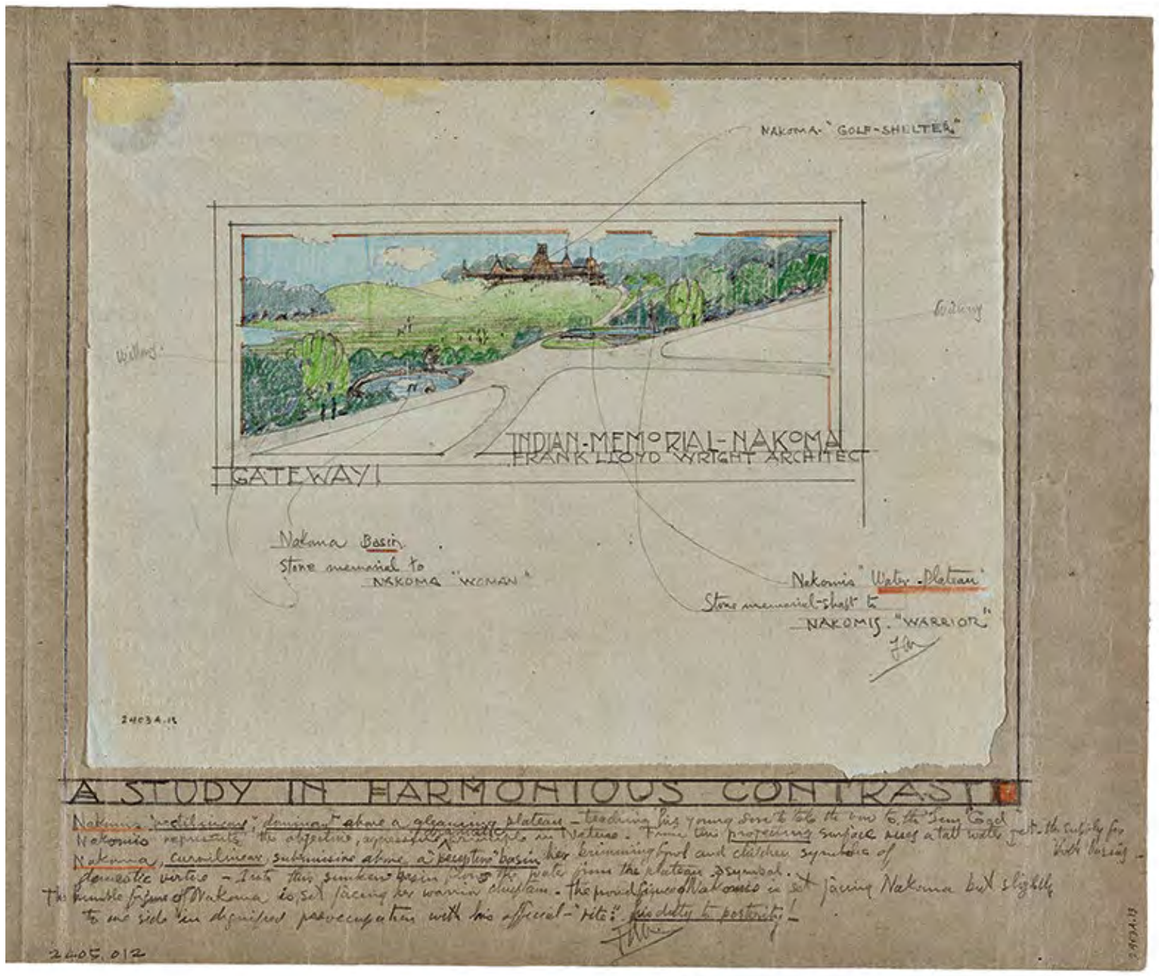
“PLAYING INDIAN” AT THE NAKOMA COUNTRY CLUB



Nakoma Memorial Gateway, Madison, Wisconsin. Project, 1924. Perspective. Pencil and colored pencil on tracing paper mounted on cloth, 11 3/8 x 13 3/8 in. (28.9 x 34 cm)

In 1923 the Nakoma Country Club, a golf resort in Madison, Wisconsin, commissioned Frank Lloyd Wright to design its clubhouse. Soon afterward, the real estate developers for the surrounding suburb offered to pay for the drive up to the clubhouse, and asked Wright to design a set of sculptures for the gateway. At first glance, Wright’s preparatory drawings for these projects are surprisingly clichéd in their reference to American Indians.[1] An early sketch reveals a cluster of tipi-shaped buildings labeled “Nakoma ‘Golf-Shelter’” on a hill in the distance, with two sculptures denoted as “Nakoma ‘Woman’” and “Nakomis ‘Warrior’” positioned by pools on either side of the approaching roadway (opposite). The drawing is small and sketchy, yet it gives a sense of the approach that club members would have taken to reach their clubhouse quarters: turning off the main road onto the club drive, passing the looming figures of Nakoma and Nakomis, winding up the willow-lined path, and finally arriving at the resort. A larger perspective drawing of the clubhouse shows the series of conical tent-like structures more clearly, and scribbled text substantiates Wright’s intentional use of American Indian motifs (plate 1). “High tipi,” for example, is scrawled in reference to the large assembly room in the center of the complex, whereas the umbrella-covered picnic tables to the lower right—which echo the pointed, tent-like look of the resort buildings—are accompanied by the terms “wigwams” and “tepee.” Using these terms interchangeably, Wright imbues the project with a generic sense of “Indianness” rather than referencing any specific form of American Indian architecture.[2]

A 1924 *Wisconsin State Journal* article on Wright’s plans continues this conflation of indigenous architectural types, describing the designs as carrying out “the idea of wigwams in an Indian village . . . each surmounted by a tepee-like structure.”[3] Yet tipis are conical, portable, and used by Native peoples of the Great Plains area of North America, whereas wigwams are domed, more permanent, and used by Native peoples of the Northeast and Great Lakes region.[4] The article goes on to describe Wright’s “wigwams in an Indian Village” as “distinctly American in design.” Portraying

the Indian aspect of the work as particularly American speaks to a long history of non-Native peoples in the United States crafting a national identity through the performance of Indian-ness. Historian Philip Deloria characterizes this phenomenon as "playing Indian," noting that American Indians—or the rhetorical trope thereof—first gave the otherwise young United States a history and the possibility of a non-European identity, and later offered an experience of American authenticity that quelled anxieties about industrialization and modernization.[5] During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, wealthy Anglo-Americans joined Indian-themed societies, decorated their homes with American Indian wares, and sent their children to summer camps suffused in "Indian" play.

Wright referenced American Indian imagery and designs throughout his career, in keeping with his early rejection of the ornate, classicizing Beaux-Arts approach as well as his subsequent disavowal of the stripped-down, austere International Style. He bemoaned the American turn to the Beaux-Arts during the late nineteenth century, criticizing the resuscitation of classical forms that were neither American nor modern. He called instead for a homegrown American architecture that would reflect the spirit of the times.[6] When the International Style gained traction decades later, Wright declared it another betrayal of American architecture, arguing: "Whatever is really modern in architecture should . . . intensify the individualities of all nations, not strip them of the charms of their innate distinctions."[7] Periodically incorporating American Indian imagery into his works, Wright distanced himself from European architectural traditions by calling upon the long-standing association between Indian-ness and American-ness.[8] Wright rarely took into account the specificities of particular Native peoples' histories and traditions; instead, he turned to his own *perception* of American Indian designs and architectural forms. The "innate distinctions" he drew between nations collapsed in his generalized conception of American Indians.

Wright intended to decorate the interior space of the Nakoma clubhouse tipi (plate 2) with animal symbols of the twelve clans of the Winnebago Tribe, a design feature that would have added a degree of specificity to his American Indian references, since Winnebago peoples had once inhabited the land around Madison.[9] Tipis, however, are more associated with Plains Indians than with the Winnebago, although this discrepancy would have hardly registered for the larger Nakoma community, which had long participated in the broad application of Indian themes to non-Native programs and institutions.[10] By the time Wright presented his plans to the Nakoma members, they had already termed the club property the Reservation, dubbed the area awaiting the clubhouse Wigwam Hill, and given names like Many Scalps, Big Smoke, and Eaglefeather to the various golf greens.[11]

Recognizing that the golf club would raise the value of properties in Nakoma, the Madison Realty Company, which had developed the 225-acre (91-hectare) residential suburb, offered to pay for the approaching roadway and commissioned Wright to produce the large sculptures to be placed at the base of the drive: the 18-foot-tall (5.5-meter-tall) male Nakomis and 16-foot-tall (4.9-meter-tall) female Nakoma (plates 3–5).[12] On the sketch with which this essay begins, Wright labeled the sculptures "A Study in Harmonious Contrast," and the figures reveal gender as well as racial stereotypes. Wright described Nakomis as "rectilinear," "dominant," and representative of "the aggressive, dramatic principle in nature," while he referred to Nakoma as "curvilinear," "submissive," with "brimming bowl and children symbolic of domestic virtue." Nakomis appears to be teaching his son to shoot an arrow at the sun, a rite of manhood that captured the imagination of many non-Native artists.

Two children accompany Nakoma: a daughter at her side, and a small child on her back. Wright's dichotomous language is representative of the way Anglo ideals of masculinity and femininity were foisted upon American Indians. While gender roles among American Indian peoples vary, Wright projects the Western doctrine of separate spheres onto his figures. In this nineteenth-century ideology, men belong in the competitive public sphere encompassing work and politics, whereas women belong in the domestic sphere of home and family.

Wright referred to this sculptural project as "Indian Memorial for Winnebago Camping Grounds."[13] The sculptures themselves, however, reveal his generalizing attitude: Nakomis's headwear resembles a Plains headdress, while the pottery accompanying Nakoma is associated with Pueblo peoples. This imagery further divides the figures along Wright's projection of gender difference: in the early twentieth century, American Indians of the Plains region were characterized as aggressive, warlike, and thus masculine, while Pueblo peoples of the Southwest were viewed as peaceable, domestic, and thus feminine.[14]

Wright rarely acknowledged the influence of American Indians on his work, but living in Chicago at the turn of the century certainly exposed him to popular conceptions of Indian-ness. A number of American Indians, dubbed "show Indians," performed at the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago, which Wright visited. Under the leadership of American anthropologist Frederic Ward Putnam, the Fair's Department of Ethnology put several American Indian peoples on display in an "Indian Village," instructing them to remove all signs of modernity from their self-presentation. Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, set up just outside the fairgrounds, demanded a similar anachronistic positioning, albeit toward sensationalist entertainment rather than ostensible anthropological education.[15]

Wright was also a charter member of the Cliff Dwellers, an Indian-themed Chicago club for "men of artistic and literary tastes."[16] Founded by American author Hamlin Garland in 1907, the Cliff Dwellers' club name "was intended to point a finger toward the ancient cliff-dwelling Indians of the Southwest."[17] The club quarters were called the "khiva," in reference to Pueblo ceremonial spaces, and the interior was decorated with various American Indian motifs. The inauguration of the club included a fire-lighting ceremony and a song penned by Garland that pays homage to "grave warriors" with their "peace pipe."[18] Garland authored works of fiction and nonfiction addressing the struggles of contemporary American Indians. Like other writers and intellectuals of the time, he viewed Indian peoples as a "vanishing race," whose disappearance through annihilation or assimilation seemed imminent. Garland and Wright became close friends; Wright's first wife, Catherine, even declared Garland one of the few friends "able to understand him."[19]

Garland may have introduced Wright to sculptor Hermon Atkins MacNeil, whose pieces adorned some of Wright's early houses. Captivated by the American Indian peoples he came across at the 1893 World's Fair, MacNeil began producing sculptures depicting Indians, which became quite popular. Wright was an early collector of these works. In his autobiography, Wright notes that he decorated "The Garrick," his early offices in the Schiller Building, with MacNeil's sculptures.[20] We also see MacNeil's *A Primitive Chant to the Great Spirit* in an oft-published photograph showing the interior of Wright's Winslow House (1893–94; plate 6), as well as in Wright's drawing of the library for his Dana House (1902–04; plate 7). MacNeil's model for this work was Black Pipe, a Sioux man who had been a performer in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show during the World's Fair. In need of work after the fair closed, Black Pipe agreed to pose for MacNeil, and he continued working in the sculptor's studio for a year and a half.[21] It was

not uncommon for American Indians—often due to a lack of other employment options—to stage themselves to fit stereotypical non-Native conceptions of Indian identity.

In the summer of 1895, MacNeil and Garland traveled throughout New Mexico and Arizona. They observed Pueblo and Zuni ceremonies and dances, and were particularly fascinated by the Snake Dance they saw at Walpi Pueblo. Upon their return to Chicago, MacNeil sculpted *The Moqui Runner*, based on his recollection of the Snake Dance. A cast of this work can be seen in at least one photograph of Wright's home in Oak Park, Illinois.[22]

Photographs of Wright's home also reveal two murals depicting American Indians in the master bedroom, which Wright commissioned from Orlando Giannini.[23] Wright's son John Lloyd Wright recalled: "'Skinny' Giannini from Italy painted American Indians in brilliant colors on the walls of Papa's bedroom. On one wall was a full-length Indian chief peering out over the plains, one hand shading his eyes. On the opposite wall, his squaw stood holding a water jug."[24] Between MacNeil's sculptures and the imagery of Giannini, it is not hard to imagine where Wright sought inspiration when designing Nakoma and Nakomis years later.

Wright was also influenced by the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society, a group he helped inaugurate at Hull House in 1897. Several American Arts and Crafts societies formed during these years, but the Chicago group paid particular attention to American Indian arts and crafts, admiring the way these designs were often abstracted, geometricized forms derived from nature.[25] This imagery dovetailed with the theories of John Ruskin and Owen Jones, important British predecessors to the American Arts and Crafts Movement, whose works had a profound effect on Wright. Ruskin declared that artists and architects must abstract from nature in order to convey the deepest truths, while Jones argued that all ornament must be based on geometric construction, with every form a multiple of a simple base unit.[26] As William Cronon has argued, to these influences on Wright we must add Ralph Waldo Emerson's call for artists to transform the raw material of nature into something more perfect and universally harmonious, as well as Eugène Viollet-le-Duc's insistence that architects develop their style by closely observing preexisting universal principles in nature. Cronon also cites the early influence of German educational philosopher Friedrich Froebel's "gifts," which Wright's mother purchased for him as a young boy. These geometric blocks were used by children to create modular patterns and constructions, teaching that Euclidian geometries undergird all natural forms.[27]

Such theories of nature-inspired geometric forms resonated with the language and imagery found in the articles promoting American Indian works that pepper Arts and Crafts journals with which Wright would have been familiar. Wright's son Lloyd recalled finding copies of *House Beautiful* and *The Craftsman* in his father's office and drafting studio at Oak Park, and Wright himself had published in *Brush and Pencil*.[28] In that same journal, E. A. Burbank praised Indian craftspeople for their works' truth to nature: "Be the patterns what they may, the Indian finds the prototype of all his curves and colors in the natural objects with which he is familiar."[29] This point is illustrated with a photograph of a Chippewa medicine bag, which features a geometricized floral design (fig. 1).

THE CRAFTSMAN

THREE "CRAFTSMAN CANVAS" PILLOWS

CANVAS fabrics of artistic weaves and in an extended gamut of color have recently been introduced from abroad into The Craftsman Workshops. They have the soft dull colors and shades found in the old French tapestries; the pomegranates, the blue-greens, the "king's yellow," the foliage browns; thus constituting a full palette from which the artist in needlework may choose, as a painter selects from his color-tubes. They are more than substitutes for silk fabrics in many household uses, since they possess much greater strength and durability, and are not liable to crumple and crack, as their qualities of texture fashion such evidences of wear.

As their name implies, they are particularly adapted to receive embroidery in cross-stitch, done in linen floses which agree with the substance of their own threads, better than embroidery silks could do, with their gloss raising the color-note.

The pillows shown in the accompanying illustrations are made respectively of pomegranate, a blue-green, and a brown fabric. They are embroidered with North American Indian *motifs* derived, as in the case of the nursery wall-hangings also illustrated in the present number of The Craftsman, from the basketry and pottery of the Pueblo tribes.

The pillow showing the pine-tree design has the mountain-symbol worked in red, with the trees in yellow-green; the embroidery being very effective against the "old blue" background.

The deer *motif* is worked upon a moss green background; the deer and the Indian's body in brown; the sun's disc, bow, arrow, and Indian's head in red, and the sun's rays and mountain-line in yellow.

The bear *motif* appears on a pomegranate ground, with the animal and outlining of the quadrilateral figures in dark purplish blue, and the bear tracks in clay-brown.

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Fig. 1. "Chippewa Medicine-Bag." From E. A. Burbank, "Studies of Art in American Life—III: In Indian Tepees," *Brush and Pencil* 7, no. 2 (November 1900)

Fig. 2. "Three 'Craftsman Canvas' Pillows." From *The Craftsman* 5, no. 1 (October 1903). Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York

The design is comparable to Wright's light screens for Dana House, which include abstracted, geometric representations of sumac (plate 8). Arts and Crafts journals also frequently featured items inspired by American Indian designs, but produced by non-Native craftsmen, as in *The Craftsman* article "Three 'Craftsman Canvas' Pillows" (fig. 2). The "pillow showing the pine-tree design" bears some resemblance to one of Wright's 1906 rug designs (plate 9).

Advertisements for American Indian wares often featured in these Arts and Crafts publications. *House Beautiful* circulated ads such as "The Coffeen Indian Collection," which displays a room teeming with American Indian products (fig. 3). Traders like Coffeen ran brisk catalog businesses, although department stores in larger cities such as Chicago also sold these items. Navajo rugs—noticeably given pride of place in Coffeen's advertisement—were particularly popular.[30] Historical photographs reveal that Wright decorated his personal spaces, such as his Oak Park studio and his desert shelter at Ocatilla, with Navajo rugs (plate 10 and fig. 4).

In 1915 Wright traveled to San Diego to visit the Panama-California Exposition, where he was introduced to a theory of a pan-American indigenous culture encompassing American Indians as well as Mesoamerican peoples. We know that Wright saw the Maya exhibit there, and given his interest in American Indians, he likely also visited the Painted Desert exhibit. Like the Indian Village at the 1893 World's Fair, this exhibit put living American Indian peoples—primarily of the Southwest—on display. Anthropologist Edgar Hewett was tasked with illustrating "the progress of man"; but unlike most anthropologists in 1893, Hewett viewed American Indians not as inferior peoples, but as present-day examples of America's grand ancient past, who should be seen as akin to the peoples of European classical antiquity. In conceptualizing this American classical world, he sought to connect ancient Mesoamerican civilizations with contemporary North American Indians, arguing that "all native American remains, whether of plains tribes, mound-builders, cliff-dwellers, Pueblo, Navaho, Toltec, Aztec, Maya, Inca, are just the works of the Indian."[31]

While this was an oversimplification, it accounts for the imagery found in some of Wright's subsequent projects, such as the sculptural frieze at the Bogk House (1916–17) in Milwaukee. A glittering partial rendering of the frieze in watercolor, gouache, and metallic paint shows two winged figures hovering over a ledge (plate 11). Their blocky, geometric forms are frequently compared to those of Maya as well as Aztec motifs.[32] However, the wings of the figures also resemble the eagle imagery prominent in the Pueblo Eagle Dance—which involves two men, costumed as eagles, replicating the movements of the birds—one of the most popular ceremonial dances performed at the 1915 Exposition (fig. 5). The straight rows of feathers adorning their arms resemble the winged appearance of the Bogk House figures.

Nakoma and Nakomis, which Wright designed less than ten years later, reveal no discernible Mayan sources, as he was likely trying to keep to the more narrowly defined American Indian themes of the Nakoma Country Club. While the clubhouse and sculptures were never built in Nakoma, Wright's Indian figures continue to appear in various ways in his work.[33] His designs for the Taliesin Fellowship Complex (1932–33) in Spring Green, Wisconsin, include several renderings of the fellows' dormitories, and small Nakoma figurines can be found in most of them, perched on shelves and nightstands (plate 12). Their placement resembles the position of MacNeil's Indian sculptures in Wright's early interiors. And the appropriation went

THE HOUSE BEAUTIFUL v

THE COFFEEN INDIAN COLLECTION

No matter what you buy, have it genuine. The Coffeen collection offers for sale thousands of examples of fine and rare Indian things, all genuine. No duplicates. Nothing finer for Christmas presents. Write about what you want or send 10c for catalog. Goods on approval to responsible parties. HERBERT COFFEEN, SHERIDAN, WYO.

Fig. 3. "The Coffeen Indian Collection." Advertisement in *House Beautiful* 15, no. 6 (May 1904)

Fig. 4. Ocatilla (Wright camp), Phoenix South (formerly Salt River) Mountains, Phoenix, Arizona. 1929. Interior of Wright's living quarters

beyond décor: When German architect Erich Mendelsohn visited Wright at Taliesin in 1924, he was asked to don "a fantastic garment with something Indian about it," which included bark shoes, a staff, gloves, and a tomahawk. Wright wore something similar, and they went for a walk in the surrounding hills—land Mendelsohn described as "abandoned by the redskins."[34]

But of all Wright's projects, Taliesin West, the western outpost of the Fellowship in Scottsdale, Arizona, is the one that scholars most often associate with his interest in American Indians.[35] Built on lands once inhabited by the ancient Hohokam peoples, Wright took traces of this prehistoric culture into consideration when devising site plans. Upon finding a number of boulders incised with petroglyphs, Wright incorporated them into the complex. The Hohokam symbols on these stones included a double-square spiral, which Wright famously reproduced in a deep red hue as the logo of the Taliesin Fellowship.

A sketch shows that Wright also designed a "totem pole for private garden court at Taliesin West" (plate 13).[36] There is no extant totem pole at Taliesin West, but archival photographs show that Wright's design indeed came to fruition, and for a time a wooden totem structure existed on the grounds (plate 14). This indigenous reference is less geographically specific than that of the Hohokam: while totem poles have become an enduring stereotype of Indian-ness, they are produced by American Indians of the Pacific Northwest, far from the Arizona desert. The poles are a way of marking ancestral histories and material wealth, and they cannot be read without extensive knowledge of the families they are meant to represent.

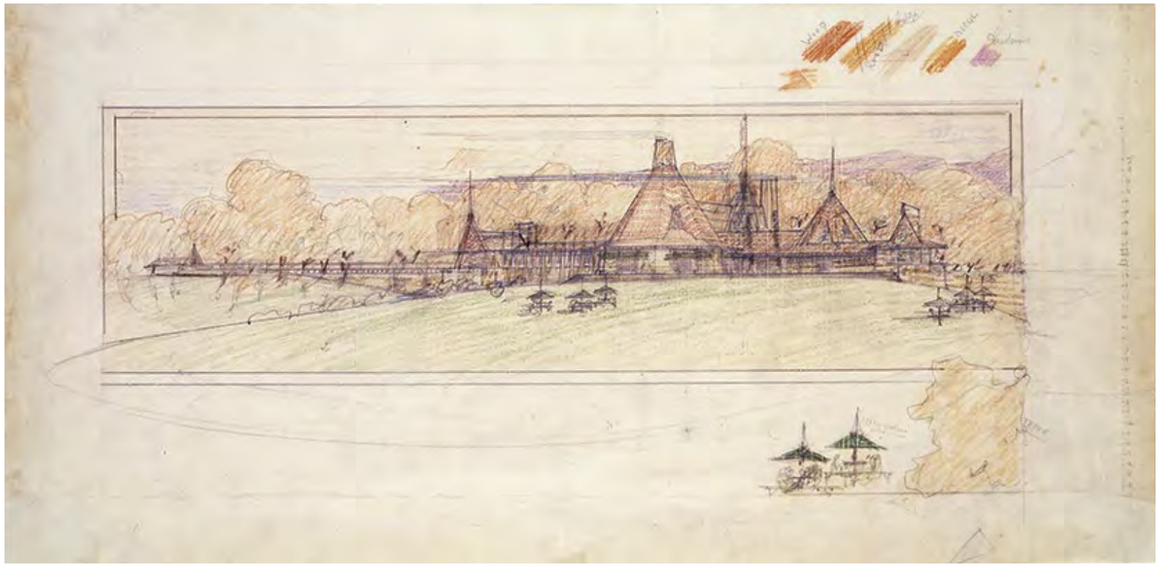
Totem poles, along with tipis and Plains headdresses, could be found in many twentieth-century summer camps, where the Woodcraft Boys, Camp Fire Girls, and other youth groups engaged in "playing Indian" as a way of escaping modern life and embracing the invigorating, primitive existence associated with American Indians.[37] Taliesin West can itself be seen as a camp of sorts, the desert outpost to which Wright's apprentices decamped each winter to escape the harsh Wisconsin temperatures. Fellows in their first year were required to live in canvas tents resembling tipis, after which they were expected to build their own living spaces. Just as younger campers were expected to exhibit the self-reliance and wilderness survival skills associated with American Indians, so too were Wright's fellows. Wright's totem pole fits this rhetoric: he produced it himself in the context of a seasonal residence that served as an escape from civilization, a space he associated with a symbolic, primordial indigenousness.

Wright's lack of concern for cultural specificity in his American Indian references belies his deep deliberation on other aspects of his architecture, such as the location of his buildings and how best to situate them in the landscape. Throughout his career, he retained a concept of universal Indian-ness from which he drew when "playing Indian" in his designs and décor. Wright's appreciation for the American Indian peoples from whom he selected design motifs did not extend to their particularized histories and traditions, and what was no doubt a genuine respect for their imagery and designs was tempered by the indiscriminately broad lens through which he viewed American Indian cultures.

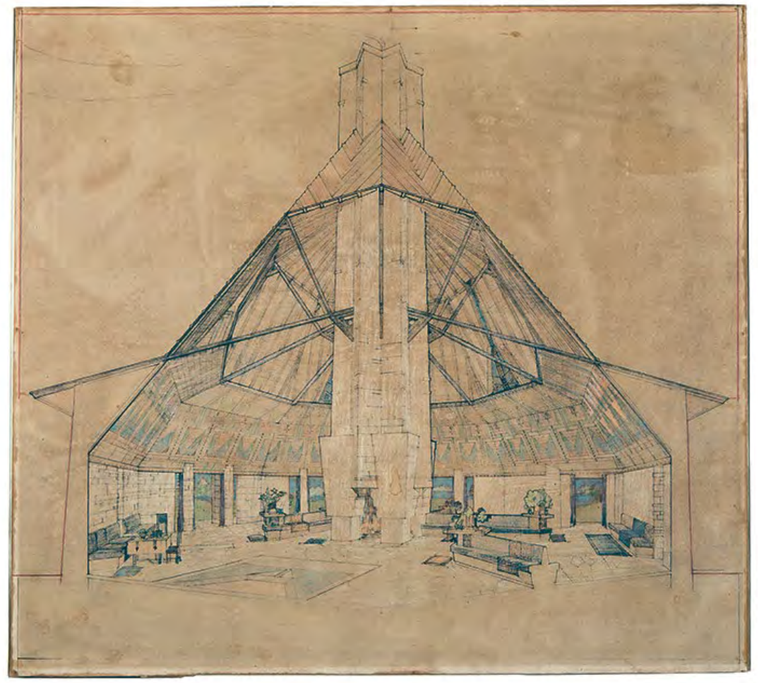
Fig. 5. Eagle Dance at the Painted Desert exhibit, Panama–California Exposition, San Diego. 1915. Jesse Nusbaum Collection, Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), Santa Fe

Notes

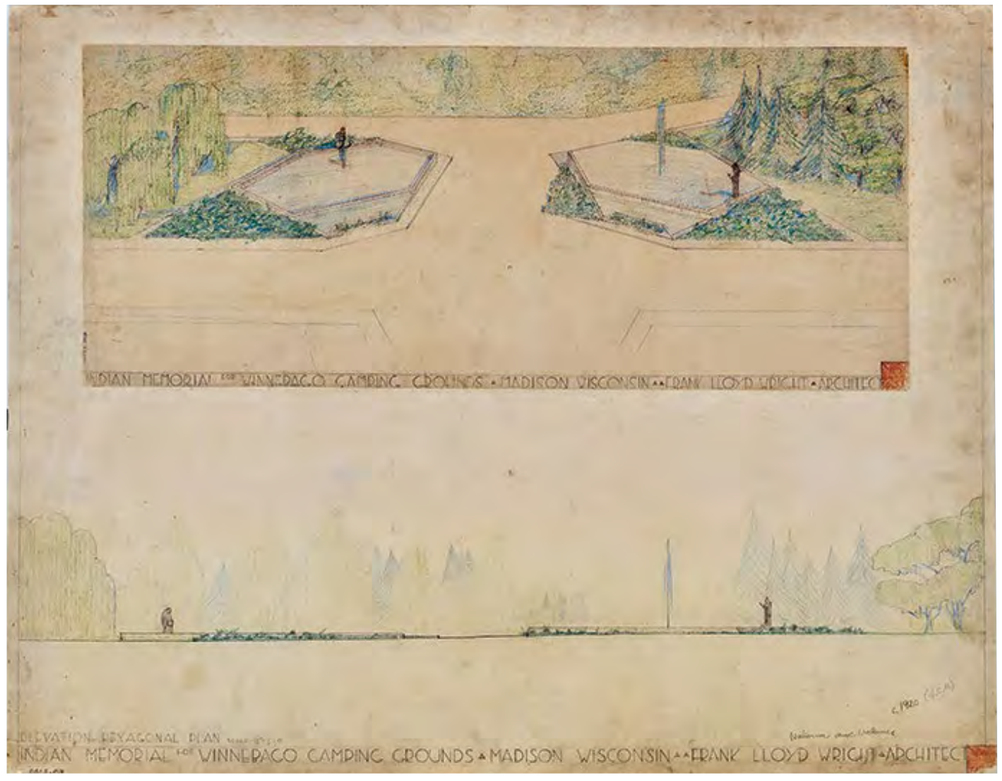
1. While it is always preferable to refer to specific Native communities—Pueblo, Navajo, etc.—such cultural specificity is impossible in this essay, which addresses Frank Lloyd Wright's generalized conception of "Indian-ness" writ large, rather than the actualities of particular peoples. I deliberated over the two most commonly accepted—albeit both flawed—terms, "Native American" and "American Indian." Taking my cue from Choctaw scholar Devon Abbott Mihesuah, I have chosen to use the terms "American Indian" and "Native." Devon Abbott Mihesuah, *So You Want to Write About American Indians? A Guide for Writers, Students, and Scholars* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), pp. xi–xii.
2. I use the term "Indian-ness"—and occasionally "Indian"—to refer to the Anglo construction of a monolithic, stereotypical American Indian identity. For the classic text on this subject, see Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1978).
3. "Unique Lodge, Plan in Nakoma," *Wisconsin State Journal*, August 4, 1924, p. 2.
4. Bently Spang, "Of Tipis and Stereotypes," in *Tipi: Heritage of the Great Plains* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), p. 110.
5. Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998).
6. Frank Lloyd Wright, "The Architect," *Brickbuilder* 9 (June 1900): 124–28.
7. Frank Lloyd Wright, "Frank Lloyd Wright Speaks Up," *House Beautiful* (July 1953): 88.
8. See Deloria, *Playing Indian*, pp. 181–91.
9. See "Unique Lodge, Plan in Nakoma"; and Mary Jane Hamilton, "Wright's Nakoma Country Club: An Unrealized Masterpiece," *Journal of Historic Madison* 7 (1981–82): 10.
10. Mary Jane Hamilton, "The Nakoma Country Club," in *Frank Lloyd Wright and Madison: Eight Decades of Artistic and Social Interaction* (Madison, Wis.: Elvehjem Museum of Art, 1990), p. 77.
11. Ibid.
12. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow refers to Nokomis in his poem "The Song of Hiawatha" (1855). Wright was likely aware of this reference, although he describes Nakomis as a warrior, while Longfellow's Nokomis is an old woman.
13. 2405.013, Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation Archives (The Museum of Modern Art | Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York).
14. Elizabeth Cromley, "Masculine/Indian," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 265.
15. Rosalyn R. LaPier and David R. M. Beck, *City Indian: Native American Activism in Chicago, 1893–1934* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), pp. 17–33.
16. Wright, letter to the Cliff Dwellers, July 12, 1947, Cliff Dwellers Records, The Newberry Library, Chicago; and Henry Regnery, *The Cliff Dwellers: The History of a Chicago Cultural Institution* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Bookworks, 1990), p. 9.
17. Regnery, *The Cliff Dwellers*, p. 7..
18. Ibid., pp. 13, 16–17.
19. Robert C. Twombly, *Frank Lloyd Wright: His Life and His Architecture* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1979), p. 120.
20. Frank Lloyd Wright, *An Autobiography* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1932), p. 147.
21. J. Walker McSpadden, *Famous Sculptors of America* (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1924), p. 312.
22. 8901.029, Wright Foundation Archives (MoMA | Avery).
23. 8901.018 and 8901.033, Wright Foundation Archives (MoMA | Avery).
24. John Lloyd Wright, *My Father Who Is on Earth* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1946), p. 34.
25. Judith A. Barter, *Window on the West: Chicago and the Art of the New Frontier, 1890–1940* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 2003), pp. 53–54.
26. John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (2nd ed., 1880; reprint ed., New York: Dover, 1989), p. 105; Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856; reprint ed., London: B. Quaritch, 1910), p. 5.
27. William Cronon, "Inconsistent Unity: The Passion of Frank Lloyd Wright," in *Frank Lloyd Wright: Architect* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1994), pp. 8–31.
28. David Gebhard and Harriette Von Breton, *Lloyd Wright, Architect: 20th Century Architecture in an Organic Exhibition* (Santa Barbara: University of California, Santa Barbara Art Gallery, 1971), p. 15.
29. E. A. Burbank, "Studies of Art in American Life—III: In Indian Tepees" *Brush and Pencil* 7 no. 2 (November 1900): 76.
30. Erika Marie Bsumek, *Indian-Made: Navajo Culture in the Marketplace, 1868–1940* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2008).
31. Edgar L. Hewett, "America's Archaeological Heritage" *Art and Archaeology* 4, no. 6 (December 1916): 259.
32. Dimitri Tselos, "Exotic Influences in Frank Lloyd Wright," *Magazine of Art* 47 (April 1953): 167, 184; Anthony Alofsin, *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Lost Years, 1910–1922* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 251–52.
33. Neither the original clubhouse nor the sculptures were built. However, in 1995 Dariel and Peggy Garner contacted the Taliesin Associated Architects to design a clubhouse for a planned golf resort in Northern California. Upon seeing the original Nakoma plans, they asked the architects to use them as a basis for their designs. The project—which included both the clubhouse and the sculptures—was completed in 2001. See Douglas M. Steiner, *Frank Lloyd Wright's Nakoma Clubhouse and Sculptures: A Historic Perspective* (Edmonds, Wash.: Milbourn, 2013), p. 27.
34. Eric Mendelsohn, "A Visit with Wright (1924)," in *Writings on Wright: Selected Comment on Frank Lloyd Wright*, ed. H. Allen Brooks (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1981), p. 7.
35. Neil Levine, *The Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 255–97.
36. Wright also referred to the cinema-theater space at Taliesin West as a kiva, echoing the Cliff Dwellers' characterization of their club quarters.
37. Abigail A. Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890–1960* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2006), pp. 169–213.



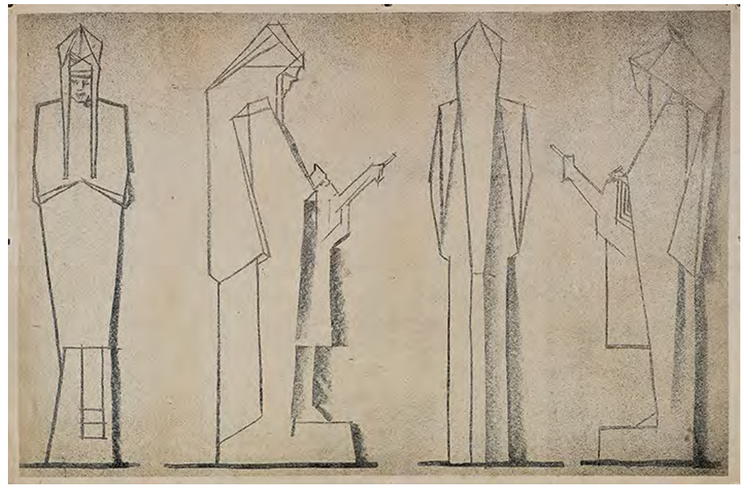
1. Nakoma Country Club, Madison, Wisconsin. Project, 1923–24. Perspective of the clubhouse. Graphite and colored pencil on tracing paper, 13 ¼ x 27 ⅞ in. (33.7 x 70.8 cm). Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

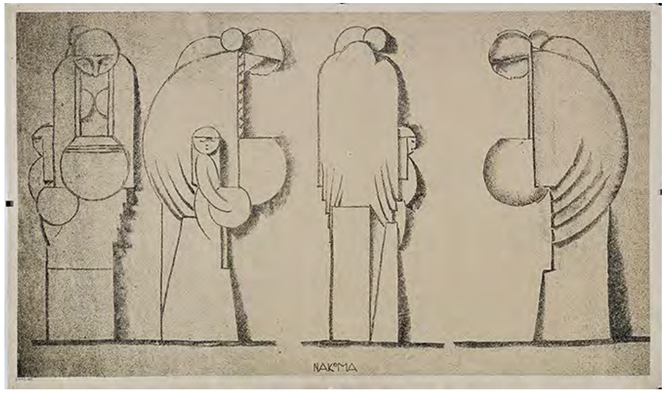


2. Nakoma Country Club, Madison, Wisconsin. Project, 1923–24. Cutaway perspective of the interior. Graphite and colored pencil on transparent paper mounted on board, 18 ⅛ x 20 in (46 x 50.8 cm). The Aust Family Trust



3. Nakoma Memorial Gateway, Madison, Wisconsin. Project, 1924. Perspective and elevation.
Pencil and colored pencil on tracing paper, 23 ½ x 30 ⅛ in. (59.7 x 76.5)

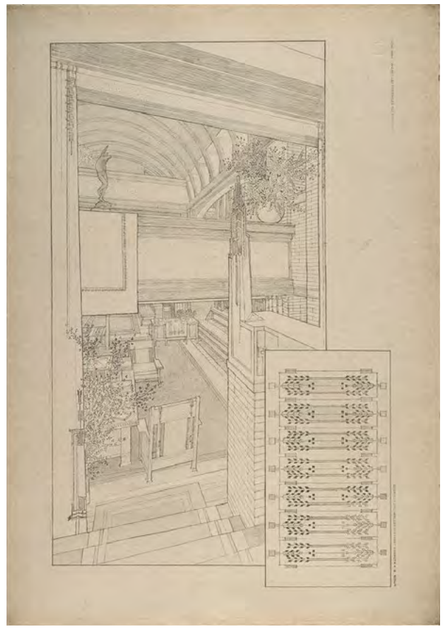




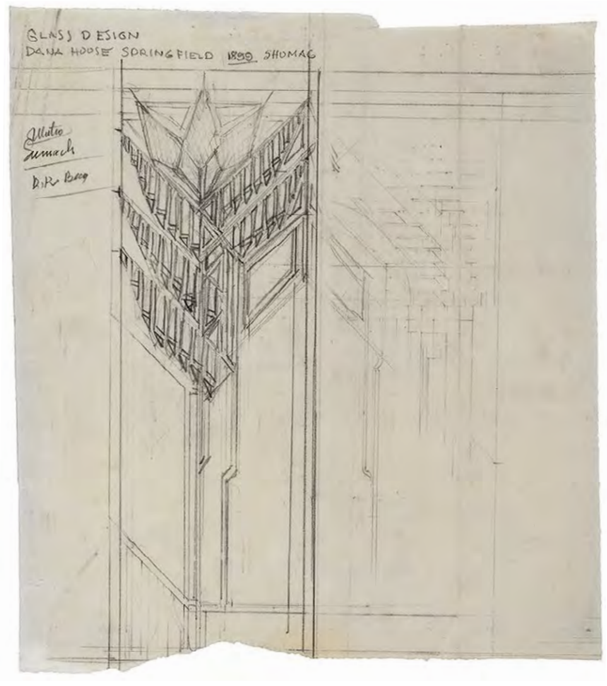
4. Nakoma Memorial Gateway, Madison, Wisconsin. Project, 1924. Elevations of the Nakomis sculpture.
Lithograph, 20 ⅞ x 31 ¼ in. (53 x 79.4 cm)

5. Nakoma Memorial Gateway, Madison, Wisconsin. Project, 1924. Elevations of the Nakoma sculpture.
Lithograph, 17 ⅝ x 29 ⅜ in. (44.8 x 74.6 cm)

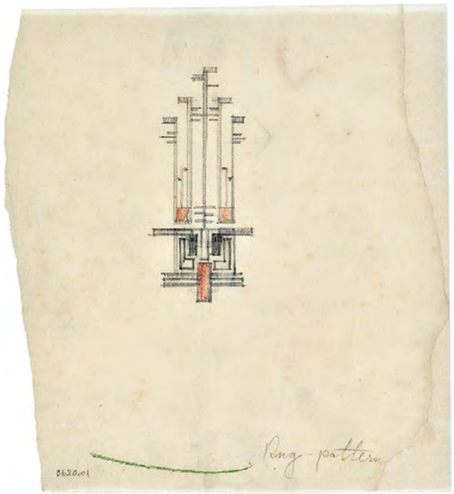
6. Winslow House, River Forest, Illinois. 1893–94. View of the inglenook with Hermon Atkins MacNeil's sculpture *A Primitive Chant to the Great Spirit*. Photograph by Henry Fuermann. Historic Architecture and Landscape Image Collection, Ryerson and Burnham Archives, The Art Institute of Chicago

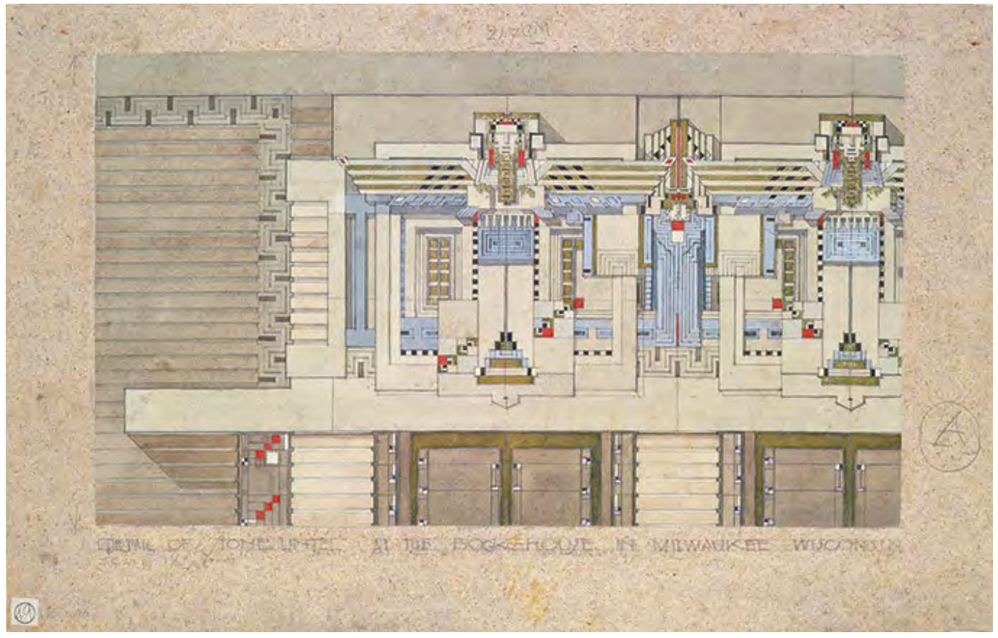


7. Dana House, Springfield, Illinois. 1902–04. Interior perspective. Plate XXXIb from *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe von Frank Lloyd Wright* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1910). Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York



8. Dana House, Springfield, Illinois. 1902–04. Stained-glass design. Pencil on tracing paper, 12 3/8 x 10 7/8 in. (31.4 x 27.6 cm)

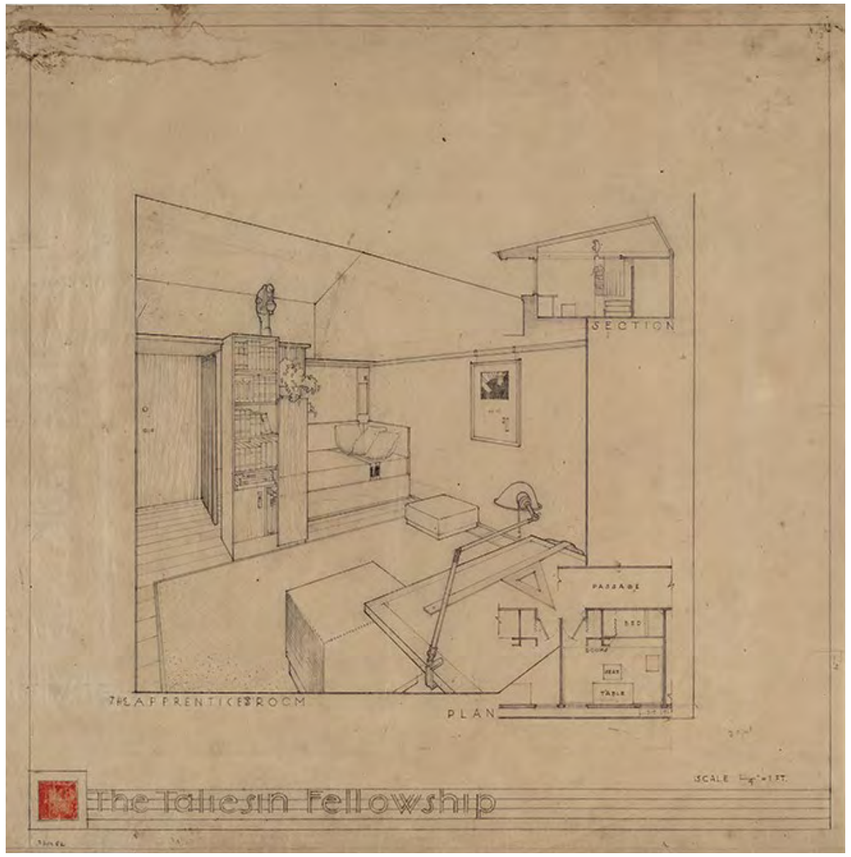




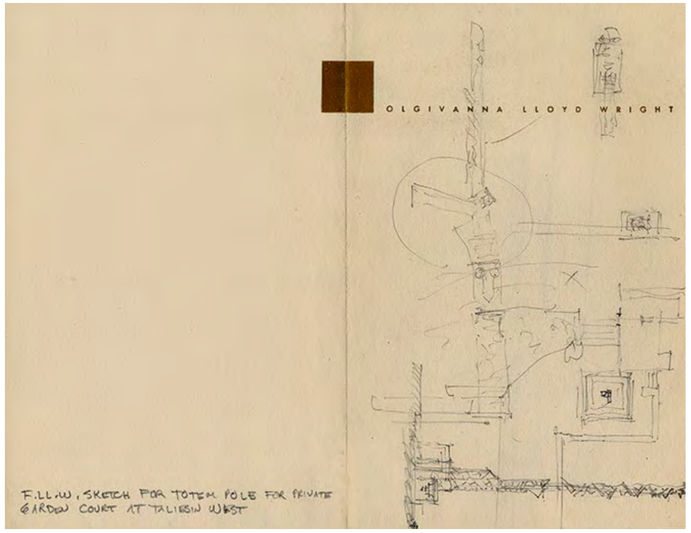
9. Design for a rug. 1906.
Pencil and colored pencil on tracing paper, 10 5/8 x 11 5/8 in. (27 x 29.5 cm)

10. Wright House and Studio, Oak Park, Illinois. 1895–98.
Studio interior with Navajo design rug and runner, n.d.

11. Bogk House, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. 1916–17. Detail of the stone lintel.
Watercolor, gouache, gold paint, and graphite on paper
mounted on Japanese paper, 15 1/2 x 24 1/4 in. (39.4 x 61.6 cm).
Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.



12. Taliesin Fellowship Complex (renovation and enlargement of Hillside Home School), Spring Green, Wisconsin. Begun 1932–33. Perspective, plan, and section of an apprentice's room. Pencil and colored pencil on tracing paper, 22 ½ x 22 ⅜ in. (57.2 x 56.8 cm)



13. Taliesin West, Scottsdale, Arizona. Begun 1938. Study for a totem pole for a private garden court, n.d. Pencil on stationary, 11 x 8 ½ in. (27.9 x 21.6 cm). Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin

14. Taliesin West, Scottsdale, Arizona. Begun 1938. Totem pole, n.d.