(Oct. 1990)

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
REGISTRATION FORM

1. NAME OF PROPERTY D.H. LAWRENCE RANCH HISTORIC DISTRICT

HISTORIC NAME: Kiowa Ranch
OTHER NAME/SITE NUMBER: Lobo Ranch, Flying Heart Ranch

2. LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER: Lawrence Road, approx. 2 3/4 miles east of NM Hwy 522 on U.S. Forest Service Rd. 7 **NOT FOR PUBLICATION:** N/A
CITY OR TOWN: San Cristobal **VICINITY:** X
STATE: New Mexico **CODE:** NM **COUNTY:** Taos **CODE:** 55 **ZIP CODE:** 87564

3. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this _x_nomination ___request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property _X_meets ____does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant _X_nationally ___statewide __locally. (___See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Katherine Slick — 24 November 2005
Signature of certifying official — Date

State Historic Preservation Officer
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property ___meets ___does not meet the National Register criteria.
(___See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting or other official — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:	Signature of the Keeper	Date of Action
✓ entered in the National Register ___ See continuation sheet.	Beth Boland	1/15/07
____ determined eligible for the National Register ___ See continuation sheet.		
____ determined not eligible for the National Register		
____ removed from the National Register		
____ other (explain): _____		

5. CLASSIFICATION

OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY: Public-State

CATEGORY OF PROPERTY: District

NUMBER OF RESOURCES WITHIN PROPERTY:	CONTRIBUTING	NONCONTRIBUTING
	6	1 BUILDINGS
	4	0 SITES
	1	0 STRUCTURES
	2	0 OBJECTS
	13	1 TOTAL

NUMBER OF CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES PREVIOUSLY LISTED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER: 0

NAME OF RELATED MULTIPLE PROPERTY LISTING: N/A

6. FUNCTION OR USE

HISTORIC FUNCTIONS: DOMESTIC: multiple dwelling

CURRENT FUNCTIONS: EDUCATION: education related (retreat center)
RECREATION AND CULTURE: monument/marker

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: OTHER; Log Cabins

MATERIALS:		
	FOUNDATION	Stone; Concrete
	WALLS	Wood; log and adobe plaster
	ROOF	Wood; shake
		Asphalt
		Metal; tin
	OTHER	Adobe; chimney

NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION (see continuation sheets 7-5 through 7-16).

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

APPLICABLE NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA

_X **A** PROPERTY IS ASSOCIATED WITH EVENTS THAT HAVE MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE BROAD PATTERNS OF OUR HISTORY.
_X **B** PROPERTY IS ASSOCIATED WITH THE LIVES OF PERSONS SIGNIFICANT IN OUR PAST.
___ **C** PROPERTY EMBODIES THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF A TYPE, PERIOD, OR METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION OR REPRESENTS THE WORK OF A MASTER, OR POSSESSES HIGH ARTISTIC VALUE, OR REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT AND DISTINGUISHABLE ENTITY WHOSE COMPONENTS LACK INDIVIDUAL DISTINCTION.
___ **D** PROPERTY HAS YIELDED, OR IS LIKELY TO YIELD, INFORMATION IMPORTANT IN PREHISTORY OR HISTORY.

CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS: N/A

AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE: LITERATURE

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE: 1922-1956

SIGNIFICANT DATES: 1891; 1924; 1926; 1931; 1956

SIGNIFICANT PERSON: Lawrence, David Herbert and Ravagli, Frieda Emma Johanna Maria Lawrence

CULTURAL AFFILIATION: N/A

ARCHITECT/BUILDER: Craig, John and McClure, William (original cabins, builder)
Lawrence, D.H. and Ravagli, Angelo (later additions)

NARRATIVE STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE (see continuation sheets 8-17 through 8-37).

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

BIBLIOGRAPHY (see continuation sheet 9-38 through 9-47).

PREVIOUS DOCUMENTATION ON FILE (NPS): N/A
_ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_ previously listed in the National Register
_ previously determined eligible by the National Register
_ designated a National Historic Landmark
_ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
_ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

PRIMARY LOCATION OF ADDITIONAL DATA:
x State historic preservation office *(Historic Preservation Division, Office of Cultural Affairs)*
_ Other state agency
_ Federal agency
_ Local government
_ University
x Other -- Specify Repository: University of New Mexico Planning Department

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

ACREAGE OF PROPERTY: Approximately 16 acres

UTM REFERENCES	Zone	Easting	Northing		Zone	Easting	Northing
1	13	446700	4048587	3	13	447068	4048394
2	13	447048	4048590	4	13	446776	4048219

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION (see continuation sheet 10-48 through 10-49)

BOUNDARY JUSTIFICATION (see continuation sheet 10-48 through 10-49)

11. FORM PREPARED BY (see also continuation sheet 11-50)

NAME/TITLE: Tina Ferris and Dr. Virginia Hyde with assistance of NM SHPO staff

ORGANIZATION: D.H. Lawrence Society of N.A. and Ranamim Society **DATE:** 1 Oct 2001 and 20 June 2003

STREET & NUMBER: 24255 Gem Place **TELEPHONE:** (909) 861-1474

CITY OR TOWN: Diamond Bar **STATE:** CA **ZIP CODE:** 91765

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION

CONTINUATION SHEETS

MAPS Arroyo Seco, USGS 7.5-minute series quad series map (see attached).

PHOTOGRAPHS (see continuation sheet Photo 51 through 54).

ADDITIONAL ITEMS (see continuation sheet Appendix 55 through 63).

PROPERTY OWNER

NAME: University of New Mexico

STREET & NUMBER: Scholes Hall 109 **TELEPHONE:** (505) 277-0111

CITY OR TOWN: Albuquerque **STATE:** NM **ZIP CODE:** 87131

NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION

Summary

The D.H. Lawrence Ranch, formerly called the Kiowa Ranch by the Lawrences, is located near San Cristobal, New Mexico, approximately 20 miles north of Taos and within the county of Taos. Situated on Lobo Mountain, it has an elevation of 8,500 feet. It is currently owned and maintained by the University of New Mexico (UNM), having been deeded to the university in 1955 by Frieda Lawrence Ravagli. A five-mile gravel road off State Highway 3 provides access to the 160-acre ranch. The proposed Lawrence Ranch District comprises approximately 10 percent of the whole, or 16 acres (Figure 7-1).

The ranch was first established by John and Louise Craig, who acquired title to this land in October of 1883, under the provisions of the Homestead Act of 1862. According to Lawrence's letter of August 31, 1924 (Appendix 3), John Craig was seeking gold and staked a claim for water rights to El Rito de las Gallina in March of 1893 that was subsequently granted. The headwater from the Gallina Creek is located on the north bank about a mile and a half from the ranch proper. Craig graded a path along a downward slope where he dug a ditch to conduct the water to his ranch for irrigation. He sold the ranch to William and Mary McClure later that year. During their possession, the McClures grew alfalfa on the open pasture (otherwise called the "alfalfa field") adjacent to the cabins and raised a flock of 500 white Angora goats that roamed free in the mountains. During the ranch's history, most of the acreage has remained in its natural wilderness state

The contributing resources of the Lawrence Ranch are six buildings, one structure, four sites and two objects. The buildings, with the exception of the Lawrence Memorial, are modest log structures built in a late-19th and early-20th century western ranch vernacular. The four contributing sites include the "Lawrence Tree," an alfalfa field, the original location of an *horno* oven, and a spring. The objects are Frieda's headstone and Lawrence's porch chair. There is one non-contributing building; the caretaker's cabin/office. These structures are all in fair condition with few modifications to the original cabins or to the district as a whole. Surrounding the nominated district are an additional 144 acres of relatively undeveloped forest land providing spectacular views of the the Sangre de Cristo range on the east, the Jemez Mountains on the south, and the Colorado Rockies on the west. The property is bounded by the Carson National Forest and privately-owned land in the San Cristobal foothills.

The district under consideration, along with its resources, clearly exhibits the seven aspects of historical integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association with the D.H. Lawrences. An unpaved road still winds gently through desert-mountain flora, including sagebrush, chamiso, greasewood, scrub-oaks, cottonwoods, aspens, white firs, junipers, cedars, and piñon and ponderosa pines. Lawrence Ranch Road eventually opens out onto the cluster of rustic cabins with sloping pasture land in the foreground and tree-covered hills in the background. A peaceful rural ambience remains an integral part of the property's charm. The cabins remain in their original location with the exception of the two-room "guest cabin," which was torn down in 1933 and replaced by a large two-story cabin. The replacement cabin was used by Frieda and Ravagli and later became the caretaker's home and office (non-contributing). It is the most prominent feature one sees upon arrival and stands closest to the parking area.

Contributing Resources

Buildings

Homesteader's Cabin (Lawrence's Cabin)

Uphill and approximately 40 feet to the east of the caretaker's cabin lies the Homesteader's Cabin that was used by Lawrence and Frieda in 1924-25 and in which Frieda began her memoirs in 1931 (see Photos 2-12) The original portion of the Lawrence cabin is thought to have been built by John Craig around 1891, whereas the construction of the other original ranch buildings may represent the combined work of Craig and his successor, William McClure. The cabin measures 42 x 14 feet (Figure 7-2).

The log cabin is of a typical frontier design: a single-pen enclosure with interior partitions dividing the space into three rooms around a central hearth. The adobe-brick fireplace was added by Lawrence, at Dorothy Brett's suggestion, along with an additional window. Lawrence and the Taos Pueblo workmen--Trinidad, Geronimo, Candido, and others did this work and also replaced some of the rotted logs across the lower back wall of the cabin. A new stone foundation was constructed for the rear wall when the fireplace was built. The rest of the cabin is likewise, presumably, set on stone, although earth has accumulated around the base. IN 1960, UNM reinforced the foundation with concrete under the mud plaster and shored up the exterior fireplace, which measures 18 x 30 inches, with a 3 foot high concrete base. The cabin, which is constructed of whole pine logs that are chinked, daubed, and plastered over with adobe on the front and west sides, features the common tenon-joint cut flush at the corners (viewed from the east end where the plaster is cracking away). The gabled roof has a combination of rolled and pressed metal roofing (rolled on the north side and metal on the south), traditional materials for a frontier cabin of this region. Lawrence re-roofed most of the buildings in 1924-25, and they have been repaired as needed by UNM. (In April of 1998 the south side and each porch of the Homesteader's Cabin received a new corrugated metal roof installed by Al Bearce, the sole caretaker for over forty years.)

The front of the cabin has two entrances: one opening into the west room, which was used as Lawrence's bedroom, and the other opening into the east room, which was used as the kitchen/dining area. The middle "sitting room," containing a large 24-pane, double-hung window (6 1/2 x 4 feet) and looking out over the alfalfa field with a view of the majestic mountains, was also used as Frieda's bedroom. The two covered porches extending from the doorways were both constructed by Lawrence in 1924. The southeast kitchen porch, which measures 8 x 9 feet, was built first in late June, with the supports made from the trunks of small pines (approximately 4 inches in diameter). The Lawrences used this porch to eat their meals on hot days (Figure 7-3). The tree posts are clustered together on the west side to form a shade-screen against the afternoon sun. Two months after the construction of this first porch, Geronimo helped Lawrence build the second one over his bedroom door. It measures 6 x 12 feet. The attractive southwest door has four panels. The two bottom panels are wood and the top panel is arched glass.

Painted on the exterior west wall of the cabin, and to the left of a 12-light window, is a mural of a bison (see Photo 6). It was painted by Taos Pueblo artist Trinidad Archuleta in 1934. Trinidad was a nephew of Mabel Dodge Luhan's husband,Tony, and had lived and worked closely with the Lawrences, helping out with the ranch chores and acting as trail guide. Trinidad came back and reworked the mural in the 1950s. Plans are currently underway by the Phoenix

Rising Society to have the faded brown and black image restored by Trinidad's relative, Richard Archuleta of Taos Pueblo.

Around 1937 Frieda Lawrence directed her second husband, the Italian Angelo Ravagli, to construct a log addition, measuring 18 x 12 feet, on the back of the cabin at the northwest corner. It extends to the fireplace near the midway point of the cabin. This extension contains a modern kitchen with electric appliances and a bathroom. The alteration was made on behalf of her good friend Maria Huxley who, according to Richard Aldington, "refused to live without a bath" (Squires & Talbot, 399). The kitchen is illuminated by a single-bulb ceiling fixture, two 6-pane windows, and one 16-pane window. An old photograph reveals that the cabin's rear originally had only a single 6-pane window, and this was possibly salvaged and reused on the addition. The remodeling resulted in transforming the original primitive kitchen into a bedroom and Lawrence's former bedroom into the dining area. The roof of the addition is lower with a shallow slant coming off the high-pitched roof of the original portion. In the 1950s UNM built a small concrete-block utility area that wraps around the chimney base and houses the water heater. None of the rear is covered with plaster. A portion of the original north-side picket fence remains intact a few feet away.

Entry into the attic crawl-space is on the cabin's east side (see Photo 8). This east end originally had a narrow, slant-roofed tool-shed which has been removed. The front of the cabin, however, looks the same as when occupied by Lawrence and Frieda.

The interior walls of the cabin are plastered and painted white, and the ceiling has exposed joists (see Photo 11). From the west room the floor drops 25 inches by a small set of stairs into the north kitchen addition and steps up 7.5 inches into the sitting room to the east. The flooring is made of 1 x 4-inch wood planks painted gray. The mantel in the central room is an 8-foot board placed atop two half-round logs for supports. A smaller 4-foot shelf, painted turquoise, is centered underneath.

Lawrence made the two seats of concrete and large, flat stones that are located to either side of the fireplace. This room now displays Lawrence's denim shirt and hat, his leather suitcase with luggage tag intact, his old typewriter, which was mostly used by Dorothy Brett, the Lawrence's English friend who stayed at the ranch for an extended period during the 1920s. The room also contains a plate-metal sculpture of a phoenix that was fashioned by Lawrence and Brett. The east room has, in addition to the north window, a three-over-three-pane window on the south side and to the east of the door. Overall, this basic pioneer cabin is made distinctive through the enhancements and personalized touches of the D.H. Lawrences.

Dorothy Brett's Cabin

Brett's one-room cabin is approximately 45 feet northwest of the Homesteader's Cabin and also faces south (see Photos 15-20). It is a single-pen log and mud plaster cabin measuring 9 x 11 feet that is similar in construction to the Homesteader's Cabin. It has two 4-pane casement windows; one on the south side to the east of the door and one on the east side equidistant from the corner. Because the cabin was built on a slope, the east window sits only 8 inches off the ground. The gabled roof is covered by wood shakes in need of repair. A 10-inch overhang extending on all sides has a rain gutter attached underneath on the back of the cabin. The exterior was originally covered in adobe plaster to match the Homesteader's Cabin, but much of it has cracked away over the years. In a letter dated May 30, 1925, Lawrence tells

how Trinidad's wife, Rufina, and her sister were busy, " 'dobeying' the houses – plastering them outside with a sort of golden-brown mud – they look pretty. It is done every spring" (Letters 5:259).

Upon entering Brett's Cabin, the floor steps up 8 inches and is constructed also of 1 x 4-inch planks painted light gray. The white plaster walls contrast with the natural unfinished roof. To the west and behind the 4-panel door is a small cast-iron wood-burning stove vented through the roof. Next to it is a round table and chair from which Brett typed Lawrence's manuscripts. A single bed is situated along the east wall. The furnishings are original to the time of Brett's occupation of the cabin.

Lawrence Memorial

The Lawrence Memorial (built by Angelo Ravagli in 1934) lies to the northeast of the other buildings at the end of a rock-lined path that winds its way up the steep incline (see Photos 38-39). The walkway was paved in concrete in 1988 by the caretaker to allow for handicap access to the memorial. It starts at the base of the hill to the east of the chicken coop and extends straight for 85 feet before starting its zigzagged, eastward ascent 255 feet through the corridor of pines. The white plastered chapel-like memorial building sits at the hilltop, measuring 12 x 15 feet with a gabled roof of handcut cedar shakes. Perched on the roof peak is a two-foot sculpture of a phoenix, Lawrence's personal symbol that was frequently stamped on the front of his books. Directly underneath this mythical bird and over the double doors is a rosette window made from an agricultural wheel (see Photos 26-37). Two half-walls of stucco-covered cinderblock extend out and to either side of the building front like welcoming arms.

The Lawrence Memorial is constructed of wood, concrete and adobe bricks. The interior was finished with bubble-textured plaster painted yellow. The room has a 9 1/2-foot-high peaked ceiling with exposed joists that are painted silver and blue. To the left, on the north wall, is mounted a framed copy of Lawrence's cremation documents issued in Marseilles, France, and a guest book registry. The altar block is centered on the back wall enclosed behind an partition with a carved wood gate, 46 inches in height. A Spanish style iron-filigree chandelier hangs from the ceiling, and another rosette window (30 inches in diameter) painted as a sunflower lights up the altar from above. Frieda maintained that Lawrence's ashes were mixed into the concrete of the heavy altar to prevent their theft. This rectangular concrete block, which measures 43 x 20 inches and 22 inches high, features Lawrence's initials on the front and is decorated with leaves and sunflowers. It is topped by an altar niche containing a statuette of a phoenix, appropriately rising from the funeral ashes. Old photographs reveal that at one time this niche held a sculpture of a fox, another of Lawrence's symbols bringing to mind how the Taos Indians used to call him the "Red Fox" because of his red beard.[2] This statue, created by Gladys Caldwell Fisher of Tao, was removed by Ravagli and taken back to Europe with him after Frieda's death in 1956,[3] then subsequently replaced with the phoenix. Slender wooden candlesticks grace both sides of the altar. Dorothy Brett is known to have contributed to the interior decor of the memorial shrine, including the window over the altar.

The location for the memorial is a choice spot near the ranch's high-point and was where, "in past summer nights," Lawrence and Frieda "had slept out of doors under the pines" (Memoirs and Correspondence, 133). Frieda likened the quaint building to the temple of Isis which "faced the splendid sun of winter" in Lawrence's story, The Man Who Died (41).

"Big" Barn

The larger of two barns sits approximately 10 feet southwest of Brett's Cabin and 15 feet northwest of the Homesteader's Cabin. It is of log construction and measures 32 x 18 feet. It has no windows and faces west. The east end has an opening which previously had an exterior ladder leading up to what was probably a hay loft (see Photos 22-23).

"Small" Barn

The smaller barn, also a log building, was used by the Lawrences as a chicken coop. It lies to the northwest of Brett's Cabin at the head of the path to the Lawrence Memorial (see Photos 24-27). The original portion of this building measures roughly 11 x 13 feet and faces south with a six-pane window over the entry. Both barns have solid wood plank doors and gable roofs. The smaller barn was added onto in the 1930s by Ravagli, using the scrap wood from the dismantled guest cabin. The west-side addition, measuring 24 x 25 feet, has a lean-to roof rising to 8 feet where it joins the other roof. Later (circa 1950s) public bathroom facilities were installed in the small barn by order of UNM's Board of Regents.

Cowshed

Lawrence built the shed to the west for his cow, Susan, in June of 1925 (see Photo 29). It measures 15 x 23 feet and is erected of logs with adobe chink and a corrugated metal roof. The cowshed has a plank door centered on the south side and is completely open on the north side. Because it was built on a slight slope, the stone foundation on the downhill west side is built up and exposed 2 feet for leveling.

Structures

Corral

The remnants of the corral and shed lie in a small clearing approximately 100 feet northwest of the chicken coop (see Photo 28). The corral measures 42 x 56 feet, which included the covered stable on the north side. It is divided into four stalls that are 14 feet deep. The three on the west side of the corral are open, and the stall on the east end is an enclosed tack area. This corral shelter has a log frame with 2 x 6-inch timber rafters and walls of wood plank and corrugated metal. At the outside of the northeast corner, a handmade wooden chair hangs by a nail on the rear wall. The open corral space contains a small fenced kennel and a horse trough made from a cast-iron cylinder (cut in half lengthwise). The double metal corral gate is on the southeast corner. In the past the corral was used for goats by the McClures. The Lawrences kept their horses in the coral after Lawrence reworked the enclosure to reduce its size.

Sites

The "front yard" of the Homesteader's Cabin contains three notable historic features: the ruins of an adobe oven, the "Lawrence Tree," and the alfalfa field.

Adobe Horno Original Site

A bee-hive-shaped oven (or *horno*) was built approximately 10 feet off the southeast corner of the cabin. It measured an estimated 5 feet high. Lawrence had it built by Geronimo in mid-June of 1924 and was instructed by local Pueblo women on its use. The fragile oven fell into ruins over time with only a small mound of clay marking the spot.

The caretaker rebuilt a similar horno on the opposite side of the cabin circa 1960 (one reportedly used by Frieda and Ravagli), but it also has collapsed and crumbled away.

"Lawrence Tree"

The "Lawrence Tree", a ponderosa pine, towers over the Homesteader's Cabin and stands approximately 25 feet from the east door. Lawrence used to sit under it to write by long-hand in his notebooks (see Photo 13). A simple wooden carpenter's bench (recently stolen in the summer of 2000) rested beneath and was used by Georgia O'Keefe to get the vantage point for her painting The Lawrence Tree (Figure 7-4). She lay back on it with her head toward the massive trunk (15-foot circumference) to view up into the branches. Lawrence claimed that this assertive pine watched over the ranch with a bristling guardian spirit. Brett's painting Lawrence and His Three Fates pictures Lawrence in typical writing posture, sitting on the ground with his back against the trunk of this evergreen and a notebook balanced on his knees.

Alfalfa Field

The alfalfa clearing lies to the southwest of the "Lawrence Tree" (see Photo 14). It measures about seven acres. In the 1920s and 1930s, the field was used primarily as a horse pasture. Dissecting the field is a fenced-off dirt road leading to UNM's "fellowship cabin," which is outside the boundary of the district. Today, the alfalfa field produces a colorful array of wild flowers and berries, including scarlet columbines, lupines, blue-bells, wild roses, dahlias, anemones, desert honeysuckle, strawberries, and raspberries. Lawrence kept the field green during the dry summer months by redirecting the small stream of water across it.

Spring

Further north and at a point about 300 feet along a shady trail is the spring (See photos 30-31). A pipe directed water from the spring into a tub from which the Lawrences took fresh water. The spring also served as a water source for livestock. Frieda describes it in her memoirs: "The spring is in a hollow, and I loved watching the horses play when they came to drink there, shoving each other's noses away from the water level and then tearing up the bank" (Frieda Lawrence, "Not I, But the Wind," 145). Lawrence, Frieda, and Brett all labored together cleaning out the spring, fitting a new pipe, and lining the surrounding pool with rocks. But the spring tended to dry up by summer, so in May of 1925 Lawrence had water pipes installed to bring water from Gallina Canyon (about 2 miles distant). Frieda tells of the difficulty in laying the "big pipes on pillars of wood to bring the water along," noting how often "the pipes had to be fixed, after a cloudburst had broken the whole thing down" ("Not I, But the Wind," 41). Lack of water continues to be a problem at the ranch. In the early 1950s, the caretaker brought up a 400-gallon water tank and pump (outside of the nominated district) to supplement the water supply.

Objects

D.H. Lawrence's Armchair

Lawrence's big wooden arm chair with decorative carving sits on the porch next to his bedroom in the Homesteader's Cabin (see Photo 4).[1] Lawrence had the chair made in 1924. It is built from large pieces of milled lumber that are rectangular in section. The rear legs extend above the level of the seat, which is composed of several flat boards, to form a high back. Stretchers run between the rear legs in four locations; two below the level of the seat and two above the seat to form the back. The chair does not have side stretchers; rather, the legs of the chair rest on flat stretchers. Perhaps this was done so that the chair could slide more easily across the rough floors of the cabin floor and porch. The upper ends of the rear legs are carved into decorative finials exhibiting a heart and floral motif. The chair was originally painted, but the majority of this decoration has weathered away.

Frieda's Headstone

North of the entrance to the memorial is Frieda Lawrence Ravagli's white granite headstone, which is a contributing object within the historic district (see Photo 34). It measures 57 x 43 inches at the base and 24 inches high;. The grave is chained off with wooden posts. Frieda's will stipulated that she desired to be buried in a "rough coffin" marked by a simple "wooden cross." Ravagli provided this and the headstone, as well. The cross that was centered on the chapel wall to the left of the door has temporarily been removed and stored for safe keeping. Embedded on the rear of the headstone is a small oval photograph of Frieda and the inscription: "In memory of twenty-five years of incomparable companionship—Angie."

Non-Contributing Resources

Caretaker's Cabin

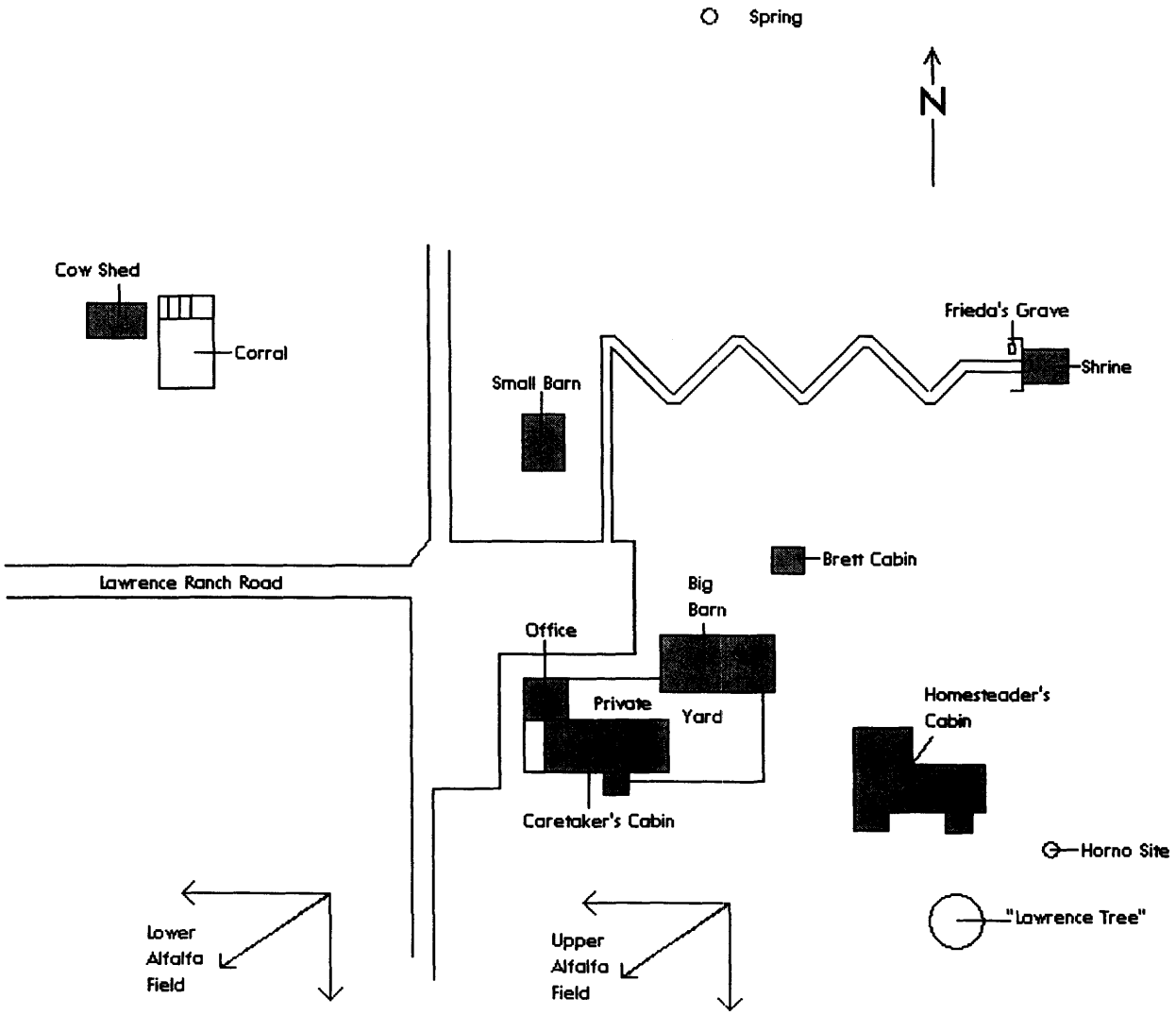
The caretaker's building, with an L-shaped, single-story extension on the southwest side, has a stone and concrete foundation, electricity and indoor plumbing, and a mantelpiece with sculptures in the likeness of Frieda and Ravagli (see Photo 1). For luck, a glass-bottled time-capsule was embedded in the south cornerstone along with the following note, as recorded from Ravagli's diary:

> This house is wanted by Frieda Lawrence and Cpt. Angelo Ravagli in its simple style and modest apperance to reppresent unity of intent and construction that comes from the finest sentiment of friendship. . . . On the bottle we add Mrs. Frieda Lawrence and Cpt. Ravagli's Photographs in uniform of the Italian Army, some coins of American, French and Germany money, plus a piece of coral and two molar of Ravagli's teeth [sic].
> (Janet Byrne, 364)

Frieda recorded the building costs for the original portion at under $2,500 (Squires and Talbot, 375). A special room for displaying Lawrence's paintings and a garage were added by Ravagli circa 1937. This cabin now measures roughly 50 x 25 feet, containing a brick chimney centered on the north side, a centered porch on the south side, and shuttered

windows. It is mostly in keeping with the materials and style of design for the other log cabins, having only a few visible details that betray its more modern construction, such as composite-asphalt shingle roofing and a solar panel on the southwest side, which doesn't show from the vantage point of the other buildings. The caretaker's dwelling is surrounded by a combination of chain-link, wire, and white picket fencing. Because of modifications resulting in a loss of historical integrity and because this building was not part of the original grouping and, therefore, does not relate strongly to Frieda's life with Lawrence, it is designated a non-contributing building within the district.

Figure 7-1 Lawrence Ranch Site Plan



All properties shown are contributing resources with the exception of the Caretaker's Cabin.

Figure 7-2 Floor Plans, Homesteader's Cabin (Lawrence Cabin)

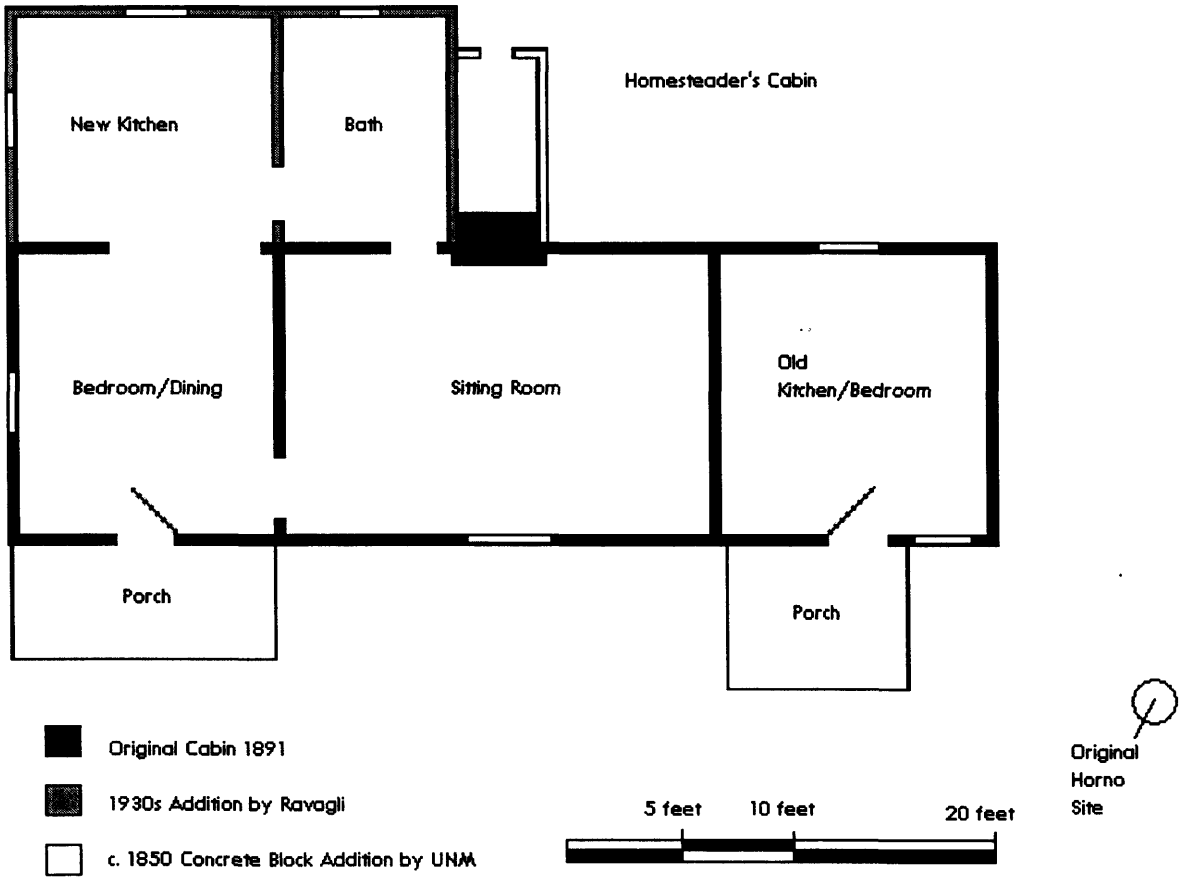
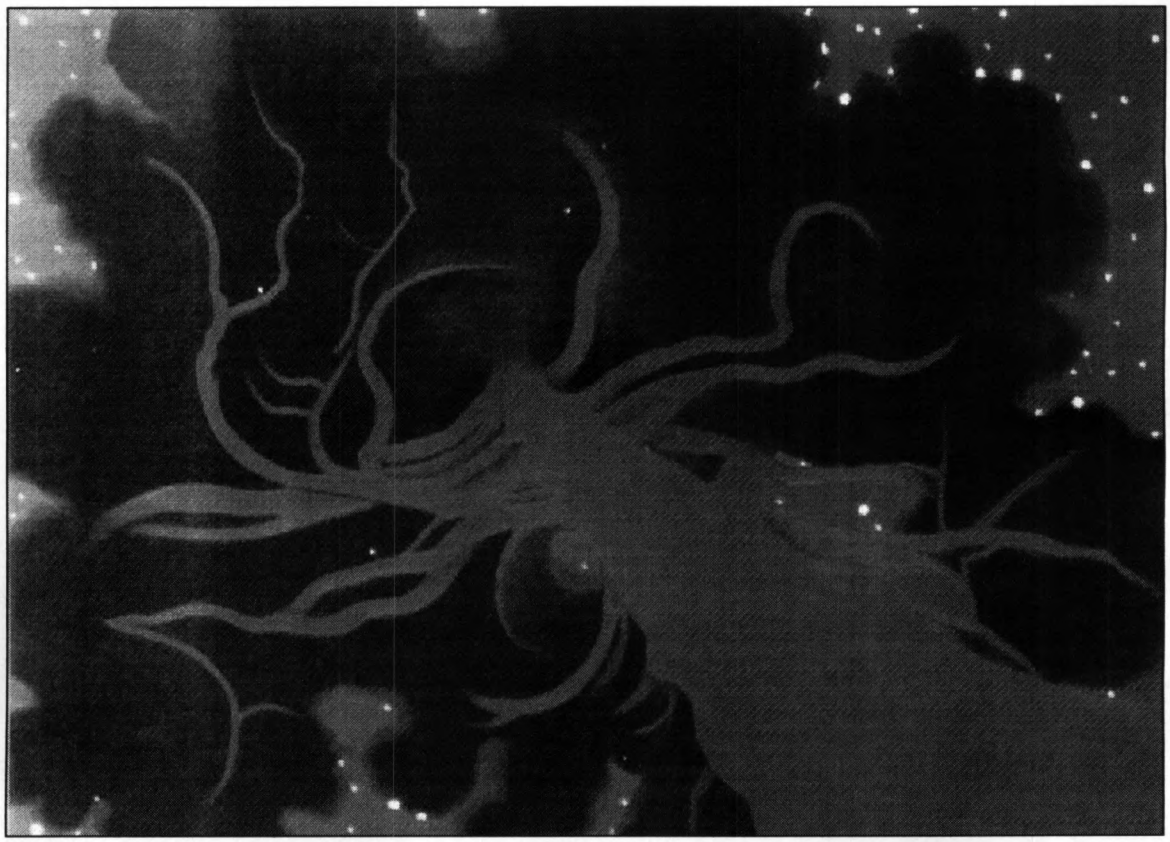


Figure 7-3 The Lawrences on kitchen porch of the Homesteader's Cabin with family cat. Photo: D. Brett.

Figure 7-4 The Lawrence Tree, painted by Georgia O'Keefe (1929)



NARRATIVE STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Summary

The D.H. Lawrence Ranch (formerly called Kiowa Ranch) near Taos, New Mexico, meets National Register Criterion A, Literature, at the national level of significance, as the physical embodiment of English author D.H. Lawrence's foothold in America, his contributions to American literature and his advocacy of the preservation of Native American religion and culture. It is significant at the national level under Criterion B as the only residence that D.H. and Frieda Lawrence ever owned, and, compared with their other temporary lodgings in the United States, the one that has the strongest association with them.

An internationally acclaimed writer, D.H. Lawrence was especially known for his ability to capture the "spirit of place," and his vision of the American Southwest is best understood at the ranch and in its surrounding landscape.[4] While he was living and working at the ranch during the mid-1920s, it provided the scenic beauty coupled with harsh conditions that fueled his poetic imagination for such stories as "The Princess," "The Woman Who Rode Away," and his novella St. Mawr. His experience in the Taos area also inspired many poems and essays, in particular a series about Native American Indians. The Pueblo dances that Lawrence attended and the Indian spirituality he observed are also translated into several scenes of his "American" novel, The Plumed Serpent (1926), which he began to revise while at the ranch.

The Kiowa Ranch years (1924-1925) were Lawrence's most productive in America. It was there that Lawrence came closest to setting up his dream of a Utopian community called Rananim,[5] a collection of like-minded artists and intellectuals interested in working toward a new way of life to combat the despair of a post-World War I materialistic and mechanistic world. His influence also strongly contributed to the development of Taos as an artists' colony by drawing famous visitors to the area during his lifetime. Lawrence's candor and integrity, his unique and intimate writing style, his eye for detail, his love of nature, and his mystic philosophy are all qualities that continue to impress and have impact on a new generation of American writers and readers.

Although the restless Lawrence traveled twice again to Europe and was buried in Vence, France, his wife, Frieda, chose to return to the Kiowa Ranch soon after his death in 1930. Five years later Frieda had Lawrence's remains exhumed and cremated and his ashes brought back to the ranch. On a hill overlooking a view of the Rocky Mountains, she built the small memorial shrine to honor him (see Section 7) and later served as hostess to ranch visitors. Frieda continued throughout the rest of her life to uphold Lawrence's reputation as one of the greatest writers of the 20th century.

Overview of Literary Standing

Lawrence has long been recognized as one of a handful of major English stylists of the early 20th-century novel, often being grouped with James Joyce, Joseph Conrad, and Virginia Woolf. The influential British critic F. R. Leavis saw Lawrence as the supreme representative of the "Great Tradition" in the modern English novel, and the American scholar Harry T. Moore and his followers continued to cement Lawrence's place in the literary canon. Harold Bloom, one of the leading critics of the late 20th century, notes, "Lawrence at his strongest is an astonishing writer, adept at saying what

cannot be said, showing what cannot be shown" (Bloom, D. H. Lawrence, 12). In the words of the latest Norton Anthology (2000), "Lawrence had vision; he had a poetic sense of life; he had a keen ear and a piercing eye for every kind of vitality and color and sound in the world, for landscape—be it England or Italy or New Mexico." Lawrence is internationally renowned for this letters, novels, novellas, short stories, dramas, poetry, critical and philosophical essays, and travel sketches. He was a master in all of these genres and worked on all of them during his years at Kiowa Ranch.

Background Biography

David Herbert Lawrence was born September 11, 1885, in Eastwood, England. He was the son of a coal miner, growing up amid domestic strife and the ugly environment of an industrial colliery town. He won a scholarship to Nottingham High School and later attended Nottingham University College where he earned a teacher's certificate in 1908. Lawrence then took a teaching position for Standard IV (or 4th grade) at Davidson Road School in Croydon and simultaneously worked on his first novel, The White Peacock (1911). Despite remarkable success as a teacher, early bouts of pneumonia, suspected to be tubercular, closed off that means of support and thus launched Lawrence full-time into his writing career. What he lacked in hardiness, he made up for with his acerbic wit and powerful, rhythmic prose style. On the practical side, his mother taught him to be handy at household chores--skills that would later benefit him in the rustic setting of the Kiowa Ranch.

Lawrence's early work drew the attention of such notables as Ezra Pound, Edward Marsh, Amy Lowell, and Edward Garnett. The editor of the English Review, Ford Madox Hueffer (Ford), after reading Lawrence's short story "Odour of Chrysanthemums" with its realistic portrayal of working class life, proclaimed him a "Genius." It was during this time that Lawrence met the free-spirited Frieda Weekley, who was then married to one of his language professors. She was born into an aristocratic German family in the garrison town of Metz on August 11, 1879. Frieda received her education in a Roman Catholic convent school in Metz and attended Hans Eichberg girls' finishing school near Freiburg for one year. She met her first husband, Ernest Weekley, in 1898 while he was on a vacation in the Black Forest of Germany. They married a year later when Frieda was only twenty and he, fourteen years older. She had three children with Weekley: Charles Montague, Elsa Agnes, and Barbara Joy. But she found her marriage to be empty and unsatisfying, and English university life much too conventional.

Thus the relationship between Lawrence and Frieda developed quickly, and in 1912 they eloped to Germany. Lawrence and Frieda were married in July of 1914 in Kensington after Frieda finally secured a divorce. The elopement had caused a scandal, however, and Weekley refused to allow Frieda visitation rights to her children. This was to become a sore spot in the Lawrences' marriage, especially as Frieda never conceived children by Lawrence. But no children meant they were free to travel at whim without need to set down roots. This constant roaming provided Lawrence with a continuous flow of stimulation by way of new environments, cultures, people, and ideas to spark his writing. He never felt compelled to own property, even insisting that the Kiowa Ranch be put in Frieda's name.

Alienated from his own country, Lawrence visited Italy, Sardinia, Ceylon, Australia, and the South Sea Islands. He also yearned for America. He'd read about the "Land of the Red Indians" from James Fenimore Cooper's Leatherstocking books. The New World offered hope and tolerance to a man that had grown weary of Europe's mistreatment and misunderstanding of him. In preparation for a transfer of body and soul to America, he wrote a book of critical essays that would later become Studies in Classic American Literature (1923), which is considered one of the first serious

analyses of American Literature, examining such authors as Cooper, Benjamin Franklin, Walt Whitman, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, and Edgar Allan Poe. While in New Mexico, Lawrence rewrote the essays in a distinctly "American" style—snappier and punchier--targeting the American market, which he believed held his future.

The Lawrences in America

Arriving in San Francisco in September of 1922, the Lawrences took the train to Lamy Station (near Santa Fe), New Mexico, where they were met by their new hostess, the art patron Mabel Dodge (still Sterne at this time). She had previously sent the Lawrences enticing letters praising the pristine quality of Taos and including samples of Indian medicinal roots, aromatic herbs, and jewelry. Dodge had been attracted to Lawrence's writing, having read his travel book Sea and Sardinia (1921), and was hoping he would write similarly of the Southwest and its pueblo life. The Lawrences spent the first night at the Santa Fe home of the poet Witter Bynner. They then moved into an adobe house Dodge had built next to hers in Taos. Lawrence turned 37 years old the same day.

Dodge wasted no time in arranging for Lawrence to attend the Apache harvest festival at Stone Lake, New Mexico, and the San Geronimo festival at Taos Pueblo. His first impressions were turned into the articles, "Indians and an Englishman" and "Taos," both published in the Dial in 1923. Dodge also enlisted Lawrence's aid in combating the controversial Bursum Bill, which seriously threatened Native American land and water rights. Thus Lawrence took an active role in U.S. politics with his article "Certain Americans and an Englishman," and advocated for the bill's defeat.

Prior to the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924, Native Americans were considered legal wards of the federal government. In a later poem entitled "O! Americans," Lawrence called upon U.S. citizens to display "*noblesse oblige*" toward the American Indian and culture, "the one thing that is aboriginally American." He said it was our "test" whether or not we could "leave the remnants of the old race on their own ground, ... To live their own life, fulfill their own ends in their own way" (Poems, 776, 779). But at the same time he was against sentimentalizing the "Red Men" or holding them back for the profit of artisans.

John Collier (U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1933-1945) lived next door to the Lawrences around this time. Together they had intensive discussions regarding the fate of the pueblos and the value of preserving Native American religions. Taos Pueblo scholar, William Wilbert, states that Collier was "thoroughly exposed to Lawrence's thoughts on the future of the native people of the Americas" and considers both men to be "prophets of American Indian restoration" (10, 1). Lawrence's concerns were poured into the prose of his "American art" while Collier's became political action. Collier's first initiative was to push through Congress the Indian Reorganization Act that granted cultural, religious, and economic freedom to all Native Americans and secured his reputation as "the best Indian commissioner in our nation's history" (Waters, 88). Collier also organized in 1940 the First Inter-American Conference on Indian Life held at Patzcuaro, Mexico and he became president of the Inter-American Indian Institute. The fruit of Collier's interest in Indian welfare can be traced directly to the germ of his discussion with Lawrence in Taos. When later asked about the Taos Indian perception of Lawrence, Collier replied, "The Indians liked Lawrence, and so he must have understood them." He told how a group of mourners from Taos Pueblo journeyed to Kiowa Ranch to pay tribute to Lawrence when they heard he was dead. Collier further commented that "Lawrence essentially was a gentle, kindly and unaggressive individual" and hence the Taos Indians "accepted him" (Nehls 2:199, 198).

Lawrence's voyage to America coincided with another point of crisis in his own career – the New York case against Women in Love brought by an organization called the Society for the Suppression of Vice. His American publisher Thomas Seltzer defended the novel and won. The resulting publicity helped promote Lawrence in the United States by increasing sales. Success in the American market would eventually help substantially to lift the burden of financial worries that had plagued him in Europe. Lawrence was entering a prolific phase, and more works would be published overall during his American period than at any other time.[16]

Soon Lawrence was buying cowboy apparel, learning to ride horseback, and exploring the "high desert" (Appendix 1). The New Mexico landscape had a tremendous impact on him. He wrote in a letter to his sister Emily King dated March 31, 1925: "I really like this country better than any landscape I know--the desert and mountain together" (Letters 5:228). However, his independent nature began to clash with the strong-willed agendas of Mabel Dodge; and Lawrence disliked the smothering aura of indebtedness. His creativity could not be ordered about; he felt too much under "the Wing" of Dodge (Letters 4:335-336).[17] To preserve friendly relations, the Lawrences sought out other living arrangements.

At the beginning of November, 1922, they had a trial stay at Dodge's Flying Heart Ranch on Lobo Mountain, the same which they later owned and renamed Lobo, then Kiowa after the Indians who had camped there. The idea was that if they liked it, they would pay Dodge rent. Lawrence reported in a letter, "It's a wonderful place, with the world at your feet and the mountains at your back, and pine-trees" (Letters 4:334). Finding the ranch in poor condition, however, and with cold weather fast approaching, the Lawrences temporarily moved to the nearby Del Monte Ranch (owned by the Hawk family), where they entertained guests during the course of the winter. These guests included the Danish painters, Knud Merrild and Kai Gotzsche, who lived all winter on the ranch. Lawrence enjoyed painting along with the Danes,[18] creating illustrations and cover designs for his works, including his poetry book, Birds, Beasts and Flowers (1923). This collection features such Southwestern poems as "Eagle in New Mexico," "Men in New Mexico," "Autumn at Taos" (Text Appendix 1), "The Red Wolf," "Mountain Lion," "The Blue Jay," "Spirits Summoned West," and "The American Eagle."

Plans were also made for Lawrence's first visit to Mexico, which began in spring of 1923. Along with Bynner and Willard "Spud" Johnson, Lawrence and Frieda toured Mexico from March to June, ending up in Chapala where Lawrence wrote Quetzalcoatl, the first version of The Plumed Serpent. Thus the "American novel" Lawrence had envisioned writing was to be set in Mexico (Letters 4:457). Frank Waters, author of acclaimed texts about Pueblo Indians and reputed "Grandfather of Western Literature," comments: "Though the book was not laid in Taos, it transported Taos Pueblo and everything Lawrence had learned about its Indians from New Mexico to Mexico. It is all there--their dress and customs, dances, songs, the very drumbeat" (87). Lawrence wrote, "It interests me, means more to me than any other novel of mine. This is my real novel of America" (Letters 4:457.)

Although the Lawrences wished to return to Taos and the ranch, the thought of another rough winter at high altitude was overruled by the lure of family and friends back in England. Still, Lawrence was reluctant to leave; and, after a quarrel, Frieda traveled on ahead with Lawrence following three months later.[19] Once there, however, Lawrence loathed the dead and claustrophobic feeling of his postwar homeland.[20] He soon began making plans for a return to America after completing his round of visits in Europe.

Lawrence called his friends together for a dinner at the Café Royal in London and asked them to join him in the adventure of making a fresh start in America. The invitation was reminiscent of his "Rananim" plan devised back in

1914, the name taken from a Hebrew song ("Rejoice") and related to a word meaning "green, fresh, or flourishing."[21] Depression over the war, coupled with a low point in his career, had made Lawrence yearn for a "clean break" and a sense of community founded on "decency" to alleviate his feelings of isolation. In a 1915 letter to his Russian friend S.S. Koteliansky, Lawrence says, "We are going to found an Order of the Knights of Rananim" (Letters 2:252). He described a flag that was to have a scarlet ten-pointed star on a black background and sketched out a heraldic badge with his symbol of a phoenix rising from the flames. A metal plate with this same phoenix design would later hang on a towering pine – the Lawrence Tree – at the Kiowa Ranch, keeping alive the spirit of Rananim. However, the only friend from those gathered at the Café Royal who was sincerely committed to going with the Lawrences to the New World, was the Honorable Dorothy Brett, a gifted painter and daughter of the second Viscount Esher.

Ranch Life and Literary Works

They arrived back at Taos in March of 1924, and by May were hard at work on their own place (Figure 8-1). Dodge had decided to give her "Flying Heart" ranch to Frieda (Appendix 2). The Lawrences insisted on giving Dodge, in return, the original manuscript of Sons and Lovers, valued several times over what the ranch was worth (see Appendix 3). Lawrence writes, "We were so pleased to see the ranch again. It still seems like a home" (Letters 5:39). Before their newly-acquired ranch could be made livable, however, much repair work was needed. According to Professor John Worthen, "Lawrence threw himself into the work of it; it offered him a new challenge, a wholly new field to explore and master" (University of Nottingham Website, http://mss.library.nottingham.ac.uk/dhlbiog-chp7.html, 1997.).

The process of reconstruction is well documented throughout Lawrence's letters of the period. He makes requests for lumber, tin-tacks, hinges and screws, rope, putty and plaster, straw, paint (white and turquoise), brushes, trowels, and other tools which are brought by wagon or, as he says, "whenever anything is coming up, on wheels" (Letters 5:40). He frequently purchased materials from Gerson Gusdorf, who owned a general store in Taos. A diary entry from 6 June logs initial expenditures of $217.65 in labor wages and an additional $245 in building supplies.[22] In progress reports to Dodge, Lawrence writes: "The walls of Jericho (the log cabin) are re-built, and chinked and chinked-plastered outside, and inside end room." In another note: "We have washed and painted the other house--looks a different place." And still another: "I've done one of the hardest days work in my life today--cleaning the well. All the foul mud of the Thames--and stank like hell. Now it's excavated and built in with stone, and the pipe sunk two feet deeper--Lord, this is the week we promised ourselves rest" (Letters 5:42, 49, 51).

This time of intense physical labor gave Lawrence a brief break from writing. In the evenings the Lawrence party often relaxed with the Taos Indians that came to help with repairs. Their temporary camp was set behind the cabins and under the "hanging stars." Lawrence tells a correspondent, "we sit with the Indians round the fire, and they sing till late into the night, and sometimes we all dance the Indian tread-dance. . . ." (Letters 5:67).

And yet despite Lawrence's claim that no writing was getting done, he was working on at least one important piece called "Pan in America" (Appendix 4). It is an article that promotes active relatedness between people and their universe as opposed to the modern mechanical conquest of nature. In this way it parallels Lawrence's own hands-on involvement with the ranch and its rugged environment. Of particular significance was the "Lawrence Tree," which the writer infuses with a "guardian spirit." According to scholar Keith Sagar, "Lawrence felt able to communicate with the savage spirit of place at the ranch most directly through the huge pine tree which stood just outside his door.

After five weeks, most of the major work was completed and the rooms modestly decorated with "serapes and Mexican blankets." Lawrence announces on June 7, 1924, "We've finished the hard work on the ranch here, and I'm hoping for a bit of leisure. I might even try a bit of my own work again" (Letters 5:55). The Lawrences and Brett were settling into the routine of life on the farm: tending the horses, chopping wood, fetching water, washing and cooking, writing and painting. To a managing editor at the Curtis Brown agency,[23] Lawrence says of the ranch, "It's fine to look at, but not altogether so easy living in these wildish places. One feels dislocated sometimes.--But soon I hope you'll get the atmosphere of the place, in a story" (Letters 5:58).

The story which would best capture the essence of the Kiowa Ranch was his novella, St. Mawr, written at the ranch during this period. The last twenty pages are filled with lavish descriptions of the Kiowa Ranch, its scenic vistas, and its history. The ranch is named "Las Chivas" in the story, meaning primarily "the goats" and relating to the ranch's past as a goat farm in addition to alluding symbolically to the goat-god, Pan.[24] Many of these passages from the end of St. Mawr evoke the rustic character of the Lawrence Ranch as it stands today.

Another important story from this same time frame was "The Woman Who Rode Away," based on a visit the Lawrences made with Dodge to the Arroyo Seco Cave not far from the ranch. Dodge had informed Lawrence of the cave's legendary history as a ceremonial place of ancient Indian sacrifice and how it was believed to be surrounded by evil spirits which the local modern-day Indians feared. A thin waterfall that freezes in winter cuts across the mouth of the cave and its recessed altar platform. High on the back wall, a cave-painting of a sun marks the position of sunrise during winter solstice. All these details combined to inspire Lawrence to write his mythic tale of a female Christ-figure who naively allows herself (and the deadened white race she represents) to be ritually sacrificed in order to restore the Indian race (with its mystery and vitality) to power. It is a disturbing Poesque tale with a haunting climax. Despite the controversial ending, however, it remains an often-anthologized short story and is considered by critic L.D. Clark to be "one of Lawrence's most powerful creations" (Minoan Distance, 309).

In August Lawrence made two more trips that resulted in significant pieces of writing. One was a trip to Hotevilla to attend the Hopi Indian snake dance festival. Lawrence always had a deep interest in ancient cultures, religions, and rituals; thus he attended many of the local Indian ceremonies. The spirituality he observed there was incorporated into current projects, such as The Plumed Serpent, as well as influencing later works like some of his Last Poems. During his second stay in New Mexico, he wrote several articles on Pueblo Indian dances which were eventually collected in Mornings in Mexico, brought out in 1927. Two of these, "Indians and Entertainment" and "The Dance of the Sprouting Corn," were written just prior to moving up to the ranch. The first essay received initial publication in the New York Times Magazine in October of 1924. The latter essay, including Lawrence's drawing of the corn dancers, was first published in the American journal, Theatre Arts Monthly (July 1924). Lawrence's long road-trip to the snake dances in Arizona (mid-August) produced two more articles--a short satirical one called "Just Back from the Snake Dance--Tired Out"[25] and one of his masterpieces, "The Hopi Snake Dance."

Intermingled with the business of writing and publishing these literary works, modifications to the ranch were still underway. Besides the mending of corral fences, Lawrence was involved with the construction of major additions to the ranch property--an adobe oven in front of the Homesteader's Cabin and two covered porches. He writes to his mother-in-law, the Baroness Anna Von Richthofen, about the first porch and oven:

> Right now we're making a roof over the little verandah, in front of the kitchen-door--with eight little pillars, pine-trees, and boards on top: very nice. It's almost done.--You know, too, we have an Indian oven, made of adobe. It stands outside, near the kitchen-door: built like a bee-hive. I've made bread, and we've baked bread and chickens in the oven: turned out very well. We can bake twenty loaves of bread in half an hour in the oven. (Letters 5:62)

Immediately upon completion of The Plumed Serpent, which was completed during an extensive second trip to Mexico in 1924, Lawrence fell deathly ill with a suspected combination of tropical diseases and influenza which ultimately triggered his tuberculosis. Lawrence was given only a year or two to live. Following the doctor's advice for a climate of sun and dry air, the Lawrences arrived back at the Kiowa Ranch on April 6, 1925. The recovery was slow, as recorded in letters to friends and family (Appendix 5).

> Yes, I was awfully sick: malaria, typhoid condition inside, and chest going wrong. Am much better--but must be careful all summer--lie down a great deal.--I don't work yet, Trinidad and his wife Ruffina [sic]--the Indians--do most things for us.-- Now they are busy, away at the Gallina canyon, about two miles off, building a little dam and putting in pipes, to get the water out of the canyon into our irrigation ditch.
>
> (Letters 5:224)

The addition of running water to the ranch allowed the Lawrences to plant a little garden. Lawrence was then in charge of keeping it and the field watered: "I go out every morning to the field, to turn the water over a new patch. So the long 15-acre field is very green, but the ranges are dry as dry sand, and nothing hardly grows. Only the wild strawberries are flowering full, and the wild gooseberries were thick with blossoms, and little flocks of humming birds came for them." (Letters 5:257).

In describing their simple farm life to his publisher Martin Secker, Lawrence comments:

> We are busy on our ranch just ranching . . . Sounds idyllic, but the cow escapes into the mountains, we hunt her on horseback and curse her . . . an eagle strikes one of the best hens: a skunk fetches the eggs: the half wild cows break in on the pasture, that is drying up as dry as pepper--no rain, no rain, no rain. It's tough country. (Letters 5:268)

By the end of May, Lawrence was recovered enough to begin the tedious work of revising his novel. He writes, "They have sent me the typescript of my Mexican novel--I did so want to call it 'Quetzalcoatl', but they all went into a panic--and they want the translation--The Plumed Serpent--I suppose they'll have to have it--but sounds to me rather millinery" (Letters 5:254). With the name of the book established, revisions continued throughout June and into July. During this time Centaur Press published A Bibliography of the Writings of D.H. Lawrence by Edward McDonald. The list of literary accomplishments was already quite extensive and growing. McDonald's serious attention was one of the first in a long line of scholarly studies, leading to academic pilgrimages to the ranch made by young and old in the years to follow.

As autumn approached, the Lawrences' six-month visa was coming to an end, and they packed up for another visit to England. Although they hated to leave the ranch they'd put so much hard work and care into, Lawrence was feeling nostalgic because of his close brush with death; and he was torn between the old world and the new. His sadness is expressed in this unknowingly permanent farewell: "It grieves me to leave my horses, and my cow Susan, and the cat Timsy Wemyss, and the white cock Moses--and the place. . . . it's very wonderful country" (Letters 5:291). They left New Mexico on September 11, 1925--his birthday. It had been exactly three years since his arrival in America, and Lawrence would never again return due to his failing health.

Lawrence continued to yearn occasionally for his ranch and to write about his experiences in New Mexico.[27] On a November evening of 1925 in the village of Spotorno on the Italian Riviera, he wrote an essay entitled "A Little Moonshine with Lemon." It was written specifically for Willard Johnson's special Lawrence issue of his magazine, Laughing Horse, that was published in April 1926. The essay gives a portrait of the uncharacteristically sentimental Lawrence comfortably having a glass of vermouth in the temperate Mediterranean on St. Catherine's Day, while dreaming of his American ranch in the snowy mountains where he would instead be drinking "moonshine". He derives some comfort from knowing the same moon shines on both him and his New Mexico ranch.

Lady Brett did return to Taos in June of 1926 and kept Lawrence informed of conditions there and saw that the horses were fed. In January of 1927 Lawrence writes to her, "I'd have *loved* to see the Christmas and New Year dances at the pueblo. I'd love to ride Poppy in a race with Prince.--But there you are, 6000 miles, a pot of money, and a great deal of travelling effort lie between, to say nothing of New York. . . ." (Letters 5:629). This is to say nothing, too, of strict immigration officials who would have made such an attempt humiliating for the more and more obviously sick man. He also maintained contact with Dodge and dedicated Mornings in Mexico to "Mabel Lujan" since, as he explains, "to you we owe Taos and all that ensues from Taos" (Letters 6:36). And he wrote an article at Dodge's request called "New Mexico," which summed up his feelings toward the rugged and majestic Southwest:

> I think New Mexico was the greatest experience from the outside world that I have ever had. It certainly changed me for ever. Curious as it may sound, it was New Mexico that liberated me from the present era of civilization, the great era of material and mechanical development. . . . the moment I saw the brilliant, proud morning shine high up over the deserts of Santa Fe, something stood still in my soul, and I started to attend. . . . In the magnificent fierce morning of New Mexico one sprang awake, a new part of the soul woke up suddenly, and the old world gave way to a new. (Survey Graphic, 153)

Frieda's Ranch Years

Lawrence went on to produce other memorable works including his Last Poems (1932), Etruscan Places (1932), Apocalypse (1931), The Virgin and the Gipsy (1930), The Man Who Died (1929), and his most widely known novel, Lady Chatterley's Lover (1928). His passion for writing continued until his death on March 2, 1930, at the age of 44. He was buried in Vence, France. Frieda commissioned a headstone made of pebbled mosaic in the design of a phoenix for his grave in Vence, however, she wrote to Bynner a week later stating her ultimate wish to transport Lawrence's body back to Kiowa Ranch.

Frieda arranged for her new Italian companion, Angelo Ravagli, to escort her to America; and they stayed at the ranch, inspecting its condition, from June to November of 1931. Janet Byrne claims in her biography that Frieda spent much of her time at the Lobo [Kiowa Ranch] trying to coax memories of Lawrence onto paper" (Byrne, 360). It was in the old cabin that Frieda produced her book about life with Lawrence, "Not I, But the Wind," a phrase from the first line of one of Lawrence's poems celebrating their love and interconnectedness. Meanwhile, Ravagli cleared the ranch of accumulated scrap and made plans for a larger cabin that was to have cold running water, electricity, and "especially a big kitchen" (Aldington, 179; Squires and Talbot, 375). Frieda later recreated Ravagli's attitude toward the old "upper ranch" in her autobiography:

> I will build a house, a house fit to live in, not an old cow-shed like this one but a fit place for human beings to live in. Here the packrats are running overhead like elephants and the chipmunks will soon drive us out. Get a string and show me where you want your new house and how big you want it. (Memoirs and Correspondence, 28)

First, however, legal issues regarding Lawrence's estate required Frieda to return to England for the probate hearing which finally decided in her favor and secured her financial independence. (Lawrence had unfortunately died without updating his will, which had become lost in the various moves, and two of his siblings had thus attempted to claim a share of the inheritance.) Frieda and Ravagli arrived back at the Kiowa Ranch on May 2, 1933, and began almost immediately to lay the foundation of the new log cabin. During this time, Frieda completed the final draft of "Not I, But the Wind" including many of Lawrence's early letters she had found in her mother's desk in Germany. The book was published in October of 1934 with favorable reviews, rating her book above the horde of others produced by friends and acquaintances soon after his death. Frieda is also credited with penning the most poignant epitaph: "What he had seen and felt and known he gave in his writing to his fellow men, the splendour of living, the hope of more and more life . . . a heroic and immeasurable gift" (Memoirs and Correspondence, 106).

On the fifth anniversary of Lawrence's death (March 1935), Frieda sent Ravagli to Vence to retrieve Lawrence's remains. Ravagli had built at the ranch the simple, chapel-shaped memorial high on a hill with a spectacular view of the desert. Frieda had formed the idea for the shrine while visiting the British Museum in London and experiencing the peaceful ambiance of its Egyptian exhibit. After Lawrence's body was exhumed and cremated, the ashes were brought back to New Mexico along with a controversy bordering on the comic.[28] Some versions of the story say Lawrence's ashes were accidentally spilled or purposely dumped and then replaced with fireplace ash; others say they were eaten in chili or stirred into tea. The urn and its contents were forgotten and retrieved several times enroute from New York to the ranch, and plans by Dodge and Brett to steal the ashes and scatter them over the desert were foiled by Frieda's counter-plan of either mixing the ashes into the concrete or cementing them behind the altar of the newly-built shrine. The confusion and possessiveness over the ashes add a touch of mystery to the transfer, and as biographer Brenda Maddox writes: "This ambiguity of resting place gave rise to the sense that Lawrence was nowhere and everywhere" (501).

Frieda was outspoken in promoting and defending Lawrence's literary talents after his death. Her unique perspective as the "wife of D.H. Lawrence" was continually being sought. Frieda corresponded with many of the Lawrence scholars of her day and tactfully answered their questions; these included E.W. Tedlock, Jr., who wrote the descriptive bibliography of manuscripts in her possession, The Frieda Lawrence Collection of D.H. Lawrence Manuscripts (1948) and also Harry T. Moore, whose biography of Lawrence, The Priest of Love, was first published in 1954 as The Intelligent Heart. She

expanded Lawrence's perspective by bringing him into contact with German high-culture and the innovative sociological and psychological ideas then being espoused by Max Weber (the epitome of Heidelberg enlightenment), Sigmund Freud, and his disciple Otto Gross.

Although the degree of Frieda's influence on Lawrence's writing is still hotly debated, it is generally agreed that she was an integral part of his life during their eighteen years together. Biographer Rosie Jackson says of Frieda's contributions throughout Lawrence's career:

> She continued to offer criticism, ideas, support and stimulus. She constantly read his work and gave vigorous feedback. She encouraged him to extend his imaginative range, to take risks, to move into new areas with his fiction, to be more direct. . . . In these and other ways, Frieda was an essential part of Lawrence's imaginative process. His creative projection went from him to her and back before it entered his writing. She is also one of the most constant features in his imaginative landscape. As if Lawrence were sustaining an inner dialogue with her throughout his fiction, Frieda appears in work after work. (63-64)

Frieda enjoyed being a patron of the arts and soon became a valued member of the Taos community. Among her friends were Millicent Rogers (Standard Oil heiress and Dodge's successor as cultural hostess in Taos), Rebecca James (secretary of the Harwood Foundation in Taos), and Georgia O'Keefe (artist and wife of Alfred Stieglitz). O'Keefe described her first impression of Frieda in 1934:

> I can remember clearly the first time I ever saw her, standing in a doorway with her hair all frizzed out, wearing a cheap red calico dress that looked as though she had just wiped out the frying pan with it. She was not thin, not young, but there was something radiant and wonderful about her. (Feinstein, 250)

Of her ranch gatherings and "down-home" cookouts, Byrne states, "Frieda's tastes were understated and egalitarian. . . . Hot dogs and pots of chili preceded hand-cranked ice cream, and artists rubbed elbows with the titled and high-ranking" (383). Byrne continues, "To a younger generation of writers, artists, and musicians, many of whose careers she had helped cultivate and finance, she was something of a retired diva" (412). Her free time was spent on embroidery, knitting, and painting. One watercolor, preserved at the University of Texas, depicts Lawrence as St. Francis with birds and fishes in a Tyrolian setting, reflecting Frieda's Germanic roots and her religious upbringing.[30] She also kept the Lawrence Memorial supplied with fresh pine boughs and graciously welcomed visitors to the Kiowa Ranch. Claire Morrill, longtime Taos shopkeeper and author of A Taos Mosaic, relates her memories of Frieda's broad smile and guttural laugh and how she had a "way of building someone's bit of small talk into something important and unobtrusively giving it back to him as his own" (118). Morrill adds, "There were few who knew her in Taos who did not really love her" (121). Frieda's joyous nature is reflected in a 1951 letter to an old friend: "I wake up in the morning and the sun rises on my bed and I run around the house happy and grateful to be alive (this is a morning country). I love doing what I do. . . . I am a lucky old woman!" (Memoirs and Correspondence, 342)

In 1938, Frieda bought the Los Pinos house (just north of Taos in El Prado) to escape the cold winter months on Lobo Mountain. She writes to her son, Monty, in August of 1939, "We will have a bathroom and lots of water in Los Pinos" (Memoirs and Correspondence, 275). There was also a workshop big enough to hold a kiln for Ravagli's ceramic work.

As Frieda got older, she spent less time at the ranch and began making arrangements with the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque to take it over. Frieda and Ravagli were married on Halloween of 1950 by a Justice of the Peace in Taos, thereby entitling him to half of her remaining estate. In November of 1955, she deeded the Kiowa Ranch property to the university with explicit instructions that ten acres be maintained and left open to the public as a "perpetual memorial," a mecca for unpublished writers and others. Her gift to the university was accepted by resolution of the Board of Regents at a meeting held on November 19, 1955, and has since been known as the "D.H. Lawrence Ranch."

Frieda's unfinished autobiographical novel, "And the Fullness Thereof," was published posthumously in 1961 within Frieda Lawrence: The Memoirs and Correspondence. In it she writes how Lawrence "walked into her life, naturally and inevitably as if he had always been there, and he was going to stay" (104). She compares her full life to the diversity of nature surrounding her at the ranch:

> Through every window the out-of-doors comes right up to me. There is this ever changing great sky and the desert below and the dark line of the Rio Grande. I never get tired of seeing it. And my past life is spread out before me like this great view. Now I am old I can look over it as I do from this mountainside over the valley below. I have known love and passion and ecstasy and hate and pain, but now there is peace in me . . . . (Memoirs and Correspondence, 133)

She has also been the subject of several biographies. Like Lawrence, Frieda defies neat categorization; however, she was an individualist who lived the unorthodox kind of life she wanted. As a proto-feminist, Frieda "had no feminist framework in and through which to articulate her struggle," says Jackson, "nor did she see the need for one" (65). Nonetheless, she arrived at similar goals through her own unique path. Frieda died of a stroke at her El Prado home on her 77th birthday, August 11, 1956. She had requested to be buried just outside the Lawrence Memorial and for a farewell ad to be placed in El Crepuscolo, a Taos newspaper edited by Johnson, thanking all her friends for their friendship, and signed: Frieda Emma Johanna Maria Lawrence Ravagli. The ranch service took place on August 13 and included a reading of Psalm 121 ("I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills . . .") and Lawrence's poem "Song of a Man Who Has Come Through."

Lawrence's Influence in America

The formative years of the Taos/Santa Fe art colonies were concentrated between 1900 and 1920 and initially centered on painting. Writers converged on the region shortly after, with Alice Corbin Henderson taking the literary lead in Santa Fe, reflecting her Chicago experience as editor and co-founder of Poetry, the nation's premier magazine of creative verse. Another pioneer of the literary scene was Harvard-educated author Witter Bynner, Santa Fe's perennial host and benefactor. Together they filled a social role equivalent to that of Mabel Dodge Luhan in Taos. Both the Taos and Santa Fe colonies were well established and entering their "Golden Age" period by the time of Lawrence's arrival in America. The colonies were enjoying the stimulation from the post-World War I influx of creative talents drawn to the region's beauty, remoteness, climate, multiculturalism, and history along with its tolerance and support of restless, unconventional artists. Taos was a smaller and more rustic colony, simultaneously dependent upon and competitive with Santa Fe's. Taos had the Indian pueblo while Santa Fe had the Museum of New Mexico and featured better access to transportation via the AT&SF Railway, thus creating two distinct communities with a shared artistic identity. The yearly summer

crowd infecting Taos with creative spirit was described by a national magazine: "Artists affect everyone and everyone affects artists, until Taos is now a whirlpool of self-expression. . . . All Taos is art conscious" (Arrell Morgan Gibson, 63).[31]

Lawrence is prominently linked with the development of the Taos region in general reference books and travel guidebooks. Even the Taos County Chamber of Commerce webpage proudly presents this Lawrence quotation as motto: "You cannot come to Taos without feeling that here is one of the chosen spots on Earth" (Taos Chamber of Commerce Website). His contribution to the Taos/Santa Fe artist and writer colonies was significant due to the number of contacts he made while living in New Mexico. These include the poet, Bynner (who wrote of his experiences in Journey with Genius: Recollections and Reflections Concerning the D.H. Lawrences); the editor of the Laughing Horse literary journal, Willard Johnson (who published a special issue dedicated to Lawrence); the Danish painters, Kai Gotzsche (who painted Lawrence's portrait and provided cover-art for Lawrence's translation of Giovanni Verga's Mastro-Don Gesualdo) and Knud Merrild (who wrote A Poet and Two Painters: A Memoir of D.H. Lawrence and produced cover-art for Lawrence's story collection The Captain's Doll in addition to portraits of him); journalist, Joseph Foster (who wrote D.H. Lawrence in Taos); and Mabel Dodge Luhan (who wrote Lorenzo in Taos).[32]

The actress Ida Rauh saw the Lawrences at Kiowa Ranch in May of 1925 to read over his play David. And Willa Cather, a regular summer visitor to Santa Fe, came to Kiowa in July of the same year. She described the Lawrences as "very unusual, charming, and thrilling people" (as in Ellis, 354). Soon after, Cather would write Death Comes for the Archbishop (1927), portraying Catholic pioneers in the Southwest. Another Santa Fe luminary introduced to Lawrence was Mary Austin, an author and Indian rights activist. Even before Lawrence's arrival in America, the New Republic lumped them together as being leaders of the "Back to Montezuma" school of "primitivism" because of their stated sympathies for Native Americans. They both had critiqued modern culture by invoking Indian folk art and lore.

Lawrence was also acquainted with some of the important founding members of the Taos colony: Walter Ufer and Victor Higgins (both were among the original Los Ochos Pintores which formed the Taos Society of Artists in 1912 to promote critical recognition and marketing), Leon Gaspard (a renowned Russian artist), and Andrew Dasburg (one of the most influential painters in both the Santa Fe and Taos colonies). Ufer, Gaspard, Foster, Johnson, and Mabel Luhan all made visits to the ranch in the summer of 1924.

In addition, Lawrence was responsible for importing the considerable talents of the Honorable Dorothy Brett, an *alumna* of the Slade School of Art in London. Brett permanently settled in Taos, eventually becoming an American citizen. Her memoirs, entitled Lawrence and Brett: A Friendship (1933), is a valuable diary-like source on ranch activities and cabin description. She produced cover-art for the original U.S. editions of Lawrence's The Boy in the Bush (1924) and The Plumed Serpent, the latter painting created at the ranch in the spring of 1925. Her portraits, including several of Lawrence, and her distinctive paintings of Indian ceremonials have earned considerable repute, many being displayed in major American and European museums.[33] She claimed it was her goal to "paint the inner life of the Indian . . . his reverence for the earth, the world that feeds him and keeps him alive" (Morgan, 54). As a Lawrence devotee, Brett transferred his symbolic "vitalism" into the visual medium. Her large painting entitled The Kiowa Ranch (produced on-site in 1925), with the collaborative addition of figures made by Lawrence and Frieda, hangs in the exhibition "Lawrence's Women" at the Millicent Rogers Museum in Taos accompanied by other works by Brett, Frieda and Dodge

(Figure 8-2). A selection of Lawrence's own paintings was acquired by Saki Karavas (now deceased), the former proprietor of the La Fonda Hotel that is located on historic Taos Plaza.

Lawrence's significance can likewise be traced forward to artists drawn to northern New Mexico later. In 1929 Georgia O'Keefe spent several weeks at the Kiowa Ranch and was inspired by the stately pine outside the Lawrence cabin to paint The Lawrence Tree as seen looking up through the branches at a starry sky. Aldous and Maria Huxley stayed the summer with Frieda at Kiowa Ranch in 1937, and there Huxley completed his Ends and Means (1937). He previously had used local terrain for a scene in Brave New World (1932) and modeled the character of Rampion in Point Counter Point (1928) after Lawrence. Mississippi-born playwright Tennessee Williams was another visitor to see Frieda and the memorial in August of 1939. He was so moved by the experience that he started drafting I Rise in Flame, Cried the Phoenix a few days later as a direct result of the trip. Also in 1939 the poet W.H. Auden rented Lawrence's cabin from Frieda (describing her as the "original Earth-Mother") and in 1940 adapted Lawrence's short story "The Rocking-Horse Winner" for radio. In June and July of 1941 Richard Aldington, the Lawrences' friend and author of the book D.H. Lawrence: Portrait of a Genius, But..., visited and collected a set of Kiowa Ranch butterflies which he offered to share with Frieda (Frieda Lawrence and Her Circle, 85). The poet Stephen Spender spent the summer of 1948 at Kiowa Ranch where he wrote much of his autobiography, World Within World (1951). The conductor/composer Leonard Bernstein stayed a week the same summer and worked on his second symphony, The Age of Anxiety (1949) using Frieda's old upright piano. The popular conductor Leopold Stokowski was another among the numerous talented individuals who made the pilgrimage to the ranch.

Ranch Uses

Over the years the University of New Mexico (UNM) has used the Lawrence Ranch in various educational capacities. The Department of Art and Art History has been offering its Annual Summer Art Workshops there since 1981. These workshops provide a variety of topics on regional art and nature designed to enhance experimental approaches of study. An annual Taos Summer Writers' Conference, developed by Prof. Sharon Oard Warner, Director of Creative Writing, began in 1999 and features various genres of writing instruction. Two merit-based scholarships (for poetry and fiction) are given in connection with it, and the D.H. Lawrence Fellowship has now been reinstated. Poet Robert Creeley is among those who held a past fellowship with summer residence at the ranch. This fellowship, originally established in 1958 to "sustain a living tradition of artistic creation at the D.H. Lawrence Ranch" (UNM website) and to grant developing writers a month of scenic inspiration and solitude, was temporarily suspended in 1992 due to poor cabin conditions at nearby Kiowa Village and the lack of a dependable water supply. While conditions still make it unfeasible to house the fellowship recipient at the ranch, lodging will be provided in Taos. The English Department and Sigma Tau Delta (National English honor society) sometimes conduct one- and two-day excursions to the ranch. Prof. Hugh Witemeyer of the English Department heads a committee of ranch supporters and has led both student groups and a UNM Regent's delegation to the ranch. Dr. Art Bachrach, professor (retired) and owner of a well-known Taos bookshop, also conducts a tour of the ranch in connection with a summer enrichment course he teaches for Southern Methodist University's Taos branch. Currently, a survey of UNM department heads is being made to further incorporate the Lawrence Ranch into UNM curriculum, and the Taos Art Institute has expressed renewed interest in using it as a teaching center.

The ranch has also attracted Lawrence-related festivals and conferences. The D.H. Lawrence Festival of 1970, held at the Kiowa Ranch conference center and organized by Ernest (E.W.) Tedlock and other UNM faculty, was attended by some two hundred scholars and students from as far away as England and France. Several personal acquaintances of Lawrence were among those present, including Helen Corke, Lawrence's inspiration for the heroine in The Trespasser (1912); David Garnett, son of editor/mentor Edward Garnett; Mrs. Enid Hopkin Hilton, a friend from Lawrence's Eastwood days; and, from the New Mexico years, writer Joseph Foster and ranch neighbors A.D. Hawk and Dorothy Brett.[48] In 1980 the Taos Art Association sponsored a Lawrence Festival with Anthony Branch as director and actress Greer Garson as president. This gala event, honoring the fiftieth anniversary of Lawrence's death, drew such celebrities as Julie Harris and Elizabeth Taylor. Scheduled activities included a memorial service at the shrine and a discussion on the topic "The Influence of D.H. Lawrence on Living and Writing Today." The Seventh International Conference of the D.H. Lawrence Society of North America (in association with the Phoenix Rising Society) was held at Taos in 1998 with participants from fourteen countries.[49] Based on the theme "D.H. Lawrence and New Worlds," it furnished scholarly papers in thirty-eight sessions over a period of six days. Presentations were interspersed with other activities such as tours of the Lawrence Ranch, considered by many the central highlight.

Figure 8-1 Sketch of Kiowa Ranch , by D.H. Lawrence (1924)

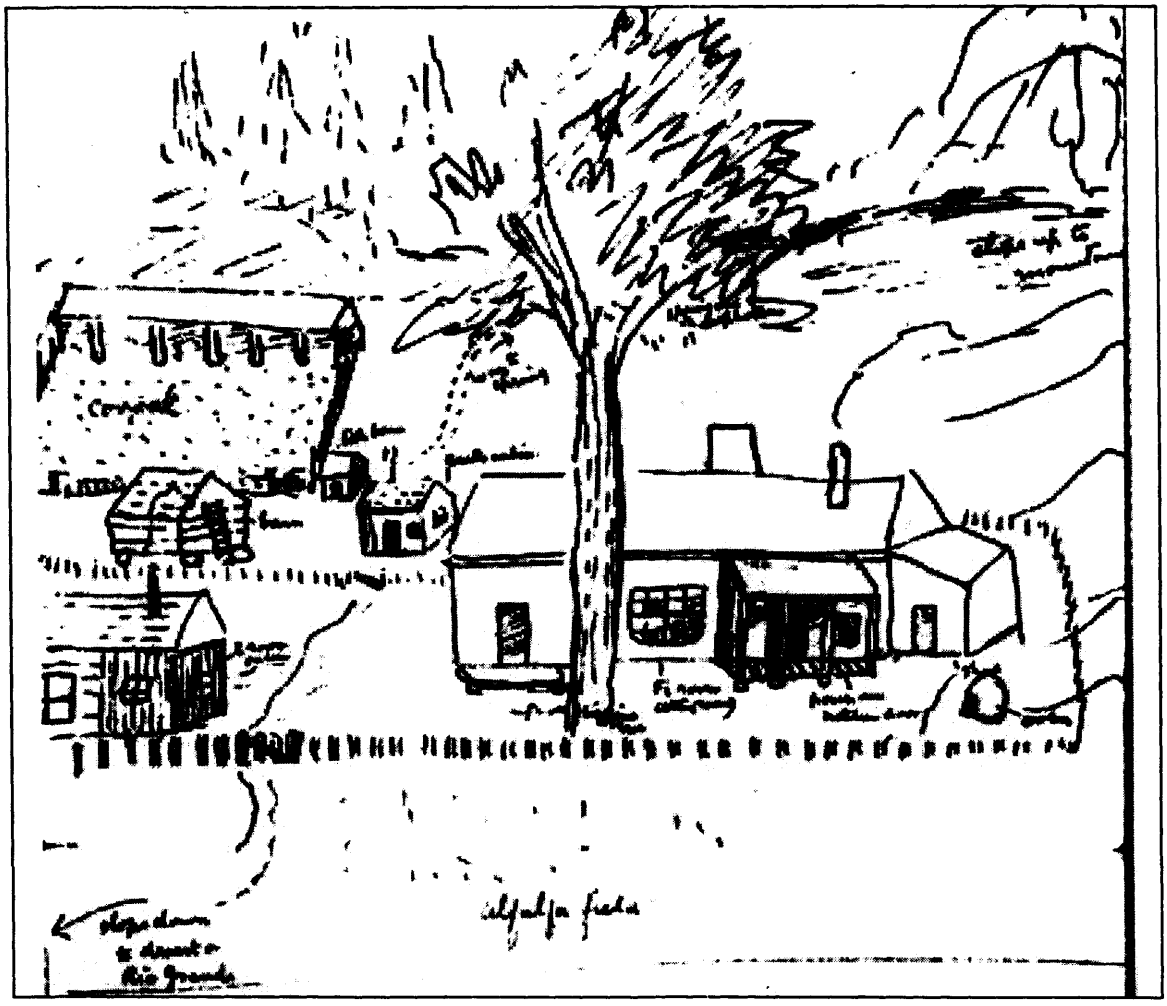
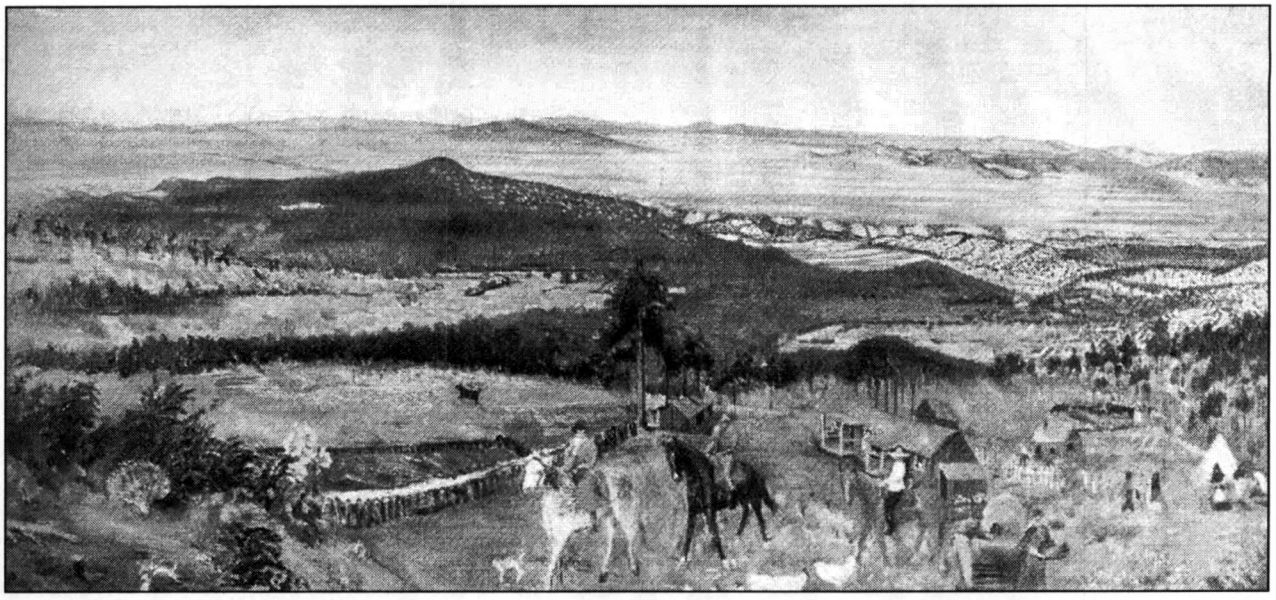


Figure 8-2 The Kiowa Ranch, painted by the Dorothy Brett, D.H. Lawrence and Frieda Lawrence.



NOTES

[1]Lawrence had two arm-chairs, both built in 1924. One he built himself, shaped with a hand-ax and carved with a penknife (Brett, 122). Both Frieda Lawrence describes it as a "rough" piece of furniture in "Not I, But the Wind" (v); and Mabel Dodge Luhan says it was a "delicate, decorous chair," in Lorenzo in Taos (212). Frieda says she embroidered a piece of *petit point* for this chair, and Lawrence himself sometimes stitched it (v), but this piece has not survived. Dodge also built a chair for Lawrence, modeling it in the wide, deep, and heavy Spanish style she describes, apparently like a Spanish Colonial "priest's chair" which derived from Romanesque thrones. She painted it pale pink with "touches of green in the carving," and Lawrence jokingly referred to it as the "Iron Maiden" (Luhan, Lorenzo in Taos, 202, 203). It appears possible that the chair displayed at the ranch is the latter.

[2]Brett tells how the Taos Indians used this term (89), but Witter Bynner suggests, instead, that it was "Red Wolf" (8); in reality, both names were probably used since the fox and wolf belong to the canine family. The Taos Indian nickname for Frieda was "Angry Winter" (Brett, 89).

[3]Ravagli returned to Italy in 1960 and died in 1976. The red fox statue now adorns Ravagli's memorial at a cemetery in Spotorno, Italy, as recently confirmed by Stefania Michelucci (5).

[4]"The Spirit of Place" is the name of the opening essay in his Studies in Classic American Literature. Earlier, more idealistic, versions of these studies were collected by Armin Arnold in 1961 under the title The Symbolic Meaning and they are included in the Cambridge Edition of SCAL.

[5]Lawrence tells how Rananim was first planned late in 1914 (Letters 2:268)--and he directly cites the song version of "*Ranani Zadikim Zadikim l'Adonai*" ("Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous," Psalm 33:1), referring to the psalm as sung by Koteliansky. A link seems likely, too, with the Hebrew adjective "*ra'annanim*" (green, flourishing) from Psalm 92:14 (K. W. Gransden, 22-32).

[6]E.W. Tedlock, Jr., later edited her Memoirs and Correspondence; see also Michael Squires, D.H. Lawrence's Manuscripts, containing correspondence between Frieda and the bookseller Jake Zeitlin, and others, and revealing significant details of the dispersal of the Lawrence manuscripts over a period of 30 years.

[7] See both the first and second editions of Gilbert's Acts of Attention; Shapiro's statement is in his personal letter (1985), in Legacy (Reference List).

[8]Other Lawrence organizations include Phoenix Rising of New Mexico, the D.H. Lawrence Society of England, the Rananim Society, the Haggs Farm Preservation Society of England, and the D.H. Lawrence Societies (besides those named in the text) of England, Japan, Korea, China, Australia, and Italy. In Iida's book, writers discuss the lively Lawrence circles and scholarship in Britain, the United States, France, Italy, Germany, Poland, Finland, Mexico, Canada, Australia, Japan, Korea, China, and India. International Lawrence conferences have been held in diverse locations, including Boston, Shanghai, Montpellier, Ottawa, Nottingham, Paris, Taos, and Naples. The next two are scheduled for Kyoto and Santa Fe.

[9]The Modern Language Association of America has also published a new book presenting numerous ways of teaching Lawrence's works (see Elizabeth Sargent and Garry Watson in the Reference List).

[10]On this largest collection, in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas, see Roberts, 23-37. In addition, the UNM Lawrence collection includes a number of items by both D.H. Lawrence and Frieda Lawrence. Included, for example, are typescripts of some of the essays in Reflections on the Death of a Porcupine. The University of California (Berkeley) also has significant Lawrence manuscripts and typescripts; and among other Lawrence repositories in the United States are libraries at Yale, Harvard, Princeton, Cornell, Duke, Stanford, UCLA, Northwestern, the University of Illinois, and the New York Public Library. (There are still a few private collectors, as well.) Of course, the University of Nottingham has an excellent collection of Lawrence manuscripts, typescripts, and art works as well as the renowned D.H. Lawrence Centre.

[11]Some of the other literary journals devoted to Lawrence include Études Lawrenciennes (University of Paris), Journal of the D.H. Lawrence Society (Eastwood, England), D.H. Lawrence Studies of Kyoto (Japan). D.H. Lawrence Studies (Korea), Rananim (Australia), and the recently announced (2000) Quaderni Lawrenciani (Italy). The Newsletter of the D.H. Lawrence Society of North America is edited at the University of Maine (Presque Isle) by Eleanor Green.

[12]The book is a 1915 first edition of The Rainbow with the Frank Wright book jacket.

[13]Helen Croom (Bristol, England) is the owner of an academic listserve as well as the Rananim listserve; for the latter, Tina Ferris (Diamond Bar, California) and R. H. Albright (Boston, Massachusetts) are the Moderators. Charles Rossman, Professor of English at the University of Texas (Austin), was the originator of the academic service.

[14]See Peter Preston, 28, recording that 1990-1991 was the first year in which the number topped 10,000. The Broxtowe Borough Council had purchased the property for the Visitors' Centre and shop in the former year.

[15]This essay, like others by Lawrence on Native Americans, will be in the Cambridge Edition of Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays. The texts have been established through examination of the surviving manuscript and typescript material from Lawrence's New Mexico period.

[16]Referring to 1923, for instance, Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton, and Elizabeth Mansfield, editors of Lawrence's letters of that period, state that "never before or afterwards were so many Lawrence books published in so short a time" (Letters 4:18). One reason for the flurry of publications was the enterprise of Lawrence's new American publisher, Thomas Seltzer (from 1920 to 1924). According to the same editors of Letters 4: "Altogether, twenty of Lawrence's books appeared with the Seltzer imprint, and of eight major works published between May 1921 and March 1923 only one was published first in England" (2). Another five Lawrence books appeared in 1924-1925 during the remainder of the American period and five more were completed and near publication by the time he returned to Europe. See also Nicholas Joost and Alvin Sullivan on The Dial and Sharyn R.Udall on Laughing Horse.

[17]This letter to his agent Robert Mountsier on Nov. 6, 1922 (among other letters) tells in detail of his desire to go to the ranch and to invite others there. But see John Turner and Worthen, distinguishing between this plan and the earlier one of Rananim (135-71).

[18]See especially Knud Merrild and David Ellis.

[19]After Frieda's departure, Lawrence journeyed west again, reuniting with the Danish painters, Merrild and Gotzsche, in Los Angeles, then rambling with Gotzsche through western Mexico and eventually to Vera Cruz. In Mexico, he wrote his co-authored novel, The Boy in the Bush (with Mollie Skinner), published in 1924.

[20]Upon his arrival in cloudy London, he sent "Spud" Johnson an essay of exultant praise for the sunny Southwest and its free-kicking spirit ("Dear Old Horse, A London Letter"), intending it as the first in a series of travel pieces for Johnson's Laughing Horse. Only one other of this group ("Paris Letter") was published in his lifetime, but a third, "Letter from Germany," appeared in 1934.

[21] See note 5 above.

[22]"Diary" notebook (1920-1924), in Tedlock's Frieda Lawrence Collection, 98. This notebook, now in the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin, contains notes about finances along with manuscript versions of some of the poems for Birds, Beasts and Flowers.

[23]Lawrence had dismissed Mountsier in February 1923 and had no American agent until the following spring, when the English agent Curtis Brown began to handle Lawrence's American market as well as the English.

[24]Lawrence was at this time at the height of his "Pan cluster," comprising the century's most notable revival of the "all" god (see Patricia Merivale, 194-219). Lawrence envisioned not simply Pan's resurrection in the New World but his survival here from primordial times despite his legendary "death" in the Old World. On St. Mawr, see also James Cowan, American Journey, 90-96; and Charles Rossman, xiii-xxxii.

[25]The title, as published in Johnson's Laughing Horse, contained these last two words "Tired Out," but Lawrence's own manuscript and typescript do not. It is probable that the Cambridge Edition of Mornings in Mexico and Other Essays, including this piece, will use the shorter title.

[26]The other essays include "The Future of the Novel" (published in 1923 as "Surgery for the Novel--or a Bomb"), "Why the Novel Matters," and "The Novel and the Feelings" (both written in 1925 but unpublished in Lawrence's lifetime).

[27]In 1929, for example, Lawrence was still deeply concerned with affairs at the ranch, writing Brett about the importance of ascertaining its boundaries: "Glad you had the rights of the ditch fixed. One day, when you can get a chance, do try and get someone to fix the real boundaries of the ranch--locate them, I mean. If some old-timer can remember the corner-tree, then you can take the sights. Old Willie Vandiver [the blacksmith at San Cristobal] might know. You know the ranch-property is really a *square*, and is quite a bit bigger than the present enclosure. And the piece above the house, up towards the raspberry canyon, is really inside the bounds, and I should like that secured especially, as it keeps us private. If we could find out the corner marks, we could fence bit by bit" (Letters 7:506).

[28]Although there has been controversy about the authenticity of the ashes, Lawrence's Cambridge biographers have found their papers in order.

[29]In Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious and Fantasia of the Unconscious (1921, 1922), however, Lawrence quarrels with Freud, disassociating himself from Freud's ideas of the incest motive in the unconscious. Although Lawrence never lived to see revisions of Freud by Jacques Lacan and others, some critics today read him in terms of post-Freudian stances (see, for example, Cowan, Trembling Balance; Earl Ingersoll; and Margaret Storch, Sons and Adversaries). Of course, Lawrence was interested in investigations of unconscious motivations in literary tradition, itself--in such modes as drama, dramatic monologue, first-person narration, free indirect discourse, and "stream of consciousness."

[30]In a letter to Richard Aldington, Frieda uses similar imagery for Lawrence: "I see him in the tradition of . . . Francis of Assisi with Lorenzo's [Lawrence's] almost uncanny love for animals and plants" (Frieda Lawrence and Her Circle, 88).

[31]See also Robert R. White, Patricia Janis Broder, Sherry Clayton Taggett and Ted Schwartz, and Luhan, Edge of Taos Desert and Taos and Its Artists.

[32]Dates for these books are as follows: Bynner, 1951; Merrild, 1938; Foster, 1972; Luhan, 1932. Merrild's was later reprinted with another title: With D.H. Lawrence in New Mexico: A Memoir of D.H. Lawrence (1964). See also Lois Rudnick on Luhan.

[33]Brett's portraiture is shown, for example, in the National Portrait Gallery and Tate Gallery, London; the Glasgow Institute of Fine Arts; the Metropolitan Museum, New York; Boyer Gallery, Philadelphia; Denver Art Museum; and Dallas Museum of Fine Arts. Frank Waters particularly praises her paintings of pueblo ceremonials, stating that the "heyday of Indian dancing" is forever "framed in her gorgeous paintings" (150). See also Hignett.

[34]See also Rachelle Katz Lerner, 79-94, on Lawrence and William Carlos Williams.
[35]See Louis L. Martz, "H.D. and D.H.," 126-128, on ties between the Taos memorial and the temple in H.D.'s poem, itself reflecting the Egyptian temple in Lawrence's novella The Man Who Died (first published in a short version, The Escaped Cock, a title which is, today, often used for the entire tale). In a letter, Frieda confirms the likeness between the fiction and the actual ranch shrine as created by Ravagli and herself: "We have made a lovely place on the hill, a bit like the little temple of Isis in 'The Escaped Cock'" (Frieda Lawrence and Her Circle, 69).

[36]See also Evelyn J. Hinz and John Teunissen in their Introduction to Miller's The World of D.H. Lawrence, 24. Miller also wrote a second book on Lawrence, compiled late in his life from his extensive notes: Notes on 'Aaron's Rod' and Other Notes on Lawrence from the Paris Notebooks.

[37]Personal letter from Shapiro (1985), in Legacy, 8.

[38]See Neal Bowers, 11-12.

[39]Personal letter from Bly (1985), in Legacy, 9.

[40]Creeley is, of course, making a pun, referring not only to the British currency but also to Ezra Pound, who so substantially edited T.S. Eliot's The Wasteland that he has been credited with some of its distinctive features. Pound was an early supporter of Lawrence's poetry.

[41]The central characters in Boyle's Year Before Last and "The Rest Cure" are believed to be based partly on Lawrence, the latter drawing upon details of his last illness and death (see also Leo Hamalian, chapter 6).

[42]LeSueur identified deeply with The Man Who Died and was attracted to Lawrence's working-class origins, his passion for the earth (influencing her descriptions of the Midwestern United States), and his fertility themes, including the mythology of Persephone (see Hamalian, chapter 4).

[43]Millett's Sexual Politics, at the end of the 1960s, was most hostile; Simpson provided important historicity; Gilbert's "Preface" and Siegel's book consider the literary influence of women writers on him and his on them. This present narrative takes into account more than 20 women writers and critics, from memoirists of the 1930s like his boyhood companion and sweetheart Jessie Chambers (E.T.) to a recent biographer who casts him as preeminently the "married man" (Brenda Maddox, whose book is entitled The Married Man in England).

[44]See also note 29 above.

[45]Manchester Guardian, 12. Alastair Niven once even made the claim that Lawrence is "the most widely studied author in the English language" after Shakespeare ("D.H. Lawrence: Literary Criticism and Recent Publications," British Book News [September 1985]), as reported in Legacy.

[46]While Lawrence was proclaimed a "guru" by some of the "hippie" movement, who displayed posters of him at "sing-ins" and "love-ins," writers on Lawrence frequently point to the irony that he was claimed by a movement with which he would have felt so little in common. His late essay "A Propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover" contains a ringing defense of "Marriage sacred and inviolable, the great way of earthly fulfilment for man and woman" (Lady Chatterley's Lover, 321-322). This essay was cited during the English trial by clergymen and other expert witnesses.

[47]The first of the trials (1950-57) had actually been in Japan, where the case brought against Oyama Publishing Company resulted in a restrictive decision that has, however, not been enforced in recent time (see Iida, "The Reception of D.H. Lawrence in Japan," 240-4).

[48]A report that Brett did not attend (for example, Sean Hignett, 260) is erroneous, for she appears in conference photographs. She was then 86 years of age and would live to be nearly 94, dying on August 27, 1977. Her ashes are scattered on the "Pink Rocks" below Lobo Mountain (see Hignett, 262-263, 270).

[49]See note 8 above on the other International D.H. Lawrence Conferences sponsored in part by the DHLSNA.

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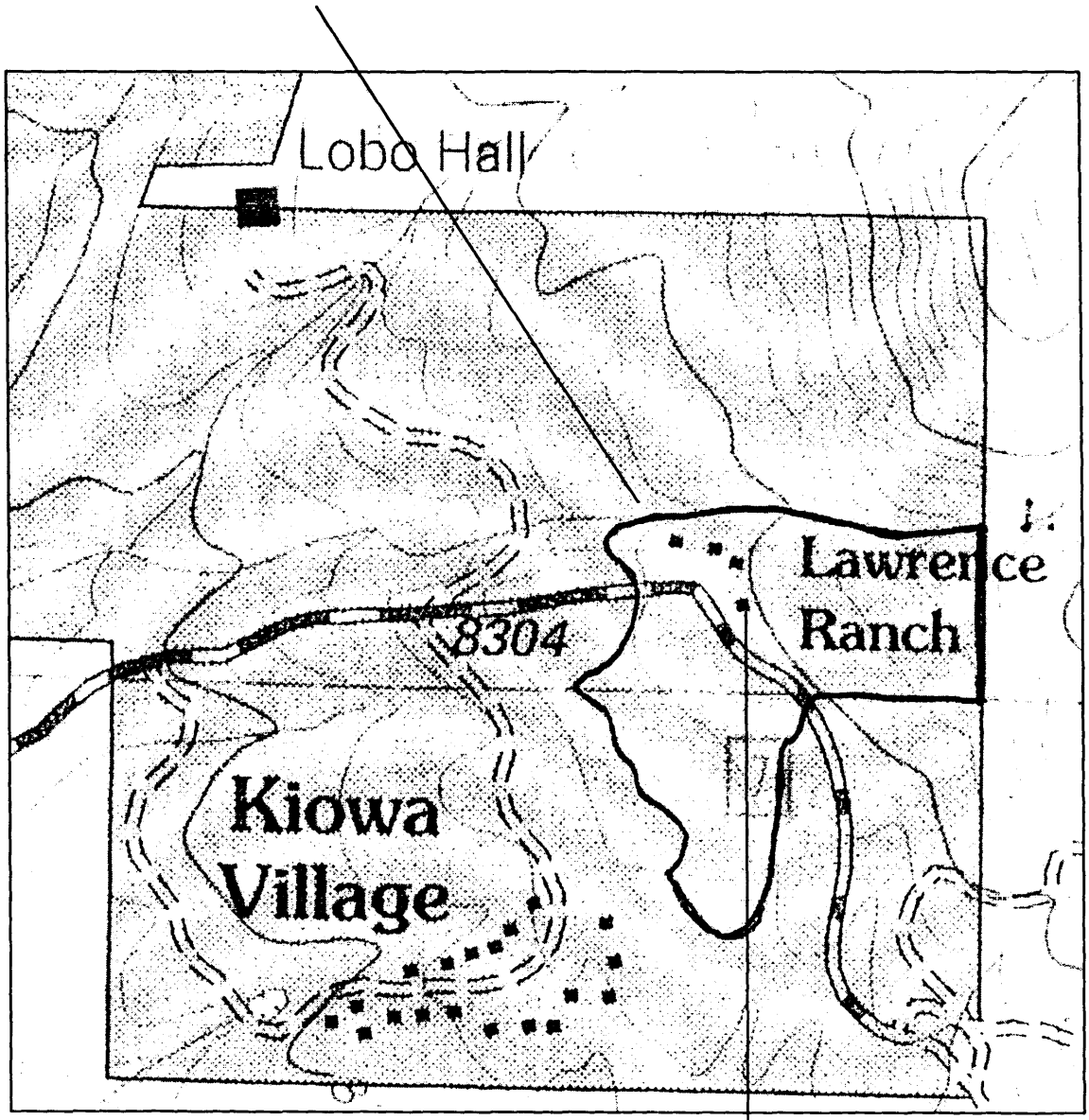
Verbal Boundary Description

The accompanying enlargement of the USGS map shows the total property square and the portion nominated (Figure 10-1). The boundary lines for the proposed Lawrence Ranch District are marked in black. (Starting at the northeast corner, go counterclockwise.) Use the gully for the north boundary, head west about 350 meters, and follow the tree-line around the horse-corral pasture. Crossing over Lawrence Ranch Road, continue to follow the tree-line southward around the alfalfa field till it intersects with the 8320 elevation line (swinging around eastward and cutting off the narrow tip of the field), then follow the tree-line again northward till it intersects with the dirt road leading to the Fellowship Cabin, and from that point go about 200 meters due east until reaching the property line. Then follow the property line northward approximately 200 meters until it crosses the gully.

Boundary Justification

The boundary for the Lawrence Ranch District includes the cabins, memorial shrine, outbuildings, fields, spring, and other sites that have been historically part of the Kiowa Ranch and relate strongly to the life and works of author/poet D.H. Lawrence. This area is referred to by UNM as "Ranch Headquarters" and represents the approximately 10 acres that Frieda wished to remain open to the public, plus an additional six acres of scenic pastureland. The pristine landscape within the boundary area retains a high degree of historical integrity. Excluded from the boundary are modern constructions which have no historical significance, such as the concrete reservoir to the southeast; the Fellowship Cabin to the south; Kiowa Village to the southwest; Lobo Lodge, the campsite, and a 200-gallon water tank to the northwest; and a storage garage to the north.

Figure 10-1 Detail, Arroyo Seco USGA 7.5 minute quad series map with district boundary.



UTM 13S 446882E 4048486N

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Photographs Log

Information common to all photographs except for # 3, 15, 20, 36 & 37:
Lawrence Ranch District
Taos County, New Mexico
Photographer, David Barnes
Location of Negatives, Washington State University (Hyde address, above)
Date of Photographs: 1998

Photograph 1 of 38
Caretaker's Cabin, backside at entrance to ranch grounds
Camera Facing – SE

Photograph 2 of 38
Lawrence Cabin, front
Camera Facing – N

Photograph 3 of 38
Lawrence Cabin, east porch
Camera Facing – N

Photograph 4 of 38
Lawrence Cabin, west porch with D.H.L's chair
Camera Facing – NW

Photograph 5 of 38
Lawrence Cabin, westward rear
Camera Facing – E

Photograph 6 of 38
Lawrence Cabin, close-up of buffalo painting on west side
Camera Facing – NE

Photograph 7 of 38
Lawrence Cabin, eastward rear
Camera Facing – S

Photograph 8 of 38
Lawrence Cabin, east side showing attic crawl-space
Camera Facing – SW

Photograph 9 of 38
Lawrence Cabin, southeast corner showing porch and garden area
Camera Facing – SW

Photograph 10 of 38
Lawrence Cabin, log construction detail
Camera Facing – W

Photograph 11 of 38
Lawrence Cabin, interior showing historical relics
Camera Facing – NW

Photograph 12 of 38
Lawrence Cabin in relation to Brett's Cabin, showing 2nd horno site
Camera Facing – NW

Photograph 13 of 38
Lawrence Tree, crown viewed from beneath
Camera Facing – Skyward

Photograph 14 of 38
Alfalfa Field, downhill scenic view
Camera Facing – SW

Photograph 15 of 38
Brett's Cabin, front
Camera Facing – NW

Photograph 16 of 38
Brett's Cabin, east side
Camera Facing – W

Photograph 17 of 38
Brett's Cabin, rear
Camera Facing – S

Photograph 18 of 38
Brett's Cabin, west side
Camera Facing – E

Photograph 19 of 38
Brett's Cabin, detail of log construction on SW corner
Camera Facing – N

Photograph 20 of 38
Brett's Cabin, interior
Camera Facing – N

Photograph 21 of 38
Cabin grouping, big barn in relation to Brett's and Caretaker's cabin
Camera Facing – E

Photograph 22 of 38
Big Barn, front
Camera Facing – E

Photograph 23 of 38
Big Barn, rear and showing east side of Caretaker's Cabin
Camera Facing – SW

Photograph 24 of 38
Small Barn, front in relation to head of Memorial path
Camera Facing – N

Photograph 25 of 38
Small Barn, close-up
Camera Facing – W

Photograph 26 of 38
Small Barn, rear view from Memorial path
Camera Facing – S

Photograph 27 of 38
Small Barn Addition
Camera Facing – N

Photograph 28 of 38
Outbuilding Grouping, small barn in relation to corral stable
Camera Facing – W

Photograph 29 of 38
Cowshed and Corral in meadow
Camera Facing – W

Photograph 30 of 38
Photographer, Hugh Witemeyer
Spring, taken in winter
Camera Facing – N

Photograph 31 of 38
Photographer, Hugh Witemeyer
Spring, close-up
Camera Facing – NE

Photograph 32 of 38
Lawrence Memorial, long-shot uphill
Camera Facing – E

Photograph 33 of 38
Lawrence Memorial, front close-up
Camera Facing – E

Photograph 34 of 38
Frieda's Grave & Headstone
Camera Facing – W

Photograph 35 of 38
Frieda's Gravestone, photo detail
Camera Facing – W

Photograph 36 of 38
Lawrence Memorial, interior
Camera Facing – E

Photograph 37 of 38
Lawrence Memorial, close-up of rear rose window painted by Brett
Camera Facing – W

Photograph 38 of 38
Lawrence Memorial, interior showing rose wheel & scenic view from doorway
Camera Facing – W

Appendices - Texts

Poetry, Prose, and Letters

1. Poem "Autumn at Taos," by D.H. Lawrence (1923)
2. Letter from D.H. Lawrence to Margaret King (1924)—see also Appendix A
3. Letter from D.H. Lawrence to Catherine Carswell (1924)
4. Excerpt from "Pan in America," by D.H. Lawrence (written 1924)
5. Letter from D.H. Lawrence to Emily Lawrence King (1925)

Appendix 1 **Poem from the Taos Period**

AUTUMN AT TAOS
by D.H. Lawrence

Over the rounded sides of the Rockies, the aspens of autumn,
The aspens of autumn,
Like yellow hair of a tigress brindled with pines.

Down on my hearth-rug of desert, sage of the mesa,
An ash-grey pelt
Of wolf all hairy and level, a wolf's wild pelt.
Trot-trot to the mottled foot-hills, cedar-mottled and pinon;
Did you ever see an otter?
Silvery-sided, fish-fanged, fierce-faced, whiskered, mottled.

When I trot my little pony through the aspen-trees of the canyon,
Behold me trotting at ease betwixt the slopes of the golden
Great and glistening-feathered legs of the hawk of Horus;
The golden hawk of Horus
Astride above me.

But under the pines
I go slowly
As under the hairy belly of a great black bear.

Glad to emerge and look back
On the yellow, pointed aspen-trees laid one on another like feathers,
Feather over feather on the breast of the great and golden
Hawk as I say of Horus.

Pleased to be out in the sage and the pine fish-dotted foothills,
Past the otter's whiskers,
On to the fur of the wolf-pelt that strews the plain.

And then to look back to the rounded sides of the squatting Rockies.
Tigress brindled with aspen,
Jaguar-splashed, puma-yellow, leopard-livid slopes of America.

Make big eyes, little pony,
At all these skins of wild beasts;
They won't hurt you.

Fangs and claws and talons and beaks and hawk-eyes
Are nerveless just now.
So be easy.

Taos.

Birds, Beasts and Flowers (New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1923), collected in Complete Poems of D.H. Lawrence, ed. Vivian de Sola Pinto and Warren Roberts (New York: Viking, 1971), pp. 408-409.

Appendix 2 **Letter from D.H. Lawrence to writer, Catherine Carswell**

Del Monte Ranch. *Questa*. New Mexico
18 May 1924

My dear Catherine

We have often spoken of you lately. I wonder what you are doing. We had your letter about your cottage and Don's job. That was mean, to take the job back again. You *do* have bad luck.

Did I tell you Mabel Luhan gave Frieda that little ranch--about 160 acres--up here in the skirts of the mountains. We have been up there the last fortnight working like the devil, with 3 Indians and a Mexican carpenter, building up the 3-room log cabin, which was falling down. We've done all the building, save the chimney--and we've made the adobe bricks for that. I hope in the coming week to finish everything, shingling the roofs of the other cabins too. There are two log cabins, a 3-roomer for us, a 2-roomer Mabel can have when she comes, a little one-roomer for Brett--and a nice log hay-house and corral. We have four horses in the clearing. It is very wild, with the pine-trees coming down the mountain--and the altitude, 8,600 ft. takes a bit of getting used to. But it is also very fine.--Now it is our own, so we can invite you to come. I hope you'll scrape the money together and come for a whole summer, perhaps next year, and try it. Anyway it would make a break, and there is something in looking out on to a new landscape altogether.--I think we shall stay till October, then go down to Mexico, where I must work at my novel. At present I don't write--don't want to--don't care. Things are all far away. I haven't seen a newspaper for two months, and cant bear to think of one. The world is as it is. I am as I am. We don't fit very well.--I never forget that fatal evening at the Cafe' Royal. That is what coming home means to me. Never again, pray the Lord.

We rode down here, Brett and I. Frieda lazy, came in the car. The spring down in the valley is so lovely, the wild plum everywhere white like snow, the cotton-wood trees all tender and plumy green, like happy ghosts, and the alfalfa fields a heavy dense green. Such a change, in two weeks. The apple orchards suddenly in bloom. Only the grey desert the same.--Now there is a thunderstorm, and I think of my adobes out there at the ranch.--We ride back tomorrow.--One doesn't talk any more about being happy--that is child's talk. But I do like having the big, unbroken spaces round me. There is something savage unbreakable in the spirit of place out here--the Indians drumming and yelling at our camp-fire at evening.--But they'll be wiped out too, I expect—schools and education will finish them. But not before the world falls.

Remember me to Don. Save up--and enjoy your cottage meanwhile.
Yrs DHL

The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, Vol. 5, ed. James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 46-47.

Appendix 3 **Letter from D.H. Lawrence to Niece, Margaret King**

Del Monte Ranch. *Questa*. New Mexico
31 August 1924

My dear Peg

We got back from the Hopi Country last Monday--I'll probably write an article on the dance. ["The Hopi Snake Dance"] But how I hate long distance trips in motor-car--so tiring! We went about a thousand miles altogether.

You ask me what we grow on the ranch: Nothing. There is a big clearing, on which the old owners used to grow alfalfa, and we call it the alfalfa field (it's a sort of clover, alfalfa, blue, grows tall and thick). Forty years ago a man came out looking for gold, and squatted here. There was some gold in the mountains. Then he got poor, and a man called McClure had the place. He had 500 white goats here, raised alfalfa, and let his goats feed wild in the mountains. But the water supply is too bad, and we are too far from anywhere. So he gave up. Mabel Luhan bought the place for $1200 six years ago, and let it go to rack and ruin. Now she traded it to Frieda for the MS. of Sons and Lovers. Every one is very mad with me for giving that MS. The ranch was worth only about $1000, and the MS of Sons and Lovers worth three or four thousand--so everybody says. But I don't care. I'll draw you a little plan of the place: (Figure A2-1)

We have only one little spring of water--pure water--that will fill a pail in about 3 minutes: it runs the same summer and winter. If we want to grow anything, we must water, irrigate. Maclure used to bring the water in a made ditch, over deep places by wooden runnel bridges, for nearly 3 miles: from the Gallina Canyon. Then, from the house canyon, he brought it down two miles. It's very difficult, though, in a dry country with dry gravelly soil. You can't bring much flow, so far: and in summer very often none. So we leave the ranch quite wild—only theres abundant feed for the five horses. And if we wanted to take the trouble, we could bring the water here as Maclure did, and have a little farm.--There's quite a lot of land, really--it say 160 acres, but it takes a terrible long time to go round the fence, through the wild forest.--We got lots of wild strawberries--and we still get gallons of wild raspberries, up our own little canyon, where no soul ever goes. If we ride two miles, we can get no farther. Beyond, all savage, unbroken mountains.

We get our things from Taos--17 miles--either by wagon or when someone is coming in a car. Our road is no road--a breaking through the forest--but people come to see us. Every evening, just after tea, we saddle up and ride down to Del Monte Ranch, for the milk, butter, eggs, and letters. The old trail passes this gate, and the mailman, on horseback, leaves all the mail in a box nailed on a tree. Usually we get back just at dark. Yesterday we rode down to San Cristobal, where there is a cross-roads, a blacksmith, and a tiny village with no shop no anything, save the blacksmith--only a handfull of Mexicans who speak Spanish--we went to get Frieda's grey horse--the Azul--shod. They call him in Spanish el Azul--the Blue.--During the day there's always plenty to do--chopping wood, carrying water--and our own work: some times we all paint pictures. Next week the Indian Geronimo is coming up to help me mend the corral, and build a porch over my door, and fix the spring for the winter, with a big trough where the horses can drink. I want a Mexican to come and live here while we are away: to keep the place from going wild, squirrels and bushy-tailed pack-rats from coming in, and to see

the water doesn't freeze for the horses. It gets very cold, and snow often knee deep. Sometimes, for a day or two, no getting away from the ranch.

There, I hope that's all you want to know.

I hope your exam went well.--As for Wembley, I don't a bit want to go there. But London can be fascinating.
So glad you like your new house: we had the photographs. I must send you some photographs of here.
I haven't heard from your Aunt Ada at Ripley for so long. Is anything wrong there?

Love to you all. DHL

The autumn is coming, very lovely. The alfalfa field is all mauve and gold, with dark michaelmas daisies and wild sunflowers. I send a pound each for you and Joan.

The Letters of D.H. Lawrence, Vol. 5, ed. James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 110-112.

Appendix 4 Excerpt from the final version of "Pan In America" by D.H. Lawrence, Originally published in January of 1926 in the Southwest Review

[This article begins]:

At the beginning of the Christian era, voices were heard off the coasts of Greece, out to sea, on the Mediterranean, wailing: "Pan is dead! Great Pan is dead!"

The father of fauns and nymphs, satyrs and dryads and naiads was dead, dead, with only the voices in the air to lament him. Humanity hardly noticed.

[Later in the article, Lawrence continues with a complete description of the Lawrence Tree which stands in front of the Lawrence cabin, using it to demonstrate his life philosophy (below). The tree is a contributing site within the district. This is the same tree Georgia O'Keefe painted in 1929, entitling the painting The Lawrence Tree(Figure 7-14).]

And yet here, in America, the oldest of all old Pan is still alive. When Pan was greatest, he was not even Pan. He was nameless and unconceived, mentally. Just as a small baby new from the womb may say Mama! Dada! whereas in the womb it said nothing, so humanity, in the womb of Pan, said nought. But when humanity was born into a separate idea of itself, it said *Pan*!

In the days before man got too much separated off from the universe, he *was* Pan, along with all the rest.

As a tree still is. A strong-willed, powerful thing-in-itself, reaching up and reaching down. With a powerful will of its own it thrusts green hands and huge limbs at the light above, and sends huge legs and gripping toes down, down between the earth and rocks, to the earth's middle.

Here, on this little ranch under the Rocky Mountains, a big pine tree rises like a guardian spirit in front of the cabin where we live. Long, long, ago the Indians blazed it. And the lightning, or the storm, has cut off its crest. Yet its column is always there, alive and changeless, alive and changing. The tree has its own aura of life. And in winter the snow slips off it, and in June it sprinkles down its little catkin-like pollen-tips, and it hisses in the wind, and it makes a silence within a silence. It is a great tree, under which the house is built. And the tree is still within the allness of Pan. At night, when the lamplight shines out of the window, the great trunk dimly shows, in the near darkness, like an Egyptian column, supporting some powerful mystery in the over-branching darkness. By day, it is just a tree.

It is just a tree. The chipmunks skelter a little way up it, the little black-and-white birds, tree-creepers, walk quick as mice on its rough perpendicular, tapping: the blue jays throng on its branches, high up, at dawn, and in the afternoon you hear the faintest rustle of many little wild doves alighting in its upper remoteness. It is a tree, which is still Pan.

And we live beneath it, without noticing. Yet sometimes, when one suddenly looks far up and sees those wild doves there, or when one glances quickly at the inhuman-human hammering of a woodpecker, one realizes that the tree is asserting itself as much as I am. It gives out life, as I give out life. Our two lives meet and cross one another, unknowingly: the tree's life penetrates my life, and my life, the tree's. We cannot live near one another, as we do, without affecting one another.

The tree gathers up earth-power from the dark bowels of the earth, and a roaming sky-glitter from above. And all unto itself, which is a tree, woody, enormous, slow but unyielding with life, bristling with acquisitive energy, obscurely radiating some of its great strength.

It vibrates its presence into my soul, and I am with Pan. I think no man could live near a pine-tree and remain quite suave and supple and compliant. Something fierce and bristling is communicated. The piney
sweetness is rousing and defiant, like turpentine, the noise of the needles is keen with aeons of sharpness. In the volleys of wind from the western desert, the tree hisses and resists. It does not lean eastward at all. It resists with a vast force of resistance, from within itself, and its column is a ribbed, magnificent assertion.

I have become conscious of the tree, and of its interpenetration into my life. Long ago, the Indians must have been even more acutely conscious of it, when they blazed it to leave their mark on it.

D.H. Lawrence and New Mexico, ed. Keith Sagar (Paris and London: Aylscamps Press, 1995), pp. 39, 40-41.

Appendix 5 **Letter from D.H. Lawrence to Sister, Emily King ["Pamela"]**

Kiowa Ranch. c/o Del Monte Ranch, *Questa*. N. Mexico

Saturday 30 May [1925]

My dear Pamela

I had your letter yesterday: am thinking that by now Ada should have received the parcel from Mexico with the puma skin for you. Hope it won't go lost.

We are getting on well here. I am much better--almost my normal self again. But I have to beware of the very hot sun, and of the sudden cold.

We have been on our own ranch all the time: only stayed down on Del Monte five days. But Brett is down there, in a house of her own. The water from the Gallina is for here: it runs gaily past the gate, though the stream isn't very big now. It is a terribly dry spring—everything burnt up. I go out every morning to the field, to turn the water over a new patch. So the long 15-acre field is very green, but the ranges are dry as dry sand, and nothing hardly grows. Only the wild strawberries are flowering full, and the wild gooseberries were thick with blossoms, and little flocks of humming birds came for them.--We are now building a new corral for the four horses--and we are having a black cow on Monday--and we've got white hens and brown ones, and a white cock—and Trinidad caught a little wild rabbit, which is alive and very cheerful. That's all the stock: except for Rufina's sister and two little Indian tots with black eyes. The sister has only got an unknown Indian name, and speaks nothing but Indian.--We made a garden, and the things are coming up. We have to turn the stream on the garden, in dozens of tiny channels, to irrigate it. And the nights sometimes are still very cold.--Trinidad saw a deer just behind the houses, last week. But I don't want him to shoot it.

I hope you will come one day and spend the summer: we will manage it, when we are all a bit richer.
By now you will have got a copy of St. Mawr: and there is a description of the ranch in that.
Glad you've got another dog. Heaven knows what is best for Peg: I *hated* teaching.
Here is the kiss for Joan xx
Love DHL

Frieda's nephew Friedel Jaffe is here--quite a nice boy of 21.

The Letters of D. H. Lawrence, Vol. 5, ed. James T. Boulton and Lindeth Vasey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 257-258.