaticity of "program" writers (paper planners) or the spontaneity of "process" writers ("unplanned" rewriters). However, while these critics discuss a number of examples of program or process writers, I would single out Flaubert, whose iconic aesthetic of *craft*, involving not just program writing but self-conscious text-construction, became an influential ideal for a host of major modernist writers (James, Mann, Conrad, Proust, Pound, Joyce, Beckett, etc.). The popularity of these writers and this type of modernism can be associated with the popularity of "constructivist" metaphors more generally and, as Hurlebusch points out, "those authors who have gained a truly paradigmatic significance within French genetics, Flaubert and Valéry, represent, in quite an extreme fashion, the *constructive*, psycho-genetic *type of writer*."[76]

During his early career, some of these writers (Ford, Garnett, Pound) exerted a degree of editorial or advisory control over Lawrence's own writing. However, it is significant that Lawrence not only criticized the Flaubertian aesthetic, especially in 'German Books: Thomas Mann' (1913), but subsequently distanced himself from these figures (during the overall composition of *Women in Love*, which he began around the time of the essay on Mann).[77] I discuss Lawrence's own composition as providing an alternative to this more influential modernist paradigm in the subsequent chapters and offer "dialogism" as a more useful metaphor for Lawrence's writing than

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[76] Hurlebusch, 'Understanding the Author's Compositional Method', 78.

[77] Michael Black discusses Lawrence's opposition to Flaubert to some extent in 'Revision and Spontaneity as Aesthetic', *The Cambridge Quarterly*, 28:2 (1999), 150-166, which I discuss in chapters 1.2 and 2.1.

the "constructive," "organic" or "reproductive" ones used by other critics. Furthermore, as "process writing" represents an "under-researched" topic, this thesis aims to contribute towards this area and the debates it sets out.[78]

To return to the question of teleology, Bushell suggests the "individual consciousness creates by a movement *between* a "spontaneous" (unwilled) engagement with language and a conscious return to that engagement."[79] Bushell therefore describes writing and text as process as fundamentally recursive, involving both spontaneous linear progression and nonlinear reflection. As indicated by the title, Fordham's fundamental premise for the production of text in *I do I undo I redo* is also reconstructive. Bushell's concluding remarks on a "compositional hermeneutics" in *Text as Process* turn to the hermeneutic circle:

> Always at the centre of the ""coming-into-being" of the literary work […] lies the phenomenon of process itself as a thing, the self-sufficient identity of which is its inability to be self-sufficient; the meaning of which is its capacity to hold simultaneous, different kinds of meaning. Every part is always something greater than itself, always subject to potential reinterpretation and redirection.'[80]

Meanwhile, in 'Retroaction and Persistence in the Genetic Process', Daniel Ferrer suggests that, "like the history of totalitarian countries, genesis takes the form of a perpetual reworking of the past as a function of current events."[81] Ferrer not only

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[78] Lebrave and Alamargot, 'The Study of Professional Writing', 18.

[79] Bushell, *Text as Process*, pp. 227.

[80] Bushell, *Text as Process*, p. 237.

[81] Daniel Ferrer, 'Clementis's Cap: Retroaction and Persistence in the Genetic Process', *Yale French Studies*, Vol. 89 (1996), 223-236, 235.

highlights the retroactive nature of writing, "a perpetual reworking of the past," but also the manner in which traces from the past, superseded drafts, inevitably persist into subsequent versions, as remainders. For the latter formation, Ferrer uses the term "Clementis effect" after Vladimír Clementis, who, in 1948, in an iconic example recounted by Milan Kundera in *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting* (1979), lent his fur cap to Czech leader Klement Gottwald as he gave a speech outdoors under heavy snow; while, following a political disgrace, Clementis was excised from photographs of the event, his cap remained, upon Gottwald's head.[82]

In the same essay, by pushing the notion of anticipation/projection in the writing process to its logical conclusion, Ferrer is able to point out the "projective value" of any piece of writing made during any stage of a text's composition:

> *Each fragment of draft* projects itself onto the horizon of its completion – or rather of the completion of the final text […] every act of note-taking occurs with the expectation, however vague, that the note will somehow be used; therefore every part of the *avant-texte* in some way reverts back to the projective logic.[83]

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[82] Ferrer has also discussed retroaction and persistence in visual art in the essay 'Variant and Variation: Toward a Freudo-bathmologico-Bakhtino-Goodmanian Genetic Model?', *Genetic Criticism and the Creative Process: Essays from Music, Literature and Theatre*, ed. by William Kindermann and Joseph E. Jones (Rochester: Rochester UP, 2009), pp. 35-50; N. H. Reeve's discussion of 'Parkin's Wedding Photograph' in Chapter 4 of *Reading Late Lawrence* also suggests persistence and retroaction in the three *Lady Chatterley* novels, see *Reading Late Lawrence* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), pp. 85-104.

[83] Ferrer, 'Clementis's Cap', 227.

This point brings us back to the apparent distinction between program and process writing. If every piece of writing in some way anticipates or projects the completion of the final text, then "process writing appears to be a particular case, or minimal form, of programmatic writing," yet, at the same time, as the "project" or "intention" also "shapes up along the way, in the course of the elaboration of the work," to select a certain stage as a point of origin "is nothing but a convenient myth," which likewise means that programmatic writing "becomes a special case of process writing."[84]

Studying a text's genesis, then, not only reveals the persistent traces of preliminary elements in the final text, left unexplored or deserted, but also the manner in which the final text has formed itself retroactively, in reference to previous drafts. As a product of the writing process, I would suggest that any text is inescapably avant-textual: the product can be seen as a "special case" of process.

Individual and Textual

Genetic criticism may appear as a threatening or unwanted imposition of (yet another) French "theory" for traditional Anglo-American critics due to the erosion of the individuality or integrity of the "final text" (or any single textual product), as described above. As highlighted already, individual autonomy is an important value in Anglo-American criticism, and an association between genetic criticism and theoretical "textualization," in which the self or text disappears within a discursive field, is likely to cause resistance.

According to Edward Said in 'The Problem of Textuality', "what is most alarming is the extent to which much contemporary criticism that is lost in the "abysmal" element of textuality seems utterly blind to the impressive constitutive

[84] Ferrer, 'Clementis's Cap', 225-227.

authority in textuality of such power as that of a broadly based *cultural* discipline, in Foucault's sense of the word."[85] While Said celebrates Foucault and Derrida for enabling critical work to "avoid if possible the self-confirming operations of culture and the wholly predictable monotony of the disengaged critical system," he is also averse to the apparent tendency towards "involuntarism" in their work, which threatens to "to overwhelm the individual subject or will."[86] This defence of the individual subject or will echoes Goodheart's later essay (discussed above), as does the argument that detachment from "the self-confirming operations of culture" is what enables the individual (i.e. the author or critic) to attack the power of "*cultural* discipline."

Hostile reviews of genetic criticism, published in English, indeed offer a skewed association between genetic criticism and these unwanted tendencies, in textual theory, towards "the "abysmal" element of textuality." In 'Genetic Criticism and its Myths', Laurent Jenny suggests that genetic criticism "does not have the effect of shoring up new interpretations, but of inventing a link with the text that suspends the hermeneutic relationship."[87] However, Jenny only makes this move after having introduced the concept of the avant-texte via a discussion of *intertextuality*, in the work of Kristeva and Eco, meaning his critique of "a corpus without closure" in genetic criticism is really a (more common) hermeneutic aversion to intertextual

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[85] Edward Said, 'The Problem of Textuality: Two Paths', *Critical Inquiry*, (1978), 676-714, 713.

[86] Said, 'The Problem of Textuality', 682 and 678.

[87] Laurent Jenny, 'Genetic Criticism and Its Myths', *Yale French Studies*, 89, Drafts (1996), 9-25, 17.

theory, which is here carried over to genetic criticism.[88] Likewise, in 'The Author at Work in Genetic Criticism', Oliver Davis fears for hermeneutic closure due to the apparent threat of "analysis interminable" posed by the avant-texte: "there is a world of difference between asking precise questions of the genetic text in the course of interpretation and the vision offered by most genetic critics of exploration interminable."[89]

Against this free-floating suggestion, that "the study of the pre-textual documents" does "not provide a fundamental corrective measure to the study of the text," consider the following question: what happens "if the published text is neither particularly encouraging nor discouraging about any specific meaning?"[90] In this case, as van Hulle suggests, the avant-texte actually "opens up an enormous interpretative potential" as it "actively encourages and provides a textual basis for unlooked-for interpretations of underlying layers of meaning" and draws attention to "the subdued poetical intensity and unexpected semantic pregnancy of even the most futile an adjective and the faintest idea."[91]

Beside this more reasoned critique, however, Davis effectively attempts to do a hatchet job on genetic criticism by claiming that it fails to heed "the theoretical debate surrounding the death of the author," harbours an apparent "desire for intimate

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[88] Jenny, 'Genetic Criticism and Its Myths', 11.

[89] Oliver Davis, 'The Author at Work in Genetic Criticism', *Paragraph*, 25:1 (2002), 92-106, 100.

[90] Jenny, 'Genetic Criticism and Its Myths', 18, and van Hulle, 'Undoing Dante', 94.

[91] Van Hulle, 'Undoing Dante', 94.

and privileged access to the author" and "seeks fulfilment in what might be termed, after Barthes, an authorial hypostasis."[92] According to Davis:

> Anyone seriously interested in a writer, particularly in a university setting, will inevitably be drawn to whatever drafts, sketches and letters may have been left behind; I would be the last to suggest that these are anything other than a valuable resource and I acknowledge that they may often become charged with the supplementary, perverse pleasure of a fetish or relic. The desire to be close to (though not always to be in *loving* proximity to, as genetic critics usually assume) an author will perhaps surface in any critic who engages seriously with a writer's work. Genetic critics are not alone in having this desire but they are unique in suggesting that they are unique, in making out that theirs is the only approach which gets in close; for theirs is a jealous desire, to be alone with the author, to possess fully and exclusively. I have analysed the logic of this urge: the dubious inferences from the materiality and authenticity of the manuscript, the specious claim that only the genetic text is 'open'. The satisfaction of this desire, which, for critics of other persuasions, may be gratifying but incidental, becomes the very principle of the genetic critic's textual travails.[93]

In this bizarre sequence, Davis suggests that the desire "to be close" to the author is widespread amongst "serious" critics (whatever that means) and that authorial materials "often become charged with the supplementary, perverse pleasure of a fetish." However, the implication that a fetishization of authorial materials becomes the "very principle" in genetic criticism completely contradicts its basic ideas: rather

[92] Davis, 'The Author at Work in Genetic Criticism', 100.

[93] Davis, 'The Author at Work in Genetic Criticism', 101.

than take a part in place of the whole, in concealment of a lack, genetic criticism precisely subverts the fetishization of any single text ("the text") via its focus upon the avant-texte and the process of writing (observing that "a text conceived as methodologically separate from its origins and from its material incarnation can lead to a paradoxical sacralization of it as "The Text"").[94] In Davis's essay, the generalized discussion of desire and fetishization merely diverts attention away from the underlying ideas of genetic criticism.

In a review of H. L. Hix's *Morte d'Author: An Autopsy* (1990), US writer David Foster Wallace summarises Anglo-American responses to the erosion of authorial agency - by contemporary literary theorists - from a "civilian" perspective:

> For those of us civilians who know in our gut that writing is an act of communication between one human being and another, the whole question seems sort of arcane. As William (anti-death) Gass observes in *Habitation of the Word*, critics can try to over-define the author into anonymity for all sorts of technical, political, and philosophical reasons, and "this 'anonymity' may mean many things, but one thing which it cannot mean is that *no one did it*."'[95]

Treading a path between the extreme poles of historical determinism and the pure discursive field, genetic criticism provides a frame in which authorial agency can be studied in all its complexity, while simultaneously wrestling it from the hands of editors or critics who may wish to establish intentions as icons once and for all. It does so not by referring to the average civilian's "gut," but by studying the processes of writing traced in literary manuscripts.

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[94] Groden and Ferrer, *Genetic Criticism*, p. 5.

[95] David Foster Wallace, 'Greatly Exaggerated', *A Supposedly Fun Thing I'll Never Do Again: Essays and Arguments* (London: Abacus, 1998), pp. 138-146, pp. 144-145.

Textual Selves and Cognition

Rather than repeatedly defending the ideas of genetic criticism from a potential association with more dissolute French theories, it is worth finishing this section by highlighting more positively the ways in which material text production (during composition and traced in manuscripts) not only provides a ground for, but perhaps also an *extension* of individual agency.

In their account of genetic criticism and cognitive psychology, Lebrave and Alamargot suggest that writing processes form episodic memories: "episodic memory stores events that are part of the writing process, and their reactivation probably plays a role in weaving the textual fabric."[96] These memories can effectively be lodged and reactivated externally through metadiscursive notes or, less consciously, through traces in the writing. These combinations enable a professional writer to sustain cognitive processes over protracted periods of time. While Lebrave and Alamargot conservatively note that, "by serving as an external form of memory, the text produced so far can replace the author's own long-term memory," Bushell's notion of "textual self-extension" and her discussion of the ways in which "the manuscript object might be understandably experienced as a kind of physical self-extension," which draw briefly from Merleau-Ponty's account of embodied cognition in *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945), pushes the relation between text and self much further:

> The embodied self in relation to language thus emerges as a kind of textual "other" that is *also* a part: the permanent present of the words is held in the material object but also constitutes a revisited and revisitable self for the

[96] Lebrave and Alamargot, 'The Study of Professional Writing', 19.

> writer. Such a process can be compared more generally to the way in which we "create" to experience the world: we move forward into the unknown by means of what we do know.[97]

Bushell therefore explores the interactivity and fluid boundary between embodied self and material text, in a developing relationship with language.

Though oscillatory and recursive, wedded to the notion of the hermeneutic circle, Bushell's conception of self-development does however appear single and linear *overall* ("we move forward"). Fordham, another Anglo-American genetic critic who studies the ways in which selfhood is or can be grounded in processes of writing, suggests that though writing has "universal aspects," such as "the simple leaving of traces […] thus the self can be imagined universally; as something which receives and records traces," it also involves aspects which are "historically specific, both to a period and to an individual," likewise, the "universal" complexity and mobility of writing means it remains partly "unknowable or *unknown*."[98] Alongside these qualifications, the various forms of selfhood/process covered in the primary chapters of *I do I undo I redo* (compression, selection, doubling, hollowing, splitting) highlight the more disparate possibility of *multiple* textual selves. The contrast between Bushell and Fordham's accounts appears partly symptomatic of the different literary periods covered in their work; broadly speaking, Bushell's authors are Romantic, whereas Fordham's are modernist. That said, the focus in *I do I undo I redo* upon "the elements of the text themselves," since "it is in the life of the writing rather than in the

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[97] Lebrave and Alamargot, 'The Study of Professional Writing', 19, and Bushell, *Text as Process*, pp. 230-231.

[98] Fordham, *I do I undo I redo*, p. 74.

author that the power lies," may also account for this difference (between singleness and multiplicity).[99]

Bushell's discussion of manuscripts as providing a medium through which the embodied self can foray into "unknown" worlds of language, with the material object as "textual "other"" or "revisited and revisitable self," foreshadows the more recent contributions of Dirk van Hulle, to genetic criticism and the cognitive sciences, through his focus upon the post-cognitivist idea of "the extended mind."[100] In the essay 'Modernism, Mind and Manuscripts' and at greater length in *Modern Manuscripts* (2013), van Hulle has developed the concept of manuscripts as forming part of the writer's "extended mind," drawing from post-cognitivist philosophy and the enactivist paradigm in cognitive science, as well as Jakob von Uexküll's notion of "*umwelt*," which refers to an organism's model of the world, in a biological context.[101] Van Hulle therefore questions the famous "inward turn" associated with modernist literature by exploring the ways in which "modernist writers can be regarded as "*Umwelt* researchers,"" whose manuscripts "can be regarded as part of what in cognitive philosophy is often referred to as the "extended mind.""[102]

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[99] Fordham, *I do I undo I redo*, p. 226.

[100] See Andy Clark and David J. Chalmers, 'The Extended Mind', *Analysis*, Vol. 58 (1998), 10-23, and *The Extended Mind*, ed. by Richard Menary (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010).

[101] See *Enaction: Toward a New Paradigm for Cognitive Science*, ed. John Stewart, Olivier Gapenne and Ezequiel A. Di Paolo (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011) and Jakob von Uexküll, *A Foray into the Worlds of Animals and Humans* with *A Theory of Meaning*, trans. by Joseph D. O'Neill (Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 2010).

[102] Dirk van Hulle, 'Modernism, Mind and Manuscripts', *A Handbook to Modernist Studies*, ed. by Jean-Michel Rabate (Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 225-238, pp. 225-226.

According to this conception, writing does not merely transcribe speech but forms an integral part of cognition, with manuscripts therefore functioning as part of the "extended mind" and as an "environmental vehicle" in the writer's own "*umwelt*."[103]

As we will see, in letters written during the composition of *Women in Love*, Lawrence frequently describes his writing as strange and partly unconscious ("I am doing a novel which I have never grasped […] it's like a novel in a foreign language I don't know very well - I can only just make out what it's about" (i. 543)). As a result, the notion that writing facilitates the process of thinking is not only "a well-known phenomenon in genetic criticism," as van Hulle notes, but also indirectly observed by Lawrence critics when discussing Lawrence's general method of writing. John Worthen in his biography of Lawrence, for example, suggests, albeit prescriptively:

> His writing, while liberating him from the tensions of his origins, was also a way of imagining (or dreaming) through his most disturbing experiences and so beginning to resolve them. He remarked in January 1912 how "my dreams make conclusions for me. They decide things finally. I dream a decision. Sleep seems to hammer out for me the logical conclusions of my vague days, and offer me them as dreams" (i. 359). That was what his writing did, too.[104]

Returning to textual selves, questions of selfhood, chiefly concerning an opposition between completion and incompletion, arise throughout the narratives discussed in the primary chapters of this thesis, and the relationship between these questions and Lawrence's revisions and processes of writing is worth pursuing. Before moving on to consider Lawrence's manuscripts, however, it is important to place their discussion

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[103] Van Hulle, 'Modernism, Mind and Manuscripts', p. 229.

[104] John Worthen, *D. H. Lawrence: The Life of an Outsider* (London: Penguin, 2005), p. 83.

within the context of existing Lawrence studies and this provides the focus for the following chapter.

I will conclude this chapter with a brief note on my own position with regards to genetic criticism. While this is clearly a positive and supportive one, I would also define it as a particularly inclusive one, which seeks to incorporate work on other periods besides modernism, as in Sally Bushell's study of nineteenth-century poetic manuscripts, as well as, to some extent, Hannah Sullivan's *The Work of Revision*, which ventures into the contemporary digital age by, albeit very briefly, considering late manuscripts by Foster Wallace.[105] This inclusivity also relates to my main criticism of genetic criticism, relating to a perceived bias towards "constructivist" metaphors for writing, which I believe stems from the close relationship between genetic criticism and the study of particular (modernist) writers, such as Joyce, who explicitly adopted Flaubertian approaches to writing.[106] In opposition to "constructivist" (or "organicist") metaphors, which encourage critics to interpret writing in particular ways, often at the expense of notions such as critical dialogue, as well as collaboration, Lawrence's processes of writing provide an opportunity to sketch an alternative model for writing, which I have termed "dialogist" and which I expand upon in the primary chapters of this thesis (2.1-4 and 3.1-2).

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[105] I have written at greater length on the latter topic in 'The Composition of 'The Depressed Person'', which will be published in the forthcoming edition of *Textual Cultures*, 9:2 (2015), 77-97.

[106] I have also discussed this point in a review of Luca Crispi's *Joyce's Creative Process and the Construction of Characters in 'Ulysses': Becoming the Blooms*, which will be published in the forthcoming edition of *Literature & History*, 25:2 (2016).

1.2

Genetic Criticism and Lawrence Studies

The ideas of genetic criticism differ markedly from those present in the traditional study of manuscripts in Lawrence studies. As discussed in the previous chapter, besides the practical archival work of organising and studying manuscripts, genetic criticism stemmed from the rise of textual theory in France in the 1960s and 70s. Considering the relationship between genetic criticism and existing Lawrence studies in the present chapter, therefore, it is necessary to track not only the usage of Lawrence's manuscripts but also the development of textual and critical theory more generally.

Given the fact that none of the essays collected in either of the following recent collections, *The Cambridge Companion to D. H. Lawrence* (2001) or *New D. H. Lawrence* (2009), reflect on the textual condition of Lawrence's work, textual questions would appear rather marginal within Lawrence criticism.[1] There is, however, a rich history of work on Lawrence's manuscripts by critics working as editors for the Cambridge edition of Lawrence, which began life in the 1970s and was only recently

[1] Andrew Harrison's essay on 'Dust-jackets, blurbs and forewords: the marketing of *Sons and Lovers*', in *New D. H. Lawrence*, ed. by Howard J. Booth (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2009), pp. 17-33 does, however, reflect on the publication and material history of *Sons and Lovers*.

completed, in 2013, with the publication of *The Poems* in two volumes.[2] Aside from direct manuscript studies, some of which I will sample later on in this chapter, this type of research has also spilled over into biographies of Lawrence, as well as into reflections on contemporary textual criticism.[3] That said, paralleling Anglo-American criticism more generally (as outlined in the previous chapter), the presence of the Cambridge edition has to some extent reinforced a restrictive division in Lawrence studies between "literary" and "textual" criticism, which implicitly discourages the interpretative engagement with composition and textual process (as in genetic criticism).

Before considering the direct study of Lawrence's manuscripts, however, as well as the pros and cons of the Cambridge edition, the lack of engagement with the theory and ideas of genetic criticism must first be considered in a broader context, in terms of the general adaptation of Lawrence studies to the shifting landscape of literary criticism over the course of the twentieth century. In the first section of this chapter, therefore, I survey the trends in Lawrence's legacy and consider the ways in which, following a period of critical alienation during the 1970s and 80s, recent critical reassessments of Lawrence provide a fresh grounding for genetic Lawrence studies.

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[2] Jonathan Long discusses the genesis and achievements of the Cambridge edition in detail in 'The Achievement of the Cambridge Edition of D. H. Lawrence: A First Study', *Journal of D. H. Lawrence Studies*, 3, 3 (2014), 129-151.

[3] The Cambridge tripartite biography of Lawrence is written by John Worthen, Mark Kinkead-Weekes and David Ellis (see bibliography). Essays on Lawrence and textual criticism can be found in *Editing D. H. Lawrence*, which I discussed in the previous chapter.

Trends

Following his death in 1930, Lawrence's critical reputation, though disputed, remained reasonably high for the proceeding generation, despite popular conceptions of Lawrence as a pornographic writer. In the decade following his death, numerous writers, such as Catherine Carswell, Aldous Huxley, and Richard Aldington, published positive biographical accounts of Lawrence, while at Cambridge University and in the journal *Scrutiny* (1932-53), set up in part as a foil to Eliot's *Criterion*, the critics F. R. and Q. D. Leavis helped to establish the author's legacy as a major English novelist, and F. R. Leavis capped this off with the publication of *D. H. Lawrence: Novelist* in 1955.[4] In the following decade, Leavis's introductory suggestion in the latter study, that "not only is [Lawrence] our last great writer; he is still the great writer of our own phase of civilization," took on a slightly ironic relevance as, following the iconic trial of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in 1960 (R v. Penguin Books Ltd), Lawrence became a much more popular author during the counterculture movements of the 1960s; at the end of the decade the character George Hanson, played by Jack Nicholson in Dennis Hopper's film *Easy Rider* (1969), drank a toast ""To ol' D. H. Lawrence.""[5]

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[4] On the whole, even ambivalent or negative accounts of Lawrence, particularly John Middleton Murry's *Son of Woman: The Story of D. H. Lawrence* (1931), respected Lawrence as a modern literary giant (see also T. S. Eliot's comments below, in footnote 17).

[5] F. R. Leavis, *D. H. Lawrence: Novelist* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1955), p. 9. In the year following its trial, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* alone sold two million copies, outselling the Bible according to a retrospective BBC report, accessible online at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/november/10/newsid_2965000/2965194.stm

Lawrence's reputation among critics remained under dispute, particularly due to the apparent opposition between Lawrence's style of literary modernism and the more ascetic one associated with the likes of Eliot and Pound.[6] Lawrence's popularisation as an icon of sexual liberation during the 1960s set him up for a fall, and, in 1970, Kate Millett famously placed Lawrence alongside the two (very different) American novelists Henry Miller and Norman Mailer, in her book *Sexual Politics*, suggesting that all three writers represent sex in a patriarchal manner.

Millett's study appeared at something of a crossroads in the world of Anglo-American criticism, and was itself part of an inception of ideological critique. In the period from the 1970s to 90s, literary studies, like university departments, became increasingly specialised and politicised, while postmodernist fiction arose in its own right. In this brave new world, Lawrence became a temporarily alienated figure as the use of normative concepts, such as truthfulness and sincerity, which had partly fuelled cultural criticism from the likes of Lawrence all the way to J. D. Salinger and the "Beat" generation, began to be regarded as suspect or naïve.

Aside from Millett, another famous critic to attack Lawrence from this perspective was Terry Eagleton, who, in *Criticism and Ideology* (1976) suggested that, "of all the writers discussed in this essay, D. H. Lawrence, the only one of proletarian origin, is also the most full-bloodedly 'organicist' in both his social and aesthetic assumptions"; furthermore, Eagleton asserted that "what Lawrence's work dramatises, in fact, is a contradiction within the Romantic humanist tradition itself, between its corporate and individualist components," and, "in this sense Lawrence was a major

[6] For a recent reassessment of the opposition between Lawrence and Joyce, see *Modernists at Odds: Reconsidering Joyce and Lawrence*, ed. Mathew J. Kochis and Heather L. Lusty (Gainesville: Florida UP, 2015).

precursor of fascism."[7] Eagleton's remarks are supported by very little analysis and Michael Bell has suggested that such accusations have "never been made by anyone who knows Lawrence's work well, and there seems little point in engaging with it once again."[8] However, programmatic attacks on Lawrence, as misogynist or proto-fascist, sparked new waves of controversy and reinforced the author's somewhat marginalised status.

Millett's attack on Lawrence was particularly infamous (Millett herself appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine in the month of publication) and sparked a number of responses, the most essential of which (see the extract from Harris below) is also relevant to Eagleton's take on Lawrence.[9] In *D. H. Lawrence and the Phallic Imagination* (1989), a belated study of Lawrence based on essays published in the 1970s and 80s, Peter Balbert attempted to fight fire with fire by outlining a positive conception of "phallic imagination," which the book argues is central to Lawrence's writing. Although Balbert does makes some valid suggestions, including the point that a defence of marriage and monogamy does not in itself amount to a repressive conservatism, the book's response to Millett is partly a rehashing of Norman Mailer's 'The Prisoner of Sex' (1971), and, despite its subtitle "on feminist misreading," aside from Millett, Balbert only really considers Hilary Simpson's *D. H. Lawrence and Feminism* (1982). As Lydia Blanchard has noted in a review of Balbert's book, there have in fact been a variety of feminist readings of Lawrence, with Carol Dix's *D. H. Lawrence and Women* (1980), Sheila MacLeod's *D. H. Lawrence's Men and Women*

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[7] See Terry Eagleton, *Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory* (London: New Left Books, 1976), pp. 157-161.

[8] Michael Bell, *D. H. Lawrence: Language and Being* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992), p. 182.

[9] I return to the ideological critique of Lawrence in Chapter 3.1 on *The Plumed Serpent*.

(1985) and Carol Siegel's *D. H. Lawrence Among the Women* (1991) all expressing varying degrees of dissatisfaction with Millett's take on Lawrence and providing alternative contexts for reading Lawrence and women.[10]

Prior to each of the above studies, though, as well as Blanchard's own 'Reconsideration of Sexual Politics in D. H. Lawrence' (1975), Janice H. Harris outlined the essential problems with Millett's approach in an early essay on 'D. H. Lawrence and Kate Millett' (1974), as follows:

> One can make Lawrence say just about anything. Taking from him brief quotations, brief examples, is almost always misleading. To avoid quoting him out of context, one must almost supply the entire story"; "At the bottom of Millett's attack […] are, I believe, two contrasting definitions of revolution. Millett implicitly defines the liberation of women as a redistribution of the cultural goods […]. For Lawrence, the cultural goods were not worth having […]. In characterizing his vision […] as an absurd arcadia […] Millett mocks Lawrence unfairly. Lawrence defined his view of the revolution many times […]. It is, in essence, a revolution of consciousness"; "As Norman Mailer gleefully pointed out, Millett suppresses contrary evidence, asserts unproved generalisations, quotes out of context, misinterprets quoted material, equates Lawrence with his fictional heroes, and sets up a distinctly misleading pattern of organizing Lawrence's work. Putting her thumb in the scale in this fashion is of course dishonest; but it is also an unnecessary expenditure of energy. […]

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[10] See Lydia Blanchard's 'Review of *D. H. Lawrence and the Phallic Imagination*', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 36:4 (1990), 608-611; Millett's book is itself foreshadowed by Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1949), which also includes a similar chapter on Lawrence.

> Lawrence's image of women, of men, and of their relationship to each other and to the universe is interesting enough as it stands.[11]

More recently, numerous critics, including Anne Fernihough and Linda Ruth Williams, have noted an affinity between Lawrence's own cultural critique and that of feminist theorists such as Luce Irigaray and Julia Kristeva.[12] What is perhaps most noteworthy in the above extract, however, is Harris's suggestion that "one can make Lawrence say just about anything."

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[11] Janice H. Harris, 'D. H. Lawrence and Kate Millett', *The Massachusetts Review*, 15:3 (1974), 522-529, 524, 524-525 and 529.

[12] Williams, suggesting "every culture needs its monsters, and feminism is no exception," has noted a "complicity" between Lawrence and feminist theory on "the gaze," so that, "ironically, the decade within which feminism seemed largely to be reaching an agreement with Lawrence on the evils of the gaze was also the decade within which, after *Sexual Politics*, feminism was criticising him most bitterly for his misogyny" (*Sex in the Head: Visions of Femininity and Film in D. H. Lawrence* (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1993), p. 16); Fernihough, discussing Lawrence's "attack on logocentrism," has suggested that, "paradoxically enough, in view of Lawrence's current reputation, his attack on logocentrism and on a model of languages which assumes a bounded, coherent self in mastery of an objective, outer world, links him to contemporary French feminist theory" (*D. H. Lawrence: Aesthetics and Ideology*, p. 11); finally, Jacquelyn Le Gall Sloan has also argued that Lawrence's work "does not so much target women as critique western culture, and women are only a part of that critique," and points out that this argument follows up "Sandra M. Gilbert's insight that Lawrence's thinking resembles some French feminists" in the 1990 preface to the second edition of *Acts of Attention: The Poems of D. H. Lawrence* (1972) (Jacquelyn Le Gall Sloan's PhD 'Oppositional Structure and Design in D. H. Lawrence's Culture Critique: A Feminist Re-Reading' (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1998), p. xix).

In one of the very earliest studies of Lawrence, *D. H. Lawrence: An Unprofessional Study* (1932), Anaïs Nin argued that "Lawrence has no system, unless his constant shifting of values can be called a system: *a system of mobility*. To him any stability is merely an obstacle to creative livingness."[13] While the notion that stability represents "an obstacle to creative livingness" is pertinent to the subsequent chapters on Lawrence's processes of composition, of more relevance here is both Harris and Nin's implicit allusions to Lawrence's (fairly unique) detachment from organized or institutionalized philosophies or forms of practice, which underpins the itinerant nature of his life and writing. This detachment, which enables Lawrence's writing to cross boundaries (of genre, of high and low culture, and of class, nation and religion), also leaves Lawrence unusually open to appropriation, free-floating on the ever-changing tides of cultural and critical discourse.

As in Millett's identification of Lawrence with the popular conception of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* as a sexually liberating pornographic novel, Linda Ruth Williams in *Sex in the Head* (1993), a postmodernist study of Lawrence as "more sexually divided than heterosexual prophet," makes no essential distinction between Lawrence and the influential cultural criticism of F. R. Leavis; Williams cites a phantom "Lawrence-Leavis pact" and describes Lawrence as the "co-author of the Leavisite rule-book."[14] Just as, outside of a particular cultural backdrop, Millett's marriage of Lawrence to Norman Mailer is an odd one, Williams's identification of Lawrence and Leavis is equally limited. It is on the back of this conflation, however, that Williams is able to stage a play in which "the Lawrence who would close the eyes of his culture

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[13] Anaïs Nin, *D. H. Lawrence: An Unprofessional Study* (Paris: Edward W. Titus, 1932; rpt. London: Black Spring Press, 1985), p. 14.

[14] Linda Ruth Williams, *Sex in the Head*, p. 16.

is also the orgiastic picture-maker," while, to account for a Lawrence "enjoying the visual, experimenting with forms of narrative which are cross-fertilised by cinema technique, looking with the eyes of femininity," Williams offers the reductive suggestion that "Lawrence's work subverts itself […] 'itself', at least, as a monolithically misogynistic polemic."[15]

Regarding cinema as an essentially postmodern medium – melding low and high culture and embracing sexual permissiveness and the post-human, where traditional humanist criteria such as sexual difference are deconstructed as cultural constructs – Williams casts Lawrence as a "cine-phobe" (a term used throughout *Sex in the Head*). However, this negative stereotype stems from the myopic identification between Lawrence and Leavis and comes at a time when "Leavisism" was being roundly routed. As Nigel Morris has suggested, "critics have usually been happy to accept unquestioningly the orthodoxy established by Leavis that Lawrence was unequivocally antagonistic towards popular forms of art and entertainment, and this has led inevitably to a somewhat stale and simplistic recycling of Leavisite views."[16] Interestingly, the debate between a provincial humanism and a contemporary French theory had, to some extent, been rehearsed in the earlier debate between Leavis himself and T. S. Eliot in the 1920s-50s, which also concerned Lawrence; in this instance Eliot adopted the classicist ideas of reactionary French critic Charles Maurras and the *Action Française* movement, while also contributing reviews to *La Nouvelle*

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[15] Williams, *Sex in the Head*, pp. 2 and 15-16.

[16] Nigel Morris, 'Lawrence's Response to Film', in Paul Poplawski, *D. H. Lawrence: A Reference Companion* (Westport: Greenwood, 1996), 591-603, 591.

Revue Française, in which he suggested that Lawrence's novels were "extrêmement mal écrits."[17]

Although "Leavisism" has undoubtedly become outdated, Lawrence's own marginalisation by critics adopting a theoretical approach was unsurprisingly short-lived, given that various areas of Lawrence's writing are glossed by critics who too readily accept the restrictive notions of Lawrence as parochial humanist, sexual liberator, or patriarchal repressor; Geoff Dyer's comic suggestion in *Out of Sheer Rage* (1997) that he "deconstructed" a Longman critical reader on *D. H. Lawrence* (1992), edited by Peter Widdowson, by setting it on fire might serve as a convenient

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[17] T. S. Eliot, 'Le Romain Anglais Contemporain', *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, 28 (1927), 671; Leavis responds to this review in *D. H. Lawrence: Novelist*, pp. 10-28. On the debate between Leavis and Eliot and their respective magazines, *Scrutiny* and *Criterion*, see Brian Crick and Michael DiSanto, 'D. H. Lawrence, 'An opportunity and a test': The Leavis-Eliot Controversy Revisited', *Cambridge Quarterly*, 38, 2 (2009), 130-146. As in his earlier debates with Murry and the *Adelphi* (see Goldie, 1998), Eliot clearly made strategic use of the "controversy" with Leavis and *Scrutiny*. In a 'London Letter' on 'The Novel', published in *The Dial* (vol. 73) in August 1922, by which point Eliot had already begun digesting *Ulysses*, Eliot described Lawrence as "in my opinion, the most interesting novelist in England," while in a 1923 review of 'Contemporary English Prose' for *Vanity Fair* (vol. 20, no. 5), Eliot's criticism of Lawrence's *style* is qualified as follows: "In the work of D. H. Lawrence, especially in his last book, *Aaron's Rod*, is found the profoundest research into human nature, as well as the most erratic and uneven writing, by any writer of our generation" (both essays are quoted from *D. H. Lawrence: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Henry Coombes (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), pp. 147 and 150; they are also available online at the Hathi Trust's Digital Library (https://www.hathitrust.org). For more on Eliot and Maurras, see Kenneth Asher, 'T. S. Eliot and Charles Maurras', *ANQ*, 11:3 (1998), 20-29.

marker symbolising Lawrence's return from the margins of cultural discourse.[18] More recently, critics including Michael Bell, Anne Fernihough, Amit Chaudhuri, and Jeff Wallace, have begun to open new paths of enquiry for Lawrence by reassessing his connections with modernist and contemporary philosophy, from Bergson and Heidegger to Adorno, Derrida and beyond.

As in the dispute over authorial intentionality discussed in the previous chapter (1.1), the various cultural disputes discussed thus far, between the likes of Eliot and Leavis, Millett and Balbert, Williams and Dyer, regard the object of study itself (i.e. Lawrence's texts) in a rather free-floating manner. Russell McDonald has recently outlined the "dated" nature of Simpson's *D. H. Lawrence and Feminism*, for example, which "characterizes Lawrence as "a literary trespasser" for appropriating women's writing," as it "fails to recognize the vibrant interplay of male and female voices that animates many of the drafts, fragments, and published versions of [Lawrence's] collaborative works."[19] Aside from the obvious biographical point that Simpson "ignores the fact that women always *chose* to work with" Lawrence, McDonald's underlying point is that Simpson does not account for material histories, processes of composition, or the existence of alternative versions, a critique which we can extend to most traditional studies of Lawrence.[20]

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[18] See Geoff Dyer, *Out of Sheer Rage: Wrestling with D. H. Lawrence* (London: Little, Brown and Co., 1997), pp. 100-103.

[19] Russell McDonald, 'Revision and Competing Voices in D. H. Lawrence's Collaborations with Women', *Textual Cultures*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (2009), 1-25, 3-4.

[20] Incidentally, McDonald also extends this criticism to the Cambridge edition of Lawrence, whose original editorial policy "fails to account for such developments in textual theory as

In this respect, recent developments in Lawrence studies have paralleled those in modernist studies in general, where there has been a gradual shift away from a centralised focus upon a canonical "Modernism," serving the specific aesthetic doctrines of the likes of Pound, Eliot and Hulme and often complementing the aesthetic formalism of New Criticism, which elides particularity and "difference," towards a de-centralised and more mobile focus upon various different "modernisms," which, by contrast, emphasise historical particularity.[21] Before moving on to consider the specific study of manuscripts and alternative versions, therefore, it is worth outlining some of these developments.

In *D. H. Lawrence: Language and Being* (1992), Michael Bell places Lawrence's writing in a context of German modernist philosophy, in the work of Heidegger and Ernst Cassirer, as well as the modernist anthropologist Lucien Lévi-Bruhl. In doing so, Bell highlights the enactivist relationship between language and being, predominantly in Lawrence's novels, where there is "a constant jostling of fundamentally different sensibilities," which renders the language "inescapably philosophical."[22] In his introduction, Bell suggests that this study was substantially completed some twenty years prior to publication, which perhaps explains the slight

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Jack Stillinger's notion of "multiple authorship" or Jerome McGann's work on the social construction of texts." See McDonald, 'Revision and Competing Voices', 2.

[21] For an overview of literary modernism (and its study), see Tim Armstrong, *Modernism: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005); for the discussion of this particular shift in modernist studies, see pp. 24-27. See also the 'Introduction' to *Modernism: An Anthology of Sources and Documents*, ed. Vassiliki Kolocotroni, Jane Goldman and Olga Taxidou (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1998), pp. xvii-xx.

[22] Michael Bell, *D. H. Lawrence: language and being*, p. 3.

disconnection from more recent developments in critical theory. However, in his subsequent work *Literature, Modernism and Myth* (1997), which includes a chapter on Lawrence, Bell justifies this gap by outlining a vision of modernism as mythopoeic. For Bell, "mythopoeia is the underlying metaphysic of much modernist literature," and he describes it as follows:

> Self-conscious mythopoeia, recognising a world view as such while living it as conviction, is a paradox succinctly formulated by Thomas Mann: 'although in the life of the human race the mythic is indeed an early and primitive stage, in the life of the individual it is a late and mature one'.[23]

Through the self-conscious inhabitation of created worldviews, then, modernism defends contingent values from contemporary ideological critique. However, although mythopoeia is directly concerned with the *making* of worldviews (and the acknowledgment of their status as "constructs"), Bell does not venture into the question of Lawrence's own processes of composition or the construction of texts.

In *D. H. Lawrence: Aesthetics and Ideology* (1993), Anne Fernihough engages with Lawrence's critical writings from a more contemporary theoretical perspective and like Bell, she considers the previously overlooked affinities between Lawrence and Heidegger. Fernihough does so less positively, however, responding to a supposed charge of latent fascism. Rather than delving into Heideggerian philosophy, then, Fernihough suggests a shared intellectual context of *völkisch* ideologies for both Lawrence and Heidegger. Despite tarnishing Lawrence somewhat inadvertently with this brush, Fernihough (like Eagleton) ultimately suggests that Lawrence sets up a non-totalizing, "fractured" organicist aesthetic. Fernihough also connects Lawrence's

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[23] Michael Bell, *Literature, Modernism and Myth: Belief and Responsibility in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), p. 2.

aesthetic theories to post-Saussurean linguistics, arguing that "Lawrence's 'modernist' aesthetics can be seen as an attempt to articulate what is essentially the distinction between a pre-Saussurean (mimetic or logocentric) and a post-Saussurean ('differential') model of language."[24] Despite likening Lawrence's play with language to deconstruction, however, with Loerke's "mischievous word-jokes" and "polyglot fancies" in *Women in Love* described as "a *mise en abîme*, a semantic abyss which is quite typical of Lawrence's writing," the connection to Saussurean linguistics is not pursued in great detail by Fernihough.[25] Like Bell, Fernihough also treats Lawrence's work in an exclusively finished state and does not consider, therefore, the compositional status of Lawrence's essays on aesthetics, which were produced in a far more journalistic mode than his fiction.

In *D. H. Lawrence and 'Difference': Postcoloniality and the Poetry of the Present* (2003), another study substantially completed much earlier, in this case as a doctoral thesis in the early 1990s, Amit Chaudhuri considers the relevance of Derrida for Lawrence in much greater detail. Chaudhuri, however, challenges the role of deconstruction in literary criticism, as it can be incorporated too easily into a traditional formalist or New Critical mode of reading, in which the critic remains master over the passive text. Instead, Chaudhuri outlines Derrida's (less clear) program of "grammatology" as a more positive and participatory model, reading texts as part of the discourse of intertextuality. Chaudhuri's study is of greatest interest here, however, due to its reflections upon Lawrence's processes of writing. I return to *D. H.*

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[24] Fernihough, *D. H. Lawrence*, p. 11. Fernihough does not reference Bell's study of Lawrence (although she does allude to his earlier study of *F. R. Leavis* (1988)), presumably due to their works being published in close succession.

[25] Fernihough, *D. H. Lawrence*, p. 54.

Lawrence and 'Difference' for this reason in a later section, when considering studies of alternative versions of Lawrence's work in relation to genetic criticism.

I will complete this brief survey of Lawrence's critical legacy by turning to Jeff Wallace's *D. H. Lawrence, Science and the Posthuman* (2005), in which Wallace attempts to counter the influence of Leavis by reconsidering Lawrence's relation to scientific discourse, "uncoupling Lawrence from a literary-critical tradition which continues, even in postmodern times, to limit what we can say about him […] because of certain embedded assumptions about science, the natural and physical sciences in particular."[26] Wallace suggests that Leavis's critique of science as the "reduction of life to mechanism," which is echoed by contemporaries such as Aldous Huxley, ends up falling foul of its own claims by erecting a static (or mechanical) doctrine about what it is to be human. Wallace provides a "reassessment of Lawrence's reputation as an irrationalist" (a label given to Lawrence by Huxley), which moves beyond the restrictive "Two Cultures" debate by considering the influence of materialism upon Lawrence and by discussing the relevance of Bergsonian conceptions of thinking matter for Lawrence.[27]

Overall, it can be said that critics, both for and against Lawrence, have often looked to discern a single, coherent message in his work, which is then used to either champion or denigrate the author. This approach mirrors the sense of Lawrence as having produced a series of single and coherent works, which his own history of

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[26] Geoff Wallace, *D. H. Lawrence, Science and the Posthuman* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 7.

[27] Wallace, *D. H. Lawrence, Science and the Posthuman*, pp. 6-7. Chaudhuri also challenges Huxley's account of Lawrence in *D. H. Lawrence and 'Difference'*, but does so by suggesting it represents a form of cultural imperialism.

publication might suggest. However, as the Cambridge edition of Lawrence helps to reveal, and as the primary chapters of this thesis aim to demonstrate more clearly, Lawrence's processes of composition were anything but single and were often far from coherent. Similarly, Lawrence's fiction identifies with and dramatizes multiple and often conflicting ideologies. The genetic study of Lawrence, which partly deconstructs the notion of Lawrence as having produced a series of single, finished works can, therefore, help to refocus attention upon the latter insight into Lawrence's work. Indeed, as we will see in a subsequent section of this chapter, one of the most common critical contexts used by recent critics when working on alternative versions of Lawrence's work has been Bakhtinian "dialogism." Developing the latter connection in a much more explicitly "genetic" direction, the primary chapters of this thesis outline a concept of *genetic* "dialogism" as a model for Lawrence's own mode of composition and revision.

Manuscript studies and compositional histories

On the basis of his own close study of the manuscripts of *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love*, Charles L. Ross suggested in the late 1970s that "Lawrence's creativity has been misrepresented by even his staunchest admirers, who have gone to the extreme of presenting him as a 'daimonic' novelist," and added that such views had "had the unfortunate consequence of inhibiting critical appreciation of Lawrence.[28] Reviewing the Cambridge edition of *The Rainbow* in 1990, less than halfway through the overall

[28] See Charles. L. Ross, 'Revisions of the Second Generation in *The Rainbow*', *The Review of English Studies*, 27:107 (1976), 277-295, 277-278 and Ross, *The Composition of* The Rainbow *and* Women in Love*: A History* (Charlottesville: Virginia UP, 1979), pp. 5-7.

production of the Cambridge edition of Lawrence, which provides textual variants at the back of volumes, Lydia Blanchard similarly suggested that:

> As additional volumes appear in the Cambridge University Press edition of the works of D. H. Lawrence, their significance for a re-evaluation of Lawrence begins to take shape […] the cumulative impact of the emerging volumes […] is close to revolutionary for Lawrence scholarship and criticism, creating new understandings of Lawrence as writer. […] The textual apparatus of the Cambridge edition shows a flexible writer, one changing his mind, growing, evolving.[29]

Ross and Blanchard therefore acknowledge the evidence of Lawrence's manuscripts as undercutting common misconceptions of Lawrence as a dogmatic writer. For influential examples of this among Lawrence's admirers, Ross points to the suggestions of Aldous Huxley, that "it was characteristic of [Lawrence] that he hardly ever corrected or patched what he had written. […] In other words, he gave the *daimon* another chance to say what it wanted to say", and also of F. R. Leavis, that Lawrence "went forward rapidly once he had started […] as the creative flow carried him on. The first draft written, he revised, not by correcting locally or re-working parts, but by re-writing the whole with the same kind of creative *élan* as had gone to the earlier version," which, through containing elements of truth, generalises and oversimplifies.[30]

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[29] Lydia Blanchard, 'D. H. Lawrence', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 33, 3 (1990), 387-391, 387-389.

[30] *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. Aldous Huxley (London: Heinemann, 1932), p. xvii and F. R. Leavis, *D. H. Lawrence: Novelist*, p. 28.

Ross was part of a broader movement in Lawrence studies which began to incorporate Lawrence's manuscripts. However, though Ross's own *The Composition of* The Rainbow *and* Women in Love*: A History* (1979), like the introductory compositional histories provided by each volume of the Cambridge edition, helps to dispel traditional misconceptions about Lawrence's general writing practice, neither Ross's study nor the Cambridge editions challenge *underlying* traditions of interpretation, wherein the "proper" task of a literary critic is to evaluate and interpret static, finished literary works (which textual critics are responsible for producing), even if with reference to processes of writing (as in Huxley and Leavis's above descriptions). For this reason, it is relatively unsurprising that, though Dennis Jackson has suggested "such "versioning" of [Lawrence's] novels (as well as the many stories, essays, and other genres being represented in multiple texts in CUP appendixes) will surely make Lawrence's work the most intriguing, accessible laboratory for genetic studies in all of Western literature (with the possible exception of the Cornell Wordsworth)", "genetic studies" of Lawrence have not been forthcoming.[31]

As in traditional Anglo-American manuscript studies, which have existed from the 1960s onwards, there has indeed been a well-established form of "genetic" criticism in Lawrence studies, which stems from the work of Mark Kinkead-Weekes and includes, among others, Ross's own compositional history. However, as Michael Groden and Daniel Ferrer discuss in their introduction to *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-Textes* (2004), which self-deprecatingly lists Groden's own *"Ulysses" in Progress* (1977) as an example of such a work, these studies have "tended to be pragmatic and not theoretically self-conscious, to consider textuality and intention as

[31] Dennis Jackson, '"At last, the real D. H. Lawrence"? – The Author and The Editors: A Reception History, 1975-93', *Editing D. H. Lawrence*, pp. 211-239, p. 234.

unproblematic, and to see the manuscripts exclusively in relation to the subsequent published work."[32]

Traditional Anglo-American manuscript studies are therefore fundamentally concerned with *written texts* as opposed to *writing processes*, track writing in an often single and linear manner, and evaluate process almost entirely in relation to external contexts such as the author's biography. Critics have tended to operate with a kind of tunnel vision: always at the end is a textual product, which often functions as a unifying telos, removing multiplicity and contingency. By contrast of course, Groden and Ferrer have suggested that, "for geneticists, instead of a fixed, finished object in relation to which all previous states are considered, a given text becomes—or texts become—the contingent manifestations of a *diachronous* play of signifiers."[33]

'The Marble and The Statue'

As Kinkead-Weekes's 1968 essay 'The Marble and the Statue: The Exploratory Imagination of D. H. Lawrence' is perhaps the most originary study of "genesis" in Lawrence criticism, I will begin the present survey by providing a critique of this essay in order to clarify the difference between this type of approach and genetic criticism.[34]

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[32] Groden and Ferrer, *Genetic Criticism*, pp. 4-5.

[33] Groden and Ferrer, *Genetic Criticism*, p. 5; see pp. 42-43 and 49-51 for a discussion of potential problems with this suggestion.

[34] Ross alludes to Kinkead-Weekes by suggesting "the actual practice of Lawrence was […] in one critic's phrase, "exploratory"" (Ross, *The Composition of* The Rainbow *and* Women in Love, pp. 6-7), while in a recent study of Lawrence's collaborative revisions, Russell McDonald suggests Kinkead-Weekes encourages the study of Lawrence's "manuscripts and

To begin with, 'The Marble and The Statue' is just under fifty pages in length and, besides outlining its conception of Lawrence's "exploratory imagination," it also provides descriptions of the early compositional histories of *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* (probably the longest and most complex of all Lawrence's novels), discusses scenes in both novels, and provides detailed readings of Lawrence's book-length 'Study of Thomas Hardy' and his long essay 'The Crown' (originally published in part in installments). At an obvious level, then, the essay does not have sufficient space to provide a detailed discussion of specific revisions or processes of writing. Kinkead-Weekes is fairly open about this point, however, as the following argument on method makes clear:

> *The Crown* will provide a very useful interpretative basis; a full study of the manuscripts would show us the effort of imaginative exploration that went into the novel's growth; but only literary criticism of the finished work [i.e. *Women in Love*], proceeding from both of these, could hope for adequate understanding.[35]

Despite providing a compositional history and short, cleanly transcribed extracts from early draft fragments at various points, then, the essay's primary focus is upon Kinkead-Weekes's own, broader argument about Lawrence's artistic "growth," which results in a final transformation from "marble" to "statue." Hence the essay concludes as follows:

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letters that bear witness to his methods of composition" (McDonald, 'Revision and Competing Voices', 4).

[35] Mark Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue: The Exploratory Imagination of D. H. Lawrence', *Imagined World: Essays on Some English Novels and Novelists in Honor of John Butt*, (eds.) Maynard Mack & Ian Gregor (London: Methuen, 1968), pp. 371-418, p. 401.

> Lawrence aspired to, and achieved in the greatest moments of these novels, an imaginative vision inclusive enough to allow *all* opposites to play. […] The aim of the exploratory theory and the finest achievement of the exploratory process, was to battle through partialities, to become objective enough to make his "statues" stand free, complete.[36]

As in the previous view of literary criticism as orientated by "the finished work," this telos of "free" and "complete" literary products orientates Kinkead-Weekes's treatment of the early drafts, which, along with certain essays completed by Lawrence during breaks in work on the novel (1914-15), are taken into account predominantly for evidence of Lawrence's artistic growth.

'The Marble and The Statue' is not particularly concerned, therefore, with the investigation of specific processes of writing (as in genetic criticism), and its use of draft materials demonstrates this point. The essay's discussion of *Women in Love*, for example, focuses on two scenes, both of which involve arguments between Birkin and Ursula, and the first of these takes place in the chapter 'Moony', following Birkin's stoning of the moon's reflected imagine (I discuss this chapter of *Women in Love* in Chapter 2.4 of this thesis). Prior to commenting on earlier and later versions of the passage in question, Kinkead-Weekes first suggests that *Women in Love* enacts a "dialectic of imagination and understanding" previously set out by Lawrence in the 'Study of Thomas Hardy', that "at its deepest level it grows through a series of imaginative plunges" and 'Moony' is regarded as the "greatest" of these plunges, "imaginatively the heart of the book."[37] Having established this framework, Kinkead-Weekes then suggests that "the manuscripts show us Lawrence struggling to clarify

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[36] Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue', p. 412.

[37] Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue', pp. 401-402.

his basic theme" and "trying to give the insights of *The Crown* a more precise focus for the understanding of different characters."[38] Finally, Kinkead-Weekes turns to the scene itself, which he claims has "already been captured in the penultimate draft," but, "inevitably, the process of conflict has to begin again," because, in the penultimate draft, "Birkin insists that Ursula should accept him "as a leader"" and the scene "breaks up in rather childish rage."[39] An extract from the draft is then provided, with no ensuing commentary. Instead, Kinkead-Weekes suggests that "throughout the last draft, Lawrence had been liberating himself from the "leadership" theory which had been blocking his own, and not merely Ursula's, understanding of what marriage should be," and, "as he rewrites, he sees that what is really important is that *both* lovers should give themselves."[40]

The second scene in *Women in Love* discussed by the essay takes place slightly later in the narrative, following Birkin and Ursula's decision to resign from work and elope together. As in the first example, prior to commenting on alternative versions of the relevant passage, the essay first sets out an overriding external context: Kinkead-Weekes suggests that Lawrence had achieved a "new standpoint" in life following his marriage to Frieda Weekley and his work on the 'Study of Thomas Hardy' and 'The Crown', and, subsequently, he had "realized that a new climax of the Ursula/Birkin story was called for."[41] Moving on to the scene in question, Kinkead-Weekes describes Birkin as fearing the onset of "seething sexuality" after his betrothal in the earlier version, forcing "Ursula into the false position of having to

[38] Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue', p. 402.

[39] Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue', p. 402.

[40] Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue', pp. 402-403.

[41] Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue', p. 403.

decide one way or the other" (whether or not they should have sex), while Ursula "doesn't know what she wants, and despite the new certainty of their love, the chapter ends, in the penultimate draft, with a dying fall."[42] The external commentary anticipates the draft, of which a short extract is provided as evidence, before the essay moves on to argue that, "having clarified the three "Ways,"" in 'Study of Thomas Hardy', Lawrence "was able to grasp the essence of "Star-equilibrium", and convey his certainty that once the essential relationship is right, the starry way can both include and transcend the darkness, as in the final chapters Ursula and Birkin will know and move beyond the snow."[43]

The legitimacy of Kinkead-Weekes's specific arguments is not what is at stake in this critique. The point is simply to demonstrate the subsidiary function of the manuscripts, where the focus is not on specific acts of revision or processes of writing but on a general, external interpretation of Lawrence's biography and oeuvre. Despite these limitations in terms of a reflection on textual process, Kinkead-Weekes's approach is rarely challenged, while the essay's method and arguments clearly inform Kinkead-Weekes's subsequent interpretation of the composition of *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* in his introduction to the Cambridge edition of *The Rainbow* and in the relevant sections of the second volume of the Cambridge biography of Lawrence, *D. H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile, 1912-1922*.[44]

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[42] Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue', p. 404.

[43] Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue', p. 404.

[44] See Mark Kinkead-Weekes, *D. H. Lawrence: Triumph to Exile, 2912-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), esp. pp. 107-112, 167-168 and 218-224, and *The Rainbow* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989), pp. xix-xlv.

Before moving on, it is worth highlighting two final points regarding 'The Marble and the Statue'. The first of these concerns the essay's confusing lack of distinctions between, firstly, Lawrence's *own* art and Lawrence's theories *about* art, both of which are referred to using the same terms ("art" and "imagination"); and, secondly, between process as something occurring *within* a finished text or work (as in a dialectic) and process in terms of a *process of writing*, both of which are implicitly suggested by the term "process," while only the former meaning is really relevant to Kinkead-Weekes's analyses. Consider the following passage:

> We have also seen that his theory of art was essentially a theory of process, and how amply the evolution of his greatest novels enacted that theory. But I want now to argue that "process" is absolutely central to Lawrence's imagination itself: that we shall not respond fully to his best work until we learn to read in terms of process.[45]

As the argument switches between conceptions of art, art theory, evolution, and imagination, it remains unclear what the "central" term "process" actually concerns.

The second and final point concerns the essay's underlying conception of creativity, which centres on the distinction between "marble" and "statue" and appears quasi-religious as, via an "exploratory process," Lawrence enables matter to transcend itself. Kinkead-Weekes alludes to the essay's theological dimension in the following passage:

> In the *Study of Thomas Hardy*, Lawrence's religion and his fiction begin to come together. It is a sustained attempt to work out the meaning of his earlier intuitions into what could be called, not improperly, a "theology" of marriage—a study of creativity embarked on under the first impact of war. Only then was he able to

[45] Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue', p. 407.

> write *The Rainbow*, the History, or even "Bible", in which that theology is embodied, tested, and further explored imaginatively, in terms of human relationship.[46]

This dimension inflects the essay's use of the term "growth," and perhaps explains the paradoxical manner in which Lawrence's manuscripts appear both central and peripheral at the same time: "without the manuscripts of the first three novels, we cannot hope to measure fully how far the *Study* took Lawrence beyond *The Wedding Ring* [though three fragments survive, and] from these we can learn rather more of the growth of the work than the letters tell us."[47] Despite championing Lawrence's "exploratory imagination," then, Lawrence's actual writing processes become unimportant and are overlooked.

Emergence/Maturity

In the decade or so following 'The Marble and the Statue', as numerous other critics focusing on this period around 1914, often portrayed as a pivotal moment in Lawrence's life and career, sought to incorporate Lawrence's manuscripts, a theme of emergence and maturity dominated in the study of Lawrence's manuscripts.

Another important early figure was J. C. F. Littlewood, whose *D. H. Lawrence, I: 1885-1914* (1976), based on articles published in *The Cambridge Quarterly* in the late 1960s, suggested that certain stories in *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories* (1914), a collection which is problematically absent from 'The Marble and the Statue', present "the first moment of which it is possible to say that Lawrence is now truly

[46] Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue', p. 384.

[47] Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue', p. 375.

himself and has found himself as an artist."[48] Littlewood supports this claim by comparing similar episodes in earlier or later works and rewritten episodes in earlier and later versions of the same work, while making judgements about the "maturity" of respective passages. Other critics who produced similar work around this time include Keith Sagar, John Worthen, Brian Finney (who claims there is an "enormous gulf" separating *Sons and Lovers* and *The Rainbow* in the essay 'D. H. Lawrence's Progress to Maturity: From Holograph Manuscript to Final Publication of *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*') and Keith Cushman.

For an indication of the teleological nature of these studies, consider the following passage from Cushman's *D. H. Lawrence at Work: The Emergence of the* Prussian Officer *Stories* (1978), which summarises the emergence of 'The Shades of Spring' as follows:

> The progression from *The White Peacock* chapter ['The Scarp Slope'] to 'The Shades of Spring' is a study in Lawrence's growth to maturity, of his ultimate acceptance of his past and of himself. The special radiance of 'The Shades of Spring' also speaks clearly and directly to the fact that it is part of the emergent moment of *The Rainbow*. He had at last transformed something of a personal archetype into a first-rate work of short fiction.[49]

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[48] J. C. F. Littlewood, *D. H. Lawrence, I: 1885-1914* (London: Longman, 1976), p. 14. See also Littlewood, 'Lawrence's Early Tales', *The Cambridge Quarterly*, 1:2 (1965), 107-124 and 'Son and Lover', *The Cambridge Quarterly*, 2:4 (1969), 323-361.

[49] See Keith Sagar, '"The Best I Have Known": D. H. Lawrence's 'A Modern Lover' and 'The Shades of Spring'', *Studies in Short Fiction*, 4 (1967), 143-151 and John Worthen, 'Short Story and Autobiography: Kinds of Detachment in D. H. Lawrence's Early Fiction', *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 29 (1985), 1-15. Brian Finney, 'D. H. Lawrence's Progress

While there *may* be some evaluative justification for such arguments, based on the content of the works in question, the predominance of New Critical ideas about literature provide a clear context for the championing of final texts, as well as final works within an oeuvre by such critics.

Echoing Kinkead-Weekes's description of his method in an earlier extract, Ross claims that "one cannot understand the full resilience of Lawrence's imagination or its exploratory daring unless one supplements criticism of the finished texts with knowledge of their growth from the one seed into an organic whole."[50] Besides the restrictive, teleological metaphors for writing, the awkwardness of these attempts to justify incorporating manuscripts, as a supplement for "proper" literary criticism, makes more sense when considered in relation to New Critical ideas about the function of criticism.[51]

In fairness, Ross does problematize the term "draft" in *The Composition of* The Rainbow *and* Women in Love, by noting:

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to Maturity: From Holograph Manuscript to Final Publication of *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories*', *Studies in Bibliography*, 28 (1975), 321-332 (322). Keith Cushman, *D. H. Lawrence at Work: The Emergence of the Prussian Officer Stories* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1978), 147.

[50] Ross, *The Composition of the "Rainbow" and "Women in Love"*, pp. 3-4.

[51] Consider, for example, the following remark on the relative merit of compositional studies in Wimsatt and Beardsley's 'The Intentional Fallacy': "All this, however, would appear to belong to an art separate from criticism, or to a discipline which one might call the psychology of composition, valid and useful, an individual and private culture, yoga, or system of self-development which the young poet would do well to notice, but different from the public science of evaluating poems" (Wimsatt and Beardsley, 'The Intentional Fallacy', 476).

> For purposes of definition, the term *draft* refers to a temporal unit as well as a physical object. A draft is a version of the novel composed and revised in one continuous period of time. Thus the autograph manuscript of *The Rainbow* and the typescript subsequently prepared from it are called one draft because Lawrence worked on them continuously, beginning the revision of the typescript while sections of it were still being typed.[52]

Opening up the distinction between a "draft" and a "text," this type of observation suggests a development away from traditional manuscript studies. However, this concept of a draft as a "version" is quite static and figures exclusively in relation to the final work; by contrast, in genetic criticism, drafts figure in relation to the avant-texte and specific processes of writing. Furthermore, Ross's definition is provided in passing and is not explored in any further depth. Similarly, a short chapter on 'Techniques of Revision in the Manuscripts', which looks at how the dynamics between the central characters change in revision, provides scant support for the following normative conclusion, which echoes Kinkead-Weekes: "[Lawrence] grasped the full potential in what had appeared to be the impossible love of man for man […] partly because he had also reconsidered the development of the Birkin/Ursula story."[53] According to Karen McLeod Hewitt, "Mr. Ross manages to suggest that Lawrence's revisions are self-evidently improvements."[54]

The Cambridge edition: pros and cons

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[52] Ross, *The Composition of the "Rainbow" and "Women in Love"*, p. 10.

[53] Ross, *The Composition of the "Rainbow" and "Women in Love"*, p. 138.

[54] Karen McLeod Hewitt, 'Review of *The Composition of the "Rainbow" and "Women in Love": A History*', *The Review of English Studies*, 33, 131 (1982), 360-362, 361.

In conjunction with a general absence of theories about textual process in the wider culture of Anglo-American literary and textual criticism (as discussed in the previous chapter), the lack of interpretative engagement with writing processes themselves in Lawrence studies can partly be traced to the presence of the Cambridge edition of Lawrence. At an obvious level, the vast majority of critics who have worked on Lawrence's manuscripts have also worked for the project and research has, therefore, funnelled towards the production of editions; among others, these critics include: John Worthen, Mark Kinkead-Weekes, L. D. Clark, Brian Finney, Helen and Carl Baron, Michael Squires, Paul Eggert and N. H. Reeve. Charles L. Ross, meanwhile, edited a Penguin edition of *Women in Love* (1982).

The Cambridge edition has indeed provided a much-needed critical edition of Lawrence's work, spanning the entire gamut of genres (long fiction, short fiction, non-fiction, poetry and drama). These volumes were much-needed not only because the biographical, compositional and reception histories provided by scholarly introductions, the references provided by explanatory notes and the variant readings provided by appendices and apparatuses supply the necessary materials for research into Lawrence's writing, but also because the "corrupt" nature of all prior editions, which, as the Cambridge editors are at pains to point out, contained non-authorial errors, alterations and cuts, meant prior readers had no reliable access to Lawrence's writing. Expanding the theme of new access to Lawrence's writing, the Cambridge edition has also included new versions of works based on manuscripts, including well-known examples like *Paul Morel* (2003), an early version of *Sons and Lovers*, and *Quetzalcoatl* (2011), an early version of *The Plumed Serpent*, as well as, most famously, *Mr Noon* (1984), of which only the first volume (140 of 407 manuscript pages) had previously been published. The Cambridge edition not only provides more

faithful versions of Lawrence's work, then, but, at a more basic level, it also provides *more* of Lawrence's work.

However, while the production of alternative versions of works (in particular) makes the Cambridge edition something of a "laboratory" for genetic study (as Dennis Jackson points out in an earlier quotation), the motivation for such volumes has largely been one of comprehensiveness – not producing them would have meant discarding large chunks of Lawrence's archive, which would not only have rendered the edition distinctly un-comprehensive, but would also have encouraged a rival edition to come along and pick up the pieces – and the edition itself does not develop any ideas about "versioning," "process," or criteria for distinguishing between texts, works, versions and drafts. Furthermore, once in the realm of drafts and works in progress, the edition's traditional approach to editing becomes more open to criticism. Despite its own apparent quest for definitiveness then, the Cambridge edition has ended up by implicitly encouraging readers to consider different versions, subverting the former status of "the" text, and, hopefully, paving the way for future genetic study. The final section of this chapter will therefore consider more recent work on Lawrence's manuscripts and on alternative versions of Lawrence's work, in which a latent form of genetic criticism can be detected.

Alternative versions

By focusing on intertextuality and cultural 'difference', Amit Chaudhuri's *D. H. Lawrence and 'Difference'* offers a new way of reading Lawrence. Offering an explicit critique of traditional formalist approaches to Lawrence's work, and rather than isolating single poems, Chaudhuri situates poems within a broader poetic discourse, which traditional critics ignore:

> It seemed that to 'lift' single masterpieces, or 'finished' works, from this discourse, in order to preserve them by either anthologizing them or studying them (in effect, reading them), and to take the occurrence of the often unwieldy, repetitive, and overwritten discourse in which they were located as redundant or unfortunate, would be to rob those poems of a certain dimension of meaning, and, indeed, to elide the significance that Lawrence himself assigned to such a discourse. Was there a way, then, in which the redundancy and 'unfinishedness' of this discourse could be addressed positively, in a reading that had other values to affirm than ambiguity, meaning, felicity of expression, and complexity of treatment and subject matter?[55]

Approaching writing from an alternative cultural perspective, Chaudhuri re-evaluates concepts such as redundancy, unfinishedness and repetition, traditionally used to criticise Lawrence, and highlights their place within an imperialistic cultural tradition.

Deliberately avoiding deconstruction, as another "New Critical mode of close-reading" in the hands of critics such as Paul de Man or J. Hillis Miller, Chaudhuri instead takes up Derrida's term "grammatology," as:

> A positive attempt to describe and affirm an alternative non-logocentric language, a language without a single centre, hierarchies, and linearity, a language which […] approximates the Lawrentian poetic discourse in many of its crucial characteristics: for the latter too disrupts the centrality of the image, its chronological 'development', and destroys frames around individual poems.[56]

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[55] Chaudhuri, p. 2.

[56] Chaudhuri, pp. 4-5.

Echoing Fernihough's discussion of Saussure in regards to "an alternative non-logocentric language," Chaudhuri moves on to suggest that "Lawrence's conception of Art is of it being a discourse that struggles towards communality and participation, and away from control and power."[57] Chaudhuri therefore places Lawrence's resistance to the centralizing and monopolistic trends of Western aesthetic culture in the context of post-coloniality and cultural 'difference,' and argues that Lawrence's understanding of "primitivism" raises "a number of questions about cultural identity, otherness, and the imagination that are crucially related to his poetry," while he also finds a "parallel" for his critique of Anglo-American reading practices "in Lawrence's own critique of Western assumptions about 'primitivism.'"[58]

Discussing the traditional notion of Lawrence's poetic genius (used both in censure and praise), Chaudhuri argues that critics demonstrate "the admiration of the 'civilized' man for the savage […] thrilling to his spontaneity and oneness with life […] in a manner remarkably similar to Orientalist scholarship," where "Lawrence's 'difference' is held to be somehow mysteriously fixed and essential" and thus "no attempt is made to work towards a critical language that could address and describe that difference."[59] Following up Chaudhuri's point here, this thesis works towards a critical language in order to describe Lawrence's difference in relation to composition and revision, by deploying a "dialogical" model, in opposition to the more commonly used metaphors of "construction," as discussed in subsequent chapters.

Of most relevance to the present chapter, however, is Chaudhuri's attempt to address "unfinishedness" in a positive manner, which enables him to read different

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[57] Chaudhuri, p. 8.

[58] Chaudhuri, p. 115.

[59] Chaudhuri, p. 115-116.

versions not as part of a single and exclusive teleological narrative, but as part of a broader poetic discourse. This intertextual web includes texts from different stages in Lawrence's life, as well as texts written by others, which find verbal echoes in Lawrence's poetry. As the following note on method makes clear, Chaudhuri's positive "deconstruction" of the text-as-product parallels the procedure of genetic criticism in some important ways:

> My study […] is not a chronological one, and does not attempt to be 'representative' in the chronological sense, or trace a narrative of 'development'. Instead, I have considered groups and clusters of poems from diverse collections by Lawrence, and his revisions of some of his early poems, mainly to establish their intertextuality and open-endedness, to dissolve the distinction between the 'finished' and 'unfinished' poem, between the 'redundant' and 'essential' image, and to give a sense of the peculiar Lawrentian discourse, or language, to whose creation all these poems contribute.[60]

Having said that, it is also useful to outline some of the differences between this approach and genetic criticism, which is able to develop some of these points.

One important distinction concerns the dimension of *temporality*, which Chaudhuri's explicit focus on "the poetry of the present" elides. This also relates to a broader point about structuralist and post-structuralist approaches to literature, as alluded to in the previous chapter, which is that small static texts are in a sense simply replaced by larger static texts (i.e. Lawrence's poetic "discourse"). Although the resulting "mega text" may be plugged into an endless series of other discursive formations, including those formed by each new, "participatory" reader, the

[60] Chaudhuri, p. 9.

discursive totality is itself as restrictive as it is liberating. Emphasizing the absence of a temporal dimension in his own intertextual approach, Chaudhuri suggests, for example, that Lawrence's early poem 'End of Another Home-Holiday', "appears to be actually haunted by and *reminiscent of* a late poem, 'Bavarian Gentians' […] what we seem to witness is the early poem's amnesiac evasion of the theme of the later work."[61] Genetic criticism escapes such loops by grounding reading in the internal history or genesis of texts (which, as discussed in the previous chapter, also reconstitutes a place for the author).

This temporal dimension is a more important feature of N. H. Reeve's *Reading Late Lawrence* (2003), which appeared in the same year as Chaudhuri's study and likewise considers alternative versions of works, though it focuses on both long and short fiction from Lawrence's "late" period. As Reeve's own note on method makes clear, *Reading Late Lawrence* focuses on a dynamics of revision which Ferrer has labeled "retroaction" and "persistence":

> I have attempted to write from a kind of moment-by-moment engagement with the late works of Lawrence that interest me most, trying to follow the little undercurrents and stirrings of implication as they feed in and out of the larger flow. Each of my commentaries has been prompted by a particular piece of revision, one which seems to me to reveal something of the textual impulse both in Lawrence's original conception and in its subsequent development – a development to which, however much the two may differ, only that original conception could have pointed the way. These pieces of revision may affect a paragraph, an entire scene, or a single sentence. I am interested in the phantom imprints, as it were, left by Lawrence's first thoughts upon the thoughts that

[61] Chaudhuri, p. 27.

> replace them. I am also interested in watching for signs of this across and between works as well as within one work, given that virtually everything Lawrence wrote, especially in his later years, was a form of reengagement with something he had already written […].[62]

Unlike Chaudhuri, who, in a single reading, juggles different versions of multiple poems and thus deals with "writing" in a more general sense, Reeve pays closer attention to specific "pieces of revision," ranging down to "a single sentence," and follows the internal temporality of particular works. Whereas Chaudhuri suggests that an early poem is "haunted" by a later one (for readers, at least), Reeve focuses on the retroactive nature of writing.[63]

Less positively, however, Reeve, who has also served as an editor for the Cambridge edition of Lawrence, does not delve very deeply into the theory behind his approach, nor does he offer any critique of traditional modes of reading Lawrence. This can in part be said to reflect the fact that Reeve mainly considers previously published versions of works, as in the earlier versions of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, which take up a large section of the book and have partly been in publication since the 1940s. One (albeit rather lame) context for the consideration of "process" which Reeve does posit, however, is dialogism, via Paul Eggert's introduction to the collection *D. H. Lawrence and Comedy* (1996), edited by Eggert and Worthen. Eggert discusses recent interest in Bakhtin and theories of the dialogic, which Reeve sees as

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[62] N. H. Reeve, *Reading Late Lawrence*, p. ix; see also Daniel Ferrer, 'Clementis's Cap: Retroaction and Persistence in the Genetic Process' (discussed in Chapter 1.1).

[63] In fairness to Chaudhuri, the difference in approach here may partly be accorded to the difference between short pieces of poetry and much longer pieces of prose, which generally contain lengthier compositional histories.

conducive to a critical climate in which Lawrence "could come to be read more for the processes than for the outcomes or ostensible messages of his writing."[64]

Despite gesturing towards Bakhtin, Reeve adopts a predominantly psychoanalytic approach to the interpretation of versions and is primarily interested in "the signals they send out of something more vulnerable, less confident, more psychologically defensive […] to face up to the persistent survival in him of feelings that ought, in theory, to have been long superseded."[65] Although Reeve suggests that respective approaches owe "much to the stage of Lawrence's career that one looks at," the "genetic" inflection of his own, psychoanalytic approach to Lawrence's late work is relevant for the general study of Lawrence.[66] Consider Reeve's question, which responds to a question called out by the character Lady Lathkill in the story 'Glad Ghosts':

> When Lady Lathkill calls out, 'Are you here, Lucy?', is it not possible to hear […] the defiant, even rather majestic pathos of one for whom the world is momentarily enriched by the echoes of the past vibrating in it?[67]

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[64] Reeve, *Reading Late Lawrence*, p. ix; see Paul Eggert, 'Introduction', *Lawrence and Comedy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996), pp. 1-18. For the general introduction of Bakhtin to Lawrence studies (and Anglo-American literary criticism more generally), see David Lodge, 'Lawrence, Dostoevsky, Bakhtin: D. H. Lawrence and Dialogic Fiction', *Renaissance and Modern Studies*, 29:1 (1985), 16-32, as well as *After Bakhtin: Essays on Fiction and Criticism* (London: Routledge, 1990), which includes a chapter on Lawrence.

[65] Reeve, *Reading Late Lawrence*, p. x.

[66] Reeve, *Reading Late Lawrence*, p. x

[67] Reeve, *Reading Late Lawrence*, p. 121.

Though the textual dimension is only a latent suggestion in Reeve's question, this thesis finds the texts of *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent* to be similarly "enriched by the echoes of the past vibrating in it." As mentioned, however, Reeve's own readings draw attention away from the text-genetic dimension in order to emphasise biography and biographical psychoanalysis. Consider, for example, the following concluding note on 'Glad Ghosts': "in December 1925 Lawrence was by no means fully reconciled to having Frieda's children in his life […] and much of the writing he produced in this period appears spurred by an ambivalence, not just towards the two girls themselves, but towards Frieda's undisguised delight at having restored to her a little of what life with Lawrence had taken away."[68]

Returning to the introduction to *Lawrence and Comedy* for a moment, Eggert suggests that Leavis was intent on "eliciting a body of truths about the life-enhancing, religious and normative potential of Lawrence's writings," and this type of influence is certainly apparent in the traditional manuscript studies discussed earlier.[69] However, as Eggert goes on to suggest, "the intellectual relativism of the late twentieth century" is helping us to recognise other "constructions" of Lawrence.

This "dialogical" context is relevant to the last two critics I wish to consider in the present survey. As discussed above, Russell McDonald has taken issue with Hilary Simpson's notion of Lawrence as a "literary trespasser" (in *D. H. Lawrence and Feminism*), and examines in greater detail the ways in which Lawrence consistently collaborated with women writers via a series of challenging, critical dialogues. McDonald's textually informed reassessment of Lawrence's collaborations

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[68] Reeve, *Reading Late Lawrence*, p. 39.

[69] Eggert, 'Introduction, p. 1.

with women focuses upon the creative interplay of different, oppositional voices within both the overall process of composition, as well as within narratives.

Discussing Lawrence's collaboration with Louie Burrows, on the short story 'Goose Fair', McDonald notes how Lawrence:

> Envisions their stories as presenting a dialogue between these styles rather than synthesizing them into a single, monologic voice. Moreover, his substitution of "nom de guerre" for "nom de plume" suggests that he wanted the juxtaposition of their "masculine" and "feminine" writing to result in conflict, presumably believing that such conflict could prove useful creatively.[70]

McDonald also discusses narrative voice as dialogical, in his discussion of *The Boy in the Bush*, written by Lawrence in collaboration with Australian writer Mollie Skinner. McDonald notes the manner in which the novel's narrative shifts between distinct styles, marked by first and third-person narration, as well as between past and present tenses, which "disrupt[s] any semblance of a single, authoritative voice guiding us through these events."[71]

McDonald concludes his essay by considering Lawrence (favourably) in the context of other modernist collaborators, as follows:

> Lawrence's complex engagement in collaboration between men and women makes him a more vexing case study for this important aspect of modernism than writers, such as W. B. Yeats and Marianne Moore, who worked with partners of the opposite gender in ways we might find easier to applaud. Few writers embraced the inherent messiness of such collaboration or used it to

[70] McDonald, 5.

[71] McDonald, 20.

> install real gendered conflict in their work more fervently than Lawrence. […] we have seen that the male-female interplay so prevalent in his fiction was not just the product of his solitary genius but often literally inscribed his textual parrying with women. Both famous works […] and lesser-known ones […] contain superb textual evidence of this conflictual yet productive process that adds to our understanding of the modernist zeal to "make it new".[72]

Though these questions move beyond the range of the present thesis, it is important to note that it is precisely McDonald's research into textual process that provides the "superb" evidence of "textual parrying" between the respective authors.

The final study I will consider here is Violeta Sotirova's *D. H. Lawrence and Narrative Viewpoint* (2012), which, before discussing drafts of *Sons and Lovers*, introduces Bakhtinian dialogism in some detail. Sotirova's outline of a dialogical model of language, which focuses on the role of "intersubjectivity" – where, in the writings of Bakhtin and Voloshinov, "for the first time language is treated not as an abstract system or set of grammatical rules, nor as the subjective expression of the individual," and cannot therefore be fully totalized into a single, monological system – echoes the work of Michael Bell in describing dialogism as fundamentally concerned with "relations between utterances expressive of different worldviews."[73] Elsewhere, Sotirova's introductory description of "the dialogic *self*" – where "any attempt at defining personality would mean freezing it in a stale form which is antithetical to human essence, always in a state of flux and becoming" and where the

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[72] McDonald, 22.

[73] Violeta Sotirova, *D. H. Lawrence and Narrative Viewpoint* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), pp. 8-9. In *D. H. Lawrence: language and being*, Bell describes *Women in Love* as "the most radically 'dialogic' of [Lawrence's] novels" (p. 97).

"conception of *the other* as a subject in its own right […] precludes any such definition and is an important prerequisite for the existence of the self" – echoes the visions and revisions of selfhood found in the manuscripts of *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent* discussed in subsequent chapters.[74]

However, Sotirova's study is primarily a stylistic one, considering the relationship between specific stylistic features (such as connectives and repetitions) and dialogical narrative viewpoint, by focusing on Lawrence's novel *Sons and Lovers*. The ostensible aim is to reconcile a debate between single and dual-voice interpretations of "free indirect discourse," by introducing dialogism and by "branching above the level of the sentence and considering passages of viewpoint presentation in context and each sentence in relation to the surrounding co-text."[75]

In terms of Lawrence's processes of writing, Sotirova attempts to place the development of dialogic narrative viewpoint within the author's overall oeuvre and turns, therefore, to "the evidence from manuscripts" to see whether Lawrence intentionally constructed the various stylistic features through revision. Besides the relevance of traditional textual criticism to this examination of Lawrence's *intentions*, this approach to manuscripts is also somewhat in keeping with the genetic study of other modernist authors, where critics often study the self-conscious "construction" of text.

I discuss the latter point in more detail (and in relation to Sotirova) in chapter 2.3 on *Women in Love*. However, in order to tie up the present discussion, in which we have moved from a normative Leavisian narrative about Lawrence's "progress to maturity" to a more relativistic acceptance of multiple viewpoints inspired by

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[74] Sotirova, pp. 5-6. See chapters 2-3.

[75] Sotirova, p. 48.

Bakhtinian dialogicity, it is worth noting the persistence of traditional themes of emergence. These come through via Sotirova's suggestion in *D. H. Lawrence and Narrative Viewpoint* that the drafts of *Sons and Lovers* reveal a significant "break" in Lawrence's development as a writer.

Citing a timeline set out by Keith Sagar in *The Art of D. H. Lawrence* in 1966, Sotirova argues as follows:

> A comparison between *The Trespasser* and *Sons and Lovers* shows us how the style, which was later developed to its full potential in *The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* emerged in the first place. […] Critics of various persuasions have also felt a break in the development of Lawrence's fiction between *The Trespasser* and *Sons and Lovers*.[76]

Despite marking a further development in the study of Lawrence's manuscripts, then, along with each of the other critics discussed towards the end of this chapter, some of whom explicitly criticize existing traditions, textual genesis and the study of writing processes remain largely subsidiary topics within Lawrence studies.

It is in this respect, then, that this thesis seeks to make its main contribution in the chapters which follow, by analyzing the writing and rewriting of two of Lawrence's major novels, *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent*. In doing so, I will provide a clear idea of just how complex and multifarious Lawrences' processes of writing were; how Lawrence explicitly produced entire drafts as a form of preparation for subsequent work; how the tension between the flux of writing and the stasis of the finished text provided a clear grounding for central thematic oppositions in his fiction between stasis and flux, completion and incompletion; how the rhythms of revision find echoes in the fictional content, with a basic counterpoint between constrained and

[76] Sotirova, p. 157.

restful segments; and how perhaps the greatest dilemma for Lawrence when producing his works was the question of how to write an ending.

1

The Composition of *Women in Love* (Expanded Cambridge Version)

Bibliographical Notes		*Version*	*Date*
Pp. 291-6 in Warren Roberts's *Bibiliohraphy of D. H. Lawrence*, MS Catalogue no. E441a	MS ?296pp. 'The Sisters I'	One	March - June 1913
Unfinished; pp. 373-80 in Roberts E441a	MS ?380pp. 'The Sisters II'	Two	August 1913 - January 1914
Not extant	MS ?600pp. 'The Wedding Ring'	Three	February - May 1914
Typed by Dunlop; TCC pp. 219-75, 279-84 in Roberts E331a	TS ?500pp. 'The Wedding Ring' / TCC ?500pp. 'The Wedding Ring'		
Roberts E331a	MS & TCC 811pp. *The Rainbow*	Four	November 1914 - March 1915;
Unfinished first draft; Roberts E441b	MS 55pp. 'The Sisters III'		April 1916;
Pp. 650-863 in Roberts E441C	MS 863pp. 'The Sisters III'		April - June 1916
Pp. 1-368 typed by DHL, pp. 369-666 typed by Pinker: Roberts E441d & e	TSIa 666pp. *The First 'Women in Love'* / TSIb 666pp.	Five	July - November 1916
Roberts E441f	TSII 766pp. *Women in Love*	Six	March 1917 - September 1919
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -		- - - - -	- - - - - - - - - -
Roberts E441g	English Proofs (DHL's set) 508pp. *Women in Love*	Seven	October - November 1920

[1] Extracted from the Cambridge edition of *Women in Love*, ed. by David Farmer, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983). I have modified the table by inserting version "seven," the surviving page proofs for the English edition, as Lawrence's insertion of (all) chapter titles and addition of a new chapter division (within Chapter XXIX) forms a major part of the novel's composition; the editors place this stage in a separate overview of the novel's publication.

2.1

Women in Love: Composition

This section on *Women in Love* consists of four chapters, the first of which (2.1) introduces and reassesses the novel's complex process of composition, while the remaining three provide focused studies of the extant manuscripts, proceeding chronologically, beginning with early fragments (2.2), then moving on to longer notebook fragments (2.3), before finishing up with the extensive typescript drafts (2.4).

The compositional history of *Women in Love* is well-trodden territory and I must credit a number of previous accounts in the presentation of my own.[1] However, whereas previous accounts discuss Lawrence's work and, in particular, the placement of early manuscript fragments in non-problematic terms, my own account emphasizes numerous gaps and uncertainties and also suggests that Lawrence completed a greater number of drafts than the extant materials alone suggest.

As discussed in the preceding chapters, traditional Anglo-American critics tend to focus on the final work when approaching composition and hence the material contingencies of specific processes of writing are often overlooked, in favour of a

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[1] See Mark Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and The Marble', 'Introduction' to *The Rainbow*, and *D. H. Lawrence: From Triumph to Exile, 1912-1922*; see also Charles L. Ross *The Composition of* The Rainbow *and* Women in Love, as well as the 'Introduction' to *Women in Love*, ed. by David Farmer, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987) and the 'Introduction' to *The First 'Women in Love'*, ed. by John Worthen and Lindeth Vasey (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998).

more general narrative about the writer or work's so-called progress to maturity. The stemmatic table at the top of this chapter, extracted from the Cambridge edition of *Women in Love*, may be used as a reference point throughout as it provides a helpful summary of the basic chronology and surviving materials, which I will be detailing and discussing in more detail in the following chapters (2.2-4). However, the division of the various materials into distinct "versions" and the provision of the series of titles 'Sisters I', 'Sisters II' and 'Sisters III' in this table provide a misleading sense of certainty, which reflects the current general consensus and which I challenge here.

Besides raising a number of points that complicate the existing consensus (I provide a recapitulation of these at the end of the chapter), unlike most previous accounts, I also reflect on Lawrence's methods of writing, beginning in the first section with a consideration of Lawrence's peculiar preparations for writing.

Pre-genesis: Lawrentian preparations for writing

Lawrence began writing a draft for a novel subsequently entitled 'The Sisters' in March 1913, towards the end of his stay with Frieda Weekley in Gargnano, on Lake Garda in Italy, where he lived from September 1912 to March 1913. This work evolved through perhaps a dozen separate, major phases of writing and included the publication of an initial volume entitled *The Rainbow* in 1915, before it eventually resulted in *Women in Love*, which was published privately in the USA in November 1920 and publicly in England in June 1921, more than eight years after its initial inception; this period of time covers over a third of Lawrence's entire career. As I discuss in more detail in the next chapter (2.2), however, despite so much rewriting and revision, some of the central characters, character dynamics and thematic

concerns were already in place in the very earliest drafts, as indicated by the earliest piece of extant work, a six-page fragment referred to as 'The Sisters I'.

One of the major arguments of this thesis is that Lawrence's mode of writing and revision, which represents an alternative to the type of modernist writing more frequently studied by genetic critics such as Dirk van Hulle, Finn Fordham and Hannah Sullivan, is better understood using a metaphor of "dialogism," as opposed to the more familiar metaphors for writing of "constructivism" and "organicism."[2] While the subsequent compositional history and, above all, the manuscripts themselves furnish the best evidence of Lawrence's methods of writing, the aforementioned distinction can also be registered at the outset by considering briefly the novel's pre-genesis. As Lawrence almost certainly had some pre-conception of the novel before beginning a draft in March 1913, what then were his preparations and expectations for the novel? Unlike the modernist giants Proust, Mann, and Joyce, all of whom admired Gustave Flaubert and his notion of the writer as *métier*, and, like Flaubert, made direct (and often prodigious) preparations in the form of plans, outlines, notes and sketches, Lawrence's preparations were indirect and diffuse (often prodigiously so).[3]

Having finally "completed" his latest novel *Sons and Lovers* in November 1912 – though it was not published until May 1913, following extensive work by its editor Edward Garnett – Lawrence, who, in August 1912, had already "thought of a new novel – purely of the common people – fearfully interesting" (i. 431), quickly conceived and began writing *four* separate novels to follow it up between December 1912 and March 1913, abandoning each one in turn before starting the next. However,

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[2] Almuth Grésillon outlines these metaphors in 'Slow: work in progress'.

[3] See Dirk van Hulle's *Textual Awareness*, for a concise and comparative genetic study of these specific authors.

Lawrence's almost comic level of creativity was not restricted solely to these successive projects for a novel, which I describe below. In the period from August 1912, when he first conceived "a new novel," while writing *Sons and Lovers*, to March 1913, when he began writing 'The Sisters' itself, Lawrence also wrote: several pieces of travel writing on Germany, which reflect on his recent journey on foot across the Alps, two plays, one of which (*The Daughter-in-Law*), both Mark Kinkead-Weekes and John Worthen suggest is possibly Lawrence's best piece of drama, a short philosophical 'Foreword to *Sons and Lovers*', a short story entitled 'The Overtone', a review of *Georgian Poetry 1911-1912* for Mansfield and Murry's *Rhythm* magazine, and a further three pieces of travel writing on Italy, which comprised the 'By the Lago di Gada' series, initially published in the *English Review* in September 1913 and later collected in *Twilight in Italy* (1916).[4]

Throughout his career, this level and range of activity was fairly normal for Lawrence and this indicates that the activities and rhythms of writing were themselves a major spur for his creativity. However, what of the specific projects for a novel? A first idea, a novel "purely of the common people," mentioned by Lawrence in August 1912, appears to have been abandoned before it began, with the title 'Scargill Street'

[4] For a more detailed discussion of each of these items see Kinkead-Weekes, *From Triumph to Exile*, pp. 55-68; Lawrence's writings are also listed in Appendix 1 of this volume (see pp. 730-731). Kinkead-Weekes praises *The Daughter-in-Law* on p. 60 and Worthen says the same in 'Drama and Mimicry in Lawrence', collected in *D. H. Lawrence and Comedy*, pp.19-44, p. 21.

mooted in October but never repeated (i. 466).[5] Having posted *Sons and Lovers* to Garnett in November, Lawrence mentioned a completely new project in December: a part historical novel, part fictionalized adaptation, based on the life of legendary Scottish poet Robert Burns (late 18th century) but set in the Midlands, on the Notts/Derby border. Although the surviving draft fragments demonstrate that this effort at least got off its legs, Lawrence abandoned this project after only a month or so, as attested to by the fact that, towards the end of December, having "stewed my next novel inside me for a week or so," Lawrence began "dishing up" (i. 496) a new, unspecified novel.[6] However, Lawrence ditched this third project even more rapidly than the Burns novel: by 12 January 1913 he was "simmering a new work" (i. 501), which he admitted "may not come off" (i. 501), and of which, by January 17, he had already "written 80 pages" (i. 505). Despite his reservations, the length of work completed indicated that Lawrence was much more committed to the fourth project, which he described as "a most curious work" (i. 505), "a weird thing" (i. 525) and "a

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[5] However, both the subject matter (the working class) and the title (a street in Lawrence's home town of Eastwood) relate to the two plays written around this time (*The Fight for Barbara* and *The Daughter-in-Law*) as well as to some of the projected novels.

[6] The surviving fragments of 'A Burns Novel' are published in Edward Nehls, *D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography, Vol. 1, 1885-1919* (Madison: Wisconsin UP, 1957), pp. 184-195. Critics suggest the subsequent unspecified novel was probably based on the Cullen family of Eastwood (Florence Cullen nursed Lawrence's mother on her deathbed, while she and her father, George Henry Cullen, provided a basis for James and Alvina Houghton in *The Lost Girl*), making use of material removed from 'Paul Morel' (a work in progress later retitled *Sons and Lovers*) and traceable to the 'Elsa Culverwell' fragment housed at Southern Illinois University; see James T. Boulton's suggestion in Lawrence's letters (i. p. 496), or Kinkead-Weekes in *Triumph to Exile*, p. 59.

most fascinating (to me) novel […] so new, so really a stratum deeper than I think anybody has ever gone, in a novel" (i. 526). However, already noting a plan on 11 March to "stick at it, get it done, and then write another" (i. 526), and despite having completed "200 pages" of "a novel I love," the fourth novel was apparently "*too* improper" and, in mid-March, Lawrence "put it aside to do a pot-boiler" (i. 536).[7] By 22 March, Lawrence had already completed "46 pages" of this "new, lighter novel" (i. 530). However, despite intending it to be "absolutely impeccable" (i. 526), by 5 April, having reached "page 110," the latter novel had already "developed into an earnest and painful work – God help it and me" (i. 536). Lawrence would complete a first full draft of this fifth project, entitled 'The Sisters', two months later, writing Garnett to confirm receipt of the "second half" (ii. 20) on 10 June.

In his account of Lawrence's work during these months, Kinkead-Weekes imposes some teleological order upon the creative flux, first anticipating *The Lost Girl* by suggesting that "the newly imagined sympathy with 'the common people,'" alluded to by Lawrence in his first idea 'Scargill Street', had "by no means lessened" in subsequent projects but "was merely coming out now in anti-bourgeois form" with "a heroine who must escape the deathly enclosure of class and money," in the fourth project 'The Insurrection of Miss Alvina Houghton', and then anticipating *The Rainbow* by suggesting that Lawrence's subsequent 'Foreword to *Sons and Lovers*' represented not a retrospective foreword to *Sons and Lovers* but an anticipatory foreword "to a deeper fiction, still to be written, about both marriage and

[7] Lawrence didn't mention a title for the deserted work until May 1913, when he referred, "provisionally," to 'The Insurrection of Miss Houghton' (i. 546). Lawrence eventually returned to this work after having completed *Women in Love* and it was eventually published as *The Lost Girl* in 1920.

integration."[8] These narratives bring sense to the overall work, but they seem generalised in relation to specific projects and they also pre-empt the dimension of contingency. How does Lawrence's second effort, to fictionalise the life of Burns, fit into these schemas? While it may relate to "the newly imagined sympathy with 'the common people,'" Lawrence's contingent reading material at the time (a biography of Burns) is more directly relevant.

Rather than anticipate final works, another way to make sense of these projects is to consider Lawrence's general method of writing. In the essay 'D. H. Lawrence: Spontaneity and Revision as Aesthetic', Michael Black has described Lawrence's method as follows:

> Lawrence found himself working on a number of works which he had initially composed, often very rapidly, in a free improvisatory mode. He always wrote fast, and could produce a draft in days or weeks rather than months. He then often laid aside what he had written for a future reworking, while he embarked on something else. In this way he had at any given time a number of works in progress, at different stages of composition. His normal procedure was to bring them towards eventual publication by revising them more than once, sometimes very radically, taking them through a number of manuscript and, after 1912, typescript drafts, and then later revising again in proof. So the scholar who wants to pursue the writing life in detail would not only have to move from draft to draft of any one work, but from this draft of one work to that draft of another, and then perhaps to the inception of a third or fourth

[8] Kinkead-Weekes, *From Triumph to Exile*, pp. 59-64. Kinkead-Weekes likewise incorporates 'The Overtone' into the latter schema: "not much of a story, and perhaps over-lyricised – but it marks yet another step behind mere stories of character, motive and blame" (p. 66).

> distinct work before returning to the next draft of the first work.[9]

I agree with some of this account but also feel it is too generalised. In pursuing "the writing life" and jumping from work to work, it overlooks more local writing processes. For example, while Lawrence might have completed drafts of *poems* in "days," short stories would usually take "weeks," while he usually did require "months" to complete a draft for a novel. The sense of speed is therefore exaggerated. Likewise, Lawrence's "improvisatory" mode is only relatively "free" in the sense of working without a concrete plan, which is not to say that he didn't have specific ideas for his work, while the very fact that "his normal procedure" was to revise more than once indicates that his initial "improvisation" was itself a kind of *preparatory* work (anticipating "sometimes very radical" revision).

Whereas, in the following chapters of this thesis, we find Lawrence repeatedly reworking old material by retaining some passages and extensively rewriting others, Black suggests, much more drastically, that there is often a "rift between draft versions, which is so drastic, one has to go beyond the notion of detailed revision of a steadily evolving text, and to posit a process of returning to a source."[10] Here, a generalised sense of the writing and exaggerated notions of speed and spontaneity lead to the reductive notion of "returning to a source." Recurring organicist metaphors in Black's essay are equally limited: "the best metaphor would be Lawrence's: the growth and flowering of a perpetual plant was his own model […] producing first these flowers, then those. Yet they are all from the same originating organism"; "Lawrence at these points began again, dived back into the pool of spontaneity where

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[9] Michael Black, 'D. H. Lawrence: Spontaneity and Revision as Aesthetic', *The Cambridge Quarterly*, 28:2 (1999), 150-166, 150.

[10] Black, 'Spontaneity and Revision as Aesthetic', 154.

he always started, and which he always trusted more than second and third thoughts"; "Lawrence seeded and flowered for a score of seasons; and while each flower was unique, they are all from the parent plant, identifiable and comparable, unique and generic."[11]

While I do find Black's point about Lawrence's opposition to Flaubert with reference to their contrasting methods of writing helpful, as is Black's suggestion that a more flexible sense of planning prevents the limitations of pre-determination (if a plan is too stringent, the author is no wiser at the end than he was at the beginning), I also find Black's conclusions to be restrictively generalised. Rather than posit a "steadily evolving text" as a modernist counterpoint to Lawrence, I believe the model of textual "construction" is more accurate. Furthermore, rather than posit organicist metaphors, or the similarly mystifying notion of "returning to a source," by studying Lawrence's specific processes of writing in subsequent chapters, I offer a model of "dialogism" as a more positive way of mapping Lawrence's mode of writing.[12]

Lawrence's array of projects may appear erratic, but the steady progression from one to the next is itself workmanlike and methodical. Rather than fitfully changing course, Lawrence was perhaps working out his project through a number of trial runs. Incidentally, Lawrence seems to have worked with increasingly less pre-conceptualisation as he went along, starting out with a concept and a title ('Scargill Street'), which he apparently never began, and ending with substantial drafts which only subsequently received titles ('The Insurrection of Miss Houghton' and 'The

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[11] Black, 'Spontaneity and Revision as Aesthetic', 151-152, 154 and 165.

[12] I have provided a brief outline of this concept of "dialogism" in the 'Introduction'. It is developed in more detail during discussions of Lawrence's specific revisions and rewritings in the subsequent chapters.

Sisters'). Perhaps, having written three previous novels, each of which had lengthy pre-lives in the form of biography or autobiography, Lawrence had to work his way through an unravelling series of plans before he could successfully produce a new type of novel via improvisation (which his famously bemused reports on 'The Sisters' suggest: "I am doing a novel which I have never grasped. Damn its eyes, there I am at page 145, and I've no idea what it's about" (i. 544); "I have written 180 pages of my newest novel 'The Sisters'. It is a queer novel, which seems to have come by itself" (i. 546)). Furthermore, while Lawrence may have abandoned numerous efforts beforehand, he ended up working on the final project, 'The Sisters', for many years and it resulted in two long and highly acclaimed novels.

The inception of 'The Sisters' is, however, complicated by Lawrence's supposed desire to produce a "pot boiler," which stemmed from his financial vulnerability having resigned his post as a teacher. We mustn't underestimate Lawrence's ability to plan work mentally. On 'The Insurrection of Miss Houghton', for example, Lawrence commented "I shall write it as long as I like to start with, then write it smaller. I must always write my books twice" (i. 517), which suggests both freedom ("I shall write it as long as I like") and discipline ("to start with, then write it smaller. I must always write my books twice"). In this case, Lawrence's internal plan also became clearer or more fixed as the draft developed, as, once he reached two hundred pages, Lawrence suggested he had "written more than half" (i. 526). Similarly, once Lawrence had written "180 pages" of his next project, 'The Sisters', he was able to suggest (accurately) that the first draft would "only have 300 pages" (i. 546).[13] Finally, as his comments on 'Miss Houghton' indicate ("I must always write

[13] In early June 1913, Lawrence provided a final update on the length of the first draft: "I have nearly finished The Sisters – p. 283" (ii. 20).

my books twice"), redrafting seems to have been a conscious method for Lawrence, something he could take into account while writing a (provisional) draft. Among other drawbacks then, organicist metaphors, such as those adopted by Black, negate this type of intentionality.

Rewriting: multiple drafts

As with 'Miss Houghton' (see quotations above), Lawrence suggested an intention to write a second draft of 'The Sisters' before he had actually finished the first. On this occasion, however, his decision was possibly precipitated by criticism from Garnett as his first allusion to rewriting, in a May 17 letter to Garnett, came explicitly in response to this: "I was glad of your letter about the Sisters. Don't schimpf, I shall make it all right when I re-write it. I shall put it in the third person" (i. 550).[14]

On a separate note, this quotation also reveals a first major uncertainty in our understanding of the compositional history of *Women in Love*, as it problematizes the placement of the earliest extant fragment. Critics refer to the aforementioned fragment as 'The Sisters I', which is supported by the following triangulation of evidence: Lawrence indicated that the first draft was around 300 pages in length, the fragment is paginated 291-296 and its narrative content corresponds to a climactic moment in the novel (see 2.2 for a detailed discussion of the fragment). However, Lawrence's

[14] In another letter to Garnett a few days later, when sending the second half of the draft on May 19, Lawrence adds: "I wonder how you like 'The Sisters'. Not much, I am afraid […]. Never mind, you can tell me what fault you find, and I can re-write the book" (i. 550). Ross's forceful suggestion that Lawrence "was already aware that it would need to be completely rewritten" may also be true (Ross, *The Composition of* The Rainbow *and* Women in Love, pp. 15-16).

repeated implication that the first draft was written in the first person ("I shall put it in the third person") undermines the argument that the fragment belonged to the first draft of 'The Sisters'.[15]

To return to Garnett's criticism, however, while it is possible to judge the impact upon Lawrence, we do not know the precise nature of Garnett's responses to any of Lawrence's drafts for 'The Sisters' or 'The Wedding Ring' (as it was later re-titled) as we only have Lawrence's letters to go by. Garnett's initial criticism was addressed to the first half of the first 'Sisters' draft, which Lawrence had sent first. Lawrence's response is very short (one paragraph), however, and encourages Garnett not to hold back ("don't schimpf"), which suggests that Garnett had merely expressed disapproval without providing a critique. Lawrence's description of the first draft as "a first crude fermenting" and his suggestion that he would make it "right" and "make it into art now," in the same letter, also indicate that Garnett's reservations may have concerned *form*, or at least that this was Lawrence's concern with respect to Garnett.

Lawrence began work on a second draft of 'The Sisters' in August 1913; having spent the intervening months in England, he had returned to Irschenhausen that month and stayed there until late September. Though Lawrence reported "two false-starts" (ii. 67) on 24 August, by 4 September the new draft had "quite a new beginning – a new basis altogether" (ii. 68) and Lawrence had completed "a hundred pages" (ii. 74) by 15 September. Writing was then interrupted for a month or so, however, as Lawrence travelled across the Alps and waited several weeks for the postal service to forward his manuscript from Munich. On 31 October, having settled

[15] Lawrence repeats this suggestion in another letter (June 1) to Garnett: "I am rather keen to re-write it in the third person" (ii. 20).

in Fiascherino in Italy where he would remain until June 1914, Lawrence updated Garnett as follows:

> I am just getting sufficiently unrooted to begin work again. I was a fool to move in the midst of a flow. If the Sisters is late, it'll be my fault this time. (ii. 99)

Lawrence once again suggests self-conscious spontaneity here, as he apparently works to get himself "sufficiently unrooted," in order to restart the "flow" of writing.

"False-starts" and interruptions appear to have made work on the second draft slow. In a letter to Garnett on 30 December, in which he indicates a new title, Lawrence anticipated sending "the first half of the Sisters – which I should rather call The Wedding Ring – to Duckworths" in "a few days" (ii. 132). While work appears to have been slow, Lawrence seems to have become more committed to the project, sending it "to Duckworths" (his publisher) rather than to Garnett in a personal capacity, and also more defensive in anticipating Garnett's disappointment, acknowledging he would "be sorry if you don't like it, but am prepared" (ii. 132). Similarly, having dispatched the first half, Lawrence reported to Garnett on 6 January 1914 that, although "there may be some small weeding out to do," and again anticipating Garnett "may not find it as exciting," he was confident "this will be the final form of the book. I really think it is good," expected to "finish it in six weeks – perhaps in eight" and hoped they might "rush quickly into print" (ii. 134-5). Just a few days later, on 10 January, in a letter to a friend Lawrence claimed that he had "nearly finished" the novel (ii. 136), though this was probably relative to the overall process (which began in March 1913), while in another letter on 19 January, Lawrence reported having done "340 pages" (ii. 137), which tells us the second draft was already longer than the first prior to its completion.

By 29 January, however, Lawrence had received another disappointing response from Garnett, who appears to have written a more detailed critique in response to the first half of the second draft; in a remark which seems deeply understated, Lawrence suggested in his reply to Garnett, "I am not very much surprised, nor very much hurt by your letter" (ii. 142). In his reply, Lawrence summarised and agreed with the following specific points: "to your two main criticisms, that the Templeman episode is wrong, and that the character of Ella is incoherent, I agree."[16] Lawrence also distinguished these criticisms from a more general point "about the artistic side being in the background," which troubled him. The letter therefore registered an emerging split between Lawrence and Garnett: Lawrence is willing to criticize specific content but not to condemn "the new style," which he had already suggested was "*very* different from *Sons and Lovers* […] another language almost" (ii. 132). At this point, however, acknowledging that he "must write to live," Lawrence suggested that, if the second half also disappointed Garnett, he would "abandon the exhaustive method entirely" and "write pure object and story" (ii.143).

As in May 1913, then, having received Garnett's disapproval of the first half of a draft, Lawrence once again planned to "go over it all again" (ii. 142) before he had even finished the second half of the draft in January 1914. By 7 February, Lawrence had indeed "begun it again" (ii. 144) and he wrote what appears to have been the third full-length draft between February and May.

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[16] Ursula was originally named Ella (her name is revised in the first manuscript of *The Rainbow*); she and Ben Templeman (an early lover) appear in the second extant fragment (discussed in Chapter 2.2).

On this occasion, Lawrence had Thomas Dunlop, the British Consul in Spezia, type the draft up as he wrote it (ii. 152) and this level of conviction was further reflected in Lawrence's letter to Garnett on 22 April: "I am sure of this now, this novel. It is a big and beautiful work" (ii. 164). In the same letter, while still acknowledging the underlying necessity to publish – "I *must* have money for my novels, to live" (ii. 166) – Lawrence also suggested he would no longer accept disapproval: "if Duckworth is not really *keen* on this novel, we will give it to Pinker" (ii. 166).

Lawrence completed this version of 'The Wedding Ring', which he described as "a magnum opus with a vengeance" (ii. 173), in mid-May: "the novel is finished, and I have gone through the sheets" (ii. 174). However, Lawrence once again re-christened the novel, this time as 'The Rainbow': "a better title than the Wedding Ring, for the book as it is" (ii. 174). Though, like the previous full-length drafts of 'The Sisters', the majority of this typescript is lost, a lengthy fragment survived as Lawrence interpolated this segment into the first manuscript of *The Rainbow* (this, the third early fragment, is also discussed in detail in 2.2).

Break in work, outbreak of War

At this point, despite Lawrence's belief in this version of the novel, work on the project stalled for several months. Having posted the typescript to Garnett for Duckworth, Lawrence and Frieda left Italy in June 1914 in order to visit family in Germany and England and get married, with the express intention of returning to Italy in September (cf. ii. 166 and 170), when Lawrence presumably planned to complete the novel. In the meantime, Lawrence had received a very substantial offer of £300 for the novel's rights from Pinker and another hostile reception to his draft from

Garnett. In a famous letter of 5 June, in which he reflects on futurism, criticizes "the old-fashioned human element" and "the certain moral scheme" for characters in fiction, advises Garnett not "to look in my novel for the old stable ego" but for "allotropic states" and "some other rhythmic form," which is "not perfect" but is "the real thing" and "takes lines unknown" (ii. 182-84), Lawrence responded outright to Garnett: "I don't agree with you about the Wedding Ring" (ii. 182).[17] Subsequently, Lawrence decided to take the English volume rights elsewhere (ii. 174) and signed an agreement with Methuen at the end of June (ii. 189).

Although it seems Garnett regretted Lawrence's decision (ii. 189), Lawrence had made Pinker's interest as well as his own financial situation clear to Garnett on more than one occasion.[18] More importantly, perhaps, as the more general argument about form in the above letter indicates, Lawrence had effectively reached a terminal disagreement with Garnett on aesthetic grounds; whereas Garnett was seeking to emulate the form of *Sons and Lovers*, which had partly been achieved as a result of Garnett's own editorial role, Lawrence was seeking a new departure for the novel.[19]

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[17] For the impact of Marinetti and futurism on Lawrence, see Andrew Harrison, *D. H. Lawrence and Futurism* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003).

[18] For example, in the January 29 letter to Garnett, Lawrence reported: "I've got just over £50 now, in the bank. It must last into May" (ii. 143). Lawrence also notified Garnett of Pinker's interests in April (ii. 166).

[19] According to Kinkead-Weekes, Lawrence "now realized he was 'after' no less than a revolutionary break with the classical European novel; and that this meant inevitable difficulty, even for the most intelligent and sympathetic of readers whose sensibilities had been developed within nineteenth-century concepts of character and of form" (*Triumph to Exile*, p. 152).

Lawrence made up for the withdrawal of his novel from Duckworth by offering a book of short stories in its place. As a result, work on the novel was laid aside for several months while Lawrence gathered and worked on stories for the collection. This collection was published as *The Prussian Officer and Other Stories* in November and was again edited by once again, who even chose the title, much to Lawrence's chagrin:

> Garnett was a devil to call my book of stories *The Prussian Officer* – what Prussian Officer? (ii. 241)

Besides this particular interruption, however, the period from June to November 1914, when Lawrence restarted work on the novel, does not so much represent a "break" as a *rupture* in the novel's history of composition as, by the time Lawrence returned to his novel, Britain had declared war on Germany; to say the least, the Lawrences' travel plans were irrevocably altered (they weren't able to attain passports to leave the country until 1919).

During this break, besides one major publication (the *Prussian Officer* collection), Lawrence also wrote a number of other pieces, including the lengthy 'Study of Thomas Hardy' ("in reality a sort of Confessions of my Heart" (ii. 235)). Furthermore, Lawrence made a host of new acquaintances who would have a major impact on the rest of life, as well as his posthumous legacy, including: Catherine Carswell, Amy Lowell, Richard Aldington, H. D., S. S. Koteliansky, Lady Ottoline Morrell (who would later introduce Lawrence to E. M. Forster, Bertrand Russell and Aldous Huxley, among others), Compton Mackenzie, John Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield.

For insight into why this period may be considered as representing a symbolic "rupture," it is worth looking briefly at a lesser-known piece entitled 'With the Guns',

written by Lawrence during this break and published in the *Manchester Guardian* (now *The Guardian*) on 18 August 1914: exactly two weeks after Britain entered the war.[20] Lawrence begins with a journalistic account of his own recent passage through Barrow station, where he had witnessed reservists "leaving for London by the nine o'clock train […] they were young men, some of them drunk," and recalls a woman who "stood before the carriage window" with her sweetheart and cried ""Well, so-long!" […] as the train began to move," and, finally, ""When you see 'em let 'em have it,"" to which the man replied ""Ay, no fear,"" and "the train was gone, the man grinning." In the remainder of the article, Lawrence, who, the previous autumn (in the break between the composition of the first and second full drafts of 'The Sisters'), had "followed the Bavarian army down the Isar valley and near the foot of the Alps," reflects on "what it would really be like, "when he saw 'em"":

> I could see what war would be like – an affair entirely of machines, with men attached to the machines as the subordinate part thereof, as the butt is the part of a rifle […] the unnatural suspense and suppression of serving a machine which, for ought we knew, was killing our fellow-men, whilst we stood there, blind, without knowledge or participation, subordinate […] this was the glamour and the glory […] who would have been torn, killed, no one would have known. There would just have been a hole in the living shadowy mass; that was all. Who it was did not matter. There were no individuals, and every

[20] Kinkead-Weekes discusses this piece very briefly in *Triumph to Exile* (p. 151), to which I owe the reference to Barrow Station. Philip Skelton has also discussed this piece in his thesis 'D. H. Lawrence: Lawrentian Politics and Ideology' (pp. 1-5), submitted to the University of Nottingham in 2002. Both discussions are mainly descriptive and use the article as evidence of Lawrence's mood concerning, and response towards the War.

> soldier knew it. He was a fragment of a mass, and as a fragment of a mass he must live and die or be torn. He had no right, no self, no being. […] It is a war of artillery, a war of machines, and men no more than the subjective material of the machine. It is so unnatural as to be unthinkable.
>
> Yet we must think of it.[21]

Anticipating the traumatic nature of the war, "so unnatural as to be unthinkable," the article compels its readers to confront this "unthinkable" reality – mass, mechanised warfare – "Yet we must think of it." While the confrontation with traumatic realities may exist as a theme in some of Lawrence's earliest writings, such as the confrontation with death in 'Odour of Chrysanthemums', the article registers the increasingly urgent and public context of this theme.[22] The article also indicates the increasingly symbolic notion of a *temporal* crisis.[23] Consider the following snapshot:

> I remember standing on a little round hill one August afternoon. There was a beautiful blue sky, and white clouds from the mountains. Away on the right,

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[21] D. H. Lawrence, 'With the Guns', *Twilight in Italy and Other Stories*, ed. Paul Eggert (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), pp. 81-84. The article is also accessible online via *The Guardian* website: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/18/first-world-war-dh-lawrence-1914-with-the-guns.

[22] A few months later, in a letter attaching the first hundred pages of a new draft of *The Rainbow* (5 December to Pinker, see below), Lawrence suggested the war "kicks the pasteboard bottom in the usual 'good' popular novel. People have felt much more deeply and strongly these last few months, and they are not going to let themselves be taken in by 'serious' works whose feeling is shallower than that of the official army reports" (ii. 240).

[23] For a discussion of this theme in relation to modernist culture more generally, see Armstrong, *Modernism*, pp. 6-23.

> amid woods and corn-clad hills, lay the big Starnberg lake. This is just a year ago, but it seems to belong to some period outside of time.

One can imagine Lawrence may have felt something similar when he returned to the 'Wedding Ring' typescript at some point in November 1914.

Having completed work on the *Prussian Officer* collection, though Lawrence reported to Pinker on 31 October, "I don't feel quite in the humour for tackling the novel just now" (ii. 227), he did intend to "go over the whole thing thoroughly" (ii. 228) and work was well under way by 5 December, when he sent Pinker "the first hundred or so pages" (ii. 240). Lawrence referred to this process variously as "rewriting" (ii. 239), "writing over" (ii. 240), and "revising" (ii. 255), and a new full-length draft, which he now referred to exclusively as *The Rainbow*, was indeed under way. Lawrence originally intended to "finish the thing by the end of January – perhaps earlier" (ii. 240) and by 5 January 1915 he had completed "300 pages" (ii. 255). However, a drastic change of plan had occurred by 7 January, when Lawrence sent Pinker "another hundred pages of the novel" and announced a new intention: rather than complete a single novel, he would "split the book into two volumes: it was so unwieldy. It needs to be in two volumes" (ii. 256). Mirroring the symbolic rupture of the preceding months, then, the novel itself fragmented in January 1915.

Going back for a moment to the letter of 29 January 1914, in which Lawrence agreed with Garnett's criticism "that the character of Ella is incoherent," but insisted "I *must* have Ella get some experience before she meets her Mr Birkin" (ii. 142), it seems Lawrence's labour-intensive solution to this critique of his protagonist's coherence was to excavate Ella/Ursula's familial prehistory by introducing two extra generational levels to the Brangwen family in the February-May 1914 work on 'The

Wedding Ring'.[24] Initially rewriting the resulting "magnum opus" from November 1914-January 1915, however, it seems Lawrence split the project by suspending the narrative after Ursula's "experience before," saving the introduction of "her Mr Birkin" for a subsequent volume.

Lawrence had effectively set aside the originally titular relationship between the sisters Ursula and Gudrun, as well as their respective relationships with Birkin, Gerald and Loerke, which occupy most of the eventual narrative of *Women in Love*. As a result, there was a virtual gap of nearly two years in the compositional history of *Women in Love*, from May 1914 to April 1916. During this time Lawrence first worked on *The Rainbow*: finishing the original manuscript by 2 March 1915 (ii. 299), extensively revising the subsequent typescript (and occasionally inserting fresh autograph sheets) from March to May (ii. 349), before further revising proofs from July-August in preparation for the novel's eventual publication on 30 September 1915.

Typically, Lawrence was already at work on a number of other projects before the completion of *The Rainbow*, though most of these were completed after its publication. Lawrence wrote several short stories, including 'England, My England' and 'The Thimble'; made plans to lecture on the topic of social reconstruction with Bertrand Russell; put a similar idea into practice by setting up a short-lived magazine entitled *The Signature*, with John Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield, which put out three issues between October and November 1915 and for which Lawrence wrote an allegorical series of essays entitled 'The Crown'; he wrote a second philosophical essay/allegory entitled 'Goats and Compasses' (now lost); worked on

[24] The content of the 'Wedding Ring' typescript is indicated by Alfred Kuttner reader's report, which can bee found in 'Appendix III' of *TR*, pp. 181-188.

numerous pieces of travel writing, which resulted in the publication of *Twilight in Italy* in June 1916; finally, he had also been at work on his second collection of poetry, entitled *Amores*, which came out in July.

Return to 'The Sisters': Women in Love and the travails of typing

As a result of this work, not to mention the acrimonious seizure and banning of *The Rainbow* in November, which Methuen blankly refused to defend, it was not until late April 1916 that Lawrence finally returned to complete his original project, 'The Sisters' (ii. 599).[25] Having arrived in London back in June 1914, Lawrence had moved around multiple times in the interim: from Kensington to Chesham, in Buckinghamshire, for the remainder of 1914, from there to Greatham in Sussex and then Hampstead in London during 1915, before moving to Cornwall in December 1915, where he would remain until October 1917.

In March 1916, Lawrence had suggested he was "not quite sure" what to do, but, if he could retrieve a manuscript from Germany, he would get to work on 'The Insurrection of Miss Houghton' (ii. 580). The second inception of *Women in Love* (April 1916) therefore echoes the first (March 1913), with an array of prior work and the possibility of an alternative project for a novel. As with 'The Sisters', Lawrence

[25] In a solemn description, reaffirmed by the majority of Lawrence critics, Kinkead-Weekes suggests "it is impossible to exaggerate the effect on Lawrence himself, on his conception of his audience and therefore on the nature of his work, of the destruction of *The Rainbow* in the England of 1915," in *TR*, p. li. For reinforcement of the argument that Lawrence's relationship with his audience radically altered after *The Rainbow*, see Bell, *D. H. Lawrence: language and being*, Eggert, 'Introduction' to *Lawrence and Comedy* and Worthen, 'Drama and Mimicry in Lawrence' in the same collection.

also appears to have begun writing a (new) full-length draft without any concrete plan. On 16 April, Lawrence reported that he was still "waiting for a novel manuscript to come from Germany" (ii. 595). Ten days later, however, he had begun "a new novel" (ii. 599).

Given the amount of ground that had been covered since writing the early drafts in 1913-14, it is unsurprising that, in a bid to produce what he described to Barbara Low on 1 May as "the second half of the *Rainbow*" (ii. 602), Lawrence had decided to rewrite once more. However, while Lawrence describes the work as a "new novel" and, a few days later, as "a thing that is a stranger to me even as I write it. I don't know what the end will be" (ii. 604), our sense of pure spontaneity should again be qualified. Besides the likelihood that Lawrence had been reflecting on the work for months if not years beforehand, characters, character dynamics and even some specific scenarios were closely based on the earlier drafts of 'The Sisters' and the 'Wedding Ring'/'Rainbow', as the following chapter will demonstrate (see 2.2). Furthermore, as Lawrence once again ended up producing a succession of drafts, the "first" draft (of April 1916) itself functioned as a type of "plan" for subsequent work.

Having restarted work, Lawrence progressed through successive drafts from April to November 1916. By the end of May, Lawrence reported, "two thirds of the novel are written," and claimed, "I have not travailed over it" (ii. 614), and later that "it has come rushing out" (ii. 617). However, it was not until a month later that, on 30 June, Lawrence declared "I have finished 'The Sisters', in effect," and pondered returning to Duckworth: "I like him because he treats my books so well" (ii. 619). Lawrence's qualification about finishing ("in effect") is noteworthy: he expanded on this a few days later by suggesting, "I have finished my novel – except for a bit that can be done any time" (ii. 621). Five months later, in November, finishing a

subsequent version of the work, Lawrence again reported, in slightly more detail: "I have finished my novel – save the last chapter, which, a sort of epilogue, I shall add later on" (iii. 25). Whereas prior critics have accepted this as a purely practical matter, I believe these hesitations reveal an underlying reluctance in Lawrence to consider the work "finished." This question of endings is a very rich one and I discuss it in greater detail in relation to *Women in Love* at the end of Chapters 2.3 and 2.4 and again, in relation to *The Plumed Serpent*, in 3.2, where it forms the focus of my final primary chapter.

Having finished his initial draft in a series of notebooks (discussed in 2.3) and having "only six pounds in the world" (ii. 630), Lawrence decided he would "try to type it" himself in July (ii. 627). The history of composition from July-November is much more confusing, however, involving a debacle with the typewriter, and I will describe this brief period in more minute detail in order to establish what appear to be two separate drafts produced by Lawrence, whereas previous commentators have only distinguished one.

After a week or so in July, Lawrence "gave up typing the novel: it got on my nerves and knocked me up" and "began scribbling out the final draft in pencil" (ii. 637). However, if Lawrence was merely typing up, what was there to scribble out? Clearly Lawrence had been rewriting the initial draft on the typewriter and he therefore proceeded to scribble out this new version by hand. In the same letter to Pinker (21 July), Lawrence described this version as "the fourth and final draft" and claimed it was "⅘ done" (ii. 637). As we will see, Lawrence's numbering of drafts can be sketchy. However, if we wanted to frame the aforementioned draft as a "fourth" version, it would probably be in the following series: (1) March-June 1913;

(2) August 1913-May 1914; (3) April-June 1916; (4) July 1916.[26] Despite vowing "never will I type again" (ii. 638) in July, Lawrence reported to Amy Lowell on 23 August, at which point he had probably finished the aforementioned draft, that he was "typing out a new novel" and that his typewriter had "at last become a true confrère"; in a humorous echo of Birkin's offer to Gerald in *Women in Love*, Lawrence goes on to suggest, "I and the typewriter have sworn a Blutbrüderschaft" (ii. 645).

Tracking back for a moment, as a more discreet method of supporting Lawrence, who was fairly indigent throughout the war, Amy Lowell had herself donated the typewriter as a gift in November 1914 (ii. 234). Meanwhile, in the same letter to Koteliansky (4 July) in which Lawrence had originally expressed his intention to type the novel himself using the aforementioned typewriter, Lawrence also requested a new "black ribbon" (ii. 621), which meant the typewriter was faulty. After much confusion in July, when Kot twice sent the wrong type of ribbon and Lawrence twice returned it – "all I want is an ordinary half-inch black ribbon. Can you solve the mystery for me?" (ii. 636) – it seems Lawrence finally received a new ribbon at the start of August (ii. 638).[27] Therefore, having originally completed a draft in June, which Lawrence began rewriting on a faulty typewriter in July before

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[26] In *The Composition of* The Rainbow *and* Women in Love, pp. 102-114, Ross misses this particular, confusing step in the process, which produces a slight jump in Ross's account, as Lawrence's work from July to October is treated as continuous. While the editors of *Women in Love* do take this step into account, they offer the same, somewhat confusing interpretation of Lawrence's work as continuous during these months (see *WL*, pp. xxix-xxx).

[27] Geoff Dyer provides a comic account of "the episode of the typewriter ribbon" in *Out of Sheer Rage*, pp. 161-162.

(presumably) finishing it by hand in August, it seems he began typing up the now rewritten draft in earnest in mid-August.

Lawrence remained "typing away" (ii. 647) for months and, in mid-September, described the novel as "only half done as yet" (ii. 653). Lawrence's letters become increasingly exasperated during this period. However, while previous critics have focused on the physical labour of typing, I would also argue that Lawrence was, as usual, substantially revising or rewriting the previous draft as he went along at this stage and that, as a result, Lawrence's travails were also writerly and concerned the novel itself. This is hinted at in a report to Ottoline Morrell in September: "I only want to finish this novel, which is like a malady or a madness while it lasts (ii. 656), while, on 12 October, Lawrence makes this point clear: "I am still typing away at my new novel: it takes a tremendous time: and *the novel itself* is one of the labours of Hercules" (ii, 665, my italics). The very next day (13 October), however, Lawrence reported having given up typing, with "about two-thirds" (ii. 666) completed, and proceeded to write out the remainder of the draft by hand once again. This process was then finished by 31 October, on which date Lawrence sent "the untyped MS" (ii. 669) to Pinker for typing.

As a brief aside on the *title* of the project, when Lawrence first restarted work on the novel he had referred to it as both "the second half of the *Rainbow*" (ii. 602) and 'The Sisters' (ii. 619). As in 1913-14, then, Lawrence didn't suggest a proper title for the novel until after he had completed a draft, at which point (13 July) he asked Pinker, "Shall I call the novel *Women in Love*. I'm not good at titles – never know if they're good or bad" (ii. 631). Although Lawrence later toyed with 'The Latter Days' (ii. 659) and 'Dies Irae' (ii. 669) as possible titles (in October), it seems that, by

August, the novel was "to be called *Women in Love*" (ii. 645), and it was this title that Lawrence used when dispatching the final "untyped MS" to Pinker.[28]

Lawrence received duplicate typescripts (TSI) from Pinker on 6 and 13 November and immediately carried out fairly extensive revisions. With the assistance of Frieda, these revisions were copied onto both typescripts and were completed by 20 November, at which point Lawrence sent one to Catherine Carswell, for her and her husband (a lawyer) to read through, though this typescript ended up being

[28] Meanwhile, Lawrence's letters of 10 and 14 August, to friend and fellow writer Catherine Carswell, offer a further note on titles. In the first letter, Lawrence reported, "I thought of calling this of mine *Women in Love*. But I don't feel at all sure of it. What do you think. It was 'The Sisters', but May Sinclair having had 'three Sisters' it won't do" (ii. 637): Lawrence's allusion to May Sinclair's *The Three Sisters* (1914) perhaps explains why he did not to return to the original title, 'The Sisters'. In the same letter, Lawrence also noted feeling "really eager" about Carswell's own novel, eventually published as *Open the Door!* (1920), which Lawrence had read in draft-form as early as June 1914, shortly after meeting Carswell, and suggested, "is coming under the same banner with mine" (ii. 639). In the second letter, Lawrence then suggested an entire series of potential titles for Carswell's work: 'The Wild Goose Chase'; 'Never The Land of the Living'; 'The Rare Bird'; 'The Love Bird'; 'Cuckoo!'; 'Cuckoo, Cuckoo'; 'Loose strife'; 'Had'; 'The Pelican in the Wilderness'; 'The Lame Duck'; 'The Kingfisher'; 'Ducks and Drakes'; while providing a glimpse into Lawrence's ludic associative thought processes, the first of these titles was particularly apt given Lawrence's attempts to finish (and later to publish) his own novel, while Lawrence himself suggested 'Cuckoo!' was "so nice, that if you don't like it, I think I must have it instead of *Women in Love*" (ii. 640).

circulated to a large group of people including members of the Bloomsbury group, while the other was dispatched to Pinker.[29]

Pinker then produced a second typescript (TSII), of which Lawrence received (at least) two copies between 28 March and 1 April 1917. Over the following two and a half years, TSII was itself extensively revised by Lawrence in two stages: the first, in blue ink, was much more extensive and was carried out sometime between May and December 1917, though most likely completed by October 1917 when the Lawrences left Cornwall; while the second, in reddish-brown ink, was much lighter and was completed some time before September 1919, when Lawrence sent TSII to his American publisher Thomas Seltzer.[30]

Evicted from Cornwall in October 1917 and, due to his German wife, no longer permitted to live by the coast, Lawrence was once again itinerant within England until November 1919, staying in London for a few months before moving back and forth between Berkshire and Derbyshire. Although Lawrence had completed the extensive typescript "revisions" by this time, due to protracted discussions with his prospective English and American publishers, it would take another year before page proofs for respective editions were being prepared, by which point Lawrence had finally returned to Italy (in November 1919), where, in March 1913, he had originally begun writing 'The Sisters'. Lawrence did not receive all proofs for

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[29] For a discussion of the list of readers, which included Aldous Huxley, H. D., and probably Vanessa Bell, see *WL*, p. xxxii.

[30] For the chronology of these revisions, see Ross, *The Composition of* The Rainbow *and* Women in Love, pp. 117-123; Ross suggests "we can be reasonably sure that Lawrence took the opportunity in late August and early September to make the secondary revisions" to TSII. See also *WL*, pp. xxxv-xxxix.

Thomas Seltzer's American edition until 18 October 1920 (iii. 613), at which point it was too late to actually include any corrections, although Lawrence noted "only very slight incorrections" (iii. 618): *Women in Love* was published in a private edition by Seltzer in New York on 9 November 1920. In October and November, Lawrence also received proofs for Martin Secker's English edition, along with requests to insert chapter titles and alter sensitive passages, including certain names (due to the threat of libel).[31] Following these alterations, the first trade edition of *Women in Love* was finally published in England on 10 June 1921.

Recap of gaps, uncertainties and reassessments

Beyond the manuscripts themselves, Lawrence left no record of the vast amount of work completed for *Women in Love* outside of the letters. Gaps in the manuscript record and uncertainty in the letters therefore produce uncertainties in our knowledge of the novel's compositional history. Unlike the later typescripts, which provide a complete record, there are a number of unknowns concerning the two "originary" phases: from March 1913-May 1914 and from April-July 1916.

In terms of the earlier of these two periods, prior to Dunlop's typescript of May 1914, only two short manuscript fragments have survived, which total just 14 pages in length, while, of the typescript itself, which is estimated to have totaled 600

[31] For a full discussion of the novel's publication and the preparation of proofs, see *WL*, pp. xxxix-li. Though Ross's suggestion that, "in comparison to the substantial and pervasive revision of *The Rainbow* proofs […] the corrections of *Women in Love* are slight and infrequent" may be correct in a quantitative sense, the insertion of chapter titles alone (in the English proofs of *Women in Love*) is clearly very *qualitatively* significant (Ross, *The Composition of* The Rainbow *and* Women in Love, p. 126).

pages, only 63 pages have survived.[32] The consensus among the critics referred to throughout this chapter has been that Lawrence completed two drafts of 'The Sisters', and the two early fragments are thus conveniently assigned to each draft, as 'The Sisters I' and 'The Sisters II'. It is worth pointing out, however, that we cannot be certain about the number of drafts Lawrence worked on during this period, nor, as a result, can we conclusively place the two early fragments.

Lawrence's suggestion on 3 April that he "began a novel seven times" (see previous footnote) may be hyperbolic. He was initially less assertive, reporting on 9 February, "I have begun my novel again – for about the seventh time" (ii. 146), and on 7 March he went even further, suggesting, "I began my novel for about the eleventh time" (ii. 153). However, given that Lawrence reported two "false-starts" in August 1913, it is likely Lawrence had worked on *several* drafts before beginning work on the "third" version in February 1914; owing to Lawrence's speed of composition and his tendency to only mention a work once he had produced a significant amount of material for it, Lawrence's "false-starts" were probably substantial. The question of titles also complicates matters, given that Lawrence had already "re-christened" a draft of 'The Sisters' as 'The Wedding Ring' (albeit provisionally) in January 1914 and had likewise renamed the so-called 'Wedding Ring' draft as 'The Rainbow' in May.

Similarly, in terms of the later of the two periods, the manuscript record prior to TSI of *Women in Love* is severely limited. There exists a 55-page autograph manuscript fragment, which contains two opening chapters ('Prologue' and 'The

[32] For an indication of the amount of material lost prior to this, consider Lawrence's comment on 3 April 1914: "Oh, I tried so hard to work, this last year. I began a novel seven times. I have written quite a thousand pages that I shall burn" (ii. 161).

Wedding'), the second of which is incomplete, and ten notebooks, which contain approximately the last third of the narrative of *Women in Love* and correspond to pp. 369-666 of TSI, as indicated by Lawrence's note on the first page: "continued from p. 368 (type)" (*N1*). Indeed, this section of TSI (pp. 369-666), which is more professionally typed and contains around 260 words per page, is clearly separate from the first part of TSI (pp. 1-368), which is less professionally typed and contains around 370 words per page. As the critical consensus suggests, pp. 1-368 of TSI appear to represent the typescript produced by Lawrence from August-October, while the ten notebooks appear to represent the handwritten conclusion to the manuscript, subsequently typed up by Pinker and incorporated into TSI. However, there are further complications: notebooks 7-10 carry the earlier title of 'The Sisters', which has been crossed out and replaced with 'Women in Love' or 'Dies Irae', as well as an earlier pagination of pp. 650-863, which has likewise been crossed out and replaced by pp. 220-436. As the critics suggest, this indicates that notebooks 7-10 previously formed the concluding segment of an earlier, 863pp. draft and were later interpolated into the composite manuscript of *Women in Love* by Lawrence in late October.

Critics regard the early 55-page fragment as a false-start, abandoned by Lawrence in April; the hypothesized 863 page manuscript, of which notebooks 7-10 originally formed the concluding segment, is thought to correspond to Lawrence's work from April to June, while the composite manuscript of *Women in Love* (TSI and notebooks 1-10) are thought to represent the work completed from July to October. However, while Lawrence never mentioned a false-start or an abandoned draft in April (as he had done in the period from 1913-1914), as outlined previously Lawrence also appears to have produced *three* separate drafts from April-October 1916, whereas the above consensus accounts for just two.

Whatever the reality of the two periods, the current critical consensus simplifies and underplays what is, in truth, an incredibly complex compositional history: a history containing irresolvable questions about the amount of material completed by Lawrence, which makes it impossible to be precise when framing the remaining fragments. Traditional accounts of the composition of *Women in Love* tend to conceal contingent elements. Consider, for example, the significance of Lawrence's (relatively) eleventh-hour revisions to Secker's proofs. Lawrence not only inserted a new chapter division, producing the eventual 32 chapters, but, at Secker's request, he also inserted all the chapter titles, four of which he revised before even returning them to Secker. Besides these titles, most of the chapter divisions, which gave the novel its distinctive crystallized form, were themselves late revisions by Lawrence, made to TSII of *Women in Love*, which originally contained just 13 chapters. Like the individual titles, then, Lawrence probably introduced these distinctive divisions in order to assist the chances of publishing a novel that had existed in manuscript form since March 1913.

Critics have been inclined to downplay our uncertainties regarding the processes of composition and the context of extant manuscript fragments for *Women in Love*. We can perhaps ascribe this, at least in part, to a general scholarly ideology in which the presence of incomplete knowledge and, at times, guesswork, are concealed. However, in specific reference to Lawrence's manuscripts, I would emphasize the traditional critical inclination to regard as static isolated texts (i.e. "versions") what are, in fact, drafts within an ongoing process of writing. The analysis of this process of writing begins in the next chapter with a detailed consideration of the nature and content of the early fragments of *Women in Love*, which take us from 1913 to 1916.

2.2

Women in Love: Fragments

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section one is entitled 'Genesis I' and deals with the two earliest fragments ('The Sisters I' and 'The Sisters II') in the compositional history of *Women in Love*, dating from the period between March 1913 and January 1914. Though ultimately feeding into the production of *The Rainbow*, section two then focuses on the extant typescript fragment of 'The Wedding Ring', which dates from February to May 1914, as this segment pre-dated Lawrence's decision to split his work into two separate volumes. Indicating the dual or split inception of *Women in Love*, therefore, section three, entitled 'Genesis II', deals with the 'Sisters III' fragment, which dates from April 1916 and follows Lawrence's return to work on *Women in Love*, having completed *The Rainbow*.

Critics have yet to discuss these fragments in isolation and in any great detail, and have tended to regard them in a subsidiary manner as immature efforts, abandoned by Lawrence with some justification. By contrast, I provide a clear outline of the plot of these fragments and discuss prominent thematic and stylistic features, many of which anticipate and provide a clear grounding for the later and more familiar versions of *Women in Love* (to be discussed in chapters 2.3-4). Importantly, I discuss the status of these fragments as *drafts* and I also track Lawrence's reflections upon and increasing commitment to the work in progress in letters from 1913-16.

Exploring some of these letters, the first section highlights parallels between Lawrence's conceptions of the self and his conceptions of writing (as fragmented, incomplete, and following an autonomous logic). It then places these parallels in the

context of the 'Sisters I' fragment. The remainder of the first section analyses the emotional extremity of the two early fragments, which borders on sadomasochism in 'Sisters I' and develops into a more expressionist style in 'Sisters II'. Section two then considers the ways in which Lawrence develops his thematic opposition between flux and stasis into a broader social critique, prior to the outbreak of war and interruption of work on *Women in Love*, in the subsequent 'Wedding Ring' fragment; tropes in this section again pertain to writing. Finally, section three, which focuses on the later 'Sisters III' fragment, discusses narrative framing in *Women in Love* by considering Lawrence's decision to excise the early "Prologue" chapter. It also develops the discussion of Lawrence's manuscripts as rough drafts in more detail by considering the ways in which subsequent versions of *Women in Love* clearly map onto the 'Sisters III' fragment, thus demonstrating direct links between the separate stages of writing.

In general, these fragments were hardly revised at all and were only indirectly adopted in subsequent phases of writing. The material in this chapter may therefore appear less rich from a genetic perspective in comparison to the subsequent notebooks and typescripts of *Women in Love*. However, besides assessing the connections between the various fragments and the subsequent versions of *Women in Love*, this chapter also contributes towards a broader reassessment of Lawrence's early writing. In keeping with some recent criticism, which has looked to reassess the popular view of Lawrence's early writing as "immature," rather than treat these fragments as

evidence of Lawrence's "progress to maturity," this chapter discusses the literary validity of Lawrence's early work, albeit in draft form.[1]

Genesis I: "I wonder how much you will like 'The Sisters'. Not much, I am afraid…"

The early fragments: plotlines, rough drafts and reflections on "real being" as process

Although the two earliest fragments remain difficult to situate precisely, given the patchy manuscript record and inconsistent reports, both demonstrate that central characters and plotlines for *Women in Love* were well established by January 1914. Besides containing primary sets of relationships – Gerald-Gudrun-Loerke, Birkin-Ella/Ursula-Templeman/Skrebensky, and Ursula-Gudrun – both fragments also suggest a central theme in the characters' struggles away from the completion and stasis of the past and the known.

'The Sisters I' fragment begins with a brief description of Gerald's mother, Christiana Crich (unnamed in the fragment), who, as in *Women in Love*, "lived alone, a blind, unconscious resistance," and for whom, "the world outside did not really exist" (SI 291). There follows a brief exchange in a schoolroom between Gerald and his younger sister Winifred – the schoolroom is "now her workroom" (SI 291), though in *Women in Love*, a studio for Winifred and Gudrun is constructed at Shortlands – in which Gerald shares his intention to marry Gudrun Brangwen. Finally, Gerald goes to Gudrun's "lodging" but discovers there "the sculptor,"

[1] See, for example, Howard J. Booth, "Same-Sex Desire, Cross-Gender Identification and Asexuality in D. H. Lawrence's Early Short Fiction," *Études Lawrenciennes*, 42 (2011), 36-57, and Elliott Morsia, 'A Genetic Study of 'The Shades of Spring''.

Loerke, who has just arrived from Germany, having been "sent for" (SI 292) by Gudrun, and who has already formed a relationship with Gudrun. There is a fraught exchange between the three, in which Loerke condemns Gerald and, incidentally, indicates Gerald's fratricidal back-story – "you trust to your position to play with *her*, you trust to your muscles to threaten me, just as you would threaten an unarmed man with your loaded gun" (SI 293) – before leaving, his face "broken into lines of real agony, all distorted" (SI 293). Following a brief interruption from Winifred, Gudrun and Gerald are then reconciled, although Gudrun merely submits to Gerald's proposal; Gudrun is pregnant, and Gerald ultimately perceives "this aloofness of hers – she came to him as the father of her child, not as to a lover, a husband" (SI 296).

The slightly longer second fragment, 'The Sisters II', contains more narrative activity but is again dominated by an intense exchange between one of the central pairings of *Women in Love*, which again culminates with a marriage proposal. It begins with Ella (later renamed Ursula) Brangwen departing, presumably from Birkin's lodgings, following some kind of dispute with Birkin, "leaving him silent, impassive, but inside himself raging, only denying it all" (SII 373). "August came" (SII 373) and the Brangwen family go on holiday to Scarborough, leaving Ella and Gudrun at home; despite beginning at p. 373, nearly a hundred pages further into its respective draft than the first fragment, in which Gudrun already had her own lodging, Ella and Gudrun are still living at home in the second fragment (as they do throughout *The Rainbow*). The bulk of the fragment then consists in an emotionally draining confrontation between Ella and Birkin, who knocks at the door while Ella is alone, Gudrun having left to attend "a tennis party" (SII 373). With Birkin's own impending proposal perhaps looming, Ella is unsure of both herself and Birkin and wavers between extreme upset, "crouched together on the floor like some wild animal in

pain" (SII 376), and detached pride, while Birkin, whose "mind was blank" (SII 376) in the face of such intensity, responds by declaring his love and proposing. Gudrun then returns and Birkin departs, inviting the sisters to visit him at "Wamsley Mill" (SII 378); in *Women in Love*, Birkin takes up lodgings at a mill beside "Willey Water." Ella and Gudrun are then called to the family in Scarborough and there follows some correspondence between Ella and Birkin; Ella is apologetic, "I am really not hysterical," explaining "it takes a long time to get rid of the old things" and "it is working the old strain off that makes one so upset" (SII 379), while Birkin likewise describes himself as "entangled in the ruins and fragments of my old life, and struggling to get out" (SII 380). Finally, the fragment ends with the sisters on a windswept walk by Flamborough Head, where they catch sight of Ella's former lover Ben Templeman and "a wave of terror, deep, annihilating" (SII 380) goes over Ella.

Composed in Lawrence's typically neat, small handwriting, both fragments consist of large, loose sheets of manuscript (approximately the width of A4 and length of A3 paper). Both are also very lightly revised; around 2-3 minor revisions per page for the 'Sisters I' and just 1-2 for the 'Sisters II', consisting of the deletion or substitution of a word or short phrase (with replacements written superscript). These revisions may have taken place during the original compositional process. Once Lawrence had settled into writing these drafts ("sufficiently unrooted"), he seems to have produced around 30 pages a week.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the spontaneity of these drafts can be qualified by Lawrence's prior intention to rewrite on both occasions. In a letter to Garnett on 29 January, in which he notes his intention to rewrite the second draft, itself a rewriting of the first, Lawrence describes the drafts as "bulbs" or "shadowy flowers":

> I write with everything vague – plenty of fire underneath, but, like bulbs in the ground, only shadowy flowers that must be beaten and sustained for another spring. […] I do not try to incorporate it very much – I prefer the permeating beauty. (ii. 143)

Rather than represent automatic or purely spontaneous work, then, these draft are invisibly layered, with the first version entirely provisional and each subsequent version a slightly less provisional *rewritten* version. However, despite noting a preference for "the permeating beauty" of this layering and provisionality, as Lawrence goes on to acknowledge in the same letter, "I must write to live, and it [the process] must produce flowers" (ii. 143). This more practical production process is reflected in Lawrence's later work where a settled draft receives direct and extensive layers of revision/rewriting (particularly following its re-mediation as a typescript, as in the case of *Women in Love*).

Given their status as "bulbs" or "shadowy flowers" and their subsequent abandonment, the provisional and contingent nature of the fragments *as* drafts should be taken into consideration. Kinkead-Weekes's dismissal of the first fragment ("even from a bald account, one can see what Lawrence meant by saying the novel was "for the *jeunes filles*", and the style is still a little novelettish") seems wayward for this reason.[2] The Cambridge editors of *Women in Love* and *The First 'Women in Love'* likewise exaggerate Lawrence's allusion to a "pot boiler" by claiming that Lawrence "would cheerfully refer" to the work itself as a pot-boiler "at page 110," when, in actual fact, in the letter in question, Lawrence refers to his original (hypothetical)

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[2] Kinkead-Weekes, 'The Marble and the Statue', p. 375; Ross suggests his own account of the early fragments is "largely a recapitulation of Mark Kinkead-Weekes's argument" (*The Composition of* The Rainbow *and* Women in Love, p. 11).

intention "to do a pot-boiler" in jest, before describing the draft itself as "an earnest and painful work – God help it and me" (i. 536).[3] Lawrence's initial suggestions about attempting a "pot-boiler" should also be taken with a pinch of salt. His earliest report, "It will be decent" (i. 530), is itself followed by the parenthesis "D.V." (i.e. god willing). Later, at page 180 in the draft, though still a hundred pages short of the extant fragment, Lawrence reported:

> It was meant to be for the 'jeunes filles', but already it has fallen from grace. I can only write what I feel pretty strongly about: and that, at present, is the relations between men and women. After all, it is *the* problem of today… (May 1913, i. 546)

Rather than exaggerate Lawrence's ironic and hypothetical remarks about a "pot-boiler" or a novel "for the *jeune filles*" then, it is worth highlighting the fact that this famous remark concerning *Women in Love* applies specifically to the earliest draft of 'The Sisters'.

Perhaps more interesting still are Lawrence's descriptions that reflect as much upon the process of writing itself as they do upon the content of the novel. Shortly before the letter previously discussed, Lawrence reported on his progress as follows: "I am doing a novel which I have never grasped. Damn its eyes, there I am at page 145, and I've no notion what it's about […] it's like a novel in a foreign language I don't know very well" (i. 544). Here, Lawrence suggests that the writing process is autonomous ("damn its eyes"), with the author apparently following in its wake and trying to make sense of the draft as it unfolds. In support of this point about the apparent autonomy of the writerly self, we can cite Lawrence's late and quite renowned suggestion in the 'Introductory Note' to *Collected Poems* (1928) about

[3] *WL*, p. xxi; *FWL*, pp. xix-xx.

rewriting his early poems: "I have tried to let the demon have his say […] the young man interfered with his demon."[4] However, Lawrence is actually more explicit on this point much earlier in his career, when writing to forewarn his then fiancé Louie Burrows in December 1910, in a letter which expands on the autonomy of writing as follows:

> It is the second me, the hard, cruel if need be, me that is the writer which troubles the pleasanter me, the human who belongs to you. Try, will you, when I disappoint you and may grieve you, to think that it is the impersonal part of me – which belongs to nobody, not even to myself – the writer in me, which is for the moment ruling. (i. 240)

Rather than dismiss such an account as a romantic mystification, in its transferal of agency to writing and/or language, it is important to acknowledge the ways in which the activities of writing alter and supplement "normal" cognitive processes and thus inflect the "normal" conception of the self (which is not involved in writing).[5] As an analogy, we might consider the practising musician's relationship with music, for which an everyday conception of intentionality is similarly insufficient. The presence of music in Lawrence's writing is itself significant in this respect: the protagonists of

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[4] *Introductory Note to* Collected Poems (1928), *The Complete Poems of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. David Ellis (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 2002), pp. 619-620, p. 620.

[5] With reference to Joyce, Fordham also discusses how "writers thus express an experience of their own conscious agency being replaced by the agency of writing and genetic criticism needs to account for this," in *I do I undo I redo*, pp. 24-25.

Aaron's Rod (1922) and *Mr Noon* (1987), both of which were written during and shortly after the completion of *Women in Love*, both compose music.[6]

Soon to be the author of his third and most successful novel and having already published a collection of poems and numerous short stories, Lawrence became an established writer during the early compositional history of *Women in Love*. Lawrence's sense of wonder during the composition of this particular work therefore reflects the activities of a writer who is now experimenting with literary form, which results in an emerging critical dialogue with Garnett. Echoing the description of the 'Sisters I' discussed above, Lawrence reported on the second draft, in September 1913, "I wonder what you'll think of it. It is queer. It is rather fine, I think. I am in it now, deep. […] It's a weird novel you'll get from me this time" (i. 74-5), and in October, "I am working away at The Sisters. It is *so* different, so different from anything I have yet written, that I do nothing but wonder what it is like" (i. 82). Lawrence's growing refusal to impose a prescribed aesthetic form, as Hueffer (Ford Madox Ford), Ezra Pound and Garnett each seemed to have desired, rendered the split with Garnett inevitable. This is already anticipated in Lawrence's report to Garnett in December 1913: "in a few days I shall send you the first half of the Sisters – which I should rather call The Wedding Ring – to Duckworth. It is *very* different from *Sons and Lovers*: written in another language almost. I shall be sorry if you don't like it, but am prepared" (i. 132). Elsewhere in the same letter, Lawrence notes: "I didn't want [Ezra] Pound's pound of commission. […] The Hueffer-Pound faction seems inclined to lead me round a little like one of their show-dogs" (ii. 132-133).

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[6] On this topic more generally see Susan Reid, '"The insidious mastery of song": D. H. Lawrence, Music and Modernism', *Journal of D. H. Lawrence Studies*, 2:3 (2010), 109-130.

While working on the third full draft of 'The Sisters' (i.e. 'The Wedding Ring') in April 1914, by which point he had had a few months to reflect on Garnett's disapproval of the previous drafts, Lawrence wrote Garnett as follows:

> I was upset by the *second* letter you wrote against it, because I felt it insulted rather the thing I *wanted* to say: not me, nor what I had said, but that which I was trying to say, and had failed in. […] But it is no good unless you will have patience and understand what I *want* to do. I am not after all a child working erratically. All the time, underneath, there is something deep evolving itself out in me. And it is *hard* to express a new thing, in sincerity. […] And this is why I didn't like the second letter you wrote me about the failed novel […] because you seemed to insult my real *being*.' (ii. 165-6)

The repeated assertion of a single "I" in this letter masks the underlying divisions between everyday and writerly conceptions of the self, between superficial and deep conceptions of agency, and between real and unreal dimensions of "being." Furthermore, while there may be an obvious teleological dimension, in which the "something deep" may eventually find its way out in a successful draft (or mature achievement), more fundamentally, "real" being is presented as an effect of process ("working," "evolving"), which produces a distinction between the idealised work (product) and the actual work (process). According to this interpretation, "real" being is not what is established ("not me, nor what I had said,") but what is in process ("what I *want* to do […] something deep evolving itself out in me").

In a more famous letter written to Garnett in June, Lawrence reflects on the finished draft (the 'Wedding Ring' typescript completed in May) as follows: "you mustn't look in my novel for the old stable ego of the character […] don't look for the development of the novel to follow the lines of certain characters: the characters fall

into the form of some other rhythmic form, like when one draws a fiddle-bow across a fine tray delicately sanded, the sand takes lines unknown" (ii. 183-4). This exhortation again relies upon the distinction between product and process: the fixity of the "stable ego" or "certain character" is undercut by process ("rhythmic form"). The allusions to "lines" and "characters" can also be associated with typographic fixity.

Lawrence's later reports, having returned to 'The Sisters' in 1916, closely echo the early letters. In a letter to Ottoline Morrell in May 1916, Lawrence writes, "I have begun a new novel: a thing that is a stranger to me even as I write it. I don't know what the end will be" (ii. 604). While Lawrence's apparent spontaneity should again be qualified by our knowledge that this "beginning" is also a return, the sense of strangeness and foreignness is once again apparent. Lawrence also remarks, elsewhere in the same letter, "it is only in my individual self, which struggles to be free of the greater social self, that I live at all. One is at best only a torn fragment, a torn remnant of a man. It remains to trust that this remnant is the living essential part, otherwise one is already as good as dead" (ii. 603). And Lawrence reported to Morrell again a few weeks later that, "I have got a long way with my novel. It comes rapidly, and is very good. When one is shaken to the very depths, one finds reality in the unreal world. At present my real world is the world of my inner soul, which reflects on to the novel I write. The outer world is there to be endured, it is not real – neither the outer life" (ii. 610).[7] Lawrence's divided conception of the self again results from a sense of real being as an effect of process, which again develops in opposition to established forms.

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[7] The allusion to an "inner soul" can be understood in a specific Lawrentian, and hence non-Platonic sense, as anchored in the body, and thus also connected to the *outer* rhythms of the cosmos.

These later and more dramatic remarks can of course be connected to the wider context of the war. For example, in an earlier letter to Morrell, on 9 September 1915, Lawrence reported:

> Last night when we were coming home the guns broke out, and there was a noise of bombs. Then we saw the Zeppelin above us, just ahead, amid a gleaming of clouds […]. So it is the end – our world is gone, and we are like dust in the air. (ii. 389-90)

However, although this context clearly inflects Lawrence's later and more apocalyptic tone, it is also important to acknowledge the continuity of the underlying conception of the self and the conflict between flux and stasis, completion and incompletion, established thing and process. This becomes clearer in the remainder of this chapter as we look at the content of the early draft fragments for *Women in Love* in more detail. While Lawrence concludes the aforementioned letter with the suggestion that "everything is burst away now" and "there remains only to take on a new being," prior to his report of the Zeppelin raids Lawrence had suggested at the beginning of the letter: "first there is the shedding of the old, which is so slow and so difficult, like a sickness" (ii. 388). Compare this to the fictional correspondence of Ella and Birkin in the 'Sisters II' fragment: "it takes a long time to get rid of the old things […] it is working the old strain off that makes one so upset" (SII 379); "it seems that everything has come toppling down, like an earthquake, since I have known you, and here I am entangled in the ruins and fragments of my old life, and struggling to get out" (SII 380).

'Sisters I': the prison of established form and emotional extremities

At the beginning of the 'Sisters I' fragment, we learn that Mrs Crich had "let society bind her down" and now, having had her fill with "conventional life," she lives "alone, a blind, unconscious resistance" (SI 291). Similarly, in *Women in Love*, Cristiana Crich "was [Thomas Crich's] prisoner," "all the world combined to make the cage unbreakable," and, "as the years went on, she lost more and more count of the world […] she only sat in her room like a moping, dishevelled hawk, motionless, mindless."[8] The snippet appears as a random adjunct to the subsequent bulk of the fragment, in which Gerald goes to Gudrun's lodging to propose, and probably survives because of the enormous size of the manuscript sheets (containing the aforementioned episode). However, the plight of Mrs Crich ties directly into a central narrative strand concerning the broader social dimension to Gerald and Gudrun's relationship, not only in relation to marriage and female independence, but also in terms of the relationship between life and art.

As well as prefiguring Gudrun's potential imprisonment at Shortlands via her possible marriage to Gerald, Mrs Crich's fate also poses a threat to Gudrun's ability to "make it new" as a burgeoning modernist artist. Gudrun's presentiment about her potential confinement at Shortlands is posed in the following, artistic terms in *Women in Love*: "she thought of Gerald and Shortlands – marriage and the home! […] She suddenly conjured up a rosy room . . . The picture she entitled "Home." It would have done for the Royal Academy."[9] As emphasized throughout these chapters on *Women in Love*, art is a major factor inhibiting Gudrun's relationship with Gerald and, as the next chapter (2.3) discusses in more detail, Loerke, as a radical avant-garde artist, plays a catalysing role in Gudrun's split from Gerald (and Ursula) in the later

[8] *WL*, pp. 215-218.

[9] *WL*, p. 376.

chapters.[10] However, the artists Gudrun and Loerke are themselves framed by Lawrence in the narrative and we can in turn, therefore, consider the opposition between radical art and conventionality in the context of Lawrence's own opposition to the aesthetic conventions of Garnett and others during the lengthy composition of the novel.

In the 'Sisters I' fragment, then, Christiana Crich figures as a doomed signal of fate for the artist who gives way:

> She had let society bind her down, and had gone ~~stiff~~ **half-paralysed** in bondage. She began to write, or rather to compose, her various letters on the subject of her eldest son's marriage. The world outside did not really exist for her. She might as well have written letters to some mythological place of her own creation. But she wrote fictitiously, taking the tone of the usual, correct British nation. (SI, 291)

Unusually for Lawrence, Mrs Crich's paralysis is explicitly mapped in terms of writing, which takes "the tone of the usual, correct British nation" and "might as well," therefore, be addressed "to some mythological place of her own creation."

Aside from its institutional role, however, marriage is also (and perhaps more fundamentally) a symbol of commitment between two partners, and Lawrence's interest in marriage relates to broader questions about faith and communal values.[11]

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[10] In the 'Sisters I' fragment, Gudrun's choice is more obvious as Gerald and Loerke propose at the same time; her pregnancy with Gerald's child produces the subsequent dilemma.

[11] Incidentally, this issue formed a bone of contention between Lawrence and Bertrand Russell in their plans to lecture on the topic of social reconstruction during the war. On the cover of Russell's lecture notes, Lawrence scrawled: "this which you say is *all social criticism*, it isn't social reconstruction […] I like it when you take them one by one, The State,

Both fragments raise such questions when the characters are faced with the dilemma of registering or symbolising love, which comes into conflict with the contrary commitment to process and the unknown.

In the 'Sisters I' fragment, Gerald appears to reconcile his contingent feelings with a deeper commitment to love. When Gudrun demands to know why, if he genuinely wanted to marry her, he didn't propose "any other time these last six weeks," Gerald "doggedly" responds: ""I don't know why"" (SI 292) before suggesting, ""I can't tell you these things in public"" (SI 292). Gerald's qualification about publicity alludes to the less noble factor of Gudrun's pregnancy and Loerke adds a second cynical factor by suggesting that, given Loerke's own proposal, Gerald "can't bear that anyone else should have you" (SI 293). When Gudrun repeatedly presses Gerald, however, he appears to redeem his integrity as follows: "I didn't know anything. I didn't *know*" (SI 293), which a subsequent piece of free indirect speech seems to corroborate during a strained silence: "he was something he had feared he never could be: he had got something he had pretended to disbelieve in. And,

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Marriage etc. But you *must* put in the *positive idea*. Every living community is a living State. You must go very deep into the State, and its relation to the individual." In the section on 'Marriage', Lawrence crossed out Russell's rather dour neo-Darwinian note: "Resultant of sex instinct plus jealousy." Lawrence interjected, "No!" and wrote the following, more religious note in the margin: "The desire for monogamy is profound in us. But the most difficult thing in the world is to find a mate. It is still true, that a man and wife are one flesh. A man alone is only fragmentary – also a woman. *Completeness is in marriage*. But State-marriage is a *lie*." Unpublished manuscript housed in the 'D. H. Lawrence Collection' at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas, 'Bertrand Russell, *Philosophy of Social Reconstruction*, holograph and typescript with notes by Lawrence, 18pp.', D. H Lawrence Collection, box 47, folder 8.

breathing hard, he knew this was his life's fulfillment, and a wave of faith, warm, strong, religious faith went over him. […] It was something he thought he could never know, this complete tenderness of love" (SI 294). Though "it made him tired, and he felt a desire to wriggle somewhere out of sight, into a hole in the ground like a rat" (SI 294), Gerald persists through this dumbshow towards positive faith and declares, finally, ""I didn't know that I loved you – not – not fully"" (SI 295).

Though love and marriage form the backbone of the conventional romance genre, the narration or knowledge of affect in the 'Sisters I' fragment, "this complete tenderness of love," certainly pushes beyond conventional boundaries, mapping out emotional extremity and suggesting a connection to trauma. Gudrun informs Gerald that Loerke "ought *never* to have been allowed to come […] I shall always hate you a bit, for this" (SI 293). Later, "very hesitating" and trembling "with fear," Gerald approaches Gudrun, draws her face "against his chest" and bends down over her. However, Gudrun, "merely submitted" and buries her face "like a wild thing hiding itself from fear and misery against him" (SI 294). Gudrun's submission reminds Gerald of one of Winifred's rabbits who, "attacked by a cat" (SI 294), had hurled itself at Winifred for protection, which had "hurt him deeply, for nothing would come to him to be sheltered and loved" (SI 294), and Gerald's desire for Gudrun to enter this state is virtually sadistic. Gerald's own desire to comfort Gudrun is similarly masochistic as he "felt he would empty every drop of blood out of his veins, to warm her and comfort her" (SI 295), while "it cut him" to be reminded of his prior abandonment of Gudrun. Once attained, Gudrun also becomes all-consuming for Gerald, leaving him "unable to realise anything else than just her" (SI 295).

In *Women in Love*, Winifred's rabbit Bismarck scores the arms of Gudrun and Gerald in a frenzy, which draws blood and leads to a tacit acknowledgement of

sadism between the pair. In TSI, "they looked at each other with half-smiling eyes of unconfessed knowledge, as if recognising a blood-brotherhood" (TSI 297), while in TSII, Lawrence replaces this passage with the following, direct experience of the obscene for Gerald: "the long, shallow red rip seemed torn across his own brain, tearing the surface of his ultimate consciousness, letting through the forever unconscious, unthinkable red centre of the beyond, the obscene beyond" (TSII 385). While such explicit forms do not appear in the two earliest fragments, they are certainly indicated. Besides the examples already given, following their apparent reconciliation, Gerald's attitude towards forgiveness in the 'Sisters I' fragment, though "fair," is also transgressive: "he was glad if she made him suffer […] for if she had forgiven him anything, that left him in the position of the forgiven, which he could not bear […] he had such a horror of the indoor, dark atmosphere of women, who forgive a man because they know his weakness. Gudrun knew his weakness, and hated him for it, and made him suffer for it till he was level with her. And that was fair. And so he could be open with her, and himself" (SI 295).

Elsewhere in the fragment, following this reconciliation, Gerald detects "aloofness" in Gudrun, sensing that "she came to him as the father of her child, not as to a lover, a husband" (SI 296). To return to the opening point, then, about the potential confinement of Gudrun and Shortlands, it seems that Gudrun originally shared the fate of Gerald's mother to some extent: "something in her had shut up, or had gone frozen, during that time, and was now unresponsive to him, dead to him" (SI 295). However, when Lawrence returned to 'The Sisters' in 1916, the concealment (and eventual removal) of Gudrun's pregnancy seems to enable a more sadistic bond between the pair, which leads to a grisly end. In *Women in Love*, when Ursula and Birkin leave Gerald and Gudrun alone on neutral ground, in their Alpine retreat, the

subterranean conflict between the pair plays itself out in the open. The chapter eventually entitled 'Snowed Up' begins as follows:

> When Ursula and Birkin were gone, Gudrun felt herself ~~left alone~~ **free** in her contest with Gerald. […] he began to ignore her female tactics, he dropped his respect for her whims and her privacies, he began to exert his own will **blindly,** without submitting to hers. Already a vital ~~contest~~ **conflict** had set in, which frightened them both. […] Gudrun felt her own existence had become ~~naked~~ **stark** and elemental […] as if she were centred upon the pivot of all existence, there was no further reality. (N9 329-30; TSI 602; TSI 712)

Gudrun effectively introduces the conventional frame of love in an attempt to *contain* Gerald, repeatedly demanding, ""~~Do~~ **How much do** you love me?"" (N9 333; TSII 713), to which Gerald obstinately replies, ""I don't know what you mean by the word 'love'"" (N9 333). Gudrun repeatedly reiterates, ""Yes, you do,"" and a tortuous deadlock results, in response to which "it seemed to" Gerald, "that death was the only severing of this Gordian knot" (N9 334; TSII 715).

'Sisters II': expressionism and tantalizing proximity

As in the first fragment, the 'Sisters II' fragment is also marked by a conflict between contingent emotions and established forms. This is made clear from the outset as Ella departs from Birkin, who is left "silent, impassive, but inside himself raging, only denying it all, because he was a gentleman," while Ella "felt her life was going on ~~rich~~ inside her" and "could not concern herself with outside things" (SII 373). As I will discuss below, the central episode of the 'Sisters II' fragment, another intense emotional exchange involving emotional extremities and the question of love, also closely echoes that of the 'Sisters I'. There is, however, a slight stylistic shift towards

expressionism in the second fragment, with "inside" life mapped onto the narration of "outside things," which the passages framing the aforementioned exchange between Ella and Birkin make clear.

Following the opening passages, Birkin visits Ella at home, where ambiguity of emotion is reflected by an ambiguous environment: Birkin arrives "in the half light"; Ella sings at home "with the twilight dying golden about her"; Birkin remains "standing rather hesitating ~~in~~ **on** the ~~door~~ **threshold**"; Ella responds to Birkin's ambiguous introduction, ""I wondered if you would be at home,"" with ""I am alone," she said, half to keep him from ~~entering~~ **coming in**, half inviting him"; and, having entered, "the house seemed very silent and ghostly about them, in the twilight, with doors and windows open" (SII 374). With open doors and windows, Ella's voice floats out to the street where Birkin overhears it, while the fading light outside produces darkness inside the house. The scene is initially set, therefore, with ambiguous and porous boundaries between light and dark and inner and outer spaces.

Indoors this porousness and ambiguity becomes increasingly tantalizing as the characters are brought into closer proximity. Birkin sits "in the shadow near the door" and, "wearing grey," is "almost invisible," while Ella perceives his "thinly modelled" head "faintly yet distinctly," through the "grey *clair-obscur*" (SII 375). After an awkward opening exchange in which Birkin "unconsciously" repeats himself and it gets "dark in the room" during "an awkward silence," Ella goes to fetch some matches to light the fire. However, Birkin "insidiously" follows her and offers some of his own, which brings about the "hesitating" crossing of a final, haptic boundary as her fingers "twitched" his (SII 375).

Once a fire is lit, the visual ambiguity actually increases as Birkin's face is illuminated but indecipherable, "intent, hard, without expression," leaving Ella "half-

terrified," as "the steady hardness of the eyes was dreadful to her" (SII 375). At this intense pitch of sensitivity, Birkin's voice resonates with "a hard, vibrating quality," and Ella feels increasingly "powerless against him, and yet not with him" (SII 375). This ambiguous proximity produces an extremity of tension and threatens to overwhelm Ella, who, "summoning all her self-restraint" puts "her hand on his arm" and says, "pleadingly, pathetically: "No — no"" (SII 375). However, Birkin's "living arm beneath his sleeve" is "a torture to her," and Ella responds by inverting the climactic clasp of the 'Sisters I' fragment, where Gerald drew Gudrun's face to his own breast: she "caught him to her, and hid her face on his breast, crying, in a muffled, tortured voice, "Do you love me?"" (SII 375). Ella's defensive demand ("do you love me?") also echoes Gudrun in the earlier fragment.

As the respective fragments are so short, it is impossible to know whether Lawrence had already written this scene in the first draft and whether this second version was an expansion or intensification of an earlier draft. Comparing the materials as they are, however, the exploration of emotional extremity does appear more extensive in the 'Sisters II':

> But his breast was strange to her […] he was quivering, rigid […] he was strange to her. He was strange to her, and it was almost agony. He was cold to her […]. She felt he was cold to her. And the quivering man stiffened with desire was strange and horrible to her. She got free again, and, with her hands to her temples, she slid away to the floor at his feet, unable to stand, unable to hold her body erect. She must double up, for she could not bear it. […] Her womb, her belly, her heart were all in agony. She crouched together on the floor, crying like some wild animal in pain […] a sound she was unaware of,

> that come from her unproduced, out of the depths of her body in torture. (SII 375-376)

Here Ella reaches a kind of existential perception of strangeness through the revelation of emotional extremity, which, incidentally, closely echoes the language of *The Rainbow* in Ella's inability to "bear" it and in the depth of feeling reaching down to "her womb, her belly, her heart." That said, however, the animal simile does echo the first fragment, while Birkin's response to Ella, "his mind was blank. He knew she did not feel him any more. He knew he had no part in her, that he was out of place. And he had nothing to say" (SII 376), also echoes Gerald's sense in the 'Sisters I' fragment that "something […] had shut up" inside Gudrun, which made "a silence fall darkly" inside him (SI 295).

Interestingly, the later and more familiar versions of *Women in Love* did not initially contain an exchange in which Ella questions Birkin's love, although Lawrence did insert such a scene quite late on in the process of revision and rewriting. Following the episode with Birkin's cat Mino, Lawrence completely rewrote a section of dialogue between the pair when revising the second typescript from 1917 onwards (the typescripts are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.4). In doing so, Lawrence inserted the following plea (or command) by Ursula: ""**Say you love me, say 'my love' to me** . . . **Say 'my love' to me**"" (TSII 245).

However, though the key episodes in both fragments directly relate to the narrative of *Women in Love*, the broader context of the 'Sisters II' fragment places it within the context of *The Rainbow*. Despite appearing nearly a hundred pages further into its respective draft, Ella and Gudrun still lodge at home in the 'Sisters II' fragment, while, in the final scene, having travelled north to join the family holiday, Ella is struck by a "wave of terror, deep, annihilating," upon catching sight of her

early lover Ben Templeman. This (ultimately divisive) shift towards the narrative of *The Rainbow* prepares the way for the subsequent 'Wedding Ring' fragment.

'The Wedding Ring' and social criticism: "The first loop-hole in the prison where we are all shut up"

Somewhat fortuitously, 63 pages of 'The Wedding Ring' typescript (February-May 1914) have survived, as Lawrence interpolated two segments of it into MSI of *The Rainbow* (November 1914-March 1915). The two main identifying features are the original pagination (pp. 219-75 and 279-83 are altered to pp. 548-604 and 608-13) and the fact that "Ella" is revised to "Ursula" throughout. Unlike the two 'Sisters' fragments, Lawrence heavily revised the 'Wedding Ring' fragment, with passages cut throughout, though most dramatically towards the end. There appear to be two levels to the revision, the first in pencil and the second in pen. As pen is occasionally used to re-revise the pencil revisions, while the original pagination is altered in pencil, it is likely that Lawrence made both during the composition of MSI of *The Rainbow*, meaning there is a gap of around six months between these two periods.

Given the shortness of the first two fragments ('Sisters I' and 'Sisters II'), comparison between them and the 'Wedding Ring' fragment is somewhat speculative. Granted this qualification, however, there would appear to be a development away from the more isolated conflicts of the first two fragments towards a broader social critique of England and modernity. This is signalled immediately by the first complete paragraph:

> **She was** shut in ~~about~~ **with** the wet, silent, morning-sombre people, of whom she was one. The conductor came down issuing tickets, and each little ring of

> his clipper ~~seemed to sentence another person~~ **sent a pang of dread through her**.
>
> They were all going to work: she too was going to work. The fresh, slim girl sat trying to feel as they felt, to fit in with them. And fear was at her bowels. She was in the grip of some unknown force. (WR 219)

Ella is "going to work," and the bulk of the fragment does indeed consist of Ella's entry into the "man's world" and her attempts to integrate into the social model which her place of work, the school, provides. However, aside from the possible development in terms of social criticism, these opening passages echo the rhythmic, enactivist prose of the earlier fragments. Likewise, it is evidently Ella's intensity of feeling that provides the fragment's critical edge. Despite "trying to feel as they felt," she is initially "shut in" and the ticket conductor's clipper sends pangs of "dread through her": "fear was at her bowels."[12]

In their introduction to the Cambridge edition entitled *The First 'Women in Love'*, based on TSI of *Women in Love*, John Worthen and Lindeth Vasey suggest that, following the completion of *The Rainbow* in 1915, Lawrence's "income was tiny, his health had been bad in the winter, his attitude to the war and to British society in general had grown almost completely antagonistic" and, as such, *Women in Love* "came to reflect his new attitude towards his society."[13] Introducing this suggestion biographically, the editors continue to argue "extra-textually," alluding to Lawrence's own suggestions in correspondence that *The Rainbow* was "all written before the war" and "I don't think the war altered it, from its pre-war statement' (iii.

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[12] The extension of feeling to Ella's "bowels" links this passage directly with SII, as well as *The Rainbow* and, much later, *The Plumed Serpent*.

[13] *The First 'Women in Love'*, p. xxvi.

142), whereas *Woman in Love* "does contain the results in one's soul of the war" (iii. 143). This introduction concludes with the suggestion that *The First 'Women in Love'* should alter common misperceptions of *Women in Love* as "a novel which – appearing as it did in England in June 1921 – finds its natural place among post-war works such as *Ulysses* […] and *The Waste Land*," (liii-v), whose characters are apparently "disillusioned with society, and resigned."[14] By contrast, "its 1917 publication would have reinforced strongly the extent to which Lawrence saw it as a novel which 'knocked the first loop-hole in the prison where we are all shut up' (ii. 663)."[15] However, we can use internal textual history to reveal other critical misperceptions here: Joyce began *Ulysses* itself in 1914. Meanwhile, the description of the novel's characters as "disillusioned" and "resigned" is equally problematic, while *The Waste Land* arguably doesn't contain *any* characters.

If, instead, we focus more intently on the genesis of *Women in Love*, it is evident that Lawrence was attempting to create a "loop-hole" before the outbreak of war. While the "prison" shifts, from the social paralysis of Mrs Crich at the opening of the 'Sisters I' fragment, to the "old life" from which Ella and Birkin attempt to extricate themselves in the 'Sisters II' fragment, it takes shape more clearly as a trope in the 'Wedding Ring' fragment, as Ella comes into violent conflict with the abstract system of regulated discipline within the school, as well as the perverse pleasure surrounding the use of, and submission to power, which trickles down from the headmaster's leering smile.

Having journeyed by train from her own provincial village to a state-school in town, on first entering via an "ecclesiastical-looking porch," the whole school

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[14] *The First 'Women in Love'*, pp. liii-v.

[15] *The First 'Women in Love'*, pp. lv.

"seemed to be some low-bred ~~relative of the church, secular and unpleasing~~" (WR 219-220). This dissection of Ella's liberal expectations continues inside, where the schoolmaster Mr Brunt beckons her into the teacher's room, "as from a prison cell," and speaks to her without "one touch of the colour of chivalry or gallantry in his voice, he spoke to her as if she were not a person at all, and particularly, not a woman" (WR 221): "she had never been treated like this before, as if she ~~were a thing~~ **did not count**."

Lawrence's narration in the earlier 'Sisters II' fragment explored the porous boundaries between inner and outer dimensions. In the 'Wedding Ring' fragment, however, Ella's sense of alienation is expressed more self-consciously, while, in a development that continues in the later drafts of *Women in Love*, Lawrence's revisions seem almost like theoretical reflections: "**in the gas-light and gloom and the narrowness of the room all seemed unreal** […] **it seemed that neither morning nor weather really existed. This place was timeless**" (WR 220).

Having progressed from the train and the school's exterior through the porch and the teacher's room, Ella eventually enters the schoolroom itself: "its rigid, long silence ~~was rigid and chilling~~ **reminded her of a prison** […] because of the horrible feeling of being shut in […] the prison was round her now!" (WR 223). The trope of the "prison" is a romantic one and, as with Kate's experience at the bullfight in the opening scenes of *The Plumed Serpent* (discussed in Chapter 3.1), Ella's expectations set her up for a fall.[16] However, as with Lawrence's later protagonist Kate, Ella's acknowledgement of naivety merely emphasises the harshness of her surroundings:

[16] On the topic of romanticism in *Women in Love*, see Eugene Stelzig, 'Romantic Reinventions in D. H. Lawrence's *Women in Love*', *Wordsworth Circle*, 44:2-3 (2013), 93-97.

"she winced, feeling she had been a fool in her anticipations […] this prison of a school was reality […] here she would realise her dream of being the beloved teacher bringing light and joy to her children~~.~~**!**" (WR 224), and the revision of the full stop into an exclamation mark at the end of this passage underlines this point.

Though, as we will see, the trope of the prison develops into a trope of the "shell" towards the end of the 'Wedding Ring' fragment, a more psychoanalytic (and potentially explosive) metaphor, this particular trope does recur in *Women in Love*. In response to Hermione's claim in the early 'Classroom' chapter of *Women in Love*, that ""the young people growing up today"" are ""the living dead"" (the latter phrase was cut by Lawrence when revising TSII) as they are, supposedly, ""over-conscious, burdened to death with consciousness,"" Birkin opposes her by suggesting there is a problem ""not because they have too much mind, but too little,"" and he describes the children as ""imprisoned within a **limited**, false set of concepts"" (TSII 44). Lawrence also toys with this trope when describing Birkin's dread of London as he approaches by train with Gerald, murmuring "to himself, ~~almost~~ like a man ~~who is~~ condemned **to ~~prison~~ death**" (TSII 67). Finally, it is used most assertively by Birkin (again) to describe Breadalby, having spent the night there relatively early on in the novel:

> How lovely, how sure, how formed, how final all the things of the past were – the lovely accomplished past – this house, so still and golden, the park slumbering its centuries of peace. And then, what a snare and a delusion, this beauty of static things – what a horrible, dead prison Breadalby really was, what an intolerable confinement, the peace![17]

[17] TSII 112.

By connecting various realities of modern life, such as state education, where pupils have facts drilled into them, London, with its vital circulation of capital and commerce, and Breadalby, where beauty is preserved as a final and accomplished thing, the romantic tropes of imprisonment and death are able to retain a critical edge.

The school serves as a social model for Lawrence where various tensions, produced by the introduction of military and industrial schemas of organization and efficiency ("the long rows of desks, arranged in a squadron"), and divisions, between the individual and the collective, as well as the human and the abstract, can be examined. Although the 'Industrial Magnate' chapter of *Women in Love* suggests otherwise, education is a fairly unique social institution due to the special role of leadership within the pedagogic relationship and Lawrence was of course a schoolteacher himself for several years. The following long, introspective passage during Ella's first day at school reflects some of these tensions and divisions:

> The desks before her had ~~a hard~~ **an abstract** angularity that ~~was impervious to sentiment. She knew~~ **crystallised her sentiment into hard impersonality. She winced, feeling** she had been a fool in her anticipations. This hard shell of a school ~~showed her very well what the spirit was: something hard and calculated.~~ **was not meant for love and personal feeling: it had a hard purposiveness that she could not understand.** She had brought her feelings and her generosity where neither generosity nor emotion ~~held good~~ **were wanted**. And already she felt rebuked, ~~ashamed of herself~~ **troubled by the new atmosphere, out of place**.
>
> She slid down, and they returned to the teachers' room. It was queer to feel that ~~the placed denied~~ **one ought to alter** one's personality. ~~Ella seemed to herself dumb, neutral. This experience was strange to her. She was nobody~~

> ~~at all. She had no reality of her self, the reality was all outside her, extinguishing her.~~ **She was nobody, there was no reality in herself, the reality was all outside of her, and she must apply herself to it.**
>
> (WR 224)

However, it is also worth considering the relevance of Lawrence's experiences of *writing* the novel, in relation to some of these underlying conflicts, between real and unreal, personality and impersonality; particularly with regard to the repeated references about the imposition of fixed form ("hard angularity," "hard impersonality," "something hard and calculated," "hard purposiveness").

The protracted composition of *Women in Love* was a particularly absorbing process for Lawrence, as highlighted by his several allusions to strangeness and foreignness in the letters, and I have suggested that Lawrence's reflections on writing and form resulted from his own opposition to the Flaubertian tenets held by many of his contemporaries, including early mentors and editors. In a review of Thomas Mann written in June 1913, a month after the first draft of 'The Sisters' was finished, Lawrence suggests:

> Germany is now undergoing that craving for form in fiction, that passionate desire for the mastery of the medium of narrative, that will of the writer to be […] undisputed lord over the stuff he writes, which is figured to the world in Gustave Flaubert.[18]

While the mixture of social and aesthetic forms of mastery may produce a slightly exaggerated polemic against Flaubert, Lawrence's diagnosis is clearly inflected by the state of Germany (a year prior to its invasion of Belgium), Lawrence having

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[18] D. H. Lawrence, 'German Books: Thomas Mann', *The Blue Review*, 1 (July 1913), 200-206, 200.

witnessed Prussian military training himself (discussed already in relation to the article 'With the Guns', in the previous chapter, 2.1). However, in principle, Lawrence suggests, "this craving for form is the outcome, not of artistic conscience, but of a certain attitude to life. For form is not a personal thing like style. It is impersonal like logic. And just as the school of Alexander Pope was logical in its expressions, so it seems the school of Flaubert is, as it were, logical in its aesthetic form."[19] Lawrence therefore suggests that the desire for "form" is a desire for mastery of the personal, an imposition of logical discipline over individuality. Lawrence poses his fundamental concern with the following question:

> But can the human mind fix absolutely the definite line of a book, any more than it can fix absolutely the definite line of action for a living being?[20]

In relation to Lawrence's own analysis, therefore, it is worth considering the parallels between social and aesthetic mastery in the 'Wedding Ring' fragment.

The classes themselves are ranked into "Standards," ordered to ""fall in,"" and file into their desks while the school piano plays "a march tune" (WR 226-7). While, beside her, Mr Brunt leads his class "like a machine, always in the same hard, high, inhuman voice […] oblivious of everything" (WR 228), Ella reflects on her own class as follows:

> This ~~innumerable class~~ **inhuman number** of fifty children depending on her. […] this class of fifty ~~unknown~~ **collective** children, depending on her command […] she could not speak as she would to a child, because they were not individual children, they were a ~~collection of~~ ~~scholars.~~ **collective inhuman thing.** (WR 228)

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[19] Lawrence, 'German Books: Thomas Mann', 200.

[20] Lawrence, 'German Books: Thomas Mann', 200.

The pupils then, abstracted into impersonal form, become a "**collective inhuman thing**," and the author imposing this form is the successful schoolmaster:

> The class was his class and ~~felt with him~~ **he asserted it**. ~~It did not matter how he thrashed or bullied, nor how he was hated.~~ **She was a wavering substitute. He thrashed and bullied, he was hated. But he was master.** […] **And in school, it was power and power alone that mattered.** […] That seemed to be his one ~~craving, almost his mania: to keep absolute,~~ ~~undisputed authority in the school, at whatever cost.~~ **reason in life, to hold, inviolable authority over the school.** (WR 229)

While the desire for mastery here is obvious, to return to the critique of Flaubertian form, Lawrence suggests that, "even while he has a rhythm in style, yet his work has none of the rhythm of a living thing, the rise of a poppy, then the after uplift of the bud, the shedding of the calyx and the spreading wide of the petals, the falling of the flower and the pride of the seed-head. There is an unexpectedness in this such as does not come from their carefully plotted and arranged developments."[21] Here, Lawrence uses a botanical analogy to emphasize the importance of "unexpectedness," which also relates to foreignness and strangeness, in organic rhythms of life. These elements are thus threatened by the quest for logical efficiency and "machinic" regularity.

To return to the schoolroom, Ella herself becomes the superfluous element in the "hard and calculated" system established by the master:

> The system, which ~~he had built up like an~~ **was his** extension of himself, which was the ~~organised growth of~~ **the machine working to** his will, was attacked and threatened at the point where ~~Ella~~ **Ursula** was included. She was the

[21] Lawrence, 'German Books: Thomas Mann', 206.

> extraneous matter that he must cast forth. And blindly, thoroughly, moving from strong instinct ~~of opposition,~~ he set to work to expel her. (WR 243)

As mentioned above, Lawrence's revisions often appear to theorize the original text. Considering the presence of self-extension and automatisation in the above passage, then, the following rewritten passage demonstrates this point:

> ~~Mr Brunt's voice. On and on it went, unceasing, untiring, unchanging. She could feel that the whole man was gone into the task of teaching, teaching blindly, mechanically, as if he were inflicting knowledge on his class.~~
>
> **The first great task was to reduce sixty children to one state of mind, or being. This state must be produced automatically, through the will of the teacher and the will of the whole school authority, ~~apart from~~ <imposed upon> the will of the children.** (WR 234)

As the emphasis shifts from the specificity of Mr Brunt's "unceasing" activity to the general shaping of the class into "one state of mind, or being," the shift between these two versions also reflects the possible shift between the drafts of 'The Sisters' and 'The Wedding Ring', alluded to at the outset, from more isolated conflicts to more explicit social criticism.

It is also important to emphasise the mediatory role of Ella (also mentioned at the outset of this section), who works alongside the schoolmaster, in this kind of social criticism. As we follow Ella on her quest for independence from the family home, her intensity of feeling is the illuminating factor, which highlights the school's brutal discipline. The threat of expulsion, however, forces Ella to adapt, and there are two major turning points in the episode at the school, both of which involve violence.

The first occurs outside of school, when some of Ella's pupils, who have already taken to hurling abuse when they spot her in the town, catch sight of her

walking along a deserted high-road and hurl stones instead (WR 246-7). Afterwards, "a change took place […] never again would she give herself as individual to her class […] she did not want to be a person, to be her self any more, after such humiliation" (WR 247-8). Ella must therefore develop a shadowy alter ego, capable of integrating into and imposing the school's system. This split is effected by the second scene, in which Ella brutally canes an insubordinate boy, "again and again, whilst he struggled making inarticulate noises, and lunging vicious kicks at her" (WR 251), after which, "something had broken in her" (WR 254).[22]

Though, in an aforementioned letter, Lawrence figures his quest in writing *Women in Love* in destructive terms ("knocking a loop-hole in the prison"), the novel can also be understood in more positive terms, as representing a quest to *suture* some of the splits discussed in these early fragments. One of Lawrence's major and enduring solutions to such division and conflict (in his fiction) is the formation of tight-knit yet reflexive/critical bonds between characters. The highly articulate bond between the sisters, Ella/Ursula and Gudrun Brangwen, whose relationship was at least nominally central to the novel from the beginning and is established immediately in the eventual opening to *Women in Love* (discussed below), is prefigured in the 'Wedding Ring' fragment by the friendship between Ella and fellow schoolteacher Maggie Schofield, which emerges late on in the fragment, after Ella's trials at the

[22] Interestingly, "feeling too upset to go home" after being repeatedly kicked while caning the boy, Ella takes shelter in a "small tea-shop" in town, "a mechanical action, to cover over her existence. There she sat in the dark, obscure little place, without knowing" (WR 254); this exact course of action is chosen as a therapeutic response by Kate in *The Plumed Serpent* also, who visits a teashop in town to recuperate after leaving the bullfight (see Chapter 3.1).

school: the pair "talked of love and marriage, and the position of women in marriage" (WR 266).

Before moving on, however, I will highlight the closing pages of the 'Wedding Ring' fragment, which demonstrate the aforementioned development from the more romantic trope of the prison to the more modernist trope of the shell. The latter trope itself figures the conflict between real and unreal, open and closed, in more optimistic terms because, whereas the former trope must be knocked down or have "loop-holes" knocked out of it, the latter can be cast aside; it can also open up or explode. Finishing work in July, Ella will leave school at the same time as the Brangwens will move home from the farm at Cossethay to a town house in Willey Green, and "the old, bound shell of Cossethay was to be cast off, and she was to dance away into the blue air" (WR 274). Following subjective "disinvestment," then, the old home shifts from something inhabiting the present to become a closed remnant of the past. Similarly, during Ella's last day at school, "it was as if the walls of the school were going to melt away. Already they seemed shadowy and unreal. […] the prison was a momentary shadow halting about them. The place stood bare and vacated. She had triumphed over it. It was a shell now" (WE 279-80).

Genesis II: 'Prologue'

Framing and ellipsis

Unlike the 1913-14 fragments, which fit somewhere in the middle or end of their respective drafts, the earliest surviving manuscript fragment from 1916, the so-called 'Sisters III' fragment, consists of the opening 55 pages of a draft, which enables us to reconsider the "framing" of *Women in Love*. Pages 1-32 contain a complete first chapter entitled 'Prologue', while pages 33-55 contain an incomplete second chapter

entitled 'The Wedding'. The fragment itself is written in pencil on loose sheets of notepaper, which are of a similar size to the notebooks used by Lawrence to complete a subsequent draft of the novel (discussed in the next chapter, 2.3); at around 23 lines per page, these sheets are nearly half the size of the massive sheets on which the first two 'Sisters' fragments were written. The 'Sisters III' fragment is also revised throughout, quite heavily in places (cf. pp. 7, 9 and 10), and contains chapter titles, something which, elsewhere in the composition of *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent*, at least, Lawrence tended to add-in *after* having completed a draft.

As discussed below, the second chapter of the fragment, 'The Wedding', maps directly onto the first chapter of the subsequent drafts of *Women in Love*. This indicates that Lawrence had it to hand and followed it closely while working on the subsequent draft, which also emphasises the fragment's status *as* a draft (i.e. intentionally provisional, to be used as part of an ongoing process). However, more interesting perhaps is the first chapter, 'Prologue', whose content significantly alters the framing of *Women in Love*.

Prior to the sisters' dialogue and subsequent excursion to view the local wedding (as in the opening to *Women in Love*), the first chapter ('Prologue') begins with a quasi-mythic account of the first meeting between Rupert Birkin and Gerald Crich, four years previously. This meeting is immediately reminiscent of the tantalizing proximity between Ella and Birkin in the 'Sisters II' fragment: "there had been a subterranean kindling in each man ~~toward the other~~**. Each looked toward the other and knew the trembling nearness**" (SIII 1).

Brought together by Hosken, a common friend, the three men "spent a week in the Tyrol together, mountain-climbing" (SIII 1), which had passed "like an intense brief life-time" (SIII 1-2):

> The three of them had reached another state of being, they were enkindled in the upper silences into a rare, unspoken intimacy, an intimacy that took no expression, but which was between them like a transfiguration. […] It was another world, another life, ~~incorporate~~ **transfigured**, and yet most vividly corporeal, the senses all raised till each felt his own body, and the presence of his companions, like an essential flame, they radiated to one enkindled, transcendent fire, in the upper world.
>
> Then had come the sudden falling down to earth, the sudden extinction. […] On the station they shook hands, and went asunder, having spoken no word and given no sign of the transcendent intimacy, which had roused them beyond the everyday life. (SIII 2)

As the following chapter on the notebooks discusses, the question of "another world" occupies some of the novel's concluding and reflexive dialogues. In this provisional opening passage, however, with suggestions of both pre-Socratic metaphysics ("an essential flame") and contemporary physics of energy and force ("they radiated"), a quasi-mythic "state of being" enables "the transcendent intimacy," which overcomes the kind of going "asunder" examined in the 'Wedding Ring' fragment and is rooted in the body: "the senses all raised till each felt his own body, and the presence of his companions, like an essential flame, they radiated to one enkindled, transcendent fire." Incidentally, the novel is ambivalent about the desirability of such a state of being, as witnessed already in Ella's suffering in the presence of Birkin ('Sisters II'); this ambivalence is explored in much greater depth later on, when the narrative returns to a sublime "upper world" (the Alps), where Gudrun and Gerald are overcome and Ursula seeks to escape.

This mythic opening provides an indication of how Lawrence may have conceptualised *Women in Love* in April 1916, as a kind of "flight back into paradise" (the title of a later Lawrence painting). Despite its apparent significance, however, the opening frame lasts only a couple of pages, while the remaining thirty or so pages of the 'Prologue' sketches out the history of Gerald, Birkin and Hermione; initially named Ethel (revised to Hermione), Hermione enters the scene because Gerald and Birkin "met again, in a country house in Derbyshire" (SIII 3), which belongs to her father, Sir Charles Roddice.

These pages appear more improvisational than the previous fragments, containing a bewildering array of detail (Birkin's "loveable eyes were, in the last instance, estranged and unsoftening like the eyes of a wolf" (SIII 4), Gerald "in the last issue was wavering and lost" (SIII 4), while Hermione was "a rather beautiful woman of twenty-five" who "had known Rupert Birkin in Oxford" (SIII 5)) and a confusing sense of time. Aside from a shifting present tense, the chronological range within the fragment's narrative amounts to *nine* years:

- We are told briefly about Birkin and Hermione's first meeting in Oxford when Birkin was "twenty-one" (SIII 5): he was a Fellow of Magdalen College whose "essays on Education ~~had been very well received~~ **were ~~thought~~ brilliant**" (SIII 5), while Hermione, a year Birkin's junior, had read "political economy" and listened to his "passionate declarations […] holding forth against Nietzsche," "loved him" and devoted herself to "this mental and spiritual flame" (SIII 5); when Sir Charles troubles her with the formal question of marriage, she responds: ""How vulgar you are!"" (SIII 5) and so their relationship had "continued" (SIII 6);

- Birkin and Gerald's second meeting, at the Roddice house in Derbyshire, takes place five years later: Hermione is "twenty-five," meaning Birkin (a year older) is twenty-six;
- Finally, by the end of the 'Prologue', with Hermione and Birkin "running to the end of their friendship," Birkin "was now thirty, and she was twenty-nine" (SIII 31)

With Gerald a fleeting presence, who, in the end, "went abroad to South America" (SIII 31), the majority of the first chapter focuses on Birkin and Hermione's relationship; incidentally, as former students at Oxford, both represent fairly new types of character for Lawrence.

Lawrence appears to have abandoned the idea of a 'Prologue' chapter by July or August, as it is completely absent from TSI. This decision reasserts the primacy of the sisters, whose view of the Hosken wedding subsequently serves as an introduction to these characters (Birkin, Gerald, Hermione, all of whom were absent from *The Rainbow*). As a result, the cut makes the major characters in *Women in Love* appear somewhat more enigmatic, which is only accentuated by Lawrence's rewriting of the subsequent 'Wedding' chapter.

Had *Women in Love* begun along the lines of the 'Sisters III' fragment, there would have been a greater degree of continuity with *The Rainbow*. Besides its quasi-mythic opening and its introduction of Gerald, Birkin and Hermione, the fragment also bridges the gap between the novels when re-introducing Ursula and Gudrun, who we learn are "a good deal changed. Ursula was twenty-seven years old now, and Gudrun twenty-six" (SIII 34). The alteration of this initial type of framing means descriptive backgrounds in *Women in Love* are revealed in a piecemeal fashion, usually in snatches of dialogue.

Of Gudrun (a minor character in *The Rainbow*), for example, prior to the sisters' opening conversation, we learn that she had "been home a couple of days" (SIII 36) and had previously received a "scholarship in Nottingham, and in London she had lived freely" as an artist whose "little models in clay, of animals and birds and people" were well-received (SIII 34-5). While of Gerald we learn at the outset of the 'Wedding' chapter that "William Crich, Gerald's father, was the principal owner of the mines that went down the valley of Beldover" and that "the Criches were the only considerable people in the whole neighbourhood" (SIII 33).

Returning to the first chapter of the 'Sisters III' fragment, a key detail regarding Gerald and Birkin's relationship is the suggestion that "they knew ~~that~~ they loved each other," and "all this knowledge was kept ~~in the dark, subterranean~~ **submerged in the** soul of the two men" (SIII 3); in terms of the novel's own compositional history, we might say that this knowledge itself becomes "submerged" in the avant-texte. As mentioned, however, the 'Prologue' mainly focuses on Birkin and Hermione. We learn that Birkin "wanted to gravitate towards Gerald," to be "vital and ordinary […] it was his deep desire, to be common, vulgar, a little gross" and to "betray the heights and depths of ~~almost~~ **nearly** religious ~~conversation~~ **intercourse** which he had with" Hermione (SIII 7). From Hermione's perspective, Birkin was "prostituting his mind and ~~his~~ subtle understanding," and "she felt ~~frustrated and driven to the verge of distraction~~ **confusion gathering upon her, she was unanchored on the edge of madness**" (SIII 8). Despite this antagonism, however, a destructive bond between the pair persists:

> He recognised that he was on the point of breaking, becoming a thing, losing his integral being, or she of becoming insane […] a mere disordered set of

> processes without purpose or integral being […] yet he could not save himself. (SIII 21)

Regarding Birkin's "gravitations," the 'Prologue' excavates Birkin's sensualism, aestheticism, and nihilism, making him more clearly akin to Gudrun. Meeting a "strange" type of man, Birkin "would feel the desire spring up in him, the desire to know this man, to have him, as it were to ~~devour~~ **eat** him, to take the very substance of him" (SIII 29). Compare this with Gudrun's perception of Gerald in the subsequent notebook draft of *Women in Love*: "She looked at Gerald. He looked like a fruit made to eat. He was her apple of knowledge. She felt she could set her teeth in him and eat him ~~till nothing but a~~ **to the** core ~~was left~~" (N7 216); in a sense, given the discarded presence of the 'Prologue' chapter in the compositional history of the novel, in which Birkin had "in his mind […] a small gallery of such men" (SIII 27), by the time of *Women in Love* Birkin has already "eaten the apple" (though he is still, perhaps, digesting it, a process which is also referred to more generally in drafts of *The Plumed Serpent* (see the extract of speech by Cipriano discussed on p. 314 of this thesis)).

The fragment also tells of Birkin's "harsh, jarring poetry, very real and painful, under which she ~~Hermione~~ suffered; and sometimes, shallower, gentle lyrics, which she treasured as drops of manna," for which Hermione functions as a "priestess": Birkin's "records and his oracles […] **would be** nothing if his worship were neglected" (SIII 6). Given the rarity of Lawrence's protagonists figuring as writers, this artistic atheism is noteworthy: Birkin's oracles would be "nothing" without the priestess's worship, which also echoes later criticism in the novel of Gudrun and Loerke's pretensions towards esoteric knowledge. Elsewhere, the fragment rehearses some of Birkin's monologues: "if there *be* no great philosophic

idea, if, **for the time being,** mankind, instead of going through a period of growth, is going through a corresponding process of decay and decomposition from some old, fulfilled, absolute idea, then what is the good of educating?" (SIII 12). The question is, however, dramatised by Birkin's own entanglement in a "process of decay," in his destructive relationship with Hermione and fantasies about Gerald (and other men), as is his suggestion that "all ideas" are "mere sounds, old repetitions, or else novel, dextrous sham permutations and combinations of old repetitions" (SIII 14), which echoes behind some of his speeches in *Women in Love*.

When Catherine Carswell received TSI of *Women in Love* in November 1916, she and her husband specifically questioned the lack of detail provided about Gerald's background until later on in the novel. Lawrence's response sheds some light on his early alterations to the framing of the narrative:

> About the Gerald-Work part: I want it to come where it does: you meet a man, you get an impression of him, you find out *afterwards* what he has done. (iii. 57)

Hannah Sullivan has discussed the role of "subtraction," as one of two major trends of revision in modernist literature alongside "addition," in enabling the elliptical quality of many paradigmatic modernist texts (from Imagist poetry and Eliot's *The Waste Land*, both influenced by Pound, to Hemingway's "Iceberg principle").[23] Less positively, in *I do I undo I redo*, Finn Fordham discusses similar cuts made by E. M. Forster to *A Passage to India* (1924), which produce the telepathic connections between characters, thus enabling a pre-modernist, spiritualist escape from the problems of modernity.[24] While the latter critique would not appear to apply to

[23] See Hannah Sullivan, *The Work of Revision*, pp. 62-192.

[24] See Fordham, *I do I undo I redo*, pp. 179-212.

Women in Love, whose characters are, as discussed, outwardly reflexive, aggressive, and repressive, Sullivan's general schema of addition and subtraction as modernist modes of revision is helpful in providing a context for the composition of *Women in Love* as distinctly modernist; consider the sheer length of material destroyed, discarded or excised by Lawrence during the novel's overall production.

Mapping: "a ghostly replica of the real"

Following the first chapter ('Prologue') and the opening few pages of the second, which introduce the Criches and re-introduce the Brangwen sisters, much of the remainder of the 'Sisters III' fragment maps directly on to the subsequent draft of *Women in Love* (TSI) and, as some of the following examples demonstrate, Lawrence clearly worked with the fragment (or a lost intermediary draft) beside him when producing TSI.

In both versions (i.e. the 'Sisters III' fragment and TSI), "Ursula and Gudrun sat **one morning** in the large window-bay of their father's house in Beldover," and their conversation begins as follows:

SIII 36	**TSI 1**
"Ursula," she said, putting the question nearest her heart, "don't you want to get married?"	"Ursula," said Gudrun, "don't you ~~ever~~ ~~want~~ **really want** to get married?"

While the sisters' conversation in the fragment continues to provide a basis for TSI, the earlier version is slightly shorter, while the later version appears more repressed. Compare Gudrun's reflections on the home and her father:

SIII 37-8	**TSI 5**
"It's rather hard to be sure what a home *is*, ~~nowadays~~ **really** – whether it is the place where one is *never* oneself, and never can be oneself, or whether one is most natural there […] I think father is the greatest stranger I ever set eyes on – the greatest outsider, too," she said.	"I find myself ~~a complete alien~~ **completely out of it**. […] ~~The *completest* stranger.~~ **I haven't thought about him: I've refrained,**" she said coldly.

While Gudrun is forthright in both the fragment and the initial typescript draft, following Lawrence's revisions to TSI she eventually suggests she has "refrained" from thinking about home.

A similar shift occurs when the sisters decide to leave:

SIII 38-9	**TSI 5**
They were aware of the room in which they sat, the familiar furniture, the burdensome, familiar atmosphere, more ~~wearying~~ ~~**stark**~~ **insistent and obtrusive** than violent change. […] Under Gudrun's influence, the hatred had flashed across her consciousness like a spark struck from a flint. She had never	"Yes," wavered Ursula; and the conversation was really at an end. The sisters found themselves confronted by a ~~kind of~~ void, ~~a terrifying chasm,~~ as if they had looked over the edge ~~of a precipice~~. They worked on in silence for some time. Gudrun's cheek was flushed with repressed emotion. She resented its

SIII 38-9	**TSI 5**
before admitted this violent, radical loathing of all her condition, of all the old, close, familiar things that had formed her. But now she knew. […] "Let us go out," Gudrun exclaimed.	having been called into being. "Shall we go out and look at that wedding?" she asked at length, in a voice that was too casual.

While the earlier version conveys a clearer sense of the uncanny, with the familiarity of home more overbearing than "violent change," in the later version the sisters are "confronted by a ~~kind of~~ void," which Gudrun "resented." However, as in some of Lawrence's revisions to the 'Wedding Ring' fragment, discussed previously, the passage itself becomes more self-conscious in revision, with Gudrun's desire to repress the conflict made explicit. Furthermore, when Ursula goes upstairs in the later version, as though ascending a level within a psychoanalytic model of the psyche, Lawrence inserts a similar passage, in which she becomes "aware of the house, of her home round about her. And ~~suddenly, how she hated it, the detestable,~~ **she loathed it, the sordid,** too-familiar place!" (TSI 5).

The mapping between the versions also continues after the sisters depart:

SIII 39	**TSI 6**
The two girls were soon walking swiftly down the main road of Beldover. It was a wide, irregular, ugly street, broken and	The two girls were soon walking swiftly down the main road of Beldover, a wide street, part shops, part

SIII 39	**TSI 6**
formless.	dwelling houses, utterly formless and sordid, without poverty.

Regarding the opening to *Women in Love*, the removal of the 'Prologue' chapter draft marks a shift from the inarticulate and unconscious meeting of the men to the reflexive dialogue between the sisters, who, gazing through their father's window, articulate some of the novel's implicit questions about love, marriage, family and the home. As a result of this reframing, the excursion outside, which follows, itself becomes more self-conscious and the sisters now detach themselves through the medium of dialogue:

SIII 40	**TSI 6**
"It is like a country in ~~the underworld~~ **another world**," said Gudrun; "the people all ghosts, and everything a ghostly degraded replica of what it should be. Ursula, it's marvellous, it is like being mad."	"It is like a country in an underworld," said Gudrun. "The colliers bring ~~Hell~~ **it** above-ground with them, shovel it up. Ursula, it's marvellous, it's really marvellous – it's really wonderful, another world. The people are all ghosts, and everything is ghostly. Everything is a ghostly replica of the real world, a replica, a ghost, all soiled, everything ~~soiled~~ **sordid**. It's like being mad, Ursula."

The spectral dimension in these descriptions is arguably a consequence of the sisters' own dialogical mediation as self-conscious spectators; elsewhere in the fragment, Gudrun describes the locals as "worse than Goya" (SIII 44).

However, once the sisters reach the church and spy upon the wedding crowd, the mapping between the fragment and TSI becomes much looser: the narrative becomes focalised by members of the wedding crowd (Hermione and Birkin) and, as Lawrence abandoned the 'Prologue', which had previously introduced these characters, the section required more general rewriting.

Changing tack, therefore, I will conclude this chapter on the fragments by highlighting Lawrence's transitions between dialogic and descriptive passages, which have already been indicated by the sisters' opening dialogue, which is punctured by descriptive scenes as they "walk swiftly down the main road of Beldover." Consider the following, ranging descriptive passage, which follows immediately after the previous passage of dialogue and whose anchorage in the landscape, regardless of its bleakness, provides a rest from the sisters' spectral perspective:

SIII 40	**TSI 6-7**
The two sisters were crossing a black path across a soiled, worn field. Before them was a large landscape, a valley with collieries whose white stem ~~waved an~~ **and black** smoke waved and rose in strong columns, hill-sides where rows of	The two sisters were crossing a black path through a dark, soiled field. On the left was a large landscape, a valley with collieries, and opposite hills with cornfields and woods, all blackened with distance, as if seen through a veil of

SIII 40	**TSI 6-7**
~~red~~ **grimy** dwellings with slate roofs climbed in a naked contour, fields with iron fences, fields with deep clayey holes dug in them, then more brittle rows of houses. The paths on which the girls walked were of black, trodden earth, the grass of the fields was worn and padded. They passed through a stile of two posts, rubbed shiny by the transit of many colliers in moleskins, then along the end of some alleys.	crape. White and black smoke rose up in steady columns, ~~like~~ magic within the dark air. Near at hand came the long rows of dwellings, approaching curved up the hill-slope, in straight lines along the brow of the hill. They were of darkened red brick, brittle, with dark slate roofs. The path on which the sisters walked was black, trodden in by the feet of the recurrent colliers, and bounded from the ~~degraded~~ field by iron fences; the stile that led again into the road was rubbed shiny by the moleskins of the passing miners.

Switching from specific passages to a consideration of the writing more generally, transitions between dialogue and description generate a rhythmic structure. Anticipating a point which I discuss in more detail when looking at *The Plumed Serpent* (see Chapters 3.1-2), these transitions also connect to compositional rhythms, whereby passages of dialogue are often heavily revised or rewritten, whereas descriptive passages (particularly those depicting the landscape) are usually only lightly revised (if at all) during multiple phases of writing. This point returns us to Lawrence's suggestion, in his critique of Flaubert, that aesthetic form should aspire

towards the rhythm of a living thing, and echoes his advice to Garnett, not to "look for the development of the novel to follow the lines of certain characters: the characters fall into the form of some other rhythmic form" (ii. 184).

2.3

Women in Love: Notebooks

Having discussed the 'Sisters III' fragment at the end of the previous chapter, which most critics believe was written by Lawrence in April 1916, the present chapter continues in chronological order by focusing on the next surviving manuscript in the overall compositional history of *Women in Love*. This consists of notebooks 7-10 of the ten notebooks comprising approximately the concluding third of TSI of *Women in Love*, which were probably written by Lawrence in July (see 2.1 for an outline of the compositional history). Though these notebooks, originally paginated 650-863, appear to have formed the concluding segment of an earlier draft, following a precedent already set by Lawrence when he inserted a segment of the 'Wedding Ring' typescript into the first manuscript of *The Rainbow*, they appear to have survived because Lawrence interpolated them into the first proper manuscript of *Women in Love* in October 1916 (altering the pagination as he did so, to pp. 220-436). Though proceeding chronologically, the nature of the fragment means that this chapter skips to the concluding segment of the narrative. In a sense, this section deals with the final manuscript "fragment." However, given the considerable length of this fragment (over 200 pages) and the fact that it was directly incorporated into TSI of *Women in Love* and revised at the same time, it requires a separate chapter.

Though I will continue to refer to them as notebooks, as this reflects Lawrence's actual usage, the notebooks themselves were in fact children's exercise

books, hence the fact that the ten extant notebooks together amount to just 436pp.[1] Except for notebook 7, which contains slightly longer pages, all ten notebooks contain 20-21 lines per page. However, while notebooks 1-6 are each around 30pp in length (except for notebook 3, which is longer), notebooks 7-10 are each around 60pp in length (except for notebook 8, which is shorter). For an indication of the comparative extent of revision to notebooks 7-10 during their incorporation into TSI, while just 43 individual words are revised in the entirety of notebook 1 (35 pages), 41 individual words are revised on the first page of notebook 7 alone (N7 220).[2]

The narrative content of this segment effectively amounts to the group's stay in the Alps: Ursula and Birkin arrive at the hotel in Innsbruck on p. 204, towards the end of notebook 6, while the revised pagination, which indicates where the earlier draft begins, starts near the beginning of notebook 7 on p. 220. This section of narrative is to some extent alien to the rest, which took place in England. In a subsequent section of this chapter I will discuss the ways in which Ursula and Birkin's prior journey explicitly frames the section as alien. However, echoing Gudrun and Ursula's exchanges at the outset of the novel, the characters themselves self-consciously commentate on this point upon their arrival:

> "Isn't it marvellous," said Gudrun, "how thankful one can be, to be out of one's country. I cannot believe myself, I am so transported, the moment I set

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[1] By contrast, MSI and MSII of *The Plumed Serpent* are predominantly contained in two notebooks apiece, which, despite being written much more concisely in pen, amount to the best part of 500 and 800pp in length respectively (this material is discussed in chapter 3).

[2] Bear in mind the fact that Lawrence appears to have written notebooks 1-6 in October, whereas notebooks 7-10 were interpolated from a previous draft, hence the higher level of revision.

foot on a foreign shore. I say to myself, 'Here steps a new creature into life.'" (N6 214)

It is worth emphasizing the genetic background for this "transportation." While the concluding section of narrative was possibly added to the original drafts of 'The Sisters' (1913-14, discussed in the previous chapter, 2.2), the notebooks containing this section are themselves a kind of time-capsule, removed from an earlier draft. As a result, the closing pages of notebook 6, from which the above extract is taken, were explicitly written by Lawrence in order to (re-)frame the concluding segment.

Though the discussion thus far has demonstrated the complex nature of Lawrence's composition of *Women in Love*, the absence of paper planning highlights the general difference between Lawrence's methods and those of the many influential modernist writers influenced by Flaubert, whose aesthetic tenets emphasised technical craft above all. This "type" of writer, which, as mentioned, includes the likes of Joyce, Proust and Mann (among many others), has more commonly been the subject of genetic criticism, which has contributed to the fairly widespread popularity of "constructivist" metaphors for writing. Though the recent work of Sally Bushell and Finn Fordham, who incorporate more diverse types of writer (from Wordsworth and Emily Dickinson to E. M. Forster and Virginia Woolf), has provided a challenge to this approach, nevertheless genetic criticism is often conceptualised as tracking the "construction" of texts, whereby texts represent virtual building sites.[3]

Some aspects of Lawrence's work, as discussed, do resemble this process, especially the interpolation of segments of manuscript into subsequent drafts (as with

[3] Luca Crispi, for example, has recently tracked Joyce's "construction" of character in *Joyce's Creative Process and the Construction of Characters in* Ulysses*: Becoming the Blooms* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2016).

notebooks 7-10). However, by progressing through a series of new drafts, with no real "continuous manuscript text" (as Gabler has argued one may define for *Ulysses*), Lawrence essentially worked in a different way.[4] The Cambridge edition of Lawrence reflects this difference in its exclusive decision to produce alternative *versions* of works (rather than genetic or synoptic editions) and Michael Black, publisher at the edition's outset and subsequent member of the general editorial board, argues this point explicitly in the essay 'D. H. Lawrence: Spontaneity and Revision as Aesthetic' (discussed in chapter 2.1). However, the emphasis placed by the Cambridge edition upon different "versions" also overlooks the connections between Lawrence's drafts, which I have discussed already in terms of provisionality, invisible layering and mapping; this is reflected in the misleading claim in the edition's general editor's preface that Lawrence "rarely compared one stage to the next."[5] As already discussed, Black similarly exaggerates the level of discontinuity between drafts, which leads him to recycle a rather reductive organic metaphor for writing.[6] In the present chapter, in which I begin to discuss Lawrence's specific revisions and rewritings, I develop an

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[4] *'Ulysses': A Critical and Synoptic Edition*, ed. Hans Walter Gabler with Wolfhard Steppe and Claus Melchior, with an Afterword by Hans Walter Gabler, 3 vols. (New York and London: Garland, 1984 and rev. pbk. edn. 1986), p. 1985.

[5] Printed at the front of every volume in the Cambridge edition of Lawrence and originally entitled the 'General Editorial Policy'.

[6] Black argues there is often a "rift between draft versions, which is so drastic, one has to go beyond the notion of detailed revision of a steadily evolving text, and to posit a process of returning to a source," and suggests "the best metaphor would be Lawrence's: the growth and flowering of a perpetual plant […] producing first these flowers, then those. Yet they are all from the same originating organism" in 'D. H. Lawrence: Spontaneity and Revision as Aesthetic' (154 and 151).

alternative ("dialogist") metaphor for writing by considering the dialogical nature of Lawrence's revisions, which, rather directly building upon (or with), form a dialogue with preceding material.

In general, notebooks 7-10 contain only modest "revisions." However, most of these revisions focus upon adjectives. The first section of this chapter therefore discusses the significance of this type of revision in relation to dialogism, viewpoints, and enchantment. The remaining sections contextualize and then discuss two heavily rewritten sections, which come towards the ends of the notebooks and contain climactic dialogues between the sisters, Ursula and Gudrun, and the men, Birkin and Gerald.

Adjectives, Viewpoints, Enchantment

Aside from a few heavily rewritten passages, Lawrence's revision of notebooks 7-10 largely consists of the deletion or rewriting of occasional words or phrases, usually ranging from about one word to a dozen, per page. These minor alterations, particularly the deletion of single words, resemble a kind of "pruning" of the text: the removal or alteration of minor, presumably discrepant details. However, with respect to artistic pruning, it is important to bear in mind that any apparent discrepancy ultimately stems from the author's particular viewpoint (or conception); though there exist various formal conventions (e.g. the sonnet in verse form), there are no "correct" forms in art. Therefore, regardless of how much time Flaubert spent crafting his sentences, the so-called *mot juste* was only "*juste*" according to Flaubert's particular viewpoint, at a particular moment in time, which, as indicated by revision, changes over time. While it may be tempting to discern the apparent intention behind revision

and chart a work's "progress" in a teleological manner, there are few definitive grounds for favouring one version over another.

Random examples of "pruning" exist on p. 367 of notebook 9, where Lawrence deletes single words from each of the following two lines:

> "I don't choose to be discussed by you," she said~~, superior~~.
>
> "It doesn't matter whether you choose to or not," he replied, "that doesn't alter the fact that you are ready to fall at the feet of that little insect ~~downstairs~~." (*N9* 367)

In the first deletion, Gudrun's assumption of superiority is implicit in what she says, and the subsequent adjective may therefore be deemed superfluous. Likewise, aside from being potentially implicit in the context of the novel, the particular location of Loerke at the time in question may also be considered superfluous, hence the second deletion. However, what both revisions have in common is the alteration of adjectives.

Lawrence's focus on adjectives is clearly highlighted by the very first page of the segment under discussion in this chapter, p. 220 in notebook 7 (originally p. 650 of the earlier draft), which begins with a description of Gudrun and Gerald from the viewpoint of some "peasant-women" (who "turned in the way to look"), which I transcribe below:

> ~~the full-breasted, laughing girl running~~ **the soft, rhapsodic girl running** with such strange fleetness from the ~~lithe, swift~~ **glowing, vigorous** man, who was overtaking her ~~so fatally~~ **inevitably** ~~like a greyhound a rabbit~~.
>
> They passed the ~~guest-house, and a little shop~~ **inn, with its painted shutters and balcony,** a few cottages ~~crouching low~~ **half buried** in the snow; then the silent saw-mill~~, and then they went over~~ **by** the snow-buried bridge,

> ~~and the snow buried~~ **which crossed the hidden** stream, **over which they ran** into the very depth of the untouched sheets of snow. It was a silence and a sheer whiteness exhilarating to madness. But the perfect silence was most terrifying, isolating the soul, surrounding the heart with frozen air.
>
> "~~I'm glad we came here, Gerald~~ **It's a marvellous place, for all that**," said Gudrun, looking into his eyes with a strange, meaning look. His soul leapt with ~~a violent,~~ **an** almost ~~evil~~ **satanic** bound. He was going to let loose now.
>
> "~~So true~~ **Good**," he said. (N7 220)

Adjectives and descriptive phrases are replaced or inserted in all four consecutive paragraphs. The first paragraph is condensed and simplified, with the opening phrase particularly jumbled in the first version: "the full-breasted, laughing girl running." In the second, the "guest house" and "little shop" are also condensed into an "**inn**," though the inn itself is now described in familiar terms, "**with its painted shutters and balcony**." In the third paragraph, rather than make an implicit statement about her surroundings by describing *herself* as "glad we came here," Gudrun instead describes the place itself as "**marvelous**," while Lawrence revises another slightly jumbled descriptive phrase for the activity in Gerald's "soul," from "a violent, an almost evil bound" to the single, loaded adjective, "**satanic**."

We may prefer the later version for its condensation and simplicity and note the subtractive, "modernist" nature of the revision; indeed, Lawrence revised the passage once again at the typescript stage (1917-19) along similar lines, with several adjectives removed.[7] At a glance, with Lawrence switching various verbal units, the

[7] As discussed in the previous chapter (2.2), subtraction and addition – as opposed to mere substitution or "correction" – are set out as modernist modes of revision by Hannah Sullivan in *The Work of Revision*.

revision also appears fragmentary and "constructed." However, if we approach the revision from a "dialogist" viewpoint, it is possible to note how each revision, taken together, produces a holistic recasting of the scene as each revolves around a fresh descriptor and, together, they provide a new "viewpoint" on the scene. Despite the appearance on the page, therefore, it is not simply the case that individual components within "the" scene have been modified. Whereas a modification "corrects" an existing vision, in this case the scene as a whole is shifted and we are presented with two different versions of "a" scene, which are dialogically related. Even the insertion of "**over which they ran into**," which appears to be an exception, is internally necessitated by the previous adjectival revision of the stream from "~~snow-buried~~" to "**hidden**" (otherwise, the introduction of "**which**" in revision would have meant the *bridge* "ran into the very depth of the untouched sheets of snow," rather than Gudrun and Gerald).

Lawrence's focus on adjectives is not unique to *Women in Love*. In a letter written by Lawrence while he was still at work on *The White Peacock*, he described his first novel as "all about love—and rhapsodies of spring scattered here and there—heroines galore—no plot—*nine-tenths adjectives*—every colour in the spectrum discanted upon" (i. 144; my italics). Similarly, in a letter written while confronting page proofs of *The Trespasser*, Lawrence signalled his intention when revising his second novel to "wage war on my adjectives" (i. 381).[8]

In order to develop the conception of Lawrence's revision as "dialogical," it is worth reconsidering Violeta Sotirova's analysis of stylistic developments in Lawrence's revision of *Sons and Lovers* in *D. H. Lawrence and Narrative Viewpoint*.

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[8] More specifically, adjectives also form one focus of revision in *The Plumed Serpent*, as discussed in Chapter 3.1.

Although this study has a particular emphasis upon stylistic features such as conjunction and repetition, rather than the role of adjectives, Sotirova's approach to Lawrence's manuscripts offers a counterpoint to the present argument due to its consideration of revision in a more "constructivist" manner.

With numerous detailed examples, Sotirova demonstrates how Lawrence increasingly integrated character viewpoints into the narrative viewpoint through the development of *free indirect style* when revising *Sons and Lovers*. Sotirova frames her analysis of *Sons and Lovers* within a broader discussion of Lawrence's oeuvre, which suggests that the development of Bakhtinian *dialogicity* in *Sons and Lovers* represented "a break in the development of Lawrence's fiction."[9] Using statistical breakdowns, Chapter 6, 'Situating dialogicity in the novel', compares the use of *free indirect style* in *Sons and Lovers* to Lawrence's previous novel, *The Trespasser*, which was much more reliant upon the mode of "Quoted Thought," where a character's thoughts or feelings are presented as an interior monologue. "Quoted Thought," a more antiquated style with an earlier historical provenance, is less dialogic in that the narrator retains control of the narrative, mediating character viewpoints. Sotirova therefore turns to manuscripts of *Sons and Lovers* for confirmation of whether this stylistic progression in the final novels was the result of *intentional* craft in the process of writing.

From a genetic viewpoint, traditional arguments about breakthroughs in Lawrence's writing career become overly simplistic and teleological when applied to the manuscripts themselves. Like Lawrence's own narration of events, these arguments stem from a consideration of the finished texts and the external

[9] See in particular pp. 60-1, and Chapter 6, 'Situating dialogicity in the novel', pp. 156-186.

biographical context from which they appeared.[10] By contrast, genetic critics approach the avant-texte as contingent material and in doing so attend to the internal dynamics of writing, and the role of those dynamics in shaping the emerging text. While *D. H. Lawrence and Narrative Viewpoint* discusses the blurring of the narrator's viewpoint with those of individual characters as leading to narrative dialogism, the approach to writing process in the study is itself monological in its focus upon a single authorial intention, which is projected across the manuscripts. This point helps us draw out the monological nature of "constructivist" models of composition, where the text is enchanted by the author's spell of intentionality. If, on the other hand, we consider a "dialogist" model of composition, the single telos or authorial viewpoint is itself blurred, as the text may contain a number of dialogically related versions, thus complementing the previous formula with its reverse, as the author may also be enchanted by the text.

Adjectives or descriptors are interesting markers of narrative viewpoint in themselves and entail a kind of enchantment. A viewpoint is a particular way or act of seeing; it therefore implicates a subject (or "viewer") who is bound up in the process or project of seeing. To return to the long passage extracted above, each description implicates a particular subjective viewpoint (and therefore a form of enchantment). It is to the "peasant-women" that Gudrun appears to run "with such strange fleetness"; to Gudrun that the place itself is "marvellous"; and Gudrun's "strange, meaning look" into the eyes of Gerald is an observation of one or both of the protagonists.

[10] I have discussed the emphasis on emergence/maturity by traditional Lawrence critics in chapter 1.2; Sotirova references an early timeline set out by Keith Sagar in *The Art of D. H. Lawrence* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1966; rptd. 1975).

Furthermore, these "enchanted" viewpoints reflect the revision of the text, where the author's own re-vision is reflected by the rewritten descriptors.

The section of the novel contained in notebooks 7-10, in which the characters, having left their habitual environment in England, find themselves in a new and foreign place, is to a large extent a subtle narrative reflection upon the question of enchantment, its sinister potential as well as its allure and much of Lawrence's work with the notebooks highlights this. Consider, for example, how Gudrun's description at the end of notebook six, "Isn't it marvelous […] I cannot believe myself, I am so transported" (N6 214), was written by Lawrence as an explicit frame for the subsequent segment of narrative contained in the earlier notebooks (N7-10) and is later echoed by Gudrun's description of the place itself as "**marvelous**," which Lawrence inserted when revising the aforementioned, earlier notebooks. "Marvelous" is itself a deceptively subtle term for Lawrence to use. It toys with the concept of enchantment, suggesting a degree of illusion and hence of possible disillusionment to come.

This dialogue between the developing theme of enchantment and Lawrence's revision of adjectives is demonstrated by a number of other examples as Gudrun and Gerald settle into their new environment. Consider Gudrun's description of their room:

> '"~~I love it," she said. "I love the~~ **It is wonderful," she equivocated. "Look at the** colour of ~~the wooden walls and ceiling and the floor~~ **the panelling** – it's wonderful, like being inside a nut."' (*N7* 225)

Gudrun's initial attraction becomes an equivocal wonder. The insertion "**it is wonderful**" also alters the context of her later description, "it's wonderful," which shifts from a vague superlative to an equivocal repetition. The condensation of

various details, "the wooden walls and ceiling and the floor," into "**the panelling**," foreshadows the simile of the nut, and Gudrun's equivocal repetitions also suggest the potential unpleasantness of this metaphor (as imprisoning or claustrophobic).

Being "inside a nut" is itself analogous for the way in which the subject of a viewpoint is always bound up in the act of seeing, hence its enchanted quality. The sinister potential for this type of enchantment to imprison the subject becomes increasingly apparent as the narrative progresses. Consider the following passage, as Gudrun gazes at the mountains through the window:

> "filled […] with a strange rapture. She crouched in front of the window, ~~swinging slightly, rocking~~ **clenching her head in her hands,** in a sort of ~~rapture~~ **trance**." (*N7* 227)

Unlike Beckett's eponymous, solipsistic protagonist in *Murphy* (1938), who induces a similar trance-like state by tying *himself* to a chair and rocking back and forth in order to transcend his body, Gudrun's innate embodiment within a sublime Alpine environment seems to impose the trance upon her.[11] Although the characters are engaging with traditional, even generic objects, from Alpine peaks to love itself, the psychological intensity of Gudrun and Gerald's responses is far more unusual. More importantly, the (modernist) reflexivity of the novel, which increases with revision and is focused in self-conscious dialogue and reflections on art, draws attention to the novel itself as a potentially sublime (i.e. enchanting) aesthetic object.

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[11] Lawrence's psychology here is innately post-cognitivist: not in relation to the "extended mind" thesis, which suggests cognition can incorporate external objects (such as an author's manuscripts, as discussed in the more recent work of Dirk van Hulle), but the more basic conception of the mind as *embodied*.

As I discuss later on in this chapter and again in the next (2.4), Gudrun is the most significant character in this respect and her reflections are often self-consciously aesthetic, as in her satiric contemplation of marriage to Gerald, framed as a picture fit for the Royal Academy and entitled 'Home'. It is not a coincidence that it is Gudrun who provides the framing description of travel and place as a transposition ("I say to myself, 'here steps a new creature into life'").

Another descriptive revision highlights this facet of Gudrun's character, as Gerald reflects upon her "strange rapture" in the above extract, in the following passage: "he knew that there were tears in her eyes, her own tears, **tears of her strange religion,** that had nothing to do with him" (N7 228). While Gerald's sense that an aspect of Gudrun's interiority has "nothing to do with him" directly repeats the climax to the 'Sisters I' fragment, as discussed in the previous chapter, more significant for the present discussion is Lawrence's insertion about Gudrun's "**strange religion**," which frames Gudrun's viewpoint as a quasi-religious rapture.

In perhaps the most self-conscious revision relating to adjectives in this entire segment, however, Birkin provides the following comic rejoinder to Gudrun's enchantment:

> "~~I like this place immensely~~ **I think the place is really wonderful**, Gerald," he said. "~~You are a genius for finding the right spot.~~ **It is prachtvoll and wunderbar and wunderschön and unbeschreiblich and all the other German adjectives.**" (N7 233)

While his initial affection and the revised description of the place (as "**wonderful**") echo Gudrun, following Lawrence's revision of the second sentence, rather than flatter Gerald, Birkin detaches himself from his own enchanted viewpoint and wards off the perils of over-enchantment by sampling an array of German superlatives.

Revision in process

Before moving on to discuss the remaining bulk of notebooks 7-10, it is important to point out that Lawrence did not carry out *all* the revisions in October 1916, when interpolating them into the subsequent manuscript: a number of examples quite clearly demonstrate that Lawrence revised some of the text when originally compositing it. Examples of this fall into three different categories:

(1) In notebook 8, the following information about Loerke is revised: "Loerke is doing a great frieze for a factory in ~~Dresden~~ **Cologne**" (N8. 288). Yet in the very next paragraph, over the page, Lawrence writes: "it was very interesting to Gudrun, to think of his making the great granite frieze for a great granite factory in Cologne" (N8. 289), which means Lawrence had either already made the previous revision, or else he decided to do so shortly after, when referring to the location the second time round.

(2) Another indication of revision in process is the insertion of material within the original lines of text (rather than in the margin or superscript, as in retrospective revision). Switching from Loerke's art to Gudrun's, an interesting example of this comes in notebook 9, in which Gudrun reflects on "a female art," hinting at the destructive consequences for Gerald: "After all, what was the lover but fuel for the transports of art, for a female art, the art of pure, perfect ~~sensation~~ knowledge, in sensuous understanding" (N9. 351). Here, Lawrence appears to have switched from "perfect sensation" to "perfect knowledge, in sensuous understanding" while writing.

(3) Revision in process helps to highlight the contingent nature of writing as process, which is what a writer's manuscripts preserve. This in turn contributes to the general thesis that process shapes product, with a particular relevance for Lawrence,

whose distinct lack of paper planning, which contrasts with so many other modernist giants and suggests the activities and rhythms of writing were an important spur for his imagination. A third indication of revision in process comes when the unrevised text *after* a revision does not follow on from the original text that preceded it (i.e. prior to the revision).

Switching finally from Gudrun to Gerald and the novel's ending, consider the following, highly significant passage, which comes towards the end of the final notebook:

> He knew he was going the ~~road~~ **track** towards the summit of the slopes, where was the Marienhütte, ~~where one could stand over the world, on the ridge, to descend on the other side~~ **and the descent on the other side. But he was not interested, it did not interest him. He only** wanted to ~~wander~~ **go** on, ~~then to rest; but~~ to ~~move~~[?] ~~forward~~ **go on** whilst he could, to move ~~forward [?]~~ **, to keep going**, that was all, to keep going' **until he had finished**. He had lost all his sense of place. And yet, ~~for the sake of ease~~ **in the remaining instinct of life**, his feet sought the track where the skis had gone. (N10 421-22)

At least one of the "unrevised" lines here does not follow on from the previous unrevised line, namely: "wanted to wander." Aside from this particular semantic evidence, though, there are a number of obvious physical indications on the manuscript itself, where irregular gaps in the writing have been caused by the revision of a prior piece of text; for example, "towards the summit" follows after the insertion "**track**," which protruded onto the immediate space below. This kind of revision in process, which highlights the indeterminate and contingent nature of the actual

writing process, also shares a highly suggestive link with the content of the passage itself, where Gerald has "lost all his sense of place" and simply desires "**to keep going**, that was all, to keep going**, until he had finished,**" with the latter phrase a particularly interesting second-thought.

Ursula's wings: "memory was a dirty trick"

As mentioned, there are however two heavily rewritten passages in notebooks 7-10. These come in close proximity and parallel each other, one being a conversation between Ursula and Gudrun, while the other is a conversation between Birkin and Gerald. Both are climactic dialogues in the novel between the respective pairings and, to some extent, therefore, provide attempts to define the meaning of each partnership. Before examining these attempts, however, it is important to have a grasp of their context, as they follow on from Birkin and Ursula's decision to split from the group; a departure described by Gudrun as "spiritually" decisive (N9 320). This decision is spurred on by Ursula and stems in turn from a decisive experiential split between the sisters. As usual, the manuscripts provide a fascinating backdrop to this narrative.

At the beginning of this chapter, I discussed the immediate framing of notebooks 7-10, which take place within the "**marvellous**" other world of the Alps, where the characters find themselves "new creatures," through Gudrun's descriptions at the end of notebook 6 and beginning of notebook 7. Although Gudrun provides a sudden, magical account of this metamorphosis – which seems quite fitting for her and Gerald, who simply appear in Innsbruck – the broader narrative frame of notebook 6 weaves a much more subtle transition by following Ursula and Birkin's journey from England. Gradually, the habitual world of England and the everyday

routines of working life are shed as they enter both topographic and narrative foreign land.[12]

Notebook 6 begins with Ursula moving "in an unreal suspense" the weeks before going away: "she was not herself – she was not anything. She was something that is going to be" (N6 192). Ursula's state of abeyance follows a number of radical breaks: Birkin had proposed quite suddenly some time before and Ursula's shocked and non-committal response had led her father, Will Brangwen, to rage at Ursula's apparent whims, which eventually resulted in a violent argument, following which Ursula packed her bags and moved in with Birkin; the pair then severed a number of other ties, writing letters of resignation and planning a new life together on the continent. Ursula attempts a reunion with her parents before departing but this feels "more like a verification of separateness than a reunion," and she does not "really come to, until she was on the ship crossing from Dover to Ostend" (N6 192).

We then follow Ursula as she travels day and night, disorientated, through unfamiliar and nondescript rural landscapes:

> It was all so strange, so extremely desolate, like the underworld, grey, grey, dirt-grey, desolate, forlorn, nowhere – grey, dreary nowhere. (N6 199)

These descriptions are extremely close to those at the opening of *Women in Love*, as discussed towards the end of the previous chapter, where the sisters take a walk through their colliery hometown. In spite of the shift from an underworld of battered mineshafts and colliery fields to the artillery-battered fields of the Western front, though, at the outset of *Women in Love* the sisters were merely speculating: they were out for a short walk and spectating upon a local wedding before returning home. In

[12] The manner of this journey/transition echoes the one portrayed by Andrei Tarkovsky in his renowned film *Stalker* (1979).

Levinassian terms, their "sojourn" ultimately ends with a return home, "the way of the same": otherness is assimilated into the "same" of identity.[13] At this much later stage of the narrative in notebook 6, however, Ursula has decisively abandoned "the way of the same": "she was travelling into the unknown with Birkin, an utter stranger" (N6 201), and hence she becomes estranged from her former identity, her memory of the home and the "known," which are placed more radically in question.

Ursula sees "a man with a lantern come out of a farm by the railway" and thinks of "the Marsh, the old, intimate farm-life at Cossethay":

> My God, how far was she projected from her childhood, how far was she still to go! In one life-time one travelled through centuries. The great chasm in memory from her childhood in the intimate country surroundings […] was so great, that it seemed she had no identity, that **the** child she had been […] was a little creature of imagination, not really herself. (N6 200-1)

Existential questions thrust themselves at Ursula as she attempts to make sense of the radical incongruity of her lived experience and intuits that "the child which she had

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[13] Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (London: Kluwer, 1991), originally published in French, *Totalité et infini: essai sur l'extériorité* (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961); see for example pp. 37-8: "the I is revealed precisely as preeminently the same, is produced as a *sojourn* [*séjour*] in the world. […] The Possibility of possessing, that is, of suspending the very alterity of what is only at first other, and other relative to me, is the *way* of the same. I am at home with myself in the world because it offers itself to or resists possession." We might map this self-other dialectic onto writing, with the unwritten as "other," which, once written, is brought into the same of "identity," but can be made "other" again by rewriting.

been" was a "creature of imagination" rather than "herself."[14] This passage also raises the question of a chasm in *textual* memory, regarding the relation between *The Rainbow*, where Ursula lived on the Marsh as a child, and *Women in Love*, where she posits this chasm from the "present," both novels having split from the same initial process of writing; we can also connect this question to the sense of a rupture in the overall writing process of *Women in Love* during the outbreak of the First World War, as well as, more generally, to the relationship between different drafts over time.

By noting the manner in which Ursula's journey here echoes and inflects the one made at the outset of *Women in Love*, by Ursula and Gudrun together, we see how formations and deformations of the self evolve through the course of the novel. As noted, the early reflections on "unreality" in the novel seem to stem from the mediation of the sisters' self-conscious dialogue, which remains speculative. By contrast, Ursula's later voyage seems to "actualize" the unreality of the past and introduce memory as a "real" spectre of the present; the resultant sense of time as potentially discontinuous also challenges an evolutionary or continuous model of development (in terms of both self-development and textual composition).

Returning to notebooks 7-10, the sense of discontinuity develops further as Ursula attempts to settle in Innsbruck. Ursula goes out for a walk with Birkin and spots – this time more intimately – another man exiting a rural outhouse "with a lighted lantern," which triggers a more intense version of the earlier "vision":

> A smell of cows, hot, animal, almost like beef, came out on the ~~terribly~~ ~~**ponderously**~~ ~~**heavily**~~ **heavily** cold air. There was a glimpse of cattle in their dark stalls, then the door was shut again, and not a chink of light showed. It had reminded Ursula **again** of home, of the Marsh, of her childhood, ~~of her~~

[14] In TSII, Lawrence revises this line to "a little creature of ~~imagination~~ **history**" (TSII 624).

> ~~grandfather, of the grandmother, of Skrebensky~~ **and of the journey to Brussels, and strangely, of Anton Skrebensky**.
>
> Oh God, could one bear it, this past which was gone down the abyss? Could she bear, that it even had been! She looked round this silent, ~~motionless~~ **upper** world of snow and stars and powerful cold. There was another world, like ~~a lantern show. The~~ **views on a magic lantern: the** Marsh, Cossethay, Ilkeston, lit up with a common, unreal light. There was a shadowy, unreal Ursula, a whole shadow-play of unreal life. It was as unreal, and circumscribed, as a magic-lantern show. She wished the slides could all be broken. […] She wanted to have no past. She wanted to have come down from the slopes of heaven to this place, with Birkin, not to have toiled out of the [~~?~~] muck of her childhood and her upbringing, slowly, all soiled. She felt that memory was a dirty trick played upon her. (N7 250-51)

The passage demonstrates features of revision discussed previously: the insertion or revision of single words, as though pruning, with a focus on adjectives or descriptors ("the ~~terribly~~ ~~**heavily ponderously**~~ **heavily** cold air"), which imply a variety of viewpoints (or ways of seeing) and the implication of enchantment, which is itself figured by the "magic-lantern show." However, it also provides a fascinating instance of Lawrence producing layers through revision, as the acknowledgement that the vision is itself a sort of re-vision ("**again**") of Ursula's previous vision on the train ("**the journey to Brussels**") is an *insertion*. It is possible that Lawrence only remembered the connection between the two scenes when re-reading, thus introducing the reference in revision. However, given the fact that notebooks 7-10 originally formed part of an earlier draft, it is also possible that Lawrence wrote the "first" vision (in notebook 6) with the second already in mind.

In the passage itself, the apparent unreality of fixed things, a common perception by characters in the novel (as discussed in the previous chapter in relation to specific tropes such as the prison and the shell), reaches something of a crisis point through the figure of slides in a magic lantern show, which Ursula's wishes to smash ("she wished the slides could all be broken").[15] The desire to smash the slides is a kind of desire for an immaculate conception: "she wanted to have no past. She wanted to have come down from the slopes of heaven." To some extent, this represents a repressive attitude towards the past, which is figured as "muck." However, the ability to transcend the past is also a constituent of freedom and a condition of self-definition: agency is like an angel, which is able to transcend the otherwise static determinism of materiality. It is the tricksiness of memory (a "dirty trick"), therefore, which "soils" the past through the deceptive manner in which it haunts the present.

Again, it is worth reflecting on the genetic grounding of this discussion: the narrative has itself toiled out of the "muck" of numerous drafts, "slowly, all soiled," and will continue to be recast in two further typescript stages (as well as proofs). Yet Lawrence's re-visionings also produce a series of versions, the relationship between which is as discontinuous as it is continuous, hence my suggestion that Lawrence's rewriting functions in a dialogical manner; by contrast, an extreme form of "constructivism," which figures the text as a continuous building project, which is often understood as following a pre-conceptualised goal, allows little room for creative innovation. Lawrence's defensive description to Garnett, that, "all the time, there is something working away underneath, shadowy bulbs that must be beat again for another spring," does indeed suggest "muck" and "soil," and yet the "shadowy

[15] This desire also recalls Birkin's earlier stoning of the moon's image (witnessed by Ursula) in the chapter 'Moony', which I discuss in the next chapter (2.4).

bulbs" also refer to a discontinuous experiential core, provided by the agency of the author, whose contingent engagement may eventually produce flowers.

In the pages which follow the above extract, Ursula goes on to reflect on "anterior connections" in more detail:

> What had she to do with parents and antecedents? She knew herself ~~born clear and pure~~ **new and unbegotten**, she had no father, no mother, no anterior connections, she was herself, pure and silvery, she belonged only to the oneness with Birkin, a oneness that struck deeper ~~roots, deep~~ **notes, sounding** into the heart of the universe, the heart of reality, where she had never existed before. ~~What were these shallow, surface roots of reproductive love, father, mother, sisters? Let them wither away, now a great new life had taken place, a new tree of life was rooted in the heart of the world.~~ ~~Even Gudrun~~ **Even Gudrun** was a separate unit, separate, separate, having nothing to do with ~~her[?]~~ **this** self, **this** Ursula, in ~~this~~ **her** new ~~powerful~~ world of reality. That old shadow-world, ~~of~~ **the** actuality of the past - ~~what a weariness it was. She was one with Birkin, rooted in the heart of the universal world, and the other was nothing. She forgot, she let go again. She was riding joyously on the strength of new being.~~ **ah, let it go! She rose free on the wings of her new being**. (N7 251-3)

Ursula's reflections contain a typically strange mixture of romantic idealism and hard-nosed existentialism, from "the oneness with Birkin" at "the heart of the universe" and rising "**free on the wings of her new being**," to the sentiment that "even Gudrun was a separate unit […] having nothing to do with […] **this** self, **this** Ursula" (in fairness, the former allusions also suggest a Nietzschean Dionysianism). Although the more cynical sister Gudrun subjects Ursula's romanticism to criticism in their later

conversation (discussed below), the echo of Daedalus in the final insertion ("the wings of her new being") is less relevant here than the notion of a bird fledging its wings, as in a draft chapter title for part of the eventual 'Widening Circles' chapter of *The Rainbow*.[16]

It is also worth reflecting on the removal of the "roots" metaphor, as well as the allusion to "a new tree of life." Lawrence not only crossed out this passage in his usual tidy manner but placed three large crosses over it for good measure. Lawrence seems to restrict the usage of organic metaphors here in order to emphasise the split between restrictive kinship networks of blood and Ursula's more "**free**" kinship by election with Birkin; Lawrence does, however, explore these metaphors in detail in *The Plumed Serpent*, where, as indicated here, they suggest a deeper kinship with the earth and the cosmos. Of most relevance to the present discussion, however, is Ursula's increasing separation from Gudrun, "a separate unit, separate, separate," which anticipates the sisters' forthcoming split.

"There, in the infolded navel of it all, was her consummation"

Following Ursula's reflections on the "old shadow-world," the "actuality of the past," while out walking with Birkin, the narrative shifts to Gudrun and Gerald who are also out walking in the snow. Like Ursula, Gudrun reflects on her surroundings, in search of some kind of consummation:

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[16] In 'The Wedding Ring' typescript, there is an earlier chapter break on p. 272 (revised to p. 601), entitled "Ella trys her wings" (sic), which Lawrence removed in revision. However, Kate uses the figure of wings in a more cynical sense in the final chapter of *The Plumed Serpent*, as discussed on p. 326 of this thesis.

> Gudrun […] wanted to climb the wall of white finality, climb over, into the peak that sprang up like ~~the~~ sharp petals in the heart of ~~a full-blown rose~~ **the ~~eternal~~ frozen, mysterious navel of the world**. She felt that there, over the strange, blind, terrible wall of rocky snow, there in the navel of the mystic world, among the final cluster of peaks, there, in the infolded navel of it all, was her consummation. If she could but come there, alone, and pass into the infolded navel of eternal snow and of uprising, immortal peaks of snow and rock, she would be a oneness with ~~it~~ all, she would be herself the eternal ~~snow and~~ **infinite** silence, the sleeping, timeless, frozen centre of the All. (N7 253-4)

However, Gudrun's desire is involuted and aesthetic; the mountain peaks are petals, which, like the abstractions of immortality and infinity, "infold" into the "timeless, frozen centre of the All." Her passion for sublime consummation and her notion of a "mystic world" of "immortal peaks" are completely abstracted from social and everyday realities.

Gudrun's aesthetic detachment from the world inflects her relations with Gerald and others throughout the novel. In the concluding segment of narrative, contained in notebooks 7-10, her new Alpine surroundings immediately heighten her aesthetic poise. Soon after rejoining the narrative in Innsbruck, Gudrun appraises Gerald as follows: "she felt she could set her teeth in him and eat him ~~till nothing but a~~ to the core ~~was left~~" (*N7* 216), while from Birkin's perspective, "she stretched out her beautiful arm, with its fluff of green tulle, and touched his chin with her subtle, *artist's fingers*. […] And to Birkin, it was as if she had killed Gerald, with that touch" (N7 217; my italics). As the narrative progresses, the introduction of Loerke, a dissolute aesthete, further radicalizes Gudrun's aestheticism by sealing her entry into

an abstract aesthetic world, from which Gerald and Ursula are both ultimately shut out.

A key episode in this break comes when the sisters discuss art with Loerke, inspecting a photogravure reproduction of an artwork by Loerke, described as follows:

> The statuette was of a naked girl, small, finely made, siting on a great naked horse. The girl was young and tender, a mere bud. She was sitting sideways on the horse, her face in her hands, as if in shame and grief, **in** a little abandon. […] The horse stood stock still, stretched in a kind of start. It was a massive, magnificent stallion, rigid with pent up power. Its neck was arched and terrible, like a sickle, its flanks were pressed back, rigid with ~~terrible~~ power. (N8 301)

This artwork, which is not itself abstract, harbours a number of suggestive associations within other events in the novel: the "massive, magnificent stallion" recalls the earlier scene in which Gudrun and Ursula witness Gerald brutally restraining a horse at a level crossing (while, at the end of the novel, Birkin likens Gerald's dead body to that of a horse), while the "young and tender" girl who is "exposed" to the horse's "pent up," threatening power ("arched and terrible, like a sickle"), recalls Gudrun's own relationship with Gerald, who persistently requests her presence at Shortlands and on one occasion breaks into her home and climbs into bed with Gudrun. It is because of these associations that Gudrun subsequently feels herself in thrall to Loerke's artistic prowess: "Gudrun went pale, and a darkness came over her eyes, like shame, she looked up with a certain supplication, almost slave-like" (N8 301). Gudrun seems to focus on the statuette's technical features, affirming the object from a neutered aesthetic standpoint precisely in order to repress these

associations: ""Yes, beautiful," she murmured, looking up at him with a certain dark homage" (N8 302).

The break between the sisters follows immediately after this as Ursula is unwilling to abstract her personal, embodied response and questions the artist's integrity rather insultingly: ""Why […] did you make the horse so stiff? It is stiff as a block […]. Yes. *Look* how stock and stupid and brutal it is. Horses are sensitive, quite delicate and sensitive, really"" (N8 303). Intimating that Ursula "was an amateur and an indifferent nobody," Loerke responds with a piece of "Modernist" aesthetic dogma:

> "That horse is a certain form, part of a whole form. It is part of a work of art, a piece of form. It is not a picture of a friendly horse to which you give a lump of sugar, do you see? – it is part of a work of art, it has no relation to anything outside that work of art." (N8 303)

Hence an opposition is set up, "from the height of **esoteric** art to the depth of general exoteric ~~babbling~~ **amateurism**" (N8 303), in which Ursula's insistence on her own preconception of a horse prevents her from conceiving of the horse as an abstract idea, while Loerke goes to the opposite extreme in severing any connection between the abstract realm of art and the concrete realm of everyday life:

> "That is a Kunstwerk, a work of art. It is a work of art, it is a picture of nothing, of absolutely nothing. It has nothing to do with anything but itself, it has no relation to the everyday world of this and the other, there is no connection between them, absolutely none, they are two different and distinct planes of existence, and to translate one into the other is worse than foolish, it is a darkening of all counsel, a making confusion everywhere. Do you see you

> *must not* confuse the relative world of **action**, with the absolute ~~actionless~~ world of art. That you *must not do*." (N8 304-5)

By staging this dialogue within the novel, Lawrence places both extremes in a dialogical context, which suggests the underlying relativity of both "worlds." Regarding the split between the sisters, however, Gudrun's sympathy for Loerke's "absolute" realm leads her to side with the artist, against Ursula: ""That is quite true […] I and my art, they have *nothing* to do with each other. My art stands in another world, I am in this world" (N8 305)

Gudrun and Loerke's aesthetic dogmatism is, ultimately, ideological, and suggests that art and the imagination do not relate to, reveal things about, or change the everyday world, but exist in an alternative dimension. As we will see in Ursula and Gudrun's concluding dialogue, this results in an exaggerated sense of the ordinary "everyday world" as fixed or closed and a subsequent pessimism (or cynicism) about the possibility of altering existing conditions. Following her immediate response to the artwork itself, Ursula suggests the fundamentally repressive nature of Gudrun and Loerke's claims for art in the following critique:

> "As for your world of art and your world of reality […] you have to separate the two, because you can't bear to know what you are. […] The world of art is only the truth about the real world, that's all – but you are too far gone to see it." (N8 306)[17]

Just as Ursula here concludes that Gudrun is now "too far gone," so Gudrun, who remains "silent in exasperated contempt," appears to brand Ursula: "Ursula *was* such

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[17] Doo-Sun Ryu suggests this passage reflects Lawrence's own views on art in *D. H. Lawrence's* The Rainbow *and* Women in Love*: A Critical Study* (New York: Peter Laing, 2005), pp. 16-19.

an insufferable outsider, rushing in where angels would fear to tread. But there – fools must be suffered, if not gladly" (N8 306).

This dispute provides the grounds for Ursula's departure. Before turning to the final dialogues, however, which follow this decision, it is worth highlighting the underlying conflict between completion and incompletion (or openness). While Gudrun is enamored of Loerke's theory of the total artwork and is thus "fascinated by him, fascinated," regarding him as "a real *ne plus ultra* […] there was no going beyond him" (N8. 296), Birkin describes Loerke as having a "fixed will":

> It's like an iron wheel revolving in life, without any relationship to the truth. And the living have to run according to the wheel like ~~threads~~ **parts** in a machine. It is Statics that triumphs then, over all organic life. And the Static power must be smashed, because it is hard and utterly fixed. (N8 299)

Highlighting an absent "relationship to the truth," Birkin's description echoes Ursula's critique of Loerke's artistic tenets. Birkin, however, condenses the dispute into a question of stasis versus flux. Though the image of a "machine" is used in contrast to "organic life," Gudrun and Loerke's aestheticism is viewed as deadly in its completeness (it is closed and self-sufficient).

It is as a result of taking up this position that Gerald becomes expendable for Gudrun, whereas, by contrast, and despite his own apparently indomitable will, Gerald is broken open by his desire for Gudrun, who specifically demands: '"Can't you be self-sufficient?"" (N9 340). While sensing that Gudrun is "virtually sufficient unto herself, closed round and completed, like a seed closed in its envelope […] self-complete, without desire" (N9 340-1), Gerald reflects on his own development as follows:

> He knew what this meant: he *had* been complete these thirty years of his life. And what was it? – a static state of instrumentality.
>
> A strange wound had been torn in him, like a flower that opens and gives itself […] so he had been torn apart and given to ~~Gudrun~~ ~~**women**~~ **Gudrun**. Why should he close again? This wound, this strange, infinitely sensitive opening of his where he was exposed […] given to his complement, the other, the unknown, this wound, this disclosure, this unfolding of his own covering, leaving him incomplete, limited, unfinished […] this was his deepest joy. (N9 342)

This shift in Gerald's character recalls the shift in the very earliest fragment ('Sisters I'), where he claims to have gained a real knowledge of love and thus pledges himself to Gudrun. As mentioned when discussing that fragment, however, the narrative here is much more radical in its excavation of Gerald's altered condition. In contrast to Gerald, Gudrun experiences her own potential incompleteness "with horror," feeling "as if he tore at the bud of her heart, tore it open like ~~a malevolent~~ **an irreverent** persistent being: like a boy who […] tears open a bud to see what is in the flower" (N9 343). However, both characters seem to be tyrannized by a fantastic object of desire: for Gerald, Gudrun appears insurmountable, "I could kill her - I ~~could easily kill myself afterwards~~ **should be free**" (N9 333-4), while, as discussed, the aesthetic realm itself becomes total for Gudrun: "to her it was so beautiful, it was a delirium, she wanted to gather the glowing, eternal peaks to her breast, and die" (N9 345).

"One must turn one's face away from the old"

The first of the two dialogues, which Lawrence rewrote and which take place simultaneously within the diegesis of the novel, as the two pairs walk towards the

carriage awaiting Ursula and Birkin for their departure, takes place between the sisters. The dialogue revolves around the possibility of founding a "new world," beginning with Ursula's suggestion that, if "one wants a new world of the soul […] one must turn one's face away from the old" (N9 322), which echoes her earlier wish to break the fixed "slides" of memory, and which Gudrun throws cold water over in the ensuing dialogue.

Gudrun suggests that Ursula's arguments are idealistic, while, rather than argue terms, Ursula suggests that one must change them:

> "But," she added, "I do think that one can't have anything new whilst one ~~accepts the old values at all. And if you stay in the world - you do accept its values."~~ **belongs to the old - do you know what I mean? - even fighting the old is belonging to it. - I know, one is tempted to stop in the world, just to fight it. - But then one goes down with it."**
>
> Gudrun considered herself.
>
> "Yes," she said. "In a way,

N9 322-24: version one **N9 322-24: version two**

N9 322-24: version one

One accepts the world's values by staying in the world. - But how do you know you are leaving the world, just because you are going to have a cottage in the Abruzzi, or wherever it may be."

"One does one's best," said Ursula.

"And of course," said Gudrun, "*all* the world's values aren't wrong. There are plenty of ideas which are perfectly right, only they just get overlaid."

"Perhaps - perhaps," said Ursula, wavering. "But which ideas do you mean?"

"Oh, I mean the idea of love, for instance - that love is the greatest thing in the world. I know it sounds commonplace -."

Ursula felt troubled and beaten.

"And yet," she said, "love doesn't seem to come off very well in the world, does it? I can't imagine a world of love -

N9 322-24: version two

One is of the world if one lives in it. But isn't it really an illusion to think you can get out of it? After all, a cottage in the Abruzzi, or wherever it may be, isn't a new world. - No, the only thing to do with the world, is to see it through."

Ursula looked away. She was so frightened of argument.

"But there *can* be something else, can't there?" she said. "This isn't the end?"

"This isn't the end," said Gudrun. "But it seems to me you've got to *develop* from this to the next thing. You can't suddenly fly off on to a new planet."

Ursula suddenly straightened herself.

"No," she said, "no - you are wrong. You *can't* develop from this - you've got to get away to a new planet - There's no going any further with this show. You've got to hop away into space."

N9 322-24: version one

can you? - And I don't want to."

Gudrun thought a moment about it. Then she looked up at Ursula, made a grimace of perfect cynicism, and broke into a mocking laugh. She rose, came to Ursula, and put her arm round her neck.

"Go and find your new world, dear," she said, her voice clanging with tears and irony, and a certain strangled love.

"You'll be happier doing that than doing anything else."

N9 322-24: version two

Gudrun reflected for a few moments. Then a smile of opposition, almost of contempt, came over her face.

"What's the good of finding yourself in space?" she said. "After all, the great ideas of the world are the same there. You above everybody can't get away from the fact that love, for instance, is the ~~be-all and the end-all~~ **supreme thing**, in space as well as on earth."

"No," said Ursula, "it isn't. Love is too human and little. I believe in something inhuman, of which love is only a little part. I believe what we must fulfil comes out of the unknown to us and it is something infinitely more than love. It isn't so merely *human*."

Gudrun looked at Ursula with steady, balancing eyes. She admired and envied her sister so much, oh, so much. Then suddenly she averted her face, saying stubbornly:

"Well, I've got no further than

N9 322-24: version one	**N9 322-24: version two**
	love, yet."
	Over Ursula's mind flashed the thought: "Because you never *have* loved, you can't get beyond it."
	Gudrun rose, came over to Ursula and put her arm round her neck.
	"Go and find your new world, dear." she said, her voice clanging with false benignity. "After all, the happiest voyage is the quest of the Blessed Isles."

Although both dialogues revolve around the question of change, and reflect on change as incremental or radical, continuous or discontinuous, the first version focuses on values, with Gudrun highlighting "love" as an ultimate value, which Ursula suggests is limited, while the second version focuses more on the notion of an "ultimate" (or end) in itself.

The second version is longer for two reasons: firstly, because Lawrence inserts the phrase "**hop into space**," an image which the rewritten dialogue then riffs on; and secondly because, while Gudrun makes a "grimace of perfect cynicism" in the first version, in the second version Ursula consciously criticizes Gudrun as a cynic ("**because you never *have* loved, you can't get beyond it**").

This making explicit is shared by certain other features in the rewriting: rather than question quite plainly, "how do you know you are leaving the world," in the second version Gudrun questions more explicitly, "isn't it really an illusion to think

you can get out of it"; Gudrun also uses more explicit images ("planet" and "space"), though these concepts are perhaps less rich than the original term "world"; Ursula also makes the contingent and limited nature of "love" (or any value) explicit in the second version by describing them as "so merely *human*."

The second dialogue takes place between Gerald and Birkin, as they "walked on ahead, waiting for the sledge" (N9 324), and is more one-sided, with Gerald revealing his commitment to stay and "see it through" (as Gudrun puts it in the second version of the previous dialogue). The conversation begins with Birkin asking Gerald how long he and Gudrun intend to stay, but quickly shifts to Gerald's monomaniacal descriptions of Gudrun, about whom "there's something ~~deadly~~ **final**."

The rewritten segments are as follows:

N9 325-27: version one	**N9 325-27: version two**
"It goes to your brain and sends you mad. […] I'd stand cutting to bits, cutting to small bits, to have her," he continued. "I couldn't not have her now – I should go mad, and begin to murder somebody.	"It goes to your brain. But what the devil's at the end of it – […] I couldn't do without her – I'd rather be killed by inches. And yet – […]
[…]	
Do you know what it is to die when you are with a woman? […] you're gone – you're gone – your head is like a piece of ice, smashed into nothingness. That's death. You can know death without	Do you know what it is to die when you are with a woman? […] it's nothing – your heart might have burst inside you - and" - he looked round into the air with a queer histrionic movement - "it's

N9 325-27: version one

dying. – But I've never got back myself, since that time. – But I was grateful for it – oh, I was grateful – I never knew anything like it.

But I couldn't do without her now. There'd be an end of some sort. – I shan't go away from her. I couldn't – not now. We must stop on here."

Birkin looked at him, at his strange, scarcely conscious face. He seemed so far away.

"When you get more satisfied," he said, "things will resolve out."

N9 325-27: version two

nothing - you understand what I mean – it was a great experience, something final - and then – nothingness."

He walked on in silence. It seemed like bragging, but like a man bragging *in extremis*.

"Of course," he resumed, "I wouldn't *not* have felt it: it's a final experience. And she's a magnificent woman. But god – I think she's deathly, I do really."

Birkin looked at him, at his strange, scarcely conscious face. Gerald seemed to wonder at his own words.

"Haven't you had enough now?" said Birkin. "Can't you stop now?"

"Oh," said Gerald, "it's not finished yet."

Although both versions are of a similar length, the second version is significantly altered. In the first version, Gerald gives more detailed analogies in order to try and explain his feelings; he describes being cut to bits and being smashed like a piece of ice. Although various repetitions from the first version are removed from the second – "cutting […] cutting," "you're gone – you're gone" and "grateful […] grateful" – the

second version revolves more centrally around the repetition of "nothingness," which Gerald repeats three times in a short passage. The second version of the dialogue between Birkin and Gerald is perhaps more explicit (as in the rewritten dialogue between Ursula and Gudrun) in that Gerald is described as being "like a man bragging," who "wonders at his own words" and ends by stating, ominously, "it's not finished yet." However, some of the content is less rich following Lawrence's revisions; aside from the excised images, already discussed, this includes Gerald's original suggestion that "you can know death without dying."

Although the second version of each dialogue is clearly written on the basis of the first, neither "revision" represents a piece of correction, nor are they obviously developmental. "Dialogical" rewriting undercuts the notion of a "constructed" text, and it is noteworthy that a desire for completion haunts both Gudrun and Gerald in both dialogues; as mentioned, the question of endings is taken up in more detail in the chapters on *The Plumed Serpent* (see 3.2 in particular). Both pieces of rewriting are secondary in a double sense, not only in that they come *after* the first versions, with which they are in dialogue (developing, altering or merely dropping ideas), but also in that they present new versions, which *supplement* the earlier ones. This type of rewriting is repeated throughout the subsequent typescripts of *Women in Love*, which I discuss in the next chapter.

2.4

Women in Love: Typescripts

Having concentrated thus far on manuscript fragments ranging from 6 to 214 pages in length, the present chapter, which focuses on two complete and extensively revised typescripts, which total nearly 1500 pages altogether, is more vast in scope. The first of these typescripts (TSI) was partially written, partially compiled and altogether revised between July and November 1916, while the second (TSII) was heavily revised between March 1917 and September 1919.[1] In their introduction to *The First 'Women in Love'*, John Worthen and Lindeth Vasey provide some helpful suggestions in their overview of Lawrence's "revisions" of the typescripts: "it is striking that a number of the particularly agonized quarrels are also heavily revised or completely rewritten"; "a number of crucial monologues, too, are completely rewritten"; they also note Lawrence's propensity to rewrite chapter endings. However, the suggestions that "it is the relationship between Birkin and Ursula which changes the most," and that, "in *The First 'Women in Love'*, the characters are less sure of themselves and each other," are more subjective. In general, they also suggest that the typescripts present "two versions" of *Women in Love*, whereas scenes are often rewritten multiple times in both typescripts, as we will see.[2] Given the abundance of material throughout these typescripts, I have narrowed down the present survey by focusing mainly on the opening chapters. As notebooks 7-10, discussed in the previous chapter, contain the

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[1] For an overview of the overall composition of the novel see Chapter 2.1, which begins with a stemmatic overview.

[2] See *FWL*, pp. xlix-liii.

concluding segment of narrative, this selection provides balance to the overall discussion of *Women in Love* in this thesis. However, I do also single out the iconic chapter 'Moony', which is located in the middle of the novel, as well as the final chapter; or, to be more precise, the novel's ending.

Worthen and Vasey suggest that Lawrence tended to rewrite "agonized quarrels" and "crucial monologues," and these suggestions are supported by many of the heavy revisions or rewritings sampled here. However, in more general terms, I would argue that Lawrence tended to focus on sections of *dialogue* when revising, and it is this feature which this chapter emphasizes most clearly; and which we encounter once again when considering *The Plumed Serpent*. I have already suggested that the structural rhythm thus produced, between constrained sections of dialogue and restful descriptive sections can be interpreted as a *general* form of genetic "dialogism." In this chapter, I will develop the idea of Lawrence's revisions as "dialogical" in a more *local* sense, when responding to specific rewritten passages. Also present in these dialogues is the thematic opposition between stasis and flux, completion and incompletion, which I argue is a primary theme in the novel. These oppositions provide a key to many of Birkin's monological speeches. However, this is less clear in the published version of the novel as some of the richest passages on this topic were cut by Lawrence in revision. I argue that these cuts were made for dramatic purposes, in order to integrate Birkin more clearly as a character within the narrative, in dialogue with others, as opposed to his functioning as a spokesperson for the novel's own thematic oppositions.

That writing an ending represented a major dilemma for Lawrence is another of the main arguments in this thesis and the chapter's concluding discussion of the novel's heavily rewritten ending provides a prelude to this topic, which I discuss at

greater length in the following section on *The Plumed Serpent*. This dilemma is also evident in many of the individual chapter endings, which, as Worthen and Vasey note, Lawrence had a propensity to rewrite and some of the rewritten passages discussed earlier on in this chapter do indeed form the concluding segments of early chapters in the novel. However, the chapter begins by focusing on the beginning of the novel, which, like much of the narrative in *Women in Love*, is focalised through the two sisters, Ursula and Gudrun. Intriguingly, the contrast between their respective ways of seeing can itself be framed in terms of the central opposition between flux and stasis, incompletion and completion, process and product.

Self as process or product: 'Sisters'

Lawrence often disguises complex ideas by using conventional and vernacular language. Consider again his report to Garnett in January 1914, while rewriting 'The Sisters':

> I write with everything vague – plenty of fire underneath, but, like bulbs in the ground, only shadowy flowers that must be beaten and sustained for another spring. (ii. 143)

The surface level of language consists of common organic metaphors and generalizations, which border on outright cliché: "everything vague," "plenty of fire underneath," "bulbs in the ground," "shadowy flowers," "another spring." This gives the passage a tone of idealistic fatalism, as though poetic truth is a transcendental "bulb," awaiting its inevitable expression or bloom. Beneath the optimistic bluster, however, "shadowy flowers" stand for existing manuscript pages, while "beating and sustaining" refers to the active labour of writing. In phenomenological terms, the written is figured as a for-itself, made shadowy by the process of writing, or "fire

underneath," which is a kind of in-itself. The passage therefore subtly reverses the norm: whereas the written product (manuscript object) would usually be viewed as a contingent in-itself (facticity) and the writing process as a reflexive for-itself, Lawrence refers to the written as "vague" and "shadowy," haunted by the more basic and contingent facticity of text as process.

Revising the opening scene of *Women in Love* in TSI, in which Ursula reflects on her own self as process, Lawrence toys with a similar organic metaphor:

> If only she could break through the last integuments~~, to enter into a new life~~ ~~**to get hold of something.**~~**!** She seemed to try to put her hands out, like an infant in the womb, and she could not, not yet. Still she had a strange prescience, an intimation ~~of~~ f~~**uturity, a flowering in the unknown**~~ ~~something beyond, yet to come~~ **of something yet to come**. (TSI 4)

As in the relationship between writing and the written, Ursula's present self is shadowy, harbouring a "strange prescience," pregnant with futurity. Ursula's process-like status provides her with a sense of freedom: she may "break through" her existing condition, which is figured as an "integument." Furthermore, Ursula's sense of incompletion is echoed by Lawrence's own hesitant revisions, with multiple passages inserted and then removed.

Juxtaposed to Ursula's vision of the self – as a precocious "infant in the womb" – is Gudrun's artistic vision of the self as a *thing*, to be completed or finished. When the sisters walk out from their family home in Beldover, at the beginning of the novel, they eventually spy upon a wedding crowd. Gudrun watches them as follows:

> Gudrun watched them ~~all~~ closely, with objective curiosity. She saw each one as a complete figure, like a character in a book, or a subject in a picture, or a marionette in a theatre**, a finished creation**. […] She knew them, they were

> finished, sealed and stamped and finished with, for her. There were none that had anything unknown, unresolved, until the Criches themselves began to appear. […] Here something was not quite so preconcluded. (TSI 10)[3]

Gudrun's "objective curiosity" stems directly from her *artistic* mode of vision, which deploys a fixed frame and thus fixes her subjects. Lawrence's insertion in this passage describes the aesthetic mode of vision as explicitly teleological (resulting in "**a finished creation**"). As discussed in the previous chapter, this way of seeing partly dooms Gudrun's relationship with Gerald. The Criches appear "not quite so preconcluded," and Gudrun's struggle with Gerald can therefore be described, at least in part, as an artistic one: to conclude or "finish" her implicit sketch of his character. Indeed, Gudrun seems to establish precisely this view just prior to Gerald's death: "She felt established for ever. Of course Gerald was a bagatelle – love was one of the ~~extraneous living~~ ~~**spiritual**~~ **temporal** things in her life" (N9 350). While Lawrence's typical adjectival shifts in revision contain a confusing temporary shift to "**spiritual**" here, the underlying point that remains throughout is the final establishment of Gerald as a "thing."

By offering this as a way of seeing *within* the novel, one which contrasts with Ursula's own way of seeing, is later theorized by Loerke and is then vocally opposed by both Ursula and Birkin, *Women in Love* serves in part as a critique of this aesthetic vision of reality or truth as a constructed or finished thing. Furthermore, the fact that

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[3] The 'Sisters III' fragment (dating from April to June 1916 and discussed in Chapter 2.2) contains the following early draft of the above passage: "Ursula looked at their faces, Gudrun more at their clothes, their bearing, the whole figure they made. People had a mask, to her, of looking like dressed artificial figures, marionettes. She was not interested in characters, only in plastic form" (SIII 45).

Gudrun and Loerke are explicitly identified as "modernist" artists highlights the novel's struggle with and against modernism and modernity.[4] The novel extends this specific aesthetic critique to society in general, in terms of the apparent stasis of finished selves, values, and objects. Completion therefore serves as a kind of fantasy for the master (who strives against the threat of waste, insufficiency, and incompletion). Echoing the parallels between social and aesthetic mastery discussed in relation to the schoolroom in the 'Wedding Ring' fragment and in Lawrence's critique of Flaubert in the essay on 'German Books: Thomas Mann', Gerald's mode of industrial modernity and Loerke's mode of aesthetic modernism are both characterized towards the end of *Women in Love* with the figure of the wheel: Gudrun envisions an escalating series of wheels, beginning with "the wheel-barrow – the one humble wheel" and culminating in the industrial magnate Gerald, who has "a million wheels and cogs and axles […] or perhaps there was no end" (N10 401-3), while Birkin describes Loerke, at the vanguard of society, as having a "fixed will […] like an iron wheel revolving in life, without any relationship to the truth. And the living have to run according to the wheel" (N8 299). It is not the conflation of social and aesthetic forms in general, therefore, which the novel diagnoses as dangerous. Indeed, Ursula's own initial "prescience" of futurity at the outset of the novel and her climactic vision of a new world at the end (discussed at the end of the previous

[4] Tony Pinkney in *D. H. Lawrence and Modernism*, argues "*The Rainbow* and *Women in Love* together constitute Lawrence's most far-reaching engagement with modernist aesthetics" and that in *Women in Love* Lawrence sought "to catalogue and challenge it across the whole range of its manifestations"; however, Pinkney also suggests the latter novel "becomes an exemplary instance of precisely that which it set out to destroy" (pp. 96-100).

chapter, 2.3) both seem aesthetic in nature.[5] Rather, the danger for Lawrence appears to lie in a particular type of form, namely *fixed* form.

Rewriting dialogues/Dialogic rewriting: 'Sisters' and 'Shortlands'

The novel's critique of modernity also extends into many of the dialogues between various characters, which reflect the novel's relativistic universe. These dialogues often playfully spar with the abstract, commodifying nature of the modern world and Lawrence's revisions are themselves indicative of relativistic play, providing variations on a theme rather than "corrections." Both of these points are reflected in the opening dialogue of the sisters, who reflect on marriage, family and the home, and which serves as a kind of modernist deconstruction of their traditional roles, as in the classic nineteenth-century English novel, from Jane Austen to George Eliot to Thomas Hardy. The sisters begin by questioning the interest of marriage proposals before moving on to question the purpose of having children altogether. Before presenting extracts from the two typescripts, I should point out that the left-hand column presents extracts of original text from TSI, the middle column presents the rewritten versions inserted into TSI and present in the original text of TSII, while the right-hand column presents any further rewritings of the relevant passages inserted into TSII, which is less heavily rewritten (ellipses and blank spaces in the right-hand column therefore indicate unrevised text).

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[5] Fredric Jameson's notion of cognitive mapping, and art's ability to imagine a utopia, likewise sees a positive function for the conflation of social and aesthetic realms. See Fredric Jameson, 'Cognitive Mapping', in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (eds.) (Champaign: Illinois UP, 1987), pp. 347-361.

TSI 2-3: Version 1	**TSI 2-3 & TSII 2-5: Version 2**	**TSII 2-5: Version 3 (further revisions)**
"What do you mean 'to get married'?"	"It all depends what you mean."	"It depends how you mean."
"It always means the same thing, doesn't it?" asked Gudrun lightly. "Don't you think you might have a better time than you ~~have~~ **do** now?"	Gudrun was slightly taken aback. She watched her sister for some moments. "Well," she said, huffily, "it usually means one thing! - But don't you think, anyhow, you'd be" - she frowned slightly - "Well, in a better position than you are in now?"	[…] "Well," she said, ironically, "it usually means one thing! - But don't you think, anyhow, you'd be" - she darkened slightly - "in a better position than you are in now?"
A shadow came over Ursula's face.	A shadow came over Ursula's face.	[…]
"I might," she said. "But I'm not sure."	"I might," she said. "But I'm not sure."	
"Oh well," laughed Gudrun, "are you sure of anything?"	Again Gudrun paused, baffled, slightly irritated. She wanted to solve her own questions by putting them to her sister.	Again Gudrun paused, slightly irritated. She wanted to be quite definite.
"Yes," said Ursula, more to herself than to her sister. "I'm sure a bird in the bush is worth two in the hand."	"You don't think one needs the *experience* of having been married?" she asked.	[…]
[…]	[…]	
"And while I am by myself," resumed Ursula, "I am more or less a bird in the bush."	"Not really," retorted Ursula. "More likely to be the end of experience."	
[…]	[…]	
"But would you refuse a good offer?"	"You wouldn't even accept a good offer?" said Gudrun.	"You wouldn't consider a good offer?" asked Gudrun.
"Oh yes, inevitably!" cried Ursula. "What ~~a horrible~~ **an**	"I think I've rejected several," said Ursula.	[…]

TSI 2-3: Version 1	**TSI 2-3 & TSII 2-5: Version 2**	**TSII 2-5: Version 3 (further revisions)**
unpleasant thought!"	[…]	
[…]		
"Yet I hate the thought of marrying, and being put into a home of my own, and having my little circle of acquaintance, and my little set of interests **and the usual man**. If you add it all up, Prune, there's damned little to be to be got by marriage. Even children - I ~~see~~ **hope for** so much of other people's children, that I can't see much fulfilment in having more of my own. There are so many people and so little meaning in it all."	"Really. But weren't you fearfully tempted?"	
	"In the abstract, but not in the concrete," replied Ursula. "When it comes to the point, one isn't even tempted. Oh, if I were tempted, I'd marry like a shot. - I'm only tempted *not* to."	"In the abstract, but not in the concrete," replied Ursula. "When it comes to the point, one isn't even tempted. Oh, if I were tempted, I'd marry like a shot. – I'm only tempted *not* to."
[…]	[…]	[…]
	"I know," she said, "it seems like that when one thinks in the abstract. But really imagine it: a home of one's own, one's own set, oneself like a picture framed and hung up, finished! - I always feel like it is selling one's soul – ~~if only~~ ~~only~~ **except** for children - and ~~Gudrun~~ I don't believe in marrying for the sake of having children."	"[…] But really imagine it: ~~that~~ imagine any man one knows, imagine him coming home to one every evening, and saying "Hello," and giving one a kiss - "
		There was a blank pause.
[…]	[…]	[…]
	"Certainly not," said Gudrun. "I am certainly not willing to live vicariously – which is what motherhood amounts to."	"Of course there's the children," said Ursula, doubtfully.
		Gudrun's face hardened.
	[…]	"Do you *really* want children, Ursula?" She asked coldly.

TSI 2-3: Version 1	**TSI 2-3 & TSII 2-5: Version 2**	**TSII 2-5: Version 3 (further revisions)**
"There's such a great *quantity* of human life," said Gudrun, as if she were giving the nail the final hit on the head, "and so little quality." "So little meaning," repeated Ursula.	"There's such a great *quantity* of human life," said Ursula, "and it all seems to *mean* nothing."	[…] "When one thinks of other people's children —" said Ursula**.**

These transcriptions demonstrate the inherent difficulty when analyzing the composition of the typescripts of *Women in Love* and also indicate the difficulty of Lawrence's "revision" more generally. Lawrence superimposes new versions onto old versions, completely rewrites some passages and alters others, and often repeats this process. Lawrence does not produce an increasingly well "crafted" scene, nor does he present completely distinct "versions." Taken together, the above transcriptions are akin to a cubist painting, with different viewpoints or versions superimposed onto each other. However, I would suggest that *dialogue* provides a closer analogy as, besides providing variations on a theme, each subsequent version is written in *response* to the previous one/s.

In this particular case, Ursula and Gudrun provide a series of skeptical female viewpoints on a particular historical moment, in which, while human life in general became increasingly commodified, women were still haunted by outdated traditions. The sisters' position as members of a typically large colliery family who inhabit a regional town, visibly dominated by the processes and wreckage of industrialization and modernization, provides an implicit context for this skepticism and their subsequent walk through the sordid rows of fields and houses emphasizes this point.

However, Lawrence's actual rewriting places more emphasis upon the novel's thematic opposition between flux and stasis, completion and incompletion. Ursula's play on the cliché about a bird in the hand in the original version, which she inverts by preferring one in the bush (to two in the hand), implies a basic resistance to being trapped or fixed, which energises the sisters' discussion. In the second version, this theme becomes more explicit and stylized, beginning with Ursula's iconic remark about "the end of experience," which she follows up by cringing over the apparent stasis of conventional, post-marital domestic life; interestingly, Ursula's comparison of "oneself like a picture framed and hung up, finished!" echoes Gudrun's subsequent view of the wedding crowd as "finished," as well as her later, satirical image of married life at Shortlands as a picture fit for the Royal Academy, entitled "Home."

Ursula and Gudrun's walk ends with the sisters spying upon the wedding crowd. The narrative viewpoint then switches to the wedding crowd itself, of which Birkin, Gerald and Hermione are the most prominent members. The subsequent chapter relocates to Shortlands, home of the Criches, for the wedding reception, in which the party quickly falls into dialogue, producing the novel's second playful reflection on society. Both typescripts begin with Hermione "having a conversation with the bridegroom" – which, in TSI, is about "the building of Dreadnoughts" (TSI 28) and, in TSII, about "nationality" (TSII 36) – and end with Birkin defending the rights of the individual against those of the state, in opposition to Gerald.

As indicated by the original starting topic, the building of Dreadnoughts, the dialogue in TSI is more specific and, in the context of Britain's ongoing participation in the war, controversial. In the first version, Birkin questions whether the nation is not more barbaric than the individual and whether it is not the nation who requires policing (reminiscent of Brecht's famous quip from *The Threepenny Opera* (1928),

"What is robbing a bank compared with founding a bank?"): "it isn't the individual that wants watching, it is those great uncouth ~~barbarians~~ **Bill Sykeses**, the nations" (TSI 30). In bad faith, Gerald suggests that he would sooner trust his nation than "the next individual I meet," and Birkin's response is then completely rewritten in TSI as follows:

TSI 30: Version 1	**TSI 30: Version 2**
"That's because your life is based on property that you want protected," said Birkin. "You're not afraid of your life, only for your property. *You* don't matter, only your property. That is crude and barbaric, and is just the case of a nation."	"Would you really! Do you mean with your life or your property, - which?" said Birkin. "Your property, I suppose- for your life isn't safe five minutes, in the hands of your nation."
"I'm crude and barbaric?" asked Gerald.	"Really!" laughed Gerald.
"Oh very," said Birkin. "It is such an old, worn out job, this estimating a man by his possessions, as you estimate yourself. You don't say, 'I am what I am', you say, 'I am what I have'. And that is why you are like a nation."	"~~Yes, quite.~~ Not two minutes," said Birkin. "Your nation will have your life in a twinkling - but it will carefully hand on the bulk of your property to your next of kin. - Which is all you care about, I suppose. Therefore you are just like a nation yourself."

Both versions share an internal play between life and property, while, if Lawrence was attempting to tone down Birkin's description of the nation as "crude and barbaric" in revision, Birkin's suggestion that the nation "will have your life in a

twinkling" in the second version is hardly successful. However, these barbs perhaps explain Lawrence's decision to rewrite the entire scene in TSII, which he did initially by inserting new lines (superscript) at the bottom of TSII page 36, but followed this up by inserting 4 new typescript sheets (TSII 37-40), probably using his own typewriter.[6] Lawrence began his rewritten version by crossing out the initial topic of conversation between Hermione and the bridegroom: "~~the building of Dreadnoughts~~," which he replaced with "**nationality**." In this third version, the dialogue then focuses upon the more general question of what a nation *is*, with Hermione rejecting "the appeal to patriotism" (TSII 36) and likening each nation to "a house of business," which others, while Gerald suggests that "nationality roughly corresponds to race," or at least "it is *meant* to" (TSII 36). Hermione questions the supposed "appeal to the racial instinct" and asks "[is it] not rather an appeal to the proprietary instinct, the *commercial* instinct […] **isn't this what we mean by nationality?**" (TSII 37) Finally, Gerald suggests that a race "is like a family" and "*must* make provision", a nation therefore has a right to defend its possessions and "you can't do away with the spirit of emulation altogether" (TSII 37). Meanwhile Birkin declares, "I detest the spirit of emulation" (TSII 38), and concludes, "it is a question [of] which is worth more to me, my pleasant liberty of conduct, or my hat" (TSII 39); Birkin prefers the former.

It is difficult to consider the versions as a continuous series because each one pulls in a different direction. As in the sisters' opening dialogue, the tone of the conversation is also multiple: a mixture of glibness and persistence, playfulness and

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[6] This is indicated by the altered type of the 4 sheets in question, which, on average, contain a few extra words per line, while the number of lines per page also increases, from 25 to 28, as well as the fact that two consecutive sheets are paginated "40" in TSII, which indicates where the inserted sheets overran.

penetration. One constant, however, is the narrative context: a wedding reception, at which the speakers are (possibly alcohol-sodden) guests. The following descriptive passage, which follows immediately after the conversation in all versions and is transcribed across both typescripts below, indicates this context:

> Birkin, ~~abstractedly~~ thinking about ~~the international police,~~ ~~**nations versus individuals,**~~ **race or national death,** ~~stared into his glass, watched the champagne bubbles, and suddenly dank up all his wine.~~ **watched his glass being filled with champagne. The bubbles broke at the rim, the men withdrew, and feeling a sudden thirst at the sight of the fresh wine, Birkin drank up his glass.** (TSI 30 & TSII 40).

While, as mentioned, the "final" version inserted into TSII is a less direct and less historically specific assault upon the nation, it is also rather more dialogical, with the multiple speakers holding their own more equally, whereas, in the first and second versions, Birkin's critique holds more sway.

While there is an explicit context of revelry at the wedding, spontaneous play is an essential constituent of dialogue in general, which is always, at least to some extent, group improvisation, with no central or fixed viewpoint. The narrative of *Women in Love* is held together in a similar manner, with multiple characters providing alternative viewpoints, leaving the reader to map things out for him or herself; hence the common perception of the novel as dialogic in the Bakhtinian sense.[7] However, besides emphasizing this kind of dialogism, Lawrence's rewriting of the typescripts of *Women in Love* can also be understood as "dialogical" (I introduce

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[7] See, for example, David Lodge's essay on 'Lawrence, Dostoevsky, Bakhtin: D. H. Lawrence and Dialogic Fiction' and Michael Bell's chapter on 'The Worlds of *Women in Love*', in *D. H. Lawrence: language and being*, pp. 97-132.

this term in a genetic sense in the 'Introduction' and continue to develop it in this sense in the present chapters on *Women in Love*).

Aside from Bakhtinian "dialogism," which concerns multiple voices, viewpoints and temporalities *within* the world of the novel, "dialogical" revision stems from and produces dialogue between alternative versions of text. However, while this type of dialogue is explicit and ongoing for the author himself during the overall process of writing, dialogue between different versions is subsequently implicit and requires genetic criticism to make them explicit. In a sense, Bakhtinian dialogism and genetic dialogism occupy different axes, with the former taking place within a single textual level and hence occupying a horizontal axis, whereas the latter takes places across multiple textual levels and therefore occupies a vertical axis.

In terms of the internal relationship between alternative versions, it is worth visiting a point made by Sartre in relation to memory and the temporality of the past and considering this in relation to the question of "textual" memory:

> One cannot *have* a past as one "has" an automobile or a racing stable. That is, the past can not be possessed by a present being which remains strictly external to it as I remain, for example, external to my fountain pen. In short, in the sense that possession ordinarily expresses an *external* relation of the possessor to the possessed, the expression of possession is inadequate.[8]

In what sense can an earlier version of a work be said to form the "past" of a later version? Does a text possess its past as an external property in the ordinary sense of possession? Although the original text of TSI chronologically predates the handwritten rewritings on the typescript, and both of these versions predate the

[8] Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, trans. Hazel E. Barnes (London: Routledge, 2003; first published as *L'Être et le néant* (Paris: Gallimard, 1943)), pp. 135-36.

subsequent rewritings of TSII, this extra-textual history is void of intra-textual memory, as it existed for the author when writing and as it exists for the reader when reading through the drafts. If we consider versions intra-textually, then, "the expression of possession" is likewise "inadequate" in relation to the pastness (or futurity) of the respective versions. This restricts the logic of constructivist metaphors for writing, which figure text in purely external terms (text as a composite unit of smaller units, which are removed, inserted, or swapped around), according to which, text as process would indeed appear to "possess" its own past as an external yet constituent property, as if the final written product were a concrete memorialization of the past.

Lawrence explicitly criticized "constructivist" metaphors of writing during the early compositional history of *Women in Love* (1913-14) and the most significant materials in the novel's avant-text (1916-19) do indeed emphasise dialogic versioning. It must, however, be said that the phenomenology of writing, as in the facets of textual memory and the intra-textual relationship between drafts/versions discussed above, reveals an element of dialogism and spontaneity that is basic to writing, regardless of particular methods or aesthetic creeds.[9]

Making cuts: "as if too much was said"

The "~~spontaneous~~ soul" and the "centre of pure relationship": 'Shortlands'

Following the dialogue at the wedding reception discussed above, "several men" stroll out into the garden and their conversation soon becomes another searching dialogue, quickly dominated by Gerald and Birkin, which shifts the previous focus

[9] Bushell's 'Philosophy of Composition' in *Text as process*, pp. 251-238, suggests likewise.

upon social philosophy towards questions of ethics and metaphysics. The dialogue gathers momentum when Birkin and Gerald discuss the bride and groom's race to the church prior to the wedding (while the sisters look at the wedding crowd in the first chapter, the crowd are awaiting the bride and groom; the groom arrives late, and he and the bride suddenly break into a sprint and race to the church), at which point Lawrence also begins rewriting:

TSI 32: Version 1	**TSI 32 & TSII 41[10]: Version 2**	**TSII 41: Version 3**
"How do you like the race of the bride – the wedding race?" asked Birkin of Gerald, in raillery.	"But it's quite in the ~~classic~~ ~~**barbaric**~~ **wedding** tradition: ~~flight of the bride, pursuit of the groom, and a show of rape,"~~ **chase the woman, and make a show of rape,"** said Birkin, in raillery.	"What about this race then – who began it?" Gerald asked.

While the question posed about the wedding race eventually shifts from Birkin (in versions one and two) to Gerald (in version three), the most interesting feature of revision in this specific passage is the temporary alteration of "the classic tradition" to "the barbaric tradition" in version two, which echoes Birkin's description of nations

[10] Due to Lawrence's error-prone pagination, "TSI 41" is in actuality p. 42 of TSI.

as "crude and barbaric" in the first version of the previous dialogue at the wedding reception.

As with the earlier example, while version three in the initial passage extracted above was written by hand at the bottom of TSII 41 by Lawrence, the dialogue between (predominantly) Birkin and Gerald, which follows, was entirely rewritten using newly inserted sheets of typescript (TSII 43-45).[11] In the section of dialogue itself, Birkin and Gerald appraise "the wedding race" in terms of order and spontaneity:

TSI 33	**TSII 43**
"~~I think you should do everything according to a proper order,~~" **"Satin be damned! I think if you set out to do a thing, *do* it,"** said Gerald. "If you're out to make a formal wedding, then you should bring it off […]. Do what you're doing, and don't make confusion and chaos."	"If you're doing a thing, do it properly and if you're not going to do it properly, leave it alone." […] "You don't believe in having any standard of behaviour at all, do you" he challenged Birkin, censoriously.
[…]	~~"I hate people who are good form," replied Birkin. "But I loathe also anybody who isn't. A man who's got any self is good form by just being himself."~~
"~~I am~~ **Yes**," said Gerald~~.~~**, "I *am* the enemy of disorder."**	
"But supposing, you see, that Laura	**"Standard – no. I hate**

[11] This insertion is again indicated by the increased number of words per line and lines per page, as well as the out-of-sync pagination.

TSI 33

wanted to run from Lupton. Supposing it was a natural impulse in her to bolt ~~up the church path~~ the moment she set eyes on him. Now the proper thing to do would be to obey that impulse, speaking in the deepest sense; otherwise she would create chaos and confusion in her own soul, her own nature."

"How do you make that out?" Said Gerald. "I should say, if she controlled her impulses, she would have *more* order in her soul, not less."

"No, surely. The more she controls her natural impulses, suppresses them and diverts them, the greater chaos occurs in her ~~*spontaneous*~~ *soul*, ~~the~~ **although** greater regularity ~~is gained in~~ **may be secured for** her *material* life. Which do you choose? Which would you rather have, Lupton: Laura who ~~is spontaneous and incalculable~~ **bolts**, or Laura ~~who is regulated, going like a clock?"~~ **as regular as clock-work?"**

TSII 43

standards. But they're necessary for the common ruck. – Anybody who is anything can just be himself and do as he likes."

"But what do you mean by being himself?" said Gerald. ~~"Who's using aphorisms now?"~~ **"Is that an aphorism or a cliché?"**

"I mean just doing what you want to do. I think it was perfect good form in Laura to bolt from Lupton to the church door. It was almost a masterpiece in good form. It's the hardest thing in the world to act spontaneously on one's impulses – and it's the only really gentlemanly thing to do~~."~~ **provided you're fit to do it."**

[…]

"[…] You think people should just do as they like?"

"I think they always do. But I should like them to like the purely individual thing in themselves, which makes them

TSI 33	**TSII 43**
[…]	act in singleness. And they only like to do the collective thing."
"That's all very well, but you couldn't have all life like that, everybody doing just what they want," said Gerald.	"And I," said Gerald grimly, "shouldn't like to be in a world of people who acted individually and spontaneously, as you call it. – We should have everybody cutting everybody else's throat in five minutes."

Aside from the more minor rewritings within each typescript "version," both the earlier and later versions of this long segment begin with Gerald's orderly instruction to "do what you're doing" or "do it properly," and end with his rejection of Birkin's argument in favour of liberty and spontaneity due to the apparent threat of chaos, suggesting (in version one) "you couldn't have all life like that, everybody just doing what they want," or asking rhetorically (in version two), "you think people should just do as they like?" While these two markers "tag" the versions together, the content in between is much more indirectly connected, as variations upon a theme, which is, in this case, order.

Gerald is more outspoken in the first version, declaring "I *am* the enemy of disorder," whereas Birkin only implicitly falls on the side of impulse. However, in the second version, Birkin is also forthright, declaring, "I hate standards." In both versions, Birkin suggests different *dimensions* of order, relating to the role of impulse and spontaneity: in version one, "supposing it was a natural impulse […] the proper thing would be to obey that impulse, speaking in the deepest sense"; and in version

two, "It was almost a masterpiece in good form. It's the hardest thing in the world to act spontaneously on one's impulses". Interestingly, Birkin's analogy of "a masterpiece in good form," in the second version, once again provides an explicit aesthetic context for the question of "form." Birkin's linking of control to repression, which leads to "greater chaos" in the "*soul*," provides the first version with an analytic depth that the second is lacking. However, the remainder of Lawrence's insertion in TSII makes up for this lack as Birkin provides an analysis of Gerald's suggestion, "we should have everybody cutting everybody else's throat in five minutes":

> "That means *you* would like to be cutting everybody's throat," said Birkin.
>
> […]
>
> "You no doubt have a lurking desire to have your gizzard slit, and ~~that is why you see in every man a potential assassin,"~~ **every man has his knife up his sleeve for you,"** Birkin said. (TSII 44)

Following this passage in TSII comes a single descriptive paragraph, written separately on a single inserted sheet of typescript, which ends what is Chapter II in TSII. The aforementioned paragraph is a rewritten version of the original concluding paragraph in TSI, which at that stage formed the conclusion to Chapter I (when revising TSII, Lawrence inserted a new chapter break at p. 28, halfway through the original first chapter). The following passages therefore provide the first striking example of Lawrence rewriting an ending:

TSI 35:

And the two men walked back towards the house, having come into ~~almost too close~~ **trembling nearness of** contact, in their talk. They felt tender and quivering, one

towards the other. They walked in love, back to the house, there to separate in the friability of actual life~~.~~ **, to escape each other.**

TSII 45:

There was a pause of strange enmity between the two men, that was very near to love. It was always the same between them; always their talk brought them into a ~~fearful~~ **deadly** nearness of contact, a strange, perilous intimacy which ~~neither of them would avow. And the tacit disavowal made almost a hatred between them.~~ **was either hate or love, or both.** They parted with apparent inconcern, as if their going apart were a trivial occurrence. And they really kept it to the level of trivial occurrence. Yet the heart of each burned ~~for~~ **from** the other. They burned ~~to love~~ **with** each other, inwardly. This they would never admit. They intended to keep their relationship a casual free and easy friendship, they were not going to be so unmanly and unnatural as to allow any heart-burning ~~or love~~ between them. They had not the faintest belief in ~~love~~ deep relationships between men and men, ~~and even the classic friendship, such as that between David and Jonathan they looked on with suspicion and contempt, as being in some way unmanly or unclean. To them the relationship of Achilles and Patroclus was moving, but womanly and suspect.~~ **and their disbelief prevented any development of their powerful but suppressed friendliness.**

The first version, though much shorter, is packed with tension, as love, which has a kind of mythical status, appears to lose out amid "the friability of actual life," while the final insertion, in which the pair separate "**to escape each other**," suggests that love also has an overbearing quality. Although the second version loses these nuances, it is longer and perhaps braver in exploring the affection between the men in

greater detail. It also ends with a subtle critique of social norms, as the men suppress their consciousness of the bond due to conventional notions about what it is to be "manly" and "natural."[12]

However, prior to the chapter's conclusion, the text, in TSI, originally contained an extended section of dialogue between Birkin and Gerald, which Lawrence completely cut from TSII and which was itself heavily revised in TSI. In it, Birkin discusses conceptions of desire, God, evil, and the soul, in a series of playful responses to Gerald's questioning. In doing so, Birkin gives clear voice to the novel's thematic opposition between flux and stasis and indicates some ethical and metaphysical imperatives resulting from it. I would suggest that Lawrence cut this section, of which I provide extracts below, for dramatic reasons and the rewritten chapter ending (discussed above), supports this argument by placing more emphasis upon the dramatic tension between the two characters.

In terms of my argument about the novel's underlying thematic opposition and the relationship between this and the process of writing itself, however, the cut passages are extremely revealing. In TSI, immediately after Gerald's suggestion that "you couldn't have all life like that, everybody just doing what they want," Birkin responds as follows:

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[12] The passages also contain some interesting connections to the early fragments for *Women in Love* (discussed in Chapter 2.2): firstly, in the "**trembling nearness of** contact" or "perilous intimacy" of the intense exchange, which echoes all the 'Sisters' fragments, and, secondly, in that it rehashes the suppressed bond between Birkin and Gerald, which is described in the abandoned 'Prologue' chapter draft.

TSI 34: Version 1

"Why not?" said Birkin. "That's the ideal. If you talk in terms of God, then God sends us our desires. The impulse from God enters into me in the shape of a desire. And that is God in me, my desire."

"And what about the Devil, then?" asked Gerald.

"He works through my will. The evil of evils is my egoistic conceit, the great Christian sin of pride. And the agent is the will. The will is only an instrument, but it is usually the instrument of evil."

"That's just Christianity," said Gerald. "Be humble, and submit your will to God."

"Quite right too – only don't have false Gods. We know nothing about God, and never shall. All you know, is that there is a desire come upon you, you don't know

TSI 34: Version 2

"Why not?" said Birkin. "That's the ideal. *Fay ce que vouldras* – that is the twelfth and ultimate commandment, which swallows all the others in a [?] gulp. – If God is in me, then His voice is the still small voice of my desire – surely?"

"What about the Devil, then?" asked Gerald, smiling.

"That is he who denies my desire. He says, 'I've decided what is and what isn't, and none of these irruptive desires are going to upset my scheme.' – The devil, Gerald, as you need to learn, is the egoistic *will* of man – your own will is the devil in you, for example."

"I should be humble, and submit my will to God?" laughed Gerald.

"Oh decidedly: decidedly! When a desire comes upon you, this is the Holy Ghost which is with you – submit, submit. Wilde was right, profoundly, when he said temptation was given us to

TSI 34: Version 1	**TSI 34: Version 2**
how, and that this desire is God."	succumb to."
"Yes, but what is evil, if all desire is good?" said Gerald. "Because if there is GOOD, there must be EVIL."	"What a world we should have, if anybody believed you!" cried Gerald, a wicked look of mischief on his face.

The relationship between these two versions is tightly knit and selecting one at the expense of the other involves losses as well as gains. The second version is slightly longer than the first and is, for the most part, an expanded version: it contains the first point, in which Birkin equates God with desire, but adds the intriguing reference to the commandment at the Abbey of Thélème in Rabelais's *Gargantua* (1534), as well as the second point, which equates evil with the ego and the will, to which it adds an antithetical commandment ("'I've decided what is and what isn't, and none of these irruptive desires are going to upset my scheme'"). However, Birkin's final response, which, in the second version is merely playful in tone ("Oh decidedly: decidedly!") and reference (Wilde), contains, in the first version, a more noteworthy caution about "false Gods," suggesting, "we know nothing about God, and never shall."

At this stage, Birkin appears to be outlining a somewhat restrictive doctrine concerned with the known (egoistic) and the unknown (godly). However, in the short and less heavily revised remaining section of this segment of TSI, prior to the close of the chapter, responding to Gerald's questioning, Birkin sets out a more fundamental opposition – in the self and the universe – between stasis and flux:

> "Evil is the static will," said Birkin. "That which has come to pass ~~desires, or rather~~ *wills* to remain as it is, ~~to persist~~ **in statu quo**. And that is the root of all evil. Desire is a seed, it will bring forth the unknown. But it has against it this

> static entity, ~~**this insect,**~~ this accomplished I. And this is the devil, this me which has come to pass, and which wishes to crystallise for ever upon itself, unchangeable. Whereas in reality, this me which I am is only a point of ~~stable~~ equilibrium, unstable equilibrium at that, in the everlasting flux of ~~the universe~~ **creation**." (TSI 34)

Foreshadowing Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus* (1972), desire figures here as a revolutionary principle, in opposition to that which wills to persist ("**in statu quo**").[13] In Birkin's theory, then, the individual is a point of unstable equilibrium within a universe of "everlasting flux," and Lawrence even revises the potentially static term "universe" to "**creation**." This passage therefore provides a metaphysic of creativity and process, which seems apt not only for the themes discussed in the early fragments and notebooks (smashing the shell, incompletion, versioning) but also for the novel's own process of composition, in which Lawrence himself displays relentless creativity.

As mentioned, Lawrence's decision, upon reflection, to cut these passages may well have stemmed from a perception of the meta-textual relevance of these statements, which were hence insufficiently dramatised within the narrative. As Gerald continues to interrogate Birkin in the remaining passages, the notion that the thematic opposition between flux and stasis is itself grounded in the writerly opposition between process and product, a dilemma shared by the novel itself as a work in progress, is increasingly evoked.

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[13] However, though both terms are productive, the difference between Birkin's "desire is a seed" and the "desiring-production" of *Anti-Oedipus* is obviously significant: besides the apparent shift from organic to machinic (though Deleuze and Guattari deconstruct this distinction by placing both concepts within broader, overlapping fields), the point for Birkin is to "bring forth the unknown."

In response to Birkin's suggestion that the individual is a mere point of unstable equilibrium, Gerald asks:

> "There is no real you?" asked Gerald~~.~~**, looking at his friend with smiling, cruel eyes. It seemed almost true - Birkin was so evanescent.** (TSI 34)

Lawrence's insertion here provides another example of the author's propensity to re-vision scenes and hence the focus upon descriptors. However, the actual question posed by Gerald is essential and Birkin's response is noteworthy:

> "No. There is no *thing* contained within a certain outline, which is absolute me. I am God, if you like; but my Self, my Ego, is ~~an illusion. It is an illusion I want to keep up, perhaps. Therein is the root of evil. But it is an illusion, nevertheless. That there is a~~ certain ~~I, that is an illusion.~~ **only a certain basketful of knowledge, gathered from the past. And I will that this be all, final. Which is the lie, the evil will. Because there will be more knowledge, that is not in the basket, in me.** There is no absolute I, there is only a central truth, a balancing point within the flux, a point where a pure relationship is established between all the paths. This point is my soul. But you can see that a *point* isn't anything – ~~think only of~~ **even in** Euclid." (TSI 34-35)

Birkin suggests outright that "there is no *thing* contained within a certain outline, which is absolute me," and goes on to argue that the conscious self or ego represents an illusory gathering of the past, which wills to "**be all, final.**" Regarding the notion of finality as "**the lie**," Birkin suggests that there is always more "**that is not in the basket**." In a sense, Birkin gives voice here to Ursula's implicit realization of the past, over the course of the narrative, as a ghostly and potentially stultifying presence, which she eventually likens to a series of slides in a magic lantern show. Birkin's colloquial use of the basket as a metaphor for the conscious self gives it a sense of

mundane, everyday reliability, however, as an empty container, the image of the basket also suggests a spectre of absence or nothingness. Likewise, Birkin reaffirms the presence of the soul as "a central truth, a balancing point within the flux, a point where a pure relationship is established between all the paths" but adds the following, rather large qualification (or decentralization): "But you can see that a *point* isn't anything."

The notion of a tantalizing relational point is quite an apt description of the dialogical bonds between Lawrence's multiple versions. Indeed, Birkin's final metaphysical point, about being as process, is just as relevant to textuality or writing as it is to the self:

> "My being is a centre of pure relationship between parts of the flux, a point of perfect equilibrium. But since the whole is a flux, ever-changing, therefore this ~~relationship passes away, with time~~ **unit dissolves again, this being disappears**." (TSI 34)

Although they remain traced in the material history of the novel, contained in the first typescript of *Women in Love*, these passages themselves "~~pass away~~," "**dissolve again**" and "**disappear**" in the overall flux of writing as Lawrence removes the sheets containing them from TSII. If we wish to understand the "point of pure relationship" in Lawrence's writing, which Birkin refers to as the soul, the incorporation of manuscripts and, in particular, the consideration of text as process, as in genetic criticism, seems fairly crucial to the study of Lawrence.

Smashing the mirror: 'Class-Room', 'Moony' and 'Exeunt'

Before moving on to consider the novel's heavily rewritten ending, I want to highlight two more episodes where, in TSI, Birkin's original speeches gave more explicit voice

to the thematic opposition between flux and stasis in the novel (and which were likewise cut or rewritten by Lawrence in TSII). The first of these episodes comes at the end of the following chapter, eventually entitled 'Class-Room'. Like the second and third chapter breaks before it, Lawrence inserted a new chapter break for Chapter IV when revising TSII at p. 62. Lawrence also completely rewrote the pages immediately preceding this break (i.e. the end of chapter 3), in this case by inserting three new handwritten sheets.[14] This rewritten section contains Birkin's infamous harangue against Hermione, who, incidentally, is made to stand as a representative for the British intelligentsia, of which Birkin counts himself a member, as indicated by his repeated use of the inclusive plural pronoun "we" in the final version of the episode.[15]

In both versions of the episode, Birkin's initial attack connects his harangue in the classroom to his previous speech with Gerald on the evil principle of stasis (discussed above) via the repetition of the term "fixed will": "you've got that mirror, your own fixed will, your immortal understanding, your own tight conscious world, and there is nothing beyond it. There, in the mirror, you must have everything" (TSI 45; TSII 57-58). However, the figure of the mirror itself represents a distinct development from the previous criticism of the will-to-persist, to a criticism of self-affirmation whereby knowledge becomes a reflector of the self. As with the previous alterations by Lawrence, whereas in the earlier version of the present episode,

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[14] The pages in question are TSII 57-61, which replaces and corresponds to TSI 45-49.

[15] Though it remains quite shocking, Birkin's aggression towards Hermione in this episode makes more sense within the context of the excised 'Prologue' chapter draft (in the 'Sisters III' fragment, discussed in Chapter 2.2), in which the pair's mutually destructive relationship is described in more detail.

contained in TSI, Birkin pursues the point about the mirror in much greater detail, in the rewritten text of TSII Lawrence places more emphasis upon the internal drama of the dispute between Birkin and Hermione:

TSI 45: Version 1	**TSII 57: Version 2**
"And because you've found all your ~~extant~~[?] **leading** ideas become stale, circumscribed as they are by your mirror-frame, you turn **round** against intellectualism, against thought, against any expression of **abstract** truth, you want only sensationalism, which means your senses in your head. […] you want to look at yourself in a mirror, like Shah Jehan – you want to see your own animal actions in a mirror – your accursed Lady of Shallott mirror, which you've got in your head – and which is *you*, the beginning and end of you – a fixed consciousness, an innumerable set of fixed conceptions, ~~polished~~ **old** clear and final, and bound round by your will into one perfect round mirror, in which the world takes place for you. […] You'd die	"But now you have come to all your conclusions, you want to go back and be like a savage, without knowledge. You want a life of pure sensation and 'passion.'" He quoted the last word satirically against her. She sat convulsed with fury and violation, speechless, like a stricken pythoness of the Greek oracle. "But your passion is a lie," he went on violently. "It isn't passion at all, it is your *will*. It's your bullying will. You want to clutch things and have them in your power. […] And why? Because you haven't got any real body, any dark sensual body of life. You have no sensuality. You have only your will and your conceit of consciousness, and your lust for power, to *know*."

TSI 45: Version 1	**TSII 57: Version 2**
rather than know that your perfect consciousness doesn't stretch to the bounds and limits of the universe. […] You'll take your precious mirror to the grave with you, ~~like~~ **as if it were** your own immortality."	He looked at her in mingled hate and contempt, also in pain because she suffered, and in shame because he knew he tortured her. He had an impulse to [?] **kneel** and plead for forgiveness. But a bitter red anger burned up to fury in him.

In the second version, the characters' bitter emotions provide a clearer indication that the exchange is serving to surface a repressed conflict. Birkin's "anger burned up to fury," while Hermione feels not only "fury" but also "violation." Hermione is actually likened to "a stricken pythoness of the Greek oracle" in version two, which connects this episode more explicitly to the abandoned 'Prologue' chapter draft, where Ethel (i.e. Hermione) is described as "priestess" who serves to sustain Birkin's "oracles" (SIII 6). In TSI, however, the first page of Birkin's monologue is dominated by the figure of the mirror, which includes an unusual reference to Shah Jahan (builder of the monumentally symmetrical Taj Mahal) as well as to the more familiar Arthurian legend of the Lady of Shallott (cursed to watch the world, or river to Camelot, go by reflected in a mirror). In the earlier version, then, Birkin's discourse again serves as an attack upon principles of stasis and completion ("fixed consciousness," "fixed conceptions," "clear and final," "bound round," "one perfect round mirror").

This image of the mirror provides an interesting key to *Women in Love*. The novel challenges numerous fixed images, many of which are prefigured in the early fragments. Some of these are vague: the home, marriage, the nation, dissolve into "unreality" for certain characters. Besides this soft dissolution, however, some of the

images are more precise and sublime: from Gudrun and Gerald's sense of each other's bodies and the surrounding Alpine peaks, to Birkin's view of the moon or Ursula's memory of her own childhood, which come under more violent assault.[16] Latent in the figure of a mirror, of course, is its ability to smash, an "inherent vice," and this latent violence is rendered more explicit in Lawrence's rewritten version of the above episode, where Ursula intimates that there is "a sense of ~~horror~~ **violation** in the air, as if too much was said, the unforgivable" (TSII 58).[17] Moving onto the final episode in which Birkin gives a more explicitly thematic speech in TSI, which is subsequently cut or rewritten by Lawrence in TSII, smashing the mirror as arch principle of stasis seems to explain the iconic chapter 'Moony', in which Birkin stones the reflected image of the moon in a pool of water.

As I will argue, this episode, which sits almost exactly at the halfway point in the novel, relates directly to the trope of the mirror and is, I believe, chiefly symbolic of the novel's assault upon stasis and the "shell" of fixed form. Prior to Birkin's entry into the scene, Ursula sees the moon as "transcendent" and "perfect" over the water

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[16] Lawrence also describes fixed form as a constraint and as something to be smashed in letters written during the period in which he left the early drafts for *Women in Love* to one side (1915-16): "There comes a point when the shell, the form of life, is a prison to the life" (ii. 285); "I am bored by coherent thought. Its very coherence is a dead shell. But we must help the living impulse that is within the shell. The shell is being smashed" (ii. 426).

[17] Birkin also remarks, "that loathsome little skull of yours, that ought to be cracked like a nut. For you'll be the same till it *is* cracked, like an insect in its skin" (TSII 57), while, following the above extract in TSI, Birkin "felt chiefly a mischievous triumph, like a boy who has broken something and is wickedly pleased" (TSI 46).

and is perturbed by its stillness: "she wished for something else out of the night, she wanted another night, not this moon-brilliant hardness."[18]

This iconic episode in 'Moony' is often referred to as a paradigmatic modernist "moment of being," where word and image seem epiphanically bound together. Jack Stewart describes the episode in expressionist terms, arguing that "the symbolic action of "Moony" is so powerful that the reader experiences it immediately and sensuously, as it were, rather than cognitively […] visionary concentration and psychic projection transcend personal causes and unite the individual with the archetype. Lawrence penetrates the primordial with a highly conscious form of "art-speech.""[19] While the awkward phrase "penetrating the primordial" seems somewhat overblown, I believe the analysis of the episode itself as expressionist is accurate. However, as Stewart goes on to demonstrate, interpreted as a symbol, critics often refer to the episode as misogynistic. Stewart suggests that, "were it not for Birkin's curse on Cybele, the female sex-principle that enslaves men, the symbolic meaning might remain obscure," and he argues that the figure of Cybele "is asserting a self-centered will-to-integration" on the water, whereas Birkin "is asserting a contrary will-to-disintegration aimed at the "insistent female ego.""[20]

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[18] *WL* pp. 245-246; incidentally, this "moon-brilliant hardness" recalls the hardness of Birkin's eyes in the early 'Sisters II' fragment (discussed in Chapter 2.2), which Ella finds similarly disturbing.

[19] Jack Stewart, *The Vital Art of D. H. Lawrence: Vision and Expression* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1999), p. 84.

[20] Stewart, *The Vital Art of D. H. Lawrence*, p. 84; this view is shared by Mark Kinkead-Weekes, who suggests Birkin stones the moon "in destructive misogyny, resentment, repudiation – but afterwards there is peace" (*Triumph to Exile*, p. 335).

I believe this interpretation is too contrived, however, and is ill fitting within the context of the novel and, in particular, its composition. The aforementioned reference to "Cybele," used as a key to the episode, comes in a short, enigmatic monologue, which Birkin delivers just prior to casting stones at the water. However, genetic analysis of this episode reveals that, in keeping with the previously discussed examples, Lawrence cut the majority of this passage when revising TSII, presumably for dramatic reasons, as the theoretical point of Birkin's monologue is more explicit in TSI:

TSI 302

"Artemis - Tanit - Mylitta - Aphrodite - be damned to her. She's really supreme now - if you should begrudge it her - damn her. All is two, all is not one. That's the point. ~~That's the secret of secrets. You've got to build a new world on that if you build one at all.~~ **It really is. - You can build a new world on that. Infinite One - god is a Point - what good is a Point?** All is two, all is not one. ~~In the beginning, all was two.~~ **All *was* two, with the beginning, and will be in the end.** The One is the result. That which is *created* is One. That's the ~~result~~ **resultant**, the consummation. But the beginning ~~is two~~ **and the end is two**, it is not one. ~~And creation~~ **The All** is two, the Whole is two, it is not one. There you've got it. I wonder what the Priscillianiste really made of it? - -"

TSII 391

"Cybele - ~~and~~ curse her! ~~She's the one god left.~~ **The accursed Syria Dea! -** Does one begrudge it her? ~~- Something else on[?]~~ **as well.** ~~The other half -~~

> ~~what about that?~~ **What else is there - ?" Ursula wanted to laugh loudly and hysterically, hearing his isolated voice speaking out. It was so ridiculous.**

The text of TSI makes the connection between Birkin's stoning of the moon's reflected image and his earlier speeches much more obvious. Though the passage remains quite obscure, which makes sense given the narratological context (as opposed to a self-conscious dialogue, this is an overheard monological speech), "**Infinite One – god is a Point – what good is a Point?**" is clearly in dialogue with Birkin's discussion of the soul as a point when conversing with Gerald. Likewise, the point about "the beginning **and the end is two**" echoes Birkin's harangue against Hermione, in which he suggests that "the beginning and the end of you" have become "a fixed consciousness, an innumerable set of fixed conceptions." Lawrence's rewriting of this episode again suggests dramatic reasons. Birkin's speech in the second version provides a less theoretical context for 'Moony', which appears as a more purely expressionist "acting out," and Birkin's preparatory monologue is further dramatised, or framed, by Ursula's satirical response following Lawrence's insertion ("**Ursula wanted to laugh loudly and hysterically, hearing his isolated voice speaking out. It was so ridiculous**").

Incidentally, Birkin's original list of (different) goddesses also undercuts the significance of Cybele or Syria Dea in the rewritten version, as the status of these particular titles appears far more contingent. All of the goddesses listed are associated with love, which can in turn be taken as symbolic of unification and oneness. However, the same list implicitly suggests multiplicity, as a single mythical archetype splits across cultures to produce a series of different goddesses. Given Kinkead-

Weekes's suggestion of "misogyny" (see footnote 20), it is also worth noting the manner in which Birkin's plural, split metaphysic – "the whole is two" – foreshadows post-structural feminist theorists such as Luce Irigaray, who criticizes what Derrida labels "phallogocentrism," or the idea of a single, master-signifier.[21]

The iconic scene immediately following Birkin's speech, in which he casts stones at the moon's reflected image, also provides an example of the customary pattern in Lawrence's writing as Birkin's rewritten speech is followed by a rich descriptive passage which goes almost entirely unrevised by Lawrence throughout the typescripts. This indicates the transitional rhythm from constraint to release, social dialogue to scenic description, which is paralleled by the rhythm of composition; I will discuss and provide the most detailed evidence of this structure in Chapter 3.2, when looking at the final chapter of *The Plumed Serpent*. However, the stoning of the moon's image, which breaks up into "a battlefield of broken lights and shadows," is richly suggestive for both the content and compositional history of *Women in Love*. The specular image of the moon is also a spectral one, as the moon is itself a reflexive body. We could perhaps take this image as symbolic of the work of art itself. If Birkin is the "author" in this scene, it is pertinent that he is only momentarily able to control

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[21] See, for example, the following passage from Irigaray's 'The Sex Which Is Not One': "The *one* of form, of the individual, of the (male) sexual organ, of the proper name, of the proper meaning […] supplants, while separating and dividing the contact of *at least two* (lips) which keeps woman in touch with herself, but without any possibility of distinguishing what is touching from what is touched. Whence the mystery that woman represents in a culture claiming to count everything, to number everything by units, to inventory everything as individualities," in *The Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter and Carolyn Burke (New York: Cornell UP, 1985), p. 26.

and fragment the water, before the sublime image reforms and re-fixes itself upon the surface. The moon's broken image is also likened to "the petals of a rose," a comparison likewise applied to the Alpine peaks later on in the novel by Gudrun, and each of these figures is finely poised between sublime wholeness and broken fragments. The episode is also the product of dialogical viewpoints as, besides Birkin's role, the scene is clearly focalised and mediated by the "reader" or interloper, Ursula, who is "aware of the bright moon leaping and swaying, all distorted, in her eyes" and who hears "a burst of sound," juxtaposed with a synesthetic "burst of brilliant light."[22] Finally, just as the moon's reflected image ultimately re-fixes upon the water, it is possible to witness the novel's own flux of creation resolving itself into the final published text, a single, fixed aesthetic object.

Can the episode be taken as symbolic of the manner in which the novel's resistance to stasis (dissolving the fixed image into unreality, smashing the mirror) is itself re-integrated, re-unified, and made "whole" by the novel's own finished form? Similarly, while the novel fragments into an increasing number of chapter divisions throughout Lawrence's revision of TSII, do these chapters not simultaneously become increasingly and symbolically unified, as symbolized by the eventual chapter titles inserted in the page proofs? However, as we shift from Lawrence's processes of writing to the final product eventually published in 1920 and 1921, we must take into account the demands and expectations of the publishers and marketplaces in which Lawrence had to operate; unlike some modernist giants, Lawrence did not possess independent wealth, a patron/patroness, a remunerative day-job, or a private press, and, in Paul Delany's view, without support from Harriet Shaw Weaver and others, Joyce, for example, "would have had to write more numerous but simpler books, as

[22] *WL*, pp. 246-247.

commercial novelists have always had to do."[23] As noted already, the novel's chapter titles were themselves inserted at the request of Lawrence's English publisher Martin Secker.

I will conclude the present chapter by turning to the ending of *Women in Love*, which Lawrence rewrote on numerous occasions and which anticipates the following chapters on *The Plumed Serpent* by reflecting on Lawrence's trend of rewriting endings and considering the dilemma of writing an ending for Lawrence. Lawrence rewrote the majority of the original closing lines to TSI, inserting seven new lines at the bottom of the final page, ostensibly p. 666. Revising the text again in TSII, Lawrence then struck out the original final lines, TSII 772, and inserted four newly handwritten sheets of manuscript. Furthermore, as notebooks 7-10 (discussed in the previous chapter, 2.3) contain the concluding segment of the narrative, we are also able to track Lawrence writing an ending in the previous stage of composition (prior to the typescripts). While there is also extensive rewritten material beforehand, here are the different versions of the final lines of *Women in Love*:

N10 436: Version 1

"Perhaps you sleep now in fulfillment – your very failure is a fulfillment – and one is wrong to oppose it. – Perhaps you *couldn't* be happy, as I wanted. – We will cover you over, and love you – and you will be warm in death. We will love you – you won't be cold – ."

TSI 666: Version 2

[23] Paul Delany, 'Who Paid for Modernism?', *The New Economic Criticism*, ed. Martha Woodmansee and Mark Osten (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 286-299, p. 291.

"At any rate, you sleep," he said, through his tears and pain. At any rate you sleep now: we needn't grieve for you any more. We will cover you over, and ~~love~~ **leave** you – and you will be warm in death. We will love you – you won't be cold."

Then again his face broke with tears.

"But it was horrible for you," he cried. "And then – nothing – nothing – never to struggle clear – never to struggle clear – Gerald –"

He could not bear it. His heart seemed to be torn in his chest.

"But then," he strove to say, "we needn't all be like that. All is not lost, because many are lost. – I am not afraid or ashamed to die and be dead."

TSII 776: Version 3

"Did you need Gerald?" she asked one evening.

[…]

"Having you, I can live all my life without anybody else, any other sheer intimacy. But to make it complete, really happy, I wanted eternal union with a man too: another kind of love," he said.

"I don't believe it," she said. "It's an obstinacy, a theory, a perversity."

"Well –" he said.

"You can't have two kinds of love. Why should you!"

"It seems as if I can't," he said. "Yet I wanted it."

"You can't have it, because it's wrong, impossible," she said.

"I don't believe that," he answered.

Gerald's body is perhaps the most sublime object in the novel and the fact that Birkin reflects on what is now "the carcase of a dead male" (N10 430, TSI 663 & TSII 772) in all versions of the ending is clearly of great significance. Assuming that the 'Sisters I' fragment was representative of the early drafts, Gerald did appear to "survive" pre-war versions of the novel (see Chapter 2.2). However, as the dead male body had already comprised a climactic object of reflection in one of Lawrence's earliest pieces of fiction, namely, the short story 'Odour of Chrysanthemums', the war was clearly not the only motivating factor for Lawrence's alteration.[24] Above all, perhaps, the dead male body is suggestive of the climax to the process of writing fiction for Lawrence, where "the everlasting flux of creation" is temporarily ensnared by the deathly stasis of a finished text.[25]

Like the repeated "perhaps," the many hyphens that puncture Birkin's original speech in version one indicate the hesitation and struggle to accept death. The second version of the speech in TSI is similarly punctured and repetitive, though "at any rate" and 'but" add to the more conciliatory tone of the second version. Though Birkin describes it as "horrible" never to "struggle clear," he also suggests that he is "not afraid or ashamed to die and be dead." Following a familiar pattern, Lawrence more clearly dramatises Birkin in TSII, as Ursula is re-introduced in the newly inserted

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[24] This is also the case in Lawrence's play 'The Widowing of Mrs. Holroyd', which was performed in 1914 and is effectively an alternate version of 'Odour of Chrysanthemums', adapted for the stage.

[25] The *gender* of dead bodies in Lawrence's writing (i.e. male) is largely contingent upon the narrative, which, in the case of 'Odour of Chrysanthemums' and 'The Widowing of Miss Holroyd', has a biographical/historical basis. However, the *male* body is particularly symbolic in the present context due to traditional conceptions of (manly) virility.

scene and the novel eventually ends with an inconclusive piece of dialogue between her and Birkin. Ursula's suggestion, "you can't have two kinds of love," recalls and contravenes Birkin's earlier metaphysical description of "the whole" as "two" in the draft of the chapter eventually entitled 'Moony'. The excised speech appears to haunt the novel's eventual ending as Birkin enigmatically contests Ursula's claim (""I don't believe that," he answered"). In this final line, I believe Birkin gives voice to the novel's as well as Lawrence's own underlying resistance to stasis and completion.

It is this precise resistance that produces the dilemma of writing an ending for Lawrence, a topic which I will return to in the following section on *The Plumed Serpent*, in the final primary chapter of this thesis (3.2). Gerald's death at the end of *Women in Love* is perhaps symbolic of the end of a certain phase in Lawrence's writing. After *Women in Love*, the protagonists of Lawrence's novels, though still concerned with plotting a hopeful path for the future, become increasingly haunted by the past and by their former lives. Picking Lawrence's writing back up in 1923 in the following chapters, by which time Lawrence had finally departed from England and the dispiriting climate of the First World War, we confront an older and somewhat more melancholic novelist.

The Composition of *The Plumed Serpent*

Bibliographical Notes		*Version*	*Date*
Holograph manuscript, Roberts E313a	MSI 594 pp. '*Quetzalcoatl*'	One	May 10 1923 – June 27 1923
Typescript, Roberts E313b	TSI 360 pp. '*Quetzalcoatl*'		
Holograph manuscript, Roberts E313c	MSII 806 pp. '*Quetzalcoatl*'	Two	November 19 1924 – July 1925
Revised original and carbon typescript, Roberts E313d	TSII 743 pp. '~~*Quetzalcoatl*~~ ***The Plumed Serpent***'		

3.1

The Plumed Serpent: Criticism, Composition and Revision

> And turn for the support and the confirmation not to the perfected past, that which is set in perfection as monuments of human passage. But turn to the unresolved, the rejected.[1]
>
> And now she would not have any more children. She did not want any more. So that her great womanly connection with the future was ~~broken~~ **gone**. This left her feeling a great loss, and a sort of loneliness inside her. ~~And this~~ **Which** was very bitter. For she had always been filled with such a strong sense of futurity and hope. And now, as a female woman, she felt cut off, somewhat meaningless.
>
> For this reason, because of the sense of loss of connection, she could not go back to England. (MSI ~~109~~ **110**)

The compositional history of *Quetzalcoatl*, or *The Plumed Serpent*, has previously been described in detail by L. D. Clark and N. H. Reeve in their respective

[1] D. H. Lawrence, 'Foreword to *Studies in Classic American Literature*', *Studies in Classic American Literature*, ed. by Ezra Greenspan, Lindeth Vasey and John Worthen (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), pp. 379-386, p. 384.

introductions to Cambridge editions of the novel.[2] As in my account of the composition of *Women in Love*, while previous critics like Clark and Reeve provide an important basis for my own work, I differ somewhat in my interpretation of the nature of the materials. In particular, I emphasize the status of Lawrence's manuscripts as *drafts*, that is, as materials written explicitly as part of an ongoing process of writing, which Lawrence subsequently made direct, close and frequent use of when rewriting subsequent "versions" of the novel in subsequent manuscripts or typescripts. Following a brief summary of Lawrence's composition of the novel, I discuss this point in more detail below. I also provide a brief survey of the critical reception of *The Plumed Serpent* and discuss how, besides the genetic methodology, my own approach to the novel differs from that of most previous critics due to its focus upon the journey of its protagonist, Kate. I then consider Lawrence's general composition and revision of the novel, picking out a number of specific examples from the various phases of writing. The most detailed genetic analysis is however saved for the second chapter on *The Plumed Serpent* (3.2), in which I focus upon Lawrence's manifold writing and rewriting of the novel's final chapter.

Lawrence completed the majority of work on *The Plumed Serpent* during two extended visits to Mexico between 1923 and 1925. Lawrence wrote a first manuscript draft (MSI) while residing at Lake Chapala, in an incredibly productive spell, which

[2] Lawrence changed the title reluctantly, at the request of its English publisher Martin Secker, from 'Quetzalcoatl' to 'The Plumed Serpent', an English translation described by Lawrence as "luscious" and "a bit silly" (v. 250 and 263). See L. D. Clark's 'Introduction' to *PS*, pp. xvii-xlvii, esp. pp. xxii-xli, as well as Reeve's 'Introduction' to *Q*, pp. xvii-xliii, esp. pp. xvii-xix and xxxi-xli.

began 10 May 1923 and was completed by 27 June 1923.[3] MSI runs to 479 manuscript pages (circa 115,000 words) and is written in two bound notebooks. There followed a break of sixteen-and-a-half months, during which time, besides reflecting upon the novel, Lawrence completed a raft of other work, including *The Boy in the Bush* (1924), in collaboration with Mollie Skinner, and *St. Mawr* (1925); during this break in work on the novel, having left Mexico in July, Lawrence visited New York (where Frieda left for Europe), Los Angeles and Guadalajara, returned to England (re-joining Frieda, where he also threw a famous dinner part for friends at the Café Royal, shortly before Christmas 1923), before returning to Taos, New Mexico, in March 1924.[4] Lawrence began a second full draft of his Mexican novel by writing an entirely new manuscript (MSII) in another industrious period, this time while residing in Oaxaca, which began 19 November 1924 and ended in late January 1925. MSII runs to 806 pages (circa 185,000 words) and was mostly written in a second pair of bound notebooks, except for the final 38 pages; having exhausted the new pair, Lawrence completed MSII by reusing the earlier pair of notebooks: turning over notebook two of MSI and writing the concluding segment inward from the back.

Lawrence fairly heavily revised MSI, most likely during the original period of composition, and had Willard Johnson begin typing it in May while he was still in the middle of writing it; Johnson completed 81 pages of the eventual typescript (TSI),

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[3] MSI forms the basis of the published versions of *Quetzalcoatl* (including the Cambridge edition).

[4] For a fuller account of Lawrence's typically frenetic activity during this break from July 1923 to November 1924, see David Ellis, *D. H. Lawrence: Dying Game, 1922-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998), pp. 118-212; for a list of works completed during this period, see Ellis, *Dying Game*, pp. 547-551 and 568.

which equated to the first 108 pages of MSI (a few pages into Chapter V). Lawrence only lightly revised these pages of TSI, mainly correcting words, although he also inserted titles for Chapters I-IV (MSI only includes titles for Chapters V-VII).[5] However, Lawrence's American publisher, Thomas Seltzer, subsequently produced the majority of TSI, which was poorly typed, contains many errors and non-authorial alterations, and was not revised by Lawrence.[6] For these reasons, TSI is not discussed in these chapters.

Lawrence only lightly revised MSII and had another friend begin typing the novel, this time Dorothy Brett, who completed Chapters I-V of the second typescript (TSII), although the majority of TSII was subsequently produced by Lawrence's agent, Curtis Brown.[7] Following a five-month break from work on the novel, during which time he fell dangerously ill, Lawrence was finally diagnosed with tuberculosis, and returned to Taos. He heavily revised TSII between June and July 1925.[8]

Clark and Reeve, along with Louis Martz, have each supported the basic idea that Lawrence produced two separate versions of his Mexican novel, as reflected in the compositional overview provided at the top of this chapter, and have thus edited two separate editions, beginning with the Cambridge edition of *The Plumed Serpent* (1986), edited by Clark, and followed by Martz's original edition of *Quetzalcoatl* in 1995 as well as, more recently, by the Cambridge edition of *Quetzalcoatl* (2011),

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[5] For a list of these revisions, see the textual apparatus in *Q*, pp. 363-406.

[6] Seltzer went bankrupt later the same year, hence the eventual American publication of *The Plumed Serpent* (1926) by Alfred Knopf.

[7] Chapters I-V of TSII are paginated continuously, while Chapters VI-XXVII each begin a new pagination.

[8] For an account of this second break see Ellis, *Dying Game*, pp. 234-252.

edited by Reeve. In his introduction to *The Plumed Serpent*, Clark suggests of MSI that:

> It turned out to be not a text for revision but a first version eventually rejected in favour of a total rewriting. 'Quetzalcoatl' differs from *The Plumed Serpent* much as the three versions of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* differ. The two works represent separate processes of creation, even though one is preliminary to the other. Comparisons made here and in the Explanatory notes relate the two processes within the whole of Lawrence's American experience.[9]

This general overview reflects the type of discussion of process found in traditional Lawrence studies, as discussed in detail in Chapter 1.2. The following terms are used: text, revision, rewriting, version, work, as well as the phrase "process of creation," yet none of these are explained, developed or problematized. Like some of the critics discussed in Chapter 1.2, therefore, Clark provides a generalised account of process, which in this case supports the presentation of a particular edition. Discussing the materials from a similar perspective as editors presenting a particular edition, Martz and Reeve likewise suggest that Lawrence produced *two* distinct versions in their respective introductions to *Quetzalcoatl* (the earlier version).[10]

This argument stems from the fact that Lawrence produced two separate manuscript drafts, during two separate periods of composition, both of which were typed up separately, though only the later of the two was subsequently pursued for publication and received subsequent typescript revisions, which are therefore considered an extension and completion of the second "process of creation."

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[9] Clark, 'Introduction', *PS*, p. xxv.

[10] See Louis Martz, 'Introduction', *Quetzalcoatl* (New York: Black Swan Books, 1995), p. xiii, and Reeve, 'Introduction', *Q*, p. xviii.

However, Clark's suggestion that the two "processes of creation" were entirely separate and that MSI was "rejected in favour of a total rewriting" by Lawrence is misleading. As discussed in more detail below, MSII is essentially an extended rewrite of MSI and it is clear that Lawrence directly consulted the earlier manuscript throughout its composition.[11] Furthermore, as with *Women in Love*, various passages and episodes in the novel were rewritten several times, which also complicates the neat division of materials into two versions; for example, in the next chapter, I distinguish *four* versions of the novel's final chapter.

The present chapter provides an overview of Lawrence's composition and revision of *The Plumed Serpent* and goes into greater detail than previous critics by discussing numerous specific revisions. I pick out Chapters I and III for more detailed consideration not only as this reflects Lawrence's more heavy revision of the early chapters but also because a genetic study of these chapters helps to reveal the treatment and role of the novel's protagonist Kate, whose own viewpoint largely frames and inflects the narrative; a narrative which can itself be seen as representing a personal journey for Kate. This feature of the novel warrants particular emphasis as previous critics have a tendency to overlook the importance of Kate's role in the novel. While David Ellis has suggested that "no work Lawrence ever wrote divides his admirers as sharply as *The Plumed Serpent*," many of the harsher judgements of the novel have focused on the meaning and credibility of the Quetzalcoatl movement and its leaders, Ramon and Cipriano, which I would argue is a secondary narrative

[11] More in keeping with the present approach, David Ellis refers to the composition of MSII as 'Re-writing 'Quetzalcoatl'' in *Dying Game*; see pp. 213-219.

strand and one which is chiefly of interest due to its interrelation with the novel's primary strand (namely, Kate's journey).[12]

Although, from the 1930s-60s, the likes of E. M. Forster, William York Tindall and L. D. Clark had each considered the novel to be one of Lawrence's finest, in his famous study *The Dark Night of the Body* (1964), Clark himself noted that "*The Plumed Serpent* is the most perplexing of D. H. Lawrence's novels," and that, "in the forty years since its birth it has suffered the condemnation of many and enjoyed the adulation of a few."[13] In the decades following Clark's study, that condemnation intensified in some quarters as critics subjected the novel (and Lawrence in general, as discussed already in Chapter 1.2) to ideological criticism; a classic example being Kate Millett who, in *Sexual Politics* (1970), suggested that *The Plumed Serpent* was concerned with "inventing a religion, even a liturgy, of male supremacy."[14] More recently, critics approaching the novel from this type of perspective have provided more balanced accounts, with Brett Nielson suggesting that Lawrence "fumbles for a

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[12] Ellis, *Dying Game*, p. 219. Charles Burack provides a survey of some recent criticism on the novel in *D. H. Lawrence's Language of Sacred Experience: The Transfiguration of the Reader* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 180, and suggests, "the current critical response to the novel is still quite divided" (p. 180).

[13] L. D. Clark, *The Dark Night of the Body: D. H. Lawrence's* The Plumed Serpent (Austin: Texas UP, 1964), p. v. See E. M. Forster, 'D. H. Lawrence', *The Creator as Critic: And Other Writings by E. M. Forster*, ed. Jeffrey M. Heath (Toronto: Dundurn, 2008), and William York Tindall, 'Introduction' to *The Plumed Serpent* (New York: Knopf, 1952).

[14] Millett, *Sexual Politics*, p. 283. More recently, Marianna Torgovnick has suggested we "modify the anger in Millett's critique to a new understanding of, and even sympathy with Lawrence," in *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1990), p. 167.

formula that might dismantle the racial and sexual polarities of the colonial situation, and for this, his primitivism must be remembered," while Jad Smith has argued that, "by forcing primitivism and *völkisch* organicism into a fretful dialogue, [Lawrence] brings problems associated with authoritarian leadership politics, particularly irrationalism and violence, to the foreground rather than quietly brushing them aside."[15] However, I believe the underlying approach in these accounts is mistaken in identifying the Quetzalcoatl cult as an authoritative component in Lawrence's novel.[16] More positive accounts, such as those by Tindall and Clark as well as, more recently, Virginia Hyde, have similarly tended to focus upon the novel's mythic symbolism.[17]

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[15] Brett Neilson, 'D. H. Lawrence's "Dark Page": Narrative Primitivism in *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent*, *Twentieth-Century Literature*, 43:3 (1997), 310-325, 322; Jad Smith, '*Völkisch* Organicism and the Use of Primitivism in Lawrence's *The Plumed Serpent*', *D. H. Lawrence Review*, 30:3 (2002).

[16] This point has also been argued by Tony Pinkney, who, in *D. H. Lawrence and Modernism*, suggests the "thesis of 'naïvety' [some sudden access of mythic euphoria] applies more to characters within the novel than to the text itself, which is a formidably self-conscious work, preoccupied to the point of obsession with questions about the nature of reading, writing and meaning" (p. 148); alternatively, Joyce Wexler suggests "*The Plumed Serpent* anticipates postmodernism's extremity by representing sensational scenes of violence and erotic domination" in 'D. H. Lawrence through a postmodernist lens', *D. H. Lawrence Review*, 27:1 (1997-98), 47-64, 47.

[17] See Virginia Hyde, *The Risen Adam: D. H. Lawrence's Revisionist Typology* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania UP, 1992), pp. 173-206; incidentally, Hyde's chapter on the novel is a comparative study of *Quetzalcoatl* and *The Plumed Serpent* and thus considers some of the differences between "early" and "late" versions of the novel; in considering two

The present chapters on *The Plumed Serpent* take a different approach to the novel, focusing on Kate and considering Mexico and the Quetzalcoatl movement chiefly in relation to her journey, placing the central themes of trauma, depression and memory in a more personal context.[18] However, since Lawrence's revisions and rewritings help demonstrate the ways in which Kate focalises the narrative, genetic criticism is central to my argument.

Protocols and preparations

In the strictest sense, Lawrence's composition of *The Plumed Serpent* consisted of one main phase of original writing, followed by four main phases of rewriting, some of which were more exhaustive than others. As in the composition of the first draft of 'The Sisters' a decade earlier, Lawrence seems to have written MSI in a couple of months in the late Spring of 1923, without having produced any concrete plan beforehand, and this initial period therefore represents the main phase of original writing. As evidenced already during the composition of *Women in Love*, the improvisational origin of *The Plumed Serpent* reflects Lawrence's customary practice when writing fiction and there is scant evidence of any real paper planning in

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alternate published editions, however, the chapter does not provide a "genetic" study of the novel.

[18] David Ellis has suggested that "Kate's struggle to decide what she feels about the Quetzalcoatl cult and its organisers" is "the psychological drama which is, or perhaps more accurately, should be, at the centre of *The Plumed Serpent*" (*Dying Game*, p. 216); I disagree with these qualifications and argue that Kate's complex psychological drama *is* the centre of the novel.

Lawrence's career.[19] However, as discussed in the previous chapters and as evidenced again here, Lawrence usually produced a succession of drafts, for which the first draft provides a direct basis. Aside from the likelihood that Lawrence planned work mentally (albeit more loosely), it is therefore easy to see how drafts functioned as a *type* of plan for Lawrence, which dovetails with Daniel Ferrer's principle that "the draft is not a text, or a discourse, it is a protocol for making a text."[20] Rather than

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[19] The main examples are a skeleton plan for the closing chapters of *The White Peacock* and a loose chapter outline for 'Paul Morel', both of which were written on a couple of sheets in one of Lawrence's early Nottingham University College notebooks (1910); the "outline" of 'Paul Morel' is contained on a single page and is a kind of memo, providing only a dozen or so words (though often less) for fifteen chapters (see *Paul Morel*, Volume Two, ed. Helen Baron (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), pp. xxv-xxix and Appendix II). One later example, which suggests that Lawrence may have continued to produce miniature paper plans, is contained in a notebook dated 26 August 1924 (thus produced during the break between the two main periods of work on *The Plumed Serpent*), in which, besides miscellaneous short writings, Lawrence wrote some "Suggestions for Stories." Altogether, these "suggestions" run to just over a page in length and consist of four, single-paragraph outlines for stories entitled 'The Weather-Vane/The Flying Fish', 'The Wedding Ring', 'The Dog' and 'The Woman out of the Water.' Although Lawrence added the proviso "never carried out!" in pencil, he did in fact begin a work entitled 'The Flying Fish', based on the aforementioned outline, in March 1925, completing forty manuscript pages, the first nine of which were dictated by Lawrence and written by Frieda (see *St Mawr and Other Stories*, ed. Brian Finney (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983), pp. xxiv-xxxvi and Appendix I).

[20] Daniel Ferrer, 'The Open Space of the Draft Page: James Joyce and Modern Manuscripts', *The Iconic Page in Manuscript, Print, and Digital Culture*, ed. George Bornstein and Theresa Tinkle (Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 1998), pp. 249-267, p. 261. Lawrence's own descriptions

consider "separate processes of creation," then, these chapters on *The Plumed Serpent* examine the ways in which Lawrence made use of his own "protocol for making a text."

Although it is a useful term highlighting the provisional and processual nature of *drafts*, features which Lawrence's editors tend to overlook or downplay, the concept of a "protocol" is perhaps too instrumental and seems to provide an example of the tendency, within genetic criticism, to rely upon "constructivist" metaphors for writing. These metaphors are germane to a particular *type* of modernist writing, which, as stressed already in the preceding chapters, stems from Flaubertian tenets of technical craft; like his British contemporary Virginia Woolf, Lawrence criticised instrumental interpretations of literature, though Lawrence's was a more ideological critique, concerned with solipsism, dualism and mastery.[21] Genetic criticism should resist too simple and polemical an opposition to alternative, non-constructivist interpretations of writing, particularly as this involves neglecting certain features in the interpretation of process, such as rhythm, a feature which I have briefly discussed in relation to *Women in Love* and genetic "dialogism" when considering the shifts

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of MSI, in June 1923, likewise emphasize the provisionality of the first draft: "Hope to have finished it, in rough, before I leave here." (iv. 454) "It only depends now, on my finishing the first draft of this novel here." (iv. 455) "Hope to finish the first rough draft by the end of this month." (iv. 457)

[21] See Lawrence, 'German Books' and Virginia Woolf, 'Craftsmanship', in *The Death of a Moth and Other Essays* (London: Hogarth Press, 1942), pp. 126-131. Incidentally, in the posthumously published 'Notes on D. H. Lawrence', Woolf suggests that, "Comparing him again with Proust […] one feels that not a single word has been chosen for its beauty, or for its effect upon the architecture of the sentence," in *The Moment and Other Essays* (London: Hogarth Press, 1941), pp. 93-98, p. 98).

between heavily revised dialogical scenes and unrevised descriptive scenes. However, the clearest examples of this rhythmic structure are contained in the next chapter (3.2), which focuses on the final chapter of *The Plumed Serpent*.

Before moving on to detail the phases of writing in the composition of *The Plumed Serpent*, it is worth pointing out that Lawrence made indirect literary preparations, getting through an extensive list of books on both ancient and modern Mexican history, as well as anthropological studies of Mexican mythology. Prior to this particular research, as well as his journey into New Mexico in 1922 and Mexico the following year, Lawrence also expressed a desire to write an American novel as early as 1915 and had begun work on the groundbreaking *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1923) in 1916.[22] Clark and Reeve discuss these and other "literary preparations" in more detail in their respective Cambridge introductions, which also provide lists of Lawrence's extensive reading.[23]

Writing and revision

The four main phases of rewriting consisted of (1) the revision of MSI; (2) the rewriting of MSI as MSII; (3) the revision of MSII; and (4) the revision of TSII. While these divisions complicate the sense in which there are "two versions" of the novel, it is also important to note the ways in which writing and rewriting often

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[22] According to Sandra M. Gilbert, "as several recent scholars have observed, not only was Lawrence perhaps *the* most influential "founding fathe[r] of modern American literary theory," he also defined what is still the central canon of American literature and pioneered many of the key approaches to this canon" ('On the Road with D. H. Lawrence – or, Lawrence as Thought-Adventurer', *Partial Answers*, 5:1 (2007), 1-15, 5).

[23] See Clark, 'Introduction', *PS*, p. xxv, and Reeve, 'Introduction', *Q*, pp. xxiii-xxvii.

overlap. For example, internal evidence suggests that at least some of the revision of MSI took place during the original phase of writing (i.e. during the composition of MSI), which means Lawrence may well have revised early chapters or scenes in the manuscript before writing the later ones. As the complexity of Lawrence's processes of writing have not been clearly communicated, I have devised a few summative tables in the present chapters on *The Plumed Serpent*, beginning with the following overview of the novel's overall composition and revision:

Revisionary phases:		Version:	Date:
(0)	Composition of MSI	One	10 May-27 June 1923
(1)	Revision of MSI		
(2)	Composition of MSII	Two	19 November 1924-January 1925
(3)	Revision of MSII		
(4)	Revision of TSII		June-July 1925

(1) MSI

Chapter I: "Now we're seeing the real thing."

Lawrence heavily revised Chapters I-VII (pp. 1-177) of MSI, which equates to approximately the first 40%, with extensive rewriting in particular between chapters III-VII.[24] By contrast, the remainder of the draft, Chapters VIII-XIX (pp. 178-469), was only lightly revised. As Lawrence further divided and expanded these chapters into the novel's eventual total of 27 in MSII and TSII, this heavily revised early section equates roughly to Chapters I-XIII of *The Plumed Serpent*; the exclusive insertion of chapter titles, in MSI and TSI, for Chapters I-VII further emphasises Lawrence's revisionary focus upon this segment.

The revision of this segment is often extensive and includes the following sections, which are expanded and almost entirely rewritten: pp. 73-76, which discuss Owen and "the vacuum of a modern individual"; pp. 114-122, which discuss the local fear of bandit raids ("like curdled blood") and the servant family with whom Kate resides (due to erroneous pagination, this section actually totals 10 pp.); pp. 138-141, in which Ramon discusses the notion that "each man has two spirits inside him," while Kate reflects on Ramon's body with a "narcotic" attachment; pp. 161-164, in which Ramon again discusses his beliefs regarding the soul; and pp. 167-175, in which Ramon and Cipriano again discuss the soul and manhood, before, following Cipriano's supplication, Ramon "converts" Cipriano into the Mexican God Huitzilopochtli.

This final conversion scene (Chapter VII is eventually entitled "Conversion") is awkward and fraught, and Lawrence's extensive revisions of the chapter can be

[24] Lawrence's pagination is often erroneous, therefore the range of pages given here and in the following sentence (i.e. Lawrence's) are inexact.

taken as a reflection of this. While, by contrast, the remaining chapters are only lightly revised, with no further rewritten scenes, this comparative compositional ease can likewise be taken as a reflection of the less intensely confrontational nature of the narrative content in the latter half of the novel. There is therefore a correlation between content and process with regards to the rhythmic transition from high to low intensity, not only in the confrontations between characters within the narrative, but also in terms of Lawrence's own dialogical confrontation with the manuscript. Having mainly discussed specific dialogical revisions in the previous chapters on *Women in Love*, the concept of "dialogical" writing is expanded here, accounting for the overall process of writing and including counterpoint and rhythm, where narrative content and intensity of writing and revision are frequently mirrored.[25]

While this type of "dialogism" may be peaceable in itself, Lawrence's work is marked by its intensity and thus rhythmic transitions often shift into, or break out into conflict. *Women in Love* arranges itself into a series of increasingly conflicted viewpoints, whereby the characters seem on the brink of breaking apart or of breaking each other apart. This type of violent dialogical conflict is also a major theme in *The Plumed Serpent* and is introduced immediately in the novel's opening chapter, where Kate attends a bullfight in Mexico City and arrives feeling "uneasy, as if she were doing something ~~she ought not to do~~ **against her nature**" (MSI 2). Prior to witnessing the spectacle itself, this minor revision already highlights the threatening nature of the event, altering Kate's sense of foreboding from a super-ego-type

[25] I alluded to this point when discussing the opening pages of *Women in Love* in Chapter 2.2, as well as the chapter 'Moony' in Chapter 2.4. The next chapter, 3.2, develops this point in greater detail, however, when discussing the composition of the final chapter of *The Plumed Serpent*.

reprimand (she "ought" not to) to something more elemental ("**against her nature**"). We may also ponder the fact that Lawrence is himself revisiting the scene here while confronting the manuscript in revision, which may have contributed to the sense of a rupture between public spectacle and (Kate or Lawrence's) private sensibility.

Once the spectacle begins, however, Kate's resulting shock is reminiscent of Ella's traumatic experience of school life in the 'Wedding Ring' fragment, where romantic expectations are crushed in a similarly cruel manner:

> Kate, watching, had never been so suddenly taken by surprise in her life. She had come with romantic notions of a gallant display. And before she knew where she was, she was watching a bull, with a red ~~wound~~ **place** on his shoulder, working his horns up and down in the belly of a prostrate and feebly plunging old horse.
>
> She looked aside, having almost lost control of herself. But the greatest ~~surprise~~ **shock** was surprise, ~~the am~~ amazement at the poor vulgarity of it. Then she smelt blood and the nauseous smell of bursten bowels. (MSI 10-11)

This scene takes the aforementioned sense of conflict to an immediate and transgressive point of visceral extremity in the novel and Lawrence's minor alterations are again significant. The second revision, from "surprise" to "shock," indicates a more traumatic level: rather than something unexpected that she is nonetheless able to register in an ordinary manner, shock threatens that everyday consciousness. The first revision also suggests this though more subtly, as Kate's more specific and mundane vision of a red "wound" on the bull's shoulder is replaced by a more abstract and ambiguous red "place."

Incidentally, the theme of vision in this opening episode highlights Kate's traumatic experience by emphasizing her inability to register what she is nonetheless

able to *see*. While Kate notices that the horses are "thickly blindfolded," it is repeatedly emphasised that Kate herself is able (and indeed feels compelled) to "watch," "look" and "see" the events taking place. Nevertheless, as an attendant leads the wounded horse out of the arena and Kate sees "a great ball of its **own** entrails hanging reddish against the animal's legs […] the shock of surprise almost made her lose her self-control" (MSI 11).

Lawrence's narration highlights the transgressive nature of "the real," as a dimension which cannot easily register in ordinary symbolic or imaginative realms and whose emergence therefore threatens to rupture ordinary consciousness. Kate looks at her companion Owen and finds him "somewhat pale" and also "half-scared" and "somewhat disgusted," yet "excited and pleased, as if to say: Now we're seeing the real thing" (MSI 11). The latter phrase may appear pat in Lawrence's vernacular style but I would suggest it is in fact a very subtle one.

Lawrence's revisions in the first chapter of MSI tend to sharpen the nature of this conflict for Kate. As Kate looks away from Owen, the scene continues as follows:

> she felt ~~insulted, insulted~~ **she had had a sudden blow, an insult** to the last fibre ~~that~~ **in her, by** such a humiliating spectacle ~~should be offered her~~. Such a ~~degrading spectacle~~ ~~**base, sordid show**~~ **shameless spectacle!** All her womanhood and her breed rose ~~in revolt~~ **like a madness**. But the thing was going on, and she was powerless to stop it. And she was too startled to move. The thing had come on her too suddenly, too unexpectedly. (MSI 12)

While this passage suggests an element of class resentment in Kate's response to the "sordid" popular show ("her breed rose"), the revisions again shift the register from a moralistic reprimand ("insulted, insulted") towards a more traumatic "sudden blow." Similarly, rather than rise "in revolt," Kate is less in control following Lawrence's

revision and feels resentment rise "like a madness." The passage continues in these terms as Kate is rendered "powerless to stop it" and "too startled too move," for "the thing," again an abstract and unspecified entity, had "come on her too suddenly, too unexpectedly."

Following this passage, a second horse is gored in front of the spectators, at which point Kate "rose to her feet" (echoing Claudius in *Hamlet*) and departs, knowing "if she saw any more she would go into hysterics. ~~Her control was~~ **She was getting beside herself**" (MSI 16), with Lawrence's revision again suggesting loss of agency and fragmentation of consciousness through shock. Unfortunately for Kate, who hadn't brought a coat, a sudden rainstorm prevents her from exiting the arena and she is forced to wait in the tunnel, where she "could not get out of her eyes the last picture of the horse," and "her face had the drawn, rather blank look of a woman who is on the verge of hysterics" (MSI 18).[26]

The initial shock of the bull-fight provides something of a pattern for the early parts of the narrative in MSI, which are punctuated by a number of other intense

[26] This allusion to female hysteria is offset somewhat by Kate's sense of the bulls as excessively male: "She thought for the first time that a bull was a dull and stupid creature ~~for all~~ **in spite of** his excessive maleness and flourishing horns. He never distinguished his tormentors. He never knew what to single out among the movement" (MSI 12). Incidentally, Kate is forced to wait among the predominantly male crowd in the entrance to the arena until the Mexican general, Cipriano, who is stationed outside as part of a military guard, spots her and calls a taxi; he also offers his cloak for the rain. As mentioned in Chapter 2.2, the episode then recalls Ella's experiences in the 'Wedding Ring' fragment: just as Ella retreats to a tea shop in town after the violent confrontation with a pupil, Kate, "too much agitated" to go straight to her room, takes a separate taxi to "Sanborn's, the tea-house, where she could have tea and feel at home without being alone" (MSI 17).

conflicts. However, whereas the opening chapter involves a subject-less spectacle, which Kate is (eventually) able to escape by exiting the arena, the subsequent conflicts are more dialogical, involving other characters who are more self-consciously and persistently able to question Kate. The first entirely rewritten section of MSI (pp. 73-76) comes in Chapter III, towards the end of another troubling episode for Kate.

Chapter III: ""What [is it that] *oppresses, or depresses you?" asked the general."*

In MSI, Chapter III begins with the quotation of "a little paragraph" (MSI 50) about a man rising from the waters of Lake Chapala and declaring the return of the old Aztec god Quetzalcoatl, which Kate reads in the English paper *Excelsior* and which encourages Kate and her companions, Owen and Villiers, who were "straying rather aimlessly round" (MSI 52), to visit the lake.[27] Kate then recounts her flight from the bull-fight with assistance from Cipriano and Owen discusses Cipriano's background: "I hear he's quite the power behind the throne – or behind the Presidential Chair – in Mexico" (MSI 53-54). Their conversation is strung out across the day and later turns to Don Ramon, whom Owen describes in turn as "the god in the Viedma machine" (MSI 60) and connects back to the man in the water at Lake Chapala, an event which

[27] Lawrence originally used the real name Chapala and also adopted the names of the family from his own house on Calle Zaragoza, at Lake Chapala, for the family in Kate's house. However, Lawrence left a note inside the cover of MSI for Seltzer when typing: "Change the word Chapala to Sayula," "Isabel to Felipa," "Carmen to Juana," "Maria to Pedra," "Pedra to Carmen" and "Daniel to Rafael," and these subsequently became the respective names in *The Plumed Serpent*.

is "apparently being used by Don Ramon to influence the people to a sort of new religious revival" (MSI 60).

In contrast to the opening chapter where the reader, like Kate, is exposed to the bull-fight unprepared, the conversational prelude in the first half of Chapter III introduces characters and provides the reader with a light counterpoint to the ensuing dialogical conflict, which follows once the group arrive at Cipriano's house in Goyoacan for a dinner party which is also attended by Don Ramon.[28] As in the eventual form of *Women in Love*, then, readers learn of character backgrounds naturalistically, during the course of dialogue and events in the narrative, with Owen sketching a background for Cipriano and Ramon in response to the newspaper report, while an account of Kate, Owen and Villiers's own journey down to Mexico is also related in the narrative, which, as discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter, is interwoven with Kate's own viewpoint and reflects on Owen and Villiers during the dialogue.[29]

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[28] This type of structure – chatter as a contrapuntal prelude to a more intimate and intense type of dialogue – is echoed in Lawrence's subsequent novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, as discussed by Michael Bell in *D. H. Lawrence: Language and Being*, pp. 208-225 (Chapter 7, "'Love' and 'chatter' in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*). For an example of the tone of conversation, Owen concludes his précis of Cipriano by quipping about his having handed his cloak to Kate as follows: "Anyhow it's awfully interesting that he engineered Mrs Norris into that tea-party. Ha-ha! – The Knights of the Cloak. A second Walter Raleigh. – Better! Walter Raleigh didn't have an automobile at hand for the Lady – who was it – yes, Queen Elizabeth. Ha-ha-ha!" (MSI 54).

[29] The pros and cons of character backgrounds are actually debated by the characters within the narrative as Kate tells Owen, "if I've got to know him, I'd rather not start by knowing

Whereas Owen and Villiers place no great burden upon Kate as a particular subject, when Kate asks Cipriano about Chapala at the subsequent tea-party, Cipriano responds in a more intimate and searching manner, asking her why she thinks of going to Chapala and whether she thinks of returning to England to see her children; according to Kate, "the general had full, dark Indian eyes" and "as his eyes rested on Kate's face, she knew he wanted something of her" (MSI 65). Similarly, when Ramon asks if she wishes "to stay a long time in Mexico" (MSI 66), Kate opens up on the topic of depression, which dogs her throughout the novel: "I am half my time anxious to go away. I get moments of terrible depression – oppression it seems like – here. The country oppresses me sometimes – or something does – terribly" (MSI 66).

Cipriano then begins a persistent string of questions on the topic, first asking, "What **is it that** oppresses, or depresses you?" To which Kate concedes, "It may be inside myself. But it seems to me something is trying to drag me down, down, down all the time," which Cipriano in turn questions, "But ~~mustn't one~~ **why should one not** come down to earth?" (MSI 66) Kate partially agrees, "~~Yes. And I~~ **I know.** I always wanted to," but does not wish "to be *dragged* down" (MSI 66). Cipriano continues to probe and Kate, who comes from aristocratic stock and wears a "big emerald ring engraved with her family crest, for a seal" (MSI 68), again suggests a residual class issue, suggesting, "I don't know. The spirit of the place. Democracy. There seems to be such a heavy, heavy democracy here – like a snake pulling one down. And I don't want to stand up on any class distinction or anything false. But surely, in myself, I do stand a little higher than the mass of people. My husband made me believe I did…"

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things about him," while Owen replies, "Well there I differ from you. It seems to me I get a much fuller picture of the man when I know these important facts" (MSI 62).

(MSI 66). However, Kate's language is clearly emotive and oppressed, while her suggestions about "democracy" are also qualified and provisional.

Though she "used to like them so much, to think they were right," Kate concedes, "I *don't* like workmen" and, again, "I don't believe in liberty. I don't believe in socialism" because "they want to pull one's *natural* soul down, and make it something mechanical and vulgar," but then reveals that "the last word" her husband, an Irish socialist republican who worked himself to death, said to her was a concession, "perhaps I've been wrong," and that giving themselves to the working people had "been ~~an insult~~ **a wrong done** to the ~~very~~ best in us" (MSI 67). At this point Kate's face "became a mask of anguish" and "bitter tears came down her cheeks" (MSI 67).

Echoing Birkin and Gerald's early conversation in TSI of *Women in Love* (in the eventual chapter 'Shortlands'), Kate and Ramon then discuss the soul, with Ramon (like Birkin) suggesting that "there is no liberty, ~~except~~ **only** the will of ~~the living~~ **some** god. The will of ~~the living~~ **our own** gods is liberty to ~~men and women~~ **us, nothing else**" and that "for men to have free will is the worst and cruelest of slavery" as "they are slaves to every formula" (MSI 68b).[30] As in the composition of *Women in Love*, where Birkin and Gerald's discussion is cut in TSII, these discussions in *The Plumed Serpent* are also written out of the novel in the subsequent draft (MSII), as I discuss below. Sticking with MSI for now, however, Ramon repeatedly questions Kate's suggestion that "the mass of people" is the cause of her depression: "and ~~real~~ **native** people […] do they also pull you down?" (MSI 68), "Now tell me […] Do they drag you down?" (MSI 68[b]), "But tell me […] Tell me, do the peons […] do they also pull you down?" (MSI 69). First, Kate reflects on her husband and her

[30] Due to Lawrence's erroneous pagination there are two consecutive pages numbered "68."

children, but, in response to the third attempt at questioning her, Kate "tried to collect herself sufficiently to answer" (MSI 69) and reflects at length on the peons: "driving their strings of asses along the country roads, in the dust of Mexico's infinite dryness, past broken walls, broken houses, broken haciendas, along the endless desolation left by revolutions" (MSI 69) and Kate felt "almost deeper than her consciousness, the bowels of her compassion stirred and bled" (MSI 71). She reflects again on the looks in the eyes of various men and women: "fear – and the companion of fear, mistrust – and inevitable ~~child~~ **result** of mistrust, a lurking insolence" (MSI 72). This final thought leads Kate to reflect on the possibility of "belief between human beings" (MSI 72), something which the death of her husband had led her to forsake but which her subsequent experience of life in America, where she suspects that "no one *does* trust anybody ~~else~~ **any more**: where no man or woman ever seems to have a final, ~~implicit~~ **resting** trust in ~~any other~~ **anything,** man or woman **or god**, but where everybody depends on the social code of behaviour, which everyone supports in order to make life possible at all," has led her to feel "a craving for human trust, for belief" (MSI 72).[31]

In a rambling monologue written in free indirect speech, Kate then ponders life in the USA, Mexico and Europe and the travails of belief and the soul. Following a trend in which Birkin's monologues are frequently rewritten in *Women in Love*, this reflection, which runs from pp. 73-78, is almost completely rewritten by Lawrence. While the second version is more dramatised, beginning with questions, "What was she doing herself? […] Why? Why? What had she come for?" (MSI 73), in both versions she suggests that the Old World has become a vacuum, drained of positive belief, while life in the New World has not yet completely "cowed."

[31] The original version of this passage is transcribed in Appendix I of *Q*.

Regarding this type of reflection, on Westerners and native peoples alike, it is worth highlighting their dialogical frame, as they come in response to a series of questions from Cipriano and Ramon and end with Kate's belated answer to Ramon's repeated question: "Yes […] I feel that the peons do want to pull me down, too" (MSI 78-79). It is also worth emphasising the theme of depression. Kate and the others discuss Mexico and the Indian natives, as well as "the magnetic earth" and "human blood" (MSI 79) in a somewhat oppressive manner, but the sense of oppression resonates within the narrative itself via Kate, the central focaliser of the novel and a recent widower, who has left her children behind to travel largely alone in a country in turmoil (a fairly unprecedented journey for a single woman in the 1910s and 20s), and who repeatedly feels herself being "pulled" or "dragged" down.

Though the episode is completely rewritten by Lawrence in MSII, as I discuss below, it is worth visiting the earlier version in order to highlight the ways in which oppression is explicitly staged within the narrative. In the remainder of Chapter III in MSI, Kate having likened the peons to "the magnetic earth which everything must come ~~to rest in~~ **down to**," Owen suggests, "maybe […] you are mistaken in ~~estimating~~ **considering** their level as lower than your own. It may only be different," and, "maybe […] the magnetic earth *is* the greatest reality: much greater than human loftiness" (MSI 79). Shortly thereafter, however, when Ramon contributes with a lengthy speech, in which he suggests, "we come back to earth to have roots in the earth. Life is still a tree, it is not a loose leaf in the air, or an aeroplane" (MSI 82), Owen is more sceptical: "what exactly *are* the roots?" (MSI 83). And when Ramon suggests, "the roots are the human blood" and "the human mind is only a flowering on the tree," Owen "felt oppressed, but not convinced of anything. For him the blood was just a red fluid whose laws and properties ~~were absolutely~~ **are** known. This rather

portentous ~~mysticism~~ **prognosticating**, as he ~~called~~ **felt** it, annoyed him. Yet he felt oppressed and annulled" (MSI 83). Similarly, when Cipriano asks, rather chauvinistically, "is it necessary, pardon me, for a woman to know so much?" (MSI 80), though he qualifies this somewhat by suggesting Ramon can "think it all for you – and even for me" (MSI 80), Kate rebuffs him: "I shall *always* think my own thoughts […] men can't think for women" (MSI 81).

While Chapter IV is comparatively lightly revised, the remaining chapters in the early parts of MSI, Chapters V-VII, are, as discussed, heavily revised, with a number of other sections completely rewritten, as outlined. In Chapter V, in which Kate moves into her new home at Lake Chapala/Sayula, these rewritten passages consist of Kate's lengthy monological reflections on the local people, while in Chapter VI, in which Cipriano and Ramon come to visit Kate, a large section of antagonistic dialogue between the group is entirely rewritten (pp. 138-141).[32] However, it is the last of the heavily rewritten chapters, Chapter VII, "Conversion," in which virtually every page is heavily revised and in which large sections are completely rewritten (pp. 155-156, 161-164 and 168-175).[33] To emphasize the contrast in composition following the rewritten "Conversion" chapter, however, MSI is almost entirely unrevised for the following hundred pages, with the next noteworthy alteration coming on p. 273. The remaining chapters (VIII-XIX) are, in general, lightly revised, with no rewritten scenes. The light revision of this section consists mainly of inserted details, often contributing to the social background (revision on p. 273 is itself an example of this as the passage in question is revised to

[32] The earlier version of this section is transcribed in Appendix II in *Q*.

[33] The earlier versions of these passages make up the remaining appendices, III and IV, in *Q*.

provide a more detailed history of the local bandits), or altered descriptions, often regarding clothing and the Quetzalcoatl dress.

(2) MSI to MSII: expansion and focalisation

The second phase of rewriting involved the greatest overhaul as Lawrence completely rewrote the original draft (MSI), producing a new pair of bound notebooks (MSII). According to Clark, although Lawrence "brought with him the manuscript and the typescript of 'Quetzalcoatl'" on his second trip to Mexico, "the extensive changes already contemplated could not be accomplished, he must have decided, without a total rewriting. Neither the typescript nor the manuscript of 'Quetzalcoatl' has any further place in the composition of the novel."[34] However, as MSII follows the narrative of MSI closely throughout and tags together at various points, with numerous verbatim passages from the first chapter to the last, this provides a distorted picture of the actual process of writing. Consider the opening lines of MSI and MSII:

MSI 1	**MSII 1**
It was the Sunday after Easter, and the last ~~bullfight~~ **bull-fight** of the season in Mexico City. ~~Two [?]~~ **Four special** bulls had been brought over from Spain for the occasion, since Spanish bulls are more fiery than Mexican.	It was the Sunday after Easter, and the last bull-fight of the season in Mexico City. Four special bulls had been brought over from Spain for the occasion~~. S~~**, since** Spanish bulls are more fiery than Mexican.

[34] Clark, 'Introduction', *PS*, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

It is fairly obvious, therefore, that Lawrence wrote MSII with MSI beside him.[35]

As there is insufficient space, I will not provide a detailed account of Lawrence's rewriting during this phase. I will, however, consider the ways in which Lawrence reshaped Chapter III, which I have discussed already with regards to MSI in relation to Kate's focalisation and the theme of depression. First, though, I will highlight three general patterns during this stage of rewriting. (1) Lawrence separated out event-strands in MSII, which is reflected in the greater number of chapter divisions (the earliest example being Chapters IV-V in MSI, which are broken up into Chapters IV-VII in version two), as well as the insertion of all remaining chapter titles, including those newly inserted chapters. (2) MSII also greatly expanded in length and, partly as a result, the novel becomes denser and more tired in tone following Lawrence's overhaul. (3) Relating to this observation, MSII is often focalised more directly through Kate, with more events placed in direct opposition to Kate's sensibility and some sections of the narrative more explicitly framed in relation to Kate's journey (as we will see in Chapter III).[36]

Kate's internal struggle with depression manifests itself in her observation that "the country oppresses me sometimes – or something does – terribly" (MSI 66), and this remark is also echoed at other points in the novel, as in her conversation with Cipriano at the start of Chapter VII, where she suggests, "I don't like Mexico because

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[35] As Clark notes, Lawrence did indeed possess MSI while writing MSII. If Lawrence did not consult it directly, then he must have possessed an astounding memory of the text, which amounted to the same thing by providing a virtual replacement.

[36] As David Ellis suggests in *Dying Game*, the increased length can also be "accounted for by Lawrence's absorption as he re-wrote, in the costume, ritualistic gesture, dance and, above all, the hymns of his imagined Quetzalcoatl cult" (p. 217).

it feels like a black bog where one has no foothold" (MSI 157). Relating to this theme, one of the most remarkable shifts from MSI to MSII comes in the framing to Chapter III, beginning with the chapter title itself. In MSI, Kate is reported to be thirty-eight years of age in an off-hand manner in Chapter III, while Lawrence inserted the title "Dinner With the General" for the chapter itself in TSI. However, in MSII, Kate's age is altered to forty and the significance of this personal marker is indicated by the revised title: "Fortieth Birthday."[37] Within the narrative itself, rather than begin with a quotation from a newspaper report, as in MSI, Chapter III in MSII begins as follows:

> Kate woke up one morning, aged forty. She did not hide the fact from herself, but she kept it dark from the others.
>
> It was a blow, really. To be forty! One had to cross a dividing line. On this side was youth and spontaneity and "happiness." On the other side was something different: reserve, responsibility, a certain standing back from "fun."
>
> She was a widow, and a lonely woman now. (MSII 74)

Like the chapter title, this opening frames Kate more clearly as the novel's central focaliser. As a result, it is also easier to register the manner in which Kate's oppressed viewpoint affects the depiction of place. Following the above extract, Kate goes to the rooftop of her hotel and the mountainous landscape is described as follows:

> Alien, ponderous, the white-hung monsters seemed to emit a deep purring sound, too deep for the ear to hear, and yet audible on the blood, a sound of dread. There was no soaring or uplift or exaltation, as there is in the snowy

[37] Lawrence's own age trailed just behind Kate's: the author was thirty-seven while writing MSI and celebrated his own fortieth birthday a few months after completing the revision of TSII.

> mountains of Europe. Rather a ponderous white-shouldered weight, pressing terribly on the earth, and murmuring like two watchful lions.
>
> Superficially, Mexico might be all right . . . Until you were alone with it . . . There was a ponderous, down pressing weight upon the spirit: the great folds of the dragon of the Aztecs . . . (MSII 75)

The spirit of place as a "weight, pressing terribly" downwards is partly therefore a manifestation of Kate's inner sensibility. This blurring of narrative viewpoint with Kate's psyche is made evident by the subsequent, explicit shift back to Kate:

> But still this heavy continent of dark-souled death was more than she could bear.
>
> She was forty: the first half of her life was over. The bright page, with its flowers and its love and its Stations of the Cross ended with a grave. Now she must turn over, and the page was black, black and empty. (MSII 77)

Incidentally, Lawrence also makes Kate a more isolated figure in MSII by curtailing the stay of her companions, Owen and Villiers, who last figure in Chapter IV of MSII, whereas in MSI, which has significantly less chapters, they continue to figure as late on as Chapter VIII, almost halfway through the draft. Kate also feels more antagonistic towards the pair in MSII before they depart. Compare the following passages in Chapter II, after Kate has scolded Villiers for his excitement at the bull-fight, having returned to the hotel:

MSI 26	**MSII 36**
"Well, I don't know-w," he said with an American drawl, as he disappeared.	Villiers disappeared with a wicked little laugh.
Kate felt rather angry with them both. But	And as she sat her hands trembled with

poor O. was really so remorseful, and rather bewildered by his confusion of emotions, that she had to relent towards him. He was really awfully kind.	outrage and passion. A-moral! How *could* one be a-moral, or non-moral, when one's soul was revolted! How could one be like these Americans, picking over the garbage of sensations, and gobbling it up like carrion birds. At that moment, both Owen and Villiers seemed to her like carrion birds, repulsive.

(3) MSII: light revision

Unlike MSI, MSII itself is only lightly revised throughout, which is unsurprising, when we consider MSII as a major rewriting of MSI. However, some notable patterns in Lawrence's minor revisions include, firstly, a familiar focus upon adjectives and descriptors, which often concern clothing, which is demonstrated by one of the very few rewritten passages in MSII:

> ~~On a corresponding throne next to him sat Cipriano, naked save for his black loin-cloth and the red feathers of her head-dress~~ **~~and for the paint on his face and body~~**~~. All the guard of H were naked in black loin-cloths, their faces painted with bars of scarlet and white, the blood and the bone.~~ **There was another corresponding throne next to him, but it was empty. Six of the guard of Quetzalcoatl stood by Ramon: but Huitzilopochtli's side of the chancel was empty save for the dead.**

The passage is purely descriptive. Unusually, however, the initial emphasis upon clothing (in this case, loin-cloths, feathered headdresses and body-paint) is removed in the rewritten version. Secondly, Lawrence lightly revised many of the Quetzalcoatl hymns, which emerge in the second half of the novel. These alterations are fairly

minor, although they often produce a more impersonal tone to the hymns, and may also be of interest for critics of Lawrence's verse.

(4) TSII: overview and recap

Although TSII is heavily revised in places, as in MSI, this is mostly restricted to the opening segment of the novel, in this case Chapters I-VI, which equate to approximately the first 20% of the novel. The major exception to this, however, is the final chapter of the novel, which Lawrence completely reworked and which forms the focus of the following chapter (3.2). While I will look at this climactic section of revision in detail in the next section, I will end this overview by simply outlining Lawrence's revisions to the opening segment of TSII.

Within the early section of TSII, there are two rewritten passages, from pp. 76-77 and 86-87, the latter of which involves the insertion of a new handwritten sheet, while a lengthy section from pp. 90-94 is cut completely. Each of these sections comes in what was originally Chapter III in MSI. However, Lawrence inserted a new chapter division in MSII, which equates to p. 85 of TSII, meaning that the latter two passages occur in what is now Chapter IV.

Before describing these changes in slightly more detail, it is necessary to recap some of Lawrence's alterations to this section of the narrative (Chapter III in MSI) during the composition of MSII. Following her reflections on her birthday at the start of the chapter in MSII, and *before* Kate reads the newspaper report of the man in the lake and attends Cipriano and Ramon's dinner party, Lawrence inserts a new section in which Kate goes to visit see frescoes in Mexico City and then goes for tea with the young professor and guide Garcia. Furthermore, the subsequent dinner party is itself relocated to Ramon's suburban house in Tlalpam (he also owns a hacienda at Lake

Sayula) and three new guests are included: besides the aforementioned Garcia, there is "another pale young man" called Mirabel, and "an elderly man in a black cravat" called Toussaint, who is also described as a "didactic crank."[38] The addition of these guests means the dialogue in Chapter III is spread across more speakers in MSII and TSII, while Toussaint also gives a cranky speech on ethnicity and the importance of "the moment of coition," suggesting that Mexican people have been affected by the spirit in which their Spanish colonial and Indian native ancestors conceived them. The tail end of this speech, from pp. 76-77, is cut by Lawrence and replaced with a more condensed exchange.

Lawrence's reframing of the chapter in MSII also results in the removal of Owen's character précis of Cipriano and Ramon, which, in MSI, he had provided prior to the dinner-party. At the dinner-party, Kate no longer reflects upon her husband's last words during the aforementioned discussion at dinner. In MSII, following Toussaint's speech, Kate goes outside to smoke with Cipriano and it is during the pair's ensuing conversation that, in a more private context, Kate tells Cipriano of her husband's death and last words. During this exchange, Cipriano also relates the story of his own upbringing in his own words, which Lawrence alters so that it becomes less fantastical.[39] Following the new chapter break, Lawrence then reinserts the intense exchange between Ramon and Kate, regarding her sense that the

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[38] Ramon's aunt Dońa Isabel is also present, but does not participate in the conversations.

[39] Whereas, in MSI, Cipriano had been a peon's son and had been sent to Oxford by an Englishwoman with a coffee plantation near Jalapa, after saving her life following a poisonous snakebite, in MSII, his benefactor becomes Bishop Severn of Oaxaca. Lawrence also changed Kate's late husband's name from Desmond to James Joachim Leslie; she was also given a previous husband, a lawyer, whom she divorced to marry Leslie.

peons drag her down, which is framed as a recollected dialogue.[40] This exchange between Kate and Ramon contains the heavily revised passage from pp. 86-87, in which Lawrence inserted a new sheet of MS, while it is Kate's subsequent reflections on Mexico, the USA and Europe, which were expanded and comprise the newly inserted Chapter IV in MSII (MSII 121-139), from which Lawrence cut sections on pp. 90-94 while revising TSII.

Coda

In this chapter I have provided an overview of Lawrence's complex composition and revision of *The Plumed Serpent*, excluding the extensively rewritten final chapter, which I discuss in the following chapter. I have tried to provide a clear indication of the complexity of Lawrence's rewriting, with examples from some of the more heavily rewritten chapters, particularly Chapter III. While focusing on the treatment and role of Kate, with Lawrence's reframing of the aforementioned Chapter III in MSII providing a particularly striking example of the manner in which Kate's psyche projects onto her and the narrative's surroundings in *The Plumed Serpent*, I have tried to provide a general survey of Lawrence's work, indicating a number of avenues which could be pursued in much greater detail, such as the fraught and heavily rewritten "conversion" scene between Ramon and Cipriano in what eventually becomes Chapter VII of the novel; I have described this scene as a tipping point in the novel's compositional economy. I consider the potential dilemma of writing an ending for Lawrence in the next chapter by focusing upon Lawrence's manifold

[40] In MSII, Kate's reflections on the Mexican peons are also reframed by the question of whether or not to return with Owen to the United States, rather than by Ramon's persistent and explicit questioning, as in MSI.

writing and rewriting of the final chapter of *The Plumed Serpent*. Besides concluding this survey of the novel's composition by providing far more detailed examples from the novel's typescript, this will also develop and conclude the foregoing discussion of Kate's own journey, by considering its end.

3.2

The Plumed Serpent: Writing an Ending

> "The pattern is very beautiful, while there are threads into the unknown, and the pattern is never finished. The Indian patterns are never *quite* complete. There is always a flaw at the end, where they break into the beyond—Nothing is more beautiful to me than a pattern, which is lovely and perfect, when it breaks at the end imperfectly on to the unknown—" (*Q* 157)

> "The soul is also a thing you make, like a pattern in a blanket. It is very nice while all the wools are rolling their different threads and different colours, and the pattern is being made. But once it is finished—then finished. It has no interest any more." (*PS* 234)

While Lawrence's comparative ease when beginning a work of fiction is evidenced by the myriad drafts produced, with minimal planning, during the composition of *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent*, writing an ending was a much tougher task. As witnessed in the previous chapters on *Women in Love*, Lawrence's revisions and rewritings often concentrated upon concluding sections of individual chapters, while Lawrence also reworked the earlier novel's overall ending numerous times. However, the clearest demonstration of this point comes in the composition of the final chapter of *The Plumed Serpent*, the most heavily rewritten chapter in the novel. Having already produced three ostensibly different versions across MSI, MSII and TSII,

Lawrence revised the chapter once more at a late stage, producing a fourth and final version for publication.[1]

In a practical sense, Lawrence's method of writing drafts without the support of a concrete plan may well have meant that the author was open-minded about "where" exactly a narrative would end up. Describing a new draft of *Women in Love* in May 1916, for example, Lawrence reported: "I have begun a new novel: a thing that is a stranger to me even as I write it. I don't know what the end will be" (ii. 604). This suggestion can be tempered by our knowledge of the 'Sisters I' fragment, which dates from 1913-14 and already demonstrates the climactic dynamic between Gudrun, Gerald and Loerke, as in *Women in Love*. Of more significance, however, is the concept of an "ending" in itself.

In *Quetzalcoatl* and *The Plumed Serpent*, the two published versions of Lawrence's Mexican novel, Cipriano alludes to this problem when discussing Navajo women who, when weaving a patterned blanket, always leave "some loose threads" at the end so that their work is never completely "finished off" and thus their "souls" may escape (*Q* 156). It is easy to spot the interest of such a custom for Lawrence. When, in *Quetzalcoatl*, Cipriano contrasts the Navajo practice with his experience of English customs, his description of the latter echoes many of Lawrence's own observations in his late journalistic articles:

> All, all the intricate ways of life, so many, like the pavements of a city. Even your country, very beautiful, your woods and your fields and hills, but like a beautiful park around a city. All made. All made and finished. […] So all the soul is in the goods, in the books, and in the roads and ways of life, and the

[1] These changes presumably took place during revision of the page proofs, which have not survived, and included rewriting the final line and inserting a chapter title.

> people are finished like finished serapes, that have no faults and nothing beyond. […] Their pattern is finished and they are complete. (*Q* 156-7)

Although the "soul" may, in the voice of the somewhat idolatrous character Cipriano, appear dogmatic, the term is effectively a vanishing mediator in the above description, as much constructed out of as it is reflected within the products and processes of labour.[2] That said, the term "soul" has a different bearing to the more modern term "self," which may appear to represent a modern anti-essentialist equivalent, ridding an individualistic concept of its spiritual baggage. Not only does the "soul" imply a more fundamental and impersonal (i.e. cosmological) principle of animation, particularly in a pre-Christian, pagan context (as in ancient Mexico), but the term also implies the weight of judgement and hence of responsibility, particularly in a Catholic context (as in modern Mexico).

It is unsurprising, therefore, that Cipriano uses the term while scolding European culture: if the products of labour are "finished" and ready-made, the people too become trapped in fixed "habits and conventions and ways of life" and hence "are like excellent fabrics […] all made and finished off" (*Q* 156).[3] The paradoxical

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[2] This point about the soul's constructedness comes out more clearly in the rewritten version of this dialogue in *The Plumed Serpent*, which forms the second quotation in the epigraph to this chapter.

[3] Cipriano's resistance to finishedness echoes Birkin's opposition to the "evil" principle of "stasis" and "the will to persist" in TSI of *Women in Love* (discussed in Chapter 2.4).

challenge for Lawrence, then, was how to end his novel without rendering it "finished" or "complete" (*Q* 157); his was a quest for the imperfect ending.[4]

'Here!': four versions

Having discussed the novel's overall composition in the previous chapter, the present focuses on the final chapter of *The Plumed Serpent*, tracing its composition in detail through each phase of writing. I have selected the final chapter as a focus not only because it is so heavily rewritten, but also because its composition is representative more generally for Lawrence, both in terms of rewriting endings and in its foregrounding of counterpoint and structural rhythm, as I discuss below.

As mentioned, it is possible to describe four different versions of the final chapter:

Version:	Documentation:
1	MSI, Chapter XIX, pp. 303-8 (6pp. = circa 2,500 words)
2	MSII, Chapter XXVII, pp. 775-96 (22pp. = circa 4,500 words)
3	TSII, Chapter XXVII, pp. 1-34 (34pp. = circa 7,500 words)
4	*PS*, Chapter XXVII, 'Here!', pp. 426-44 (19pp. = circa 6,500 words)

[4] Cipriano's contrast between European and non-European cultures also echoes Amit Chaudhuri's critique of finishedness in *D. H. Lawrence and 'Difference'* (discussed in Chapter 1.2).

Like the first draft of the novel, version one serves as a kind of protocol for the subsequent "completion" of the text in versions two to four and the majority of its six manuscript pages are transferred into the subsequent versions. In it, Kate returns home along Lake Sayula (having visited Ramon's hacienda in the preceding chapters) and then begins to pack her bags, having made up her mind to depart from Mexico. In version two, besides altering the beginning, three new scenes are inserted, which more than treble the length of the chapter and completely alter the ending: the third newly inserted scene comprises the chapter's conclusion in versions two to four. In version three, large sections of each of the newly inserted scenes are entirely rewritten, while, in version four, smaller sections within these scenes are rewritten once again.[5]

In reference to the limitations of "constructivism" as a model for Lawrence's writing, despite multiple rewritings, only a minute amount of revision is actually carried out *within* specific versions (i.e. revision takes place *between* different versions). Lawrence instead rewrites large chunks, in the kind of "dialogical" manner discussed previously in relation to *Women in Love*, meaning that the resulting passages are themselves in a sense "unrevised." Before analysing the insertions and rewritings in versions two to four, I will first survey the ground laid out for them beforehand in the much shorter first version.

Version one: life by the lake

Version one opens with two long paragraphs, the first of which informs the reader, "Kate went home that day. She didn't want to stay longer at Las Yemas," and goes on to reveal Kate's final thoughts on Ramon and Teresa, both of whom "she almost

[5] As the page proofs are missing, Lawrence's final alterations are recorded in the published version of *The Plumed Serpent*.

hated," but Ramon in particular, for his "abstraction," his "excessive maleness" (which echoes her description of the bulls in Chapter I), his influence over Cipriano, and his apparent jealousy over her and Cipriano's relationship (*Q* 303). Although the second paragraph, which begins a lengthy depiction of life by the lake at Sayula, notes how Kate was "forced to admit the lake had a real beauty" (MSI 462), the preceding conclusions prime Kate to leave Mexico and, having arrived home, version one concludes underwhelmingly – with Kate packing her bags while the servants look on – with the following line: "Under these trying circumstances Kate tried to get on with her packing." (MSI 469)

While these opening and closing segments, each of which is approximately one notebook page in length, are removed in subsequent versions, the best part of version one survives virtually unrevised in the subsequent rewritten versions of the final chapter. Beginning at the tail end of the second paragraph, this long section consists of a sequence of descriptive scenes as Kate makes her way home beside the lake. As is so often the case in Lawrence's fiction, these descriptive scenes follow immediately after more fraught dialogical ones and therefore provide a soothing counterpoint for both protagonist and reader; during her stay at Ramon's hacienda, Kate first clashed with Ramon and Teresa, finding their intimacy overbearing, then participated in a second and similarly strained conversion scene, alongside Ramon and Cipriano, before departing, following an ambiguous final conversation with Cipriano and a confrontation with a wild snake. Kate's journey along the lake in the final chapter is therefore therapeutic:

> There was something soothing and, curiously enough, paradisal about it, even the pale, dove-brown water. (MSI 462)

I would also suggest that this "something soothing" extends to Lawrence in composition and contributes to the rhythmic structure of his writing. Contrapuntal movement involving dialogue and description, the social and the natural, interiority and exteriority, conflict and rest, provides an intuitive formal structure to much of Lawrence's fiction and seems to have underpinned his spontaneous composition of rough drafts. The general compositional economy of MSI reflects this, as the first 40% of the manuscript is increasingly heavily revised, culminating in the highly fraught conversion scene between Ramon and Cipriano (in Chapter VII), after which point both the narrative and the writing become less intensely confrontational, as indicated by the light revision; this transition culminates in the final chapter, which, as I will discuss, is therapeutic for Kate, but is also virtually unrevised by Lawrence (in MSI).

The second paragraph in version one ends with the following depiction of a passing boat, which Kate spots from on-board her own and which I will list as the first in a sequence of miniature scenes **(1)**:

> A boat was coming over with its sail hollowing out like a shell, pearly white, and its sharp black canoe-beak slipping past the water. It looked like the boat of Dionysos crossing the seas and bringing the sprouting of the vine. (MSI 462-3)

This description is transferred into versions two to four with minimal revision, as are a string of further, similarly restful mini-scenes observed by Kate as she makes her way home.

Having landed on shore, the second of these seems explicitly therapeutic as Kate watches a group of men load a cow and a bull onto a boat **(2)**:

> she saw such an amusing group perched in silhouette on the low breakwater wall—not much more than a foot high—against the dove-pale background of the lake. It was a black boat with her tall mast and red-painted roof, pulled stern-up almost to the wall […] on the wall, four-square in silhouette against the lake, a black-and-white cow, with a man in dove-brown tights and dove-brown little jacket, and huge, silver-embroidered hat, standing at her head […].
>
> Behind the block of a cow, three white peons, and two on the ground, looking up at a huge black-and-white bull, a colossus of a bull standing perched motionless on the wall, broadside, a passive monster spangled with black, low-aloft. Just behind him, one white peon with a red sash determinedly tied. (MSI 463)

The re-appearance of a bull in the final chapter suggests the traumatic violence of the bullfight in Chapter I. Here, though, the formerly unhinged and transgressive violence of four bulls is converted into "a colossus of a bull standing perched motionless on the wall," placated and at ease and, as Kate watches on, the peons proceed to load the "passive monster" into the hull of their boat, alongside the cow, before sailing away, "getting small on the surface of the water" (MSI 466).[6]

Although this vision of the bull is loaded with an external association (to the bullfight), the language within the passage is itself immanently peaceful and carries a number of internal repetitions (dove, black, white, black-and-white), as well as

---

[6] The symbolic complementarity between the first and final chapters is also expressed in the two respective settings, the arena and the lake: while both sites are bowl-shaped, one is convex and builds up from the surface while the other is concave and digs down beneath it, likewise, while the former space is used to stage violent spectacles with animals, ordinary domestic work and life takes place alongside them in the latter.

containing paratactic clauses, which, rather than piling up in a Joycean manner, follow on from each other like waves, breaking on and rolling through the commas. In comparison to the many conflict-orientated dialogical scenes within the novel, in which the majority of passages and speeches respond to or probe one another, these descriptive scenes are self-sufficient, with less (interrogative) human presence to generate dialogue and the dialogic.

The theme of self-sufficiency manifests itself in the next mini-scene, where Kate observes a man at work **(3)**:

> A man was stripping ~~reeds~~ **palm-stalks**, squatting in silence in his white cotton pants, under a tree, his black head bent forward. (MSI 466)

This passage again displays Lawrence's wavelike parataxis. However, whereas the first and second mini-scenes contained external references – through the simile of "Dionysos" in the first and the association with the bullfight in the opening chapter in the second – this third scene is purely contingent: it simply depicts something happening.[7]

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[7] Although the peon's absorption in his work ("head bent forward") is significant in itself: Lawrence expresses his belief in the self-rewarding nature of work in numerous articles; for example, in a light-hearted 'Review of *Art Nonsense and Other Essays* (1929) by Eric Gill', Lawrence, towards the end of his own life, comments: ""To please God" in this sense only means happily doing one's best at the job in hand, and being livingly absorbed in an activity which makes one in touch with – with the heart in all things; call it God. It is a state which any man or woman achieves when busy and concentrated on a job which calls forth real skill and attention, or devotion," in *Phoenix I*, ed. Edward D. McDonald, (New York: Viking, 1974; rpt. 1936), pp. 394-396, p. 395. In terms of absorption in the activity of *writing*, this passage reflects a kind of theology of process, during which there is a loss of self (as discussed in Chapter 2.2) and contact with a greater power or reality ("call it God").

The remaining mini-scenes in the sequence are similarly contingent as the third scene above is interrupted by a passing horse **(4)**:

> A roan horse, speckled with white, was racing prancing along the shore, and neighing frantically. (MSI 466)

Besides paratactic flow, another fixture of Lawrence's unusual descriptive poetic, which this sentence highlights, is the use of present participles and gerunds, as in the phrase "racing prancing along the shore, and neighing frantically." Another consequence of these forms is the sense of ongoing flow and, aside from the staid vision of the bull in the second scene, each of the previous mini-scenes contains multiple examples (hollowing, slipping, bringing, sprouting, stripping, squatting).

Next, Kate spots the source of commotion, which the horse appears to have been running away from **(5)**:

> A peon had driven a high-wheeled wagon drawn by four mules, into the lake. It was deep in the lake above the axle, ~~deep~~ up to the bed of the cart, so that it looked like a ~~queer~~ **dark** square boat drawn by four soft, ~~slow~~ **dark** sea-horses . . . (MSI 466)

Like the scene with the bull and the cow (**2**), this passage is more static, the wagon having ground to a halt, and the lack of present participles or gerunds reflects this. However, the passage does make use of parataxis and is also intricately repetitive, in this case due to some minute revision, which, as is so often the case with Lawrence, focuses on adjectives: Lawrence replaces an initial repetition, "deep," with a very similar one shortly afterwards by revising two separate adjectives to "dark."

Before Kate arrives home, there are two final mini-scenes. First, she spots some young calves, a mother-ass and her infant **(6)**:

> New white-and-yellow calves, white and silky, were skipping, butting up their rear ends, lifting their tails, and trotting side by side to the water to drink. A mother-ass was tethered to a tree, and in the shadow lay her foal, a little thing as black as ink . . . (MSI 466)

While repeating the stylistic features already highlighted, the self-sufficiency of the content itself, the play of baby animals, is almost melodramatic. However, the scene is driven along by Lawrence's particular use of language, with the pile up of present participles producing a playful rhythm.

At this point in the narrative, Kate briefly participates in the action for the first time by asking a peon how many days old the foal is. However, Kate watches on once more as **(7)**:

> It rocked on its four loose legs, and helplessly wondered. Then it hobbled a few steps forward, to smell some growing green maize. It smelled and smelled and smelled, as if all the ŧ[?] aeons of green juice of memory were striving to awake. Then it turned round, looked straight towards Kate with its bushy-velvet face, and put out a pink tongue at her. (MSI 467)

In this case, the foal's movements (move-pause-move-pause) are themselves rhythmic and this passage demonstrates Lawrence's peculiarly repetitious use of language, as the foal "smelled and smelled and smelled." In the context of endings, the foal can also be understood as a figure for the nascent self, a new life beginning as Kate's journey ends; anticipating rewritten versions of this chapter, which I discuss below, the foal is also evocative of Kate's own potential rebirth.

In his otherwise negative appraisal of *The Plumed Serpent*, which is said to contain a "falsifying rhetoric," Michael Bell singles out the second mini-scene in this sequence (the vision of the cow and the bull) for praise in *D. H. Lawrence: Language*

and Being.[8] Bell suggests that this miniature episode forms one of a handful in the novel where Lawrence's writing becomes immanent and self-sufficient and it is precisely this type of writing which Bell's study highlights as comprising Lawrence's greatest achievement: where language enacts its own ontology, which also reveals something fundamental about the relationship between language and being (hence Bell's discussion of Heidegger, elsewhere in the book, as providing a philosophical parallel for Lawrence's writing).

The fact that Lawrence persisted with the above sequence, which survived intact despite subsequent rewritings, suggests that the author was himself content with these passages and perhaps felt he had got something "right," unlike the subsequently inserted, dialogical scenes, which were interpolated in MSII and rewritten in TSII and again in the page proofs. However, if we consider Lawrence's general rewriting of the final chapter this argument is insufficient as it does not explain why Lawrence revisited the final chapter at all, let alone rewrite it on multiple occasions.

In light of this point, my overall argument is that Lawrence should not only be praised for getting something "right" in a particular novel or passage of a novel. Lawrence's struggle with the finished and the formulaic is interesting in itself and makes his work innately challenging as it persistently confronts styles and viewpoints with an opponent or other. By analysing Lawrence's rewritings in the following sections of this chapter, then, we can consider the ways in which Lawrence sought to

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[8] Bell argues that Lawrence's "conscious primitivism in this book is a sentimental falsity because it has got its mythopoeic religion 'in the head'. […] The dramatic unreality of its primitivism arises from the self-consciousness of its rhetoric rather than the underlying metaphysic" (*D. H. Lawrence: language and being*, p. 206).

push beyond the spontaneous and self-sufficient nature of life by the lake, as depicted in the core scenes outlined above.

Version two: "Tell them it is all a joke, and their symbols are pretty play-things, and they are all great-god Peter-Pans."

In short, by rewriting the ending, Lawrence opened up Kate's ultimately evasive conclusions in version one, which had paved the way for her departure to Europe by laying aside the various questions opened up by the novel. These questions concern not only the "Quetzalcoatl" movement but also, and more integrally, Kate's depression and her attempts to reconcile past, present and future selves.

In version two, the original six-page chapter is expanded to twenty-two pages as Lawrence inserted three new scenes as follows:

New scenes:	Pages (MSII):	Events:
1	776-782[3] (8pp.)	Ramon and Teresa arrive; Kate discusses her forthcoming departure with Ramon
2	786[7]-788[9] (3pp.)	While walking between the village and the lake, Kate and Teresa discuss their differences vis-à-vis their potential roles in the Quetzalcoatl movement
3	793-796 (4pp.)	Kate and Teresa re-join Ramon on his boat; Kate and Ramon briefly discuss nobility; scene switches to recollected discussion between Kate and Cipriano regarding her forthcoming departure

Besides opening up the closed self-sufficiency of version one by returning Ramon, Teresa and Cipriano to the narrative in a series of dialogic exchanges between each of them and Kate, the new scenes primarily re-open the question of the cult of Quetzalcoatl: its meaning and credibility.

Prior to these insertions, Lawrence amended the opening to version two, along the general lines of MSII by organizing it more distinctly and by aligning the narrative viewpoint more closely to Kate. Version two begins with the following short paragraph:

> She and Teresa visited one another along the lake. There was a kinship and a gentleness between them, especially now Kate was going away for a while. (MSII 775)

Besides setting the chapter up to include the (new) visit of Teresa and Ramon, this passage reflects Kate's greater attempts to reconcile herself with Mexico in MSII as she feels a new "kinship and a gentleness" for Teresa. The alignment of the narrative with Kate is also indicated by the peculiar use of the pronoun "she" (in reference to Kate) at the outset of the chapter.

The long, descriptive second paragraph in version one is then broken up into four short paragraphs in version two, which also contain some new passages, as in the following insertion:

> And always the day seemed to be pausing and unfolding again to the greater mystery. The universe seemed to have opened vast and soft and delicate with life. (MSII 775)

In relation to Lawrence re-opening the novel by rewriting its ending, this allusion to the universe itself unfolding and opening is not a chance occurrence in the final chapter and suggests the novel's own attempt to "break into the beyond," as Cipriano

says of the open-ended Navajo blankets. The third of the four short paragraphs then contains the first mini-scene **(1)**, which likens a passing boat to the ship of Dionysos.

There then follows the first newly inserted scene, as Ramon and Teresa appear in a "boat along the lake." Having landed, Kate and Ramon fall into conversation, from which Teresa is tacitly absent, and this conversation dominates the first new scene. Ramon begins by asking Kate whether she really must go away and then, quickly accepting her wish, he shifts into a lengthy, semi-serious speech on the philosophy behind the Quetzalcoatl movement:

> "Tell them in your Ireland to do as we have done here."
>
> "But how?"
>
> "Let them find themselves again, and their own universe, and their own gods. Let them substantiate their own mysteries. The Irish have been so wordy about their far-off heroes and greedy days of the heroic gods. Now tell them to substantiate them, as we have tried to substantiate Quetzalcoatl and Huitzilopochtli."
>
> "I will tell them," she said. "If there is anybody to listen." (MSII 776-777)

While there is a meta-textual irony in Ramon, as a fictional character, scolding the Irish for having been "so wordy about their far-off heroes," the pretext for Ramon's speech – Kate as an ambassador for Quetzalcoatl in Europe – is not entirely serious. The element of farce in the framing of Ramon's speech is somewhat reminiscent of Nietzsche's Zarathustra, who announces the death of God to an atheistic marketplace, and Ramon proceeds with a rambling exploratory monologue about being and the cosmos in which he repeatedly tells Kate to "tell them":

> "Tell them," he said, "the centre of the cosmos is alive, and terribly alive. But not with any personal god . . .

> Tell them the only gods are men. That terrible being of the Innermost casts out rays and circles of creation, and creation casts back an answer […]. The One casts us out like a question, and we, at the far end of the ray, have to cast back the answer. If we cannot give the answer, the answer *I am*, to the One at the centre, then the One curves his rays round us and drags us back out of creation into oblivion. (MSII 777-778)

William York Tindall, who rated *The Plumed Serpent* very highly, took it to be a sincere expression by Lawrence of a diverse theory of revelation drawing from a mixture of theosophy, Kundalini, pre-Socratic philosophy, pre-Aztec Mexican mythology and the book of Revelation.[9] However, though Tindall's account of Lawrence's research and resources is an excellent piece of early scholarship on *The Plumed Serpent*, his isolated focus upon the Quetzalcoatl movement and the character of Don Ramon in particular, provides a limited account of the novel itself; the more general presumption that the content of a Lawrence novel can be taken to represent an entirely sincere expression by the author is also naïve. Like most of Lawrence's novels, the various characters in *The Plumed Serpent* provide multiple and conflicting viewpoints on events, while, as discussed already, the narrative viewpoint is itself frequently aligned with Kate, meaning it is itself dialogistic or "framed."

The above speech, for instance, exists within the following frames: it is made under a semi-comic pretext (Kate as ambassador); it is a piece of dialogue spoken to another character; Ramon's position is subsequently dramatised as we learn that Kate "trembled a little when Ramon became passionate in his earnestness" (MSII 780); the

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[9] William York Tindal, 'D. H. Lawrence and the Primitive', *The Sewanee Review*, 45:2 (1937), 198-211. See also his 'Introduction' to *The Plumed Serpent* (New York: Vintage, 1992; rtp. 1948).

speech is also adapted shortly thereafter by Kate, who believes "she understood what he meant," and proceeds with her own interior monologue:

> The great First Cause was like a dragon coiled at the very centre of all the cosmos, and peeping out, like her snake. Utterly incomprehensible and non-human […].
>
> The sense of doom, the vision into the beyond, the sense of responsibility to the inner dragon, stayed with Kate all the time. So that the scenes of the day were like a mirage through the wavering of which she could see the terrible hinterland, to the cosmic centre, where the dragon is. (MSII 781-2)

Taking the two "monologues" in earnest, however, a final point which Tindall's reading of revelatory theory in *The Plumed Serpent* overlooks is the manner in which Lawrence adapts his various influences in order to formulate reflections which are, essentially, existential: if a person ceases to experience an authentic sense of being, s/he is dragged into a kind of oblivion. Once Kate has this insight, a resulting sense of responsibility haunts her everyday vision of the world.

Following the first new scene, Lawrence re-inserts the second mini-scene **(2)** in MSII, which is then followed by the second newly inserted scene, in which Kate and Teresa discuss their differences. This second interpolation is much shorter than the first and third and begins with Kate asking Teresa whether she will sit beside Ramon "in the church as the bride of Quetzalcoatl – with some strange name" (MSII 786). Teresa concedes that she is "afraid," but will do so in order to accept "the greater responsibility of one's existence" (MSII 786-787). Teresa then suggests it would be "different" for Kate as she has a "fighting soul" (MSII 787), but Kate counters, "I am as frightened, really, as you" (MSII 788). Following this short

discussion, Kate and Teresa walk together by the lake and it is at this point in the narrative in version two that Lawrence re-inserts the remaining mini-scenes (**3-7**).

Lawrence then inserts the third and final new scene, which replaces the novel's original ending in version one. Like the others, this scene is also dominated by dialogue. Ramon having returned with the boat to pick up Teresa and Kate, it begins with a short exchange between Kate and Ramon on the topic of nobility:

> "It is wonderful, really," said Kate, as they rowed over the water, "how – how *noble* it makes one feel."
>
> He laughed.
>
> "No nobler than one is," he said.
>
> "But the people are so wonderful. They make us feel noble, like the growing maize: as if they watered my roots."
>
> "If you can give man his reverence back, he will be more grateful for that than for everything. It is the flow of life […]. And ~~those who~~ **if man ~~and~~ or woman can** restore the ~~great~~ life-flow, to the people from whom it has been cut off, ~~will be~~ **then that man or woman will be** the gods and aristocrats of that people."
>
> "I was born an aristocrat, and I always *felt* an aristocrat," said Kate. "But I never knew till now what it was like to feel it move in me like life."
>
> "Ah Señora, aristocracy is not a static thing. Aristocracy also is a flow, a living flow. If we can bring back the Living Breath to the earth, then the people will ~~back~~ **give us** glory again." (MSII 793-4)

Although the scene quickly and rather awkwardly shifts soon after this exchange to a final, recollected conversation between Kate and Cipriano, the above passage remains significant in its implicit attempts to theorize the self-sufficiency of the preceding

descriptive sequence, which dominates version one. Here, Kate admits to a feeling of superiority over the local peons, which she associates with her aristocratic birth: "I was born an aristocrat, and I always *felt* an aristocrat." Kate connects the "wonderful" therapeutic peacefulness to a feeling of inherent nobility, which Ramon immediately calls into question in terms which echo Birkin in *Women in Love*: "aristocracy is not a static thing." For Ramon, aristocracy is a kind of circuit, "a flow, a living flow," given to those who can reanimate the spirit of place by bringing back "the Living Breath."

As mentioned, however, the scene quickly shifts to a recollected conversation between Kate and Cipriano. Like Kate's conversation with Ramon in the first interpolated scene, which also begins by discussing Kate's apparently imminent departure, Cipriano quickly shifts into a rambling monologue about the philosophy of Quetzalcoatl, in which, echoing Ramon, he repeatedly tells Kate to report his words back to Europe with the same refrain: "tell them." Cipriano's speech attempts to outline a new stage in the spiritual history of the West:

> "No, Caterina, go to your Europe. Tell them their Day of Salvation is over: the Via Crucis is travelled and finished . . . Go! Tell them the Cross is a Tree again, and they may eat the fruit if they can reach the branches. […] The fruit of knowledge is digested. Now we can plant the core. […] Tell them man's ~~greatest~~ **supreme** mystery is being in the flesh…" (MSII 794-795)

Again, this speech is not entirely serious, with Kate's potential role as ambassador once more providing an element of farce, serving as a ground for Cipriano to let loose. The context of this speech is, however, more outwardly farcical than the first, given the fact that the basic speech pattern ("tell them") copies Ramon's earlier speech in the same chapter.

This element of farce also emerges within the scene itself as Kate jokingly responds: ""But I shall never remember," she laughed" (MSII 795). Cipriano then concludes by conceding, with the final lines of the novel in MSII:

> "It doesn't matter . . . Tell them anything, or tell them nothing, what does it matter! Tell them it is all a joke, and their symbols are pretty play-things, and they are all great-god Peter-Pans.
>
> Tell them what they want to hear, that they are the cutest ever.
>
> Then come back, and leave them to it.["] (MSII 795-796)

In line with Lawrence's peculiar semi-seriousness, however, there is a bitter edge to this outburst. Like Ramon, Cipriano criticizes the role of myth in the West, but zones in on infantilism and solipsism, where symbols are "pretty play-things" and everyone is a "great-god Peter-Pan."

Perhaps the reason why the novel descends into farce somewhat in version two is because of the grandstanding of Ramon and Cipriano, whose philosophical messages, which address vast stretches of history and are addressed to apostrophised continents, take the focus of the narrative away from Kate's personal journey, to which Lawrence's vision as a *serious* novelist is more suited. On this count, however, Peter-Pan is an interesting allusion given its child protagonists, its idealization of childhood and its fantasy of never growing old. While *The Plumed Serpent* also features something of an exotic cult and one could perhaps suggest the Quetzalcoatl movement plays out an adult fantasy of primitivism and animism, it is worth considering the more fundamental opposition between Peter-Pan and *The Plumed Serpent*: Kate leaves her children behind in Europe and experiences her own age quite intensely, both of which contribute towards her struggle with depression, which in turn clouds her vision of Mexico. However, rather than isolate herself with an

idealized vision of the past, these issues represent questions, which Kate tarries with throughout the novel. Rewriting the ending again in versions three and four, it is to these questions that Lawrence eventually turns our attention.

Versions three and four: "It was as if she had two selves"

As mentioned, Lawrence's rewriting in version three focuses entirely upon the three new scenes inserted into version two. Following the opening exchange between Kate and Ramon in the first of these scenes, in which Ramon encourages the Irish to "substantiate" their myths, Ramon's lengthy monologue and the recapitulatory interior monologue by Kate are both cut. Lawrence completely rewrites the scene from this point onward, removing sheets from TSII and inserting fresh ones typed by himself.

In the rewritten version, Ramon and Kate pursue their initial conversation and a far more personal tone is immediately produced:

> "But why do you go away?" he asked her, after a silence.
>
> "You don't care, do you?" she said.
>
> There was a dead pause.
>
> "Yes, I care," he said.
>
> "But why?"
>
> Again it was some time before he answered.
>
> "You are a help, after all," he said.
>
> "Even when I don't do anything? – and when I get a bit bored with living Quetzalcoatl and the rest, and wish for a simple Don Ramon?" she replied.
>
> He laughed suddenly. (TSII 3)

Here, Kate lightly parodies "living Quetzalcoatl and the rest," wishing for "a simple Don Ramon," which elicits laughter from Ramon himself. Incidentally, Kate's mockery could be taken as an indication of Lawrence's own response to the previous monologues in version two, which this dialogue directly overwrites. In doing so, the chapter shifts from impersonal and uncontested visions of the cosmos, in version two, to a more contested exchange of personal visions in version three.[10] As indicated by the number of direct questions in the short extract above, the new passage is far more inquisitive. Most significantly, however, version three immediately shifts the chapter's focus away from the grand yet partly farcical question of the Quetzalcoatl movement in version two, and begins to focus on more personal and sincere questions.

Whereas the specific location of the characters during the aforementioned dialogue had remained ambiguous in version two, in version three we next discover that the pair "were sitting on a bench under a red-flowering poinsettia whose huge scarlet petal-leaves spread out like sharp plumes" (TSII 3). While this detail proves to be significant later on in the scene, first, in a similarly intense and inquisitive manner, Kate and Ramon begin to challenge each other's deeper presumptions:

> "And if you're not sure of yourself, what are you sure of?" she challenged.
>
> […]
>
> "I am sure – sure – " his voice tailed off into vagueness, his face seemed to go grey and peaked, as a dead man's, only his eyes watched her blackly, like a ghost's. Again she was confronted with the suffering ghost of the man. And

[10] Version four contains the following minor revision to this extract: ""~~You are a help, after all~~ **You are one of us, we need you**," he said," which intensifies Ramon's loose initial remark.

> she was a woman, powerless before this suffering ghost which was still in the flesh. (TSII 4-5)

Ramon breaks down under Kate's scrutiny and the subsequent description of Ramon as "the suffering ghost of the man" demonstrates the interweaving between the narrative voice and Kate's own perspective. Though the description appears to be external narrative, it is effectively a piece of free indirect discourse focalised through Kate.

Following this pause, Kate and Ramon continue to fire questions at each other and, as the conversation hangs on Kate's imminent departure, their mutual probing is fuelled by the potential finality of the exchange, which leads them to question each other's "real" self. It is worth quoting a lengthy extract from the dialogue and considering how this episode was rewritten by Lawrence once again in version four:

TSII 6-9: Version Three

"If you want to be so – so abstract and Quetzalcoatlian, and then bury your head in the lap of a Teresa, like an ostrich in the sand when he has brought his enemies upon him, then of course it is your affair!"

"So!" he said, smiling. "So! Am I abstract?"

"What else? Life, just living, is not good enough for you. You want to parade something from your own will. And it is not enough for you to be a man, a real man. […] I am more than all your Malintzis and Quetzalcoatls, when I am just myself."

"So! So! Another declaration of Independence! But what is it that you are, when you are *just yourself*?"

"[…] Do you think that I, Kate Forrester, am not ten times as real and important as any Malintzi, or any living Quetzalcoatl either?"

"No! Frankly, I don't. Kate Forrester without any Malintzi, and with no Quetzalcoatl, or Huitzilopochtli in her life seems to me – I wont say just like anybody else – but with just a common destiny, a vulgar destiny; embedded in the rest of vulgar people."

[…]

"It may *seem* to you so, But it isn't so. Of course, if you refuse to recognise in me what I am, and the real Lord that is behind me, of course it will seem to you that I am embedded in the vulgar destiny. But my destiny is my own, for all that. And it is no smaller than your destiny. And in my opinion it is more real – more alive. Because I am a woman. […] I have the greatest respect for you when you are just Ramon. But when you are the Living Quetzalcoatl you seem to me a – a conceited boy, like a vain, self-conscious, posing boy of nineteen."

[…]

"And I don't care what words you put on me… I know what I *feel* – and that is enough for me."

"You have felt many things, contradictory things, too, in the course of your life. You have even 'felt' Huitzilopochtli and Quetzalcoatl…"

"[…] Not deeply. It has been an experience – but not very deep. I know something better, really."

"What is it?"

"Just life! And being oneself."

[…]

"But which self? The one that came trailing over from England to America? – and trailing down to Mexico with your cousin Owen? – and becoming hysterical at a bull-fight, and being driven to Sanborn's for tea and strawberry

shortcake?"

***PS* 428-30: Version Four**

"If you want to be so – so abstract and Quetzalcoatlian, and then bury your head sometimes, like an ostrich in the sand, and forget."

"So!" he said, smiling. "You are angry again!"

"It's not so simple, she said. "There is a conflict in me. And you won't let me go away for a time."

"We can't prevent you," he said.

"Yes, but you are against my going—you don't let me go in peace."

"Why must you go?" he said.

"I must," she said. "I must go back to my children, and my mother."

"It is a necessity in you?" he said.

"Yes!"

The moment she had admitted the necessity, she realised it was a certain duplicity in herself. It was as if she had two selves: one, a new one, which belonged to Cipriano & to Ramon, and which was her sensitive, desirous self: the other hard and finished, accomplished, belonging to her mother, her children, England, her whole past. This old accomplished self was curiously invulnerable and insentient, curiously hard and "free." In it, she was an individual and her own mistress. The other self was vulnerable, and organically connected with Cipriano, even with Ramon and Teresa, and so was not "free" at all.

She was aware of a duality in herself, and she suffered from it. She could not definitely commit herself, either to the old way of life or to the new. She reacted from both…

[…]

"Yes! You put a weight on me, and paralyse me, to prevent me from going," she said.

[…]

> "[…] I don't believe in your going. It is a turning back: there is something renegade in it.—But we are all complicated. And if you *feel* you must go back for a time, go! It isn't terribly important. You have chosen, really. I am not afraid for you."
>
> […] She could never be sure, never be *whole* in her connection with Cipriano & Ramon. […]
>
> "Aren't you sometimes afraid for yourself?" he asked.
>
> "Never!" she said. "I'm absolutely sure about myself."

In both versions Kate attacks Ramon's abstract mythology, his "living Quetzalcoatl," while Ramon in turn attacks Kate's conventional sense of selfhood, which effectively boils down to the tautologous formula, "I am what I am." As a result, the respective distinctions between "real" and "mythic" selves become blurred. As in Birkin and Gerald's discussion on the soul and selfhood in TSI of *Women in Love* (discussed in Chapter 2.4), through intense dialogical questioning the characters of *The Plumed Serpent* come up against an apparent limitation in language and the everyday symbolic register, in which it is impossible to define or describe the "real." Alternatively, the characters come up against the reality of multiple contingent selves: "But which self?"

Kate's body and mind (or memory) connect her "self" to different times, places and people, often within the same moment, which means she is never self-sufficient and whole. Just as the unreflexive and descriptive self-sufficiency or wholeness of version one is broken open by Lawrence's dialogic insertions then, so Kate and Ramon begin to reflect upon the conflicted nature of their own selves within the narrative via the medium of dialogue. Unlike the novel or its readers, Ramon does not plummet through the layers of Kate's psyche, and his remark reflects on her more extraneous experiences: the self that came trailing down to Mexico or the self that

became hysterical at the bull-fight. However, the narrative itself is more revealing of Kate's underlying struggle with depression as she tries to stake out a new life for herself in Mexico while mourning former lives lost (in the case of her husband or her own youth) or left behind (in the case of her mother and children) in Europe. Immediately after the above long extract, which I will return to, memories of Christmas in England flood back to Kate due to the presence of the red poinsettia:

> Christmas was coming! The poinsettia reminded Kate of it.
>
> Christmas! Holly-berries! England! Presents! Food! […] It felt so safe, so familiar, so normal, the thought of Christmas at home, in England, with her mother.

The later versions of the final chapter, therefore, re-open the underlying dilemmas, which were originally pushed aside by Kate's exterior journey along the lake in version one or the urgings of Ramon and Cipriano regarding the Quetzalcoatl movement in version two. The dilemma becomes increasingly explicit as Lawrence rewrites the chapter again and again so that, in version four, in the long extract above, when Ramon asks Kate whether it really *is* a "necessity" for her to leave, Kate becomes "aware of a duality within herself," which leads to the following crucial reflection in version four of the above passage:

> It was as if she had two selves: one, a new one, which belonged to Cipriano & to Ramon, and which was her sensitive, desirous self: the other hard and finished, accomplished, belonging to her mother, her children, England, her whole past.

Through a subtle yet fantastic narrative, in which Kate only steadily comes to terms with her dramatic transplantation from family life in England and Ireland to journeying alone in Mexico into the heart of the Quetzalcoatl movement, Lawrence is

able to describe constitutive divisions within human experience, between the self as something located in the past, accomplished and whole, and the self as something present and ongoing, not only open to the future, but "organically connected" to the environment, as one's memorial or imagined self is not. The lack of freedom produced by this "organic" connection had already led Kate to observe "a conflict in me" and to suggest to Ramon, "you won't let me go away for a time," foreshadowing the novel's eventual final line; it is in response to this accusation that Ramon questions the necessity of her departure.

When rewriting the second interpolated scene in version three, Lawrence introduced the following passage in which Teresa rationalizes her participation in the Quetzalcoatl ceremonies as follows:

> "So when I have to wear the green dress […] I shall look away to the heart of all the world, and try to be my sacred self, not the more trivial selves that I am as well. It is right. I would not do it if I thought it was not right."

Here, Teresa reaffirms the concept of multiple selves, the relativity of which enables the self to be both sacred and trivial at different times, though Lawrence presumably felt that the observation was unnecessary and altered these lines in version four as follows: "my sacred self, ~~not the more trivial selves that I am as well~~ **because it is necessary, and the right thing to do**." The rest of the second scene is rewritten in versions three and four along the same lines as the first, with the exchange between Teresa and Kate becoming more intense and confrontational: Kate suggests that Ramon "would always be too didactic and overbearing for me" and "needs far too much submission from a woman, to please me" (TSII 15), which again stages the critique of the Quetzalcoatl movement as containing an oppressive ideology within the narrative, while Teresa questions Kate in turn: "How do you know that Ramon

needs submission from a woman? […] He has not asked any submission from you […] and he does not ask submission from me […]. And then he gives himself back to me more gently than I give myself to him […] and you are a soldier among women, fighting all the time" (TSII 15-15a and 15).

"You won't let me go!"

Of greater note, however, are Lawrence's subsequent alterations to the much longer third and final newly interpolated scene. The opening exchange between Ramon and Kate, in which they discuss nobility as stasis or flow, is altered so that Ramon cuts to the point with almost comic rapidity, remarking that, although Kate may now feel "splendid" among the peons at Sayula, "as if one were still genuinely of the nobility," later on, "they will murder you and violate you, for having worshipped you" (TSII 20). In version two, following this brief exchange, the scene had shifted rather awkwardly, mentioning a brief stay at Jamiltepec (Ramon's hacienda) by Kate, "before Cipriano returned and she departed, for go she must" (MSII 794), which served as a prelude to Kate's final conversation with Cipriano. In TSII, however, and hence versions three and four, on hearing Ramon's warning, Kate apparently "made up her mind still more definitely, to go away" and "engaged a berth from Vera Cruz to Southampton: she would sail on the last day of November" (TSII 20-21). Cipriano then returns "on the Seventeenth," Kate "told him what she had done," and the two then begin the conversation, which, in version two, had served as the novel's conclusion. Their exchange is cut short in versions three and four, however, with Cipriano contemplating using the law "to have her prevented from leaving the country" but, in the end, accepting her departure with apparent "indifference" (TSI 21-22).

TSII then contains an entirely new, thirteen-page concluding section (TSII 22-34), which extends the transition across each version from exteriority and self-sufficiency in version one, to interiority, conflict and inter-dependency in the later versions. Cipriano takes a boat down to Jamiltepec, leaving Kate alone, "as usual" (TSII 22) and, as in the rewritten versions of the first newly interpolated scene, Kate once again reflects upon her own dilemma as she plots potential future paths for herself by either returning to Europe or foraying further ahead in Mexico:

> It occurred to her, that she herself willed this aloneness. She could not relax and be with these people. She could not relax and be with anybody. She always had to recoil upon her own individuality, as a cat does.
>
> […]
>
> And then what! To sit in a London drawing-room, and add another to all the grimalkins? […] Even the horrid old tom-cat men of the civilised roof gutters, did not fill her with such sickly dread.
>
> "No!" she said to herself.
>
> […]
>
> After all, when Cipriano touched her caressively, all her body flowered. And when she spread the wings of her own ego, and set forth her own spirit, the world could look very wonderful to her, when she was alone. But after a while, the wonder faded, and a sort of jealous emptiness set in.
>
> "I must have both," she said to herself. "I must not recoil against Cirpiano and Ramon […]. I say they are limited. But then one must be limited. If one tries to be unlimited, one becomes horrible… (TSII 22-25)

This segment pulls together the central strand of the narrative as Kate attempts to reconcile herself with the new and ongoing present rather than recoil, instinctively,

"upon her own individuality," her past and "accomplished" self, which is anchored in her memory. This attachment to the past ensnares her conception of self as old and cut adrift from a younger, more spontaneous self, as witnessed in Chapter III, which I discussed in the previous chapter. Through the course of the novel, Kate has attempted to navigate through this "black page," however, while "the world could look very wonderful" to Kate "when she spread the wings of her own ego," she is keen to avoid the "emptiness" of "unlimited" egoism and so sets off "down the lake in a row-boat" for Jamiltepec, "to make a sort of submission: to say she didn't want to go away" (TSII 31).[11] Though Kate seems on the brink of pulling through in the latter versions of the final chapter, when she arrives at Ramon's hacienda she finds both Ramon and Cipriano "in the thick of their Quetzalcoatl mood" and is "not very eager to begin" ("they made her feel like an intruder. She did not pause to realise that she *was* one") (TSI 31-32). The novel approaches a resolution, then, with Kate poised to reconcile her conflicted sense of self, when the issue of the Quetzalcoatl movement and broader social realities re-emerge and threaten to derail her once again.

In the end, like Ursula in *Women in Love*, Kate zones in on the question of Cipriano's love:

> "I don't really want to go away from you."
>
> […]
>
> "You don't really want me."
>
> "Yes, I want you! – *Verdad*! *Verdad*!" exclaimed Cipriano…

[11] Compare Kate's use of "wings" as a negative figure here with its more positive usage in relation to Ella/Ursula in *Women in Love* and the early drafts of *Women in Love*, as discussed in Chapter 2.3.

> And even amid her tears, Kate was thinking to herself; *What a fraud am I! I know all the time it is I, who don't altogether want them…*
>
> […]
>
> "You don't want me to go, do you?" she pleaded.
>
> […]
>
> "*Yo! Yo!*" […] "*Te quiero mucho! Much te quiero! Mucho! Mucho!* I like you very much! Very much!
>
> It sounded so soft, soft-tongued, of the soft, wet, hot blood, that she shivered a little.
>
> "Le gueux m'a plantee la!" she said to herself, in the words of an old song.
>
> END.
>
> (TSII 32-34)

Just as the notion of multiple and conflicting selves emerges explicitly in the latter versions of the final chapter, a full resolution to the narrative is itself resisted here. Given Kate's oscillations throughout the novel, between recoil and reconciliation, and the manner in which the narrative itself oscillates between self-sufficiency in descriptive passages and inter-dependency in dialogic confrontations, as evidenced in the eventual structure of the final chapter itself, the generation of a more oscillatory ending by Lawrence is fitting for the narrative. However, Kate's obscure quotation from an "old song" in French renders the final line somewhat baffling. In the Cambridge edition of *The Plumed Serpent*, Clark states that the French phrase is "unidentified," although John Beer has more recently suggested that the words are "from a French military marching song, concerning the plight of a young woman

seduced by a man who has left her in the lurch."[12] Indeed the song, which is collected in the *Oeuvres* (1799) of Jean-Joseph Vadé, an obscure eighteenth-century French chansonnier and playwright, laments the loss of a "jeune, beau, vigoureux" male lover, a phrase which is also referenced by Lady Chatterley in the "first version" of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.[13] The conclusion in version three therefore presents a more sensual dilemma for Kate, as she shivers listening to Cipriano voicing his desire for her. However, the quotation from memory of an old French song is a slightly random associative memory on Kate's (or Lawrence's) part, suggesting perhaps a giving up of the narrative reins; alternatively, it could be read as a deliberate attempt on Kate's part to terminate the dialogue (singing to herself, in another language).

However, as Lawrence rewrites the final line in the fourth and final version, the text ultimately concludes with a near-perfect moment of oscillatory poise:

> ~~"La gueux m'a plantee la!" she said to herself, in the words of an old song.~~
>
> **"You won't let me go!" she said to him.**
>
> END.

---

[12] Clark, *PS*, p. xl. John Beer, *D. H. Lawrence: Nature, Narrative, Art, Identity* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 177. Beer argues "this alternative ending […] makes the novel's eventual ending "seem less a gesture of submission than a mingling of reluctant recognition and desperation. […] Kate seems less submissive victim than a woman who, even as she accepts the power of her own and her lover's physical desires and acknowledges the need to propitiate them, is devising a strategy to ensure her survival as an independent, free woman. This recognition of complexity seems closer to the common human condition" (p. 177).

[13] See *The First and Second Lady Chatterley Novels*, ed. Dieter Mehl and Christa Jansohn (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), p. 116; I owe this reference to Beer (see previous footnote).

Like the similarly poised chapter title: "Here!", Lawrence altered this line at a late stage in the transmission process. Both phrases invoke the self as trapped (or bouncing) between a closed past and an open future. Finally, the line also captures both Kate and Lawrence's hesitation in the face of an imminent ending, as indicated already in Kate's previous remarks ("I don't really want to go away from you"; "You don't want me to go, do you?").

Following a protracted process of drafting and re-drafting, the final chapter of *The Plumed Serpent* is ultimately dominated by the novel's central, personal dilemma. From an initial, therapeutic journey alone beside the lake, which primes Kate for a departure from Mexico in version one and concludes rather tamely with Kate packing her bags, Teresa, Ramon and Cipriano each return in the subsequent versions and, in version two, the two men provide Kate and the novel with portentous yet partly farcical final messages. In versions three and four, however, Kate's initial exchanges with Ramon and Cipriano become more dialogical and inquisitive; Kate is left alone afterwards to reflect upon her potential isolation, and finally returns to Ramon's hacienda, which enables the novel to conclude with an unfinished piece of dialogue between Kate and Cipriano, with Ramon hovering in the background. While the Quetzalcoatl movement re-emerges in each rewritten version of the ending, the question of Kate's potential departure for Europe and her struggles to overcome depression and reconcile herself with the "real" take centre stage in versions three and four. In the end, recognizing the reality of the struggle itself, Lawrence dispenses with Ramon and Cipriano's external messages and shifts attention back to Kate and the novel's implicit dilemma of the self, trapped between past and future states, between completion and incompletion.

Of course, the writer's struggle appears more determinate. Lawrence was able to conclude and resolve the process of writing by finally setting aside his work, which became a settled, published text. However, whether, as writers or readers, we ever truly "let go" remains a more open question as, although the page becomes "silent," the dialogue continues elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

In the first section of this thesis I introduced the critical frameworks underlying this study of D. H. Lawrence and genetic criticism, beginning, in Chapter 1.1, with the relationship between genetic criticism and Anglo-American traditions of textual and literary criticism. I discussed the role of the New Criticism and the New Bibliography in reinforcing the divide between textual and literary criticism, as well as, somewhat paradoxically in light of Wimsatt and Beardsley's famous eschewal of authorial intentions, an author-based approach to textual criticism, due to the important principle of final authorial intention in traditional Anglo-American copy-text based eclectic editing. I then tracked the later influence of German textology in Anglo-American textual criticism, via important intervening figures such as Hans Zeller and Hans Walter Gabler, who edited a synoptic edition of *Ulysses* in 1984, which famously introduced a genetic-inspired "continuous manuscript" text to a wider Anglo-American audience, before surveying important debates concerning intentionality and the sociology of texts, following the work of key contemporary textual critics such as Jerome McGann, Peter Shillingsburg and D. C. Greetham. Although these critics helped to deconstruct, expand and open up restrictive Anglo-American text-critical traditions, genetic criticism remained a highly marginalised field in the study of English of literature until quite recently, with Joyce representing something of an island for "genetic criticism" *per se*. Following the turn of the twenty-first century, however, the work of critics such as Dirk van Hulle, Sally Bushell, Finn Fordham and Hannah Sullivan has greatly expanded these "genetic" horizons to include work on a much wider array of English literary manuscripts, from Wordsworth to Foster Wallace.

I developed this discussion in Chapter 1.2 by considering more specifically the relationship between genetic criticism and existing traditions in Lawrence studies, where, to some extent, a similar divide between textual and literary criticism has existed, in large part due to the immense editorial project of the Cambridge edition of D. H. Lawrence, work on which stretched from 1979-2013 and included a large number of influential Lawrence critics. In this chapter, besides discussing the Cambridge edition in detail, as well as the rich vein of work on Lawrence's manuscripts by critics such as Mark Kinkead-Weekes and Keith Cushman, providing a critical account in which I highlighted the differences between this type of work and the ideas of genetic criticism, I also surveyed Lawrence's critical legacy more generally, discussing those upheavals during the 1970s in which literary criticism became a more politicised activity and Lawrence became a somewhat alienated figure due to charges of misogyny and organicism by critics including Kate Millett and Terry Eagleton.[1] These two strands, textual studies of Lawrence and Lawrence's wider critical legacy, became entwined to some extent in more recent reassessments of Lawrence by the likes of Amit Chaudhuri and N. H. Reeve, whose work I consider

[1] According to A. S. Byatt, "literary criticism, and the teaching of literature, became a belief system, and indeed a societal structure almost independent of books and what was or is in them. A kind of moral fervor, accompanied by a glorying in their own power, led critics to cleanse the canon, to hunt out the little snakes of sexism, racism, cultural assumptions about superiority, aestheticism, and destroy them" (A. S. Byatt, 'The One Bright Book of Life', *New Statesman*, 16 December 2002, accessible online: www.newstatesman.com/node/156844, accessed December 29, 2015).

towards the end of 1.2, and which introduces a less teleological approach to the study of Lawrence's composition.[2]

In my two introductory chapters, therefore, I champion the methodology and ideas of genetic criticism, incorporating the aforementioned work of recent "genetic" or compositional critics, as offering an innovative and open guide to the study of Lawrence's manuscripts. Applying this guide in my own primary chapters on the manuscripts of two major Lawrence novels, namely, *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent*, however, I have also looked to open up genetic criticism itself by expressing criticism over its perceived bias towards overly instrumental, "constructivist" interpretations of writing.

In their introduction to the crucial volume *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-Textes*, Ferrer and Groden champion Edgar Allan Poe's 'Philosophy of Composition' as a foundational text for genetic criticism. Poe's philosophy effectively serves as a rejoinder to traditional romantic myths, which figure the creative process as something ushering forth from the unknown, following an invisible hand (or Muse). As an explosion of this myth, Poe attempts to describe his own composition of 'The

[2] In terms of the link between textual criticism and a critical reassessment of Lawrence, Michael Black has argued that the editors of the Cambridge edition of Lawrence have "not only produced strikingly improved texts, and some entirely new ones; I have also suggested that cumulatively their editorial work is giving us a body of insights into the writing process and into Lawrence's meanings. These need to be developed into new critical perceptions of the texts, helping us to abandon the old Lawrence of the 1960s" ('Spontaneity and Revision as Aesthetic', 151). In an early review of the Cambridge edition, Lydia Blanchard similarly suggested, "the cumulative impact of the emerging volumes […] is close to revolutionary for Lawrence scholarship and criticism, creating new understandings of Lawrence as writer" (Blanchard, 'D. H. Lawrence', 388).

Raven' with a highly visible authorial hand and suggests that the poem was written in an intensely contrived manner, with the poet choosing a theme and a concluding line at the beginning of the process and then constructing the poem itself retroactively. Regardless of how accurate Poe's retrospective account actually is in this 'Philosophy of Composition', Poe's intensely empirical approach to writing is fitting for French genetic criticism, which, as mentioned at the outset of Chapter 1.1, was itself founded as a scientific practice (based at the National Centre for Scientific Research in Paris). The legacy of genetic criticism's scientific origins can be read in a variety of places: from Pierre Marc de Biasi's rigorous typologies for the avant-texte to Daniel Ferrer's notion of the draft as a "protocol" for the completion of a text, as well as more directly in Jean-Louis Lebrave and Denis Alamargot's recent joint contribution from genetic criticism and cognitive psychology ('The Study of Professional Writing') and in the recent work of Dirk van Hulle, who has drawn separately from Jakob von Uexküll's notion of "*umwelt*" (characterising literary manuscripts as a kind of "GPS" system within a writer's "umwelt"), as well as from Chalmers and Clark's post-cognitivist notion of the "extended mind."[3]

However, another founding father for genetic criticism who is not explicitly discussed by Ferrer and Groden in their introduction to *Genetic Criticism*, is the supremely influential nineteenth-century French realist novelist Gustave Flaubert, a professional writer like Poe, whose own philosophy of composition can also be characterised as intensely self-conscious and again figures writing as an immensely contrived process (using deliberate skill or artifice). It is hard to exaggerate Flaubert's importance for modernist literature and I have alluded to his influence upon the likes of James, Conrad, Pound, Joyce, Mann and many others a number of times. Another

[3] See bibliography for references; for a fuller discussion of these points see Chapter 1.1.

explanation for the apparent bias towards "constructivist" metaphors for writing in genetic criticism, then, can be found in the propensity of genetic critics to focus upon the writing processes of this particular (Flaubertian) *type* of writer. To take one important area as an example, in the work of Dirk van Hulle in particular, the foremost contemporary genetic critic, the pre-compositional phase referred to by genetic critics as "exogenesis," which concerns the writer's reading and research in preparation for the production of a work, has become increasingly prominent, with detailed work on methods of research and reading and detailed explorations into the content of research and reading notes. This focus befits a certain type of author, such as Joyce, who famously produced a body of preparatory work in its own right, or Beckett, whose personal library (and annotations within his own copies of books) is an important part of his particular literary archive. By contrast, as his letters and works indicate, Lawrence read extensively and at times conducted extensive research, Lawrence produced little if anything in the way of reading notes, nor did he develop a great personal library or (frequently) annotate his own copies of books (Lawrence often passed books on or borrowed them in the first place, which better suited his itinerant lifestyle).

Important in their own right, these practical differences also connect to broader philosophical questions, as indicated by opposing attitudes towards Flaubert (or rather the aesthetic creed with which Flaubert is commonly identified). Besides sporadic comments in early letters to Edward Garnett and others, Lawrence expressed his own critical attitude towards Flaubert in an early review of Thomas Mann ('German Books: Thomas Mann'), which, as Lawrence's most explicit and wide-ranging critique of a Flaubertian aesthetic, I have alluded to on a number of

occasions.[4] Although Lawrence also identifies a Flaubertian desire for aesthetic mastery with a more general social and cultural desire for mastery in contemporary Germany (on the eve of the First World War), the essential suggestion in this review is that the human mind cannot set the lines of a book absolutely, any more than it can set the "lines" of a living being, which Lawrence poses as a rhetorical question. With a common underlying opposition, between flux and stasis, completion and incompletion, Lawrence criticises the egotistical desire to know or "fix" a thing absolutely, with the latter process associated with death, while flux, incompletion and the unknown are associated with life ("a living being").

Despite a conception of the universe as infinite and in flux, and of the self as potentially (and creatively) open towards this flux, hence the dilemma of endings for Lawrence, Lawrence's notion of creativity is also, like that of Poe and Flaubert, empirical. A classic example of this comes in the opening two paragraphs of 'Corasmin and the Parrots', the opening essay in *Mornings in Mexico* (1927):

> We talk so grandly in capital letters, about Morning in Mexico. All it amounts to is one little individual looking at a bit of sky and trees, then looking down at the page of his exercise book.

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[4] In June 1912, for example, prior to Garnett's extensive cuts to 'Paul Morel' when editing *Sons and Lovers*, Lawrence wrote to Garnett as follows: "I sent that novel 'Paul Morel' off to William Heinemann yesterday. Now I know it's a good thing, even a bit great. It's different from your stuff [...]. It's not so strongly concentric as the fashionable folk under French influence - you see I suffered badly from Hueffer [Ford Maddox Ford] re Flaubert and perfection - want it. It may seem loose - and I may cut the childhood part - if you think better so - and perhaps you'll want me to spoil some of the good stuff. But it is rather great" (*i*., 416-417).

> It is a pity we don't always remember this. When books come out with grand titles, like *The Future of America*, or *The European Situation*, it's a pity we don't immediately visualise a thin or a fat person, in a chair or in a bed, dictating to a bob-haired stenographer or making little marks on paper with a fountain pen.[5]

While Poe and Flaubert expose the romantic myth of the author as peacefully listening in to an invisible Muse, Lawrence's humble account of the writer as "one little individual" can be seen as exposing the modernist myth of the author as God-like authority over his work, a figure both everywhere and nowhere, as in Flaubert's famous description, which Stephen Dedalus silently lifts in Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916).

In terms of potential partners within modernism for Lawrence's anti-orthodox position, one significant suggestion I would offer is Virginia Woolf, who was, for example, vocal in her criticism of the more general Flaubertian concept of "craftsmanship." Enlisted to speak on "the craft of words" and "the craftsmanship of the writer" for BBC radio in 1937, Woolf immediately suggested that "there is something incongruous, unfitting, about the term "craftsmanship" when applied to words," and, criticizing both meanings of the word "craft," as the making of useful objects out of solid matter or as cajolery, cunning and deceit, Woolf noted that words are inutile and, "since words survive the chops and changes of time longer than any other substance, therefore they are the truest."[6] While the tone of this little-known

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[5] D. H. Lawrence, 'Corasmin and the Parrots', *Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays*, ed. Virginia Crosswhite Hyde (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), pp. 9-18, p. 9.

[6] Virginia Woolf, 'Craftsmanship', *The Death of a Moth and Other Essays* (London: Hogarth Press, 1942), pp. 126-131, pp. 126-127; originally broadcast on April 20, 1937.

piece is clearly playful, it is worth extracting Woolf's central argument about the *mobility* of words, which is persuasive and carries echoes of Lawrence (on flux and stasis):

> In short, [words] hate anything that stamps them with one meaning or confines them to one attitude, for it is their nature to change. Perhaps that is their most striking peculiarity: their need of change. It is because the truth they try to catch is many-sided, and they convey it by being many-sided, flashing first this way, then that. Thus they mean one thing to one person, another thing to another person; they are unintelligible to one generation, plain as a pikestaff to the next. And it is because of this complexity, this power to mean different things to different people, that they survive. Perhaps then one reason why we have no great poet, novelist or critic writing today is that we refuse to allow words their liberty. We pin them down to one meaning, their useful meaning, the meaning which makes us catch the train, the meaning which makes us pass the examination. And when words are pinned down they fold their wings and die.[7]

In terms of more recent criticism, Sally Bushell and Finn Fordham have already expressed some dissatisfaction with a bias towards metaphors of "construction" in genetic criticism and elsewhere, with Fordham emphasizing how writers often "express an experience of their own conscious agency being replaced by the agency of writing and genetic criticism needs to account for this," while Bushell, in her own 'Philosophy of Composition', describes writing as "a movement *between* a

[7] Woolf, 'Craftsmanship', pp. 130-131. Interestingly, Woolf uses the figure of "wings" (in a positive manner) for words, which, as discussed, is a figure used both positively and negatively by Lawrence in *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent*.

"spontaneous" (unwilled) engagement with language and a conscious return to that engagement."[8] This interplay between spontaneous and non-spontaneous states of being offsets the one-sidedness of Poe's 'Philosophy', whose account of writing as entirely contrived and retroactive is unrealistic and perhaps ironised or exaggerated. More importantly, however, I would suggest that this conception of writing as involving an ongoing relationship between different states of being is ultimately *dialogical*. I would also suggest that a notion of "dialogism" is thus helpful in enabling a more balanced and realistic understanding of writing and reading processes; a conception of dialogue is also something which organicist and constructivist metaphors alike place little emphasis upon.

While analysing the composition of *Women in Love* and *The Plumed Serpent* in the primary chapters of this thesis, I have tried to develop a genetic conception of "dialogism" relating to Lawrence's particular processes. The composition of both novels demonstrates both spontaneity and artifice: Lawrence produces entire drafts with very little (if any) concrete planning, yet these drafts are already written with a prior intention to rewrite, as the epigraph to this thesis emphasizes. Lawrence also re-uses his drafts as copy-texts and guides while writing subsequent versions. In these chapters I identified two different types of "dialogical" writing process: (1) firstly, specific dialogical rewritings, as most commonly evident in the rewriting of *Women in Love*, particularly the typescripts, discussed in Chapter 2.4, where Lawrence produces multiple versions as variations on a theme; (2) and secondly, the overall process of writing, as is most evident in the composition of *The Plumed Serpent*, for which there exists a far more complete record than *Women in Love*, where Lawrence steadily produces a more dialogical form by rewriting or inserting segments of

[8] See Fordham, *I do I undo I redo*, pp. 24-25. Bushell, *Text as Process*, p. 227.

dialogue, which becomes increasingly conflictual, and which yet provides a counterpoint with increasingly restful descriptive segments.

Without wishing to make this concept of "dialogism" rigid, I offer it as a more composite and flexible concept than previous metaphors of organic growth or textual construction: unlike the latter metaphors, there is little risk of "dialogue" being mistaken for a literal description of processes of writing. In terms of the novels considered in this thesis, the strongest basis for this concept comes in the instances of Lawrence writing an ending. Before finishing with this point, which I would like to round off in more detail, however, I will first provide a brief recapitulation of the primary chapters of this thesis.

I began the second section, in Chapter 2.1, by providing a reassessment of the compositional history of *Women in Love*. In this chapter, I explored the gaps and uncertainties in the novel's compositional record, considered the evidence that Lawrence completed more drafts than have previously been accounted for, which, among other examples, accounts for the confusing and comic episode with a broken typewriter in August 1916, and discussed the potential influence of the outbreak of the First World War, and a concomitant perception of temporal rupture, upon Lawrence's decision to split his novel into two separate volumes. In Chapter 2.2, I provided a detailed account of the early fragments of *Women in Love*, from 1913-1916, treating them as valid literary documents in their own right, rather than as immature off-cuts, while also considering their role as rough drafts and discussing the presence in these fragments of important narrative and thematic dynamics for *Women in Love*. In Chapter 2.3, I provided a detailed account of the incomplete notebook draft of *Women in Love*, from 1916, and considered, among other features, the relationship between the genetic status of this section, as a foreign, interpolated

segment within the subsequent typescript draft of *Women in Love*, and its narrative content, in which the characters travel into foreign territory and reflect upon their sense of self-transformation, particularly in light of Lawrence's subsequent framing of the section (in the typescript) and his revision of the notebooks, in which the most intensely rewritten section is the novel's ending. Finally, in Chapter 2.4, I selected sections of the extensive typescripts of *Women in Love* for detailed analysis, focusing on a number of heavily rewritten episodes, all of which concern dialogical scenes and hence provided ample opportunity to reflect upon the dialogical nature of Lawrence's writing processes. I ended this section by reflecting on the final lines of *Women in Love*, which, as in the notebooks, were again rewritten by Lawrence when composing and revising the typescript drafts and which, foreshadowing the more detailed discussion of endings in Chapter 3.2, indicate the dilemma of writing an ending for Lawrence.

In the third section of this thesis, I began by providing a brief account of the composition of *The Plumed Serpent* and of the novel's somewhat controversial reception history. I then moved on to explore the composition and revision of the novel in much more detail, analysing a number of heavily rewritten episodes in the early chapters of the novel, where, with the exception of the final chapter, Lawrence's rewriting was most heavily focused. Emphasizing the importance of Kate as the novel's protagonist and chief focaliser, whose consciousness is often interwoven with the narrative voice, in both 3.1 and 3.2 I discussed the ways in which Lawrence's revisions emphasize the centrality of Kate's journey. Moving on to consider the end of this journey in Chapter 3.2, the final primary chapter of this thesis, I ended by considering Lawrence's process of writing an ending, focusing upon the heavily rewritten final chapter of *The Plumed Serpent*.

Revising the typescripts of *Women in Love*, Lawrence decided to cut Birkin's suggestion, in an early dialogue with Gerald, that the universe is an everlasting flux of creation. This suggestion evokes the novel's own compositional history. I argue that Lawrence rewrote this and other such passages, perhaps conservatively, in order to further dramatize Birkin as a character within the diegetic "world" of *Women in Love*, rather than have him function as a mouthpiece for the state of the universe at large. This problem returns at the end of the novel, where Lawrence again rewrote a Birkin speech, inserting a new dialogical scene involving Ursula (whereas the novel originally concluded with Birkin's reflections upon Gerald's dead body), so that the novel ends, openly, inconclusively, yet with a sense of high dramatic tension, with Birkin denying Ursula's declaration that two kinds of love are impossible.

Lawrence rewrote the ending of *The Plumed Serpent* in a similar manner. Whereas the novel originally concluded, in MSI, with a short solipsistic scene in which Kate returns home via Lake Sayula, Lawrence inserted a number of dialogical episodes when rewriting the final chapter in MSII. In the second version, the novel concludes with a blustery speech by Cipriano on the state of spiritual affairs in the West. Continuing to rewrite at subsequent stages, however, Lawrence eventually settled upon an extremely similar ending to that of *Women in Love*, with Kate delivering another unanswered rejoinder, which again provides the novel with an open, inconclusive moment of dramatic poise. Kate's final cry ("You won't let me go!") can be read as both an accusation ("you won't") and a plea ("don't"). If, as Birkin declares in the drafts of *Women in Love*, the universe is indeed an everlasting flux of creation, the final line of *The Plumed Serpent* perhaps carried the same double resonance for Lawrence, who, in that moment, approached the end of the process of writing.

Having emphasized the dilemma of endings in this thesis, I would like to end the thesis itself by pointing out that genetic Lawrence studies are only just beginning. Lawrence's archive is immensely rich and the recently completed Cambridge edition of Lawrence provides a relatively easy initial point of access. I therefore dedicate the work of this thesis to the nascent study of writing processes in Lawrence.

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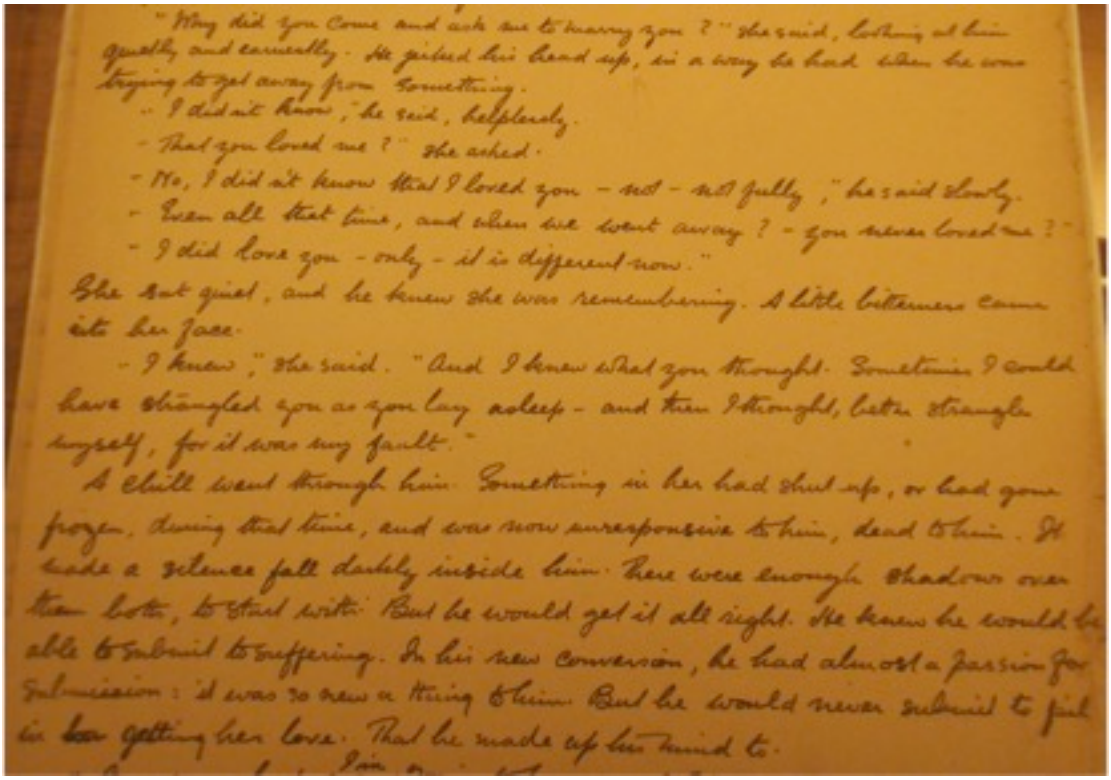
SUPPLEMENTARY ILLUSTRATIONS



"Why did you come and ask me to marry you?" she said, looking at him quietly and carelessly. He jerked his head up, in a way he had when he was trying to get away from something.

"I did not know," he said, helplessly.

"That you loved me?" she asked.

"No, I did not know that I loved you – not – not fully," he said slowly.

"Even all that time, and when we went away? – you never loved me?"

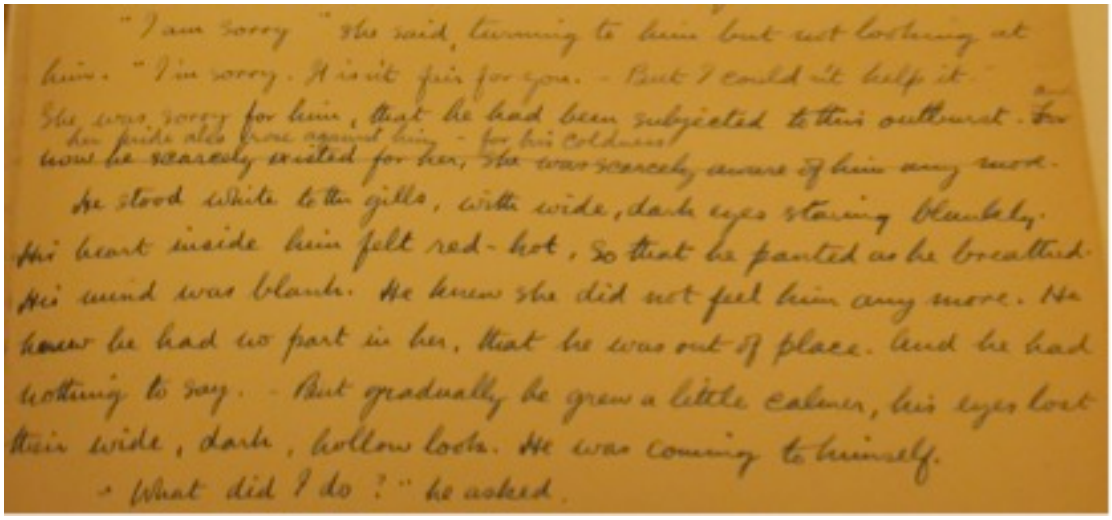
"I did love you – only – it is different now."

She sat quiet, and he knew she was remembering. A little bitterness came into her face.

"I knew," she said. "And I knew what you thought. Sometimes I could have strangled you as you lay asleep – and then I thought, better strangle myself, for it was my fault."

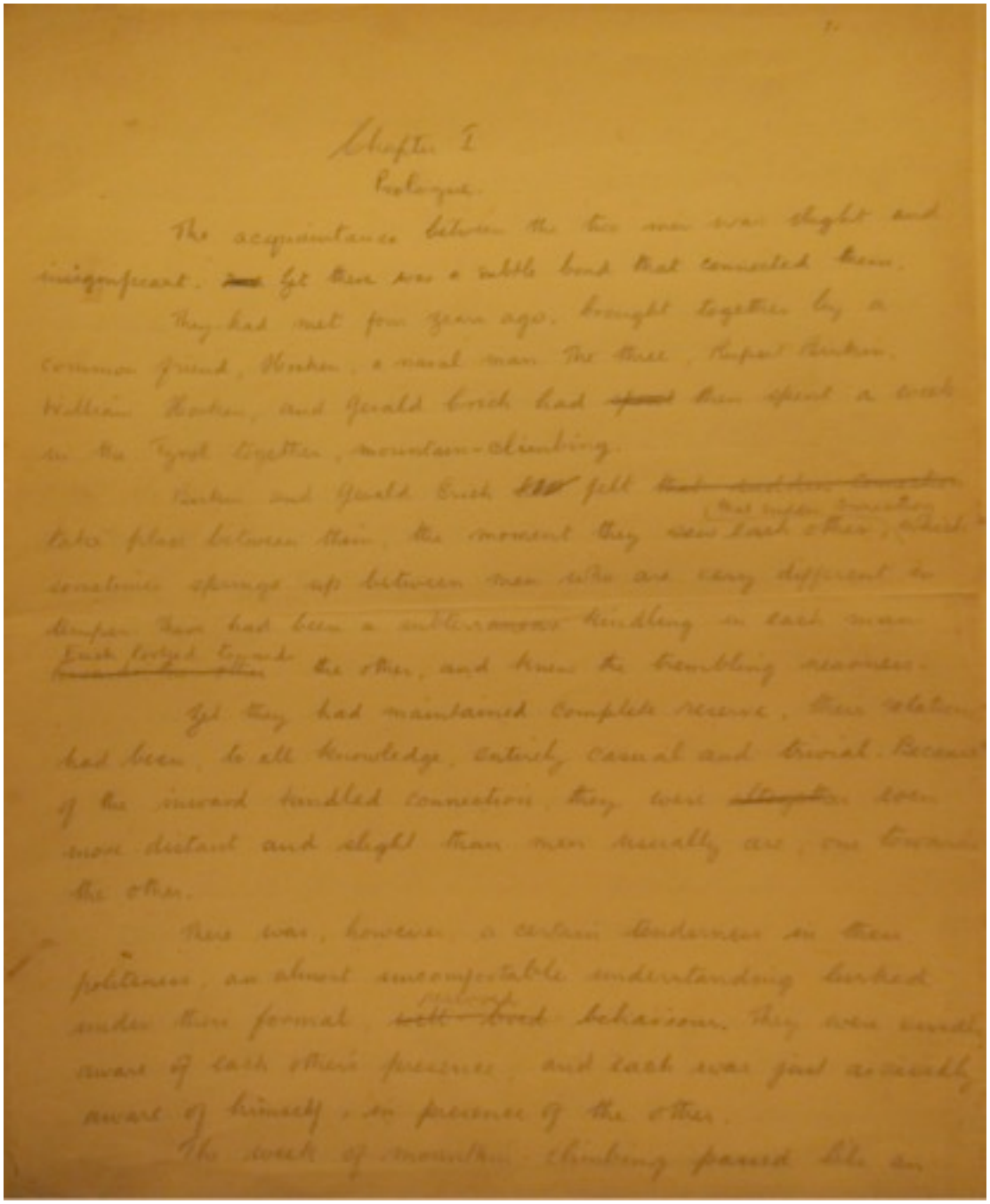
A chill went through him. Something in her had shut up, or had gone frozen, during that time, and was now unresponsive to him, dead to him. It made a silence fall darkly inside him. There were enough shadows over them both, to start with. But he would get it all right. She knew he would be able to submit to suffering. In his new conversion, he had almost a passion for submission: it was so new a thing to him. But he would never submit to fail in getting her love. That he made up his mind to.

Figure 1: 'The Sisters I', p. 295, detail



"I am sorry" she said, turning to him but not looking at him. "I'm sorry. It isn't fair for you. – But I could n't help it."
She was sorry for him, that he had been subjected to this outburst. For her pride also rose against him – for his coldness and now he scarcely existed for her, she was scarcely aware of him any more.
He stood white to the gills, with wide, dark eyes staring blankly. His heart inside him felt red-hot, so that he panted as he breathed. His mind was blank. He knew she did not feel him any more. He knew he had no part in her, that he was out of place. And he had nothing to say. – But gradually he grew a little calmer, his eyes lost their wide, dark, hollow looks. He was coming to himself.
"What did I do?" he asked.

Figure 2: 'The Sisters II', p. 375, detail



Chapter I

Prologue

The acquaintance between the two men was slight and insignificant. Yet there was a subtle bond that connected them.

They had met four years ago, brought together by a common friend, Hooker, a naval man. The three, Rupert Birkin, William Hooker, and Gerald Crich had spent a week in the Tyrol together, mountain-climbing.

Birkin and Gerald Crich fell that instantaneous connection that sometimes springs up between men who are very different to temper. There had been a intelligence kindling in each man. Each looked towards the other, and knew the trembling recognition.

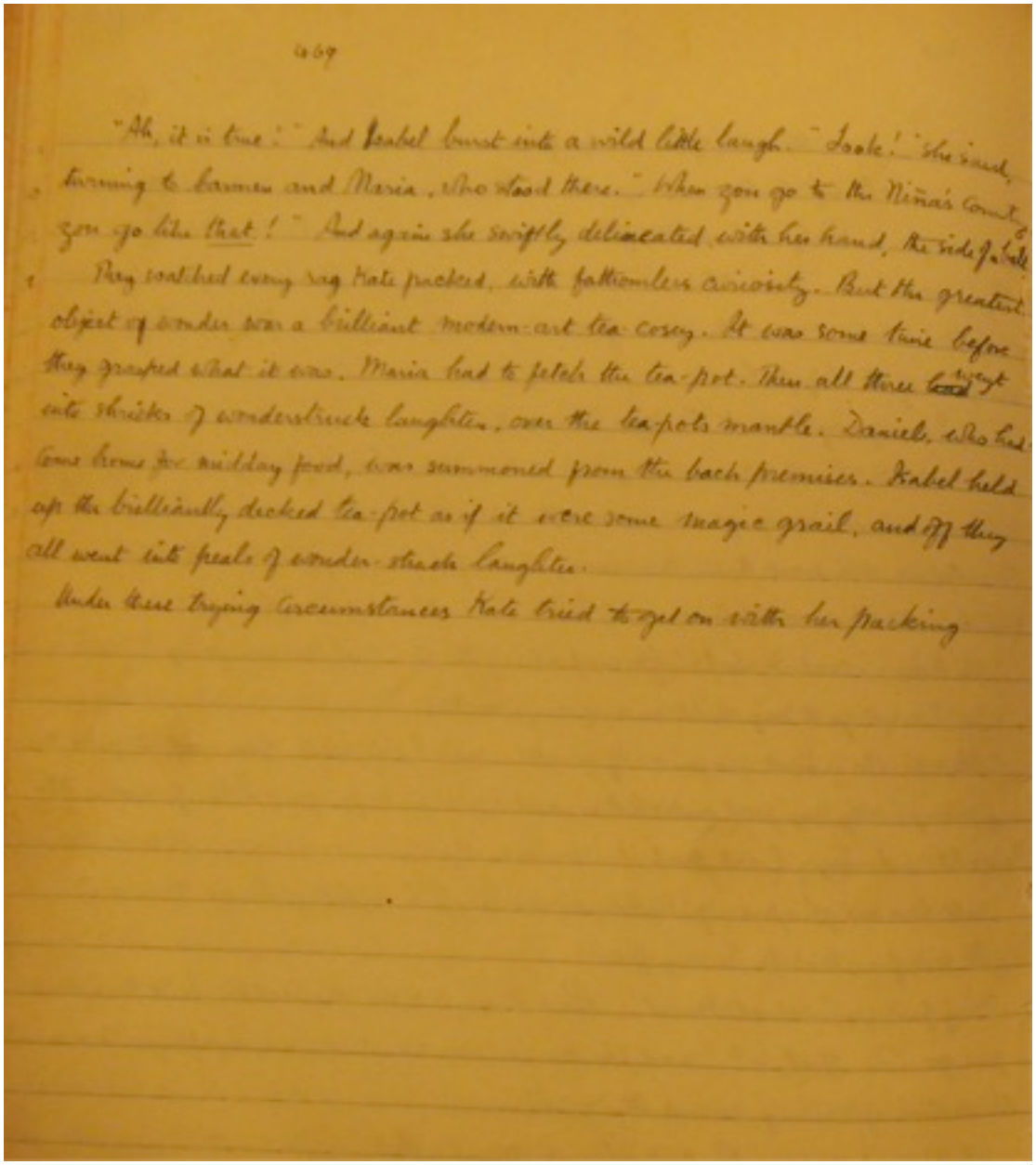
Yet they had maintained complete reserve. Their relationship had been, to all knowledge, entirely casual and trivial. Because of the inward kindled connection, they were more distant and slight than men usually are, one towards the other.

There was, however, a certain tenderness in their politeness, an almost uncomfortable understanding hinted under their formal behaviour. They were vividly aware of each other's presence, and each was just painfully aware of himself, in presence of the other.

The week of mountain climbing passed like an

Figure 3: 'The Sisters III', p. 1, detail

Figure 4: ***Women in Love*****, Notebook 3, Cover, detail**



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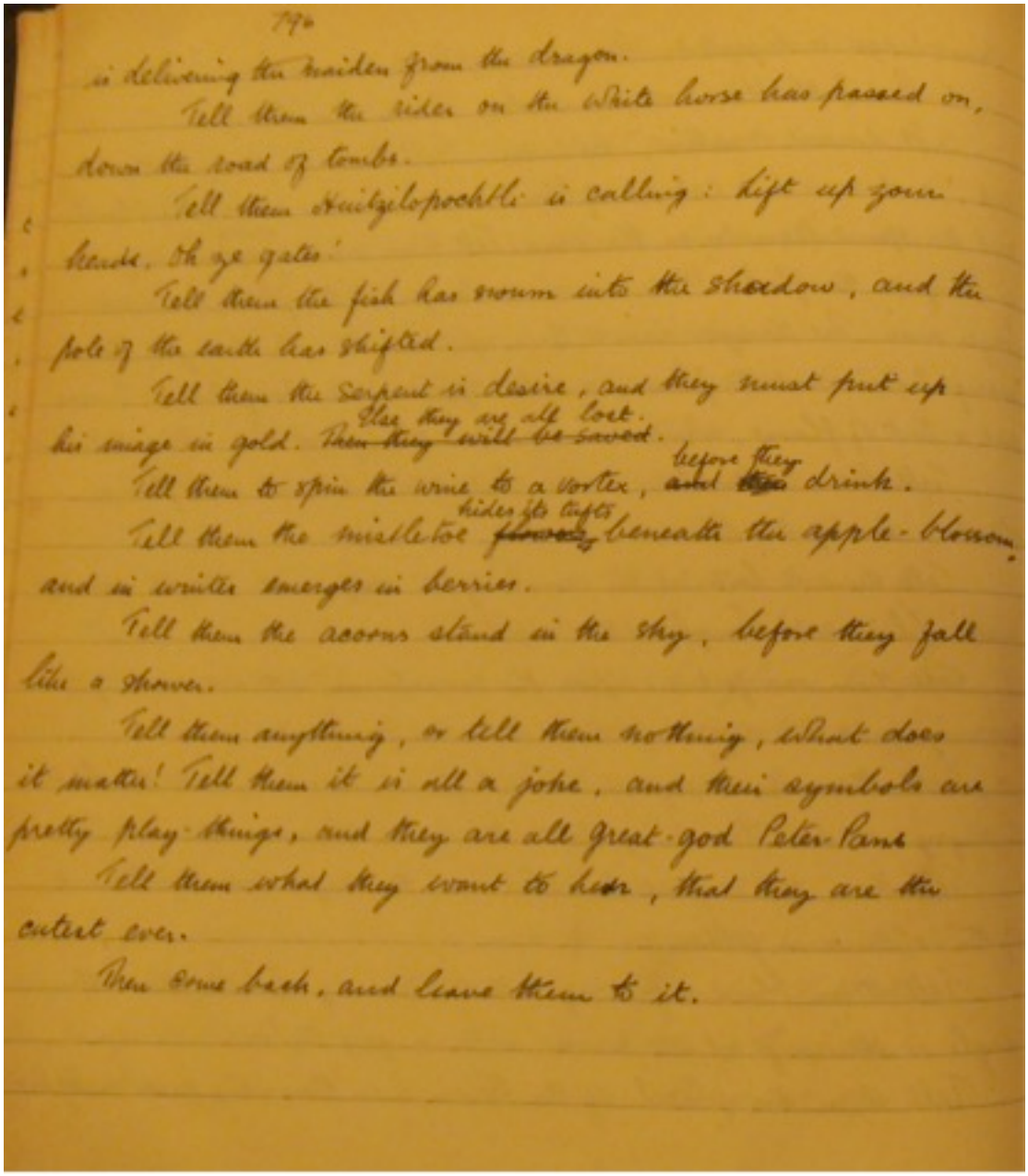
"Ah, it is true!" And Isabel burst into a wild little laugh. "Look!" she said, turning to Carmen and Maria, who stood there. "When you go to the Niña's court, you go like that!" And again she swiftly delineated with her hand, the side of a hill.

They watched every rag Kate packed, with fathomless curiosity. But the greatest object of wonder was a brilliant modern-art tea-cosey. It was some time before they grasped what it was. Maria had to fetch the tea-pot. Then all three burst into shrieks of wonderstruck laughter, over the tea-pot's mantle. Daniel, who had come home for midday food, was summoned from the back premises. Isabel held up the brilliantly decked tea-pot as if it were some magic grail, and off they all went into peals of wonder-shaken laughter.

Under these trying circumstances Kate tried to get on with her packing.

Figure 5: ***The Plumed Serpent*****, MSI, p.469, detail**



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is delivering the maiden from the dragon.

Tell them the rider on the white horse has passed on, down the road of tombs.

Tell them Huitzilopochtli is calling: lift up your heads, oh ye gates!

Tell them the fish has swum into the shadow, and the pole of the earth has shifted.

Tell them the Serpent is desire, and they must put up his image in gold. ~~Then they will be saved.~~ Else they are all lost.

Tell them to spin the wine to a vortex, ~~and the~~ before they drink.

Tell them the mistletoe ~~flowers~~ hides its tufts beneath the apple-blossom, and in winter emerges in berries.

Tell them the acorns stand in the sky, before they fall like a shower.

Tell them anything, or tell them nothing, what does it matter! Tell them it is all a joke, and their symbols are pretty play-things, and they are all great-god Peter-Pans.

Tell them what they want to hear, that they are the cutest ever.

Then come back, and leave them to it.

Figure 6: ***The Plumed Serpent*****, MSII, p. 796, detail**

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Yes, she was a bit afraid of him too, with his inhuman black eyes.

"You don't want me to go, do you?" she pleaded.

A slow, almost foolish smile came over his face, and his body was slightly convulsed. Then came his soft-tongued Indian speech, as if all his mouth were soft, saying in Spanish, but with the 'r' sound almost lost:

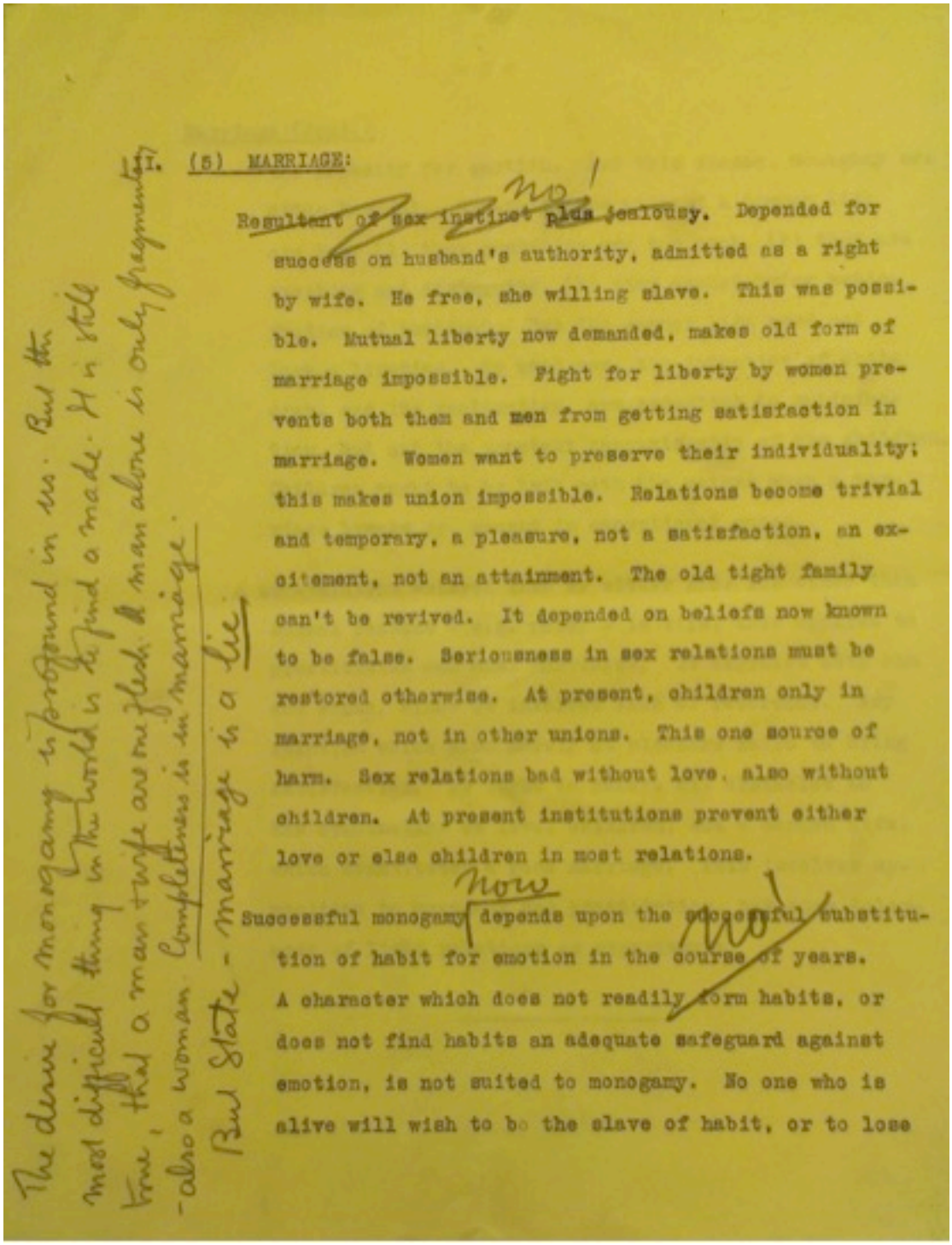
"Yo! Yo!" - his eyebrows lifted with queer mock surprise, and a little convulsion went through his body again. "Te quiero mucho! Mucho te quiero! Mucho! Mucho! I like you very much! Very much!

It sounded so soft, so soft-tongued, of the soft, wet, hot blood, that she shivered a little.

"Le gueux m'a plantee la!" she said to herself, in the words of an old song.

E N D .

Figure 7: ***The Plumed Serpent*****, TS, final page, detail**



III. (5) MARRIAGE:

Resultant of sex instinct plus jealousy. Depended for success on husband's authority, admitted as a right by wife. He free, she willing slave. This was possible. Mutual liberty now demanded, makes old form of marriage impossible. Fight for liberty by women prevents both them and men from getting satisfaction in marriage. Women want to preserve their individuality; this makes union impossible. Relations become trivial and temporary, a pleasure, not a satisfaction, an excitement, not an attainment. The old tight family can't be revived. It depended on beliefs now known to be false. Seriousness in sex relations must be restored otherwise. At present, children only in marriage, not in other unions. This one source of harm. Sex relations bad without love, also without children. At present institutions prevent either love or else children in most relations.

Successful monogamy depends upon the successful substitution of habit for emotion in the course of years. A character which does not readily form habits, or does not find habits an adequate safeguard against emotion, is not suited to monogamy. No one who is alive will wish to be the slave of habit, or to lose

The desire for monogamy is profound in us. But the most difficult thing in the world is to find a mate. It is little true, that a man + wife are one flesh. A man alone is only fragment - also a woman. Completeness is in marriage.

But State - marriage is a lie

Figure 8: Lawrence's annotations to Bertrand Russell's *Philosophy of Social Reconstruction* typescript, Section 5, 'Marriage', detail