Native Décor: American Indians in *The House Beautiful*, 1896-1906

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INTRODUCTION

In 1879, after listening to Chief Standing Bear's lecture about the forcible removal of the Poncas from their Nebraska reservation, Helen Hunt Jackson (Fig. 1) was inspired to take up the cause of American Indians. Jackson published *A Century of Dishonor* in 1881, in which she described the tragic events that had befallen American Indian people, including the pursuit and relocation of the Nez Percés in 1877, the uprooting of the Ponca tribe to make room for the Sioux reservations the same year, and the desperate flight in 1878 of some three hundred Northern Cheyennes from a reservation in Indian Territory. In her book, Jackson concluded:

There are within the limits of the United States between two hundred and fifty and three hundred thousand Indians, exclusive of those in Alaska. It makes little difference where one opens the record of the history of Indians; every page and every year has its dark stain. The story of one tribe is the story of all, varied only by differences in time and place. ¹

Jackson sent a copy of this work to each member of the United States Congress, hoping it would persuade the government to make policies more favorable toward American Indians.

Although Jackson's work may not have had the impact she intended at the federal level, her book did much to stimulate interest in Indians amongst the American public. For instance, the *New Hampshire Sentinel* newspaper (June 30, 1881) of Keene, New Hampshire, reported that at the 1881 commencement exercises for the graduating high school class, which took place in front of a large audience at the city hall, the Valedictory

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Helen Hunt Jackson, A Century of Dishonor (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881), 336-337.

speech given by Charles Gale Shedd, was entitled, "A Century of Dishonor." Young Shedd was clearly aware of, and influenced by, Jackson's work. In his address to his classmates, Shedd lamented the country's Indian policy, and its dishonorable course toward the Cherokees. He contrasted this negative example with the importance of seeking through "different paths, one goal," "honorable success." This is just one example of the many individuals throughout the United States whose awareness, and sympathy, for Indians was growing in the 1880s.

During this era, many reform groups believed that they could "save" Indians by assimilating them. Groups were founded, such as the Indian Rights Association in Philadelphia in 1882. Reformers supported such acts as the U.S. Congress's 1887 Dawes Allotment Act. Dawes attempted to detribalize Indians by dismantling reservations and allotting land to individual Indians as private property. The reformers also encouraged Indian boarding schools where young Indians were forcibly removed from their families in order to be "Americanized" (Fig. 2). As a result of disease, warfare, and hardships, by 1900 the Indian population in the United States had dwindled to an all-time low.

Believing that Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel Uncle Tom's Cabin, published in 1852, was influential in turning American opinion against African Americans' enslavement, Helen Hunt Jackson sought to emulate Stowe's work by writing a novel, which would emotionally connect readers, and the American public, with American Indians. Uncle Tom's Cabin, which focused around the character of Uncle Tom, a long-suffering slave, became a best-seller in the nineteenth century, and is credited with fueling the abolitionist cause in America. Jackson's *Ramona*, written in 1884, described the life of a half-Indian orphan girl growing up in Southern California who suffers

discrimination and hardship. Inspired by Stowe, this work was a further attempt to stimulate concern for the plight of the Indians amongst the American public.²

While Helen Hunt Jackson's books may not have improved the lives of Indians in the way that Jackson had hoped, her books, particularly *Ramona*, did have another effect. They inadvertently promoted a romanticized view of American Indians, and a collecting fad for objects associated with Indians, including baskets.³ Americans began to see Indian-themed objects as appropriate home décor in a period when design reform and the Arts and Crafts were being emphasized (Fig. 3).⁴ As America became more mechanized, urbanized, and generally modernized at the end of the nineteenth century, Americans sought the hand-made, the natural, the unique, and the anti-modern.⁵ At this time, many Americans characterized Indian craftwork, and Indian imagery, as "primitive," or the antithesis of modern, and therefore a suitable antidote to the harshness of modernity.⁶

Beginning in the 1880s, following the publication of *Ramona*, the romanticizing of Indians spread amongst the American population nationally, through various forms of media, including books and magazines, in addition to theatrical events, such as Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show (Fig. 4). All of these works were aimed at the growing middle class. Indian imagery, shown in various forms of literature, began to manifest itself in

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² Marvin Cohodas, *Basket Weavers for the California Curio Trade* (Phoenix: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 182.

³ Ibid., 182.

⁴ Elizabeth Cromley, "Masculine/Indian," Winterthur Portfolio 31, No. 4, Gendered Spaces and Aesthetics (Winter, 1996), 268.

⁵ T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

⁶ Philip J. Deloria, "Natural Indians and Identities of Modernity," in *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 95-127.

many different forms, including fine art, architecture, interior design, and decorative art. From the paintings of Frederic Remington and N.C. Wyeth to the photographic images of Edward Curtis and Joseph Kossuth Dixon, portrayals of Indians became common and popular throughout America. Authentic Indian objects, including baskets, pottery and blankets were promoted for their collectable and decorative value in the home. In addition, Indian-themed, mass-produced decorative objects for the house, such as Indian plaster busts, Indian pillows, and lithographs of Indians, were also becoming widely available.

The popular press, including newspapers and magazines, was largely responsible for fueling the fervor for American Indian objects amongst the middle class. In particular, an array of publications specializing in interior decoration and targeted at middleclass women emerged in this period, including the *Decorator and Furnisher* (1882), *The House Beautiful* (1896), and *The Craftsman* (1901). Through their content, all of these magazines promoted a broad appreciation and interest in American Indians, and the use of Indian objects in interior decoration. For instance, an 1889 article by Laura Starr in *The Decorator and Furnisher* instructed readers on how to create an "Indian Room" in their homes using objects ranging from Native Alaskan baskets to Navajo blankets. Advertisements in the mass media during the turn-of-the-century period also encouraged the middle class to purchase, collect, and decorate with American Indian themed objects. In 1904, for instance, *The House Beautiful* featured an advertisement by

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⁷ Shepard Krech III and Barbara A. Hail, eds., *Collecting Native America*, 1870-1960 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999).

⁸ Elizabeth Hutchinson, "Progressive Primitivism: Race, Gender and Turn-of-the-Century American Art" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1999), 1.

⁹ Laura B. Starr, "An Indian Room," *The Decorator and Furnisher*, May 1889, 38 & 45.

the Tri-State Trading Co. for a pillow with the profile of an American Indian for use in the den or cozy corner (Fig. 5). ¹⁰

While Stickley's *The Craftsman* was more limited with its Arts and Crafts focus, the other decorating publications certainly promoted European styles, as well as the Colonial Revival style. What is significant, however, is that they all devoted significant coverage to Native Americans, and their objects, emphasizing that the "primitive" could compliment the more "refined." The inclusion of such American Indian themed articles and advertising was likely driven by a combination of reader demand, contributing writers' and advertisers' interests, and the magazine editor's personal preferences.

Historians, including Elizabeth Hutchinson, Elizabeth Cromley, John Coward, Philip Deloria and Alan Trachtenberg, have acknowledged the tremendous interest in American Indians that existed in America at the turn-of-the-century. ¹¹ These same historians have also demonstrated that the press promoted middleclass Americans' awareness and opinions of American Indians. Historians specifically examining interior design have acknowledged that decorating magazines often included content on American Indians. ¹²

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 $^{^{10}}$ Advertisements, $\it The\ House\ Beautiful$, December 1904, 55.

Elizabeth Hutchinson, "Progressive Primitivism: Race, Gender and Turn-of-the-Century American Art" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1999). Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998). Elizabeth Cromley, "Masculine/Indian," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, No. 4, *Gendered Spaces and Aesthetics* (Winter, 1996): 268. Melanie Herzog, "Aesthetics and Meanings – The Arts and Crafts Movement and the Revival of American Indian Basketry," in *The Substance of Style: Perspectives on the American Arts and Crafts Movement*, ed. Bert Denker (Winterthur, Del.: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1996), 69-91. Alan Trachtenberg, Shades of Hiawatha (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004). John M. Coward, *The Newspaper Indian: Native American Identity in the Press*, 1820-90 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

¹² Elizabeth Hutchinson, "Progressive Primitivism: Race, Gender and Turn-of-the-Century American Art" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1999). Elizabeth Cromley, "Masculine/Indian," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, No. 4, *Gendered Spaces and Aesthetics* (Winter, 1996), 265-280. Kristin Hoganson, "Cosmopolitan Domesticity: Importing the American Dream, 1865-1920," The American Historical Review 107, No. 1(Feb., 2002), 62.

Most recently, a brief article by Diane Boucher on "The Craftsman Magazine and the Art of the American Indian," was published in the Spring 2009 issue of Style 1900 magazine. Since American Indians, and their objects were thought to represent the antimodern, the natural, and the handcrafted - which were all important ideas for the Arts and Crafts movement - The Craftsman recommended decorating with American Indian inspired objects. While this article discussed how the magazine's articles advocated incorporating American Indian objects into the home, it did not focus on how The Craftsman portrayed the American Indian for the American public. No one has demonstrated the ways in which the articles and advertisements of a specific turn-of-thecentury decorating publication shaped the public's image of the American Indian.

The House Beautiful was the only shelter magazine to span the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries (and today, the longest continually running decorating magazine at 112 years). By 1904, the magazine already had a circulation of 20,000 and 20 pages of advertising. An examination of The House Beautiful's articles and advertisements demonstrates how the popular press, and in particular a decorating magazine, promoted America's broad enthusiasm for American Indians at the turn-of-the-century, including the collecting and decorating with Indian-themed objects, while it simultaneously shaped an image of Indians amongst the American public. During the period of 1896 through 1906, which represents the first ten years of The House Beautiful's existence, as well as the height of the "Indian craze" in America, Indians were portrayed in the magazine's articles as disappearing and primitive, as well as inspiring

¹³ Kathleen Endres and Therese Lueck, eds., *Women's Periodicals in the United States* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995).

and artistic. ¹⁴ This image of Indians generated by the articles was also reinforced and used by advertisers in the magazine. *The House Beautiful* fueled the romantic fervor for American Indians, which Helen Hunt Jackson, and others, inspired.

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¹⁴ Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism and Transculturation in American Art* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

CHAPTER 1

THE ORIGINS OF THE HOUSE BEAUTIFUL

In 1895 the American Unitarian minister William Channing Gannett wrote six sermon-essays entitled "The House Beautiful." Gannett, was one of a group of progressives in the 1890s that believed that the highly ornamented houses of the Gilded Age were "leading to encrusted homes that had no souls." In his essays, he crusaded for "homes dedicated to the needs of human beings instead of to show-off ostentation." Printed in 1896 in a deluxe edition designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, these essays directly inspired the birth of "The House Beautiful" magazine. ¹⁷

In addition to Gannett's essays, Robert Louis Stevenson's poem "The House Beautiful" inspired Eugene Klapp (Fig. 6), a Chicago engineer with "a flair for architecture and literature," to create a magazine of the same name. ¹⁸ Klapp's friend Henry Blodgett Harvey, "who also had a liking for such things along with some available cash," joined Klapp in the publishing venture. ¹⁹ Klapp had graduated from the Columbia School of Mines in 1889. ²⁰ He began his professional career in the Chicago office of

¹⁵ "What Inspired House Beautiful," *House Beautiful*, (December 1946): 151.

¹⁶ Ibid., 151.

¹⁷ Ibid., 150-151.

¹⁸ Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, Vol. V: Sketches of 21 Magazines 1905-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 154-155.

¹⁹ Ibid., 155.

Obituary of Eugene Klapp, *New York Times*, May 13, 1938, national edition.

architects Holabird & Roach, but remained for only a year.²¹ Leaving the architectural field, he began working as an engineer for Chicago's South Side Elevated Railroad (better known as the "El").²²

During this period Klapp and Harvey founded the shelter magazine *The House Beautiful*. They targeted the magazine toward the growing American middle class, and intended to direct this group away from the stuffy trappings of Victorianism, and instead toward a reformed home environment featuring simplicity, beauty, utility, and thoughtfulness. A January, 1897 article in *The House Beautiful* described a photographic exhibition of the houses of Chicago's rich as "really shocking in the crude mixture of all sorts of furniture, with every available corner filled with meaningless bric-a-brac, and a prodigality of draperies." The magazine represented part of a broader protest taking place in America at the time against the excesses of Victorianism and the Gilded Age in areas ranging from painting to literature to architecture. ²⁴

In particular, the Victorian parlor exemplified the changing perspective about home decor, of which the *The House Beautiful* wished to educate its readership. The nineteenth-century Victorian parlor was considered a manifestation of the family that lived there, and its understanding of culture.²⁵ The furnishings "revealed the family's taste in design and art," and the objects displayed in the room "told something about the

²³ The House Beautiful, "We're Proud we said it" (December 1946): 152.

²¹ Obituary of Eugene Klapp, *New York Times*, May 13, 1938, national edition.

²² Ibid.

²⁴ Fredric F. Endres, "The House Beautiful," *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines*. Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck, eds. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995).

²⁵ Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture* (New York: Verso, 1996), 142.

family's history and place in society."²⁶ Initially the décor and style of Victorian parlors were set by the upper class, which tried to align themselves with international high culture by using prestigious styles such as "empire" and "Queen Anne," but over time there was a "diffusion of taste" as machine production allowed for aristocratic styles and furnishing to be inexpensively made, and purchased by the middle class, and even the working class. ²⁷ Toward the end of the nineteenth century the Victorian parlor came under scrutiny, and was described in many negative terms: excessive, inflexible, gaudy, ostentatious, artificial, overstuffed, unhealthy, unauthentic and a facade. ²⁸ As The House Beautiful said in May 1898, "senseless profusion cheapens the most beautiful and worthy thing." ²⁹ In contrast, *The House Beautiful* emphasized practical, sensible, simple, tasteful houses and interior decoration for the middle class, as opposed to the ostentatious excesses, including bric-a-brac filled, heavily draped rococo parlors with ornamented furniture in houses with elegant, but non-functional gingerbread trappings. ³⁰

In response to the excesses of Victorian décor, two plainer styles, both of which alluded to the past and emphasized handcrafting (although ironically both styles were machine-manufactured, and sold inexpensively) began to gain popularity amongst the discerning at the end of the nineteenth century.³¹ Both movements attempted to connect

²⁶ Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture* (New York: Verso, 1996), 143.

²⁷ Ibid., 147.

²⁸ Ibid, 144.

²⁹ The House Beautiful, December 1946, "We're Proud we said it," 152.

³⁰ Fredric F. Endres, "The House Beautiful," *Women's Periodicals in the United States: Consumer Magazines*. Kathleen L. Endres and Therese L. Lueck, eds. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995).

³¹ Richard Ohmann. Selling Culture (New York: Verso, 1996), 148.

virtue and moral value to design. The first was colonial revival, which emphasized moral values, simplicity and patriotism, and was popularized beginning at the 1876 Centennial. The second style that emerged in this period was the Craftsman, or "Arts and Crafts" style. Popularized in England earlier, it arrived in America by the 1890s. Like the Colonial Revival, the Arts and Crafts style also desired a return to an honest, simpler, more natural, handcrafted, pre-industrial era. In the United States it drew inspiration from past societies in which "craftsmanship stood interwoven with the rest of life," including American Indians. Colonial Revival and Arts and Crafts themed articles and advertisements were featured in The House Beautiful.

For its initial year, *The House Beautiful* did not include articles on American Indians while it was trying to establish itself as a credible, fledgling publication. Articles in the first issue included Satsuma ware, Rugs of the Orient, The Moral Side of Beauty, and American Furniture (Fig. 7). ³⁶ Issues in the following months offered articles on Marks on English Silver, Old Philadelphia Doorways, Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill, Dresden china, and Persian Rugs. ³⁷ Issues featured a simple green cover depicting a

³² Dale Allen, "The Colonial Revival: A Review of the Literature" http://etext.virginia.edu/colonial/

Wendy Kaplan, "The Lamp of British Precedent: An Introduction to the Arts and Crafts Movement," "The Art that is Life": The Arts & Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987), 52.

³⁴ Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture* (New York: Verso, 1996), 148.

³⁵ Eileen Boris, "Dreams of Brotherhood and Beauty: The Social Ideas of the Arts and Crafts Movement," "The Art that is Life": The Arts & Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920 (Boston: Museum of FineArts, 1987), 210-211.

³⁶ Table of Contents, *The House Beautiful* (December 1896).

Table of Contents, *The House Beautiful* (January 1897). Table of Contents, *The House Beautiful* (Feb. 1897). Table of Contents, *The House Beautiful*, (March 1897). Table of Contents, *The House Beautiful*, (April 1897). Table of Contents, *The House Beautiful*, (May 1897).

hearth surrounded by the colloquial words "East West Hame's Best," and sold for 10 cents a copy, or \$1.00 a year by subscription. Across from the Table of Contents in each issue was a quote related to houses, beauty, simplicity and décor. The first issue in December 1896 featured a quote from the British painter, art critic and author Philip Gilbert Hamerton.³⁸

A house ought to be a work of art, just like a picture. Every bit of furniture in it should be a particle of a great composition chosen with reference to every other particle. A grain of color, a hundredth of an inch across, is of the utmost importance in a picture; and a little ornament on a chimney-piece is of the utmost artistic importance in a house.

Epigrams, such as these, suggested that interior decoration should be a work of art, which would uplift the inhabitants of a home, and improve their lives. *The House Beautiful*, which was subtitled *A Monthly Magazine of Art and Artisanship*, was begun "at the end of the Aesthetic era," and desired to tell the reader that they "could, indeed, make a tasteful, beautiful, artistic home."³⁹

After a year, Klapp and Harvey who had been self-publishing their magazine found an enthusiastic publisher in Herbert S. Stone & Co. of Chicago who wished to continue with the founders' mission. ⁴⁰ Herbert Stone, a native Chicagoan, received advice and economic support from his father, Melville Stone, the founder and editor of

³⁹ Karen Zukowski, Creating the Artful Home: The Aesthetic Movement (Layton, Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2006), 47-62.

³⁸ Title Page, *The House Beautiful*, (December 1896).

⁴⁰ Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 217.

the Chicago Daily News, and later head of the Associated Press. ⁴¹ Herbert Stone had been active in the publishing field since he founded Stone & Kimball in 1894 while still at Harvard, and began publishing the Chapbook magazine (Fig. 8). ⁴² Klapp served as editor until 1898, when he joined the army during the Spanish-American War, and left Chicago to serve as Captain in the Engineer Corps in Cuba. ⁴³ (Klapp, however, did continue after leaving the magazine as a contributor under the pen name Olive *Coleman.* ⁴⁴) *The House Beautiful* was headquartered in Chicago until 1910 when it relocated to more spacious quarters in New York. Stone served as editor of *The House Beautiful* for fifteen years until March 1913, when he withdrew to enter the business world, and the magazine passed into the hands of the Atlantic Monthly Company of Boston. ⁴⁵

Throughout its first ten years, *The House Beautiful* continually emphasized the artistic and unique, yet utilitarian and practical home environment. While initially there was more focus on the Colonial Revival, which was logical since it had been popularized in America prior to the Arts and Crafts movement, the magazine quickly began to include stories on the Craftsman style, and bungalows – and American Indians. The magazine found an eager American public and over time steadily increased in page numbers,

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Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, Vol. V: Sketches of 21 Magazines 1905-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 155-156. Melville Elijah Stone. *Fifty Years a Journalist* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1921).

⁴² Sidney Kramer, A History of Stone & Kimball and Herbert S. Stone & Co. with a Bibliography of Their Publications 1893-1905 (Chicago: N.W. Forgue, 1940), 4.

⁴³ Obituary of Eugene Klapp, *New York Times*, May 13, 1938, national edition.

^{44 &}quot;How we did it in the old days," *House Beautiful*, December 1946, p 244.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 250; Obituary of Herbert Stone, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 20, 1915.

advertisements and circulation. By the early 1930's the magazine had a circulation of 100,000 copies. 46 While the promotion of American Indian-themed decorations and objects was never the sole mission of the magazine, the theme clearly fit into *The House Beautiful's* larger agenda to reform American houses, decoration, and interiors. For *The House Beautiful*, like other shelter magazines, Indians were a subject that could further inspire Americans to change their decorating styles and embrace a more simple, natural, uncluttered, and anti-modern way of life.

⁴⁶ Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, Vol. 5* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 162.

CHAPTER 2

AMERICAN INDIANS IN CHICAGO'S WHITE CITY

Only three years before *The House Beautiful* emerged in Chicago, in 1893 the city played host to the famed World's Columbian Exposition. Indians played a central role in Chicago's White City (Fig. 9), which spread over 664 acres on the shore of Lake Michigan. Among numerous activities available at the fair, visitors could tour Indian encampments along the Midway or browse through museum displays on American Indians in the anthropological and U.S. government buildings.

The Indian "is everywhere," said a writer for the *Chicago Evening Post* after visiting the fair. He listed some of the many representations of American Indians at the fairgrounds. "With the tomahawk of history and the peace pipe of tradition" the writer waxed, "he tops the columns of the peristyle and flanks the ideal group of history. His canoes are on the south pond and his bark lodges and totem poles rise beyond." Not only did Indians occupy "the larger half of the Ethnological Building," they also made up, "a most important part of the Smithsonian Institution exhibit in the Government Building." Even the Navajo women had "an alcove in the Woman's Building," and all the western states gave space to the Indian. ⁴⁷ The writer implies that no matter where fairgoers looked they would have seen Indians. While American Indians had already been gaining public attention throughout the 1880s, newspaper stories such as this suggest that it was

⁴⁷ "Our First Families," *Chicago Evening Post*, July 31, 1893, quoted in Diane Dillon, "Indians and "Indianicity" and the 1893 World's Fair" in George De Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 102.

the extremely popular Chicago fair, which ultimately focused the national, and international, spotlight on Indians in a way never before seen in America (Fig. 12).

Historian Diane Dillon explains why Indians played such a critical role at the Chicago World's Fair.

Indians took center stage at the exposition because they had played leading roles in the historical event the fair commemorated, which was Columbus's 1492 arrival in the Americas. ⁴⁸ The link to Christopher Columbus positioned American Indians at the starting point of a narrative of progress, which celebrated the nation's development from a mythically untamed wilderness to a modern, industrial civilization. ⁴⁹ While there was no coordinated effort amongst the exhibition organizers and exhibitors to feature Indians, anthropologists, entrepreneurs and artists alike all featured Indians as a way to integrate their endeavors into the exposition's thematic frame and thus take best advantage of the promotional opportunities offered by the event. ⁵⁰

As Dillon argues, Indians were prominent at the fair in large part because of their integral place in American history; however, their modern presence was continually emphasize as businessmen, scientists, and artists alike utilized Indians as a way to attract public attention to their individual projects and products.

Indians were brought to the fair by anthropologists, including Frederic Ward

Putnam, as living exhibitions for the public to view. Such tribes as the Kwakiutl of

British Columbia (Fig. 10), the Tuscaroras and Senecas from New York, Navajos from

⁴⁹ Robert W. Rydell, All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916, Chicago, 1984. Raymond D. Fogelson, "Red Man in the White City," in David Hurst Thomas, ed. Columbian Consequences: Volume 3, The Spanish Borderlands in Pan-American Perspective (Washington, 1989), 75; Wim de Wit, "Building an Illusion: The Designof the World's Columbian Exposition," in Harris et al. 1993, 61-67 quoted in Diane Dillon, "Indians and "Indianicity" and the 1893 World's Fair" in George De Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 102.

⁴⁸ Diane Dillon, "Indians and "Indianicity" and the 1893 World's Fair" in George De Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 102.

⁵⁰ Diane Dillon, "Indians and "Indianicity" and the 1893 World's Fair" in George De Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 102.

the Southwest, Penobscot of Maine, and Eskimos (Fig. 13 & 14) of Alaska were housed in dwellings typical of the historical style of their people, just outside of the Anthropological Building in an area designated as the "Ethnological Grounds." Fair goers could walk amongst the Indians in their encampments, and observe them manufacturing their "primitive" crafts, which they were permitted to sell in order to cover their living expenses while at the fair. Additionally, on the Midway Plaisance, were several Indianthemed concessions set-up by private entrepreneurs, such as a replica of Sitting Bull's cabin. As a counterbalance to the displays of Indians as primitives, the Indian Bureau of the Department of Interior set up a model boarding school, with Indian pupils from around the country, on the fairgrounds to show the future of the Indian in America, and their potential for civilization and assimilation.⁵¹

In the Anthropological Building, a collection of Indian artifacts was gathered for fairgoers to view. Baskets and paintings hung from the ceiling and walls, while cases held smaller artifacts, as well as dioramas with mannequins depicting Indian life (Fig. 11). According to Dillon, the density and variety of objects in the building's interior was suggestive of a late nineteenth century department store (Fig 15), and "the similarity of the ethnographic exhibits to retail and domestic displays encouraged fairgoers to see the artifacts as potential wares for home décor." ⁵²

In the Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building, there were Indian-themed decorative art objects made by white artists. Tiffany and Co. of New York introduced bowls and vases that mimicked traditional Indian clay pottery forms, but were instead

⁵¹ Diane Dillon, "Indians and "Indianicity" and the 1893 World's Fair" in George De Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 107-108.

⁵² Ibid., 108.

made of copper and silver, and jewel-encrusted.⁵³ Rookwood Pottery of Cincinnati displayed ceramic plaques painted with portraits of Indians (Fig. 16 & 17).⁵⁴ These products were rooted in Euro-American convention, but capitalized on the popularity of a generic Indian image. Additionally, many American painters, such as George Forest De Brush (Fig. 18) and sculptors (Fig. 19) whose works were displayed in the Fine Arts Palace incorporated Indians into their work.

On the fair grounds there were cross-cultural contests, such as boat races, and ethnographic performances, including dances – some spontaneous, and others planned by fair organizers. While Buffalo Bill's Wild West show was not officially endorsed by fair organizers, Buffalo Bill Cody (Fig. 20) obtained land just outside of the fair gates where he continuously staged his show throughout the running of the fair. The show is believed to have had sold over three million tickets in 1893, and made profits in excess of one million dollars.⁵⁵

Many different groups exhibited American Indians at the fair, ranging from anthropologists, to artists, to manufacturers to entertainers. While these groups may have had different goals, ranging from educational, to monetary profit, to entertainment, they were all united by the their recognition of the public's attraction to Indians, and their acknowledgement that Indians could help them promote their projects. By the time the World's Columbian Exposition closed on October 30, 1893, after being open to the public for six months, it is estimated that 27 million people (equivalent to about half the

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⁵³ Diane Dillon, "Indians and "Indianicity" and the 1893 World's Fair" in George De Forest Brush: The Indian Paintings (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2008), 109.

⁵⁴ Anita Ellis, "Rookwood and the American Indian" (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), 85-88.

⁵⁵ Louis Warren, Buffalo Bill's America (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 419.

American population) had visited the fair in Chicago. Clearly the fair, and the images of American Indians presented by the various groups there, made a significant impact on America.

CHAPTER 3

AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE HOUSE BEAUTIFUL

While still a student at Harvard, Herbert Stone's (Fig. 21) first venture in publishing came as a result of his 1892 summer vacation spent observing the construction of the Columbian Exposition. He collected his notes and sketches and developed a *Popular Guide to Chicago and the World's Fair*, which was copyrighted in September 1892, and sold for five cents. Herbert Stone, as well as Klapp and Harvey, the early editors and publishers of *The House Beautiful*, were all young men in Chicago at the time of the Columbian Exposition, and undoubtedly would have wandered through the Indian encampments in the Ethnological Grounds and on the Midway, viewed the collection of Indian artifacts and dioramas in the Anthropological Building, admired the Indian-themed decorative arts objects in the Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building, perused the paintings and sculptures depicting Indians in the Fine Arts Palace, and perhaps witnessed Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show.

Klapp, Harvey and Stone's experiences at the Chicago World's Fair, and their ability to see firsthand the popularity and potential of Indians, Indian produced crafts, and Indian themed art and decorative objects, certainly influenced their decision to include them in *The House Beautiful*. While European and Colonial Revival styles continued to

⁵⁶ Sidney Kramer, A History of Stone & Kimball and Herbert S. Stone & Co. with a Bibliography of Their Publications 1893-1905 (Chicago: N.W. Forgue, 1940), 4-5.

⁵⁷ Herbert Stuart Stone, *Popular Guide to Chicago and the World's Fair* (Chicago: Donohue & Henneberry, 1892).

appear in *The House Beautiful*, after the first year of the magazine's existence, Klapp and Harvey included American Indians from early on - within the first year of the magazine's existence. The editors understood the popularity (and the sales potential) of Indians, and their connection to the increasingly popular Arts and Crafts movement, the ever-alluring American West, and the primitive.

The November 1897 (Fig. 22) issue signaled a turning point in the evolution in the content of *The House Beautiful*, for it was in this edition that the joint editors made history by publishing the magazine's first American Indian article. Following this issue, *The House Beautiful* would continue to publish articles and advertisements on Native peoples and their "primitive" craftwork. It was this article, which would begin the magazine's trend to encourage readers to collect and decorate with American Indian objects, while simultaneously shape readers' views of Indians. Written by Olive May Percival, a well-known Los Angeles resident, the November 1897, piece was a five-page illustrated article on Indian Basketry. Percival had already written and published a similar article on the history of baskets in February 1897 in *Demorest's Family Magazine* entitled "The Lost Art of Indian Basketry."

The Significance of Baskets

Basketry (Fig. 24) was collected sporadically by non-Natives in far western North America for nearly a century, but it was in the late 1880s that basket production and non-

⁵⁸ Olive May Percival, "Indian Basketry," *The House Beautiful* (November 1897). Miv Schaaf, "Percival: A Woman Ahead of Her Time," Things, *Los Angeles Times*, H6, Mar. 27, 1985.

⁵⁹ George Wharton James, Bibliography, *Indian Basketry* (Los Angeles: Campbell, 1901).

Native consumption intensified to the point of being labeled a fad or craze. International expositions, beginning with Chicago in 1893, and including Buffalo in 1901 and St. Louis in 1904, promoted basket consumption, and mail-order dealers and department stores, such as Marshall Field's in Chicago, made them easily available.

American Indian basketry was something that had been popularized in California-based periodicals, as well as some nationally circulating periodicals since the very beginning of the 1890s, and thus was a natural topic for *The House Beautiful* to begin its venture into American Indian themes. According to a bibliography (Fig. 23) of Indian Basketry created by George Wharton James, in August 1890, *Scribner's Magazine* published, "The Baskets of Anita," in October 1892 the *California Illustrated Magazine* published "Among the Basket Makers," in June 1893, the *Overland Monthly* published "Pomo Basket Makers," and in September 1894 *Harper's Bazaar* published "Indian Baskets."

Baskets lent themselves well to *The House Beautiful's* efforts to educate its readers on how to create a more "enlightened" home environment. As one historian, Marvin Cohodas, has explained, baskets were symbolic in many ways.

Baskets signified "authenticity" through connotations of uniqueness, handcrafting, utilitarian purpose, and antiquity, and they signified "nature" because they were constructed from plant materials and purchased in scenic landscape settings. They also functioned simultaneously as economic investment and as a romantic symbol of a doomed culture, because of they were considered threatened by the onslaught of Western. ⁶¹

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⁶⁰ George Wharton James, Bibliography, *Indian Basketry* (Los Angeles: Campbell, 1901).

⁶¹ Marvin Cohodas, Basket Weavers for the California Curio Trade (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 5.

The features of baskets, which Cohodas, describes, particularly the authenticity, uniqueness, utility, handcrafting and naturalism, were just the type of characteristics that the editors of *The House Beautiful* were trying to educate their readers about in order to create improved, and enlightened homes. Thus American Indian baskets made excellent examples of objects to be used in home decorating, and the perfect subject matter for the magazine. In her basket article in *The House Beautiful*, Percival would allude to many of the features that Cohodas described.

Percival's Article

Olive May Percival began her 1897 article (Fig. 25) by equating the Indian women of North America, who have mastered the art of basketry, to the Japanese, or "Oriental Yankees," who have perfected porcelain manufacture. A perfect basket specimen, noted Percival, is "quite as rare as a piece of genuinely antique Satsuma." She acknowledged the tremendous skill and craftsmanship of the makers, and the high quality of their work.

She then went on to describe how basket making had changed beginning in the 1870s. Quality baskets were becoming more valuable and rare, and skilled makers were disappearing. The "pioneer collector, in the latter '70s [1870s], found that some bright feminine frill or a little money would bring him a marvelous basket," but today that same basket, which has become more rare, would demand a price in the double digits. ⁶³ She

⁶² Olive May Percival, "Indian Basketry," *The House Beautiful*, November 1897, p. 152.

⁶³ Ibid., 152.

claimed that the degeneracy was a result of the arrival of cheap tinware (implying that many American Indians began substituting metal containers for functions that they previously had manufactured baskets for). ⁶⁴ After the older generation of basket makers has died, baskets would become even less available "in this great, hurrying Age of Amateurs." ⁶⁵ Those interested in Indian basketry will have to look at museums and private collections, remarked Percival. ⁶⁶

Continuing, she explained the development of basketry, using a Darwinian perspective, as was the common way of thinking at the time. "Necessity inspired the weaving of the crude first baskets, but only an innate love for the beautiful impelled the drudging squaw to take the time for its expression in the fashioning of her later work." Emphasizing their authenticity and naturalness, Percival described many of the materials ranging from yucca fiber to poison oak and fibrous roots that were used to make the baskets. She also listed the many utilitarian functions for which baskets were woven, including carrying baskets, water storage baskets, cradle baskets, winnowing baskets, cooking baskets, acorn baskets, honey strainers, and gambling boards. There were also

⁶⁴ Olive May Percival, "Indian Basketry," *The House Beautiful*, (November 1897): 152.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 152.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 152.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 153-154.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 154.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 154.

basket hats and small trinket baskets. The function often dictated the form of these baskets.

Elaborating on her above statement Percival described the various phases of the evolution of basketry. "Fineness and evenness of weave were first considered, the next period in the art being coloring and design. The last distinct period was ornamentation with beads, wampum and the plumage of birds; then came degeneracy [as a result of the arrival of inexpensive tinware, and loss of skilled basketmakers]." She noted that because of custom the most valuable baskets "were usually buried with the owners," making the most exquisite baskets rare. 71

Percival concluded, "The old conservative Indian women, they who strove to make of each basket a masterpiece, are all gone; so the market can never be overstocked with anything but the ridiculously inferior baskets the new Indian woman fancies are quite good enough for the white man. The art of her ancestors is soon to be but a tradition, with few examples in evidence..." With these statements, Percival implied a sense of urgency - that baskets should be bought, collected, and placed in homes now, before they were entirely gone. She also suggested that if one was fortunate to acquire for one's home a basket, or baskets, of the traditional, well-made style, it would make a house unique.

In her article on Indian basketry Olive May Percival alluded to many of the symbolic romanticized characteristics of baskets, which Marvin Cohodas described,

⁷⁰ Olive May Percival, "Indian Basketry," *The House Beautiful* (November 1897):154.

⁷¹Ibid., 155.

⁷² Ibid., 154

including their uniqueness, handcrafting, utilitarian purpose and naturalism. In addition to describing the baskets themselves, Percival described basketmakers – American Indians. Illustrating the contradictory images that existed of American Indians in her article, Percival used such opposing terms to describe Indians and their crafts as "primitive" and "skilled", and "rare" and "evolving." By using the term "primitive" Percival suggested that Indians were anti-modern, and possibly backward, but then by describing them as "skilled" she made them sound advanced. Similarly Percival described Indians as "rare" and diminishing in number, and then she described them as "evolving," implying that they were changing and growing. From Percival's article, it is evident that the image of American Indians, and their objects, at the turn-of-the-century was often complex and contradictory, but above all, highly romanticized.

Beginning with Olive May Percival's 1897 article, *The House Beautiful* began to emphasize certain attitudes about American Indians, which would have spurred its readers' interest in, and romanticization of American Indians. It was publications such as *The House Beautiful* that encouraged the middle class's desire to collect, purchase, and decorate with Native American objects during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as their ideas about Indians themselves.

Further Articles on American Indians

Following Percival's article, future American Indian articles in *The House*Beautiful ranged from "How to Make Baskets," "Indian Basketry in the House

Decoration," "Navajo Blankets," "Indian Pottery," and "A Few Indian Houses." There were also occasional works of art depicting American Indians. Additionally, there were articles on other more general subjects, such as "A Thirty-Five-Hundred Dollar Bungalow" (which showed Indian baskets in interior photographs) or "Country House Furnishing Novelties" (encouraging the use of Indian rugs), which made reference to Native décor.

From *The House Beautiful* specific ideas about American Indians and their handmade goods were relayed to readers. Some of the most common depictions of Indians, and Indian-produced objects, in the articles in the magazine were that they were: disappearing and rare, primitive and evolving, inspirational, and creative. These simplified characterizations of Indians seen in the magazine are reflective of, and influenced by, broader contemporary theories, such as evolutionism, and ideas about civilization and human progress, as well as thinkers, such as ethnologist Frank Hamilton Cushing and writer and Indian advocate George Wharton James. The following section offers examples of four of the romantic stereotypes of American Indians that were presented to the public through *The House Beautiful's* articles. Advertisers of Indianmade and Indian-themed objects would benefit from, and reinforce these images.

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Mary Evans Francis, "How to Make Baskets," *The House Beautiful*, March 1904, p. 221-225. George Wharton James, "Indian Basketry in House Decoration," *The House Beautiful*, November 1902, pp. 363-366. Edith L. Cooley, "Navajo Blankets," *The House Beautiful*, April 1900, pp. 302-307. George Wharton James, "Indian Pottery," The House Beautiful, April 1901, pp. 235-243. George Wharton James, "A Few Indian Houses," *The House Beautiful*, August 1903, pp. 135-139.

^{74 &}quot;American Homes. 1. The First American." *The House Beautiful*, Jan. 1905, p. 38.

⁷⁵ "Country House Furnishing Novelties," *The House Beautiful*, April 1904, pp. 277-284. Una Nixon Hopkins, "A Thirty-Five-Hundred-Dollar Bungalow," *The House Beautiful*, June 1904, pp. 14-15.

The Disappearing Indian

Historian Bobby Bridger argues that since the beginning of contact between Native American and Euroamerican cultures, the Euroamerican had perceived the Native American's religion, culture, and population as "noble, yet inferior, and doomed to disappear under the overwhelming forces of western civilization." While he acknowledges that this image of the "disappearing Indian" existed for centuries, he believes that it was Sitting Bull's surrender at Fort Buford [in 1882] that was "the turning point, which formally announced to the world that western civilization would now totally dominate North America, and American Indians would be assimilated into mainstream culture." ⁷⁶

Bridger was not alone in this sentiment. One of the most commonly asserted notions of writers describing American Indians at the turn-of-the-century was that Native peoples were disappearing, and that the objects they manufactured were also disappearing, and rare. This idea was certainly emphasized by most of the writers who covered American Indian artifacts in *The House Beautiful*. While true to a certain degree, by highlighting this quality of rarity, and loss, this was one of the ways that decorating publications, and the popular press, fueled the romanticization of, and therefore attraction to, American Indians and their objects. As the public came to believe that Indians, and Indian objects, were disappearing, diminishing in quality, and rare, this only served to fuel their desire to collect Indian objects, and to decorate their homes with them.

Claudia Stuart Coles' article, "Aboriginal Basketry in the United States," a ten page illustrated article which came out in *The House Beautiful's* February 1900 issue,

⁷⁶ Bobby Bridger, *Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West* (Austin, University of Texas, 2002), 305.

was similar in both its title and content to Percival's 1897 article, although more specific in its examples, and geographical focus. Coles, like Percival, suggested that modern technology was a harbinger for the deterioration of basketry. She noted that "from north to south, from east to west, even to the uttermost regions of the country, the trader has penetrated, his track brilliant with aniline dyes and his pail and tin can ringing the knell of aboriginal art."⁷⁷ She suggested that "wherever the wares of civilization obtain the least foothold... deterioration in the basketry can readily be discerned."⁷⁸ In addition to technology causing the decline of American Indian baskets, Coles remarked that the makers, "the older women" were "going out, and with them taking their secrets." 79

In Mary Evans Francis' March 1904 article on "How to Make Baskets" (Fig. 26), which was part of *The House Beautiful's* Practical Craft Series, she noted that "the older generation of Indians is passing, and their younger people are less concerned in pursuing the fireside work of their ancestors."80 Francis noted that "the progress of civilization has neglected the savage's knowledge of the simpler uses of our common plants, until various revivals of manual arts have been needed to bring into relief our ignorance concerning nature's storehouse." She implied that as younger generations of Indians are losing the ability to manufacture baskets, and other art forms, the interest on the part of Anglo basket makers is important in preserving the knowledge and skill.

⁷⁷ Claudia Stuart Coles, "Aboriginal Basketry in the United States," *The House Beautiful* (Feb. 1900): 151.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 151.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 151.

Mary Evans Francis, "How To Make Baskets," The House Beautiful (March 1904): 221.

⁸¹ Ibid., 221.

Despite the suggested disappearance of basketmakers, Francis did note in her article, however, that amongst the Anglo-European population "a revived interest in basketmaking is...preserving the most interesting specimens of Indian basketry." Francis' article featured detailed directions on how to make grass baskets, including how to harvest and prepare the grasses, how to coil the grasses, and how to ornament the basket. Hand-drawn illustrations show the steps, and a photograph depicts the author weaving a basket, as well as a number of her completed works (Fig. 27).

In April 1900, an article by Edith Cooley on "Navajo Blankets" appeared (Fig. 28) in *The House Beautiful*. Cooley's piece included photographic images of blankets, as well as a Navajo woman weaving a blanket on a loom. Cooley asserted that the blankets of American Indians were equal to those rugs and hangings made in Asia and Europe, and thus equally well-suited for decoration in American homes. ⁸³ As was mentioned in the basketry articles, Cooley noted that the Indian blanket weavers at the time were described as being less careful in their work, having forsaken "primitive methods" of preparing natural dyes, and instead using aniline dyes. ⁸⁴ Cooley described modern blankets as not as well woven, and not as rich in color as older specimens. ⁸⁵ The earlier blankets were most prized by collectors claimed Cooley. ⁸⁶ This contrasting between the past and present specimens, and the lower quality of present products was also seen in the articles on basketry.

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⁸² Mary Evans Francis, "How To Make Baskets," *The House Beautiful* (March 1904): 221.

⁸³ Edith Cooley, "Navajo Blankets," *The House Beautiful* (April 1900): 302.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 307.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 307.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 307.

In October 1905 *The House Beautiful* published an article by Henry Horn, M.D., "The Story of the Chilcat Blanket" (Fig 29). Horn offered the story of the origin of the blanket obtained by the old woman of Alert Bay, who made the blanket, and then translated. Again, as stated in most of the other articles on American Indians, Horn wrote that there were few Indian women living at the time, who were capable of making such an accurate, information-filled work as the Chilcat blanket. ⁸⁷ Stories had become lost, or changed, over the generations, and a blanket made more currently, noted Horn, would show many points of variance from the authentic blanket of the past. ⁸⁸ Horn implied that the older blankets (just as the writers implied of the older baskets) were the most valued in their authenticity, and hence their "primitive" value to collectors and decorators.

In April of 1904 *The House Beautiful* included very brief article by Julia Mills

Dunn with photographic illustrations of several American Indian pots from the

Southwest. Dunn noted that the manufacture of pottery among the Native tribes of the

Northwest was rapidly declining, and would soon become a lost art. ⁸⁹ She notes that on
the reservations, "machine-made implements of civilization" were more desirable in their
utility and affordability than were the hand-made baskets, pottery and blankets, leading to
a scarcity of these objects. ⁹⁰

The House Beautiful, at the turn-of-the-century, clearly emphasized the prevailing contemporary viewpoint that Indian-made objects, and Indians, were disappearing with

⁸⁷ Henry Horn, "The Story of the Chilcat Blanket," *The House Beautiful* (Oct. 1905): 18.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 18.

⁸⁹ Julia Mills Dunn, "Indian Pottery," *The House Beautiful* (April 1904): 306.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 306.

its coverage of Indian-made crafts, including baskets, pottery, and blankets. Contributors to the magazine tended to share the belief that traditional American Indian crafts of high quality were disappearing because of the arrival of modern technologies, such as aniline dyes, but also because of the loss of the older generation of skilled Indians who produced the products. Historian Louis Warren states that, while "Indians were not about to vanish...the belief that they were about to disappear...remained a dominant stream of American thought well into the twentieth century." Transfixed by their rapidly modernizing and industrializing landscape of the late nineteenth century, American's perceived disappearance of Indians was really just part of a larger American fascination with "vanishing peoples, landscapes, tools, trades, occupations, and customs" at the time. ⁹² Just as the public was attracted to the new decorating styles of Colonial Revival and Arts and Crafts, which both desired to revive a vanishing past, it was this characterization of disappearance that encouraged a fondness for, romanticization of, and desire to "revive" American Indians amongst the public.

The Darwinian Indian

The perceived loss of American Indians was considered, by many, to be part of the natural evolution of "progress and upward development" in America. ⁹³ "The rhetoric of vanishment" described by Louis Warren suggested that "categories of beings or

⁹¹ Louis S. Warren, William Cody and The Wild West Show (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 202.

⁹² Ibid., 202.

⁹³ Ibid., 203.

things," in this case, Indians, and their objects, "disappeared to make way for more highly developed successors." These ideas were influenced by the theories of Charles Darwin. By the late nineteenth century, evolutionism as a model had "swept across biology, anthropology, some schools of historiography, and the rising sciences of the mind and human intelligence."

Charles Darwin's emphasis on linear development certainly influenced ethnologist and anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan, who in 1877, published *Ancient Society: Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization*. In his book Morgan asserted that:

Mankind commenced their career at the bottom of the scale and worked their way up from savagery to civilization through the slow accumulation of experiential knowledge. As it is undeniable that portions of the human family have existed in a state of savagery, other portions in a state of barbarism, and still other portions in a state of civilization, it seems equally so that these three distinct conditions are connected with each other in a natural as well as necessary sequence of progress.

Morgan's research influenced the way in which anthropologists, the government, and common people alike, thought of American Indians. For instance, the Bureau of American Ethnology supported the idea that "American Indians must be understood not as a racial type but as representatives of a single stage of human development." ⁹⁶

Morgan's, and Darwin's, ideas can be seen in *The House Beautiful*, where contributors suggested that Native peoples' craftwork and art objects developed as a result of evolutionary processes (as opposed to the creative thinking on the part of

⁹⁴ Louis S. Warren, William Cody and The Wild West Show (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 203.

⁹⁵ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues* (Hill and Wang, New York, 2000), 140.

⁹⁶ Curtis Hinsley, *The Smithsonian and the American Indian* (The Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, 1981), 29.

individuals). By implying that Native peoples were living evidence of an earlier evolutionary stage, this emphasized the primitive, anti-modern quality of the people, and their objects. This sense of the exotic and the primitive helped to popularize American Indians and their objects at the turn-of-the-century, in the same way that emphasizing their rarity did.

Just as Percival did, Claudia Stuart Coles, in her February 1900 article in *The House Beautiful*, described basketry as having developed as a necessity of living. Coles also referred to the evolution of basketry. Coles even went so far as to claim that basketry may have developed when "wind-tangled grasses suggested the first wound wisp, and the interstices of familiar nests the strength of the interweaving." For instance, Coles claimed that the Muskogean and Caddoan Indians in the South "cling to the aboriginal shapes, and continue to perpetuate the same lack of skill shown in their earliest known efforts."

Similar attitudes can be seen in *The House Beautiful's* coverage of American Indian blankets. The first article to be published in *The House Beautiful* on the subject of American Indian blankets appeared in April 1898, and is titled "The Navajo Blanket." It noted that the Navajo blanket "is coveted by the house decorator as one of the best room hangings or backgrounds for settles." Similar to the basket articles, this article referred to the "aboriginal weavers" who were guided in the design and colors of their blankets

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⁹⁷ Claudia Stuart Coles, "Aboriginal Basketry in the United States," *The House Beautiful* (Feb. 1900): 142.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 146.

⁹⁹ Walter Wyman, "The Navajo Blanket," *The House Beautiful* (April 1898): 153.

"by the coloring of nature." ¹⁰⁰ The author, Walter Channing Wyman, described the Navajos as a "barbaric tribe." ¹⁰¹ He suggested that the "primitive" Indians, in this case the Navajos, came to be known for their blankets because they settled in a territory well-adapted for producing flocks of goats and sheep, and hence wool for making blankets. ¹⁰² It is implied that the Navajos, as primitive people, developed their techniques as a result of nature, rather than their own creativity.

The examples from *The House Beautiful*, including the writing of Percival, Coles, and Wyman, demonstrate the prevailing influence of evolutionary theory, and the ideas of Darwin and Morgan, at the turn-of-the-century. People believed that traditional American Indian crafts, including baskets, blankets and pottery, resulted as part of a natural process. When modern technology encroached, and American Indians began to "disappear," as described in the previous section, much of the "educated and comparatively well-read" American public believed that this, too, was part of the natural process. United States Lieutenant Colonel George Forsyth stated that "the survival of the fittest' is a truism that cannot be ignored...and barbarism must....give way before advancing civilization." ¹⁰³ The American public generally felt that "the destruction of Indian culture," and their "surrender to the farms and industry of higher American civilization," was inevitable. ¹⁰⁴

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¹⁰⁰ Walter Wyman, "The Navajo Blanket," The House Beautiful (April 1898): 153.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 154.

¹⁰² Ibid., 154.

¹⁰³ Louis S. Warren, William Cody and The Wild West Show (New York: Vintage Books, 2005), 202

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 202

The Inspirational Indian

In addition to publishing articles describing traditional American Indian arts made by Indians, *The House Beautiful* also included articles describing crafts made by Anglo-Americans that were inspired by Native art, as part of the Arts and Crafts movement. Indian-themed Anglo-art first achieved national attention at the 1893 Columbian Exposition with big names such, as Tiffany & Co. and Rookwood Pottery (Fig. 30) creating Indian-inspired works for display and sale. Being a magazine aimed at the middle class, *The House Beautiful* chose to focus on amateur work, and emerging artists that incorporated Indian design into their work, suggesting that Indian design was available for all to appropriate. Indian design could even become a source of income for white artists (Fig. 31).

In October 1901 "Abn'akee Rug-Making as a Village Industry," and in March 1905 on "How an Abnakee Rug is Made" (Fig. 32) were published. While these rugs were not made by American Indians, they used "North American Indian designs as the basis of [their] ornament." The Abnakee rug was described as a "modern and practical adaptation of the old-fashioned rag carpet," based on designs of the tribes of Maine and New Hampshire, including the Pequaket. The Abnakee rug was "an ornamental carpet of neutral color, varying in size and pattern. The ground [was] usually a solid tone with a contrasting ornament laid in the center, or as a border, embodying an Indian totem or

 $^{^{105}}$ Katharine Miller, "Abnakee Rug-Making As a Village Industry," \textit{The House Beautiful} (Oct. 1901): 287.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 287.

savage design."¹⁰⁷ Mrs. Helen R. Albee initiated the making of the Abnakee rugs in Pequaket, New Hampshire as a home industry for white, village women (Fig. 33), in order to "engage the efforts of the untrained and unskilled... so that they might become trained, and gain employment during their leisure hours at home."¹⁰⁸ The first article on the industry, by Katharine Miller, encouraged the use of such rugs in the decoration of the home, on the floor and on furniture, as well as on the walls. ¹⁰⁹

Helen Albee herself, the initiator of the rug project, wrote the second article on Abnakee rugs published in 1905. It described in detail the philosophy and designs used in the project, and took readers through the detailed methodology of the making of a rug. She described her "experiment" as one that proved "that the old-fashioned hooked rug, made from cast-off clothing by housewives throughout New England and Canada could be transformed into an artistic product, which should be marketable." The Abnakee rug, Albee noted, with its North American Indian ornament had been so successful that it had been "admitted for six years to the most exclusive Arts and Crafts exhibitions" around the country. 111

Another example of Native inspiration was seen in March of 1904 when *The House Beautiful* included "A New Potter: The Work of Miss Fayette Barnum" by Letitia H. Alexander (Fig. 34). This article again described an Anglo-American potter from Kentucky, Miss Fayette Barnum, whose work had been influenced by American Indian

¹⁰⁷ Katharine Miller, "Abnakee Rug-Making As a Village Industry," *The House Beautiful* (Oct. 1901): 287.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 287.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 287.

Helen Albee, "How an Abnakee Rug is Made," *The House Beautiful* (March 1905): 14.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 14.

design. The author of the article discovered Miss Barnum's pottery at an "Arts and Crafts" display in the clubhouse of the Women's Club of Louisville, Kentucky. His Barnum said that she received inspiration from the talks of pioneering American ethnologist Frank H. Cushing (Fig. 35) who spent time from 1879 to 1884 living with the Zuni peoples of the Southwest. Cushing, who at a young age was appointed curator of the Ethnological Department at the National Museum in Washington, D.C. by the Director of the Smithsonian, is considered one of scientific anthropology's first participant observers. He learned arts and crafts techniques directly from the Zuni people, and others that he visited. While slightly suggestive of the Southwestern Indian pottery, Miss Barnum's work was "far from being an imitation." Using clay from Kentucky she made vases, platters, and mugs, many of which were decorated with five-leaved Virginia creeper.

These articles that focused on the inspiration that Anglo artists obtained from American Indian design were just as important as the articles that dealt with Indian-manufactured crafts in shaping public attitudes about Indians. When they described Indians and their craftwork as inspirational, the articles acted as a counterbalance to the numerous articles that suggested that American Indian arts were disappearing, and had arisen as part of an evolutionary process. They encouraged readers' interest in American Indians, and their products, by emphasizing that Indian designs were so visually attractive

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¹¹² Letitia Alexander, "A New Potter," *The House Beautiful* (March 1904): 238.

¹¹³ Ibid., 239.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 239.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 239.

(and marketable) that Anglo-Americans were imitating them. They also connected American Indian designs to the popular Arts and Crafts movement, as both the rugs and the pottery described in the article were exhibited at Arts and Crafts shows.

The Artistic Indian

The articles on white artists such as Helen Albee and Miss Fayette Barnum described how artists could draw inspiration from American Indians, yet the articles did not explicitly acknowledge the creativity and artistry of the Indians themselves. Many writers in *The House Beautiful* implied that Indians baskets, pottery, and blankets arose as a result of natural selection, however there were a very limited number of writers who did choose to emphasize the ingenuity and thoughtfulness of American Indians as makers of these objects. One of the best-known, and most commonly published writers and supporters of American Indians at the turn-of-the-century was George Wharton James (1858-1923) (Fig. 36). Unique in his emphasis on the positive, creative and endearing qualities of American Indians (as opposed to emphasizing their "inevitable demise"), James as an individual was influential in shaping the ideas of many middle-class Americans on the subject since he was so widely published and read. His articles were printed and re-printed in many magazines, and he also wrote books (Fig. 37) on the subject, such as What the White Race May Learn from the Indian, in 1908 (Fig. 38). Unlike Frank Hamilton Cushing whose life was cut short in 1900 by an accident on a research expedition, George Wharton James led a relatively long and productive life, and his writings were widely published.

George Wharton James's unique perspective on Indians arose from events in his own life. James was born in England, and came west as a Methodist minister, serving in the mines in western Nevada. In 1889, while he held a pastorate in Long Beach, California, James was involved in a scandalous divorce trial, which caused him to lose his job, his reputation and his family. At this point he wandered off into the wilderness (Fig. 39) of Arizona and New Mexico, where he became acquainted with the Southwest's Indians, and found solace in nature. James moved around and visited many tribes including the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, Wallapi, and Pueblos of the Rio Grande. It was these experiences that shaped James' thought, and from then on, "God's creation, more than His scriptural works, became the foundation of the new life James built....Although he never forsook Christianity, his sermons took the form of more secular lectures, articles and books about Nature, the Southwest, and Indians."116

In 1893, after spending several years lecturing (Fig. 40) in Midwestern cities, such as Chicago, James returned to Southern California where he found employment in the tourism sector, as social director of the Echo Mountain Hotel, a Pasadena resort. He developed a tour business and wrote guidebooks, and his writing career developed from there. At the time of his death in 1923, "he had churned out numerous books and myriad articles, edited several magazines, including the Craftsman, become something of an amateur anthropologist, collected Indian artifacts (Fig. 41) including baskets and blankets for trade, boosted California and its literature, and campaigned for Indian rights."117

 $^{^{116}}$ Sherry Smith, Reimagining Indians (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 147.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 148.

"Indian Basketry in House Decoration," by George Wharton James, ran in *The House Beautiful* in November of 1902. James, who was known for his writing on American Indians, and his publication of a book on Indian basketry, empathetically humanized Indians, and their craftwork, in ways that few of *The House Beautiful's* other contributors had done. He infused them with feelings, emotions, thoughts, creativity, skillfulness - and humanity. James said that few objects were so closely related to the American Indian, as were baskets, which are "his chief art manifestation." The Indian "has woven into her baskets her very soul, her religion, her hopes, her fears, the nation's history, her social and national aspirations... They [baskets] become the poems, the sculpture, the literature, of a people who had no other written language by which they could make these inner and profoundly human feelings known." It was for this very reason that Indian baskets are appropriate house decorations for Anglo-Americans, noted James. Just like a book on a coffee table or a painting on the wall, baskets were made "to be read, to be studied, [and] to be enjoyed."

James discussed the growing use of baskets by intelligent people in the decoration of their homes, and proceeded to give examples of various individuals who have baskets in their homes. Although James lived in Los Angeles, in an effort to show the universality of baskets, and Native décor, James described the several basket collection of

118 George Wharton James, "Indian Basketry in House Decoration," *The House Beautiful* (Nov. 1902): 363.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 363.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 363.

¹²¹ Ibid., 363.

¹²² Ibid., 364.

Mr. Thomas Walker in his cottage on his Adirondacks estate, as well as the one thousand basket collection of Mrs. T. S. C. Lowe of Pasadena, California. ¹²³ To decorate with baskets, suggested James, one could possess only several baskets, or a multitude. In this way, James encouraged readers of different economic levels to decorate with baskets, whether they could afford two baskets, or they wished to become dedicated basket collectors. Baskets, believed James, could awaken "a new and sympathetic interest in the humanity of the Indian, and a recognition of our duty to him," resulting in a benefit to all. ¹²⁴

George Wharton James, whose article on Indian Basketry was published in *The House Beautiful* in 1902, had previously written an article on "Indian Pottery," in *The House Beautiful* in April 1901 (Fig. 42). This article, which is nine pages long, was by far the most extensive article on pottery published in *The House Beautiful*, with detailed descriptions of the manufacturing process with photographic images of Zuni and Hopi potters at work. The article contained many of the similar ideas and arguments offered by James' article on basketry. As stated in his basketry article, "the cultured and refined of the American people" are becoming more and more interested and knowledgeable on the subject of the American Indian. ¹²⁵ He suggested, with this, that if one desires to be "cultured and refined" one should be interested in American Indians and their work. This would include decorating one's home with Indian pots, and other crafts. James said that Indian pottery in one's house is a sign of "the modern house beautiful and its intelligent

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¹²³ George Wharton James, "Indian Basketry in House Decoration," *The House Beautiful* (Nov. 1902): 364-366.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 366.

¹²⁵ George Wharton James, "Indian Pottery," *The House Beautiful* (April 1901): 235.

and questioning occupants." ¹²⁶ James described the distinctive connection of Indian pottery to Indian basketry, which he had also written on in *The House Beautiful*. ¹²⁷

Notably distinct from others who wrote on American Indians in *The House* Beautiful, James expressed sympathy, admiration, and recognition of the talents of Indians in his writings, and even, at times, pronounced Indians as superior to whites. Sherry Smith believes that James' unique empathy and support for Indians, which set him apart from other writers, was likely influenced by his personal experiences, since he was himself wronged by white men (when they removed him from his Long Beach pastorate), and then found refuge with American Indians in the Southwest. 128 American Indians and their objects were portrayed by James in a positive, strong, and enduring light, rather than in the more typical disappearing, Darwinian terms that other contributors used. James made it his mission to "break down his countrymen's resistance to acknowledge fundamental Indian humanity" and maintained that whites refused to acknowledge the good in Indians "because of a strange psychological tendency among people to deny the honorable and noble in those that they have injured." ¹²⁹ While the causes of George Wharton James' unique perspective may be debatable, he certainly provided readers of The House Beautiful with a welcome, and important contrast in his depictions of American Indians, and his reasoning as to why Indians and their objects should be valued, in life, and in home décor.

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 $^{^{126}}$ George Wharton James, "Indian Pottery," The House Beautiful (April 1901): 236.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 236.

¹²⁸ Sherry Smith, *Reimagining Indians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 153-154.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 153.

CHAPTER 5

ADVERTISING AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE HOUSE BEAUTIFUL

As is still the case today, at the turn-of-the century, magazines such as *The House Beautiful*, shaped middle class ideals not only through their articles, but also through the advertisements they published. While national advertising had been in existence since the early nineteenth century, it was not until the 1890s that an "advertising revolution" took place, and an "advertising explosion" took place in magazines. During the period from 1890 to 1904 there is thought to have been a 128 percent increase in advertising expenditures, much of which was mail-order advertisements. According to historian Richard Ohmann, the growth of the mail-order advertisements, and advertising in magazines, came as a result of a combination of factors, including the fact that the turn-of-the-century rural population continued to grow until 1910 (and remained larger than urban population until the First World War), farm income grew, and the postal and transportation networks in the United States expanded. All of these developments created a profitable environment for entrepreneurs to advertise in national magazines (and newspapers), sell by mail, and send the goods by railway freight or express.

¹³⁰ Richard Ohmann, *Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London and New York: Verso, 1996), 82 and 85.

¹³¹ Ibid., 83.

¹³² Ibid., 68.

As part of this broader national trend, *The House Beautiful*, like other national magazines, promoted certain ideas, styles and products. As stated in the previous section, *The House Beautiful* promoted a specific representation of Indians, and Indian objects, and encouraged readers to buy, collect, and decorating with American Indian objects and images. Indeed, these articles were arguably longer explanations, and advertisements, for the goods offered in the actual advertisements. The advertisements sold Indian-made and Indian-themed décor, which appealed to the sensibilities of readers after they read the longer articles about the Indians published by the magazine.

Dealers of American Indian objects placed advertisements in national publications catering to hobbyists and women. ¹³³ The purpose of these advertisements was to inform middle-class readers of their mail-order trade of traditional Indian-made, and Indian-themed, objects. Readers were invited to correspond with the dealers who placed advertisements, in order to receive a catalogue with more detailed information about the products available. While the traditional Indian-made objects - baskets, blankets, and pottery – were advertised, mass-produced and factory-made Indian-themed items, such as pillows, busts, plaques, and lithographs with American Indian imagery, were also very common. Additionally, there were craft kits to "make your own" Indian objects (Fig. 45). Finally there were advertisements for products not at all related to Indians, such as soap (Fig. 46), which capitalized on the rising popularity of American Indians.

Dealers and vendors of these Indian-themed items sold in *The House Beautiful* benefited from the attention given to American Indians in the magazine's articles.

¹³³ Jonathan Batkin, "Tourism is Overrated: Pueblo Pottery and the Early Curio Trade, 1880-1910" *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999).

Although the content of the articles focused on traditional American Indian objects, including basketry, pottery and rugs, by simply giving attention to American Indians these articles allowed readers to infer that any item remotely associated with an Indian would be appropriate to use, collect, and/or decorate with. Readers could derive from these articles that Indian objects and Indian representations when used in the home, whether traditional or non-traditional, would imply a message about the owner (i.e. antimodern, intellectual, artistic, progressive, etc.) The advertisements generally suggested very similar ideas to the representations mentioned in the previous section -- that American Indians and their objects were disappearing, primitive, inspirational, and artistic. These concepts linked American Indian objects to the interior décor reform movement, which advocated unique, thoughtful, artistic, and handcrafted décor in homes. The advertisements, however, went a step further than most of the articles by directly offering American Indian themed décor to middleclass Americans for purchase. The following advertisements are suggestive of the way in which *The House Beautiful*, and other magazines, fueled the "Indian Craze." 134

American Indian-Made Crafts

Advertisements selling American Indian-made objects were present in *The House Beautiful* from almost the beginning. In 1898, one of the earliest advertisements for traditional American Indian objects came from the famed photographer of Native Americans, Edward S. Curtis (Fig. 43) of Seattle, Washington. Curtis, who purchased

Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism and Transculturation in American Art* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009).

objects from traders in the Southwest, maintained a stock of Indian items, including blankets, pottery and baskets, for exhibition and sale in his Seattle studio. ¹³⁵ The small, and simple, advertisement at the bottom right-hand corner of the page in *The House Beautiful's* advertising section was placed below a much larger ad for "Art Stained Glass," which occupied most of the page (Fig. 47). Curtis' ad (Fig. 48) featured a sketch of a basket, and stated "Indian Baskets, Materials for Indian corners and photographic studies of Indian life. (Fig. 44). Photographs of baskets, mats, etc., and studies from Indian life sent on approval." Curtis wanted his studio to be an attraction for both tourists and Seattle's citizens. ¹³⁷ One early image of his studio showed a room strewn with Indian arts and crafts; visitors would experience his Indian pictures in an "Indian setting." *The House Beautiful* must have seemed an appropriate advertising location for Curtis with its early inclusion of articles on American Indians, beginning with Olive May Percival's 1897 basketry article.

Dealers of Native wares quickly became more sophisticated in their marketing, and their ability to attract attention to their merchandise through carefully worded advertisements, which were intended to be relevant to the content of the periodicals in which they were publishing. This phenomenon can be seen in *The House Beautiful*, which was created to be a progressive, design-reform oriented magazine that emphasized artistic decoration. In 1899, Herbert A. Coffeen of Sheridan, Wyoming advertised, "Navajo Blankets, Indian Pottery, Baskets, Etc., selected with especial reference to

¹³⁵ Mick Gidley, "Trading with the Indians," *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 81.

¹³⁶ Advertisement, The House Beautiful (1898-1899): xv.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 81.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 81.

artistic decoration" (Fig. 49). ¹³⁹ In his 1900 ad, Coffeen stated that the Navajo rugs he sold were a "lost art" (Fig. 50). In 1901 he described his Indian wares as "beautiful bits of color for House Decoration" (Fig. 51). Coffeen was clearly trying to attract readers who were interested in artful home décor, as *The House Beautiful* advocated.

This trend continued, when in 1903 and 1904, Alexander Brizard of Arcata,

California ran an advertisement (Figs. 51 & 52) in *The House Beautiful* offering "For the Esthetic...Hupa and Klamath Basketry from California." Brizard's general merchandise and hardware store first opened in 1863 on the Arcata Plaza, and by 1900

Brizard was buying and selling Indian baskets in large quantities, making him one of the major sources of American Indian objects on California's North Coast. The ad began, by declaring that the craft of basket weaving was "a little known, and in itself a peculiar art," and "the creation of the isolated tribes of Hupa and Klamath Indians." It noted that the baskets featured "barbaric originality in coloring, designing, construction and variety of material," making them "peculiarly different from those of other tribes influenced more or less by contact with civilization." The advertisement emphasized the quality of uniqueness by stating that "no two are alike." Brizard also emphasized the artistry of the Indian baskets by mentioning that "the intricate weaves, the harmonious natural colorings

¹³⁹ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* 6 (1899): xix.

¹⁴⁰ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (1900).

¹⁴¹ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (1904): liii.

Ron Johnson, "Selling Caps and the Commercial Market," (Arcata, CA: Humboldt State University, 2009), http://sorrel.humboldt.edu/~rwj1/hermind/34.html.

Clay Parker-Jones, Kathryn Blaisdell, and Luke Scott, "A. Brizard Brings Service to the Area," Arcata History Vol. 2B, 2009, http://www.humboldt1.com/~bbn/trump2/ArcataHistoryVol2b.html.

Terrence McNally, "Jacoby's Storehouse Changes Hands," The Arcata Eye, October 9, 2001, http://www.arcataeye.com/old/top/011009top02.shtml

[&]quot;Alexander Brizard" in Humboldt County Biographies, 2009, http://ca-files.biofiles.us/Humb.175-194.htm

and the artistic beauty" of the basketry. Attempting to draw readers' attention he used a variety of descriptive terminology, and described the baskets as "barbaric," "original," and "artistic." Brizard offered to mail interested parties an illustrated catalog so that they could see all available options, and make their own selection.

In 1901, another seller, C.S. Beebe of Racine, Wisconsin, advertised Indian blankets as "just the thing for slumber robes, and decorative, for cozy corner or den" ¹⁴³ (Fig. 54). Directly above Beebe's ad, on the same page, was an advertisement from Herbert A. Coffeen of Sheridan, Wyoming, offering "Navajo Blankets and Rugs, handwoven by Indians in Mexico and Arizona. Beautiful bits of color for House Decoration...Beaded Saddle Blankets, Shirts, and Feathered Head-Dresses, Indian Baskets and Pottery." ¹⁴⁴ In 1904, Francis E. Lester of Mesilla Park, New Mexico placed at least three different advertisements (Figs. 55-57) in *The House Beautiful* with a similar approach. Like Brizard, all of these dealers offered to send readers their own catalogs, which would have included even more advertisements.

While the dealers who placed advertisements for American Indian-made crafts in *The House Beautiful* were geographically diverse - ranging from Washington to Wyoming to Wisconsin – their advertising tactic was similar. They all used romantic terminology to describe their products, including "rare," "artistic," "handmade," and "unique" (Figs. 58 & 59). The advertisers purposely used language that corresponded with the popular romanticized images of the American Indian put forth by the articles published in the *The House Beautiful*, in order to sell their products.

¹⁴³ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (Feb. 1901): 163.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 163.

American Indian Themed Objects

Another group that took advantage of the promotion of American Indians in *The House Beautiful* as an opportunity to sell their mail-order products was the manufacturers of factory-made, mass-produced Indian themed objects. In addition to advertisements for traditional American Indian-made crafts, such as baskets, blankets, and pottery, readers of *The House Beautiful* saw advertisements for numerous other mass-produced Indian-themed objects of décor for their homes.

Examples of these non-traditional Indian-themed objects advertised in *The House Beautiful* include: a life-size paper mache Indian bust ¹⁴⁵ (Fig. 60), "an artistic line of decorated novelties in both leather and wood," which included a leather wall-hanging with the profile of an American Indian ¹⁴⁶ (Fig. 61), a "handsome terra cotta plaque – White Wolf...to hang on your walls" (Fig. 62), an "Indian Head Sofa Pillow made of the finest quality Velvet sheepskin," ¹⁴⁸ platinotypes of "One Hundred Portraits of Famous Chiefs taken from life" (Fig. 63), a book "The Indians of To-day" by George Bird Grinnel with fifty full-page portraits of the most famous chiefs ¹⁵⁰ (Fig. 64), an

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¹⁴⁵ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (March 1901): 326.

¹⁴⁶ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (March 1901): 215.

¹⁴⁷ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (March 1901): 220.

¹⁴⁸ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (Dec. 1904).

¹⁴⁹ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (1897): xvii.

¹⁵⁰ Advertisement, The House Beautiful (Jan. 1900): v.

"Aztec Calendar" containing six separate reproductions in color of Burbank's noted Pueblo Indian portraits ¹⁵¹, including the Moki and Zuni tribes (Fig. 65), a book by Charles Eugene Banks, "A Child of the Sun" ¹⁵² (Fig. 66), and paper mache Indian Heads, Masks, Busts and Plaques, Pipes, etc. ¹⁵³ (Fig. 67). These objects were typically advertised for Dens, Cozy Corners, or Halls, but often were recommended for anywhere in the house.

Many sellers of the mass-produced Indian-themed items still emphasized the same qualities, and descriptive terms, that the sellers of the traditional Indian-made objects used. There was particular emphasis on the artistry, and uniqueness of the pieces, as well as the fact that certain aspects of the pieces were hand-made. For instance, the paper mache Indian masks were advertised as "truly artistic," ¹⁵⁴ the terra cotta plaque of White Wolf was described as being "modeled by...artist," ¹⁵⁵ and the Indian Head sofa pillow was said to be "beautifully burnt and water-colored by skilled artists, thus giving it the stamp of individuality." ¹⁵⁶ Although the articles on American Indians in *The House Beautiful* dealt mainly with authentic American Indians, and Indian-made objects, they nevertheless promoted a romanticized image of Indians that was transferable, although somewhat ironically, even to machine-manufactured objects, which featured depictions of Indians.

¹⁵¹ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (1900).

¹⁵² Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (1900).

¹⁵³ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (1901): 268.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 268.

¹⁵⁵ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (March 1901): 220.

¹⁵⁶ Advertisement, *The House Beautiful* (March 1901): 215.

CONCLUSION

As demonstrated at the 1893 Chicago Fair, Anglo-Americans, motivated in different ways, appropriated the romanticized image of the American Indian for many different uses, including the promotion of the fair itself. All of the different groups who made use of the American Indian were mutually beneficial for one another's causes, as they all raised interest amongst the American public about American Indians. Anthropologists, such Frank Hamilton Cushing, motivated by educational and scientific discoveries, wished to study Indians and their craft work, to publish reports on them, and exhibit them. Entertainers, such as Buffalo Bill Cody, created elaborate shows that incorporated real Indians in order to capture the attention of the public, endorse their shows, and sell tickets. Artists, both amateur and professional, such as those working for Tiffany and Rookwood, desired to sell their fine and decorative art works, and saw Indian motifs, and images of Indians themselves, as both an inspiring and simultaneously lucrative theme. The popular press, and the advertising field, both of which were rapidly expanding during the late nineteenth century also began to realize that American Indians attracted attention, and helped to promote (or more literally) sell their publications, and products. Businesses emerged, which traded and then sold American Indian objects for the home, and companies inexpensively machine-manufactured Indian-themed objects.

All of these different groups jointly created an image of the romanticized American Indian for the American public.

Like so many others, *The House Beautiful* also had its reasons for promoting American Indians, and their image to its readers. More than anything the editors of *The* House Beautiful, Klapp, Harvey and Stone, wished to emphasize that the home is a representation of the character of the owners and their understanding of culture. 157 They felt that was through the objects arranged in their homes, that people showed the level of their cultivation. ¹⁵⁸ The House Beautiful editors made it their mission to encourage the magazine's readers to furnish their houses with objects that showed their individuality, intelligence, and artistic taste through its editorial content and its advertisements (Fig. 69). While the articles that the magazine published created educated consumers, collectors, and home decorators, The House Beautiful's advertisements made the goods and the image that the articles promoted available for purchase. Thus the magazine's editorial content and the advertisements supported each other. American Indian-made objects, and (ironically) other manufactured Indian-themed items, were endorsed by *The* House Beautiful both in editorial content and advertising because these objects were seen by the magazine's editors as objects that showcased readers' individuality, intelligence and artistic taste (Fig. 68). George Wharton James clearly transmitted this idea when he wrote in his April 1901 article on Indian Pottery that "a house only is intelligently furnished that provides in its decorations and embellishments, food for thought –

¹⁵⁷ Richard Ohmann, Selling Culture (New York: Verso, 1996), 142.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 143.

aesthetic, scientific, emotional, and spiritual."¹⁵⁹ In this article he advocated buying, collecting and decorating with Indian objects, and emphasized that Indian objects were unique and thought provoking. He concluded that he would rather "have a house... [with] Indian baskets in my dining room, and Indian pottery in the drawing room and bedrooms, than have the house of model conventionality, which shows no other thought than that of the paid upholsterer, cabinet-maker, and house-decorator."¹⁶⁰

After the 1896-1906 period, which represents the turn-of-the-century peak of American Indian popularity in *The House Beautiful*, and in the nation, the magazine continued to occasionally publish articles and advertisements that included American Indians. While these articles were much less common after the turn-of-the-century years, Rachel Abbott's November 1916 article entitled "Made in America By Americans – A Plea for the Recognition of American Art" indicated that the ideas about American Indians, and their arts and crafts, had not changed all that much. Much of the same terminology was still used to describe Indians. Abbott, emphasized the "disappearing Indian" when she said that the arts and craft-skills of the Indians are "in imminent danger of disappearing," and "old traditions are falling away before new commercial ambitions." She discussed "the strength of primitive sources," in reference to evolutionism. She romantically described American Indian designs as being "definite, strong, symbolic and vital" because they were "produced in a period of simple,

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¹⁵⁹ George Wharton James, "Indian Pottery," *The House Beautiful* (April 1901), 236.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 236.

¹⁶¹ Rachel Abbott, "Made in America by Americans," *The House Beautiful* (Nov. 1916): 346.

¹⁶² Ibid., 346.

imaginative life."¹⁶³ Interestingly, Abbott claims that it was war [the First World War] that made America take into account its resources, and discover "the artistry and craft-skill of the Indian;" however, while war may have helped to renew and continue the interest in America's resources, the earlier issues of *The House Beautiful* indicate that American Indians and their work had already been "discovered" several decades earlier. ¹⁶⁴

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¹⁶³ Rachel Abbott, "Made in America by Americans – A Plea for the Recognition of American Art," *The House Beautiful*, (Nov. 1916): 346.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 346.

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Fig. 1 *Photograph of Helen Hunt Jackson, c. 1875* (Colorado College: Tutt Library), Ms 0353, Box 1, Folder 9.

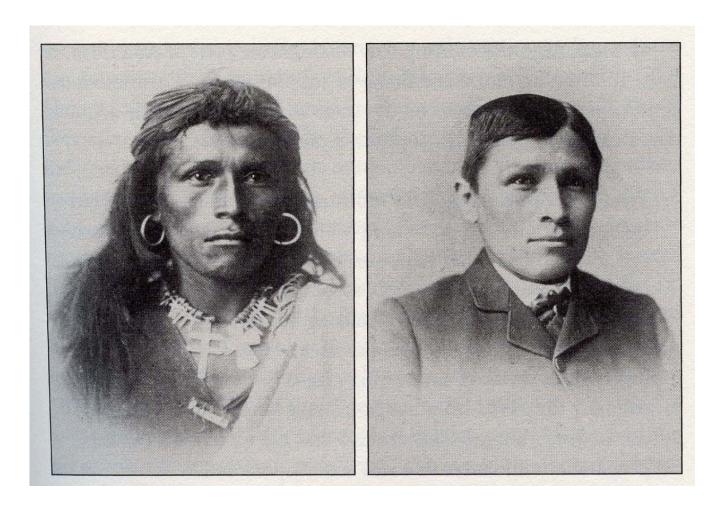


Fig. 2. Unidentified photographer, "Dilos Lonewolf, Before and After," c. 1880 From Alan Trachtenberg. *Shades of Hiawatha*. (New York: 2004), p. 43.



Fig. 3 Stairhall in John Alexander Logan home showing Native American pottery, baskets, textiles, and other items, Washington, D.C., c. 1885-1900 Chas. S. Cudlip, publisher. Reproduction Number: LC-USZ62-129068 (b&w film copy neg.) Repository: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.

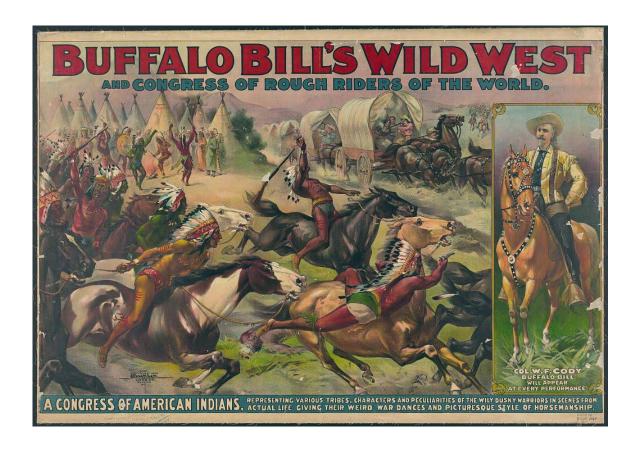


Fig. 4 Poster, Chromolithograph, Buffalo Bill's Wild West and congress of rough riders of the world A congress of American Indians, c. 1899.

Created/Published in Buffalo, New York by the Courier Litho. Co. REPRODUCTION NUMBER: LC-DIG-ppmsca-13514 (digital file from original print)LC -USZC4-778 (color film copy transparency)LC -USZ62-1164 (b&w film copy neg.) Repository: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C.



Fig. 5 Advertisement, Indian Head Sofa Pillow from Tri-State Trading Co., Pittsburg, PA, 1904

From The House Beautiful, Dec., 1904, p. 55.

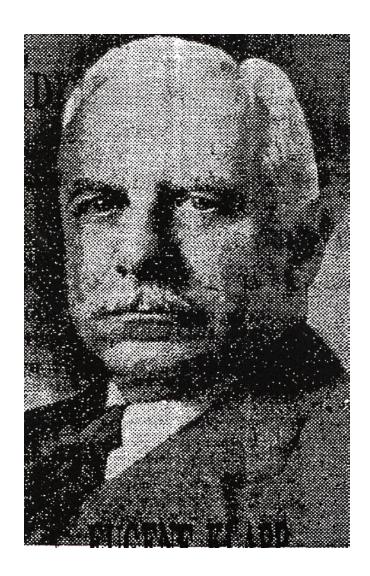


Fig. 6 *Photograph of Eugene Klapp, founder of The House Beautiful* From his obituary, *New York Times*; May 13, 1938; ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

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Fig. 7 Table of Contents from The House Beautiful, Dec. 1896



Fig. 8 Will Bradley, The Poet and His Lady, poster no. 3, January 1895 From the cover of *The Chap-Book* magazine.



Fig. 9 Court of Honor, from C.D. Arnold and H.D. Higinbotham, from Official Views of the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago, 1893)

From Diane Dillon, "Indians and 'Indianicity' at the 1893 World's Fair," Nancy Anderson, ed. George De Forest Brush – The Indian Paintings (Washington, D.C.:National Gallery of Art, 2008), p. 103.

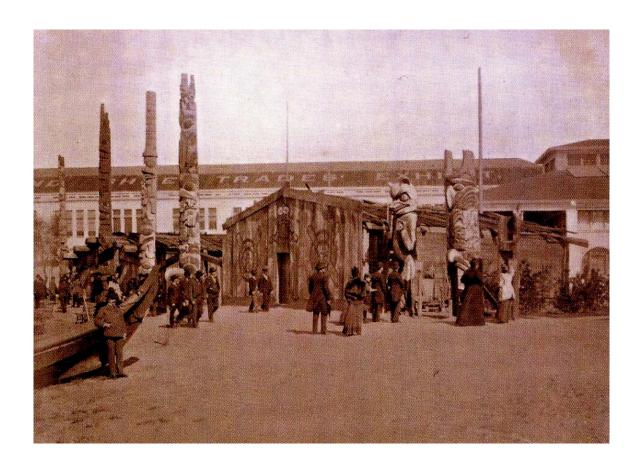


Fig. 10 Kwakiutl Camp, Ethnological Grounds, from the Columbian Gallery, a Portfolio of Photographs from the World's Fair (Chicago, 1894)
From Diane Dillon, "Indians and 'Indianicity' at the 1893 World's Fair," Nancy Anderson, ed. George De Forest Brush – The Indian Paintings (Washington, D.C.:National Gallery of Art, 2008), p. 106.

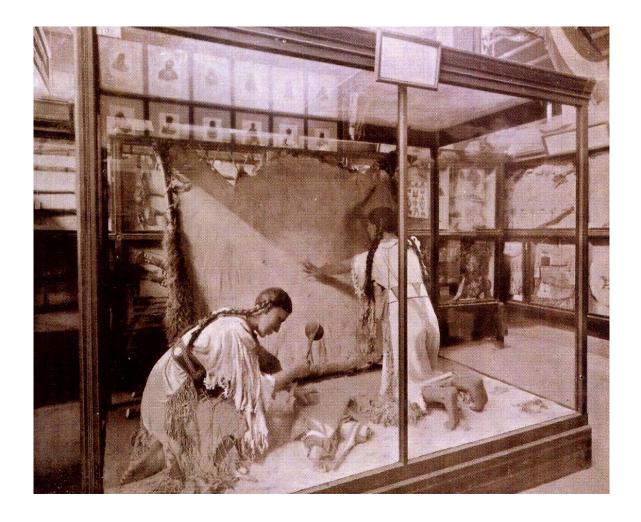


Fig. 11 Sioux Life Group, Smithsonian Exhibit, from The Columbian Gallery, a Portfolio of Phottographs from the World's Fair (Chicago, 1894)
From Diane Dillon, "Indians and 'Indianicity' at the 1893 World's Fair," Nancy Anderson, ed. George De Forest Brush – The Indian Paintings (Washington, D.C.:National Gallery of Art, 2008), p. 103.



Fig. 12 *Souvenir Ticket, Chicago History Museum, ICHi-51683*From Diane Dillon, "Indians and 'Indianicity' at the 1893 World's Fair," Nancy Anderson, ed. *George De Forest Brush – The Indian Paintings* (Washington, D.C.:National Gallery of Art, 2008), p. 118.



Fig. 13 *Eskimo Village, Chicago History Museum, ICHi-18781*From Diane Dillon, "Indians and 'Indianicity' at the 1893 World's Fair," Nancy Anderson, ed. *George De Forest Brush – The Indian Paintings* (Washington, D.C.:National Gallery of Art, 2008), p. 104.



Fig. 14 Penobscot Dwellings, Ethnological Grounds, Chicago History Museum, ICHi-19615

From Diane Dillon, "Indians and 'Indianicity' at the 1893 World's Fair," Nancy Anderson, ed. *George De Forest Brush – The Indian Paintings* (Washington, D.C.:National Gallery of Art, 2008), p. 104.



Fig. 15 *Interior, Anthropological Building, Private Collection*From Diane Dillon, "Indians and 'Indianicity' at the 1893 World's Fair," Nancy Anderson, ed. *George De Forest Brush – The Indian Paintings* (Washington, D.C.:National Gallery of Art, 2008), p. 109.



Fig. 16 *Rookwood Exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893*From Hubert Howe Bancroft, The Book of the Fair (Chcago: Bancroft, 1893), 168. Reprinted in Anita J. Ellis and Susan Meyn. Rookwood and the American Indian (Athens, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum, 2007), p. 84.



Fig. 17 Glazed and painted stoneware plaque of Hopi Man Spinning Wool or Cotton decorated by Artus Van Briggle of Rookwood. The image on the plaque was based on the photograph on the right by John K. Hillers, 1879.

From Hubert Howe Bancroft, The Book of the Fair (Chcago: Bancroft, 1893), 168. Reprinted in Anita J. Ellis and Susan Meyn. Rookwood and the American Indian (Athens, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum, 2007), p. 235.

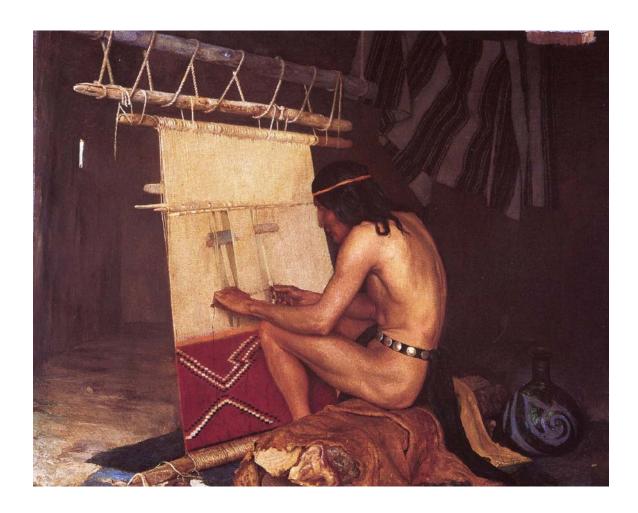


Fig. 18 *George De Forest Brush, The Weaver, 1889*Terra Foundation for American Art, Chicago, Daniel J. Terra Collection From Nancy Anderson, ed. *George De Forest Brush – The Indian Paintings* (Washington, D.C.:National Gallery of Art, 2008), p. 173.

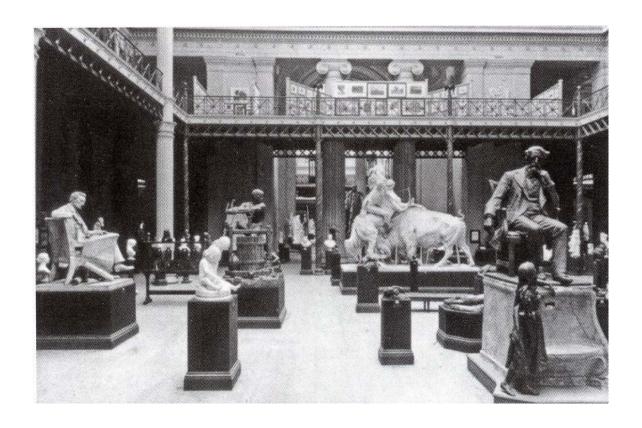


Fig. 19 *Sculpture Court, Palace of Fine Arts, Chicago Fair, 1893*From Diane Dillon, "Indians and 'Indianicity' at the 1893 World's Fair," Nancy Anderson, ed. *George De Forest Brush – The Indian Paintings* (Washington, D.C.:National Gallery of Art, 2008), p. 110.



Fig. 20 Photographic Print of Sitting Bull and Buffalo Bill, 1885

(Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division), Reproduction Number LC-USZ62-21207 (b&w film copy neg.)NOTES: 5349C2 U.S. Copyright Office.Photograph originally taken by William Notman studios, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, during Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, August 1885. Later copyrighted by D.F. Barry in June 1897.



Fig. 21 *Herbert Stuart Stone, 1894*From Sidney Kramer. A History of Stone & Kimball and Herbert S. Stone & Co. (Chicago: Norman W. Forgue,, 1940).

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One dollar per annum, in advance, p Canada; to foreign countries comprised in The date when the subscription ext the change of which to a subsequent date be No other receipt is sent unless requested. Remittances at the risk of the subscribe express order or postal order, payable to When a change of address is desired, b The trade supplied by the American N Advertising rates to be had on applica Contributions of manuscript and pictupostage.	pires is on the Address-Label of each procomes a receipt for remittance. Er, unless made by registered letter, or by cloth the old and new addresses should be grews Company and its branches.	aper heck iver
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Fig. 22 Table of contents from *The House Beautiful* listing Olive May Percival's "Indian Basketry" article, November, 1897

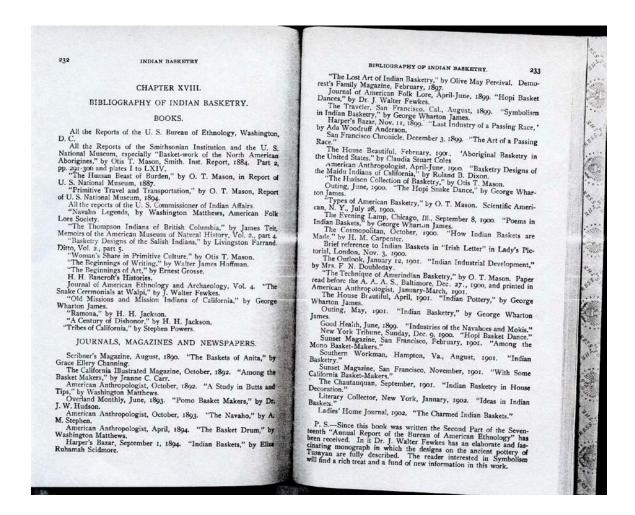


Fig. 23 Bibliography of Indian Basketry

From George Wharton James. Indian Basketry. (New York: H. Malan, 1902), pp. 232-233.



Fig. 24 Edward S. Curtis, Basketry of the Mission Indians

(Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division), Reproduction Number LC-USZ62-98667 (b&w film copy neg.) NOTES:J270918 U.S. Copyright Office.Edward S. Curtis Collection.Curtis no. 4130.Published in: The North American Indian / Edward S. Curtis. [Seattle, Wash.]: Edward S. Curtis, 1907-30 suppl., v. 15, pl. 509.

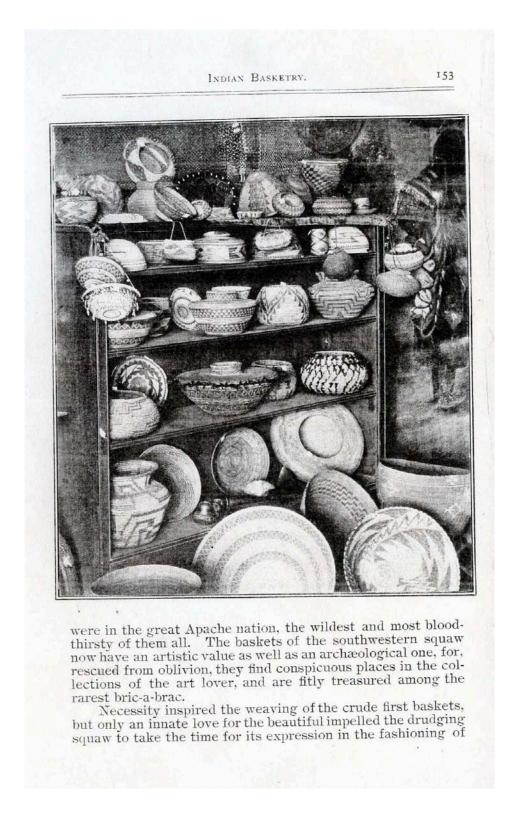


Fig. 25 Page from Percival's "Indian Basketry" article, 1897

From Mabel Olive Percival. "Indian Basketry," The House Beautiful, Dec. 1897, p. 153.

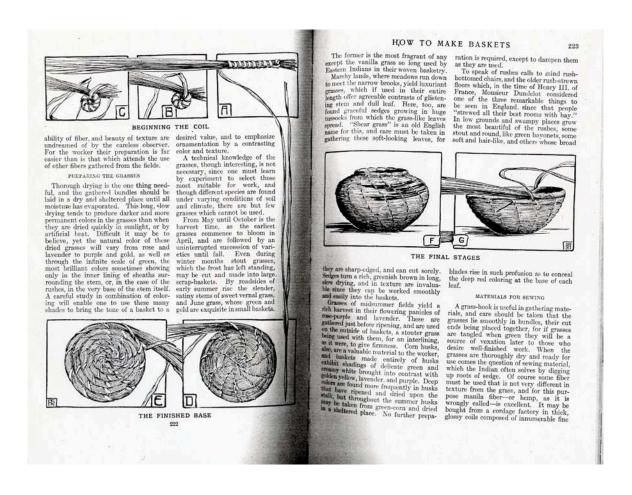


Fig. 26 How to Make Baskets by Mary Evans Francis

The House Beautiful, March 1904, pp. 222-223



Fig. 27 Illustration from "How to Make Baskets" by Mary Evans Francis

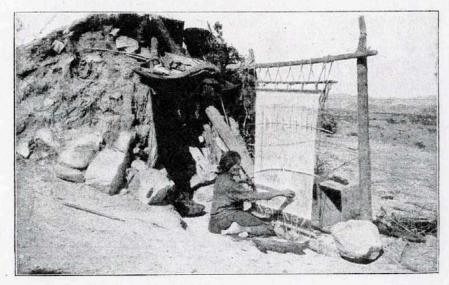
The House Beautiful, March 1904, p. 225.

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with the white body of the blanket made from the bleached wools—and emphasize the border in red, blue and black—thus forming a combination by which the genuine "Navajo" blanket is always known.

In pattern, they seldom depart from the "Spanish" cross, which was impressed upon this race by the invasions of the Coronado expedition in 1540, when the first knowledge of the white people was given to them. Surrounding or framing this main emblem is a Greek or geometrical design of the crudest and first principles. The contact of Mexican art is also shown in the zigzagging diamond of the Saltillo Zerapa. No other special characteristics mark these pictures of the loom, unless it is the intricacy of stitch and closeness of texture.

It fell to the lot of this barbaric tribe, the Navajos, to become identified by their blankets, because of their settlement of a country best



NAVAJO SQUAW WEAVING A BLANKET BEFORE AN INDIAN HUT.

adapted for producing and grazing extensive flocks of goats and sheep. This gave to them a product of wool not only to be utilized in clothing their increasing race, but also furnishing, in these unique blankets, a medium of barter, as current as any coin among the neighboring tribes. Go where you will among the Western tribes of Indians, the high chief and the "dressy" squaw will be found attired or wrapped in one of these Navajo blankets. Stoutly will they resist all the efforts to buy, made by the agency trader or the intruding prospector.

made by the agency trader or the intruding prospector.

Among the Navajos there exists, in each family, at least one blanket weaver—generally a woman, though frequently one of the males—and the blanket frame, which is erected outside of the "hogan" or hut, is part of its architecture. This frame consists of upright posts or rude poles, five or six feet apart and as many feet to the top from the

Fig. 28 Page from "Tha Navajo Blanket" by Walter Channing Wyman

The House Beautiful, April 1898, p. 154.

The Story of the Chilcat Blanket

parison of a modern blanket with the one here figured, would show many points of variance.

The blanket illustrated in Fig-ure 1 was made by an old squaw; now nearly eighty years of age, the daughter of one of the most famous "Crow" chiefs of the olden time. Her family, in accordance with the genealogical ideas of the Kwakiults, is supposed to have its origin in the crow. The totem-pole, which was stolen and placed in a public square in Scattle, was in a public square in Scattle, was her tribal totem. When a mere child she was initiated into the secrets of the Chilcat Indians, and from them learned the methods of weaving and dyeing the wool. She told the writer that it was proba-bly the last blanket she would ever weave, as her eyesight was almost gone.

The materials of the blanket are obtained from the wool of the

are obtained non-tile months in the mountain goat, an animal now almost extinct. She dressed, carded, and spun the wool herself, on a very primitive spin the wool nersen, on a very primitive wheel of much the same type as was used in New England in the early days. The dyes are what are known as "old dyes," all the colors being made by the Indians themselves. The green is obtained from copper, the yellow from moss, and the black from iron. In some blankets there are threads of cedar bark

some blankets there are threads of cedar bark woven in the warp, shown quite plainly in the fringe of Figure II.

The blanket is always divided into three panels as shown in the illustrations. The middle panel tells, in the peculiar hieroglyphics of the Indians of that tribe, the storacof the control of the Indians of the United Storacof the Indians of the United Storacof the Indians of India

are obtained from the woot of the mountain goat, an animal now almost extinct. She dressed, earded, and spun the wool herself, on a very primitive wheel of much the same type as was used in New England in the early days. The dyes are what are known as "old dyes," all the

In some of the larger museums, very rarely in a private collection, one sees an example of the beautiful Chileat blanket, which perhaps to a greater degree than any other possessions of these Indians, not excepting their totens, has been the subject of painstaking and historical ornamentation.

There are but few Indian women now living, who by their early education, are capable of making an accurate blanket. The story his become lost, or so, changed in the telling from generation to generation, that a comparison of a modern blanket with the one here figured, would show

THE HOME OF THE BLANKET MAKER " ALERT

spite of the many battles, that the young braves of the tribe had with the old bear, they were neverable to kill him. Repeatedly they shot their arrows just behind his fore-

wife.

"She wandered down near the waves, bewalling her fate. Suddenly there appeared
from the water, the great sea bear, who asked
her in a gentle voice, why she wept,
(C. the eyes; D. the gills, which
always characterize the sea bear
in these legends). Struck by his
beauty and sympathy, she told in these tegency. Struck by his beauty and sympathy, she told him the story of her capture and imprisonment, and so greatly did she work on his feelings, that he immediately fell in love with her and determined to do battle with her beginning. The simple of the structure of the her beginning the structure of th and determined to do battle with her husband. Having no weapons, he decided to use stones. She, on her part, lost her heart to this brave warrior, and confided to him, that, could he but strike the grizzly between the eyes, the mon-ster would fall dead, for there was his heart situated.

"A fearful struggle ensued. The wife sat upon the bank and watched it with unconcern. Fi-nally, however, the sea bear, by a well-placed stone between well-placed stone between the eyes, stretched the grizzly lifeless on the sands. The victor took his wife to the bottom of the sea, where they lived in great happi-ness. Soon a child was born to

them, but as the child grew older, the father noticed that the mother was growing pale and sorrowful. He asked her the cause, and she admitted that although she loved him dearly, she wished her son (E, Fig. 1)



THE HOME OF THE BLANKET MAKER "ALERT BAY"

spite of the many battles, that the young braves of the tribe had with the old bear, they were neverable to kill him. Repeatedly they shot their arrows just behind his fore-

wife to the bottom of the sea, where they lived in great happiness. Soon a child was born to them, but as the child grew older, the mather was grow-

them, but as the emid grew older, the father noticed that the mother was grow-ing pule and sorrowful. He asked her the cause, and she admitted that although she lov-ed him dearly, she wished her son (E, Fig. 1)

Fig. 29 "The Story of the Chilcat Blanket" by Henry Horn, M.D., U.S.R.C.S.

The House Beautiful, October 1905, p. 18.



Fig. 30 Rookwood Vase Depicting Afraid of the Bear, Dakota Yanktonai, Decorated by Frederick Sturgis Laurence, 1899

From Anita J. Ellis and Susan Meyn. *Rookwood and the American* Indian (Athens, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum, 2007), p. 195.



Fig. 31 Decorator Matt Daly in his studio at the Rookwood Pottery Company, ca. 1900. In this photograph Daly is painting an Indian portrait on a vase.

From Cincinnati Museum Center-Cincinnati Historical Society Library. Reprinted in Anita J. Ellis and Susan Meyn. *Rookwood and the American Indian* (Athens, Ohio: Cincinnati Art Museum, 2007), p. 95.

HOW AN ABNAKEE RUG IS MADE

BOUT eight years ago an experiment was begun at Pequaket, New Hampshire, to prove that the old-fashioned hooked rug, made from east-off clothing by housewives throughout New England and Canada, could be transformed into an artistic product, which should be marketable. This experiment has been so successful, that the evolved form, known as the



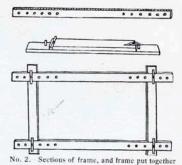
No. 1. Burlap partly tacked on a frame, showing how strips are worked on the upper and under side

Abnákee rug, has been admitted for six years to the most exclusive Arts and Crafts exhibitions held in various parts of the country, and it has also encouraged a multitude of art workers to engage in rug-making as a eraft.

The process is so simple that a child can be trained to do the work. No loom is used, for the rugs are not woven. A rug is made on a foundation of firm, heavy burlap that is tacked smoothly upon a frame made for that purpose. Narrow strips of cloth one-quarter of an inch wide are then drawn through this burlap in such a way as to form a surface of loops on the upper side of the burlap a quarter of an inch high. On the upper side the strips are worked close to the burlap so as to present a smooth surface.

A hook, which will be described later, is

A hook, which will be described later, is used for this purpose, and the frame is an improved form of the old ones so long used. The new one is adjustable, and consists of four pieces, two lengthwise bars, four feet long, with a series of holes bored in the ends, and two cross-pieces, each fifteen inches long, fitted with pegs which slip into the holes. Wooden buttons are so placed that they can be turned over the pegs after the lengthwise bars are in place. These hold the frame firmly together.



By HELEN R. ALBEE

I am often asked wherein my method differs from the usual one, for the Abnákee rug has no resemblance whatever to the old hooked ones, but looks more like a heavy Turkish rug in texture; yet in design and general effect it is wholly unlike any foreign or domestic rug in the market.

The first point of difference between the

or domestic rug in the market.

The first point of difference between the old rugs and the new is the way the strips are hooked in. Formerly housewives used old garments, and cut the cloth from half an inch to an inch wide, and then folded it narrow and worked it in straight rows, and made the surface consist of even, uncut loops. My method is to cut the cloth on the lengthwise one quarter of an inch wide, and the strips are worked across the frame in a series of three or four loops up, then the same number down, which prevents the even row appearance, and thus disperses the light upon the color and produces a singularly velvety texture.

ture.

This appearance is further secured by drawing up the loops slightly unequal in length.



No. 3. Examples showing the difference between the new and the old way of working loops

In shearing the barest tops are cut from the highest loops, but no effort is made to shear every loop. This mixture of cut and uncut loops gives a fine play of color on the smooth surface, because the uncut loops reflect a lighter tone than the cut ones do. The rug, after being sheared, should have a pile at least a quarter of an inch thick, and its durability is not impaired by shearing, as some old housewipes contended.

old housewives contended.

Another point of difference is that only new all-wool material is used in Abnákee rugs. A suitable material of moderate cost presents a very serious problem. While it is true that one may use old garments and make a respectable-looking rug, the chances are largely against it. The weights of cloth used in dressgoods will not yield a beautiful texture, nor are they of warm rich colors required in a rug. For eighteen months I made experiments with many weights and weaves of cloth, and found that a soft pure wool flannel twill was the only material that would make a thick yielding texture that would nake a thick yielding texture that would nake a certain grade; if too light weight, it requires too much cloth

to cover the ground; if too heavy, the material is hard to work and still harder to shear, and the rug is stiff when finished. This exact quality of the required weight, width, and finish was not to be had in the market; so for years I have had my flannel made to meet my special requirements. Others who began experiments similar to mine have had the same difficulty,



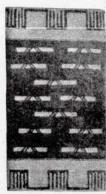
No. 4. A simple cross stripe in old blue and ivory

and their continued inquiries decided me to order a sufficient quantity to supply those who desired to use a reliable material at a moderate price.

moderate price.

A third point of difference between former rugs and the Abnâkees is the character of the designs used. For many years burlaps have been offered for sale stamped with atrocious floral patterns, animals wreathed in posies, meaningless serolls springing from nothing. It is not surprising that a hooked rug of such pattern was not a work of art, though I believe they awaken honest admiration in rural districts. A little consideration of the matter showed me that strips of cloth a quarter of an inch wide do not lend themselves to fine details, to curves, or to elaborate pattern. In planning my designs I have aimed for bold effects, large masses of plain color, and simple, decorative units, such as one finds among savage and semi-savage races. North

American Indian ornament field for study. When I refer to the use of plain color, I do not mean of even tone. In dyeing the material I try tosecureslight differences of tone in the different dips, and these can be merged in the same way hat water-colorists flow that their colors together. When skilfully worked the result is



No. 5. North Coast Indian design in green and ivory

Fig. 32 "How An Abnakee Rug is Made" by Helen R. Albee

From *The House Beautiful*, March 1905, p. 14.

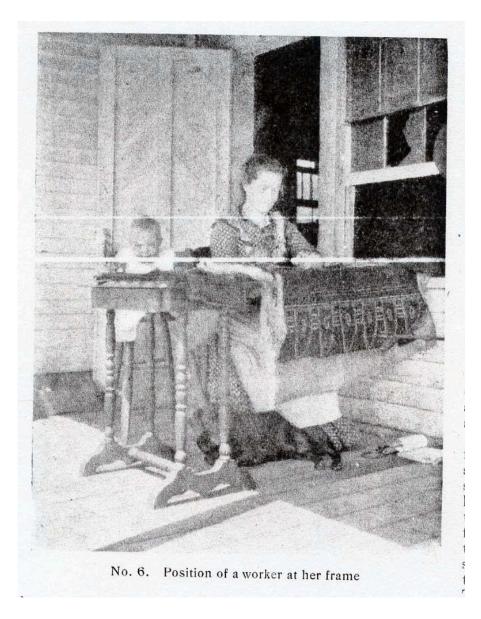


Fig. 33 Illustration showing a white woman weaving a rug at a frame with her baby seated next to her from "How an Abnakee Rug is Made" by Helen R. Albee

From The House Beautiful, March 1905, p. 15.



Fig. 34 "A New Potter: The Work of Miss Fayette Barnum" by Letitia H. Alexander, 1904.

From The House Beautiful, March 1904, pp. 238-239.



Fig. 35 Frank Hamilton Cushing Making a Coiled Pot Using Indian Technique, c. 1890s

From the National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, neg. no. Port. 22-A. Reprinted in ," Nancy Anderson, ed. *George De Forest Brush – The Indian Paintings* (Washington, D.C.:National Gallery of Art, 2008), p. 88.

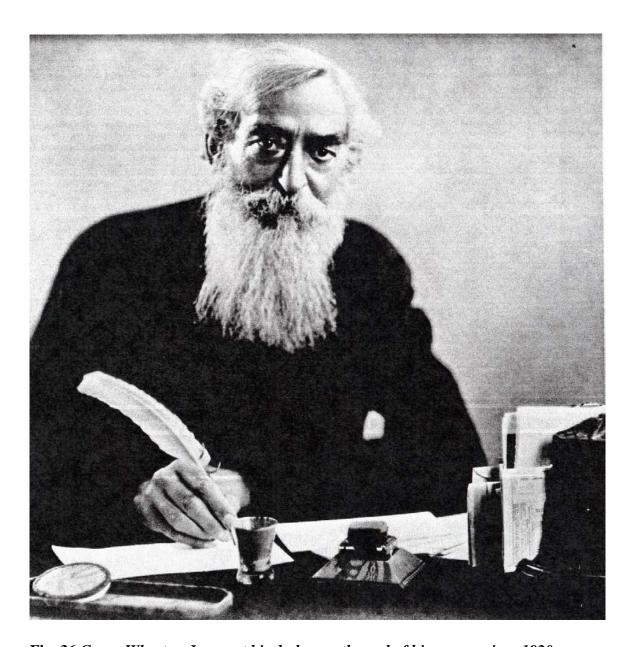


Fig. 36 Gorge Wharton James at his desk near the end of his career, circa 1920s

From Roger Keith Larson. Controversial James: An Essay on the Life and Work of George Wharton James. (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1991), p. 44f.

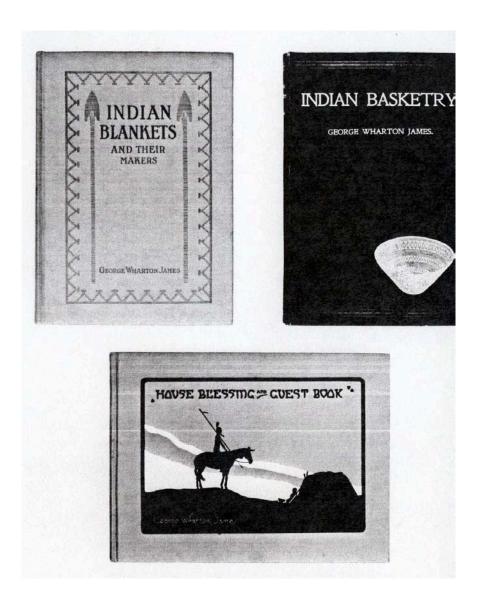


Fig. 37 (Top left) Indian Blankets and Their Makers, first published in 1914, has become a classic on the subject and is one of the most sought-after and costly of James's books. (Top right) First edition of James' book on Indian basketry, published privately in 1901. With 300 illustrations, it was too expensive for commercial publishers to undertake. (Bottom) House Blessing and Guest Book, published by James' Radiant Life Press, but printed by the J.F. Rowney Press of Los Angeles in 1917. The house blessing ceremony was James' adaptation of the Navajo Hogan blessing ceremony.

From Roger Keith Larson. Controversial James: An Essay on the Life and Work of George Wharton James. (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1991), p. 44e.

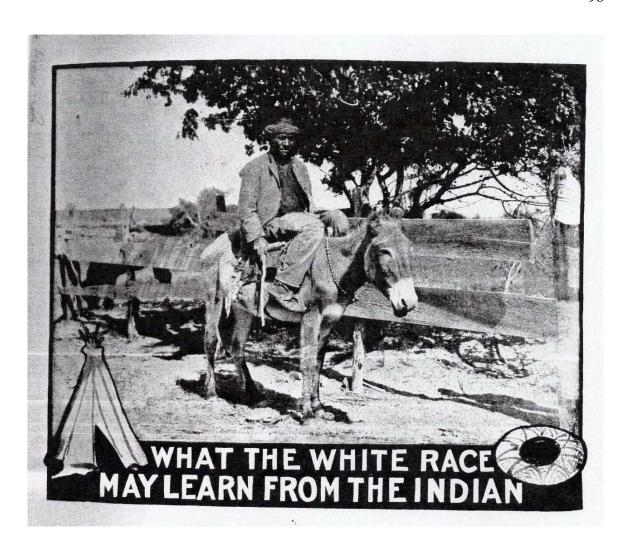


Fig. 38 Illustration from the Forward of What the White Race May Learn From the Indian by George Wharton James.

(Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons Company, 1908), p. 9.



Fig. 39 A youthful George Wharton James on one of his Grand Canyon pack trips, ca. 1890s

From Roger Keith Larson. Controversial James: An Essay on the Life and Work of George Wharton James. (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1991).

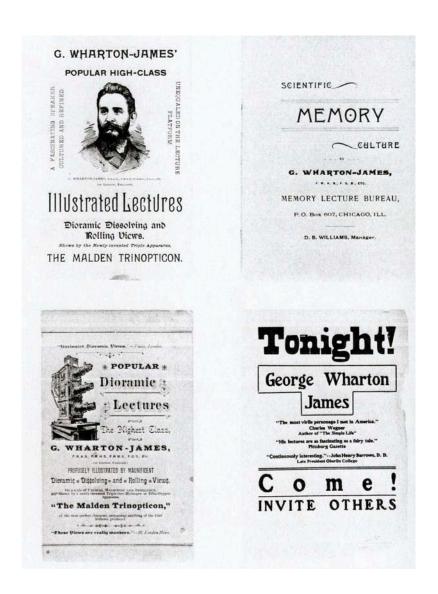


Fig. 40 (Top left) Early promotional brochure for James' lectures. (Top right) One syllabus used by James for his popular lecture on memory. (Bottom left) Early promotional brochure for James' lectures showing his remarkable "three-in-one" projector. (Bottom right) Generic broadside used by James to advertise his lectures.

From Roger Keith Larson. Controversial James: An Essay on the Life and Work of George Wharton James. (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1991),

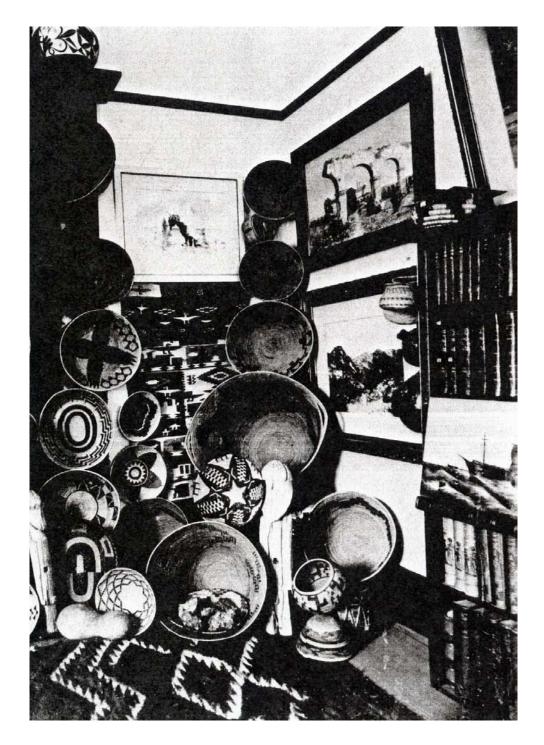
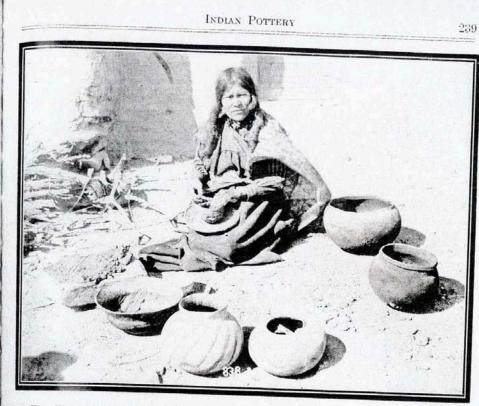


Fig. 41 Indian corner in George Wharton James' home., ca. 190s-1920a

From Roger Keith Larson. Controversial James: An Essay on the Life and Work of George Wharton James. (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1991).



HOPI WOMAN MAKING COILED POTTERY

like vases, vases shaped like the heart of the deer and other animals, cups of an infinite variety of forms, mugs, handled vases shaped something like the human foot, dippers, globular vases, and scores of eccentric forms which seem to have had no other source of origin than the fantastic thoughts of their creators. Then cups and vases are found shaped like birds and animals, crude owls and ducks and horses and deer, but these are of far less interest than the bowls of more ordinary and useful shapes.

Among the Zuni, a common form of water-bottle is that shaped after the breast of the human female; and in connection with this a singular fact exists. I have found it in a number of similar cases. When the woman who is engaged in making the water-bottle has shaped the breast portion, she leaves an aper-

ture at the base. If this opening were allowed to remain, however, in the completed vessel, it would be useless for the purpose of holding water, hence it must be closed. But the simple hearted woman believes that if she carelessly closes this aperture, which to her is the sign or symbol of her own maternal fount, she will close up the original fount and render herself incapable of the joys of maternity. Therefore, she takes a pinch of clay, breathes several prayers over it, appeals to the evil powers of all the cardinal points, and then, breathlessly and with a sense of awesome fear, she closes her eyes, turns her head away, and as rapidly as possible closes the aperture.

It is largely owing, however, to the burial customs of the ancient aboriginal peoples that we have so many excellent

Fig. 42 Page from George Wharton James' "Indian Pottery"

From The House Beautiful, April 1901, p. 239.

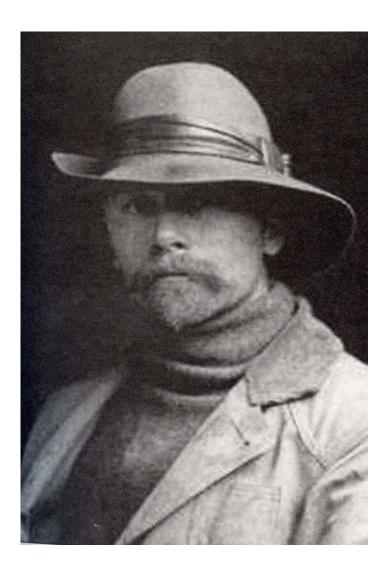


Fig. 43 Edward S. Curtis, self-portrait, c. 1899.

(Collections, University of Washington Libraries, Neg. no. UW1234). Reprinted in Alan Trachtenberg. Shades of Hiawatha (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), p. 189.



Fig. 44 Edward S. Curtis, "Vanishing Race – Navaho," v. 1, North American Indians, 1907. Curtis wrote: "The thought which picture is meant to convey is that Indians as a race, already shorn in their tribal strengh and stripped of their primitive dress, are passing into the darkness of an unknown future."

(McCormick Library of Special Collections, Northwestern University Library) Reprinted in Alan Trachtenberg. Shades of Hiawatha (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), p. 184.



Fig. 45 Advertisement for the Apache School of Indian Basket Weaving of Chicago, Illinois

From *The House Beautiful*, 1903 Advertising Section, xxxiv.

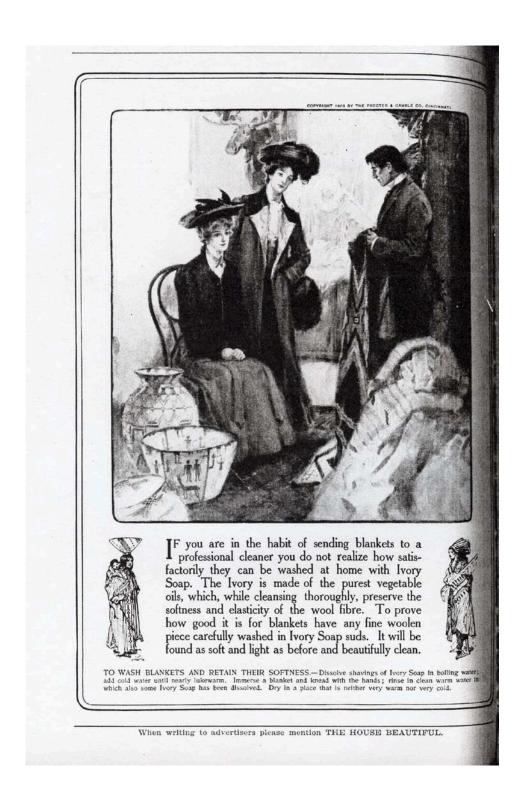


Fig. 46 Advertisement for Ivory Soap featuring Indian figures, blankets and baskets.

From The House Beautiful, 1903 advertising section, lviii.



Fig. 47 Advertising section of The House Beautiful featuring the magazine's first advertisement for American Indian crafts sold by Edward S. Curtis of Seattle, Washington, 1898-1899.

From The House Beautiful, Advertising Section, 1898-1899, p. xv.

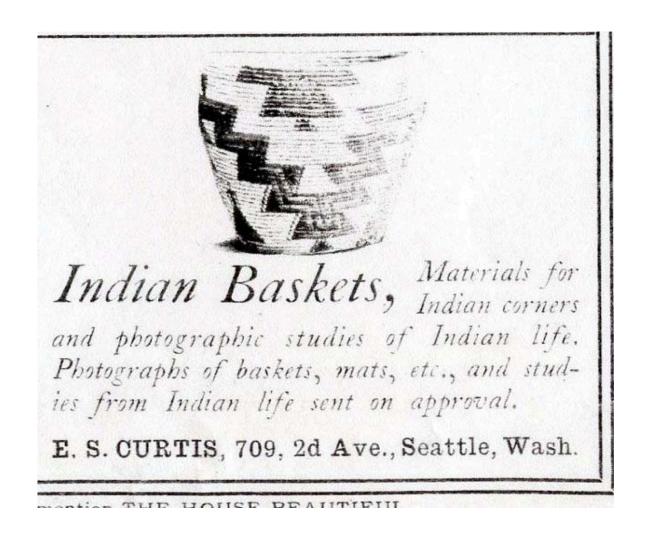


Fig. 48 Close-up of E.S. Curtis Advertisement, 1898-1899

From The House Beautiful, Advertising Section, 1898-1899, p. xv.

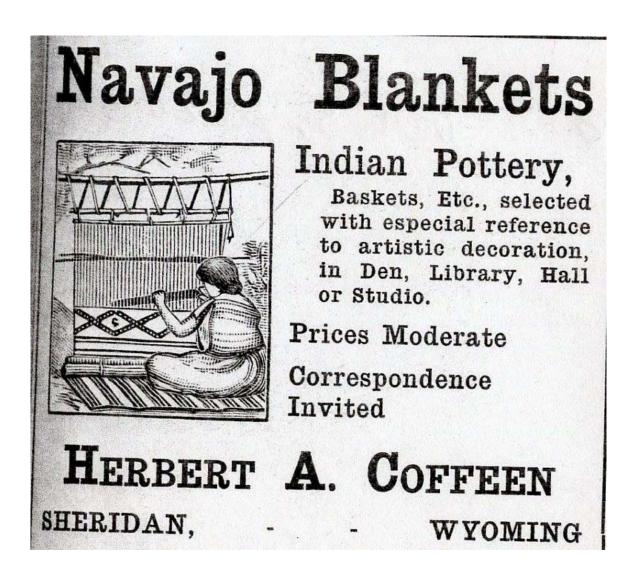


Fig. 49 Advertisement for "Navajo Blankets, Indian Pottery, Baskets, Etc." sold by Herbert A. Coffeen of Sheridan, Wyoming, 1899.

From *The House Beautiful*, Advertising Section, 1899, p. xix.

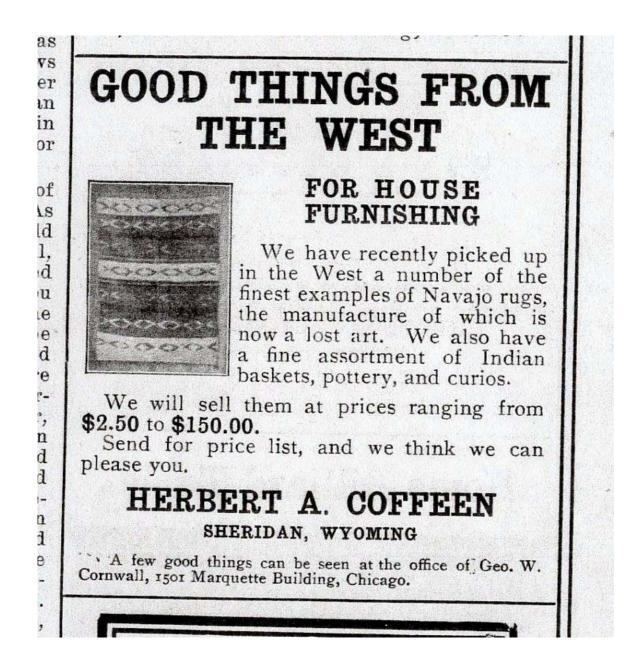


Fig. 50 Advertisement for "Good Things From The West" sold by Herbert A. Coffeen of Sheridan Wyoming, 1900

From The House Beautiful, Advertising Section, 1900.



Fig. 51 Advertisement for "Good Things From the West" from Herbert A. Coffeen of Sheridan, Wyoming

From *The House Beautiful*, Advertising Section, February 1901, p. 163.



Fig. 52 Advertising Page which includes such diverse homewares as Basketry, a Colonial Plate Shelf, a Grandfather Clock, and a Remington Typewriter.

From *The House Beautiful*, Advertising Section, 1903, p. liii.



Fig. 53 Advertisement for Hupa and Klamath Basketry sold by A. Brizard of Arcata, California, 1903.

From The House Beautiful, Advertising Section, 1903, p. liii.

INDIAN BLANKETS

In a variety of high color combinations, of *Indian* design, and unique. Heavy and just the thing, for slumber robes, and decorative, for rozy corner or den. Sent on approval for selection.....

C. S. BEEBE, 732 Lake Avenue RACINE, WIS.

mends inexpensive things that are good.

Fig. 54 Advertisement for Indian Blankets sold by C.S. Beebe of Racine, Wisconsin, 1901

From The House Beautiful, Advertisements Section, Feb. 1901, 163.



Fig. 55 Advertisement, "My Business is to Make Homes More Beautiful" from Francis E. Lester of Mesilla Park, New Mexico, 1904

From The House Beautiful, Advertising Section, 1904, p. xxxviii.



Fig. 56 Advertisements varied from Indian Rugs to Refrigerators

From The House Beautiful, Advertising Section, 1904, p. xxxvii.

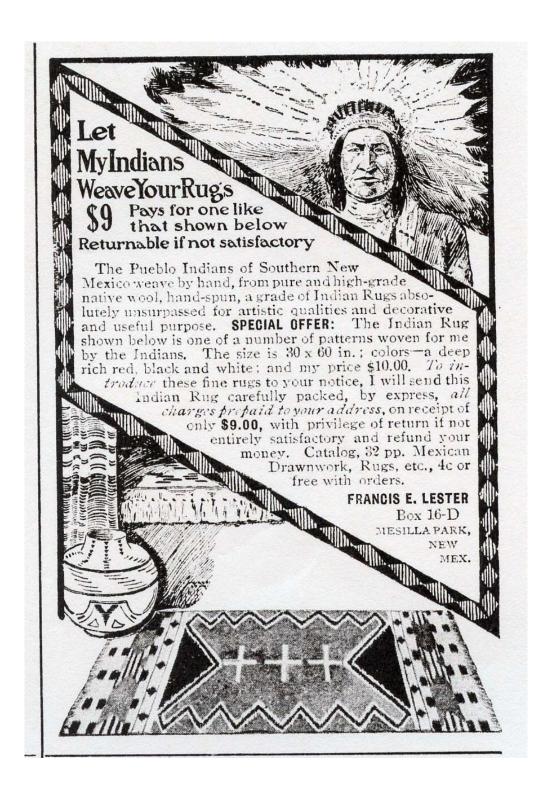


Fig. 57 Advertisement "Let My Indians Weave Your Rugs" from Francis E. Lester of Mesilla Park, New Mexico, 1904

From *The House Beautiful*, Advertising Section, 1904, p. xxxvii.



Fig. 58 Advertisement for Pueblo Indian Pottery from the Indian Arts Co. of Gallup, New Mexico, 1904

From The House Beautiful, Advertising Section, 1904, p. xxix.



Fig. 59 Advertisement for Navajo Blankets and Pueblo Indian Pottery from the Indian Arts. Co. of Gallup, New Mexico, 1904

From The House Beautiful, Advertising Section, 1904, p. xxiv.



Fig. 60 Advertisement for Life-size Papier Maché Indian Bust from the National Papier Mache Works of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1901

From *The House Beautiful*, Advertisements Section, 1901, p. 326.

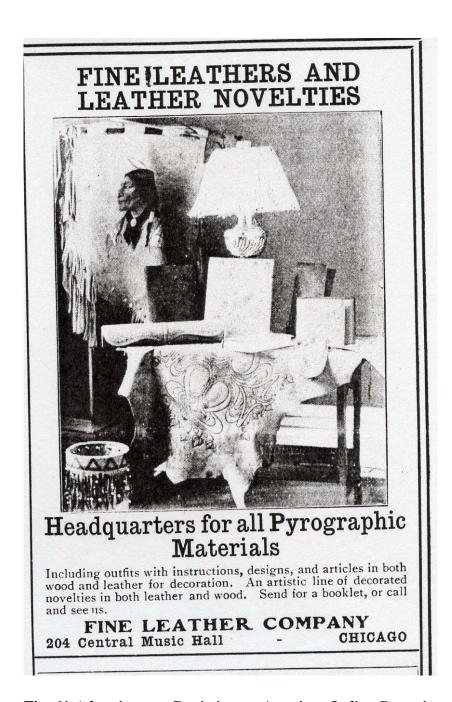


Fig. 61 Advertisement Depicting an American Indian Portrait on Leather from the Fine Leather Company of Chicago, Illinois, 1901

From *The House Beautiful*, Advertising Section, March 1901, p. 215.



Fig. 62 Advertisement depicting a terra cotta plaque of White Wolf to be hung on the wall of a home, from The Florentine Statuary and Importing Co. of Cincinnati, Ohio, 1901

From *The House Beautiful*, Advertising Section, March 1901, p. 220.

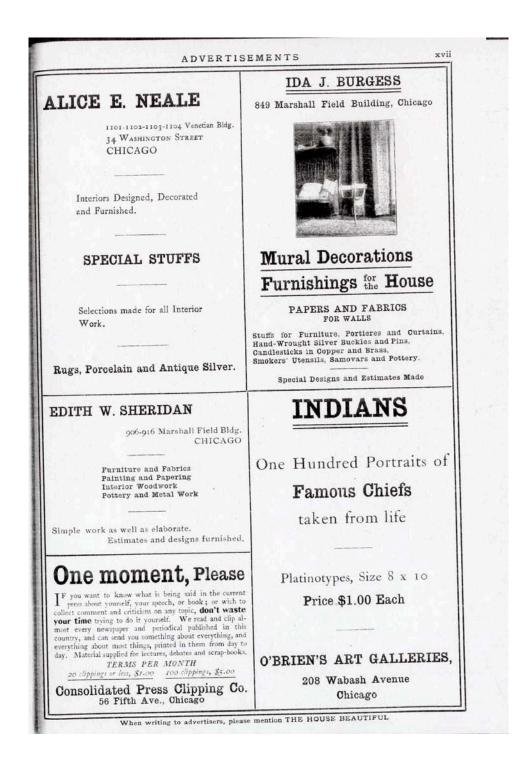


Fig. 63 Advertisement for One Hundred Portraits of Famous Chiefs sold by O'Brien's Art Galleries of Chicago, Illinois, 1897

From The House Beautiful, Advertising Section, 1897, p. xvii.

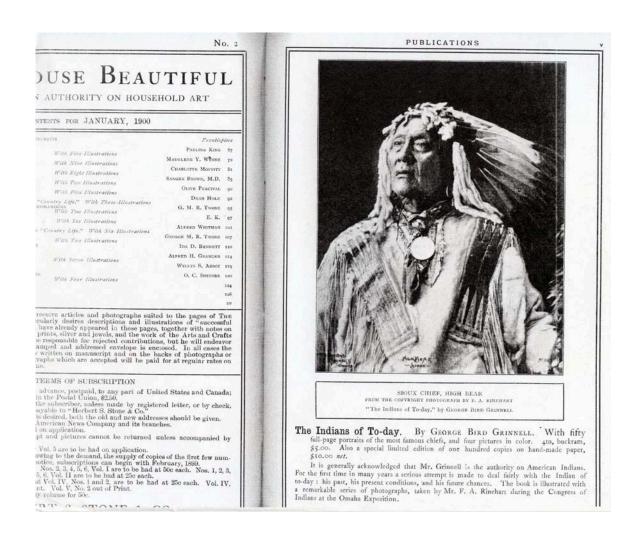


Fig. 64 Advertisement for "The Indians of To-day" book by George Bird Grinnell, 1900

From The House Beautiful, January 1900, p. v.

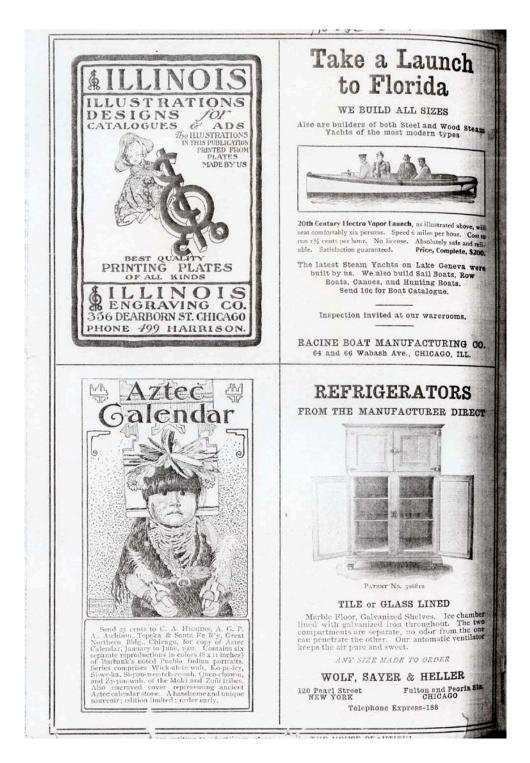


Fig. 65 Advertisement for the Aztec Calendar containing reproductions of Burbank's noted Pueblo Indian portraits, sold by C.A. Higgins, 1900

From *The House Beautiful*, Advertising Section, 1900.

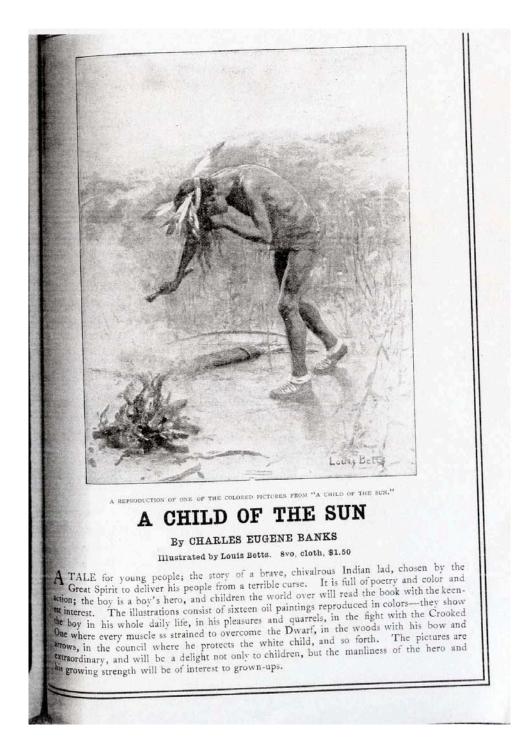


Fig. 66 Advertisement for "A Child of the Sun" by Charles Eugene Banks, 1900. "A tale for young people; the story of a brave, chivalrous Indian lad, chosen by the Great Spirit to deliver his people from a terrible curse."

From *The House Beautiful*, Advertising Section, 1900.



Fig. 67 Advertisement for Papier Mache Indian Heads for home décor, sold by the National Papier Mache Works of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1900-1901

From *The House Beautiful*, Advertising Section, 1900-1901, p. 268.

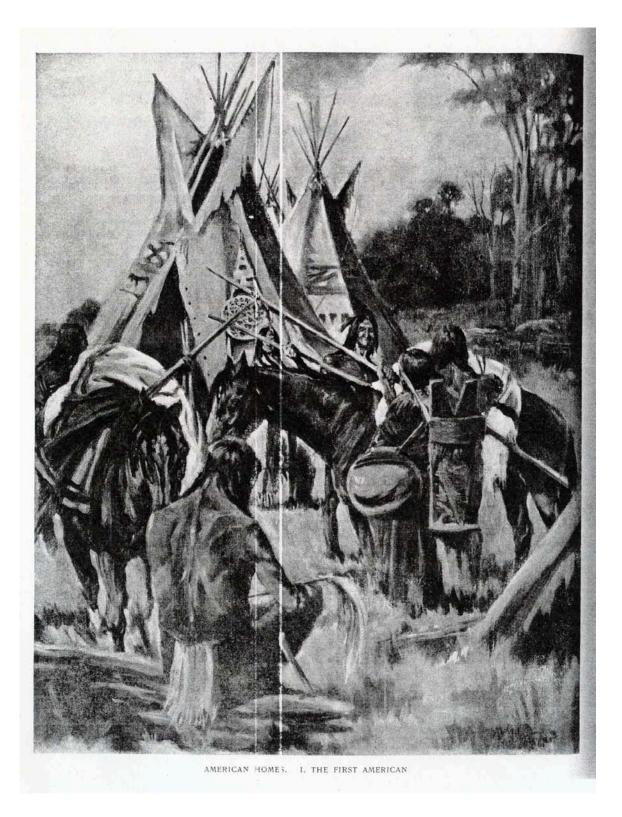


Fig. 68 Illustration of "American Homes. I. The First American," 1905

From The House Beautiful, January 1905, p. 38.

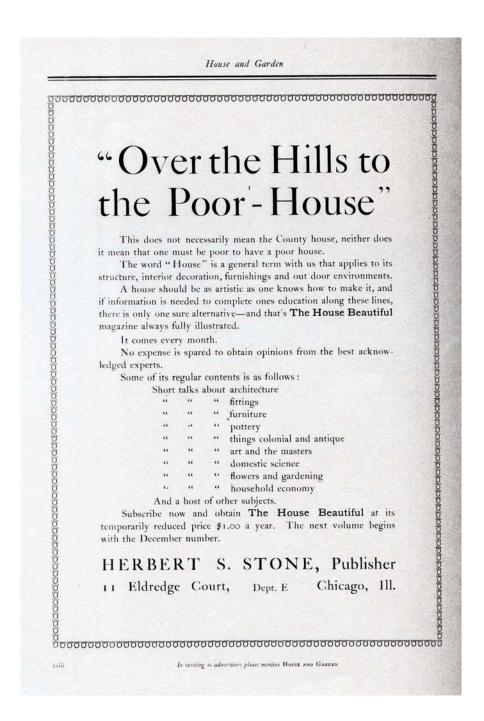


Fig. 69 Advertisement for The House Beautiful magazine as seen in House and Garden magazine, 1903. It states that "a house should be as artistic as one knows how to make it, and if information is needed to complete ones education along these lines, there is only one alternative – and that's The House Beautiful."

From House and Garden, Advertising Section, 1903, p. xviii.