INALIENABLE INTERIORS: CONSUMERISM AND ANTHROPOLOGY, 1890 TO 1920

By

Aaron Wayne McCullough

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

American Studies—Doctor of Philosophy

2016

ABSTRACT

INALIENABLE INTERIORS: CONSUMERISM AND ANTHROPOLOGY, 1890 TO 1920

By

Aaron Wayne McCullough

In this dissertation, I examine how and why anthropology became a significant discourse through which consumers, taste makers, and authors attempted to understand and navigate the consumer marketplace of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century United States. Anthropology, in its focus on "primitive" material cultures, perceived primitive objects as unconscious and unchanging expressions of identities defined by culture, race, or natural physiography. In a marketplace of alienable commodities, of objects circulating not only from producer to consumer, but also within and across the boundaries of identities, anthropology allowed consumers a discourse through which they could understand the objects of others; and through which they could imagine, identify, or idealize objects that expressed their own racial, national, class, or cultural identity. I call the consumer that emerged from this discourse of consumption, borrowing from historian James Clifford, an ethnographic consumer: an anthropologically aware, rational, consumer self, capable of navigating a cosmopolitan marketplace by perceiving and idealizing objects as cultural. I trace this figure, a version of Walter Benjamin's flâneur, through the writings of Arts and Crafts polemicist Irene Sargent, through the pages of *The Craftsman* magazine she edited, and out into other marketplaces such as the world's fairs of the early twentieth century. If anthropology was used to evaluate and navigate a marketplace of alienable objects, it was also used to imagine a domestic material culture: in the dreams of fiction and the practice of architectural design, the hut was a locus of withdrawal, an imagined place where the material objects that composed the home could securely express race, culture, class, or

nationality. And in both the marketplace and the domestic interior, the idea of a primitive material culture allowed white, middle class consumers to identify their own and other's inalienable material cultures, while displacing this static version of material culture onto the primitive. This displacement allowed consumers to ultimately claim the mobility and rationality of a modern self. Yet objects posed difficulties for those who would attempt to identify them as expressive of a particular identity. As Will Cather shows in *The Song of the Lark*, the objects we create circulate across the borders of individual or collective meaning systems and, in their simple material persistence, beyond the life of an individual or collective identity, oppose our attempts to define them.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Like most writers of dissertations, I have never written one before and likely never will again; which is to gesture towards the idea that a dissertation is not only a unique and immaterial kind of document but also the result of a unique confluence of opportunities and individuals. This one was written mainly in libraries and quiet rooms at home, but it would not have been possible without the guidance, influence, and aid of others, whose voices were often present when they were not.

I would like to thank my committee members, Kenneth Haltman, Ann Larabee, Ellen McCallum, Douglass Noverr, and Stephen Rachman, for leading graduate seminars, for modeling teaching, for familiarizing me with Marxist theories and American Studies, for introducing me to methods for analysis of verbal, material, and visual products of culture, for asking hard questions, for opening new doors. I want to particularly thank my chair, Stephen Rachman, for his determined faith in this project that helped me carry it across the finish line.

Many thank their parents, but mine are in these pages more than most, along with my grandparents. I grew up in a family that not only valued education, but foregrounded literature and art, as well as a unique relationship to household objects that has influenced my thinking more than I can tell. My parents' resistance to reflexive cycles of consumerism confounded me when I was young. Now their attitudes and practices inspire me.

I give thanks to my fellow graduate students and colleagues in years teaching at Xavier University, Miami University, and Michigan State University, for providing a community of educators, scholars, artists, and activists. I give thanks to my students who often inspired me with their intellectual openness and energy, and kept me sharp when research was slow. And I

especially thank “the public,” Kelly Battles, who single-handedly kept intellectual inquiry in my life these last two years and provided proofreading and encouragement when it was needed most.

Two institutions provided invaluable material support, allowing for months of research: the Michigan State University Graduate School and the Winterthur Museum, Garden & Library. In particular, at Winterthur, I was not only given access to archival materials but access to a community of material culture scholars and librarians whose knowledge of American material culture of the United States was both daunting and, unfortunately, rare.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Introduction: Ethnography and the Persistent Mobility of Objects

A sense of unfitness and unreality will forever pervade and haunt the imitation which, through the lack of spontaneity, has no justification for being; which has no basis of artistic truth, and which represents no dominant thought of the period…. So advancing from instance to instance, we reach the conclusion that any art worthy of the name must strike its roots deep into the life of the people, and must produce as freely and naturally as does the plant in summer. (Anonymous "Style and Its Requisites")

An interior haunts the pages of *The Craftsman*, Gustav Stickley's Arts and Crafts' lifestyle magazine published monthly from 1901 until Stickley's bankruptcy in 1916. A hybrid mixture of various furnishings suggestive of the past and the foreign, this interior is "a pell-mell of misapprehensions of the historic styles" (Stickley, "Ugliness" 319) or a "meeting place of the products of many ages and countries" (Sargent, "Revival").[1] It creates feelings of "grotesqueness" and "confusion" such that it "resembles nothing so much as a masked costume ball" (Stickley, "Ugliness" 319). Filled with irrational things, "objects of ill-defined use, which must require the entire time of one person to classify and regulate," its rooms are "twisted into a Labyrinth, which, by day, has its perils in the form of threatening bric-a-brac, and through which, by night, Ariadne must perforce guide Theseus" (Sargent, "Revival"). As suggested by the passages above, this is an interior that produces mimicry and affectation as opposed to purity and authenticity, wealth and waste as opposed to utility or sincerely American, middle-class needs, and irrational consumer desires as opposed to rational, modern, and often Anglo-Saxon taste. It is also an unmanageable, excessive space that crosses the borders of national, racial, and ethnic identities. "[O]ur modern palaces," William L. Price writes facetiously, if more plainly, "are vapid and unrelated reproductions or modifications of the past, filled with junk, the hall of Italian Renaissance, the reception room blamed on one of the useful Louis, the library Jacobean, the

[1] See Hamlin for other objects that express this idea and must be "subject[ed] to structural lines and a certain repose and harmony which suffer when caprice is unrestrained" (142).

Breakfast room Georgian (Colonial having now become plebian), the dining room Flemish" (126). Imposed on middle-class Americans by producers, department stores and marketers, professional interior decorators, or more abstractly, the dictates of "fashion," this interior is a creation of the capitalist marketplace; its "chaos" results from "the division of labor" that produces furnishings which the consumer must then passively "accept"; and the interior's objects are accused of "offering no more unity than is to be found in the motley throng of the street, each one having, like any individual of the throng, the air of being bent upon its own errand" (Stickley, "From Ugliness" 318). It is an interior that opens outward into the marketplace, and into public space, transgressing the domestic interior. The objects that comprise it, in the Arts and Crafts' imaginary, not only suggest the alienated individuals of the modern, capitalist city, bent on self-interested business, but they are thus by virtue of suggesting multiple races, cultures, nationalities, or historical periods.

The Craftsman was easily the most successful of the early twentieth-century American Arts and Crafts magazines, communicating a wide range of Arts and Crafts ideals to a middle-class, American audience; and it should come as no surprise, given the values implicit in the above descriptions, that the Arts and Crafts movement has been described by its historians as nationalist and Anglo-Saxon-ist, a movement whose members desired the security of a national, white material culture. Indeed, many pieces published in *The Craftsman*, from art and architectural criticism to home decorating articles, from historical and travel essays to the monthly article that published the plan of a Craftsman home, attempt to describe the material culture that would meet the tastes of such a national, white, middle-class identity. Not surprisingly, many of these articles idealize English or German styles, or the American past constituted through Pennsylvania Dutch, Colonial, or log cabin styles, while modifying them to

fit their concept of modern American taste. As this multiplicity of idealized cultural heritages implies, however, the idea of a racially or culturally unified national style was produced through a verbal, visual, and material discourse rife with its own divisions and tensions. To claim that the Arts and Crafts movement comprised a national and Anglo-Saxon material culture is to claim that material objects and their corresponding subjectivity did clearly and coherently exist; moreover, that the Arts and Crafts movement was by and large a unified movement. We might read the ghostly "haunting" of imitation furnishings, of styles that circulate beyond their appropriate time and place, as a displacement, a way to exorcise difference or hybridity, and name the real, the authentic, the true demand of the American consumer, unified in race, class, and ethnicity.

Yet the experience of cosmopolitan interiors indicated in the brief passages I have cited above is not merely a displacement.[2] Rather, these passages presuppose and work to define potential relationships between human subjects and material objects. As they do so, they begin to describe and evaluate the mechanisms by which material objects should circulate from producer to consumer, or from private property owner to private property owner, but also within and across the boundaries of race, nationality, class, or culture. They attempt to define the terms by which humans can imagine, create, desire, appropriate, display, and live with material objects. On the one hand, they define (and idealize) a version of material culture that ought to be very

[2] By arguing that this interior is more than a displacement, I indicate my commitment to taking seriously the relationships between subjects and objects. In this instance, I locate the subjectivity implied within these passages, not merely the stability-seeking subjectivity that would like to displace it. While it is possible to read texts such as those from *The Craftsman* I cited in my opening paragraphs as creating a particular identity, I would argue that this is premature. Rather, there are other subjectivities implied in these texts and others like it, subjectivities that want to but cannot find their material objects, subjectivities that probe and explore what it means to have an identity with material objects. I will argue of these subjects that their anxieties and desires are real, and that their political limitations and possibilities are worth examining.

familiar to material culture scholars today, in which objects express, transmit, enforce, and substantiate the values of the group identity that produces and consumes them.[3] In *The Craftsman* version of material culture described above, human subjects ideally produce and consume objects that express their racial, national, class, or cultural subjectivity. On the other hand, these passages propose another relationship to culturally significant objects, one in which human subjects relate to material objects much like the experience of modernity the historian James Clifford has described – as "off center among scattered traditions," a "condition of rootlessness and mobility," a "loss of authenticity," or a movement beyond the "traditional" or "native" (3-5).[4] The imagination of the interiors referenced above senses and theorizes that objects are capable of splitting off from their human, cultural, racial, or national origins. The interiors created out of this sensibility are made up of a material world of objects alienated from a bounded historical period, place, or group, yet capable of indicating that bounded identity.

This tension between objects as a necessarily interior element of human identities and objects as exterior to human identities continues through the first decade of *The Craftsman.* Far from merely withdrawing into the boundaries of a racial, national, or cultural identity, *The Craftsman* consistently turned outward, towards the historical past, towards others defined as

[3] In using the term "material culture" I don't mean to imply either that the Arts and Crafts used these words or deployed them in precisely the same way that scholars of material culture do today. However, I do mean to argue that the idea of material culture deployed by scholars and implicit in more popular practices, including both museums and popular culture, can be traced to this kind of early twentieth-century discourse on the relations between human subjects and "their" material objects (though this is not an origin story – that would be beyond the scope of my argument). As Jules David Prown describes it in the 2000 collection *American Artifacts: Essays in Material Culture*, material culture presumes that "human-made objects reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of the individuals who commissioned, fabricated, purchased, or used them, and, by extension, the beliefs of the larger society to which these individuals belonged" (Haltman and Prown 11).

[4] In fact, there is even a certain materialism in Clifford's descriptions where traditions can form rooted materially to place or be uprooted and, like objects, "scattered."

nations, races, and cultures, towards Russian peasants and Germans and American Indians, no less than towards Anglo Saxon, white, middle-class Americans. This dual inward and outward relationship to objects, in *The Craftsman*, was assisted by the adaptation of professional anthropology for a popular audience, and for the purpose of aesthetic judgement. Not only did *The Craftsman* publish articles of popular anthropology that took anthropology's traditional subject matter as a way to educate the magazine's audience on "primitive" material objects and the people who produced them, *The Craftsman*'s lifestyle articles on American and European home architecture, furniture, and jewelry borrowed from anthropological discourse to create the magazine's own Arts and Crafts aesthetic language, arguing for a material culture that would authentically express the cultural or racial identity of white, middle-class Americans.

The Craftsman was not alone in American popular culture in its use of anthropology to understand, evaluate, and navigate the consumer marketplace in the early years of the twentieth century. World's fairs, as Robert Rydell has famously showed, used anthropology as a way to achieve the elite's visions of ideological unity. Moreover, official and unofficial guidebooks of the fairs used anthropology in a more experiential way: as an interpretive lens to attempt to understand a bewildering marketplace of cosmopolitan exchanges. Architects, interior decorators, and novelists such as Willa Cather and Jack London used the image of the primitive hut to create a temporary withdrawal from the alienations of the modern consumer marketplace. This dissertation argues that the uses of anthropology in these situations was a reaction against and a return to modernity – a way to create on the one hand a modern, rational, mobile self, that could comprehend and move through a marketplace of alienated, comprehensible objects and, on the other hand a stable, inalienable, primitive interior that could be inhabited and left behind, like a shell.

This self, I argue, can be understood as a version of the "ethnographic subject" that James Clifford posits in *The Predicament of Culture*. For Clifford, ethnography is both an academic practice, tied to the discipline of anthropology, and also a general, even popular practice. In examining ethnography as an academic practice, Clifford examines the ways that professional ethnographers developed strategies of participant observation and written rhetoric to remake "the research situation's ambiguities and diversities of meaning into an integrated portrait," a coherent, fictional, cultural whole over which the professional anthropologist presides as author and authority (40). The ethnographies Clifford studies emerged in the 1920s and 1930s as professional anthropologists turned to ethnography as a new form of methodology and professional currency. However, it is the general form of ethnography that he states to be his primary subject: "a pervasive condition of off-centeredness in a world of distinct meaning systems, a state of being in culture while looking at culture, a form of personal and collective self-fashioning" (9). It is a "predicament" because this self is "perpetually displaced, both regionally focused and broadly comparative, a form both of dwelling and of travel in a world where the two experiences are less and less distinct" (9). Ethnography, the production of representations of culture within academic anthropology and in popular texts, both produces this off-centeredness and becomes a necessary way to navigate it, given what Clifford identifies as the increasing interconnectedness that occurs in globalization. Clifford turns to Bakhtin to understand this condition as a version of heteroglossia, an "ambiguous, multivocal world [that] makes it increasingly hard to conceive of human diversity as inscribed in bounded, independent culture" (23). As Clifford acknowledges, ethnography has often worked to produce cultural boundaries that enforce purity and difference, self and other, and often in unequal relationships of power. Yet ethnography always reflects heteroglossia and Clifford argues that ethnography

also takes part in the project of challenging such notions of static wholeness and absolute difference. Clifford argues that this general predicament persists outside of academic practices, however his subject matter extends little beyond literature and high art. The texts I turn to from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveal that the concept of culture developed in anthropology was already influencing how individuals tried to make sense of their lived experience, in particular of their experience of the consumer marketplace.

While consumer marketplaces were hardly new to the United States at the end of the nineteenth century, they had begun to take on a new significance, both in terms of their growing scale and their increasing importance as a means of individual self-fashioning and fulfillment (Leach; Jackson-Lears, "From Salvation"). Transformations in marketplaces produced a corresponding, new set of relationships to the objects exchanged through them. In a basic, economic sense, the means of production shifted from the home and small producers to industrial factories or other large scale, production facilities owned by capital (Marx, *Capital*). Although I do not mean to suggest that this shift was or is absolute or complete, these economic transformations produced a general economic and cultural alienation of individuals from capitalist production, individuals who in turn entered the marketplace as consumers appraising objects understood not as products of labor but as abstract categories of things or as "isolated objects, the possession or non-possession of which depends on rational calculations" (Lukacs 91). Yet this alienation of object from labor was not nearly as rational an experience as Georg Lukacs would indicate, as consumers entered not simply a world of rationally evaluated objects but also a relatively varied, bewildering, and disorienting fantasy world of objects whose meaning was enhanced by advertising and display art. And if from an economic perspective, commodities were defined by their exchangeability, for which their origins as objects of labor

and production were immaterial, for some commodities, the national, cultural, or geographic place of production, alien to the consumer, was absolutely central to their appeal.

Kristin L. Hoganson, in *Consumer's Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity*, shows that white, middle-class women, among others, turned to home decorating, fashion, and food with cosmopolitan origins. These American consumers selected interior design and imported objects from European countries such as France and Germany as well as from countries that revealed a more Orientalist impulse, such as Turkey, Japan, and China. They made, ate, and critiqued food from around the world, food affiliated with colonizers and colonized, defined and experienced as cultivated and primitive. Hoganson argues that these interests were partially a protest against the confinement produced by American domesticity and expressed a cosmopolitanism of taste, leading to "imagined communities of consumption" (34). Yet, Hoganson argues, although these practices could reflect and create a greater openness to difference, they more often reflected a desire for power, "the power of the pocketbook, the power of knowledge, and the power of social distinction" (43), suggesting the cosmopolitan consumers' desire to affiliate with imperialism abroad (48).

In this dissertation, I turn to consumer practices similar to those defined and described by Hoganson. However, one significant difference is my argument that such cosmopolitan, capitalist marketplaces are structures that produce disorientation and alienation. The concept of "alienation" is, of course, central to both Marxist studies of the subject and the object in capitalism, and, more broadly, studies of subjects and objects in modernity. Marxist usages of the terms tend to indicate the way that a worker's labor or the products of his or her labor are made into a commodified or reified thing that becomes both possessible and exchangeable by capitalist subjects (Marx; Lukacs). This usage implies a forced separation of a previous unity, as in a part

of a subject forced from a subject, or an object from a subject; and this connotation has made possible the usage of the term as the forced separation of the subject from power to which the subject has a right, a power which the alienated subject actually has in some prior or imagined state.[5] These usages also assume a prior natural or original unity or relationship of stability between a subject or object and that which it is alienated from. And this is what those who refer to the alienable qualities of life in modernity suggest: the physical and subjective separation of the individual from society, without, necessarily, implying the power imbalances of the Marxist position. In these usages, the subjects in modernity experience a disorienting mobility created both by their own alienability and by the alienability of objects, and these mobilities create both loss and loneliness and also great freedom. But this concept of alienability both implicates and creates its oppositions: unity, stability, connection, and belonging. In this way, noting the alienability of objects or styles implicates the very possibility of their inalienability: for my study, the possibility of a material culture in which subjects and the objects they create have a proper, stable relationship of race, place, and/or culture.

The texts I turn to, in various degrees of consciousness and attentiveness, find the alienability of objects in consumer capitalism to be troubling. Capitalist marketplaces normalize and prioritize a valuation of objects that perceives them as commodities, defined by their relation to other objects in the marketplace, and comparable by price, design, or status potential, among other possible valuations. As Bill Brown argues through a reading of John Dewey and James Livingston, these practices can be seen to produce "a culture in which all things seem to have become … alienable, abstract, and homogenous: that is, a culture in which no physical object (a

[5] A good example of this usage is in Dick Hebdige's description of alienated youth subcultures in *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, although the alienation Hebdige explores is expressed through the semiotics of style (18).

German gothic house, say) can grant its owner some sense of stable identity – a culture in which inalienable possessions, unexchangeable objects, have been discarded without a trace" (47). Yet it should go without saying that objects can also present other meanings for consumers; they can leave traces. While consumers generally cannot access an object's origin, understood as a product of human labor, because of their distance or difference from that labor, or simply because of their status as consumers, objects speak of their creation in various volumes, depending on where they are, what they are, and who is listening to them. It doesn't take much effort, if we are prompted, to imagine the factory labor that might have created a chair we are appraising, even though the factory might be insignificant in our decision to purchase it. Other objects speak loudly to us of origins, historical, geographical, and cultural, despite the fact that their exchangeability as commodities allows them to move across various borders. The discourse of anthropology, through the concept of culture, was a language through which objects could speak of their origins. Yet a cultural conception of objects is partially at odds with the treatment of objects as commodities. Commodities, through their alienability, are able to move across geographical and cultural borders. Cultural conceptions of objects, however, perceive them as created within a bounded identity grouping and the cultural significance of an object generally is determined by that identity for which and within which the object is created and circulates. As the passages I presented in my opening paragraph indicate, some early twentieth century consumers and tastemakers found a cosmopolitan marketplace, where alienable objects and styles circulated together, speaking of their cultural origins, to be a disorienting experience.[6]

[6] In *Consumer's Imperium*, Hoganson describes a "cosmopolitan domesticity" through which white, middle-class, American women displayed objects in their households that indicated a "geographically expansive outlook that demonstrated a familiarity with the wider world" (14). Displaying such objects in their home implied access to objects that signified a cosmopolitan array of identities; and Hoganson describes how American women travelled to European and

Ethnographic representations of relationships between human subjects and material objects offered a way to navigate this confusion, both by providing knowledge through which a consumer could understand objects and by imaging a stable, cultural relationship between humans and the objects they created and/or used. In a section of her chapter on food, Hoganson examines how ethnography was used by white Americans to represent various food cultures. Ethnographic food writing, she argues, offered Americans a sense of exploration and discovery, the power of scientific authority, and a way to define foreign others, usually to maintain feelings of national superiority (123-128). The texts I turn to perform similar cultural work, yet show that popularized ethnography was hardly confined to discussions of food culture. And ethnographic consumption not only allowed consumers to claim knowledge of and superiority over others, it also allowed them to claim and define their own cultural identity, an identity that would then imply their own proper taste for particular objects. Ethnographic consumption was a way for some consumers to both claim a modern, informed, rational identity and describe their own bounded, stable identities of race, nationality, and class. In response to a cosmopolitan

---

non-European countries, purchasing "nominally priced pottery in Egyptian bazaars and the charming baskets to be had for a few centimes in Martinique" while less affluent consumers were able to purchase goods imported to their localities (22). In using the term "cosmopolitan marketplace," I mean to describe the practices, such as the travel of consumers and producers, and the importation of objects, that allowed commodities to cross various national, cultural, and racial borders. But also I mean to broadly describe less tangible practices that allowed for the exchange of commodities that signified foreign identities, for instance, the circulation of designs and styles, and the knowledge deemed necessary to identify, purchase, and display foreign objects. An andiron created and sold at a Craftsman store in New York could yet signify a Turkish identity. A couch made in Michigan could indicate both an American and an 18th century French identity. Department stores created elaborate displays meant to create a fantasy of Japan or Paris (Leach 83). Minor international trade exhibitions as well as spectacular world's fairs brought craftsman, salesmen, and consumers from around the world to promote and exchange wares and ideas.

marketplace, ethnographic consumption worked to define relationships between subjects and objects, relationships that make up what were conceived of as cultural.

The significance of anthropology to the practices I label ethnographic consumption marks another difference between my work and Hoganson's. In *Composing Cultures: Modernism, American Literary Studies, and the Problem of Culture*, Eric Aranoff shows that the idea of culture was significant to spheres outside of professional anthropology in the 1920s and 1930s. Aranoff writes against the narrative that would center anthropology as the historical locus for the definition and deployment of culture, which then only moved beyond disciplinary boundaries in the latter half of the twentieth century. Rather, he argues that "new concepts of culture arose from a thoroughly interdisciplinary debate in the period [of literary modernism], involving social scientists, literary critics, philosophers, artists, and anthropologists alike" (13). However, the discipline of anthropology remains central to my dissertation because the texts that I examine borrow directly from anthropology, and for several interrelated reasons. First, anthropological discourse afforded a professional, scientific status to those who used it. Second, until just past the beginning of the twentieth century, anthropology was both institutionally housed in museums, as opposed to universities, and was focused on material culture as a result; speaking of objects in terms from anthropology made sense at the time. And third, these texts are concerned with the idea of the primitive – in many ways the central object of anthropology – and the version of culture it underpinned: a version defined by unconscious, unreflecting, repeated behavior, and bounded homogeneity.

Marianna Torgovnick shows in *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* that the primitive is a category that reflects on the self that deploys it more than on the other to whom it refers. The primitive "tells us what we want it to tell us" (9) and allows us to define ourselves

against an other that, depending on how we might want to define ourselves, can be promiscuous, superstitious, or quite simply sub-human (9). The texts I examine tend to imagine primitive material culture according to several intertwined characteristics that are opposed to both modern selves and capitalist commodities. Primitive material cultures are defined as bound by the dictates of their own customs and opposed to change. They are defined as irrational, lacking in reflexivity, or the ability to examine and improve upon their own production techniques. They are isolated and unified, their boundaries geographically, racially, or by force of custom, fixed against change through adoption of other cultures. Because of this, they are unchanging or slow to change. If the category of the primitive happens to apply to people currently living, they are capable of comprehending or entering into modern production techniques with only various degrees of success, depending on the ranking system used by the person describing them. Yet if the primitive is, quite clearly from our current critical perspectives, a category designed to serve the interests of the selves who define their own modernity against it, the return from the primitive is not simply a return, across a discrete divide, to a modern, rational, aware relationship to material objects. As Torgovnick argues, the primitive "could comment on and affect social change" and "could alter or affirm existing hierarchies" (46). In the texts I examine, the concept of the primitive is fundamental to how those who used it tried to perceive themselves and their material objects as cultural.

In my first two chapters, I argue both that anthropological concepts of material culture were fundamental to the consumer practices of *The Craftsman* and that anthropology understood as a discourse of consumption can help to elucidate possible subject/object relations in the early twentieth-century United States that still operate today. I use the Arts and Crafts discourses of *The Craftsman* as a way to begin to think through the ways that the idea of a "primitive,"

"indigenous," or "native" material culture helped white Americans, themselves alienable and alienated, navigate a marketplace of alienable and alienating commodities in which both objects and styles circulated beyond what was perceived as their appropriate place, culture, or race. In turn-of the century America, I argue, the threat of such cultural change was managed by recourse to the idea of native material cultures, which offered the possibility of stable racial, cultural, or national identities, as expressed through objects. Anthropologists, by means of an evolutionary discourse in which biological organisms evolved through environmental pressures, perceived those defined as primitives, along with their objects, as tied to physiography. Material objects and styles, based in the natural environment of the primitives that created them, were understood to be a kind of evolutionary organism, capable of progress or regress. Moreover, such evolution was perceived to have occurred through natural selection; change within the material culture of primitive societies was perceived as the result of unconscious, evolutionary forces.

The Arts and Crafts discourses of *The Craftsman* replicated this concept of material culture. Not only did *The Craftsman*, throughout its fifteen-year run, include numerous articles of popular anthropology, discussing the abilities and limitations of the material culture of "primitive" societies for its mainly white, middle-class audience, anthropological thinking seeped into other articles, from do-it-yourself design and cabinet making to architectural and jewelry criticism. In these articles, the object of anthropological understanding was both the primitive, racialized, and ethnicized other and the modern, Anglo-Saxon American. Here, then, the idea of a native material culture could represent the very possibility of unity through the suppression of differences within the racial and national interior, differences made possible by both the distinction between design and production and the movement of objects and styles across the borders of place and identity. Indeed, it was often this anthropological discourse of

material culture, rather than the socialism generally associated with the Arts and Crafts movement, that was deployed as an attempt to heal the subject-object split produced in modernity and reproduced within consumer capitalism. The (re)union of self and object imagined in primitive societies and in Arts and Crafts production (either through Arts and Crafts businesses or through do-it-yourself projects) depended on the idea of local, home-based, and unthinking/ unconscious material production; the fantasy of this unification provided escape from the multiple alienations of capitalist modernity. Yet this redeployment of anthropological discourse produced anxieties and slippages, for both Arts and Crafts polemicists and practitioners and their anthropologist counterparts who similarly attempted to use their ethnological lens to understand modern peoples of European descent. If European races were potentially modern by virtue of their self-awareness and rationality, and especially by virtue of their ability to rationally manipulate reified objects, how could their material culture then unconsciously express their innate, racial abilities? And how could such an evolutionary discourse of material culture jive with the evidence of pervasive trade across geographic, racial, ethnic, tribal, and/or national borders in the past and in many primitive societies, no less than in the modern, capitalist, cosmopolitan present? If taste was unconscious and innate, always determined by one's own identity, what could it mean to have a taste for the objects of an other?

In both chapters, I argue that the Arts and Crafts movement that became popular in the United States posited a consumer that I will call, borrowing from Clifford, an ethnographic consumer: an anthropologically aware, rational, consumer self, capable of navigating a cosmopolitan marketplace. In my first chapter, I focus on one particular Arts and Crafts text, Irene Sargent's essay "A Revival of Old Arts and Crafts applied to Wood and Leather" to explore how this ethnographic consumer was developed through the influence of Sargent's

particular Arts and Crafts philosophy. In my second chapter, I trace this self through the pages of *The Craftsman* magazine and then out into other texts and marketplaces of the first decade of the twentieth century. I argue that this consumer self can be understood as a version of Walter Benjamin's flâneur, a figure of the marketplace whose mobility depends on knowledge of the marketplace. Indeed, the ethnographic consumer was a contradiction, depending on the idea of culture to stabilize subject-object relations in capitalist exchange across culture borders, while at the same time maintaining a position of rational, knowledgeable distance that facilitated the mobility of the free, alienable, and rational self.

In my third chapter, I turn to the idea of the hut and other forms of primitive dwelling, such as log cabins and sod houses. If ethnographic consumption offered a way to navigate the marketplace through anthropological knowledge and forms of taste based in that knowledge, primitive dwelling offered an imaginative withdrawal from the consumer marketplace of alienated and alienating commodities. Of course, huts, like other elements of a primitive material culture, could work to identify a cultural and racial status against which to define the modern progress associated with American, white, middle-class domesticity and its corresponding architectural forms. As I argue through a reading of Willis Boyd Allen's *The Lion City of Africa*, the hut could be an object of anthropological and architectural knowledge whose association with geographical and racial limitations could allow whites to claim the rationality and cosmopolitan movements of the modern self. However, the hut also allowed whites to fantasizing about their own evolutionarily produced geographical limitations that secured their race as an inherited, biological characteristic. As *The Lion City of Africa* hints, the hut could offer an attractive idea of withdrawal from the cosmopolitan marketplace, where alienable commodities circulated through the marketplace and into consumer's homes, destabilizing

identity. Houses produced by professional, modern architects and designers and the consumer objects of the modern domestic interior exemplified a capitalist marketplace alienated from consumers, countering the withdrawal associated with domesticity. In Jack London's novel *The Sea Wolf*, I show how the hut offered a lifestyle unmediated by a feminized consumer marketplace, where especially men could fantasize about a material lifestyle similar to the do-it-yourself movement's ideals of power and control. Yet, fantasies about primitive dwelling were not only gendered. From a more simply ethnographic perspective, the idea and materialization of primitive dwelling could be used to construct a native, chthonic architecture for the white, American middle class. In *The Craftsman* and other lifestyle magazines, the bungalow became the house form most associated with this organic architecture, as its proponents incorporated design elements and rustic, local materials to exemplify primitive dwelling. This primitive dwelling then suggested an inalienable connection to locality through the materiality of primitive design elements, yet it was also a characteristic that could be displaced through a return to the modern, as bungalow designs were also depicted as full of modern convenience. This movement across the modern/ primitive binary is exemplified by Willa Cather who, in *O! Pioneers*, turns to the forgotten architecture of sod houses to claim an inalienable right to locality that then justifies the capitalist property rights necessary to alienate and profit from the agricultural commodities of that locality. As Gaston Bachelard shows in *The Poetics of Space*, dreams of huts offer a retreat and a refuge from the modern house, a refuge characterized by intimacy and wholeness. The hut dreams and architectural practices I examine offer the refuge and fantasy of a domestic material culture, where the material world and identities of race, culture, and gender mutually expressed themselves.

Hut dreams offered the idea of complete withdrawal from the cosmopolitan marketplace

into the security of a homogenous material culture, a material culture where subject and object could be inalienable expressions of each other. In my final chapter, I argue that Willa Cather's *The Song of the Lark* offers a revision of these anthropological perspectives of material culture that go unquestioned in *O! Pioneers*. I read Cather's novel and its engagement with Cliff Dweller archaeology both with and against popular and academic anthropology that attempted to resurrect Cliff Dweller culture through archaeological analysis in order to show how Cather's concept of culture in *The Song of the Lark* is influenced by her own aesthetic of incompletion and loss. While anthropology imagined culture and race to be resistant to change, and material objects to be clear expressions of a relatively immutable identity, Cliff Dweller objects were expressions of a people long dead, their identity both mysterious and subject to debate. Willa Cather's novel opens up this gap between object and culture to reveal how material objects and other forms of human art move and persist beyond the boundaries of a culture both geographically and temporally. Expressions of loss and incompletion, always lacking, never completely defined, material objects take part in processes of cultural exchange and transformation, processes that reveal anthropology and its concept of static culture to be not simply wrong, but bad art.

The persistence of material objects not only makes possible their mobilities in capitalism, but allows them to be given as gifts, to be inherited, to be lost and found, uncovered or discovered, or to carry traces of others, even as they are appropriated by a new cultural subjectivity. They are easily defined; that is, they appear amenable to definition, yet their persistence means they are ultimately irreducible. This quality of material objects allows them to take part in processes of change, to be "actants" as Jane Bennett has described them in *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. For Bennett, the word "actant" indicates the potential of

"things" to take part in processes, outside of their significance as objects. Whereas objects are always defined by their definition by human subjects, things occupy a kind of materiality that exists outside of human definition. Humans can acknowledge one part of this materiality through the persistence and "continuity" of matter (8-9). While I understand the importance of distinguishing between materiality as an object of human subjectivity, caught up and dominated by processes of cultural or psychological signification, I prefer not to use the word "thing" to suggest that material objects have a life that exceeds our ability to control or frame them. Besides suggesting an abject quality, the word "thing" also implies a lack of uniqueness, since an object, as it enters thing status, would appear to have lost its difference from other objects. For me, the word materiality maintains the idea that an object can be unique and irreducible to a generic material thingness, even if all material objects ultimately share that quality. The inescapable fact that objects persist, in their unique or particular materiality, beyond the boundaries of possession by a producer, an owner, a culture, or a people allows objects to both reveal that they are irreducible to any single meaning system and, through that irreducibility, also influence processes of cultural change.

The possibility of articulating a study of culture, and material culture in particular, that understands its subject of study as divided, mobile, transformative, porous, and incomplete is why I would argue, with Aranoff, that attempts to dismiss culture as a lens for and object of study are premature. As Aranoff notes, recent critics of culture in both anthropology and cultural studies have become rightly skeptical of culture. For some, culture has become too ubiquitous, used as a default explanatory tool, lacking precision. For others, culture is a replacement for race or national identities, necessarily implicated in the desire for bounded wholeness, absolute difference, and hierarchical thinking. Aranoff himself argues that modernist texts consistently

use the idea of culture for the sense of bounded wholeness it provides. In his conclusion, he argues that "to say the term 'culture' is already to fall into the 'trap,' to begin to draw boundaries by drawing relations between elements, to derive meanings that are always mediations, to call into being a community that then could be said to have already been there." However, Aranoff calls for a "critical culturalism" that depends on being "continually aware, when we deploy the term, that culture is never simply 'itself'; it is always relational and provisional" (192).[7]

Aranoff, of course, is focused on texts, and on the act of writing. I would argue that objects can be uniquely significant to this critical redeployment of the idea of culture. The persistent stability of objects, and their apparent quietude, on the one hand, has made them suited to cultural scholarship that presumes them to be the expression of a single culture, understood as an unchanging structured whole. Yet it is their very persistence that allows them to move across borders: of property, geography, and culture, and even to move beyond death, from the life of one person or group to the life of another. An early twentieth-century dresser bought at an antique mall suggests to me the previous owners, even as it suggests to me those who designed and built it. In much the same way, my grandfather's watch reminds me of him and his life, indicating simultaneously generational difference and inheritance. These objects are mine; they are expressive of me and what has shaped me. Yet they are also not me or mine and cannot ever be completely. Even more than texts, which need a subjectivity to make meaning of them, objects suggest an outside, and the limits of stability and subjectivity. Through their basic

[7] As I see it, this relationality and provisionality depends on seeing culture as divided, as a nebulous organism with indeterminate and innumerable parts, more process than whole. Cultural structures generate difference. Subcultures generate conflict. Individuals make alliances, articulate disagreements, change minds, exhibit internal contradictions, wage wars, stage revolutions. Objects, individuals, ideas, and practices move across borders of internal and external difference. A shift towards understanding culture as a process that generates stability and change, as simple as that sounds, is all that is needed to counter most arguments that would want to dismiss culture as a term of study.

materiality, they suggest both others' and our own provisionality; if they are ours, they are possessed only because of our own perspectives, which must also acknowledge that they have persisted through a past and will take their part in a future that necessarily exceeds us.

Chapter 1: The Ethnographic Consumer and Irene Sargent's "A Revival of Old Arts and Crafts applied to Wood and Leather"

Although it would be a mistake to identify one individual as the cause of a phenomenon that relied on widespread beliefs and practices, Irene Sargent is certainly a significant voice in *The Craftsman*'s brand of Arts and Crafts. At the very least, Sargent is a useful focus both because of her – largely overlooked – influence within the Arts and Crafts movement, and because of the work her writing does. While hers is hardly an unwritten name within the history of the American Arts and Crafts movement, historians have begun to speculate that she was more than simply the first editor of and most prolific contributor to *The Craftsman*, more than a hired pen for the furniture maker's revolutionary commodities. That she is often thought as such is arguably due to a self-effacing personality that left little documentation about her own life, which was certainly doubly obscured by the gendered marketing façade that aggrandized the stereotypically masculine Stickley.[1] Where the idealized biography of the furniture maker and

[1] The craftsman is a reoccurring figure within the magazine. As the magazine's ideal, he counters industrial machine labor by reunifying worker and designer, consumer and producer, mind and body, home and workplace. In a way, he works to embody the modern individual, in control and rational, in a marketplace that poses threats to the individual through the division of labor or the supposed dictates of fashion, imposed on the individual from on high. As Sargent laments in "The Rise and Decadence of the Craftsman: An Historical Note": "The intelligent, alert and vigorous workman declines, until he seems to form a part of the machine which he operates; his human intellect obeying a mechanical power, his individuality forfeited, and his physical liberty confined within narrow limits" (14). Within the magazine, Stickley becomes both the explicit and implicit representative of this manly individual as real or implied author, such as in his do-it-yourself carpentry series, or in articles written about him such as Samuel Howe's "A Visit to the House of Mr. Stickley." Howe eulogizes Stickley's home design as "The work of a leader, who, striking out for himself, following neither school nor man" and is "devoid of restless, picturesque or willful irregularities." Howe continues: "No one would accuse Mr. Stickley of being blind to the strength of ancient traditions, though he scornfully rejects their coercion" (162). I suppose I should reminding readers that in 1902, Stickley was not yet the magazines' editor; I am sure no one would accuse him of slavish self-promotion, either.

polemicist would have him on his own impulses and initiative discovering the European Arts and Crafts movement through books by Ruskin and Morris, visiting Europe to view Arts and Crafts products, beginning his own American line of Arts and Crafts, and devising and launching *The Craftsman*, documentation does not support this strict chronology of events. Historian Catherine Zipf has made the argument that Irene Sargent was both a central driving force behind Stickley's conversion to Arts and Crafts production and the mind behind *The Craftsman*. Sargent was highly educated: though she never received a college degree, she had taken classes at Harvard with Charles Eliot Norton, through whom she may have been introduced to the Arts and Crafts movement, and in 1895 she had become an instructor of languages at Syracuse University, advancing to professor of fine arts by 1908. One of Stickley's daughters remembered Sargent as being "the one who discovered father…. She saw his early work, his experiments, and she saw its great potential – perhaps even more than father did" (qtd. in Cathers 38). At Syracuse, she was remembered by her students as an intense, imposing lecturer, if also a kind and helpful instructor; knick-named simply "the Brain," she was supposed to have willed the organ of her superior intellect to Harvard medical college for study (Zipf 146). Her writing for *The Craftsman* bears out both the range of her scholarly interests and the weight she seemed to have assigned her scholarly role. Devoting the first two issues to Morris and Ruskin, her subsequent writings ranged from jewelry criticism to European literature to the pottery and basket making techniques of native peoples. In fact, the persona of the Craftsman, with Stickley as its representative, probably owes its aura of practical and worldly intellectualism to Sargent's knowledge and rhetorical skill. Throughout her writings, her critical judgments on subjects varying from Russian socialist reform to the importance of the clock to the Anglo-Saxon home were based in art historical and anthropological discourses of race and culture.

While it would be speculative and slightly essentializing to argue, as Zipf has, that the relatively uneducated son of a bricklayer was unlikely to have originated a plan to turn to publishing at a time when he was also just beginning a new business enterprise, it does seem likely that Stickley did not conceive *The Craftsman* by himself, as both he and most Arts and Crafts historians have claimed.[2] And for the first few years, during Sargent's vigorous editorship, Stickley seems to have taken relatively little interest in the magazine. What would become the most widely-read American Arts and Crafts magazine of the early twentieth century was probably attractive to Stickley because of its marketing and, in a broader sense, its branding possibilities (Zipf 154).[3]

At the same time, while both brought their different insights and goals to the magazine – in fact Sargent would resign her editorship in 1905, most likely because of these differences – to overly distinguish between the two would also be a simplification.[4] Sargent was a ghostwriter for many articles signed by Stickley or written in the voice of Stickley's Craftsman persona (Cathers 159). And both educator and businessman were tastemakers, attempting to influence how their audience navigated the contemporary marketplace as consumers. In fact, the first documented collaboration between Stickley and Sargent was the first United Crafts' trade catalogue. Late in the year 1900, Stickley paid Sargent fifty dollars to compose the text for his 1901 *Chips from the*

[2] Mary Ann Smith also speculates that Sargent may have played a formative role in the origins of the magazine, though she reasons from the evidence that he was clearly too busy with his furniture business (34).

[3] And, though it achieves more than these marketing goals, it is very easy to see the magazine as, in part, an engine designed to enhance consumer desire. Throughout its run, *The Craftsman* included advertisements for Stickley's business ventures, often appearing as content within the magazine. And, more generally speaking, many articles work to create the Craftsman persona, with Stickley as its usual specific representative.

[4] Zipf speculates that a shift in focus from historical to contemporary art and politics may have led Sargent to resign her editorship (159).

Workshops of United Crafts.[5] The resulting essay, titled "A Revival of Old Arts and Crafts applied to Wood and Leather" is significant – not simply as Stickley's first foray into marketing, or as a document linking American Arts and Crafts to the British movement; it is an essay whose taste-making bridges the gap between the guild-faced socialist design criticism of the movement's British predecessors and the kind of ethnographic consumerism that would appear consistently beginning at the end of 1901 in the pages of *The Craftsman*.

Scholars of the Arts and Crafts movement in the United States have long perceived it as a reaction against the experiences of modernization; yet most work has tended to emphasize its relations to the late nineteenth-century British Arts and Crafts movement, especially the socialism of one of its core theorists, the writer, craftsman, and decorator, William Morris. Some have gone so far to argue that the Arts and Crafts posed a distinct alternative to industrial production practices. These authors have tended to take Arts and Crafts claims at face value and have perceived the guild-faced corporations of businessmen Gustav Stickley and his brothers or middle-class planned communities such as Byrdcliff and Roycroft, as alternatives to capitalist production (Boris; Kaplan). Others, such as T. J. Jackson Lears, have been more critical in their analyses, locating contradictions within the movement. In Lears' view, as argued in *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*, these contradictions indicate that the American Arts and Crafts was an "accommodation" to modernization. For Lears, the Arts and Crafts took part in the therapeutic revitalization of the middle-class individual; its challenge to corporate bureaucracy, industrialization, and ideologies

[5] Both Cathers and Zipf, the two most recent scholars who have researched and speculated on the relationship between Stickley and Sargent, have documented the origins of this text in Stickley's need to stimulate consumer demand for his novel designs. Both have identified it as a significant text in circulating Arts and Crafts ideology in the United States. But neither attend to the text's original contributions to Arts and Crafts ideology, as they read it as an extension of British principles.

of progress was ultimately contained through capitalist consumption. As a poor copy of the more sustained critique of Morris, the American Arts and Crafts would heal the wounds of the modern, middle-class individual, while ultimately supporting capitalist hegemony (74-96).

More recent scholarship has emphasized the American Arts and Crafts' gendered, racial, and nationalist expressions of this contradictory relation to modernity. For instance, Kristin Hoganson argues that the American Arts and Crafts movement was a reaction against the growing popularity in the United States of cosmopolitan styles and a "protest against the cosmopolitan ethos" (41). Along with the colonial revival and mission styles of architecture and interior decorating, the Arts and Crafts movement, in its esteem for "local traditions and products made from local materials" was a "particularly Anglo-Saxon" movement (40) and a part of a masculine home decorating backlash against the "dangerous yearnings for liberation" of cosmopolitan decorators (41). Yet, as Hoganson indicates, this form of "protest against the cosmopolitan ethos" (41) produced its own contradictions:

> The irony of these nationalistic and racially inflected styles was, of course, their mixed antecedents. Both fans and critics of the colonial revival acknowledges that its origins were more English than American and that it also reflected Oriental influences – the East India company had introduced lacquer, porcelain, and Chinese rugs to England in the sixteenth century, and Chippendale furniture was heavily influenced by Chinese design.
>
> The arts-and-crafts movement likewise had British origins and Japanese inflections. (41)

Indeed, home architectural and interior decorating styles promoted in the popular Arts and Crafts magazine *The Craftsman* borrow from Japanese, Spanish, Russian, and Native American styles, among others.

This chapter expands on this "irony" to show that the practices Hoganson examines here

are only ironic from a certain perspective.[6] Rather, I would argue that American Arts and Crafts movement was no less cosmopolitan than the practices Hoganson mainly focuses on as it attempted to articulate what can be cultural about objects and consumers in the early twentieth century consumer marketplace. Though it mainly idealizes the objects of European folk cultures, Sargent's essay reflects – and slightly alters – turn-of-the-century anthropology's construction of the relation between human-made objects and their respective races or cultures. Moreover, as a text that attempts to create demand, it itself becomes a record of a subjectivity of taste through which consumers might navigate a marketplace of commodities. In this chapter, then, I read Sargent's essay beside works of professional anthropology to show not only how professional ethnography that constructs "primitive cultures" can inform popular consumer practices but how both attempt to manage the tendency of material objects to circulate across the borders of place, culture, and race. In the Arts and Crafts imaginary found here, objects might substantiate the interiority of an identity, they might transgress the boundaries of an identity, but they might also, as a condition of both possibilities, negotiate between identities.

The essay is unsigned; written in the voice of workers at United Crafts, it is worldly, intellectual, calm, and reasonable. Perhaps mimicking, perhaps compensating for the sparsely decorated furniture it describes, the essay is exceptional even for the often lengthy and reasonable-sounding advertising copy of the period. It transforms the catalogue; though sketches and photographs of the new furniture line occupy a few more pages than the essay, the text is

[6] While the Arts and Crafts did attempt to offer a masculine form of domestic interior, to say simply that it was masculine overlooks the way the Arts and Crafts participated in gendered discourse across a masculine/feminine gender structure, as well as overlooking the many women who took part in the movement, themselves negotiating across the intersections of race, class, and gender.

placed throughout the catalogue, such that it becomes unclear whether the text introduces the furniture or the furniture illustrates the text. It might be said that Sargent has taken it upon herself to produce a manifesto. Perhaps Sargent's most audible discursive labors are to situate the United Crafts and its voice within the Arts and Crafts movement by alluding to British Arts and Crafts leaders, and idealizing Medieval and European folk art and architecture. However, Sargent reworks these affiliations. Her polemical targets are not the usual Arts and Crafts enemies: industrialization, mechanization, or capitalism and the alienation of labor from its products; her goal is not a socialist transformation of labor. Rather, the alienability of commodities from laborers within capitalism becomes the precondition of a greater crisis: the alienability of objects from their appropriate race, culture, time, or place. Attempting to define a native taste that will both produce and desire objects expressing that national, cultural identity, Sargent blends anthropology, art history, and Arts and Crafts discourses to navigate a world of objects that is part consumer marketplace and part museum.

Clearly prefiguring the Stickley craftsman persona, the essay's voice speaks as an individual, yet it speaks for the workers of United Crafts, as well as consumers. And as both individual and collective, Sargent punctuates her essay with a repeated if unattributed citation of British arts and crafts polemicist, craftsman, and socialist William Morris to describe the ideal United Crafts product as "art developed by the people, for the people, as a reciprocal joy for the maker and the user." But Sargent, in evoking Morris' materialism only implicitly evokes Morris' socialism. For Morris, as stated in his address to the Birmingham Society of Arts and Design delivered on Feb. 19, 1879, the ideal "art, made by the people and for the people, as a happiness to the maker and the user," depends on the emotion of the laborer, fundamentally. Arguing from a definition of the human being as a kind of laboring thing, and even merely a part of nature

which itself is made up of things that achieve their identity in work, the ideal object is simply "the expression by man of his pleasure in labour." The "happiness" which the user then finds in the object is the happiness that originates in the laborer; the displeasure caused by industrially produced objects is the feeling that an object has been made without justice for labor, where the measure of justice is the emotional quality of the laborer while working. As Morris asks, "we the public – how can we bear to pay a price for a piece of goods which will help to trouble one man, to ruin another, and starve a third? Or, still more, I think, how can we bear to use, how can we enjoy something which has been a pain and a grief for the maker to make?" (Morris). For the exchange of commodities, valued only in relation to each other, Morris substitutes an exchange of objects whose aesthetic qualities are determined through a consequent ethics-based exchange of emotions. While Morris' writing is clearly punctuated by racial and cultural thinking, and while particular objects in Morris' writing can take part in substantiating distinct racial and cultural identities, generally speaking the objects of human labor substantiate social relationships between all makers and users: producer and consumer are bound through the expressive object regardless of cultural boundaries. Sargent's "reciprocal joy," however, attempts to craft boundaries; paying homage to its British origins, her essay yet forms a break with Morris' socialism. The "joy" that joins producer and consumer in Sargent's discourse is not the absence of pain and grief, or economic ruin and starvation, but rather the presence of cultural or racial similarity. That is, Sargent imports into her Arts and Crafts manifesto an anthropological thinking about objects through which she attempts to guide her reader to an understanding of their own identity, and their own true, native and innate, racial and cultural demand, their own material culture.

To this end, Sargent begins her consumer manifesto by defining the purpose of objects in

relation to both human cultural and racial identity. Where all humans create objects for both "usefulness … and keen, sensuous pleasure," both utility and pleasure in material objects become the result of innate racial and cultural difference:

> … indeed we find the savage decorating with great care and no little skill his few household goods, his weapons and his clothing. If now this savage belongs to one of the superior races, he manifests his embryonic capabilities in the relations between the constructive and the decorative features of the object which he creates; in the sweep of his line; in his use of dyes and stains. Thus we find the most ancient sun dried pottery of the Greeks to be modeled upon the subtlest curves. We find the early inhabitants of Central and Northern Europe showing in their ornament the germs which slowly developed into the splendid art of the Middle-Ages.
>
> If it is so proven that the intellectual capacity of the races, even in semi-civilization, is clearly discernible in their ornament, it is no less true that the character of each age, or period, is expressed in the objects of use and luxury then created.
>
> A cogent example of this fact lies in the productions of the medieval crafts. With these objects before our eyes, we realize the meaning of an art developed by the people, for the people, as a reciprocal joy for the maker and the user.

Perhaps the clearest expression of early twentieth-century anthropology manifest in this passage is Sargent's use of a developmental model of human evolution. For anthropologists and sociological theorists such as Herbert Spencer, Edward Tyler, Lewis Henry Morgan, Alfred C. Haddon, or Otis T. Mason, human culture experienced progressive evolution. Their models of

cultural transformation argued that progress had occurred in multiple areas of human activity, the highest being those achieved by modern European societies. For instance, for these thinkers, human beings advanced from stone tool making to modern industrial production, from simple social interactions to complex modern states and bureaucracies, from matriarchal to patriarchal social organization, from concrete and irrational to abstract and rational modes of thought, or from lower to higher ethical codes. The New York anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan developed an often used model – one alluded to in Sargent's writing and throughout *The Craftsman* – categorizing this progress as a three-part movement from savagery to barbarism to civilization.[7] Yet savagery and barbarism were not simply past stages of development, known only through the work of archaeology or history. Rather these stages continued to be represented by others, especially by those considered lesser races whose abilities kept them from entering – on their own – into the stage of civilization occupied by Europeans. Many anthropologists – Franz Boas would become a notable exception – argued that it was therefore possible to understand the past, if not precisely the origins, of all humanity by studying these belated peoples, since people of all races had progressed through similar stages.

For Sargent, objects take part in this evolution. Yet, at the same time, and perhaps as a precondition of their participation in Sargent's developmental model, objects are capable of expressing a race's "capability" or "intellectual capacity" as well as the "character" of an age. Useful and decorative objects – spears, vases, furniture, etc. – are clear expressions of the producer's place in human evolution, the historical destiny of a race, as well as the cultural identity of the group that makes and consumes them. And this is fundamental for Sargent's

[7] This model was popularized, for instance, by W. J. McGee, director of the St. Louis World's Fair Anthropology Department (Rydell 160). For a summary of Morgan's argument, see Victor Buchli's "Introduction" to *The Material Culture Reader* (4).

project: her desire to name and describe the cultural and racial taste of her white, middle-class, American audience and to identify Stickley's Arts and Crafts commodities as the objects that both emerge from and are desired by that taste. As she guides her reader through a world of objects that is part museum and part consumer marketplace, the objects of Germans, Tyrols and Americans, French aristocrats, and others continue to express a group's character, their values, and their needs such that these can be perceived by her and her reader, presumably members of a group that does not share those characters, values, or needs. In the passage cited above, Sargent imagines her clear-eyed viewer outside of hierarchically arranged races and periods, but in contact with, examining, those objects and ornamental styles that communicate that hierarchy. The objects she alludes to remain apart from the viewer's own race, culture, or historical period, but present to a knowledgeable subject capable of understanding rational proof and whose gaze perceives the racial and cultural qualities of objects. The objects themselves reflect distinct cultural identities and, at the very least, identities that situate them at particular periods in the developmental model of cultural transformation. In other words, before alluding to Morris or even the objects of the United Crafts, Sargent interpolates her reader through an anthropological discourse of material culture.

Objects were instrumental to early anthropological study, both within the discipline and to popularize anthropological theories outside the discipline by means of such institutions as museums and international exhibitions. Museums, as the institutional base for anthropological study, were central to the emerging discipline. And "object-based epistemologies" such as those presumed in the object lessons of schoolhouses or department-store show windows indicate the broader context behind and beyond this institutional connection (Brown 89). In the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century United States, objects became a powerful medium of

communication, capable of educating or influencing an audience in ways that words could not. Objects not only supplemented the lack of presence in language, but could speak to those multiple others who were perceived to need such a supplement to language-based learning: for instance children, immigrants, primitives, the masses, or members of the working classes. Bill Brown has argued that we can understand the use and display of objects within such institutions as schools, museums, department stores, and international exhibitions as a part of a distinctly turn-of-the-century American shift in the ways that objects could contain meaning within them. One of the meanings objects could contain – and express – was cultural, racial, or national identity. I would like to tease out the implications and complications of this idea, in particular the way a culture's or race's objects would not only substantiate its interiority for itself, but continue outside of that race or culture to communicate that interior identity to others.

The debate between the anthropologists Franz Boas and Otis T. Mason about the proper method of museum display, to a certain extent, illustrates how objects could communicate culture and race at the turn of the century. For Mason, and other anthropologists, objects should be classified as biological specimens in an evolutionary hierarchy. A particular class of object could then be displayed in a progressing lineage in order to illustrate the improvements which various peoples had contributed to the design of a particular object, culminating in the material culture of the west's industrial production. The classification of human beings according to an evolutionary model of race and culture was fundamental to this form of display, as not only did the objects communicate the progress of human industry but also the biological advancement in racial ability which determined the industrial level of various peoples. Boas' infamous challenge to Mason's system of classification as exemplified in Mason's ethnological displays at the National Museum is simply stated, yet it implies an important shift in anthropological

assumptions. Countering Mason's belief that "like causes produce like effects," Boas argues that "unlike causes produce like effects" and so argues that particular objects with similar forms could have vastly different uses and meanings depending on cultural context. For instance, a rattle, depending on its "tribe," could be used in a religious ceremony or to entertain children (Boas 61). Behind these various uses are various historical and environmental causes that determine the use and form of the particular, individual object in question. For Boas, both the present environmental factors influencing a group of people as well as "the history of the people, the influence of the regions through which it passed, and the people with whom it came into contact" were central to ethnological research and display (*Shaping* 64). Difference between the particular objects of particular cultures undermined the possibility of arranging objects according to technological advancement, especially if the goal of such displays was ethnographic illustration.

Boas' solution, then, was to display the objects of a particular society together, since only then could a particular object express its true meaning as the ideas and values of the people who used it. Boas writes, "The art and characteristic style of a people can be understood only by studying its productions as a whole. In the collections of the national museum the marked character of the North-West American tribes is almost lost, because the objects are scattered in different parts of the building" (*Shaping* 62). For Boas, the display organized by tribal productions, representing a "whole" comes to express the "marked character" of a group of people. The objects "scattered" about the national museum however, are alienated from their context such that that character is "lost," or rather, is "almost lost." For Boas, the object is perhaps never incapable of expressing cultural significance, yet in its proper context, it expresses its "marked character," its distinct identity. Whereas Boas has emphasized the historical

character of ethnographic study as concerned with migration and cross-cultural influences, the ethnographic display works to displace cultural change, creating the static "whole," the totality, the complete expression of the tribal other within the western museum. Outside of their own display, they express too much of us, too little of them. And alienation is not the characteristic of the object outside its society as it crosses cultural borders. Rather, alienation is the characteristic of the object outside of its proper display case. In effect, Boas displaces the alienation of the object itself onto improper museum arrangement. Their alienating displacement – "scattered in different parts of the building" – forms the opposition to a static "whole" such that cultural transformation through cross cultural appropriation or exchange becomes merely a bad display. The transnational, or transtribal, circulation of objects by means of anthropological study becomes a means of maintaining difference; for Boas, the objects do not transform our culture, but remain a part of the other's.

Yet something does cross the boundary between the space of the display case and the space of the viewer. The ability of objects to express difference becomes the precondition of achieving the political goals of Boasian anthropology. It is only through "the tribal arrangement of collections" that such collections could also indicate "the fact that civilization is not something absolute, but that it is relative, and that our ideas and conceptions are true only so far as our civilization goes" (*Shaping* 66). The ethnographic display, for Boas would not only communicate the ideas and values of the tribe, but it would also produce a kind of reflexivity within the viewer outside the tribe such that his or her own "ideas and conceptions" would be denaturalized. Viewing the material culture of the other creates a reflexive viewing of one's own culture, perhaps as reified as the display case; that is, the wholeness of "our" civilization is produced in the moment it confronts the wholeness of the civilization within the display case.

The relativism produced by anthropological viewing depends on establishing the boundary that maintains the difference between "our civilization" and theirs. "[O]ur ideas and conceptions," Boas implies, are not theirs, and though neither has any prior claim to truth, the boundary persists in the distinction between the viewer and the "whole[ness]" of the culture materialized in the ideal display case.[8]

But in a museum, the objects are meant to be apart from the viewer. They remain on display, available only to imaginative appropriation; they are not meant to be taken home. The museum is a space where the viewer can momentarily confront another culture and potentially leave it behind, even if converted to multicultural relativism. In a society whose material relationships were so often structured through commodity production and the rights and practices of private property ownership, the museum is a space of collective ownership, yet one where the other remains other, and is not wholly owned, even by the collective. At the turn of the nineteenth century, however, the museum was only one space where Americans could confront another through the other's material culture. The consumer marketplace of department stores, catalogues, and magazine advertisements displayed and sold a wide range of goods that indexed multiple cultures, races, nationalities, and "tribes."[9] And, partially contrary to histories of taste that argue that the American white middle class purchased to indicate their own innate rational, civilized, modern sensibilities, the late nineteenth and early twentieth century witnessed the

[8]This maintained border might be one reason why, ultimately, Boas' method of ethnologic display – and the geographical method of anthropological study implicit in it – could also be used to perpetuate an evolutionary model of cultural and racial progress. Mason's displays at the Chicago World's Fair combined Boas' emphasis on geographic tribal context with an evolutionary model. The difference between Mason and Boas was potentially less than Boas would claim. See Ira Jacknis' "Franz Boas and Exhibits: On the Limitations of the Museum Method of Anthropology" for the way Boas and Mason's displays were both similar and different (81-82).

[9]For a description of these marketplaces, see Kristin Hoganson, *Consumers Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity*.

popularity of the material culture of those considered savage, barbaric, indigenous, primitive, folk, peasant, or otherwise belated subjects of modernity (Hoganson).

Of course, the idea that consumer taste is central to differentiating categories of identity is not new. Pierre Bourdieu, in his study of French consumer society from which he derives his theories of taste, has argued that taste hierarchies create cultural distinctions that help reproduce class hierarchies within consumer capitalism. Scholars of the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century United States have similarly argued that taste, closely allied with hierarchies based in ethical sensibilities, was one way the white, middle class worked to naturalize their racial and class hegemony within the economic systems of slavery and industrial capitalism. Whites considered themselves heirs to civilization's advance because they produced and tastefully, ethically consumed a modern, civilized material culture.[10] Sargent's essay certainly works to produce cultural hierarchies through the category of taste. Yet her essay, at the same time, negotiates the very boundaries of taste that scholars take for granted. What did it mean for an object or design to be inside or outside of a particular identity's taste, inside or outside of a material culture? What made it possible to think about the relationships between taste, race and culture at the beginning of the twentieth century? What did it mean for an object to be both inside and outside, or to cross the boundaries of a material culture? What I intend to show is that the marketplace she navigates becomes a space where borders are crossed and negotiated, and where hybridity is both experienced and managed by means of circulating consumers and circulating material objects, both defined through their relationship to ethnography. That is, the consumer she constructs is not at all firmly placed within their own material culture, consuming

[10] See chapter 2 of Gillian Brown's *Domestic Individualism: Imagining Self in Nineteenth Century Domestic America* titled "Sentimental Possession" as well as Lori Merrish's *Sentimental Materialism: Gender, Commodity Culture, and Nineteenth-Century American Literature*.

objects that help to establish that identity. Rather, attending to her essay allows us to see a consumer whose identity, and whose material culture, is not at all given.

Much like Boas, Sargent places her viewer before the objects she examines: "With these [in this case Medieval] objects before our eyes, we realize the meaning of an art developed by the people, for the people, as a reciprocal joy for the maker and the user." Idealizing medieval art objects was, of course, a staple discursive move for the British and American Arts and Crafts movements. Yet what I would like to draw attention to here are the two discursive mechanisms by which these objects, as "a cogent example" (note the singular, which serves to argue a clear, homogenous identity), as well as other material cultures confronted within the essay, come to express cultural meaning. In the first place, the precondition of this ability is punctuated in the paraphrase of Morris, which recurs four times throughout the essay. That is, "reciprocal joy" works to substantiate the taste that springs from the values, activities, and abilities of the people that create and consume a particular material culture. The second mechanism involves Sargent's creation of a "we": conscious, anthropologically aware consumers circulating through a culturally and racially cosmopolitan marketplace, confronting and leaving behind various material cultures, in order to locate their own true taste, and their own inalienable things, their own material culture.

In the first instance, the "reciprocal joy for the maker and the user" becomes the mechanism by which distinctive cultural tastes bind identities across production/ consumption circuits, as well as across hierarchical social arrangements. For if Sargent, mobilizing anthropological discourse to navigate a consumer marketplace, imagines objects expressing racial "capabilities" or cultural "character" to her audience, the precondition of these expressions is that such objects be a response to a demand that arises from within that race or culture, and

that binds producers and consumers in a "reciprocal joy." In continuing her discussion of medieval arts, she begins by idealizing the products of the medieval artisan as himself unified, and so able to produce objects of "richness": "Richness in an object created by the artist, or art-artisan, is oftenest the product of the perfect union and cooperation of the brain, the hand, and the pleasure of the creator; as we may find by examining the household furniture and utensils handed down to us from the Middle Ages." Implicitly contrasting this highly idealized medieval producer with the industrial system that splits designer and management (brain), laborer (hand), and consumer taste (pleasure), she holds out the possibility that production can be unified into one individual, that then reproduces itself, and expresses both itself and its unification, through the object. Moreover, this "richness" recurs across the social hierarchy for "whether destined for the king, or the yeoman, we see the same honesty of material, the same thoroughness of construction, the same skill in decoration, the same delicacy, care, and inventive quality." In the page preceding this passage, stating two of her first principles, Sargent has argued that "men can not be civilized and bound together in brotherhood unless they are given a share in art"; and then again echoing Morris, that "one office of art is to give people pleasure in the things they must perforce use" while "a second office is to give people pleasure in the things they must perforce make." In the instance of medieval arts, then, the pleasure of the producer becomes the pleasure of the consumer, and the art object of the medieval artisan binds "in brotherhood" the user across the social hierarchy and among producers and consumers. Sargent then can conclude this section with the second restatement of her refrain: "we view with equal delight the king's throne, the chorister's stall, the yeoman's chimney seat, and the peasant's bed, or marriage chest … because they are all products of an art developed by the people, for the people, as a reciprocal joy for the maker and the user." "Richness", "pleasure", "joy", "delight" become the qualities that bind a

community through the expressive object, and are the qualities of an object within a community thusly bound. But, in these passages, in addition to this communal identity formed and stabilized by means of proper objects, Sargent constructs another subjectivity, a "we" who "views with equal delight" and who somewhere, somehow, confronts medieval objects, outside of the object's proper culture, and "before our eyes." Why and where do "we view"? Who are we such that we experience this "equal delight"?

In this passage, Sargent describes an ideal relationship between human subjects as producers and consumers and the objects that work to bind them together such that they can constitute a unified material culture. Yet she also continues to construct, to interpolate as her reader, what I will call, modifying Clifford, an ethnographic *consumer*. On the one hand, Clifford locates in twentieth-century anthropological texts a constructed ethnographic authority, one that claims to be able to know, understand, and interpret the cultural object of study. On the other, he locates both this self and the cultural wholes it produces as its object of knowledge, emerging as a "solution" to the problem of personal and cultural dissolution. In this second case, the ethnographic subject becomes not simply a way to describe a form of academic disciplinary authority, but to locate a more general response to the dislocations of modernity. In his chapter reading Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* next to Malinowski's *Diary* and his ethnography, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, he finds the two authors finding a "solution" to personal dislocation, which "consists of constructing two related fictions – of a self and of a culture" (103); moreover, "the fashioned wholes of a self and of a culture seem to be mutually reinforcing allegories of identity" (104). Yet, despite Clifford's later attention to objects, he does not fully explore his notion of off-centeredness in relation to them, perhaps because he discusses "primitive" objects mainly in relation to their place in museums. We can think of the ethnographic subject in

Sargent's essay as an ethnographic consumer, searching for the objects that will substantiate its collective identity/ies, yet at the same time, capable of circulating, of alienating objects, in its positioning as a modern self. The dilemma for this self is, then, to both possess and reify objects and to be possessed by objects that necessitate an emotional, racial, cultural, or national, *unconscious*, response. This dilemma both undermines collective identity and makes it possible. He or she needs the objects of the racially or culturally defined other to construct him or herself both as a true collective identity, and to displace that identity, to enter the modern marketplace (which here includes the home, as well as production and consumption spheres of economic activity) as alienable. As the Boasian museum-goer defines his or her own culture in confronting that of the other, Sargent's consumer confronts another's material culture to define his or her own.

In the paragraph immediately following her description of medieval production, Sargent writes:

> In order, then, to bring on an age of artistic activity, of widely-diffused artistic knowledge, which shall be similar in character to the Middle Ages, the maker and user must understand and value each other. The maker must bend his energies to produce objects uniting in themselves the qualities of utility, of adaptability to place, of comfort, and of artistic effect. The user must choose with discretion the objects which shall decorate his home; carefully providing that they express his station in life and his own individuality; furthermore that they respond to his everyday needs.

In this passage, then, the consumer and the producer meet in the marketplace to exchange objects that express each other. The precondition of this intersubjectivity is recourse to their separate,

rational, conscious understanding of themselves, their art, their homes, and their place within those networks. Words like "utility," "everyday needs," and the expression of "individuality" seem to suggest that the consumer and maker should both pursue something like the needs of the rational, autonomous modern self. Yet if such needs were identified and pursued, the result could not help but be a culture and a material culture, a complete, whole identity – whether racial or national. Here, "must" seems to indicate both a demand interior to that identity and an imperative to create it – "in order to bring about," the material culture that at the same time cannot but exist. This "must" and the relations between producer and consumer it establishes becomes the precondition of both free, even rational, individual choice, and the substantiation of a group's taste.

On the following page, Sargent both elaborates on the characteristics of cultural taste, even as she continues to construct her form of ethnographic consumer subjectivity. Sargent asks her reader to imagine a middle-class American consumer who purchases and displays seventeenth- or eighteenth-century aristocratic French interiors. But this consumer "can not animate the picture whose background he has prepared with so much pains." Such styles, she argues, "should be relegated to the museums and the stage" since "all things have become new: the country, demands of the century, society, domestic architecture and domestic economy." The French interior she imagines, having sprung organically from the cultural demands of the French, aristocratic past, cannot continue in the present within the marketplace defined by the home-market circuit. Such styles must be displaced to the museum or theater where they can remain firmly outside of the cultural demand she desires to name and distinguish. They can't but express the past, severed from the present. To the ethnographic consumer who perceives the cultural significance of objects, aristocratic French styles can't but fail to meet the contemporary

American's own demands; the material objects remain forever alienated, forever sterile and inorganic, flat and lifeless.

Yet, if the French aristocratic interior, along with those cosmopolitan interiors that are "the meeting place of the products of many ages and countries," must be displaced to name the proper middle-class American demand, her ethnographic consumer can still enter, evaluate, and consume the objects of a cosmopolitan marketplace. Attempting to define a middle-class taste that does run the danger of aristocratic "luxury" or "degeneracy" she strangely idealizes several rooms in Louis Comfort Tiffany's 72nd Street New York House – a decidedly cosmopolitan interior. And then she argues that:

> To find the same characteristics of beauty, elegance and effectiveness [as displayed in the Tiffany House], we need only to reconstruct from extant objects the Tyrolese peasant interiors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; always bearing in mind that these objects were the possessions of sons of the soil; that they were created from materials which lay ready to the hands of the craftsman, who were themselves the every-day laborers of their own hamlets. And in these objects, as well as in the household fittings of other European countries, as also in the American colonial furniture that belonged to poor people, we see everywhere the excellence of the model … from which we argue once more that sincere art must be developed by the people, for the people, as a reciprocal joy for the maker and the user.

In this passage, Sargent places her ethnographic consumer before objects that once more suggest cultural qualities – yet the qualities are even more specific. The objects both suggest indigeneity within a natural environment, and within a bounded society. Indeed, here it seems the "every-

day," that is "reconstructed" out of these objects makes possible the very concept of mundane, static, chthonic material culture – a culture that produces objects and interacts with them in such a way that they are inalienable, that they express and constitute a bounded cultural identity. Yet this unconscious everyday, it would seem, only works to stabilize a cosmopolitan circulation of objects. For not only do the peasant, folk objects that Sargent idealizes seem to anchor and in a way make more inalienably possessible the cosmopolitan qualities of the Tiffany House, she yet partially displaces these inalienable qualities of objects. The third restatement of her echo of Morris serves to further suggest that it is possible for the American middle-class to organically possess such a material culture. But the questions remain: must her audience be "always bearing in mind" the qualities she names because they are similar or different?; does the American middle class possess these qualities, or are the qualities necessarily alienable because of their cultivated modernity?; what might it mean to "bear in mind" these cultural qualities of the other and the other's material culture, to both possess them, and to be off center in relation to them?; what might it mean to ultimately be off center in relation to the qualities of taste and demand that one "must" perceive in oneself?

The fact that she continues to move with her audience through a cosmopolitan marketplace of various material cultures, suggests that the refrain from Morris, and the whole, organic, inalienable material cultures it forms, serves to anchor the movement. That is, these cultures provide some stability, some imaginative respite for the modern self within an alienating modern world of alienated subjects and objects. But this interpretation is perhaps too close to theories of the modern self, its alienation within modernity, and its need of stability. It presumes a self prior to the self in modernity, a self that lacks stability within modernity and searches for that which it lacks. Yet the ethnographic consumer that Sargent creates for her audience is hardly

the suffering, alienated self lamented by many cultural critics of modernity. Rather this subject is implicitly valued as clear-eyed, rational, strong, controlling, intellectual and, above all, mobile. In fact, we might say that this subject is crafted in an opposition to the static, unconscious, racialized, whole material cultures it views. Yet, I will argue, that both are necessary, that both ethnographic consumer and material culture are a solution to a tension within early twentieth century discourses of race and especially of whiteness; that the ethnographic consumer works to create a modern self that is also racially, culturally, and nationally whole. For if the modern self is supposed to be rational, controlling, and mobile, able to manipulate reified things, and free of emotional, uncontrollable connections to objects, as a white self, different from other races, it must also have those qualities that make it racial. It must somehow be biologically, emotionally driven by a connection to the material world. It must be both modern and non-modern. The ethnographic consumer and the material cultures it perceives, becomes a way to navigate a potentially disorienting marketplace of cosmopolitan commodities, while maintaining a racialized, modern consumer self.

The ethnographic consumer that Sargent constructs in this essay emerges in relation to a marketplace of objects that are mainly western in identity. Eighteenth-century French, German peasant, Medieval European – these are the interiors, styles, or design patterns she and her reader materialize through their cultural knowledge. Yet, within the essay, Sargent hints at a broader conception of the contemporary marketplace. Ancient Egyptian and Greek styles or interiors are examined and partially or fully displaced. But besides entering a marketplace of western or historically canonical objects and designs, Sargent works to appropriate the objects and designs of present or past "savages": "still another material subject to our experiments" Sargent writes "is the rush, or reed, which although commonly and inartistically used, is capable of becoming a

significant decorative factor; as we may find by reference to the work of savage tribes, in their utensils and ornament." Such descriptions would become more relevant in *The Craftsman* proper. Here the semicolon and the fact that United Crafts performs decidedly modern "experiments" serves to separate the reader and United Crafts from the "savage tribes" she asks her reader merely to "reference." Yet, this passage hints at a greater affinity between Sargent's consumer discourse and the anthropological discursive knowledge she only alludes to here.

For the relationships between human subjects and the objects they create and desire, as well as the relationship between the ethnographic self and the bounded material cultures it perceives, bears more than passing resemblance to anthropology, the anthropological subject, and its objects of knowledge: the "savage" or "primitive" and their material cultures. In fact, it is worth remembering that Sargent begins her essay, as I have shown, by referencing a developmental model of cultural evolution, and by discussing the productive abilities and limitations of "savages." And the qualities of cultural or racial taste Sargent constructs – as unconscious demand, based in a bounded identity, bounded also by natural environment that to a certain extent determines that demand – reflect contemporary anthropology. I turn now to close readings of the texts of two turn-of-the-century anthropologists to show how the cultural qualities sought by Sargent's ethnographic consumer depend on anthropological discourses of primitive material cultures. These texts work to construct the boundaries of material cultures through unconscious demand, tied to local, natural physiography, which links taste to the hierarchies produced in the developmental model of cultural and racial evolution. These relationships work to construct the terms by which a group of people can possess a material culture. Yet in turning to these texts I hope to show not simply how Sargent borrows discursive knowledge from anthropology, but how the very tensions Sargent attempts to resolve through her

ethnographic consumer are at work in the anthropologists' attempts to manage cultural change and produce as their objects of knowledge, bounded, pure, static material cultures. These texts, I will show, construct a category of primitive material culture that works to make the concept of bounded, coherent material cultures possible, at the same time that they both interpolate a modern self, as their anthropologically aware audience, and attempt to use their anthropology to understand the modern, white, civilized self.

The British biologist and ethnologist, Alfred C. Haddon, provides a clear and sustained argument from the period claiming that decorative art should be studied scientifically through evolutionary biology. In the first place, Haddon argued, art could be studied, like plant and animal species, in their geographical distribution, and in their change through time, their evolution. But Haddon's method of study claimed more than metaphorical similarity to biology; as the product of biological forces, decorative art was, in fact, a product of evolution and so could be studied not merely like biology but *as* biology. Art could be said to evolve or devolve. Moreover art, as an expression of a more or less advanced, more or less complex human being, would be an expression of its place in an evolutionary hierarchy. Inasmuch as elements of decorative art were universal, they could underscore the "solidarity" of humanity, those common elements that indicated species being. Variation of decorative art between various ethnicities and races could indicate differential ethnic or racial ability and/or the hostility of a particular natural environment. Yet variation within an ethnicity or race could indicate evolutionary progress since evolution, Haddon argued, depended on variation in order for art, with the human species, to evolve.

The natural selection of particular patterns and designs becomes for Haddon an

explanation of taste, though Haddon mainly discusses natural selection as operating through producers, not consumers. Consumption becomes a secondary reflex of racial or ethnic production such that racial or ethnic demand follows seamlessly from production. The evolution that operates through production, Haddon argues, occurs not through rational, conscious choice, not as "a mental creation on the part of the artist," but rather through "natural developments" (309). Although it seems that "civilized" societies do consciously "invent" decorative arts that seem "original" it is far more likely, Haddon finds, that these productions are the work of evolution. To support his contention, Haddon refers to current theories of national development that found nations to progress or regress according to racial or ethnic characteristics, and not the conscious direction of particular individuals. But his consistent argument, one fundamental to his methodology in this work, depends on comparison with "savage" peoples. Throughout *Evolution in Art*, Haddon finds modern western societies too complicated to be objects of study; for instance, in his introduction, he writes: "the artistic expression of a highly civilized community is a very complex matter, and its complete unravelment would be an exceedingly difficult and perhaps impossible task." In stating his solution to this problem, his focus on the decorative art of New Guinea, he argues for the study of a more simple society, and echoes evolutionary system of racial progress: "In order, therefore, to understand civilized art we must study barbaric art, and to elucidate this, savage art must be investigated" (2). The difficulty in proving that unconscious natural selection of decorative art occurs in civilized, industrial societies, can be overcome, Haddon argues, by studying the selection of designs by "savages." And here, there is no difficulty: "savages do not deliberately invent patterns or designs; in other words, artistic expression is the result of a preexisting visual impression" (309).

The natural selection of decorative art operates, for Haddon, in a complex interaction

with the environment beginning with visual impressions of reality. Whereas aesthetic criticism is subject to national, racial, or personal bias, a "physical basis for art" lies in the "vibrations" of the object that produces "the pleasurable sensations which line, form, and colour may give rise to" (307). And this, if biology is any guide, would depend on a complex set of environmental factors that would take into account racial and ethnic human variation but would depend fundamentally on natural environment. Haddon writes: "All human handiwork is subject to the same operation of external forces, but the material on which these forces act is also infinitely varied. The diverse races and people of mankind have different ideas and ideals, unequal skill, varied materials to work upon, and dissimilar tools to work with. Everywhere the environment is different" (7). Haddon's materialism thus had a double object; both "human handiwork" and the human hands would evolve within the environment of a particular geographical region such that objects would become an expression of geography. Yet this would not preclude trade and other forms of cultural mixture and Haddon argues eloquently for material culture as a form of cultural exchange and change since "trade routes … are also culture routes, and patterns and symbols are the flotsam and jetsam of the influences that flow along them" (328). The liquid, wave metaphor, to a certain extent, dematerializes cultural borders such that culture, in the form of material objects, crosses boundaries and transforms identities. Indeed, objects can do so more than people, for Haddon, since they can circulate beyond the society that produced them.

Still, if Haddon acknowledges change through a boundary-crossing object, his arguments consistently work to stabilize and resist this form of influence. In providing examples of how designs evolve, for instance, he cites an 1849 study by Sir John Evans of ancient coins in which "savage" British and Gallic tribes reproduced the designs of Macedonian coins such that the design "degenerates" (313). For Evans, like Haddon, the design evolves in relation to its new

"external conditions" and the abilities of the people. It becomes simpler and more symmetrical through successive copying because of the "natural instincts of uncivilized man" (313). If there is a taste for foreign decorative art, these objects are partially transformed as they become "naturalized." And if the cultural rank of the people that import a particular object can transform it according to their own different abilities, the category of the primitive or the savage works to resist trade. In arguing for the unconscious evolution of art, Haddon writes, "The essential conservatism of the human mind is a fact of prime importance. Savages, children, and the less intelligent of the civilized races are similar in this respect" (316). Here then, where the human mind reveals species-specific characteristics, Haddon's writing works to displace conservatism to the primitive or savage, against which civilization's rational, progressing humanity is defined. And the category of savage or primitive offers a similar displacement in relation to geographical locality where "the decorative art of primitive folk is directly conditioned by the environment of the artist; and in order to understand the designs of a district, the physical conditions, climate, flora, fauna, and anthropology all have to be taken into account" (7). In this passage, cultural exchanges are minimized, as are, implicitly, the ability of a human society to somehow act on their environment. But if, as Haddon states several sentences later, "All human handiwork is subject to the same operation of external forces," his statement that seems to modify and define "primitive folk" works to both locate and displace indigenous cultural belonging.

Haddon's explanation of the natural selection of decorative arts attempts to define the determining factors of a material culture as environment and race. Yet his explanation that arts' natural selection reproduces the pleasurable sensations of visual impressions of the environment according to racial or ethnic abilities, fundamentally, cannot provide for a demand that would initiate cross cultural exchange or trade. In fact, whereas his concept of visual impressions

seems to make material culture a reflection of environment through the mirror of racial ability, he ends his book seconding the British anthropologist Flinders Petrie's "Address to the Anthropological Section, British Association, Ipswich Meeting, 1895":

> 'Art is one of the most important records of a race. Each group of mankind has its own style and favorite manner, more particularly in the decorative arts…. When we see on the Celtic work of the period of La Tene, or on Irish carvings, the same forms as on mediaeval ironwork, and on the flamboyant architecture of France, we realize how innate is the love of style, and how similar expressions will blossom out again from the same people…. We must recognize, therefore, a principle of 'racial taste,' which belongs to each people as much as their language, which may be borrowed, like language, from one race by another, but which survives changes and long eclipses even more than language.' (337)

For Petrie and for Haddon, taste and the objects that correspond to it are alienable, but only to a limit. They can be borrowed, but not, it seems, owned, other than by the race of which they are a "record." Innate racial character is found then in taste for particular objects.

It is the clarity with which the anthropologist identifies this taste that produces the ultimate subject of this passage. "When we see" and "We must recognize" produce the ethnographic subject as clear-eyed and rational in relation to the obvious and unquestionable wholeness of racial and cultural taste and its corresponding material expression. And yet Petrie acknowledges trade, and strangely, through capitalist terms: the distinction between "borrowing" and "owning." That is, the distinction between "borrowing" and "owning" works to both admit cultural exchange, but it ultimately works to stabilize and resist cultural transformation. What is borrowed must ultimately be returned according to the dictates of property rights. If cultural

exchange is merely a borrowing, it must eventually recourse to purity, to wholeness, to boundedness. Indeed, it is the clarity of cultural boundaries on which the ethnographic subject's wholeness depends. Such moments where the exchange of cultural objects seems to hazard the possibility of disruption and transformation are common in anthropological textbooks on material culture.[11]

Indeed, for Otis Mason, still considered one of the more racist anthropologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (possibly because of his conflict with Boas), it might be considered a central, persistent, motivating tension. His 1895 monograph *Origins of Invention: A Study of Industry Among Primitive Peoples* similarly locates taste in relation to racial hierarchy and geography. Like Haddon, he takes as his focus the material culture of the "savage" or "primitive." Whereas Haddon is concerned to show that material culture is an unconscious expression of a particular people, Mason argues for a conscious problem solving that he argues occurs in invention, a process that occurs in primitive peoples no less than civilized. Indeed, Mason is concerned to argue that primitive or savage peoples are very capable inventors, not merely "imitators" of their natural environment, and that the civilized are not the only humans capable of invention. Yet this hardly prevents Mason from ordering inventions into a hierarchy and telos of progress. Indeed, all of culture, from art to technology to government becomes, for Mason, a kind of "invention" and this allows him to make culture itself into a category of Enlightenment science. Still, the driving forces behind invention are what Mason terms "wants," "needs" or "desires"; in fact, "All changes in human action are stimulated by man's needs" (19). And if "needs" precede the inventions that satisfy them, then "needs", "wants", and "desires" are

[11] Since many such styles and objects were literally sold at the time, and not simply borrowed or lent, it seems possibly to argue that capitalist commodity exchange challenges the reification of the boundaries of race and culture.

subject to evolution, an evolution that must then precede but "parallel" the evolution of invented culture:

> Exactly as the inventive faculty, the things invented, and the rewards have passed through interesting evolutions, in which also the old ever survives into the new, so in the matter of stimuli there has been a parallel history. The pains of hunger are not the same in savagery and civilization. The desire for houses and clothing, and conveniences and art-products, and society and literature, and the explanation of things are childish in the one case, most exalted in the other. The evolution of human want therefore, is a part of the history of invention. (19)

If human needs evolve, they are hence intimately related to the environment in which they evolve. Mason splits needs into two categories: "those that act from within the individual, and those that affect him from without" (18). While the former include the desire for food, drink, and sex, the later are a result of "want of harmony between a man and his environment" and include the desire for shelter or safety (18). If wants are a result of disharmony with a particular environment, material culture, as the response to that disharmony, exists in harmony with that environment:

> Just as there is an intimate relation between animals and plants on the one hand, and terrestrial phenomena and resources on the other, giving rise to phytogeography and zoogeography, so in the natural history of inventions there is the same relation never to be neglected. This correspondence or harmony between arts and industries and all that goes to make up environment enables the ethnologist to comprehend the properties of each region, and often to decide whether an art is indigenous or exotic. (19)

Here, however, there is a tension. If evolution occurs in relation to environment, then an

evolving material culture, if not the wants it satisfies, must be indigenous. If objects that are "exotic," then, are not a result of evolution, what forces, what wants or desires would drive trade across the boundaries of a geographically, culturally, and/or racially defined people?

That Mason's thinking about the relation between taste, race, and evolutionary progress remains open – or is perhaps troubled by the tensions he encounters – is illustrated by comparison with his 1894 article in the *Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology*, written one year before *The Origins of Invention*. Writing to explain the principles behind his classification of ethnographic exhibits at the Worlds Columbian Exhibition, Mason imagines a primitive time period where racial separation produced a correspondence between geographical region, race, language, and material culture, with material culture especially conditioned by geographical region:

> it must be observed that in the primitive period of the races, physiography suggested a rule for the arts, and society created a demand for their products. The activities of each race depended upon the atmosphere, its density, temperature, moisture and degree of purity. And intimately associated with these phenomena would be the amount of distribution of rainfall, dew, frost, ice and snow. Each region would have its natural scenery, sea-shore, plains, lowlands and highlands. Also its mineral productions, its plants and animals, as a whole, would be to each of these areas a sort of genus loci. In contact with this environment each race would be compelled to invent a series of arts connected with food, clothing, shelter, developed in the exploration of nature for material and the preparation of the material in various crafts and the consumption of the product. The intimate association of these arts with the locality would operate independently of

races when they came together in the centripetal process of commingling them. (209).

Here, geography, in its minute detail, constitutes material culture as well as taste. Races are "compelled" by geography. Taste, here described as a "demand … for products," is not so much a quality of race as it is of environment, which determines material culture such that "society" must thereby have "created a demand" for the region's products.

And such are the ties between physiography and material culture that even in the next historical period he imagines, one of mingling brought on by "expansion" of races to their geographical limits, material culture is not alienable – that is, even if human beings attempt to take their material culture with them in migration, they are under the governing power of environment. Unlike language, material culture constitutes "impedimenta" since "The acts of life … are in each culture area indigenous. They are materialized under the patronage and directorship of the region" (215). Mason imagines the environment as a kind of conscious subject, a "patron" and "director," who kindly controls what a group of human beings can invent and reproduce. Yet later, Mason imagines a temporal progression whereby progress in taste undoes this correspondence between material culture and geography, and frees the primitive group from environmental control. In fact, Mason has opened up a possible slippage between race or culture and material objects through which he can argue: "In primitive life each culture region decides what food, clothing, shelter and bed men must use. But as they progress, they become independent of this law, they widen the culture area by the multiplication of wants and the refinement of taste until the whole world becomes an unique, comprehensive and undivided home for the whole race" (215). Whereas taste in *The Origins of Invention* undergoes a progression from savage to civilized and from "childish" to "exalted" here taste progresses from

local to cosmopolitan. Of course, his description of progress in taste might be said to refer only to white Europeans and thus be said to justify domination – the loss of a geographically bound taste justifies the migration of the imperial subject into those lands it would subjugate. We might also say that the alienability of the non-primitive individual depends on the ability to free himself from the physical and subjective confinements of geographical location and that the freedom to move across boundaries and yet be at home depends on this discourse of taste. And this also then depends on the maintenance of boundaries such that there are still homes – to be at home anywhere presumes that there are still localities to be at home in, and hence still those who are able to become cosmopolitan.

Yet, in this passage, home, apparently the material cultures for which this cosmopolitan human being has developed a taste, is "unique, comprehensive and undivided." That is, there is no longer a locality, except as indicated in the pluralization of "wants." What seems initially most problematic in this passage, then, is Mason's use of the word "home" – for if we take home here to refer to the material culture of a geographic locality, as a withdrawal from the foreign, or the transcultural, or the marketplace, here there is no home; unless his deployment of "home" depends on the primitive, the past that precedes the cosmopolitan where each "culture region decides" what man consumes. That is, the very possibility of a local material culture, a material culture that expresses a bounded identity, depends, for Mason, on the primitive. For Mason cannot locate the primitive he describes in the present. Having spent so much time outlining the relation between human identity, material culture and geography, his conclusion undercuts the possibility of substantiating any stable relation. If the modern savage is generally the precondition for describing the savage lost to history, the primitive of the past, Mason concludes acknowledging that this purity is lost:

> Already this dispersive work had begun when America was discovered. Commerce had scattered mineral substances far and wide. No one knows where the Pueblo people, the Mexicans, the Peruvians obtained their corn, melons and multitudinous beans. The history of the Plains Indians regarding their houses, bows and arrows, and even their dress, will be difficult to write. Even the ideal forms, the artistic forms and patterns, had begun to scatter and to possess this continent. It would be difficult to decide whether the curious shell gorgets described by Mr. Holmes were made on the spot in Tennessee from a shell bought in Florida, or bought already made in Florida by one who had migrated from Mexico; or bought in Mexico already made from a Florida shell and carried to Tennessee. The number of examples might be multiplied but *I think I have made myself clear*. [italics added] (216)

Trade, exchange, the migration of human beings and their "impedimenta" ultimately undermine the possibility of a local racially or culturally pure home. In this passage it is no longer the geographic region that determines or rules the material culture. Objects, moving beyond locality, hold power over the region, such that they "possess this continent." Mason's ruling subjectivity has moved from environment, to the cosmopolitan human, and finally to a cosmopolitan object. This last subjectivity, within objects themselves, and based in their ability to move across cultural and geographic boundaries as if alive, poses difficulties for the anthropologist looking for intellectual clarity, the ethnographic self looking for cultural or racial identity.[12] The "forms and patterns," foodways, and decorative shells, in the end, indicate movement, dislocation, and

[12] In his reading of this article, Bill Brown neglects Mason's subtler exploration of trade to focus on Mason's conception of indigenous material culture, finding Mason himself guilty of a "neglect of trade" (*Sense of Things* 89).

transformation more clearly than they indicate cultural stability, geographical determinism, and conservatism.

I have spent considerable time focusing on the writing of Mason and Haddon because The Arts and Crafts discourses of *The Craftsman* do not simply reflect such anthropological thinking, but operate within similar tensions – between objects that somehow circulate across racial, cultural, and geographic boundaries, and between evolving material cultures tied to locality by an evolving taste; between human beings as rational producers, manipulating objects to solve problems and human beings as unconscious organisms whose material culture, with biology, evolves in response to environmental conditions; and fundamentally between modern, free, rational humans, and "primitive" or "savage" humans, whose racial or cultural being is indigenous, and hence inalienably linked to geographical locality through evolution. Both Mason's and Haddon's ethnographic selves and Sargent's ethnographic consumer are constructions that not only produce the wholeness of material cultures; they also must navigate the dislocations they perceive, objects that move across cultural boundaries, carrying ghostly traces of past affiliations. Towards the conclusion of "A Revival," Sargent writes of Stickley's United Crafts:

> Considered purely from the artistic point of view, our models offer an interesting study in the evolution of form. We have, in accordance with what we feel to be the demand of the future, abandoned the historic styles, which were movements justified and natural in their time, but which correspond to conditions now, to some degree, nonexistent. Occasionally, in some pieces of our work, the student will catch a faint, distant echo of a world-famous ornament, but he will be a

> Darwin of design who can trace the intervening links between the primitive form and our own presentation of its evolutionized descendant. Such is our use of the lotus, the convolvulus, and other beautiful plant forms, which, to speak scientifically, we "simplify," and again reconstruct and develop by the process of 'natural selection.'

Here, the modern fashion cycle becomes grounded in an "evolution" that responds to the "conditions" of the historical moment. Linking United Crafts not simply to an economic "demand of the future" – simply put, what will soon be popular – she defines their products as the next step in the evolutionary progress of the species. Moreover, she places her audience, again, in the position of an ethnographic viewer – "a Darwin of design" – who might be able to perceive what the objects somehow express: both the process of evolution they have undergone in transcending the primitive past, and their transcendence. Finally, relating the "demand of the future," the consumer desires of the audience, to the forms of United Crafts that would meet that demand, she suggests that their production has responded to similar forces: they have been, "to speak scientifically" altered by "natural selection." But the qualifying quotation marks (the word "evolutionized" functions similarly) allow her to suggest that United Crafts is both conscious and rational in their design "selection" while also responding to unconscious, "natural selection" such that the objects that are produced and reproduced fit the ideal she repeats, for the fourth time, in her concluding statement: "an art developed by the people, for the people, as a reciprocal joy for the maker and the user." The joy felt within the material culture that corresponds to its true identity works to substantiate the interiority of the authentic middle-class American identity. Yet this joy also exceeds the boundaries of the distinct cultures of which it is the precondition, expressing the demands of others to those ethnographic consumers who can attend to the objects.

And the "conditions" that both product and demand have evolved in response to are here not clear. Is it physiographic determinism or a determinism based in race or culture or is it simply a determinism founded in abstract, modernizing dictates of progress, as the "demand of the future" would seem to suggest?

The first issue of *The Craftsman*, devoted almost exclusively to William Morris and published in 1901, ends with several short, unsigned essays. Titled "An Argument for Simplicity in Household Furishings," "Pro Patria," and "Style and Its Requisites," they are subtle advertisements for the United Crafts furniture, photographs of which illustrate the essays. Written, or at least influenced, by Sargent, they repeat and develop many of the values, and even phrases, found in "A Revival" in order to name the proper American material culture, and the cultural demands to which it is a response. Imagining the falsehoods of reproducing sixteenth- or eighteenth century French or Gothic within an American metropolis, these essays argue that an American material culture should be modern, in harmony with "broad avenues, teeming with the life, movement, and inventions of the scientific age" or the city as "home of civic law and order" (vii). At the same time, it should be "sui generis," "satisfying to the masses," not created by the "deliberate selection" of "learned experimentalists" but a response to "inherent" and "spontaneous, constant forces" within individual creators or within a particular culture.[13] The

[13] Gustav Stickley, in recounting his conversion to Arts and Crafts design in a 1913 *Craftsman* article, eight years after he and Sargent had parted ways, would confess that he had started building Arts and Crafts styles before he became a convert to the movement. Yet his reflection leads him to theorize that "Thus unconsciously a Craftsman style was evolved and developed." His Arts and Crafts style originates, he implies, not in capitalist business considerations, or through the influence of other Arts and Crafts practitioners, but fully as a result of evolutionary forces. Interestingly *The Craftsman* becomes a further extension of these same unconscious evolutionary principles, "The next thing that naturally suggested itself" ("The Craftsman Movement" 23).

material culture in these essays thus works to navigate and reconcile several tensions; the distinction between unconscious cultural demand, and rational, "scientific" production; the distinction between "movement" and stable, "constant forces"; and perhaps between the cosmopolitan city and the implicitly singular, unified "masses." Moreover, this material culture should be in "sympathetic response" to natural environment and the essays argue against the use of imported woods such as mahogany, and for "native" woods such as oak, thus working to create a connection to the natural environment similar to the way anthropologists find primitives' material cultures determined by local physiography.

And yet, perhaps strangely, it is precisely this interest in native materials that seems to produce a completely rational, conscious consumer within the text, displacing the more unconscious elements of demand. In other words, the essays argue for "substances" that are honest, and clearly expressing structure through style, also connect the modern, rational, comfort-seeking consumer both to the rational system of production and to the natural landscape:

> …to-day, with the idea of development everywhere dominant, – in the sciences, in educational methods, in all that furthers human intercourse, comfort and progress – we find the mood of the century impressed upon the material and necessary objects by which we are surrounded. Even our beds, tables and chairs, if planned and executed according to the newer and sounder ideas of household art, offer us a lesson taught by their form, substances, and finish. We are no longer tortured by exaggerated lines the reason for which are past divining. We have not to deal with falsifying veneers, or with disfiguring so-called ornament…. We are, first of all, met by plain shapes which not only declare, but emphasize their purpose. Our eyes rest on materials which, gathered from the forests, along

> the streams, and from other sources familiar to us, are, for that reason, interesting and eloquent. We may, in the arms of our reading chair, or in the desk before which we pass our working-day, study the striking undulations in the grain of oak, ash, elm, or other of our native woods, and in so doing, learn the worth of patient, well-directed and skilled labor, of that labor which educates. (iv)

Here the author sets up a series of correspondences in which the modern "mood of the century" has produced a people who are both capable of and want to perceive "materials." The relationship to objects is no longer the response of unconscious joy, but the clear-eyed "interest" of the rational, modern individual perceiving the qualities of human-made things, intelligently, even rationally "planned." "Necessary objects," determined by the "mood of the century" offer a clarity that meets, and hence perhaps validates, the needs of the modern consumer, connecting them to a comforting yet modernizing system of production. With passages like this it is no wonder that the Arts and Crafts has been perceived by its historians as a precursor to modernist design; the rational consumer displacing the unnaturally, if not criminally, "disfiguring … ornament."[14] Yet, this figure, perhaps wholly modern, is formed in opposition to the desire for cosmopolitan goods, or materials that circulate beyond familiarity. This consumer, and their interest in, if not desire for, education, is met and fulfilled in the "striking undulations" of "native woods." This emotional response to objects, buried, if not displaced, in the midst of compound sentences that produce a rational, unemotional consumer serves to still movement and change,

[14] See the Austrian architect Aldoos Loos' infamous 1908 "Ornament and Crime" for a development and intensification of this devaluation of "ornament." In his more sober passages, Loos argues that ornament is a waste of time and money, not least because it promotes the fashion cycle. But Loos also argues that "ornament is no longer organically linked with our culture" and is no longer the expression of our culture. The ornament that is manufactured today has no connection with us, has absolutely no human connections, no connections with the world order. It is not capable of developing" (22).

and to produce an interior formed against cosmopolitan circulation. Here our "eyes rest." Here the rational consumer, unmoving and contemplative at home or work, is further calmed by materials that similarly do not circulate beyond the boundaries of familiarity, boundaries that serve to further place and define the modern individual.

And yet "striking undulations" produces a strangely disquieting image for objects that seem to resist circulation, that meet the rational needs of the modern self, or that meet the unconscious demand of the culturally determined consumer. Neither passively reified, nor structural, nor still, but active, affective, even ornamental, the grain suggests liquid movement; a movement, I would argue, that is ultimately unpossessable, that does not respond to the needs so carefully defined by Sargent. This passage works to suggest a different quality of material goods, and one that potentially resists possession by one group. Like the liquid "flows" and their "flotsam and jetsam" that Haddon imagines, or like Mason's subjective objects, I would argue, this is a quality that resists cultural identity, that is not definable by cultural meaning.

Ultimately, both the conditions that determine the demand of the consumer and the objects that respond to that demand remain open; as does the "joy" that Sargent suggests is experienced through properly produced objects. And for all her attempts to craft a bounded material culture for a bounded identity, Sargent and the Arts and Crafts interior remain open to the material culture of others. There is another interior that would soon haunt – or rather inhabit, in a more homely fashion – the pages of *the Craftsman*, occupying the Arts and Crafts home by means of wall coverings, stenciled friezes, floors, rugs, and other furnishings; an interior that does not turn to Anglo-Saxon Europe, past and present, or the national past of Anglo-Saxon European immigrants as a way to create an imagined, stable continuity in race and nationality. A Dutch-styled, rugged summer house overlooking an equally rugged coast line in Maine possesses

a gate built by "An old Penobscot Indian" and a door knocker "that once did duty at an Irish peasant's cottage" ("Par-a-dyce"). The rugs in the hall, den, and stairs, in a Craftsman house design whose architecture is meant to recall a Swiss or English Cottage, "should be of the heavy, rough weave of a Navajo blanket, in tones of reddish brown with stripes of dull green and a cold gray that blends with the plaster of the ceiling" or "showing if possible, an Indian *motif* in the design" ("Craftsman House" 115). A house in the neighborhood in an unidentified city, written up by soon-to-be Craftsman architect and designer Harvey Ellis, contains numerous Donegal rugs, and a fireplace made of "hammered iron finished in the Russian manner" (Ellis 321). In such Arts and Crafts decorating schemes, the objects, styles, and production techniques of "primitives" – modernity's belated others – are accepted, even idealized. Indeed, one would be hard pressed to find a house celebrated within *The Craftsman* that did not make room for material objects that indicated the "primitive," the "savage," the "native," or the "folk" of other nations. Moreover, these are hardly the cozy corners, themed rooms, or carefully arranged collections that, like museum exhibits, separate out objects and the bounded, distinct identities they tend to materialize. Rather, such evidence of an other's material culture is scattered throughout the houses it inhabits, integrated into the general decorating scheme. What are we to make of these apparently transgressive interiors? What are they if they are not, apparently, guilty of imitation, affectation, or cosmopolitan confusion?

Perhaps they continue to provide that inalienable material culture, a link to home, to the relationship between private property and locality, house and homeland, that the white, modern, middle-class individual can both possess and displace to the primitive other, becoming alienable in the process. Perhaps they work to navigate the cosmopolitan marketplace, and hence to provide the very possibility of a stable identity within a capitalist consumer culture that links

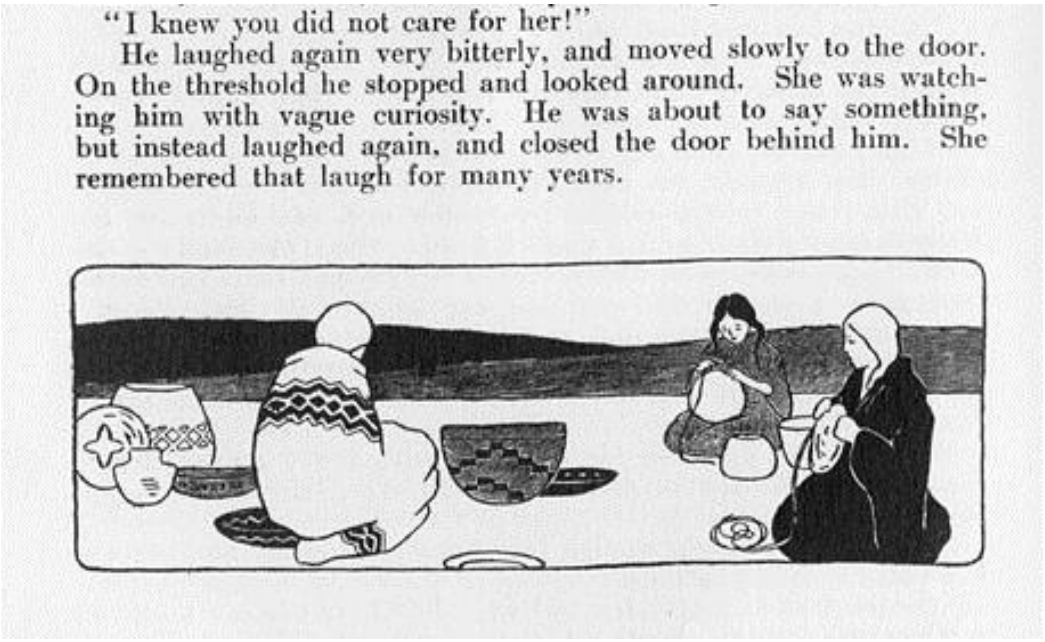
identity to one's participation in consumption. The ethnographic consumer Sargent constructs then becomes central to producing a modern self within a globalizing world, a cosmopolitan marketplace. Yet, Sargent's trade catalogue essay, I maintain, provides another answer. To conclude this chapter and to begin my turn to the next I return to Sargent's passage on Medieval Art I have already examined: "we view with equal delight the king's throne, the chorister's stall, the yeoman's chimney seat, and the peasant's bed, or marriage chest … because they are all products of an art developed by the people, for the people, as a reciprocal joy for the maker and the user." Here, "we" who view the material culture of the other do not experience the "reciprocal joy"; "we" still seem to be outside, looking in. Yet "we" are not dispassionate ethnographic observers, merely examining the cultural qualities of objects; "we" are not simply lost consumers, looking for our own true cultural or racial taste; "we" are not simply scientific, rational, moderns; "we" are not even in the process of "borrowing" what another culture rightfully "owns." Rather, "we" experience an "equal delight" in the objects of the other, a "delight" that depends on seeing the object as something that the other wants to produce or consume; but perhaps this "delight" also exceeds cultural boundaries.

What are the possibilities for this "delight" in the objects of the other? What might be its possibilities and its limitations for the significance of material objects as political agents? What other feelings or connections might a material object that expresses others to an ethnographic consumer elicit?[15]

[15] This seems very similar to one argument Stephen Greenblatt makes in his essay, "Resonance and Wonder" from the 1991 collection *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, edited by Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine. For Greenblatt, there is a kind of wonder that objects evoke that "derives in part from respect and admiration for the *ingenia* of others" (53). Sargent's "equal delight" before objects seems capable of participating in a similar response, though I hope have drawn attention to the way it elicits a softening of boundaries, where Greenblatt's Boasian "respect and admiration" does not.

I have read Sargent's trade catalogue essay in its relation to anthropology to show how it produces an ethnographic consumer out of a mixture of anthropological, Arts and Crafts, and popular home design discourses. My main focus has been to show how this ethnographic consumer is invested in locating the possibility of an inalienable material culture to navigate a culturally and racially disorienting cosmopolitan marketplace. Where the "A Revival" essay mainly imports anthropological thinking to attend to European historical and folk objects, in my next chapter, in which I continue to explore the Arts and Crafts writing of Irene Sargent and Gustav Stickley, I turn more particularly to representations of those others considered modern "primitives." For it is not until later, under Sargent's editorship of *The Craftsman*, that the objects of modern "primitives" become more central to both her and other Arts and Crafts polemicists' attempts to locate the possibility of an indigenous material culture. In particular, I turn from the ethnographic consumer Sargent interpolates in her trade catalogue essay, to one that navigates more concrete cosmopolitan marketplaces such as international expositions and trade shows. And while I show that the anthropological concept of material culture continues to work at producing stability for an off-centered ethnographic consumer, I hope to attend to those moments of tension where purity is undermined, and both objects and subjects work to meaningfully cross borders and challenge hierarchies, creating unexpected forms of connection and coalition.

Chapter 2: *The Craftsman*, the Ethnographic Consumer, and "Phantasmagorias of the Marketplace"


"I knew you did not care for her!"

He laughed again very bitterly, and moved slowly to the door. On the threshold he stopped and looked around. She was watching him with vague curiosity. He was about to say something, but instead laughed again, and closed the door behind him. She remembered that laugh for many years.

Figure 1: Woodblock-Style Print Depicting Three Basket Weavers, *The Craftsman*, June 1907, p. 268.

Three women sit arranged in a triangle in the foreground of a flat, white field. Baskets are scattered beneath them, beside them, and before them, most finished and two in the process of being created, held by the women who are weaving them. A woman with dark hair and braids sits in the rear of the group and looks down at the basket she works on, absorbed in her work. Her hair color and features are ambiguous; does her dark hair, in braids, suggest that she is an American Indian? The baskets that have been made are meant to suggest American Indian patterns. But the weaving woman in the right foreground is clearly meant to be of European descent, her white hair and features suggesting Anglo Saxon racial typing. And the features of the braided-haired woman, though simplified and obscured, are not clearly meant to suggest that

she is an American Indian. The white woman holds her unfinished basket and, in the process of weaving, yet looks up from her work, to the left of the image, apparently at the third woman. This third woman looks away from the picture plane, down at two baskets that occupy the center of the image, or perhaps off into the background. Her hair is white echoing the white hair of the woman in the right foreground. But, wrapped in a blanket whose patterns echo those of the baskets, her body and features are so obscured that she is lumpish, material; more object than subject, the shapes that suggest her body more so suggest the baskets she sits among. She does not weave. In the background of the image are two, short, gently sloping hills that cross each other symmetrically.

This simple, unsigned woodblock-style print, composed in three tones – black, dark gray, and white – suggests a simplified economy composed of natural environment, the human beings that transform it, and the material culture produced through that transformation. And the image arranges these terms to produce a series of correspondences. The large baskets suggest the women's bodies and the small round baskets, their heads. The shallow baskets suggest the shape of the hills in the distance, as do the decorative bands on several of the larger baskets. The baskets two of the women hold near their bellies, suggest wombs, the rushes they weave straying to the ground like umbilical cords. The figures, through objects made of a living part of the environment, are still organic organisms, linked to the environment. Outside of a marketplace in which people trade things across borders, here production occurs firmly within the borders composed of natural environment. The hills not only separate foreground from background, but create a bounded place. There is no exchange, apparently no producers and consumers, no private sphere, no homes or department stores, or industrial production. It is a purified economy, in which there is only a kind of indigenous production that happens effortlessly, without history

or thought. And as women, they suggest a form of primitive industry; anthropology of the time suggested that women had been – and continued to be – the primitive inventors and producers.[1]

Yet there are differences. In the appearance of the figures, racial difference is both suggested and denied. And in their gestures, too, there is difference. The potentially American Indian woman looks down, absorbed in the object. However, looking up from her work, gazing at the woman whose form most suggests objecthood, the white woman seems to have the greater awareness of the three. She transforms the work of indigenous production from unconscious absorption in, and reflection of, the landscape, to something that is conscious, gaining subjecthood in the process. She is also, I would suggest, the individual the white, middle-class viewer – who, like her, gazes, but at the image – is most asked to identify with. Yet, occupying the landscape with the other figures, she returns from alienated consciousness, hence enjoying the unalienated production suggested in the other figures, who occupy various states of objecthood. Like the baskets they weave, the three figures work to merge with and emerge from the environment they occupy. But the possibility of emerging from and circulating beyond the material environment rests with the white woman, whose expressions and gestures produce a liminal, indeterminate position.

The placement of the image, similarly, suggests a liminal space, an in-between hybridity that attempts to navigate and reconcile cultural tensions and anxieties. Appearing in the June 1907 issue of *The Craftsman*, the image concludes "The Other Woman," a short, impressionistic piece of tragic fiction about a middle-class, white man who suffers from neurasthenia and marries poorly (Harboe); while the article that follows is a piece of popular anthropology by Frederick Monsen, who made his living as a photographer of and lecturer on American Indians.

[1] For the argument that women were primitive inventors reproduced within *The Craftsman*, see George Wharton James' "Primitive inventions," November 1903, pp. 124-137.

In this article, Monsen describes the Hopi as "primitive people" whose religion is thus "full of inconsistencies" (270). They are also "a simple people living very close to nature" whose religion "has grown out of an exceedingly austere environment." Monsen thus imagines a people organically linked to their desert locality through objects and values, irrational in their beliefs, belated subjects a modern world has left behind.[2] The text preceding the wood block is a narrative meant to suggest particular individual subjectivities which the reader can perceive and feel because of a shared cultural understanding, while the following text is a detailed account of a culture more object than subject. Thus placed between a piece suggesting a "modern," even over-civilized culture and a "primitive" culture, the image suggests that the later is a salve to the tragedies the first makes possible.

The white woman in the image who produces the material culture of the indigenous primitive, seems to have found the peace this form of production implicitly makes possible, but she remains apart, capable of returning beyond the image. Indeed, since only one kind of thing is produced – basketry – the image perhaps manages to elude the more complete acceptance of the other that would be suggested if the white woman were depicted in the midst of a greater cultural milieu.[3] Yet by its very neglect of a greater imagining, displaced to the piece of anthropology that follows and supplements it, in which Monsen himself undertakes various strategies to emphasize hierarchic difference, to make the other completely other, the image would seem to hazard that very possibility. Indeed, it is impossible to know the racial or cultural identity of the lumpish woman looking away from picture plane – suggesting both white American and American Indian, she is a completely hybrid figure: becoming object, other and also self, linked

[3] It is also possible to say that the image works to stabilize industrial capitalist production in which one product is also produced over and over again, by placing such production firmly within the environment, yet away from any sign of the domestic sphere of consumption.

more materially and inalienably to the other. If the recognizably white woman becomes subject through gazing at this unidentifiable woman/object, it is not clear whether she objectifies one like herself or another, whether she gazes through power or alienated longing or both, in a kind of displacement through which she both maintains her freedom, her alienability, and locates a kind of stable, inalienable relation to environment and material culture. Turning the page from fiction to ethnography, the reader of *The Craftsman* perceives themselves reflected in the page as an ethnographic consumer – a modern self, a cultural and racial self, a self that somehow also desires or needs the materiality of "primitives."

Such distinctions and tensions can be found throughout *The Craftsman*, which had published its first number at the end of 1901, almost a year after the *Chips* catalogue. By 1907, Sargent was two years past the end of her affiliation with Stickley, but in 1901 she was firmly in charge of the magazine, both as editor and as named author for most of the first issue's articles. And while the first few issues would focus on the British Arts and Crafts movement – the first two were devoted to Morris and John Ruskin respectively – the magazine slowly enlarged its compass to include home plans, interior decorating tips, do-it-yourself columns on crafts such as woodworking and weaving, and a wide variety of criticism, from architecture, to painting, to industrial arts such as pottery, textiles, jewelry and home furnishings. In fact, as a journal of home decoration, serious about the criticism of contemporary arts and crafts, *The Craftsman* consistently engaged issues of production and consumption that produced a cosmopolitan perspective.

Showing direct knowledge of the contemporary manufacturing and design movements of other nations was an important component of developing a reputation as an important designer or producer. Stickley's own trips to Europe or west to California were frequently published in trade

magazines. And in Stickley's reflections in *Craftsman* articles mythologizing his transformation of the 1890s, trips abroad were key components of the narrative, substantiating his new products through a well-worn, and well-respected form of self-advertising. But the many articles in *The Craftsman* that report on international design movements would seem to suggest that this kind of information was not only important for professional designers and craftsman in garnering respect and authority, it was of some interest to the public themselves. Writers for *The Craftsman* reported on American design movements, but also on crafts and design movements of Germany, Russia, England, France, China, and especially Japan, among others.[4] This is not to say that the magazine argued consistently for cosmopolitan consumption. Rather, in their criticism, the magazine's writers entered a cosmopolitan marketplace to judge the objects of others.

One relatively consistent basis for judgment was the criterion that contemporary craft be both rooted in national, cultural, and/or racial traditions, and so represent a particular national, cultural, or racial material culture. Throughout the magazine, anthropological thinking, as in Sargent's "A Revival of Old Arts and Crafts applied to Wood and Leather," works to anchor such judgments; the subject/object relations produced in anthropological discourses of evolution and the primitive were deployed to repair multiple forms of alienation and navigate social differences within an international consumer marketplace (with transnational cross-currents). Anthropology served to create the past which the progressive present had evolved from and also to produce the borders of material cultures, including the cultural tastes that secured those borders. And as anthropological discourse became a basis of criticism in *The Craftsman*, the subject produced within this discourse, the ethnographic consumer similarly emerges. In this

[4] Often *Craftsman* articles were based in the reporting of other journals such as the international design magazine, *The Studio*, though occasionally the articles were written on the basis of first-hand reporting (and often the articles are written as if the reviews are on the basis of first-hand observation, even if they rely on secondary sources).

chapter, I follow Sargent's ethnographic consumer as he or she enters the more concrete marketplaces of trade shows, international exhibitions, and travel routes. But the significance of this figure is hardly confined to the Arts and Crafts movement, and I compare this figure to other consumers who similarly expose rifts in U.S. material culture; figures such as Uncle Hank in Thomas Fleming's picaresque *Around the Pan* from 1901. I argue that, emerging in the writing of Sargent, Stickley, and others, the ethnographic consumer works to establish stable boundaries; but, like the subject produced in "A Revival," this off-centered figure is involved in a circulating movement that attempts to manage cultural boundaries but also reveals moments of transformation that cannot be contained.

The magazine's criticism of European Art Nouveau serves as a useful illustration of the emergence and persistence of anthropology within *The Craftsman*, since evolution and native taste form the basis of both praise and criticism. Several recent scholars of the American Arts and Crafts have analyzed the movement's relationship to Art Nouveau, mainly seeing it as a kind of masculine dismissal of Art Nouveau's curvaceous, feminized forms. This criticism is far more ambiguous, however, as revealed in the debate between A. D. F. Hamlin, who wrote the often cited article "L'Art Nouveau, Its Origin and Development" for the December 1902 issue, and Jean Schopfer who responded with "L'Art Nouveau: An Argument and Defense," published seven months later in July of 1903. Hamlin interprets the Art Nouveau as merely a reaction against the past, a loosely affiliated movement united only by a "revolt against tradition" (136). At its worse, writes Hamlin, it is unrestrained, unnatural, artificial, given to individual caprice and an unhealthy lack of structure that celebrates "restless movement and fantastic curves" at the expense of attention to nature and tradition. Moreover, it can be disturbingly cosmopolitan as in an example of Parisian furniture: "It is Japanese, Louis Quinze, and New Art Curvilinear, all in

one – personal, capricious, eccentric, and obviously impossible to harmonize with any room less eccentric and tortuous than itself" (142). Yet confronting the similarly disquieting interiors of an art colony in Darmstadt, Germany allows Hamlin to name a true American taste, exemplified by his own taste:

> The furniture in this colony, all strikingly novel, seems to the comfort loving American singularly ungraceful, stiff and uncomfortable. There is, it seems to me, a notable lack of ease and domesticity in the interiors of these houses…. I cannot help comparing it with a simple American house at Lake Forest, Ill., by H. Van. D. Shaw, likewise built for its designer. It is equally straightforward, but less ostentatious and affected, and inclines one to query whether we do not here already possess, as the result of a natural process of evolution, responding to national conditions, what is being sought for with much blowing of trumpets and hard labor in the Old World. (139)

Here, then, by contact with an international marketplace, and perhaps, also a movement that transgresses a national taste, Hamlin is able to link his own taste to American taste, and then again to an example substantiated through the idea of evolution and the well-defined "conditions" that determine it. His own disquiet at the European Art Noueau's lack of domesticity produces the imperative – "I cannot help comparing" – move to Shaw's house. And through this move, he locates the distinction between the Americans' "natural process of evolution" and the Europeans' over-conscious creations. Strangely, he quotes the Belgian critic Sander Pierron as a theorist that supports Art Nouveau's unnerving search for originality: "'The most naïve, the most vigorous works are those which most perfectly display the impress of that natural seal – the personality of a people or tribe – because they were executed outside of all external influence, free from every effort at imitation'" (138). Yet if Pierron is cited as an

example of Art Nouveau's emphasis on "naivete" and "vigor," Hamlin would seem to agree with the anthropological underpinnings of Pierron, where the use of the word "tribe" functions as a supplement that substantiates the very possibility of the isolation of a particular "people." The structure of Hamlin's naming of an evolved American taste relies, on the other hand, on a displacement of both Art Nouveau's imitation and its individualistic originality. Yet, both would seem to be after the same goal. Indeed, Hamlin's conclusion argues that Art Nouveau will only last if it manages to substantiate its forms in "a true undercurrent of public taste, to a real demand of the multitude" (143).

In her July response, Jean Schopfer explicitly counters Hamlin's stance, yet her argument is founded on the same principles of anthropological taste and demand as is Hamlin's. Schopfer argues that the Victorian period was one given over to bric-a-brac and imitation, a problem that originates in factory production in which the workman is only responsible for reproducing earlier designs. For Schopfer, this constitutes a break with the evolution of earlier styles of western decorative art, such as the Romanesque and the Gothic which "modified slowly and insensibly existing forms." "That was evolution" she concludes (235); yet if factory production constitutes a break with evolutionary principles, it is the result of too consciously copying preceding styles. In earlier periods, craftsman were free to express their own taste; and where "The artist only translates into form the innate taste of a period," the free craftsman produces an art that fits its period, constituting a kind of unconscious production based in period taste (236). However, when the factory worker can only produce imitations of earlier periods (Schopfer strategically overlooks the agency of designers or consumers), "all desire of invention became extinct in the workman" (234). Art Nouveau constitutes a way out of an evolutionary dead end. Since its practitioners are free to produce as their individuality demands, and since, through cultural and

environmental determinism, individual creation is only an expression of one's period, then Art Nouveau reconstitutes the natural evolution of western style. Art Nouveau thus is the product of a liberal economy in which free individuals produce their own style; yet they are limited by evolutionary pressures. Copying, consciously appropriating the styles of preceding periods is "sterility, death" where art nouveau is "hope of life" (238). A living material culture occurs outside the dictates of factory production such it can be an evolving thing, an expression of the craftsman that, by virtue of evolutionary pressures, is also a response to the demands of an evolving people. As in Sargent's "A Revival," the alienating relationship between consumers and their possessions is potentially repaired through recourse to an evolved and evolving taste – one that is unconscious, unimposed, and that emerges organically from producers and consumers "naturally" selecting objects within a cultural marketplace. Both articles, then, imagine a cosmopolitan marketplace where styles circulate beyond their appropriate locality, society, or historical time. Anthropological discourse helps these art critics to name a unified interiority of creative production and consumer taste that would counter modernity's otherwise cosmopolitan marketplaces.

The relationship between anthropology and marketplace produced in this article and in other articles within the pages of *The Craftsman* echoes another early twentieth-century marketplace. Beginning with London's Great Exhibition of 1851, international expositions, or world's fairs, were spaces where representatives of nation-states gathered to share the products of their various industries for comparative, competitive, and educational purposes. Descendants of country fairs and closely related to traditional markets, international expositions were designed to display those products, inventions, and ideas that indicated the most up-to-date state

of scientific and technological progress among modern nation states. In addition, they were spaces where individual nations could attempt to create foreign demand for their industries and so compete with other nations for foreign consumers. Host nations and (especially in the United States) host cities, used international expositions to boost themselves and their products – though hosting a world's fair was hardly certain to be a lucrative investment. As Robert Rydell has argued of U.S. world's fairs, however, these spectacles were more than financial investments. As hegemonic cultural productions, they projected a vision of progress that mitigated particular social conflicts and general feelings of disorientation brought on by modernization. In their spectacle, the good of capital, the middle classes, and the working classes were represented as one and the same. In the United States, they could serve to create a shared national, white identity, benefiting the elites who planned the fairs by producing a vision of national capitalist society in which hierarchic difference was minimized. And international expositions in the U.S. and elsewhere were "symbolic universes," representing racial hierarchies that served the interests of imperialism.

As Rydell has shown, anthropology was central to these "symbolic universes." American anthropologists, including Franz Boas, George Mason, and W. J Mcgee planned anthropological exhibits as educational tools for the American public to illustrate racial and cultural hierarchies. While many of these exhibits were simply collections of objects, beginning in the United States with the 1893 Chicago fair, though replicating a world's fair practice instantiated at the 1889 Paris fair, "native villages" were displayed as living anthropological exhibits, populated by peoples considered primitive, inferior, and necessitating colonial rule.[5] These people, in many

[5] Rydell, in *All the World's A Fair* identifies the 1889 Paris Fair as the primary antecedent for live anthropological villages at U.S fairs (55). Otis Mason and fellow Smithsonian anthropologist, Thomas Wilson, as delegates to the Paris fair, constitute a causal link. For the

cases new imperial subjects of the United States, were asked to reproduce their own material culture at the fair to illustrate their way of life, and the racial and cultural limitations their material culture was meant to embody in the shadow of such structures as the buildings of the white city at Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 or the Rainbow City at Buffalo's Pan American Exposition of 1901. Exhibition buildings and their contents that indicated the modern, white, rational, and civilized were opposed to native villages that indicated the savage, the primitive, and the racially limited, the latter doomed to assimilation or cultural or racial extinction within the narrative of evolutionary progress. One popular commentator, writing about the St. Louis exposition, suggested that "It was necessary for the visitor to understand the meaning of Anthropology and the scope of the department in order to see the unity of the exposition…. When he understood that these strange exhibitions of life, so foreign to his own, were all presented to furnish a living illustration of the various degrees of man's development on this earth, he became a thoughtful spectator, his conception of the exhibition was broadened and his admiration for its well-laid and thoroughly executed plans was greatly increased." Only through an anthropological lens could the visitor become a conscious viewer, able to understand and not simply consume. Without this anthropological understanding the fair's displays "were disunited fragments – simply unmeaning shows, without educational value or unity of purpose" (Everett) Yet, even as fairs mapped a temporal distinction between a primitive past and a civilized modernizing present onto various racial and cultural distinctions, they can be seen as spaces that allowed people to reproduce the very boundaries of racial and cultural difference.

Anthropological villages, and the cultural relationship between people and things they

---

possibility of an interesting anthropologically inflected experience at the Paris fair, see Rydell's footnote 36 to chapter 2, where he references Mason describing his experiences in Paris before the History of Human Habitations Display at the foot of the Eiffel Tower.

attempted to teach, were significant to this project. Mason was impressed with the 1889 Paris exhibition's anthropological exhibits because they expressed a "living connection between men and things" (Rydell 56). And this connection seems especially important at American fairs where great emphasis was placed on the use of indigenous materials within indigenous economies of production and consumption. At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the American fair where scholarly anthropology had its greatest moment, this emphasis was especially pronounced. Anthropological villages continued to express the possibility of authentic, bounded identities through material culture. The nine Ainu that traveled from Japan to participate in the St. Louis Fair brought not only all of their possessions but an original dwelling bought by the American anthropologist that accompanied them on their journey (Breitbart 65). Where native villages would seem to indicate the indigenous, the local, and the environmentally limited, many fair exhibition buildings and sculptures signified both modernization and modernity. Transient and fleeting, built of plaster of Paris and wood, they were temporary structures, most built for a season only. Thus opposed to the permanence and locality perceived in indigenous cultures, the temporary structures expressed an alienable materiality, through which the alienable individual could circulate with relative freedom. Of course, world's fairs' spectacular elements were meant to transform and educate their visitors. But modernization itself would have been the spectacle, where visitors were asked to idealize the modern, rational, and the bureaucratic creators of the modern material world, and consume this material world in passive amazement. The transformative element was mitigated both by the idea that the spectacle was a part of a material culture continually changing into the future, and by its very spectacular nature, since it was at least partially alienated from the visitors that nonetheless consumed it.[6] Anthropology not only

[6] In this way, one might see anthropology as a way to resolve the alienation a society of the

served to create distinctions between modern and primitive, it also served as a way to dissolve the tension between spectacle and visitor, and to name the possibility of a bounded material culture, or to create the idea that visitors could be participants or non-participants in this culture. In many ways *The Craftsman*, through its ideological attempt at taste-making, was engaged in a similar educational project.

While Rydell has argued that the fairs taught their visitors anthropology, *Craftsman* reviews of world's fair exhibits reveal that at least some viewers brought an anthropological perspective with them. Unsurprisingly for a magazine devoted to the criticism of world design movements, *The Craftsman* published more than a few essays on world's fairs, reviewing both fairs in general, and especially particular exhibits at world's fairs; reviews of artisans and designers are prevalent throughout *The Craftsman* during the time period under examination here – especially reviews of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exhibition at St. Louis. But Buffalo's Pan American Exhibit is featured in several articles (United Crafts shared an exhibit with the Grueby Faience Company in the Manufacturer's and Liberal Arts Building) as is the Paris exposition of 1900 and the Milan exposition of 1906. Several of these articles are signed by Stickley or Sargent and reflect the kinds of values that Sargent and Stickley often brought to their criticism. Yet, Stickley's and Sargent's world's fair articles can be read through their critical discourse as a way of navigating the particular marketplaces of world's fairs; more than simply criticism, they are a record of taste and subjectivity within the marketplace of world's fairs. If scholars of world's fairs have indicated how anthropology interpolated fairs visitors though anthropological exhibits, arts and crafts criticism of the fair can show how anthropology already inflected the tastes of some of the fairs visitors. Reflecting and producing a way of experiencing the material

---

spectacle promotes, which Guy Debord describes.

cultures and the tastes of others, these articles can, in turn, serve as an opening to begin to understand other ways of experiencing world's fairs than that analyzed by Rydell, though they are often yet invested in similarly hierarchical knowledge.

Stickley's essay on the St. Louis Fair, a review of the "The German Exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition" helps produce these values, even as it displays the tensions at work in maintaining them. Claiming that world's fairs serve a purpose beyond mere "commercialism," Stickley argues that the objects selected for display there must "adequately represent the nations participating in it, or mark a definite point in the world's progress in the arts and sciences, in inventions and manufactures" (492). But in fact, his main criticism of the St. Louis fair as a whole is that the participating nations have not selected displays based in the criteria of national purity. As Stickley claims, "In a world's fair, imitations have no right of entrance" (491). And both Japan, which has presented arts and crafts that owe too much to "European and American influences," and the United States, whose cabinetry is guilty of European imitations that express "but the imperfect realization of ideas alien to our democratic life and customs," have failed to select and display objects that either represent actually existing national designs or indicate true national characteristics (492). The mimicry that Stickley finds within the fair's exhibits is an example of cosmopolitanism; but more importantly, it allows Stickley to name both the possibility of an authentic material culture and the culture that would create the demand for those objects. The originals, apparently "created to serve some definite end, such as to adorn some special place or apartment, with whose architecture they harmonized," would serve to unify both the style of a nation's material culture and to unify that material culture with its more immaterial culture. Moreover, at a world's fair "the exhibits of each nation participating should be distinctive, original, plainly indicative of racial traditions and

tendencies, and the whole enterprise should be planned economically … that is, brought under one law like a household and unified like a family" (495). Judicious state paternalism would transform modern social organization into a people and protect those innate racial expressions that Stickley seeks. In a later passage Stickley attempts to manage the slippage between nation and race or nation and culture by idealizing state control that would be "formative and vitalizing" without that heavy hand that would "approach tyranny, crush individuality, [and] sterilize energy" (498). The ideal state would manage the boundary of a national material culture without yet directing it, in such a way that the "adaptation of art to life," that creates evolutionary progress within a national marketplace would be maintained (495). The state becomes a kind of ideal consumer whose taste ensures the purity of national taste, a taste that itself, however, is already innate, unconscious. Only then, argues Stickley, when all nations participate in such a manner, would a world's fair actually achieve its promise: to "fulfill the manifold purpose of museum, technical school, workshop, and universal market, and would constitute a congress and exchange for the thinkers of the world" (495). For Stickley, the cosmopolitan world's fair becomes a space through which to displace hybridity and imagine a collection of pure racial and national identities exchanging themselves, but remaining unchanged in the exchange. Stickley imagines a static cosmopolitan marketplace as if there were a boundary that could allow cultural exchange without producing cultural transformation. But the authentic objects that would meet the conditions of this exchange are not present within the majority of the exhibits. We might say that the copies, the "imitations" that Stickley finds, as supplements, serve to substantiate the possibility of crafting and possessing the true originals.

Irene Sargent's lone signed essay on a world's fair produces an ethnographic subjectivity that manages to locate the authentic material culture that Stickley, in the above essay, cannot.

Yet rather than lamenting a cultural or racial lack in modern, western societies, Sargent uses ethnography to attempt to create a more fully modern self. The essay, titled "The Racial Art of the Russians," from *The Craftsman* issue of October 1903, contains a preface written by Sargent which runs without apparent break into her translation of an essay with the same name, originally written in French by the poet and dramatist Gabriel Mourey. Sargent's preface opens with a defense of the European discovery of the value of Russian peasant art and its revitalizing powers, more particularly for "one gifted 'with the seeing eye.'" For that kind of individual "Art is the mirror of life" because "all experiences, all memories, all aspirations are contained therein." Comparing the eloquent, "barbarous" objects of the Russian peasant to the "decorative schemes of the North American Indian" she writes that "as we examine these [household objects], history seems vital" (43). Here we have a similar power of perception as that theorized in "A Revivial of Old Arts and Crafts," yet Sargent works more particularly to theorize the subjectivity of taste underlying this "seeing eye." Recalling a Russian church seen in Paris (perhaps the Russian orthodox cathedral Saint-Alexandre-Nevsky built in 1861), she writes:

> The barbaric splendor of the place proves that there is a beauty other than the one which is subdued by rules and refined away by civilization. The sensitive heart bounds in response to the unfamiliar, crude modulations of the unaccompanied chants; the eye, grown languid by delicate feasts of soft shades, receives a vitalizing shock from the almost blinding gold and the primary colors of the altar and icons and vestments.

Here the "overcivilized" subjectivity interpolated by the essay can escape the soft, ease of modern civilization and return to a more "vital" lifestyle. Indeed as she continues, she writes that the movements of the priests and worshippers "all have a primitive, elemental character which suggests the wildness and freedom of the steppes, and open vistas into past ages, when the

passions of men were simpler and stronger, and life was more sincere and real" (44). Yet this fantasy of primitive life, whole, self-contained, and identical to its past, is sparked by a celebration of the hybridity of the Russian people, whose art reveals "the touch of the Byzantine or the Greek" and contrary to the American Indian, it is "This singular mingling of the refined with the barbarian [that]… is the great source of attraction in the Russian himself, and in all the works of his imagination and intellect" (44). It is this very hybridity which, manifested in the Parisian, Russian Orthodox ritual and church, "carr[ies] the foreigner who witnesses them into a world of sensuous pleasure" that manifests itself as a vision of purely "elemental" and "primitive" simplicity (44).

In these passages ethnography provides the basis for a taste that sparks a fantasy of primitive life. Yet, this is no anthropologist –Sargent's reader finds themselves interpolated as a tourist or consumer spectator, but also absolutely a "foreigner." This visionary subjectivity is outside but capable of experiencing great pleasure in accessing the interiority of that life, in escaping the modern and the civilized to a primitive, barbarous past. Sargent's "foreigner" no longer notes the hybrid element earlier perceived, the civilized and the barbarian "mingling" in the Russian historical past. Rather this vision works to expel the hybridity of the Russian racial identity already described and categorized – only the primitive and the barbarous is pictured. This is a more intimate experience than the "reciprocal joy" discovered and experience by Sargent's reader in "A Revival." Of course, this vision similarly works to locate, define, and separate out a people based in behavior, artistic production, and race. Yet the subject that experiences this vision has become more tangible as Sargent describes this subject navigating the real city of Paris to discover a kind of ethnographic display enacted by real people. And the subject that continues in the translated material, which Sargent notes had been published two

months earlier in the French magazine *Art et Décoration*, merely allows this ethnographic "foreigner," a version of Walter Benjamin's flâneur, to step from the Russian church to the Paris exhibition of 1900 where readers find themselves "Among the fatiguing sights and sounds of the incoherent fair."

For Benjamin, in the 1935 expose, "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," the flâneur was a liminal figure, on the "threshold of the metropolis as of the middle class." In the Arcades Project convolute exploring the figure of the flâneur, we find the flâneur's liminality supported by his ability to circulate through the space of the city which, overwritten by texts the flâneur has and has not consumed, allows him to step, literally walk, outside of himself. Benjamin refers to this as the "colportage phenomenon of space," where texts about the city circulate through the city in the flâneur, producing their knowledge and experiences and their desire to know and experience. Thus we find a passage that describes the flâneur as capable of "giv[ing] all he knows about the domicile of Balzac or of Gavarni, about the site of a surprise attack or even of a baracade, to be able to catch the scent of a threshold or to recognize a paving stone by touch, like any watchdog" (416). That is, the flâneur's motivating passion is to move outside of the self, the bourgeois self, and even the human self, to know and experience the city through the other. Yet lurking in the 1935 expose and even in the convolute is a different version of the flâneur, one more aligned with the bourgeoisie, and one that dominates the 1939 version of "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century."

The 1939 essay begins with a theoretical depiction of a reified world, arranged by bourgeois subjectivity into a phantasmagoria, where "the world is an endless series of facts congealed as things," one manifestation of which is the "'History of Civilization,' which makes an inventory point by point of humanity's life forms and creations" which "appear as though

identified for all time" (14). This "viewpoint" then produces the material world of the arcades, the department store, the world exposition, "phantasmagorias of the marketplace" to which the flâneur "abandons himself." It also produces the perspective that sees human beings as types, which the flâneur apparently was adept at identifying through physiognomy. Before the phantasmagoria of the crowd and of consumer objects, the flâneur was free to circulate. Yet this freedom was in league, according to Benjamin, with the capitalist and the detective. From the flâneur emerges the consumer in the department store who wanders and dreams of commodities, and occasionally buys them. Like the detective, the flâneur identified people and things by their features, categorized them, or followed the traces they left to produce knowledge of them. Individuals become representative of static types or members of the crowd. One of Benjamin's reflections in the convolute on flâneury suggests that this ability of the flâneur and other urbanites to identify the other in the crowd was "motivated by the wish to dispel" an "uneasiness aroused in the urbanite by other people, people whom, in the overwhelming majority of cases, he sees without hearing" (447). Here Benjamin focuses on the way that hearing might produce a more intimate knowledge of the other, and this lack of knowledge produces anxiety. But it seems possible to think about the phantasmagoria of the marketplace and the crowd as a way to manage and make knowable other kinds of unsettling otherness and to keep it distant.

Thus we find Sargent and Gabriel Mourey, translated by Sargent, imagining a flâneur who experiences the phantasmagoria of the city and the exposition through the lens of anthropology as a way to create managed borders, dispelling hybridity, keeping the other knowable, discrete, and distant. Mourey guides the reader into a display where wholeness provides the fairs counterpoint: the Russian peasant art exhibit, whose everyday household objects are a "confusion of primitive forms and crude colors, – a whole of curious, ingenious

savagery" (46). Mourey provides a history of the aristocracy's discovery, celebration, resurrection, and new management of peasant art production, which tends to provide figures with which Mourey and his invoked reader can identify. Much like the state imagined by Stickley in his review of the German exposition, the Russian aristocracy manages and controls the crafts' production; yet craft production is ultimately expressive of the "spontaneity and frankness … in which the soul of a race perpetuates itself." In contrast to the cultivated art of civilization, the peasant crafts are "sincere and simple … seeking their inspiration only in the familiar sights of their life and surrounding nature, allowing their racial imagination to flow freely through their work" (48). The discourse of Sargent is strong in the essay; at one point she translates Mourey describing the household items as "art created by the people, for the people," a phrase that echoes Sargent's allusion to William Morris in "A Revival." And these objects, according to Mourey, are art that works to define the true artistic tradition of Russia and the Russian race. The art of the people, as anthropological objects, works to create the possibility of national and racial purity. The essay, however, constructs the managing upper classes as appreciative of these works, but different. Like the bourgeois aspect of the flâneur, they are the conscious subjects, able to understand, identify, and appreciate. Moreover, they are not bound by this identity they yet foster, and both claim but do not claim as their own. This dynamic is made more tangible for the reader in the essay's final passage: an imagined scene of a Russian family, at home, together engaged in artistic production, "fashioning charming things" (51). There were live anthropological exhibits at the 1900 Paris fair, yet there were none in the Russian pavilion. And so the imagined scene supplements this lack, and perhaps even further allows the domestic scene of production to withdraw from the marketplace of the fair into a self-contained purity: "In this interior, this genre picture" the author locates "the fair, ingeneous, passionate, childlike, grave,

sorrowful soul of the people which has never suffered the corrupting touch of high civilization and the fatal tyranny of money" (51). Unconscious of the modern and the civilized, free of the corrupting knowledge of capitalist exchange that enables wants to multiply beyond the borders of a stable identity, the imagined people captured in their domestic interior work to produce the reader as modern and capitalist.

The articles in *The Craftsman* reveal the ways in which ethnographic discourse was not simply a part of the official narratives of the exhibitions. This official narrative echoed and perhaps reinforced a subjectivity of taste based in ethnography that had already distributed through popular culture. Yet these *Craftman* articles also reveal that this form of subjectivity and the figure it produced, which I have called the ethnographic consumer, were not simply an attempt to create hierarchies, but were an attempt to locate stability out of the "sights and sounds of the incoherent fair," a modern world of fluid exchanges and unstable identities. For we can see the fairs as a kind of stable phantasmagoria, a concept in which Benjamin locates capitalism's ability to resist change, to produce, like the fashion cycle, a world where the impression of newness hides a persistent structure. But we can also see the fair as a place where various phantasmagorias produced by bourgeois subjectivity were challenged, where coherence was overturned, and where we see a different kind of flâneury that works to break down reified identities. I turn now to several texts published in conjunction with U.S. expositions which reveal how popular understandings of culture, race, or nationality worked to navigate experiences of the exhibitions' disorienting modernity. Yet these texts also imply the presence of other voices and perspectives, revealing fissures in the fair's official ideology.

In 1904, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company published two official books of

photographs illustrating fair with photographs or engravings of photographs taken by the Official Photographic Company, including two unnumbered but varying editions of *The Grandeur of the Exposition at St. Louis*: *an Official Book of Beautiful Engravings Illustrating the World's Fair of 1904* (one found at the Winterthur Library and another from the University of California) and a much longer text titled *The Greatest of Expositions: Completely Illustrated*. These texts work to both replicate stable boundaries and establish figures capable of navigating these boundaries freely. The photographs separate out national buildings in discrete photographs and describe the various participants in the fair as engaged in replicating national tastes through architecture, food, or interior décor. For instance, the caption for an image of a Japanese tea house modeled after Kikakuji, found in both *The Greatest of Expositions* and the Winterthur version of *The Grandeur of the Exposition at St. Louis*, notes that the Japanese exhibit is "in keeping with the taste and spirit of the people." And of course, images of ethnographic exhibits, found in both versions of *The Grandeur of the Exposition at St. Louis* as well as *The Greatest of Expositions*, in particular tend to reinforce these stable boundaries, where live participants are featured in groups next to their "authentic dwellings." A caption found in all three texts, albeit for varying images, notes that "the Samal Moros build their houses over water, while the Lanao Moros, who come from the inland country, cling to the land." And if the boundaries that separate out these various people represented by national or cultural exhibits are made discrete through geographic boundaries or the dictates of taste (note the word "cling" in the above text indicating their uncontrollable resistance to circulation), fair patrons are often pictured moving across these various boundaries.

The photograph of the Japanese tea house (figure 2) is particularly striking as several women in western dress are pictured walking across a wooden walkway bridging a lake placed

before the tea house. Unidentified and unidentifiable other than as fairgoers, these figures seem to stand in for the viewer of the images, the reader of the text, as they blithely move across the page, through a world of otherwise stable identities. On the narrow bridge, they move through the exhibit remaining separate and untouched. Fairgoers are of course depicted sitting in the open courtyard of the teahouse, while other fairgoers step up to observe them; it is as if the tea drinkers were actual participants in the exhibit. Yet the caption for the image works to reestablish

JAPANESE GARDENS AND TEA-HOUSES.

The Japanese at home are not given to erecting large, isolated buildings, but incline to collections of smaller and more varied structures than do Americans and Europeans. The national exhibit of Japan at the Fair is therefore in keeping with the spirit and taste of the people. The large hillside area which is occupied by Japan lies east of the Observation wheel and southwest of the Palace of Machinery. Dainty gardens, with winding paths and green sward make the spot a pleasant one in which to enjoy the smiling hospitality of the Orientals. There are cascades and fountains, and plashing little streams spanned by quaint bridges or crossed by lines of stepping-stones. There are pretty pagodas, beds of flowering plants, and rock-work ornamented by giant cranes. Many interesting buildings are within the enclosure. In one of them Japanese artists may be seen at their work, and in another, extensive collections of Japanese wares are offered for sale. The beautiful pavilion shown in the engraving is used as a tea-house, and is modeled after the Kikakuji Palace still standing at Kioto after 480 years of service. In the upper rooms are models of Japanese idols and images, and on the first floor one stops to take tea, whether he cares for it or not, just for the pleasure of being served by the dainty and charming maidens whose English is as limited as it is delightful.

—68—

Figure 2. "Japanese Gardens and Tea-Houses." *The Greatest of Expositions: Completely Illustrated*, p. 68.

boundaries based in race and taste, and to maintain the freedom of the fairgoers to continue their cosmopolitan, flâneur-like circulation: "on the first floor, one stops to take tea, whether he cares for it or not, just for the pleasure of being served by the dainty and charming maidens whose English is as limited as it is delightful." The tea becomes immaterial to enjoyment, since the fairgoer is free of the dictates of a national or racial taste, free to continue on; and the "delight" the fairgoer experiences is one that seems to reinforce difference: the inability of the Japanese workers to fully escape their own culture as they interact with their freer patrons.

The greatest degree of cultural transformation is hazarded in the caption to two photographs found only in the Winterthur edition of *The Grandeur of the Exposition at St. Louis*, a one page dyptic, depicting a group from the Philippines, all said to be Filipino Igorrotes. The image at the top of the page depicts two men working over a large pot, while another man looks on from the stoop of a door to a wooden structure. The image below this depicts seven men, women, and children grouped for a portrait, facing the camera before a wooden house thatched with straw. The images themselves seem to work like other images of anthropological exhibits, to frame the participants for the fairgoer as typical of their cultural or racial being, which is more or less primitive, more or less restricted to non-modern patterns of daily life. Yet the caption suggests otherwise:

> The Igorrotes, the head hunting savages of the Philippines at the World's Fair, have learned many American customs since they have been in this country. Lately they have taken up the bicycle and are learning to ride. One of the members of the tribe has become quite proficient in operating the typewriter and has written a letter in fairly good English to a friend at the islands. The accompanying picture shows the home life of the Igorrotes while at the Fair. They are preparing a meal using American cooking utensils. The hut to

the background is a typical Nipa dwelling built by the Igorrotes on the island.

The caption begins to produce an idea of cultural transformation, where the Igorrotes are capable of taking on American "customs" of play, communication, and home life. Of course, one way to interpret this caption is as an argument in support of American colonization. Rydell notes that the Philippine village at Buffalo had provoked discussion over what role Filipinos would play as new American subjects; many imagined them as destined to engage in "the production of raw materials and the consumption of finished American products" (143). A caption for another photograph of Filipinos, both Igorrotes and Moros, has described the Igorrotes in particular as a people capable of "ready civilization." It is significant, then, that the text for this caption identifies the Igorrotes as adopting "American customs." Here the objects they learn to use are specifically tied to their potential membership in a defined American way of life, while they are still framed as different by the images, by the description of their "typical Nipa dwelling," and by the depiction of them as "head hunting savages."

The caption continues with a description of one of the individuals in the group portrait: "Antonio, one of the chiefs of the Igorrotes" who "is exceptionally bright." The caption's description of Antonio works to similarly navigate the line between colonized assimilation and difference. Recently married at the exposition, Antonio's ceremony had been held "in true Igorrote style, consisting of dancing and feasting." Yet if the ceremony is described to maintain difference, the caption continues to frame Antonio and his wife as becoming modern, middle-class Americans. The caption describes Antonio as one of a group of Igorrotes who had visited President Roosevelt. And thus sanctioned as Americans by their visit to the head of state, Antonio and his wife are described as typical American newlyweds: "One of the modern improvements of Antonio's home is the telephone which he has learned to use. The phone is

connected with the office of Dr. Hunt, who has charge of the tribe at the fair, and Antonio makes all his wants known over the wire." As potential American subjects, Antonio and his wife are interpolated into an American consumer society, engaged in making modern improvements to their home. If we are invited to think of Antonio as a typical American newlywed, engaged in the American pursuit of home improvement for himself and his bride, Dr. Hunt becomes a kind of figure for American modernized production, which can supply the "wants" of the American consumer.

But this celebration of American industrial production, potentially a validation for colonial expansion and imperial rule, also works to destabilize boundaries, to hazard a kind of unknowable "want." Certainly as the caption depicts cultural exchange, it works to stabilize this exchange into a binary hybrid: American culture and Igorrote culture, different, discrete, and identifiable. Indeed, American culture, in a way, gains its discreteness from being placed next to Igorrote culture. Yet the caption's conclusion seems to hazard a third possibility, since we do not know what "wants" Antonio could have. If Dr. Hunt is a figure for American production, does American production adapt to Igorrote consumer needs? Or has Antonio become completely American, interpolated into an American consumer society that produces his wants and meets them at the same time, as bicycles, typewriters, cooking utensils, and telephones? Of course we could read Dr. Hunt also as the authority figure who justifies Antonio's wants, the American subject who assures the reader that these wants are acceptable, either American or unthreateningly Igorrote. Yet these are, as stated, Antonio's "wants" in total: "all his wants." Igorrote or American, perhaps neither Igorrote nor American, they are ultimately unknowable to the reader, indefinite yet capable of being communicated to Dr. Hunt with a kind of openness

that is not defined by the caption or the images.[7]

It is undeniable that the world's fairs did reflect, produce, and reinforce hegemonic ideologies. The cosmopolitan circulations of products and people and the exchanges of objects and ideas these fairs promoted could be framed by the official, hegemonic narrative. But there are other experiences that these dynamics inspired – experiences that could be seen as critical of hierarchical difference. Thomas Flemming's 1901 comic travel narrative *Around the Pan,* which narrates the visit by the fictional "down east" farmer Uncle Hank to the Buffalo Pan American Exposition, is perhaps an unlikely source for these experiences. In fact, Rydell has referred to this text as a justification of racist and imperialist ideology that works to support the fair's official narrative. Yet the text is far less homogenous than Rydell has claimed. Uncle Hank is a stereotypical Yankee, an object of national pride, a cosmopolitan consumer with an anthropological perspective on other races, cultures, and nationalities, and a trickster whose joking exchanges with others work to destabilize anthropologically justified differences between cultures and races, between modern and primitive, and between colonized and colonizer. Through these shifting identities, over his multiple day stay in Buffalo, Uncle Hank navigates a fair populated by others who, often as interested as he in jokes and tricks in their social or economic exchanges, challenge cultural or racial stereotypes. Certainly a scene depicting two

[7] That this caption imagines a transgression of boundaries is suggested by its absence from both the University of California edition of *The Grandeur of the Universal Exposition at St. Louis* as well as *The Greatest of Expositions*. While the Philippine exhibits are absent from the University of California edition of *The Grandeur of the Universal Exposition at St. Louis,* they are foregrounded in *The Greatest of Expositions.* The one page introduction to *The Greatest of Expositions* includes a full paragraph listing the various "types of primitive people to be found at the fair." Yet, when Antonio appears in this text, he is simply described as a head hunter with "a number of heads to his credit," if also "a very amiable man" (236). The kinds of cross cultural exchanges described in the Winterthur edition of *The Grandeur of the Universal Exposition at St. Louis* here are minimized as amiability while the Filipino people are generally described and depicted as primitive types.

black men borrows from black-face stereotyping. And Uncle Hank is a character who engages in nationalist competition with men and women from European, South American, and Asian countries, as well as from the Philippines and American Indian tribes. Yet the tensions depicted in the text do not simply produce racist and imperialist ideologies.

Popular adaptations of official anthropology play a minor role in the narrative. However, regional and national cultural and racial difference is central to the text. The narrative opens by envisioning the Buffalo fair as a place where difference is produced, and difference itself is the object of humor:

> In its humourous aspect it was replete with interesting features. There was the Arab, with his baggy trousers; the Mexican, in his preposterously widebrimmed sombrero, and the absurdly togged-up Senegambian from "Darkest Africa" – who were all rich in mirth-provoking possibilities. The visitors, coming from every walk in life and from every locality, frequently contained specimens of humanity of such queer make-up that not to laugh would stamp one as entirely devoid of the sense of the ludicrous. (15)

This difference in turn works to create a distinction between various "ludicrous" culturally bound others, and a normal self, indeed a comic, ethnographic flâneur, who perceives, identifies, and mocks difference. Uncle Hank is partially a character who reproduces this experience of the fair for the reader. And Uncle Hank, well informed about current global events, new technologies and consumer goods, is a character who is also defined by his knowledge of current anthropological studies of others. He enjoys visiting the live anthropological villages located near the fair's midway and, upon visiting the Government Building, admires first objects representing new technologies and then life groups cast in plaster representing Native Americans. Fleming describes Uncle Hank's "taste" as defined by popular ethnography such that

he examines these exhibits for "a couple of hours." Uncle Hank reflects current concepts of material object study when he notes that "them's the most lifelike figgers I ever see, fer I'm a great beelever in pictures and statoos tew educate ther people. Naow look et them figgers! You cud read a hull book thru and not git half the information frum that ye cud get from one glance at th' figgers in them show cases." And his glance has led him to describe one life group with the cultural observation that "Thet Injun's teachin th' risin generashun tew use ther bow an arrer" (166). In these passages, we might perceive Uncle Hank as moving from a display viewed because of his interest in the modern technology of his own culture to a display viewed because of his interest in the technology and culture of the primitive other, thus working to support cultural distinctions reinforcing hierarchy-producing ideologies.

Bill Brown has noted how the life-group exhibit, popularized by the Nordic exhibit at the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial exhibition, became a staple of anthropological display in the 1890s. Life-group exhibits were displayed at the Chicago exposition and the Atlanta exposition of 1895, where Franz Boas created exhibits of Native Americans "arranged in small groups, the mise-en-scene meant to dramatize how particular instruments were used" (94). Brown argues that the life groups fulfilled a desire similar to that of regionalist writing "constellating person, place, and thing into an absorbing drama, supposedly bringing a local culture to life" (92). And both life groups and regionalist writing are a part of a late nineteenth-century cultural practice that promotes "cultural coherence" and the goal of "apprehending an autonomous and self-contained culture" (99). For Brown, life groups can work to oppose anthropological displays that, like those of Otis Mason, arranged a particular kind of object in a group meant to illustrate a linear narrative of technological progress. However, such life groups also presuppose a modern ethnographic subject, one predisposed to comprehend the primitiveness of the life groups in

comparison to the modern technologies displayed elsewhere.

Though Uncle Hank does seem to approach these displays with seriousness, accepting such dominant ideologies without reservation, his one joke at this exhibit poses a challenge to the idea that the modern products of the United States would benefit all humanity; for he continues the above statement about the "Injun" teaching his sun to shoot, joking that "he ought tew be teachin em tew wear more clothes so's tew give the Wool Trust a chance ter earn bigger dividends" (166). If such life groupings were meant to create a distinction between modern and primitive to help produce and justify the modern, and in turn to justify imperial expansion, Uncle Hank expresses a populist sentiment that perceives one impetus behind imperial expansion to be capitalism's drive to create new consumers and more profits. In fact, one or another version of this particular joke is a refrain throughout the text, either told by Uncle Hank or the cultural or racial others he confronts. The first time this joke appears is when Uncle Hank retitles one of the fair's many plaster statues. The statues had been organized by Director of Sculpture Karl Bitters to tell a narrative celebrating progress by depicting past stages such as "The Savage Age" and "The Despotic Age" followed by works such as "The Age of Enlightenment" and "Abundance," meant to represent the more current stages of modern progress. Uncle Hank, observing the statue "The Despotic Age," which depicts a tyrant whose chariot is being pulled by struggling slaves, decides that it has been titled incorrectly and, crossing out the old title with a piece of charcoal, writes on the pedestal the new title, "Statoo of a Trust King Takin' a Ride in His Horseliss Carridge." Countering the fairs attempt to celebrate material progress ascribed to the democratic and capitalist United States, Uncle Hank reminds readers of the inequalities produced by turn of the century U.S. capitalism. Instead of depicting, like the fair's official ideology, the United States as a unified society where modern capitalism produces abundance for all, Uncle Hank

locates a divided society that benefits the few at the expense of the many. Indeed, this act of graffiti is the first act which begins to frame Uncle Hank as a countercultural trickster.

As a trickster he works to disrupt, to expose fissures, to probe borders. He produces mirth both as an object and a subject of knowledge and comedy. If Uncle Hank is an ethnographic subject and consumer, capable of circulating through the fair by turning others into objects of knowledge, he is often also an identity defined by his locality, a resurrected, distinctly American comic figure from the 18th and 19th centuries. Constance Rourke describes the Yankee, in his comic elements, as a talker, a trader, a teller of stories, and a player of elaborate practical jokes (6-8). He is also "an aboriginal character sprung suddenly, long-sided and nimble, from the gray rocks of his native soil" (8). As a stereotypical Yankee, Uncle Hank is also a part of the fair's cosmopolitan phantasmagoria. In fact, he first appears for the reader as one of the fair's phantasmagoric sights: as "a long, lank figure" who "[stands] at the main entrance of the Exposition" with a carpet bag and an "ungainly umbrella" (17) and then more particularly as "a Yankee farmer from 'way daown East,' where they grow them long and lean, and as shrewd as it is possible for humanity to be" (18). Uncle Hank himself is defined by his geographic and cultural origins as a phantasmagoric object. Yet this cultural figure is also a trickster and, although a part of a distinctly American tradition, he is nonetheless capable of shifting identities. His jocular exchanges with others work to destabilize anthropologically justified differences between cultures and races, between modern and primitive, and between colonized and colonizer. He and the other trickster figures he encounters potentially open up, in the words of Elizabeth Ammons, "a place located and constantly reinventable in cultural borderlands" (xi).

Uncle Hank becomes an object of humor when he visits the Philippine anthropological village, where a Filipino native in the village takes on the role of trickster to counter imperialist

and capitalist ideology. Deciding whether or not he should pay the quarter entrance fee, Uncle Hank observes the following scene:

> At the entrance there was a stage built to display some of the attractions for the purpose of advertisement. On this stage was an exceedingly interesting group consisting of a Filipino mother and her two children. As Uncle Hank approached, one of the children held out its hand to him. It represented to him so very forcibly the attitude of the Filipinos toward Uncle Sam that his heart warmed to the little one and he resolved to enter to learn more of the people of his country's new acquisition. (116)

In this scene, Uncle Hank perceives a life-group like display, albeit with living human beings, through which he is interpolated as a believer in the United States ideology of imperial expansion that frames the Filipino subject as a childish primitive, in need of the help of the advanced American society, and capable of being a possession of the United States. The passage constructs him as a figure espousing this belief system. His subsequent observations of the Filipino's "primitive" methods of production in the village continue to confirm his belief in this ideology such that upon observing "several natives [who] were busy transforming hemp into a rope by means of a primitive windlass" he "express[es] his contempt for such methods. 'Jes wait till Yankee Doodle gets a whack of their rope twistin'. Wait till ther Trust git their eyes on it an' puts em out of business." A similar ideological "contempt" is produced by Uncle Hank observing a Filipino using an oyster shell for glass: "'Wal, jest wait till ther Glass trust gets on to this – thet's another opening for American industry." Here Uncle Hank's populism has been forgotten as he has become a nationalist and an imperialist, associating with American capitalism and the modernization with which he associates it. In fact, it would seem that in these passages text begins to side with imperialism.

Yet, we can also read this passage as a humorous setup, since an encounter with a Filipino man turns the tables on Uncle Hank and his imperialist sentiments. The narrator begins the exchange with the observation that "as a rule [Filipinos] are bright and well informed, as Uncle Hank discovered in conversing with one." The conversation between the two is worth quoting in its entirety. Uncle Hank begins the exchange:

> 'I reckon you Fillypinos 'll prosper now under Uncle Sam's gov'nment'
>
> 'Fil-pino prosper! Ha, ha!' replied the native. 'Uncle Sam sends sleek politician like Dick Crockair an' Matt Kway – he skin him Filipino, send big trust he chocke him Filipino – send Noo Yorka Polica-a-man tip off cock fight, bull fight, rob him! Filipino prospare –? – ha, ha, ha!'
>
> Uncle Hank was dazed by the logic of this home trust, but soon recovered his wanted assurance.
>
> 'Wal,' he retorted, 'with a all thet et won't be as bad as them Spanish Dagoes treated ye, jes put yer trust in the United States an' – '
>
> 'The United States will put the trusts in the Phil-pines!' replied the unabashed Filipino with a sneer.
>
> The old man soon saw that he had an incorrigible case to deal with and made no further effort to convert the native to the dogma of the superiority of Uncle Sam's benign system of government. (116-117)

In this passage, Uncle Hank's own countercultural sentiments are turned upon him by a figure, like Uncle Hank both a phantasmagoric stereotype and a trickster, whose counter-jokes work to expose the self-aggrandizing logic of imperialist ideologies by using Hank's own populist discourse against him. Uncle Hank's interpretations of the groups of Filipino people, the child

with his hand extended and the groups engaged in industry themselves become the object of humor and ridicule are based in an ideology that borrows from imperialism, capitalism, and anthropology. For instance, Uncle Hank's judgment finds the Philippine industries inferior and argues that U.S. economic expansion is simply inevitable, a matter of economic competition, solely. Yet the Filipino reminds Uncle Hank of the force involved in imperial and economic expansion such that the reader is forced to question the "dogma of the superiority of Uncle Sam's benign system of government." The strength of the Filipino's "home thrust" is signaled by Uncle Hank's decision to leave the fair for the day: "He now concluded he had had excitement enough for one day, and as he passed out through the exit gate, soliloquized: 'What a powerful sight ye larn at these exherbishuns'" (117). Uncle Hank's initial impetus had been to visit the exhibit "to learn more of the people of his country's new acquisition." The repetition of the verb "to learn" in Uncle Hank's final remark ironically notes contrast between the official learning Uncle Hank expects at the exhibit and the learning he ultimately receives. The passage argues to readers that other kinds of knowledge could be gained than those produced by the fairs official educational mission. Where displays, advertisements, and official exhibits might interpolate visitors according to particular ideologies, visitors did not necessarily conform to those ideologies. Nor were the living human beings at those exhibits necessarily always willing to be quiet in the face of those interpretations.

Such encounters occur throughout the text, as people from different and even warring societies meet each other and exchange words and occasionally goods and money, with one or both getting the better of the other through humorous jokes or tricks. Geronimo and General Nelson Miles are depicted in an encounter, with Geronimo's humorous criticism of Washington politics winning their verbal battle and producing a momentary friendship. An Iroquois woman

who speaks better standard English than Uncle Hank gets the better of the otherwise tightfisted, expert-bargaining Yankee in both her humor and in the sale of one of her baskets, leading him to grudgingly acknowledge her business sense; thereby countering the depiction of "primitives" as incapable of succeeding in the capitalist marketplace. Indeed, the work of humor, even a humor that exposes and reproduces conflict, for Uncle Hank and his narrator becomes a practice for navigating the disorienting field of cultural difference produced by the fair and its cosmopolitan circulations. Citing the well-known aphorism, "Laugh and the world laughs with you/ Weep and you weep alone," lifted from the opening lines of American poet Ella Wheeler Wilcox's popular poem "Solitude" the narrator notes: "the truth of this axiom was strongly emphasized in Uncle Hank; he laughed at everything and everybody, and everybody laughed at him" (52). Humor, then, produces not merely the cultural other as described in the opening chapter, but also works to create a new space where self and other become an object of humor and laughter creates a new perspective at the margins of one's identity.

Around the Pan depicts the world's fair as a space and a marketplace where stereotypical identities, cultural borders, and structural hierarchies are both reproduced and challenged. It imagines a modern space where appearances circulate as surfaces that hide shifting and uncertain depths of alternative politics, identities, objects, and desires. It is not surprising, then, that we find texts such as more official representations of the fair or *Craftsman* articles attempting to control and create stability – a phantasmagoria of others - out of these kinds of circulations.

These dynamics did not end with the end of the fairs. While *The Craftsman*'s critics of European and American design subtly borrowed anthropological discourse, the magazine actually published articles of popular anthropology that then crossed into explorations of taste

and design criticism, as my opening discussion of figure 1 indicates. Sargent herself composed articles of this sort, such as "Indian Basketry: Its Structure and Decoration." Most of these kinds of articles were more akin to those written by Frederick Monsen or the journalist George Wharton James, who also often wrote as an anthropological expert to describe the lifestyle and material culture of American Indians. In these articles, racism perpetuated through anthropological discourses of the primitive mixed with political activism that argued against only some of the more genocidal practices of white Americans. The assumption in many of these articles is the usual one: that the cultures of primitive races are unchanging and that, slaves to tradition, they were equally determined by their natural environment. These articles of popular anthropology were meant to educate the magazine's white, middle-class audience on the cultures and especially the material cultures of "indigenous" or "primitive" peoples, but at the same time produced an ethnographic consumer. Articles on "primitives," within the context of a magazine partially devoted to articles on contemporary and historical world design, were a version of this genre of criticism.

A Frederick Monsen piece from March of 1907, titled "The Destruction of Our Indians" well illustrates the tensions involved in constructing the figure of the ethnographic consumer through these discourses of taste and anthropology. In this article Monsen relates his travels as a recorder of Indian life to argue against white interference in Indian religion, art, and economy. His basic observation is that "the peaceful desert tribes have hitherto been able to preserve so much of their original vigor and individuality has been due to the fact that the Indian is dominated in such a marked degree by his environment, and also that these Indians live a life as natural and primitive as that of their forefathers before the advent of the white man" (683). He imagines human beings whose religion, "inborn in every natural man," is both unchanging and in

"oneness with nature" (689) Religion, in tandem with the environment, dominates as a template that "colors and controls all his life" such that "everything fashioned and ornamented by his hand is an expression of some phase of his religious belief" (689). Objects emerge from subjective culture that emerges from natural environment. And the government's attempts to civilize the Hopi, for Monsen, yield a problematic hybrid since

> all his standards are upset and his mind is set adrift in unknown seas of incomprehensible thought; a half knowledge of some of the white man's minor trades and industries, with the assurance that only by these can he earn a living and so his own ancient and wonderful industries are destroyed, and … the country loses a true and natural expression of art that our modern civilization can ill afford to spare. (690)

Hopi art provides an authentic expression and a real connection to the land that is lacking in modern trade and industry. Indeed, he argues that the Hopi's best chance to survive within capitalism is by selling authentic Hopi goods to white or modern Americans. And not only does Monsen observe American Indians through the lens of anthropological discourse, he attempts to reproduce it through his camera. He writes of his photographic methodology that he works against a posed picture and so attempts to depict "the unconscious expression of daily life and character" (686). When films useable on his expeditions were available, he was able to capture the "atmosphere, perspective, or the freedom from consciousness that is so desirable when photographing Indians" (687). And he continues explaining that "by the use of the small cartridge films and the rapid action of the hand camera, one is able to snapshot any number of charming, unconscious groups that show just what the Indian is like in his daily life at home" (686). Here the authentic Hopi culture is reproducible only as unconscious behavior, unposed by

the white artist.[8] The wholeness of the material culture imagined by Monsen emerges in relation to natural environment and religion but as his description of his methodology implies, this unconscious, unchanging daily life must be maintained by the ethnographic photographer; indeed the possibility that "daily life" is a construction of this ethnographic subject is also implied, since consciousness, and cultural exchange erupt in Monsen's description only to be managed and minimized by his verbal and photographic discourse.

And while he argues that whites should manage this primitive authenticity by teaching the Hopi to revive older craft methods, he actually celebrates a kind of cosmopolitan consumption that would suggest the possibility of cultural exchange and change. Making one's home in an Indian village," he writes, "tends to give great elasticity to one's point of view":

> It is all a matter of taste, which in turn is a matter of custom, and the man who is privileged to learn a sufficient catholicity of taste to appreciate and enjoy both sides adds greatly to the interest of life. The white man is horrified at the thought of eating dog, but heartily relishes a meal of roast pig, the Indian is revolted and disgusted at the idea of using pig for food, but is delighted with a dish of savory stewed dog. If one can learn to eat both dog and pig with relish it follows that he greatly widens his field of experience and doubles his capacity for enjoyment. (685)

The difference between "white man" and "Indian" is produced by their desire for and reactions against particular foods. Monsen does suggest the possibility that both Indian and white man can

[8] In a strange yet illuminating methodological account of how he overcame the Hopi's "shy[ness] of the white man" to take nude photographs of bathers, see the third article of his Craftsman series, "The Primitive Folk of the Desert: Splendid Physical Development That Yet Shows Many of the Characteristics of an Earlier Race Than Our Own." May 1907, pp. 164-178. There, Monsen writes that he "finally achieved the studies [he] wanted by very much the same methods that one employs in taming birds or animals" (174). He continues on for more than a page with the same human/animal metaphorical structure governing his narrative, his role, and the roles of the bathers.

cross boundaries of taste. “One” could refer to either, and this “one” seems to break down the essentialized boundaries of the preceding sentence. Yet, in the end, he implies that this freedom, the capacity for movement across boundaries is only available to the white man: “That my own experience of Indian life might be as broad as possible, I drifted from one village to another, always accepting their customs, eating their food, interesting myself in what interested them, and never by word or act reminding them that I was a white” (685). That is, Monsen’s ability to maintain his cosmopolitan freedom is predicated on the Indian’s unconsciousness of difference, while he himself is both inside and outside the culture he records and takes part in. Hopis cannot reproduce or consume the white man’s culture because they cannot fully participate in or understand it. Yet white men or women are capable of consuming Hopi objects which supplement their lack of authenticity. In this passage, it is only Monsen, the white man, who can partake in the perception of difference, who can become the ethnographic consumer, in this case, a cosmopolitan flâneur both able to perceive, enjoy, and self-alienate from the other’s culture, through navigating a cosmopolitan cultural marketplace.

Chapter 3: "Dreamers of Refuge": The Primitive Home in Turn-of-the-Century U.S. Fiction and Consumer Practices

"In the house itself, in the family sitting room, a dreamer of refuges dreams of a hut, of a nest, or of nooks and corners in which he would like to hide away, like an animal in his hole" (30); with this early passage from *The Poetics of Space*, the French phenomenologist Gaston Bachelard begins a short exploration of the way the image of the primitive home serves to produce feelings of simplicity, intimacy, and refuge that substantiate the very possibility of inhabiting. The passage introduces a dialectic through which the house itself insufficiently provides that refuge from the world the dreamer desires. The dwellings of the primitive (whose relation to the animal Bachelard here draws attention to) provide the dreamer with a supplement to the house; the hut is where the dreamer turns when the world intrudes to undermine security. Bachelard writes that "in most hut dreams we hope to live elsewhere, far from the over-crowded house, far from city cares. We flee in thought in search of a real refuge" (31). Here the hut image as refuge depends on its ability to be "elsewhere," beyond the house, but also beyond the world of modernity from which the house is no refuge. Indeed, it becomes the very possibility of withdrawal from the city. The modern infiltrates the house through the material crowding of people or consumer objects or through the economic or modern concerns of "city cares." "A house in a big city lacks cosmicity," Bachelard writes, "For here, where houses are no longer set in natural surroundings, the relationship between house and space becomes an artificial one. Everything about it is mechanical and, on every side, intimate living flees" (27). And outside the house, the "artificial" and the "mechanical" work to oppose intimacy inside, which "flees" since "'The streets are like pipes into which men are sucked up'" (27). This last citation, from Max

Picard, suggests that leaving the house into the modern city necessitates a turn towards the artificial and the mechanical, words often associated with industrial production and consumption. And to be "sucked up" by pipes indicates the idea of a lack of control and agency over oneself and one's dwelling space that modern plumbing, a synecdoche of modern living, produces. Where the house itself becomes a part of a system of industrial production, the image of the hut works to substantiate the possibility of withdrawal lacking in the house.

In part, this withdrawal is dependent on the idea of unification, on a oneness that rejects the marketplace of alienable things. The hut "appears to be the tap-root of the function of inhabiting. It is the simplest of human plants, the one that needs no ramifications in order to exist" (31). For Bachelard, the hut becomes an organic origin, and indeed an origin where human and refuge become one: a single "root." As an origin, its "ramifications," its complicating branches, its extensions into the world are immaterial to its existence. Bachelard writes repeatedly of the powers of concentration belonging to the hut image. Of the hermits hut, for example, Bachelard writes "there radiates about this centralized solitude a universe of meditation and prayer, a universe outside the universe. The hut can receive none of the riches 'of this world.' It possesses the felicity of intense poverty; indeed it is one of the glories of poverty; as destitution increases it gives us access to absolute refuge" (32). Here concentration, refuge, and solitude depend on a lack of material possessions that belong to the exterior, the social, and the modern "universe." The "of this world" in quotations suggests that Bachelard is hardly discussing the difference between physical and spiritual planes, but the difference between the material world and the world of imagination. The hut dream provides refuge because it is does not "need" the marketplace from which it provides escape. The needs of modernity – artificial, outside ourselves, producing a consuming need outside us like the sucking of pipes – are no

longer with us in the hut dream, where needs are restored to the individual and gain a lost organic quality. For Bachelard, such images create the idea of the "'original impulse' of youth." And "Primal images, simple engravings are but so many invitations to start imagining again. They give us back areas of being, houses in which the human being's certainty of being is concentrated, and we have the impression that, by living in such images as these, we could start a new life, a life that would be our own, that would belong to us in our very depths" (33). Hut images recreate an idea of inalienable need and possession concentrated within and belonging to the human being.

This is not to say that the prehistoric or primitive "hut dream" and the real world, of city cares, of mechanical and artificial production and consumption, are not dialectically related. In an autobiographical work by Henri Bachelin, Bachelard finds the author nearly inside the "hut dream" in his childhood home, where "at the house's center, in the circle of light shed by the lamp, he is living in the round house, the primitive hut, of prehistoric man" (31). At the same time as it is elsewhere, beyond the boundaries of the modern house and the city, it is nearly present, at the modern house's very center. For Bachelard, the effectiveness of hut dreams is perhaps dependant upon their immateriality; an immateriality signaled by the "circle of light shed by the lamp." Hut dreams indicate a withdrawal from the marketplace and its goods, "the over-crowded house." Bachelard, writing in 1958, thus describes an immaterial experience of primitive dwellings – as dreams that are elsewhere. Yet, these dreams are perhaps also dependent upon the modern marketplace, if it is the lamp that produces the immaterial, yet material, walls of the hut dream. Turning to the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century United States, to the heart of modernity, we can see a preponderance of primitive dwellings that are hardly immaterial, and hardly elsewhere, though they did not cease to connote an elsewhere and an

other that belonged there: "primitive" homes in garden architecture, as a framing metaphor for middle-class domestic architecture, and as a significant presence in some literary works of the period. While the hut could still be understood as a kind of dwelling that stood in opposition to contemporary, modern forms of architecture and the races and cultures associated with them, the hut was also to became an ideal, offering a retreat from the alienating domestic materiality of consumer capitalism. Yet the primitive domesticity that these "hut dreams" and practices create ultimately works to repair tensions in the modern self, providing both a withdrawal from the marketplace, and the ability to return to the marketplace as an alienable, autonomous, and rational modern individual. Moreover, the hut was a racialized form of dwelling that could offer whites both the idea of a secure racial identity and the attempt to create a chthonic, native architecture through the concept of the primitive borrowed from their conception of other races and cultures.

The relationship between the primitive "hut dream" and the modern home depends on seeing the home in modernity as a process of withdrawal from the overlapping spheres of the marketplace and the foreign, but a process that is never complete. In a series of books beginning in the 1990s, geographers and globalization studies scholars have begun to examine the idea of home in relation to the globalizing forces in the modernity or postmodernity of the contemporary world; though these monographs and anthologies focus on more recent timeframes, they are yet useful for understanding concepts of home at the turn of the nineteenth century. These scholars understand home as a place of stability and belonging that anchors the self within the instabilities of contemporary life; in this sense home is created in the overlapping interiors of local communities and identities, family life, gift economies, houses, and private lives. David Morley, in *Home Territories: Media, Mobility, and Identity,* follows sociological research – for instance,

Mary Douglas in *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* – in seeing home places formed through the "exclusion" or "expulsion" of "alterity" or "'matter out of place,' whether that matter is represented by impure or foreign material objects, persons or cultural products" (Morley 3). In a world characterized by mobility and nomadism, Morley argues, this formation of home generates conflicts. He also situates his politics here, in the possibility of a concept of home that accepts the hybridity that already exists there. Yet, despite his politics, Morley might be said to overstate the difference between home and mobility. Sara Ahmed, Claudia Castaneda, Anne-Marie Fortier, and Mimi Sheller, editors of *Uprootings/ Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*, argue for a more dialectical understanding of the stability/instability distinction, where home can exist in movements such as travel and where movement exists within the home.

Understanding the creation of the turn-of-the-century home through such processes depends on understanding the relationship between the home and the marketplace in modernity. The creation of the home's stability in this relationship depends on the maintenance of separate spheres, in particular on the domestic sphere's withdrawal from the marketplace of production and consumption. In this relationship, the domestic can be understood as the sphere of private property, and is partially produced by the withdrawal of alienable commodities from the consumer marketplace into the sphere of private property owners, possessive individuals as C. B. MacPherson describes them. Yet the domestic sphere's stability depends more substantially on a withdrawal into a world of inalienable people and things: a sphere where relationships between people and between people and things are not driven by market concerns, by economic competition and exchange value. In the domestic sphere, the intimacy of friends and family and an intimate world of objects counter the alienations, conflicts, and mobilities of the capitalist

marketplace. Feminist scholars of the nineteenth-century United States have argued that the feminine values implicit in the domestic sphere presented a vital challenge to masculine capitalist values and practices. Yet, as literary scholar Gillian Brown cautions, the stability and security created in this withdrawal was dependent on the marketplace itself; moreover the modern individual in the marketplace depended on the idea of domestic withdrawal to define the stability and security of his or her own interior self. Since domestic life depended upon the marketplace from which it was supposed to be a withdrawal, the marketplace could yet be perceived as infiltrating the domestic sphere in the form of alienable and alienating commodities, including the house itself and the land on which it was built. The "hut dream," the dream of a primitive home and the primitive lifestyle of production and consumption associated with it, helped produce a turn-of-the-century domesticity that navigated these tensions.

Of course, the return from the primitive house was used as both an idea and a material practice against which to define the modern, in particular the modern home's convenience and sanitation, associated with the modern marketplace's rationality. *Craftsman* articles often described the home industries of various people as carried out in "huts" or "primitive homes." In a 1902 article lamenting the separation of "Brain and Hand" in modern industrial production, Irene Sargent yet idealizes eighteenth century "cottage industries" that "were pursued in huts rather than in dwellings, in a germ laden atmosphere, and amid conditions of low morality" (43). In the 1905 essay, "The Evolution of Leisure for the Many," A. M. Simon celebrates the Artisans of the Middle Ages that yet "lived in miserable huts, unfloored, windowless, and almost unwarmed against the fierce Baltic blasts" (778). George Wharton James' three-part series on "Aboriginal American Homes" discusses the primitive house as the result of a basic drive for shelter or the result of religious strictures and taboos. As shelter, Wharton's concept of the

primitive house becomes a way to name the human house in relation to the animal; and this naturalist understanding of the house implies the modern European's transcendence of the human animal past, no longer dominated by an environment. When Wharton discusses the specific architectural forms of various societies, he employs a discourse of religious or cultural materialism; that is, specific houses are the unconscious, unreflecting, and repeated application of tradition. And this materialism works to imply the conscious and rational progress of modern European forms. This is the particular lesson taught by the British anthropologist Sir Edward B. Tylor, whose 1881 textbook frames primitive architecture as a part of an evolutionary continuum, simple and inferior to complex, more advanced architecture; indeed the primitive is barely capable of providing shelter. Tyler's scorn for those he labels primitive is palpable throughout the text, yet his simultaneous desire to establish modern whites as advanced is often equally palpable, such as when he writes: "As African travelers remark, one great sign of higher civilization is when people begin to build their houses square-cornered instead of round" (231).

These kinds of descriptions are hardly Bachelardian "hut dreams," though occasionally the boundary separating modern from primitive was capable of being crossed. Wharton himself offered examples of modern whites living in caves and also singles out a "Yuman" woman, Maggie Scott, whose "kan" represents a "distinct [architectural] advance" apparently because she was raised by modern whites (649). In a striking 1904 article on collecting, "The Basketry of the Aleutian Islands," C. Gadsen Porcher writes of the white collector's simultaneous revulsion at and compulsion to enter the "sod huts" given the unsanitary "state of the atmosphere":

> on entering one of these huts, a novice will immediately back out to get a breath of fresh air, but if there is hope of a basket to be found, the collector cannot be kept away, and soon making a strong mental effort, he takes a breath of air and

dives in, not breathing again until he comes to the surface with his trophies.

These must be aired before they can be stored away. (577)

Porcher in particular, implies a divided subject: on the one hand, the taste for beautiful objects made outside the industrial system of production, in primitive homes, and on the other, the taste for the modern house where these objects would be then displayed. Indeed, the collector's movement into the hut, and back out, produces the sensibility of the modern basket collector. The collector refusing to breathe, finally emerging from the depths, the "air[ing]" of the objects, and the final storage of the objects, works to create a partial boundary between the basket's explicitly racialized creators and the implicitly racialized collector. And the basket must undergo a ritual cleansing before it can enter the modern interior of the collector, before it can become his property: and not private property in this case, but a property of culture and race. Yet if the basket is changed to allow it to circulate beyond the hut, the basket yet persists in signifying the place of production: closed off from sanitary modern production and modern sensibility, yet also desirable perhaps for those very reasons.

Such hut narratives, to some extent, stem from an earlier concept of the primitive home. *The Lion City of Africa*, an imperial adventure novel – or more precisely, an anthropological adventure novel – written in 1880 by popular novelist Willis Boyd Allen, highlights how this oppositional relationship between primitive and modern home architecture helped produce the idea of a white, modern identity. Written before the Chicago, Buffalo, or St. Louis World's Fairs, the book instead draws heavily on the works of the British journalist Henry Morton Stanley, in particular, *How I Found Livingstone*, for its representation of Africa, and its concept of the primitive. The young hero and narrator, David Livingstone Scott, is raised and educated by a New England father with a passion for travel narratives. He himself enters Harvard to train to

become an explorer and live out the life his father could not. Educated especially in "botany, geology, astronomy, and ancient history," David Scott is also well versed in late nineteenth-century anthropological racial and cultural knowledge, knowledge which becomes useful during an unplanned expedition across equatorial Africa. When he and fellow Harvard graduate Ned Hastings are marooned by an unscrupulous captain on their way to Cape Town, their journey from the coast to locate a white settlement confirms this anthropological knowledge and the racial discourse it produces. The Africans they encounter are depicted as primitive and animalistic, irrational, driven by their emotions, superstitious, dominated by their environment, and generally unable to understand events and ideas beyond the borders of their locality. Ned and David, on the other hand, are rational and self-controlled, and it is precisely these racialized characteristics and their modern knowledge that allow them to successfully overcome the dangers they face; in contrast to the "primitive" tribes they encounter, they are mobile, capable of moving through various localities. Given the narrative's emphasis on mobility, the primitive houses – "huts" – Ned and David see, and occasionally stay in, are generally merely resting places that function to confirm their knowledge of the primitive others they encounter. In this way, the narrative is similar to Stanley's *How I Found Livingston* – in fact, not only is David Scott named after Livingston, the two young men consistently refer to Livingston's travels, occasionally trace his past movements, and even accidently discover a box containing articles belonging to Livingston at a camping spot. For the most part, then, the "primitive" houses in *The Lion City of Africa***,** function to produce the modern, white self that David and Ned represent by binary opposition. Yet one particular hut is central to the narrative and the dialectics of interior and exterior, stability and mobility, the narrative and the hut help produce.

Nearing their journey's end, but fleeing from cannibals with their faithful servant Mbongo and a pygmy child named Lulua whom they are determined to rescue from heathenism, they locate an undiscovered mountain range, covered in snow. Claiming that "In all civilized countries … the remotest and loftiest peaks have always been regarded by the natives as being the peculiar abode of spirits and for this reason perilous ground for human foot to treat," David and Ned plan to season there until the cannibals somehow lose interest in them. Not only does the snow line represent the boundary between superstitious natives and rational whites (the Africans they've hired to carry their goods must be threatened before they set foot on the mountain), it also stands to represent a biological, evolutionary, racial boundary. When David and Ned send the carriers away to locate a rescue party, they insist that Mbongo leave as well since they "felt that his constitution would not withstand the rigors of [the] upland climate." And within several weeks of living in the cold, as a "strange child of the tropics," Lulua nearly dies, while Ned and David flourish in an environment similar to those they have apparently evolved to survive in as whites native to a colder European climate (307). That is, though the theory of evolution is never mentioned, in the anthropological logic of the novel, races are at least partially the product of environmental forces such that environment can represent a limit beyond which races cannot circulate. And though the majority of the novel serves to connote the mobility of a modern white identity, it soon is divulged that David had contracted a fever from his journey through the jungle, one that he is long in recovering from.

In a portion of the novel where environment emerges to dominate both black and white, modern and "primitive," and to prevent the mobility of races across geographical boundaries, it is surprising to find that the shelter they build produces a hybrid material and social space. Within a day of arriving on the mountain, they set their native carriers to work building a hut of

bamboo and stone to serve as a shelter for them and especially Lulua until they can either leave the mountain or until a rescue party arrives. Their cultural knowledge allows them to plan the hut to shelter them from the environment; its roof is modeled after the chalet dwellers of the alps to help it best stand up to wind, while its chimney is modeled after the "Indian-wigwam" to efficiently funnel smoke from the fire. For the sake of discretion, they build one partition so that Lulua can have a private apartment. And in fact, she becomes the domestic who, as soon as she knows she will stay there, begins "quietly performing the household tasks which, little woman that she was, she had at once taken upon herself to perform" (305). This hut, unlike other huts within the novel serves as a liminal place, a place of cultural hybridity. Built by natives, planned by the two whites, and modeled after both "native" European and "native" American dwellings, it becomes the product of trans-racial and trans-cultural exchanges. And as a shelter from the elements, it becomes a place where "a child of the tropics," and a representative of perhaps the most "savage" and inhuman African people that Ned and David perceive themselves to have met, can become the angel in the house for two white Americans. In fact, towards the beginning of the novel, David writes passionately for the benefits of trade across international borders, "because in honest trade, both parties are benefited, and mankind in widely sundered portions of the globe-surface are, by this … commerce, knit more closely together by ties of brotherhood and mutual helpfulness" (62). The "benefits" in this passage are not precisely clear, though it would seem that both alienable ideas and goods potentially circulate through trade across borders. And these cosmopolitan exchanges not only provide new ideas and objects not produced by the consuming society, but also lessen enmity, and seem to increase acceptance.

Yet it is quite clear that the cosmopolitan exchanges that create the novel's hut occur on terms that affirm the superiority of modern whites. They are the planners of the house, where the

carriers are merely the laborers, with no control over their labor, reaffirming the mind/body dualism central to racial theories that would define modern whites as superior to primitive blacks, and other less "developed" races, because of their perceived greater, rational mental abilities. The anthropological knowledge Ned and David deploy serves more to affirm their scientific expertise about other peoples and their rational ability to overcome the challenge of a hostile environment, than to show any kind of cosmopolitan acceptance. In fact, it is their ability as rational, modern, ethnographic selves that allows them to comprehend, alienate, and reapply cultural knowledge as a form of architecture. A cosmopolitan architecture, in this passage is the property of those who can alienate both themselves and material culture to transcend environment, culture, and race. Cosmopolitan exchange is beneficial for those who can reify cultural knowledge and objects and reapply culture rationally.[1] Yet, the Bachelardian hut dream that this cosmopolitan architecture houses provides a limit to Ned and David's modern, rational selves.

The centrality to the narrative of this dialectic flirtation with the primitive "hut dream" is apparent from the start. In fact, the book is framed by the hut, as David begins writing in the hut and begins the narrative describing the hut and the wintery mountain environment that surrounds him:

> Wait – I must throw more wood on the fire. There, the blaze springs up cheerily, answering with its crackly and hum the wind that is shouting outside, and the

[1] Lulua's domesticity merely justifies her exceptionality – by the end of the novel she is "a student at one of our Southern colleges, where she is preparing herself for noble work among her neglected and unhappy sisters beyond the sea," the implication, given her passionate conversion to Christianity, being that she will undertake missionary work in Africa (318). Though a negotiation with the native and primitive, the withdrawal the hut produces works as a way to confront and transcend the primitive, moving more fully into an idealization of the modern and white.

> snow that we can hear now and then, sifting against the sides of the hut. There are other sounds, too, which fall on our ears when the wind dies down and the fire forgets for a moment to laugh. Do you hear them? – there, it was quite plain, then, – that low, deep rumble, like far away thunder, or surf on the rocks. No wonder you turn pale; I did, at first. It's an eerie sound, at best, even before one learns the cause of it…. Yes, in spite of bitter wind, blazing fire, and whirling snow, we are in the center of the dark, tropical continent…this wild day, I have set about jotting down the strange events and really marvelous adventures and escapes which have resulted in my sitting here at this minute, in a rude, snow-bound hut on one of the high peaks, or rather table-lands of Equatorial Africa; hitherto, I must believe, totally unknown to explorers or geographers. (9-10)

The opening scene unfolds the narrative as a Bachelardian "hut dream": the hut is both a refuge from an antagonistic nature and the primitive other that belongs there as well as a rest from vigorous adventure, and yet it is the hut that dialectically recalls them. The cheery fire "answers" the sound of wind and snow that penetrates the walls, while the drums of the pursuing cannibals – at the narrative's opening merely some vague danger for the reader – provide the future memory of an adventure that can be recalled from the safety and shelter of the hut. And Willis Boyd Allen emphasizes that the reader should participate in his "hut dream," should allow the walls of his own house to dissolve. As Scott writes "It is a comfort for me to think of you as being actually here by my side; clothed like me in the skins of wild beasts; enjoying with me the glow and warmth of the blazing fire; shuddering with me at the deep hollow roar that has floated up from the valley in the pauses of the storm" (11). Here again, the hut is made into a refuge by also dialectically recalling adventure – "the skins of wild beasts" – and fear – at "the deep hollow

roar." If we imagine the reader of the novel in his or her own house, comfortably reading Allen's novel, this almost directly recalls the passage that Bachelard cites of Henri Bachelin who in his own house would dream "that we were cut off from France and from the entire world. I delighted in imagining that we were living in the heart of the woods, in the well-heated hut of charcoal burners; I even hoped to hear wolves sharpening their claws on the heavy granite slab that formed our doorstep" (30). Like Bachelin's fantasy, the fantasy that Allen writes for his reader involves a dialectic confrontation and withdrawal from an antagonistic exterior.

Bachelard argues that these dialectics serve to enhance the intimacy and refuge of the hut and house. The hut dream of Allen's novel, however, serves more as a vehicle to safely negotiate a boundary between the modern, civilized self and the primitive, savage other. That is, the emphasis is not so much on withdrawal, or the return to the refuge of the self, but on the movement out to the other from the house to the hut. At this meeting point, the hut provides only minimal protection, but also the ability to confront the other and substantiate the self. On the one hand, this confrontation becomes a way to define the other and the self, to define them as the result of racialized biological adaptation to geographical environments, and hence place them and separate them, creating an unbridgeable geographical division between the two. Through the dialectics this hut produces, the white, modern self gains the well-defined borders attributed by anthropological thinking to the primitive. It becomes a more inalienable, essentialized identity. On the other hand, this negotiation works to partially transform the other. This partial transformation of the primitive to the modern self is performed through the figure of Lulua, who becomes not only domestic, but Christian, and educated through traveling and living with David and Ned. And this transformation serves as one way that the superiority of western, "civilized," Christian, and modern attitudes, behaviors, and values can be affirmed. In this way, the

"primitive" domestic sphere materialized in the hut works beyond the borders of the nation to justify imperial expansion and exploitation.[2]

But if the hut that opens and closes Scott's narrative is a significant vehicle for creating this confrontation, ultimately separation and withdrawal is the goal the text argues for. The hut works to produce a lack of exchange across borders, or rather, a withdrawal from exchange. Lulua returns to Africa to "civilize" the African natives (318). And David Scott gives up his dreams of travel and exploration, retiring to become a "steady businessman, in a city not far from his native village" (321). If the text hazards the idea of cultural and racial transformation, ultimately this transformation is contained. While values and ideals might be mobile, as the text argues, racialized identities are not wholly free to circulate beyond their geographically and/or culturally defined places. If the white, modern self is freer than other selves to circulate beyond its borders and make cultural objects circulate beyond their borders, ultimately the hut dream provides a way to withdraw from the marketplace, back into an idea of home. Though the novel closes with appendices – including many passages lifted from the works of Henry Morton Stanley – that celebrate western colonization and exploitation of the African continent, this separation the fictional account argues for could be said to place limits on the rightness of imperial rule. The hut that allows for this negotiation finally creates a withdrawal – it is only a "hut dream," after all, that ultimately requires a return to the house: yet a house near to Scott's "native village," a house whose borders and property rights are more secure for having been the scene of a "hut dream." Both "in a city" and near "his native village" as well as a "steady businessman," David becomes both the modern individual and the "native" American, a man

[2] This indicates that the hut dream may be similar to or a part of the dynamic domestic sphere Amy Kaplan excavates in *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* where the domestic is central to the creation of home, not merely by distinguishing it from the foreign, but by working in and at the borders of family and nation to expel the foreign within.

capable of working within the capitalist marketplace but satisfied with doing business without expanding beyond his locality. That is, his "city cares" are mitigated by a more "primitive" kind of belonging to a geographically confined environment.

Written in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, *The Lion City of Africa* reflects and produces an idealized concept of the modern self whose relationship to the primitive is mainly one of opposition. The novel's "hut dream" uses anthropological concepts to define that self in relationship to the primitive, while only hinting at the end of the novel at the desire for withdrawal and stability that the "hut dream" could provide, to a lack in the modern self that the "hut dream" could work to fill. Jack London's *The Sea Wolf*, written in 1904, is much more ambivalent about American modernization and reflects a shift in the modern self's relationship to the primitive. In this novel, the "hut dream" and the concept of the primitive in general, works to repair tensions between the white, modern individual and the corporate, industrial, system of production and consumption that could counter the freedom and power of the individual. And though it is significant that both David Scott and Ned Hastings are men, the problem of gender and its relationship to the primitive house becomes of central concern to the "hut dream" of London's novel.

The Sea Wolf begins with an ironic meditation on the weaknesses of modern civilization. The vehicle for this irony is the narrator of the novel, a poetry critic named Humphrey Van Weyden, who, while travelling by steamer from San Francisco to a friend's summer cottage, muses on the benefits of modernization:

> I remember thinking how comfortable it was, this division of labor which made it unnecessary for me to study fogs, winds, tides, and navigation, in order to visit

> my friends who lived against an arm of the sea. It was good that men should be specialists. The peculiar knowledge of the pilot and captain sufficed for many thousands of people who knew no more of the sea and navigation than I knew. On the other hand, instead of having to devote my energy to the learning of a multitude of things, I concentrated on a few particular things, such as … the analysis of Poe's place in American literature. (1-2)

This is a relatively common celebration of modernization, where specialists produce specialized products, while many benefit as consumers from this specialization. Indeed, van Weyden notes with pride a fellow passenger reading his article in *The Atlantic*. And this "comfortable … division of labor" produces experts, as Van Weyden implicitly believes in the power of the specialist in modern scientific knowledge. When confronted by an old sailor with the notion that the steamer is in rough waters, Van Weyden replies "It seems as simple as A, B, C. They [the crew] know the direction by compass, the distance, and the speed. I should not call it anything more than mathematical certainty" (3). Yet this comfortable modern civilization, an economy made up of rational producers trained to "mathematical certainty" is soon show to be an illusion, as the uncertainty produced by wind and fog causes a collision with another ship.

This crisis in the power of modern economic production and the power of the individual as specialist throws Van Weyden into a primitive world that, in London's novel, exists just below the surface of the modern illusion. As the ship sinks, the white, middle-class women, "of [Van Weyden's] own kind" and which are "capable of the most sublime emotions, of the tenderest sympathies" are thrown into a state of animalistic self-preservation. Their screaming becomes the most memorable quality of the ship wreck, and Van Weyden returns to it again and again noting finally "They wanted to live, they were helpless, like rats in a trap, and they

screamed" (5). But this sign of anthropological humanity, where self-interested survival is a primal urge, is only the foreshadow of the "primitive" society Van Weyden is about to enter. As Van Weyden is separated by the flowing tide from other passengers that have gone overboard, he becomes lost in "a grey primordial vastness" from which he is rescued by men who seem to be creatures belonging to that primordial world (7): the crew of *The Ghost*, a seal hunting vessel bound for Japan. Van Weyden's education allows him to identify each crew member as specimens of their nationalities, races, and even classes.[3] The slow-witted sailor, Johnson, who rubs Van Weyden back to consciousness is a "man of the heavy Scandanavian type" while the slavish cook, Thomas Mugridge is "clearly a Cockney, with the clean lines and weakly pretty, almost effeminate face of the man who has absorbed Bow Bells with his mother's milk" (9). Mugbridge is not merely of the native Cockney type, but also evolutionarily classed, as Van Weyden observes when Mugbridge expects Van Weyden to reward him for his help that "a soft light suffused his face and his eyes glistened as though somewhere in the deeps of his being his ancestors had quickened and stirred with dim memories of tips received in former lives" and that this "unconscious" gesture results from a "hereditary servility" (11).

Yet if the racial types Van Weyden identifies are products of evolutionary adaption to class and natural environments, one figure in particular represents these evolutionary forces, and puts them into play on the ship. Immediately after these scientific observations, Van Weyden

[3] The source of Van Weyden's anthropological knowledge of race is never divulged, though Herbert Spencer may be assumed, given London's widely publicized reading of Spencer. Jeanne Campbell Reesman, in *Jack London's Racial Lives: A Critical Biography*, argues that London's racialism was under constant revision throughout his life, and his shifting ideas about race are reflected in his writing. The *Sea Wolf*, I would argue, offers fairly simple, hierarchical thinking about race, however. Not stating a particular source for Van Weyden's knowledge works to produce the idea that this anthropological knowledge is not only an integral part of modern cultural knowledge, but that it is also unquestioned and unquestionably true. While the novel argues that the mathematical certainty of specialized production is a mere illusion, the novel argues that the struggle of men and races for survival and superiority in nature is a reality.

indulges himself in an anthropologically validated – yet no less homoerotic – verbal swoon, when he perceives the captain of the ship, a Nietzschean, evolutionary superman, the Scandinavian Wolf Larsen:

> Pacing back and forth the length of the hatchway, and savagely chewing the end of a cigar, was the man whose casual glance had rescued me from the sea. His height was probably five feet ten inches, or ten and a half; but my first impression, or feel of the man, was not of this but of his strength…. It was a strength we are wont to associate with things primitive, with wild animals, and the creatures we imagine our tree-dwelling prototypes to have been – a strength savage, ferocious, alive in itself, the essence of life in that it is the potency of motion, the elemental stuff itself out of which many forms of life have been molded; in short, that which writhes in the body of a snake when the head is cut off, and the snake as a snake is dead, or which lingers in a shapeless lump of turtle meat and recoils or quivers from the prod of a finger. (13)

Larsen's body and the "primitive" life force it connotes draws the gaze of Van Weyden, yet this attraction is also a repulsion of "horror," foreshadowed in the phallic yet also abject metaphors of primitive origin. While identity on *the Ghost* is almost wholly a product of evolution and heredity, slightly tempered by cultural and natural environment, Wolf Larsen's "primitive" brutality, as he dominates the ship by force and fear, creates a space for these identities to engage in competition whose rule is survival of the fittest. Yet the cosmopolitan interactions on *The Ghost* serve to illustrate racial competition only as a subtext; rather the competitive primitive marketplace serves mainly to produce the making of "Humph" as Larsen diminutively names the narrator. Instead of returning Van Weyden to shore, Larsen decides to make "an individual" of

Van Weyden, by forcing him to sign on as cabin boy (22). While Larsen is driven by a kind of implied class warfare to make a "man" of Van Weyden, who lives off his inheritance, Van Weyden frames his own transformation in anthropological and evolutionary terms. The plot, which describes the evolutionary pressures Larsen imposes on his crew, idealizes the progression of Van Weyden, who must evolve from weak, unmanly, and overcivilized, towards the ideal epitomized by Larsen, yet without Larsen's brutality.

The relationship between Van Weyden and Larsen puts into play the new tensions that late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century upper- and middle-class men often navigated as they attempted to define and display their masculinity. While the primitive and animalistic had been perceived to be a part of men before, these characteristics became positively valued by the American middle-classes during the late nineteenth century (Rotundo 227). The uncontrollable passions, also labeled 'instincts' or 'energy,' associated with the primitive, such as aggression, anger, and lust were no longer antagonistic to the virtuous male character of the earlier nineteenth century, who had been asked to display the self-control these passions were thought to undermine (Rotundo; Baederman 12). Though it was written during the time when primitive masculinity was gaining power as an ideal and a practice, *The Lion City of Africa*, produces these earlier notions of white, middle-class manhood. By the year London published *The Sea Wolf*, 1904, practices that would put men in touch with their "primitive" natures, such as camping, western travel, soldiering, athletics, and fighting had been popularized, producing and sustaining this new kind of man. These values and practices were part of a new shift in thought, an uncertainty about the value of civilization. This shift was, in part, a revaluation of separate sphere ideology that was seen to reproduce the moral values of white, middle-class "civilization" (Rotundo 246). Historian Anthony Rotundo finds that this revaluation of the separate spheres

was also a revaluation of the roles of women as primary nurturers and educators that helped to create and shape male social institutions for socializing men.

These shifts were initiated by economic and social changes occurring during the time period. The transition from an economy of independent business men to an economy of corporate hierarchies where no man had clear authority over his own labor created a workplace that undermined a masculinity that depended on self-control and authority. Even if a man were to have independence or control within the workplace, the instability of national and international markets hardly made success a matter of self-control and prudence (Rotundo 249; Baederman 12). But it was not simply shifts in the structure of the economy that undermined past sources of men's power. In increasing numbers, women were entering the workplace and other areas of the public sphere. Clerical work, increasingly the most widely available entry level position for men was also being made available to women, who were perceived as infiltrating and feminizing what had been a masculine sphere (Baederman 12; Rotundo 250). And outside of the workplace, women as well as working-class and immigrant men took part in cultural shifts that challenged previous forms of upper- and middle-class men's authority. In the political sphere, immigrants and the working classes formed political parties that often successfully won control of city governments from the parties of middle-class white men (Baederman 13). Labor unrest challenged the authority of middle- and upper-class men nationally (Baederman 14). And women took part in social and political movements that sought to use their authority as custodians of white, western "civilization" and morality, granted by the doctrine of the separate spheres, to influence politics, and specifically legislate against behaviors and places, such as drinking, brothels, and lodges (Rotundo 251-253).

The turn to the primitive was formed by a reaction against the terms of "civilized" behavior; but it was also a part of a shift toward consumer practices as middle-class white men could no longer locate a relatively stable identity in politics or economic production. Middle-class men began to fear the idea of overcivilization, or a weakness of mind and body perceived as feminization, and found evidence for it in neurasthenia, physical weakness, and homosexuality (Rotundo 251-55; Baederman 14-15). These anxieties turned men not only to doctrines of the primitive, but to those practices that would foster primitive characteristics outside of the public spheres of business and politics and in consumer and leisure activities in which they would have some form of autonomy and control (Baederman 13). This is not to say that these tensions caused clearly delineated boundaries and behaviors for different places, as white middle- and upper-class men still maintained ample authority in political, economic, and cultural spheres. Nor is it to say that "primitive" behaviors were only located in leisure activities, or that white men claimed power as primitives over others that were not primitive.

From the beginning of the narrative, *The Sea Wolf* imagines a masculine, primitive society, made up of clearly delineated racial types, whose racial make-up determines their varying degrees of masculine vitality. But it is also, quite clearly, *not* on the outside of the modern American political, social, and economic landscape. The primitive world London imagines exists in the interstices of the capitalist economy – at borders that are not only exterior but within the interior. This is perhaps most clearly signaled by the economic venture *The Ghost* is engaged in. Pacific seal hunting is simply the very violent and very lucrative beginning of a product chain whose final consumer destination is the hands of modern women: they will become fine ladies' gloves. This expression of the modern economy emphasizes the gendered, middle-class economic structure establishing a masculine sphere of production, organized along

"primitive" behaviors, and a feminine sphere of consumption. This division works to displace feminine behaviors to the mainland where the sealskins are transformed to gloves and where Van Weyden was made into the feminine man he is at the beginning of the novel. His nickname as a youth was "Sissy" Van Weyden and he consistently describes himself as physically weak, fearful, and unable to master the situations he finds himself in on *The Ghost*, where strength, physical labor, and often violence, is necessary to move up the socioeconomic hierarchy. Moreover, he calls himself "overcivilized," echoing the fears of many white men at the turn of the century that modernization and "civilization" was producing weak, unmanly men. The text works to produce the distinction between primitive masculine production and feminized consumption (though there is mainland production, the producers are depicted as mainly consumers, whose productive powers are narrow and circumscribed by the modernized, mainland economy); but this distinction produces an outside that is also on the inside, that simply exists to transform the inside.

The Ghost clearly is shown to be beyond the world of the modern mainland, what we could simply call the domestic economy of consumption and production; this division is produced at the very beginning when Wolf Larsen forcibly abducts Van Weyden from coastal waters and into the world of the Pacific ocean where "civilized" morals, laws, behaviors and socioeconomic organization no longer apply. But it is also very clear that *The Ghost* has never left the mainland and is constructed to echo and transform the domestic economy. This is produced by the very immigrant, racialized, and anthropologized identities that Van Weyen encounters on *The Ghost*. These identities also not simply transnational migrants; they help produce a racialized and immigrant version of the domestic economy that exists to masculate Van Weyden. Historian Gail Baederman has argued that "Working-class men, with their strikes

and primitive customs, seemed to possess a virility and vitality which decadent middle-class men had lost" (14). On *The Ghost* these working-class, immigrant men create a society within which Van Weyden can exercise his masculine identity through "primitive" practices. This transformation begins when Van Weyden bests his superior, the cook, Thomas Mugbridge, who had been tormenting and abusing him, by threatening him with a knife. In the corporate hierarchy of *The Ghost*, Van Weyden achieves promotion, moves up the corporate ladder from his entry level position, through engaging in "primitive" behaviors.

But if *The Ghost* reimagines the domestic economy of production, transforming it and Van Weyden through the primitive practices, it does so through metaphorically echoing early twentieth-century consumer practices that many men participated in to idealize and produce their own primitive masculinity. Social historian John Kasson has explored how the white male body became central to these shifts in masculinity. A narrative producing the transformation from the feminized weakling confined by modern bureaucracy to the free, primitive, strong man popularized the nude bodies of such cultural icons as strongman Eugene Sandow and escape artist Harry Houdini. Gail Baederman has argued that the ideal male body shifted in the late nineteenth century from "lean and wiry" (this fits the description given of David Scott's body) to one that "required physical bulk and well defined muscles." Body building magazines, sports, and exercise were promoted to help produce this body (15). Wolf Larsen's body, which the narrator seems to imaginatively reveal and fetishize through a verbal disrobing, echoes these turn-of-the-century ideals. And Larsen's strenuous exercise regimen produces the transformation in Van Weyden, such that the ship's business seems not so much seal skins for ladies gloves, but body building. Van Weyden jokes near the conclusion, after Wolf Larsen favorably notes this transformation, that it is the result of a prescription: "Wolf Larsen, twice daily … before and

after taking" (221): Larsen becomes a nutritional supplement. Yet, the consumer practices that the novel advocates to counter over-civilized, masculine weaknesses do not end with such well-documented practices as bodybuilding.

Van Weyden's reaches the epitome of his transformation when he must escape Larsen to rescue from impending rape the similarly shipwrecked poet and love interest, Maude Brewster. Thwarted by bad weather from reaching Japan in their stolen dinghy, they manage to land on an uninhabited island seal rookery, and are forced to rough it by building huts with the only suitable material at hand – seal skin. Van Weyden proves his evolutionary fitness by clubbing them to death – not without danger. Van Weyden recalls how in that moment of struggle; "The primitive deeps of my nature stirred," he narrates; "I felt myself masculine, the protector of the weak…. The youth of the race seemed burgeoning in me, over-civilized man that I was, and I lived for myself the old hunting days and forest nights of my remote and forgotten ancestry" (201). Struggling in and dominating the environment, Van Weyden locates his species and racial being that proves his fitness to survive and procreate: indeed, it is the subsequent night that he feels his deepest love for Brewster, watching her prepare their meal, when his "latent savagery" "rings" its loudest. These huts, not a cultural architecture quite, but rather the result of a biological and racial drive, serve to remake domestic production, and domesticity itself, into a material, biological force, a trait inherited from an evolving past into an evolving present, yet possible only outside urban civilization and the feminizing influences of modern, industrial capitalism. The hut that Brewster and Van Weyden create with local materials, and as a shelter from the environment, serves as the domestic sphere appropriate to the "primitive," corporate economy ruled by Larsen. If "primitive" masculinity was part of a reaction against the feminized domestic sphere, the self-made hut could serve to create a new space, a space of masculine withdrawal. In

London's novel, the hut serves to materialize a replacement for a feminizing domestic sphere, that yet creates a space apart from the economic sphere represented by *The Ghost*.

Van Weyden's hut building and his new, general handiness with physical objects that allows him to sail, repair ships, club seals, and design and build huts, reflects the kind of do-it-yourself masculinity historian Stephen Gelber identifies, but one given impetus by discourses of primitivism and racial inheritance. If we read *The Ghost* as an economic sphere that is both beyond and within the borders of the U. S. mainland economy, the hut that Van Weyden and Brewster build can be seen as its complimentary: an architecture that materializes a domestic sphere, both a new, white, primitive home, that recalls and transforms the modern, perhaps suburban, house and also its corresponding domestic sphere. For Gelber, the do-it-yourself movement emerged at the turn of the century as "a reassertion of traditional direct male control of the physical environment … in a way that evoked pre-industrial manual competence" (Gelber 71). This new control exercised in the house would supplement a lack of control in the workplace. Yet where Gelber sees the "do-it-yourself" movement as borrowing from the "preindustrial yeoman/artisan tradition of mastery over heavy tools" (Gelber 72), London's do-it-yourselfer, as a newly primitive man, has learned to control his environment without the mediation of heavy tools. By dominating the environment directly, by producing a house out of the environment without the mediating influence of another's labor, and creating a space of which he is the "protector," Van Weyden achieves something closer to complete autonomy and mastery of his property and the domestic sphere whose material boundary he creates and has the ability to reinforce. This control over self and environment borrows from the anthropological discourse of the primitive, where mastery depends on physical strength, cunning, and a more unmediated use of the environment. London's concept of the hut, then, works to imagine a

primitive masculinity in opposition to the domestic responsibilities, such as help with child rearing and housework, many early twentieth-century men were undertaking.[4] It also works to imagine a masculine domestic economy that offers the sense of masculine control lacking in both the workplace and the house. Van Weyden becomes the producer of what he consumes, directly transforming the environment into raw material and raw materials into products, repairing the alienation of consumer from "specialist" production that Van Weyden has ironically idealized at the novel's opening.

Though *The Sea Wolf* clearly reflects this newly dominant form of primitive masculinity, it does not reserve these primitive behaviors for men.[5] Though Van Weyden clubs the seals, the two build and plan their shelter together. Their plans and discussions of the project echo the discussions of a middle-class husband and wife as they plan their home. Here, however, they are outside the usual capitalist division of labor, its web of architect, builders, and the various components of the materials economy. The problem for Maude and Humphrey is not whether to use wall paper, burlap, or rice matting for wall decoration, but how to provide the best shelter from the environment given the materials at hand. In fact, Van Weyden jokes about ordering glass for a window from a glass company, reinforcing the idea that they are outside the corporate, industrial economy out of middle-class Americans build their houses: "Just call up the firm,– Red, 4451, I think it is, – and tell them what size and kind of glass you wish" (203). And where stone is an easy solution for the walls, the distinction between a moss or a sealskin roof becomes the real stickler; whether to simply thatch with grass and hazard exposure to the elements or to skin seals and risk death at the teeth of a ferocious bull. Through Maude Brewster,

[4] See Gelber and Margaret Marsh's "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870-1915"
[5] Writers such as Jack London, Zane Grey, and Ernest Thompson Seton, in fact, preferred the company of less "civilized" women who were prepared to cross gender lines and "rough it."

London's text offers a solution to women's overcivilization, as her exposure to primitive life cures her of a lifelong weakness she had taken her sea voyage to amend, and despite her apparent frailty, she continually surprises Van Weyden with her strength as they prepare their huts.

Crucially, it is their combined "do-it-youself" labors that work to create the "hut-dream" of London's novel. It is their practice of creating refuge from an antagonistic environment through struggling within it that ends up producing the domestic feeling of home. Throughout the hut-building scenes, the text is sprinkled with domesticity-producing practices such as "home-coming" and "housewarming." In fact, it is their "housewarming" party in Van Weyden's hut that creates the typical Bachelardian "hut dream." In the midst of a "fierce storm" exposed to wind and sea such that Van Weyden "fear[s] for the strength of the walls" they are yet "warm and comfortable in the light of a seal oil lamp" and "their minds are at ease" since "not only had we resigned ourselves to a bitter winter, but we were prepared for it" (204). Yet this "hut dream" that London imagines for his readers does not simply work to create a dialectical feeling of refuge from the environment; it works to create a domesticity for both men and women that is completely sheltered from the tensions of a modern economy. In doing so, London's text engages in a kind of gender crossing that can be seen as partially challenging contemporary middle-class stereotypes and norms of feminine sentiment and consumerism. Maude says of herself "I shall be a different woman for the experience, as well as a stronger woman … and I hope a better woman. At least I shall understand a great deal more of life" (230). Yet this challenge is only partial, and London's text is never completely comfortable with the primitive world it imagines.

This discomfort is mainly signaled through the limits placed on Brewster's primitivism. Brewster's transformation reaches its apex when Wolf Larsen returns as antagonist and, though

ill and close to death, nearly strangles Van Weyden. As Van Weyden escapes Larsen's sickness-weakened grasp, he turns to Maude, who seems ready to join battle. Van Weyden observes that she

> was pale but composed…. A heavy seal club in her hand caught my eye, and at that moment she followed my gaze down to it. The club dropped from her hand as though it had suddenly stung her, and at the same moment my heart surged with a great joy. Truly she was my woman, my mate-woman, fighting with me and for me as the mate of a caveman would have fought, all the primitive in her aroused, forgetful of her culture, hard under the softening civilization of the only life she had ever known. (234)

The novel nearly offers women the kind of primitivism that it produces for men. Yet the ambiguity of the passage suggests that Brewster should remain a standard for civilization and culture. Van Weyden's "heart surge[s]" while Brewster occupies both the position of both primitive and civilized woman; "at the same moment" as she occupies the position of a "mate-woman" and, ashamed of her primitive self, drops the club. If her experience offers her insight into violence and uncontrollable passions, ultimately this real "life" is displaced to the masculine as Brewster continues to practice civilized, feminine sentiment: "The next moment she was in my arms, weeping convulsively" (234). Her repeated retreat to Van Weyden's arms – in fact the novel ends with Brewster in that position, reaffirming Van Weyden's earlier description of himself as "protector of the weak" – Van Weyden's transformed self becomes the ultimate expression of domestic refuge, a kind of embodied hut. And this primitive self that produces a

primitive refuge and that exists as an embodied refuge can be seen not in complete opposition to the civilized, modern self, but as a way to repair it, and protect it.[6]

Jack London's "hut dream," crucially, imagines a circuit between home and marketplace, consumption and production, that exists elsewhere, beyond the borders of the civilized interior of the nation, even as it echoes and works to offer imaginative solutions to American middle-class anxieties. Maude Brewster and Humphrey Van Weyden are rescued, but the narrative ends before they can return home. Yet the work that London's novel performs as it takes its reader elsewhere continued within the borders of the American nation. Much as David Scott returns home to live close to his own "native village," it is possible to imagine London's two characters continuing something close to their primitive life on the mainland. And perhaps it is not necessary for London's characters to return home, because their practices in the Pacific Islands were also a way to live within the borders of the nation. One way we can see this work continuing was in the newly reimagined practice of camping. Historian Phoebe Kropp's study of turn-of-the-century camping finds middle-class men and women navigating a "perplexing terrain on the borders of Nature and Culture" (6). Not simply a cure for overcivilization, Kroppe argues that camping allowed its practitioners to experience both nature and culture, civilization and wilderness, modern and primitive. Much like London's novel, this liminality was mapped onto gender differences as men and women often approached camping differently, with women working to produce a semblance of civilized comfort within the wilderness. Yet camping is

[6] London's text clearly works through turn-of-the-century theories of race and evolution, such as those proposed by G. Stanley Hall and Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Hall believed that primitive masculinity was merely a fact, a biological drive that drove men to dominate nature, and each other. This evolutionary drive would lead whites to kill off inferior races, and would eventually produce a white superman. By allowing Van Weyden to marry, and implicitly reproduce, while Larsen does not, London might be said to challenge Hall's argument that would side with the wholly primitive superman as the next stage of Anglo-Saxon evolution. See Baederman's *Masculinity and Civilization* for extensive explanations of these theories.

different than a "hut dream," though it operates through similar tensions. As Kropp's argument implies, camping depends on recreating a modern economy. It depends on both deprivation and a playful recreation of civilized comfort and plenitude in the wilderness. Consumer goods are essential to the significance of camping. Horace Kephart, in an article written against the consumerism implied in early twentieth-century campers who purchase "$10, 000 Adirondack camp[s]" turns to a bust of Darwin who "whisper[s]" the solution: to "evolve something" (20). Yet even this rejection of modern camping through a kind evolutionary agency depends on the marketplace, as Kephart's solution to consumerist camping is camping on the cheap, a trip for only 30 dollars. "Hut dreams," however, continually resist a return to civilization, depending on the idea of a permanent and unmediated relationship to the natural environment. As Bachelard writes, they are a "taproot" that exists without "ramifications." London's novel certainly echoes such practices as camping. Yet *The Sea Wolf*'s "hut dream," through its characteristics of permanence and complete withdrawal from the modern economy into the natural and primitive, actually relates more closely to concepts of home architecture current in the early twentieth century.

While *The Sea Wolf* reveals a primarily gendered relationship to primitive dwelling, many of the "hut dreams" of the early twentieth century offer insight into racialized concepts of dwelling that, as the conclusion to *The Lion City of Africa* foreshadows, imagine primitive dwelling to be a potential property of the white, modern, middle-class self. The multiplicity of available architectural styles led American architects and critics to lament the lack of a national or regional architectural style. In a 1904 essay entitled "What is Architecture? – A Study of the American People Today," the influential Chicago architect Louis Sullivan argues against the

falsity and sterility he finds in contemporary American architecture that fails to express American ideals, but rather engages in "imitation" of historical styles (147). These "falsehoods" result from not democratic but "feudal" social organization. Louis Sullivan's solution, his ideal, depends on an inescapable truth: the fact of the environmental and cultural materialism that produces the unity of a people and a people's architecture. The people are a "social organism" he writes because "the thought of a people, however complicated it may appear, is all of a-piece and represents the balance of heredity and environment all the time" (147). And architecture, despite distinctions of social and economic hierarchy "can't help but express a people, architecture as an expression of the people and the people expressed through architecture" (146). His solution, then, is that architecture should be more of what it is: a "natural" expression of the people and their thought. Not surprisingly, a 1906 Craftsman review of an architectural exhibition by the New York architectural league, argues against "the introduction of foreign styles" and for a style "adapted" to American "conditions" ("Adaptation of Public" 32). Yet the components that would come together in the slow process of adaptation could be those very foreign styles, in this case European: "Buildings clearly derived from close study of Gothic or Tudor, Classic or Renaissance, are in many cases, being modified and simplified into something that can be termed 'American'" (32). In fact, this evolutionary process involving the "adaptation" of foreign styles was a common solution to the problem. The historian and ambassador Andrew White argued that Americans should continue to adapt the French and English prior adaptations of classical architecture, while ceasing the adaptation of Egyptian, Gothic, and Feudal styles ("A Day With" 717). Occasionally this argument for adaptation would take a more open and challenging turn, desiring a less racially essentialized notion of style. For instance, a 1909 *Country Life in America* house plan article for a "Suburban House of Plaster for $7,500" digressed to argue against a

unified national style and for an emerging admixture of immigrant styles, among which the author included Italian, Dutch, and Japanese.

Yet in this and in most cases, whatever architectural styles could be appropriated for a white, American, middle class could serve to prove the sociobiological adaptation of whites to their environment. That is, home architecture, understood as a material culture, could serve as a supplementary expression of adaptation that secured the borders of whiteness, justified white's domination and ownership of the land, and provided particular individuals with the idea of a stable connection to home and land through their private property. The concept of the "primitive" house, then, allowed whites to claim while also displacing this concept of unconscious adaptation. This displacement allowed them to also maintain the idea of free, modern, rational selves, capable both of belonging to home and homeland, and also alienating them, dominating them, and leaving them behind. In Bachelardian terms, the hut was "at the very center" of the modern house because it was a way to name this "primitive" domestic place, an interior of self, home and homeland, while also defining and empowering the modern individual's control over and freedom from that identity.

The Californian poet and architectural critic, Charles Keeler, provides the most concrete example of this dynamic. His manifesto *The Simple Home* from 1904 argued against architectural styles and materials that were not appropriate to race or environment, with environmental considerations taking the upper hand. He begins his book sounding much like a kind of Bachelardian anthropologist: "Home life antedates the period of man by many evolutionary cycles. The aerie of the eagle, the woven cradle of the oriole, the tunneled retreat of the field mouse, all are homes in the truest sense. They are shelters from the world"; and then "Native architecture, like civilized architecture, is a natural growth. The nearest available

material is worked into a shelter, and the tradition of form once established, is handed down through the generations" (1). Here, primitive dwellings, and the animal dwellings they resemble, form the possibility of home for the civilized, modern self, a dwelling whose potential for refuge depends on concepts of an environmentally, traditionally, even biologically determined production of material culture, unconscious of a marketplace that would exchange objects and styles across racial, cultural, or environmental borders. And yet, when he attempts to articulate a way for white Americans to apply these theories, he looks beyond local physiography and tradition to a transnational, global, marketplace. Striving to articulate a style of home appropriate to white Americans living in California, he would write "It has often been pointed out that all sound art is an expression springing from the nature which environs it. Its principles may have been imported from afar, but the application of those principles must be native. A home must be adapted to the climate, the landscape and the life in which it is to serve its part" (15). The distinction between "principles" and their "application" allows him to acknowledge transnational movements, but then to make them domestic. These dynamics take an interesting turn when he writes of borrowing from Japanese and Italian garden designs: "not that we in California should imitate either, or make a vulgar mixture of the two, but rather, by a careful study of both, to *select* those features which can be best *adapted* to our own life and landscape, so that a new and distinctive garden may be *evolved* here" [italics added] (15). For Keeler, anthropological discourses of adaptation and evolution work to create a material domestic life outside of modernity's transnational circulations, and also work to appropriate and stabilize these circulations by transforming them through evolutionary processes of selection and adaptation. It is difficult, however, to know which is primary for Keeler: the chthonic and the traditional which define the interiority of the local, or the cosmopolitan which can be selected and adapted in the

process of local evolution. Much like David and Ned in *The Lion City of Africa*, those who would produce and consume a domestic architecture would be able to choose, alienate, and apply those styles that would fit culture and environment. Yet their selection results not from rational planning only, but also from a demand voiced from an interior that itself is changing racially and culturally. In fact, both processes of production and consumption seem to Keeler equally valid standards for an ideally domestic material culture. While the former provides the possibility of a stable identity, the later seems a practical method for maintaining the possibility of group identity within a diverse nation that depended on the transnational flows of goods and people.

If Keeler's theorization might still fit comfortably within discourses of racial essentialism or modern American progress, it seems possible that these dynamics of selection and adaptation provide a model for beginning to think about radical acceptance of those defined as other through race or culture. Though Japanese and Italians were not wholly discriminated against, they were certainly stereotyped and racialized at the time; and incorporating some of their styles into a dynamic, nonessentialized process of transculturation could be seen to be an early twentieth-century version of acceptance. But for many, this process of adaptation depended on conforming to a naturalistic, even sociobiological harmony with the environment. This essentialized concept of race and culture was expressed through a "primitive" or an anthropologically framed concept of architecture that could make the house a domestic place: a home.

The home architectural form known as the bungalow deferred to this ideal. In fact, one might say that this value of evolutionary adaptation was central to the definition of the bungalow, and not necessarily the often cited but often transgressed definition of a house containing one and a half stories with bedrooms on the first floor. In the 1903 article "How to Build a

Bungalow," Harvey Ellis, chief designer for Stickley from 1903 until his untimely death in 1904, redefines the bungalow as "a summer residence of extreme simplicity, of economic construction and intended for more or less primitive living" (253). He goes on to describe a particular house whose use of local materials and shade of stain "tends to tie the buildings to its surroundings and to give it the feeling of growth rather than of creation" (256). In 1909, a *Craftsman* "Review" praised a mountain retreat in southern California, designed by the influential Arts and Crafts architects Charles Sumner and Henry Mather Greene, for "reflect[ing] the general character of the landscape" through the use of "native" field stone and untreated wood. The author writes that:

> The American bungalow has, at present, more general interest than any other form of house. Whether its rough and rugged exterior and the primitive features of its construction result from the carefully planned effects of some skillful architect, as in the case of this mountain shelter, or from the crude workmanship of the amateur who, following out the instincts of his forebears, builds his own rambling, one-story shack, the bungalow has more individuality than any other dwelling place. (331)

This author emphasizes the aesthetics of the "primitive" bungalow as modern – as planned by skilled, rational, professionals, in control of materials. Yet, at the same time, these very "effects" are supplemented and substantiated by the possibility of instinctual, nonrational production. It is perhaps this concept of the bungalow that London was thinking of when he composed his short story "When the World Was Young," a tale describing the life of a middle-aged lawyer who compulsively lives out a secret, inherited, adavistic identity as a primitive Germanic man with superhuman strength, an ability to swing from trees, and an instinctual knowledge of prehistoric

German. Before a fight to the death with a bear cures him of this identity, he lives in a bungalow in the countryside, and sleeps caged in a sleeping porch to protect others from his nightly escapades. This ideal existed in less fantastic forms as *Craftsman* authors, and others, often idealized house plans and already constructed homes whose materials, especially the local field stones that would create the foundation for many Arts and Crafts-style houses, were gathered from the local environment. London imagines a modern white man living out a white primitive past inherited from Europe, but often this concept of a primitive architecture, and the idea of primitive refuge and withdrawal it signified, was represented, and displaced to, the primitive of another race. Two particular houses described in *The Craftsman* illustrate precisely this dynamic.

The Craftsman House from the May 1906 issue is associated with "a wave of reform that is sweeping so much of modern thought away from the artificial and back to the simple and strong." As such, the house is a "return to first principles" expressed through a sincerity of structure whose "character is primitive to crudeness." And this primitivity is moreover expressed as a relationship to the environment on and around the house's lot:

> With its sturdy proportions and its few simple lines, the whole building seems to belong to the soil from which it rises, and to be as much a part of the landscape as the trees that shelter it. The foundation of split field rubble is sunk so low in the ground that the floor of the porch is but a few inches above the grassy slope of the terrace, giving that sense of closeness to the earth that is one of the great charms of all primitive dwellings, and cutting off the harsh angle of the steps with a charmingly gracious curve of turf. (254)

The house's rejection of artificial styles is celebrated as a chthonic, indigenous materiality that visually weds the house to the landscape, yet the primitive here is hardly a rejection of

"civilized" modernity. Not to fear; the challenge of the primitive to modern artificiality is epitomized by its "charm," the telos of this primitive, which comforts the modern reader, grammatically encircling it. And just in case the reader is still too unsettled by the savage earthiness of this house (see fig. 1), the writer continues: "The kinship of this house to turf and trees is of the class of that of an Indian teepee or a Mexican adobe hut, and yet it satisfies all the requirements of modern life for comfort and beauty" (254-259). That is, the primitive home is merely a metaphor for a house that, though Arts and Crafts, is decidedly modern. This passage both borrows the connotations of primitive living from the "Indian teepee" and "Mexican … hut," yet by naming particular racialized examples, manages to simultaneously displace the primitive. This displacement reemphasizes the house's modernity for middle-class, white readers, a modernity that is also emphasized by four pages of exterior and interior drawings and side and front elevations. These images split the word "requirements" – which is hyphenated at page 254 and resumes at page 259 – visually associating the house with modern advancements. The architectural elevations, especially, connote the reassuring modernity of the trained architect. It is this dialectic between primitive and modern, however, that seems to underpin the author's opening description, that the house is permeated by "the feeling that it is above all things home … for children reared in such surroundings should develop into strong, sincere men and women as naturally as plants survive in good soil" (254). Material culture expresses a primal and modern domesticity, a cultural form that works to produce human beings that are both modern and primitive, cured of modern artificiality.

While this house is merely compared to a primitive house on the basis of its relationship to the landscape, "A California Bungalow Treated in Japanese Style" reviewed by one of the homeowners, Arnold L. Gessel, actually claims to have taken the house's structure and building

materials from the suggestion of particular "primitive" houses. Yet it also uses the concept of the primitive to produce an idea of home. He begins a description of his planning process, writing:

> There were a few things the builder of this bungalow was sure of from the start: It should be an outdoor house, suited to rural surroundings – light, open, airy, unplastered and unpapered. It should be a long, low structure like the Mexican hut whose simple, comfortable, horizontal lines seem architecturally so harmonious with the landscape and atmosphere of our Western country. Another primary suggestion came from the beautiful tall eucalyptus tree (which often grows beside the Mexican hut). This tree is one of the characteristic features of southern California. Though a native of Australia, it thrives on the Pacific Coast almost as though indigenous to the soil…. (694)

The passage presents a disorienting dialectic of the indigenous and the foreign, through which the foreign itself makes possible the adaption of material home life to a particular locality. The writer begins the description with a familiar rejection of the civilized and the modern – here represented by plaster and wallpapers – in favor of the uncivilized – represented by the "outdoors" and the "rural." These "uncivilized" associations are made possible by an inspiration that is decidedly foreign; the "Mexican hut" that provides the model for the house serves as the structure that allows the house to harmonize with the California landscape. And yet the writer emphasizes that the landscape is in fact "our Western Country." Emphasizing that he and his white middle-class readers do in fact possess the land, this ownership has not produced an indigenous architecture – it is decidedly lacking. It must not only be imported, but produced through an importation that can't ever quite become "ours." That is, the racialized, primitive "hut" serves as the possibility for local dwelling. This dynamic is further emphasized by the

eucalyptus trees that will be used in the building of the house – a tree that grows beside the stereotypical "Mexican hut," that is a "native of Australia" but that further "thrives" in California, "as though indigenous to the soil." Though the writer attempts to describe a house that harmonizes with local physiography – like a primitive hut – the "as though" serves as a way to displace locality, and to maintain a free, modern self through the manipulation and domination of the primitive and the local, and the freedom from the materialism the local and primitive imply.

The further descriptions of the homebuilders' process of construction emphasize the personalization of the building, arguing that it springs from their own needs, desires, and personalities, organically. Gessel emphasizes the lack of modern architectural planning and training. He writes:

> we built a miniature house at the start. It is hard for the untrained mind to think in three dimensions and the putting together of the house model suggested many possibilities which a struggle with pencil on plane surface alone could never have done…. In fact, we did not use blue prints at all; we planned as we built, rather than the reverse…. The fireplace was planned the night before we were ready to use the stone. (695)

And this lack of modern training and planning, emphasized by the spontaneity celebrated by the author, makes possible the ideal domestic living that the author desires, outside of the modern marketplace of alienated production and consumption: "Noone can make a home for you, any more than a character can be developed for you, and the more of yourself that goes into the designing and the building of the place in which you are going to live, the more happiness you'll get out of living there" (698). Yet this individualized, autonomous self and the domesticity it is

made "happy" by is produced through the racialized, primitive, indigenous dwelling idealized at the beginning of the article. The very possibility of a spontaneous, happy domesticity, outside a modern system of specialized exchange, is made possible by the "Mexican hut" that is not only, in Bachelard's words, "at the very center," but imaginatively permeates the house's structure.

It is within such a discursive environment that Willa Cather builds her "hut dreams." Cather's novels such as *The Professor's House* and *Death Comes for the Archbishop* tend to explore, problematize, and revise early twentieth-century anthropology; I analyze these progressive tendencies in Cather's writing in my concluding chapter. Yet, *O! Pioneers* from 1913, applies anthropology to less progressive ends, as Cather attempts to imagine a way for modern whites to belong to and inhabit the American natural environment in a way that works to justify white hegemony and capitalist property rights. This project is signaled at the beginning of the novel through a meditation on the relationship of the northern European immigrant pioneers to the Nebraskan Divide they farm:

> the houses … were small and were usually tucked away in low places; you did not see them until you came directly upon them. Most of them were built of the sod itself, and were only the unescapable ground in another form…. The record of the plow was insignificant, like the feeble scratches left by prehistoric races, so indeterminate that they may, after all, be only the markings of glaciers, and not a record of human strivings. (19-20)

This observation, which places the reader in the position of an ethnographic subject with the immigrants as their object of knowledge gives way to a narrative describing the struggles of the dying John Bergson's and his inability to make a successful farm in the apparently harsh environment, an experience echoed by most of the other poor immigrants. Here sod houses seem

to signify a connection to natural environment, but also the inability of the pioneers, like primitives, to overcome the environment that dominates them. Creating an idea of prehistoric dwelling for white immigrants both places them in an indigenous relation to the land but also implies the coming of history, and the transcendence of environment that Cather will associate with modernity and capitalism.

This is most likely the reason that Cather resurrects the tradition of the sod house and not the form most associated with pioneer life, the log cabin. Of course, there were plenty of log-cabin dreams at the turn of the nineteenth century. Country homes, bungalows, even children's playhouses drew on this form to resurrect the frontier life associated with it. These could take the form of modest lodges whose interiors were filled with symbols of frontier life: rugged furniture, the heads of hunted game, and the ubiquitous Navajo blanket. Or they could take the form of a log cabin "Swiss chalet" such as the "home-made" summer home built by two brothers near Denver, described in the 1909 article "Rustic Architecture at Its Best" by Theodore M. Fisher as "intimately expressing" the two builders and fitting intimately with the landscape. One couple even built a pioneer room in their urban Dutch Colonial house. In a *Country Life in America* article of 1910 the wife writes of this secret room, hidden beyond the stairway, and behind a mirror:

> On close inspection, you find it to be a mirrored door with a buckskin latch string – which by the way is always out; you pull it and hear the click of a latch lifted; you open the door and, leaving all that is modern, you are ushered into a log cabin, primitive and rough in every detail. Before you is a room laid up entirely of barked pine logs, its pitched ceiling, its simple furnishings of fur rugs, balsam pillows, Indian blankets and trophies from many hunting trips, and its eight foot

> mantel and huge hewn oak shelf, giving you a rousing welcome with its roaring log fire. On the crane the old iron pot, filled with boiling water, gives its invitation and fairly makes you ache to don a great butcher's apron and cap, which are ever ready, and make some coffee or broil some lake fish and tell stories of past happy times in other cabins. Already this has become the meeting-place of many congenial friends, especially the men, and it is the pride of the hunter man's life. (Bolles 671)

If the mirror seems designed merely to reflect back at the guest, and this article's reader, a modern world, to remind them of their modern selves, the opened door suggests that this modern self can and should play at a "primitive" pioneer life, resurrected in "every detail." This primitive life is kept secret, sheltered from the taint of the marketplace that exists in the modern house. It is a place for men (but also women) to produce a primitive self, to act on an already interior "ache" that is yet produced by the things that make up the log-cabin interior. The "ache" however, is only experienced beyond, yet also somehow inside of the modern marketplace, withdrawn into the interior of the modern house. In this interior fantasy world, the modern self can create intimate relationships perhaps not possible among the alienated individuals of the marketplace. Here, things are welcoming and inviting, friends "congenial," and so oppose by implication the cold, impersonal modern world beyond the secret door.

Yet there are perhaps limits to this kind of log cabin dream that kept Cather from replicating it in *O! Pioneers*. An article on "Log Cabins as Play-Houses" by Sherwin Hawley, also from *Country Life in American,* suggests why Cather would turn to the sod house for her characters. The description of how children should play in the house, taming the continent as George Washington or conducting "strenuous warfare between Daniel Boone and the lions,

Indians and tigers of the far West" indicates that log cabins were more about the process of developing control over the land, through displacing prior inhabitants. Log cabin dreams work to celebrate a kind of domination and control that works to replicate capitalist relationships to private property.[7] Sod houses, rather, resist this process of control that would indicate a transition into the world of modernization and capitalist extraction of value.

At the same time, sod houses give way to the modern. They are generally perceived in *O! Pioneers* as merely a preliminary house, a first step to log houses and then more modern houses as the farms become more profitable. Yet they come to signify – materialize – a connection to the land not completely lost as the farmers enter modernity and become able to dominate the land and extract value from the land and labor of hands. For the St. Francis-like character, the Russian horse doctor known as Crazy Ivar, the sod house is an end in itself; and echoes his own environmentalist sensibilities to live in nature without dominating it. So perfect is Ivor's environmental connection to the land that the narrator observes "you could have walked over the roof of Ivar's dwelling without dreaming you were near a human habitation" and he "had lived for three years in the clay bank without defiling the face of nature any more than the coyote that had lived there before him had done" (36). For most of the characters in the novel, Ivar's knowledge is at worst idiosyncratic, at best a survival of outdated folk knowledge. Yet John Bergson's heir and successful capitalist farmer, Alexandra Bergson finds Ivar's knowledge useful. Indeed, it is her own connection to the land that allows her a visionary understanding of

[7] Such architectures and consumer practices clearly reflect the dynamics of frontier ideology in popular culture identified by cultural historian Leonard Slotkin, especially in *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America*, where the frontier becomes a place for whites to justify ownership and political control of the nation imagined as homeland. Slotkin does not, however, discuss such material recreations of the frontier mythology.

its value in relationship to international markets, to see its value as an investment in the capitalist marketplace. Cather writes of Alexandra Bergson that

> for the first time, perhaps since that land emerged from the waters of geological ages, a human face was turned toward it with love and yearning. It seemed beautiful to her, rich and strong and glorious…. [T]he genius of the Divide, the great, free spirit which breathes across it, must have bent lower than it ever bent to a human will before. The history of every country begins in the heart of a man or a woman (65).

Anthropological constructions of primitive relationships to the land, then, underscore her nation founding vision, which in turn validates her capitalist property rights as cultural property, her justification for circulating her agricultural commodities into international markets. When Ivar loses his own property due to "mismanagement," she hires him as a hand. Though the sod houses are destined to give way to the modernizing improvements that allow capitalists to better extract value from the land, they remain as an absent symbol substantiating Bergson's right to the land she farms, an inalienable, indigenous right that the text yet displaces to the primitive Ivar, substantiating her capitalist property rights.[8]

Such primitive homes, in turn, might suggest some reasons as to why middle-class Americans brought primitive dwellings onto their property and called them rustic garden architecture (fig. 2). Like Bergson's sod houses, they provided a kind of refuge or stability or power that could be ultimately left behind, displaced to the primitive past, to return to the freedoms and constraints of the capitalist marketplace. In which case, I think they would have

[8] As a Russian folk character, Ivar is a kind of primitive being. Though this text displaces Native Americans more than any other of Cather's texts, to the point of failing to mention them, Ivar seems a European stand-in for a native identity. As such, he replicates those perceptions of "savage" natives, described by Priscilla Wald and Eric Cheyfitz, in the important collection *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, that would see natives as incapable of being citizens because incapable of participating in capitalism as responsible private property holders.

been pleased to have found Edward B. Tylor noting in his *Anthropology: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization*, after listing forms of primitive architecture: "we perhaps keep up a memory of them in the round thatched summer-houses in our gardens, which are curiously like

Figure 3: J. H. Troy Landscape Gardener Advertisement, *Country Life in America*, Sept. 1909

the real huts of barbarians" (231).

These consumer practices and the texts that illuminate them indicate that the "primitive" house could be an image through which to practice withdrawal, a turning inward away from the modern world, as Bachelard shows, and further into the refuge of the domestic. The primitive becomes a way to reinforce and stabilize identities that are made unstable by a marketplace of alienated producers and consumers, by a modern and modernizing world. This primitive domesticity helps to propose a world in which the alienable modern self, a self that reifies,

reflexively consumes, and leaves behind identities can achieve the stability and refuge of home. In this home, the material refuge substantiates a self that is withdrawn and belongs to this withdrawal. Consumer and producer, private property owner and property, self, land, and material objects become identical – a "taproot" without the complicating branches of modern difference. Yet this withdrawal and the identity it makes possible is never complete, as we are also offered the return to the modern. Objects, ethnicities, localities, land, and races both belong and fail to belong to this self. The primitive home is never completely primitive; it is always capable of allowing – indeed producing – a return to the modern world that is also always there in the house. This primitive home in fact is not primarily, or necessarily, a relationship to the modern house, but a property of the modern individual. It is an imaginative and material practice available to alienable modern selves as they navigate an interior and exterior world populated by difference. Like the ethnographic consumer, primitive domesticity is a practice that produces the waking world of alienations and mobilities as much as it produces a dream of refuge.

Chapter 4: "Too Strong to Stop, Too Sweet to Lose": Cliff-Dweller Objects and Willa Cather's *The Song of the Lark*

Willa Cather's engagement with both objects and with anthropological understandings of culture has been a theme of recent critical readings of her novels, especially *The Song of the Lark, The Professor's House,* and *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (Aranoff; Stout; Swift and Urgo). In her introduction to the 2005 collection of essays, *Will Cather and Material Culture: Real World Writing, Writing the Real World*, Janis P. Stout outlines the multiple meanings objects might have to Cather herself and speculates that, during her time in New York, Cather certainly would have heard of, and may have met, Franz Boas; and that because of this, Boas would have influenced her thinking about material culture. Regardless of her personal connections to anthropologists, many of her novels clearly reference the texts and practices of anthropology and archaeology, use anthropological discourse, or simply reflect a concern with the values and practices that comprise the concept of everyday culture (as in *Shadows on the Rock,* for instance*).* The extent to which Cather reflects conservative and imperialist concepts of culture is of central concern in these analyses, which primarily investigate whether Cather reflexively produced reified representations of race and culture or whether Cather produced stereotypical representations of native races and cultures that reinforced hegemonic ideologies and imperialist practices. As I argued in my third chapter, *O! Pioneers*' anthropological understandings of culture work to imagine a relationship between the material world of nature and the material objects of human production that places European immigrants and the capitalists they become, creating an interior identity tied to regional and national identity. This concept of culture, through Alexandra Bergson, works to justify capitalist property rights and ultimately

imperialist expansion, displacing the primitive to the past even as it borrows the primitive's connotations of organic, unalienated belonging and identity. But the extent to which Cather's work can be read as a direct engagement and occasionally a critical revision of twentieth-century anthropology has not often been recognized. Anthropology appears explicitly or implicitly in many of Cather's novels, but arguing that the appearance of anthropology indicates Cather's conservatism minimizes the active cultural work Cather's novels perform. In my fourth and final chapter, I argue that *The Song of the Lark* directly engages with and contributes to early twentieth-century anthropology to produce an aesthetic theory of artistic production that perceives objects as an attempt to capture life, an attempt to stabilize an "elusive element," elusive because it is always changing and from the perspective of stability, always lacking stability, always incomplete (304). If anthropology so often offers its practitioners a primitive, unconscious wholeness, an object through which to create their own identity as conscious, rational, autonomous individuals, as ethnographic subjects, *The Song of the Lark* offers a different version of culture. In this novel, artistic objects are a part of the culture they emerge from, produced out of the longings, needs, and fears of the people, but also through a complex environment of cultural exchange, transformation, incompletion, and loss.

Perhaps the most obvious reason that *The Song of the Lark* has been read as a reflection of professional anthropology are the passages that depict the archaeology of the abandoned cliff-dwellings of the southwest United States, which are central to *The Professor's House*. Cather would not have had to speak with Franz Boas to learn what anthropologists and archaeologists understood of Cliff Dwellers, given the amount and variety of writing on the cliff dwellings known as Mesa Verde, which were grouped and preserved in a national park by a 1906 congressional act. Popular and academic theories about the origin of the area's cliff dwellings –

which people created them, what level of civilization they indicated, and what caused them to be abandoned – began with a November 3, 1874 *New York Tribune* article, written by Ernest Ingersoll, a journalist who had traveled with the Hayden Survey and documented a group of ruins in Colorado known as the Castle Rock Pueblo. Several theories gained prominence and were dispelled, including the theory that the Cliff Dwellers, because of their impressive architecture, were related to the Aztecs (Mendeleff 111). By the late 1890s, however, anthropologists seemed determined to take the Cliff Dwellers down a notch in the scale of their cultural and racial hierarchies, finding that the dwellings did not indicate a superior race or culture, but rather were the result of the environment itself. Cosmos Mindeleff writes in 1898 in the *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* that because

> The American Indian, like all other savages, is extremely sensitive to his environment … and in a few generations comes directly under the sway of the country in which he lives …. The study of an Indian art must be to a large extent the study of the conditions under which that art developed; or to put the matter in a more concrete form, the origin of the cliff dwellings is to be found in the study of their geographical environment.

These kinds of arguments, to varying degrees, recurred well into the twenties such that we can find "The Cliff Dwellers and His Habitat," published in 1926 in the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, presuming that its subjects are nearly completely defined by geography, Cliff-Dweller objects and dwellings an expression of natural habitat. The article concedes that Cliff Dwellers had "progressed along certain lines far beyond what was found among the natives in other parts of the country." Yet this "advancement" is ultimately attributed to the environment since the Cliff Dweller "was an Indian like other Indians; only the natural conditions made him modify his habits of life and his world outlook" (170).

Outside of professional anthropological writing, there were others who wrote about their experiences of the material objects of Cliff Dwellers; in popular anthropology, certainly, but also in Arts and Crafts criticism, travel writing, and in poetry. The Arts and Crafts movement, of course, was more likely to address these objects through the discourse of professional anthropology. George Wharton James, for instance, discusses cliff dwellings in his 1905 "Aboriginal American Homes" essay in *The Craftsman*, which I examined partially in chapter three. James imagines the Cliff Dweller developing their homes through slow accretions of new developments:

> In the canyons of the water courses and wherever nature had formed a cliff, the cave dweller found everything ready for his stone ax and flint hammer. Continued peckings, with an occasional heavy blow, excavated quite a cave, and thus his rude shelter was formed. Later, he began to pile up rock in front of his sleeping place, that the blasts might not blow upon him too severely, and when he learned from the birds and the insects the lesson of mortar, mud or cement, he made a solid wall which shut in his cave. Thus in time it became – when perched in the wall of a cliff – what we now term a cliff-dwelling.

Wharton's description of the slow, natural, nearly evolutionary architectural developments works to resist any hint of conscious rational problem solving or agency in the architects. The origin story of shelter that James imagines, through which he develops an idea of the "first steps" of dwelling, are connected to contemporary architecture in a November 1916 *Craftsman* article which contrasts the Mesa Verde dwellings, noted as "what are recognized among all architects as perhaps the best examples of protective habitation ever devised," to homes recently built on the hills surrounding Los Angeles, California (Marple 192). The author Albert Marple describes the Cliff Dwellers as "burrowing beneath the overhanging red and brown ledges of the Mesa Verde"

and driven by fear of "the sharp eyes of their searching enemies," whereas the Californians' homes are conspicuous expressions of modern individualism, "each little summer house or summer camp … made to suit its owner's fancy, very often by his own inexperienced but courageous hands" (192). The Cliff-Dweller architecture serves as a substantiation of a basic hierarchy-of-needs conception of the home as shelter. Yet, the Californian homes perhaps borrow a concept of organic expression from the Marple's description of the cliff dwellings, communicating "individuality, open and naïve as any child," rather than studied executions of past or current architectural movements.

Cather's most obvious negotiation with such anthropological discourses of the primitive occurs when Thea Kronberg visits Fred Ottenburg's family ranch in Panther Canyon. On the one hand, Thea's experiences in Panther Canyon can be read as a reinforcement of anthropological discourses of "primitive" people and a performance of a primitive life-style resembling camping or the cultural practices Philip Deloria has identified in *Playing Indian*. Cather writes,

> Here she could lie for half a day undistracted, holding pleasant and incomplete conceptions in her mind – almost in her hands. They were scarcely clear enough to be called ideas. They had something to do with fragrance and colour and sound, but almost nothing to do with words…. She had always been a little drudge, hurrying from one task to another – as if it mattered! And now her power to think seemed converted into a power of sustained sensation. (299-300)

It would seem that she moves across the modern/ primitive binary as she moves from culture to nature, from mind to body, from conscious subject to unconscious object. The implication that Thea Kronberg is engaging in early twentieth-century Indian play is most apparent as the narrator describes her feelings when walking the trail to the Cliff-Dweller houses: "She found

herself trying to walk as they must have walked, with a feeling in her feet and knees and loins which she had never known before – which must have come up to her out of the accustomed dust of that rocky trail. She could feel the weight of an Indian baby hanging to her back as she climbed" (302). As a reading borrowing observations from Deloria might suggest, Kronberg and Cather's fantasy could be a way to solve the multiple problems faced by the alienated modern individual of the early twentieth century, to resolve the "angst that accompanied the crowded cities and assembly lines of modernity" (Deloria 99). The problematics of modernity focused on "ways to preserve the integrity of the boundaries that marked exterior and authentic Indians, while gaining access to organic Indian purity in order to make it one's own" (115). Thea comes to Panther Canyon worn down by her attempts to advance in her voice training, which has been set in a Chicago whose modernity, comprised of crowds and consumer culture, Cather has Thea opposing. Her experience of her own voice in the past was of a "thing to be struggled with" (300). That is, it is alienated from her, an object to be studied and hopefully controlled. But in Panther Canyon her voice is unalienated, her singing "like a pleasant sensation indefinitely prolonged" (300).

Yet, *The Song of the Lark* asks us to question the authority of anthropological discourses of culture and the notions of wholeness and presence created out of those discourses. Thea's first "backer," the railman Ray Kennedy, is the novel's first producer of anthropological discourse, which he bases in self-directed reading and then applies to his experiences excavating Cliff-Dweller burial mounds. In a conversation between Ray and the young Thea, Thea reports of the Cliff Dwellers that "the geography says their houses were cut out of the face of the living rock." Ray responds:

What nonsense does get printed! It's enough to give a man disrespect for learning. How

> could them Indians cut houses out of the living rock, when they knew nothing about the art of forging metals…. I'll tell you, Thee, if those old fellows had learned to work metals once, your ancient Egyptians and Assyrians wouldn't have beat them very much. Whatever they did do, they did well. Their masonry's standing there to-day, the corners as true as the Denver Capitol. They were clever at most everything but metals; and that one failure kept them from getting across. It was the quicksand that swallowed 'em up, as a race. I guess it was civilization proper that began when men mastered metals. (115-116)

Comparing the material culture of "ancient Egyptians and Assyrians," or even of the people of Denver, with that of Cliff Dwellers, works to expose the logic that would depend on a real conflict, either game or war, of such spatially and historically distant people. And his notion that "the quicksand swallowed them up as a race" is exposed as hyperbole by the early-twentieth century ethnographic consensus, repeated later in the novel, that Pueblo Indians were the descendants of Cliff Dwellers, and so had not become extinct. The passage works to gently satirize the effort to compare and rank cultures as a way to define "civilization proper" or the effort to imagine extinction as a result of racial inferiority.

Henry Biltmer, caretaker of the Ottenburg ranch who also "had been a great deal among the Pueblo Indians" produces the anthropological knowledge that frames Thea's later experiences at Panther Canyon. He explains that

> the ancient people had developed masonry and pottery far beyond any other crafts. After they had made houses for themselves, the next thing was how to house the precious water. He explained to her how all their customs and their ceremonies went back to water. The men provided the food, but water was the care of the women…. Their pottery was their most direct appeal to water, the envelope and sheath of the precious element

> itself. The strongest Indian need was expressed in those graceful jars, fashioned slowly by hand, without the aid of a wheel. (303-304)

Biltmer's ethnography, invested in typical cultural generalizations of industry, gender, and psychology, also implies the typical concept that Cliff Dwellers were dominated by their environment which produces and limits "the strongest Indian need." Yet, despite the authority granted by the novel to his anthropological depiction, it is also introduced with the qualification that, from walking around the canyon, "he knew a good deal more about [the ruins] than he could account for" (303). The Cliff-Dweller objects on the property he is caretaker of exceed his ability to provide explanations of them.

Knowledge that would exceed anthropology is perhaps gestured towards in Theophil Mitchell Prudden's "Summer Among the Cliff Dwellings," a travelogue and anthropological account published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1896, which engages with anthropology, yet hopes to establish a position outside of anthropology. Prudden begins by affecting the writing persona of

> as to archaeology, one sitting in the outer darkness…. For so only would it seem wise to record in haphazard fashion some phases of a summer's wandering among ruined and forgotten homesteads of the great Southwest, and a layman's conception thus derived of a group of prehistoric Americans who had finished their strenuous and narrow lives, and faded into tradition and myth before the Spanish, zealous for God and athirst for gold, had penetrated to the heart of our continent, and even before Columbus had ventured across the unknown seas. (545).

Prudden's "layman" affectation is signaled by a language that seems rather inclined to find connection with, rather than difference from, the people expressed by the objects he experiences,

if only on the terms of Anglo-American language and history signaled by his use of the word "homestead." This affectation becomes rather thin within several paragraphs, however, when he gestures towards his readers, "those who know their World's Fairs or have read the results of Bandelier's toilsome researches, or have turned in conscientious fashion the leaves of Nordenskjöld's magnificent volume" and who "are aware that a good deal is known, after all, about the haunts and ways of the American Cliff-dwellers" (545). Here Prudden names what should be to readers of this dissertation a familiar knowledge base for the popular and scientific dissemination of anthropology. Moreover, his article is structured much like scientific overviews of the Cliff-Dwellers, beginning with a description of the environment, followed by a description of Cliff-Dweller structures and artifacts, and ending with suggestions as to Cliff Dweller psychology and behavior.

Yet, Prudden readily admits to a variety of other experiences, knowledges, and feelings, outside of ethnographic discourse. Greed and shame he indicates while "plead[ing] guilty to the charge of delving a little in the burial-places, rather with the greed of the collector than the calm and purposeful motives of the scientific archaeologist" and then a further shame at "the sense of impropriety in such desultory excavation" (551). Further along, he attempts a kind of imaginative empathy when he reports that he "cherished the pious hope that the old fellows were all landed safely in a sunny Elysium long before the strangers unearthed their bones and carried off those varied furnishings of their graves which kindly hands had placed beside them for their long journey in the Beyond" (552). And his active negotiation with archaeological discourse allows him more imaginative connections as Prudden excitedly wonders about Cliff-Dweller smoking habits:

And the Cliff-dweller smoked a pipe! I feel constrained to leave it to the archaeologist to

> decide whether he smoked for the fun of it, or with devotional or ceremonial intent, and what he smoked. But one short-stemmed pipe of clay, decorated in red, and blackened within from use, and one half shaped in process of construction, are in my own collection. It is a dreamy land, this which he lived in, and I hope that he lay in the shadows sometimes in the lulls of his strenuous life, and, with no urgent thought of his gods or his etiquette, puffed idly and at ease his little dudheen. (558)

It would be too much to claim that Prudden's obvious pride at his collected objects is the root of his attempt to imagine the Cliff Dweller as more than a primitive being bound by dictates of culture, but the fact is, he does do so and through two objects he reports to own. Of course, his imagining may be mitigated, consciously or unconsciously, by his use of "dudheen," the Irish word for small pipe as the Irish were apt to be stereotyped as constrained by an inherited idleness. But even if that is the reading we adopt, through it all is Prudden's "hope" which seems the basis for an imaginative connection based, at least partially, in his unlearned, populist "wandering among ruined and forgotten homesteads."

That this connection is short-lived and limited in its politics is suggested in the book that emerged from this article and one other article (published in *The American Anthropologist*) composed by Prudden: the anthropological travel monologue *On the Great American Plateau: Wanderings Among Canyons and Buttes, in the Land of the Cliff-Dweller, and the Indian of Today* published in 1906. In the chapters surrounding the revised 1896 article from *Harper's*, Prudden affects a much more confident and impersonal anthropological discourse, where his more scientific, objective depictions of living people and Cliff-Dweller remains, and the archaeological and anthropological research that underpins those depictions, are compelled by

the fear that, given the inevitable extinction of Indian culture, that culture must be scientifically documented:

> It is humiliating, not only for an American, but for any educated human being, to realize that in this great, rich, powerful United States, boasting ever of its general enlightenment, there is neither the intelligent public spirit, nor the sustained private devotion to the wider aspects of science, to secure the myths and traditions and lore of these wonderful people before this page now open upon the Story of Man shall be closed forever. For nowhere else on this planet does this particular illumining phase of human life exist, nor will it come again.

Here, the vanishing Indian ideology, as Deloria has called it, promotes anthropological study. The emotions and knowledge are mainly produced within anthropology as opposed to through an experiential knowledge of people or objects outside of anthropology.

The Song of the Lark extends this potential gap between a kind of knowing brought about by experience and anthropological knowledge through Thea's engagement with Cliff-Dweller pottery. And this revision of anthropology produces the novel's clearest and most intimate aesthetic revelation. At first, after Biltmer has offered his anthropological analysis of Cliff-Dweller remains, while Thea bathes naked in a pool in the canyon, she realizes "something [which] flashed through her mind that made her draw herself up and stand still until the water had quite dried upon her flushed skin":

> The stream and the broken pottery: what was any art but an effort to make a sheath, a mold in which to imprison for a moment the shining, elusive element which is life itself – life hurrying past us and running away, too strong to stop, too sweet to lose? The Indian women had held it in their jars. In the sculpture she had seen in the Art Institute, it had

been caught in a flash of arrested motion. In singing, one made a vessel of one's throat and nostrils and held it in one's breath, caught the stream in a scale of natural intervals. (304)

Thea revises Biltmer's depiction subtly, without explicitly countering it, as if Thea's experience has dialectically given rise to her revisions. Through a shift into metaphor, Thea transforms Biltmer's anthropological observations to an aesthetic observation that allows her to exceed the understanding provided by anthropology, and to see humans as fundamentally, inevitably engaged in a process of creation and loss, creation that bears within itself the inevitability of loss, of an emptying out that may be understood as death or, alternatively, simply transformation and change. As if to clarify that this observation has implications for anthropology, Thea develops her revelation on the next page: "They had not only expressed their desire, but they had expressed it as beautifully as they could. Food, fire, water, and something else – even here, in this crack in the world, so far back in the night of the past! Down here at the beginning, that painful thing was already stirring; the seed of sorrow, and of so much delight." Cather lists basic needs supplied by the environment, which Biltmer finds to be determining, but gestures towards an addition – a "something else" that is unnamable but implicitly related to the Cliff Dweller's aesthetic aspirations, the dead people's need to capture the uncaptureable. But it is because of this that Thea's "heart goes out to those ancient potters" (305).[1]

Critics have noted Cather's relationship to loss or absence. Harold Bloom writes somewhat condescendingly that Cather's "essential imaginative knowledge was of loss, which

[1] This revision of anthropology is why I must oppose Christopher Schedler's reading of *Song of the Lark* which argues that this novel merely repeats nineteenth-century "cultural evolutionism [which] … distinguished between distinct human groups … each following its own cycle of development, which could be placed within a hierarchy of evolutionary stages along a historical continuum from savagery to civilization" (Schedler 109).

she interpreted temporally, though her loss was aboriginal." For Bloom, this loss is expressed in Cather's relationship to one of her subjects, a more ideal pioneer past which Cather has mistakenly interpreted as real rather than a production of "her own transparent eyeball, her own original relation to the universe" (3). Bloom underestimates the degree to which Cather was self-consciously engaged in the problem of representation and artistic creation. Cather herself, in an often cited passage from "The Novel Démeublé" writes that: "Whatever is felt upon the page without being specifically named there—that, it seems to me, is created. It is the inexplicable presence of the thing not named, of the over-tone divined by the ear but not heard by it, the verbal mood, the emotional aura of the fact or the thing or the deed, that gives high quality to the novel or the drama, as well as to poetry itself" (6). Absence is built into the artistic novel, which is then supplemented by the reader's feeling. Thea's definition of art offers a further way to read Cather's novel, punctuated as it is by temporal gaps of various lengths across the novel's chapters and sections, as an exploration and exposition of her own efforts as author to capture and communicate the "elusive" life of Thea Kronburg in a bildungsroman. Perhaps the reader's experiences, like Thea before the Cliff Dweller's pottery, are meant to then supplement "life hurrying past us and running away, too strong to stop, too sweet to lose." Yet the novel would seem to ask us to explore Thea's revelation beyond simply our position as readers of the novel, even beyond our position as an audience for what is generally defined as art.

In fact, the novel asks us to take this aesthetic position as a criticism of the anthropological discourse that inspired it. As I have noted above, Biltmer's anthropological "account[ing]" is said to incompletely explain the knowledge of the canyon he gains from his experience. Ray foreshadows this gap between the experience of an archaeological site and anthropological explanation when he tells Thea of his experiences excavating burial mounds: "I

have learned more down there about what makes history … than in all the books I have ever read" (118). Ray's anthropology, treated less authoritatively than Biltmer's, is also more explicitly lacking: "the stiffness of his [Ray's] language" forces Thea to avoid his lectures. The narrator reports that Ray used his "bookish phrases … because they seemed more adequate than colloquial speech" yet he is criticized as "grop[ing] for words" (116). Ray himself, in his attempts to write his experiences acknowledges his struggles through "which the material [he was] so full of vanished mysteriously under [his] striving hand" (116). Though there is comedy in Cather's depiction of Ray's clumsy efforts at lecturing and writing, his self-criticism foreshadows and develops the definition of art arrived at by Thea in Panther Canyon and, in this light, becomes a much broader satirical representation of all human creative expression.

Yet, there is a difference between Ray's clumsy approach to "bookish phrases" and the kind of anthropological discourse created by Biltmer that *Song of the Lark*, on the surface, represents with some authority. Biltmer who "had gathered up a whole chestful of Cliff-Dweller relics which he meant to take back to Germany with him some day" has no hesitations that we are aware of, in alienating the objects, in removing them from the space they have been left in (303). The removal of Cliff-Dweller pottery, parts of ruins, and human remains had been a controversial practice since before the Swedish aristocrat and archaeologist Gustaf Nordenskiold excavated the Mesa Verde ruins and was nearly arrested for transporting artifacts back to Sweden. (He was allowed to continue because no law had been found that he had broken). Nordenskiold would go on, before his untimely death from tuberculosis, to publish one of the first scientific studies of Mesa Verde, *The Cliff Dwellers of the Mesa Verde, Southwestern Colorado: Their Pottery and Implements*, in 1895. The geographical removal of artifacts by foreign archaeologists, or even simply nationally affiliated archaeologists, was one of the central

evils opposed by Virginia McClurg in her arguments for Mesa Verde to become a state park, although she supported local artifact collectors and even purchased a collection from another local relic collector in 1892 (Browman 60). As James E. Snead argues, for McClurg and others like her, the removal of artifacts from southwestern archaeological sites challenged their attempts to create a southwest regional identity (Snead 52). [2] We find similar practices of alienating objects in popular culture. Deloria has noted that one way the modern individual found wholeness was in "costumed Indian mimicry" (115-116). For Ernest Thompson Seton, among others, this involved play with "authentic" objects, objects alienated from their culture and bearing with them the sign of their originating culture. Ray's position stands somewhere between Thea and Biltmer, but his difference from Biltmer is significant. If Ray participates both in the replication of anthropological discourse and in the removal of Cliff-Dweller objects, in his case, through "cracking burial mounds," he notes that he "always felt ashamed of it" (116). And both his shame and the knowledge he gains of history in opposition to books leads to his own revelation. As he tells Thea,

> When you sit in the sun and let your heels hang out of a doorway that drops a thousand feet, ideas come to you. You begin to feel what the human race has been up against from the beginning. There's something mighty elevating about those old habitations. You feel like it's up to you to do your best, on account of those fellows having it so hard. You feel like you owed them something. (118)

Here Ray's particular brand of humanism engages in several revisions of his book learning. First, his humanism glosses over cultural difference to find a similarity that allows him to feel

[2]Ann Raine has argued that *The Professor's House* represents Cather's own argument for national parks and her ideal "nature tourist" as the creation of an experience that can oppose and revitalize the commercialized and industrialized modern urban life (131).

connected to those his anthropology would transform into primitive others. Second, this connection reveals itself as further evidence of Ray's particularly capitalist position in the novel (through his death, he is able to invest his life insurance payout in Thea's musical education) since he understands the Cliff-Dweller's sacrifice as a good whose price can be paid. And third, he subtly opposes his earlier hierarchical comparisons by finding "something mighty elevating" in primitive architecture (there is also perhaps an implicit joke at the expense of Ray who could find living on a cliff "elevating" and miss the humor). However, what I would like to emphasize here is the repetition of the word "feel." In fact, if Ray's clumsy language bores Thea it is noted that "The light in Ray's pale-blue eyes and the feeling in his voice more than made up for the stiffness of his language" (116). Cather's insistence acknowledging the significance of feeling can hardly be insignificant, especially given the importance of the relationship between readerly feeling and the novel that allows it to be expressed that Cather argues for in "The Novel Démeublé." Cather seems to be suggesting that if anthropology is bad art, it is bad because it forecloses on a relationship to human beings and their creations that allows for that feeling. This point is furthered when the narrator relates that Thea "ha[s] a superstitious feeling about the potsherds and liked better to leave them in the dwellings where she found them. If she took a few bits back to her own lodge and hid them under the blankets, she did it guiltily, as if she were being watched. She was a guest in these houses and ought to behave as such" (305). Whereas Biltmer's discourse allows him to alienate the objects of the primitive other as he accounts for them in anthropological discourse, Thea finds the objects imbued with the presence of their creators, which counters her ability and desire to possess them. This haunted, "superstitious feeling" towards the objects occurs immediately between Thea's pottery- and water-inspired revelation and her revision of Biltmer's anthropological explanation of the pottery; which then

implies that her feelings are connected to her revision of anthropology, much like Ray's feelings which supplement his book learning and his own lecture language and make it marginally successful as an art. However, Thea's aesthetic revision of anthropology is not precisely art, but an aesthetic theory, made poignant through archaeology, that begins to develop a way to understand both reading novels and material culture, or to be precise, human relationships to objects.

"The Novel Démeublé," published in the *New Republic* in 1922, of course explicitly compares the two – world of objects and writing – as it proposes an unfurnishing of the novel. But perhaps Cather's title has obscured the text's argument; the title appears to call for a rejection of objects and clutter that points to the modern home interiors that would follow three decades in the future. Even Janis P. Stout's reading of the essay as arguing for "a stage furnished not with the accumulation of things that cling, as with velcro, to our ordinary lives, but with the few selected things that will best convey associated emotions" (4) imposes a modernist interpretation onto Cather's essay, an interpretation that finds Cather arguing that "things" are antithetical to individual freedom. I would suggest that the furnishing and unfurnishing the essay opposes is rather a more complex affair. Stout is perhaps closer to the mark when she finds Cather in disagreement with consumer culture (3). Cather indeed begins her essay arguing against the commodified "novel manufactured to entertain" ("The Novel Démeublé" 5). But Cather's argument is not that these things gum up everyday life – rather it is the opposite, that they are fleeting: like "the egg one eats for breakfast, or the morning paper," in fact "a succession of new things that are quickly threadbare and can be lightly thrown away" (5). Cather's transition over the next two paragraphs to a discussion of realism is colored but not

necessarily explained by her definition of popular novels as commodities. That is, bad realist novels are not necessarily popular novels, but nor are they necessarily art. For Cather, the problem with the bad realist novel is not that it will soon be trash but rather that it "asserts itself in the cataloguing of a great number of material objects, in explaining mechanical processes, the methods of operating manufacturies and trades, and in minutely and unsparingly describing physical sensations" (6). This cataloguing which extends beyond "material objects" to "processes" and "sensations," – and leads to, for example, Balzac's attempt "To reproduce on paper the actual city of Paris" – creates a slightly different attitude than the one created by the commodity, although Cather is laconic: "the eye glides over them," she writes (6). Although Cather cannot reduce the canonical Balzac to the transience of trash (pulp writing as well as the inevitable future state of the commodity), she finds that the realistic novel fails to arrest the reader who can only approach it from an outside even when the novel is as totally representationally faithful as Balzac. Both the commodified and the realist novel produce art that, one might say, *lacks* materiality. The eye that reads the realist novel remains unaffected. Similarly, pulp creates no lasting relationship to its reader. The difference is merely that for pulp it is the art that is mobile, passing through the reader's possession into the waste bin, while for realism, it is the reader and their eye that are transient, moving "over" the text but finding no binding, affective purchase.

It is possible to compare Cather's critical depiction of the realist novel to the anthropologist's attempts to reproduce a culture through ethnography, possible not simply because both create the idea of totality. Indeed, both create an attitude toward their subject matter. Anthropology creates the counter-fiction of the rational self, outside the culture it explains, and also able to alienate its objects without feeling. The anthropological attitude toward

cultural products, in *Song of the Lark* leads to Biltmer. The realist novel creates a reader on the outside, an outside which can further be understood as the position of that other modern self, the scientist, when Cather in "The Novel Démeublé" denounces D.H. Lawrence: "Characters can be almost de-humanized by a laboratory study of the behavior of their bodily organs under sensory stimuli—can be reduced, indeed, to mere animal pulp" (6). In fact, in both texts, Cather seems to be arguing not against material objects, but against materialist representations of human society or culture.

But, it is more than merely possible to compare the two texts. Cather's language demands it. Her call for the artistic novel to "select" from reality directly echoes Thea's revelation in the Panther Canyon: "Out of the teeming, gleaming stream of the present [art] must select the eternal material of art" she writes in the 1922 essay (6). And yet if "The Novel Démeublé" echoes Thea's definition of art as "an effort to make a sheath, a mold in which to imprison for a moment the shining, elusive element which is life itself – life hurrying past us and running away, too strong to stop, too sweet to lose" the 1922 essay also seems an attempt to more fully stabilize the "shining, elusive element," which in the novel is a tragically failed attempt, into the "eternal material of art." Perhaps this is because in the essay, Cather's version of everyday life is the everyday life of modernity and specifically the fleeting instability produced in consumer capitalism. Her dialectic definition of art as a selection of everyday life is then structured by the usual opposition of art, as the thing that lasts, to the fleeting commodity. Thea's dialectical definition of art, dialectically relying on anthropology, is able to also understand the production and consumption of human creative acts in their everydayness, as a part of the life they attempt to stabilize.

Indeed, while the 1922 essay would seem to have developed out of an aesthetic theory Cather attributes to Thea in *Song of the Lark*, the earlier text attributes a far more limited power to art, since art is a failed attempt to capture life, limited as it is by time, decay, and death. In order to oppose itself to the modernity's transitory "present," art "must" select something that can be eternal. Yet, for Thea, art is an imperative only because life itself is "too sweet to lose"; and yet it is "too strong to stop." If grappling with anthropology allows Cather to turn to everyday acts of production and consumption outside of the opposition between consumer culture and art that structures and limits "The Novel Démeublé," I would argue that an everyday archaeology influenced by Cliff-Dweller objects helps to produce an aesthetic theory that resists the idea of art's grandiose "eternal" status. The objects produced by those who have become known as Cliff Dwellers are objects whose mystery is created by loss – the loss of societies, of ways of life, of a death that seems more total because of the gap between the created object that is present and the creators that are long gone. They are objects of everyday life, yet there is no longer life, except the ghostly trace produced by the objects.

Other writers, much like Cather's characters in *Song of the Lark* are open to other ways of experiencing Cliff Dweller objects that notice these qualities. John Gould Fletcher's lyric poem "Cliff Dwelling," published in the March 1916 edition of *Poetry*, while not engaging with anthropology, attempts to capture a realization that partially works to oppose anthropology's environmental determinism. The poem's speaker, a tourist visiting Mesa Verde on horseback first communicates the environment's oppression of life in the mesa since the ponies' "listless riders seldom lift / A weary hand to guide their feet" (8-9) and this oppression leads to the sentiment that "Nothing ever has lived here; /Nothing could ever live here" (12-13). Yet the

speaker suddenly finds evidence that contradicts his or her conclusions: “Boldy poised in a shelf of the stone, / Tiny walls look down at us” (15-16). The animation of objects in these lines is continued in the following stanza where the surprise at “a blue-gray flock of doves / [which] Bursts in a flutter of wings from the shadows” is implicitly compared and contrasted to the “Shards of pots and shreds of straw, / Empty brush-roofed rooms in darkness” which are described immediately after as if similarly confounding the speaker’s expectations. Fletcher’s poem works to express surprise at the audacity and persistence of life on the mesa, a vitality expressed by both animal life and the objects that are the remains of human life, and still work to express that life. Yet if the poem does not explicitly engage in environmental determinism, the emotional reactions it tries to produce work comfortably within anthropology’s environmental determinism, which argues that animals and primitives have adapted to harsh conditions that white Europeans have not adapted to.

The travel article “A Tenderfoot at the Cliff Dwellings of the Mesa Verde” of 1908 is notable not so much for what it does describe in its narration of a guided horseback tour through the recently created Mesa Verde State Park, but for what it resists writing. The author, Eva Mills Anderson, rarely deviates from a simple narration of events as they happen or a description of landscape features as they occur within the narration. Written in the present tense, the article does not mention Cliff-Dweller ruins or objects until they appear within the sequential time of the narrative. The first mention of an archaeological site occurs only half-way through the article, when the tour comes to “‘Kelley Cabin,’ the only cabin in the canyon.” The narrator reports that “It is located on the very brink of Spruce Tree Canyon and from our camp fire we look across the chasm at Spruce Tree House” (200). But instead of beginning a description of landscape physiography, Cliff-Dweller architecture, or beginning an anthropological analysis of Cliff-

Dwellers based in observations of Spruce Tree House, one of Mesa Verde's most represented archaeological sites, as does nearly every other travel, geographical, or anthropological account I have found, Anderson simply narrates the group's activities for the night: "We dismount and the ladies have the opportunity to admire masculine dexterity in the cuisine while the guides prepare supper" (200). Several paragraphs later, the group begins to "wander around the brink of the canyon, dig for pottery, finding only some broken pieces and a flint arrow head, and watch the horses being taken to the feeding ground" (201). Again, activities that might lead to archaeological observations that would attempt to gain access to, to understand and resurrect the Cliff Dwellers, are merely placed within a present stream of events experienced by the narrator and her fellow tourists. After camping, Anderson narrates a climb along the canyon edge, a narration that ends with the Mesa Verde structure named Balcony House.

In describing Balcony House, Anderson becomes relatively expansive, noting the "ninety-seven" rooms, speculating that many of them "must have been granaries, corn husks and cobs being found in them in abundance" (203). And for the first – and only – time, Anderson mentions the human beings that must have created the structures whose remains she experiences: "The doorways or what seem to be such, are low and narrow. The windows are various shapes, a few circular or nearly so, most of them rectangular. These openings frequently are bordered by a frame of wattled twigs, especially across the top. Apparently when the builder had no stone long enough to reach from side to side of the opening he laid the twigs and then put stones on them" (203). It is as if, even though she attempts to provide description of only what she experiences, that experience unwittingly suggests a prior human life. Yet, despite the attention to detail she provides in this section, it is tinged with failure, with an inability to find what she is looking for, and an inability to produce presence. This lack is first signaled when she notes that

> It is said that much pottery was found in these [rooms], but all these dwellings have been absolutely rifled of everything portable. Pottery, mummies, wall pictures, relics of every kind have been made merchandise of by those who visited these ruins only to sack them. Not only were the things taken out but walls that hindered the search were ruthlessly torn down so that it is difficult to tell what is the work of time and what that of the iconoclasts. (203)

In a momentary burst of emotion, as if felt in the midst of her exploration, Anderson suggests indignation, anger, and confusion. Of course, as I have noted, the removal of Cliff-Dweller artifacts for private collectors was often criticized for the unscientific motives of the tomb raiders. Yet Anderson, almost ironically, finds the removal of the objects to be an iconoclastic religious violation, or a "sack" of a living city. What is shocking in this description is her angry reaction, given that she has never actually named the Cliff Dwellers nor does so, except to name an undescribed "builder." The material objects she describes maintain a ghostly human presence, in spite of, or perhaps because of, her resistance to naming human beings.

Anderson ends her narration of the visit to Balcony House with a haunting description of absence and aporia: "Poles, sometimes hewn on the sides, reach from wall to wall of the higher rooms, indicating upper stories, but no floors now exist. We wander long in these apartments, often pursuing some course, climbing over walls, crawling through narrow openings only, at last to come up against a blank wall with no recourse but to retrace our path. Then comes the decent" (203). The remains themselves gesture towards a past, towards the prior presence of "upper stories," a lost wholeness, and an even more ghostly suggestion of human use, but, for Andersen, it is almost impossible to know more, to name that prior presence. Even her own presence there is hard to understand as she "pursu[es] some course" – a course unnamed, perhaps unnamable,

that only leads to "a blank wall with no recourse" (203) and then a final loss, a decent from the ruins. Anderson finds the Cliff-Dweller ruins and artifacts producing not the presence of an other and a self but the mutual limits of self and other, the limitations of defining the self through the other, the impossibility of locating an ultimate presence of other or self. If objects, in their stability and persistence, are often understood as stabilizing identity, culture, or human life, the Cliff-Dweller ruins in Anderson's text suggest a limit to that stabilizing purpose. Objects persist, often beyond the terms of a human identity or culture, or a human or society's life, yet their persistence is impermanent, mutable. For both Thea and Anderson, this impermanent, mutable persistence becomes a way to name loss, the loss of wholeness or of the idea of wholeness. Yet for Cather, unlike for Anderson, this experience suggests a return from archaeology, a way to understand artistic production and consumption within an everyday life made up of less dramatic, minute impermanence.

Although the passages that take Cliff Dwellers as their subject are the novel's most obvious dialectical engagement with anthropology, *The Song of the Lark* more directly explores anthropological concepts of the human creation of culture in some of its early passages on Moonstone. In fact, certain passages directly appropriate the late-nineteenth century anthropological assumption that human behavior can be determined by culture as a product of physiography. The German immigrant Paulina (Mrs.) Kholer is the most obvious expression of this idea, her life devoted to her attempt to "reproduce a bit of her own village in the Rhine valley" (28). Resisting a circulation that would allow her to engage in cultural exchange and transformation in Moonstone, she rarely leaves her property to go into town and "she had never learned much English." So adapted to the physiography of Germany is she that "on the open

plain," beyond the borders of her garden, "she was stupid and blind like an owl" (23). Rather, "Shade, shade; that was what she was always planning and making" (23). This desire to reproduce her parent culture extends to purchasing mail order seeds from Germany as she creates a garden in which "there would even be vegetables for which there is no American name" (25). In this passage, the narrator reflects this resistance to circulation, identifying language with nationality, neglecting to use the word English, which would have opened up a slippage between language and home-land. When there is an American species and name, as in the case of the linden or basswood, Mrs. Kholer produces the kind which would have been in Germany; for Mrs. Kholer's "were not American basswood, but the European linden, which was honey coloured, blooms in summer, with a fragrance that surpasses all trees and flowers and drives young people wild with joy" (26). The horticulture of other German immigrants is described in a similar manner, preserving their cultural heritage in the care given to their oleander trees: "There is hardly a German family in the most arid parts of Utah, New Mexico, or Arizona, but has its oleander trees. However loutish the American-born sons of the family may be, there was never one who refused to give his muscle to the back-breaking task of getting those tubbed trees down into the cellar in the fall and up to the sunlight in the spring" (26). But what distinguishes the Kholer's garden from these other cultural reproductions is its abundance and its attention to detail, as the narrator indicates in describing Thea's memory of it: "There were big sunflowers for the canary bird, tiger lilies and phlox and zinnias and lady's slippers and portulaca and hollyhocks – giant hollyhocks. Besides the fruit trees there was a great umbrella-shaped catalpa, and a balm-of-Gilead, two lindens, and even a Ginko – a rigid, pointed tree with leaves shaped like butterflies" (25-26).

Although Mrs. Kholer's garden reflects an anthropological understanding of the relationship between human beings, their environment, and their material culture, it makes this anthropological relation to environment, where environment dominates human beings, into an act of artificial aesthetic creation. This active cultural reproduction is echoed in Mr. Kholer's "piece picture," his final "thesis" as an apprentice tailor, a cloth copy of "a popular painting of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow"[3] (28). Much as the narrator reproduces Mrs. Kohler's garden, the narrator reproduces in text the detailed work of the cloth piece: "The reins of the horses, the wheels of the spurs, the brooding eyebrows of the Emperor, Murat's fierce moustaches, the great shakos of the Guard, were all worked out with the minutest fidelity" (29). But for all their "fidelity" to the original, both of these reproductions are not automatic reflections of culture but active reproductions. The garden is, in fact, a private garden, and not natural physiography, or even a "village in Rhone." The weaving is not the original oil painting but a "mosaic" in woolen cloth which must be maintained and protected from destruction and decay. The garden is a commitment that is not only renewed in the spring but planned such that in the winter it "looked like a relief map" (25); moreover it is a creation that must actively be protected from the "outside" whose "sagebrush grew up to the very edge of the garden" and whose "sand was always drifting up to the tamarisks" (23). The cloth piece is one whose subject Fritz Kohler was allowed to select and then, as a treasured family keepsake, is one that has been protected but nearly destroyed by "moths and fire" (29). Indeed, if both the cloth mosaic and the Kholer garden recall, in their devotion to reproduction, the realist or materialist perspectives Cather opposes in "The Novel Démeublé," this would seem to be a difference *The Song of the Lark* both articulates and rather lovingly celebrates.

[3] This reproduction, as described in *The Song of the Lark*, would seem to be based on the 1820s oil painting by an unknown German artist titled "The French in Moscow."

But perhaps more than the novel's insistence on productive agency in creating and maintaining cultural products is the novel's insistence on cultural overlap, encroachment, and exchange, the liquid transformations culture and even cultural productions partake in and create. We see this symbolized in the garden itself, where the prairie begins to encroach despite Mrs. Kholer's efforts to maintain German physiography and in the Ginko "which shivered, but never bent to the wind" (26). But Cather is quick to supply possible tenors for the vehicle of these metaphors. Even though Mrs. Kholer rarely circulates beyond the German culture represented in her family, other cultures are unavoidable. Fritz Kholer's piece work is itself an act of cultural exchange – a reproduction of a German painting of the French emperor in Russia. Although Mrs. Kholer avoids church and so "never heard any singing" she does hear "the songs that floated over from Mexican Town," Moonstone's neighborhood composed of Mexican immigrants (29). And this foreshadows a later passage, which very clearly illustrates the minutia of cultural transformation and exchange, when Thea returns to Moonstone from Chicago and attends a dance in Mexican Town, to censure by the town's other citizens. The dance supplies multiple cross cultural exchanges; from sexual flirtation to the sharing of songs. One song, which Thea has learned from Spanish Johnny is described as "not exactly Mexican…. It come from farther down; Brazil, Venezuela, may-bee. I learn it from some fellow down there, and he learn it from another fellow. It is-a most like Mexican, but not quite" (227). The song itself is caught in a process of exchange such that its cultural origins are not obscure but not "exactly" nameable. Not only does Thea learn the song from Spanish Johnny, continuing the process of exchange and transformation, but the section ends as the narrative shifts in space from the dance to the Kholers in their bedroom at their window:

> Across the gulch the little house of the Kholers slept among its trees, a dark spot on the white face of the dessert. The windows of their bedroom room were open, and Paulina had listened to the dance-music for a while before she drowsed off…. She lay still until she could bear it no longer. Then she wakened Fritz and they went over to the window and leaned out. They could hear clearly there…. They were listening to a Mexican part-song. (234-235)

Here, the Kholer's reception of the singing from Mexican town is not just passive acceptance of encroachment but becomes an active enjoyment – since she can "bear it no longer" – of a cultural product across Mrs. Kholer's carefully controlled cultural borders.

What *The Song of the Lark* teaches us is that cultural products, objects no less than music, do not only indicate a cultural interior; they are not merely an attempt to stabilize identity. In revising early twentieth-century anthropology, at a time when it was not only preoccupied with defining static racial and cultural identity and difference but with material culture, Cather can help us to understand and move beyond the idea that objects are passive and inert containers of cultural meaning. If life is "too strong to stop," part of its strength lies in those moments where the borders of property and identity, race and culture inevitably shift. Material objects are "actants" in these shifts (Bennett 9). If they are partially an attempt to arrest identity, arrest is not their full purpose. Even from the moment that they are created, they exceed their origin and gesture towards an outside, an outside that is already there and an outside that is new. Not only do they, in their materiality, persist beyond the ability of a single person or society to lay claim to them, at the moment of creation, they are taken up in a process whose past is lost, and whose future is exchange and transformation.

WORKS CITED

WORKS CITED

"Adaptation of Public Architecture to American Needs, with Promise of the Development of a National Style." *The Craftsman*. April 1906, pp. 32-45.

"An Argument for Simplicity in Household Furishings." *The Craftsman* October 1901: iii-iv.

Ammons, Elizabeth. *Tricksterism in Turn-of-the-Century American Literature*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1994.

Anderson, Eva Mills. "A Tenderfoot at the Cliff Dwellings of the Mesa Verde." *The Chautauquan: Oran of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle*. vol. 51, 1908, pp 194-206.

Allen, Willis Boyd. *The Lion City of Africa: A Story of Adventure.* Boston: D. Lothrop Company, 1890. *Google Books.* Accessed October 2, 2016.

Aranoff, Eric. *Composing Culture: Modernism, American Literary Studies, and the Problem of Culture.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013.

Baederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the Unitet States, 1880-1917*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Bachelard, Gaston. *The Poetics of Space*. Translated by Maria Jolas. Boston: Beacon Press, 1994.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project.* Translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. United States: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Bennett, Jane. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things.* Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2010.

Bloom, Harold. Introduction. *Modern Critical Views: Willa Cather.* Harold Bloom, ed. Chelsea House Publishers: Philadelphia, 1985. pp. 1-5.

Boas, Franz. "The Principles of Ethnological Classification." *A Franz Boas Reader: The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883-1911*. Ed. George W. Stocking, Jr. Chicago: University of Chicago P., 1974.

Bolles, Dorothy Bonner. "A Successful House and How we Planned It." *Country Life in America*. October 1910, pp. 670-671.

Boris, Eileen. *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Brown, Bill. *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Browman, David L. *Cultural Negotiations: The Role Of Women In The Founding Of Americanist Archaeology*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013. *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*.. 11 Feb. 2015.

Brown, Gillian. *Domestic Individualism: Imagining Self in Nineteenth Century America*. Berkeley: University of California P., 1990.

Buchli, Victor. Introduction. *The Material Culture Reader*. Oxford: Berg Press, 2002. pp. 1-22.

Cather, Willa. "The Novel Démeublé." *The New Republic*. 12 April 1922, pp. 5-6

Cather, Willa. *The Song of the Lark*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915.

Cather, Willa. *O! Pioneers*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946.

Cathers, David. *Gustav Stickley*. New York: Phaidon Press, 2003.

Cheyfitz, Eric. "Savage Law: The Plot Against American Indians in *Johnson and Graham's Lessee v. M'Intosh* and *The Pioneers*." *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. ed. by Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease. 109-128. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992.

Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1988.

"Craftsman House: Series of 1905: Number X." *The Craftsman.* October 1905, pp. 113-122.

"Craftsman House: Series of 1906: Number iV." *The Craftsman.* May 1906, pp. 254-262.

"A Day with Andrew D. White at His Home in Ithaca." *The Craftsman.* September 1905, pp. 715-734.

Debord, Guy. *The Society of the Spectacle*. trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith. New York: Zone Books, 1995.

Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo.* New York: Routledge, 2002.

Ellis, Harvey. "An Urban House." *The Craftsman.* August 1903, 313-327.

Everett, Marshall. *The Book of the Fair*. Philadelphia: P. W. Zeigler, 1904.

Fisher, Theodore M. "Rustic Architecture at Its Best." *Country Life in America*, April 1909, pp. 643-644.

Flemming, Thomas. *Around the 'Pan' with Uncle Hank: His Trip Through the Pan American Exposition*. New York: The Nut Shell Publishing Co., 1901.

Fletcher, John Gould. "Cliff Dwelling." *Poetry*, vol. 7, no. 6, 1916, pp. 274-275.

Gelber, Stephen M. "Do-It-Yourself: Constructing, Repairing and Maintaining Domestic Masculinity." *American Quarterly*, vol. 49, no. 1, 1997, pp. 66 -112.

Gessel, Arnold L. "A California Bungalow Treated in Japanese Style." *The Craftsman*. September 1910, pp. 694-698.

Giddens, Anthony. *Modernity and Self Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press,1991.

The Grandeur of the Exposition at St. Louis: *an Official Book of Beautiful Engravings Illustrating the World's Fair of 1904*. St. Louis: Official Photographic Company of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904. University of California.

The Grandeur of the Exposition at St. Louis: *an Official Book of Beautiful Engravings Illustrating the World's Fair of 1904*. St. Louis: Official Photographic Company of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904. Winterthur Library Collection of Printed Books and Periodicals.

The Greatest of Expositions Completely Illustrated: Official Publication. St. Louis: Official Photographic Company of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904.

Greenblatt, Stephen. "Resonance and Wonder" *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Ed. Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Haddon, Alfred C. *Evolution in Art as Illustrated by the Life Histories of Designs*. London: W. Scott Ltd., 1895.

Haltman, Kenneth and Jules David Prown. *American Artifacts: Essays in Material Culture*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2000.

Hamlin, A. D. F. "L'Art Nouveau, Its Origin and Development." *The Craftsman*. December 1902, pp. 129-143.

Harboe, Paul. "The OtherWoman." *The Craftsman*. June 1907, pp. 265-268.

Hawley, Sherwin. "Log Cabins as Play-Houses." *Country Life in America*. May 1909, p. 76.

Hebdige, Dick. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Hoganson, Kathryn. *Consumers Imperium*: *The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina P., 2007.

Howe, Samuel. “A Visit to the House of Mr. Stickley.” *The Craftsman* December 1902: 161-169.

Jacknis, Ira. “Franz Boas and Exhibits: On the Limitations of the Museum Method of Anthropology.” *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* ed. by George W. Stocking Jr. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985. 75-111.

James, George Wharton. “Aboriginal American Homes: Cave, Cliff and Brush Dwellings in New Mexico, Arizona and California.” July 1905: 459-471.

James, George Wharton, Aboriginal American Homes: Brush, Mud, and Willow Dwellings.” August 1905: 640-649.

Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Kaplan, Wendy. *“The Art That Is Life”: The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920*. Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1987.

Keeler, Charles Augustus. *The Simple Home.* San Francisco: The Tomoye Press, 1904

Kephart, Horace. “A Month in the Woods.” *Collier’s*. November 1909, pp 20, 30-32.

Leach, William. *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*. New York: Vintage Books, 1993.

Lears, T. J. Jackson. “From Salvation to Self-Realization: Adertising and the Therapeutic Roots of Consumer Culture, 1880-1930.” *Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980,* ed. by Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, 1-38. New York: Pantheon Boks, 1983.

Lears, T. J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

London, Jack. *The Sea Wolf.* New York: Bantam Books, 1991.

Loos, Adolf. “Ornament and Crime.” *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture*. ed. by. Ulrich Conrads. 19-24. Cambridge: MIT, 1971.

Lukacs, Georg. *History and Class Consciousness*. Translated by Rodney Livingstone. Cambridge, Massachusettes: MIT Press, 1988.

Marple, Albert. “Woodland Cliff-Dwellers.” *The Craftsman*. (November 1916), pp. 192-195.

Mason, Otis T. *Origins of Invention: A Study of Industry Among Primitive Peoples*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1895.

Marx, Karl. *Capital: Volume 1: A Critique of Political Economy*. Translated by Ben Fowkes. New York: Penguin, 1992.

Marsh, Margaret. "Suburban Men and Masculine Domesticity, 1870-1915" *American Quarterly*, vol. 40, no. 2, 1998, pp. 165 -186.

Mason, Otis T. "Ethnological Exhibit of the Smithsonian Institution at the World's Columbian Exposition. *Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology.* Ed. G. Staniland Wake. Chicago: The Schulte Publishing Co., 1984. 208-216. Accessed 31 Oct. 2011.

Merrish, Lori. *Sentimental Materialism: Gender, Commodity Culture, and Nineteenth-Century American Literature*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2000.

"A Mountain Bungalow whose Appearance of Crude Construction is the Result of Skilful Design." *The Craftsman*. December 1909, pp. 329-330.

Morris, William. "The Art of the People." *Hopes and Fears for Art*. The William Morris Internet Archive. Accessed 31 Oct. 2011.

Monsen, Frederick. "Festivals of the Hopi: Religion, the Inspiration, and Dancing an Expression in All Their National Ceremonies." *The Craftsman*. June 1907, pp. 269-285.

Monsen, Frederick. "The Destruction of Our Indians." *The Craftsman*. March 1907, pp. 683-691.

Morley, David. *Home Territories: Media, Mobility, and Identity*. New York: Rutledge, 2000.

"Par-a-dyce: A Castine Cottage" *The Craftsman* April 1904, pp. 84-90.

Porcher, C. Gadsden. "Basketry of the Aleutian Islands." *The Craftsman*. March 1904, pp. 575-583.

"Pro Patria." *The Craftsman*. October 1901: iv.

Price, William L. "House and Home Furnishings." *The Craftsman*. May 1911, pp.126-130.

Prudden, Theophil Mitchell. *On the Great American Plateau*. G.P Putnam's Sons: New York, 1906.

Prudden, Theophil Mitchell "Summer Among the Cliff Dwellings," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. September 1896, pp. 545-561.

Raine, Anne. "Object Lessons: Nature Education, Museum Science, and Ethnographic Tourism in *The Professor's House.*" *Willa Cather & Material Culture: Real World Writing, Writing the Real World*. Ed. By Janis P. Stout. University of Alabama Press: Tuscaloosa, 2005.

Reesman, Jeanne Campbell. *Jack London's Racial Lives: A Critical Biography*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011.

Rotundo, Anthony. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Rourke, Constance. *American Humour: A Study of the National Character*.

"Reviews." *The Craftsman*. June 1909, pp. 366-368.

Rydell, Robert. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Sargent, Irene. "Brain and Hand" *The Craftsman.* January 1902: 41-44.

Sargent, Irene. "A Revival of Old Arts and Crafts applied to Wood and Leather" *Chips from the Workshops of the United Crafts*. 1901.

Sargent, Irene. "The Racial Art of the Russians." *The Craftsman.* October 1903, pp. 42-51.

Sargent, Irene. "The Rise and Decadence of the Craftsman: An Historical Note." *The Craftsman* November 1901, pp. 13-20.

Schopfer, Jean. "L'Art Nouveau: an Argument and Defence." The Craftsman. July 1903, pp. 229-238.

Schedler, Christopher. "Writing Culture: Willa Cather's Southwest." *Willa Cather and the American Southwest*. Ed. By John N. Swift and Joseph R. Urgo. University of Nebraska Press: Nebraska, 2004. pp. 108 – 123.

Simmel, Georg. "The Metropolis and Mental Life." *Simmel on Culture*. Ed. David Frisby and Mike Featherstone. London: Sage, 2000. 174-186.

Simon, A. M. "The Evolution of Leisure for the Many" *The Craftsman.* September 1905: 777-780.

Slotkin, Leonard. *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America.* Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.

Smith, Mary Ann. *Gustav Stickley: The Craftsman*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1983.

Snead, James E. *Ruins and Rivals: The Making of Southwest Archaeology*. University of Arizona Press: United States, 2001.

Stickley, Gustav. "The Craftsman Movement: Its Origins and Growth." *The Craftsman* October 1913, pp. 18-27.

Stickley, Gustav. "From Ugliness to Beauty." *The Craftsman* December 1904, pp. 310-320.

Stickley, Gustav. the "The German Exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition." *The Craftsman*. August 1904, pp. 348-506.

"Style and Its Requisites." *The Craftsman*. October 1901, pp. v-viii.

"Suburban House of Plaster for $7,500." *Country Life in America*. February 1909, pp. 382-384.

Sullivan, Louis. "What is Architecture? – A Study of the American People Today." *The Craftsman*. May 1906, pp. 143-149.

Tylor, Edward B. *Anthropology: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1889. *Google Books.* Accessed October 2, 2016.

Torgovnick, Marianna. *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Wald, Priscilla."Terms of Assimilation: Legislating Subjectivity in the Emerging Nation." *Cultures of United States Imperialism*. ed. by Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease. 59-84. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992.

Zipf, Catherine. *Professional Pursuits: Woman and the Arts and Crafts Movement*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007.