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## Writing Anthropologists, Sounding Primitives

Reichel, A. Elisabeth

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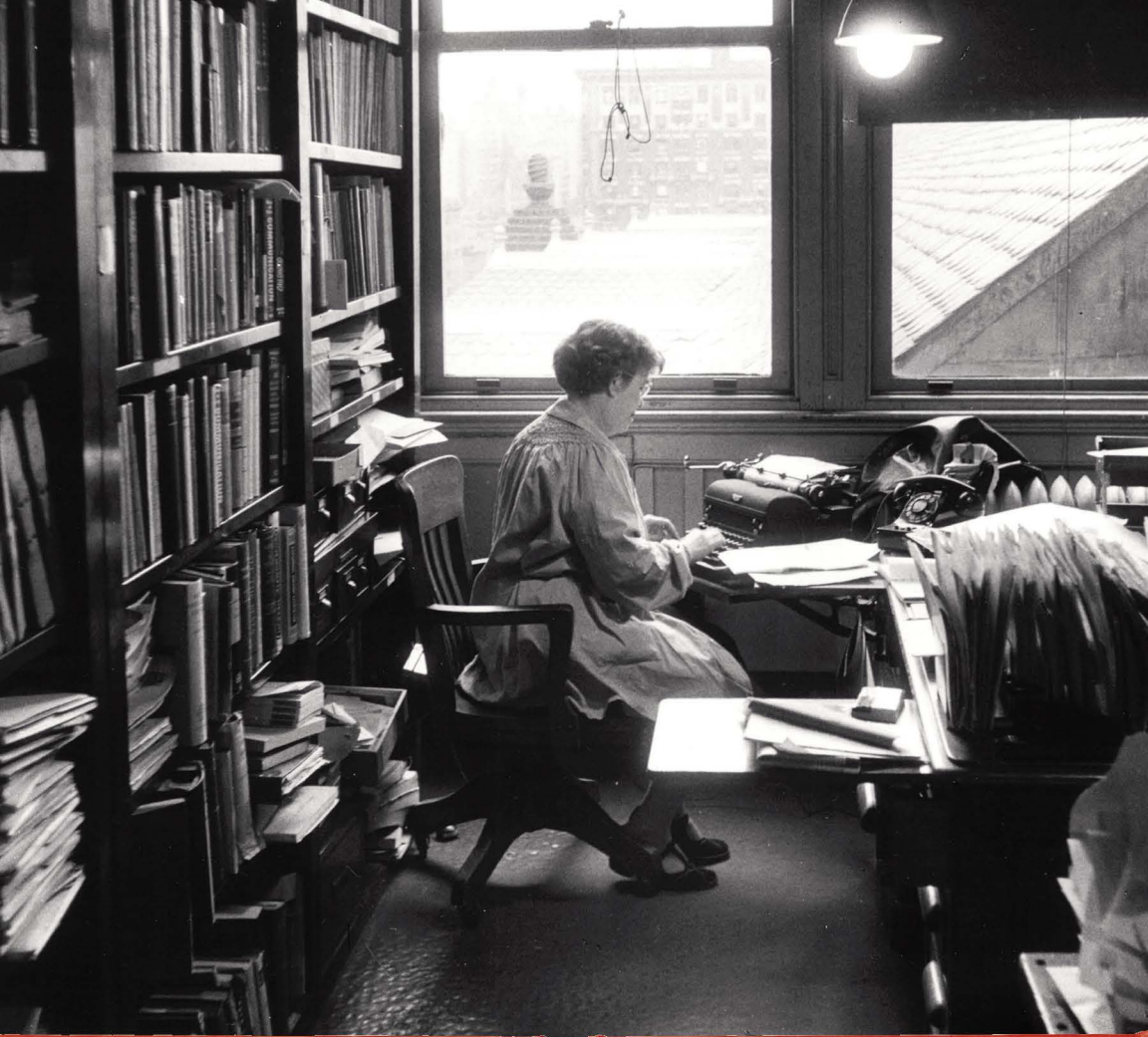
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Primitives*

THE POETRY &  
SCHOLARSHIP OF  
EDWARD SAPIR,  
MARGARET MEAD &  
RUTH BENEDICT

A. ELISABETH REICHEL

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Sounding Primitives*



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Critical Studies  
in the History of  
Anthropology

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SERIES EDITORS

Regna Darnell  
Robert Oppenheim

*Writing Anthropologists,  
Sounding Primitives*

THE POETRY AND  
SCHOLARSHIP OF  
EDWARD SAPIR,  
MARGARET MEAD, AND  
RUTH BENEDICT



A. Elisabeth Reichel

University of Nebraska Press  
*Lincoln*

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Set in Arno Pro by Mikala Kolander.

In memory of Mary Catherine  
Bateson (1939–2021)





I love some of my printed books as much as anyone can. Just the same, my heart always beats faster at a book of blank pages than it does at any book filled with printing.

RUTH BENEDICT  
“Preface to an Anthology”



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## SERIES EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

*Regna Darnell and Robert Oppenheim*

A. Elisabeth Reichel brings a fresh interdisciplinary eye to the critical analysis of anthropology's histories. The triumvirate whose work she explores in this volume were among the most significant public intellectuals of interwar and immediate postwar American society. They wrote at a time when anthropology's theories, methods, and exotic ethnographic exemplars captured the public imagination and helped to bridge the strangeness of cultural differences, entering the national discourse as isolationism was giving way to nascent internationalism in a rapidly changing world. Anthropology has never before or since had such great potential to influence public policy.

Reichel dips briefly into the often contentious and always involuted interpersonal relations among her protagonists, but this is not her major concern. Rather, she argues that the impact of these anthropologists did not come exclusively through their professional work but was indirectly refracted through their poetry and commentaries in the small literary magazines of the day. Sapir, Benedict, and Mead did not separate the aesthetics and politics of their cross-cultural vision, nor was all of their poetry related to their ethnography. The boundaries between literary scholarship in the humanities and humanistic models for making ethnographic research intelligible to nonprofessional audiences were much less firm in this period. The "New Intellectuals" around Randolph Bourne at *The Dial*, for example, were much influenced by anthropologists. Many had studied anthropology at Columbia or the New School of Social Research.

Previous historians of anthropology from within the discipline have emphasized the professional research of these three colleagues as a baseline from which to approach the poetry that consumed much of their attention. Reichel, in contrast, begins with literature, poetry, and music, emphasizing sound as an essential sensory mechanism of human expressive capacity.

Most anthropologists, then as now, were more inclined to rely on written texts in a visual medium that did not facilitate reader-viewer interaction with the products of ethnography or of anthropological thinking about the discontents of modern civilization.

Reichel's critical lens suggests that the creative impulse moved from aesthetic output to theoretical questions about the nature of patterning. Sapir, the most acoustically oriented of the three, was the theorist who devised the linguistic concept of the phoneme, a meaningful pattern in what he called the "psychological reality" of the native speaker of a language. Benedict modeled her "patterns of culture" as a unique selection from the possible ways a group could make meaning and extended these psychological profiles to cultures as a whole. Mead, the most applied of the trio, explored configurations of national character and innovated in media exploration for public communication.

Reichel calls attention to tensions between the explicit anthropological positions adopted by Sapir, Benedict, and Mead and the ways in which cultural alterity is figured in their poetry. Through this approach, the decisiveness of the Boasian repudiation of cultural evolutionism frequently seems less secure than it appears in many conventional historical narratives, although in the case of Benedict, what Reichel describes as the "palimpsestuous" quality of her poetry "short-circuits the differentialist and essentializing tendencies" of *Patterns of Culture* and other works. Moreover, if Reichel rereads the history of anthropology with the tools of literary analysis, media studies, and sound studies, something of the opposite occurs as well. Boas's "On Alternating Sounds" offers in her telling an alternative genealogical touchstone for sound studies against the evolutionary mapping of the oral, the aural, and the literary that prevails in foundational texts of the field. Moving back and forth among disciplinary perspectives is as essential today as it was when Sapir, Benedict, and Mead—Reichel's anthropologist-poets—wrote.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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The list of friends and peers who have supported my project along the way in different forms and by different means is long and exceeds the limits of the present format. However, I want to express my particular gratitude and appreciation to Regina Schober for her encouragement and guidance over the past ten years. Also, a hearty thanks to the students at Basel who participated in my seminars *Of Anthropologists and Poets* and *Writing*

Literature, Writing Culture for their valuable input during our classroom discussions. My critical reading of the Boasian treatment of media alterity through the lens of Irigarayan isomorphism received significant inspiration from an exchange with Patricia MacCormack. Finally, I am immensely grateful for the interesting conversations that I have had with Regna Darnell and her generous offer to consider my manuscript for publication in the series *Critical Studies in the History of Anthropology*. At UNP I have benefited greatly from the advice and assistance of Matthew Bokovoy, Sara Springsteen, and Heather Stauffer in working through the final stages of the publication process. I have received funding to cover expenses for indexing and permissions from the Max Geldner-Fonds, University of Basel, and the Freiwillige Akademische Gesellschaft Basel, for which I am very grateful.

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Earlier versions of portions of chapter 1 appeared in “Sonophilia / Sonophobia: Sonic Others in the Poetry of Edward Sapir,” in *Literature, Ethics, Morality: American Studies Perspectives*, ed. Ridvan Askin and Philipp Schweighauser (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2015), 215–29, and “Sonic Others in Early Sound Studies and the Poetry of Edward Sapir: A Salvage Operation,” *Journal of the Austrian Association of American Studies* 1, no. 2 (2020): 303–15, doi:10.25364/20.2:2020.1.5.

Parts of the interlude have previously appeared in A. Elisabeth Reichel and Philipp Schweighauser, “Folk Communities in Translation: Salvage Primitivism and Edward Sapir’s French-Canadian Folk Songs,” in *American Communities: Between the Popular and the Political*, ed. Lukas Etter and Julia Straub (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2017), 61–83.

An earlier version of portions of chapter 3 appeared in “‘For you have given me speech!’—Gifted Speakers, Inarticulate Others, and Media Epistemologies in the Writing of Margaret Mead,” in “Postcolonial Knowledges,” ed. Kerstin Knopf, special issue, *Postcolonial Interventions* 6, no. 1 (2021): 195–245.

## EDITORIAL NOTE ON ARCHIVAL SOURCES

For brevity and ease of reference, the following archives and collections have been abbreviated in individual entries of the appendix, notes, and bibliography. Full citations of unpublished work appear in the bibliography.

- BAE Bureau of American Ethnology Records. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC.
- ES Edward Sapir Papers. American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia PA.
- FB Franz Boas Papers. Mss.B.B61. American Philosophical Society Digital Library, Philadelphia PA. <https://search.amphil-soc.org/collections/view?docId=ead/Mss.B.B61-ead.xml>.
- MMOO Margaret Mead: An Observer Observed Collection. Reference number 98.20. Human Studies Film Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC.
- MMSPE Margaret Mead Papers and South Pacific Ethnographic Archives, 1838–1996. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington DC.
- MPBRS Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division, Library of Congress, Washington DC.
- NAA National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC.
- OHI Oral history interviews with anthropologists, circa 1959–86. Manuscript 2009-15. National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC.
- RFB Ruth Fulton Benedict Papers, 1905–48. Archives and Special Collections, Vassar College Library, Poughkeepsie NY.
- SD Stanley Diamond Papers. Archives and Special Collections, The New School, New York.



*Writing Anthropologists,  
Sounding Primitives*





## Introduction

### *Poets, Anthropologists, Primitives*

This book centers around the poetry and scholarship of three of the foremost figures of twentieth-century U.S. anthropology: Edward Sapir (1884–1939), Ruth Benedict (1887–1948), and Margaret Mead (1901–78). All three earned their PhD degrees under Franz Boas at Columbia University and went on to contribute to the pluralist and relativist conceptualization of culture that is today considered Boas’s principal legacy in cultural anthropology. Sapir, Benedict, and Mead also form a threesome that is intricately entangled by both professional and personal relationships. It appears that Benedict initiated contact with Sapir—which soon turned into a friendly exchange generating a voluminous correspondence—by sending him her dissertation, “The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America,” then forthcoming as an *American Anthropological Association Memoir* (1923).<sup>1</sup> Sapir replied in a ten-page letter, offering extensive commentary and, in response to Benedict’s inquiry about his poetry, sending her a copy of “The King of Thule,” a new poem forthcoming in *The Nation*.<sup>2</sup> While Sapir continued to send Benedict his poems and ask for her feedback, Benedict did not share her verse until almost two years later.<sup>3</sup> Sapir responded with detailed criticism as well as praise for her “great sincerity of feeling, strikingly original imagery, and strength,” urging her to pursue a career of writing poetry.<sup>4</sup> His admiration and consequent encouragement grew even stronger over time, as he “look[ed] upon [Benedict’s] poems as infinitely more important than anything, no matter how brilliant, [she was] fated to contribute to anthropology.”<sup>5</sup> It was in this context of mutual support and appreciation between trained anthropologists who wrote poetry that Benedict introduced Sapir to Mead, initiating another exchange of verse and critical notes between two anthropologist-poets as well as what Mead in the beginning described as “a satisfactory friendship . . . founded on such sure ground of like-mindedness.”<sup>6</sup> An unsuccessful affair later com-

plicated Mead and Sapir's relationship and led Sapir to attempt to interfere with Mead's plans to do fieldwork in Samoa, the very fieldwork that would generate her career-making 1928 bestseller, *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization*.<sup>7</sup> After consulting with Benedict, who by then had become his closest associate at Columbia, Boas dismissed Sapir's request to cancel Mead's field trip on both physical and mental health grounds.<sup>8</sup> Mead's own account renders her relationship with Sapir even more dramatic by adding a Shakespearean twist, asserting that she merely pretended to be mentally unstable because "the safest way to save the self-respect of a man who had fallen in love with [her] was to let him find a reason for rejecting [her] by letting his imagination . . . brand [her] as unworthy of his love."<sup>9</sup>

Sapir's reception of Mead's scholarly work turned exceedingly unfavorable after the end of their relationship, with him, for instance, dismissing *Coming of Age in Samoa* offhandedly as "cheap and dull" in a review of Boas's *Anthropology and Modern Life*.<sup>10</sup> Sapir's article "Observations on the Sex Problem in America" (1928), which refers to "excited books about pleasure-loving Samoans" in its condemnation of an ongoing revolt among Americans against Puritan sex restrictions, seen by many as unnatural and unhealthy, was also meant as an attack on Mead, as Sapir admits in a letter to Benedict.<sup>11</sup> However, it was Benedict who took the article as an offense, not eased but incensed by Sapir's defense that Mead was the "symbol of nearly everything that [he] detest[ed] most in contemporary American culture" that he had in mind when writing it.<sup>12</sup> Benedict further distanced herself as Sapir purposely excluded Boas from a proposal for a large-scale project on "primitive" languages that he developed at Yale and submitted to the Rockefeller Foundation, asking for US\$1 million of financial support.<sup>13</sup> In their research, Sapir, Benedict, and Mead were increasingly divided by diverging views on such questions as individual creativity and expression within a cultural unit, with Sapir placing much greater emphasis on individual personality than did Benedict or Mead. In the economic climate of the Great Depression and severe cuts in funding for Columbia, Benedict took it as "the worst insult" that the Rockefeller Foundation granted Sapir US\$100,000 to conduct a seminar at Yale on "culture and personality," which she saw as "a contribution to the significance of personality *in* culture—ouch!"<sup>14</sup>



These well-documented clashes of both Benedict and Mead with Sapir notwithstanding, it is the relationship between the two women that has received most attention in recent years. Benedict and Mead met in their respective roles as postgraduate teaching assistant and undergraduate student at Barnard College in 1922.<sup>15</sup> After Benedict had impressed upon the student the urgency of conducting anthropological research under Boas—who had “nothing to offer but an opportunity to do work that matters”—rather than contributing to sociology or psychology, their relationship became one of colleagues as well as close friends.<sup>16</sup> Mead, in turn, introduced Benedict to her literary-minded circle of friends, which included poets such as Léonie Adams, Louise Bogan, Eda Lou Walton, and Louise Townsend Nicholl.<sup>17</sup> In her 1984 biography, Mead’s daughter, Mary Catherine Bateson, revealed that the two women had a romantic relationship as well while being at the same time married and involved with men.<sup>18</sup> Though initially receiving little attention, being drowned out by the debate sparked by Derek Freeman’s widely publicized rebuttal of Mead in *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* (1983), this fact has served since then as a selling point for a steady stream of publications—both academic and popular—on the lives of Benedict, Mead, and Sapir and features prominently in the outpouring of biographical writing around the turn of the millennium, including Lois W. Banner’s *Intertwined Lives: Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Their Circle* (2003), Hilary Lapsley’s *Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict: The Kinship of Women* (1999), and Margaret M. Caffrey and Patricia Francis’s volume of selected letters by Mead (2006).

Two recent manifestations of this tendency in writing on Benedict and Mead are Lily King’s critically acclaimed novel *Euphoria* (2014) and Deborah Beatriz Blum’s nonfiction book *Coming of Age: The Sexual Awakening of Margaret Mead* (2017). *Euphoria* presents a carefully crafted fictionalization of the love triangle between Mead, her second husband, Reo Fortune, and her third husband, Gregory Bateson, that played itself out in 1933, during their fieldwork on the Sepik River in what was then called the Territory of New Guinea. Unsurprisingly, Benedict also makes a thinly veiled appearance in the character of Helen Benjamin, the protagonist’s mysterious same-sex lover from the past, whose continued presence in her life places further stress on the protagonist’s marriage and drives deeper

the wedge between wife and husband. Blum's *Coming of Age* in many ways complements King's *Euphoria* as it narrates the quadrangular love interests that complicated Mead's first marriage to Luther Cressman and her formative field trip to Samoa in 1925. In its later chapters the book adds to the four main characters—Mead, Cressman, Benedict, and Sapir—Fortune's difficult relationship with Mead, thus further diminishing the space for a nuanced portrayal of the subjects of the anthropologists' fieldwork. In King's novel, too, indigenous populations seem to provide little more than an exotic backdrop of naked brown bodies for the romantic entanglements between the European, Euro-American, and Euro–New Zealand protagonists. In contrast to *Euphoria*, however, the stakes of Blum's *Coming of Age* are ostensibly scholarly, with the author introducing herself as a rigorous student of Mead's correspondence at the Library of Congress and a writer with high academic standards: "Anything between quotation marks is based on the written record. Scenes and dialogue have been reconstructed out of the actual words and memories of the participants."<sup>19</sup> The result of this methodology is an often odd mixture of words that have been taken out of their original contexts and scenes that are loosely based on actual events in Mead's life, running the risk of falsifying historical and archival records. Also relevant to the concerns of the present book, Blum's *Coming of Age* misrepresents Mead's literary record by not only using the poetry of Mead, Sapir, and Benedict as source material to peep into the three anthropologists' emotional and sexual lives, but also by interlacing, for instance, lines from Sapir's poem "Music" with one of the book's reconstructed scenes in such a way as to completely obscure generic differences between poem, written correspondence, and prose dialogue.<sup>20</sup>

While biographical accounts of the personal relationships between Mead, Benedict, and Sapir offer relevant context (and may prove useful to grab an audience's attention), the present study has to position itself against such treatments, ultimately eschewing the attraction that these accounts exert over both popular and critical audiences and which the success of King's novel demonstrates particularly well.<sup>21</sup> Biographical treatments of Sapir, Benedict, and Mead tend to oversexualize two of the first female scholars who gained a position of preeminence in their field and often supersede closer and more critical engagements with the texts that these anthropologists produced. Most pertinent about this early twentieth-century

constellation of researchers here are the literary aspirations that Sapir, Benedict, and Mead shared in addition and in parallel to their careers as anthropologists. While neither of them ever stopped viewing anthropology as their primary vocation, their personal correspondence clearly suggests that concerns with poetry coexisted in close proximity and at times took precedence over anthropological questions. *Writing Anthropologists, Sounding Primitives* presents the first sustained study of the published and unpublished poetry written by three leading figures of twentieth-century cultural anthropology.

With the exception of intentionalist readings by biographers, which tend to reduce the poems to an outlet of personal expression and a conduit for private thoughts, previous research has mostly neglected this corpus.<sup>22</sup> The few studies to date that pay more careful attention to the poetry of Sapir, Benedict, and Mead provide useful reference points for the present project but also suffer from drawbacks. Richard Handler has written a series of articles that position Sapir's poems, as well as his reviews and critical essays on music and literature, in relation to his anthropological work and in the context of early twentieth-century art movements.<sup>23</sup> Yet although Handler points out the necessity of seeing this body of work as more than an anthropologist's "diversion," he ultimately subordinates Sapir's artistic endeavors as a useful gateway to his anthropology.<sup>24</sup> This reduction of Sapir's poems from "a body of material to be scrutinized on its own terms" to an "index" to the author's anthropology is considered by Brian Carpenter, the curator of the Edward Sapir Papers at the American Philosophical Society, to be the standing approach among Sapir scholars.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, Handler exemplifies a certain limitedness of previous analyses of Sapir's poetry, which rarely move beyond a thematic level to a closer engagement with the literary text.<sup>26</sup>

Concerning the poetry of Mead, her biographers' author-centered readings are almost the only published attempts at analysis so far.<sup>27</sup> Mead herself, however, has been pivotal to the critical reception of Benedict's poetry. As not only an intimate friend and academic associate but also Benedict's literary executor, Mead has been influential in establishing what Clifford Geertz calls "an overly autobiographical, the Real-Ruth reading."<sup>28</sup> In a psychologizing manner characteristic of much of her interpersonal commentary, Mead claims a split in Benedict's psyche that was caused in

early childhood by the death of her father and not resolved until Benedict gained full maturity as an anthropologist, thus finding what Mead considers her true calling.<sup>29</sup> Before arriving at this resolution, Mead asserts, poetry gave expression to a hidden part of Benedict's split personality and was consequently published under a pseudonym—Anne Singleton in most cases—during the author's most active years in the late 1920s.<sup>30</sup> While Geertz notes that this “Real-Ruth reading” has generated “misconceptions” about “the nature of [the poetry's] relevance,” with its value falsely conceived as primarily biographical, he does not make any suggestions as to how it should be understood instead.<sup>31</sup> Philipp Schweighauser's essay “An Anthropologist at Work: Ruth Benedict's Poetry” (2006) and Karin Roffman's chapter on Benedict's poetry in *From the Modernist Annex: American Women Writers in Museums and Libraries* (2010), by contrast, offer convincing interpretations of the relevance of this body of poems. Still, due to their limited text selections and narrow foci—on the poems' place in U.S. modernism and their function in Benedict's educational institutional contexts, respectively—they fail to provide a comprehensive analysis and further underline the need for a more sustained critical engagement.<sup>32</sup> Importantly, Schweighauser and Roffman, as well as James Dowthwaite's recent foray, “Edward Sapir and Modernist Poetry,” present as yet the only pieces of literary scholarship that probe the poems of Sapir, Benedict, and Mead and bring to bear the close reading techniques of their field on this vast body of literary texts.

Besides contributing a much-needed analysis from a literary studies perspective, then, this study is also the first to have access to the complete poetry written by Sapir, Benedict, and Mead, which is listed together with relevant information such as publication details and archival locations in the appendix. Concretely, this body of work consists of 318 published and 345 unpublished poems written by Sapir; 61 published and 96 unpublished poems written by Benedict; and 22 published and 173 unpublished poems written by Mead.<sup>33</sup> Until recently, geographical and institutional obstacles severely limited the ability of researchers to access this body in its entirety: the Ruth Fulton Benedict Papers are held at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York; Mead's papers are at the Library of Congress in Washington DC; and until 2008 the Edward Sapir Papers were in the possession of the Sapir family, who had exclusive control over access. E.

F. K. Koerner recalls that William Cowan once put together a selection of Sapir's poems and intended on moving forward with a publication, but the Sapir family and in particular Philip Sapir vetoed his plans.<sup>34</sup> As Regna Darnell remembers this episode, Philip Sapir, then "custodian of the Sapir legacy," refused to grant permission on the grounds that he considered his father's poems "sentimental poetry."<sup>35</sup> In fact, while Cowan was particularly enthusiastic about the idea of working closely with Sapir's poems and took the lead on the project, Darnell created access to the corpus by copying all published and unpublished poems when working on her biography. She tried to get a small volume of poems under way and suggested including the complete poems in the sixteen-volume *Collected Works of Edward Sapir* that she coedited with Philip Sapir. The former never came to fruition, and the *Collected Works* ended up containing only the poem "The Blind, Old Indian Tells His Names" in the "Northwest Coast" section of its *Ethnology* volume.<sup>36</sup> Probably as a result of these mostly unsuccessful publication efforts around Sapir's centenary in 1984, though, the Edward Sapir Papers that the American Philosophical Society now holds also feature an extensive document that Cowan compiled in the early 1980s according to Carpenter.<sup>37</sup> This typescript usefully comprises Sapir's published and unpublished poetry, listed according to date and supplemented with an alphabetical index. The only poems that are not included are poems that Sapir considered for a volume of children's poetry, submitted as "The Streets of Fancifullo" for publication with Knopf in 1918, and the poems that he published with a vanity press in *Dreams and Gibes* (1917), which remained Sapir's only anthology to be published.<sup>38</sup>

The Edward Sapir Papers at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, were not catalogued and fully processed until 2018. The Margaret Mead Papers were bequeathed to the Library of Congress soon after Mead's death and catalogued in 1983. Yet the collection has also functioned as "an ongoing living scientific project" and has been supplemented by large amounts of additional materials until recently, with the last installment—Addition IV—being processed in 2009.<sup>39</sup> At the end of 2009 access was further facilitated by the fact that the Institute for Intercultural Studies, which Mead had established in 1944 and which had sustained its founder's ethnographic tradition beyond her death, dedicated the rights to Mead's unpublished papers, correspondence, and field notes

to the public domain when ceasing its activities. In the latest development, the database publisher Alexander Street has digitized and published about forty thousand pages curated from the Margaret Mead Papers and South Pacific Ethnographic Archives (MMSPE, boxes N1–4, N40–49, N92–103, N119–120), thus further extending its Anthropological Fieldwork Online collection, which already contains eight thousand pages of the Ruth Fulton Benedict Papers (RFB, folders 79.1–94.7, 114.1–114.11, and boxes 95–96). Meanwhile the Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division of the Library of Congress continues its efforts to digitize Mead’s film footage from Bali and New Guinea, gradually condensing large rolls of fragile 16mm film that must be stored off-site into easily accessible and transferable files, ready to be consulted by researchers within a few hours. Given these developments, which imply that access to many of the archival materials related to the present study has been significantly eased in recent years, one important goal of this book is to promote further research on its rich subject matter and the transdisciplinary relevance of the archives of Sapir, Benedict, and Mead more broadly.

In accordance with the focus of the book on three individual—albeit closely connected—anthropologists and poets, the following chapters are structured into three parts that each focus on the poetry of either Sapir, Benedict, or Mead and branch out to discuss relevant selections of their scholarship. More specifically, I analyze poetic and scholarly treatments of sound and music, alphabetic writing, and photography and film as part of an investigation into the political and epistemological ramifications of the representation of cultural alterities in Sapir, Benedict, and Mead. In sharp contrast to the great renown that these three scholars enjoy for contributing to Boas’s school of anthropological thinking, their shared interest in probing the representational potential of different media and forms of writing is little known and in need of more scholarly attention. This as yet underexamined dimension of their output, I maintain, becomes particularly manifest in the over one thousand poems they wrote, and which in turn frequently negotiate their own media status and rivalry with other forms of representation. At the same time, the three anthropologists did not limit their testing ground to their poetic writing. Sapir regularly submitted critical writings on music and literature to the same magazines that would publish his poetry alongside that of protagonists of the modern-

ist movement, and Mead's groundbreaking work with photography and motion picture film in Bali and New Guinea is paradoxically heralded yet still underexamined.<sup>40</sup> Both are key sites for a discussion of media alterity in Boasian treatments of cultural alterity as well. It is this largely underexplored corpus, then, of poetry and selections of Sapir's, Benedict's, and Mead's scholarship that this book sets out to chart.

On its most general level, the analysis of Sapir's and Mead's writings that makes up the first three chapters comprises two levels: it focuses on inter- and plurimedial portrayals of the alterity that cultural anthropologists study, and it engages with the texts' discursive treatment of media and signs other than and including written words. A key objective, then, is to trace the relations between these two levels, that is, between inter- and plurimedial representations of cultural alterity and notions of media alterity, and to interrogate the uses of different media and sign systems for, on the one hand, the cultural and, on the other, the media, semiotic, and sensory conceptions that inform them. The two chapters on Sapir analyze treatments of sound and music in the writing of the most productive poet of my three anthropologists. Answering calls to apply the powerful theoretical tools that the long-established field of visual culture studies offers to the younger area of sound studies, chapter 1 starts by bringing together visual culture and sound studies to diagnose an ambivalence toward sound that results from ideological associations embedded in sensory oppositions.<sup>41</sup> Recent research in sound studies on *auditory culture* describes a historical discourse around sound that is similar in structure to prevalent discourses around the image and likewise enmeshed with the notoriously conflicted—both *philic* and *phobic*—ways in which race, class, and gender minorities have historically been imagined.<sup>42</sup> Sapir's poem "Zuni" (1926) here serves as an important tutor text and departure point from which I further probe the interface of sonic and cultural alterity in a series of his poems. I approach these poems through the concept of the soundscape, one of the foundational ideas of sound studies scholarship, which was first put forward by R. Murray Schafer in *The Tuning of the World* (1977).<sup>43</sup> Schafer's school of sound studies as well as Sapir's literary acoustics present an operation to salvage what would otherwise be lost to a modern sensescape of cacophony and strong visuality.

Chapter 2 examines Sapir's music-themed and musicalized poems together with his critical writing on music and literature. It continues my constructivist approach to the acoustic and conceives of music as sound structured according to a set of historically contingent, socially produced rules. With chapter 1 having ended by noting a wide currency of the underlying suppositions of Schafer's 1970s research on sound, chapter 2 begins by venturing even further back in the history of sound studies to consider Boas's ethnographic concern with "sound-blindness" in his landmark essay "On Alternating Sounds" (1889). In contrast to previous research, which has read Boas's essay with a strong interest in its place in media history, I explore how the questions of sound-blindness and acoustic enculturation play out in Sapir's musico-literary imagination. I first focus on the case of jazz music, which provides a recurring theme and point of contention in Sapir's poetic and critical writing, figuring prominently, for instance, in the poems "On Hearing Plaintive Jazz by Radio" (1924) and "The Preacher" (1920) as well as in Sapir's review of *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*, edited by the NAACP leader James Weldon Johnson (1928). I then examine the relation between music and literature in Sapir's treatment of different musical conventions and genres.

In an oral history interview conducted by May Mayko Ebihara in 1966, Mead remembers from their conversations that Sapir "was very much interested in the relation between poetry and music, and thought of poetry as primarily an exercise in musical sound."<sup>44</sup> He wondered "whether when he wrote poetry he was writing music" while writing music and poetry in parallel in the 1920s.<sup>45</sup> Yet while European classical music engages with literature in a mutually complementary relationship in Sapir's writing, primitive and folk music are denied equal standing and placed in an earlier stage of musical development, serving as a mere adjunct to literary writing. Sapir's "The Musical Foundations of Verse," then, responds to Amy Lowell's essay "The Rhythms of Free Verse" (1918) by submitting a contribution to the modernist free verse debate that situates Sapir in close proximity to leading figures of the modernist movement who combine an emphasis on visual precision and concrete images with a stipulation to produce musical rhythms. In order to grasp the full spectrum of poetic forms, the poet has to possess "ear-mindedness" as well as "eye-mindedness," Sapir concurs with Lowell, Ezra Pound, and F. S. Flint.<sup>46</sup> In stark contrast to the



salvage imperative that informs Sapir's take on primitive and folk music, and which requires a separate medium that is able to capture what Sapir calls *unwritten* music, his literary treatment of European classical music is inspired by hopes that the dominant writing system will ultimately change in a way that renders the musical rhythms of his poems not "intrinsically alien to" his words.<sup>47</sup>

My analysis of Sapir ends with an interlude, in which I address a large body of texts that falls squarely in between the anthropologist's poetry and ethnography, namely, what he himself—as well as his literary and academic editors—classified as translations of French Canadian folk songs.<sup>48</sup> Sapir's interest in Québécois popular music relates back to his salvage enterprise as well. Like his poetic soundscapes, this interest is prompted by a desire to preserve what is assumed to soon give way under modern forces and inexorably vanish. The final chapter on Sapir, then, adds to my analysis the important finding that this way of thinking links his poetic endeavors not only to early sound and soundscape studies. As the success of Sapir's French Canadian translations in both circles indicates, the same rhetoric of salvage also forms a strong connecting tie between Boasian cultural anthropology and modernist literary movements. Ultimately, I read Sapir's renditions of Québécois songs as pertaining to a folklore vogue that mutually relates turn-of-the-century anthropology, modernist aesthetics, and 1970s scholarship on sound, and is energized by a common longing to preserve holistic structures—of different lifeways as well as of literary texts. For Sapir, in particular, the study of folk songs also comes with the challenge of translating enclosed linguistic units, which he conceived as complete systems of reference, from their respective native language to a foreign set of linguistic structures.

Chapter 3 zeroes in on Mead and the medium of alphabetic writing in her poetry and scholarship. It starts with a photograph of the Manus boy Ponkob to which Mead persistently refers throughout her writing so as to construe a research subject that is marked by the failure to create written records. I juxtapose Mead's portrayal of Ponkob with the after-the-fact definition of "primitive" in her autobiography, in which she defends her use of the term as referring merely to an absence of script.<sup>49</sup> By tracing Mead's demarcation of her subject's alterity through the lack of and failure to use alphabetic writing, the chapter adds to my overarching claim of a

complex entwinement of media distinctions with the alterities that cultural anthropologists study. Mead's poetry, as well, aligns itself with an understanding of the primitive as *other than writing* and of the writing subject as the default against which the primitive is cast—even where Mead writes against writing, as the analysis of the poems “Warning” (1924) and “Beauty Is Made Articulate” shows. I hold that Mead's poems must be analyzed on an intratextual level as well as on the level of their textualization in order to fully comprehend the interface between constructions of cultural and media alterity that they present. As James Clifford has compellingly shown in *Writing Culture*, the very act of transforming experience into writing enacts a powerful allegory of redemption, and early twentieth-century salvage anthropology derives much authority from its professed ability to perform such acts.<sup>50</sup> Anthropology's salvage imperative is thus revealed to be essentially a writing imperative and Mead's representations of different media and sign systems *through* different media and sign systems as closely tied up with political-institutional agendas that reinforce the authority of the writing anthropologist over an always already vanishing subject of representation.

The second part of the chapter moves from Mead's monomedial, poetic and scholarly writing to her plurimedial writing in order to examine how this power-knowledge nexus manifests in texts that combine written words with photography. My analysis of the monographs *Balinese Character* (Bateson and Mead, 1942), *Growth and Culture* (Mead and Macgregor, 1951), and *People and Places* (Mead, 1959) uncovers that both Mead's mono- and plurimedial strategies of representation extend into the twentieth century a process of epistemic colonization that denies the people that anthropologists study the ability to become involved with the discursive construction of knowledge that has historically cast them in this position.

Chapter 4 completes my study with an analysis of Benedict's poetry and scholarship. While the first three chapters have revealed important correspondences and underlying currents that connect Sapir's and Mead's poetry to their anthropological approach to cultural alterity, Benedict's poetry offers access to the subjects that early twentieth-century anthropologists study that significantly deviates from a Boasian pluralist and relativist conception of culture. Far from Geertz's claim that in Benedict's ethnographic writing “the Not-us . . . unnerves the Us,” her landmark *Pat-*

*terns of Culture* (1934) is rife with the differentialism that inheres in cultural pluralist and relativist thought.<sup>51</sup> Benedict's poetic writing gains particular significance against this backdrop, which must also be read through the past two decades' insistent pleas for caution, for instance, by Walter Benn Michaels against cultural pluralism as the condition of twentieth-century nativism and essentialized racism. I trace the emergence of Benedict's *palimpsestuous* style of writing from the early poem "Parlor Car—Santa Fe" to poems such as "Myth" (1949), "In Parables" (1926), and "Price of Paradise" (1959). The latter group represents Benedict's mature style of writing, which brings together the mythologies of groups of people that are "incommensurable" in Benedict's *Patterns of Culture*.<sup>52</sup>

This study thus expands existing canons of early twentieth-century literature by making extensive use of previously unpublished archival materials and little known published writings by three major figures of twentieth-century U.S. anthropology. The distinction from research that does canon-revisionist work is programmatic, as I do not seek to correct a historical power differential responsible for the neglect of this corpus. To be sure, Sapir, Benedict, and Mead were part of a white, Euro-American academic elite that profited from institutionalized colonial power relations in their study of non-European, black and brown groups of people. The insufficiency of previous scholarly attention is rather to be accounted for by bureaucratic obstacles, such as limitations on access to archival materials and, in Sapir's case, even severe restrictions, combined with idiosyncrasies in the production and reception of their poetry, such as Benedict's use of pseudonyms during her most active years and Mead's subordination of Benedict's and her own poetry to their anthropological research.<sup>53</sup>

In addition to its expansion of early twentieth-century literary canons, *Writing Anthropologists, Sounding Primitives* contributes to current debates about the relations between different media, sign systems, and modes of sense perception in literature and other media. Crucially, it pushes against dominant practices in Central European intermediality studies, which tend to ignore the complicated and politically charged histories of media rivalries. While scholars working in this field have developed an elaborate set of tools to identify and categorize different forms of media relations, their ideological underpinnings and past (and present) political functions have yet to receive the same amount of scrutiny.<sup>54</sup> Still, this is

not the first study to raise these questions. Particularly scholars who work on postcolonial literatures have issued a pronounced call for attention in the past few years that testifies to this research desideratum.<sup>55</sup> Noting the urgent need for an amendment to the field of intermediality studies, Gabriele Rippl has conceptualized her 2015 *Handbook of Intermediality* as an undertaking aimed at bringing intermediality and postcolonial studies more closely together, so that the former would place “a new focus” on issues of power.<sup>56</sup> It is this newly calibrated, politically engaged field to which this book seeks to make a contribution as well.

With the formalist penchant of Central European intermediality studies having often superseded historical considerations, *Writing Anthropologists, Sounding Primitives* relies for a historically informed understanding of the media uses that it examines on sound studies, on the one side, and on the history of writing, on the other. Besides marking the consolidation of sound studies into an established field, the publication of Michael Bull’s four-volume *Sound Studies* (2013), Trevor Pinch and Karin Bijsterveld’s *Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies* (2012), and Jonathan Sterne’s *Sound Studies Reader* (2012) also testified to the prolificacy and growing significance of its strand of historical scholarship. Carolyn Birdsall and James G. Mansell, in their recent contributions to this body of scholarship, describe a noticeable upswing in historical sound studies from the mid-1990s onward.<sup>57</sup> The genealogy that they both outline takes Peter Bailey’s 1996 appeal, “Breaking the Sound Barrier,” as a point of origin and goes on to list—as a “swift response” reflecting “a prevailing mood”—such pioneering studies as Mark M. Smith’s *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (2001), Emily Thompson’s *The Soundscape of Modernity* (2002), and Karin Bijsterveld’s *Mechanical Sound* (2008).<sup>58</sup> The value of these studies as a collective body of research lies in the evidence they provide of the social constructedness and ideological contingency of ideas about sound, hearing, and acoustic technologies. It is their premise that, rather than a natural given, “sound is an artifact of the messy and political human sphere,” as well as their more general sensitivity to the historicity and conventionality of all sense perception, that fundamentally informs this study.<sup>59</sup>

On the other side, *Writing Anthropologists, Sounding Primitives* also applies a critical view to the medium of alphabetic writing, which all too frequently remains a blind spot in literature-trained scholarship. Clearly,

media are not “hollow pipelines,” to use Marie-Laure Ryan’s oft-cited metaphor, and the medium of literature, too, must be thoroughly examined in terms of the three dimensions that define *media* according to Ryan: semiotic substance, material-technological support, as well as cultural and historical uses.<sup>60</sup> Here I draw on historians of writing that follow in the footsteps of Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter Mignolo’s pioneering anthology *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (1994) and Mignolo’s early research on the colonization of writing that culminated in *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (1995). In other words, I have consulted scholars of literacy whose research falls squarely into the “ideological model” that Brian V. Street first observed as an emerging view in the mid-1980s and which has gained dominance since then.<sup>61</sup> Most important for the present study, scholars working in this school of thought have traced historical discourses around literacy and illiteracy, thereby exposing this dichotomy as integral to a process of epistemic colonization that set in around the time of the European Renaissance. When Sapir, Benedict, and Mead entered anthropology, distinctions between literate and illiterate peoples featured prominently in the taxonomies of cultural evolutionists. Lewis Henry Morgan’s *Ancient Society* (1877), the most influential cultural evolutionist account in U.S. academic contexts, defined Civilization against Savagery and Barbarism as the most advanced stage in human history that set in with the invention of alphabetic writing.

By thus synthesizing and applying insights from the history of writing, sound studies, and intermediality studies to poetry and scholarship produced by early twentieth-century U.S. cultural anthropologists, *Writing Anthropologists, Sounding Primitives* ultimately offers a contribution to the history of anthropology. Most of the developments that it sheds light on pertain to the history of the field prior to its postmodern crisis of representation, with only the last publications by Mead falling into the years of rising skepticism that led up to *Writing Culture*.<sup>62</sup> When Boas became professor of anthropology at Columbia in 1899, the Darwinian revolution had just provided new grounds for a developmentalist, monogenetic understanding of the history of humankind, a notion formerly held by biblical and Greco-Roman traditions of thought.<sup>63</sup> In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, human development came to be understood as a

gradual process by modification of a single ape-like progenitor. Working from armchairs at home, European cultural evolutionists arranged data on remote groups of people that travelers and naturalists were collecting so as to create generalized stage-sequences of a *civilizing* process in each area of life. Thus Edward B. Tylor, for instance, claimed a progression from animism over polytheism to monotheism in religious belief. While late nineteenth-century cultural evolutionists such as Tylor and Morgan believed in the unity of humankind, which to them accounted for *survivals* of earlier stages of development in some groups, such as peasants, their evolutionary sequences also involved a polar opposition between *savage* and *civilized* ways of thought and behavior, respectively ascribed to dark- and white-skinned people. The world's population was accordingly ranked on a double scale of race and *Civilization* (or *Culture*) that reiterated the notion of European supremacy.

As anthropologists have been prone to emphasize in the wake of their field's 1980s crisis, rendering it a commonplace fact familiar across disciplinary boundaries, Boas launched a revolutionary critique that unburdened anthropology of much of its nineteenth-century racial evolutionary baggage. This endeavor had an essentially historical bent, as Boas studied with meticulous care the diffusion of particular ideas and cultural traits among different groups of people in the course of time. The purpose of these historical studies was "not to be purely a description of phenomena as found distributed over the world," as Boas explains to the contributors of his *General Anthropology* (1938), but "rather to show the complexity of the[ir] interrelations over large areas" and "that in each specific case . . . the historical setting determines the specific form of culture."<sup>64</sup> Boas's studies of Indo-Germanic languages, Benedict avers in her own, never-completed general textbook of anthropology, are "one of the finest achievements of historical reconstruction," as they show in great detail patterns that are "common to the stock" and the large number of independent developments "in special directions."<sup>65</sup> Many of the early studies of Boas's students, including Benedict's *The Concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America* (1923) and Sapir's *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture* (1916), are also applications of this methodological frame. In the process of tracing the diffusion, borrowing, and reinterpretation of such cultural elements as the notion of the guardian spirit, these studies served the vital function of expos-

ing as false the generalizations that cultural evolutionists had made and on which claims about the civilizational progress of certain groups rested. They showed, Benedict explains in an unpublished paper titled “The Problem of Anthropology,” that “those cultural elements which the evolutionists had regarded as indices of evolutionary stages, instead of occurring by law at a certain level of cultural development, were actually locally distributed.”

Boas concluded from his historical studies that “any construction in which the culture of a given area is represented as developing according to simple dynamic causes” and as following a linear, universally applicable line of progression from Savagery to Civilization “is over-simplified.”<sup>66</sup> While Boas’s approach to culture, then, was characteristically critical rather than constructive, it laid the necessary groundwork for the culture concept that his students would later push forward in more positive and assertive terms.<sup>67</sup> Key to this concept was Boas’s implicit insistence on a sphere that was not biologically—meaning *racially* at the time—determined. Although Boas did not entirely rule out a connection between race and culture, the evidence that he accumulated made it increasingly difficult to maintain the deterministic causal relation that cultural evolutionists suggested by correlating the dominant hierarchy of racial types with a uniform civilizing process.

What underlies all of Boas’s research, however, is the precept that any cultural description should be based on a thorough analysis of the respective culture on its own terms, that is, in a way that does not use the anthropologist’s own system of beliefs and practices as a standard by which the other is assessed. Boas’s students went on to apply this basic principle of cultural relativism in a more positively oriented approach to the synchronic study of the integration of cultures. Having acknowledged the merits of her mentor’s historical studies, Benedict’s unfinished textbook affirms that “the generalizations which can be drawn from [synchronic] study are anthropology’s greatest contribution to the social sciences.”<sup>68</sup> Her *Patterns of Culture* marked this important turn in how cultural anthropology was practiced by the students of Boas. *Patterns*, which preceded Boas’s *General Anthropology*, also offered the first widely accessible, concise formulation of Boas’s reconceived culture concept (away from a uniform, evolutionary toward a plural and relative understanding), which he and his students had already put to the test in a large number of individual studies.

Boasian anthropologists relate to *primitives* as their primary subject of investigation. It is above all else this human subject matter, conceived as nonhuman *savages* by earlier generations of anthropologists, that has given anthropology its “maximal historical unity,” as Stocking notes:

The historical unity of the tradition which in the Anglo-American sphere is called “anthropological” has been defined primarily by its human subject matter, which—allowing for differences of terminology and attitude—has for the most part been essentially that of pre-Darwinian ethnology. Although the questions asked of this subject matter have changed, the dichotomy between the European civilized observer and the culturally distant (and objectified) “other” has always been central to the anthropological tradition. . . . Whether they observed dark-skinned non-Europeans better to understand their own civilization, or simply to explain the variety of mankind, what unifies the scholars we retrospectively include in the anthropological tradition is the fact that they studied peoples who were once called “savages.”<sup>69</sup>

Mead’s twentieth-century endeavors to explain and enhance U.S. ways of life by studying cultures in the South Pacific as well as James Frazer’s classification of the variety of humankind according to system of belief in *The Golden Bough* (1890) pertain to anthropology as they take “peoples who were once called ‘savages’” as the subject of their investigation. Importantly, this subject matter has always existed in both concrete geographical space and a larger discursive field. Assuming with Stocking that anthropology has historically been defined by its concern with the savage or the primitive, Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s powerful 1991 essay “Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness” systematically addresses the ontological status of this subject.<sup>70</sup> As Trouillot compellingly maps the discursive field in which anthropologists operate and whose existence they presuppose, their subject matter appears as a preestablished compartment in a symbolic space consisting of three themes: “Anthropology came to fill the savage slot in the trilogy order-utopia-savagery, a trilogy which preceded anthropology’s institutionalization and gave it continuing coherence in spite of intradisciplinary shifts.”<sup>71</sup> The “savage



slot” that anthropology occupies was first established in travel and utopian writing, which were not divided into separate genres until the end of the nineteenth century, during which time the scientific study of the savage, severed from its imaginary counterparts, solidified as a specialized field.<sup>72</sup> Based on this archaeology of anthropology, Trouillot argues that the construction of the savage by way of utopian projection is “the constitutive moment of ethnography,” forging a lasting “savage-utopia correspondence.” To illustrate this process, he conjures up an image of a Janus-faced savage, one face being the savage and the other “the West fancifully constructed as a utopian projection.” However, he does so only to note the “false candor” and fraudulent “claims of reciprocity” that this image generates, as it veils “a deeper inequality in the two faces of Janus: the utopian West is first in the construction of this complementarity. It is the first observed face of the figure, the initial projection against which the savage becomes a reality. The savage makes sense only in terms of utopia.” Rather than a split subject which may be dissected into two separate signifying components, real savage and utopian projection, what anthropologists deal with is a unified subject that is always already mediated by their own utopian desires—as well as by their dystopian fears. In “the dominant metamorphosis” of Trouillot’s framework, that is, “the transformation of savagery into sameness by way of utopia,” utopia serves “as positive or negative reference,” rendering the savage a source of both attraction and fear.<sup>73</sup>

Utopia, in turn, makes sense only in terms of the *order* against which it is cast, the third theme in the discursive field in which anthropology is situated, according to Trouillot. It follows that the savage, a reality only in terms of utopian projection, is always out of order, an “absence and negation.”<sup>74</sup> This is nowhere clearer than in Montaigne’s “Of Cannibals,” in which the savage forms “a nation wherein there is no manner of traffic, no knowledge of letters, no science of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor political superiority; no use of service, riches or poverty; no contracts, no successions, no dividends, no properties, no employments, but those of leisure; no respect of kindred, but in common; no clothing, no agriculture, no metal, no use of corn or wine; and where so much as the very words that signify lying, treachery, dissimulation, avarice, envy, detraction, and pardon, were never heard of.”<sup>75</sup> Savagery appears as an

aggregate of failures in furnishing the components that make up the “complex whole” of “knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” that forms “Culture or Civilization,” in Edward B. Tylor’s definition.<sup>76</sup> Albeit acknowledging the existence of a plurality of nations and societies, the overarching assumption is that these entities comply with a universal composition as well as development of *Culture*. In this frame of thought, the savage is defined by a lack of *Culture* or *Civilization*. Boasian cultural pluralism thinks of the subject matter of the anthropologist in somewhat different, though still negative terms, namely as a plurality of *cultures* (or *civilizations*) united in their absence from “our own civilization,” the different components of which are studied by the four fields of U.S. anthropology, as the first paragraph of Benedict’s “The Problem of Anthropology” notes:

Since the earliest days of the study of anthropology, no one has ever spotted an anthropologist by the problems he discussed; all his problems he has shared with other sciences and these have varied from decade to decade according to what questions were uppermost in science or in society. But you can always know an anthropologist by his subject matter. Whether he is an archeologist, a linguist, a physical anthropologist or a student of religion or of folklore, he uses material from peoples all over the world. Anthropology’s most distinctive mark is that it chooses to study other peoples, that it is definitely weighted *against* the one particular historical episode in which our civilization figures. As an archeologist the anthropologist is digging up remains of tribes and nations that have *not* contributed to our civilization. As a linguist he is studying the vocabulary and grammar, not of our Indo-European languages, but of some little horde in Australia or some island in Oceania. As a physical anthropologist he studies bodily form of Paleolithic skeletons or living Hottentots. As a cultural anthropologist, studying livelihood, the family, the state, religion and ethics, he is happiest when he can gather material from a people as little influenced as possible, down all their history, by our own civilization.<sup>77</sup>

Regardless of whether they are archaeologists or linguistic, physical, or cultural anthropologists, anthropologists study people that are conceived of in terms of absence and negation and share, if nothing else, in an absolute difference to anthropologists. The identity of the anthropologist is the default category against which the alterity of this subject of investigation is defined. In other words, the savage or primitive is what the anthropologist is *not*.

The construction of identity through difference and failure is familiar from 1960s and 1970s critical theory, the general semiotics that Derrida derived from de Saussure, and the repudiations of oppressive power structures embodied in feminist, postcolonial, and antiracist studies that have followed. For me, Trouillot's conception of the savage resonates particularly strongly with Luce Irigaray's *This Sex Which Is Not One* (1977), which critiques the production of woman as absence and negation by her failure to be the male default. There is only a male sex and failure to be such. In Trouillot's account of anthropology's discursive field, there is only an anthropologist and the failure to be such, which is the savage. Patricia McCormack usefully describes this isomorphism, the "system of logic which defines alterity purely through failure to be the default human": "Isomorphism creates a myth of 'two' within a binary, refusing the specificity of the second term and concealing the second term, defined only through its failure to fulfill the elements of the dominant. Woman, the nonwhite, and the homosexual man fail the default majoritarian significations of the white heterosexual man. They are not opposite and equal, but less-than and thus both unequal to and undefined independently of the majoritarian."<sup>78</sup> The primitive in early twentieth-century anthropology, too, is not equal and independently defined but always other than and less than the anthropological majoritarian. Its dichotomous relation to the anthropologist is a myth created by an isomorphic logic that refuses its specificity and conceives of it merely through the lack of elements that signify the dominant. The primitive, then, is "a selection from these possible failures unified into one individual."<sup>79</sup> It comprises, to return to Stocking and his historical description of anthropology's common denominator, "dark-skinned, non-European, 'uncivilized' peoples," that is, individuals that in racist, cultural evolutionist, and Eurocentric terms are other and less

than the white, civilized, European or Euro-American subject that signifies the anthropologist.<sup>80</sup>

In terms of time, this isomorphic logic of alterity implies that anthropology's subject of research inhabits a time other than the present, modern moment in history, in which the anthropologist lives. For testimony to this particular element in the set of failures that coalesce in the primitive, the opening passage of Benedict's "The Problem of Anthropology" again serves well. Benedict notes that the people that anthropologists take as their subject matter render them "definitely weighted *against* the one particular historical episode in which our civilization figures."<sup>81</sup> She claims a bias in her peers against the present moment in history owing to the fact that their subjects of investigation inhabit a period other than "the one particular historical episode" in which they themselves live. Johannes Fabian's seminal study *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (1983) is a critique of precisely this *denial of coevalness* of the anthropologist's research subject. *Time and the Other* has coined the term *allochronism* to denote the "persistent and systematic tendency to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a Time other than the present of the producer of anthropological discourse." "The *crux* of anthropology," then, which the ethnographic monograph has to resolve in each instance, is the "concrete, practical contradiction between coeval research and allochronic interpretation," that is, between the coexistence with one's subject in the field and the denial of contemporaneousness that anthropology's allochronism requires. According to dominant late nineteenth-century allochronic interpretations, the people that anthropologists study live in more original, *premodern* times. The etymological origin of *primitive* in Latin *primus* and *prior* of course hints at this presumed primordality. In order to make this assertion, Fabian notes, cultural evolutionists "*spatialized* Time," as it were: "The paradigm of evolution rested on a conception of Time that was not only secularized and naturalized but also thoroughly spatialized."<sup>82</sup> Having illustrated how cultural evolutionists broke the hold of Judeo-Christian "Time" on natural and human history and placed time within the realm of scientific research, Fabian argues that the new, secular paradigm projected a diachronic line of temporal progression onto synchronic, global space. Distance in geographic space became temporal difference between evolutionary stages, with the anthropologist making observations from

a perspective ostensibly situated in the here and now about a subject both spatially and temporally removed, there and then. “Time became a geography of social power, a map from which to read a global allegory of ‘natural’ social difference,” Anne McClintock aptly paraphrases Fabian.<sup>83</sup>

Importantly, Fabian shows that Boasian pluralism and relativism “had little or no effect” on these underlying presuppositions of the field, despite Boas’s effective attack on cultural evolutionism for its historical inaccuracy and inherent racism. He describes the strategy by which Boasian anthropology was able to perpetuate allochronism as a general effort to “circumvent the question of coevalness,” thus implicitly preserving rather than contesting the allochronic logic established by cultural evolutionists: “Time as a dimension of intercultural study (and praxis) was ‘bracketed out’ of the anthropological discourse.”<sup>84</sup> Bracketing in the implicit notion of the primitive as original and representative of “early levels of human culture” was thus all too easy, as can be illustrated by another example from the archives, an exchange over “a literary job” between Benedict and fellow poet Rolfe Humphries (who had a mutual friend in Louise Bogan). When Humphries asks Benedict for “reference material about the origin and especially the social functions of the arts at early levels of human culture,” Benedict is careful to differentiate between “prehistoric culture” and “primitive peoples” and points out that the latter is her area of expertise, whereas his interest seems to lie with the former.<sup>85</sup> However, it takes Humphries only a short note that specifies his interest in both primitive and prehistoric peoples to enlist her help after all, leaving her relieved that his project is not “limited to romancing about paleolithic man.”<sup>86</sup> The exchange epitomizes the tacit complicity of Boasian anthropologists in enabling allochronistic thinking as described by Fabian beyond nineteenth-century cultural evolutionism. Benedict ignores Humphries’s initial equation of the “primitive peoples” that she studies with “early levels of human culture” once a terminological distinction between *prehistoric* and *primitive* has been introduced. The underlying notion of a monolithic Culture that progresses in time but may be observed in all its different developmental stages around the world in synchronic space remains intact.

The mechanisms that translate coeval research in the field into allochronic writing while sustaining a cultural pluralist and relativist frame are subtle and not always obvious, Fabian cautions.<sup>87</sup> Building on insights about

allochronic and isomorphic systems of alterity, the present study uncovers such mechanisms in the poetic and scholarly writings of Sapir, Benedict, and Mead as well as in related discourses that traverse media theory, sound studies, and the history of writing. Treatments of media and sign systems emerge in this way as a pivotal site where evolutionary conceptions of culture persist in and through the pluralist and relativist shift that Boas and his students initiated. Ultimately, this study wishes to inspire further research into the primitive figures that remain hidden in the archives of media, sign, and sensory theory as we enter the 2020s.<sup>88</sup>

My methodology derives from American literary studies. I conduct *close readings*, whose focus on the self-enclosed text is a crucial legacy of the New Critics to literary scholars today. Paul de Man describes the effect that the requirement to *close read* had at Harvard University in the 1950s: “Students were not to say anything that was not derived from the text they were considering. They were not to make any statements that they could not support by a specific use of language that actually occurred in the text. . . . Much more humbly or modestly, they were to start out from the bafflement that such singular turns of tone, phrase, and figure were bound to produce in readers attentive enough to notice them and honest enough not to hide their non-understanding behind the screen of received ideas that often passes, in literary instruction, for humanistic knowledge.”<sup>89</sup> The focused analysis of the “turns of tone, phrase, and figure” and interrelations of such elements within individual works in all their complexity remains a valuable methodological tool that I also bring to bear on Sapir’s, Benedict’s, and Mead’s poetic and scholarly writings.

Yet while close reading techniques reveal much about literary and scholarly texts in isolation, they must be supplemented with additional tools in order to do justice to the multiple contexts in which each text is necessarily embedded and to which it reciprocally relates. As have most literary scholars of the past three decades, I therefore combine text-centered close readings with a critical lens shaped by British cultural studies and American new historicism, which draws on knowledge produced in different fields to throw light on the sociohistorical and institutional contexts that are involved in the meaning-making processes of the materials at the center of this book.<sup>90</sup> The goal of such an approach, as well as its continuous challenge, has been to avoid simplistic dualisms that separate the text’s formal

and semantic features from its specific historical and social locale. Thus, for example, in a recent “Theories and Methodologies” section of *PMLA* devoted to Caroline Levine’s *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network*, Angus Connell Brown diagnoses such dualistic thinking in Levine’s new formalist method and finds “a firm counterpoint” in the late 1950s Stuart Hall that refused “to go on thinking cultural questions in ‘pure’ literary terms.”<sup>91</sup> It is within this ongoing struggle to think aesthetic forms and cultural questions together that my own method of analyzing literary and scholarly texts is located as well.





## Of Mumbling Melody, Soft Singing, and Slow Speech

### *Constructions of Sonic Otherness in the Poetry of Edward Sapir*

#### SONOPHILIA, SONOPHOBIA, SONOCLASH

In his seminal book *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*, W. J. T. Mitchell sets out to examine “the way in which differences between the arts are instituted by figures—figures of difference, of discrimination, of judgment”: “In suggesting that these judicious discriminations are figurative I do not mean to assert that they are simply false, illusory, or without efficacy. On the contrary, I want to suggest that they are powerful distinctions that effect the way the arts are practiced and understood. . . . The differences . . . are riddled with all the antithetical values the culture wants to embrace or repudiate: the *paragone* or debate of poetry and painting is never just a contest between two kinds of signs, but a struggle between body and soul, world and mind, nature and culture.”<sup>1</sup> While rejecting claims of a difference *in essence* between poetry and painting, Mitchell acknowledges that “there are always a number of differences in effect in a culture which allow it to sort out the distinctive qualities of its ensemble of signs and symbols.” Crucially, though, these “literally false” but “figuratively true” distinctions are freighted with value judgments derived from socially prevalent dichotomies, such as body/soul, world/mind, nature/culture. Through a discourse analysis of the writing on images of such intellectually diverse figures as Nelson Goodman, Ernst Gombrich, Lessing, and Burke, he then explores the tendency in visual culture to construe the image as an Other which is associated by turns with nature (Gombrich); space and stasis (Lessing); irrationality, femininity, and the primitive (Burke). A key difference between these discursive couplings is whether the association is celebrated, indicating what he terms *iconophilia*, or seen as a threat, leading in consequence to *iconophobia*.<sup>2</sup> Clearly an iconophobe in this sense, Lessing asserts that to make use of painterly techniques as a poet is “as if a man, with the power and privilege of speech, were to employ the signs

which the mutes in a Turkish seraglio had invented to supply the want of a voice.”<sup>3</sup> “The tongue, of course, was not the only organ that the mutes in the Turkish seraglio were missing,” Mitchell comments pointedly in his essay “Ekphrasis and the Other,” exposing a complex gesture that conceives of images in terms of a lack of speech and associates this failure with racial as well as sexual alterity and deficiency.<sup>4</sup> The lack of “the power and privilege of speech,” “the want of a voice,” is linked to the phallic absence of a Turkish eunuch; *the sex which is not one* signifies, as it were, *a sign system which is not one* but is other and less than the majoritarian’s system of use.<sup>5</sup> Conversely, written and spoken words—the very medium that Lessing uses—emerge as the supreme system of signs, suitable to a Central European man endowed with heterosexual prowess.

Ekphrasis, defined as “the verbal representation of visual representation,” serves as a key platform for Mitchell as he turns from describing to explaining processes of Othering certain media and kinds of signs.<sup>6</sup> For “the answer,” he notes, “lies in the network of ideological associations embedded in the semiotic, sensory, and metaphysical oppositions that ekphrasis is supposed to overcome”:

These oppositions . . . are neither stable nor scientific. . . . They are best understood as . . . allegories of power and value disguised as a neutral metalanguage. Their engagement with relations of otherness or alterity is, of course, not determined systematically or a priori, but in specific contexts of pragmatic application. The “otherness” of visual representation from the standpoint of textuality may be anything from a professional competition (the *paragone* of poet and painter) to a relation of political, disciplinary, or cultural domination in which the “self” is understood to be an active, speaking, seeing subject, while the “other” is projected as a passive, seen, and (usually) silent object.<sup>7</sup>

Verbal representations of images coincide with treatments of racial and sexual alterity, because the same relations of domination that inform the latter are projected, in pragmatic contexts, onto “differences between visual and verbal media at the level of sign-types, forms, materials of representation, and institutional traditions.”<sup>8</sup> That images as well as members of

racial and sexual minorities have been frequently construed as particularly close to authentic nature, for instance, is neither a mere coincidence nor a necessary consequence of characteristics inherent in these ontological entities; instead, it is the product of historically and socially specific conditions that need not only visual representations but also African Americans, women, and other minoritarian groups to be passive, silent, and exploitable. Iconophilia and iconophobia, then, express anxieties about merging with an inferiorized Other.

While early visual culture studies thus account for how the problematics of race, gender, and class relations manifest in dominant notions of the image, the field of sound studies, despite having emerged in a climate of shifting emphasis away from ideological concerns to material aspects of meaning production and an aesthetics of presence, points to similar discursive entwinements relating to sound.<sup>9</sup> Here the complex interplay between different alterities results in an ambivalence between what I call *sonophilia*, the fascination with the Otherness of sound and auditory perception, and *sonophobia*, the rejection of sound and auditory perception as a threatening Other. To substantiate these terms, I draw on Jonathan Sterne, whose definition of sound studies as a field that interrogates any preconceived knowledge about sound for its cultural and historical functions parallels Mitchell's early understanding of the epistemological and political potential of visual culture studies. Having established my conceptual and terminological frame, I turn to the poetry of Edward Sapir.

Sapir was among the first of Boas's numerous students at Columbia University who went on to become influential anthropologists themselves. He remained the only disciple, however, who continued and carried further his teacher's strong interest in linguistics—manifest in such writings as “On Alternating Sounds”—while linguistic questions became less pronounced in Boas's own, later research. Indeed, Boas's withdrawal from this research area in later years was a result of the fact that he considered Sapir a competent successor well able to cover this area.<sup>10</sup> Thus, in addition to being an important contributor to the emergence of the pluralist and relativist conception of culture that is Boas's main legacy in cultural anthropology, Sapir is known today primarily for his accomplishments in linguistics, most famously as a pioneer of linguistic relativity and teacher of Benjamin Lee Whorf.<sup>11</sup> Rarely acknowledged as another major contribution

that he made in the course of his career are the over six hundred poems that he wrote, many of which were published in renowned magazines of the time, such as *Poetry*, *The Dial*, *the New Republic*, and *The Nation*. While he is regularly recognized as one of the most brilliant anthropologists and linguists of the twentieth century, a veritable *genius*,<sup>12</sup> critical assessments of Sapir the poet remain a substantial research desideratum. “One thing we need about Sapir is a reappraisal of his verse,” proclaims Alfred L. Kroeber, Boas’s first doctoral student and later first professor of anthropology at Berkeley.<sup>13</sup> Ruth Benedict, too, admonishes that “an appreciation of Edward Sapir is incomplete without mention of him as a poet.”<sup>14</sup> In the next two chapters I pay heed to these voices and probe into the largely unexamined body of poetry written by one of the foremost U.S. anthropologists and linguists of the twentieth century. Focusing on two poems in particular, out of a body that is notably characterized by a sustained engagement with acoustic phenomena and auditory perception, the present chapter starts by exploring the dynamics of Sapir’s ambivalent relationship toward sound. Whereas the poem “Music” (1925) thematizes and imitates the effects of a symphony orchestra’s musical sound on its listeners, “Zuni” (1926) stages a confrontation with the primitive sounds of the Zuni, a Pueblo culture in the southwestern United States that presented a popular destination for both tourists and anthropologists in the early twentieth century. The analysis shows that the two poems represent two different strategies of dealing with media and semiotic Others, “those rival, alien modes of representation”: appropriation and domestication on the one side and rigorous exclusion on the other.<sup>15</sup>

The study of sound as an interdisciplinary intellectual ferment in the humanities and human sciences has undergone fast growth and proliferation in the past two decades.<sup>16</sup> While in the early 2000s the terms *auditory culture*, *audio culture*, *aural culture*, *sonic culture*, and *sound culture* were still invoked interchangeably to cover roughly the same area of inquiry, *sound studies* has by now become an established area of expertise and widely used tag.<sup>17</sup> It was fully instituted when concerted efforts to promote research in the field coincided in a relatively short time span in the early 2010s: in this formative moment, three large anthologies, Jonathan Sterne’s *Sound Studies Reader* (2012), Trevor Pinch and Karin Bijsterveld’s *Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies* (2012), and Michael Bull’s four-volume *Sound Studies*

(2013) were published; renowned journals such as the *American Quarterly*, *differences*, and the *Journal of Visual Culture* all devoted special issues to sound; new journals exclusively concerned with acoustic phenomena were founded; and the presence of sound in university curricula grew rapidly.<sup>18</sup> Within sound studies' diversified, interdisciplinary endeavors that take "sound as [their] analytical point of departure or arrival," Sterne's work is part of a large branch that explores the historical development of hearing practices and audio technologies. His research is grounded on the premise that "there is no knowledge of sound that comes from outside culture" and that "by analyzing both sonic practices and the discourses and institutions that describe them," the field of sound studies "re-describes what sound does in the human world, and what humans do in the sonic world."<sup>19</sup> In this spirit, his first book-length contribution to the field, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (2003), set off by reviewing recent writing on sound and compiling a list of sensory oppositions that are ritually cited in contemporary discourses around sound so as to idealize acoustic perception while denigrating vision and, by extension, written language:

hearing is spherical, vision is directional;  
hearing immerses its subject, vision offers a perspective;  
sounds come to us, but vision travels to its object;  
hearing is concerned with interiors, vision is concerned with  
surfaces;  
hearing involves physical contact with the outside world, vision  
requires distance from it;  
hearing places us inside an event, seeing gives us a perspective on the  
event;  
hearing tends toward subjectivity, vision tends toward  
objectivity;  
hearing brings us into the living world, sight moves us toward  
atrophy and death;  
hearing is about affect, vision is about intellect;  
hearing is a primarily temporal sense, vision is a primarily spatial  
sense;  
hearing is a sense that immerses us in the world, vision is a sense that  
removes us from it.<sup>20</sup>

Sterne calls this list “the audiovisual litany” because he sees it as being derived from Christian dogma. It is a restatement of the spirit/letter distinction, whereby the spirit is living and life-giving, leading to salvation, and the letter is dead and inert, leading to damnation. Since auditory perception is associated with the former and thought to contribute to the soul’s salvation, sound and hearing hold an elevated position.<sup>21</sup>

Sterne thus traces an often-cited set of seemingly innocent sensory oppositions back to a specific context of pragmatic application in which they were imbued with meanings and values to reinforce the preeminence of Christian spiritualism and depreciate the sensory practices of non-Christians. In light of Mitchell’s findings about visual culture, however, it is also worth asking whether, in a different pragmatic context, this contingent process might not also evoke sonophobic sensations, that is, the repudiation of sound precisely because of its presumed immersiveness, directionlessness, physical immediacy and emotional intimacy. In fact, Sterne’s reading of this list as sonophilic serves a political function too, namely to put in their proper place the large number of scholars who at the end of the twentieth century felt the need to redeem sound. “To turn to the aural is to turn away from power,” it seems, but “in fact, to redress the imbalance of power, such a turn must covertly justify and assert itself as a turn *to* power,” Seth Kim-Cohen notes.<sup>22</sup> The appeal of the concern with sound is a promise of power, not the acceptance of the virtues of powerlessness. As I show later in this chapter, the professed effort to redeem acoustic perception from presumed oblivion has a long history in the study of sound, and the field of sound studies has certainly gained much momentum and authority from scholars deploring the fact that “the epistemological status of hearing has come a poor second to that of vision” and calling for a “democracy of the senses.”<sup>23</sup> In the 1970s a presumably diminished appreciation of the sense of hearing provided impetus to R. Murray Schafer’s influential World Soundscape Project and its declared research field, “acoustic ecology,” “the study of the effects of the acoustic environment . . . on the physical responses or behavioral characteristics of creatures living within it.”<sup>24</sup> Sterne’s critique is first targeted at Walter J. Ong and his divide between oral and literate societies, which invokes the audiovisual litany as evidence for a distinctly alienating disposition in literate society. Leigh Eric Schmidt’s *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and*

*the American Enlightenment* (2000) made the same criticism a few years earlier, deploying as well the litany as a metaphor to capture Ong's Jesuit investment in sanctifying the hearing of God's words.<sup>25</sup>

Yet one only needs to shift the focus slightly, from Ong to the most famous proponent of orality-literacy theory, Marshall McLuhan, to find examples of how oral society, if characterized by a predominance of the sense of hearing and its supposed immersive, atmospheric, emotionally and physically touching nature, can just as well become a site of fear and terror: "[Oral] man lived in a much more tyrannical cosmic machine than Western literate man has ever invented. The world of the ear is more embracing and inclusive than that of the eye can ever be. The ear is hypersensitive. The eye is cool and detached. The ear turns man over to universal panic while the eye, extended by literacy and mechanical time, leaves some gaps and some islands free from the unremitting acoustic pressure and reverberation."<sup>26</sup> For McLuhan, "terror is the normal state of any oral society, for in it everything affects everything all the time."<sup>27</sup> "Until WRITING was invented," he declares elsewhere, "we lived in acoustic space, where the Eskimo now lives: boundless, directionless, horizonless, the dark in the mind, the world of emotion, primordial intuition, terror."<sup>28</sup> "If McLuhan," Schmidt notes, "shared in Ong's antimodern yearning for the living presences of Christianity's revived Word, he was also far more fearful than his Jesuit companion about the return of the repressed."<sup>29</sup> While Ong looks back nostalgically to a stage in human development where hearing occupied the most powerful position at the top of a hierarchy of the senses, the return of components of preliterate, "oral-aural" society that McLuhan prophesies for the electronic age in *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (1962) and *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (1964) is also riddled with fear.

As with discourses around the image and the iconophilia/iconophobia that pervades them, key to an understanding of these anxieties about sound are ambivalences toward minoritarian groups that are reproduced as semiotic and sensory oppositions are evoked. McLuhan's demarcation of a terrifying "boundless, directionless, horizonless" space of orality involves cultural discrimination, assigning "the Eskimo" to a realm that the writing and reading "we"—McLuhan makes his literate audience complicit in his claims—inhabited until progress took place. "Non-literate cultures," he

generalizes about people living in the past as well as the present, “experience . . . an overwhelming tyranny of the ear over the eye”; “the mind’s ear . . . dominate[s] the mind’s eye” as it used to do all around the world in “ancient or prehistoric time”:

For hundreds of thousands of years, mankind lived without a straight line in nature. Objects in this world resonated with each other. For the caveman, the mountain Greek, the Indian hunter (indeed, even for the latter-day Manchu Chinese), the world was multicentered and reverberating. . . . Life was like being inside a sphere, 360 degrees without margins; swimming underwater; or balancing on a bicycle. Tribal life was, and still is, conducted like a three-dimensional chess game; not with pyramidal priorities. The order of ancient or prehistoric time was circular, not progressive. Acoustic imagination dwelt in the ebb and flow.<sup>30</sup>

McLuhan goes on to list “the Third World and vast areas of the Middle East, Russia, and the South Pacific” as well as “the India to which Gandhi returned after twenty years in South Africa” as places where an acoustic modality constitutes the norm even today, “the foundation on which it [society] recognizes its own perception of sanity.”<sup>31</sup> That is, as McLuhan proposes his popular theory of human society unfolding in four successive sensory states (*oral-aural*, *chirographic*, *typographic*, and *electronic*), not only sound and auditory perception are placed in a prior stage of human development but also people who are thought of as *still* living in “acoustic space” and having an “acoustic imagination.” Orality-literacy theorists such as McLuhan and Ong define orality as the stage in human development that precedes literacy, thus moving geographical spaces marked “oral” into temporal antecedence and turning their inhabitants into premodern, primitive people in the process. This is the very denial of coevalness—through the fabrication of temporal differences out of synchronous, spatial distinctions—that Johannes Fabian has shown forms the constitutive practice in the history of anthropology that consistently construes the field’s (other than white, European) subject of investigation as primordial to the (white, European or Euro-American) ethnographer. In McLuhan’s and Ong’s allochronic discourse, the sounding subject is



likewise removed from the writer's immediate present and placed safely into a distant past. This discourse is also thoroughly racialized, as is perhaps clearest in McLuhan's frequent references to a generic "Africa" and to an "Africa within," whose potential return in the electronic age raises the specter of a relapse into acoustic, primitive being for the oral-turn-literate, modern Euro-American.<sup>32</sup>

Having moved from Mitchell's diagnosis of iconophilia and iconophobia via Sterne's audiovisual litany and mid-twentieth-century orality-literacy theory to what I call *sonophilia* and *sonophobia*, I want to apply these new terms to the poetry of Sapir—specifically to Sapir's ample treatment of acoustic themes and different hearing experiences. The poem "Music" (1925) is an obvious case in point:

*Music*

"What is our life?" profoundly gesturing,  
"Let us forget!" they said, unanimous.—  
The strings are the most chastely amorous  
Of dreamers, 'tis the watery flutes that sing  
Of the lily-footed girls, the oboes bring  
The mountain sleep to the voluptuous,  
Romancing horns. Round this oblivious  
Desire drums threaten and the trumpets ring.

Who are these forty gentlemen of toys,  
Graver than dolls, graver than pirate boys?  
Who are these shining gentlemen of brief  
Commotion? What is their intense belief?—  
"Now what is life?" Take then the dream of joys!  
"Let us forget!" Take but the lilt of grief!

At its most general level, this Petrarchan sonnet portrays an acoustic experience as pure, unadulterated pleasure. Sounds of strings, flutes, oboes, and horns make the persona escape from questions of meaning, offering instead a "dream of joys" and the comforts of "oblivious[ness]"—which remain untouched even as "drums threaten" and "trumpets ring." The passage from a meaning-centered existence, with its "profound gestur[es]"

and weighty concerns, into this untroubled, acoustic realm is announced in a brief exchange, in which the question about life's meaning is answered with a forceful command to let all concerns fall into oblivion: "Let us forget!" Importantly, this prescription also addresses and includes the reader, who then, from the next line onward, is presented with a literary text that not only thematizes but also imitates an acoustic experience through what comparatist Steven Paul Scher terms "verbal music" and what Werner Wolf, in the context of Central European intermediality studies, has more recently called "imaginary content analogies."<sup>33</sup> By attributing an "imaginary content" to the music through the metaphorical language of, for instance, "The strings are the most chastely amorous / Of dreamers" and "the oboes bring / The mountain sleep to the voluptuous, / Romancing horns," the poem seeks to evoke in the reader the effect that the acoustic experience has on the persona. Because of the accumulation of images of sleep, this effect may be described as a pleasant drowsiness or somnolence, yet the very pervasiveness of the imagery also suggests that the failure of descriptive language in the face of this experience is part of the poem's point and integral to its musical portrayal.

Still, only because "Music" is unable to render an auditory experience without recourse to figurative language, this by no means diminishes the power of writing in the logic of the poem. Quite to the contrary, precisely because of their ability to avail themselves of both figurative and descriptive language, written words provide a potent means that is capable of rendering, and in this way co-opting, the effects of sound, despite the latter's resistance to expository description. In fact, as it turns out, they are able to do so in a very succinct manner, by use of merely three words: "Let us forget!" As the imaginary content analogies unfold, it becomes clear that "they," the "unanimous" voices in the second line of the poem, are the "amorous" strings, the "watery flutes," the "voluptuous, / Romancing horns," and so forth, and the command "Let us forget!" a very concise rendering of their overall sound. Further, the ironic tone with which the second stanza is imbued also strips off the weight of music's institutionalized conventions, the "grav[ity]" and "intens[ity]" of its "shining gentlemen," which is at odds with the purported meaninglessness and joyfulness of the music.

Given its celebration of a joyful, meaningless acoustic event on its thematic level, one may nevertheless be tempted to place this poem with the

*sonophiles*, who are attracted by the idea of sound being essentially about affect rather than intellect, an immersive bodily experience that does not involve cerebral exercise. Yet crucially, what is depicted in “Music” is not only sound but *music*, European classical music, to be precise, with “these forty gentlemen of toys, / Graver than dolls, graver than pirate boys” forming a typical symphony orchestra with its woodwinds, brass, percussion, and string sections. Although all music is sound, to be sure, not all sound is music. Music, albeit notoriously difficult to define in a narrow sense, must be broadly conceived as an institution that requires by necessity a structuring of sound. Even John Cage’s most iconoclastic piece—4’33”—is scored in three movements, during which all instrumental sounds are suppressed for four minutes and thirty-three seconds sharp by the instruction *tacet*.<sup>34</sup> As such structured sound, music has at all times served political functions, even—and perhaps especially—when it was taken to be exempt from processes of meaning construction. According to Jacques Attali, it is sound structured to fit the needs of a societal system of institutional power, first of all, its need to establish order and a sense of community by signaling that an integrated society is possible: “Everywhere [in music] codes analyze, mark, restrain, train, repress, and channel the primitive sounds of language, of the body, of tools, of objects, of the relations to self and others. All music, any organization of sounds is then a tool for the creation or consolidation of a community, of a totality.”<sup>35</sup>

Kim-Cohen has remarked on the irony that it took Attali, an economist advising French president François Mitterrand in the 1980s, to establish music as a symbolic form. For Attali, more specifically, music is the appropriation and domestication of sound which symbolizes the totalitarian ideal of a harmonic society in control of dissenting elements. Following Attali it is impossible to read Sapir’s poem and its celebration of classical music as sonophilic, for it is the vanquishing and mastering of the Otherness of sound that “Music” celebrates in this conception. However, as Kim-Cohen also points out, Attali’s *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (1977) is not without faults, being overly concerned, for instance, with assessing the value of music in economic terms that may form only one out of many components of music’s ontology and adopting a hypersensitivity to symbolic social violence from French anthroposociological thinkers such as Georges Bataille. As a result, Attali understands music as

“constituent of, and constituted by, the relations included in its expanded situation: sociality, gender, class, race, politics, and power” while leaving many of precisely these complex relations unexplored.<sup>36</sup> Despite adding a significant corrective to the idea of music—and Sapir’s “Music”—being sonophilic, then, Attali’s conception of music as a codified act of violence that domesticates “the primitive sounds of language, of the body, of tools, of objects, of the relations to self and others” also requires greater specificity and nuance.<sup>37</sup> What if the music that structures sound is itself coded as primitive? The second chapter of this book is devoted to examining more closely the relations that constitute music in Sapir and his portrayal of different musical forms and genres.

For now, I want to reflect on sound and read Sapir’s poem “Zuni,” which stages a sonic encounter in the field, outside the persona’s familiar acoustic space, with an interest in the exclusionary strategy that it proposes to reinforce control over the acoustic. Sapir dedicated the poem to Ruth (Fulton) Benedict and composed it before the fellow Boasian anthropologist-poet went on a field trip to the Southwest of the United States to study the Zuni.

### *Zuni*

To R.F.B.

I send you this. Through the monotony  
Of mumbling melody, the established fall  
And rise of the slow dreaming ritual,  
Through the dry glitter of the desert sea  
And sharpness of the mesa, keep the flowing  
Of your spirit, in many branching ways!  
Be running mirrors to the colored maze,  
Not pool enchanted nor a water slowing.

Hear on the wing, see in a flash, retreat!—  
Beauty is brightest when the eye is fleet.  
The priests are singing softly on the sand,  
And the four colored points and zenith stand;  
The desert crawls and leaps, the eagle flies.  
Put wax into your ears and close your eyes.

The poem issues a clear warning against extended, more than fleeting exposure to the sound of the Zuni. While the persona draws a distinct line between the addressee and the subject of investigation, circumscribing “the monotony / Of mumbling melody,” “the slow dreaming ritual,” and “the dry glitter of the desert sea,” and setting them off against the vigorous “flowing / Of your spirit, in many branching ways,” it attributes to sound the potential to blur this boundary by “enchant[ing]” or “slow[ing]” the spirit’s flow. Prolonged exposure, it is assumed, would bring the addressee indistinguishably close to the “softly” singing Zuni priests and the slowly “crawl[ing]” desert, by thwarting the dynamism of the creative mind. “Retreat!” the persona therefore emphatically commands. Only if the sensory experience takes place “on the wing” and “in a flash,” and the auditory is ultimately excluded, the mind continues to flow “in many branching ways,” as “running mirrors” to the sounding primitive, observing from a distance rather than being immersed in it.

The protective measure that is proposed in the concluding line of the poem, to “put wax into your ears,” is inspired by the myth of Odysseus and the Sirens, a primal scene for the study of sound according to Petra Maria Meyer and, arguably, one of the earliest literary manifestations of sonophobia.<sup>38</sup> Odysseus, as the Homeric tale famously relates, urged his sailors to bind him to the mast so he could listen to the Sirens but to put wax into their ears so that the Sirens’ song would not seduce them to go astray and shipwreck. Both Sapir’s “Zuni” and this myth presume notions of hearing that are listed on the left side of Sterne’s audiovisual litany—hearing as ineluctably immersive, as physically and emotionally intimate and immediate—to construe an acoustic event that is an existential threat to be warded off. Even more, both texts also warn against contrary, sonophilic sensations, that is, an attraction to the sonic Other that deceives listeners into overlooking the threat. In each text, the spatial setting juxtaposes what is to be understood as a vision of great beauty with signs of imminent danger. While the singing Zuni priests in Sapir’s poem are encircled by an eagle and placed in a “colored” desert that not only “glitter[s]” but “crawls and leaps,” the Sirens in Homer “enchant all with their clear song” while being surrounded by “a great heap of the bones / of rotting men, and the skin shrivels up around / these bones.”<sup>39</sup> Written and spoken words, on the other side, the signs that make up both Homer’s

myth and Sapir's poem, appear as safeguards against the threat of sound, being instrumental in the attempts of both Odysseus and the speaker of "Zuni" to preserve focused, rational thinking in their companions against threatening "enchant[ment]." Sound thus comes to form an opposite to written and spoken language that has to be kept at a distance together with the primitive and ancient peoples who are accused of producing it: the Zuni and the Sirens.

In a letter to Benedict dated August 26, 1924, Sapir comments on "Zuni" and its intertextual reference to Homer: "You see I am warning you against the Desert Siren. It would be terrible to have you come back with Oh and Ah like any well-behaved acolyte of the Santa Fe school."<sup>40</sup> Although the letter was written in a humorous vein and with some sarcasm directed at the people who pilgrimaged in great numbers to the American Southwest at that time, it adds further testimony to the poem's premise that the addressee's sense of hearing is particularly vulnerable and susceptible to harmful influences from outside. The sound of "the Desert Siren" is assumed to affect someone in such a way as to turn them into a "well-behaved acolyte," dumbfounded at the sight and sound of another culture rather than engaging more actively with it—with "flowing" spirit, to use the imagery of Sapir's poem, as opposed to being "enchanted" by it. One crucial difference remains, however: while in "Zuni" the Zuni are the group of people most closely associated with this threat, a significant danger also emanates from the prospect of merging with a particular group of Euro-Americans and their approach to the primitive in Sapir's letter. By "Santa Fe school" he refers to the stream of tourists, artists, and anthropologists that traveled with the Santa Fe Railway Company to the U.S. Southwest, starting in the late nineteenth century and reaching its peak in the first decades of the twentieth. While coming from different walks of life, these travelers shared a desire to discover a pristine, premodern way of life in the Pueblos—a desire into which marketing efforts of "the Santa Fe" tapped with great profit, as I illustrate in chapter 4.

Before I go on to disassemble the sonophilia/sonophobia binarism, let me spell out two meanings of *sonic Otherness*, which have been so far only implicit in my discussion of Sapir's poetry. First, and perhaps most commonsensically, *sonic Others* are the foreign groups of people who are depicted as avid producers of sound, such as the Zuni and the Sirens.

Sound, however, I have further claimed, appears itself as an Other, which generates either *philia* or *phobia* and is opposed to written language in Sapir's poetry. After all, "Zuni"'s warning against sound comes in written words: "I send you this," its opening states, enlisting from the outset the poem's mediality as a written, sent, and read text. It should have become clear that analogies between representations of this sonic Other and treatments of other forms of alterity—such as racial, ethnic, class, or gender alterities—are not coincidental but result from dominant power relations being projected onto semiotic and sensory oppositions, which in turn inform discriminatory practices. Hence the injunction that children should be seen and not heard—to borrow once again from Mitchell—is transferable from children to colonized subjects to women to images and, I would add, to sounds.<sup>41</sup> Just as the image-text relationship can take on "the full range of possible social relations inscribed within the field of verbal and visual representation," so can the relationship between sound and text be fraught with all possible relations between different groups of people. To be as clear as possible, this is not to suggest that silencing minoritarian groups is qualitatively the same as suppressing the sonic or the iconic. To be sure, it is not. My point is rather an interrelatedness between the two, which generates practices of Othering that feed back into each other: with sound being construed as alien and potentially threatening, shutting out and shutting up unwanted people becomes an even more urgent task and their figurative as well as literal silence a social ideal.

Sonophilic constructions of sound as preconceptual, affective, immediate, and immersive have been equally complicit in the systematic and systemic oppression of minoritarian groups in the history of hearing. Ana María Ochoa Gautier's contribution to Jonathan Sterne and Lisa Gitelman's book series with Duke University Press, *Aurality: Listening and Knowledge in Nineteenth-Century Colombia* (2014), also takes Sterne's critique of the audiovisual litany as a point of departure to explore the role of sound in the relations between minoritarian and majoritarian groups—specifically colonial intellectuals, creoles, and indigenous people in nineteenth-century Colombia—and notions of personhood and the body politics of the nation-state. As Ochoa Gautier attempts to rethink the relationship between the colonial and the modern with Colombia as her grounding point, she notes a general pervasiveness of the audiovisual litany in twentieth-century

portrayals of Latin America and the Caribbean, with claims of a different modernity in this region often hinging on the assumption of a specific aural and bodily knowledge of the subaltern that is opposed to the ocularcentrism of the elites. As a result, colonial power structures are reproduced under a benevolent, sonophilic guise: “in the name of recognizing the knowledge of ‘the other,’” the celebration of this particular knowledge “ends up reproducing an unexpected Cartesian dichotomy of the body and the mind, divided between subalterns and elites . . . and in the name of decolonizing, it actually recolonizes.”<sup>42</sup>

While being thus clearly more cautious about sonophilic phenomenologies and their political repercussions than many earlier scholars of sound, the example of Ochoa Gautier’s study is not to suggest a development of successive waves of sound studies, whose current efforts collectively deconstruct the essentialism and universalism on which the work of an earlier generation was largely founded. Rather, what characterizes the present moment in the history of the study of sound appears to be a division of specialization into scholarship that challenges the premises of the audiovisual litany on political, historical, and its own phenomenological grounds—such as Ochoa Gautier, Sterne, Schmidt, and many others—or builds new theories based on these very assumptions.<sup>43</sup> For instance, Salomé Voegelin, as Nicola Gess puts it, derives “a promise of immediacy and sensory presence” when she asserts:

Like the alphabet the visual invites and enables intellectual reflection of an over-there and of another-time, remote from its own production. It enables thought and engenders the idea of purpose and order by forfeiting the immediate sensibility of its own materiality. . . .

Sound on the other hand *is* its immediate sensibility: unordered and purposeless, always now. The opaque and ambiguous process of living manifests itself in its sounds. . . . It is the unseen but heard simultaneity that develops community not as an ideal manifestation of reason between subjects, but as their coincidental meeting in affection. . . . Sound demands the vis-a-vis and sounds the now as a complex duration of past and present continued together in the action of perception. This now is absence *and* presence in the paradox



of sound that is always here. It is not linear or intentional, but extensive and intersubjective: permanently and only here on my body.<sup>44</sup>

Vision is directional, hearing is spherical; vision offers a perspective, hearing immerses its subject; hearing is about affect, physical contact, and so forth. Voegelin's widely read *Listening to Noise and Silence: Towards a Philosophy of Sound Art* (2010) rehearses the by-now familiar phenomenological characteristics that Sterne compiles in his list. To offer but one other example from current sound studies scholarship that reiterates the same litany almost verbatim, witness Frances Dyson in *Sounding New Media: Immersion and Embodiment in the Arts and Culture* (2009):

Sound is the immersive medium par excellence. . . . Sound surrounds. Its phenomenal characteristics—the fact that it is invisible, intangible, ephemeral, and vibrational—coordinate with the physiology of the ears, to create a perceptual experience profoundly different from the dominant sense of sight. Whereas eyes have a visual range of 180 degrees, projecting from the front of the subject, ears cover a 360-degree expanse, hearing all around. Whereas eyes can be closed, shutting out unwanted sights, ears have no lids. Whereas seeing positions the subject symbolically as director of its look, always looking ahead toward the future, hearing subverts this role: the listener cannot control what is often overheard, what is muttered “behind my back.” Immersed in sound, the subject loses its self, and, in many ways, loses its sense. Because hearing is not a discrete sense, to hear is also to be touched, both physically and emotionally. We feel low sound vibrate in our stomachs and start to panic, sharp sudden sound makes us flinch involuntarily, a high pitched scream is emotionally wrenching: sound has immediate and obvious physical effects. . . . “Sound”—the term itself—is already abstracted: there is sound, inasmuch as there is atmosphere; like a dense fog, it disappears when approached, falling beyond discourse as it settles within the skin. As sound rides the cultural divisions between language and babble, music and noise, voice and the body's abject effusions, it resists theorization.<sup>45</sup>

Dyson's newer book, *The Tone of Our Times: Sound, Sense, Economy, and Ecology* (2014), builds on the same clichés about the essential nature of hearing to propose five “forms of sonority”—“sound, tone, music, voice, and noise”—as remedies for what she describes as the two current “crises of eco”: one of them economic, the other ecological.<sup>46</sup> The argument is developed *ex negativo*, through an assemblage of instances in European and North American cultural history (ancient theories of harmony and cosmology, changing theological doctrines, developments in computing, the stock market, and financial governance, as well as new technologies such as speech synthesis) that are connected, according to Dyson, by practices that exclude the acoustic. Dyson considers these exclusionary practices to be at least partly accountable for the two current eco crises and implies that the converse inclusion of sonic considerations benefits efforts to fight environmental degradation and financial debt.

*The Tone of Our Times* enlists the audiovisual litany from a position that seeks to alleviate pressures caused by the financial and environmental predicaments of the twenty-first century. If one wanted to locate Voegelin and other current theories of presence and sound politically, Gess contends, one would have to mention “their emancipatory self-understanding as liberating aesthetic experience from the trap of the symbolic and the intellectual rage for control”: “Their rhetoric of liberation, their attack on the (hermeneutic) *Geist* and the regime of signs, their renunciation of contextualizing interpretation, their sympathy for auratically charged interior spaces and immediate aesthetic experiences, and their appeals to idyllic worlds in the past can all be seen as quite close to positions of the Romantic anti-Enlightenment and its turn to the field of aesthetics as part of its anti-political politics.” Gess points out parallels between the phenomenological essentialism of current sound scholars and contemporary movements against a hermeneutic approach to art, such as Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht's conceptualization of *presence* and Dieter Mersch's theory of *the performative*, to ultimately connect them both to the romantic anti-Enlightenment and “anti-political politics” of such figures as Rousseau, Wackenroder, Nietzsche, and Bloch.<sup>47</sup> In Sapir's “Zuni,” we saw notions of sound as affective, immediate, and immersive at work in a cross-cultural portrayal that elicits fear, specifically of a collapse of the distance between observer and observed that the acoustic experience is assumed to provoke.

I return now to the poem's historical and intellectual contexts to probe more deeply the ideologies in which the audiovisual litany is embedded in this instance of anthropological poetics.

Two addenda to my reading thus far: For one, if "Zuni" is sonophobic, as I have argued, it is important to note as well that it also aligns sight with sound in the imagined encounter between the Zuni and the addressee, rather than placing vision on the opposite side with the writing and reading subject, as thinkers of the audiovisual litany would suggest. Thus the poem issues a warning not only against extended, more than fleeting exposure to sound but to the spectacle of the pueblo too: "Hear on the wing" but also "see in a flash, retreat! — / Beauty is brightest when the eye is fleet"; "put wax into your ears" as well as "close your eyes." Both indigenous sounds—alliterated in "the monotony / Of mumbling melody" and the Zuni priests "singing softly"—and images, such as "the dry glitter of the desert sea" and "the colored maze," are set off against the addressee's "branching" spirit and armed with the capacity of "slowing" the spirit's flow.<sup>48</sup> Again, an intertextual reference to ancient Greek mythology serves to further instill a sense of fear: the instruction to "close your eyes" and "be running mirrors to the colored maze, / Not pool enchanted nor a water slowing" echoes the tale of Narcissus, who was tricked by the image of his own reflection in the water. As the song of the Sirens and the Zuni, the treacherous visuals are also characterized by great beauty. Fatal danger and utmost beauty are juxtaposed in the myth of Narcissus as the beautiful youth drowns after being enchanted by the reflection of his looks in the water.

This conjuring up of both visual and acoustic beauty in a poem that forcefully commands "Retreat!" requires another addendum to my reading of "Zuni" as sonophobic. Importantly, the poem's phobic sensibility implies a reciprocally related *philia* toward its sonic and visual Others. Imagining experiences of "brightest" beauty as well as great danger, the persona acts as arbiter between *clashing* feelings of attraction and repulsion.<sup>49</sup> The verdict, then, is the advice "Hear on the wing, see in a flash," and finally "retreat." In other words, instead of refraining entirely from exposure, the addressee is told to first yield to the attraction and then quickly withdraw and create distance, so as to prevent the spirit from being "enchanted" and "slow[ed]" down. This back and forth between sonophilia and sonophobia throws the contingency and arbitrariness of the meanings attached to

the audiovisual litany into even sharper relief: not only can the presumed affective, immersive, and physical nature of sound serve as either a source of fear, as in McLuhan, or as a site of attraction, as in Ong and current theorists of sound and presence, but it may also alternate between these contrary poles within one text.

In fact, McLuhan, too, frequently oscillates between sonophilic and sonophobic sentiments, and his 1969 *Playboy* interview presents the best-known case in point. When asked to elaborate on his phrase “acoustic space,” McLuhan’s answer is steeped in longing for “the rich resonance of the tribal echoland” and disdain for the fragmented and detached realms of the contemporary, visual and literate social being. “Audile-tactile tribal man,” he explains, “lived in a magical integral world patterned by myth and ritual, its values divine and unchallenged, whereas literate or visual man creates an environment that is strongly fragmented, individualistic, explicit, logical, specialized and detached.” However, McLuhan’s sonophilic sensibility wavers as the conversation moves to the process of so-called *retribalization* that today’s society is undergoing in the electronic age. “The compressional, implosive nature of the new electric technology is retrogressing Western man back from the open plateaus of literate values and into the heart of tribal darkness,” he declares in a sinister tone, projecting a regressive movement “back” from the enlightened, “open” space of the literate and down into the dark, interior space of the acoustic. Again, he takes recourse to the racist trope of the repressed “Africa within” that threatens to return the oral-turned-literate, modern subject to a state of terror, “the normal state of any oral society,” where “everything affects everything all the time.”<sup>50</sup> More so than any other part of McLuhan’s media theory, his prophesy of a more acoustic age prompted by the rise of new electronic technologies reverberates with both fear of and desire for sound. Schmidt accounts for this ambivalence by noting that McLuhan’s “grand story of modern ocular-centrism” renders a history of modern aurality logically impossible, since

in this myth the very origin of modern culture is grounded on the exclusion of the “primitive” or “ancient” ecstasies of listening. The otherness, blackness, or primalness of the auditory keeps it from . . . having a history within modern Western culture (at least, on McLuhan’s terms, in between the Gutenberg revolution and the twentieth-

century proliferation of electronic media). Accounts of bardic songs, narratives of oracular voices, encounters with oral scriptures, and stories of mystical auditions are plots that work for “other” cultures—societies that are all ears—not modern ones that are all eyes. In a word, we look, they listen.<sup>51</sup>

The prospect of living in an oral-aural present wavers uncomfortably between attraction and repulsion in McLuhan as it fails to fit into a historical narrative that equates the onset of modernity with the exclusion of the sonic Other, the denial of its coevalness. With the modern subject defined as having outgrown the “ecstasies of listening,” as listed in Sterne’s audiovisual litany, McLuhan’s prognosis of retribalization generates excitement at the same time as it causes existential fear. It promises the long-lost pleasures of McLuhan’s acoustic space while rattling the very foundations of the modern sense of self.

While “Zuni,” then, imagines a solution to the clash of sonophilic and sonophobic sensibilities that is markedly different from McLuhan’s invocation of a *retribalized* society or Ong’s notion of a *secondary orality*, with the persona advising the addressee to pull away after first giving in to the attraction, the poem shares in the idea that modern selfhood requires by necessity an exclusion of the acoustic.<sup>52</sup> McLuhanesque orality-literacy theory and Sapir’s poetry connect in this way not only closely with each other but also with thinkers of modernity that conceive of an alienation from nature and suppression of immediate, nonconceptual, affective, and bodily experience—which is identified with sound in McLuhan, Ong, and Sapir—as the constitutive moment of modern subjectivity. The reference in “Zuni” to Odysseus and the Sirens is telling in this regard as well, given the prominent place that Horkheimer and Adorno reserved for this myth in twentieth-century critical theory by making it the primal scene in their theory of modernity in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944). In Horkheimer and Adorno’s interpretation of the Homeric myth, the sound of the Sirens epitomizes an ancient, dangerous, and attractive natural force that the enlightened subject tames by use of *instrumental reason*, the dominant form of reason in modern society and the subject of their critique.<sup>53</sup> This grand narrative of modernity, too, requires the exclusion of the primitive sonic Other. The deaths of Odysseus, “the prototype of the bourgeois individ-

ual,” and of his comrades on the ship, the workers, can be prevented only if a safe distance is kept from the softly singing Sirens, which in turn can be achieved by only two measures:

One he [Odysseus] prescribes to his comrades. He plugs their ears with wax and orders them to row with all their might. Anyone who wishes to survive must not listen to the temptation of the irrecoverable, and is unable to listen only if he is unable to hear. . . . The other possibility Odysseus chooses for himself, the landowner, who has others to work for him. He listens, but does so while bound helplessly to the mast, and the stronger the allurements grows the more tightly he has himself bound. . . . What he hears has no consequences for him; he can signal to his men to untie him only by movements of his head, but it is too late. His comrades, who themselves cannot hear, know only of the danger of the song, not of its beauty, and leave him tied to the mast to save both him and themselves.<sup>54</sup>

The two measures, Horkheimer and Adorno argue, are “equally inimical to his death and to his happiness,” since “the fear of losing the self, and suspending with it the boundary between oneself and other life . . . is twinned with a promise of joy.” The sovereign life that is gained by the employment of instrumental reason, a life liberated from fear, comes at the price of denying oneself this joy of immersion and immediate contact. Alienation becomes an existential necessity, the “temptation” of the Sirens’ song “irrecoverable,” and only its danger, not its beauty, known to the worker.<sup>55</sup> According to Horkheimer and Adorno’s Weberian, Marxist-inspired narrative, instrumental reason thus fails at rendering the modern subject autonomous from the constraints of mythical thinking, placing them instead in unfree relationships where they subject themselves by means of instrumental reason to other mythical powers and their constructions of rational behavior.

McLuhan’s mournful longing for the immersive, oral-aural state that has been lost and his ambivalence about its return can be read as giving expression to the modern, enlightened subject that Horkheimer and Adorno conceive of as torn between the joy and fear of merging with its Others but that “has taken the precaution not to succumb to them even while he

succumbs": "The Sirens have a life of their own, but . . . it has already been neutralized as the yearning of those who pass it by."<sup>56</sup> Following Schmidt, one can then argue that McLuhan's media theory was meant to teach this modern subject how to bind themselves, as it were, in anticipation of the return of the lure of the Sirens in the electronic age: "He wanted to move people through the entrancing effects of the new media and to awaken them from the hypnotic drugs of television and advertising."<sup>57</sup> In the literary imagination of Sapir's poem "Zuni," by contrast, when read through the critical lens of Horkheimer and Adorno, the modern ambivalence between a desire for immediacy and affect and the necessity of a removed, rational position is resolved in a way that does not require the addressee to remain alienated but allows for an instance of aesthetic immersion in the beauty of the Other. Finally, after unfolding a portrait of this beauty, the persona repeats Odysseus's command to "put wax into your ears" in the last line of the poem. But at this point the addressee has already been given the liberty to immerse themselves in the experience, if only for a brief moment in time.

To conclude my analysis of "Zuni" it is important to position this fantasy of a moment of immediate experience that is not already frustrated by the alienation that modern society requires in the context of early twentieth-century U.S. anthropology. The way "Zuni" aligns itself with Horkheimer and Adorno's critique of instrumental reason, portraying a modern, enlightened subjectivity that is torn between the joy and fear of merging with its Others epitomized by "the happily hapless meeting of Odysseus with the Sirens," is suggestive of the tension between the conflicting tendencies of *romanticism* and *progressivism*, the two attitudinal modes that George Stocking identifies in early twentieth-century U.S. anthropology.<sup>58</sup> These tendencies form "enduring alternatives within the Western anthropological tradition, as well as a profound ambivalence toward the civilization that produced it":

Although never really escaping the bounds of its own cultural identity, the romanticist is nonetheless impelled by alienation toward identification with the culturally exotic, seeking to *preserve* its "otherness" as an affirmation of the possibility of cultural worlds more harmoniously fulfilling of the potencies of the human spirit. In contrast, the progressivist dissolves any residual ambivalence toward its own

civilization in the balm of ethnocentrism, seeking to *assimilate* the threatening “otherness” of the culturally exotic within a single progressive world process that would allow it at most only a precursory historical validity. Insofar as they express themselves in activism, the romanticist attitude finds its characteristic outlet in social criticism; the progressivist, in social engineering.<sup>59</sup>

The romanticist and progressivist anthropological types that Stocking distinguishes emerge from two different attitudes toward U.S. society which, crucially, also produce two reciprocally related primitives by way of “utopian projection,” to use Trouillot’s terminology, and an “imaginary correspondence” between subject and “Western” anthropologist that is “the condition of existence of the savage.”<sup>60</sup> Discontent with the alienation and fragmentation experienced in U.S. society, the romanticist erects and preserves “cultural worlds more harmoniously fulfilling of the potencies of the human spirit,” whereas the progressivist strives for integration of “the threatening ‘otherness’ of the culturally exotic” into an ethnocentric view of human progress where the primitive is granted at most precursory value.<sup>61</sup>

Stocking goes on to argue that, even though these attitudes “may coexist in a single individual or a single school,” romanticism constitutes the dominant tendency among Boasian anthropologists, while progressivism is characteristic of late nineteenth-century sociocultural evolutionism and prevailed again after World War II as anthropologists became heavily involved in governmental social engineering. The romanticist attitude that Stocking describes gained in strength among intellectuals and artists especially in the interwar years, given widespread disillusionment by the prewar progressive movement and struggles to find new values in which a national self-understanding may be grounded. Boasians partook in their contemporaries’ social criticism and search for newness and shared important milieux with the bohemian avant-garde, such as Greenwich Village in New York and the American Southwest of Mabel Dodge Luhan and D. H. Lawrence—what Sapir nicknames “the Santa Fe school” in his comments on “Zuni.” Stocking lists Mead’s *Coming of Age in Samoa*, Benedict’s *Patterns of Culture*, and Sapir’s essay “Culture, Genuine and Spurious” as particularly exemplary of the Boasian romanticist penchant. He refers to the three anthropologists’ poetry in this respect as well, and indeed, as my analysis



has shown, “Zuni” subscribes to many of the views that Stocking sees as constitutive of anthropological romanticism. Its sonophilic attraction to an aesthetic experience that offers immediacy and immersion, bringing the persona intimately close to the Zuni before being asked to “retreat,” attests to a romanticist attitude that is “impelled by alienation toward identification with the culturally exotic.”<sup>62</sup> Rather than assimilating the latter’s Otherness, the poem wishes to preserve it as a potential refuge from modern, alienated society. At the same time, however, my analysis has also uncovered “progressivist” and sonophobic tendencies, which culminate in the poem’s final subordination of the romanticist attraction under the goal of maintaining critical distance and a “spirit” that—unlike “enchanted,” “slowing” water—advances “in many branching ways.”

On closer analysis, “Zuni” and the poems of Sapir, Benedict, and Mead more generally, as this study will show, confound Stocking’s romanticist classification, which positions them in opposition to progressivist and evolutionist ways of thinking. More often, these sensibilities compete and overlap in the Boasians’ poetry, giving shape to notions of the primitive that are the product of the anthropologist’s profound yet conflicted affiliation with modern society. In a lecture course that Mead taught at Sarah Lawrence College in the fall of 1941, and which was dedicated to the “demonstration of the use of visual materials” in the study of culture, she gave her students the following assignment:

Choose any medium you like, poetry, prose, painting, sketching, sculpture, modelling, wood carving, wood blocks, and in this medium express what you feel about any one of the three cultures [discussed in the lecture course, i.e., Bali, Iatmul, and Manus], or about any combination of them with each other, or with our own society, e.g. whether you get a sense of homesickness for a simpler and more ordered world, or a sense of thankfulness that you live in a society which, whatever its faults, is dynamic, or whether you find, in a dance step, or a gesture, or a turn of phrase of one of these other peoples just the right symbol for something that you wish to express about life.<sup>63</sup>

The three likely attitudes toward the subject of anthropological investigation that Mead suggests here—the longing for a simpler, less fragmented

way of life; the preference for a “dynamic,” albeit flawed, modern society over the primitive; and the cherry-picking of certain practices of other peoples to serve as symbols—can all be found in the poetry and scholarship of the three protagonists of this study, not canceling each other out but coexisting in the same discursive space. Clearly, they operate in tandem in the plea in “Zuni” for a hurried cross-cultural encounter from a perspective that is informed by “a sense of thankfulness” for living in a rational, fast-progressing world and yet that yearns for the enchantment of the sonic and cultural Other.

One of the goals of the present study is to shed further light on these continuities and entanglements between progressivist, cultural evolutionist and romanticist, cultural pluralist sensibilities as they play themselves out in the scholarly and literary writing of Sapir, Benedict, and Mead. The two attitudes noted by Stocking, the desire to preserve primitive alterity as an attractive site of escape and the drive to subjugate it as a threatening element to one’s own set of ideas and practices in the name of cultural and scientific progress, are two sides of the same coin, which are contingent on the relationship of the anthropologist-poet to modern society. It is against this position that the subject of investigation is projected with reversed signs and according to an isomorphic logic of alterity, as “the savage” is always already mediated by the investigator’s utopian desires and dystopian fears: “the dominant metamorphosis” that marks the anthropologist’s work is “the transformation of savagery into sameness by way of utopia as positive or negative reference.”<sup>64</sup> Romanticist and progressivist anthropologists share “the same premises on the relevance of savagery” but evaluate it differently. In the modern society that Horkheimer and Adorno evoke, in which the subject is bound by instrumental reason and condemned to alienation, the utopian realm demarcated by the dangerous beauty of the Sirens’ song serves as both positive and negative reference. Similarly, “Zuni” refers to the Zuni in both utopian and dystopian terms, with the persona’s focus on the advancement of knowledge ultimately demanding that the addressee exclude the sonic and cultural Other. The poem imagines a change of hats, as it were, from a romanticist to a progressivist attitude as the addressee retreats from aesthetic immersion to abstract knowledge formation.

SAPIR AND EARLY SOUND STUDIES:  
A SALVAGE OPERATION

If dominant discourses in the history of hearing are marked by clashing sonophilic and sonophobic sensibilities, as I have suggested, current sound studies can be described as originating in a school of thinking that is sonophilic, in the sense of being fascinated with sound and hearing as different and a “special case” that has been oppressed by a visual hegemon and written forms of signification.<sup>65</sup> I am referring to R. Murray Schafer and in particular his 1977 monograph, *The Tuning of the World*, which grew out of Schafer’s World Soundscape Project, established at Simon Fraser University in the late 1960s, and is today typically credited with the foundational role in sound studies.<sup>66</sup> In an often-cited passage, Schafer rehearses the audiovisual litany and corroborates notions of sound as immediate and immersive by observing that ears have “no earlids”:

The sense of hearing cannot be closed off at will. There are no earlids. When we go to sleep, our perception of sound is the last door to close and it is also the first to open when we awaken. . . . The ear’s only protection is an elaborate psychological mechanism for filtering out undesirable sound in order to concentrate on what is desirable. The eye points outward; the ear draws inward. It soaks up information. Wagner said: “To the eye appeals the outer man, the inner to the ear.” The ear is also an erotic orifice. Listening to beautiful sounds, for instance the sounds of music, is like the tongue of a lover in your ear. Of its own nature then, the ear demands that insouciant and distracting sounds would be stopped in order that it may concentrate on those which truly matter.

Ultimately, this book is about sounds that matter. In order to reveal them it may be necessary to rage against those which don’t.<sup>67</sup>

Schafer’s argumentation requires a human body that exists outside society and history: the undeniable biological fact that humans have no earlids does not come naturally to us but is determined by socially and historically specific views, such as an expectation of strict distinctions between interiority and exteriority and rigid barriers—walls, fences, and lockable

doors—that enforce these distinctions physically. It further reflects a presumed primacy of vision and an isomorphic thinking that conceives of other than visual modes of sense perception as lacking. It is only within these contexts that “earlids” may be perceived as missing and that the fact of their nonexistence appears noteworthy. Nevertheless their absence has become a staple of writing on sound, cited ad nauseam by scholars such as Frances Dyson and activists and “anti-noise polemicists,” who “repeat and repeat and repeat” the idea that the ear is bare of all defenses and therefore requires immediate action, but also appearing regularly in the writing of otherwise cautious historians of hearing, including Mark M. Smith.<sup>68</sup>

Crucially, Schafer’s polemic involves distinctions between modes of sense perception as well as groups of people. It thus aligns people other than urban middle-class North Americans, on one level, with the sense of hearing per se and, on another, with sounds that are deemed pristine—only to ultimately place them, on both these levels, in an earlier, premodern stage of human development. However, rather than offering a corrective and reworking of Schafer’s flawed premises, as Emily Thompson, Philipp Schweighauser, Karin Bijsterveld, and other sound studies scholars have profitably done, I refer to his original conceptualization of sound and soundscape studies in order to show that it is precisely its allochronism that connects with the literary acoustics of Sapir.<sup>69</sup> Noting its often wide, uncritical usage, Ari Y. Kelman warns that to dispense with Schafer’s original framework “would be to neglect both its popularity and its deeply resonant potential”; by employing it “willy-nilly,” scholars “muffl[e] the internal nuances and contradictions.” This is all the more problematic as “somewhere between its broad circulation and Schafer’s narrow definition lies a rich vein of scholarship on sound.”<sup>70</sup> By examining some of the nuances of Schafer’s conception of sound and its study and connecting them to Sapir’s sonic imagination, I wish to locate more precisely the source of this rich vein of sound studies that has emerged from Schafer.

More specifically, I probe the dynamics of a project that sets out to salvage other than visual modes of perception as well as other than modern ways of life. Both Schafer’s school of acoustic ecology and Sapir’s literary acoustics are envisaged as an operation to salvage sounds and people that would otherwise be lost to a modern, predominantly ocular and cacophonous sensescape. Moving from the urban soundscape of the poem “To a

Street Violinist" (1917) to the rural sounds and silences of "The Harvest" (1920), I argue that Sapir's poetry carries Schafer's antimodern nostalgia for prelapsarian ways of sensing and signifying projected onto people other than urban middle-class Americans to its logical conclusion, that is, a salvage operation that ends in silence. My final analysis of "Bugler (On Hearing a Train-Whistle in the Dead of Night)" (1919) places Sapir's salvage operation in a pastoral literary tradition in which the trope of "the machine in the garden" (Leo Marx) punctuates the romantic ideal of a quiet, harmonious soundscape. Romanticism collides with progressivism in "Bugler" as the portrayal of the sound of a steam whistle is further imbued with a sense of awe and wonder at the technological sublime.

*The Tuning of the World* unfolds an argument that involves two sensory oppositions, the poles of each of which are dispersed on a linearly progressing timeline. On the one hand, enlisting the audiovisual litany, Schafer reiterates the orality/literacy divide that enjoyed much traction in communication theory around the time that the World Soundscape Project emerged, not least owing to the prominence of Marshall McLuhan. To cite its most notorious popularizer, "Literacy propelled man from the tribe, gave him an eye for an ear and replaced his integral in-depth communal interplay with visual linear values and fragmented consciousness."<sup>71</sup> Schafer posits that "in the West the ear gave way to the eye as the most important gatherer of information about the time of the Renaissance, with the development of the printing press and perspective painting."<sup>72</sup> Hearing, in this narrative, is placed within an earlier, premodern time that has regrettably been lost. At the same time, both orality-literacy theory and Schafer make messianic announcements of a new age that brings together literacy and orality, drawing significant power from the promise of a return of what they construe as past and forgone. While McLuhan and Ong prophesy that the future holds the recurrence of more acoustic times due to present developments in media technology, Schafer's educational program seeks to train the modern subject's sensory abilities to a "clairaudient state," that is, the "exceptional hearing ability" that prevailed in ancient, preliterate times, according to Schafer.<sup>73</sup> Yet Schafer ultimately also subsumes this program of teaching "modern man" a past sensory state under McLuhan's media-determinist theory, arguing that present efforts at "clean hearing" are evidence of McLuhan's larger claim of a process of

*retribalization* caused by new technologies: “I think he is right. The very emergence of noise pollution as a topic of public concern testifies to the fact that modern man is at last becoming concerned to clean the sludge out of his ears and regain the talent for clairaudience.”<sup>74</sup>

On the other hand, Schafer opens up a distinction between “good” and “bad” sounds, between sounds that “truly matter” and “those which don’t.” Having presented his litany of phenomenological observations, which includes a lack of “earlids,” Schafer contends that the ear requires “of its own nature” that the latter sounds “would be stopped in order that it may concentrate” on the former. “Ultimately, this book is about sounds that matter. In order to reveal them it may be necessary to rage against those which don’t,” he admits. As with the orality-literacy divide, the positively valued side of this zero-sum equation is situated in the past, with a line of progression—or rather, *regression*—being drawn from a “world soundscape” populated by the sounds that Schafer considers meaningful to “an apex of vulgarity in our time,” a state where these sounds have been overpowered by less valuable sounds: “The soundscape of the world is changing. Modern man is beginning to inhabit a world with an acoustic environment radically different from any he has hitherto known. These new sounds, which differ in quality and intensity from those of the past, have alerted many researchers to the dangers of an indiscriminate and imperialistic spread of more and larger sounds into every corner of man’s life.”<sup>75</sup> Schafer’s first booklet, *The Book of Noise* (1968), tells this story of acoustic degradation in even more dramatic terms, nothing short of a rallying cry: “There are some who still think the significant battles are being fought in faraway places. But today the significant battles are being fought in the very hearts of our cities. In an attempt to improve or even maintain the quality of our environment it will be necessary to take a strong stand against the problems brought about by the careless use of our technology, because the sounds of our tools and technology are the loudest sounds in our environment. And they are multiplying. The modern city has become a sonic battleground. Humanity is losing.”<sup>76</sup>

With alarm verging at times on rage against his “careless” contemporaries, Schafer suffuses his work with a sense of nostalgia that conjures up a prelapsarian past in order to criticize modern hearing practices and correct what he perceives as neglect of the acoustic in general and of sounds “that

matter” in particular. The salvage operation that he accordingly devises is twofold: it sets out to redeem our sense of hearing from ocularcentrism as well as to save the last remaining pristine sounds before they fall prey to the vulgarity of modern cacophony.

What is more, both these dimensions of Schafer’s acoustic salvage work are imbricated with class and racial hierarchies as temporal lines of progression are projected onto the spaces that people inhabit. As does McLuhan in some of his most racially tinged moments, Schafer maps the evolution from orality to literacy, and the concomitant shift from a primacy of hearing to a primacy of sight, onto spatial distinctions in the present. “Before the days of writing, in the days of prophets and epics,” *The Tuning of the World* asserts, “the sense of hearing was more vital than the sense of sight. The word of God, the history of the tribe and all other important information was heard, not seen.”<sup>77</sup> Yet “in parts of the world, the aural sense still tends to predominate,” Schafer adds, and goes on to quote the psychiatrist John Colin Carothers on his claim that “rural Africans live largely in a world of sound—a world loaded with direct personal significance for the hearer—whereas the western European lives much more in a visual world which is on the whole indifferent to him. . . . Whereas for Europeans, in general, ‘seeing is believing,’ for rural Africans reality seems to reside far more in what is heard and what is said.”<sup>78</sup> By thus mapping evolutionist notions of the senses onto geographical space and in the process associating “the western European” with sight and “rural Africa” with hearing, Schafer places coexisting social and racial groups of people in different but sequentially related times: Africans come to live in the days “before” writing, “the days of prophets and epics,” while Europeans live in contemporary, disenfranchised modern times.

This disenfranchising gesture is indicative of the allochronism that Johannes Fabian has identified as a pervasive and defining tendency in the history of anthropology, which denies the coevalness of the subjects of study by placing them in a time preceding the present, modern moment in which the anthropologist lives. Yet what Fabian describes as a strategy that ethnographers have historically used to assert their power over “savages” and “primitives” is certainly not limited to the disciplinary boundaries of anthropology and its specific research interests. Anne McClintock’s *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (1995), which works at

the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality to demonstrate an epochal shift toward commodified racism in late nineteenth-century imperialist discourses, develops the concept of “anachronistic space” to describe the spatialized time into which allochronism places not only the colonized subjects of anthropology: “Within this trope, the agency of women, the colonized and the industrial working class are disavowed and projected onto anachronistic space: prehistoric, atavistic and irrational, inherently out of place in the historical time of modernity.” In the space of the British Empire, colonized people as well as women and the metropolitan working class “exist in a permanently anterior time as . . . the living embodiment of the archaic ‘primitive.’” However, McClintock’s discussions of the confluence of women, the colonized, and the working class also extend beyond the British Empire to theoretical discourses of the second half of the twentieth century. For instance, she notes an uncanny affinity between Lacan’s treatment of “Woman” and the imperial narrative that places her together with the colonized in anachronistic space, which causes “a glamorization of Woman as primitive” in some second-wave feminist appropriations of Lacan: “If, in imperial discourse, women were inferior because they were atavistic, here women are superior because they are atavistic. Nonetheless, the simple inversion of value keeps intact the analogy between women and colonized as prehistoric. Envisioning women as enigmatic denizens of the pre-Oedipal, however, is no less reactionary than figuring colonized peoples as atavistic throwbacks to the prehistory of the race.”<sup>79</sup>

Early sound studies “glamoriz[e]” their research subjects while keeping intact a reactionary mindset that distinguishes atavistic throwbacks to human prehistory within present geographic space. Schafer denies the coevalness of certain groups of people by placing them in an earlier, supposedly more acoustic age and an anachronistic space. *The Tuning of the World’s* central term, “the soundscape,” while otherwise broad and slippery, defined merely as “the sonic environment” and “any portion of [it] regarded as a field for study,” entails the spatialization of the research subject that allochronism requires.<sup>80</sup> The sound that soundscape scholars study is distributed in geographical space and concentrates in specific localities around the United States and the world. When combined, then, with McLuhan’s temporalization of acoustic space, which identifies hearing with the earliest stage of media and human development, Schafer’s



school of sound studies is bound by some of its key concepts and influences to engage in allochronic discourse. Like the cultural anthropologists that Fabian exposes and the imperial thinkers in McClintock's account, it draws on a powerful narrative that plays off an assertively modern subjectivity against research subjects that represent by contrast a less advanced, primordial phase of human development.

Schafer's temporally inflected binarism between good and bad sounds is likewise mapped onto spatial differences, thereby reinforcing familiar lines of class and racial discrimination. Sounds that are classified as meaningful and worthy of being salvaged pertain to what Schafer terms a "hi-fi" soundscape, that is, a portion of the sonic environment that "possess[es] a favorable signal-to-noise ratio" and where "discrete sounds can be heard clearly because of the low ambient noise level."<sup>81</sup> Since in Schafer's theory "the country is generally more hi-fi than the city; night more than day; ancient times more than modern," country people are moved metonymically, through temporalization of their soundscape, into darker, pre-Enlightenment times. Apart from local differences between rural and urban spaces, Schafer also asserts a historical transition on a global scale from a hi-fi to a lo-fi soundscape. However, as with the claimed shift from orality to literacy and hearing to seeing, he again adds some present-day exceptions: "There are many towns still, the world over, where life moves uneventfully, almost by stealth. Poor towns are quieter than prosperous towns. I have visited towns in Burgenland (Austria) where the only sound at midday is the flapping of storks in their chimney nests, or dusty towns in Iran where the only motion is the occasional swaying walk of a woman carrying water while the children sit mutely in the streets. Peasants and tribesmen the world over participate in a vast sharing of silence."<sup>82</sup> Hi-fi soundscapes, the remnants of a quieter, more idyllic time in Schafer's jeremiad, are today inhabited by the poor and foreign: "peasants and tribesmen" in Burgenland, Iran, and "the world over." In this early conception of sound studies, whose declared goal is to enhance the "world soundscape" by salvaging our sense of hearing as well as those sounds "that matter," people other than urban middle-class North Americans serve as foils onto which acoustic desires are projected.<sup>83</sup> Given, though, that what is desirable is believed to lie in the collective past, these groups of people are not only construed in this way as essentially different but also moved in time

to an earlier, bygone era of human development, an age that is outside the purview and responsibility of Schafer's modern salvage operation.

Certainly, the field of sound and soundscape studies has come a long way since the first publication of Schafer's *The Tuning of the World*, and its current practitioners are often acutely aware of the intricate entanglements of ideas about sound with the Otherness of minoritarian groups of people. Historians of sound and hearing, in particular, have done much to delineate constructions of alterity that result from such entanglements in specific social contexts and discursive fields. Smith's pioneering *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (2001), for instance, shows the reciprocal production of notions of sonic alterity on opposing sectional sides in antebellum America: while the South conjured up a northern soundscape that resounded with the noise of excessive capitalism, industrialism, and urbanism, the North evoked a southern soundscape that was filled with the fearful silence of a tyrannical system based on slavery. While Smith broke new ground around the turn of the millennium by adding questions of sound and hearing to the study of U.S. social history, he had important precursors, notably Annales historian Alain Corbin. In *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, first published in French in 1994 and translated into English in 1998, Corbin uncovers a class conflict on whose opposing sides the sound of village bells is loaded with divergent, religious and nationalist associations. He employs the term "auditory landscape" for what Schafer describes as *soundscape* but does not reference his Canadian contemporary.<sup>84</sup> Kelman argues that it is precisely this conspicuous absence that makes *Village Bells* interesting, for "it throws Schafer's assumptions into stark relief": "Corbin's close analysis of French village bells dismisses Schafer's dystopian historiography and instead amplifies the complicated reverberations between sonic phenomena and social anxieties." Instead of attributing the decline of the significance of bells solely to a rise in industrial noise, Corbin points to several other factors, such as a decrease in the relative power of the church and a rise of competing systems of signification, including printed materials as well as new noise-making technologies such as the steam engine and the siren, which "leveled the sonic playing field."<sup>85</sup>

In a recent contribution to this body of work that focuses on early twentieth-century British discourses around sound, the historian James

G. Mansell examines claims to modern selfhood and expert authority that instrumentalize notions of noise to carve out a position of power. He thus notes that 1970s sound studies theory at times reproduces patterns that characterize British auditory culture between 1914 and 1945. Tentatively and in conjunctive mood, he suggests two points that I have asserted with more certainty here, namely that Schafer's approach "impl[ies] the categorization of sound as ideally premodern." Good sounds in Schafer are sounds that belong to other than present, modern times. Second, the persistent story of modernity's staunch ocularcentrism and the concomitant "nostalgia for a lost world of . . . freedom from the insidious creep of scopic control" tends to construe hearing in general "as un- or premodern," as pertaining to an earlier, past stage of human development.<sup>86</sup> People who coexist in the present but inhabit spaces that are identified as premodern, hi-fi soundscapes or as submitting to a sensory regime that "still" favors orality and hearing over literacy and vision are in this way moved discursively to a bygone age in human history as well. That is, we encounter in Schafer two notions of sonic alterity that produce primitive figures by means of sensory and semiotic discriminations, by demarcating particular sounds and soundscapes on the one hand and by codifying auditory perception in general on the other. To better grasp the constructions of sonic Otherness in Sapir's "Zuni" and McLuhanian orality-literacy theory, I have differentiated between two meanings of *sonic Others*, between groups of people who are closely identified with the production of sound and the notion of sound itself as an Other, which is opposed to written language and provokes conflicting sensations of fascination and fear. Schaferian sound studies adds to this distinction a third meaning, by embedding ideological associations not only in semiotic differences between acoustic and written forms of signification but also in distinctions between specific sounds. The default against which the sounding primitive is isomorphically aligned is not only the alphabetic writer but also a certain *sonic Self*, which inhabits urban, industrialized spaces and fantasizes about sounds other than those generated in this modern soundscape. Sophie Arquette is right in diagnosing in Schafer "a point of view whereby industrial, commercial and traffic sounds are deemed sonic pollutants, and subsequently allotted to the garbage heap" and to wonder "what exactly constitutes" the "purely natural sound" that Schafer imagines as their opposite.<sup>87</sup> Clearly, such a

soundscape does not exist and must remain a fantasy about the past that spurs Schafer and his students to action in the present.

Sapir's poetry takes this salvage operation to its logical extreme, that is, the silence in which it necessarily ends. Like Schafer, Sapir not only separates primitive orality and literacy, hearing and modern subjecthood, as the analysis of "Zuni" has shown, but his poetry is also characterized by a sustained interest in different soundscapes and the people who inhabit them. The poem "To a Street Violinist," for instance, portrays a street musician drowned out by the "hubbub" of an urban soundscape:

*To a Street Violinist*

I've often seen you bow your fiddle—  
I've never heard more than a jangling scrape;  
The hubbub always hid your tune.  
Your clothes are torn,  
You are bent,  
You seem intent  
On your fiddling,  
And your face is neither sad nor gay.  
I wonder—are you blind?  
No one listens—  
You do not seem to mind.  
No one stops to drop a cent  
Into your cup—  
You do not seem to mind.  
  
I cannot hear your music,  
And your fiddling is the saddest  
I have seen.

Like *The Tuning of the World* six decades later, "To a Street Violinist" bemoans modern urban cacophony and enlists other people as foils onto which auditory desires are grafted. Its persona imagines an intimate relationship with the addressee, which is evoked through repeated use of the second-person singular pronoun and direct questioning but frustrated by the spa-

tial distance “to” the street violinist that is already marked in the poem’s title. In the imagined encounter, the musician appears “bent” and “seem[s] intent” on working hard to make a living while receiving no recognition whatsoever: “No one listens,” “No one stops,” and no one “drop[s]” as little as “a cent.” The repetition of the devastating “No one” is countered in equal measure with “You do not seem to mind,” which is added to and marked off by a dash from the lack of appreciation that it outweighs. We witness how the persona, when confronted with the “hubhub” of a modern urban soundscape, construes a sonic Other—the street musician and their violin play—that is resolutely detached and seemingly unaffected by the oppressive acoustic environment.

In its final tercet, in addition to good and bad sounds, violin music versus metropolitan clamor, “To a Street Violinist” also sets hearing and seeing in opposition. Being unable to “hear [the violinist’s] music” through the city’s din, the persona is limited to the sense of sight and declares the musician’s fiddling “the saddest / [they] ha[ve] seen.” The primacy of sight that Schafer’s *Tuning of the World* assumes is thus presented, not as its source, but as a necessary result of the excess of “insouciant and distracting” sounds in modern times.<sup>88</sup> It is this reasoning, that a profusion of bad sounds entails a preference for sight, that also accounts for the persona’s bewilderment at the violinist’s disregard of the visible indifference of the passersby: “I wonder—are you blind?” Given the excessive clamor to which they are both subjected, the persona fails to understand why, if not for being blind, the violinist does not have recourse to the sense of sight. The street violinist appears as different from the metropolitan subject in the sense that they also embody a preponderance of the acoustic at odds with the modern visual primate. Thus, “To a Street Violinist” presents an alterity that shares in the three meanings of sonic Otherness that I have extrapolated from Schafer: its eponymous musician is not only portrayed as an avid producer of valuable sounds oppressed by the city’s modern cacophony; the violinist further represents an otherwise bygone sensory regime that privileges hearing over sight.

In contrast to the urban setting of “To a Street Violinist,” Sapir’s poem “The Harvest” stages an encounter that features the voice of a farmer and takes place in what Schafer would classify as a “hi-fi” soundscape.

### *The Harvest*

Pipe-smoke is floating over his slow speech.  
I love this grizzled farmer's gentle voice;  
It hints to me, "I have known to walk and rejoice  
In the corn, in the hay, where the sun and the sharp rain teach  
By turns; and twelve moons and the weathers, O each  
Has fingered my patient heart, like little boys  
That fondle and batter their silent, submissive toys."  
I love this voice and the pauses of broad reach  
That space his words out like a peaceful village,  
House-dotted on a prairie of full-ripe tillage,  
And smoke-trails weave with the wind along to a bluer  
Height. . . . We are sitting bent over embers; now fewer,  
Lower, come words. . . . There comes a snow-wind pillage  
And the black earth is dead, but the harvest sure.

Despite the prominence of the farmer's voice, the interlocutor serves again as a foil onto which the persona grafts auditory desires. In the process, a sonic Other takes shape that has to be salvaged from the vulgarity of the modern world soundscape posited in both Sapir's poetry and Schafer's *Tuning of the World*. Yet even more, "The Harvest" is a manifestation of the act of silencing that this salvage operation implies by necessity. For one, although the "slow speech" of the farmer is quoted at great length, taking up five of the fourteen lines that make up the poem, the persona does not engage with his words on a semantic level. The account of harsh weather conditions that "fondle and batter" him like "silent, submissive toys" is taken as mere "hints" and reduced to a series of "gentle" sounds, which the persona claims to "love" in the two lines that bracket the account. The long vowels of the assonant "smoke is floating over his slow speech" help to evoke onomatopoeically the soothing, gentle sound that is the object of the persona's infatuation. However, just as much as the farmer's voice, the speaker loves "the pauses of broad reach" between utterances, and it is these long pauses that dominate the second half of the poem. As the farmer's voice slowly fades out, "fewer, / Lower, come words" is imitated—again, by onomatopoeic means—through a paratactic syntax

that is interspersed with ellipses. The poem's words, too, are "space[d]" out "like a peaceful village," evoking in the reader an experience of the very soundscape that is being described. Both the farmer's and the persona's voice fall eventually silent as "a snow-wind pillage" leaves "the black earth . . . dead, but the harvest sure."

In the increasingly quiet exchange, a desire becomes manifest for a premodern hi-fi soundscape that is projected onto both a locale and its inhabitants, thereby rendering the "grizzled farmer" a pleasantly still relic to be salvaged in written text. One could even go as far as to suggest that the phrase "It hints to me," which introduces the voice of the farmer, announces a fabrication that exists only in the imagination of the persona.<sup>89</sup> The paradox of a project that blacks out, as it were, the very people and sounds that it claims to salvage is also strikingly captured in the final image, in the "snow-wind pillage" that renders the field "black" and "dead" "but the harvest sure." Given Schafer's deep longing for quietude, David Henry has recently "worr[ied] about" him "edging into slightly misanthropic territory, as if the world would be better if only the people in it disappeared."<sup>90</sup> Indeed, both Schafer and Sapir display a disregard for the socioeconomics of the soundscapes they examine and run the risk of placing their desire for tranquility above the emission of noise that is often a by-product of prosperous human life. Henry, though, misses an important point by generalizing this penchant into an aversion toward "the people" in the world taken together. As I have shown, Schafer as well as Sapir involve significant distinctions between groups of people, which make some people disappear into a distant, more acoustic or hi-fi past while others—who live in the modern, cacophonous present—are burdened with the task of preserving what is left of them. Only the latter's perspective is represented in Schafer and Sapir, so that the danger of neglecting basic human needs affects primarily the former.

However, the salvage operation of Sapir's poetry and Schafer's acoustic ecology necessarily ends in silencing the sonic Others that it sets out to save not only by projecting onto them a desire for a soundscape that is largely silent. Crucially, only by being perceived as endangered and on the brink of extinction do sounds and people become subjects of interest to be salvaged from modern cacophony and ocularcentrism in the first place. Their redemption, in other words, requires their loss and the moral impetus

that this prospect generates. By presenting sounds “that matter” and auditory perception more generally as vanishing remnants of an earlier time, and then associating them with class and racial difference in the present, Schafer produces sounding primitives whose value is contingent on their imminent extinction. Similarly, Sapir’s street musician becomes a subject worthy of being salvaged at the moment that they are drowned out by the urban din and ignored by everyone except the speaker. In “The Harvest,” in turn, the persona’s interest in the farmer is predicated on an infatuation with the slowness and gentleness of the old man’s voice, a voice that is on the verge of falling silent and indeed dead by the end of the poem.

These texts thus engage in a circular reasoning that presents its subjects of interest as disappearing at the hands of modernity only to let people who identify as modern rescue them from their deplorable fate. They differ, though, from what Renato Rosaldo has termed “imperialist nostalgia,” in that they do not conceal the complicity of the salvage worker’s way of life in the loss of the subject through “innocent yearning” but rather deflect blame and dissociate the rescuer from the destructive forces of modernity by taking up a socially critical position: “Imperialist nostalgia revolves around a paradox: A person kills somebody, and then mourns the victim. In more attenuated form, someone deliberately alters a form of life, and then regrets that things have not remained as they were prior to the intervention. . . . In any of its versions, imperialist nostalgia uses a pose of ‘innocent yearning’ both to capture people’s imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination.”<sup>91</sup> The nostalgic imperialist as defined by Rosaldo shares with the salvage operation discussed here an allochronic logic that ties the value of certain spaces and their inhabitants to a position of primordality, placing certain people in anachronistic space. When combined with a socially critical stance that dissociates the modern subject from the destructive power attributed to modern society, “innocent yearning” gives way to a more active response that seeks to preserve vanishing primitives. The ethnographic discourse that is driven by an impulse to rescue what is at risk of vanishing in the face of modernity and modernization is known as *salvage ethnography*.

The term was first used by Jacob W. Gruber, who also noted the confidence in technological progress that this discourse involves: “In the face of the inevitable and necessary changes . . . the obligation of both scientist



and humanist was clear: he must collect and preserve the information and the products of human activity and genius so rapidly being destroyed."<sup>92</sup> While current experts such as Patrick Brantlinger and Brian Hochman go further back (for instance, to Jefferson's lament in *Notes on the State of Virginia* "that we have suffered so many of the Indian tribes already to extinguish, without our having previously collected and deposited in the records of literature the general rudiments at least of the languages they spoke"), Gruber identifies James Cowles Prichard's alarmist 1839 intervention before the British Association for the Advancement of Science as foundational to salvage ethnography and traces its translation from nineteenth-century debates into Boasian anthropology.<sup>93</sup> Early twentieth-century U.S. anthropologists legitimated their representational practices by means of the recurring theme of the vanishing primitive, a rhetorical construct that imbued their work not only with an elegiac tone similar to that of nineteenth-century novels such as James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* but also with moral significance and a sense of great urgency. Commenting on the state of research on primitive cultures in Canada, Boas insisted in 1910, "Primitive life is disappearing, with ever-increasing rapidity; and, unless work is taken up at once and thoroughly, information on the earliest history of this country . . . will never be obtained."<sup>94</sup> Sapir echoed his teacher one year later: "Now or never is the time in which to collect from the natives what is still available for study. . . . What is lost now will never be recovered again."<sup>95</sup> Aleš Hrdlička, the first curator of physical anthropology at the National Museum of Natural History and a strong opponent of Boas in most other regards, deplored in a similar vein that "Indians . . . are in most localities rapidly disappearing and in a considerable proportion of the tribes have become actually extinct or are on the point of extinction."<sup>96</sup> On the other side of the Atlantic, as well, Bronislaw Malinowski opened his seminal ethnography *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) wistfully, joining in the pleas of his U.S. contemporaries:

Ethnology is in the sadly ludicrous, not to say tragic, position, that at the very moment when it begins to put its workshop in order, to forge its proper tools, to start ready for work on its appointed task, the material of its study melts away with hopeless rapidity. Just now . . . when men fully trained for the work have begun to travel into sav-

age countries and study their inhabitants—these die away under our very eyes. . . . For though at present, there is still a large number of native communities available for scientific study, within a generation or two, they or their cultures will have practically disappeared. The need for energetic work is urgent, and the time is short. . . . The number of workers is small, the encouragement they receive scanty. I feel therefore no need to justify an ethnological contribution which is the result of specialised research in the field.<sup>97</sup>

As anthropology's subjects of research were construed as being tragically caught up in a rapidly progressing process of decline and eventual disappearance, ethnographers hurried to visit the last remains of authentic primitive life, often considering the community's "grizzled" elders the most valuable informants of this vanishing life. Mary Catherine Bateson describes the school of thought and methodology of the twentieth-century U.S. salvage ethnographer as follows:

At the point where Margaret [Mead, i.e., her mother] entered anthropology, the major thrust of American anthropology was what came to be called salvage anthropology. It was the study of Native American cultures that had already been profoundly disrupted by the arrival of Europeans and the epidemics and the fighting and deportations and gathering up in reservations and the impact of alcohol. So if you wanted to study—to try and study Native American cultures as they were before the arrival of the white man . . . you had to do it by finding a grandfather or a grandmother who was willing to sit and tell you about the way it used to be.<sup>98</sup>

Bateson's interview with Virginia Yans-McLaughlin is meant to ultimately highlight Mead's pioneering role in the study of primitive cultures that are alive and well. It thus presents a narrative in which salvage ethnography precedes participant observation in a genealogy of successive anthropological methods. Yet when Mead entered anthropology, the salvage imperative had already proven its usefulness as a highly effective rhetorical tool. As many Native American cultures turned out to be much more resilient than early salvage ethnographers had predicted, the burden of the

anthropologist shifted from the rescue of human lives to the preservation of cultures “as they were before the arrival of the white man.” Although the participatory approach that Malinowski established in Great Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century became essential to the methodology of ethnographic fieldwork under Boas as well, the notion that primitive cultures are bound to perish persisted and went on to provide justification for the study of faraway peoples before they suffered the same tragic fate as America’s native population. That by this fate twentieth-century cultural anthropologists meant above all the loss of primitive cultures and not necessarily the loss of actual lives is a fact that is often, and conveniently, blurred in their writing. In Bateson’s quote, it is interesting to note how she juxtaposes the vague claim that “Native American cultures” had been “profoundly disrupted” with a series of threats not just to ways of living but to life itself (“the epidemics and the fighting and deportations and gathering up in reservations and the impact of alcohol”). The wording thus confuses cultures with human lives and paves the way for postcolonial salvage operations that can claim to rescue in effect only the former.

James Clifford, in the influential critique of salvage ethnography that he contributed to *Writing Culture* (1986), also notes that the salvage imperative is pervasive in ethnographic writing of the early twentieth century and “has oriented much, perhaps most, twentieth century cross-cultural representation.”<sup>99</sup> He observes that anthropologists have used the tenet that their research subjects are disappearing and must therefore be scientifically recorded in “a last-chance rescue operation” to vest the knowledge that they produce with supreme authority. Importantly, this political move takes place at the cost of the very people who are supposedly being saved. For the subject of the salvage anthropologist is not only assumed to be weak and in dire need of paternalism; Clifford moreover critiques its “relentless placement . . . in a present-becoming-past” rather than in a present-becoming-future. “What would it require . . . consistently to associate the inventive, resilient, enormously varied societies of Melanesia with the cultural *future* of the planet?” he asks rhetorically.<sup>100</sup> In his book-length study *Savage Preservation: The Ethnographic Origins of Modern Media Technology* (2014), Hochman asserts that, “at bottom, the architects of the salvage paradigm insisted that certain populations were incapable of progressing beyond the primitive social state” and that “it was

the duty of the civilized to record primitive life in the face of its certain demise.” He considers this line of reasoning to be based on two fundamental premises: the cultural pluralist idea that cultures are irreducibly different, and cultural evolutionism and its precept that certain groups of people are underdeveloped, less fit to survive, and bound to yield to the more developed groups. In this frame of thought, the extinction of people is inevitable. Even more, those groups of people who are believed to be less advanced are taken to be inherently disadvantaged and incapable of adapting to historical change, thus being doomed to disappear by their very nature. The only way to prevent their demise is by completely isolating them from all modernizing forces, which is an impossible trade-off for the (modern) fieldworker and, besides, not in the least desirable: “writers and anthropologists championed the salvage endeavor as a scientific opportunity,” being complicit in its making and “very often turning a blind eye to the realities of survival and change that surrounded them.”<sup>101</sup>

Also struck by anthropology’s overwhelming fascination with people who are pronounced dead, Susan Sontag, in her essay “The Anthropologist as Hero” (1970), quips, “Anthropology is necrology. ‘Let’s go and study the primitives,’ says Lévi-Strauss and his pupils, ‘before they disappear.’”<sup>102</sup> It is such necrological tendencies that can also be found in Schafer’s and Sapir’s treatments of sound. By presenting certain soundscapes and their inhabitants as remnants of a bygone age that must be captured before their inevitable disappearance, Schafer and Sapir produce sonic Others that are passive, fragile, and weak, only to heroically salvage these doomed primitives. If we follow Clifford’s historicization of salvage ethnography, the pastoral imagination that is at play in both Schafer and Sapir also forms an important connecting link, since for Clifford, anthropology’s salvage imperative is located in an older, pastoral literary tradition.<sup>103</sup> Before anthropologists embarked on field trips to remote places in order to salvage vanishing primitives, the distinction between country and city at home spanned a plane of synchronic difference onto which a temporal line of progression was projected. The resulting topography of city/country oppositions prefigured the divide between modern ethnographer and primitive subject of salvage: “On the country has gathered the idea of a natural way of life: of peace, innocence, and simple virtue. On the city has gathered the idea of an achieved centre: of learning, communication, light.”<sup>104</sup> Thus Raymond

Williams's *The Country and the City* (1973) has shown that mourning the loss of the simpler, "natural" way of life associated with the country also constitutes a conventionalized pattern of retrospection and lamentation that reaches back into classical times and reemerges in each period of history, with the ultimate referent for the harmonic, past way of life being Eden. The identification of the country with prelapsarian harmony and innocence can be observed in particular in times of value shift and crisis, as a way "to break with the hegemonic, corrupt present by asserting the reality of a radical alternative," a utopian, anachronistic space that is "repetitiously encoded as fragile, threatened, and transient." Such pastoral fantasies, Clifford's reading of Williams continues, point to a romanticist urban subjectivity that responds to a sense of social fragmentation and alienation: "The self, cut loose from viable collective ties, is an identity in search of wholeness, having internalized loss and embarked on an endless search for authenticity. Wholeness by definition becomes a thing of the past (rural, primitive, childlike) accessible only as a fiction, grasped from a stance of incomplete involvement."<sup>105</sup> Both Sapir's "To a Street Violinist" and "The Harvest" embody such an identity in their respective speakers and their encounters, in turn, with an interlocutor that personifies wholeness and authenticity. In each of these encounters, a fantasy of premodern idyll is crafted from a "stance of incomplete involvement": in "The Harvest," the old farmer's account of his walks in the fields only vaguely "hints to" the persona, offering mere inspiration to imagine the pastoral idyll of "a peaceful village, / House-dotted on a prairie of full-ripe tillage." The persona in "To a Street Violinist" is similarly detached from the eponymous addressee, who remains mute throughout the poem while suggesting an uncorrupted and authentic but ultimately inaccessible alternative to the persona's modern metropolitan way of life.

In both poems the pastoral ideal is further instantiated in a particular sound: the grizzled farmer's gentle voice and the street violinist's muted music. Sapir's poetry serves as a reminder that the popular equation of the pastoral with a visual landscape does not suffice to capture the full range of sensory experiences that the literary tradition evokes. In an attempt "to invite and provoke American studies scholars to 'listen back' to the field's own history of critical thinking and scholarship," Kara Keeling and Josh Kun's special issue of the *American Quarterly* "relistsens" to Leo Marx's clas-

sic *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (1964) to propose that it is soundscapes, not landscapes, that “feature most prominently in the making of the pastoral ideal.”<sup>106</sup> While being cautious about overcorrecting a past neglect of the acoustic with undue superlatives in the present (surely, the claim that sound figures “most prominently” in the pastoral imagination can be easily contested), I agree with Keeling and Kun that the nineteenth-century writing at the center of *The Machine in the Garden* points to a pastoral ideal that is acoustic to the core. One conspicuous feature that Emerson, Thoreau, and Hawthorne all have in common is an acute sensitivity to the sonic environment and a speaker unsettled by the new sounds that penetrate the rural soundscape with the rise of industrialization and technologization. Especially the piercing shriek of the steam locomotive presents a recurring theme that throws an otherwise quiet rural soundscape into stark relief. Thoreau famously describes a “devilish Iron Horse, whose ear-rending neigh is heard throughout the town” and even reaches him in his secluded cabin at Walden Pond.<sup>107</sup> In the chapter “Sounds” of *Walden*, the sounds of the Boston-bound steam locomotive disrupt a pastoral idyll containing sounds of animate nature as well as older human-made sounds. However, the steam whistle not only intersects this idyll; for both Thoreau and Hawthorne, it also “tells a story” of modern industrial progress:

But, hark! There is the whistle of the locomotive—the long shriek, harsh, above all other harshness, for the space of a mile cannot mollify it into harmony. It tells a story of busy men, citizens, from the hot street, who have come to spend a day in a country village, men of business; in short of all unquietness; and no wonder that it gives such a startling shriek, since it brings the noisy world into the midst of our slumbrous peace. As our thoughts repose again, after this interruption, we find ourselves gazing up at the leaves and comparing their different aspect, the beautiful diversity of green.<sup>108</sup>

For Hawthorne, the long shriek of the train whistle, “harsh, above all other harshness,” tells of “busy men, citizens, from the hot street,” who represent business and its literal and figurative “unquietness.” It thus brings more than an unpleasant loud shriek into a quiet, agrarian soundscape;

the “noisy world” of the industrial city as a whole, with its hustling and bustling inhabitants, is thrown “into the midst” of the “slumbrous peace” of the speaker’s pastoral idyll.

Marx argues that it is the vivid contrast between the piercing shriek of the train and the surrounding quietude of the country that throws into stark relief the pastoral promise of “all-encompassing harmony”: “a state of being in which there is no tension either within the self or between the self and its environment.”<sup>109</sup> The shriek of “the machine in the garden” enacts the violent rupture with Edenic harmony that has been mourned since time immemorial, as Williams notes. For the modern salvage worker, it entails the loss of the pastoral soundscape and way of life, as any contact with modernity must inevitably lead to the extinction of the premodern. Marx concludes that the significance of the steam whistle for American literature can hardly be exaggerated. Indeed, it “reverberate[s] endlessly” in the major American writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:

We hear such a sound, or see the sight which accompanies it, in *The Octopus*, *The Education of Henry Adams*, *The Great Gatsby*, *The Grapes of Wrath*, “The Bear”—and one could go on. Anyone familiar with American writing will recall other examples from the work of Walt Whitman, Sarah Orne Jewett, Henry James, Sherwood Anderson, Willa Cather, Eugene O’Neill, Robert Frost, Hart Crane, T. S. Eliot, John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway—indeed it is difficult to think of a major American writer upon whom the image of the machine’s sudden appearance in the landscape has not exercised its fascination.<sup>110</sup>

Emily Thompson, in *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900–1933* (2002), also observes the steam whistle’s foremost position in American literature as “the acoustic signal of industrialization,” which “announced the arrival of both railroad and factory” and thus frequently “punctuate[d]” narratives that are ambivalent about the coming of industry and technology.<sup>111</sup> Interestingly, it figures prominently in the body of poetry at the center of this study as well, as both Sapir and Mead composed poems in which pastoral harmony and quiet is pierced through by the whistle of a passing train. Given its historical centrality to the American pastoral imagination that Marx and

Thompson have pointed out, my analysis would be incomplete without a final assessment of these Boasian treatments of the steam whistle.

Mead's poem "Good Friday 1923" portrays the whistle of a train as a destructive force that disrupts the quiet during worship on Good Friday in 1923. Significantly, the Christian ceremony is presented as an "ancient ritual" and the fast-rising industrial power that the steam whistle announces as causing harm to a premodern cultural practice:

*Good Friday 1923*

In serried ranks the people knelt,  
Caught in an ancient ritual;  
With loving intent hearts they came  
To anoint their Lord for burial.  
In the quiet church whose stately lines  
Belied the grossness of a later age,  
They lived again His agony  
Under the Gospel's tutelage.

Spellbound by the chanted word,  
They waited for the tolling bell,  
To hear its mournful lovely knell  
Commemorate their dying Lord.  
But the low notes meant to bless His pain,  
Were lost in the whistle of a passing train.

In stark contrast to the "grossness" of the later, modern age, similarly decried in Schafer's *Tuning of the World* as the "apex of vulgarity in our time," the persona of "Good Friday 1923" finds in the church service a quiet, ancient way of life that is noble and morally pure and manifests in the architecture of the church building, in its "stately lines."<sup>112</sup> In the secluded acoustic space of the church, however, "the mournful lovely knell" of the "tolling bell" now has to compete with the intrusive "whistle of a passing train," which overpowers the bell's "low notes" in the final couplet of the sonnet. The poem thus stages a metaphorical defeat of the primitive, as the pastoral quiet is broken and "lost" in the train's forceful shriek in the final line. Whereas Sapir's "The Harvest" uses the vanishing voice of the old



farmer and the image of dead, black earth to suggest the death of a more wholesome, premodern way of life, the impending death of the primitive is further reified in Mead's "Good Friday 1923" in the recurring theme of the death of Jesus Christ, specifically in images of "His agony" and "pain" as well as the "mournful" congregation.

Sapir's unpublished poem "Bugler (On Hearing a Train-Whistle in the Dead of Night)," which was written only two days before "The Harvest," according to the two poems' manuscript versions, presents a much more ambivalent assessment of the industrializing process heralded by the whistle of a passing train. In its narrativization of the effects of "hearing a train-whistle in the dead of night," the poem seems to borrow almost directly from the romanticist and transcendentalist writers that *The Machine in the Garden* discusses. Instead of the sudden and overpowering entrance that the steam whistle makes at the end of Mead's "Good Friday 1923," the sound here also "tells a story" that triggers a series of memories and prolonged reflection on the part of the persona:<sup>113</sup>

*Bugler (On Hearing a Train-Whistle in the Dead of Night)*

You grip the black silence with your doleful cry  
Of thick-long white, you shake it softly, soft;  
You slip up like a smoke to the star-loft,  
To the eternal glimmers of the roofing sky.  
Now you are nothing. At last my soul is I,  
It rushes out, disheveled, from its troughed  
Obscurity, trembles, trembles. (Not oft  
It finds a door.) O it is wand'ring in high  
And lone and amazing, breathless, endlessness,  
Pelted by a knife-storm of memories,  
By a patter of wounds from the dead-enlivened past.  
Chance bugler, why did you come with a cry and blast  
Out a streak through night and warmth for my soul to freeze,  
To shake and to shrink in this merciless, legioned, press?

With the titular metaphor of the bugler not only musicalizing but anthropomorphizing the train whistle, the first quartet of the poem persistently

addresses the intruder. Further, the opening expands on the title's juxtaposition of animate sound with dark, "dead" night by unfolding a narrative that is ripe with synesthetic metaphors: the whistle's "doleful cry / Of thick-long white," which combines hearing, sight, and touch, "grip[s] the black silence" and "shake[s] it softly, soft," until finally, the sound "slip[s] up like a smoke to the star-loft" and "the eternal glimmers of the roofing sky," leaving again in peace and "black silence" the people who live under this timeless roof. As in Mead's "Good Friday 1923" and Sapir's "The Harvest," the "doleful" idea of a more quiet, ancient way of life that is about to vanish is echoed in imagery of death, grief, and darkness. However, "Bugler" does not stop at registering the loss of premodern cultural practices and behaviors but imagines more fully what happens when modern technology trespasses into a pastoral soundscape.

With the shriek of the steam whistle fading away at the end of the first quartet, the remaining ten lines of the sonnet explore the persona's perception after being exposed in this way to modernity and imagine its powerful impact. As soon as the train is out of earshot and "at last" the persona's "soul is I," a thought process is set in motion that the poem tracks in its convolutions. With the persona's soul and self being again one, not alienated or fragmented, the soul "rushes out, disheveled, from its troughed / Obscurity." It is stirred by the sound of the steam-whistle, but it "trembles, trembles," "breathless, endlessness," its quivers and confusion imitated onomatopoeically through the doubling of words and syllables. Memories suddenly come rushing in like a "knife-storm" that "patter[s]" and "pelt[s]" the persona, causing "wounds from the dead-enlivened past." The poem culminates in a furious charge in its final tercet, demanding an explanation from the "chance bugler" for the random yet deeply upsetting intrusion on the persona's soul, which is made "to freeze, / To shake and to shrink" by the "streak" that the train whistle "blast[s] / out." However, far from proposing an unequivocal, firm rejection of the intruder, "Bugler" mixes anger and confusion with a sense of awe and wonder at the new technology and its powers, including its power to move the persona's soul in the "merciless, legioned, press" that constitutes modern life: the "wand'ring[s]" that the sound of the steam whistle sets in motion are portrayed as "high / And lone and amazing, breathless, endlessness."

What differentiates Sapir's representation of the train whistle from Mead's "Good Friday 1923" most significantly, then, is the rhetoric of the *technological sublime* of which "Bugler" partakes. Although the term has been in circulation since the 1960s, when it was coined by Perry Miller and used by Marx in *The Machine in the Garden*, the technological sublime did not become common currency in American studies departments until David Nye, a former student of Marx, studied its genealogy at great length in the 1990s.<sup>114</sup> Following Nye, I am not interested in tracing the shifting definitions of the sublime but rather start from a broad understanding of a transcendent experience that elicits awe, exaltation, and wonder and is "often tinged with an element of terror." In Burke's and Kant's original, pre-industrial conceptualizations of the sublime, such an experience is reserved for natural sites; it is instantiated in new technologies, by contrast, in the rhetoric of the technological sublime. Nye excavates a nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American discourse that glories in "nearly magical displays of scientific prowess" found in massive human-made structures that appear as "triumphs over the physical powers of nature": "Great bridges overcame natural obstacles; tall buildings surmounted the force of gravity; dams restrained the largest rivers of the continent."<sup>115</sup> More dynamic technologies such as the railroad, on the other hand, demonstrated "the triumph of machines . . . over space and time," and it is this overwhelming mastery that also inspires awe in the "Bugler." The "rush[ing] out" of the persona's soul and the "amazing," "high / And lone" wanderings that the train spurs are manifestations of its power over space and time.

When thought of in terms of the two dominant attitudes that Stocking identifies in the history of U.S. anthropology, the technological sublime in Sapir's "Bugler" provides further evidence for a relationship between romanticism and progressivism in Boasian scholarship and poetry that is more tenuous than Stocking suggests. While Mead's "Good Friday 1923," just like Sapir's "The Harvest" and "To a Street Violinist," idealizes the pastoral in a way that connects with the romanticism of salvage ethnography and Schaferian soundscape studies, "Bugler" is more ambivalent about the progress of modern, industrial society. Importantly, this ambivalence again manifests in clashing philic and phobic sentiments toward an acoustic experience: both the train whistle in "Bugler" and the Zuni song

in “Zuni,” while representing opposite sides of the encounter between modern and primitive that early twentieth-century anthropology stages, provoke conflicting feelings that mirror the anthropologist-poet’s critical yet unfaltering affiliation with modern society and an enlightened way of life. Clearly, Stocking’s simple equation of Boasian poetry with a romanticist attitude does not do justice to “Zuni”’s fear of the enlightened mind being slowed down by an immersion in primitive sound nor to “Bugler”’s awe at the progress of modern technology and industrial society that the whistle of the train announces.

The sound of train whistles figures prominently in early sound studies as well, yet with markedly different connotations. Barry Truax’s *Handbook for Acoustic Ecology* (1978), a compendium of the terms that Schafer uses in *The Tuning of the World*, presents the steam whistle as typical of the “sound romance,” that is, of “a past or disappearing sound remembered nostalgically, particularly when idealized or otherwise given special importance. Whereas new sounds are often experienced as sound phobias, old or past sounds are often elevated to the category of sound romances in memory.”<sup>116</sup> For the romanticist salvage student of Schafer’s school of acoustic ecology, the steam whistle, as it has come to represent a past era, has shifted from an unfamiliar sonic terrain that elicits fear and awe to an idealized pastoral, hi-fi soundscape whose loss is mourned nostalgically. In a more recent attempt at saving our sonic environment from its supposed modern corruption and fast-moving decline, Garret Keizer also points to a similar historical shift in meaning by recounting an anecdote of “an old man” who was disappointed by the news that the highway noise barrier currently under construction would soon block out as well the sounds of the trains that run parallel to the interstate. Interestingly, though, at the same time as Keizer notes the historical contingency of the association of the train whistle with an unwelcome intrusion of modern technology into a pastoral idyll, he erects new acoustic symbols that signify a modern encroachment upon a preexisting, more harmonious way of life: “Still, it’s hard to believe that anyone will ever come to be fond of the current generation of railroad ‘air horns,’ or those loopy flying-saucer car alarms, or that a cell phone going off during a Bar Mitzvah will ever bring tears of nostalgia to anyone’s eyes.”<sup>117</sup> As opposed to the train whistle, these new horns, alarms, and ring tones are impervious to romanticization, Keizer

contends. However, one only needs to consult some of the digital archives of sounds that have emerged in recent years to turn Keizer's assertion again on its head. Carefully curated archives such as the tellingly titled Museum of Endangered Sounds (<http://savethesounds.info/>) indicate that the very sounds that symbolized technological innovation only a few decades ago are now considered in danger of disappearance as well, as a new generation of salvage workers discovers in the rudimentary digital technology of the 1980s and 1990s a repertoire of acoustic artifacts that signal the simplicity and authenticity of a past era. That is, contrary to the noise complaints of Keizer and others, the machine in the garden remains a floating signifier that rings with the sounds of ever new and changing technologies. As I write these final words of my first chapter, the BBC just launched a massive online archive of thirty-three thousand sound effect recordings (<http://bbcsfx.acropolis.org.uk/>), ranging from "two-stroke petrol engine driving small elevator" to "African market." With our understanding of the sound of the modern continually shifting, it is also worth paying close attention to the shifting meanings of *sounding primitives*, which in the early twentieth-century poems discussed in this chapter appear by turns as Zuni priests, the "grizzled" farmer of "The Harvest," and the inaudible violinist in "To a Street Violinist." The next chapter will further add to this list as I move on to Sapir's treatment of musical alterities.



## On Alternating Sounds

### *Musical Alterities in Sapir's Poetry and Critical Writings*

#### ON HEARING PLAINTIVE JAZZ

Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (1934), which since the publication of its first edition has introduced several generations of students to the Boasian doctrine that *cultures* (uncapitalized and plural) should be analyzed on their own terms rather than against a Euro-American standard that is assumed to be universal (*Culture*, capitalized and singular), "remains today the single most influential work by a twentieth-century American anthropologist."<sup>1</sup> In this foundational text of contemporary U.S. cultural anthropology, Benedict makes a brief foray into linguistics:

[A] great deal of our misunderstanding of languages unrelated to our own has arisen from our attempts to refer alien phonetic systems back to ours as a point of reference. We recognize only one *k*. If other people have five *k* sounds placed in different positions in the throat and mouth, distinctions of vocabulary and of syntax that depend on these differences are impossible to us until we master them. We have a *d* and an *n*. They may have an intermediate sound which, if we fail to identify it, we write now *d* and now *n*, introducing distinctions which do not exist.<sup>2</sup>

Until we have familiarized ourselves with them, "until we master them," such intermediate sounds between *d* and *n* or additional, more varied *k* sounds are perceived as one alternating sound. As a consequence, a large number of sounds that exist in the "alien" phonetic system remain invisible and inaudible to the implied Euro-American reader of *Patterns*. Franz Boas coined the term *sound-blindness* to describe this epistemological and methodological predicament. When analyzing the notes from his first field trip to British Columbia, a three-month stay in 1886, he noticed significant

variations in the spelling of individual words between different points in time: what at one point he had transcribed as “Operníving” appeared to have sounded more like “Upernívik” at another and like “Uperdnívik” at yet a third point in time.<sup>3</sup> Contrary to then commonly held views on *alternating sounds*, the patterns that he recognized within these variations bore evidence of the phonetics of his own language rather than of the speech system under consideration. Thus faced with a serious challenge to the integrity of his data, Boas launched an intervention in contemporary debates whose wider implications would far exceed anthropological linguistics.

Boas’s article “On Alternating Sounds” (1889), which was published in the *American Anthropologist*, the flagship journal of the American Anthropological Association, posits that “a new sensation” such as hearing an unknown sound of another language “is apperceived by means of similar sensations that form part of our knowledge,” such as the sound of one’s own language.<sup>4</sup> After characteristically careful and rigorous analysis, incorporating evidence from psychophysics, linguistic psychology, and comparative philology, including his own field notes, Boas concludes: “I think, from this evidence, it is clear that . . . there is no such phenomenon as . . . alternating sounds . . . that alternating sounds are in reality alternating apperceptions of one and the same sound. A thorough study of all alleged alternating sounds . . . will show that their existence may be explained by alternating apperceptions.” Moreover, given that alternating sounds are the result of the observer’s own, “alternating apperceptions,” they cannot be understood as “a sign of primitiveness of the speech in which they are said to occur.”<sup>5</sup> What “On Alternating Sounds” tackled, then, apart from a vexing methodological problem, was the prevailing cultural evolutionist interpretation, which read “alternating sounds” not only as inherent in the language under consideration but also as “traces of the ‘vague,’ ‘fluctuating,’ and still tentative language of paleolithic man.”<sup>6</sup> As Brian Hochman explains, they were understood as “primitive vestiges of civilized society’s collective past, holdovers from an earlier stage of linguistic and cultural development”: “The more consistent the phonetics of a language, the logic went, the higher the stage of its evolutionary maturity—the more advanced its place in the historical continuum from . . . savagery to civilization.”<sup>7</sup> When Boas wrote his article, Daniel G. Brinton had just given prominent expression to this position in an address to the American Philosophical



Society titled “The Language of Palæolithic Man” (1888). In a key moment, Brinton describes the consonants of Native American languages as “alternating” and their vowels as “permutable,” which allows him to claim that they are “man’s earliest significant expressions, the ‘baby-talk of the race.’”<sup>8</sup>

The significance of “On Alternating Sounds” is thus often seen primarily in its early testimony to the anti-evolutionism and emphasis on processes of enculturation for which Boas and his students would become most famous. As Brad Evans notes with a nod to Eric J. Sundquist’s use of Boas’s article in *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature* (1993), “along with a point about Boas’s argument with Smithsonian curator Otis Mason over the arrangement of museum displays, alluding to alternating sounds has become a way to shorthand the emergence of [cultural] pluralist thought in American intellectual history.”<sup>9</sup> George Stocking has been particularly influential in this reception of Boas’s article. While all but ignoring “On Alternating Sounds” in his early writings, his later writings take pains to rectify this oversight and to point out the article’s importance as a primer on Boasian thought on *culture*:

It is impossible to exaggerate the significance of this article for the history of anthropological thought. . . . Characteristically, [Boas’s] critique is grounded in considerations of methodology. But “On Alternating Sounds” is much more than a critical or methodological exercise. It in fact foreshadows much of Boas’ later criticism of late nineteenth-century racial thought and his work in physical anthropology. More importantly, it foreshadows a great deal of modern anthropological thought on “culture.” At least by implication, it sees cultural phenomena in terms of the imposition of conventional meaning on the flux of experience. It sees them as historically conditioned and transmitted by the learning process. It sees them as determinants of our very perceptions of the external world. And it sees them in relative rather than in absolute terms. Much of Boas’ later work, and that of his students after him, can be viewed simply as the working out of implications present in this article.<sup>10</sup>

While Stocking’s reading of Boas’s alternating sounds thesis as containing “in germ most of Boasian anthropology” is convincing, this chapter sets

out to relate Boas's article to the study of sound and the literary acoustics of Sapir.<sup>11</sup> Crucially, this foundational text of twentieth-century anthropological thought emerges from considerations of acoustic perception. Genealogies of the field of sound studies, however, usually start by crediting R. Murray Schafer's *The Tuning of the World* (1977) with a foundational role, a text that submits—as I have shown in the first chapter—to a salvage imperative that silences large parts of the world soundscape. I propose that scholars of sound and literature venture further back in the history of hearing to consider “On Alternating Sounds” for profitable use in current debates. By revealing his contemporaries' findings of alternating sounds in primitive languages to be the result of their own, alternating perception, and the latter's contingency on such parameters as national background and linguistic knowledge, Boas addressed the Euro- and ethnocentrism that remains unchallenged in Schafer as well as in much current sound studies scholarship that follows his example.

Despite its powerful challenge to the very possibility of immediate, not always already culturally coded acoustic perception, “On Alternating Sounds,” in its contemporaneous reception, was frequently understood as providing strong grounds for the use of new sound reproduction technologies as ethnographic tools. Indeed, Boas himself was a major advocate of the phonograph.<sup>12</sup> He made history by recording songs of the Kwakiutl during the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 and pioneered this methodology on a larger scale during the Jesup Expedition to the Pacific Northwest from 1897 to 1902, by recording music not only among the Kwakiutl but also among other First Nations, primarily the Bella Coola and Thompson River Indians. Under his tutelage significant figures in the history of anthropology such as Martha Beckwith, George Herzog, Alfred Kroeber, Robert H. Lowie, Elsie Clews Parsons, Paul Radin, Gladys Reichard, Helen Heffron Roberts, Ruth Underhill, Clark Wissler, and Sapir also produced wax cylinder recordings in order to support their ethnographic analyses with “good objective evidence.”<sup>13</sup> The argument that ethnographers reacted to the predicament of sound-blindness by construing new technologies as objective, unmediated media, as able to document authentically and in high fidelity, has been developed in full by Hochman in *Savage Preservation: The Ethnographic Origins of Modern Media Technology* (2014). The construction of sound reproduction technologies in this way, Hochman

claims (building on Erika Brady's *Spiral Way* and Jonathan Sterne's *Audible Past*), must be seen as a response to a late nineteenth-century push for scientific rigor as much as to the older discourse of salvage ethnography. While important research has been done, then, on the impact of "On Alternating Sounds" on the history of audio technology, my concern here lies with how the Boasian questions of sound-blindness and acoustic enculturation play out in the turn-of-the-century literary imagination, specifically the literary imagination of Edward Sapir.

As a PhD student under Boas with a pronounced interest in linguistics, Sapir was very familiar with "On Alternating Sounds" and closely aligned himself with his teacher's position, especially in his early scholarship.<sup>14</sup> In fact, his work in anthropology and linguistics appears to have been premised on this particular contribution, which already provided the master's thesis that he wrote prior to entering anthropology with some of its strongest ideas. When completing his undergraduate and graduate studies in Germanics, Sapir wrote a final thesis on "Herder's 'Ursprung der Sprache' [Treatise on the Origin of Language]" ([1905] 1907).<sup>15</sup> While scholars have claimed that Sapir did not get in contact with Boas's research until after he received his master's degree, thus "perpetuat[ing] [a] mythical post-M.A. conversion experience" that was discarded only when Stephen O. Murray and Wayne Dynes discovered that Sapir took a course on "American languages" with Boas during both his undergraduate and graduate years, the formative impact of Boas is also noticeable when reading Sapir's thesis against "On Alternating Sounds."<sup>16</sup> In his master's thesis Sapir is quick to dismiss Herder's claim of an inherent propensity for fluctuation in primitive or "original" languages by discrediting his "untrustworthy" sources and referring as an example of great "linguistic conservatism" to the language of "the Eskimos," the very language family that prompted Boas to write "On Alternating Sounds": "The oft-asserted and oft-repeated statement of the incredibly rapid change of the languages of primitive tribes is founded chiefly on the untrustworthy reports of linguistically inefficient missionaries; many of the extreme statements formerly and even yet current are absurdly untrue. Indeed, the most startling cases of linguistic conservatism are found among certain primitive peoples, such as the Eskimos."<sup>17</sup> Sapir exposes the sources of Herder's notion of alternating sounds, of "the incredibly rapid change of the languages of primitive tribes," to be amateurish and "untrustworthy,"

thus also revealing the notion's implicit placement of the people that these "linguistically inefficient missionaries" studied in an earlier age of linguistic and cultural development to be "absurdly untrue." Sapir's thesis discards other allochronic gestures that Herder's theory of the origin of language involves in the same indignant vein: Herder's "enthusiastic speculation . . . on the singing-speech of primitive man," that is, his claim of an originally musical character of speech that may still be found today in "the accents of many savage idioms," is refuted as "the wildest and most improbable fancy." The philosopher's notion that the sense of hearing precedes language as well as reason is further taken to be, "of course, at least questionable." Finally, Herder's conceit that "the oriental often prefers to have recourse to the sense of hearing" also fails to convince Boas's student.<sup>18</sup>

Boas's "On Alternating Sounds" contributes an early rebuttal to an arrangement of coexisting sounds and people on an evolutionary ladder from primitive past to modern present. Extending his teacher's line of thought, Sapir's master's thesis, at various points, uncovers and refutes further figurations of profusely sounding, preliterate and prerational primitives that Herder's treatise produces. When turning to Sapir's poetry, an interesting contrast thus emerges between the critical approach that the Boasian linguist and anthropologist applies to the cross-cultural study of sound and the aesthetics and literary acoustics of his writing as a poet. Whereas the former deconstructs cultural evolutionist speculations of Europeans and Euro-Americans caught up in processes of industrialization and urbanization, Sapir's poetry is also rife with nostalgic longing for a quieter, premodern era and preindustrial spaces that are still today inhabited by—both enticingly and dangerously—sounding primitives. I now turn to Sapir's music-themed and musicalized poems but in many ways continue the argument advanced in chapter 1 about the place of his poetry in the history of thinking about culture as well as sound. Sapir's poetry extends into twentieth-century discourses about culture the evolutionism that shaped the viewpoint of Boas's late nineteenth-century adversaries in the alternating sounds debate and reemerged in the second half of the twentieth century in such prominent sound and media theorists as Murray Schafer and Marshall McLuhan.

Out of a series of poems characterized by a sustained interest in different musical genres and practices, the unpublished "On Hearing Plaintive

Jazz by Radio” (1924) presents a particularly compelling treatment of alternating sounds:

*On Hearing Plaintive Jazz by Radio*

Not joy’s fly-off, but desiccated, quick quick  
Clap-trap, rumble and run of inanity,  
Hilarious clatter of sticks semi-military,  
Xylophone tumble, and saxophone sweetly sick;  
Not joy on the wing, but sprightly heart gone dying,  
Experimental joy, grotesqueried  
Chow-chow of emotional hints, the liveried  
Wee tatters of the soul gone dragon-flying—

Forsooth, pie blackbirds never set up screaming  
Half so symbolic, symptomatic;  
Those twenty-four were goosy-ganders dreaming.  
Now here’s a dainty dish for our rheumatic  
Dearest King Sam, weakly, ’tis said, ’tis said,  
In the knee, buttocks and all, and folds in the head.

The octave of this Petrarchan sonnet presents a striking example of what Central European scholars of intermediality such as Werner Wolf have classified as “word music.” Current research in word and music studies draws heavily on the earlier work of comparatists such as Steven Paul Scher, whose scholarship throughout the last four decades of the twentieth century—and over the course of his thirty-year career at Dartmouth—laid the groundwork for the systematic study of the complex relations between music and literature. As Nicola Gess and Alexander Honold remind us in their handbook on literature and music, it has been only two decades since this former research domain of comparative art studies and interart studies was co-opted by the emerging field of intermediality studies.<sup>19</sup> Wolf’s concept of *imaginary content analogies*, for instance, is a reconceptualization of Scher’s notion of *verbal music*. It was mainly because of terminological imprecision and the likely confusion between the terms *word music* and *verbal music* that Wolf replaced the latter with “imaginary content analogies” in *The Musicalization of Fiction*

and “evocation” in his more recent research.<sup>20</sup> “Word music,” for Scher, is “a type of poetry or prose which primarily aims at imitation of the acoustic quality of music”; literature that uses word music evokes this quality “by composing verbal structures consisting predominantly of onomatopoeic words or word clusters.” The definition then goes on to list thinkers who have discussed this type of poetry or prose “of intense sound”: Sidney Lanier, Heinrich Lützeler, T. S. Eliot, Northrop Frye, Calvin S. Brown, Ronald Peacock, and John Hollander. According to Scher, they all agree that “organized sound” is “the basic material of both music and literature”: “‘Word music’ is possible only because of this affinity in material. There is, however, a marked difference between the musical and literary sound which may best be seen in a comparison of the individual sound unit in music (a single musical note) with the individual sound unit in literature (a single syllable, vowel, or phoneme): the literary sound can have conceptual and associative meaning which the musical sound lacks.”<sup>21</sup>

What is most pertinent about Scher’s original definition of word music to the present study is the particular attention he pays to the “conceptual and associative meaning” of “literary sound,” an emphasis that is lost in Wolf’s reconceptualization of Scher and his attempt to strictly distinguish word music as a form of “musical imitation [that] exclusively takes place on the level of the textual signifiers” from imaginary content analogies and other musicalizing techniques.<sup>22</sup> It remains somewhat unclear, however, whether Scher believes that music, as opposed to literary sound, lacks “conceptual and associative meaning” per se, thus subscribing to the old, but still widely popular, romanticist idea of music being nonreferential or even without meaning, an absolute language or *lingua franca* that moves and connects all of humankind.<sup>23</sup> Of course, all “organized sound,” whether in its capacity as “the basic material” of literature or music, is subject to processes of conceptual and associative meaning-making. Wolf is more precise in this regard and defines both literature and music as “conventionalized human signifying practices, each of which is governed by a (historically variable) ‘grammar’ (generic conventions, the tonal system etc.),” also dismissing the notion of “music as an ‘international language’ which everyone can understand immediately.”<sup>24</sup> Indeed, as I have indicated, this sensitivity to the historicity and conventionality of acoustic signifying practices has

coexisted with an essentialist understanding of music as preconceptual and nonreferential for a significantly longer period of time than current genealogies of the study of sound tend to suggest. Almost a century prior to Jacques Attali's often-cited intervention into contemporary discourses around sound, noise, and music, an understanding of acoustic perceptions as adhering to conventionalized symbolic forms can already be seen at work in Boas's "On Alternating Sounds," which contends that "a new sensation is apperceived by means of similar sensations that form part of our knowledge."<sup>25</sup> In other words, just like the linguistic signs that populate the literary text, the meanings of sounds, too, emerge through association with preexisting, historically produced, and culturally contingent ideas. While the music in literature and the music outside of literature may have different meanings, the process of meaning-making that one witnesses in word music mirrors the process that Boas claims for cross-cultural acoustic perception: sounds take on meanings that correspond to the knowledge that the persona has acquired in a specific historical, social, and cultural environment.

Sapir's sonnet on hearing jazz offers a particularly vivid portrayal of this process. In the first eight lines of the poem, which form a thick musico-poetic texture heavy on word music, the reader becomes witness to the persona's perception of the sound of jazz and its contingency on processes of enculturation. The poem creates dense structures that abound with onomatopoeic words and word clusters, such as "quick quick / Clap-trap, rumble and run." Syntax and punctuation further help to evoke the auditory sensation that the persona perceives: instead of full sentences that end with full stops, the octave contains a motley inventory of sounds that imitates the music's composite, disharmonious nature, its "chow-chow of emotional hints." The synesthetic image created through reference to chow-chow, a pickled relish popular especially in the American South and often thought of as Chinese in origin, can also be read as part of the poem's racialization of the acoustic experience. Certainly the onomatopoeic doubling of "chow" contributes to the stanza's attempt at emulating the musical experience by means of word music. The octave ends on the fly, with a dash and "the liveried / Wee tatters of the soul gone dragon-flying." The sound that the persona perceives is evoked by combining what Wolf separates as word music and imaginary content

analogies: just as an analogy is drawn to the image of a tattered soul whose scraps fly away like dragonflies, the assonance “liveried / Wee” and the dash that follows suggest onomatopoeically an openness and a lifting off of the music.

The poem’s metric and rhythmic irregularities—its assonances, sporadic repetition of words, internal rhymes such as “Clap-trap” and “rumble” / “tumble,” and alliterations (“sticks semi-military / . . . sad saxophone sweetly sick”)—seem to emulate how jazz polyrhythms sound to the persona. Indeed, for Michael Hrebeniak, a former lecturer in jazz at the Royal Academy of Music in London and now an English faculty member at Cambridge, the poem resounds with 1920s and 1930s swing music as well as the freer jazz forms that grew out of it, such as post-bop.<sup>26</sup> More important for my purposes here, the persona perceives this jazz sound, to which the “rumble,” “xylophone tumble,” “clatter of sticks,” and “saxophone sweetly sick” amount, as irregular, out of order, and highly abnormal. Even “grotesque” would be too normal a word to describe it; a neologism, “grotesqueried,” is needed. At the same time, the music appears “sad” and “plaintive.” “Joy” is merely “experimental”; it is not robust and “on the wing,” the reader is told, “but desiccated,” like a “sprightly heart gone dying.” The image of a bird dying of desiccation that the first lines of the two quartets repeat identifies the sound of jazz with both physical and spiritual degeneration, a wastelandish site of “inanity,” profuse “emotional hints,” and ultimately death.

In the second stanza, the focus shifts to the as yet invisible agents who produce this kind of unwholesome music, and the process of perceiving unfamiliar sounds by association with given knowledge and preexisting ideas is rendered even more overt. For as the poem’s title makes unmistakably clear, the persona hears jazz “by radio”; nevertheless, the speaker sees “twenty-four” “pie blackbirds . . . set up screaming.” It is at this point of the poem’s representation of jazz that race comes in: using dominant visual codes of American racial discourse, the poem associates “plaintive,” “screaming” jazz with an all-black twenty-four-person big band. We witness how the persona *hears blackness*, as it were.<sup>27</sup> Through the sestet’s repeated reference to nursery rhymes, these racial codes are then connected to child-like behavior and thinking. “Those twenty-four were goosy-ganders dreaming” refers, of course, to “Goosey Goosey Gander,” and the image as



a whole, of twenty-four pie birds singing on a “dainty dish” set before the king, evokes the first two stanzas of “Sing a Song of Sixpence”:

Sing a song of sixpence,  
A pocket full of rye,  
Four and twenty blackbirds  
Baked in a pie.

When the pie was opened  
The birds began to sing—  
Wasn't that a dainty dish  
To set before the king?<sup>28</sup>

Finally, “King Sam,” in the second to last line of the poem, refers to “Sing a Song of Sixpence” as well as to Uncle Sam, the popular personification of the U.S. government that has been in use since the early nineteenth century. The interpretation of the regal figure that is conjured up at the end as a national allegory is further substantiated by the original manuscript of the poem, which shows that Sapir was torn between the phrases “King Sam” and “King Demos,” first preferring “Demos” but then crossing it out and scribbling “Sam” over it. What the poem conjures up as the persona’s acoustic perception—plaintive, inane, grotesque (or rather, “grotesqueried”), child-ish sounds of black jazz musicians—is revealed, in the sonnet’s final turn, to be “symbolistic, symptomatic” of the state of the nation and the American people as a whole. The arbitrary relationship that “symbolistic” implies is immediately amended to suggest a metonymic relation: what the persona hears rings with the preformed idea of a people in decline; the sounds are “symptomatic” of this morbid condition (or “diagnostic,” if one were to look again at the poem’s original manuscript). The idea of a people in physical and spiritual decay is then driven home by the portrayal of “King Sam” as “rheumatic,” “weakly, . . . / In the knee, buttocks and all, and folds in the head.”

The alternating sounds that Boas’s contemporaries claimed to hear were symptomatic for them of an old and weak, backward state in human development as well. In both the perception of Boas’s adversaries in the alternating sounds debate and in that of the persona in Sapir’s “On Hearing Plaintive Jazz by Radio,” preconceived ideas about linguistic and musical sounds determine

what is heard, which then confirms previously held views about the people who are being heard. In the process, foreign sound patterns, at odds with one's own enculturation, come to be seen as signs of regression in both anthropology's non-European subjects of investigation and a group of jazz musicians being played on the radio. Sapir's poem ultimately avails itself of jazz music to diagnose a malaise "at home," in U.S. society as a whole. In its final lines, it turns around to criticize the persona's own Euro-American subject position, which is most manifest in the sonnet form of "On Hearing Plaintive Jazz by Radio." Importantly, the music that the poem goes to great lengths to portray as child-like clamor is a "dainty dish" that suits "Uncle Sam" well. That is, if jazz music is inane and profuse, with emotional hints rather than vigorous and sincere expression, so is the life of modern Americans, the poem concludes.

The narrative situation in "On Hearing Plaintive Jazz by Radio," too, is well worth paying close attention to. So far I have assumed that the narrative voice is homodiegetic and the focalization internal, with the speaker describing the sounds that they perceive while "hearing plaintive jazz by radio." Yet the sestet starts with "Forsooth" and ends with, in the second to last line, "'tis said, 'tis said," thus framing everything in between as voiced in a story world of which the speaker is not a part. The narration shifts from homo- to heterodiegetic in the second stanza. However, since there is strong agreement between the two narrative levels ("forsooth" signals concurrence), the shift is subtle and its implications for the meaning of the poem not immediately apparent. Naturally, the introduction of a heterodiegetic narrator creates a distance to the views that are being presented. The persona reflects not on personal sensations but on the perception of jazz by other people; it is those who consider it "symptomatic" of a nation in decline. The archaic "forsooth," if read as having satirical or sarcastic undertones, may even indicate reserve or disapproval toward these views. Thus, when considering the changes in its narrative voice, "On Hearing Plaintive Jazz by Radio" oscillates in its approach toward its subject of interest—the sound of jazz—between the position of an engaged listener and a more disengaged observer. This conflicted position indeed resembles the difficult role of participant-observer that Malinowski established as an ethnographic standard in the first decades of the twentieth century, as Sapir's poem treats unfamiliar acoustic practices as a subject of study to be approached through participatory engagement as well as critical distance.

Intriguingly, jazz presents a subject of sustained interest—and nuisance—to which Sapir returns repeatedly throughout both his poetic and critical writing. The unpublished poem “The Preacher” (1920) is another instantiation of Leo Marx’s titular trope in *The Machine in the Garden*, which already figures prominently, as I showed in the previous chapter, in Sapir’s “Bugler (On Hearing a Train-Whistle in the Dead of Night)” and Mead’s “Good Friday 1923.” However, here it is not the steam whistle of a passing train interrupting the innocent way of life that, in the pastoral imagination, existed before the modern fall from Edenic harmony. Instead, it is “the rushing automobile’s hum” and the “thunder” of “the jazz-band” that intrude upon a pastoral soundscape:

*The Preacher*

Are your hearts as clean as your butter knives,  
Are your thoughts as white as the table-cloth?  
Where are today the modest wives,  
The frugal dinner of Scottish broth?

On the streets of Babylon I see  
No girlish ankles undisplayed.  
Where, I ask, is the piety  
When even the damned and the sinners prayed?

I want to know if you can come  
To the fear of the Lord on Heaven’s throne,  
When the rushing automobile’s hum  
Is heard above the organ’s drone.

I want to know if you can come  
And join the angels in Zion’s fields,  
When thunder of the Lord and Bible drum  
First place in your heart to the jazz-band yield.

Beware, beware, my merry wives!  
The devil will laugh and God be wroth  
If your hearts be not clean as your butter-knives,  
If your thoughts be not white as the table-cloth.

Both “the rushing automobile’s hum” and the sound of “the jazz-band” are presented as unwelcome intruders that compete for dominance with the preexisting sounds of the church: “the organ’s drone” and the “thunder of the Lord and Bible drum.” The latter stand for a simple, “clean” life of innocent obedience to God, which is now under serious threat, the preacher warns, by a less “modest” and “frugal,” modern way of life, of which the sounds of jazz and the automobile are “symptomatic,” to use the pathological imagery of “On Hearing Plaintive Jazz by Radio.” As in that poem, jazz is also racialized in this narrative of cultural decay, through imagery that codes the sound of jazz as other than white: the sermon that the poem stages is bracketed by the repeated appeal to the congregation to keep their hearts “as clean as [their] butter knives” and their thoughts “as white as the table-cloth,” thus suggesting, conversely, that the modern fall from innocence, for which the sound of both jazz and motor vehicles stands, is also a fall from white racial purity.

A “curious conjunction of racism and antimechanism,” Emily Thompson has pointed out, is characteristic of the reception of jazz in the first decades of the twentieth century, when rapid industrialization intersected with the first wave of the Great Migration of African Americans out of the South and led to a wide-ranging transformation of U.S. cityscapes.<sup>29</sup> In his account of his first trip to New York City—to add but one other example to the voices cited in Thompson—Le Corbusier marvels at the metamorphosis of the American city as he also regards industrial mechanization and African American jazz as mutually constitutive: “In an excited Manhattan, the Negroes of the USA have breathed into jazz the song, the rhythm and the sound of machines”; “the grinding of the streetcars, the unchained madness of the subway, the pounding of machines in factories. From this new uproar around our lives, they [African Americans] make music!”<sup>30</sup> As Kathy Ogren has noted, “to argue about jazz was to argue about the nature of change itself,” and the change that these arguments were most concerned with was racial as well as technological.<sup>31</sup> Accordingly, it is both racial and technological “agents of change . . . from jazz musicians to internal combustion engines” that make the modern backdrop against which the sermon of “The Preacher” is set “roar”: “The Machine Age was simultaneously the Jazz Age; the machinery and the music together defined the new era and filled it with new kinds of sounds.”<sup>32</sup> When the preacher

tells the congregation to “beware, beware” the impending demise of their old way of life, this warning is issued from the position of a modern salvage worker who is in the business of rhetorically saving supposedly fragile, pure, and pristine lives from inevitable disappearance under the overwhelming forces of modernity. In contrast to the racial subject positions that figure more typically in twentieth-century salvage discourse, though, in both “The Preacher” and “On Hearing Plaintive Jazz by Radio,” the other-than-white subject is aligned with modernity’s destructive powers rather than with a vanishing, primitive past, thus situating African Americans in the coeval present that is denied to the dark-skinned subjects of Boasian research but as a harmful, ill-sounding presence to be treated with equal skepticism.

However, even more so than the sestet of “On Hearing Plaintive Jazz by Radio,” “The Preacher” satirizes the perception of jazz that it portrays by means of an internal focalizer and a heterogeneous narrative voice. Unlike “On Hearing Plaintive Jazz by Radio,” the voice does not shift from homo- to heterogeneous narration nor utter any sign of agreement with the focalizer’s view, but remains hidden outside of the story world throughout. The poem’s stance on the concerns that it raises thus also remains largely obscure, while it ventriloquizes the preacher’s sermon in an over-the-top fashion. If the poem is a satire on these views, does this mean that it dismisses them as ridiculous, nothing more than a source of amusement? Or does the satirical treatment serve to render concerns about cultural decline and the loss of an original state of innocence and purity under modernity in a more lighthearted, mocking manner precisely because of their supposed severity? “The Preacher” does not present a satisfying answer to these questions, as it fails to provide a convincing assessment of the changing soundscape that it portrays. While poems such as “On Hearing Plaintive Jazz by Radio,” “Bugler (On Hearing a Train-Whistle in the Dead of Night),” and “The Harvest” all allow their readers to follow processes of cross-cultural auditory perception as defined by Boas in “On Alternating Sounds”—that is, processes of associating new acoustic sensations with given knowledge and ideas—by making literary audiences hear intermedially the sounds that are being portrayed in all their associated meanings, the detached satirical account of “The Preacher” presents one of Sapir’s least successful representations of an acoustic event.

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the connection that Sapir's jazz poetry makes between racial alterity and modernity, it is necessary to turn to his critical writing on literature and music. At the same time that Sapir composed poetry, he was also an avid reviewer of such notable literary figures as Emily Dickinson, Gerard Manley Hopkins, A. E. Housman, H.D., Léonie Adams, and Romain Rolland; his reviews appeared in little magazines such as *The Dial*, *Poetry*, and *The Nation*, which Sapir preferred over "the fatty pot-boilers" of the *New York Times Book Review*.<sup>33</sup> In his 1928 review of *The Book of American Negro Spirituals*, edited by James Weldon Johnson, then executive secretary of the NAACP and a protagonist of the Harlem Renaissance, Sapir is quick to cast judgment on the "vulgarity of jazz."<sup>34</sup> In the context of the present study, this verdict resonates with Mead's and Schafer's respective antimodern laments about "the grossness" and the "apex of vulgarity in our time."<sup>35</sup> That Sapir's assessment is connected to the fact that jazz, to use the words of Alain Locke, was seen as a "symptom of a profound cultural unrest and change" and thus, to use again Sapir's words, as "symbolistic, symptomatic" of a societal transformation that involved a more strongly felt presence of African Americans becomes manifest in the review's juxtaposition of the "vulgarity" of jazz with the "nobility" of spirituals and blues.<sup>36</sup> The latter assessment is repeated verbatim three times on the same page and presented as an achievement endemic to African Americans as a racial group distinct from other ethnicities: "That a group of Jewish or Irish or Italian slaves, living in conditions precisely parallel to those in which the Africans evolved their Americanized culture, could have developed the spirituals and blues is all but inconceivable."<sup>37</sup> Sapir supports these claims by citing enthusiastically an article on "African Negro Music" by Erich Moritz von Hornbostel, a pioneer of what was then called comparative musicology and the first director of the Berlin Phonogram Archive. One of the first and largest institutions of its kind, the Archive was established at the beginning of the twentieth century to house the vast collection of ethnomusicological recordings and acoustic instruments of Hornbostel's teacher Carl Stumpf, whose classic work, *Die Anfänge der Musik* (1911), became known on the other side of the Atlantic notably through a positive review by Sapir.<sup>38</sup> In his review of Johnson's *Book of American Negro Spirituals*, Sapir cites Hornbostel:

The African Negroes are uncommonly gifted for music—probably, on an average, more so than the white race. This is clear not only from the high development of African music, especially as regards polyphony and rhythm, but a very curious fact, unparalleled, perhaps, in history, makes it even more evident; namely, the fact that the negro slaves in America and their descendants, abandoning their original musical style, have adapted themselves to that of their white masters and produced a new kind of folk-music in that style. Presumably no other people would have accomplished this. (In fact the plantation songs and spirituals, and also the blues and rag-times which have launched or helped to launch our modern dance-music, are the only remarkable kinds of music brought forth in America by immigrants.) At the same time this shows how readily the Negro abandons his own style of music for that of the European.<sup>39</sup>

Sapir's use of this passage is remarkable not only because it offers further testimony to a figuration of sonic Otherness that is naturally inclined—and “uncommonly gifted”—to create sound; it also testifies to the marked distinction in Sapir between jazz as “vulgar,” modern Black music, on the one hand, and spirituals and blues as “noble” expressions of an innate African musical gift on the other. Yet interestingly, and again in contrast to the ethnographic portrayal of a dark-skinned primitive that exists and has value only in a past, original state of human development and must suffer from any contact with “their white masters,” Hornbostel and Sapir acknowledge the African American musician's ability to abandon past styles and adapt to modern influences, thus producing “a new kind of folk-music” that even a staunch salvage worker such as Sapir appreciates. Spirituals and blues, Hornbostel adds in parentheses, even contributed to the emergence of “our modern dance-music,” a feat that sets African Americans apart from all ethnic and national minorities in the United States.

Still, the rupture in allochronic thought is extremely short-lived, as Hornbostel goes on to assert, from the last sentence that Sapir cites onward, that African Americans' ability to adapt and change is only another sign of their overall weakness and inability to resist the European's overpowering modern force. Once again, the sounding primitive has value merely as a subject of study on the verge of disappearance and a trophy that sal-

vage workers can use to assert their power. The modern musical genre of African American jazz must figure by contrast as bizarre and abnormal in this scheme of human and artistic development—as “grotesquered,” to use Sapir’s neologism. In a frame of thought in which the modern European displaces the primitive non-European and the latter exists merely as a soon-to-vanish reminder of a past way of life, early twentieth-century African American jazz must remain perpetually out of place, as it signifies a coeval, modern primitive that cannot be.

Paradoxically, then, despite the premise that African Americans are exceptionally musically gifted—“probably, on an average, more so than the white race”—Sapir’s treatment of musical traditions that have other than white origins still takes European music as the ultimate benchmark for musical refinement and preeminence. Not only does Sapir argue (via Hornbostel) that the innate musical talent of African Americans, when applied most profitably, allows them to adapt to the musical style of “their white masters”; they are also believed to “readily” and willfully abandon their own music for the European style of their “masters.” Thus the sounding primitive at home that the African American represents is first and foremost an excellent imitator of European and Euro-American music. The creative musician who composes the most refined musical artifacts imitated by this sonic Other is identified with a white European subject position, the very subject that also does ethnographic work in remote, non-European field sites to explore the musical ways of the people who inhabit anthropology’s savage slot.

#### CLOG DANCING AND DEBUSSY

Having discussed Sapir’s treatment of African American jazz and taken note of the uneasy position that this kind of music holds as a symptomatically modern form of expression in an allochronic logic, I want to explore the rivalry between music and literary writing in Sapir’s treatment of another set of musical conventions: first, his treatment of what he referred to as primitive and folk music and, second, what is widely understood as European classical music. A close analysis of the poems “The Clog-Dancer” (1919) and “To Debussy: *‘La Cathédrale Engloutie’*” (1917) together with his essays “Percy Grainger and Primitive Music” (1916) and “The Musical Foundations of Verse” (1921) shows that the competition between music



and literature in Sapir's writing is inflected by the cultural associations with which the respective musical practices are fraught in a Eurocentric, allochronic frame of thought. Thus, while European classical music engages with literature in a relationship of mutual dependency, primitive and folk music are denied equal standing and placed in an earlier stage of musical development, serving as adjuncts to literary writing at best. Methodologically, most of the questions that I ask in this chapter fall under what Cristina L. Ruotolo has called, in a useful recoinage of Schafer's famous term, "literary musicscapes":

Literary representations of music and musical events inevitably construct and reflect particular historically resonant ways of hearing, seeing, describing, and locating music, what I would like to call *musicscapes*. To think about a text's musicscape is to ask questions such as: What kinds of music exist (and don't exist) in the world of the text? How are the boundaries drawn between different types of music and musicians, between who is musical and who is not, between places where music does and does not happen? What is the text's vocabulary for evoking the phenomenology of listening and performing? And, finally, what does music *do* to people who listen to and play it, and to the social spaces in which it is made?<sup>40</sup>

To these important questions I add another: If music and literature coexist in a written text, how are the boundaries drawn between these two media and their users? That is, how are musical and literary identities and alterities construed in such contested spaces?

Sapir's essay "Percy Grainger and Primitive Music," published in the *American Anthropologist*, opens with the argument that "one of the surest tests of a true musical instinct is the ability to sense melody and rhythm in the music of primitive peoples." For in contrast to "thousands of 'art lovers,'" who "accept without question second and third rate productions, provided they be dressed in the usual accoutrements of art," "a true musical instinct" appreciates art in a "sincere and sound" manner, a manner that is "independent of the bias determined by the conventional garb of art." "There is, however," Sapir deplores, "a gap between such aesthetic appreciation and the laborious field and laboratory study of primitive music

undertaken by the musical ethnologist.” While admirable in their own right, the primitivist endeavors of the musician—no matter how “true,” “sincere and sound” the aesthetic appreciation—are still inadequate without the scientific rigor of the anthropologist.<sup>41</sup> Sapir repeats this lament in a letter to Boas that he wrote around the same time, which concludes, “It really is high time that some man, well trained in both music and acoustic psychology, preferably with some ethnological training or sympathy besides, should make a serious study of the whole field of Indian music.”<sup>42</sup> Sapir is reinforcing here a position that his teacher had in fact taken long before him, namely that the study of “primitive music” should be conducted not by an “ordinary musician” but “from a really scientific point of view,” by “a man who is a thorough musician, but also a thorough [scientist].” Boas gauged genuine musical instinct by the ability of a man “to free himself of the bias of modern music,” an ability that Alice Cunningham Fletcher, the first female president of the American Folklore Society, supposedly lacked. Instead, Boas imagines that “a man of that type” could be found among the students of Carl Stumpf in Berlin, “the only man” that he can think of who possesses such capabilities.<sup>43</sup>

With this, the stage is set for the Australian American composer and folklorist Percy Grainger, whom Sapir endorses in “Percy Grainger and Primitive Music” as a “rare bird” in that he is “not merely a cultivated musician who is half-condescendingly disposed to take from the storehouse of folk and primitive music a hint or two for his own purposes but, on the contrary, an enthusiastic and painstaking collector of such music who freely acknowledges the complexity of the problem, and is convinced of the necessity of studying with all seriousness the subtleties of intonation and rhythm which such music presents. Grainger’s ideal falls nowise short of that of the scientific ethnologist. And his sympathetic understanding of the primitive background again creates a common bond with the professed student of primitive culture.”<sup>44</sup> Having thus established Grainger’s scientific credentials, which he sees lacking in most other musicians, Sapir goes on to quote at great length from Grainger’s treatise “The Impress of Personality in Unwritten Music” (1915) to propose an aesthetic and ethnomusicological project that combines artistic interests with the “seriousness” of the “professed,” “painstaking,” “laborious . . . and laboratory” enterprise of science.<sup>45</sup> Pivotal to this project is Grainger’s conception of

the epistemic value of the study of primitive and folk music, put forward in a section titled “Some of the Lessons of Unwritten Music”:

What life is to the writer, and nature to the painter, unwritten music is to many a composer: a kind of mirror of genuineness and naturalness. Through it alone can we come to know something of the incalculable variety of man’s instincts for musical expression. From it alone can we glean some insight into what suggests itself as being “vocal” to natural singers whose technique has never been exposed to the influence of arbitrary “methods.” In the reiterated physical actions of marching, rowing, reaping, dancing, cradle-rocking, etc., that called its work-songs, dance-music, ballads and lullabies into life, we see before our very eyes the origin of the regular rhythms of our art-music. . . . In such examples as the Polynesian part-songs we can trace the early promptings of polyphony and the habits of concerted improvisation to their very source, and, since all composing is little else than “frozen inspiration,” surely this latter experience is of supreme importance; the more so, if there again should dawn an age in which the bulk of civilized men and women will come to again possess sufficient mental leisure in their lives to enable them to devote themselves to artistic pleasures on so large a scale as do the members of uncivilized communities.<sup>46</sup>

Rather than merely extract “a hint or two,” the reasoning goes, “the storehouse of folk and primitive music” is best used as a source of insight into the origins and early manifestations of contemporary musical expression. By placing synchronous musical data on a diachronic scale, from a state of “genuineness and naturalness” to today’s “arbitrary ‘methods’” of musical expression, Grainger and Sapir come to attach a pristine value to folk and primitive music.<sup>47</sup> Their esteem for this kind of music derives to a large extent from its presumed subservience to the interest of modern musicians and musicologists into their past, but also from its potential relevance in a utopian future where “the bulk of civilized men and women” will “again” be able “to devote themselves to artistic pleasures,” in the way that they supposedly used to in the past and that “the members of uncivilized communities” still do today. With Fabian, Sapir’s ethnomusicological

project can thus also be described as involving a disenfranchising move that denies the producers of primitive and folk music their coevalness in the present by placing them in an earlier, uncivilized, premodern stage of human development to which “we” might return sometime in the future.

Grainger’s essay is also noteworthy for its conspicuous use of the phrase “unwritten music,” which defines primitive and folk music by a lack, namely the failure of involving writing, as other and less than the default medium, which is written music. It in this way reveals another isomorphic construction of alterity, apart from distinctions between conventionalized genres, that is at the heart of Sapir’s treatment of music: writing and what is other than writing. As historians of writing have known for a long time, this binarism has been deeply complicit in colonial strategies of knowledge appropriation, with the alliance between colonialism and literacy reaching back at least to the literati of the European Renaissance. Closer to Sapir’s own time, in the ethnological circles of the late nineteenth century, the distinction between literate and illiterate featured particularly prominently in the writing of cultural evolutionists, as an integral step on the evolutionary ladder toward Civilization. Most influential in Sapir’s U.S. context, the seven-stage typology that Lewis Henry Morgan put forward in *Ancient Society: Or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* (1877) defines Civilization against (Lower, Middle, and Upper) Barbarism and (Lower, Middle, and Upper) Savagery as the most advanced, present stage in human history, which sets in with “the Invention of a Phonetic Alphabet, with the use of writing”:

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| I. Lower Status of Savagery,   | From the Infancy of the Human Race to the commencement of the next Period.            |
| II. Middle Status of Savagery, | From the acquisition of a fish subsistence to a knowledge of the use of fire, to etc. |
| III. Upper Status of Savagery, | From the Invention of the Bow and Arrow, to etc.                                      |
| IV. Lower Status of Barbarism, | From the Invention of the Art of Pottery, to etc.                                     |

- V. Middle Status of Barbarism, From the Domestication of animals on the Eastern hemisphere, and in the Western from the cultivation of maize and plants by Irrigation, with the use of adobe-brick and stone, to etc.
- VI. Upper Status of Barbarism, From the Invention of the process of Smelting Iron Ore, with the use of iron tools, to etc.
- VII. Status of Civilization, From the Invention of a Phonetic Alphabet, with the use of writing, to the present time.<sup>48</sup>

This view of phonetic writing as a necessary and definitive feature of civilized humanity is as important to an understanding of Sapir as the equation of white, European and Euro-American musical conventions with the most advanced stage in human and artistic development that we have seen so far. The diachronic scale on which primitive and folk music are placed in Sapir connects in parallel two media evolutions which are pinnaled, respectively, by European musical practices and the use of phonetic writing. Primitive and folk music are not only subservient to the musical conventions that Sapir is most familiar with but also hold a subordinate position in relation to written forms of expression.

Given this double removal of primitive and folk music from the modern present to a time before the invention of phonetic writing and the development of, in particular, harmony and polyphony in European music, the salvage imperative on which both Sapir's and Grainger's articles end does not come as a surprise:

Quite apart from the pleasure and veneration such exotic arts inspire purely for their own sake, those of us who are genuinely convinced that many of the greatest modern composers . . . owe much to their contact with one kind or other of unwritten music, must, if we wish to behave with any generosity toward the future, face the fact that coming generations will not enjoy a first-hand experience of primitive music such as those amongst us can still obtain who are gifted with

means, leisure or fighting enthusiasm. Let us therefore not neglect to provide composers and students to come with the best *second-hand* material we can. Fortunes might be spent, and well spent, in having good gramophone and phonograph records taken of music from everywhere, and in having the contents of these records noted down by brilliant yet painstaking musicians; men capable of responding to unexpected novelties and eager to seize upon and preserve *in their full strangeness and otherness* just those elements that have least in common with our own music. We see on all hands the victorious on-march of our ruthless western civilization (so destructively intolerant in its colonial phase) and the distressing spectacle of the gentle but complex native arts wilting before its irresistible simplicity.<sup>49</sup>

If primitive and folk music are defined by their primordially to contemporary media practices and seen as significantly less developed, the vanishing—the “wiling”—of these “gentle but complex” arts before the “on-march of our ruthless western civilization” is inexorable. As a result, “capable” and “eager” “men” with a sense of moral obligation are called to “seize upon and preserve” these artifacts for posterity. This must be achieved while maintaining “their full strangeness and otherness”—a condition that is of vital necessity to the success of this task. For the artifacts in question are ontologically dependent on being strange and other to “our own music,” with the “elements that have least in common with our own music” having the greatest value. Since in Sapir’s allochronic logic, the primitive exists as other and antecedent to the modern ethnographer, they would lose this value if they were affected by “our” modern way of living. They would become as grotesque and out of place as African American jazz music.

Sapir’s fear of missing out on the last remnants of authentic primitive life and his passionate plea for measures of preservation should sound familiar at this point. The way he and Grainger evoke a vanishing primitive and the moral urgency that is generated in the process is paradigmatic of anthropology’s time-tested use of salvage rhetoric to legitimize and vest with authority the knowledge that it produces. This claim of authority takes place at the cost of the very people salvage ethnographers purport to save, as they are taken to be weak, fragile, and in dire need of representation by a heroic anthropologist. Grainger and Sapir thus conjure up a “distressing spectacle”

of “gentle” native arts “wilting” before the “on-march” of a “ruthless” enemy. Rather than acknowledging and recording the changes that their subjects of investigation go through in the course of time, salvage anthropologists characteristically seek to preserve them in the original, primal state that they are presumably unable to overcome without going extinct.

This bleak prognosis for his research subjects, however, in no way clouds Sapir’s optimistic final outlook in “Percy Grainger and Primitive Music” for the field of ethnomusicology. On the contrary, the more his primitive subjects are under threat of vanishing, the fuller the vista of the person with “true musical instinct” that Sapir distinguished at the beginning of his essay from the “thousands of ‘art lovers,’” who only follow “the usual accoutrements of art” in their musical assessments: with this “average musician,” “Grainger’s enthusiastic proposal doubtless meets with little more than a humorous smile,” whereas “to the ethnologist it opens up a vista full of interest and profit.”<sup>50</sup> It is against this backdrop of an agenda that sees great interest and profit in a scientific-aesthetic endeavor to salvage and represent what is on the brink of disappearance that Sapir’s poem “The Clog-Dancer” must also be read:<sup>51</sup>

*The Clog-Dancer*

Castanets:

/ denotes a heavily accented syllable,  
 \ a lightly accented syllable,  
 x an unaccented syllable.

/, \ x x / x \ x

x /, \ x x / x \ x

x / x \ \

x / x \ \

See! Over the terrifying  
 Abyss dances a never dying,  
 A god of old ways,  
 His dance of old days.

Flames out of the terrifying  
 Abyss, endlessly multiplying,







the poem, played at its beginning and end. Depending on how one reads this peculiar device, they may even function as musical accompaniment that underlies the poem's eight stanzas. In any case, even if read as merely prelude and postlude to the poem, by anticipating the poetic meter, the sound of the castanets reverberates throughout, continuously evoking the presence of the music in the reader's imagination. Stanzas four and eight contain further formal and structural analogies to the music, as the arrangement of the stanzas into four lines of similar length and makeup matches the four steady musical beats that are given at the beginning of each line in the literary text: "One! skull upon ribs a-dinning, / And two! skeleton round a-spinning, / And three! the bones clack, / And four! the flames crack!"

Given Sapir's vista of a large "storehouse" of primitive and folk music that provides insight into "our" past and, for this reason, is worth preserving, these musicalizing techniques appear as the attempt of an anthropologist-poet to salvage premodern, unwritten music in modern literary writing. The images that the poem uses to render the experience and effects of the music—what Scher calls "verbal music" and Wolf "imaginary content analogies"—undergird this salvage rationale. The "imaginary content" that "The Clog-Dancer" attributes to the music is instantiated in the central figure of the dancer, who, as he performs to the music, relates metonymically to it. The poem's insistence on the clog-dancer's old age—"A god of old ways, / His dance of old days," "His hollow, old eyes," "His rattling, old bones"—thus feeds back into a notion of the music as premodern, old, and frail. In the fourth and eighth stanzas, the figure of the old, bony man even morphs into a skeleton with "skull upon ribs a-dinning" and "bones clack[ing]," suggesting impending death.

To be sure, when considered in isolation, the dancer's portrayal as "never dying" may seem to run counter to the trope of the vanishing primitive. In juxtaposition with the image of a dancing skeleton, however, it rather suggests a state of being outside of the historical progression of time, indicative of the vanishing primitive's "incapab[ility] of progressing beyond the primitive social state."<sup>53</sup> Clog dancing is a popular step dance that originates in the working classes of Great Britain and requires its performers to wear clogs. As my analyses of such poems as "The Harvest" and "To a Street Violinist" have shown, it would not be unusual for Sapir to treat a

member of the lower, working classes in similar ways as one of his purportedly primitive subjects of anthropological research. Yet the title of “The Clog-Dancer” is an interesting misnomer, since the specific form of unwritten music that Sapir’s poem emulates is in fact Native American: crucially, what the poem describes as clog dancing bears strong resemblances to the stomp dance music and stomp dance musical performances found in many indigenous communities, including the Creek, Cherokee, and Yuchi as well as other Southeastern Woodlands peoples, such as the Caddo, Shawnee, Delaware, and Chickasaw.<sup>54</sup> The stomp dance forms the foundation of lavish dance events that begin just after sunset and conclude at sunrise the next morning and is sometimes performed over thirty times in one night. In each of these performances, one man takes on the role of the leader and initiates song and dance by circling the fire in the town square in a stomping step. After a while, those who wish to join the performance—men as well as women—line up behind him in single file. In “The Clog-Dancer,” this process of “slowly creep[ing] up” and “blindly heap[ing] up” takes place in the sixth stanza, after stanzas one to five have shown the leader—“A god of old ways, / His dance of old days”—dancing alone around a lively fire. The “endlessly multiplying” flames “leap, dizzily sky-upwhirling,” and “hug” the dancer, “coil upon coil upcurling.” The image “of flame on thin leaves / as up the wind heaves” is painted in vivid colors: “Green!” and “red!”

Furthermore, stomp dancing is characterized by the female dancers wearing around their calves large rattles, which are traditionally made of terrapin shells. These rattles accompany the leader’s singing rhythmically, and it is here that the peculiar function of the two framing “Castanets” sections of Sapir’s poem becomes clearer. As a part of the poem’s effort to imitate stomp dance music, these sections indicate a rhythmic pattern that not only pre- and postludes but accompanies all eight stanzas of the poem—just like the rhythmic accompaniment that is established in a stomp dance performance by the female dancers shaking their leg rattles in accordance with the leader’s singing. Nevertheless, despite the pronounced similarities between stomp dance performance within and outside the literary text, a distinctive pattern of translation also emerges. As exemplified by the poem’s rendering of the rattling shells as castanets and of the leader of the stomp dance as a clog dancer, Sapir’s poem translates an indigenous musical expe-

rience into European terms in its cross-cultural representation of musical alterity. Thus it points to another predicament of the salvage imperative that guides Sapir's ethnomusicological project: social and cultural artifacts, including music, are bound to be appropriated and assimilated in the process of being salvaged by Euro-American representation. Consequently, just as Native American linguistic sounds may turn into "alternating sounds" in the perception of Boas's contemporaries, so non-European indigenous music may appear as clog dancing and castanets in Sapir's musico-literary imagination. New acoustic sensations, it bears repeating from Boas's "On Alternating Sounds," are understood by means of association with similar sensations that are already part of a person's knowledge.

Having thus examined Sapir's ethnomusicological treatment of what he classifies as primitive and folk music under the category of unwritten music, and uncovered its submission by the phonetic writer to a Eurocentric salvage imperative, it is all the more important to note the markedly different ways in which the rivalry between European classical music and literature plays out in Sapir's poetic and critical writing. Claude Debussy—together with American composers Edward MacDowell and Charles Wakefield Cadman—makes a brief appearance in Sapir's "Percy Grainger and Primitive Music" as one of the few notable musicians who recognize primitive and folk music *as* music.<sup>55</sup> As I have shown, Sapir's essay applauds these individuals with "true musical instinct[s]," attributing great value to unwritten music as a source of insight into the origins of modern musical expression and media use. Sapir's poem "To Debussy: 'La Cathédrale Engloutie'" is devoted to Debussy exclusively, specifically to his *La Cathédrale Engloutie*, No. 10 of his first book of *Préludes* (1910):

*To Debussy*

*"La Cathédrale Engloutie"*

Like a faint mist, murkily illumined,  
That rises imperceptibly, floating its way nowhence, nowhither,  
Now curling into some momentary shape, now seeming poised in  
space—

Like a faint mist that rises and fills before me

And passes;

Like a vague dream, fitfully illumined,  
That wanders irresponsibly, flowing unbid nowhence, nowhither,  
Now flashing into a lurid flame-lit scene, now seeming lost in haze—  
Like a vague dream that lights up and drifts within me  
And passes;

So passes through my ear the memory of the misty strain,  
So passes through my mind the memory of the dreamy strain.

The poem presents another piece of musicalized literature, the first two stanzas consisting entirely of verbal music and imaginary content analogies. Through a series of similes, new contents are ascribed to the music of Debussy's *La Cathédrale Engloutie*, whose fleeting, ephemeral presence appears "like a faint mist" and "like a vague dream" to the persona of the poem. The musicalization, however, serves very different purposes in "To Debussy" than in "The Clog-Dancer," where it assists in appropriating and preserving in writing the artifacts of a vanishing primitive people that presumably would otherwise be lost under the impact of modernity. Although Debussy's musical piece is inspired by an old Breton legend and salvages this lore in its original, Sapir's literary rendition does not acknowledge this initial process of appropriation and makes it explicit in its titular dedication that it considers the French composer the sole creator of the work of art that it imitates.<sup>56</sup> That is, Sapir's poem starts from the point where the primitive artifact has already been integrated into the written European musical canon. Thus instead of a relationship where a piece of unwritten folklore depends on the phonetic writer for salvage, "To Debussy" asserts a fundamental relatedness between music and literature that echoes modernist debates around free verse. Importantly, this notion of a mutual interdependence between the two media is exclusive to Euro-American music and literature.

In a rare slip between his roles as a writer and as a critic of poetry, Sapir reproduces "To Debussy: *La Cathédrale Engloutie*" in an essay titled "The Musical Foundations of Verse" (1921) as his key example in an argument that conceives of free verse in metrical patterns conventionally associated

with music. The essay follows up on Amy Lowell's discovery of time units, as opposed to metric units determined by syllabic structure and stress, as the elementary particle of free verse: "For years I had been searching the unit of *vers libre*, the ultimate particle to which the rhythm of this form could be reduced. As the 'foot' is the unit of 'regular verse,' so there must be a unit in *vers libre*. I thought I had found it. The unit was a measurement of time. The syllables were unimportant, in the sense that there might be many or few to the time interval."<sup>57</sup> As Regina Schober has shown in her study *Unexpected Chords: Musico-Poetic Intermediality in Amy Lowell's Poetry and Poetics* (2011), Lowell's contribution to the modernist free verse movement involves an understanding of poetic rhythm that is based on the principle of isochrony, that is, the assumption that "speech rhythms are organized by recurring units of equally long time, or, put differently, that the duration between two (stressed) syllables is always the same, irrespective of the number of syllables in-between."<sup>58</sup> By conceiving of free verse as based on everyday speech understood along these lines, as composed of accents that consistently recur over time, Lowell provides confirmation of "a feeling that had gradually and strongly come to be borne in" on Sapir "in the reading of certain types of free verse," namely, that "in some of the more artistic products of the imagist school," there is "a tendency to a rhythm of time pulses that operated independently, more or less, of the number of syllables":

A line of verse, for instance, that had considerable length to the eye might quite readily, I conceived, be looked upon as the exact prosodic equivalent of a line of perhaps but half of its length, if the rates of articulation of the two lines differed sufficiently to make their total time-spans identical or approximately so. Hence the metrical "irregularity" of one type of free verse might be and, in at least some cases, as I felt convinced, was consciously or unconsciously meant to be, interpreted as a merely optical but not fundamentally auditory irregularity. This, in musical terminology, would be no more than saying that two equivalent measures (metric units) may, and frequently are, of utterly different constitution both as regards the number of tones (syllables) in the melodic line (flow of words) and the distribution of stresses.<sup>59</sup>

As in music, where the division of the melodic line into bars of equal length produces a regular rhythm, rhythmic regularity in free verse, according to Lowell, results from a fixed amount of time per metric unit within which the number of syllables and distribution of stress may vary freely. Lowell claims that free verse also possesses a regular pulse that is created by accents recurring in time intervals that are “identical or approximately so” despite irregularities in pace and stress in-between.<sup>60</sup> Metrical regularity in free verse is thus a question that for Sapir can be resolved only by conceiving of the text in musical and acoustic terms as well, that is, as consisting not only of syllabic, phonetic signs but also of clearly defined temporal units. For what appears as irregular “to the eye” because of variations in line length and syllable numbers may be “a merely optical” irregularity that hides a “fundamentally auditory” regularity.

Yet Sapir’s “The Musical Foundations of Verse” not only concurs with but also significantly expands on Lowell, as it goes on to test her concept of free verse on several examples. The first, “crude” example is a series of orders delivered by a drill sergeant at intervals of two seconds:

March!  
 Right face!  
 Right about face!  
 Halt!

The ordinary prosodic analysis resolves into this:

—  
 — —  
 — ◡ ◡ —  
 —

—an irregular bit of “verse” involving in its four humble lines no less than three metric patterns. Of course, the truth of the matter is something like this:<sup>61</sup>



The example illustrates nicely Lowell's conception of poetic rhythm as structured by time rather than syllabic units: where a conventional prosodic analysis produces a highly irregular piece of verse consisting of "four humble lines" and "no less than three metric patterns," the same snippet appears as perfectly regular in its rhythmic movement when transcribed in standard European musical notation and measured in two-four time. That is, the metric unit is not defined by a specific number of stressed and unstressed syllables, is neither – nor – – nor – ∪ ∪ – in this case, but by a consistent time interval, which measures two seconds in this case, according to Sapir. He suggests that the sergeant might "quite in the manner of some of the more realistic free verse of the day" even add to the short four-liner a rapid nine-syllable oath for a military order (for example, ∪ – – – ∪ – ∪ ∪ –) without disrupting the regular "time-metrical" frame; the sergeant's oath, despite comprising significantly more syllables, would still form a time-metrical equivalent to the other, shorter lines.

Moving on from his first, prosaic example, Sapir then turns to imagist poetry. Again, he notes that the orthodox scansion of a poem such as Richard Aldington's "Amalfi" does not do justice to its *true*, "fundamentally auditory" and not "merely optical" rhythm, as it takes the distribution of stresses as the most important metric determinant and ignores what Sapir considers "the really significant form units," its time units.<sup>62</sup> For "if the speeds are so manipulated as to make the lines all of equal, or approximately equal, length, a beautiful quasi-musical effect is produced." After adding further examples from the poetry of Walter de la Mare ("The Barber's"), Robert Frost ("After Apple-Picking"), and Carl Sandburg ("Cool Tombs"), Sapir finally shows that his own poem "To Debussy," whose poetic meter is irregular in an ordinary prosodic analysis but regular according to Lowell's conception of free verse, has the same "quasi-musical" effect. The different stress groupings of each line are unified by a common time signature, which in this case matches the six-four or three-two time of Debussy's piece. Let me try to transcribe the first two lines of the poem into conventional foot scansion as well as into standard European musical notation, in the same way Sapir does when he transcribes the sergeant's drill:



Like a faint mist, murkily illumined,  
 That rises imperceptibly, floating its way nowhence, nowhither,  
 ...<sup>63</sup>

o o - - o o - o - o  
 o - o o o - o o - o o - o - o



Of course, Sapir concedes, “ordinary metrical verse” also has time units, which match the length of its stress units. It is also able to disturb the “unpleasantly monotonous effect” that the prolonged coincidence of stress and time units causes by introducing “retardations and accelerations of speed . . . that give the movement of the verse greater fluidity or swing.” Yet this kind of verse is usually accepted without question as “unfree” as opposed to free verse, and it is at this point that Sapir begins to diverge from Lowell’s original conceptualization of free verse. First of all, he makes a Boasian addition at odds with Lowell’s imagist doctrine and its requirement of absolute precision, by taking the line of demarcation between “normal verse” and free verse to be ultimately “a purely illusory one”—random and largely contingent on the individual reader-hearer: “Much depends on the sensitiveness of the reader or hearer to the apperception of time pulses,” Sapir acknowledges.<sup>64</sup> What he and Lowell perceive as free verse may not sound like free verse “to all ears.” Quite familiar with the myth of alternating sounds that Boas helped to debunk, Sapir treats with great caution the absolutism of Lowell’s definition of free verse as categorically distinct from “unfree” verse because of a universally heard rhythmic pulse. The perception of this regular pulse, as of all acoustic sensations, is contingent on the hearer’s acoustic enculturation and the process by which the new sound is associated with sounds that are already part of the hearer’s knowledge. Instead of placing further emphasis on Lowell’s discovery of this pulse as “the ultimate particle” of free verse, Sapir reminds his readers that the foot of English verse is determined by three basic elements, stress, syllabic sequence, and time pulse, and that these elements are combined in practice to form complex patterns that may be

roughly classified as “stress-verse,” “syllable-verse,” and “time-verse.” “It is only by some effort” and sociocultural training that “we learn to convince ourselves” that one of them may constitute the single basis of “aesthetically satisfying rhythmic sequences”: “In English metrical verse, stress is the main determinant; in . . . free verse, it is the time pulse; in normal French verse, the syllabic group.”<sup>65</sup>

Conversely, this means that the neglect of the “time-verse” of free verse that Lowell exposes is a product of a specific social and cultural environment that discourages awareness of musical rhythms in poetry. Sapir closes his essay by pointing to one particular component of American society that has contributed to this neglect, according to him, namely the dominant medium of alphabetic writing. The “inestimable advantages” of writing, “in poetry as in music,” he claims, “have been purchased at a price.” While he takes for granted his readers’—and fellow writers’—understanding of what he means by writing’s invaluable assets and poetry’s “necessity of expressing itself through visual symbols,” the assertion that their preferred medium comes at a price requires explanation: free verse “undoubtedly suffers from th[e] imperfection of the written medium,” specifically with respect to the representation of “retardations and accelerations of tempo, pauses, and time units.” Sapir starts from a position that considers writing and vision—in poetry as well as in music—the uncontested norm to argue for more “ear-mindedness” in his contemporaries’ views: “We have become so accustomed to taking in poetry through the eye that I seriously doubt if the purely auditory intentions are as clear to all as is light-heartedly assumed. Is it easy to grant that an eye-minded critic (and more people tend to eye-mindedness than ear-mindedness) who has silently read an immensely greater volume of poetry than he has heard is always competent to discuss free verse or any verse?” Only by learning how “to think, or rather image, in purely auditory terms,” will the modern writer and critic of poetry be able to recognize the full spectrum of poetic forms, which includes, but is not limited to, what Sapir calls time-verse. Or to be more specific, only by *relearning* to think again in auditory terms will the poet be able to gauge the plethora of potential forms. For in Sapir’s understanding, poetry used to be “a purely oral art,” and if it had remained that way, “it might, perhaps, have had a more rapid and varied formal development.” Surely, he thinks, “there is little doubt” that “modern developments in poetic form” such as

free verse “would be more rapidly assimilated by the poetry-loving public” if poetry had not ceased to be an auditory art. The trouble with modern poetry, then, is that “impressions originally meant for the ear have been transcribed into visual symbols that give at best but a schematized version of the richly nuanced original.” However, Sapir does not suggest moving back to preliterate, oral times in our artistic—poetic as well as musical—development. Instead he calls for changes to the current writing system in order to make room in poetry for its “musical foundations.” For Sapir, “it is far from unthinkable” that poetic writing “may ultimately be driven to introduce new notational features” which represent those features that relate to time more accurately and give them greater prominence.<sup>66</sup>

Sapir thus submits a treatise that conceives of poetry as fundamentally related to music through shared time pulses, going as far as to propose changes to the dominant writing system to accommodate this relation. An increased sensitivity to poetry’s musical rhythms, the argument goes, is necessary for a complete understanding of a poetic text as well as for the ability to appreciate all possible poetic forms that exist. Yet what Sapir means by music in “The Musical Foundations of Verse” is European, *written* music, the default category against which primitive and folk music are cast as an “unwritten” alterity in “Percy Grainger and Primitive Music.” Verse has “musical” foundations only in the sense that a poem’s lines, like the bars in European conventions of musical notation, may contain irregular stress groupings that are unified by a regular time unit and a consistent time signature. Unwritten music such as the primitive and folk music that “The Clog-Dancer” records is excluded from this notion of a mutually constitutive relationship between literature and music. As my analysis of “Percy Grainger and Primitive Music” has shown, this premodern and preliterate music is assumed to depend on phonetic writing for salvage. The salvage imperative that determines Sapir’s treatment of primitive and folk music requires writing to be a distinct medium of representation that is able to capture other media. The next chapter will dive more deeply into the historical contexts and political ramifications of such a media regime in its analysis of the role of alphabetic writing in Mead’s poetry and her pioneering plurimedial ethnographies. As concerns the present discussion, it is worth adding that the meter of “The Clog-Dancer,” which, as we saw, is determined by “heavily,” “lightly,” and “unaccented” syllabic units and thus

precisely not by what Sapir considers a musical time pulse, gains further significance in light of “The Musical Foundations of Verse.”<sup>67</sup> Quite contrary to the mutually constituent relationship between music and literature that Sapir’s essay identifies, for instance, in the poetry of Richard Aldington or Sapir’s own “To Debussy,” the highly regular, unfree pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables of “The Clog-Dancer”—in which stress and time units coincide with monotonous regularity—indicates a kind of verse that predates such “modern developments in poetic form” as free verse. Surely, its two “Castanets” sections signal an undeniable musical presence, but the poem’s syllabic stress units clearly dominate the rhythmic instruments, turning them into a mere extension of the written, literary text.

The way the rivalry between music and literature plays out in “To Debussy: ‘*La Cathédrale Engloutie*’” and “The Clog-Dancer” is inflected along the same lines of discrimination that separate the different musical traditions that the poems imitate in Sapir’s critical elaborations. As primitive and folk music are taken to be primal to Sapir’s own Euro-American and written forms of expression, the musical alterity of “The Clog-Dancer” is appropriated in the effort to salvage the vanishing primitive in writing. In the rendering of European classical music of “To Debussy,” on the other hand, music takes up a privileged position in line with Sapir’s notion that music provides a necessary addendum to modern views of poetic meter.<sup>68</sup> This notion places Sapir in close proximity to some of the foremost figures of the modernist movement, who combine the imagist doctrine of visual precision and concreteness with a strong emphasis on music and rhythm. The first imagist manifesto, which was published by F. S. Flint in the March 1913 issue of *Poetry* (and famously reprinted by Ezra Pound in “A Retrospect”), expresses in its third principle a commitment “regarding rhythm: to compose in sequence of the musical phrase, not in sequence of a metronome.”<sup>69</sup> Schober notes in her study of the musical poetics of Lowell—who, intriguingly, also proposed to read her poem “An Aquarium” against two of Debussy’s musical pieces—that the second imagist manifesto, published in Lowell’s “Preface” to the first volume of her annual anthology *Some Imagist Poets* (1915), diverges from the initial three principles set forth in *Poetry* in its strong emphasis on free verse and the clearer expression that it gives to the group’s stipulation regarding rhythm.<sup>70</sup> “We are not a school of painters,” Lowell clarifies while stating an intention “to produce

poetry that is hard and clear, never blurred nor indefinite.”<sup>71</sup> Lowell’s *Some Imagist Poets* is a response to Pound’s anthology *Des Imagistes* (1914), whose take on imagism certainly differs from Lowell’s in many ways. Pound and Lowell are connected, though, by the same music- and “ear-mindedness” that Sapir sought in modern poetry. Pound’s “A Few Don’ts by an Imagiste,” which he wrote for the *Poetry* issue in which the first manifesto of the imagist group appeared, also stipulates with respect to rhythm that the poet “behave as a musician, a good musician,” and merely adds the caveat that the musical rhythm “should not destroy the shape of your words, or their natural sound, or their meaning.”<sup>72</sup> Although Pound abandoned this conception of the imagist group soon after Lowell published *Some Imagist Poets*, music remained a recurring theme in his critical writing, perhaps most famously in his distinction between “melopoeia,” poetry in which words are charged with additional meaning through musical sound, and “phanopoeia,” poetry that adds meaning by casting visual images on to the reader’s imagination.<sup>73</sup>

Sapir not only shared with prominent modernist figures such as Pound and Lowell the notion that there is a substantive body of modern poetry whose meaning and value can only be fully appreciated if dominant practices of reading poetry become more attuned to their musical rhythms. Importantly, he considered his own poetry to belong precisely to this body of work, which rendered the acknowledgment of its value an existential necessity for him as a poet. As an extended reflection on “the relation of verse to music” in one of his letters to Ruth Benedict reveals, the conventional neglect of musical rhythms in discussions of poetry caused a serious crisis in his self-understanding as a poet:

There is one interesting facet of verse appreciation that we never discussed, but I am driven to it now. I refer to the relation of verse to music. I am passionately fond of certain kinds of music and there is for me just that nostalgia in haunting passages of music. . . . I strongly suspect that my trouble is that my richest type of expression is potentially a musical one, that my linguistic expression gets its color from clangs, rhythms, and the intellectual content of words, but that the subtler feeling value of words and phrases is deficient in me. I believe that an analysis would show that my verse rhythms, both creatively

and appreciatively, are musical rhythms transplanted to language, not speech rhythms or idealized speech rhythms. (Incidentally, this may explain why I am not very sensitive to Frost's famous use of speech rhythms.) This I do know—that my rhythmical intentions are often, significantly often, missed, as though I were using words to carry pulses they are intrinsically alien to. And so often I have observed that when I read aloud what I have written the hearer receives the poem as an entirely different thing from what he had heard in his own silence. I speak of this not because I attach importance to my rhythms (they are not individual or compelling enough to warrant any particular pothor) but merely to indicate once more that linguistic *art* must be somewhat foreign to me. It results, horribly, that my poetic appreciation is born a cripple. My unconscious loyalty to music is probably a bar to the subtler sorts of poetic appreciation. Perhaps I am all wrong in this, but if the two kinds of aesthetic appreciation are not completely co-congenial (and I doubt if they are), there may be some ground for believing that poetry is a marginal, not a central, expressive medium for me and that what little success I can extort from the Muse is nothing but an extortion, a negligible *succès d'estime*. And all this, of course, must have its counterpart in the appreciative sphere. Have you ever thought of this underground incompatibility of music and rhythmic language? Or is it absurd to theorize, there being as many rhythmical accents in poetry as there are significant individuals with rhythm in their souls, be this rhythm of musical origin or speech origin or both at once?<sup>74</sup>

What attracts Sapir to Lowell's conception of musical rhythms as the defining common denominator of free verse is its implicit suggestion that music and poetry are compatible after all and indeed "co-congenial," which in turn implies that, far from "crippl[ing]" and "bar[ring]" him from "subtler sorts of poetic appreciation," it is precisely his "unconscious loyalty to music" that has the potential to place him at the forefront of modern developments in poetry. If critics came to include an appreciation for rhythmic structures that, like music, are determined by consistent time units within which the number of syllables and the distribution of stress may vary, ultimately even leading to changes in the dominant writing

system, as Sapir hopes, the “rhythmical intentions” of the music-minded poet would not anymore be “often, significantly often, missed, as though [he] were using words to carry pulses they are intrinsically alien to.” In this new understanding of poetry, the rhythms conventionally associated with music would not be considered “intrinsically alien to” the poetic medium.

Apart from their common investment in the specific connection between music and poetry, Sapir shares with Lowell the goal of fostering a mutually beneficial relationship between science and art. In his critical writing on primitive and folk music, Sapir sees the rare feat of combining artistic sensibility with scientific expertise accomplished in the work of Grainger and Carl Stumpf.<sup>75</sup> Lowell’s essay “The Rhythms of Free Verse” (1918) also opens on a conciliatory note:

An artist works intuitively; a scientist deliberately. Yet there seems no reason why each should not recognize the value of the other’s method. The long quarrel between artist and scientist is based upon a misconception. Neither opponent understands the peculiar language of the other well enough to see when they are saying the same thing. The more ignorant artists exclaim at the desecration of analysis; the more unimaginative scientists recoil from what appears to them the illogical and vague mind-processes by which the artist gains his end. But let us forget the quarrel; let us see what can be done when sympathy takes the place of hostility, and let us bear in mind a simple and incontrovertible fact; namely, that science is merely proven truth.<sup>76</sup>

Proving Lowell to be not one of those “ignorant artists” who “exclaim at the desecration of analysis” (and her collaborator to be not one of those “unimaginative scientists” who “recoil from” the artist’s seemingly “illogical and vague mind-processes”), “The Rhythms of Free Verse” goes on to demonstrate the “truth” of Lowell’s conception of free verse by citing a series of experiments conducted with William Morrison Patterson, to whom Lowell consistently refers as “Dr. Patterson.”<sup>77</sup> For his 1916 treatise *The Rhythm of Prose: An Experimental Investigation of Individual Difference in the Sense of Rhythm*, Patterson had employed a methodology that uses what Lowell calls a “sound-photographing machine” to measure the time intervals between the “chief accents” of a poem.<sup>78</sup> The measurements of

these intervals in H.D.'s "Oread," for instance, when given in tenths of a second, generate the following sequence: 13-22-15-24-13-13-19-13-15-13. It is experimental results such as these that seem to provide scientific confirmation of the principle of isochrony in free verse: "The form is non-syllabic, in that the chief accents come after a greater or lesser number of syllables. The units conform in time—allowing for the slight acceleration and retardation of the unitary pulse, guided by an artistic instinct—but not in syllabic quantity." A steady rhythmic pulse divides the poem into similarly sized time units—of about thirteen tenths of a second in the case of H.D.'s "Oread"—within which the number of syllables may greatly vary. The variations in the machine's measurements are accounted for by the claim that, "guided by artistic instinct," the regular time pulse may also be slightly accelerated or retarded—leading in the case of "Oread" to variations of up to eleven tenths of a second. As Schober convincingly argues, "Dr. Patterson," "an open-minded man who cared more for truth than for anything else" in Lowell's description, serves as a pawn that personifies objectivity and thus "add[s] legitimacy and weight to [Lowell's] position in the Modernist battle over free verse aesthetics."<sup>79</sup> Patterson, whose authority on truth is complemented by his being "chock full of artistic feeling" too, also represents the successful synthesis of science and art, I would add, that both Lowell and Sapir promote in their critical writings.<sup>80</sup>

In her quest for objective truth and the attempt at rendering poetry and its analysis scientific, Lowell was of course not alone among modernists. Perhaps most famously the "finely filiated platinum" analogy that T. S. Eliot uses in "Tradition and the Individual Talent" promotes the depersonalization of modernist literary production and aesthetics as a principle that approaches "the condition of science."<sup>81</sup> In the more specific context of Lowell's free verse thesis, her search for "the unit of *vers libre*," "the ultimate particle" to which it can be reduced, brings to mind the respective (pseudo-)scientific quests of Yeats, Eliot, and Pound for poetry's elementary particles, which Daniel Albright has traced in *Quantum Poetics: Yeats, Pound, Eliot, and the Science of Modernism* (1997).<sup>82</sup> All three of them availed themselves of contemporary physicist discourses for metaphors that lent their critical writings a deceptive aura of innovativeness and certitude, Albright argues. On a more general level, the scientific and objectivist aspirations of high modernism manifest in the vocabulary of



hardness and precision that key figures such as Lowell use to describe new ideals of poetry. The second imagist manifesto, which Lowell published on behalf of her fellow members of the group (H.D., Aldington, Flint, D. H. Lawrence, and John Gould Fletcher), not only stipulates “poetry that is hard and clear, never blurred nor indefinite”; poets are also called on to use “exact” language, to “render particulars exactly and not deal in vague generalities, however magnificent.”<sup>83</sup> Timothy Steele has proposed that modernist efforts “to make poetry scientific, and to assert that poetic experimentality produces advances in poetry in the same way that scientific experimentality produces advances in science,” are the product of anxieties that poetry and art might fall in status as science and technology gain dominance in American society and the consequent hope that a more scientific approach to poetry might secure its relevance in this new climate.<sup>84</sup> More important for me, though, than the specific causes of the modernist movement’s interest in rendering poetry scientific are the *effects* that such efforts at bringing science and poetry closer together had on the anthropologist-poets at the center of this book. They clearly opened a door to the institutionalized literary elites that dictated the terms of the modernist canon and market—the critics, publishers, magazine editors, and patrons whose activities have been traced in detail since Lawrence Rainey’s sea-changing *Institutions of Modernism* (1998)—creating in the process a rare moment of interdisciplinary convergence in which Sapir was able to enjoy some success in modernist circles. To further explore the encounter between the modernist movement and anthropology, the following interlude devotes sustained attention to a body of work that, albeit generically slippery, speaks to this productive link particularly well: Sapir’s translations of French Canadian folk songs, which he published in the first half of the 1920s and which became his most acclaimed contribution within contemporary modernist circles.



## Interlude

### *French Canadian Folk Songs in Translation*

Despite notable efforts by individual scholars such as Ira Jacknis, the central position that music occupied in Boas's conception of anthropology remains a little-known fact and a rarely recognized component of the Boasian legacy in anthropology and linguistics.<sup>1</sup> The historical record shows that Boas's commitment to music went far beyond a private amateurism in continuation of his juvenile training as a classical pianist. Importantly, Boas's scholarly output includes over thirty essays relating to music and what today would be classified as ethnomusicology. His earliest ethnomusicological piece, "Poetry and Music of Some North American Tribes" (1887), preceded "On Alternating Sounds" by two years and is arguably Boas's earliest print publication, rivaled only by his discussion of museum display and critique of Otis T. Mason's typological evolutionist scheme at the U.S. National Museum, which is today often considered his "first major theoretical statement on specifically anthropological issues."<sup>2</sup> Even the diaries from his earliest days of fieldwork, when he traveled to Baffin Island in 1883 to study indigenous migrations, contain transcriptions of music, recently prompting Sean O'Neill to claim that his "entire career in anthropology began on a very musical note." Boas carved out a major place for music in anthropological methodology, which provided him, O'Neill argues, with "a key to the worldview" or "a sense of the insider's point of view" by offering a platform for understanding indigenous sound patterns and their social layers of significance.<sup>3</sup>

During his stay on Baffin Island, Boas also started transcribing songs of his research subjects. Results of this work first appeared in "A Journey in Cumberland Sound and on the West Shore of Davis Strait in 1883 and 1884" (1884), one of Boas's earliest field reports, and were further discussed in the series of ethnomusicological articles that followed "Poetry and Music of Some North American Tribes."<sup>4</sup> Boas's first ethnographic monograph,

*The Central Eskimo* (1888), also contains partial and full scores to twenty-two songs as well as a section on “poetry and music” that positions this music in its linguistic and cultural contexts and offers some analysis of its narrative structures.<sup>5</sup> Boas’s use of musical transcriptions in ethnographic work—later aided by the development of new sound technology, such as Edison’s phonograph—would also function as a model for three of his most promising students: Helen Roberts, George Herzog, and Edward Sapir.<sup>6</sup> My treatment of Sapir here would thus be incomplete without giving consideration to his transcriptions and translations of Native American songs. A comprehensive analysis of the poetry of Sapir, especially if it focuses on his literary acoustics, as this study does, also requires a critical—if brief and necessarily inexhaustive—view of this large body of work and the conceptions of music and literary translation that inform it.

Sapir wrote one full-length book in the course of his career, an introduction to the study of language titled *Language*. The book was first published in 1921 and is today considered a classic of U.S. structuralist linguistics, which paralleled and anticipated many views of the Bloomfieldian school of linguistics.<sup>7</sup> The final chapter, “Language and Literature,” manifests most strikingly Sapir’s abiding concern for literature, but rather than offering the discussion of the relation between language and literature that its title suggests, the chapter starts by cutting short this very question. “When the expression is of unusual significance, we call it literature,” Sapir declares laconically. After all, the book is called *Language*, not *Literature*. Anticipating objections to this shorthand, though, he adds a footnote: “I can hardly stop to define just what kind of expression is ‘significant’ enough to be called art or literature. Besides, I do not exactly know. We shall have to take literature for granted.”<sup>8</sup> With the tedious business of literariness out of the way, he is free to focus on what he is really concerned with, that is, how to *translate* literature.

His first line of reasoning suggests that “a work of literary art can never be translated”: every art is limited by its medium, he presumes, maintaining a stubborn “resistance of the medium.” “Language,” then, “is the medium of literature as marble or bronze or clay are the materials of the sculptor,” and “since every language has its distinctive peculiarities, the innate formal limitations—and possibilities—of one literature are never quite the same as those of another.” As a result, a work of literary art “cannot be

carried over without loss or modification” from one language to another.<sup>9</sup> Sapir strongly agrees with the Italian philosopher Benedetto Croce, who refutes literary translation in his *Aesthetic: As Science of Expression and General Linguistic* ([1902] 1909). In fact, this is Croce’s second appearance in *Language*. Sapir also acknowledges him at the very beginning of his monograph, as “one of the very few who have gained an understanding of the fundamental significance of language” and to whom he is “deeply indebted . . . for this insight.”<sup>10</sup> “Nevertheless,” Sapir immediately counters, “literature does get itself translated, sometimes with astonishing adequacy.”<sup>11</sup> To resolve this paradox, he introduces another layer of language, apart from the “specifically linguistic art that is not transferable” and that comprises the phonetic, morphological, and syntactic particularities of the respective language:

This [the fact that literature does get itself translated] brings up the question whether in the art of literature there are not intertwined two distinct kinds or levels of art—a generalized, non-linguistic art, which can be transferred without loss into an alien linguistic medium, and a specifically linguistic art that is not transferable. I believe the distinction is entirely valid, though we never get the two levels pure in practice. Literature moves in language as a medium, but that medium comprises two layers, the latent content of language—our intuitive record of experience—and the particular conformation of a given language—the specific how of our record of experience.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, the second layer is “an intuitive basis that underlies all linguistic expression” and “is immediately fashioned out of a generalized human experience—thought and feeling—of which his [the artist’s] own individual experience is a highly personalized selection.”<sup>13</sup> Sapir refers again to Croce, who uses the term *intuition* to denote this level of a generalized human experience in language.

Given this persistent reference point, a closer look at Croce and Sapir’s reception of his work is due. Croce’s *Aesthetic* is most notorious for its premise that art is expression, but it has also attracted significant scholarly attention for the conclusion that all artistic expression is language, meaning that “Aesthetic and Linguistic . . . are not two different sciences,

but one single science. . . . Whoever studies general Linguistic . . . studies aesthetic problems, and *vice versa*. *Philosophy of language and philosophy of art are the same thing*.”<sup>14</sup> It is not surprising, then, that Croce has been revived in the last decades of the twentieth century as a herald of the linguistic turn.<sup>15</sup> However, this reception of Croce’s work easily belies the fact that his *Aesthetic* is firmly grounded in an idealist metaphysics and epistemology, “upon a view of the creation of meaning as the property of the speaking individual, rather than as the effect of differences within a closed system of signs. . . . Rather than Saussure’s argument that meaning is produced by linguistic structure, here it resides in the individual language user.”<sup>16</sup> Croce’s understanding of knowledge as created by the human mind prior to linguistic structures and processes of sense perception is manifest in his assertion of an identity of intuition and expression: “Intuitive knowledge is expressive knowledge. . . . Intuition . . . is distinguished . . . from the flux or wave of sensation . . . and this form, this taking possession of, is expression.”<sup>17</sup>

It is precisely Croce’s pronounced idealism and consequent failure to account for the formative role of tradition that Sapir takes issue with in his personal notes:

“Expression” is all very well, but what is Croce’s attitude towards the obvious presence of traditional patterns? If art were altogether a matter of individual expression, should there be as close adherence to such traditional forms as we actually find? Either, then, expression is to be defined with reference to social norms, in which case it can hardly be considered as the immediate external correlate of intuition; *or* we must assert that even the most successful expression, the greatest work of art, is theoretically a failure, adulterated by conformity to ready-made types, or at least imperceptibly swayed by powerful analogies. Note that we have precisely the same problem in language. One creates in speaking . . . but the material of expression is given by tradition; one is at the mercy of historical limitations. But presumably Croce would grant all that as being implicitly provided for in his idea of “expression.”<sup>18</sup>

Although Sapir identifies a critical deficit in Croce's theory, in that it does not address tradition and the historical limits to artistic expression set by it, he goes on to assume that Croce accounted for this aspect implicitly in his particular notion of "expression." Clearly, Sapir's two-layered model of language in "Language and Literature" and his acknowledgment of an indebtedness to Croce in his elaborations on both these levels is based on this charitable reading of Croce's *Aesthetic*, on the presumption that Croce's "expression" provides for the fact that the material of speech is determined by tradition and the speaker "at the mercy of historical limitations." For Sapir, the distinction that he makes between two levels of language, and the differentiation of the phonetic, morphological, and syntactic particularities of the respective language from "the particular conformation of a given language" to its cultural and historical contexts, spells out something that Croce must have already implied.<sup>19</sup>

Importantly, with regard to the question of literary translation, Sapir's two-tiered model of language entails that "literature that draws its sustenance mainly—never entirely—from [the] level [of intuition] . . . is translatable without too great a loss of character." It follows that, when read against Sapir's own, first conception of literary translation, one finds in his transcriptions and translations of Native American songs the tacit assumption that they as well—like the "Whitmans and Brownings" that Sapir cites in "Language and Literature"—partake of an absolute language that is formed out of a universal "human experience." Yet while thus going back on his initial claim that literature is not translatable, Sapir still reserves the highest praise for those authors who cannot be translated without loss—"the Shakespeares and Heines" in his ranking: literature that presents a "completed synthesis" of the two levels of language, "of the absolute art of intuition and the innate, specialized art of the linguistic medium." Heine, for instance, is able "to fit or trim the deeper intuition to the provincial accents of their daily speech," so that his audience is left "under the illusion that the universe speaks German. The material 'disappears.'" For despite Sapir's crabwise recognition that literature is translatable, by evoking an absolute, universal language that connects all human experience, his views ultimately rest firmly on a linguistic holism: "Every language is itself a collective art of expression. There is concealed in it a particular set of esthetic

factors—phonetic, rhythmic, symbolic, morphological—which it does not completely share with any other language. These factors may either merge their potencies with those of that unknown, absolute language to which I have referred—this is the method of Shakespeare and Heine—or they may weave a private, technical art fabric of their own, the innate art of the language intensified or sublimated.” The latter method is exemplified by “the Swinburnes” in Sapir’s classification. It is this conception of language as a hermetically enclosed unit in which a unique set of aesthetic factors is concealed that is the cause of Sapir’s initial dismissal of literary translation. It now reappears in the form of a devaluation of literature that gets itself translated *too easily* and in its entirety—without “resistance of the medium,” that is.<sup>20</sup>

Sapir’s holistic conception of language, as well as his notion of a literary work bound by the inner workings of such a unity, speaks also to his dual imbrication in modernist aesthetics and anthropological research, which were connected by an emerging structuralism at that time. Eric Aronoff’s *Composing Cultures: Modernism, American Literary Studies, and the Problem of Culture* (2013) explores this very convergence and features Sapir as a central figure in a network of anthropologists and literary critics who conceived of cultures, languages, and literary works as relative, internally coherent systems of meaning. He shows that cultural and linguistic holism is reciprocally related to literary modernism and the New Critical notion of the self-contained aesthetic object, and has been deployed in the service of progressive as well as reactionary ideologies in both its anthropological and artistic manifestations.<sup>21</sup> A principal tutorial text for Aronoff, Sapir’s essay “Culture, Genuine and Spurious” (1924), tellingly, was first published in parts and under the title “Civilization and Culture” (1919) in the little magazine *The Dial*—which would also publish T. S. Eliot’s *The Waste Land* and other seminal texts of literary modernism—and then appeared in full in the *American Journal of Sociology*.<sup>22</sup> “Culture, Genuine and Spurious” articulates a concept of culture as a spatial form that in its ideal realization, as “genuine culture,” is “richly varied and yet somehow unified and consistent”; it is “inherently harmonious, balanced, self-satisfactory.” Culture, according to Sapir, is self-referential and independent in its generation of meaning from elements and contexts outside its self-enclosed unity. Within one culture, each individual element has significance only “in its



relation to all others”; its meaning and value emerge from its relations to the other elements within the structure. Sapir’s paradigmatic exemplar of “genuine” culture is the way of life of the “American Indian,” because of “the firmness with which every part of that life—economic, social, religious, and aesthetic—is bound together into a significant whole.” “Spurious” culture, on the other hand, is represented by industrial society, with its “technical routine that has an eventually high efficiency value but that answers to no spiritual needs.”<sup>23</sup> Aronoff further notes that the structural nature of Sapir’s concept of culture connects “Culture, Genuine and Spurious” to his concept of language, which I have extrapolated from his ideas about translation in “Language and Literature.” He points to Sapir’s major achievement in linguistic anthropology, his typology of American Indian linguistic families, which also understands language as a structure made up of a set of patterns that form a unified whole, self-contained and internally complete. Or to quote Sapir’s concept of language from another essay, “The Grammarian and His Language,” published the same year as “Culture, Genuine and Spurious”: “The outstanding fact about any language is its formal completeness. . . . The world of linguistic forms, held within the framework of a given language, is a complete system of reference, very much as a number system is a complete system of quantitative reference or as a set of geometrical axes of coordinates is a complete system of reference to all points of a given space.”<sup>24</sup>

The conception of both culture and language as “a complete system of reference”—which is independent of such universal external standards and evolutionary narratives as progress or technical sophistication—connects Sapir’s anthropology with New Critical ideas of the literary text. In *Language*, this convergence between structuralist definitions of culture and language and modernist criticism also manifests in Sapir’s engagement with Croce. According to Aronoff, Sapir was introduced to Crocean aesthetics by Joel Spingarn, professor of comparative literature at Columbia from 1899 to 1911 and cofounder, in 1919, of Harcourt, Brace and Company, the publishing house that first printed *Language*.<sup>25</sup> Spingarn also belonged to a group of intellectuals that held a series of symposia in 1920 under the direction of Van Wyck Brooks and Harold Stearns and included several faculty members from Columbia’s Anthropology Department. The goal of the group was to debate the current state of America and to counter

a perceived societal division, with the discussion resulting in the essay collection *Civilization in the United States: An Inquiry by Thirty Americans* (1922, edited by Stearns), which brings together the members' thoughts on particular components of "American civilization": Lewis Mumford on "the city," H. L. Mencken on "politics," John Macy on "journalism," Spingarn on "scholarship and criticism," Robert Lowie on "science," Conrad Aiken on "poetry," and Elsie Clews Parsons on "sex"—to name but a few. Spingarn's influential interpretation of Crocean aesthetics was first presented in a lecture at Columbia titled *The New Criticism* (1911). His talk called for a new criticism that "clearly recognizes in every work of art an organism governed by its own law." Anticipating the New Critics of the 1930s and 1940s, he imagined art as an "organic expression" whose value lies in the original interrelation of parts; the poet "has expressed his thought in its completeness, and there is no equivalent for his expression except itself." The poetic text forms its own "dream"-like "reality" and thus is not bound by historical accuracy or moral standards; it must be true to its own inner laws.<sup>26</sup> Hence any changes to its language—whether through paraphrase or translation—generate another, different poem.

Sapir's notion of language as an integrated whole in which "a particular set of esthetic factors" is "concealed" and which determines "the innate formal limitations—and possibilities—of one literature" is necessary to understand his theory as well as praxis of translation.<sup>27</sup> Apart from three poems by Alexander Pushkin and "The Ballad of the Poor" from Théodore de Banville's one-act prose play *Gringoire*, Sapir devoted his translational efforts almost exclusively to what he referred to as French Canadian folk songs. In 1925 he compiled forty-one of his translations into a volume titled *Folk Songs of French Canada*, which he published in collaboration with the Québécois folklorist Marius Barbeau with Yale University Press. As with other publications by Sapir, such as "Culture, Genuine and Spurious," scholarly achievement followed earlier successes with the general and literary readership of little magazines. In July 1920 *Poetry*—then under Harriet Monroe's authoritative editorial guidance—published four French Canadian folk songs by Sapir, and two years later the Canadian magazine *Queen's Quarterly* published another set of three "folk-songs of French Canada." Reichel and Schweighauser's article "Folk Communities in Translation: Salvage Primitivism and Edward Sapir's French-Canadian

Folk Songs” (2017) describes the particular place that these translations occupied in modernist circles and defines what Reichel and Schweighauser call “salvage primitivism”: the convergence of modernist primitivism with salvage ethnography’s urge to preserve for posterity cultures deemed on the verge of extinction.

Besides exploring the publishing contexts of Sapir’s translations and the “institutions of modernism” (Rainey) in which they were embedded, Reichel and Schweighauser close-read select texts, including the introductory poem “French-Canadian Folk-Songs” with which Sapir’s set of poems in the July 1920 issue of *Poetry* begins. Having thus prefaced his materials, the four songs ensue, only to be further contextualized in a separate, final note. In his “Note on French-Canadian Folk-Songs,” Sapir defers to Barbeau’s expertise when classifying the songs as follows:

*The Dumb Shepherdess* is a religious *complainte*, and is known in the lower St. Lawrence region, both north and south shores. *The King of Spain’s Daughter* is a work ballad, especially used as a paddling song, and is based on versions from Temiscouata and Gaspé counties. *The Prince of Orange* is another paddling song, collected at Tadoussac, one of the oldest French settlements in Canada, on the lower St. Lawrence. *White as the Snow* is a good example of the genuine ballad; it is one of the best known folk-songs of Quebec, having been recorded in no less than twelve versions.<sup>28</sup>

Reichel and Schweighauser observe that the chord struck here is markedly different from Sapir’s introductory poem and its salvage ethos. Though Sapir’s “Note,” too, asserts the pristine nature of French Canadian culture, unaffected by “the great current of modern civilization,” it does so without sounding the alarmist warning against its impending disappearance typical of Sapir’s salvage rhetoric. Instead, the short essay introduces the research on French Canadian folklore conducted by Sapir and Barbeau—“incomparably its greatest authority”—and the different types of French Canadian songs used in the classification of the present set of songs. The “Note” also elaborates on where the songs were collected and how they were recorded both in writing and by means of a phonograph. Finally, Sapir admits to a “pedantic literalness” in his English translations, for which

he adhered as closely as possible to the rhythms and stanzaic structure of the French originals.<sup>29</sup> His peculiar notion of linguistic completeness and holism requires him to be a particularly rigorous literal translator, who does not resort to more lyrical renditions of his material. Only when paying close attention to keep the holistic structure of the linguistic artifact intact can Sapir's translational work meet the salvage imperative that propels his folklore studies.<sup>30</sup>

Sapir's "pedantry" notwithstanding, two aspects of the French originals were not carried over into his English translations: First, "not all the originals . . . make use of strict rhymes; assonances are often used instead." Second, the songs "can hardly be adequately understood or appreciated" without the music, which for him forms an integral part in the meaning-making process notably lacking from the renditions in *Poetry* as well.<sup>31</sup> These translations, while testifying to the songs' involvement in an absolute, universally human language, are thus inadequate in at least two respects to represent the second layer of language and necessary prerequisite for "the greatest" and "most satisfying" literary art in Sapir's conception, that is, the specific, coherent meaning-making system of the native language—what Sapir, in idealist fashion, also frequently calls the linguistic "genius" of a culture.<sup>32</sup> By contrast, Barbeau and Sapir's *Folk Songs* presents the four songs in both English translation and French original, as well as with the musical accompaniment, transcribed by Barbeau in European musical notation.<sup>33</sup> Note how in "The Prince of Orange" ("Le Prince d'Orange"; fig. 2), the first song in both the coauthored anthology and Sapir's sequence in *Poetry*, this new way of presenting the material allows the reader to witness the "genius" of the native language: the use of assonances instead of strict rhymes, for instance, which Sapir points out in his "Note" (the assonant "s'est levé" or "Il est bridé, sellé" instead of the rhyme pairs "blood/flood," "said/red," "true/you," and so forth). This innate peculiarity of French Canadian language and literature is lost in translation. In other words, as opposed to Sapir's translations in *Poetry*, the songs in *Folk Songs* appear as both translatable and untranslatable, as forming an internally coherent, self-contained whole, which may be translated but not without significant loss. They thus qualify in Sapir's taxonomy for a place among "the Shakespeares and Heines," who offer "a completed synthesis of the absolute" and culturally specific art of language.<sup>34</sup>

LE PRINCE D'ORANGE

The musical score is written on three staves. The first staff begins with a tempo marking of  $\text{♩} = 102$ . The lyrics are written below the notes. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings like *mf* and *mfz*.

- 1 C'est le prince d'Orange,  
Eh là!  
Madonâine!  
grand matin s'est levé,  
C'est le prince d'Orange; || grand matin s'est levé,  
Eh là!  
Madonâine!  
grand matin s'est levé,  
2 A-t appelé son page: || "Mon âne est-il bridé?"  
3 —"Ah oui, vraiment, beau prince! || Il est bridé, sellé."  
4 Mit sa main sur la bride, || le pied dans l'étrier.  
5 A parti le dimanche, || le lundi fut blessé.  
6 Reçut trois coups de lance || qu'un Anglais y a donnés.  
7 En a-t un dans la jambe, || et deux dans le côté.  
8 Faut aller qu'ri' le prêtre || mais pour le confesser.  
9 "Je n'ai que fair' de prêtre: || je n'ai jamais péché!  
10 "Jamais n'embrass' les filles, || hors qu'à leur volonté;  
11 "Qu'une petit' brunette, || encor j'ai bien payé,  
12 "Donné cinq cents liards, || autant de sous marqués."

TRANSLATION

- 1 'Tis the prince of Orange blood,  
Eh là!  
'Tis the prince of Orange blood,  
Arose at the sun's flood,  
Madonâine!  
Arose at the sun's flood,  
Madonâé!
- 2 Called his page and said,  
"Have they bridled my donkey red?"
- 3 "Yes, my prince, 'tis true,  
He's bridled and saddled for you."
- 4 To the bridle put his hand,  
And foot in the stirrup to stand.
- 5 Rode away on Sunday,  
Was wounded on the Monday.
- 6 Received by grievous chance  
Three blows of an English lance.
- 7 In's leg the first one sank  
And two were in his flank.
- 8 Off, while he's yet alive,  
And bring a priest for to shrieve!
- 9 "What need have I of priest?  
I've never sinned 't the least.
- 10 "The girls I have never kissed,  
Unless themselves insist.

From the perspective of Sapir the poet, folklorist, *and* linguist and translator, *Poetry's* renditions thus fail to a certain extent to deliver on the prospect of salvage. When presented only in their English translations, constitutive literary components that are bound up with the songs' source language are lost. At the same time, it is these translations that were Sapir's greatest success in modernist literary circles: *Poetry* awarded him an honorable mention for his four "French-Canadian Folk-Songs" and paid him US\$40, which is more than any of his other poems earned him. The *Literary Digest*, a popular weekly newsmagazine that published mainly condensations of articles from U.S., Canadian, and European publications, immediately reprinted "The King of Spain's Daughter and the Diver," "White as the Snow," and "The Dumb Shepherdess."<sup>35</sup> *Folk Songs* was also received very favorably in modernist literary circles. In a review published in the September 1926 issue of *Poetry*, Monroe groups together four "folk-song collections," including Barbeau and Sapir's anthology, and testifies once more to the intricate intertwinement of modernist primitivism and salvage ethnography. "Such books as these are extremely valuable records of a too-perishable past," *Poetry's* founding editor and gatekeeper of high modernism closes her review, concurring with fellow editor Alice Corbin Henderson that "the[ir] purpose . . . is to preserve these old folk-songs while there is still time."<sup>36</sup> That the songs under review vary widely in their source language and place of origin—from French Canada to Spanish in New Mexico—matters little in this agenda, the critical distinction being diachronic, between "a too-perishable past" and fast-moving, all-vanquishing progress toward modernity. The specifics of synchronic data, linguistic as well as geographic, while crucial to Sapir's approach to his material, yield to the moral and aesthetic urgency of Monroe's salvage primitivism. Thus, despite being an avid contributor and loyal subscriber of modernist publications, Sapir's exceeding literalness and insistence on particularity set him somewhat apart from the salvage primitivism of the modernist mainstream represented by *Poetry*. Given the political ramifications of the allochronism inherent in salvage rhetoric, this is not nothing: it equips Sapir's distinctive brand of salvage primitivism with an attention to coeval detail that gets in the way of the wholesale projection of spatial differences onto a temporal, ascending scale characteristic of Monroe's dominant variety of salvage primitivism.

Still, Sapir's linguistic and regional particularism does not negate the affinity between early twentieth-century folklore studies and nationalist and nativist enterprises. *Poetry's* early publication history testifies to a sustained interest in making available the cultural productions of societies then commonly referred to as "folk" for such ideological uses.<sup>37</sup> Corbin Henderson's contributions, in particular, highlight the extent to which salvage primitivism is a nationalist and nativist project. While *Poetry* also published a number of European folk songs, its editors placed strong emphasis on native songs, which were considered part of an American national heritage. In Corbin's words, "The soil has to be turned over; we have to examine our roots to know what they are. . . . Students of folk-songs have placed a greater emphasis on the survivals of traditional English ballads in our remote mountain regions than on the more truly native and indigenous material that is all around us, which has been overlooked simply because of its more obvious familiarity and its lack of literary ancestry."<sup>38</sup> While Sapir's contributions to the study of folklore align him less readily with nationalist and nativist agendas, the career trajectory of his Canadian collaborator, Barbeau, speaks clearly to the nationalist underpinnings of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century folklore vogue in which salvage primitivists were caught up. An immensely prolific researcher and popularizer of French Canadian folk traditions, Barbeau is widely considered the founder of folklore studies in Canada.<sup>39</sup> As Richard Handler has compellingly shown in his first monograph, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (1988), the movement of folklorists spearheaded by Barbeau had its roots in an idealized vision of French Canada as a small, isolated, rural folk society, held to be the authentic essence out of which the present nation was born.<sup>40</sup> Barbeau's romantic nationalist conception of French Canadian "folk" is already apparent in his journalistic piece "The Fisher-Folk of Northern Gaspé," which was published in the *Quebec Daily Telegraph* two years prior to Barbeau and Sapir's *Folk Songs* and features some of their songs. It opens:

Isolated and forsaken as they are, on lonely shores, between the boundless waters of the St. Lawrence and the wild *Chikchoc* mountains, the fisher-folk of Northern Gaspé need not be pitied by their sympathetic visitors. . . . Their simple life, reminiscent of the past and

in close association with nature, brings them many compensations. They suffer less than we do from the evils that sprang out of Pandora's box. And if, as in the ancient tale, a King were again to send his heirs in search of happiness, the lucky third son would find it in a humble Gaspesian loghouse, sheltered far from the hustling crowds, while his elders might fail to detect it in the palaces of the rich and mighty.<sup>41</sup>

Barbeau goes on to interlace snippets of Sapir's translations of French Canadian songs to illustrate the "delight on returning to the realm of nature," "from the summits . . . to the starting point of all human endeavors and creations." The translation of the song "Three Poisoned Roses" appears to him an "irresponsibly genial" "little ballad," which "quicken[ed] notions of courtly glory and frivolity in naïve imaginations."<sup>42</sup> In fact, the tone that Sapir's introductory poem "French-Canadian Folk-Songs" in *Poetry* strikes is similar. He notes that the songs he wishes to make heard come from the past; they are "little flowers" that have "tiny roots" and sing a "tiny song." These fragile, minuscule remnants of past French Canadian life, both Barbeau's and Sapir's texts urge, are in dire need of protection and preservation.

Following his fifteen-year tenure in Ottawa, during which he established and directed the anthropological division of the Geological Survey of Canada as one of the first full-time anthropologists in Canada, Sapir returned to the United States to accept professorships, first at the University of Chicago (1925–31) and later at Yale, as the first head of Yale's Anthropology Department (1931–39). It was during his time in Canada, though, that he was most active as a poet and folklorist. As I have shown, part of the work that he produced during his "Canadian 'Winter'" (Murray) was a large body of folk-song translations that offered significant inspiration to the Québécois nationalist movement and emerged from a close collaboration with one of its central figures, Barbeau, who continued to work at the National Museum of Canada for the Geological Survey of Canada until his retirement in 1949. In contrast, Margaret Mead maintained her main residence in the United States throughout her life while at the same time pioneering the ethnographic study of South Pacific cultures, conducting fieldwork further away from her American domicile than any other Boasian anthropologist before her. She thus approached her research subjects from a viewpoint deeply entrenched in U.S. national culture and thoroughly comparative in its outlook.



## “For You Have Given Me Speech!”

### *Gifted Literates, Illiterate Primitives, and Margaret Mead*

#### WORDS AGAINST WORDS AND PLAYING AT WRITING

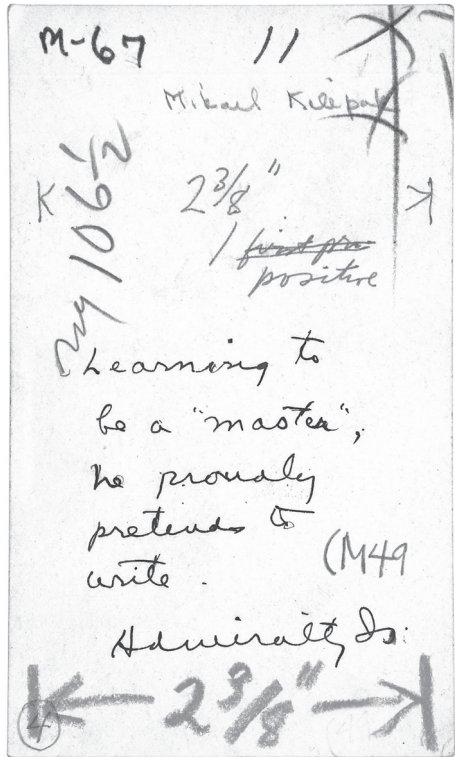
On Margaret Mead’s first field trip to the South Pacific island of Manus, then part of the Australian-occupied Territory of New Guinea and today part of Papua New Guinea, her field partner and husband Reo Fortune took a photograph of a rather serious-looking boy, busy with pencil and paper and focused on the task at hand (fig. 3).<sup>1</sup> Mead reprinted the photo as the frontispiece of her volume *Letters from the Field, 1925–1975* (1977) and added the caption “Ponkob plays at writing.”<sup>2</sup> In another note on the back of a print in her papers, she describes Ponkob as “playing at being a European” in the picture.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the photo reappears on several occasions in Mead’s work, serving as a favorite, ready-to-use reference point throughout her various speaking and writing engagements.<sup>4</sup> With the exception of one merely decorative reprint in an article on the contact language of the Manus—captioned “Already this small boy of New Guinea probably knows a few pidgin English phrases”—the photo is usually framed in a way that relates Ponkob’s ability to write (or rather, inability) to his national and racial identity as other than European and white.<sup>5</sup> In Mead’s *Continuities in Cultural Evolution* (1964), the photograph is featured as plate 7, a “statement of Manus relationship to European models,” according to the caption, and an example, the body of the text further explains, of a “modeling behavior” in which a Manus boy got hold of a piece of paper and a pencil and “acted like a white man.” He mimics white Europeans by “using the anthropologist as a model for the behavior of white men in general,” Mead claims, revealing a rationale that ties the professional identity of the anthropologist to, on the one hand, the ability to write and, on the other, a European nationality and white racial identity that Ponkob can only imitate.<sup>6</sup> Finally, the caption on plate 7 in *New Lives for Old: Cultural Transformations—Manus, 1928–1953* (1956) also presents Ponkob as “playing



3. Ponkob. Pere Village, Manus, Admiralty Islands, 1928/1929. Photographer: Reo Fortune. MMSPE, box P55, folder 1. Used with permission of Ann McLean.

at being a European” while the text refers to a “photograph of small sturdy Ponkob, his toes tensed as he imitated the writing of the white man.”<sup>7</sup> Both “Living with the Natives of Melanesia: How Ethnological Work Is Carried on by Representatives of the American Museum among Primitive People of the South Seas” (1931) and “The Cult as a Condensed Social Process” (Mead and Schwartz, 1960), too, add the caption “playing at being a white man” while commenting in the text on Ponkob’s left foot, which presumably “betrays the intense strain under which he is laboring” as he “attempt[s] to imitate these alien manners”—without success, of course.<sup>8</sup>

Another photo of Ponkob that often appears in close vicinity—and immediately follows figure 2 in box P55 of the Margaret Mead Papers—doubles down on Mead’s portrayal of Ponkob as a would-be writer (fig.



4. Ponkob. Pere Village, Manus, Admiralty Islands, 1928/1929.  
 Photographer: Reo Fortune. MMSPE, box P55, folder 1.  
 Used with permission of Ann McLean.

5. Back of figure 4. "Learning to be a 'master,' he proudly pretends to write." Handwriting: Margaret Mead. MMSPE, box P55, folder 1. Used with permission of Ann McLean.

4). Again, Ponkob's look is sober as he holds pencil and paper in a writerly posture, facing away from the photographer in front of him. The medium close-up frames him more tightly, though, than the mid shot of figure 3, where the vast space given to the surrounding landscape and the high angle of the camera make him seem small in perspective. Instead of leaning back in an oversized lawn chair, he stands erect on top of a folding stool, at eye-level with the camera. On the back of the photo print Mead has written, "Learning to be a 'master,' he proudly pretends to write" (fig. 5). The authoritative posture that Ponkob assumes in the picture is thus

ridiculed as false pride and his use of writing utensils as mere pretense.<sup>9</sup> The notion that Ponkob plays at writing as part of an attempt to be a “master” is testament to the writer’s presumed superiority over those who do not write. Interestingly, it further ties this position to a white racial identity, since “master,” Mead explains in an article on the contact language of the Manus today referred to as Tok Pisin, also denotes a white U.S., British, or Australian person. “The word ‘American,’” on the other hand, “has become attached not to the white citizen of the United States but to the American negro,” who, she ventriloquizes the Manus, provide “a never-ending source of amazement and no little heartburning” as they are “blacker than they [the Manus], with hair of an even more determined kink and less of an upward flare,” and yet the African American “nevertheless wears a white man’s clothes, speaks the white man’s speech and commands unheard-of wages.”<sup>10</sup> In Mead’s rendition of Manus racial thinking, the Manus view Black Americans—with “no little heartburning”—as competitors who have been unjustly privileged in a struggle to appear like “masters,” given that they are “blacker than they.” While Mead’s tone belittles such thinking, the account does not contest the idea that white U.S., British, and Australian citizens belong to a superior racial group toward which other people strive. Indeed, her portrayal of Manus racial thinking as an object of curiosity and derision upholds this very hierarchy of racial groups.

Jump forward half a century from when Mead first observed Ponkob playing at being a literate, European man to her autobiography *Blackberry Winter: My Earlier Years* (1972). Having become in the meantime one of, if not *the* most prominent figure in U.S. anthropology and the discipline’s representative to the public, Mead reflects, “Our training equipped us with a sense of respect for the people we would study. They were full human beings with a way of life that could be compared with our own and with the culture of any other people. No one spoke of the Kwakiutl or the Zuñi—or any other people—as savages or barbarians. They were, it was true, primitive; that is, their culture had developed without script and was maintained without the use of script. That was all the term ‘primitive’ meant to us.”<sup>11</sup> By the 1970s, anthropology’s early twentieth-century project of exploring “primitive” cultures had come under serious attack by critical voices that suspected much closer imbrications with colonialist agendas and an

imperialist mindset than anthropologists had previously been willing to admit or acknowledge. With the integrity of her early work and her newly minted title “Mother to the World” thus under threat, Mead defends herself in her autobiography by claiming that she has always defined *primitive* merely in media terms, as a lack of the medium of script.<sup>12</sup> “That was all the term ‘primitive’ meant to us,” she avers. Unlike “us,” her peers and decidedly *modern* audiences, primitive cultures, quite simply, do not use written words. And since distinctions between uses of media are value-free matters of fact, the logic goes, the term *primitive* is discharged of the racial evolutionary connotations that it carries in colonialist discourse.

It is this assumption of the innocence of media practices that this study unsettles by arguing for a highly complex entwinement of media and semiotic distinctions with the alterities that cultural anthropologists study. I investigate this discursive nexus of alterities from a dual perspective that is critical of both the representation of the subjects that anthropologists study and the representation of different media and sign systems *through* different media and sign systems. To be as clear as possible, this approach does not deny that Ponkob may in fact play at writing, imitating the posture and facial expression of his tenacious Euro-American observers. Nor is it mutually exclusive with the interpretation offered in the exhibition that was mounted by the Library of Congress to celebrate the centennial of Mead’s birth, that is, the notion that the photograph shows Ponkob “learning by imitation.”<sup>13</sup> What I contend is that something else is happening here, too. While her subject of investigation may have been actually engaged in a learning process toward proficiency in writing, Mead was struggling to adequately represent his handling of pencil and paper. A draft of the list of illustrations that she compiled for *Continuities in Cultural Evolution* and its multiple redrafts show the anthropologist hesitating over the exact wording of the caption, adding tentatively at one point in an early version the word “writing” in pencil to the typewritten caption “Ponkob drawing.” Mead’s later drafts document a decision-making process that results in the picture, now captioned “Ponkob on chair,” being juxtaposed with a “drawing of a European ship by a Manus boy, 1928,” in the final publication, implicitly associating Ponkob’s use of pencil and paper with pictorial rather than graphic codes.<sup>14</sup>

The suggestion that Ponkob is not a writer proper but someone who imitates European ways in childish play is rendered in no subtle terms in

most of Mead's publications, though. Note how the phrasing "Ponkob plays at writing" in *Letters from the Field* makes sure that the power differential between observer and observed—anthropologist and subject—remains in place and that no one mistakes this mere imitation game for the truth: he is just an amateur "play[ing]" at writing, whereas Mead and her Euro-American audience, who are by definition able to read, write, and caption photographs, are *proficient* at handling written language.<sup>15</sup> As in Mead's defense of her use of the word *primitive* in her autobiography, the alterity of her subject of anthropological research is again coded in media terms. Ponkob is represented in relation to a specific medium whose mastery, however, is denied to him and reserved for his Euro-American observers, whom he can only imitate in play. Moreover, given the fact that phonetic writing is also one of the two media through which he is represented, Mead's audience is positioned, implicitly but firmly, on the opposite side together with the writing anthropologists who study illiterate primitives. The second medium in which Ponkob is portrayed, photography, only strengthens Mead's case. With the camera angle making it impossible to verify whether Ponkob is indeed using pencil and paper as mere props in a play, as Mead claims, viewers have to take the anthropologist literally at her word. Even more, the camera perspective adds to the sense of deficiency and inadequacy generated in Mead's writing by removing Ponkob—who fills only half of his seat and a fourth of the picture—also from its center.

While the portrayal of Ponkob as failed, amateurish writer remains uncontested in Mead's published writing, an anecdotal account from her second visit to Manus in 1953—and first in a series of revisits—throws the arbitrariness of this interpretation into sharp relief by offering an alternative take on the much-used picture of Ponkob. When Mead first meets Paliau, who had been away at work and in the service of the Territory police force during her first visit but has in the meantime become a local leader spearheading a movement to reform Manus society, she shows him "on an impulse" the picture as reproduced in her article "Living with the Natives of Melanesia."<sup>16</sup> Explaining to her interlocutor that she ends all her talks about Manus with this picture, Mead once again rehearses her familiar interpretation and applauds Paliau's own use of the photograph in a presentation the next day as testimony to "his ability to 'talk picture,' his handling of metaphors," which in turn proves "the strength of the imagi-

nation” that she considers necessary for “conceiv[ing] the possibility” of modernizing his culture and “skipping five thousand years of history.”<sup>17</sup> However, the metaphorical statement that he devises by applying this capacity for abstract and creative thinking to the photograph of Ponkob is strikingly different from the message with which Mead ends her talks about Manus. What in her presentations and publications is a photograph “of small sturdy Ponkob” with “his toes tensed as he imitate[s] the writing of the white man” signifies in Paliau’s talk an urgent desire of the present generation of Manus people to provide a robust foundation on which the following generation can rely for support: “We—my generation—were born too late—*what we want is to make a good chair for our children to sit down on.*”<sup>18</sup> Rather than imitating Mead’s reading of Ponkob as imitating white European writers, thus doubly corroborating her claim that “the way the Manus meet the white man is to try to do what the white man does,” Paliau reads the “good chair” on which the child sits in the picture as a metaphor for solid support furnished by previous generations.<sup>19</sup> Ponkob’s use of pencil and paper, by contrast, is of little interest to him and bears much less significance in his reading than in that persistently pushed forward by Mead. In fact, Paliau, too, is understood by Mead through his writing skills: “he was always somewhat different from other people,” not only in “his ability to ‘talk picture’” but also “in having taught himself to read and write,” she observes in *Continuities in Cultural Evolution*.<sup>20</sup> In a curious gesture, she then inserts Paliau’s signature in the typescript of her text, thus allowing his autographic writing to rival her ethnographic writing. She does so, however, by at the same time placing great emphasis on this individual’s exceptional status within the culture that she is studying as a whole. “He is the only New Guinea native on anything like this level, whom I know of,” she notes, and he “had developed not the characterless printing or script of an unsuccessful schoolboy which most Manus use but a distinctive script and a real signature.”<sup>21</sup> Mead’s praise of Paliau’s “distinctive script” and “real signature” thus elevates one exceptional individual while downgrading most other New Guinea natives, and in particular the Manus, to struggling schoolchildren whose writing is indistinct, “characterless,” and simply not “real.”

When revisiting her old field site in 1953, to amend her initial reading of the Manus and account for a changing society with rising literacy rates,

Mead's new observations end up extending her views from the 1920s by presenting a culture that consists of unsuccessful childlike students and deficient or failed writers such as Ponkob, with the exception of one "real," fully developed literate individual: Paliau.<sup>22</sup> Yet crucially, Mead's isomorphic demarcation of her subjects' alterity by their lack of and failure to use the medium of script is not specific to her 1920s and 1950s representations of the Manus—let alone to my pairing of Ponkob and Paliau—but reaches much further in its significance and implications. For one, this chapter shows that the notion of the primitive as *other than writing* is thoroughly pervasive in Mead's experiments with different media and forms of writing, even as she writes and warns against words *in* words. Her poem "Warning" (1924) presents a strong case in point and must be analyzed on an intratextual level as well as on the level of textualization and mediatization in order to fully grasp the interface between constructions of cultural and media alterity that it presents. Out of the substantial body of poems that Mead authored, only eight were published in her lifetime, while 175 poems—including "Warning"—remained unpublished.<sup>23</sup> Previous research has largely ignored this corpus, except for a few biographies that add intentionalist readings of Mead's poems alongside discussions of her ethnographic texts in order to provide what they consider a glimpse into Mead's most private thoughts and hidden feelings.<sup>24</sup> Yet the simplistic treatment that Mead's poetry has thus received stems to a large extent from the author's own later positioning of her literary endeavors as subordinate and subservient to her anthropological work, as mere juvenile exercises in writing that prepared her for a career in anthropology.<sup>25</sup> Contrary to how this body of work has mostly been received, I read Mead's poetry closely and with focus, centering on the literary text first and foremost while building an argument that also draws on Mead's anthropological writings, photographs, and films. Ultimately I contend that a discussion of Mead's poetic writing is necessary to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the anthropologist-poet's diverse and pioneering uses of different media. In closing this research lacuna, the discussion further throws into relief an often overlooked dimension of *the primitive* pertaining to its media. Indeed, when Mead wrote her autobiography, the mediality (and intermediality) of the primitive had been neglected to such an extent that the anthropologist considered a focus on writing safe ground to dodge sus-



pictions of colonial complicity. Surely, though, the absence of script was never “all the term ‘primitive’ meant” to Mead and her fellow Boasian thinkers but part and parcel of the baggage that those who “spoke of the Kwakiutl or the Zuñi—or any other people—as savages or barbarians” had passed on to them.

“Warning” offers a valuable vantage point for my analysis as it stages a discussion about the representational capacities of “old words” and “colors” that are “mixed anew each changing moment,” in a written, literary text:

*Warning*

Give not thy treasured vision  
To the custody of words,  
As soon lay thy first-born  
On drawn swords.

Words are avid to betray thee,  
Conspiring to the last  
To besmirch this bright adventure  
With things past.

Rudely fingering the uniqueness  
This one hour has for thee,  
Confusing it with others, muddied  
By eternity.

But take instead a palate [*sic*],  
Colors own no guilty past,  
Mixed anew each changing moment,  
They will last.

Wouldst thou find another casket,  
Than thy frail and treacherous heart,  
Take colors, but from old words  
Stay apart.

On what I have called its intratextual level, the poem performs a twofold gesture: it discusses the representational potential of different media by

first dismissing words as fraught with historical baggage, “Conspiring to the last / To besmirch this bright adventure / With things past,” and then calling instead for the use of painting, which is conceived of as exempt from processes of historical mediation. The rhyme pair “past” and “last” reappears; this time, however, the signs are reversed: “colors own no guilty past” and do not “conspir[e] to the last,” but they merge and emerge “each changing moment” and “will last.” The naïve conception of painting as offering immediate representation, untinged by historical and social codification, of course invites deconstruction. Almost needless to say, painting and the colors on a painter’s palette also come with a rich history that frustrates any attempt at a timeless, direct representation of reality by “besmirch[ing]” it “with things past.” As Lyotard already noted in the mid-1980s, “Immediate presence in one brushstroke of color hides whole worlds of mediations.”<sup>26</sup> Historical but also social and institutional codes are inextricably bound up with the production and reception of painting. Interestingly, though, in keeping with this constructivist logic, one must at the same time agree with the poem’s “warning” against words as always already “confusing” a particular moment “with others,” thus thwarting any attempt at rendering “thy treasured vision” in an immediate, not always already historically and socially inflected way. Words such as “lay thy first-born / On drawn swords” resonate with a plethora of religious and historical connotations, which “betray” the writer by “mudd[ying]” their representation with biblical mythology. The sacrifice of the firstborn is a familiar biblical theme, figuring most prominently in Genesis 22, in the story of Isaac’s binding. The metaphorical pairing of “words” and “swords,” too, echoes the poetics of the Bible, whose imagery frequently pairs these terms: “take . . . the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God”; “the word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any twoedged [*sic*] sword”; “his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords.”<sup>27</sup> Most telling of all, however, is the poem’s excessive use of anachronisms such as “thy” and “thee” as well as the cumbersome “wouldst thou” in the final stanza, which manifest the historical contingency of words in a conspicuous manner.

Why, then, it is worth asking, do we nevertheless end up with words, if only with words against words? If words are notoriously tricky because of their social and historical codification, as the poem claims, why does

this warning against words come in written words and not, as the persona pleads, in the colors of a painter? “Stay apart” from words or you might as well let your own child be pierced by “drawn swords,” the poem argues vehemently and in dramatic tone. If all verbal representation is to be immediately abandoned, as “Warning” urges, why is the poem itself nevertheless rendered in phonetic writing? As its use of the eye rhyme “words”/“swords” underlines, the poem is conceived of as a written text to be read on paper; the regular *abxb* rhyme scheme of its four-line ballad stanzas appears consistently only when presented graphically, not orally.

The other half of the equation that this chapter seeks to resolve is the question of how visual media other than writing, such as painting in “Warning” but also photography and film in Mead’s visual anthropology, come to present a desired alternative to writing. The skepticism toward realist views of verbal representation this poem exhibits also became a key tenet of anthropology’s 1980s crisis of representation that culminated in James Clifford and George Marcus’s volume *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (1986). While “Warning” discusses the medium of representation at length, there is only little evidence from the text relating to the subject whose representation is being discussed. In fact, the only direct reference to the subject under consideration is “this bright adventure” in the second stanza, which may be read—in one of several possible interpretations—as a “bright” fieldwork experience and ethnographic venture, rendering the predicament of “writing culture” the very question that the poem poses. Such a reading gains further support if one acknowledges that Mead was a highly devoted anthropologist, whose research interests traversed her personal and professional lives. Disregarding the anthropologist as author would indeed not only presume Mead’s academic work to be easily separable from the rest of her life; it would also imply the boundary between anthropology and literature to be fixed and impermeable. However, as we know from Michel-Rolph Trouillot and other historians of anthropology, what is today considered the field of anthropology emerged from and has historically been closely tied to what are now considered forms of literary writing, specifically travel and utopian writing. Apart from the historical origins of anthropology in literary writing, *Writing Culture* proponents such as Clifford and Marcus have also compellingly argued for a *poetics* of ethnographic writing where the

line between anthropology and literature continues to be porous and in dire need of readjustment. *Writing Culture's* opening statement declares:

We begin . . . with writing, the making of texts. No longer a marginal, or occulted, dimension, writing has emerged as central to what anthropologists do both in the field and thereafter. The fact that it has not until recently been portrayed or seriously discussed reflects the persistence of an ideology claiming transparency of representation and immediacy of experience. Writing reduced to method: keeping good field notes, making accurate maps, "writing up" results.

The essays collected here assert that this ideology has crumbled. They see culture as composed of seriously contested codes and representations; they assume that the poetic and the political are inseparable, that science is in, not above, historical and linguistic processes. They assume that academic and literary genres interpenetrate and that the writing of cultural descriptions is properly experimental and ethical. Their focus on text making and rhetoric serves to highlight the constructed, artificial nature of cultural accounts.<sup>28</sup>

In "On Ethnographic Allegory," his essay contribution to *Writing Culture*, Clifford contends that ethnographic writing shares with literary writing an allegorical nature, defined as the tendency to generate additional stories in the reader's mind. Leaving aside Clifford's somewhat simplistic understanding of literature, his evidence for what he terms "ethnographic allegory" is convincing. For example, Mead's first book, *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), which catapulted her to fame beyond a strictly academic audience, evokes an "attractive, sexually liberated, calm Pacific world," which the New Zealand anthropologist Derek Freeman, in his almost equally famous refutation *Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* (1983), countered with a "Samoa of seething tensions, strict controls, and violent outbursts."<sup>29</sup> The two competing portrayals of Samoan life signify a pervasive ambivalence about the primitive, which reminds Clifford of Melville's *Typee* and its sensuous paradise that is yet woven through with threat. In the context of the present study, one is immediately reminded of Sapir's treatment of sound and the philia/phobia dualism at work in his literary acoustics. When read through Clifford,

the ambivalence of Sapir's poetry toward its sonic Others is an allegory of the attraction and fear toward the primitive that Mead's and Freeman's studies represent, respectively. Both the clash between Mead and Freeman and Sapir's *sonoclash* allegorize conflicting views of the primitive as a source of desire as well as fear.

What is most pertinent to my purposes in this chapter, though, is how Clifford extends his argument about the allegorical nature of ethnographic writing to the mediality of the text and the process of textualization itself. It is by drawing on this part of his contribution that I want to start making sense of the paradoxical warning in words against words that Mead's poem issues. Crucially, Clifford asserts that the very act of transforming experience into writing enacts a powerful allegory of redemption:

Since antiquity the story of a passage from the oral/aural into writing has been a complex and charged one. Every ethnography enacts such a movement, and this is one source of the peculiar authority that finds both rescue and irretrievable loss—a kind of death in life—in the making of texts from events and dialogues. Words and deeds are transient (and authentic), writing endures (as supplementarity and artifice). The text embalms the event as it extends its “meaning.” Since Socrates' refusal to write, itself powerfully written by Plato, a profound ambivalence toward the passage from oral to literate has characterized Western thinking. And much of the power and pathos of ethnography derives from the fact that it has situated its practice within this crucial transition. The fieldworker presides over, and controls in some degree, the making of a text out of life. . . . The text is a record of something enunciated, in a *past*. The structure, if not the thematic content, of *pastoral* is repeated.<sup>30</sup>

The passage creates a connection between two important topics of the preceding chapters: on the one hand, anthropology's pervasive salvage imperative, which is located in an older, *pastoral* literary tradition, according to Clifford, and on the other, the audiovisual litany that orality-literacy theorists as well as scholars of sound have rehearsed ad nauseam, in particular the idea that the oral/aural “places us inside an event” in synchronic space yet fails to persist over distances in time.<sup>31</sup> Clifford argues that anthropol-

ogy derives significant authority from the idea that the writing that ethnographers produce is by contrast capable of salvaging, “embalm[ing],” and “extend[ing]” knowledge beyond the present.<sup>32</sup> By capturing what has been enunciated and is on the verge of disappearance, the phonetic writer figures as the hero in the urgently needed salvage operation that Boasian anthropologists and Schaferian sound scholars alike claim for themselves. In a discourse that understands orality and auralty as immediate experience and that is consumed with an unrelenting fear of the inevitable disappearance of this experience, writing enacts a morally powerful tale of redemption that lends power to those who are able to stage it, that is, ethnographers and other proficient writers, not childlike, playful writers such as Ponkob.

Yet the authority generated in this way also varies with the urgency with which individual anthropologists alert their audiences to the impending death of a culture. While many of her contemporaries—including Sapir—certainly tapped this source of rhetorical power in order to boost the relevance of their research, it is virtually impossible to exaggerate the significance of salvage rhetoric when it comes to Mead’s work as an ethnographer. In her autobiography, she remembers that it was the idea of anthropology as salvage work and the moral imperative that this idea generates with which Benedict, her teacher and academic superior at that time, convinced her to enter the field: “That settled it for me. Anthropology had to be done *now*. Other things could wait.”<sup>33</sup> The way Benedict assures Mead of the value of anthropology is paradigmatic of the discipline’s long-standing use of salvage rhetoric to legitimize and give weight to the knowledge that it produces about certain groups of people. Mead was quick to adopt this powerful tool and apply it as part of her own rhetorical repertoire. Curiously enough, the film *New Lives for Old: A Case History in Anthropology with Dr. Margaret Mead* (1960), after briefly introducing Mead’s work in the Admiralty Islands and the value of anthropology as the study of cultures that “shed some light on man’s past,” starts with a scene that mirrors Mead’s initiation into the field with exactly reversed roles. Just as Benedict a few decades before with her, Mead impresses on two students the importance of collecting records and preserving field notes, photographs, and artifacts of primitive cultures in order “to show how life really was, life that is completely vanishing.” At the same time, however, *New Lives for Old* also documents a certain change in Mead’s salvage posture in later years,

as the old story of the fast-perishing, fragile, and passive native became less convincing and placed her increasingly at odds with contemporary geopolitics and the rethinking that postcolonial developments had set in motion among her peers. While persisting in her view that “rescuing . . . vanishing culture[s]” is “the traditional task of anthropology,” Mead now supplements this task with “the scientific study of change.” In fact, “the enormous changes that are taking place in the world” at the moment that *New Lives for Old* is being made are all the more reason for engaging in salvage work, according to Mead. The unprecedented rate of change on a global scale renders the need for salvage that spurred her first studies of the Manus, who were “at the edge of savagery” in the late 1920s, even more pressing in postcolonial times: now “all of us are facing a change in one generation that may be even greater than the change that brought the Manus from the Stone Age into the present,” “into the modern world.”<sup>34</sup> Mead thus continues to use for support the turn-of-the-century narrative of vanishing cultures that are in dire need of the writing anthropologist for representation well into the second half of the twentieth century. Another ten years later, after her third stay with the Manus, during which she had again encountered a culture very much alive and well able to adapt to change, Mead amends her previous assessment by declaring the Manus an exceptional case, which—“among all the Pacific island peoples—had responded in a special way” to the influx of new technology and people that swept the area in World War II.<sup>35</sup> The “extraordinary changes” that the Manus had gone through since then far exceeded Mead’s expectations, which were based, so her own rationalization of her failure to predict their survival, on extensive experience with other South Pacific peoples.<sup>36</sup>

With some adjustments, then, salvage rhetoric remains a staple of Mead’s writing throughout the five decades of her career, with essays and talks regularly opening or concluding on a strong call for action. Indeed, given her reasoning that postcolonial developments render the need for salvage not less but more pressing, these calls grew even stronger in later years. Most relevant to my concerns here, a logic of salvage served as a favorite go-to device in particular when combined with Mead’s groundbreaking efforts to establish photography and motion picture film as ethnographic tools. The first paragraph of her 1975 essay “Visual Anthropology in a Discipline of Words” presents one of the most ardent pleas for salvage:

Anthropology . . . has both implicitly and explicitly accepted the responsibility of making and preserving records of the vanishing customs and human beings of this earth, whether these peoples are inbred, preliterate populations isolated in some tropical jungle, or in the depths of a Swiss canton, or in the mountains of an Asian kingdom. The recognition that forms of human behavior still extant will inevitably disappear has been part of our whole scientific and humanistic heritage. There have never been enough workers to collect the remnants of these worlds, and just as each year several species of living creatures cease to exist, impoverishing our biological repertoire, so each year some language spoken only by one or two survivors disappear forever with their deaths. This knowledge has provided a dynamic that has sustained the fieldworker taking notes with cold cramped fingers in an arctic climate or making his own wet plates under the difficult conditions of a torrid climate.<sup>37</sup>

As Mead argues in a lecture held at Wright State University in Dayton, Ohio, in 1973, her hurried efforts in her early career “to study the remaining primitive peoples in the world before the juggernaut of modern civilization annihilated them” are replaced in the second half of the twentieth century with more systematic approaches, as technological developments in film and video production give contemporary anthropologists an advantage over previous generations and allow them to “find out so much more about the remaining people who live as our ancestors lived thousands and thousands of years ago.” The notion that primitive people may be “better” salvaged in the 1970s than before due to technological advances leads Mead to reaffirm her position that there is “still an emergency” and evoke an immediate threat to the unique, soon-to-disappear moment in history when “we have today on this planet available to us for understanding people that date from the old Stone Age to the present.” She even raises the specter of nuclear destruction: “Now for the first time man is faced with the fact that he may destroy himself completely, and may destroy the entire planet and every living thing on it.”<sup>38</sup>

As her subjects of interest persistently appear on the verge of extinction and are frequently denied the ability to represent themselves properly, often “playing” at writing at best, their representation in writing is turned into a



moral obligation of the proficient ethnographer to preserve what would otherwise disappear forever. At the same time, however, this burden also contributes to what it tries to prevent, that is, the loss of an immediate experience of primitive cultures. In the discourse that Clifford describes, in which the literate anthropologist alone possesses the ability to turn oral, transient events into a record that lasts over time, writing signifies “both rescue and irretrievable loss” as it “endures (as supplementarity and artifice),” “embalm[ing]” the original event. For the salvage anthropologist, writing is “both empowering (a necessary, effective way of storing and manipulating knowledge) and corrupting (a loss of immediacy, of the face-to-face communication Socrates cherished, of the presence and intimacy of speech).”<sup>39</sup> The tension between the necessity to write, as an effective way of preserving a transient experience, and the complicity of this very act in the loss of authentic experience is, I argue, what is at the core of Mead’s paradoxical “warning” against words in written words. Despite the persona’s acute awareness of the inescapable “betray[al]” of words, their failure to represent the “bright adventure” without “besmirch[ing]” it, they remain a prerequisite for an authoritative portrayal, as they are vested with the allegorical power to salvage what would otherwise disappear and the representational authority that this capacity generates. From this perspective, the poem’s naïve celebration of painting as a nonverbal medium that “own[s] no guilty past” and newly emerges “each changing moment” is in turn revealed to be a writer’s nostalgia for what is irretrievably lost: an innocent way of life that is not already burdened with a conflicting history that commands the effective yet corrupt practice of writing. I will further explore this history in the second part of this chapter and show, more concretely, how Mead’s treatment of writing ties in with that of her nineteenth-century precursors in anthropology. Moreover, while I agree with Philipp Schweighauser that Mead’s pioneering work with photography and film responds to the objections that “Warning” raises against writing, I also show that her defiance of the dominant medium is not as firm and unequivocal as, for instance, *Balinese Character* wants us to believe.<sup>40</sup> Instead, it leaves much room for claims of authority that are grounded in the anthropologist’s writerly prowess.

For now, it is enough to note that demarcations of the alterity of certain people that cleave along the *fault lines* of media and semiotic prac-

tices, such as Mead's peculiar defense in *Blackberry Winter* that *primitive* has never meant anything to her other than the absence of script, or her insistence, throughout her prolific publishing career, that the Manus boy in figure 3 is not actually writing but merely imitating the media uses of anthropologists—such pronouncements are not innocent and are far from providing a handy tool to ward off suspicions of colonial complicity. Mead's representations of different media and sign systems *through* different media and sign systems are closely tied up with political agendas, reinforcing the authority of the writer-anthropologist over an always already vanishing subject of representation. This is nowhere clearer than in the paradoxical warnings against words that Mead's poetry issues. I want to conclude the present discussion with another poem which, just like "Warning," advises in words to do without words when "ma[king] articulate" the "messages" and "meanings" of a striking, momentary experience:

*Beauty Is Made Articulate*

Beauty is made articulate in you;  
You need not speak one word nor give one sign;  
Through your prophetic impotence Her true  
Omnipotence is crowned and made divine  
You need not speak one word for on your lip  
Are messages beyond the curve of thought,  
And your dark eyes whose darker fringes slip  
Over warm cheeks have certain meanings caught  
Beyond the fringe of certainty. What need  
Of speech where Beauty has your flesh for flame  
To sweep the forest, to announce her creed  
Through wind, and fire, through crying out Her name  
Silently, silently, like the still small voice  
Of God who spoke in silence of His choice.

The persona's portrayal begins in passive voice, describing the addressee as a vessel in which "Beauty" articulates "Her[self]." The subject of representation remains inarticulate, as this process of signification requires no "word . . . nor sign." In fact, it is only by means of this inverse "impo-

tence” on the addressee’s part, the persona claims, that Beauty’s “true” all-powerfulness receives its glory; in order for “Her” to be “made articulate” truthfully and powerfully, the subject must be stripped of all power and speech. For words, the poem continues, are not able to articulate the “messages” of the addressee’s “dark eyes” and “warm cheeks,” since their “meanings” cannot be rendered in a clear, denotative line: they are “beyond the curve of thought” and “fringe of certainty.” To use Charles Sanders Peirce’s semiotic terminology, the addressee’s eyes and lips are iconic signs whose meaning cannot be fully translated into the symbolic signs of words. Nor is there any “need / Of speech,” though, the persona insists, because “Beauty is made articulate” in the body of the addressee instead and “has your flesh . . . to announce her creed.” Invoking the Christian Logos concept, the poem’s final lines associate the addressee with the body of Christ, in which the Word of God became incarnate, according to biblical mythology.

Again one is left wondering why, if words fail to represent “Beauty” and the “true” powerfulness of the experience, if they always already “besmirch this bright adventure,” to use the words of “Warning,” the poem nevertheless renders its portrayal in words. When taking the poem’s own textualization and mediatization to be an integral part of its construction of meaning, the competition between different media of representation is revealed to be much more intricate than it is in the argument that the poem makes on its intratextual level. Thus both “Warning” and “Beauty Is Made Articulate” give testimony to an ambivalence between the necessity to use words in order to generate authoritative knowledge and the simultaneous loss of authentic experience in the act of writing. The two poems accommodate this tension by insisting on the speechlessness of their respective addressees while letting the persona take the burden of verbal representation on themselves. In the process, the subject of representation is denied the power to speak in order to prevent the loss of “Beauty” and immediate experience, while a converse empowerment of the writer takes place at the same time in the textualization of the poem.

The next section explores how this tension plays out in Mead’s *plurimedial* writings. “Plurimediality,” as Werner Wolf defines the term, “occurs . . . whenever two or more media are overtly present in a given semiotic entity,” such as an illustrated novel. It also occurs in such ethnographic studies

as *Balinese Character* and *Growth and Culture*, where phonetic writing and photography appear side by side in one semiotic entity. Given this chapter's first findings about the significance of media for notions about the primitive—by following, for instance, Ponkob and Paliau through Mead's published work and revealing anthropology's salvage imperative to be essentially a writing imperative—I want to interrogate the “medial hybrids” that result from plurimedial “co-presence” for their particular place in Mead's “media primitivism.”<sup>41</sup>

MEDIA PRIMITIVISM IN MEAD'S  
PLURIMEDIAL WRITINGS

Mead wrote the children's book *People and Places* (1959) in an academic climate where neo-evolutionary theories were on the rise and she herself subscribed more emphatically to an evolutionary view of human development than at any other point in her career.<sup>42</sup> In keeping with this renewed confidence in developmentalist ideas, *People and Places* opens with an evolutionary account of human history. Its first chapter, “Man's Discovery of Man,” ends with the invention of writing, which marks the transition to a significantly higher stage in human development, to be portrayed in her next chapter, “Man as a Being.” For Mead, writing forms

a next great step in human history. And as soon as people could write, they did not have to depend on the memory of living people or the stories that old people told, but could keep the knowledge of a past beyond the memory of anyone alive. As they could keep records, they could begin to know what was happening to them and to ask questions: Was the kingdom getting larger or smaller? Did the river rise at the exact same time every year? And because all the special knowledge—how to govern, how to pray, how to make offerings to the gods, how to plant crops, or how to temper metal—no longer had to be carried in their heads, it could even be lost and learned again as long as people could read what had been written down. Civilization as we think of it seems to have started approximately five thousand years ago.<sup>43</sup>

According to Mead's account, the "next great step in human history" that was taken with the invention of writing turned man from "discovery" into "being" and enabled significant growth and specialization of knowledge with direct and determining effects on the way people thought. For "as soon as people could write" and "as long as people could read what had been written down," "their heads" were unburdened from "past" and "special knowledge" and, in consequence, rendered spacious enough to consider for the first time more abstract, long-term questions. Indeed, writing induced the passage to what Mead describes as "Civilization as we think of it": with the article being conspicuously absent, the potential plurality and relativity of *cultures* (or *civilizations*) as promoted by Boas (not capitalized, plural) collapses into a unified, teleological concept, *Civilization* (capitalized, singular). The present, most advanced stage in which this process of human development has culminated is assumed to be familiar to Mead's Euro-American readers, who become her allies: "we," *the Civilized*.

The passage resonates strongly with the writing of nineteenth-century cultural evolutionists, the very "armchair anthropology" whose claims Boasian fieldworkers notably sought to refute.<sup>44</sup> Cultural evolutionist theories in the late nineteenth century prominently involved assertions about the invention of writing and particular sign systems as key milestones in the development of humankind. Isaac Taylor's monumental *The Alphabet: An Account of the Origin and Development of Letters* (1883) posits a unilinear evolutionary sequence from pictorial and pictographic writing systems over logographic and syllabic writing to, finally, an alphabetic writing system. As Bruce G. Trigger explains, "The logic underlying this scheme was the observation that phrases, morphemes . . . syllables . . . and phonemes . . . represent increasingly basic and esoteric levels of analysis but at the same time offer ever more efficient means by which to record speech."<sup>45</sup> The more abstract and arbitrary the relation between signifier and signified, the logic went, the more efficient and thus conducive to progress the respective writing system. Consequently, Taylor considered Chinese and Japanese scripts indicative of a general backwardness of East Asian societies and claimed that their industrialization was contingent on the adoption of an alphabetic writing system.<sup>46</sup> Almost needless to say, the rapid economic development that Japan and China in particular have

recently gone through while maintaining largely logographic writing systems provides definite proof of the unsubstantiated nature of such pseudoscientific arguments. In the U.S. nineteenth-century context, Lewis Henry Morgan gained great influence through his leadership role in the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the adoption of his evolutionist scheme by John Wesley Powell, the founding director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, thus eventually becoming synonymous on both sides of the Atlantic with the cultural evolutionism that British Victorian thinkers such as Taylor, Edward B. Tylor, and John Lubbock had initially put forward. As I have shown in my analysis of Sapir's writing on "unwritten music," Morgan's *Ancient Society: Or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* (1877) lays out a seven-stage typology that defines Civilization against (Lower, Middle, and Upper) Savagery and (Lower, Middle, and Upper) Barbarism as the most refined stage in human history, which sets in with "the Invention of a Phonetic Alphabet, with the use of writing."<sup>47</sup> Mead's evolutionist account at the beginning of *People and Places* shares with this rendering of human history not only the idea that Civilization started with the invention of script but also the equation of this invention with alphabetic writing. Taylor, Morgan, and Mead all acknowledge the existence of a plurality of notation systems, yet they do so only by drawing up further developmental trajectories that dismiss other than alphabetic writing systems as antecedent to the present European state of media-technological innovation and, by extension, following the media-determinist logic that judges civilizational progress by the "efficiency" of people's media use, their users as inferior to Europeans in their mental and social capacities. "Picture Writing, or idiographic symbols," for instance, rank second in a five-part series of inventions that leads up to "a Phonetic Alphabet, or written sounds" in Morgan, while they are cited in Mead as a media-technological achievement that renders the Aztecs superior to the Incas, who "had no writing at all" and relied in their communication between "distant parts of the empire" entirely on *quipus*, that is, highly inefficient, "complicated knotted chords."<sup>48</sup>

Historians of writing have traced the discursive and associative entanglements between notions of literacy and culture much further back than nineteenth-century cultural evolutionism, exposing them as integral to a

process of epistemic colonization that set in about the time of the European Renaissance. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter D. Mignolo's coedited volume *Writing without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (1994) has been particularly influential in defining the colonization of writing as a constitutive component of the colonization of knowledge that establishes the Eurocentric understanding of media technologies necessary to exclude the colonized from dominant processes of knowledge formation. As Joanne Rappaport, one of the volume's contributors, avers, "the power of European institutions was constituted and maintained through the spread of [a Eurocentric notion of] literacy" in particular between the late sixteenth and the early nineteenth centuries.<sup>49</sup> A great number of scholars have followed in the footsteps of this early work on the colonization of writing, answering Boone and Mignolo's powerful call for studies that explore the contested history of the world's literacies. In his own research on Renaissance theories of writing, Mignolo uses Spanish missionaries' historiographical writing on Amerindians as an example of the colonization of native discourses, which he defines as a "situation . . . in which the act of writing the history of a community means both suppressing and mistrusting the voices of a subjected community."<sup>50</sup> The Spanish chroniclers mistrust Amerindian means of recording the past, such as pictographic writing, oral narratives, and *quipus*, instead taking it upon themselves to present the information provided by their subjects in the medium that they consider most suitable for historiography, that is, alphabetic writing.

I want to explore the dynamics of such a process of epistemic colonization through media colonization as it unfolds in Mead's mono- and plurimedial writing. My critique of Mead's continued reliance on cultural evolutionist, Eurocentric media concepts in an effort to produce knowledge about non-European subjects further underlines the necessity of challenging these very ideas as an essential step toward intellectual decolonization and postcolonial knowledge formation. In response to this necessity, Boone's introduction to *Writing without Words*, for instance, redefines writing in radically broad terms as "the communication of relatively specific ideas in a conventional manner by means of permanent, visible marks."<sup>51</sup> Still, in literature-trained scholarship in particular, the medium of alphabetic writing together with its discursive history often remains a blind spot,

despite widespread agreement with Marie-Laure Ryan's dictum that media are not "hollow pipelines."<sup>52</sup> Taking Ryan seriously, I concur with Sven Werkmeister when he asserts that "the medium of literature itself . . . needs to be examined in terms of the hazardous legacy it derives from its role in the history of colonialism."<sup>53</sup>

More concretely, I argue that Mead's writing with words about words is continuous with the nineteenth-century understanding of the most advanced human being as a phonetic writer. In doing so, I diverge to some extent from the dominant framing of the history of anthropology as a series of paradigms, with cultural evolutionism being replaced by cultural relativism in the first decades of the twentieth century. As Tracy Teslow has shown, this narrative considerably downplays the continued imbrication of such early proponents of cultural relativism as Boas, Sapir, Benedict, and Mead in nineteenth-century evolutionist thought. Admittedly, Teslow should also be approached with some caution, given that her criticism of George Stocking for popularizing this narrative by applying Thomas Kuhn's concept of the paradigm shift to the history of anthropology does not sufficiently acknowledge the tentativeness and critical self-reflection with which the historian puts forward his Kuhnian account.<sup>54</sup> Especially in his book-length publications, Stocking makes sure to note that he regards Kuhn's schema "not as a precise model . . . but rather as a very fruitful heuristic metaphor which may help us to understand particular movements," "not as a model of how that development 'actually' takes place . . . but as an orientation toward certain aspects of certain episodes in the history of the [social sciences]."<sup>55</sup> His unease with the disjunction between successive time periods that Kuhn's concept of the paradigm implies is further evident in his later shift toward the term *tradition*.<sup>56</sup> Having said that, though, Teslow emphasizes with great profit the continuities between cultural evolutionism and Boasian anthropology, especially with regard to questions of race, thus qualifying the dominant narrative of two strictly separate paradigms.<sup>57</sup> I claim that it is in Mead's use of different media that these continuities become particularly manifest. Further, I interrogate these media uses for the ramifications of the association of alphabetic writing with superiority in human development when it comes to the treatment of media other than alphabetic writing. If the capacity to write is grafted onto the default, civilized human, does



this entail an understanding of the use of other media as failure and lack of human refinement? Do media other than alphabetic writing in this way end up being isomorphically aligned with a developmental state other than—and less than—Civilization?

I probe these questions by first taking up again the discussion of Mead's "monomedial," poetic writing that I started in the preceding section and offering a close reading of the poem "Your Gift" (1927). My analysis then branches out to assess the plurimedial publications that grew out of Mead's fieldwork in Bali. Mead stayed in Bali for two years, from March 1936 to March 1938, and for another six weeks from February to March in 1939. During this time, she collected around twenty-five thousand still photographs and twenty-two thousand feet of film together with her then husband Gregory Bateson, primarily in the mountain village of Bajoeng Gedé. The copious materials were later screened to make selections for two photographic studies, *Balinese Character* and *Growth and Culture*, as well as seven films, the six-part series *Character Formation in Different Cultures* and *Learning to Dance in Bali*.<sup>58</sup> Having followed Ponkob and Paliau through Mead's materials from Manus, I am guided in the present discussion of Mead's voluminous Bali materials by the verbal and visual portrayal of Karba, a Balinese boy to whom large portions of *Balinese Character* and *Growth and Culture* as well as the film *Karba's First Years: A Study of Balinese Childhood* are devoted. Even more, Karba reappears with a vengeance toward the end of *People and Places*.

The poem "Your Gift" was compiled by Mead together with nine other poems in a small volume titled *Song of Five Springs*.<sup>59</sup>

### *Your Gift*

For you have given me speech!  
No more I'll sit, an anxious child  
Awed by articulate elders,  
Dumb in envy of the melodies  
That fall from human lips, while mine  
Can only give straight, formal kisses,  
And the slight, unfreighted syllables  
Of infancy.

No more I'll fear that love  
Will strangle in his two swift hands  
A speechless heart.

Nor must I train my feet to rest,  
Crossed impotently in crowded valleys,  
And never venture up those slopes of light,  
Gleaming with pain to those  
Who have no way of utterance.

All travelled and untravelled ways  
Are for me now.  
For all encountered beauty I may press  
Upon your lips of loveliness.

With great enthusiasm and force, the first line announces the poem's eponymous gift to be "speech," the ability to speak articulately. The empowering nature of this gift, suggested by this forceful introductory exclamation, is accounted for in the remainder of the poem, as the persona draws up images of former identities that have now turned into deficient alterities: "No more" is the persona "an anxious child / Awed by articulate elders" and "Dumb in envy of the melodies / That fall from human lips." Now that they have gained the power of speech, the persona has evolved from a child stupefied by eloquent elders into a full human being, who emits from "human lips" "melodies" rather than "straight, formal kisses" and "slight, unfreighted syllables." "No more," either, can love do violence to their "speechless heart," now that the persona has the ability to express themselves; "nor must [they] train [their] feet to rest." For the gift of speech, the poem's last two stanzas argue, also comes with the power to move: no more is the persona confined to "crowded valleys"; no more are they one of those who have to look up "with pain" to "those slopes of light" that they are now able to "venture up." The curious link between the ability to move and to articulate oneself is resolved in the final stanza: only if the "encountered beauty" may be expressed and "press[ed] / Upon [the addressee's] lips of loveliness," the reasoning goes, is the persona granted access to "all travelled and untravelled ways." It is important to note that travel has both literal and figurative meanings here, with movement being

semanticized in such a way as to render it a metaphor for knowledge gain. Thus the persona's journey up the "slopes of light" "gleaming with pain" to those who are left behind in "crowded valleys" also signifies an increase in knowledge. Crucially, then, this rise in both knowledge and altitude appears conditional on speech. It is this gift that enables the persona to move up and above "those / Who have no way of utterance" and who rest with their feet "crossed impotently" to a supreme stage in human development characterized by epistemic prowess.

Given this portrayal of an educational process set in motion by the poem's eponymous gift, one could even go as far as to argue that the persona belongs to a group of people that turn-of-the-century anthropologists described as primitive or savage. The image of a people resting motionless in dark valleys until a benevolent, knowledgeable visitor introduces them to a superior way of communication clearly hearkens back to the rhetoric of Enlightenment thinkers who saw it as the duty and necessary burden of the civilized to educate savage peoples by bringing light into darkness, that is, European knowledge to presumably ignorant dark-skinned people. In this frame of thought, the uncivilized savage is conceived in ways strikingly similar to the portrayal of the persona in Mead's poem prior to receiving the addressee's gift: as an impressionable child "awed" and "in envy" of those who are more advanced in human development measured by a Eurocentric standard. The childlike savage is depicted as "dumb," lacking in both intellect and the ability to speak articulately, but also as "unfreighted" and unburdened by the complexities of civilized life, which are represented by "the melodies / That fall from human lips" and contrast with the "straight" and "slight" utterances "of infancy." As soon as the persona receives the addressee's gift, they embark on a metaphorical path toward an enlightened, civilized state of being, leading up "slopes of light / Gleaming with pain to those / Who have no way of utterance." The progress that the persona achieves, thanks to the gift of the civilized benefactor in the logic of the poem, remains painfully out of reach for the other dwellers in the "crowded valleys" from which the persona's journey started. Since these savages, as opposed to the persona, have not been subjected to a benevolent civilizing mission undertaken from a Eurocentric perspective, they stay behind "impotently," unable to progress beyond their primitive state of existence.

While this shows the poem's entrenchment in the cultural evolutionist notion of a superior state in human development and knowledge that is initiated by an innovation in verbal practices considered indispensable to European ways of communication, what at this point of my analysis still sets "Your Gift" apart from such accounts of human development as Morgan's in *Ancient Society* or Mead's at the beginning of *People and Places* is Morgan's and Mead's presentation of alphabetic writing, not speech, as the necessary innovation and threshold to this superior state. However, as I argued earlier, a comprehensive analysis of a poem and its assessment of different media also requires taking its own textualization and mediatization into account. Critically, in "Your Gift" the persona's celebration of the gift of speech comes in written speech. It is *not* "press[ed]" on the addressee's "lips of loveliness" in an oral act of communication, as the persona proposes in the last stanza, but the exchange between persona and addressee—the report on the "beauty" "encountered" upon receiving "your gift"—takes place in alphabetic writing. Consider again the first, exclamatory line, "For you have given me speech!" which is a conjunctive phrase in response to something that the addressee has enunciated beforehand. Yet the exact reference remains unknown. Oral speech as well as other than alphabetic systems of notation are excluded from the literary text, and those who use them—such as the persona's addressee, tellingly characterized by "lips of loveliness"—are positioned among "those / Who have no way of utterance" in the media regime of the poem. On the level of the poem's textualization, as well, knowledge production is limited to phonetic writers, who have ascended to a state of enlightenment due to the gift of written speech.

In "Your Gift," then, just as in "Warning" and "Beauty Is Made Articulate," alphabetic writing is played off against other media and ways of articulation that are used by people who remain voiceless in the literary text, such as the "crowd[s]" of people in "Your Gift" "who have no way of utterance" and remain motionless in dark valleys. In this way, Mead's poetry coalesces with her ethnographic work on Balinese culture into an effort at representing people who are less literate than the writer-anthropologist. *Balinese Character* (Bateson and Mead, 1942), Mead's first monograph on Bali, makes sure to inform its readers on the first pages, "Writing there was, but only a half-dozen semi-literate individuals who were barely able

to keep records of attendance, fines, etc.”<sup>60</sup> Juggling her definition of the primitive as those “without the use of script” and the literacy of her Balinese research subject, Mead would later propose, “Bali . . . is not a primitive society because writing is known, but is a society with a culture exceedingly different from our own and perhaps comparable in political and economic organization to the early middle ages in Europe.”<sup>61</sup> In characteristic allochronic fashion, she resolves the conflict of working on a culture that is not “primitive” strictly speaking, because of the presence of writing, by placing it in a time that is “exceedingly different from our own” and much earlier in European history.

In a letter from the field to Boas written on March 29, 1938, Mead had also expressed hope that her work on a culture with “a very old and partial literacy” will help to “define more clearly the borderline between really literate and absolutely non-literate peoples.” To her, “it seems very clear that in Bali literature has served primarily to paralyze thought and to give everyone a sense of intellectual inferiority.” Despite dismissals of their usefulness, in early reports such as this letter and the preliminary report published in the *New York Times Magazine*, Mead admits that there were documents that she would classify as literature but that she and Bateson “barely touched.”<sup>62</sup> Their decision to settle down in Bajoeng Gedé, she explains, was a decision against “work[ing] with the elaborate high culture” of Bali, which features “two archaic religious languages with which the Balinese write their sacred texts on books made of sheaves of palm leaves” and an “intricate vocabulary for each of the dozens of styles of dances.”<sup>63</sup> In Bajoeng Gedé, “a village of dour peasants, which lies in a closed hollow in the hills,” they felt that “the ceremonies were so simple that it was easy to master them.” The resulting bias toward a conception of Balinese literacy in terms of the practices of Bajoeng Gedé’s poorer peasant population is downplayed in later publications through an insistence on “basic patterns” that all Balinese share, which are “almost identical” between high and peasant culture, according to Mead’s letter to Boas.<sup>64</sup> In *Balinese Character*, Bateson and Mead also emphasize this “common ethos” that runs through all of Bali, “whether one is observing the home of the highest caste, the Brahman, or of the simplest mountain peasant.”<sup>65</sup> The two exceptions that *Balinese Character* acknowledges, the ruling caste of the Kesatryas and the North Balinese, who have been exposed to “strong

foreign influences,” are dismissed as not “truly” Balinese and excluded from further consideration.<sup>66</sup>

Having established themselves against a “semi-literate” research subject that is “barely able to keep records” as fully literate and well able to keep records, Mead and Bateson take it on themselves to “write up” the Balinese.<sup>67</sup> They thus engage in the double move of suppressing and mistrusting indigenous records which Mignolo found constitutive of the colonization of Amerindian literacies.<sup>68</sup> In other words, they follow their ethnographic precursors in colonizing representational media so as to appropriate the right to study colonized subjects and lend authority to the knowledge that they generate in this way. Importantly, however, *Balinese Character* applies a methodology that combines alphabetic writing with photography, thus at the same time also breaking with accepted conventions of ethnographic textualization that have historically perpetuated colonial power structures.

Indeed, the finished volume, with 759 photographs in total, far exceeds Mead and Bateson’s original design, which envisioned only 300 stills to merely “illustrate” the most “salient aspects of the culture.”<sup>69</sup> *Balinese Character* explains the heavy reliance on photo film ex negativo, by arguing that the conventional method of writing up a culture is flawed on several grounds: “This method had many serious limitations: it transgressed the canons of precise and operational scientific exposition proper to science; it was far too dependent upon idiosyncratic factors of style and literary skill; it was difficult to duplicate; and it was difficult to evaluate. Most serious of all, we know this about the relationship between culture and verbal concepts—that the words which one culture has invested with meaning are by the very accuracy of their cultural fit, singularly inappropriate as vehicles for precise comment upon another culture.”<sup>70</sup> This passage shows a striking sensitivity *avant la lettre* to some of the predicaments that prompted the *Writing Culture* debate, such as ethnography’s failure to meet its self-set standards of scientificity, the ineluctable literariness of ethnographic writing, and, most damning, the fact that verbal representations are always already culturally inflected and, in consequence, “inappropriate as vehicles for precise comment upon another culture.” As Schweighauser has noted, crediting Mead and other Boasian anthropologists with a precursory role in these debates has thus been a common gesture among scholars.<sup>71</sup> This pioneering role, however, is complicated by the fact that, in response to

their reservations about *writing* culture, Mead and Bateson's *Balinese Character* construes photography as a representational medium diametrically opposed to alphabetic writing. Given their frustration with conventional ethnographic writing, the much younger technology comes to serve as a foil onto which Mead and Bateson project their desire for a medium that is *not* already characterized by an "accuracy" of "cultural fit" and therefore *not* "inappropriate" for cross-cultural representation. As a result, they naively contend that "each single photograph may be regarded as almost purely objective."<sup>72</sup> As Mead first explained in the rationale presented in her fund-  
ing application with the Social Science Research Council, the camera is taken "as an automatic correction on the variability of the human observer," whose "cultural understanding" is subject to change during the fieldwork stay.<sup>73</sup> To her, photography offers the value-free channel of transmission necessary for cultural data to pass uncompromised from the field to the anthropologist's desk—the "hollow pipeline," as it were, whose myth persists even today, as scholars of intermediality such as Marie-Laure Ryan, Gabriele Rippl, and Werner Wolf have shown.<sup>74</sup>

Mead would later sometimes add scare quotes to the claim that photography "present[ed] more 'objective' evidence," indicating a certain awareness on her part of the claim's naïveté and even some critical distance.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless her assumption that the camera "provid[ed] reliable data" and "information independently of language" still clearly prevails in such late contributions as the (in)famous interview "For God's Sake, Margaret" (1976).<sup>76</sup> In this interview, Mead vigorously rejects Bateson's revised view that the photographic record is in fact always already entwined with the camera operator's own perception and enculturation and instead advocates methods that are meant to prevent this from happening, that is, that keep the observer from adopting what she considers—derogatorily, as Bateson rightly points out—an artist's approach.<sup>77</sup>

Notwithstanding Mead and Bateson's acute awareness of the cultural partiality of writing and their consequent invocation of photography as an impartial medium of representation, the one hundred plates that make up the body of *Balinese Character* contain significant portions of alphabetic writing (for example, fig. 6). In addition to an introductory statement on each plate, the volume features lengthy captions that describe each of its 759 photographs in great detail. Mead and Bateson explain this methodol-

ogy as follows, using for support their notion of photography as providing objective information: “We have assumed that the objectivity of the photographs themselves justifies some freedom in the writing of the captions. We have not hesitated, therefore, to select for emphasis those features of the photograph which seemed most revealing, and to describe those features in words and syntax which might convey a sense of the emphases of Balinese culture as we understand it.”<sup>78</sup> One of the basic premises of Mead and Bateson’s ethnographic study is that Balinese culture calls for interpretation, which they as anthropologists are equipped to provide. Yet with photography being annexed to alphabetic writing as a transparent, hollow medium that is exempt from cultural bias and processes of meaning construction, it is only in the captions’ “words and syntax” that Mead and Bateson “might convey” their understanding of “the emphases of Balinese culture.” The assumed objectivity of photography is profitably employed, though, to heighten the scientific authority of these claims, guaranteeing data integrity to such an extent that Mead and Bateson feel free to take greater liberties in their writing and its meaning-making of Balinese culture.

Apart from the alleged unmediatedness of the photographic medium, another argument that Mead and Bateson cite in favor of their plurimedial methodology consists in the density of information, in the vast amount of data that may be collected and presented in a short amount of time by use of photography. In response to a review of *Balinese Character* that they were asked to read prior to its publication, they elaborate on their view of the particular kind of information transfer that photographs, as opposed to words, afford: “In general, the case for photography rests . . . not upon greater extensity or wider ‘coverage’—because of course the coverage in a photographic analysis is necessarily meagre as compared with what can be done with mere words. The case rests rather upon greater *intensity* and *vividness* of presentation—that and simultaneity. Words can only say the single thing that is in focus but the camera gets a lot of background—what the elbows are doing as well as what the hand does and what the mouth says.”<sup>79</sup> While maintaining a privileged place for words in cultural analysis—because their “coverage,” as they call it, is “of course” more extensive—Mead and Bateson carve out a valuable position for photography by asserting its power to capture large amounts of additional, simultaneous information besides “the single thing that is in focus.” Their “case” in favor of combin-



VISUAL AND KINAESTHETIC LEARNING I

An individual's character structure, his attitudes toward himself and his interpretations of experience are not only by the way he acts, but also by the way he looks. The way he looks is a function of his habits of movement, and his character will be profoundly different from what would result from habits of learning by insight.

Among the Balinese, learning is very rarely dependent upon verbal teaching. Instead, the methods of learning are visual and kinaesthetic. The pupil either watches some other individual perform the act or he himself performs the act. The latter is the case in the photographs shown here. In the first photograph the pupil is entirely limp and appears to exhibit no resistant muscular tensions. A Balinese hand, if you hold it and manipulate the fingers, is perfectly limp like the hand of a monkey or of a corpse.

1, 2, and 3. Learning to carry on the head. These three photographs were all taken on the same occasion and show the same boy, aged 4 years, learning to carry some carrying on her head the offerings which her father brought to the ceremony. Fig. 1 shows two smaller children, one of whom is participating in the ceremonial like of the village.

Fig. 1. I Djanti; fig. 2. I Maderi (unfortunately, fig. 3. I Djanti, aged 4 years, and fig. 4. I Maderi, aged 4 years).  
Balijong Code, June 23, 1937; 11, 2, 96, 28, 33.

4 and 5. A father teaches his son to draw, hammering a nail and pointing with his hand. In the first picture, the father shapes his facial expression to a typical dance expression, the son tries to copy the father's expression, but the father's expression becomes interpersonal instead of apyilid.

Fig. 4. I Maderi, the father, I Karito, the son, aged 4½ years.  
Balijong Code, Oct. 1, 1936. 2 U 90, 31.

6 and 7. A father teaches the same boy to walk. The boy in the center was the most skilled and the father was the least skilled. The other two boys, three boys show the typical Balinese high kinaesthetic awareness in the hands, and this is highlighted by their inter-personal expressions.

I. B. Schacht, I. Dawa, Mochlen; I. Dawa Loepah.  
Batoem, Oct. 2, 1937. 16 M 2.

8. Small high-class boys learning to draw in the sand. The boy in the center was the most skilled and the father was the least skilled. The other two boys, three boys show the typical Balinese high kinaesthetic awareness in the hands, and this is highlighted by their inter-personal expressions.

I. B. Schacht, I. Dawa, Mochlen; I. Dawa Loepah.  
Batoem, Oct. 2, 1937. 16 M 2.



3



2



1



6



5



4



8



7

6. Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character*, 84–85. Used with permission.

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ing written words with photography thus also “rests” on the notion of a “greater *intensity*” of photographic representations.

Taking together these key premises about the nature of photography and its added value, that is, its supposed objectivity and density of information, Mead’s mobilization of this particular medium as an ethnographic tool does not come as a surprise. It provides a strong counter to critical voices that saw the anthropologist failing precisely on account of “thin” description and insufficiently “hard” evidence to support her claims. Replacing Mead and Bateson’s legal language (their “case for photography”) with martial terms, Tara Blake and Janet Harbord read Mead’s use of the camera “on an unprecedented scale” and to an “extreme extent” as “a re-assertion of her professional prowess” and “a type of re-arming.”<sup>80</sup> This show of force also has important gender connotations, especially when read against the tacit and sometimes blatant sexism of criticism relating to Mead’s style of writing. Witness the early assessment of *Coming of Age in Samoa* by Edward E. Evans-Pritchard: “a discursive, or perhaps I should say chatty and feminine, book with a leaning towards the picturesque, what I call the rustling-of-the-wind-in-the-palm-trees kind of anthropological writing.”<sup>81</sup> Alfred Cort Haddon concurs that Mead’s first monograph amounts to “little more than the observations of a lady novelist.”<sup>82</sup> Leading social scientists such as Evans-Pritchard and Haddon conceived of Mead’s use of literary devices and supposed lack of solid evidence as a failure to meet a scientific standard that was reciprocally related to their dominant understanding of masculinity. By arming herself with hundreds of photographs and defining them as objective, hard evidence, Mead sought to compensate for her deficiencies as “a lady novelist” and assert a professional role that was coded as both masculine and scientific.<sup>83</sup>

*Growth and Culture* (Mead and Macgregor, 1951), Mead’s second pluri-medial ethnography of Balinese culture, published in collaboration with the sociologist Frances Cooke Macgregor, presents “an attempt to focus different lines of research and different clinical and diagnostic skills on a carefully selected body of concrete nonverbal materials.”<sup>84</sup> By “concrete nonverbal materials” the original promotional flyer refers to the photographic records of eight Balinese children that are included in the book, safeguarding Mead against by now familiar criticisms of “inconcrete” chattiness and “soft,” “rustling-of-the-wind-in-the-palm-trees” writing. This

*The Eight Children*

PLATE I — I KARBA

I Karba, the only surviving son of Nang Oera and Men Oera, was the gayest baby in the village of Bajepeng Gede during the entire period in which we lived there. He was born in the same house as his sister, I Singin, and his mother and his father, Nang Oera, did our best to bring up the Kivomanti market. All of this meant that he was in and out of our house a great deal, and I often carried him about while I was watching a ceremony. There are more pictures of Karba than of any other child, but this is not entirely a result of circumstances, but partly because of his liveliness, intelligence, and responsiveness. When he has been the actively participated in events in which other children were supposed to be the center of observation.

Karba was a strong, symmetrically organized child, with a physical development more like New Haven children, but he combined with this the characteristic flexibility of high intelligence. He was the only child in the village. As a child he had no child nurse sibling and was cared for by his mother, his sister, Men Singin (fig. 5), whose own son, I Karba, was too heavy to be carried except in emergencies. Men Singin was the wife of Karba's father's brother, so Karba and Karba are double cousins, and in many of the scenes where the two children together; Karba's behavior is more like that of a child than that of a little girl, particularly I Djeham, whose only sibling was about five, used to care for Karba a great deal. Very possibly being cared for voluntarily by his aunt, a lusty, high-spirited, energetic young woman, rather than by a child nurse who was burdened by the task, may have contributed to Karba's high spirits.

1. I Karba, 8 months, in the hands of his father (Nang Oera) on a mat in our yard.

9/30/56. 2 U 26.

2. I Karba, 12 months, in the arms of his father (Nang Oera), pointing at the moon (Kivomanti market) in the background. Our yard.

4/5/57. 4 R 19.

3. I Karba, 14½ months, in a tub on platform in his yard. A bit of the dress of his mother (Men Oera) shows in the background.

4/29/57. 7 M 12.

4. I Karba, 14½ months, and I Sami, 7 months. Own yard.

4/29/57. 7 N 38.

5. I Karba, 15 months, wearing paper hat, in road in front of our house, with Men Singin (mother's sister) and I Karba (bit double cousin).

5/7/57. 8 H 8.

6. I Karba, 15½ months, and Iggog (native carrying made as a smiley) during a theatrical performance.

5/18/57. 9 C 15.



7. Mead and Macgregor, *Growth and Culture*, 64–65. Photographer: Gregory Bateson. Writing: Margaret Mead. Used with permission of Mary Catherine Bateson.



8. Mead and Macgregor, *Growth and Culture*, 67. Photographer: Gregory Bateson. Used with permission of Mary Catherine Bateson.

“carefully selected body” of Balinese materials is contrasted with a group of American children whose motor behavior the child psychologist Arnold Gesell and his research staff at Yale University had studied for two decades by use of cinematographic technologies. *Growth and Culture* relies much less on wordy captions in its signifying process than does *Balinese Character*. But still, I argue, it is Mead’s writing that ultimately determines how the illiterate—or “semi-literate”—Balinese are to be understood, while photography is primarily used to substantiate this interpretation with presumably objective evidence.<sup>85</sup> As with *Balinese Character*, plurimediality enables Mead to contribute to the knowledge formation of institutions that privilege phonetic writing but question the competence of other than heteromale science writers.

The first sixteen plates of *Growth and Culture* introduce eight Balinese children individually, starting with I Karba (fig. 7), who also features prominently in *Balinese Character* (for example, fig. 6).<sup>86</sup> Mead’s opening remarks characterize Karba as “the only surviving son” of his parents and “the gayest baby in the village of Bajoeng Gedé.” She admits that her records contain “more pictures of Karba than of any other child” and that “this is not entirely a result of circumstances” but of Karba’s extraordinary “liveliness, intelligence, and responsiveness, which made him the most actively

interested participant” and “the center of observation” even when he was not meant to be in focus.<sup>87</sup> Having thus portrayed Karba as a unique and positive character, as strong, energetic, and intelligent, Mead then goes to great lengths to defend this reading against contrary photographic evidence. On the second plate dedicated to Karba, and with regard to a photograph in which he sits sulking next to a group of more actively engaged children (fig. 8), Mead concedes that there is a “period of withdrawal through which Balinese children characteristically go.” However, “even in this period,” she immediately counters, “his [Karba’s] gaze is level and appraising; he is withdrawn into himself, but still presents a picture of a well-integrated child.”<sup>88</sup> Mead’s writing in this way evokes a picture in competition with the photograph, namely, the “picture of a well-integrated child” with a “level and appraising” gaze. Yet since photography in Mead’s understanding and use of it has been construed as essentially devoid of cultural meaning and dependent on the writer-anthropologist for interpretation, it is the latter’s portrayal that prevails in how readers are led to look at Karba.

It is also this picture of Karba that “lives on” as the image of how he “really” was, Mead notes in *People and Places*: “Karba, the little Balinese boy in a mountain village, who was photographed in 1936, lives on—on the covers of books, in films, and in the textbooks which one generation of students after another study—just as he really was in 1936.”<sup>89</sup> Indeed, Mead and Bateson’s film *Karba’s First Years: A Study of Balinese Childhood* (1952) also starts with a written description of Karba as creative and “gay”—in white letters scrolling up against a dark background—before the viewers are presented with camera-recorded evidence to support this characterization. The viewer’s understanding of the nonverbal materials is then further guided by a continuous voice-over commentary by Mead, which serves as a substitute for the captions that she uses in her respective publications with Bateson and Macgregor to impress her interpretation of Balinese culture onto the reader in the presumed absence of photographic meaning construction. “Our films have no captions, and we rely on the spoken word to make them intelligible,” Bateson explains in 1942, when asked to share his unedited film footage with a peer.<sup>90</sup> While granting the request, he stipulates that the recipient take some time out of her schedule when picking up the films so that he can “make them intelligible” in a meeting. The seven films that Mead later edited from Bateson’s Bali and

New Guinea field footage all rely heavily on written and spoken words, combining the footage with written introductions and ample voice-over commentary.

There are two differences, though, from *Growth and Culture* in how Karba is portrayed in *Karba's First Years*. First, the opening sequence of the film describes him not only as creative and gay but also as characteristically “withdrawn” and unresponsive, whereas the monograph dismisses his withdrawnness as a mere phase through which all Balinese children go.<sup>91</sup> Second, and even more important, in contrast to *Growth and Culture's* emphasis on Karba's uniqueness within a large group of children, the boy stands synecdochically for Balinese culture as a whole in the filmic study of Balinese childhood: Karba is depicted as he “begins to develop a *Balinese* character, gay, artistic but withdrawn,” the opening also notes.<sup>92</sup> In a lecture course on the use of visual materials in the study of culture that Mead gave at Sarah Lawrence College in 1941, and which had a “focus . . . on what makes a newborn baby become a fully representative Balinese, Iatmul or Manus,” Karba's development, too, serves as testimony “to get a realization of what being a baby and a child means in Bali, and so get some understanding of why the adult Balinese paint and carve and dance as they do.”<sup>93</sup> The direct conclusions about “the adult Balinese” that Mead expects to be able to draw from observing Karba, a little Balinese boy, also speak to an infantilization of Balinese culture where childhood and adulthood are taken to be very closely and inextricably related.

The film's selection of Karba, the boy that *Growth and Culture* had already portrayed as exceptionally gay and active, as representative of Balinese culture further corrects a “misconception” of Mead and Bateson's early interpretation of Bali that caused them some frustration, as the correspondence with their reviewers also shows. “The Balinese are certainly not a ‘deflated’ people just as they are not ‘quiet inactive.’ We did try very hard to say this but usually the misconception persists,” they complain, pointing to photographs of I Raoeh and I Marti as especially misleading.<sup>94</sup> Suspecting a tendency to see aggressiveness and activeness as mutually conditional, they suppose that “this is a misconception probably arising from the emphasis which we put on the lack of aggression. The Balinese are exceedingly *busy* and *gay*.”<sup>95</sup> The interpretation of “Balinese character” that Mead puts forward by using Karba in *Karba's First Years*, then,

is an essential Balinese gayness with a phase in childhood during which the Balinese deviate temporarily from this set pattern, only to grow eventually into active and gay people who are, however, not *reactive*. “As an adult, Karba will be gay again, but essentially unresponsive,” Mead predicts as the film closes.<sup>96</sup> The corresponding session in her lecture course at Sarah Lawrence ends its account of the development of Karba into “a fully representative Balinese” similarly with “the final establishment of an unresponsiveness to inter-personal stimuli.”<sup>97</sup>

In Mead’s *People and Places*, too, as I noted earlier, Karba reappears “just as he really was in 1936,” that is, as the actively interested and gay baby that Mead presents in her monographs and films on Bali (fig. 9). As Mead continues, though, she uncovers the “strange” tendency of her plurimedial treatment of Karba to perpetually place him in an earlier period of time and preadult stage of development: “[Karba lives on] just as he really was in 1936. And this is strange too, for in the years between, Karba has grown up and married; now he has children who will go to school in modern Indonesia and live a very different life from his own. But this grown-up Karba is not yet known to all the thousands of people who know the little Karba, for this picture, taken in 1953, is the first to be published of Karba as a man.”<sup>98</sup> A photo of a grown-up Karba appears, without further comment (fig. 10).<sup>99</sup> In this instant, Mead gives over the “gift” of speech to the photograph, granting it the power to complicate her former, written portrayal of Karba. The photo, then, which appears in the chapter “Where Are They Now?” and follows Mead’s portrayal of five different cultures, “The Eskimo,” “The Indians of the Plains,” “The Ashanti of West Africa,” “The Balinese,” and “The Minoans of Crete,” frustrates what Johannes Fabian has called the denial of coevalness. It powerfully thwarts the positioning of coexisting people in an earlier, more primitive or savage stage of human development, which has been a defining feature of anthropological research for most of its history—including Boasian anthropology. Responding to the question “Where Are They Now?” the photo situates Karba firmly in the present of the 1950s, in which Mead writes *People and Places*. In the process, it represents Karba’s capacity for continuous change and development as well. Not only does “little Karba,” against Mead’s predictions, appear to have outgrown the characteristic gayness and active interest that Mead observed in her earlier plurimedial studies, with “Karba as a man”

gazing languidly into the distance rather than engaging with the observer; more important, the photo breaks with the cultural evolutionist myth that the most advanced, contemporary stage of human development is conditional upon “the Invention of a Phonetic Alphabet, with the use of writing.”<sup>100</sup> Even without what Mead considers full (read European, alphabetic) literacy, Karba has been able to evolve from infancy to maturity and an advanced state of knowledge. “No more,” indeed, is he “an anxious child / Awed by articulate elders” and “Dumb in envy of the melodies / That fall from human lips.” Yet as opposed to Mead’s poem, this development is not premised here on the “gift” of written speech.

Even more, in this particular moment, Mead goes as far as to reconstruct the Balinese—an unambiguously “primitive” people in her 1936 application with the Social Science Research Council—as “a modern people.”<sup>101</sup> However, a caveat is in order, to put what is ultimately an isolated incident in Mead’s long and prolific publishing career into perspective. Just like their portrayal in *Balinese Character* and *Growth and Culture*, the repositioning of the Balinese as modern and coeval at the end of *People and Places* still very much relies on alphabetic writing, the very medium whose full mastery the Balinese are denied and whose absence, according to Mead’s own definition, rendered them the “primitive” subject of anthropological investigation in the first place.<sup>102</sup> To be sure, the photo of “Karba as a man” is contextualized by a monograph that consists largely of alphabetic writing and thus is framed by written words, which provide the clues necessary to read it as an affirmation of coevalness. Most notably, it submits a response to the chapter’s titular question “Where Are They Now?” Thus underneath the rupture in media practices that Mead’s plurimedial work ostensibly signals—and which Mead calls for in theoretical writings such as “Visual Anthropology in a Discipline of Words” as well as in her teaching<sup>103</sup>—lie the same epistemic and political dynamics that are at play in her “monomedial” work. As alphabetic writing is established *in* alphabetic writing as integral to the most advanced stage in human development and knowledge, Mead’s subjects of representation are deprived of their capacity to intervene in the very discourses that construe them as illiterate and underdeveloped and, by extension, unable to add to the knowledge of humankind. This capacity remains limited to those who qualify as literate in the Eurocentric taxonomy of media and writing systems that has been in use



But our ability to make accurate recordings increased only very slowly over time. For Crete we are dependent on man's ability—and willingness—to carve and paint. For the Eskimo, the Plains Indians, and the Ashanti, as these peoples were first seen by Europeans, we are dependent on the ability and willingness of the early explorers to describe in words or to paint or draw what they saw. But for Bali, which came into the modern world only in 1906, we have photographs, moving-picture films, and tape recordings.

This means that we use our imagination differently when we think of an ancient people like the Minoans of Crete and a modern people like the Balinese. Theseus and Ariadne have been sung by poets and pictured by artists, but no one knows what they looked like, if indeed they were real persons or many people whose stories were woven into one myth. But Karba, the little Balinese boy in a mountain village, who was photographed in 1936, lives on—on the covers of books, in films, and in the textbooks which



*Karba  
as a baby*

*Karba  
as a man*



one generation of students after another study—just as he really was in 1936. And this is strange too, for in the years between, Karba has grown up and married; now he has children who will go to school in modern Indonesia and live a very different life from his own. But this grown-up Karba is not yet known to all the thousands of people who know the little Karba, for this picture, taken in 1953, is the first to be published of Karba as a man.

People like the Eskimo, the Cheyenne, the Blackfoot, and the Ashanti stand midway between the Minoans and the Balinese in the amount of detailed knowledge we have about them. Before the old life of these peoples completely disappeared, cameras were brought in. And so, although we have only paintings of the old Plains chiefs, we have photographs of their descendants wearing Indian dress for one of their ceremonies or for a rodeo. In our imagination, the painted Indians live on, riding over the Plains with war whoops that froze their hearers with fear; but the

10. Mead, *People and Places*, 208. Reproduced by permission of the American Anthropological Association. Not for sale or further reproduction.

since Renaissance travelers first colonized indigenous knowledges, that is, to alphabetic writers such as Mead and her fellow ethnographers. Tellingly, for the short moment in *People and Places* in which Karba's status as an adult male living in the present with children of his own is recognized, there also exist several instances in which Mead belittles Karba's present-day existence, such as a scene in Jean Rouch's film *Margaret Mead: Portrait by a Friend* (1978) in which she describes him with a pressed voice and a mock-serious face as a "large, pontifical character and a chief priest and functionary in the village"—much to the amusement of Rouch, who laughs off-camera.<sup>104</sup>

The formation of postcolonial and "decolonial knowledges" cannot do without unsettling the media concepts that have been involved in the production of colonial knowledge and the constitution of the power of European institutions.<sup>105</sup> While my analysis has shown that both Mead's poetic, monomedial writing and her plurimedial work extend well into the twentieth century the process of epistemic colonization that her cultural evolutionist precursors had pushed forward in the nineteenth century, I want to conclude by returning to the second research question formulated at the beginning of this section: If alphabetic writing is grafted onto the default, *civilized* human, what does this entail when it comes to how other media and sign systems are treated? Mead's plurimedial writing has provided a particularly valuable platform to probe this question, given the anthropologist's simultaneous imbrication in nineteenth-century cultural evolutionist conceptions of writing and her pioneering experimentation with photography and film. The analysis of her first plurimedial study of Balinese culture, *Balinese Character*, has shown that media alterity is defined isomorphically by the lack and failure to be the default of alphabetic writing. That is, photography is cast as that which alphabetic writing is not: it is construed negatively as an objective, hollow medium of representation, which is not subject to the cultural imprint that makes alphabetic writing transgress the "precise and operational scientific exposition proper to science."<sup>106</sup> This in turn implies that photography necessarily depends on the writing anthropologist for interpretation. Because of its presumed immediacy and transparency, photography does not produce the knowledge that Mead's Euro-American audiences require to make sense of the subject under investigation. This holds true especially when the subject is

“complicated,” Mead argues in “The Cult as a Condensed Social Process” (1960), her contribution to the fifth Macy Conference on Group Processes. She uses less photography in this publication, she claims, than if the discussion were about “some detail of cultural behavior, such as mother-child relationship.” While I have shown that alphabetic writing prevails in Mead’s discussions of such subjects, too, Mead maintains here that “language could have been discounted” in these cases. “Anything as complicated as cult formation,” by contrast, “can’t be dealt with in this way,” and it is for this reason that she has decided “to include just enough photographs to indicate the appearance of the people, the terrain, and so forth.”<sup>107</sup>

Ideas about cultural and media alterity thus dovetail to corroborate the authority of the writer-anthropologist and the epistemology compounded by their work. Photographs and primitives, despite being ontologically different entities, align discursively as subservient to a meaning-generating, knowledge-producing alphabetic writer. Werkmeister’s study *Cultures beyond Writing: On the Discourse of the Primitive in Ethnology, Cultural Theory and Literature around 1900* (*Kulturen jenseits der Schrift: Zur Figur des Primitiven in Ethnologie, Kulturtheorie und Literatur um 1900*) arrives at closely related results, noting a marked parallelism between notions of cultural and media alterity around the turn of the twentieth century: a “curious affinity of subject and method, observed and observer.”<sup>108</sup> In his discourse analysis of a wide range of fields—travel writing; linguistic anthropology; ethnomusicology; theories of perception, semiotics, and media; modernist literature—Werkmeister argues that, around 1900, their respective proponents shared in an imagination that conceived of the cultural primitive and media and sign systems other than alphabetic writing in intricately interrelated ways. What connected these fields at bottom, he contends, was an opposition between symbolic and analogue systems of notation in which the former is associated with the idea of a rational European equipped with cognitive skills such as abstraction and the latter with the image of a more sensually perceptive primitive. While Werkmeister compellingly demonstrates the pervasiveness of this dualism, his discussion also uncovers an isomorphic relationship between media other than alphabetic writing and people other than Europeans. In fact, the title *Cultures beyond Writing* already suggests as much: whereas one pole of the dichotomy is formed by alphabetic “writing,” the other com-

prises an indefinite number of “cultures,” which are cast as primitive as a result of their common lack of script.

What is further evident by the end of *Cultures beyond Writing* is that this “media primitivism” also involved a fascination with and desire for nonsymbolic systems of notation and mediation due to their presumed immediacy in representation.<sup>109</sup> Werkmeister’s monograph closes by reading the modernist literary experiments of writers such as Hugo Ball, Alfred Döblin, and Robert Musil as being prompted by precisely this longing. In the context of the present study, one is reminded of the sonophilic tendencies that pervade orality-literacy theory, Schaferian soundscape studies, and Sapir’s poetic writing, and which are premised on the notion that sounds are by their very nature immediate and immersive. My analysis in this chapter has shown that Mead’s work with photography and film, too, is informed by a need for other than alphabetic, written media of representation to provide the unmediated directness that a symbolic sign system, requiring decoding of the relation between signifier and signified, fails to offer. However, the default against which visual media are in this way measured and defined remains written speech. As in the logic of Mead’s poem “Your Gift,” where this capacity empowers the persona to explore and represent “all travelled and untravelled ways,” knowledge gain is conditional upon alphabetic writing. It is this ancient European media-technological innovation, with its long-standing equation with a supreme stage in human development distinguished by epistemic prowess, that vests the cross-cultural knowledge that Mead seeks to generate with the necessary academic authority.

Given this outcome of my analysis, it may not surprise that Mead went on to publish more than 1,500 written texts in her lifetime.<sup>110</sup> Or as the *New Yorker* puts it in its 1961 profile on the anthropologist, a “torrential writer of popular-magazine articles and . . . scientific monographs,” her “published works run into millions of words.” “An enormously facile writer,” as well, “she has been known to turn out a book in as little as twenty-four days,” a parenthesis adds offhandedly. The writer for the *New Yorker* appears to be most impressed, however, with Mead’s “imperviousness to distraction” and ability to suppress “the most clamorous surroundings” while being busy writing.<sup>111</sup> In fact, Mead gained some notoriety for being an extremely focused and tireless notetaker during her stays in the field, starting

the morning off with several thousand words at her desk and continuing throughout the day to take quick handwritten notes, until eventually finishing her day's work with "hours and hours of typing out." Barbara Roll, who worked with Mead during her 1966 and 1975 visits to New Guinea, tells an anecdote about Mead being stuck on a plane for two hours due to a heavy storm, but when asked about her flight, she had nothing to complain about—except that she had run out of paper to write on.<sup>112</sup>

Put bluntly, my point is this: "monuments to writing are built by writers," as Stephen Greenblatt notes in his critique of Tzvetan Todorov.<sup>113</sup> Todorov's *Conquest of America: The Question of the Other* (1984) ascribes the successful colonization of America to a superiority in communication resulting from the Europeans' use of phonetic writing. The book in this way venerates precisely its author's medium of choice. Surely, what we witness in Mead's poetic and plurimedial writings is a particularly apt phonetic writer building a monument to her craft as well.

## Toward Unnerving the Us

### *The Poetry and Scholarship of Ruth Benedict*

#### CULTURAL DIFFERENTIALISM AND PRIMITIVIST PROJECTIONS

In the chapter devoted to Ruth Benedict in *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author*, Clifford Geertz contends in characteristically quotable words that “the rhetorical strategy” of which Benedict avails herself “over and over again, from the beginning of her career to its end, and virtually to the exclusion of any other” is “the juxtaposition of the all-too-familiar and the wildly exotic in such a way that they change places. . . . Our own forms of life become strange customs of a strange people: those in some far-off land, real or imagined, become expectable behavior given the circumstances. There confounds Here. The Not-us (or Not-U.S.) unnerves the Us.”<sup>1</sup> Geertz’s tutorial example for this technique of “unnerv[ing] the Us” (or U.S.) is Benedict’s 1934 *Patterns of Culture*, whose overwhelming impact has inspired broad superlatives in historical accounts of U.S. anthropology. Benedict’s monograph “remains today the single most influential work by a twentieth-century American anthropologist,” according to George Stocking.<sup>2</sup> It presents “the image of modern anthropology most recognized by the public,” Marc Manganaro claims, suggesting only Margaret Mead’s *Coming of Age in Samoa* as a possible exception.<sup>3</sup> He cites *Patterns* as “the best-selling anthropological work of all time,” a statistic to which the book’s scholarly merits as well as the postwar paperback revolution contributed. In 1946 *Patterns* was republished in a 25-cent edition that sold ten thousand copies in its first year and boosted sales to US\$1.25 million by 1964.<sup>4</sup> William Y. Adams declares that the book—again, with the exception of Mead’s writing—“has probably sold more copies in more languages than the works of all the other Boasians combined.”<sup>5</sup>

As Geertz puts it with his usual panache, “Brief, vivid, and superbly organized, the book, which has sold nearly two million copies in more

than two dozen languages, clearly struck a chord, rang a bell, and sent a message.”<sup>6</sup> It provides both lay and professional audiences with an accessible introduction to the Boasian school of anthropology in a “manner . . . adapted to the vocabulary and needs of the intelligent laymen” and with “matter [that] has the greatest significance for all the social sciences.”<sup>7</sup> That is, it introduces the broader public to the doctrine that *cultures* should be analyzed on their own terms and “in plurals” rather than against a Euro-American standard assumed to be universal: *Civilization or Culture*, “in the absolute singular.”<sup>8</sup> The questions, then, that the present chapter wrestles with in discussing Benedict’s bestseller touch the very core of what has become widely known as Boasian anthropology. Taking issue with Geertz’s claim that in Benedict’s writing, from its beginnings to the end, and to the virtual exclusion of any other rhetorical strategy, “the Not-us . . . unnerves the Us,” the discussion stages two arguments. It first cautions that *Patterns* is firmly grounded in cultural relativist thought and its implicit assertion of essential differences between cultures, thus precisely forestalling what Geertz terms “self-nativising” on the part of Benedict and her American and European audiences.<sup>9</sup> Not only do the Zuni and the Kwakiutl people appear in *Patterns* as antithetical poles on a spectrum of distinct and irreconcilable cultural configurations; they are both tied to their respective Procrustean beds in such a way that their relation to “Us” readers becomes one in which they serve as easy-to-handle samples in a “laboratory of social forms.”<sup>10</sup>

While I thus qualify Geertz’s appraisal of Benedict’s ethnographic writing on the one hand, this chapter argues on the other that Benedict’s to date largely unexamined poetry, by contrast, short-circuits the differentialist and essentializing tendencies inherent in Boasian cultural relativism. Throughout her life Benedict wrote 157 poems, 33 of which appeared in renowned magazines of the time such as *Poetry*, *The Measure*, and *The Nation*. What renders these poems particularly valuable in a context of contested cultural representation is her peculiar style of writing: by layering diverse mythologies in palimpsest-like constellations, her poems confound cultural distinctions, including those along familiar discriminatory lines such as primitive/modern and simple/complex, in the process chafing against the Us. Benedict’s poetry in this way offers access to anthropology’s subject of investigation that unsettles the position of



the observer's I-here-now in a culturally inflected binarism against They-there-then. After discussing *Patterns*, I trace the emergence of this style of writing by first analyzing Benedict's early poem "Parlor Car—Santa Fe," which is characterized by a longing for the primitive that requires a strict divide between modern subject and premodern object of observation.<sup>11</sup> I then turn to poems that are representative of Benedict's mature style of writing, poems such as "Myth" (1949), "In Parables" (1926), and "Price of Paradise" (1959), which layer mythologies in such a way as to involve and engage groups of people that in the cultural relativist framework of *Patterns* are conceived as "incommensurable."<sup>12</sup>

Benedict's *Patterns* comprises ethnographic studies of three different cultures, which form its three middle chapters and are bracketed by five shorter, more abstract chapters. Specifically, the book juxtaposes ethnographies of the Zuni, the Native American Pueblo people who are also at the center of Sapir's poem "Zuni"; the Kwakiutl of the Pacific Northwest; and the Dobu of New Guinea. In her analyses of the Zuni and the Kwakiutl, Benedict borrows from Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872), labeling the former Apollonian and the latter Dionysian. Given Nietzsche's famously dismissive preface to the second edition of his first book, which classifies *The Birth of Tragedy* as juvenilia, "an impossible book . . . burdened with all the errors of youth, above all with . . . its 'storm and stress,'" as well as his subsequent revisions of the Apollonian/Dionysian dualism, for instance, in *Twilight of the Idols* (1889) and *Ecce Homo* (1908), it is important to note that Benedict's *Patterns* refers explicitly to *The Birth of Tragedy*.<sup>13</sup> Focusing instead on an isolated reference to *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1891) in Benedict's correspondence and echoes of Jung's theory in *Psychological Types* (1921) in her essay "Psychological Types in the Cultures of the Southwest" (1928), Stocking claims that, together with Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*, Jung was "the immediate source of the Apollonian/Dionysian opposition."<sup>14</sup> In a close reading of *Patterns*, however, Benedict's use of the Apollonian/Dionysian dualism appears much more selective and simplistic, picking a specific early Nietzschean coinage from the long and complex history of these terms.<sup>15</sup>

Yet even in this narrow understanding of the Apollonian and the Dionysian, Benedict admits, she does not follow "Nietzsche's definitions in their entirety" but rather avails herself only of those components that suit the

purposes of her own analysis.<sup>16</sup> One of the most conspicuous differences between *Patterns* and *The Birth of Tragedy* is Nietzsche's conceptualization of the Apollonian and Dionysian as two opposing but complementary drives in ancient Greek culture. Their relationship is one of "reciprocal necessity" that engenders a series of reproductive processes, ultimately giving birth to Attic tragedy, the most highly valued art form in Nietzsche's treatise: "These two very different drives (*Triebe*) exist side by side, mostly in open conflict, stimulating and provoking (*reizen*) one another to give birth to ever-new, more vigorous offspring in whom they perpetuate the conflict inherent in the opposition between them . . . until eventually . . . they appear paired and, in this pairing, finally engender a work of art which is Dionysiac and Apolline in equal measure: Attic tragedy."<sup>17</sup> Only in Attic tragedy do "state and society, indeed all divisions between one human being and another, give way to an overwhelming feeling of unity which leads men back to the heart of nature." It is this notion of an experience of "primordial unity (*das Ur-Eine*)," in which "nature, alienated, inimical, or subjugated, celebrates once more her festival of reconciliation with her lost son, humankind," thereby generating a sense of "metaphysical solace," that Nietzsche criticizes most strongly in his preface to the second edition.<sup>18</sup> *The Birth of Tragedy* caters to a romanticist need for metaphysical security and a larger, meaning-giving entity, to which the later Nietzsche replies, "No, three times no, you young Romantics; it should *not* be necessary! But it is very probable that it will *end* like this, that *you* will end like this, namely 'comforted,' as it is written, despite all your training of yourselves for what is grave and terrifying, 'metaphysically comforted,' ending, in short, as Romantics end, namely as *Christians*."<sup>19</sup>

Benedict's *Patterns*, by contrast, does not dialectically resolve the two sides of the Apollonian/Dionysian dichotomy, withholding comfort by figuring two contraries that are not complements. As Kerwin Lee Klein perceptively observes, Benedict shares in the modernist association of Nietzsche with William Blake that connects W. B. Yeats, William Symons, and T. S. Eliot.<sup>20</sup> Tellingly, in *Patterns*, Blake's words are sandwiched in between references to Nietzsche: "The path of excess leads to the palace of wisdom," Benedict cites Blake.<sup>21</sup> "Without contraries is no progression. Attraction and repulsion, reason and energy, love and hate, are necessary to human existence," Blake argues, claiming that "one portion of being

is the Prolific, the other the Devouring. . . . These two classes of men are always upon earth, and they should be enemies: whoever tries to reconcile them seeks to destroy existence.”<sup>22</sup> While Eliot chastised Blake for his lack of a “framework of accepted and traditional ideas” that would have lent his ideas some order and prevented the “confusion of thought, emotion, and vision,” this very confusion, Klein asserts, enticed Benedict.<sup>23</sup> *Patterns* thus moves from Nietzsche’s use of the dualism in *The Birth of Tragedy* toward a Blakean understanding of human existence by placing the Apollonian and the Dionysian on either side of a cultural frontier, as two irreconcilable classes of people.

The dualism serves in Benedict’s *Patterns* as what James A. Boon calls a “positional” dichotomy, denoting two out of three diverging cultural “wholes,” which are conceived by her as “incommensurable”:

The three cultures of Zuñi, of Dobu, and of the Kwakiutl are not merely heterogeneous assortments of acts and beliefs. They have each certain goals toward which their behaviour is directed and which their institutions further. They *differ* from one another not only because one trait is present here and absent there, and because another trait is found in two regions in two *different* forms. They *differ* still more because they are oriented as wholes in *different* directions. They are travelling along *different* roads in pursuit of *different* ends, and these ends and these means in one society cannot be judged in terms of those of another society, because essentially they are incommensurable.<sup>24</sup>

It is precisely this insistence on essential difference between cultural wholes with which cultural relativism is fraught and which Walter Benn Michaels’s landmark *Our America: Nativism, Modernism, and Pluralism* (1995) has famously shown to be the bedrock of early twentieth-century nativism. With groups of people not defined externally anymore by a Euro- and ethnocentric yardstick as either superior (read *civilized*) or inferior (read *savage* or *barbarian*) but as traveling in “*different* forms” along “*different* roads” “in *different* directions” toward “*different* ends,” assessments are necessarily grounded in “incommensurable” innate identities. The result, according to Michaels, is an essentialization of racial categories and their obfuscation by cultural and ethnic denotations, which paved the way for

late twentieth-century multiculturalism, with its issues of depoliticized identity politics and occulted racialism.<sup>25</sup> Like Werner Sollors before him in *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (1986) and “A Critique of Pure Pluralism” (1986), Michaels thus observes a substitution of *culture* for *race* in the first decades of the twentieth century that helped to preserve race as a signifier of Americanness. Michaels adds to Sollors’s argument by pointing out that cultural pluralism not only extended but also fundamentally changed the nature of racism, in the sense that race became an essential attribute of human being: whereas imperialist racism understood racial difference as failure to be human, “pluralist or nativist racism makes racial difference constitutive of the human” and turns “Americanness into a racial inheritance and culture into a set of beliefs and practices dependent on race.”<sup>26</sup>

In fact, while serving as a strong advocate of cultural pluralism for the cross-cultural study that *Patterns* conducts, Benedict was aware of the susceptibility of this concept to racist thinking when applied to minority groups within the United States. In an article titled “Can Cultural Patterns Be Directed?” (1948), she warns that in spite of the fact that pluralism offers “the most effective solution for Europe’s problems of race relations,” studies in the United States have shown that the notion of cultural difference among people tends to produce rather than curb racial prejudice and tension. “Americans interested in promoting projects for social betterment,” she concludes, “would be well advised to enlist the cooperation of the various ‘hyphenated’ groups—Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans, Czech-Americans, Negro-Americans, etc.—thus giving them their longed for opportunity to participate in American activities.”<sup>27</sup> Benedict’s article appeared in *Intercultural Education News* and provides further evidence for the argument that Zoë Burkholder puts forward in *Color in the Classroom: How American Schools Taught Race, 1900–1954* (2011), in a chapter devoted to Benedict’s and Mead’s respective models of tolerance pedagogy.<sup>28</sup> Whereas Mead taught her students in the 1940s to “appreciate cultural differences, respect political and religious differences and ignore race,” as she explains to James Baldwin in her infamous *Rap on Race* (Mead and Baldwin, 1971), Benedict’s educational approach was highly critical of the celebration of “cultural gifts” and sought to caution against essentialist perceptions of human difference.<sup>29</sup> She encouraged American educators instead to pay

closer attention to social factors that shape the opportunities of members of minority groups, such as racial discrimination and class privilege. Ultimately, though, Mead's approach proved more popular among teachers and prevailed in the curricula and textbooks of the postwar era.

Scholars such as Burkholder follow Michaels's forays into the intersection of literary and anthropological discourses by noting the differentialism and essentialism that inhere in Boasian cultural relativism and further exploring its historical and institutional contextualization. In Benedict's *Patterns*, a pluralistic conception of culture with its insistence on essentialized difference casts the Zuni, the Dobu, and the Kwakiutl—as well as Benedict's Euro-American audiences—as mutually exclusive entities. Benedict tailors Nietzsche's Apollonian/Dionysian dualism to fit the need for two irreconcilable cultural essences that inhere in the Zuni and the Kwakiutl:

The Dionysian pursues them [the values of existence] through “the annihilation of the ordinary bounds and limits of existence”; he seeks to attain in his most valued moments escape from the boundaries imposed upon him by his five senses, to break through into another order of experience. The desire of the Dionysian, in personal experience or in ritual, is to press through it toward a certain psychological state, to achieve excess. The closest analogy to the emotions he seeks is drunkenness, and he values the illuminations of frenzy. . . . The Apollonian distrusts all this, and has often little idea of the nature of such experiences. He finds means to outlaw them from his conscious life. He “knows but one law, measure in the Hellenic sense.” He keeps the middle of the road, stays within the known map, does not meddle with disruptive psychological states. In Nietzsche's fine phrase, even in the exaltation of the dance he “remains what he is, and retains his civic name.”<sup>30</sup>

Almost needless to say, a description of the Zuni and the Kwakiutl as, respectively, Apollonian and Dionysian according to these definitions is grossly simplistic, reducing large, heterogeneous groups of people to a very narrow set of characteristics. Unsurprisingly, ever since *Patterns* was first published, anthropologists have taken up the critical task of probing those facets of the Zuni that run counter to Benedict's Apollonian short-

hand account. As scholars such as Barbara Babcock and Susan Hegeman have noted, Benedict's chapter on the Zuni is the most frequently criticized section of *Patterns*, as it selects and exaggerates traits that support her conception of this culture as "Apollonian" and ignores those that indicate conflicting tendencies, in the process downplaying the tension, factionalism, and violence that clearly exist in Zuni society as well.<sup>31</sup> Li An-che and Esther S. Goldfrank, a student of Benedict at Columbia, were among the first to point out that the Zuni are far from "incorrigibly mild" and "never violent," as *Patterns* asserts.<sup>32</sup> Nor can Dionysian drunkenness be said to be "repulsive to them," especially when in reality alcoholism was a grave problem on Zuni reservations, as Marvin Harris has highlighted.<sup>33</sup>

However, it would be wrong to merely conclude that Benedict was a careless ethnographer who was grossly negligent of significant details. Indeed *Patterns* is acutely aware of and warns against the danger of precisely this sort of "lopping off" of "important facts," which "mutilates" the subject: "It would be absurd to cut every culture down to the Procrustean bed of some catchword characterization. The danger of lopping off important facts that do not illustrate the main proposition is grave enough even at best. It is indefensible to set out upon an operation that mutilates the subject and erects additional obstacles against our eventual understanding of it."<sup>34</sup> Why, then, it is important to ask, *does* Benedict set out upon such an operation? If it is "absurd" and even "indefensible" to press cultures into "the Procrustean bed of some catchword characterization," why does she nevertheless "cut" the Zuni and the Kwakiutl "down" to Nietzsche's "catchy" Apollonian/Dionysian binarism? Given her vehement rejection of operations that simplify their research subject to such an extent, it is crucial to inquire into the underlying logic that allows for her use of this reductivism in her own research.

Scholars have been quick to dismiss the apparent inconsistency as a mere accident, a slip-up in an otherwise coherent work, or blamed the reader reception for reducing Benedict's cultural portrayals to one-word clichés.<sup>35</sup> Yet by brushing the contradiction aside in this way, one fails to do justice to Benedict's scholarly scrutiny and the fact that *Patterns* is a text written with great care and precision. Taking *Patterns* more seriously in its exact phrasing, I claim that the key to understanding Benedict's simultaneous rejection of and own use of catchword characterizations lies in the word

“every”: “it would be absurd to cut *every* culture down to the Procrustean bed of some catchword characterization,” but in the logic of Benedict’s monograph, *some* cultures may be sufficiently described in such terms.

Significantly, only a few pages before her description of the Apollonian Zuni, at the end of her third chapter, Benedict cites Oswald Spengler’s Apollonian/Faustian dualism from *The Decline of the West*, only to immediately dismiss again its divide between Apollonian ancient Greece and Rome on the one side and Faustian modern West on the other. She reasons, “Western civilizations, with their historical diversity, their stratification into occupations and classes, their incomparable richness of detail, are not yet well enough understood to be summarized under a couple of catchwords. . . . Anthropologically speaking, Spengler’s picture of world civilizations suffers from the necessity under which he labours of treating modern stratified society as if it had the essential homogeneity of a folk culture. In our present state of knowledge, the historical data of western European culture are too complex and the social differentiation too thorough-going to yield to the necessary analysis.”<sup>36</sup> While Benedict considers “Western civilizations” too complex “to be summarized under a couple of catchwords,” what she calls “folk culture[s]” here—cultures other than “Western,” “modern stratified society”—*are* “well enough understood” to be summarized in this way and much less likely to be unduly simplified. Due to their “essential homogeneity” and lack of “historical diversity,” “stratification,” and “richness of detail,” all of which are characteristic of “Western civilizations,” by contrast, the “danger of lopping off important facts” and of “mutilat[ing] the subject” is endemic only to the West and not the rest. Rather than being an accidental slip in an otherwise coherent logic, then, Benedict’s contention that “it would be absurd” and “indefensible” to “cut . . . down” cultures to “the Procrustean bed of some catchword characterization” is not inconsistent with her use of Nietzsche’s Apollonian/Dionysian dualism to describe the Zuni and the Kwakiutl.<sup>37</sup> Since these cultures are by their very nature less complex than Benedict’s own, Euro-American culture, so the reasoning goes, it is possible to capture their essence in a few words without significant loss of nuance or detail.

Moreover, in their simplicity, they may also be usefully employed to shed light on the more complex cultures, which “are not yet well enough understood” but must not be treated “as if [they] had the essential homo-

geneity of a folk culture.” The latter is Spengler’s “indefensible” mistake; it is he who is “lopping off” relevant facts, not Benedict.<sup>38</sup> However, as Peter Mandler has pointed out, Benedict did not “entirely rule out applying such epithets [as *Apollonian* and *Dionysian*] to complex, modern societies.” Despite its criticism of Spengler, *Patterns* “opened a door” to the study of complex societies by suggesting that “it was only a matter of time before the material they presented was sorted and organized,” Mandler argues.<sup>39</sup> “Cultural configurations,” *Patterns* holds, “are as compelling and as significant in the highest and most complex of societies of which we have knowledge.”<sup>40</sup> During World War II, Benedict would thus be closely involved in the study of cultural configurations of what she considered modern, stratified societies, most notably Japan, the subject of her 1946 bestseller, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture*.

Yet when she wrote *Patterns* in the first decades of the twentieth century, Benedict “joined many of her fellow anthropologists in hesitating to engage in ethnographic generalizations about complex industrialized societies.”<sup>41</sup> Instead of addressing this research subject directly, she proposes a more roundabout approach by comparing her cultural studies with Charles Darwin’s use of beetles:

The understanding we need of our own cultural processes can most economically be arrived at by a *détour*. When the historical relations of human beings and their immediate forbears in the animal kingdom were too involved to use in establishing the fact of biological evolution, Darwin made use instead of the structure of beetles, and the process, which in the complex physical organization of the human is confused, in the simpler material was transparent in its cogency. It is the same in the study of cultural mechanisms. We need all the enlightenment we can obtain from the study of thought and behaviour as it is organized in the less complicated groups.<sup>42</sup>

It is at this point that Benedict’s indebtedness to earlier ways of thinking about cultural alterity comes fully to the fore. By applying methodological premises from Darwin’s studies *On the Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man* to her study of different, coexisting cultures, Benedict reveals enduring continuities of her Boasian way of thinking with nineteenth-



century cultural evolutionism, which arranges synchronic human data on a diachronic scale of increasing complexity: from savagery to barbarism to civilization. Note how Benedict's assertion of "the essential homogeneity of a folk culture" and the stratified, less easy-to-grasp configuration of "Western civilizations" echoes Herbert Spencer's distinction between homogeneous and heterogeneous societies, placed, respectively, in an early and a late stage of human development.<sup>43</sup> Spencer defines "the law of evolution" in his *First Principles* (1862) as "an integration of matter . . . during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity."<sup>44</sup> He claims an extreme generality for this law, its universal applicability not only to biological organisms but also to the human mind and the social organization of human beings. Indeed, in the second half of the nineteenth century, both cultural evolutionists and biological evolutionists followed Spencer's maxim by conceiving of cultures as well as species as growing in time into highly differentiated, complex organisms. Cultural evolutionists evoked the hierarchies of racial science without directly addressing the question of biological determinism by habitually employing an organic analogy that presented the development of cultures as similar to the evolution of an animal or plant species and separating cultures along the same lines that scientists used to demarcate racial stocks. As a result, "biologically inherited race and socially constructed culture became linked concepts" in the last decades of the nineteenth century, "a double lens through which intellectuals could view populations of the United States."<sup>45</sup>

Boas and his students remained largely blind to the interrelatedness of biological and cultural evolutionism, favoring the former while critiquing the latter. The fact that Benedict's *Patterns*, in an argument that aims at refuting cultural evolutionism and the evolutionary racism with which it had become synonymous, refers favorably to Darwinian evolutionary theory for support must be attributed to the Boasian understanding of cultural evolutionist theories as misapplications of Darwin that had been developed in isolation of the biological evolutionism of the Darwinian milieu. As historians of anthropology such as Stocking have noted, Boasian anthropologists failed to consider the extent to which Darwin's thinking, too, was informed by the cultural evolutionism of his day. In particular Stocking's essay "The Dark-Skinned Savage: The Image of Primitive Man

in *Evolutionary Anthropology*” traces the complex web of nineteenth-century cultural and biological evolutionist theories of which Darwinian evolution partook: “Darwinian evolution, evolutionary ethnology, and polygenist race . . . interacted to support a raciocultural hierarchy in terms of which civilized men, the highest products of social evolution, were large-brained white men, and only large-brained white men, the highest products of organic evolution, were fully civilized. The assumption of white superiority was certainly not original with Victorian evolutionists; yet the interrelation of the theories of cultural and organic evolution, with their implicit hierarchy of race, gave it a new rationale.”<sup>46</sup> While interrelations between biological and cultural evolutionism thus provided new justification for colonial expansion and racial violence in the concluding decades of the nineteenth century, Benedict’s analogy between her study of “less complicated groups” of people and Darwin’s study of beetles is part of a logic that—just like Mead’s treatment of different media in her poetry and ethnography—extends into the twentieth century processes of epistemic colonization. With anthropology’s subjects of investigation being taken as simple enough to be captured in a few words and to have their greatest value in illuminating aspects of “modern stratified society,” they are not only denied the capacity to represent themselves; in this frame of thought, there is also no need for further representation.<sup>47</sup> Having distilled the Apollonian and Dionysian essences of the Zuni and the Kwakiutl, one quickly turns to other less complicated groups to arrive most economically, eventually, at an understanding of the complex cultures of Benedict’s Euro-American audiences.

Throughout the 1930s Benedict repeatedly—and repetitively—described this relationship of modern anthropologists to their simple, homogeneous research subjects by use of the image of a laboratory.<sup>48</sup> In a paper read before the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1932, she defines “modern anthropology” as “a study of the varieties of cultural environment [that] regards primitive people as a providentially provided laboratory in which one may study the social setting and its limits of possibility.”<sup>49</sup> The “simple laboratory material of the anthropologist gives more controlled conditions” than “heterogeneous,” “fluctuating” American culture, she elaborates in a talk held in front of the Committee on the Study of Adolescents five years later:

Now the value of this is that it gives—in these small, segregated groups, fairly stable, of a number of individuals who are in continuous relations with one another—examples to study the working out of various forms of society, various social requirements which are standardized within the community, less heterogeneous, less fluctuating than in our culture. In our culture your problem is much more complicated than in a primitive culture, where there is a great amount of agreement in the community and where the child is associated with a fairly uniform body of precepts, uniform expectation from all of the individuals in the group. The difficulty in our own culture . . . is that the individual in our group meets with a great many stratified groups and different kinds of ideals, which is not true in most primitive cultures which have a rather explicit body of ethics, expected behavior, which tends to simplify the problem.<sup>50</sup>

It is this “laboratory logic” that allows *Patterns* to summarize entire cultures under the Apollonian/Dionysian dualism. At the end of its first chapter, *Patterns*, too, depicts “primitive cultures” as “a laboratory in which we may study the diversity of human institutions” and which is “ready to our hand,” given that “the problems are set in simpler terms than in the great Western civilizations.”<sup>51</sup> Like Darwin with his beetles, the anthropologist studies primitives to extrapolate from such simple forms of being to the more complex, “great Western civilizations.”

Noting her argument’s cultural evolutionist overtones, Benedict is quick to deny that the posited function of the study of primitive cultures is in any way related to earlier uses of the primitive in anthropology, specifically the “reconstruction of origins” that made her predecessors “arrange all traits of different cultures in an evolutionary sequence from the earliest forms to their final development in Western civilization.” Nor does the notion that primitive cultures offer a handy laboratory of simpler social forms “have necessary connection with a romantic return to the primitive,” she insists: “It is put forward in no spirit of poeticizing the simpler peoples. There are many ways in which the culture of one or another people appeals to us strongly in this era of heterogeneous standards and confused mechanical bustle. But it is not in a return to ideals preserved for us by primitive peoples that our society will heal itself of its maladies. The romantic Utopianism

that reaches out toward the simpler primitive, attractive as it sometimes may be, is as often, in ethnological study, a hindrance as a help.”<sup>52</sup> In light of these denials, it is all the more important that the story with which Benedict opens the next chapter of *Patterns* laments in an elegiac, romantic tone the loss of original, intact culture. At the beginning of its second chapter, “The Diversity of Cultures,” *Patterns* departs from its omniscient third-person ethnographic account to narrate a personal encounter with Ramon, a chief of “the Digger Indians, as the Californians call them.”<sup>53</sup> Apart from its homodiegetic narration and internal focalization, the passage stands out from the rest of the book by repeating what is described in *Patterns*’ epigram as a “proverb of Digger Indians” through the voice of Ramon, who reminisces about his culture’s premodern origins: “In the beginning,’ he said, ‘God gave to every people a cup, a cup of clay, and from this cup they drank their life.’” These prelapsarian times are long gone now: “‘They all dipped in the same water,’ he continued, ‘but their cups were different. Our cup is broken now. It has passed away.’” The different cups of clay, which were “somehow all of a piece” in the beginning and have been fragmented since then, present an apt metaphor for the pluralist-relativist conception of culture and cultural development that *Patterns* puts forward. Benedict interprets that Ramon “had in mind the loss of something that had value equal to that of life itself, the whole fabric of his people’s standards and beliefs.” In the characteristic manner of a salvage ethnographer, she considers the passing of original, homogeneous culture “irreparable” and death-like; like a cup of clay, a primitive culture is understood as a fragile whole that cannot be reshaped, only lost or broken. Thus deprived of his only true, essential cultural identity, Ramon is left with “a hard fate”: “He straddled two cultures whose values and ways of thought were incommensurable.”<sup>54</sup>

Placing Benedict’s imagery in a literary-historical context, Manganaro further notes that the broken cup is an “eminently modernist trope,” hearkening back to the lost grail in Eliot’s *The Waste Land* (1922) and the broken chalice of Father Flynn in James Joyce’s short story “The Sisters” (1914), and even prefiguring Robert Frost’s “broken drinking goblet” in the poem “Directive” (1947).<sup>55</sup> Especially Frost’s grail cup, which belongs to “a house that is no more a house / Upon a farm that is no more a farm / And in a town that is no more a town,” conjures up a simple people that

lived whole in the past and holds the promise to recover their prelapsarian way of life: “Drink and be whole again beyond confusion,” the persona commands in the final line.<sup>56</sup> Like its literary modernist contemporaries, the story of the broken cup of clay in *Patterns* imagines a bygone way of life that appears simple, genuine, and sincere, following an evolutionary understanding of cultural development toward greater complexity, heterogeneity, and “confusion.” Benedict’s vehement denials, then, of arranging cultures in an evolutionary sequence and romanticizing the less advanced are revealing of precisely the cultural evolutionist undercurrents of Boasian anthropology.<sup>57</sup> While *Patterns* perpetuates Spencerian thinking and longs for the “unbroken,” homogeneous origins of cultural development, Benedict is at the same time too acute an observer not to note the tensions and contradictions that these tendencies create in a treatise that ostensibly sets itself apart from nineteenth-century evolutionary conceptions of cultural alterity.

The cultural pluralism and relativism of *Patterns* thus retains intimate ties with the cultural evolutionism that Benedict’s mentor and close associate Boas set out to displace. Perhaps Mead’s obituary in the *American Anthropologist* describes Benedict’s position best when it calls her “a figure of transition, binding the broken sureties of a past age, to which she was a full heir, to the uncertainties which precede a new integration in human thinking.”<sup>58</sup> It should also have become clear that, despite Geertz’s claims to the contrary, “There” is far from “confound[ing] Here” and “the Not-us” does not “unnerv[e] the Us” in *Patterns*. The cultures that Benedict studies are divided by thick lines, the firmest of which is drawn precisely between “Here” and “There,” “Us” and “Not-us.” Further, since the “Not-us” is presented as simple, weak, and subservient to “Us”—like Darwin’s beetles in relation to human beings—its ability to confound and unnerve is severely limited in *Patterns*. In the second part of this chapter, I suggest that Benedict’s mature poetry, in contrast to her expository, ethnographic writing, invites such disarray, unsettling cultural boundaries instead of affirming them as part of a pluralist-relativist approach to culture. As Geertz also notes in *Works and Lives*, “the nature of [the] relevance [of Benedict’s poems] is normally misconceived” due to “an overly autobiographical, the Real-Ruth reading.”<sup>59</sup> Offering a corrective to this critical tradition of “Real-Ruth reading[s],” most prominently pursued by Benedict’s literary

executor, Mead, I argue that the value of this body of poetry lies in the fact that it is here where Geertz's appraisal of Benedict's writing as "unnerving" comes to bear.

The remainder of the present section, however, is dedicated to the analysis of an early poem that is rather uncharacteristic for Benedict in its treatment of cultural alterity, even though it uses the Petrarchan sonnet form that characterizes many of her poems.<sup>60</sup> In an installment of the weekly WEVD radio program *Enjoyment of Poetry* devoted exclusively to Benedict's poetry and hosted by Florence Becker Lennon, a Boasian anthropologist-poet and friend of Benedict as well, Mead claims that "Parlor Car—Santa Fe" is one of the few poems by Benedict that is a direct treatment of her anthropological materials.<sup>61</sup> Importantly, the poem also parallels the cultural pluralism and relativism of Benedict's *Patterns* in erecting an insurmountable divide between primitive and modern ways of life.

*Parlor Car—Santa Fe*

With lazy ease you toss me back the ball  
Of jest and judgment on the latest play;  
You toy awhile in approved modern way  
With the newest art, and explode a sophistical  
Conceit of so-and-so's philosophy.  
We are so wise! The gods run panic-struck  
From their old high places, and laughing at our luck  
We take their thrones—and call it victory.

We are so wise! And out across these sands  
Men plant their feathered prayer-sticks in the moon  
Tonight, praying the gods of ancient pueblo sires.  
And we would dash our pride with naked hands  
To bury once a prayer-plume in the moon  
And pour in hearing ears our hot desires.

In its traditional role of outlining the setting and the problem of the sonnet, the octave stages an exchange between two passengers in a parlor car, the poetic persona and their conversation partner. The latter is addressed in the second-person singular so as to include the readers in the address as

well. “We”—the persona, the interlocutor in the parlor car, and the poem’s readership—are thus integrated into a conversation that is conducted “with lazy ease” and in an “approved modern way.” Even the “explo[sion]” of “a sophisticated / Conceit of so-and-so’s philosophy” is conventionalized in this exchange, leaving the persona unimpressed and unable to remember the specific name of the philosopher. While this scenario is portrayed as distinctly “modern,” with the topics of conversation spanning “the latest play” and “the newest art,” “the gods” that “run panic-struck / From their old high places” represent the former, premodern order that has been replaced by the modern. Yet rather than signifying progress, the evolution from this primitive, heathen order to modernity is cast as a process of degeneration: the “latest play” and “newest art” figure as staples of insubstantial conversation, not as artistic achievements of Civilization. “We . . . call it victory” and consider ourselves “wise” and in “luck,” but the gods’ “panic-struck” escape suggests otherwise: it indicates a threat that we moderns fail to recognize, suggesting ignorance and naïveté rather than wisdom and luck.

Hence by the time the persona exclaims “We are so wise!” for the second time, at the beginning of the sestet, its ironic and sarcastic overtones are self-evident. Although we are clearly not wise, we persistently tell ourselves that we are, “call[ing] it victory.” It is at this point of resignation and frustration with their own purportedly superior, modern way of life that the persona shifts the focus to those other than Us, that is, in the spatial logic of the poem, the people outside of the luxurious parlor car, “out across these sands” and far removed from the persona. Apart from their spatial remoteness, what marks these people as different is their ritualistic treatment of the ancient gods that represent a primordial, premodern order: the notion that they “plant their feathered prayer-sticks,” “praying the gods of ancient pueblo sires,” contrasts sharply with the image of “panic-struck,” dethroned gods that the octave presents. By juxtaposing these two ways of treating their gods, the poem suggests that where we, “in approved modern way,” have not only stopped praying but driven the gods off “from their old high places,” the Pueblo people that the persona imagines *still* engage in rituals of prayer to worship their “ancient” gods in their “old high places.” By way of an allochronic gesture, the latter are thus placed in a time that precedes the “godless” modern present, being

denied coevalness with the persona and their addressees as a result. Synchronic cultural data are spread on a diachronic scale and the distance in space that separates Us here from Them there turns into a distance in time separating moderns from primitives.

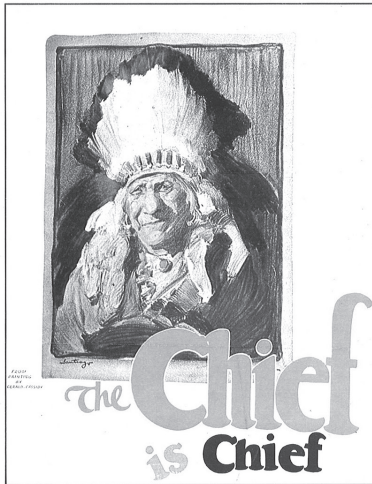
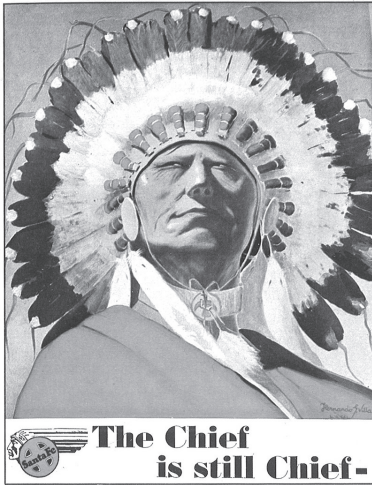
Having construed a primitive/modern divide with two opposite poles, We-here-now and They-there-then, the final tercet of the sonnet shows the We of the poem using their imagined premodern opposite as a foil onto which they project utopian desires. In order to return to the desired prelapsarian state, the poem claims, it is necessary to adopt the Pueblo people's practices and "bury once a prayer-plume in the moon / And pour in hearing ears our hot desires." The assumption is that the modern lack of sincere exchanges, which are not already conventionalized and stripped of "naked," "hot" emotion, would be remedied if We adopted *Their* rituals of prayer. However, because of the insurmountable divide between Us and Them in both space and time, this solution must remain utopian wishful thinking, rendered in subjunctive mood: if it were possible, "we would dash our pride with naked hands" and immediately break with our modern way of life to take on the more genuine customs of the primitive. Yet in the logic of "Parlor Car—Santa Fe," the difference between modern and primitive is irreconcilable, with cultures on either side being cast as separate and self-contained entities. The only possible way for the modern, then, to express themselves sincerely and to "pour in hearing ears" their "hot desires" is precisely in this way, that is, in a poem.

When placed in historical context, the specific railroad to which the title of the poem refers provides further grounds for reading "Parlor Car—Santa Fe" as staging a process of primitivist projection that takes modern and primitive cultures to be incommensurably different. In the interwar period, the time when Benedict was most active as a poet, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, generally referred to as the Santa Fe, took on particular importance in satisfying modern, metropolitan longings for the primitive by connecting urban populations to the Pueblo Southwest. For most of the travelers, the Pueblos presented a sharp contrast to their familiar way of life, an "oasis" of "a resonantly exotic cultural life" and "a kind of ethnological theme park" that became the hot spot of an "interwar mania for Southwest Indians."<sup>62</sup> By 1924 the Santa Fe Railway carried fifty thousand passengers per year, owing greatly to marketing efforts that sold



its destination as the “exotic and simple life of an earthly paradise” that people were longing for in their fast-paced, industrial-urbanized lives. At the center of these campaigns stood the so-called “Santa Fe Indian,” “a prototype of preindustrial society. Simplicity. Freedom. Nobility.”<sup>63</sup> The Santa Fe Railway further associated the figure’s symbolic value closely with their product by christening their trains the *Navajo*, the *Chief*, and the *Super Chief* (fig. 11). The chain of restaurants, hotels, and shops that operated along the railroad and was run by the Fred Harvey Company employed similar images of simplicity, freedom, and nobility to market their business. The front of a Fred Harvey postcard that Benedict sent to Ruth Landes, her former PhD student and like-minded peer, depicts a “Navajo sage” sitting cross-legged in festive attire on the floor, while the explanatory note on the back of the card points out his “superior character and integrity” and “his ability to govern well and to deal wisely” (figs. 12 and 13).<sup>64</sup> Apart from the figure of the “sage,” noble Santa Fe Indian, the “Harvey Girls” functioned as a key attraction and marketing tool for the associated Santa Fe and Fred Harvey companies. Importantly, the job of the young waitresses was as much about serving food and drink as it was about symbolically bringing Civilization to the uncivilized, wild West of the United States. They gained iconic status when MGM adapted Samuel Hopkins Adams’s novel *The Harvey Girls* (1942) for a musical film that starred Judy Garland and Angela Lansbury and won an Oscar for Best Original Song for its theme song “On the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe.”<sup>65</sup>

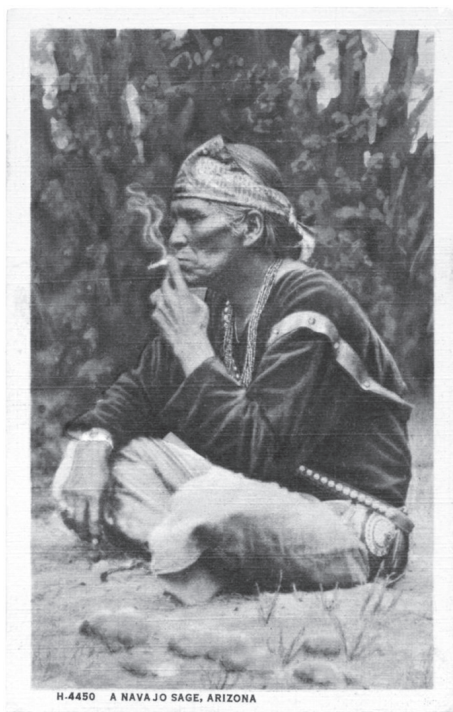
The passengers of the Santa Fe included such notable public figures as Eleanor Roosevelt, Harry Guggenheim, John D. Rockefeller Jr., and Albert Einstein and his wife.<sup>66</sup> The railway also connected early twentieth-century cultural anthropologists to one of their key venues for the study of primitive cultures. In particular among Boas and his students, the Pueblo Southwest ranked as an extremely popular field site and soon became “the single most-visited venue” of Boasian anthropologists.<sup>67</sup> On the Zuni alone, half a dozen affiliates of Boas’s department conducted extensive research; besides Benedict and Boas himself, Elsie Clews Parsons, Alfred Kroeber, Leslie Spier, and Ruth Bunzel all went to the field in the Southwest to work on the Zuni. Benedict visited the Zuni Pueblo in 1924 and 1925 and published two volumes, titled *Zuni Mythology* (1935). She also visited the Cochiti Pueblo in 1925 and compiled the collection *Tales of*



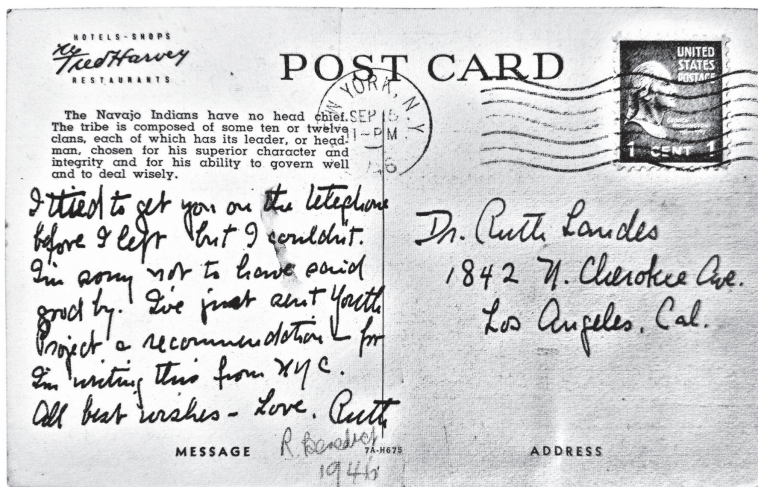
11. Advertisements of Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway, reprinted in T. C. McLuhan, *Dream Tracks*, 21. Courtesy of the author.

*the Cochiti Indians* (1931). Further stays covered the Pima (1927) and the Mescalero Apache (1931).

Scholars have regularly argued that the anthropologists who frequented the Southwest were subject to the same exoticist appeal that drew thousands of tourists to the region.<sup>68</sup> Importantly, the stream of travelers also included large numbers of artists and literary critics, who attributed particular value to the Pueblo Southwest. Take William Stanley Braithwaite's



H-4450 A NAVAJO SAGE, ARIZONA



12. & 13. Fred Harvey postcard, Ruth Benedict to Ruth Landes, ca. 1946. Ruth Landes Papers, 1928-92, Series I, Correspondence, Letters Received, box 2, folder Ben-BI, NAA, 1991-04.

1926 *Anthology of Magazine Verse*, which contains reprints of three of Benedict's poems ("She Went to Sleep Below," "Three Hags Come Visiting," "The Youth, Girolamo Savonarola, Prophecies") as well as several sections devoted exclusively to the American Southwest, expecting this region "to make a distinctive indigenous contribution" to American poetry because of its particularly "fertile soil" for the poetic "spirit."<sup>69</sup> In his contribution to the volume, Willard Johnson asserts that Alice Corbin Henderson—who figures prominently as editor of *Poetry* and avid collector of Native American folklore in my interlude—is "more responsible than any other one person for Santa Fe's present reputation as one of America's literary capitals."<sup>70</sup> Johnson's claim can be read as a side blow at Mabel Dodge Luhan, the powerful New York patron of the arts, founder of the Taos literary colony, "unstoppable force in bringing the attention of mainstream America to the American Southwest"—and early influence on Benedict.<sup>71</sup> According to Dodge, "the elaborate, unhappy, modern man" who visits the Taos Pueblo enters a space "where a *different* instinct ruled, where a *different* knowledge gave a *different* power from any [Dodge] had known, and where virtue lay in wholeness instead of in dismemberment."<sup>72</sup> Dodge's portrayal of the Taos Pueblo exhibits the same differentialist and holistic tendencies that characterize Benedict's conception of culture in *Patterns of Culture*. The primitive culture appears as an enclosed unit that is fundamentally different from "elaborate," "modern" society, which values "dismemberment" over "wholeness." D. H. Lawrence, whom Dodge enticed to visit the Pueblo in 1923, similarly describes a sense of primordial unity to which he remains a "far-off stranger": he experiences Taos from a distance that is both spatial and temporal, "sitting there on a pony, far-off stranger with gulfs of time between [him] and this."<sup>73</sup> Tellingly, Lawrence's account of the Pueblo Southwest features in Benedict's *Patterns* as marked by a particularly high degree of "precis[ion]."<sup>74</sup> His primitivist projections from a position of developmental superiority extended in space—with gulfs of both time and space between the modern and the primitive—clearly form a point of convergence between him, *Patterns*, and "Parlor Car—Santa Fe." Like the passengers in Benedict's poem, Lawrence evokes a temporally and spatially removed, premodern way of life that serves as a foil onto which he projects his modern desires. Underlying both his account and "Parlor Car—Santa Fe" is the very conceptualization of culture that we

witnessed in *Patterns*, a conceptualization that extends an evolutionary understanding of *Culture* into a school of thought that emphasizes the plurality and relativity of *cultures*.

#### BENEDICT'S PALIMPSESTUOUS POETRY

Having analyzed an early, uncharacteristic poem in the first close reading of this chapter, I turn to those of Benedict's poems that represent her mature poetic style. What renders these poems valuable in a post-*Writing Culture* context of contested cultural representation is a peculiar, *palimpsestuous* quality. Following Sarah Dillon, I use the standard English term *palimpsestic* to denote the process of layering that generates a palimpsest, whereas *palimpsestuous*, the neologism that Dillon has coined, refers to the surface structure that results from this process and "the type of relationality reified in the palimpsest." That is, *palimpsestuous* describes an "involved" structure in which "otherwise unrelated texts are involved and entangled, intricately interwoven, interrupting and inhabiting each other." Formerly isolated texts engage in "a simultaneous relation of intimacy and separation" and become illegitimately—"incestuously," as it were—close. This is precisely the type of relationality that Benedict's mature poetry plays out in its treatment of cultural alterity.<sup>75</sup> By layering formerly isolated myths in palimpsestuous configurations, Benedict's poems confuse strict cultural distinctions, including those along familiar discriminatory lines such as modern/primitive. They thus offer access to anthropology's subject of investigation that not only short-circuits the differentialist and essentializing tendencies inherent in Boasian cultural pluralism and relativism; they also unsettle the ethnographer's position in a culturally and racially inflected I-here-now/They-there-then binarism.

Benedict herself uses the palimpsest as a metaphor for a particular mode of accessing foreign voices in her poetry. In an unpublished poem titled "The Sacrilege," a man—described as a "Mexican priest" in her correspondence with Sapir—breaks "strange boughs" and prepares a "curious alien rite" in which he "might read / Strange tongues" in the flames of a fire.<sup>76</sup> The entanglement of tongues in the fire is portrayed as a "swift palimpsest." The poem offers a fitting launching point for an analysis of Benedict's palimpsestuous writings as it suggests, in its title and final admonition against any testimony ("He so might read / Strange tongues— /

Whereof no living man / Shall testify”), the violation of a strict divide between formerly isolated realms in this palimpsest-like fire. The act of “sacrilege” that the priest commits is his access of another, “strange” world “whereof no living man / Shall testify,” namely the world of the nonliving. The palimpsestuous surface structure of Benedict’s poetry, in turn, gives access to the strange worlds of other living cultures, which are otherwise thought of as incommensurable too.

Specifically, in this section I discuss the poems “Myth,” “In Parables,” and “Price of Paradise.” “In Parables” appeared in the little magazine *Palms* under Benedict’s pen name Anne Singleton, while “Myth” and “Price of Paradise” were published posthumously by Mead and fellow Boasian Clyde Kluckhohn.<sup>77</sup> To be sure, I am not arguing that these poems, as opposed to “Parlor Car—Santa Fe,” are devoid of primitivist longings that appropriate the cultural Other for hegemonic uses. One can make a strong case that problematizes the style of “Myth,” for one, as a syncretistic tactic that subsumes primitive under Christian religious practices, as Philipp Schweighauser does.<sup>78</sup> However, I venture here that the layering of different mythologies in “Myth” also has the potential to thwart primitivist acts of projection by confusing the prerequisite modern/primitive, here/there, now/then binarisms. Geertz’s enthusiastic appraisal of Benedict’s style of writing in *Works and Lives* is thus shown to apply more readily to Benedict’s poetry: “There confounds Here. The Not-us (or Not-U.S.) unnerves the Us.”

### *Myth*

A god with tall crow feathers in his hair  
Long-limbed and bronzed, from going down of sun,  
Dances all night upon his dancing floor,  
Tight at his breast, our sorrows, one by one.

Relinquished stalks we could not keep till bloom,  
And thorns unblossomed but of our own blood,  
He gathers where we dropped them, filling full  
His arms’ wide circuit, briars and sterile shrub.

And all alone he dances, hour on hour,  
Till all our dreams have blooming, and our sleep  
Is odorous of gardens,—passing sweet  
Beyond all, wearily, we till and reap.<sup>79</sup>

While the opening image of a “god with tall crow feathers” is reminiscent of the portrayal of the Pueblo people in “Parlor Car—Santa Fe” who “plant their feathered prayer-sticks” in the sand, in this way “praying the gods of ancient pueblo sires,” cultural classifications are much more ambiguous in “Myth.” Instead of an insurmountable divide between modern, sophisticated parlor-car passengers and primitive Pueblo people, segregated in space as well as time, “Myth” submits a cross-cultural portrayal that involves several competing images layered on top of each other. The depiction of a dancer “with tall crow feathers in his hair” reproduces stock features of the stereotypical romantic image of the noble savage.<sup>80</sup> The first stanza places emphasis on bare, brown skin and body parts, with the object of the persona’s gaze appearing “long-limbed and bronzed” and carrying a burden “tight at his breast.” The portrait is familiar, not only from eighteenth-century picturesque painting and romantic literature, or Santa Fe’s early twentieth-century marketing efforts (fig. 11), but also from Mead’s portrayal of life in the South Seas: a life supposedly “reduced to the simplest physical terms, to sunshine and the moving shadows of palm trees, to bronze-bodied girls and bronze-bodied boys.”<sup>81</sup> Light is sporadic and fleeting for those who lead this simple, physical way of life, producing only a glistening hue on their brown bodies. In fact, bronze-tinged skin is such a familiar staple of portrayals of the primitive that the source of light necessary to create this effect remains unaccounted for in “Myth.” After all, the poem posits a complete absence of natural light: the dance takes place “from going down of sun” and “all night.” Readers are left to fill in the gaps of the incomplete romantic portrait by imagining the twilight that follows the setting of the sun, or perhaps a light cast by an open fire around which the dancer circles. Apart from the soft lighting, the physique of the dancer is displayed in repetitive, rhythmic movement, as he “dances all night upon his dancing floor.” One might reasonably speculate that the specific dance ritual the poem portrays is the kind of evening stomp-dance event found among many Native American peoples of the southeastern

United States and central to Sapir's poem "The Clog-Dancer." Stomp-dance events typically begin just after sunset and conclude at dawn, thus lasting throughout the night. Yet these are certainly not the only dance rituals that fit the rough time schedule that "Myth" outlines. Indeed the very lack of specification and its catchall nature further align the poem's portrayal with dominant images of the noble savage.

The end of the first stanza marks a fracture in this stock portrayal, collapsing the spatial and temporal distance necessary to cast coexisting people as primitive. The dancer holds "our" modern sorrows, "one by one," "tight at his breast." It is at this point of intimate contact between "our[s]" and theirs that another symbolic layer of the poem's palimpsestuous structure surfaces: the image of a "god" crowned "with tall crow feathers in his hair" that carries "at his breast, our sorrows" also strongly resonates with the iconography of Jesus Christ, the kingly figure who "hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows" according to biblical mythology.<sup>82</sup> The second stanza fleshes out the picture in detail and conjures up a "bronzed" Jesus that takes on our burden, with "stalks," "thorns," "briars and sterile shrub" standing metaphorically for our griefs and sorrows. "He gathers" all of them "where we dropped them, filling full" the "wide circuit" of his "long-limbed" body. The second stanza also evokes the sacrificial tradition of Christianity, with its emphasis on bloodshed, most manifest in the image of Jesus crucified for the sins of humankind and bleeding under a crown of thorns. The poem conjures up the iconic scene when attaching the assonant "thorns unblossomed but of our own blood" to its image of a dark-skinned, long-limbed dancer, again intermingling "our own" and theirs and throwing the ethnographic divide between We-here-now and They-there-then into disarray.

Besides confusing such dichotomies as Us/Them, here/there, now/then, the poem unsettles the Christian self-understanding of being redeemed through the martyrdom of Christ. By layering the myth of the noble savage and biblical mythology so as to relate them palimpsestuously, the poem suggests that Jesus is not the only figure in the history of humankind who had to bear our griefs and carry our sorrows. Crucially, the savage, too, carries "our sorrows, one by one." The poem thus challenges the very use of primitive peoples that "Parlor Car—Santa Fe" makes, that is, as foils onto which fears and desires are projected, in this way burdening them



with our problems. The layering of the primitive with the story of the suffering of Jesus gives expression to a more recent critique of modernity, well phrased in Micaela di Leonardo's *Exotics at Home: Anthropologies, Others, American Modernity*: by grafting their vision of a prelapsarian past onto primitive Others, Euro-Americans who struggle with processes of modernization "construct noble savages for their personal salvation."<sup>83</sup>

Yet in the third stanza of "Myth," the portrayal significantly diverges again from the biblical account of Jesus Christ. For rather than presenting readers with the American rendering of the noble savage as a vanishing Indian, which would concur with the image of Jesus as a martyr fated to die in a deplorable yet inevitable step in human history, the end of the poem conjures up a highly resilient and persevering individual: "hour on hour" and "all alone he dances" while we have long been asleep.<sup>84</sup> He works tirelessly "till all our dreams have blooming, and our sleep / Is odorous of gardens," whereas "we till and reap" "wearily." Rather than suffer under the burden of "our sorrows," represented by "briars and sterile shrub," he cultivates and transforms them, producing "blooming" mental landscapes. The image is not that of a martyr who sacrifices himself for our sins but, in fact, a variation on the Old Testament ideal of the repentant, patient, hard-working believer that is illustrated in the Book of Hosea by means of the metaphor of land cultivation: "Sow to yourselves in righteousness, reap in mercy; break up your fallow ground: for it is time to seek the Lord, till he come and rain righteousness upon you."<sup>85</sup> By availing itself of this imagery, "Myth" turns on its head the colonial portrayal of the uncivilized savage in need of cultivation by the hands of an enlightened European, rendering the primitive instead the cultivator of blooming, odorous gardens—a caretaker of Culture, that is.

As a result of the poem's palimpsestic layering of the myth of the noble savage with biblical mythology, a textual configuration emerges that breaks with several harmful tropes of cross-cultural representation. This configuration is palimpsestuous in that cultural texts otherwise thought of as separate and unrelated are "involved and entangled, intricately interwoven, interrupting and inhabiting each other."<sup>86</sup> "Myth" in this way involves and engages groups of people that, from a Boasian cultural pluralist and relativist perspective, are seen as irreconcilably different. Moreover, they are usually placed on opposite sides of the dualisms modern/primitive,

here/there, now/then, Us/Them, with Jesus being commonly associated with the modern Euro-American subject here and now, his ancient Middle Eastern birthplace notwithstanding. As “Myth” collapses these binarisms, the persona is denied a firm foothold on either side. Even more, by entangling given mythologies, Benedict’s mature, palimpsestuous style of writing also performs a rewriting. Layered with and against biblical mythology, the noble savage is recast in “Myth” in a way that challenges acts of primitivist projection, such as those discussed in the first half of this chapter. Benedict’s poem produces a striking portrait of an individual who is intimately involved with Us here now and resonates with the martyrdom of Jesus Christ only to throw indigenous resilience and perseverance into stark relief.

The significance of portrayals that complicate the stock figure of the vanishing Indian for early twentieth-century American anthropological discourses can hardly be overstated. This study began with Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s thesis that anthropology “fills a preestablished compartment within a wider symbolic field,” the titular “savage slot” of his famous essay. In Trouillot’s historiography, this symbolic compartment took shape in the travel accounts and fictional utopias of the sixteenth century, which regularly feature noble savages as the inhabitants of ideal, Edenic places.<sup>87</sup> Yet one does not have to follow Trouillot all the way to their early modern origins to recognize that the figure of the noble savage lies at the very heart of anthropological discourses. Clearly it is also this idealized image of an uncorrupted, pure indigene, yet untouched by modernizing forces, that is at the center of the discourse of salvage ethnography. Benedict shared with Sapir and Mead the anthropological impulse to rescue primitive peoples from their supposedly certain demise in the face of modernization. In a tribute that she wrote for the sorority Chi Omega when they gave Mead their National Achievement Award in 1939, she rehearses again the metaphor of a unique “laboratory”—“of primitive tribes living under conditions so little influenced by our own Western Civilization”—to note with alarm that this pristine place “is fast being destroyed by industrial expansion.” For this reason, Benedict argues, Americans owe much gratitude to Mead, who took advantage of this testing ground “while it was yet possible.”<sup>88</sup> The problematic history of this kind of salvage rhetoric

bears repeating. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the vanishing primitive had turned into a cliché that anthropologists employed so as to assert their authority over their subjects, which were said to disappear soon and to be therefore in dire need of being represented by the anthropologist. Held to be unable to adapt and progress beyond their simple, inferior state of development, the primitive became the subject of well-funded cultural preservation efforts, conducted with the moral urgency of a project set out to ostensibly save lives from inevitable extinction. Of course, long before and at the same time as anthropologists sublimated this reality into efforts to preserve primitive cultures in writing, the extinction of indigenous populations posed a substantial factual threat. Yet even when considering anthropology's preservationist ethos against the backdrop of colonial realities and the decimation of native populations by the American Indian Wars, salvage anthropology, as Jonathan Sterne has also pointed out, assumed "the status of a bizarre self-fulfilling prophecy." "The work of anthropological cultural stewardship coincided with the decimation that necessitated the stewardship in the first place"; while one set of institutions solicited and preserved large cultural collections, "another set systematically destroyed the culture."<sup>89</sup> Caught in this pernicious cycle, the primitive was continually victimized and placed at the mercy of the salvage ethnographer for survival.

It is in this context of a discursive field that has persistently cast its subjects of investigation as less fit for self-preservation and dependent on the anthropologist for representation that Benedict's palimpsestuous rewriting of the noble savage myth acquires its full significance. "Myth" offers a variation on the popular portrayal of the ever-disappearing, tragic native that points toward a treatment of the primitive subjects of anthropological research as coexisting people well able to represent themselves. The poem "In Parables" (1926), which was published in the little magazine *Palms* and applauded by Sapir for a "lightning-like strength" that it had in common with "The Sacrilege," shares with "Myth" a palimpsestuous surface structure while involving and entangling a different set of cultural texts.<sup>90</sup> More specifically, "In Parables" layers different creation mythologies and imbricates Enlightenment, romanticist, and biblical ideas with non-European lore:

*In Parables*

Once having sight, seek not  
Dear blindness any more.  
Our eyes are open; here  
Is the estranging door.

Men have told long since  
This parable;  
Of the great darkness then,  
The merciful,

When lay as lovers lie  
In passionate reach  
The sweet-fleshed earth and sky  
Close-bosomed each to each.

Light flowered that day  
The violent sea  
Drove salt between their lips'  
Idolatry.

Cursed with unblinking light  
We too endure,  
They drink, men dreamed, this gall  
Of forfeiture.

As the second stanza makes explicit, the titular parable at the center of the poem is a story of enlightenment, of a development from dark to light, from a state of blindness to clear-sightedness. Yet from the beginning of the poem, the persona's attitude toward this development is highly ambivalent: the former blindness is held "dear" against the command to not seek it "once having sight." Open eyes are cast metaphorically as "estranging door," not affording clarity and furnishing a better understanding of the world but rendering it strange and distant. Indeed, for the persona, the passage from darkness to light is a story of loss rather than achievement: gone is the "merciful" great darkness that sheltered "the sweet-fleshed earth and sky," which had once been two "lovers [lying] / In passion-

ate reach,” “close-bosomed each to each,” until one day they were driven apart by “the violent sea,” “this gall / Of forfeiture.” Just as their primordial union is irretrievably lost, “we too,” the poem concludes, are “cursed with unblinking light,” although we have not “dr[u]nk” but “dreamed”—imagined rather than consumed—the estranging gall and the “salt” that the sea drove between “their lips’ / Idolatry.” Before earth and sky were separated, the poem claims, their union, sealed by the touch of their lips, produced an idolatrous likeness of divinity for which “We” are still punished in the present.

Besides referring to the prohibition of idolatry in the Second Commandment, “In Parables” strongly resonates in its romantic nostalgia for a prelapsarian past and primordial unity with the history of humankind as told by the first eleven chapters of the Book of Genesis. Running counter to narratives of enlightenment and progress as well, this biblical account of human evolution presents a story of loss and decline starting with Adam and Eve’s expulsion from Eden. The poem thus also ties in with a developmentalist explanation of human difference that far preceded nineteenth-century cultural evolutionism and, according to Stocking’s account in “Paradigmatic Traditions in the History of Anthropology,” even constitutes “the ultimate roots of anthropological thought.” European expansion was premised on a framework for explaining human difference derived from the first chapters of Genesis and John Speed’s “Genealogies of Holy Scriptures” (1611), which accompanied the first printing of the King James Bible. This characteristically degenerative school of evolutionary thinking, Stocking notes, ran counter to a Greco-Roman anthropological tradition that emerged from the speculations of the Ionian materialists, who “saw time as an enabling rather than a limiting factor, and conceived diachronic change in progressive processual rather than degenerative historical terms”: instead of moving away from God’s original creation and losing divine knowledge as time went on, this tradition of thought understood humankind as gaining knowledge in time by responding to people’s needs and adapting to environmental stimuli in a utilitarian manner, so as to gradually advance from an animal-like state to the most refined civil society.<sup>91</sup> Stocking argues that—although the biblical tradition often goes unmentioned—the history of anthropology up until Boas’s time must be understood as an interplay of these two major diachronic traditions of

thinking. Benedict's "In Parables" gives vivid expression to precisely this interplay as well as highlights the fact that, far from being simply replaced by a synchronic framework, these diachronic traditions remained relevant in early twentieth-century cultural imaginations beyond Boas's influential critique of evolutionist assumption.

In addition to a narrative of enlightenment mixed with romantic longing for a darker but more unified past and resonances with the biblical tale of human degeneration told by the Book of Genesis, "In Parables" features prominently a story that is largely unknown and considered "Not-us (or Not-U.S.," by Benedict's Euro-American readership. If we follow Mead's claim that "the central image in this poem derives from the Maori creation myth," another layer of the poem's palimpsestuous arrangement of cultural texts emerges.<sup>92</sup> One core idea of the Maori creation myth—which indeed resembles the central image of "In Parables" conspicuously—is that humankind originated from the Sky Father (Ranginui) and Earth Mother (Papatuanuku), who lay closely together in darkness before their children conspired to separate them, thus letting light come into the world.<sup>93</sup> While the different Maori tribes have produced a large number of different versions of this myth, the separation of earth and sky as well as the movement from nothing (Te Kore) to something and from darkness (Te Po) to light (Te Ao) are common themes that cut across all variations.

The curious parallelism that Benedict's poem registers between Maori creation mythology and the cosmology presented in Genesis has also been observed in Maori folklore studies, for instance, in *The Coming of the Maori* (1949) by Te Rangi Hiroa, one of the first Maori anthropologists. At the same time as it echoes biblical cosmology, however, Maori creation mythology also shares with nineteenth-century cultural evolutionists a strong tendency to summarize key developments in typologies and genealogical charts, so-called *whakapapa*. Te Rangi Hiroa cites the following list, which represents the typical sequential order in which things were created, according to Maori cosmology:

1. The oceans of the world (*ao*) were created by water; the land (*whenua*) grew, matured, and later was married by Ranginui.
2. Small vegetation (*otaota*).

3. Trees of all kinds (*rakau katoa*) to cover the naked skin of Papa [Papatuanuku].
4. Reptiles (*ngarara*).
5. Animals (*kararehe*), such as dogs (*kuri*), of every kind.
6. Birds (*manu*) of land and sea.
7. The moon (*marama*), sun (*ra*), and all the stars (*whetu*). When this was accomplished, the world of light (*Ao-marama*) became permanent (*tuturu*).
8. Hineahuone and Hinetitama, from whom mankind (*tangata*) in this world (*ao nei*) sprung.<sup>94</sup>

It is thus in Maori culture that Benedict finds an amalgam of the biblical degenerative and progressive processual accounts of human development that her field has juggled since its beginnings. Finally, another distinguishing feature of the Maori creation myth is its function as “a metaphor for all types of creation.”<sup>95</sup> Its reiteration is considered a procreational act that invokes the original creation of the world; the myth is therefore recited to assist in a healing process or the conception of a child but also in the composition of a piece of art. Given this additional meaning of Benedict’s intertext, one could even go as far as to read “In Parables” not only as a representation of a cross-cultural encounter but also as a speech act that enlists Maori knowledge in the process of creating an aesthetic effect.

Taken together, Benedict’s poem layers several different mythologies that try to make sense of the creation and development of humankind by imbuing a passage from darkness to light with meaning and value. However, rather than strictly demarcating these different meaning-making systems and classifying them as Enlightenment, romanticism, biblical, and Maori, the poem resists such categorizations and confuses them, mixing instead diverse cosmologies blasphemously. The result is an unsettling of the borders that Boasian cultural pluralism and relativism, as epitomized in this chapter by Benedict’s *Patterns of Culture*, tends to affirm. As the readers of “In Parables” move seamlessly between Euro-American and Maori cosmologies, the essential difference and incommensurability of cultures on which Boasian anthropology is premised proves invalid. As a result, the rug is pulled out from under culturalist identity claims that naturalize and racialize these presumed irreconcilable differences, too. We-here-now

and They-there-then collapse. As opposed to the well-demarcated “We” of “Parlor Car—Santa Fe,” the “We” in the last stanza of “In Parables”—those who endure and “dreamed” the “gall / Of forfeiture”—vexes in its cultural indeterminacy. It is in Benedict’s mature style as a poet, then, not in her ethnographic writing, that “There confounds Here. The Not-us (or Not-U.S.) unnerves the Us.”

Like “In Parables,” the poem “Price of Paradise,” another Petrarchan sonnet by Benedict, thematizes the fall of humankind from Paradise as portrayed in Genesis, but entwines this regressive narrative with a “Persian Tale,” according to the poem’s epigraph:

*Price of Paradise*

*And Adam sold Paradise for two kernels of grain.—Persian Tale*

Being despoiled, not heir of Paradise,  
His senses raw and hungered after long,  
He dreamed it worthy the consummate song  
The stars sang at its cradle, and its price  
The bloody sweat and outstretched sacrifice  
Of all his days. The crown of thorns, the thong,  
The nails on palm and instep, he was strong  
To brook unbroken, spent for Paradise.

He reckoned closer, Adam, who had lived  
With Eve in Paradise; it was not worth  
The taking. When there came a god with gift  
Of two small wrinkled kernels of the earth.  
Not valuing Paradise, he sold spendthrift;  
But he had lived in Eden from his birth.

The poem layers biblical mythology with a purportedly “Persian” tale, the exact content of which, however, remains obscure except for the fact that “Adam sold Paradise for two kernels of grain.” The octave opens with a detailed portrait of Jesus at the cross, as he sacrifices himself for the sins of humankind. Following Christian iconography, this moment is symbolized by “the crown of thorns, the thong, / The nails on palm and instep.”



Since Jesus has been “long” denied Paradise and “hunger[s]” for it, the poem further argues, he imagines that it is “worthy the consummate song / The stars sang at its cradle,” blending the Pythagorean notion of the Music of the Spheres with the Christian Nativity scene. The enormous value that Jesus attributes to Paradise—which becomes manifest in “the bloody sweat and outstretched sacrifice / Of all his days” that he deems adequate payment—renders him “strong” enough “to brook unbroken” the pain and humiliation of the sacrificial act. The octave thus presents an estimate of the titular “Price of Paradise” that trades in the life of Jesus for the exclusive commodity that is Paradise. The sestet then breaks abruptly with this assessment when shifting the focalizer from Jesus at the moment of his crucifixion to Adam before he “sold Paradise for two kernels of grain.” The vast discrepancy between the price for which Adam sold Paradise and for which Jesus regained access is underlined as the two kernels are further described as “small” and “wrinkled.” Adam’s decision to sell Eden for such a small price is accounted for through repetition of two points of contrast between the two biblical figures. First, Adam was not “despoiled” like Jesus but “had lived with Eve in Paradise” and “had lived in Eden from his birth.” Second, and in consequence, he attached much less value to Paradise, considering it “not worth / The taking”: “Not valuing Paradise, he sold spendthrift.”

Like “In Parables,” the poem draws up a degenerative evolutionary development that connects Benedict’s poetry to the biblical tradition of thinking about the history of humankind in which Stocking sees some of the earliest roots of anthropological thought. Adam is presented as standing at the beginning of a long process of decline set in motion by his naïve and wasteful decision—made on an impulse—to abandon Eden. At the same time, however, the poem clearly distances itself from the familiar biblical account by labeling the influence that its epigraph cites a “Persian tale.” Even if interpreted as another way of describing biblical origins, given the fact that the ancient Persian Empire encompassed the Middle East, the vague denomination “Persian tale” appears highly peculiar when applied to Judeo-Christian mythology. It certainly casts the story of Adam who “sold Paradise for two kernels of grain” as partaking of a cultural alterity at odds with Benedict’s Euro-American readership.

Further adding to the confusion, the “Persian” story is reminiscent of the English folk tale of “Jack and the Beanstalk.” Thus the elegiac tone of the biblical narrative of Edenic loss mixes with Jack’s miraculous luck when selling his dairy cow for a couple of magic beans that render him a wealthy man in the end—living happily ever after. “Preference” (1925), another poem by Benedict, indeed claims that the loss of Paradise is a more fortunate event than the Bible suggests. The assessment of the “price” of “heaven” that “Preference” gives is highly critical of the great expense at which Paradise is gained by the persona’s “poor foolish folk”:

Let be these words of a poor foolish folk,  
Unused to ecstasy [*sic*], who make of ripeness  
Eternal durance, and a paradise  
Got by the snakes upon Medusa’s head,  
Immutable now forever. It’s a price  
Too great for heaven.

In contrast to the Dionysian primitives of Benedict’s *Patterns of Culture*, who are comfortable with fleeting experiences of ecstatic joy and strive for a climax of this kind in their religious ceremonies, the Euro-American culture of the persona of “Preference” is “unused to ecstasy.”<sup>96</sup> Instead, this “poor foolish folk” has construed a place where nothing ever happens, as it were, “immutable now forever”—like the people turned into stone “by the snakes upon Medusa’s head” in ancient Greek mythology. The image of petrification hearkens back to yet another of Benedict’s poems, “Profit of Dreams,” where the persona laments, “We defame / Blindly our surest blessings, to pursue / Idols of stone whose gross feet and hair / We surfeit with caresses.” The renunciation of earthly pleasures, “our surest blessings,” as the price for the pursuit of “idols of stone” and a stagnant eternal life in Paradise forms a central component of Euro-American culture whose value is persistently called into question by Benedict’s poetry.

Sapir would later criticize Benedict’s poetry for its frequent use of the concept of ecstasy, thus revealing himself to be quite literally “unused to ecstasy”: “And you’re not to use the word ‘ecstasy,’” he commands in his letter of September 29, 1927, “except on extreme provocation and even then I implore you to spell it ‘ecstasy.’ ‘Ecstasy’ is exceedingly offensive to

one's classical taste—the Greeks, who made the word, spelled it with an S.”<sup>97</sup> Abstinence from “ecstasy” and failure to experience “ripeness” without already solidifying the transient moment into a fixed, eternal form is “a price / Too great for heaven,” “Preference” contends. The metaphorical question whether “the shred / And filament of the air-stepping mist” with which the poem opens should “be lovely still, or hush itself to blue / Against the wintry sky” is answered in the final lines of “Preference” with a clear preference for the latter: “’Twere best we kissed / Before the wind, and went as smoke-clouds do.” It would be best, the poem submits, if momentary pleasure were valued above eternal, unchanging loveliness. When read in this context, selling Paradise for a couple of seeds appears less like the original sin in the Bible that sets the downfall of humankind in motion and more like the lucky trade of “Jack and the Beanstalk” that ultimately leads to prosperity and happiness.

While stories from different cultures thus interlace and entangle in Benedict's literary imagination so as to negotiate larger metaphysical questions, such as the idea of Paradise and its value, it is also important to add in the final remarks to this chapter that, in doing so, Benedict's palimpsestuous writings treat folklore and myth in a manner that notably expands on her anthropological work on this subject. Benedict took over the editorship of the *Journal of American Folklore* in 1925, after Boas had held this position from 1908 to 1924.<sup>98</sup> During her fifteen years as editor in chief, Benedict contributed significantly to the professionalization of folklore studies and its expansion beyond the mere collection of plots and motifs, which dominated folklore studies in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, she also sought to popularize the field, using her position to support folk festivals and exhibits as well as the folkloristic work conducted by the Federal Writers' Project from 1935 to 1943.<sup>99</sup> In her own ethnographic studies, Benedict contributed the two collections *Tales of the Cochiti Indians* (1931) and *Zuni Mythology* (1935) to the investigation of North American folklore. Especially her introduction to *Zuni Mythology* is regarded as pathbreaking in this area of research, for a considerable list of reasons: for debunking the false notion of communal primitive authorship, for noting gender differences in the tales as well as in their telling, for emphasizing the importance of studying the folklore of individual cultures comprehensively rather than comparing disparate elements from various cultures, for relating themes

to cultural practices and values, for foregrounding the literary qualities of the tales of primitive cultures, and for recognizing the power of her subjects' imagination to reflect upon and remake reality.<sup>100</sup>

Benedict's introduction to *Zuni Mythology* is often referenced together with her entries on "folklore" and "myth" in Edwin R. A. Seligman's monumental *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. It is these key texts that epitomize her basic understanding of "the modern study of folklore"—including myths—as the study of "diffusion and acculturation," that is, of "the geographical distribution of tales and the absorption of local cultural material into tribal mythology."<sup>101</sup> She elaborates on these two core aspects in a less frequently cited, unpublished paper titled "North American Folklore." This little-known document is worth quoting at length:

It is clear from the study of the Indian mythologies that the fundamental factors are . . . a constant and intimate interaction between (1) diffused elements taken up as raw material from contacts with outside peoples, and (2) the local cast of culture which determines the themes and the kind of elaboration in that area.

1). The enormous distribution of certain folklore incidents is one of the outstanding facts of any study of myth. The story of the Toothed Vagina is told from Finland across Siberia and Behring Strait and down the west coast of North America into Mexico. The Swan Maidens theme has an even wider total distribution. . . . These tales and hundreds of others in only lesser degree have crossed innumerable frontiers of unintelligible languages and made themselves at home in incommensurable cultures. The greatest significance of this diffused element in folklore belongs however not so much to these tales that have passed as counters from tribe to tribe over vast areas as to that compact body of shared myth which lies within the radius of one culture area. No matter how autonomous the several tribes may seem, or to what unrelated language stocks they may belong, the folkloristic material has been worked up in common by the whole group. It is no exaggeration to say that it is rare for a tribe to have to itself alone, five percent of its mythological plot and incident; the rest is a great common structure shared by the area of like culture, only a fraction of which originated in any given tribe.

2). The second fundamental factor in the development of the various bodies of mythology is the local cast of culture in the particular region under consideration. Thus the outstanding importance of the vision quest on the Plains has drawn a great mass of mythological material into an elaboration of this particular theme, and the enormous development of ritualism in the Southwest has determined the character of Zuni or Hopi tales. It is easy to multiply examples of the intimate reflection of cultural interests in mythology. Boas has brought together in his collection of Tsimshian mythology the total picture of Tsimshian life that is contained in their folklore, and it is sufficiently impressive (Boas, Franz, "Tsimshian Mythology"). However myth does not lend itself equally to all forms of cultural interest, and the Plains do not refer to their men's graded societies in folklore, nor the northern Plateaus to the vision quest. But though there are always portions of the total life of a people with which their literature will never deal, and though we must allow for a certain amount of distortion of actual life on the part of any myth-makers, with all due allowance of the culture of a people, their dominant interests in life, the kind of human situations favored by their local social organization is certainly in North America<sup>[n]</sup> folklore the fundamental factor with which we have to deal in the study of the dynamics of mythology.

As in her introduction to *Zuni Mythology*, Benedict considers the folk tales of her primitive subjects literature and acknowledges the ability of "any myth-makers" to use their imagination in creative ways that lead to a "distortion of actual life." She also sees a close connection between a culture's tales and values and underlines "the intimate reflection of cultural interests in mythology." Although she starts with an acknowledgment of the significance of the diffusionist study of disparate elements across cultural boundaries, she finishes by suggesting that the future of folklore studies lies in the examination of individual cultures and "the local cast" of stories and themes. It is this factor that "is of increasing importance for the study of existing collections," she concludes.

Benedict considered diffusion and acculturation the two constitutive elements of folklore studies throughout her career, but the emphasis that "North American Folklore" places on the latter, that is, her notion of the

cast of folk tales according to “the kind of human situations favored by [the culture’s] local social organization” as ultimately “the fundamental factor with which we have to deal,” is suggestive of a later stage in her thinking, when she shifted attention away from the historical diffusionism of Boas and the comparativist approach of her nineteenth-century precursors. The relevant passage of “North American Folklore” just cited is still informed by Boas’s view that the study of diffusion provides evidence that folk tales, in the course of history, have “crossed innumerable frontiers of unintelligible languages and made themselves at home in incommensurable cultures”; hence “no matter how autonomous the several tribes may seem,” there is “a great common structure shared by the area of like culture” to which almost all of the folkloristic material relates. Boas’s critique of evolutionism built strongly on this view and the diffusionist studies of North American folklore that he published between 1891 and 1896.<sup>102</sup> Daniel Brinton, the second president of the American Folklore Society and a leading scholar of Native American mythology at the time, posited that parallels between the folklore of different cultures resulted from an inherent tendency of savage peoples to independently invent similar explanations for natural phenomena as they undergo a uniform process of cultural evolution.<sup>103</sup> Instead of the repeated independent invention that Brinton alleged, Boas argued for a wide geographic distribution of individual tales over time. In other words, his approach countered Brinton’s polygenist evolutionary theory by insisting on the contingency and malleability of cultural phenomena, the fact that they are conditioned by complex historical processes:

For Boas, the history of the diffusion of culture traits gave the lie to the evolutionists’ theories of uniform cultural development. Human history consisted not of repetitive cause-effect sequences, in which human rationality, responding to the natural world, invented the same things (culture traits) over and over again. Rather, people traveled and borrowed cultural materials, which they then transformed as they integrated them into their local lives. But this model required Boas and his students to conceptualize the social unit—tribe or culture—across which traits diffused and into which they were absorbed. Those social units came to be treated as irreducible cultures, each with its own spirit or *geist*.<sup>104</sup>

Benedict's anthropological treatment of folklore and myth is concerned with tracing the diffusion of particular tales but focuses increasing attention on their acculturation within specific local environments so as to ultimately assert the culture concept that my analysis of *Patterns of Culture* has revealed: *cultures* as essentially different units marked by an irreducible and incommensurable—for instance, Dionysian or Apollonian—"spirit or *geist*."

Her palimpsestuous poetic treatment gives the lie to this cultural essentialism. In fact, the lines that Benedict's poems draw between geographically disparate cultures are much bolder than the connections that Boas's historical diffusionist studies create, thus confusing both evolutionist and pluralist conceptions of cultures as well as hierarchies derived from an understanding of certain groups of people as irreconcilably different from Euro-American culture. Biblical mythology, romantic, and Enlightenment ideas are entangled in Benedict's literary imagination, for example, with an indigenous creation myth from New Zealand or a "Persian" tale, producing a relationality in which diverse cultural texts interrupt and inhabit each other. Thus, in contrast to the uses of the primitive represented by Benedict's early poem "Parlor Car—Santa Fe," where the primitive offers salvation from the failures of modernity, the anthropologist's mature poetry negotiates difficult questions of cultural and existential value with recourse to an epistemology that includes primitive folklore and mythology. The confusion of the cultural barriers dictated by pluralism and relativism allows Benedict's palimpsestuous poems to draw on diverse knowledges. In this way, they ultimately also open up Euro-American audiences to ways of being and knowing that they would otherwise be able to access only from an anthropological perspective that places them at a spatial and temporal distance, with *Us* here now and *They* there then.





## Conclusion

### *Cultural and Media Evolutionism in Boasian Anthropology and Beyond*

I want to use the final paragraphs of this book to return to its titular dualism of *writing anthropologists* and *sounding primitives* and formulate the argumentative core that connects the historical and media-theoretical points that I have made in the course of my analyses. Concerning the history of anthropology and the specifically Boasian contribution to the record of the field, my overarching proposal has been to add a corrective to the way the scholarly pendulum has tended to swing in the wake of *Writing Culture*, in part owing to a simplistic reception of George Stocking's rich historiography. In a popular narrative, claims of an early twentieth-century paradigm shift that absolved Boasian anthropologists from the ideological freight of their predecessors supersede more nuanced accounts that pay closer attention to the continuities with cultural evolutionary thought that inform Boasian anthropology. In chapter 4 I traced these undercurrents in detail in my analysis of Benedict's ethnography, exposing in the process often seamless transitions between evolutionist and pluralist notions of cultural alterity in a Boasian approach to culture. For instance, implicit in Benedict's analogy between anthropology's study of "less complicated groups" and Darwin's study of beetles is Spencer's Law of Evolution in his *First Principles*, that is, the notion of a progressive development from what Benedict sees as "the essential homogeneity of a folk culture" to the stratified, less easy-to-grasp configuration of "Western civilizations."<sup>1</sup> The cultural pluralism and relativism of Benedict's anthropology and that of her Boasian peers is imbued with a nostalgic longing for what is conceived as simpler, more wholesome, but irreconcilably and essentially different ways of life. As a plurality of cultures is examined ostensibly on their own, relative terms, primitive cultural wholes appear—in familiar, nineteenth-

century fashion—on the far end of an evolutionary line leading toward modern refinement and a civilized way of life.

Benedict's mature poetry, in contrast to her Boasian ethnography, offers a markedly different treatment of cultural alterity by layering diverse mythologies in palimpsest-like constellations. In order to show the potential of Benedict's poetry to break new ground for the representation of cultural alterity, I deviated in the final chapter from the media perspective that characterizes most of this book. Yet this final shift away from media and sign systems is telling in itself. One of the central contentions traversing my study has been that treatments of different media and sign systems have often formed a blind spot in the analysis of cross-cultural representations, shielded from deconstruction by a presumed status as mere conduits, "hollow pipelines," which do not have meaning in themselves and remain ideologically innocent.<sup>2</sup> They thus emerge in the first three chapters of this book as an important discursive site where evolutionary conceptions of culture persist in and through the pluralist and relativist revolution in culture concepts initiated by Boas and his students. This is nowhere clearer than in Mead's defense in her 1972 autobiography against growing postcolonial suspicions about her use of *primitive* as a general denominator for the subjects of her research. Mead insists that she has always defined the primitive in merely media terms, as a lack of the medium of script. "That was all the term 'primitive' meant to us," she avers.<sup>3</sup> Since distinctions between media and their uses are value-free matters of fact, so her logic goes, the term is stripped in this way of the evolutionary racist connotations that it carries in colonialist discourse. Indeed Benedict follows the same logic and puts forward a very similar definition of anthropology's subject of investigation in her 1939 speech at the presentation of Chi Omega's National Achievement Award to Mead. She also understands a "primitive" as someone who "does not write" and all but excludes from the historical record other than modern, European ways of writing, such as "writing on papyrus or sheepskin," granting them relevance to "only a tiny, tiny fraction" of human history: "'Primitive' peoples are its [anthropology's] subject matter, and a 'primitive' by definition does not write. Historians deal with people who have left written records, and even carved inscriptions, much less writing on papyrus or sheepskin cover only a tiny, tiny fraction of the history of man."<sup>4</sup>

This study contests such simplistic understandings of early twentieth-century anthropology and its research subject by revealing a much more complex entwinement of media and semiotic distinctions with the alterities that cultural anthropologists study. The relationship between Boasian anthropologists and their subjects of investigation is as much a relationship between a modern, white, Euro-American default subject and its premodern, black and brown, non-European Others, as it is one between a dominant media user and those cast as other to the hegemonic use of media and sign systems. In other words, Boasian anthropologists and primitives are also divided along media and semiotic lines and, more specifically, around the presence and absence—the lack—of alphabetic writing. On its most abstract level, then, this study has explored a media isomorphic logic that produces mythical dualisms between a writing anthropologist and primitives that are defined by their use of media and sign systems other than alphabetic writing.

More specifically, I have sought to examine the myth of writing anthropologists and sounding primitives. In the process, I have not only close read Sapir's and Mead's poetry and ethnography against relevant historical and institutional contexts but also followed connections to prominent theoretical debates with implications far beyond early twentieth-century anthropology, shaping contemporary discussions around media, the senses, and semiotic systems up to the present. Thus my analysis in chapter 1 intersected in vital ways with twentieth-century debates around hearing and sight, specifically the orality-literacy theory promulgated by the Toronto school of communication theory. Walter Ong and Marshall McLuhan served as examples for sonophilic and sonophobic tendencies that clash in their value assessments of the acoustic but share in what Leigh Eric Schmidt and Jonathan Sterne have called—alluding to its origins in a Christian spiritualist tradition—a “litany” of phenomenological assumptions that construe hearing as sight's immersive, nondirectional, physical, and affective Other. The fact that Sapir's poem “Zuni” oscillates between sonophilia and sonophobia and proposes to give in to the mesmerizing attraction of the acoustic but for a short period of time is indicative of the conflicting romanticist and progressivist tendencies in the Boasian imagination of the primitive.

A romanticist imagination of sounding primitives has also been highly influential in contemporary sound and soundscape studies and strongly

informs what today is commonly considered its founding text, that is, R. Murray Schafer's *The Tuning of the World* (1977). Constructions of sonic alterity in Schafer and other contemporary sound scholars, like the late nineteenth-century ideas about "alternating sounds" that Boas critiques in one of his first major interventions in anthropological debates, involve allochronistic projections of spatial difference onto a temporal scale of evolutionary development toward modern, literate Culture. When placed against Boasian treatments of sound and hearing, then, twentieth-century orality-literacy theory and Schaferian soundscape studies emerge as extensions of nineteenth-century evolutionist claims of a mutually constitutive relation between media practices and different stages in human development. The connection between twentieth-century orality-literacy and nineteenth-century cultural evolutionist theories is rarely made as explicit as in Jack Goody and Ian Watt's influential essay "The Consequences of Literacy" (1963). While media theorists Ong, McLuhan, and Harold Innis—all influenced by the classicist Eric A. Havelock—formed a tight net of like-minded orality-literacy thinkers based in Toronto, Goody developed closely related ideas at the Department of Social Anthropology at Cambridge, where he published prolifically on orality and literacy.<sup>5</sup> Goody and Watt's "The Consequences of Literacy" exemplifies the fundamental assumption of orality-literacy theory that human development must be understood through the supposed effects that the invention of alphabetic writing had on human perception and cognition, such as the development of capacities for historical consciousness, abstract thought, and bureaucratic organization. With respect to the "intrinsic nature of oral communication," Goody and Watt note "a directness of relationship between symbol and referent" that is "more immediately experienced" by individuals living in an "oral culture." Most important to Goody and Watt, in an oral culture, "the individual has little perception of the past except in terms of the present," they contend with reference to Boas's early studies on "The Folk-Lore of the Eskimo" (1904) and Lévi-Strauss's claim of an absence of historical knowledge in *The Savage Mind* (1962). "Myth and history merge into one" as a result. What renders Goody and Watt particularly interesting in the present context, when mapping interfaces of culture and media theory, is their own awareness of the resonance of their claims of "mytho-poetic" thought (in oral, preliterate cultures) and "logico-empirical" thought (in

literate societies) with such cultural evolutionist theories as Lévy-Bruhl's conception of the "prelogical" mentality of primitive peoples. Yet while they agree to a certain extent with their anti-evolutionist contemporaries, who reject dichotomous assumptions about the mental attributes of literate and nonliterate peoples, and "accept" the view that "previous formulations of the distinction were based on faulty premises and inadequate evidence," they insist on commonsensical differences resulting from the immediate relation between symbol and referent in oral cultures and persistently push forward a cultural evolutionism that derives from differences in media usage. That is, orality-literacy theory here is not an inadvertent reiteration of nineteenth-century cultural evolutionism but a systematic attempt at resurrecting and redeeming some of its harmful claims and furnishing them with new support. Their contemporaries' reaction against categorical distinctions between "civilized" and "primitive" thought "has been pushed too far," Goody and Watt assert.<sup>6</sup>

Mead's poetry and scholarship, too, closely connect with and continue cultural evolutionist ideas that associate the highest, civilized stage in human development with those who use alphabetic writing. Being less historically conscious and more sensationalist than Goody and Watt, Mead's media evolutionism has a particular affinity with McLuhan's famous brand of orality-literacy theory. In fact, a few letters in Mead's papers indicate that the two academic celebrities were on friendly terms and exchanged thoughts on each other's research in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>7</sup> McLuhan's *Understanding Media* refers explicitly to Mead in a characteristically anecdotal, nonspecific, and unsubstantiated account of how she "has reported" on "a Pacific island" the following: when she presented several copies of a book to the natives of this island, the story goes, she was met with "great excitement" and "astonishment," the natives' "natural response" to something "magical and potent." For the book's typography "in the visual order" made use of the "principle of extension by homogenization," which according to McLuhan is "key to understanding Western power" and can appear only as potent magic to the ignorant and uninitiated.<sup>8</sup> In her *Rap on Race* with James Baldwin, Mead indeed relates a very similar story about her return to New Guinea in 1953, when she presented the native population with five copies of *Growing Up in New Guinea*, the monograph that she published after her first stay with them in 1928. Her hosts' excitement and "delight-

ed[ness]” over this gift is rendered in an almost cartoonish way. “Their eyes nearly popped out of their heads,” she impresses on Baldwin, and “they stayed up for hours discussing what a good invention that was.”<sup>9</sup> The image is not new. The scene of first contact between literate travelers and illiterate natives who are stunned at the sight of print and written media is a staple theme of colonial discourse. As, for instance, Erhard Schüttpez and Michael Harbsmeier have extensively shown, travel accounts from the seventeenth century to Lévi-Strauss’s “Writing Lesson” present similar stories of first encounter that all feature indigenous people dumbfounded and in awe of alphabetic literacy, thus maintaining European superiority in media-technological terms.<sup>10</sup> Playing on the complicity of the literate reader, these accounts discredit ignorance of the European medium of alphabetic writing not only as a sign of inferiority on an ascending scale of technological development and sophistication; the native’s lack of script also appears indicative of an unenlightened belief system that perceives of the world primarily in terms of magic and superstition. Sven Werkmeister further argues that this scene of first contact deprives the encounter between users of different media of its potential to challenge the position of alphabetic writing as the self-evident default, instead submitting the encounter to an Enlightenment frame of thought that interprets the natives’ reaction as failure at logical-empirical thought and knowledge.<sup>11</sup>

The fact that it is precisely this scene that connects McLuhan’s media theory and Mead’s cultural anthropology speaks to their shared investment in a colonial media discourse that is grounded in cultural evolutionist theories about the succession of media-technological inventions in the history of humankind. This discourse preceded and, importantly, would also outlast both their careers. My chapter on Mead connects her treatment of media alterity not only to nineteenth-century cultural evolutionists such as Lewis Henry Morgan and Isaac Taylor but also to Tzvetan Todorov and his late twentieth-century assertions about European superiority and the causes of “the conquest of America”: “The absence of writing is an important element of the situation, perhaps even *the* most important. . . . The unfamiliarity to the Indians of European writing creates reactions the literary tradition will exploit.”<sup>12</sup> Taking issue with the presumed hierarchy of media technologies and a self-fulfilling circular reasoning, I extend Stephen Greenblatt’s criticism of Todorov to the corpus of my study: if

monuments to writing are built by writers, then such monuments also include Mead's plurimedial publications, which make extensive use of still photography to substantiate meaning produced in writing.<sup>13</sup> Mead thus presents a corollary to the isomorphic logic of media alterity first seen at work in Sapir's poetry, taking alphabetic writing as the anthropologist's principal meaning-making device against which other media and sign systems are cast. Interestingly, in the case of Mead's poetry and plurimedial writings, the other-than-literate does not sound; in this particular media regime, it is visual media such as photography and film that align themselves isomorphically with the primitive as other and less than the writing, meaning-making anthropologist.

It is easy to assume that *writing* anthropologists and their cultural and media alterities have already been exhaustively discussed in the wake of anthropology's eponymously named postmodern crisis of representation. However, the use of the term in most of the debates that have surrounded Clifford and Marcus's seminal volume differs significantly from my usage of *writing* here, and this study accordingly adds to rather than rehearses what *Writing Culture* proponents have contributed to the study of the aesthetics and politics of cultural representation. Crucially, my concern has been with European *graphocentrism*, not with *logocentrism* and the Derridean notion of writing that is the basis of much *Writing Culture* critique. Logocentrism, for Derrida, is the privileging of speech as affording—by its “phenomenological essence”—immediate, “self-present” experience: “When I speak, it belongs to the phenomenological essence of this operation that *I hear myself* [je m'entende] *at the same time* that I speak. The signifier . . . is in absolute proximity to me. The living act, the life-giving act, the *Lebendigkeit*, which animates the body of the signifier and transforms it into a meaningful expression, the soul of language, seems not to separate itself from itself, from its own self-presence. . . . It can *show* the ideal object or ideal *Bedeutung* connected to it without venturing outside ideality, outside the interiority of self-present life.”<sup>14</sup> By deconstructing logocentrism, Derrida demonstrates that this seeming immediacy of meaning is an illusion. Speaking, like writing, involves binary signs and the play of what Derrida terms *différance* between signifier and signified, that is, the production of meaning through difference (*différence*) and deferment (*différant*): A is A because it is not B, B is B because it is not A, and so on.

*Writing* in Derrida, then, is not defined as a specific media technology but encompasses all forms of instituted language: “If ‘writing’ means . . . the durable instituting of signs (and this is the only irreducible kernel of the concept of writing), then writing in general covers the entire domain of linguistic signs. . . . The very idea of institution [of signifiers] is unthinkable before the possibility of writing and outside of its horizon.” Derrida invents the term “archi-writing” (*archi-écriture*), with *archi-* meaning “an anterior presence, origin, master,” to describe this broad notion of writing as the condition of speech and its “anterior” prerequisite.<sup>15</sup>

However, as Barbara Johnson has pointed out, a “more covert,” “unacknowledged, or ‘repressed’” privileging of writing is at play at the same time in “Western patriarchal culture,” manifesting especially in intercultural encounters:

While the critique of logocentrism undertaken by Derrida implies that Western patriarchal culture has always privileged the presence, immediacy, and ideality of speech over the distance and materiality of writing, this privilege has never, in fact, been unambiguous. An equal but more covert privileging of writing has also been operative. . . . When comparing itself to other cultures, European culture has always seen its own form of literacy as a sign of superiority. The hidden but ineradicable importance of writing that Derrida uncovers in his readings of logocentric texts in fact reflects an unacknowledged, or “repressed” *graphocentrism*. It may well be that it is only in a text-centered culture that one can privilege speech in a logocentric way. The “speech” privileged in logocentrism is not literal but is a *figure* of speech: a figure, ultimately, of God.<sup>16</sup>

It is this less frequently acknowledged European graphocentrism and its political and ethical ramifications that this study has taken to task. Derrida’s own writing, Johnson argues, is testimony to an understanding of the graphic word as unassailable source of truth and power, as Derrida’s critique of logocentrism enlists a figurative understanding of speech that is the product of Judeo-Christian-European culture, with its emphasis on the written word. Only in a culture dominated by scripture is logocentrism à la Derrida, the preference for speech because of an assumed immediacy



lost in durable inscription in text, highly potent and operative. Like Leigh Eric Schmidt and Jonathan Sterne in their respective readings of the origins of the audiovisual litany, Johnson traces Derridean logocentrism to a spiritualist religious desire to transgress and move beyond mediated, coded language back to speech, with “speech” being “a figure, ultimately, of God.”

Alphabetic writing has thus often remained unchallenged as the default medium in which knowledge is represented and communicated—whether by adopting a positivist, logocentric viewpoint or one that critiques with Derrida the notion of immediate representation in speech. Either way, the reader-writer remains blind to the presence of alphabetic script. When *Writing Culture* starts—in writing—by stating that it “begin[s] . . . with writing, the making of texts,” this is in keeping with the ambiguousness surrounding the place of writing in Euro-American culture and the covert privileging of the medium of writing that Johnson has pointed out. *Writing Culture* follows Derrida in considering its primary subject of critique “the persistence of an ideology claiming transparency of representation and immediacy of experience”; the contributors’ aim is to bring into focus “the historical predicament of ethnography, the fact that it is always caught up in the invention, not the [transparent] representation, of cultures.”<sup>17</sup> By contrast, I have analyzed the “invention” of primitive cultures in the poetry and scholarship of Sapir, Benedict, and Mead from a perspective that is attuned to the different media and sign systems involved in these textual constructions. The involvement of different media creates additional levels of meaning that have the potential to uphold ideologies to which the author (and media user) may be overtly opposed at other points in the meaning-making process. It appears that the cultural evolutionism that Boas and his students sought to refute at the turn of the twentieth century is often most persistent in their treatments of different media. Only by considering these additional meanings, then, and conceiving of identities and alterities as also medially coded and constructed entities is a comprehensive understanding of the poetry and scholarship of Sapir, Benedict, and Mead and the primitives that populate their imaginations possible.



## APPENDIX

### *The Complete Poetry of Edward Sapir, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead*

#### NOTE ON THIS LIST

Variations in the title of a poem are indicated in brackets. However, to avoid confusion, inconsistencies in punctuation, accentuation, and capitalization were ignored. Handwritten and typewritten versions also often vary in their dating or remain undated. The date of when the poem was first written was established by comparing this information; it is omitted when all unpublished versions are undated. Partial reprints are not listed. Some of the listed manuscript (MS) and typescript (TS) versions may be incomplete, but highly fragmentary or illegible drafts were excluded.

While this list strives for comprehensiveness, it does not claim exhaustiveness. Particular circumstances, such as Benedict's use of different pseudonyms in her early writing and Mead's haphazard inclusion of poems by other authors in her papers, render an exhaustive record of the poetry of Sapir, Benedict, and Mead almost impossible.

#### THE POETRY OF EDWARD SAPIR

"Absence": written July 25, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.

"Absent-Minded": written July 22, 1920. In Cowan's TS in ES (under "Bubbles").

"Acheron": written August 26, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.

"Across the Years": written May 11, 1919. Published in *Queen's Quarterly* 30 (July–September 1922): 21. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.

"Advice to a Girl": written March 4, 1925. Published in *Canadian Forum* 6, no. 68 (1926): 246. Reprinted in *Daily Maroon* 26, no. 133 (1926): 4. MS

- in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Chronicle, Poems*.
- "After Playing Chopin": written October 21, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "After Reading Some Polemic Literature": written October 3, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "After the Rain": written November 11, 1918. Published in *The Pagan* 3, no. 11 (1919): 24. Reprinted in *Second Pagan Anthology*, 60. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "All Vanity": written December 4, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "An Antique Truism": written February 24, 1920. In Cowan's TS in ES.
- "An Argument": written July 6, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children's poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- "Ariel (To M.M.)": written December 30, 1924. Published in *Voices* 4, no. 5 (1925): 135. Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 88–89. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.4; TS in MMSPE, box 11, folder 6; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "The Ashman": written May 5, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children's poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- "Assassin in the Drawing Room": written June 5, 1935. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "As the Cars Clanged Through": written November 5, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Asylum": written June 17, 1921. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "At Sunset": written June 10, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "At the Fireside": in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Autumn Leaves": written October 15, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as "alternate poem" marked as "preferred").
- "Autumn Raindrops": written November 26, 1926. Published in *Poetry* 39, no. 2 (1931): 80. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 14; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "The Axe": written February 22, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Ballad of a Swan-Maiden": written June 8, 1920. Published in *Canadian Bookman* 2, no. 4 (1920): 17, but "disturbing misprint" (Sapir, note on TS in MMSPE) in stanza 12. Reprinted, and corrected, in *Stratford*

- Monthly* 2, no. 1 (1924): 46–48. TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 1; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as "alternate poem" marked as "preferred").
- "A Ballad of Three Horsemen": written February 17, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Barker": written February 10, 1920. Published in *The Pagan* 6, nos. 6–7 (1921): 54. In Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as "alternate poem").
- "The Bee Is Invited to Make a Shower Song": written June 23, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Before I'm Sixteen": written August 25, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children's poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- "Before the Storm": written March 28, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 62. MS in ES.
- "The Bell": written June 25, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Be Not Afraid of Beauty": written December 10, 1924. Published in *The Measure* 53 (July 1925): 6–7. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.8; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- "Benumbed": written July 7, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "The Blind Man": written March 31, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 13. Reprinted in Diamond, "Poetry," 156. MS in ES.
- "The Blind, Old Indian Tells His Names": written May 21, 1920. Published in *Canadian Bookman* 3, no. 2 (1921): 38–40. Reprinted in Darnell and Irvine, *Ethnology*, 507–10. MS in ES; incomplete version in Cowan's TS in ES, page with remaining lines in SD.
- "Blowing Winds": written May 3, 1926. Published in *Poetry* 30, no. 4 (1927): 194. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Chronicle, Poems*.
- "Blue Flame and Yellow": written March 15, 1919. Published in Handler, "Vigorous Male," 131. In Cowan's TS in ES.
- "The Blue Scarf": written August 7, 1917. TS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Body and Spirit": written March 20, 1924. Published in *Palms* (January 1929): 104. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.8; in Cowan's TS in ES.

- Included in planned anthology *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem” marked as “preferred”).
- “The Boy”: written May 25, 1922. Published in *The Forge* 2, no. 1 (1926): 8. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.4; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 4; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “A Boy Plays Beethoven at the Piano”: written April 6, 1925. Published in *The Forge* 1, no. 12 (1926): 12. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.4; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in Sapir’s planned anthology, version *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Bread and Cake”: written August 30, 1928. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.7; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Bugaboo”: written October 20, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Bugler (On Hearing a Train-Whistle in the Dead of Night)”: written September 23, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Builders”: written May 17, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 12–13. MS in ES.
- “Building”: written October 29, 1918. MS in ES (titled “Building—October 1918”); in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “But Once the Shooting Star”: written March 9, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Buttercups, Mary, Are Looking at You”: written July 15, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “By the Water”: written September 2, 1921. Published in *Palms* (March 1926): 182 (signed “Edwin Sapir”). MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.4; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 3; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “The Cake That Reginald’s Mother Made”: written July 5, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Cease, My Gods Above”: written November 23, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Charon”: written August 30, 1924. Published in *Poetry* 27, no. 4 (1926): 180–81. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES.

- Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem” marked as “preferred”).
- “The Chasm”: written July 28, 1917. Published in *The Pagan* 4, no. 5 (1919): 34. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Chief of Rat-Land Makes a Speech”: written July 8, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “A Childish Tale”: written November 1, 1918. Published in *Poetry* 18, no. 2 (1921): 76–77. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Chinaland”: written July 27, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Chorus of Sheep”: written July 9, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Christ Destroyer”: written September 27, 1924. Published in *Canadian Forum* (April 1925): 210. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.5; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Chronicle”: written January 27, 1925. Published in *The Measure* 51 (May 1925): 8. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folders 121.4 and 121.7 (2 TS, titled “A Tale”); in Cowan’s TS in ES. In planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “The Circus”: written February 6, 1925. Published in *Double Reader* (June 1925): 180. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Clergyman”: written March 17, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 18–19. MS in ES.
- “The Clock”: written March 15, 1920. Published in *Canadian Forum* (September 1923): 366. In Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “The Clog-Dancer”: written March 3, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Cogitatio Mystica”: written September 7, 1924. Published in *Voices* 4, no. 2 (1924): 45. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “A Colloquy”: written September 4, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.

- “Come with the Wind”: written March 27, 1924. Published in *Poetry* 27, no. 4 (1926): 179–80. TS in RFB, folder 121.3 (titled “Oh Come with the Wind to the Great Sea”); in Cowan’s TS in ES (titled “Oh Come with the Wind to the Great Sea”). Included in planned anthology *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Comfortable Living”: written March 24, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Complaint of the Clock”: written June 23, 1918. 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Condolence in the Village”: written September 29, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Conjugal Flattery”: written May 3, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Conversation”: written March 20, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 50. MS in ES.
- “The Corn-Field”: written September 1, 1921. Published in *Canadian Forum* (September 1922): 753. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Counting”: written May 13, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Critic”: written May 3, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Curtains”: written May 14, 1915. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 43–44. MS in ES.
- “The Dainty and the Hungry Man”: written January 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 35–37. MS in ES.
- “Dandelions”: written June 3, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 46. MS in ES.
- “Dangling Corpses”: written June 1, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 56. MS in ES.
- “Dawn”: written June 19, 1920. Published in *Stratford Monthly* 1, no. 1 (1924): 62. In Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “A Dead Soul”: in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Death”: written August 19, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Deed Done”: written May 6, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Delilah”: written March 19, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 32–33. MS in ES.
- “Del Inferno”: written June 22, 1918. Published in *The Pagan* 3, no. 3 (1918): 22–23. Reprinted in *Second Pagan Anthology*, 57–59; Carpen-



- ter, "Inner Striving," 206. MS in ES (titled "Echoes from the Devil's Realm"); in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Destiny": written August 30, 1928. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.7; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "The Devil's Little Song": written June 8, 1920. In Cowan's TS in ES.
- "The Dicers": in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Dick's Experiment": written June 19, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children's poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- "Dirge": written January 17, 1925. Published in *The Dial* 83, no. 3 (1927): 208. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.7; in Cowan's TS in ES. In planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as "alternate poem" marked as "preferred") and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- "Dirty Spring": written March 18, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 58. MS in ES.
- "Discords": written May 17, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 53–54. MS in ES.
- "The Dispossessed Philistine": written April 26, 1923. Published in *Canadian Forum* (September 1923): 367. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- "Distant Strumming of Strings, Vague Flutings, Drum": written March 4, 1924. Published in *Canadian Forum* (November 1924): 53. Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, xviii. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.8 (titled "Distant Strumming of Strings"); TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan's TS in ES. In planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- "Dizzy in the Blue": written July 14, 1920. In Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned poetry anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as "alternate poem").
- "Doctor Pim": written August 21, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children's poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- "Down the River Way": written March 27, 1924. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Down to the Shore of the Thundering Sea": written March 12, 1924. Published in *Canadian Forum* (September 1924): 368. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box R14, folder 7; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.

- “The Dragon and George”: written November 4, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The Dreamer Fails of Success”: written January 22, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 50–52. MS in ES.
- “Dream Journey”: written February 14, 1925. Published in *Canadian Forum* (February 1927): 148. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Dreamland”: written September 20, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Dream of the Dead”: written January 8, 1925. Published in *Canadian Forum* (January 1926): 118. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned poetry anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “The Dream-Painter”: written June 23, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Dreams”: written June 24, 1920. Published in *Canadian Forum* (September 1923): 366. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Dusk-Weaving”: written June 6, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Dust”: written May 12, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 66. MS in ES.
- “The Eagle”: in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “An Easter Day”: written April 8, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 59–60. MS in ES.
- “Eavesdroppers”: written May 24, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Education”: written April 16, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Elizabeth, Lizzie, and Bess”: written June 19, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Elsie’s Garden”: written June 5, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The Empty Lagoon”: written April 29, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Epistle”: written January 27, 1925. Published in *Voices* 5, no. 6 (1926): 206. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.4; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.

- “Epitaph of a Philosopher”: written March 22, 1917. Published in Hoyle, *A Roycroft Anthology*, 142. Reprinted in Sapir, *Dreams*, 17; Flores, “Poetry,” 165. MS in ES.
- “Epitaph of a Soldier”: written March 12, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 30. Reprinted in Flores, “Poetry,” 159. MS in ES.
- “Escape into the Night”: written April 6, 1926. Published in *The Nation* (June 1, 1927): 612. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.8 (titled “The Safer Dark”); in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Even If”: written April 3, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “An Evening Sky”: written July 19, 1918. Published in *The Pagan* 3, no. 12 (1919): 49. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Everlasting Sun”: written June 11, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Excuses for the Moon”: written August 29, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The Exploration of Tom and Lucy”: written June 15, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Falling Asleep”: written October 16, 1919. Published in *Canadian Magazine* 58, no. 4 (1922): 329. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Fanfare”: written August 18, 1924. 2 MS in ES (dated August 18, 1924, and September 23, 1924); 2 TS in ES (undated and dated September 23, 1924); TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8 (dated August 18, 1924); twice in Cowan’s TS in ES (dated August 18, 1924, and September 23, 1924). Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Fantasy for a Girl”: written March 1, 1926. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 14; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Fate”: written May 19, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Fear”: written June 28, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.

- “The Fingers Are Not Flesh”: written September 13, 1925. Published in *Canadian Forum* (February 1927): 148. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 11; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Fires”: written July 15, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Fireside, a Reproof to Subjectivity”: written July 1, 1935. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Fireside Song”: written January 10, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Firmament Advises Man”: written February 24, 1924. Published in *Stratford Monthly* 3, no. 2 (1924): 106. Reprinted in Flores, “Poetry,” 166. MS in ES; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8, and box R14, folder 7; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “First Love”: written March 10, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.7; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Flames”: written April 18, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “For a Lovers’ Quarrel”: written August 9, 1925. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 11; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “For Cesar Franck’s Music”: written January 17, 1925. Published in *The Forge* 1, no. 12 (1926): 12. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.5; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “For Ensign Take the Wind”: written March 6, 1926. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “For Lovers Wed, Farewell and Hail”: written April 30, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “For One a Little Awkward of Speech”: written October 24, 1924. Published in *The Measure* (January 1925): 11. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.5; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “For Those Needing Comfort”: written February 18, 1925. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “French-Canadian Folk-Songs”: written July 13, 1919. Published in *Poetry* 16, no. 4 (1920): 175–76. Reprinted in Diamond, “Poetry,” 153.

- MS in ES (titled “The Folk-Songs”); in Cowan’s TS in ES (titled “The Folk-Songs”).
- “Friends”: written August 7, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Friendship”: written June 7, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “From Eight to Nine”: written July 13, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES (titled “From Night to Nine”). Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “From over the Sea”: written April 10, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Frost”: written June 25, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Funny Funny Clown”: written August 29, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Furniture Folk”: written July 21, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Gammer Collins”: written May 11, 1920. Published in *The Freeman* 2 (September 22, 1920): 37. TS in RFB, folder 121.4; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 1; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “The Garden”: written August 16, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Gift of the River King”: written July 28, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Ginger Spirits”: written October 11, 1918. Published in *International Interpreter* 1, no. 1 (1922): 27. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Girl”: written July 8, 1920. Published in *The Measure* (June 1921): 14. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 1; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “A Glimpse”: written May 28, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Glimpse out of Window”: written September 22, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Glowworm”: written September 26, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “God”: written April 14, 1919. Published in *Contemporary Verse* 9, no. 3 (1920): 34. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “God Blows a Message”: written November 24, 1924. Published in *Poetry* 39, no. 2 (1931): 81. Reprinted in Flores, “Poetry,” 168. MS in ES (titled

- “There Blows a Message”); TS in RFB, folder 121.3; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “The Golden Caravan”: written November 4, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Golden Hair”: written July 17, 1920. Twice in Cowan’s TS in ES (titled “Golden Hair” and “Hair of Fire”).
- “Gold-Miners”: written July 22, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles”).
- “Gossip of the Gods”: written June 3, 1919. Published in *Queen’s Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (1923): 184. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Grandmamas”: written August 20, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Gray Beard nor Wrinkled Brow”: written May 23, 1929. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Great Wind”: written August 16, 1918; MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Green Carpet”: written July 14, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Green Temple in Twilight”: written July 12, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Greeting”: in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Gringranny”: written July 17, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Gyp the Dog”: written July 9, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The Halt of Summer”: written May 31, 1920. Published in *Queen’s Quarterly* 30 (July–September 1922): 24. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 1; page removed from Cowan’s TS in ES, now in SD. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Hand in Hand”: written May 21, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Harvest”: written September 25, 1919. Published in *The Nation* (June 19, 1920): 825. Reprinted in Reichel, “Sonic Others,” 310. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.4 (dated September 25, 1919); in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Hatred”: written July 25, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles, II”).
- “A Heathen Song”: written February 23, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.

- “Heavenly Message”: written April 19, 1921. MS in ES; TS in ES; 2 TS in RFB, folders 121.3 and 121.5; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “He Implores His Beloved”: written September 3, 1925. Published in *Poetry* 30, no. 4 (1927): 194–95. MS in ES (titled “He Implores His Beloved Not to Answer Contumely with Silence”); TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 11 (titled “He Implores His Beloved Not to Answer Contumely with Silence”); in Cowan’s TS in ES (titled “He Implores His Beloved”).
- “Helen of Troy”: written April 7, 1919. Published in *New Republic* (March 10, 1920): 58. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Helpless Revolt”: written January 18, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 64. Reprinted in Handler, “Dainty and the Hungry,” 298. MS in ES.
- “Henry James”: written August 3, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles III”).
- “Her Friends Turn to Her Lover”: written August 31, 1925. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 11; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Her Reproach”: written June 24, 1921. Published in *Canadian Forum* (June 1925): 270. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 3; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “The Hill Girl Vainly Seeks by the Sea”: written November 27, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “History”: written July 25, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles, II”).
- “The Hobgoblin”: written June 22, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Hold On to Your Sorrow”: written June 9, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Hoop-Player”: written August 30, 1925. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 11; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Horses for Gypsyland”: written August 26, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.

- “The Hour of Being Tired”: written November 7, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The House-God”: written July 8, 1917. Published in *The Pagan* 3, no. 9 (1919): 47. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The House of My Beloved”: written February 8, 1920. Published in *Queen’s Quarterly* 30 (July–September 1922): 23. TS in RFB, folder 121.3; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “The House of Tradition”: written March 15, 1920. Published in *The Freeman* 2 (September 22, 1920): 37. TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 11; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “The House of Virtues”: written April 20, 1919. Published in *The Pagan* 4, no. 1 (1919): 42. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “The House to the Incoming Tenants”: written May 1, 1921. Published in *The Nation* (September 7, 1921): 261. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “How Diplomats Make War”: published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 28–29. MS in ES.
- “How You Were More Beautiful Than the Dusk”: written September 7, 1924. Published in *Canadian Forum* (October 1926): 407. MS in ES (“How You Were More Beautiful Than Dusk”); TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8 (“How You Were More Beautiful Than Dusk”); in Cowan’s TS in ES (“How You Were More Beautiful Than Dusk”). Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “The Hunt”: written January 31, 1925. Published in *Voices* 5, no. 1 (1925): 16–17. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.4; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Hypocrite”: written August 24, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “I Am Becalmed”: written February 20, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “I Ask but for a Penny”: written August 28, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “I Came to Sing over Your Hair”: written April 29, 1926. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “I Cannot Say”: written June 11, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES.



- “I Cannot Tarry Long”: written June 2, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Ice”: written August 8, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Idealist”: written May 4, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Idealistic Girl”: written April 7, 1922. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Idealists”: written July 25, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles, II”).
- “I Heard a Woman Speak”: written March 11, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Illusions”: written August 20, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “In Admiration of Bowlers”: written July 3, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “In a High Place Burns a Turret”: written August 26, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “In a Library”: in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “In a Magic Wood of the Night”: written August 19, 1918. Published in *Stratford Journal* 3, no. 4 (1918): 164–65. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “In Days of Gloom—1918”: written March 1, 1918. Published in *Canadian Magazine* 51, no. 4 (1918): 332. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “In Dejection”: written March 7, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “In Mid-Journey”: written September 6, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Interloper”: written August 3, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles III”).
- “Interlude”: written July 31, 1919. Published in *Canadian Forum* (September 1923): 367. MS in ES; in TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Interpretations”: written June 16, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Into the Sea”: written May 2, 1925. Published in *Canadian Forum* (March 1926): 183. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3; in TS in ES.
- “Invitations”: written April 15, 1924. MS in ES; MS in RFB, folder 121.3; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “An Invocation”: written November 14, 1925. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 11; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Involvement”: written September 6, 1925. Published in *Menorah Journal* (July 1928): 50. MS in ES (titled “Ignorant Love”); TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 11 (titled “Ignorant Love”); twice in Cowan’s TS in ES (titled “Ignorant Love” and “Involvement”).

- “I Seek Returning Steps”: written November 8, 1919. Published in *Canadian Forum* (October 1925): 13. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “It Is Not Easy, Friend”: written April 18, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Jackal”: written July 11, 1919. Published in *Queen’s Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (1923): 182. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.5; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Jacqueline”: written March 22, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Kathleen’s Supper”: written July 10, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The King of Thule”: written December 27, 1921. Published in *The Nation* 115, no. 2977 (1922): 96. Reprinted in Diamond, “Poetry,” 152. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “King Owl”: written August 3, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles III”).
- “King Solomon”: written August 19, 1921. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Lady Has Passed through the Land”: written July 25, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The Last Lover”: written May 18, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Last Man”: written July 19, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Laughter”: written January 19, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Learned Jew”: written March 24, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 20–21. Reprinted in Diamond, “Poetry,” 155. MS in ES.
- “Levels”: written July 4, 1919. Published in *Poetry* 39, no. 2 (November 1931): 80–81. Reprinted in Flores, “Poetry,” 158. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Leviathan”: written July 29, 1917. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Lexicographer”: written March 8, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box R14, folder 7; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Liberty”: written March 13, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 65. 2 MS in ES.
- “Lines for an Unhappy Tragedian”: written December 24, 1917. Published in *The Pagan* 3, no. 8 (1918): 42. In Cowan’s TS in ES (titled “Lines for an Unknown Tragedian”).
- “Little Brothers”: written December 9, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.

- “The Little Girl Reads Her First Story”: written March 7, 1925. Published in *Voices* 5, no. 6 (1926): 205. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Little Girl’s Threat”: written August 7, 1918. MS in ES (titled “The Little Girl Threatens to Leave”); TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Little May”: written June 29, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Little One’s Flight”: written February 25, 1935. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Little Song of a Day”: written February 25, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Living”: written August 18, 1917. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Locked Hands”: written October 26, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Lodgings in the Moon”: written June 16, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Loneliness”: written September 1910. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 67. MS in ES.
- “A Lonely House Is Lit in the Night”: written June 22, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem” marked as “preferred”).
- “Longing”: written August 3, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles III”).
- “Lords of the Sea, of the Wind”: written July 30, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Love” (1): written April 12, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 54. MS in ES.
- “Love” (2): written July 22, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles”).
- “Love after Bitterness”: written March 12, 1926. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Love Has Tears”: written September 13, 1925. Published in *Canadian Forum* (August 1927): 340. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 11. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Lover”: written July 22, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles”).
- “The Lovers”: written February 25, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Lovers’ Night”: written November 14, 1924. Published in *The Measure* 53 (July 1925): 9. Reprinted in Flores, “Poetry,” 160. MS in ES; TS in

- RFB, folder 121.7; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- "Lovers of Happiness": written August 31, 1924. Published in *The Nation* (July 8, 1925): 72. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- "The Maid of the Fluted Tower": written August 5, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Man as a Social Being": written April 11, 1921. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "A Man Has Misgivings about a Stone Creature": written March 25, 1925. Published in *Voices* 5, no. 1 (1925): 18. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3. Included in planned anthology, version *Chronicle, Poems*.
- "The Man of Letters": written March 23, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 15. MS in ES.
- "Maples": written September 9, 1917. In Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Marjorie's Love Song": written September 2, 1925. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 11; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Mary, Mary, My Love": written August 24, 1918. Published in *Poetry* 14, no. 5 (August 1919): 248–49. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 11; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- "Masks": written August 20, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as "alternate poem" marked as "preferred").
- "The Measurer": written January 13, 1922. Published in *Canadian Forum* (September 1923): 366. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box R14, folder 7; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as "alternate poem").
- "Memory": written March 27, 1925. Published in *Canadian Forum* 6, no. 68 (1926): 246. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "The Merry-Go-Round": in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Messengers": written September 2, 1924. Published in *Poetry* 27, no. 4 (1926): 178–79. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; TS in RFB, folder 121.3. Included in planned anthology *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.

- “The Metaphysician”: written March 14, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 16. 2 MS in ES.
- “The Military Band”: written June 24, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The Minutes”: written August 1, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Minutes of State Congress of Deans”: written May 21, 1935. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Miriam Sings Three Hymns”: written July 26, 1924. Published in *Canadian Forum* (January 1925): 110. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “The Mirror (in the Manner of a Day-Dream)”: written July 27, 1917. Published in *Youth* 1, no. 4 (1919): 78–79. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Mislabeled Menagerie”: written April 15, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 9–10. MS in ES.
- “Mist and Gleam”: written November 30, 1918. Published in *The Pagan* 6, nos. 8–9 (1921–22): 51. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 11; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Modern Sophisticate”: written October 1, 1928. According to Sapir’s index card, published in *The Circle* (March 1931), but none of the libraries I consulted (Dartmouth College, Georgetown University, University of Basel) were able to retrieve the item. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.8; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Moment”: written August 31, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Monks in Ottawa”: written May 18, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 11. MS in ES.
- “Mood”: written May 3, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Moon-Gazing”: written June 15, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “A Moonless Night”: written March 23, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 62. MS in ES.
- “Moonlight”: written October 21, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Moon’s Not Always Beautiful”: written February 23, 1920. Published in *Double Dealer* (October 1921): 130. In Cowan’s TS in ES. Included

- in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Morning Prayer”: written October 2, 1928. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.8; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Most Beautiful Girl and I”: written March 27, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “The Moth”: written May 18, 1917. Published in *The Minaret* 2, no. 4 (1917): 26. Reprinted in Sapir, *Dreams*, 64. MS in ES.
- “The Mother Loves and Fears”: written September 6, 1924. Published in *Voices* 5, no. 6 (1926): 203–4. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem” marked as “preferred”).
- “Mother, Son, and Beloved”: written September 21, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Mountain and Sun”: written November 2, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Mountains in the Moon”: written June 16, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Multiplying Jim”: written November 20, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Music”: written October 20, 1924. Published in *The Measure* 47 (January 1925): 11. Reprinted in *Commercial Appeal* (February 15, 1925): section 2, 11; *Daily Maroon* 26, no. 133 (1926): 4; Reichel, “Sonophilia / Sonophobia,” 221–22. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Music Brings Griefs”: published in *The Nation* (July 28, 1926): 85. TS in RFB, folder 121.3; TS in MMSPE, box R14, folder 7; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “The Music of the Spheres”: published in *The Minaret* 2, no. 4 (1917): 28. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Musings of a Girl”: written May 27, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Mutual Understanding”: written April 23, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 49. MS in ES.

- “My Boy”: written April 25, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 45–46. MS in ES.
- “My House Is Sitting Eyeless on the Sea”: written August 28, 1919. Published in *Voices* 5, no. 6 (1926): 205. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “My Little Goldfish Jerome”: written July 28, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The New Religion”: written March 28, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “New York”: written August 5, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Night”: written September 19, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Night Song”: written August 30, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem” marked as “preferred”).
- “Night-Waker”: written January 29, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Nocturn”: written May 20, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Nocturnal Comfort”: written March 1, 1924. Published in Flores, “Poetry,” 165. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “No Miracle”: written April 11, 1921. Published in *Queen’s Quarterly* 30 (July–September 1922): 25. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.4; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Nostalgia”: written February 24, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Nostalgic Ditty”: written September 6, 1925. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 11; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Now I Bring New Grief”: written August 12, 1921. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Nuts to Crack”: written June 21, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “An October Reverie”: written October 22, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).

- “Oh Say You Are Not Dead”: written May 31, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “The Oil-Merchant”: written October 25, 1923. Published in *Canadian Forum* (January 1924): 111–12. MS in ES (titled “The Oil-Merchant, Simon, and the Worm”); in Cowan’s TS in ES (titled “The Oil-Merchant, Simon, and the Worm”). Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Old Friends Meet Again”: written August 25, 1917. Published in *The Pagan* 3, no. 7 (1918): 35. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Old Maid and the Private”: written March 10, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 30–31. MS in ES.
- “The Old Man”: written April 6, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 14. MS in ES.
- “The Old Town”: written April 9, 1919. Published in *Poetry* 18, no. 2 (1921): 77–78. Reprinted in *Saturday Night* 36, no. 5 (1921): unknown [Concordia University, Webster Microfilm, Microfilm reel no. 39]. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Oliverian”: written February 20, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “On Deck at Midnight”: written November 17, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “One Seed Fell in Her Hair”: written March 1, 1926. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 14; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “On Hearing Plaintive Jazz by Radio”: written June 15, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Only an Iviéd House”: written November 14, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Only the Distance Keeps Us Near”: written August 22, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “On the Back of a Pony”: written November 2, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “On the Eve”: written July 18, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Open-Eyed”: written July 30, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “O Pity the Poor!”: written December 22, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Optimist”: published in *Double Dealer* (September 1922): 131. Reprinted in Flores, “Poetry,” 158. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles, II”).
- “O Shake Off Dust and Days”: written June 25, 1918. In Cowan’s TS in ES.



- “The Other Side”: written April 22, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 47–48. MS in ES.
- “Our Love”: written May 7, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 55. MS in ES.
- “Our Mother Plays Solitaire”: written October 19, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned poetry, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “An Outing”: written June 18, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Overlooked”: written June 5, 1919. Published in *Poetry* 18, no. 2 (1921): 78–79. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Painting”: written April 12, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 34. MS in ES.
- “A Pair of Tricksters”: written January 16, 1919. Published in *Queen’s Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (1923): 183. Reprinted in Diamond, “Poetry,” 151. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Panic”: written July 9, 1925. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 11; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Parting”: written July 4, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Pastoral”: written October 22, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Pauline”: written June 28, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Peter and John”: written March 2, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in TS in ES.
- “Pickles and Mustard”: written April 3, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The Pipers”: written May 6, 1923. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Plot Revealed”: written November 14, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Poetic-Philosophic Apostrophe”: written September 2, 1924. Published in *The Forge* 2, no. 5 (1927): 14. Reprinted in Flores, “Poetry,” 164. MS in ES (titled “Poetico-Philosophic Apostrophe”); in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Poetry”: written January 30, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Poet’s Coterie”: written October 13, 1924. Published in *Voices* 4, no. 2 (1924): 45. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).

- “The Pool of Shadows”: written July 1, 1918. Published in *The Pagan* 4, no. 6 (1919): 33–34. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Poor Jack, My Jack”: written November 5, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The Pop-Corn Man”: written June 19, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Portraits”: written September 10–28, 1918. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Posterity”: written July 22, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles”).
- “A Prayer for Preservation”: written May 24, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 72. MS in ES.
- “The Prayer of Man”: written June 28, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Prayers”: written August 3, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles III”).
- “The Preacher”: written July 9, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Prelude”: written December 20, 1918. Published in *The Pagan* 3, no. 9 (1919): 31. MS in ES; in TS in ES.
- “Prelude for a Pirate”: written June 18, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “A Pretty Girl Frowns”: written July 22, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles”).
- “The Professor”: written March 14, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 16. Reprinted in Flores, “Poetry,” 158. MS in ES.
- “Professors in War-Time”: written January 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 27. MS in ES.
- “Promise of Summer”: written May 9, 1919. Published in *Double Dealer* (July 1924): 160. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Quest”: written August 24, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Quiescence”: written August 20, 1924. Published in *The Measure* 53 (July 1925): 8. MS in ES (titled “The Ascetic”); TS in RFB, folder 121.3; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; twice in Cowan’s TS in ES (titled “Quiescence” and “Spellbound”). Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.

- “The Rain”: written March 13, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 63. MS in ES.
- “Rain and Trees”: written July 29, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Rain on the Railroad Yards”: written September 2, 1928. Published in *The Dial* (January 1929): 42. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.7; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Rain-Storm”: written July 18, 1917. Published in *The Pagan* 4, nos. 3–4 (1919): 48–49. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Raymondo and His Brother”: written June 16, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “A Recipe”: written February 25, 1935. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Reflections”: written November 4, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Regret”: written April 19, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Remarks about Somebody”: written August 20, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Reminder”: written May 6, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Reporter Congratulates the Orator”: written May 6, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 34. MS in ES.
- “Reproof”: written October 19, 1917. Published in *The Dial* (January 31, 1918): 102. Reprinted in Carpenter, “Inner Striving,” 205–6. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Rescue”: written December 10, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Revery Interrupts Time”: written April 4, 1925. Published in *Palms* (March 1926): 183–84 (signed “Edwin Sapir”). MS in ES; in TS in ES.
- “The River”: written August 16, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Roadside Incident”: written April 29, 1923. Published in Flores, “Poetry,” 163. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Rolling Sound”: written November 6, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS versions in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Romping on the Green”: written July 8, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Runaways”: written June 25, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Savant”: written August 3, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles III”).

- “Science”: written July 22, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles”).
- “Science Clears the Air”: written February 27, 1925. Published in Flores, “In Terror,” 4. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Secret”: written April 30, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Secret Memory”: written July 25, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles, II”).
- “See-Saw”: written June 15, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Serenade”: MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Sermon on the Mount”: written June 3, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Setting”: written March 16, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “She Has Gone Out”: written December 28, 1919. Published in Handler, “Vigorous Male,” 141–42. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Sheherazade”: written October 24, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “She Is Passing in the Moonlight”: written October 30, 1921. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “She Runs to Meet Her Lover”: written April 23, 1922. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “She Sits Vacant-Eyed”: written July 19, 1919. Published in *Poetry* 18, no. 2 (1921): 79. Reprinted in Flores, “Poetry,” 165. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 11; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “She Tries to Tell Her Love”: written September 25, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “She Went to Sleep Below”: written October 23, 1924. Published in *Poetry* 27, no. 4 (1926): 181–82. Reprinted in Braithwaite, *Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1926*, 370. MS in ES; 3 TS in RFB, folders 121.3 and 121.7 (2 TS); in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem” marked as “preferred”) and *Chronicle, Poems*.

- “The Siding”: written May 6, 1922. Published in *Canadian Forum* (July 1925): 307. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Sighs”: written September 16, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Signal”: written November 23, 1924. Published in *Poetry* 27, no. 4 (1926): 175–76. Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 164. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “The Silences”: written November 1, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “The Silent Moment”: written November 18, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Sing Bitter Song”: written February 27, 1924. Published in *Canadian Forum* (April 1927): 210. MS in ES; 3 TS in RFB, folders 121.3 (2 TS) and 121.5; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “The Sky Song”: written July 9, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The Slave’s Vision”: written April 20, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Sleep”: written September 5, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Slip Away, Thoughts”: written September 17, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Smoke-Drift”: written July 4, 1917. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Snared”: written April 12, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 69. MS in ES.
- “The Snow”: in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Snow and Sun”: written December 9, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Snowstorm in the Dusk”: written February 26, 1918. Published in *The Pagan* 3, no. 10 (1919): 15. Reprinted in *Second Pagan Anthology*, 59. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Something Flies, a Child’s Riddle”: written September 19, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Somewhat Neglected”: written February 28, 1924. Published in *Palms* (January 1929): 105. Reprinted in Flores, “Poetry,” 158–59. MS in ES; TS

- in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned poetry anthology *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- "Song": written December 23, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "A Song for Lovers": written September 27, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Song of a Mermaid": written June 21, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children's poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- "A Song of One Abandoned": written October 16, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "A Song of Pagans": written August 24, 1918. MS in ES; in TS in ES.
- "Song of the Chinese Laundrymen": written November 20, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children's poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- "A Song of the Fields and the Past": written November 17, 1917. Published in *Canadian Magazine* 53, no. 5 (1919): 380. In Cowan's TS in ES.
- "Song of the Little Princess": written August 20, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children's poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- "Song of the Summer Rain": written August 23, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children's poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- "A Sonnet of Clouds": written August 25, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "A Sonnet of Friendship": written March 14, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "A Sonnet of Rain": written November 25, 1919. Published in *Canadian Bookman* 3, no. 1 (1921): 37. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.4; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- "The Soul": written March 17, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 70–71. MS in ES.
- "Soul in Soul": written April 23, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES.
- "The Soul of Summer": written July 22, 1918. Published in *Poetry* 14, no. 5 (1919): 248. MS in ES; in Cowan's TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as "alternate poem" marked as "preferred").

- “The Soul Stands Up”: written February 2, 1925. Published in *Voices* 5, no. 6 (1926): 204. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.5; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Soundings”: written August 9, 1912. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Speech”: written August 3, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles III”).
- “The Spirit May Be Comforted”: written January 10, 1925. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Spring Light”: in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Squirrel”: written June 9, 1921. Published in *Stratford Monthly* 1, no. 3 (1924): 255. Reprinted in Flores, “Poetry,” 158. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Star-Gazer”: written December 16, 1924. Published in *Palms* (March 1926): 182–83 (signed “Edwin Sapir”). MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.4; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “The Stenographer”: written March 12, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 24–25. Reprinted in Diamond, “Poetry,” 154. MS in ES.
- “Step Out of the Road”: written March 22, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Storm of the World”: written November 3, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Storms”: written September 1937. MS in ES.
- “Strangers”: written May 16, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem” marked as “preferred”).
- “The Streets of Fancifullo”: written October 2, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Such Things You Know”: written August 22, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Sullen Silence”: written May 3, 1919. Published in *The Pagan* 4, no. 12; 5, no. 1 (1920): 45. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.

- “Summer”: written September 16, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Summer Dance”: written September 3, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Summer in the Woods”: written May, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 60–61. MS in ES.
- “The Sun and the Moon”: written April 15, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Sun on Eucalyptus”: written March 4, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “A Sunset”: written September 7, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Sunset Verandah”: written September 6, 1919. Published in *Canadian Forum* (September 1922): 753. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 3; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Susquehanna Hills”: written March 24, 1924. Published in *Voices* 4, no. 5 (1925): 136. Reprinted in Flores, “Poetry,” 159. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Sweet Flame Returning”: written October 18, 1925. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Swinging”: written July 13, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “A Tale of Lollypops”: written June 20, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “A Taunting Song”: written July 4, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Tawny Hills”: written March 9, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Tell Death Alone”: written October 12, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “These River-Folk”: written June 24, 1920. Published in *The Freeman* 2 (October 6, 1920): 88. TS in RFB, folder 121.4; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “They Call You Not Beautiful”: written August 31, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.



- “They Pity Her from Sunlight”: written April 1, 1919. Published in *Queen’s Quarterly* 30 (July–September 1922): 20. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “They Who Laugh at Each Other”: written August 15, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “This Age”: written November 4, 1922. Published in *Canadian Forum* (September 1923): 366–67. Reprinted in *Voices* 3, no. 1 (1924): 18; Flores, “Poetry,” 160. MS in ES; 2 TS in MMSPE, box R14, folder 7, and box Q19, folder 11; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “This Is the Way of Years”: written November 27, 1921. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Thoughts on the Soul”: written November 7, 1924. Published in *Voices* 6, nos. 2–3 (1926–27): 55–58. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Though You Have Set Up Hatred for a Sign”: written October 3, 1923. Published in *Canadian Forum* (February 1927): 148. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Three Children”: written October 23, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Three Glints in the Night”: written August 5, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Three Hags Come Visiting”: written March 15, 1924. Published in *Poetry* 27, no. 4 (1926): 176–77. Reprinted in Braithwaite, *Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1926*, 368–69. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.4; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Three White Nuns”: written September 15, 1919. Published in *Canadian Magazine* 61 (May 1923): 18. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Through Gates of Shining Bronze”: written February 18, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Through the Night”: written July 26, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Tiger-Lilies”: written July 7, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.

- “Time’s Wing”: written November 15, 1924. Published in *The Nation* (January 21, 1925): 71. 2 MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3 (dated November 15, 1924); TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle*.
- “Tired”: written September 17, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Titans”: written August 23, 1919. Published in *Canadian Forum* (September 1923): 367. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box R14, folder 7; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “To a Maiden Sweet and Pure”: written March 17, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 23. MS in ES.
- “To a Proud Lady”: written March 3, 1928. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.7; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “To a Realistic Poet”: written June 4, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “To a Recruiting Girl”: written April 20, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 26. MS in ES.
- “To a Returned Soldier”: written March 10, 1918. Published in *Canadian Forum* (September 1922): 753. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box R14, folder 7; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “To a Street Violinist”: written August 7, 1917. Published in Reichel, “Sonic Others,” 309. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “To Debussy: ‘La Cathédrale Engloutie’”: written February 5, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 57. Reprinted in Sapir, “Musical Foundations,” 221.
- “To Helen”: written August 1, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “To Joseph Conrad”: written October 19, 1919. Published in *Queen’s Quarterly* 30 (July–September 1922): 22. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “To Leonid Andreyev”: written October 26, 1919. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “To One Playing a Chopin Prelude”: written August 20, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “To Our Little Daughter, Sleeping”: written October 5, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned poetry anthology *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “To the Silent Snow”: written December 2, 1924. Published in *Voices* 4, no. 5 (1925): 135. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.3; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.

- “The Traveler”: written July 10, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Tribune Tower”: written April 29, 1926. Published in *Poetry* 30, no. 4 (1927): 195. MS in ES (titled “A Chicago Poem [The Tribune Building]”); in Cowan’s TS in ES (titled “A Chicago Poem [The Tribune Tower]”).
- “The Tryst”: written June 1, 1920. Published in *Canadian Bookman* 3, no. 1 (1921): 37. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 11; incomplete version in Cowan’s TS in ES, page with first lines in SD. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Turns at Football”: written October 20, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Twilight at the Beach”: written August 18, 1917. Published in *The Pagan* 4, no. 2 (1919): 23. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Twixt a Man and a Wife”: written September 30, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Two Blades of Grass”: written August 24, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Two Souls”: written October 14, 1924. Published in *Canadian Forum* (April 1925): 210. Reprinted in *World Wide* 25, no. 46 (1925): 917. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Two Worlds”: written May 16, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Under the Water-Surface”: written June 30, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Universal Brotherhood”: written July 25, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles, II”).
- “Unrevealed”: written August 9, 1917. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Unseen Troubadour”: written November 30, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES (titled “Unseen Troubadour [sic]”). Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Upholding the World”: written June 24, 1920. Published in *Double Dealer* (November 1921): 221. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 1; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).

- “Up the Smoke”: written August 2, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Useless Weather”: written March 14, 1924. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Vestments”: written April 11, 1919. Published in *Double Dealer* (January 1922): 41. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Vexation”: written March 30, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 68–69. MS in ES.
- “The Visitant”: written March 4, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Waiting Heart”: written January 28, 1920. TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Walking Poem”: written April 30, 1921. Published in *Poetry* 20, no. 6 (1922): 317. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.4; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “War”: written October 6, 1917. Published in *The Pagan* 3, no. 6 (1918): 13. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Warning”: written March 26, 1924. Published in *Canadian Forum* (November 1924): 53. MS in ES; 2 TS in RFB, folders 121.3 (titled “Scatter Flour upon the Way”) and 121.7 (titled “Scatter Flour upon the Way”); in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “Warp and Woof”: written January 18, 1919. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Was Coming Night”: written November 21, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Water”: written June 3, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 63. MS in ES.
- “The Water Nymph”: written April 1, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 38–42. MS in ES.
- “A Way of Life”: written June 21, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Wayside Fancy”: written January 30, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “We Others”: written August 12, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “What Happened to the Moon”: written June 5, 1918. MS in ES; 2 TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.

- “What Is Heard in the Night”: written July 27, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “What to Do with a Book”: written June 23, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “When Crowds Are Solitude”: written August 31, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “When Long in His Eye”: written April 21, 1926. Published in *Poetry* 30, no. 4 (1927): 195–96; MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “When Love Came”: written March 13, 1924. Published in *Palms* (January 1929): 105–6. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology *Stars in the Sea, Poems*.
- “When the Greens of the Fields Are Shot with Gold”: written July 10, 1918. Published in *University Magazine* 18 (February 1919): 80. MS in ES (titled “When the Greens of the Field Are Shot with Gold”); in Cowan’s TS in ES (titled “When the Greens of the Field Are Shot with Gold”).
- “Where Are Your Voices Now?”: written August 4, 1918. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Where the Little Children Ride”: written September 1, 1924. Published in *The Measure* 53 (July 1925): 10. MS in ES; TS in RFB, 121.4; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem” marked as “preferred”) and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “The White Bird”: written November 13, 1923. Published in *Stratford Monthly* 4, no. 1 (1925): 17–18. MS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 6; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Willoughby’s Advantage”: written October 20, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The Willow”: written November 2, 1922. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “A Wind”: written May 4, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Wind Is Trying”: written April 3, 1918. MS in ES; TS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.

- “Wind-Music”: written March 2, 1925. Published in *Voices* 5, no. 6 (1926): 203. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Window of His Soul”: written September 7, 1924. Published in *Voices* 5, no. 1 (1925): 17. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.5; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “The Wind Speaks”: written December 31, 1921. MS in ES; TS in ES; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 3; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Windy Summer Day”: written August 3, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles III”).
- “Wings”: written May 6, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 66. MS in ES.
- “Winter Approaches”: written August 30, 1917. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “With Song and Bell”: written June 11, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “The Wizard Olone”: written July 13, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “The Woman on the Bridge”: written May 22, 1917. Published in Sapir, *Dreams*, 22. MS in ES.
- “Women Play Mandolines before Night”: written August 14, 1920. Published in *The Measure* (August 1921): 10. Reprinted in *Daily Maroon* 26, no. 133 (1926): 4; Flores, “Poetry,” 159–60. TS in RFB, folder 121.4; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Word”: written August 3, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES (under “Bubbles III”).
- “The Workshop”: written March 19, 1924. Published in *Double Dealer* (November–December 1924): 55. MS in ES; 2 TS in RFB, folders 121.5 and 121.8; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle*.
- “Worms, Wind and Stone”: written February 25, 1925. Published in *The Measure* 51 (May 1925): 9. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.5; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “Woven Silence”: written May 20, 1919. Published in *The Pagan* 5, no. 2 (1920): 41. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).

- “Yet Water Runs Again”: written January 1, 1927. Published in *The Dial* (June 1928): 468. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.5; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 16. Included in planned anthology, version *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “You, Lady, Have the Wind Given a Grace”: written March 6, 1925. MS in ES; TS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Young Grief”: written October 18, 1924. Published in *Poetry* 27, no. 4 (1926): 179. MS in ES; TS in RFB, folder 121.7; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, versions *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and *Chronicle, Poems*.
- “The Young Wiseacre”: written June 20, 1918. MS in ES. Considered for planned anthology of children’s poems *The Streets of Fancifullo*.
- “Your Beauty of the Ghostly, Dusky Hair”: written June 26, 1920. In Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Your Voice”: written August 18, 1919. Published in *The Pagan* 4, no. 10 (1920): 19. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES.
- “Youth”: written October 6, 1919. Published in *Canadian Forum* (April 1925): 210. MS in ES; in Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “The Youth, Girolamo Savonarola, Prophecies”: written June 19, 1920. Published in *Voices* 5, no. 1 (1925): 16. Reprinted in Braithwaite, *Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1926*, 368. In Cowan’s TS in ES. Included in planned anthology, version *Stars in the Sea, Poems* (as “alternate poem”).
- “Zuni”: written August 26, 1924. Published in *Poetry* 27, no. 4 (1926): 178. Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 88; Diamond, “Poetry,” 151; Flores, “Poetry,” 167; Reichel, “Sonophilia / Sonophobia,” 224. MS in ES; MS in letter to Benedict of August 26, 1924 (MMSPE, box T4, folder 1); TS in RFB, 121.4; in Cowan’s TS in ES.

#### *Translations of French Canadian Folk Songs*

- “A-Rolling My Bowl”: published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 116–20.
- “At Saint-Malo”: written December 31, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 121–24. MS in ES.
- “At the Well, Oh!”: written May 29, 1920. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 138–42. MS in ES.

- “The Blasphemer Chastised”: written February 24, 1920. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 96–99. MS in ES.
- “The Brunette and the Brigand”: written December 9, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 133–37. MS in ES.
- “The Butterfly the Candle Seeks”: written December 7, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 183–86. MS in ES.
- “The Curfew”: written July 6, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 166–70. MS in ES.
- “The Dumb Shepherdess”: published in *Poetry* 16, no. 4 (1920): 183–85. Reprinted in *Literary Digest* 66, no. 4 (1920): 36; Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 81–86. MS in ES.
- “Handsome Guillon”: written August 20, 1919. MS in ES.
- “The Heart of My Well-Beloved”: written April 20, 1920. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 198–203. MS in ES.
- “Her Beauty Charmed Me through and Through”: written March 16, 1920. MS in ES.
- “I Dressed Me All in Feathers Gay”: written December 7, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 171–74. MS in ES.
- “If Papa Knew”: written July 2, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 111–15. MS in ES.
- “I’m Not Quite of Peasantry”: written November 30, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 107–10. MS in ES.
- “I Will Not Marry”: written March 17, 1920. Published in *Queen’s Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (1922): 287–88. Reprinted in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 204–6 (titled “I Will Not Hurry”). MS in ES.
- “The King of Spain’s Daughter”: written August 6, 1919. Published in *Poetry* 16, no. 4 (1920): 179–82. Reprinted in *Literary Digest* 66, no. 4 (1920): 36; Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 100–106. MS in ES.
- “The Little Gray Mouse”: written January 8, 1920. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 154–58. 2 MS in ES (titled “The Little Gray Mouse” and “The Little Mouse”).
- “Lovers’ Farewell”: written December 3, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 192–94. MS in ES (titled “Lovers’ Trials”).
- “The Maiden Sold to the Devil”: published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 87–91.



- “Marry Me, Mother Dear!”: published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 207–12. MS in ES.
- “The Merchant and the Devil”: written February 22, 1920. MS in ES.
- “The Miracle of the New-Born Child”: published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 92–95.
- “The Miser-Woman and the Crucifix”: written February 8, 1920. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 76–80. MS in ES.
- “My Bowlie Rowlie”: written May 21, 1920. MS in ES.
- “My Faithless Lover Is Forgetting”: written July 2, 1920. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 213–16. MS in ES.
- “The New-Born Child Drowned by Its Mother”: written August 25, 1919. MS in ES.
- “Our Lord in Beggar’s Guise”: published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 71–75.
- “Our Lord, the Miser, and the Lady”: written August 22, 1919. MS in ES.
- “The Passion of Jesus Christ”: written July 19, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 66–70. MS in ES.
- “The Penitent and the Drunkard”: written October 23, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 57–65. MS in ES.
- “Pretty Julie”: written July 12, 1920. MS in ES.
- “Prince Eugene”: written August 29, 1920. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 7–15. MS in ES.
- “The Prince of Orange”: written June 24, 1919. Published in *Poetry* 16, no. 4 (1920): 176–79. Reprinted in Barbeau, “Fisher-Folk,” 3; Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 1–6. MS in ES.
- “The Princess and the Hangman”: published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 34–39. MS in ES.
- “The Prisoner and the Gaoler’s Daughter”: written July 4, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 29–33. MS in ES.
- “The Ransomed Petticoat”: written December 30, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 146–50. Reprinted in Barbeau, “Fisher-Folk,” 3. MS in ES.
- “The Repentant Shepherdess”: published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 143–45.

- “The Return of the Soldier Husband”: written September 2, 1920. Published in *Queen’s Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (1922): 286–87. Reprinted in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 52–56. MS in ES.
- “Seven Years at Sea”: written July 29, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 125–32. MS in ES.
- “The Shepherdess Who Slays Her Kitten”: written January 2, 1920. MS in ES.
- “The Ship of Bayonne”: written August 3, 1919. MS in ES.
- “The Song of Lies”: written January 17, 1920. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 159–63. MS in ES.
- “The Swallow, Messenger of Love”: written March 15, 1920. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 187–91. MS in ES.
- “This Lovely Turtle-Dove”: written October 25, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 195–97. MS in ES.
- “The Three Poisoned Roses”: written July 1, 1919. Published in Barbeau, “Fisher-Folk,” 3. Reprinted in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 16–21. MS in ES.
- “Tis Love That Brings Us”: written March 18, 1920. MS in ES.
- “The Trades”: written July 12, 1919. Published in *Queen’s Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (1922): 288–90. Reprinted in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 175–82. MS in ES.
- “The Tragic Home-Coming”: written July 1, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 45–51. MS in ES.
- “When the Wine Whirls”: written December 29, 1919. Published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 151–53. MS in ES.
- “White as the Snow”: written July 6, 1919. Published in *Poetry* 16, no. 4 (1920): 182–83. Reprinted in *Literary Digest* 66, no. 4 (1920): 36; Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 40–44. MS in ES.
- “The Wicked Knight”: published in Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, 22–28.
- “The Wolves Will Come”: written November 28, 1919. MS in ES.

#### THE POETRY OF RUTH BENEDICT

- “Against the Dark”: MS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- “Alien”: MS in RFB, folder 47.12; TS in RFB, folder 47.12.
- “Amphion Builds the Wall”: TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “And His Eyes Were Opened”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 187–88. 5 TS in RFB, folders 46.1 and 46.24 (4 TS, one of them signed “Anne

- Singleton"); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 12 (signed "Anne Singleton"). Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- "And the Morning Stars Sang Together": 3 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (2 TS) and 47.13. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- "Annihilation": MS in RFB, folder 47.14; TS in RFB, folder 47.14.
- "Annunciation": published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 475–76. MS in RFB, folder 46.2; 6 TS in RFB, folders 46.2, 46.24 (4 TS, titled "Annunciation" [3 TS] and "In Likeness of a Dove"; signed "Anne Singleton" [3 TS] and "Ruth Benedict"), and 47.21 (signed "Anne Singleton"); 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9, and box Q19, folder 13. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- "Another Theseus": published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 478–79. Reprinted in Diamond, "Poetry," 171. TS in RFB, folder 46.3; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 13.
- "Any Wife": TS in RFB, folder 46.24. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- "Apartment Notes": MS in RFB, folder 47.15.
- "Archmus": MS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- "As a Dream": MS in RFB, folder 47.16; 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 and 47.16; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- "At a Solemn Mummery": MS in RFB, folder 47.17; 2 TS in RFB, folders 47.17 and 120.1; TS in MMSPE, box 190, folder 1.
- "At Ending": published twice in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 69–70 and 485. Broadcast on *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 2, 11:37–12:34 (read by Lennon). MS in RFB, folder 36.3; TS in RFB, folder 48.24 (titled "Song"). Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- "At Last": MS in RFB, folder 47.18; TS in RFB, folder 47.18.
- "Awakening": MS in RFB, folder 47.19; TS in RFB, folder 120.1; TS in MMSPE, box 190, folder 1.
- "Befogged": MS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- "The Bell Ring": MS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- "Bride Dower": TS in RFB, folder 46.24; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- "Brook Turning": TS in RFB, folder 47.20; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.

- “Burial”: published in *The Measure* 52 (June 1925): 13 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 483–84. TS in RFB, folder 46.4; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “But the Son of Man”: published in Untermeyer, *Modern American Poetry*, 518–19 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 475. 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.5 and 46.24 (titled “Foxes Have Holes”); 3 TS in MMSPE, box O35, folder 10 (signed “R.B.”), box Q19, folder 13, and box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Consummation”: MS in RFB, folder 47.21; 5 TS in RFB, folder 47.21.
- “Counsel for Autumn”: published in *The Measure* 52 (June 1925): 12 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 483. 2 TS in RFB, folder 46.6; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Countermand”: published in *Poetry* 35, no. 6 (1930): 304 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 476–77. TS in RFB, folder 46.7; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9, and box Q19, folder 13.
- “Damascus Road”: TS in RFB, folder 47.22. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Dark Soil”: TS in RFB, folder 46.24. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Dead Sea”: TS in RFB, folder 46.24.
- “Dead Star”: published in *Poetry* 35, no. 6 (1930): 306–7 (titled “Dead Star”; signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 85–86 (titled “Ripeness Is All”). Broadcast on *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 1, 09:07–10:14 (titled “Ripeness Is All”; read by Mead). MS in RFB, folder 46.30 (titled “Ripeness Is All”); 4 TS in RFB, folder 46.30 (titled “Ripeness Is All” [2 TS] and “Dead Star” [2 TS]); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9 (titled “Ripeness Is All”).
- “Death Is the Citadel”: published in *The Nation* 128, no. 3320 (1929): 231 (signed “Anne Singleton”). MS in RFB, folder 46.8; TS in RFB, folder 46.8.
- “Dedication”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 473. Broadcast on *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 1, 0:59–1:50 (read by Lennon). MS in RFB, folder 46.24 (untitled); 3 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (2 TS, one of them titled “To—with Verses”) and 48.29 (titled “To M.M. with These Verses”); 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9 (one of them titled “A Dedication—with the Verses”). Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.

- “Demarcation”: MS in RFB, folder 47.23.
- “Disarmed”: TS in RFB, folder 47.25 (signed “Ruth Stanhope”); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 1 (signed “Ruth Stanhope”).
- “Discourse on Prayer”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 160–61. 3 TS in RFB, folders 46.9 (2 TS) and 46.24 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “The Dream”: MS in RFB, folder 47.26. TS in RFB, folder 47.26.
- “Earth-Born”: published in *Poetry* 31, no. 4 (1928): 192–93 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 487. Broadcast on *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 1, 12:57–13:33 (read by Mead). 3 TS in RFB, folder 46.10; 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9 (2 TS), and box Q19, folder 12 (signed “Anne Singleton”).
- “Eucharist”: published in *The Nation* 127 (September 26, 1928): 296 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, untitled, 27; Mead, *Anthropologist*, iv (MS) and 479 (TS); Mead, *Ruth Benedict*, 75; Diamond, “Poetry,” 172. Broadcast on *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 2, 10:50–11:25 (read by Mead). TS in RFB, folder 46.11; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Flight”: 4 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (3 TS) and 47.27. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “For a Certain Lover”: 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 and 47.28; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 13. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “For a Great Lover”: TS in RFB, folder 46.24 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “For Faithfulness”: 6 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (3 TS, one of them signed “Anne Singleton”) and 47.29 (3 TS). Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “For Holy Days”: TS in RFB, folder 47.30; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “For My Mother”: published in *Poetry* 31, no. 4 (1928): 192 (titled “For My Mother”; signed “Anne Singleton”). TS in RFB, folder 46.12 (titled “For My Mother” and “To My Mother”); 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 13 (titled “For My Mother”), and box Q19, folder 9 (titled “To My Mother”).
- “For One Who Loved My Canoe”: MS in RFB, folder 47.31; TS in RFB, folder 47.31.
- “For Seed Bearing”: written 1925. Published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 71. 2 MS in RFB, folders 36.3 and 46.24; 4 TS in RFB, folders 46.13 and 46.24

- (3 TS, signed “Anne Singleton” [2 TS] and unsigned); 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 9, 12 (signed “Anne Singleton”), and 13. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “For Splendor”: TS in RFB, folder 46.24. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “For the Hour after Love”: published in *Poetry* 31, no. 4 (1928): 193 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 480. 2 TS in RFB, folder 46.14; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 13, and box Q19, folder 9.
- “Fragment”: TS in RFB, folder 47.32.
- “Frostless Autumn”: MS in RFB, folder 47.33.
- “Fulfillment [How men have fabled strangely]”: MS in RFB, folder 47.34; 3 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (2 TS, one of them signed “Anne Singleton”) and 47.34. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Fulfillment [She put aside our offerings]”: 2 TS in RFB, folder 46.24 (one of them signed “Anne Singleton”); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Genessaret”: TS in RFB, folder 46.24 (signed “Anne Singleton”); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Girl’s Song”: TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Gloria Mundis”: TS in RFB, folder 47.35.
- “Grave Stele—Athens”: TS in RFB, folder 47.36.
- “Gray Pavements”: MS in RFB, folder 47.37; TS in RFB, folder 120.1; TS in MMSPE, box 190, folder 1.
- “Grooved”: TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Hush before Storm”: MS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- “I Have Content More in Your Loveliness”: TS in RFB, folder 48.1.
- “Indemnity”: MS in RFB, folder 48.4.
- “Indian-Pipes”: TS in RFB, folder 48.5.
- “Indian Summer”: MS in RFB, folder 48.6.
- “In Parables”: published in *Palms* 3, no. 6 (1926): 165 (signed “Anne Singleton”). 2 TS in RFB, folder 48.2; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “In Praise of Life”: 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 and 48.3. TS in MMSPE, box 9, folder 5. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.

- “In Praise of Uselessness”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 489–90. 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.16 and 46.24 (signed “Anne Singleton”); 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Intruder”: published in *New York Herald Tribune Books* 5, no. 18 (1929): 6 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 476. 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.17 and 46.24; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Iridescent Glass from Etruria”: TS in RFB, folder 48.7; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “I Shall Not Call”: published in *Poetry* 31, no. 4 (1928): 193–94 (signed “Anne Singleton”). TS in RFB, folder 46.15; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 13, and box Q19, folder 9.
- “The Kiss”: MS in RFB, folder 48.8; TS in RFB, folder 46.24. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Lift Up Your Heart”: published in *Poetry* 31, no. 4 (1928): 194–95 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 481. Broadcast on *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 1, 14:26–15:31 (read by Mead). 2 TS in RFB, folder 46.18 (one of them signed “Anne Singleton”); 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9, and box Q19, folder 13.
- “Little Girl-Mother—”: MS in RFB, folder 47.11 (untitled); TS in RFB, folder 47.11 (titled “Little Girl-Mother—”).
- “The Little Room”: MS in RFB, folder 48.9; TS in RFB, folder 120.1; TS in MMSPE, box 190, folder 1.
- “Little Song of Death”: TS in RFB, folder 46.24. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Lost Leader—1930”: published in *New York Herald Tribune Books* 6, no. 30 (1930): 6 (signed “Anne Singleton”). MS in RFB, folder 46.24 (titled “Lost Leader 1929”); 2 TS in RFB, folder 46.24 (titled “Lost Leader 1929” and “Lost Leader 1930”); TS in MMSPE, box 59, folder 15 (titled “Lost Leader. 1929”; signed “Anne Singleton”). Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Lovers’ Wisdom”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 161. TS in RFB, folder 46.24; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.

- “Love That Is Water”: published in *Poetry* 35, no. 6 (1930): 306 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 474. TS in RFB, folder 46.19; 2 TS in MMSPE; box Q19, folders 6 and 9.
- “March 25, 1919”: written March 25, 1919. TS in RFB, folder 120.1; TS in MMSPE, box 190, folder 1.
- “Marriage Chamber”: TS in RFB, folder 46.24. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Millenium [*sic*]”: MS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- “Miser’s Wisdom”: written 1924. Published in *Palms* 3, no. 6 (1926): 166 (signed “Anne Singleton”). 3 TS in RFB, folder 46.20; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “The Mockery”: TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Monk of Ariège”: TS in RFB, folder 48.10.
- “The Moon New Seen”: TS in RFB, folder 48.11.
- “Moth Wing”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 488. 3 TS in RFB, folders 46.21 (2 TS) and 46.24 (signed “Anne Singleton”); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “My Life Closed Twice”: TS in RFB, folder 46.24. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “The Mystic”: TS in RFB, folder 46.24 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Myth”: published in Kluckhohn, untitled, 20. Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 477; Mead, *Ruth Benedict*, 24; Diamond, “Poetry,” 171; Reichel, “On the Poetry,” 178. 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.22 and 46.24; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Never Go Lonely”: 3 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (signed “Anne Singleton”) and 48.12 (2 TS). Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “New Year”: written December 12, 1922. Published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 56. MS in RFB, folder 36.3; TS in RFB, folder 46.23; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 13.
- “The Night’s for Fires”: TS in RFB, folder 46.24 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Not Jerusalem”: TS in RFB, folder 46.24; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9, and box S9, folder 5. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.



- “November Burning”: published in *Poetry* 35, no. 6 (1930): 307 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Kluckhohn, untitled, 21; Mead, *Anthropologist*, 484. TS in RFB, folder 46.25; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 5 and 12 (signed “Anne Singleton”).
- “Of a Great Love”: written 1925. Published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 71 (titled “Of a Great Love”). MS in RFB, folder 36.3 (titled “Of a Great Lover”).
- “Of Graves”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 84. Reprinted in Diamond, “Poetry,” 169. TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Ourselves”: TS in RFB, folder 48.13.
- “Our Task Is Laughter”: published in *Palms* 3, no. 6 (1926): 168 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 167–68; Diamond, “Poetry,” 169. 3 TS in RFB, folder 46.26 (signed “Anne Chase,” “Anne Singleton,” and unsigned); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Parlor Car—Santa Fe”: published in Reichel, “On the Poetry,” 175. Broadcast on *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 1, 11:17–12:12 (read by Mead). 4 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (2 TS, signed “Anne Singleton”), 48.14, and 120.1; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Pool”: TS in RFB, folder 48.15.
- “Preference”: published in *The Measure* 52 (June 1925): 13 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 177–78. 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 and 48.16; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 9 and 13. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Price of Paradise”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 478. TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (signed “Anne Singleton”) and 46.27; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 6 and 12 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “(Printemps) Deridens”: MS in RFB, folder 47.24 (titled “[Printemps] Deridens”); TS in RFB, folder 120.1 (titled “Printemps Deridens”); TS in MMSPE, box 190, folder 1 (titled “Printemps Deridens”).
- “Profit of Dreams”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 164–65. TS in RFB, folder 48.17; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 12 (signed “Anne Singleton”).
- “A Psalm for Canoeing”: MS in RFB, folder 48.18; TS in RFB, folder 120.1; TS in MMSPE, box 190, folder 1.
- “Release”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 64.

- “Reprieve”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 480. 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 and 47.10. 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 9 and 13. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Resurgam”: published in *New York Herald Tribune Books* 5, no. 27 (1929): 6 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 194; Diamond, “Poetry,” 170. TS in RFB, folder 46.28.
- “Resurrection of the Ghost”: published in *New York Herald Tribune Books* 10, no. 51 (1934): 6. Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 490; Diamond, “Poetry,” 173. Broadcast on *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 2, 02:12–03:12 (read by Mead). 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 and 46.29; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 6 and 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Revelation”: TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Rhyme”: 2 MS in RFB, folder 48.19.
- “Riders of the Wind”: TS in RFB, folders 46.24 and 48.20; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Roads”: MS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- “Rupert Brooke, 1914–1918”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 5–6 (titled “Rupert Brooke, 1914–1918”). 3 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (titled “Rupert Brooke. 1914–1934”) and 46.31 (2 TS, titled “1920—To Rupert Brooke” and “Rupert Brooke. 1914–1919”); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9 (titled “Rupert Brooker. 1914–1919”). Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “The Sacrilege”: 2 TS in RFB, folder 48.21.
- “Sepulchre”: TS in RFB, folder 48.22.
- “Serpents Lengthening Themselves over the Rock”: 5 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (4 TS; titled “Serpents Lengthening Themselves over the Rock”; signed “Anne Singleton” [3 TS] and unsigned) and 48.2 (untitled); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9 (titled “Serpents Lengthening Themselves over the Rock”).
- “She Speaks to the Sea”: written 1924. Published in *Palms* 3, no. 6 (1926): 164 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 487–88. 3 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 and 46.32 (2 TS); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Shyness on Fifth Avenue”: MS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- “Sight”: published in *Palms* 3, no. 6 (1926): 166 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 170. 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 and

- 46.33; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 6 and 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Sirens’ Song”: MS in RFB, folder 48.23; 3 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (signed “Anne Singleton”) and 48.23 (2 TS); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Sleet Storm”: published in *The Measure* 51 (May 1925): 6 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 482–83. TS in RFB, folder 46.34; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Song for Lovers”: 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 and 48.25. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Sonnets to My Daughter”: MS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- “South Wind”: TS in RFB, folder 48.26.
- “Spiritus Tyrannus”: published in *Palms* 3, no. 6 (1926): 169 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 486–87. 3 TS in RFB, folder 46.35 (one of them titled “Spiritus Tyranus [*sic*]” and signed “Anne Singleton”); 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Swimming”: MS in RFB, folder 48.27; TS in RFB, folder 48.27.
- “Tempest”: MS in RFB, folder 48.28.
- “‘There Is No Death’”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 484–85. MS in RFB, folder 46.24; TS in RFB, folder 46.36; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “This Breath”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 474. MS in RFB, folder 46.24; 3 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (2 TS, signed “Anne Singleton”) and 46.37; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “This Cold”: MS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- “This Gabriel”: published in *Palms* 3, no. 6 (1926): 167 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 486. 2 TS in RFB, folder 47.1; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9, and box T4, folder 1.
- “This Is My Body”: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 194–95. Reprinted in Diamond, “Poetry,” 170. Broadcast on *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 2, 03:44–04:53 (read by Mead). TS in RFB, folder 47.2.
- “‘Too Great Has Been the Tension of My Cloud’”: 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 and 48.30. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Toy Balloons”: published in *Poetry* 28, no. 5 (1926): 245 (signed “Alice Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 488–89. TS in RFB,

- folder 47.3; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9 (one of them titled “Toy Ballons [*sic*]”).
- “Tree Shadows”: TS in RFB, folder 48.31.
- “Turn of the River Tide”: TS in RFB, folder 48.32.
- “Unicorns at Sunrise”: published in *Poetry* 35, no. 6 (1930): 305–6 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 481–82; Diamond, “Poetry,” 172. Broadcast on *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 1, 06:16–07:10 (read by Mead). 3 TS in RFB, folder 47.4; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Unshadowed Pool”: published in *Poetry* 35, no. 6 (1930): 304–5 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Untermeyer, *Modern American Poetry*, 519 (signed “Anne Singleton”); Mead, *Anthropologist*, 477–78; Schweighauser, “Anthropologist,” 116. TS in RFB, folder 47.5; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 9 and 13.
- Untitled [“He found no artifice against the flight”]: TS in RFB, folder 46.24. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- Untitled [“Living the veil of flesh between them”]: TS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- Untitled [“Oh but you are no preacher”]: published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 150–51.
- Untitled [“They are not rich who have completed treasure”]: TS in RFB, folder 48.22.
- Untitled [“They have gone up before you with their gifts”]: MS in RFB, folder 47.11; 2 TS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- Untitled [“We’ll have no crumb in common”]: written 1925. Published in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 58 (dated January 6, 1923 [*sic*]). MS in RFB, folder 36.3 (dated 1925).
- “Verses for One Dancing”: MS in RFB, folder 48.33 (titled “For One Dancing”); 3 TS in RFB, folder 48.33 (one of them titled “Dance Group”).
- “Vision”: 2 MS in RFB, folders 46.24 and 48.34. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness”: MS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- “Ways Not Winds’ Ways”: published in *The Nation* 137, no. 3548 (1933): 655. 3 TS in RFB, folders 47.6 (2 TS) and 120.1; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 12 (titled “Ways Not Wind’s Ways”; signed “Anne Singleton”).
- “The Wife”: 5 TS in RFB, folder 46.24 (one of them signed “Anne Singleton”; one of them signed “Ellen Benedict”); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.

- “Wilderness”: MS in RFB, folder 47.11; 2 TS in RFB, folder 46.24; TS in MMSPE, box S9, folder 5. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “Withdrawal”: published in *The Measure* 51 (May 1925): 7 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 482. TS in RFB, folder 47.7; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “The Woman-Christ”: MS in RFB, folder 48.35; TS in RFB, folder 120.1; TS in MMSPE, box I90, folder 1.
- “The Woman to Her Dead Husband”: MS in RFB, folder 48.36; TS in RFB, folder 48.36.
- “Wood Paths”: broadcast on *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 1, 05:12–05:40 (read by Mead). 2 TS in RFB, folder 48.37; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Words in Darkness”: published in Kluckhohn, untitled, 20. Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 489. TS in RFB, folder 47.8; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9.
- “Words, Words, Words”: MS in RFB, folder 47.11.
- “The Worst Is Not Our Anger”: written 1925. Published in *The Measure* 63 (May 1926): 10 (signed “Anne Singleton”). Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 70–71. MS in RFB, folder 36.3; 2 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 and 47.9; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 13. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.
- “You Have Looked upon the Sun”: published in Erikson, untitled, 17. Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 486. Broadcast on *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 2, 01:21–01:45 (read by Mead). MS in RFB, folder 47.11; 4 TS in RFB, folders 46.24 (3 TS, one of them signed “Anne Singleton”) and 47.10; 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 9. Included in planned anthology *November Burning*.

#### THE POETRY OF MARGARET MEAD

- “The Absence of Pain”: written September 10, 1924. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- “Absolute Benison”: written May 11, 1928. Published in *New Republic* 72, no. 933 (1932): 255. Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 89; M. C. Bateson, *With a Daughter’s Eye*, 125; Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 18 (2 TS), and box S9, folder 5.
- “After Love”: written November 1931. MS in MMSPE, box I5, folder 5.

- “After the Anger Was Over”: written March 5, 1927. MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6 (untitled); 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 15 and 34.
- “After the Saythe”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Aliter”: TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- “America”: written May 3, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5.
- “And Your Young Men Shall See Visions”: written June 26, 1921. Published in Walton, *City Day*, 95. Reprinted in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 2 (2 TS), box Q15, folder 13, and box s9, folder 5.
- “Art Deserted”: written July 15, 1929. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 20.
- “Bar Your Gates”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- “Beauty Is Made Articulate”: TS in MMSPE, box I309, folder 16.
- “Beauty’s Self”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6; 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Beggar’s Decorum”: written April 1926. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 13 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- “Betrayal”: written February 17, 1929. 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 20 and 25.
- “By a Girl Seen Weeping in the Library”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5 (titled “By a Girl Weeping in the Public Library”); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5 (titled “By a Girl Seen Weeping in the Public Library”).
- “Cap-a-Pie Again”: written August 6, 1926. 2 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 13; 6 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 13 (2 TS) and 34 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5 (2 TS).
- “Caution to Beauty. A Fragment”: TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- “Changeling”: written October 25, 1929. 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 20 and 34, box Q19, folder 5, and box s9, folder 5.
- “The Closed Door”: written January 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5 (untitled); 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5 (2 TS).
- “Come Home, Come Home, Wherever You Are”: TS in MMSPE, box R14, folder 1.
- “Command These Stones to Be Made Bread”: TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.

- “Concession”: written November 1925. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 10 and 34, and box s9, folder 5.
- “Cottager’s Request”: written October 11, 1925. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- “Council from Brads”: written May 17, 1928. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 18.
- “Counsel for Security”: written April 17, 1929. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 20 (2 TS, titled “Counsel for Security” and untitled), and box s9, folder 5 (titled “Counsel for Security”).
- “Counsel of Moon-Bright Glass”: written September 24, 1925. 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 10 (3 TS, titled “Council of Moon-Bright Glass” and “Counsel of Moon-Bright Glass” [2 TS]) and 34 (titled “Council of Moon-Bright Glass”), and box s9, folder 5 (titled “Counsel of Moon-Bright Glass”).
- “Cowardice”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Cradle Song”: written April 29, 1927. 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5 (2 TS).
- “A Craven’s Technique”: written March 1924. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- “Cursed of the Sun”: written October 7, 1927. 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 15 (2 TS) and 34, and box s9, folder 5 (2 TS).
- “Dead Fall”: written March 20, 1927. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15.
- “Delight in Irons”: TS in MMSPE, box s9, folder 5.
- “Desire Is a Knife”: written April 30, 1927. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15.
- “Desolation”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Dew Blessed”: written June 24, 1925. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- “Dirge”: TS in MMSPE, box I309, folder 16.
- “Disillusionment”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5 (titled “Disillusion”); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5 (titled “Disillusionment”).
- “Dreamer’s Penance”: written April 3, 1926. 3 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 13 (titled “Penance for Dreamery” and “Dreamer’s Penance” [2 MS]); 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 13 (titled “Dreamer’s Penance”) and 34 (titled “Heartbreak”).
- “Dream Slayer Massacre”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.

- “Drifted Silence”: written December 1923. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5 (titled “Separation”); 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6 (2 TS, titled “Separation” and “Drifted Silence”), and box s9, folder 5 (2 TS, titled “Silence” and “Drifted Silence”).
- “The Dupe”: written August 13, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- “Economy of Love”: written August 23, 1925. 6 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 5 (2 TS, titled “Economy of Love” and “Graves Clothes”), 10 (titled “Grave Clothes”), and 34 (titled “Grave Clothes”), box Q19, folder 5 (titled “Economy of Love”), and box s9, folder 5 (titled “Grave Clothes”).
- “Ecstasy Neglected”: written September 22, 1925. 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10 (3 TS, titled “Dusty Ecstasy” and “Ecstasy Neglected” [2 TS]), box Q15, folder 34 (titled “Ecstasy Neglected”), and box s9, folder 5 (titled “Ecstasy Neglected”).
- “Exile from Loveliness”: written August 13, 1925. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10.
- “Expectancy”: written August 1923. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Expression”: written August 9, 1923. 2 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Fear’s Scrivening”: 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5 (titled “One Explanation” and “Fear’s Scrivening”).
- “For a Humbler Pulse”: published in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6; 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- “For a Proud Lady”: published in *The Measure* 52 (June 1925): 16. Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 90; Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7, box Q19, folder 6, and box s9, folder 15 (2 TS).
- “For M.C.B.”: written January 1947. Published in Mead, *Blackberry*, 297. Reprinted in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. (titled “To Mary Catherine Bateson”); W. S. Dillon, “Mead,” 459–60. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 32 (2 TS, titled “Resident’s Code” and “For M.C.B.”), and box s9, folder 5 (titled “For M.C.B.”).



- “The Fourth Companion”: written February 24, 1923. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5.
- “Fragments”: TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “From the Marshes”: written November 9–11, 1926. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 13.
- “Gain”: written July 25, 1924. 2 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7, and box Q19, folder 6.
- “A Gift [illegible]”: written March 1926. MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Girl Wife”: TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- “Good Friday 1923”: MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5.
- “Green Sanctuary”: written March 26, 1927. Published in *Morrisette, Time and Measure*, n.p. 2 MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6 (titled “Green Sanctuary” and untitled); 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5 (2 TS).
- “A Heretic’s Holy Days”: written December 10, 1924. 2 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- “His Accusation!”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- “Hollow Heart”: written May 10, 1925. 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10, and box s9, folder 5.
- “Holy Days”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Hostelry for Dreams”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “I Have Prepared a Place for You”: written May 4, 1928. MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6; 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 16, box Q15, folder 18 (2 TS), box Q15, folder 19, and box s9, folder 5.
- “Illusion”: written September 10, 1924. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- “In Abnegation”: written November 11, 1926. 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 13 (3 TS) and 34, and box s9, folder 5.
- “In a Charred Place”: written November 23, 1925. Published in *Morrisette, Time and Measure*, n.p. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 10, 13, and 34.
- “In a Doctor’s Office”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 10 (signed “Peter Thorn”).
- “In Passion’s [illegible]”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “In Querulousness”: written November 4, 1926. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 13.

- “John Ash”: written February 3, 1924. Published in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7; 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (3 TS), box Q19, folder 10 (signed “Ellen Rodgers Morey”), and box s9, folder 5.
- “Judas Iscariot”: written April 5, 1925. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10.
- “Kind Timothy Hay”: written July 13, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (titled “Weeds Given Their Due”); 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5 (titled “Kind Timothy Hay”), box Q15, folder 7 (2 TS, titled “Of Wheat and Timothy”), and box s9, folder 5 (titled “Kind Timothy Hay”).
- “The Last Assault”: written 1925/1926. TS in MMSPE, box I309, folder 16.
- “Lest Pride Wax Unfittingly”: published in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 5 and 6, box s9, folder 5 (2 TS).
- “Lift Your Eyes”: TS in MMSPE, box I309, folder 16.
- “Lines on a Ruined Face”: written November 27, 1923. TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6 (p. 1), and box Q15, folder 5 (p. 2).
- “Little Gods of Chance”: written July 26, 1924. 3 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- “Little Grove”: written January 9, 1925. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10.
- “Love Worn”: written June 1, 1925. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- “Madonna of the Breakfast Table”: 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5, and box s9, folder 5.
- “Maiden Veils”: written July 25, 1924. 2 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- “The Man Who Was Lost Near Home”: written March 29, 1927. 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 15 and 34.
- “Martha Who Would Be Mary”: 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- “Mettle of Reality”: written May 1927. 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 15 and 34.
- “Minutiae of Imprisonment”: written June 1925. 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10.
- “Misericordia”: written November 3, 1927. Published in *Poetry* 35, no. 5 (1930): 253. Reprinted in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 89; Howard, *Margaret Mead*, 129–30; Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. 4 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 18, and box Q19, folder 6 (3 MS, two of them untitled); 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.

- “Monuments Rejected”: written September 1, 1925. Published in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 10 (4 TS) and 34.
- “A Mortal Tells Her Beads”: written May 15, 1928. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 18; 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 18, and box s9, folder 5.
- “The Named Angels”: written July 28, 1928. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 18.
- “The Need That Is Left”: written March 18, 1927. Published in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- “No More Need to Smile”: written September 16, 1923. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5.
- “Of Little Faith”: written February 5, 1925. Published in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10, and box s9, folder 5.
- “Of So Great Glee”: written March 6, 1925. Published in Mead, *Blackberry*, 143. Reprinted in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 7, 10 (2 TS), and 34, and box s9, folder 5.
- “Only Room for One”: written March 1926. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 13.
- “On Seeing Rodger Bloomer, May 1923”: MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5.
- “Our Lady of Egypt”: written November 10, 1926. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 13; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 13.
- “Pale Words”: published in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. (titled “Frail Music”). 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5 (titled “Palid Music,” “Frail Music,” and “Pale Words” [2 TS]).
- “The Pallace [*sic*]”: written December 6, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- “A Paper World”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 6 and 10 (titled “Paper World”; signed “Peter Thorne”).
- “Patterned Cactus”: written December 31, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (titled “The Cactus Pattern”); TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (titled “Patterned Cactus”).
- “A Pedant’s Valentine”: written September 18, 1927. 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15, and box s9, folder 5.
- “The Penciling of Pain”: published in *Barnard Barnacle* 1, no. 1 (1923): 6 [Barnard Archives and Special Collections, collection BC 12.8, box 1]. Reprinted in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. 2 MS in MMSPE, box

- Q19, folders 5 (titled “The Pencil of Pain”) and 6 (titled “The Pencil of Pain”); 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Pitiful Child”: written December 6, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- “Pledge of Darkness”: written October 11, 1927. 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15 (3 TS), and box S9, folder 5 (2 TS).
- “Portrait”: written April 10, 1924. Published in Howard, *Margaret Mead*, 29–30. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (titled “A Portrait”); 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (titled “A Portrait”), box Q19, folder 5 (2 TS, titled “A Portrait” and “A Portrait [*sic*]”), and box S9, folder 5 (titled “Portrait”).
- “Prisoner to Sound”: written March 20, 1927. 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 15 (2 TS) and 34, and box S9, folder 5.
- “The Prostitute’s Requiem”: written April 7, 1925. TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10.
- “Quick Silver Soul”: written December 1924. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 7 (2 TS) and 34.
- “Recognition”: written April 15, 1928. 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 5 (titled “Mute Recognition”) and 18 (titled “Recognition”).
- “Refutation”: written November 13, 1925. Published in Lapsley, *Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict*, 169. 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 10 (titled “Star Bread”) and 13 (2 TS, titled “Refutation” and “Star Bread”), and box S9, folder 5 (titled “Refutation”).
- “Renunciation”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “The Romanticist”: written August 26, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (titled “Song”); TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6 (titled “The Romanticist”).
- “Rome”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- “The Rose Tree of Assisi”: written April 5, 1925. Published in *The Measure* 57 (November 1925): 15. Reprinted in Mead, *Blackberry*, 133–34; Morrisette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10; 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10 (3 TS), and box S9, folder 5.
- “The Round of Love”: written October 18, 1927. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15 (2 TS), and box S9, folder 5.
- “Rueful Valentine”: written March 23, 1927. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15, and box S9, folder 5 (2 TS).

- “The Scarecrow”: written July 14, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6; 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- “Sequence”: written June 17, 1923. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- “The Sin against the Holy Ghost”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Skies Disinherited”: written June 23, 1928. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 18.
- “Small Tragedy”: 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- “Song in Lieu of Diadem”: written September 26, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (untitled); 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 5 (titled “Song in Lieu of Diadem”) and 6 (titled “Disinherited”).
- “Spider’s Lore”: written April 28, 1927. Published in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15; 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 15 (2 TS) and 34 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- “Stagnant Fear”: written May 1925. 6 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 10 (3 TS) and 34, and box s9, folder 5 (2 TS).
- “Stilled Gardening”: 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 9, box Q19, folder 5 (3 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- “Storm”: written June 8, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6 (titled “Storm Loveliness”); 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (3 TS, titled “Storm Loveliness”), and box s9, folder 5 (titled “Storm”).
- “Sun Betrayal”: written June 5, 1925. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10; 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10.
- “[illegible] Sundry”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- “A Tale of Pain”: written January 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “There Were No Open Spaces”: written November 16, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (titled “Hard Pressed”); 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (titled “Dreariness”), box Q19, folder 10 (titled “There Were No Open Spaces”; signed “Ellen Rodgers Morey”), and box Q15, folder 34 (titled “There Were No Open Spaces”).
- “Threadbare Inheritance”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Thursday’s Child Has Far to Go”: written March 4, 1925. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10, box Q19, folder 10, and box s9, folder 5.
- “To Be My Master”: written March 18, 1926. 9 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 13 (2 TS, titled “For Complete Possession”), 15 (4 TS, titled “To Be

- My Master”), and 34 (titled “To Be My Master”), and box s9, folder 5 (2 TS, titled “To Be My Master”).
- “A Tower Twice Seen”: written February 1, 1928. 6 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 18 (4 TS, titled “Guerdon of Solitude” [2 TS] and “A Tower Twice Seen” [2 TS]), and box s9, folder 5 (titled “A Tower Twice Seen”).
- “Traveler’s Faith”: written May 1925. 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10 (2 TS, titled “Traveller’s Faith” and “Traveler’s Faith”), and box s9, folder 5 (2 TS, titled “Traveller’s Faith” and “Traveler’s Faith”).
- “Trespass on Summertime”: TS in MMSPE, box s9, folder 5.
- “Tricked of the Dust”: written October 21, 1927. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- “Unexpectancy”: 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Unheeded Summit”: written December 1925. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 25; 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5 (2 TS).
- “Unmarked Grave”: written January 9, 1925. 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10 (2 TS), box Q19, folder 10, and box s9, folder 5.
- “Unmated”: written November 1925. 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 10, 13, and 34, and box s9, folder 5.
- “Unmissed”: written June 1923. 2 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5.
- Untitled [“And is it love then”]: written November 25, 1925. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10.
- Untitled [“Apparently with no surprise”]: TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- Untitled [“As I stepped”]: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- Untitled [“Because my love for you is like a rock”]: written October 17, 1924. 3 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- Untitled [“Do not leave it bare he said”]: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- Untitled [“Guard the worn heart”]: 2 TS in MMSPE, box I309, folder 16, and box s9, folder 5.
- Untitled [“He knew his spirit”]: written April 1926. TS in MMSPE, box s9, folder 5.
- Untitled [“I curst thee that thou loved me not”]: 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folders 5 and 6.
- Untitled [“If I could choose the place”]: written December 1922. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5.
- Untitled [“I was very farbehind (*sic*) you”]: TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.

- Untitled ["Lovely lie"]: written September 2, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- Untitled ["My thirsty little leaves"]: MS in MMSPE, box I309, folder 16.
- Untitled ["Only of the ghost"]: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- Untitled ["Slim, little and deft is she"]: written September 10, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- Untitled ["Spring has filled your eyes"]: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- Untitled ["Then I was sealed and like the wintering tree"]: TS in MMSPE, box I309, folder 16.
- Untitled ["There must be a wealth of love"]: written July 13, 1924. 2 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- Untitled ["Those who know it can never forget it"]: written September 10, 1924. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- Untitled ["Three letters"]: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- Untitled ["When I was a wee child"]: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- Untitled ["Your fingers"]: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- "The Valley's Benison": written June 22, 1924. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5.
- "A Varlet's Song": TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- "Victory": written December 1923. MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 5; TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 34.
- "Virtuosity": written November 5, 1926. MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6 (titled "Virtuosity [*sic*]"); 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 13 (2 TS, titled "Virtuosity"), and box s9, folder 5 (titled "Virtuosity").
- "Visitation": written February 25, 1927. 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15 (3 TS), box s5, folder 1, and box s9, folder 5.
- "Warning": written July 10, 1924. 2 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7; 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 7.
- "Was That Failure?": MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- "The Way of Dreams": written January 2, 1928. TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- "The Way of Martha": TS in MMSPE, box s9, folder 5.
- "We Two Were Cradled": written September 23, 1925. 6 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 10 (4 TS, titled "Powerless Roots" [2 TS] and "We Two Were Cradled" [2 TS]), box Q15, folder 34 (titled "Powerless Roots"), and box s9, folder 5 (titled "Powerless Roots").

- “Why Did You Seek Me? Wist Ye Not—?”: written March 27, 1928. 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 18 (titled “Why Did Ye Seek Me? Wist Ye Not—?”), and box s9, folder 5.
- “Will”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 5.
- “Winged Seeds of Bitterness”: written January 14, 1924. 3 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 7 and 34, and box s9, folder 15.
- “The Witched Woman”: written June 1926. Published in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. 2 MS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 13, and box Q19, folder 5; 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 13 (2 TS) and 34, and box s9, folder 5.
- “Without Benefit of Memory”: written January 7, 1937. 6 TS in MMSPE, box 116, folder 4 (titled “Without Benefit of Memory”), and box Q15, folders 27 (titled “Eschewing Memory”) and 29 (4 TS, untitled [3 TS] and titled “Without Benefit of Memory”).
- “Wounded”: 2 TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6 (titled “Wounded” and “Any Wife”).
- “Written in Water”: MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6; TS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6.
- “Wry Council”: written November 1925. Published in Morrissette, *Time and Measure*, n.p. MS in MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6; 5 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folders 10 (2 TS) and 34, and box s9, folder 5 (2 TS).
- “Your Gift”: written February 25, 1927. Published in Reichel, “For you have given me speech!,” 205. 4 TS in MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15 (2 TS), and box s9, folder 5 (2 TS).



## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

1. Only Sapir's letters, stored by Mead after Benedict's death, remain. While preparing the volume *An Anthropologist at Work: Writings of Ruth Benedict* (1959), which contains a selection of the letters that Sapir, Benedict, and Mead exchanged, Mead sought to be "dead certain" about the fact that Benedict's half of the correspondence did not survive (Mead to P. Sapir, February 28, 1958, MMSPE, box 189, folder 5; see also Mead and David Mandelbaum, correspondence from December 9, 1955, to June 5, 1957, in same location), almost to the point of aggravating Sapir's second-oldest son, Philip Sapir, who had to assure her repeatedly of its absence (P. Sapir to Mead, March 28, 1958, MMSPE, box 189, folder 5; see also Mead to Sapir, June 28, 1957, and Sapir's reply, July 15, 1957, folder 6, in same location). According to his second wife, Jean V. Sapir (J. Sapir to Mead, July 31, 1957, MMSPE, box 189, folder 6), and Robert H. Lowie ("Introduction," 2; "Comments," 161), who, like Sapir, belonged to the first generation of Boas students, Sapir burned his correspondence before he died.

2. Sapir to Benedict, June 25, 1922, MMSPE, box T4, folder 1.

3. Sapir to Benedict, March 28 and April 8, 1924, MMSPE, box T4, folder 1.

4. Sapir to Benedict, April 8, 1924, MMSPE, box T4, folder 1.

5. Sapir to Benedict, March 11, 1926, MMSPE, box T4, folder 2.

6. Mead to Benedict, September 8, 1924, MMSPE, box T4, folder 2. See also Sapir to Benedict, November 22, 1925, MMSPE, box S15, folder 2.

7. Sapir to Benedict, correspondence from August 5 to September 1, 1925, MMSPE, box S15, folder 2.

8. Boas to Benedict, July 16, 1925, in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 288; Benedict to Boas, July 18, 1925, FB; Boas to Mead, July 14 and 17, 1925, FB. Again, correspondence was burned. One of the stories that Mead's biographers have been fond of recounting shows the emerging female anthropologist burning all of Sapir's letters in a bonfire on the beach, when he informed her at the end of her stay in Samoa that he had fallen in love with someone else (Banner, *Intertwined Lives*, 234; Bowman-Kruhm, *Margaret Mead*, 44; Howard, *Margaret Mead*, 73; Mead to David Mandelbaum, May 15, 1957, MMSPE, box 189, folder 6). What remains of the correspondence in which Sapir, Benedict, and Mead discuss each other's poems, that is, Sapir's letters to Benedict and Mead as well as Benedict's

exchange of letters with Mead, is held in MMSPE, box T3, folder 6; box T4, folders 1 and 2; and box S15, folder 2.

9. Mead, *Blackberry*, 141–42. See also Mead, “Life History,” 1935, MMSPE, box S9, folder 7.

10. Sapir, “Franz Boas,” 279.

11. Sapir, “Observations,” 822; Sapir to Benedict, April 29, 1929, MMSPE, box S15, folder 2. The letter gives also insight into more personal attacks that Sapir launched in the aftermath of the failed relationship. As David Mandelbaum, who took his PhD with Sapir at Yale, remembers, “he had terribly nasty things to say about Margaret Mead and you felt that if he weren’t containing himself so he’d say even worse things about her” (Mandelbaum, interview by May Mayko Ebihara, OHI, folder David Mandelbaum). In his letter to Benedict from April 29, 1929, Sapir freely vents that “she is barely a person to me at all, but a loathesome bitch” (Sapir to Benedict, April 29, 1929, MMSPE, box S15, folder 2). This letter was only partially reproduced in Mead’s *Anthropologist at Work* and not added to her Papers until long after her death, containing a prefatory warning by Mead that it is “full of bricks at me.”

12. Sapir to Benedict, April 29, 1929, MMSPE, box S15, folder 2.

13. Benedict to Mead, December 4, 1931, MMSPE, box T3, folder 6.

14. Benedict to Mead, March 23, 1933, MMSPE, I91, folder 2; emphasis added.

15. Mead, *Ruth Benedict*, 2–3.

16. Mead, *Blackberry*, 123.

17. Mead, *Anthropologist*, xvii; Mead, *Ruth Benedict*, 23; Caffrey, *Ruth Benedict*, 171–72.

18. M. C. Bateson, *With a Daughter’s Eye*.

19. Blum, “Author’s Note,” in *Coming of Age*, x.

20. Blum, *Coming of Age*, 131–33.

21. To name but a few of *Euphoria*’s critical distinctions: apart from being awarded with a glowing review by Emily Eakin on its front page, the *New York Times Book Review* selected the novel as “one of the 10 best books of the year.” Other newspapers and magazines that list *Euphoria* among the best books of 2014 include *Time*, the *Washington Post*, the *Seattle Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Boston Globe*, and the *Guardian*. The novel won the generously endowed Kirkus Prize as well as the New England Book Award for Fiction and competed as a finalist for the National Book Critics Circle Award. Its film rights were sold soon after its publication, with an adaptation directed by Michael Apted already in the making (Charles, “Lily King’s ‘Euphoria’”). In an interview, King expressed hope that the adaptation of her novel will follow in its visual aesthetics and character portrayal such films as *The English Patient* and *Out of Africa* (Majumdar, “Lily King”).

22. For example, Mead, *Anthropologist*; Banner, *Intertwined Lives*; Caffrey, *Ruth Benedict*; Howard, *Margaret Mead*; Lapsley, *Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict*; Modell, *Ruth Benedict*.

23. See the following by Handler: "Anti-Romantic Romanticism," "Sapir's Poetic Experience," "Dainty," "Vigorous Male."

24. Handler, "Introduction to Sections," 731.

25. Carpenter, "Inner Striving," 202. For further examples of this approach, see Hegeman, *Patterns*, 86–88; Newman, "Development" and review of *Selected Writings*; Nyce, "Relationship."

26. For another example of an analysis that tends to reduce Sapir's poetry to a number of themes, see Flores, "In Terror" and "Poetry."

27. Philipp Schweighauser, though, has published an essay in French titled "Faire du neuf, autrement" ("Making It New, Differently"), which positions Mead's poetry with respect to more canonical modernist writings. "Ways of Knowing: The Aesthetics of Boasian Poetry," Schweighauser's contribution to the special issue "Boasian Aesthetics: American Poetry, Visual Culture, and Cultural Anthropology," edited by Schweighauser et al., also features a close analysis of Mead's poem "Monuments Rejected" (1925), together with readings of Sapir's "Zuni" (1926) and Benedict's "In Parables" (1926).

28. Geertz, *Works*, 109.

29. Mead, *Anthropologist*; Mead, *Ruth Benedict*; Mead, untitled; *Enjoyment of Poetry*. For scholarship that rehearses this reading, see W. Y. Adams, *Boasians*, 262–63; Handler, "Ruth Benedict"; Janiewski, "Woven Lives"; Lummis, *New Look* and "Ruth Benedict's Obituary"; Modell, *Ruth Benedict*; Stassinis, "Early Case." For criticism of this reading, see also Roffman, *From the Modernist Annex*, 152–54, 223–24; Stassinis, "Frankenstein's Native," 26–27.

30. Benedict stopped using pen names after Louis Untermeyer, editor of the prestigious anthology *Modern American Poetry*, revealed in a biographical note prefacing her poems "But the Son of Man" (1930) and "Unshadowed Pool" (1930) that Anne Singleton is "the pseudonym under which a well-known anthropologist writes her poetry" (Untermeyer, "Anne Singleton," 518). Refusing to be "so bepseudonymed," she decided to publish her poetry also under Ruth Benedict (Benedict to Mead, August 5, 1930, MMSPE, box T3, folder 6). Sapir, too, had voiced strong disagreement with her use of pen names on several occasions, considering it an "abomination" because of the "dissociation of personality" (Sapir to Benedict, March 23, 1926, MMSPE, box T4, folder 2; see also Sapir to Benedict, December 12, 1924, MMSPE, box T4, folder 1). Especially in her early and unpublished poetry, Benedict also plays with different pseudonyms. "Toy Balloons" (1926), one of the first poems that was published and the very first to appear in *Poetry*, was attributed to "Alice Singleton." While "Alice" may have been a misprint of "Anne," perhaps

resulting from miscommunication between editor and author, Benedict signed typescripts of the poems “The Wife” and “Our Task Is Laughter” with the names “Ellen Benedict” and “Anne Chase,” respectively, before replacing these names with Anne Singleton in later typescripts. The unpublished poem “Disarmed” is signed “Ruth Stanhope,” which places it around the same time as “The Bo-Cu Plant,” a story that Benedict co-wrote under the name “Edgar Stanhope,” as a pencil note on the original typescript states, with her then husband Stanley Benedict in 1916. There is also evidence that, at least for a brief period of time, Mead, too, played with different pseudonyms. For her poems “John Ash,” “There were no open spaces,” “Thursday’s Child Has Far to Go,” and “Unmarked Grave,” typescripts signed “Ellen Rodgers Morey” exist, and the poems “In a Doctor’s Office” and “Paper Land” were signed “Peter Thorn” and “Peter Thorne,” respectively, at one point in the writing process.

31. Geertz, *Works*, 109.

32. Schweighauser just published a second essay on Benedict, titled “Of Syncretisms,” which comprises analyses of *Patterns of Culture* and the poem “Myth” that usefully complement my readings of these texts in chapter 4.

33. Five of Sapir’s poems were published or presented only in secondary sources on him: “Blue Flame and Yellow” (Handler, “Vigorous Male,” 131); “Nocturnal Comfort” (Flores, “Poetry,” 165); “A Roadside Incident” (Flores, “Poetry,” 163); “Science Clears the Air” (Flores, “In Terror,” 4); and “She Has Gone Out” (Handler, “Vigorous Male,” 141–42). I have also included the poem “Modern Sophisticate,” even though its published version is untraceable.

The number of Mead’s published poems includes two poems that were published only in secondary literature on her, “Portrait” (Howard, *Margaret Mead*, 29–30) and “Refutation” (Lapsley, *Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict*, 169), as well as twelve poems that were published in a small volume of Mead’s poetry, titled *Time and Measure* and edited by Naomi Morrisette in 1986. The number of Mead’s unpublished poems probably remains an estimate, not only because half-finished drafts are scattered throughout the Margaret Mead Papers (which is with 528,446 items housed in 1,785 boxes and 50 oversized containers, notably one of the largest collections that the Library of Congress holds). Mead also frequently neglected to indicate whether a poem was written by herself or copied from another author. Box 1309, folder 16, for instance, appears to contain a mixture of original poetry written by Mead and typescripts of poems that were copied from Léonie Adams, such as “On Senesis’ Mummy” (1923), “The Brookwaters” (1932), and “The Reminder” (1933).

The number of Benedict’s published poems includes twenty-eight poems that were posthumously published by her peers, specifically in Alfred Kroeber’s volume *Ruth Fulton Benedict: A Memorial* (1949), Mead’s *An Anthropologist at Work*:

*Writings of Ruth Benedict* (1959), and an installment on Benedict's poetry in Florence Becker Lennon's WEVD radio program *Enjoyment of Poetry* (April 6, 1958).

34. Koerner, "Introduction," 19n21.

35. Darnell, email messages to author, August 31 and September 2, 2018; February 6, 2019.

36. For an analysis of "The Blind, Old Indian Tells His Names" and its particular place in ethnographic and literary discourses, see Schweighauser, "Playing Seriously."

37. Carpenter, email message to author, April 26, 2017.

38. Letter to Lowie, December 19, 1918; letter to Kroeber, November 21, 1918; ES, folder "The Streets of Fancifullo." In the mid- to late 1920s, both Sapir and Benedict tried to place a poetry anthology with an established publishing house such as Harcourt, Brace and Company, where Louis Untermeyer worked as poetry editor (Harcourt to Benedict, September 29, 1928, in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 90–91; Benedict to Mead, September 21, 1928, MMSPE, box T3, folder 6). Their correspondence from that time shows Sapir and Benedict discussing at length contents and titles of the manuscripts that they were preparing for submission (Sapir to Benedict, February 7, 1925, MMSPE, box T4, folder 1, and February 12, April 16, and April 23, 1928, MMSPE, box T4, folder 2). Where known, I have noted when a poem was selected for inclusion in Sapir's or Benedict's planned anthology in the respective entry in the appendix and given the title of the manuscript for which the poem was considered. Two manuscripts of Sapir's anthology can be re-created in their entirety. One is titled *Chronicle, Poems* (RFB, folder 121.6) and was compiled by Benedict upon Sapir's request, as can be gathered from the one message that remains of Benedict's letters to Sapir (February 4, 1928, RFB, folder 121.6). The other manuscript, which is titled *Stars in the Sea, Poems* and includes "alternate poems," some of which are in turn marked "preferred" (MMSPE, box R14, folder 7), was compiled in all likelihood by Sapir and sent to Mead during an earlier stage in his preparations. The one manuscript of Benedict's planned anthology that can be re-created in its entirety is titled *November Burning* (RFB, folder 46.24).

39. MMOO, interview transcriptions and sync logs, Interview Transcription Mary Catherine Bateson, off-mike conversation, 10; Wolfskill et al., "Margaret Mead Papers."

40. Sapir kept meticulous track of the publication efforts that he undertook for his poetic and critical writings. The index cards on which he recorded the submission history of each of these texts show a clear preference for the little magazines in which the modernist movement took place in the 1910s and 1920s: apart from *The Nation*, the *New Republic*, and *Poetry*, among his preferred venues were *The Dial*, *Seven Arts*, *The Measure*, *The Freeman*, *Rhythmus*, *Double Dealer*, and *Palms* (ES). "For real criticism" and "sincere opinions well expressed," Sapir

referred the Canadian author Madge Macbeth to the *New Republic*, *The Nation*, *The Freeman*, and *The Dial* (Sapir to Macbeth, undated, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Madge Macbeth fonds, vol. 1, p. 167).

On Mead's visual work in Bali and New Guinea, see Grimshaw, *Ethnographer's Eye*; Jacknis, "Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson"; G. Sullivan, *Margaret Mead*. Paul Henley has done the math: out of the 33,000 still photographs that Mead and Bateson took during their fieldwork together in the East Indies between 1936 and 1939—25,000 in Bali and 8,000 in New Guinea—no more than 1,500 have been published so far ("From Documentation," 103n3). That is, even when adding the images that have appeared in secondary academic literature to the 759 photos that Bateson and Mead published in *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis* (1942) and the 380 photos that Mead and Frances Macgregor published in *Growth and Culture: A Photographic Study of Balinese Childhood* (1951), the total number still amounts to less than 5 percent of the original photographic record. The percentage is even lower—around 3 percent—when the calculation is based on the more generous numbers that Mead used in an application for a grant-in-aid from the American Philosophical Society to support the publication of *Balinese Character* (MMSPE, box 122, folder 1) or the "40,000 stills of native life" that she cites when asked for further information by her publisher William Morrow (Hunt to Mead, August 26, 1939, MMSPE, box 116, folder 10). The motion picture footage that Mead and Bateson shot—22,600 feet in Bali and 11,000 feet in New Guinea—has received even less critical attention, with the films that were edited from this material, the six-part series *Character Formation in Different Cultures* (Mead and Bateson; Mead, Bateson, and Belo) and *Learning to Dance in Bali* (Mead and Bateson), being notoriously cited as pioneering studies in the history of ethnographic film but rarely analyzed in more detail (e.g., Banks and Ruby, *Made to Be Seen*; El Guindi, *Visual Anthropology*, 61–73, and "Visual Anthropology," 427–28; MacDougall, *Corporeal Image*, 223–24). Ira Jacknis's important 1988 essay "Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson in Bali: Their Use of Photography and Film" and Henley's excellent contribution, as well as a lecture by Faye Ginsburg published in the special issue *Margaret Mead's Legacy: Continuing Conversations* (Ginsburg, "Now watch this very carefully"), present notable exceptions of more detailed analyses conducted by anthropologists. Interestingly, in the past two decades, Mead's visual anthropology has received almost more attention from scholars with a background in film and media studies than from anthropologists (Blake and Harbord, "Typewriters"; Holl, "Desire" and "Trance Techniques"; Rony, "Photogenic" and *Third Eye*; Russell, *Experimental Ethnography*, 99–106).

41. Suisman, "Introduction," 4–5; Volmar and Schröter, "Einleitung," 10, 15–16, 18–21.

42. For the term *auditory culture*, see Bull and Back, *Auditory Culture*; Pinch and Bijsterveld, "Sound Studies," 635.
43. Schafer's *The Tuning of the World* was republished under the name *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* in 1994. All page references here are to this second edition.
44. Mead, interview by May Mayko Ebihara, August 12, 1966, OHI, cassette tape "Mead on Wissler, Sapir, Buck."
45. In the early to mid-1920s, Sapir composed a good number of musical pieces, which form a diverse assemblage of musical forms, including two sonatas, four etudes, several preludes, two waltzes, and a ballad (P. Sapir to Mead, March 28, 1958, MMSPE, box 189, folder 5; ES). While Mead insists on having heard someone compare Sapir as a composer to Richard Strauss, other contemporaries were less impressed with his musical talents, merely noting a striking resemblance in his looks to Gustav Mahler (Mead to P. Sapir, February 28, 1958, Sapir to Mead, March 28, 1958, and Colin McPhee to Mead, undated [December 1958 or January 1959], MMSPE, box 189, folder 5; see also Siskin, interview by Markel, 38:30–41:20). Leaving aside the quality of his compositions, what remains beyond doubt is Sapir's advanced education in music, which he owed to his father, Jacob Sapir, a musically accomplished cantor who also transcribed music for early ethnomusicologists, for instance, Frank G. Speck's *Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians* (Siskin, interview by Markel, 38:03–39:13).
46. Sapir, "Musical Foundations," 227.
47. Sapir to Benedict, December 12, 1924, MMSPE, box T4, folder 1.
48. In 1920 *Poetry* magazine published four of Sapir's "French-Canadian Folk-Songs" ("The Dumb Shepherdess"; "The King of Spain's Daughter and the Diver"; "The Prince of Orange"; "White as the Snow") and, two years later, *Queen's Quarterly* printed "Three Folk-Songs of French Canada" ("I Will Not Marry"; "The Return of the Soldier Husband"; "The Trades"). These seven songs were republished together with thirty-four previously unpublished songs in the 1925 anthology *Folk Songs of French Canada*, which appeared with Yale University Press as a collaboration between Québécois folklorist Marius Barbeau and Sapir.
49. Mead, *Blackberry*, 151.
50. Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory."
51. Geertz, *Works*, 106.
52. Benedict, *Patterns*, 223.
53. Mead, "Introduction," 2–4; Mead, *Blackberry*, 115–22.
54. See especially Wolf, *Musicalization*, "Intermediality," "(Inter)mediality," "Literature and Music," and "Metareference"; Rajewsky, *Intermedialität*, "Border Talks," and "Intermediality." The International Association for Word and Music Studies (WMA), which brings forth the book series *Word and Music Studies*,

edited by Walter Bernhart, Michael Halliwell, Lawrence Kramer, and Werner Wolf, tends to continue this dominant Central European school of studying intermediality.

55. Hassler-Forest and Nicklas, *Politics of Adaptation*; Hoene, *Music and Identity*; Neumann, "Intermedial Negotiations"; Rippl, "Postcolonial Ekphrasis."

56. Rippl, "Postcolonial Ekphrasis," 129. See also Rippl, "Introduction," 15.

57. Birdsall, *Nazi Soundscapes*, 26–27; Mansell, *Age of Noise*, 6–7.

58. Mansell, *Age of Noise*, 6. Both Birdsall and Mansell also list Alain Corbin's *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside* ([1994] 1998) after Bailey. Their otherwise fine account of the history of historical sound studies thus somewhat distorts the precursory role of Corbin. In its French original *Village Bells* preceded Bailey's article by several years, following instead Corbin's own call for "A History and Anthropology of the Senses" ([1991] 1995) and his previous study on olfaction, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* ([1982] 1986).

59. Sterne, *Audible Past*, 13. Apart from Smith (*Hearing History, How Race Is Made, Listening, Sensing the Past, Sensory History*, "Futures"), Thompson (*Soundscape*), and Bijsterveld (*Mechanical Sound, Soundscapes*, "City of Din"; Bijsterveld and van Dijck, *Sound Souvenirs*; Bijsterveld et al., *Sound and Safe*), Sterne (*Audible Past, Sound Studies Reader*, "Theology") is a leading historian of sound whose work informs this book in particular. The field of sensory studies is today closely connected with historical sound studies, as it probes the same social contingency of sense perception that also renders hearing a worthwhile subject of historical investigation. Indeed, in their introduction to the *Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies*, Trevor Pinch and Bijsterveld claim that "sensory studies in general has contributed to the rise of sound studies and sound studies is clearly part of sensory studies" ("New Keys," 9–10; see also Schulze, "Sound Studies," 256–57). Sensory studies research has been spearheaded by David Howes and Constance Classen, whose prolific writing and editorial work has been instructive in the context of this book too (Howes, *Varieties, Cultural History*, "Sensing Cultures"; Howes and Classen, *Ways of Sensing*; Classen, *Cultural History*, "Sensory Orders," "Senses").

60. Ryan, "Media," 289. See the following by Ryan: "Narration," pars. 12–15; "Story," 29–31; "On the Theoretical Foundations," 14–16.

61. Street, *Literacy*, 95–125. Apart from the contributions to Boone and Mignolo's *Writing without Words* and Mignolo's *Darker Side of the Renaissance*, my perspective has been shaped by more recent scholarship, such as Cohen, *Networked Wilderness*; Liu, "Scripts" and "Writing"; Brander Rasmussen, *Queequeg's Coffin*; Teuton, *Deep Waters*. The critique of the complicity of notions of writing with colonialist endeavors that Stephen Greenblatt's *New Historicism* involves has also been highly influential in how I, as a literary scholar, approach



the writing of the anthropologists at the center of this book (Greenblatt, *Learning, Marvelous*).

62. Clifford and Marcus, *Writing Culture*; see also, e.g., Marcus and Fischer, *Anthropology*; Clifford, *Predicament*; Manganaro, *Modernist Anthropology*; Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth*.

63. My understanding of the history of anthropology and in particular of Sapir, Benedict, and Mead's place in it derives substantially from George W. Stocking Jr.: *American Anthropology*, "Benedict," "Essays," "Ethnographic Sensibility," "Franz Boas," "Introduction: Basic Assumptions," "Paradigmatic Traditions," *Race*, "Romantic Motives," *Victorian Anthropology*, *Volksgeist as Method*.

64. Boas to Benedict et al., May 27, 1929, FB.

65. Benedict, "Anthropology—Textbook."

66. Boas to Benedict et al., May 27, 1929, FB.

67. Boas was reluctant to theorize any of his findings and treated generalizations with extreme caution—much to the exasperation of some of his contemporaries. In a review of Boas's *Anthropology and Modern Life* (1928), Sapir voiced his frustration freely: "It is clear that Dr. Boas' unconscious long ago decreed that scientific cathedrals are only for the future, that for the time being spires surmounted by the definitive cross are unseemly, if not indeed sinful, that only cornerstones, unfinished walls, or even an occasional isolated portal are strictly in the service of the Lord" (Sapir, "Franz Boas," 278). "News on the discovery of America," Roman Jakobson ("Franz Boas's Approach," 194) also remarked mockingly, "would be given by Boas as a disproof of the hypothesis on a shorter way to India, while data on the new part of the world would be mentioned only casually."

68. Benedict, "Anthropology—Textbook."

69. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 239, 47.

70. Trouillot's "Anthropology and the Savage Slot" can be placed retrospectively in the moment of representational crisis that was marked at its peak by Clifford and Marcus's *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (1986). However, the essay uses much of its space and argumentative power in an effort to set itself apart from precisely this "postmodernist critique of anthropology" (17). Trouillot's main point of contention is that *Writing Culture* proponents fall short of challenging the "poetics and politics" of their discipline by treating anthropology as a closed discourse, considering merely its internal tropes and limiting itself to a "self-indulgent condemnation of traditional techniques" (18). "Such attempts [at disciplinary reflexivity] are not *wrong*," Trouillot concedes, "but the primary focus on the textual construction of the Other in anthropology may turn our attention away from the construction of otherness upon which anthropology is premised" (29; original emphasis). For Trouillot, a "critical and reflexive anthropology requires . . . a reappraisal of this symbolic organization

upon which anthropological discourse is premised" (18); it "cannot stop at the moment of institutionalization" (29) but must reach further back, before its institutional solidification.

71. Trouillot, "Anthropology," 40; see also 18.

72. Trouillot, "Anthropology," 23–28.

73. Trouillot, "Anthropology," 29, 28, 30, 29.

74. Trouillot, "Anthropology," 32.

75. Montaigne, "Of Cannibals," 296.

76. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 1.

77. Benedict, "Problem"; original emphasis.

78. MacCormack, "Queer Posthumanism," 114; MacCormack, "Cinemasochism," 163.

79. MacCormack, "Queer Posthumanism," 114.

80. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 47.

81. Benedict, "Problem"; original emphasis.

82. Fabian, *Time*, 31, 159, 15; original emphasis.

83. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 37.

84. Fabian, *Time*, 20, 38, 41; original emphasis.

85. Humphries to Benedict, June 20, 1933, and Benedict to Humphries, July 10, 1933, RFB, folder 35.4.

86. Humphries to Benedict and Benedict to Humphries, July 19, 1933, RFB, folder 35.4.

87. Fabian, *Time*, 49.

88. Anthropologists and historians of the senses have already embarked with great profit on exploring the tactile, gustatory, and olfactory primitives that populate the history of anthropology and sensory theory. Darwinism, for instance, suggested that preoccupation with the senses of touch, taste, and especially smell, which was deemed "generally more highly developed" in "savages" (Darwin, *Descent*, 24), belonged to an early stage in human development (Classen, "Introduction," 18–19). Research in sensory studies also reveals that the symbolism of race, class, and gender is ripe with associations to the "lower" sense faculties, particularly in their capacity to produce unrefined, coarse sensations (Classen, "Introduction," 2–5; Howes and Classen, *Ways of Sensing*, 65–80; Smith, *Sensing the Past*, 59–116; Classen, *Deepest Sense*; Classen, Howes, and Synnott, *Aroma*; Corbin, *Foul*).

89. De Man, *Resistance*, 23.

90. I am leaving aside what Rita Felski ("Introduction," v) has described as the "method wars" of recent years, that is, individual scholars'—sometimes forceful—conceptualizations of new methodologies whose very descriptors often suggest an antagonism to the dominant practice of *close reading*: Franco

Moretti's (*Distant*) *distant reading*, Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus's ("Surface") *surface reading*, Michael Warner's ("Uncritical") *uncritical reading*, and Rita Felski's (*Limits*) *postcritical reading*, as well as Heather Love's ("Close") "close but not deep" reading, Timothy Bewes's ("Reading") "reading with the grain," and D. A. Miller's ("Hitchcock's Understyle") "too-close" reading.

91. C. Levine, *Forms*; Brown, "Cultural Studies," 1191; S. Hall, "Formation," 500.

#### 1. OF MUMBLING MELODY

1. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology*, 49.

2. W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology*, 3, 151.

3. Lessing, *Laocoon*, 68.

4. W. J. T. Mitchell, "Ekphrasis," 155.

5. Lessing, *Laocoon*, 68.

6. Heffernan, *Museum*, 3, qtd. in W. J. T. Mitchell, "Ekphrasis," 152.

7. W. J. T. Mitchell, "Ekphrasis," 156–57.

8. W. J. T. Mitchell, "Ekphrasis," 161.

9. Schulze, "Sound Studies," 256; Gess, "Ideologies."

10. When thanking his former teacher for praising his work on Native American languages, Sapir notes in return that he "feel[s] inspired to think that [he is] helping substantially to carry forward the tradition which [Boas] ha[s] founded" (Sapir to Boas, September 29, 1932, FB). Boas never stopped being invested in issues of language. His letters to Sapir show a persistent interest in the linguistic problems that his former student is dealing with. When Sapir is called to Yale as a Sterling Professor in 1931, Boas is exceedingly concerned with the question of whether the University of Chicago, where Sapir had substantially contributed to anthropological linguistics and advanced the professionalization of the field for six years, is still going to make provisions for research in Native American languages after his departure (Boas to Sapir, March 20, 1931, Sapir to Boas, March 23, 1931, Boas to Sapir, March 26, 1931, and Sapir to Boas, April 1, 1931, FB). Jakobson's essay on his friend's linguistic legacy, "Franz Boas' Approach to Language," also testifies to Boas's unwaning enthusiasm for linguistic research.

11. The titular dedication to Sapir of the so-called Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which was coined by Harry Hoiyer ("Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis") fifteen years after Sapir's death, must be treated with caution, though. Anthropologists and linguists have debated extensively whether the posited linguistic relativity should in fact be attributed to Sapir's thought or rather be treated as merely a "Whorfian hypothesis" (Kroeber, "Reflections," 174; see also Kroeber, interview by May Mayko Ebihara, May 11, 1959, OHI, cassette tape "On Sapir: Kroeber et al."). In their attempts to verify posthumously whether Sapir authored what came to be known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, scholars have selectively enlisted a number of passages

from his writing. For a good summary of this debate, see Koerner, "Introduction," 12–14. Suffice it to say here that, while Sapir refuted linguistic determinism, that is, the "strong" version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, some of his writing suggests a less direct connection between language and thought. It is further important to note that the notion of linguistic relativity did not originate with either Sapir or Whorf but reaches back in the history of linguistic thought to at least such important influences on Sapir as Wilhelm von Humboldt and scholars who were informed by him, such as Heymann Steinthal and Benedetto Croce (Bunzl, "Franz Boas"; Drechsel, "Wilhelm Humboldt"; Underhill, "Humboldt," 3).

12. The regularity with which the term *genius* is used with reference to Sapir's anthropological and linguistic work is striking (for example, W. Y. Adams, *Boasians*, 137–38; Carroll, "Review," 207; Darnell, "Who," 2; Darnell and Irvine, "Edward Sapir," 254; Edgerton, "Edward Sapir," 38; Emeneau, "Review," 250; Handler, "Introduction: Critics," 18; Landar, "Sapir's Style," 313; Mandelbaum, "Editor's Introduction," v; Preston, "Reflections," 102–3, 112; Siskin, "Life and Times," 283; H. S. Sullivan, "Edward Sapir," 47; Swadesh, "Edward Sapir," 54). "Edward Sapir," Kroeber ("Reflections," 170) declares, "is the only man that I have known at all well, in my life, whom I would unreservedly class as a genius" (see also Kroeber, interview by May Mayko Ebihara, May 11, 1959, OHI, cassette tape "On Sapir: Kroeber et al."). Such insistent praise testifies to the lasting impact of Sapir's complementary endeavors of fashioning himself as the creative individual who stands out in a culture and asserting the importance of precisely this figure in his scholarly writing (Hegeman, *Patterns*, 85, 87–89). On another level, the persistent talk of genius that surrounds and pervades Sapir's work also points to his intellectual debt to German idealism and romanticism (Handler, "Anti-Romantic Romanticism").

13. Kroeber, "Reflections," 171; see also Kroeber, interview by May Mayko Ebihara, May 11, 1959, OHI, cassette tape "On Sapir: Kroeber et al."

14. Benedict, "Edward Sapir," 45.

15. W. J. T. Mitchell, "Ekphrasis," 156.

16. Trevor Pinch and Karin Bijsterveld offer a comprehensive list of the areas involved, which includes science and technology studies, sound design, cultural geography, urban studies, musicology, ethnomusicology, literary studies, media and communication studies, cultural studies, the history and anthropology of the senses, and the history and sociology of music ("New Keys," 7, 10).

17. Bull and Back, *Auditory Culture*; Cox and Warner, *Audio Culture*; Hilmes, "Is There"; see also Sterne, "Sonic Imaginations," 13n10.

18. Schulze, "Sound Studies," 242; Sterne, "Sonic Imaginations," 3. See the special issues "Sound Clash: Listening to American Studies" of the *American Quarterly* (2011, edited by Keeling and Kun); "The Sense of Sound" of *differences*

(2011, edited by Chow and Steintrager); “Sonic Arts and Audio Cultures” of the *Journal of Visual Culture* (2011, edited by Schedel and Uroskie); and “The Politics of Recorded Sound” of *Social Text* (2010, edited by Stadler). Anticipating this surge of interest by a few years, *Social Studies of Science* published a special issue, “Sound Studies: New Technologies and Music,” edited by Pinch and Bijsterveld in 2004, and the *Cinema Journal* featured a special section titled “In Focus: Sound Studies” and edited by Hilmes in 2008.

In 2011 alone, three international, peer-reviewed journals were launched: *SoundEffects—An Interdisciplinary Journal of Sound and Sound Experience*, the *Journal of Sonic Studies*, and *Interference: A Journal of Audio Culture*.

19. Sterne, “Sonic Imaginations,” 2, 6, 2.
20. Sterne, *Audible Past*, 15.
21. Sterne, *Audible Past*, 15–16. For a more comprehensive account of the Christian spiritualist origins of the audiovisual litany, see Sterne, “Theology.” See also Sterne, “Hearing,” 66–67.
22. Kim-Cohen, *In the Blink*, 94; original emphasis.
23. Bull and Back, “Introduction,” 1–2.
24. Schafer, *New Soundscape*, 271.
25. Witness Schmidt (*Hearing Things*, 31) on Ong: “Ong’s praise of sound rolls forth like a litany, a liturgy of adoration for the breathing words of God: ‘Sight isolates, sound incorporates. Whereas sight situates the observer outside what he views, at a distance, sound pours into the hearer. . . . By contrast with vision, the dissecting sense, sound is thus a unifying sense. . . . The auditory ideal, by contrast, is a harmony, a putting together’ [Ong, *Orality*, 70].” Both Sterne and Schmidt cite extensively from Ong’s *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (1982) in their criticism. It is thus important to add that Ong’s earlier work articulates his claims about sensory differences in less staunchly binary terms (Howes, “Introduction,” 12–13; Smith, *Sensing the Past*, 10–11). Ong’s *The Presence of the Word* (1967), in particular, is sensitive to historical variations in the “great divide” between hearing and vision and more careful in the inferences that it draws from phenomenological characteristics of different sensoria about psychological traits and the generic makeup of societies.
26. M. McLuhan, *Understanding*, 211.
27. M. McLuhan, *Gutenberg*, 32.
28. M. McLuhan, “Five Sovereign Fingers,” 207; original emphasis.
29. Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 20.
30. M. McLuhan, *Gutenberg*, 28; McLuhan and Powers, *Global Village*, 36.
31. McLuhan and Powers, *Global Village*, 37.
32. M. McLuhan, *Gutenberg*, 45. A variety of ethnographic studies serve as sources for McLuhan’s claims. Above all, his oppositional construction of ear

and eye cultures, and especially his claims about “Africa,” draw heavily on John Colin Carothers, a particularly prominent ethnopsychiatrist in the 1950s (and also a key influence on Murray Schafer’s brand of acoustic primitivism). McLuhan’s *Gutenberg Galaxy* contains several pages of discussion and lengthy quotes (18–20, 22, 26–28, 32–34) and borrows numerous references from Carothers’s “The Culture, Psychiatry, and the Written Word” (1959), an article that reproduces material from Carothers’s monograph *The African Mind in Health and Disease* (1953). In a letter expressing great admiration for the psychiatrist’s work, McLuhan acknowledges that the article was pivotal in his decision to write *The Gutenberg Galaxy* and also an important influence on *Understanding Media* (qtd. in Prince, Ilechukwu, and McCulloch, “Responses,” 410–11). Much of the colonial baggage of Carothers’s research—foremost its racist underpinnings—was deconstructed in the 1990s (McCulloch, *Colonial Psychiatry*; Prince, Ilechukwu, and McCulloch, “Responses”; Prince, “John Colin D. Carothers”; Boroffka, “Response”; Carson, “Ethnopsychiatry”). However, when *The African Mind* was first published, Jules Henry stood alone in his criticism among his Boasian peers, taking issue as much with Carothers’s theory as with a very charitable review by Margaret Mead: “Indeed, the reader scarcely gets an idea of the really deeply prejudiced character of Carothers’ point of view. In Mead’s discussion Carothers becomes almost a hero, jousting with the windmills of conservatism conjured up by Mead” (Henry, “Reply,” 402; see also Mead, review of *African Mind*).

33. Scher, *Verbal Music*; Wolf, *Musicalization*.

34. While the performance of 4’33” is usually strictly limited to this length, the score contains a note by Cage saying that “the work may be performed by any instrumentalist(s) and the movements may last any lengths of time” (Cage, 4’33”, 20). Almost needless to say, though, only because the lengths of the piece’s three movements are open to variation, this does not mean that 4’33” permits unstructured sound. The mere fact that the piece and its movements *are* marked by a beginning and an ending implies that each sound (and silence) that occurs during the performance is subject to a temporal regime, “a prescription that doesn’t happen in everyday life, occurring almost exclusively in music” (Kim-Cohen, *In the Blink*, 163). In the concert hall, for which 4’33” was intended, musicians have often followed David Tudor’s performance at the 1952 premiere in closing and opening the lid of the piano’s keyboard to indicate the movements’ beginnings and endings, respectively. For an analysis of 4’33” from a sound studies perspective, see Kahn, *Noise*, 158–99; Kim-Cohen, *In the Blink*, 159–67.

35. Attali, *Noise*, 6.

36. Kim-Cohen, *In the Blink*, 104, 105.

37. Attali, *Noise*, 6.

38. Meyer, “Einleitung,” 175.

39. Homer, *Odyssey*, 234.
40. Sapir to Benedict, August 26, 1924, MMSPE, box T4, folder 1.
41. W. J. T. Mitchell, "Ekphrasis," 162.
42. Ochoa Gautier, *Aurality*, 17.
43. While my methodology and research interests here relate primarily to discursive constructions of sound, it is also interesting to note the factual inaccuracy of the audiovisual litany when taken at its phenomenological face value. Axel Volmar and Jens Schröter ("Einleitung," 12–14) offer a detailed list that adds to each component of the audiovisual litany compelling counterarguments. Sterne notes that Don Ihde's study *Listening and Voice: A Phenomenology of Sound* (1976) was the first to show that many of the litany's claims about auditory perception do not hold up under close scrutiny. Sterne also registers an increase in the number of scholars who "have chronicled organizations of sonic culture that call into question the assumptions about sound, culture, and consciousness implied by the audiovisual litany" (Sterne, "Theology," 212). He himself has done much to debunk the litany's faulty claims through dense historicization of different hearing practices and auditory technologies. In *The Audible Past*, Sterne suggests that the greatest error of the audiovisual litany may be its confusion of hearing and listening, "a directed learned activity": listening "is a definite cultural practice" that "requires hearing but is not simply reducible to hearing" (Sterne, *Audible Past*, 19).
44. Gess, "Ideologies"; Voegelin, *Listening*, 169–70; original emphasis.
45. Dyson, *Sounding*, 4.
46. Dyson, *Tone*, 13.
47. Gess, "Ideologies."
48. However, in contrast to the poem's portrayal of acoustic perception as threatening dynamic mental processes, there is also an oxymoronic tension when it comes to the visual, as on the one hand, sight is presented as enchanting and confusing the workings of the rational mind, and on the other, these workings themselves are portrayed in visual terms: "Be running mirrors to the colored maze." This use of visual metaphors to describe mental processes has of course a long history and can be traced back, at least, to John Locke's notion that reflections of the world are "painted" on the "white paper" of a passive mind prior to the refinement of ideas (J. Locke, *Essay*, 51).
49. As with the terms *sonophilia* and *sonophobia*, my neologism *sonoclash* is also inspired by debates within the field of visual culture studies, specifically discussions around the long-fought battle between idolatry and iconoclasm in the history of the image. In his idiosyncratic intervention in these debates, Latour uses the term *iconoclash* in a way that is somewhat removed from the present account of clashing philic/phobic sentiments in the poetry of Sapir. By broaden-

ing the definition of *image* to mean “any sign, work of art, inscription, or picture that acts as a mediation to access something else,” Latour restates the pervasive tension between “image-making and image-breaking” as a struggle over the limits of (de)constructivism and ideological critique (Latour, “What Is Iconoclasm,” 14, 23). In order to finally move beyond the “image wars,” he contends, the currently prevalent “image destruction worship, the cult of iconoclasm as the ultimate intellectual virtue,” must give way to a position that acknowledges and reconciles the necessity for mediation with the request for access to truth and objectivity (37).

50. M. McLuhan, “Playboy Interview,” 240, 258; M. McLuhan, *Gutenberg*, 45, 32.

51. Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 21.

52. Like McLuhan, Ong anticipates for the electronic age a return to a more oral and acoustic way of living that synthesizes features of both oral and literate society and is called *secondary orality* by him (Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 2).

53. This force is of course epitomized by both sound and woman. The Homeric myth as well as Adorno and Horkheimer’s exegesis is clearly gendered, with “the lure of the Sirens” being coded as feminine and resistance to it as masculine, the heroic sacrifice of a male, rational human being. “Humanity had to inflict terrible injuries on itself before the self—the identical, purpose-directed, *masculine* character of human beings—was created,” Horkheimer and Adorno (*Dialectic*, 26) surmise. Analysis of the intersections of gender and modernity as well as of gender and sound exceeds the scope of this study. Let me, however, cite Rita Felski’s (*Gender*, 6–7) insightful engagement with Adorno and Horkheimer on these critical grounds: “[In] *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, the female voice of the siren is linked with the song of the sensuous world of nature, the lure of the pleasure principle. . . . Such an association of the feminine with the nonrational and the asymbolic does not allow for any independent conception of female identity, agency, or desire. Woman is reduced to the libidinal, inexpressible, or aesthetic, the repressed Other of patriarchal reason. The possibility of exploring women’s varied and complex relations to processes of social change is excluded by a sweeping vision of Enlightenment as emblematic of a totalizing logic of patriarchal domination” (see also Mills, *Woman*, 89).

54. Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic*, 35, 26–27.

55. Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic*, 26–27.

56. Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic*, 46–47.

57. Schmidt, *Hearing Things*, 21.

58. Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic*, 47.

59. Stocking, “Introduction: Thoughts,” 46; original emphasis. Anthropology’s attitudinal dichotomy of romanticism and progressivism, sometimes also described as primitivism versus progressivism or romanticism versus Enlight-



enment developmentalism, is a recurring theme in Stocking's writing, first articulated in the monograph *Victorian Anthropology* (1987) and the edited volume *Romantic Motives: Essays on Anthropological Sensibility* (1989).

60. Trouillot, "Anthropology," 28.

61. Stocking, "Introduction: Thoughts," 46.

62. Stocking, "Introduction: Thoughts," 46, 47–48, 46.

63. MMSPE, box J52, folder 4.

64. Trouillot, "Anthropology," 29.

65. Sterne, *Audible Past*, 14.

66. *The Tuning of the World* was preceded by two educational booklets, *The Book of Noise* (1968) and *The New Soundscape* (1969), and followed by *The Thinking Ear* (1986), *Voices of Tyranny* (1993), and the second edition, titled *The Soundscape* (1994), all of which expand on but do not significantly diverge from the conception of the study of sound that Schafer lays out in the first edition of *The Tuning of the World*. Out of the group of researchers and composers that made up the World Soundscape Project, Barry Truax—apart from Schafer—had the most formative influence on the kind of thinking about sound that developed from the project. Closely following Schafer's definitive 1977 text, Truax published a reference text for terminology, the *Handbook for Acoustic Ecology* (1978), and the monograph *Acoustic Communication* (1984), which tries to establish a universal model for all forms of acoustic communication. For a better understanding of the past and present research activities of the World Soundscape Project, see the website of the Sonic Research Studio at Simon Fraser (<http://www.sfu.ca/sonic-studio/>) and the posting "Five European Villages," *Sound and Vision Blog*, British Library, July 18, 2013, <http://blogs.bl.uk/sound-and-vision/2013/07/five-european-villages.html>.

67. Schafer, *Tuning*, 11–12.

68. Dyson, *Sounding*, 4; H. Schwartz, *Indefensible Ear*, 487; Smith, "Garden," 40.

69. Thompson, *Soundscape*; Schweighauser, *Noises*; Bijsterveld, *Mechanical Sound*.

70. Kelman, "Rethinking," 216, 228, 216.

71. M. McLuhan, "Playboy Interview," 240.

72. Schafer, *Tuning*, 10.

73. Schafer, *Tuning*, 272; see also 10–11.

74. Schafer, *Tuning*, 11.

75. Schafer, *Tuning*, 12, 3.

76. Schafer, *Book of Noise*, 3.

77. Schafer, *Tuning*, 11.

78. Carothers qtd. in Schafer, *Tuning*, 11.

79. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 40, 30, 194.

80. Schafer, *Tuning*, 274.
81. Schafer, *Tuning*, 43; see also 272.
82. Schafer, *Tuning*, 43, 52.
83. Schafer, *Tuning*, 12.
84. Corbin, *Village Bells*, 306.
85. Kelman, "Rethinking," 227.
86. Mansell, *Age of Noise*, 10.
87. Arquette, "Sounds," 161, 162.
88. Schafer, *Tuning*, 12.
89. In fact, several of my students have read the poem convincingly in this way. I assume the speaker here, though, to be more reliable and take the passage set off by quotation marks to comprise direct, quoted speech.
90. Henry, "Reply," xii.
91. Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth*, 69–70.
92. Gruber, "Ethnographic Salvage," 1293.
93. Jefferson, *Notes*, 109.
94. Boas, "Ethnological Problems," 529.
95. Sapir, "Anthropological Survey," 793.
96. Hrdlička, "Vanishing Indian," 266.
97. Malinowski, *Argonauts*, xv–xvi.
98. MMOO, interview transcriptions and sync logs, Interview Transcription Mary Catherine Bateson, 23–24.
99. Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," 112. In "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm" (1987), Clifford claims the persistence of the salvage imperative in contemporary anthropology and offers an extended theorization. His first monograph, then, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (1988), sets out to offer "a different historical vision" than a world "populated by endangered authenticities" (5), with the ultimate goal "to open space for cultural futures, for the recognition of emergence" (15–16).
100. Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," 113, 115; original emphasis.
101. Hochman, *Savage Preservation*, xiii, xiv, xv.
102. Sontag, "Anthropologist," 188.
103. Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," 113–15.
104. Williams, *Country and the City*, 1.
105. Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," 114.
106. Keeling and Kun, "Introduction," 453.
107. Thoreau, *Walden*, 256.
108. Hawthorne qtd. in Marx, *Machine*, 13–14.
109. Marx, *Machine*, 13.

110. Marx, *Machine*, 16.
111. Thompson, *Soundscape*, 120.
112. Schafer, *Tuning*, 3.
113. Hawthorne qtd. in Marx, *Machine*, 13.
114. P. Miller, *Life*; Marx, *Machine*; Nye, *American Technological Sublime*.
115. Nye, *American Technological Sublime*, xvi, 199, 57.
116. Truax, "Sound Romance."
117. Keizer, *Unwanted Sound*, 42.

## 2. ON ALTERNATING SOUNDS

1. Stocking, "Benedict," 73.
2. Benedict, *Patterns*, 23–24.
3. Boas, "On Alternating Sounds," 51.
4. Boas borrows the term *apperception* from previous research in psychophysics. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, it denotes "any act or process by which the mind unites and assimilates a particular idea (esp. one newly presented) to a larger set or mass of ideas (already possessed), so as to comprehend it as part of the whole." For a more comprehensive account of the psychophysics and psycholinguistic ideas that underlie Boas's article, see Mackert, "Role of Acoustics," "Roots of Boas' View," and "Franz Boas' Theory."
  5. Boas, "On Alternating Sounds," 50, 52.
  6. Stocking, "From Physics to Ethnology," 158.
  7. Hochman, *Savage Preservation*, 88–89.
  8. Brinton, "Language," 217, 213.
  9. Evans, "Introduction," 436.
  10. Stocking, "From Physics to Ethnology," 159.
  11. Stocking, "Preface," vi.
  12. Brady, *Spiral Way*; Jacknis, "Franz Boas and the Music"; V. L. Levine, *Writing*.
13. Sapir to Boas, October 15, 1923, FB; see also Sapir to Boas, August 12, 1906, February 16, 1910, and September 14, 1916, FB; Sapir to Holmes, June 19, 1905, BAE, box 113, folder Sapir, E. 1905–1906.
14. Sapir's and Boas's views on language grew further apart in later years, as they took different positions on the significance of innate elements in a person's language use and in the diffusion of languages. Thus while they agreed "that far-reaching similarities, particularly between neighboring languages must be due to historical causes" (Boas to Sapir, September 18, 1920, FB), Sapir also believed "that there are some very fundamental morphological and phonetic characteristics that will ultimately be held to indicate genetic relationship where we now hesitate to assume it" (Sapir to Boas, September 23, 1920, FB). Boas, however,

leaned strongly toward a general understanding of linguistic phenomena “from the same point of view of any ethnic phenomena,” that is, “that in the same way as the cultural life of a people originates by the confluence of the most diverse causes which are integrated and developed by the people themselves, so in the same way languages may owe much more than is ordinarily assumed to foreign sources and that this material is gradually integrated into new forms” (Boas to Sapir, September 18, 1920, FB). The ninth chapter of *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech* (1921), “How Languages Influence Each Other,” reflects very well Sapir’s position in this dispute and his reservations about Boas’s theory of borrowing, which he sees as “totally inadequate to explain those fundamental features of structure, hidden away in the very core of the linguistic complex” (219). Mead later summarized the argument as a struggle over the “question of the extent to which formal features of language could be borrowed from one language to another”: “Sapir had much more of a sense of the intrinsicness of a given language and the fact that it couldn’t incorporate easily formal elements, where Boas felt that you could have the incorporation of formal elements from another language” (Mead, interview by May Mayko Ebihara, August 12, 1966, OHI, cassette tape “Mead on Wissler, Sapir, Buck”).

15. Sapir wrote his master’s thesis in 1905. The thesis was published in the journal *Modern Philology* in 1907 and reprinted in *Historiographia Linguistica* in 1984. All references here are to its first publication in *Modern Philology*.

16. Murray and Dynes, “Edward Sapir’s Coursework,” 109n1.

17. Sapir, “Herder’s ‘Ursprung,’” 134.

18. Sapir, “Herder’s ‘Ursprung,’” 124, 127.

19. Gess and Honold, “Einleitung,” 5; see also Rajewsky, *Intermedialität*, 198.

20. Wolf, *Musicalization*, 5–6, 57–67. For example, Wolf, “(Inter)mediality” and “Literature and Music.”

21. Scher, *Verbal Music*, 3–4.

22. Wolf, *Musicalization*, 58.

23. Gess, “Ideologies.”

24. Wolf, *Musicalization*, 12, 12n27.

25. Boas, “On Alternating Sounds,” 50.

26. Hrebeniak, email message to author, January 15, 2017.

27. Ways of hearing race are to date still underscrutinized but have recently become a subject of sustained scholarly interest. Jennifer Lynn Stoeber’s *The Sonic Color Line: Race and the Cultural Politics of Listening* (2016) presents the first book-length study devoted exclusively to the acoustic codes of American racial discourse. Mark M. Smith’s *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (2001) and *How Race Is Made: Slavery, Segregation, and the Senses* (2006) have also done

significant work in accounting for the acoustic dimension in figurations of blackness and whiteness.

28. Mother Goose, "Sing."
29. Thompson, *Soundscape*, 131.
30. Le Corbusier, *When the Cathedrals*, 164, 161.
31. Ogren, *Jazz Revolution*, 7.
32. Thompson, *Soundscape*, 132.
33. Sapir, "Emily Dickinson," "Gerard Hopkins," "Mr. Housman's Last Poems," "American Poet," "Léonie Adams," and "Jean-Christophe"; Sapir to Macbeth, undated, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Madge Macbeth fonds, vol. 1, p. 167.
34. Sapir, review of *Book of American Negro Spirituals*, 174.
35. Mead, "Good Friday 1923"; Schafer, *Tuning*, 3.
36. A. Locke, *Negro*, 88, qtd. in Thompson, *Soundscape*, 131; Sapir, "On Hearing"; Sapir, review of *Book of American Negro Spirituals*, 174.
37. Sapir, review of *Book of American Negro Spirituals*, 172–73.
38. Sapir, review of *Anfänge*; see also Fisette, "Carl Stumpf."
39. Hornbostel, "African Negro Music," 60, qtd. in Sapir, review of *Book of American Negro Spirituals*, 173.
40. Ruotolo, *Sounding Real*, 6, 3; original emphasis.
41. Sapir, "Percy Grainger," 592.
42. Sapir to Boas, September 14, 1916, FB.
43. Boas to McGee, April 13, 1903, NAA, Manuscript 1647.
44. Sapir, "Percy Grainger," 592, 593. Grainger described his position in the history of music: "And then there is myself—way ahead (tho I have to say it myself) of all my time-mates, in any land, in experimentalism & go-aheadness. . . . Yet my name is never mentioned in any book dealing with modern music" (qtd. in Slattery, *Percy Grainger*, 274–75). Despite Grainger's own insistence on his "go-aheadness," the place at the forefront of modern developments in music that Sapir attributes to him was not a commonly held view then and remains an issue of debate. In their recent volume *Grainger the Modernist* (2015), Suzanne Robinson and Kay Dreyfus argue that Grainger's contentious place in music history results from the popular success that he enjoyed and which is still seen as antithetical to high modernist art ("Introduction"). The notion that Grainger's popularity somehow contradicts his own claims to being part of the musical avant-garde can be witnessed, for instance, in Wilfrid Mellers's assessment of Grainger as "a paradoxical man: who was at once an avant-garde experimentalist ahead of his time, and a pop composer dedicated to the continuity of tradition and of the common touch" (*Percy Grainger*, 10). Apart from the contributions to Robinson and Dreyfus's volume, John Blacking's study "A Commonsense View of all Music": *Reflections on Percy Grainger's Contribution to Ethnomusicology and*

*Music Education* (1987) also provides detailed (and largely favorable) analyses of the music and criticism of Grainger, including an extended discussion of Grainger's "The Impress of Personality in Unwritten Music" (28–50).

45. Sapir, "Percy Grainger," 592.

46. Grainger, "Impress," 427–28, qtd. in Sapir, "Percy Grainger," 595.

47. Sapir, "Percy Grainger," 593, 595.

48. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 12.

49. Grainger, "Impress," 428–30, 434, qtd. in Sapir, "Percy Grainger," 595–96, 597; original emphasis.

50. Sapir, "Percy Grainger," 592, 597.

51. While reproductions of Sapir's unpublished poetry in this book are normally based on the comprehensive typescript that William Cowan compiled, I diverge from this practice here, by reprinting the "Castanets" sections of "The Clog-Dancer" in a way that is closer to the original manuscript of the poem (fig. 1). Probably because of restrictions in the typesetting of his mechanical typewriter, Sapir's original markers for "heavily accented," "lightly accented," and "unaccented syllables" were replaced, respectively, by Cowan with the numbers 1, 2, and o in the typewritten version of "The Clog-Dancer."

52. Wolf, *Musicalization*, 52.

53. Hochman, *Savage Preservation*, xiii.

54. Descriptions of stomp dance in general and portrayals of the stomp dances of specific groups are readily available online. Here I draw heavily on the research of Jason Baird Jackson, who has had a particular interest in Yuchi stomp dance dating back to his 1998 PhD thesis but usefully extrapolates from and compares these findings with the stomp dance music and performance of other peoples. He thus offers a nuanced account that also includes recent developments in stomp dance. See in particular Jackson and Levine, "Singing"; Jackson and Fair, "Stomp Dance"; Jackson, *Yuchi Ceremonial Life*, especially 141–70; and Jackson, *Yuchi Folklore*, especially 154–79.

55. Sapir, "Percy Grainger," 592.

56. According to Ernest Hutcheson (*Literature*, 314), "*La Cathédrale engloutie* was inspired by an old Breton myth according to which the sunken cathedral of Ys rises to view on certain clear mornings from a translucent sea; bells chime, priests chant, until the mirage disappears again below the waters." For a close reading of Debussy's impressionist rendition of this myth in *La Cathédrale Engloutie*, see, for instance, Moore, "Reviving," 200–202; Schmitz, *Piano Works*, 155–58.

57. Lowell, "Rhythms," 54, qtd. in Sapir, "Musical Foundations," 213.

58. Schober, *Unexpected Chords*, 178.

59. Sapir, "Musical Foundations," 213.

60. In her "Preface" to the second volume of *Some Imagist Poets* (1916), Lowell offers a useful sports metaphor to illustrate the principle of isochrony that is key to her understanding of rhythm in free verse: "To illustrate: Suppose a person were given the task of walking, or running, round a large circle, with two minutes given to do it in. Two minutes which he would just consume if he walked round the circle quietly. But in order to make the task easier for him, or harder, as the case may be, he was required to complete each half-circle in exactly a minute. No other restrictions were placed upon him. He might dawdle in the beginning, and run madly to reach the half-circle mark on time, and then complete his task by walking steadily round the second half to goal. Or he might leap, and run, and skip, and linger in all sorts of ways, making up for slow going by fast, and for extra haste by pauses, and varying these movements on either lap of the circle as the humour seized him, only so that he were just one minute in traversing the first half-circle, and just one minute in traversing the second" (ix-x).

61. Sapir, "Musical Foundations," 213, 214.

62. Sapir, "Musical Foundations," 213, 215.

63. Sapir, "To Debussy," qtd. in Sapir, "Musical Foundations," 221.

64. Sapir, "Musical Foundations," 216, 217, 216.

65. Lowell, "Rhythms," 54; Sapir, "Musical Foundations," 218.

66. Sapir, "Musical Foundations," 227-28.

67. "The Clog-Dancer" was probably written around the same time as "The Musical Foundations of Verse." Its original manuscript is dated March 3, 1919, and Richard Handler claims that, although "The Musical Foundations of Verse" was not published until 1921, it was also written "sometime during 1918 or early 1919" (Handler, "Significant Form," 28).

68. While my analysis here is limited to the rendering of European classical music of "To Debussy," given the interesting place that this particular poem has in Sapir's critical writing, it is important to note that it is only one in a long series of his poems that are devoted to individual European composers, including "For César Franck's Music" (1926), "To One Playing a Chopin Prelude" (1918), "After Playing Chopin" (1918), and "A Boy Plays Beethoven at the Piano" (1926).

69. Flint, "Imagisme," 199; see also Pound, "Retrospect," 3.

70. In "Some Musical Analogies in Modern Poetry," Lowell asks, "Now if the reader will take the trouble to remember Debussy's 'Poissons d'Or' and 'Reflets dans l'Eau'; he will at once see their connection with the following poem of mine" (137). For Schober's comprehensive analysis of Lowell's "An Aquarium," which includes a discussion of the relationship of Lowell's imagism and Debussy's music, see *Unexpected Chords*, 166-86.

71. Lowell, "Preface" (1915), vii.

72. Pound, "Few Don'ts," 204.

73. Pound, *How to Read*, 20–25; Pound, *ABC*, 37.
74. Sapir to Benedict, December 12, 1924, MMSPE, box T4, folder 1; original emphasis.
75. Boas to McGee, April 13, 1903, NAA, Manuscript 1647.
76. Lowell, “Rhythms,” 51.
77. Patterson remains today an obscure figure about whom very little is known besides his collaboration with Lowell. Geoffrey L. Collier and James Lincoln Collier (“Introduction,” 279–80) have assembled the few archival documents that exist relating to him in order to provide a short vita. Patterson’s experiments with Lowell fall into the two years during which he worked as an instructor in English at Columbia (1916–18).
78. The sound-photographing system that Patterson employed in his research worked as follows: “A beam of light was cast on very small mirrors, which in turn were connected mechanically to diaphragms. As sound waves vibrated the diaphragms, the light from the mirrors was reflected on a strip of moving photographic film. In addition, Patterson also cast on the film a beam of light vibrating at a rate of sixty cycles per second to provide a time line” (Collier and Collier, “Introduction,” 280).
79. Lowell, “Rhythms,” 52–53; Schober, *Unexpected Chords*, 182.
80. Lowell, “Rhythms,” 52.
81. Eliot, “Tradition,” 7.
82. Lowell, “Rhythms,” 54.
83. Lowell, “Preface” (1915), vii, vi–vii; original emphasis.
84. Steele, *Missing Measures*, 225–26.

#### INTERLUDE

1. The following remarks on Boas and music draw on information provided in Jacknis, “Franz Boas and the Music” and “Ethnographic Object”; O’Neill, “Boasian Legacy.”
2. Jacknis, “Franz Boas and Exhibits,” 77; see also Boas, “Occurrence” and “Museums.”
3. O’Neill, “Boasian Legacy,” 132, 131–33.
4. Rink and Boas, “Eskimo Tales” (1889); Boas, “Eskimo Tales” (1894); Boas, “Eskimo Tales” (1897).
5. Boas, *Central Eskimo* (1888), 240–50.
6. Roberts, “Chakwena Songs”; Roberts and Haeberlin, “Some Songs”; Herzog, “Speech-Melody” and “Yuman.”
7. Leonard Bloomfield himself wrote a highly favorable review of *Language*, noting, for instance, that Sapir’s concept of the “inner” or “ideal” phonetic system of a language independently re-creates a notion already conceived of by the



European linguistic school of Henry Sweet, Paul Passy, and Daniel Jones as well as by de Saussure in his *Course in General Linguistics* (Bloomfield, review of *Language*, 270; see also Sapir, *Language*, 57).

8. Sapir, "Language," 236, 236n1.
9. Sapir, "Language," 237, 236, 237.
10. Sapir, *Language*, iii.
11. Sapir, "Language," 237.
12. Sapir, "Language," 237–38.
13. Sapir, "Language," 239.
14. Croce, *Aesthetic*, 234; original emphasis.
15. See especially Richard Shusterman's writing on Croce: "Analytic Aesthetics," "Deconstruction," "Croce." René Wellek's respective entries in his *History of Modern Criticism* ("Benedetto Croce"; see also "Joel Elias Spingarn") and chapter in *Four Critics* also testify to a sustained attempt at resurrecting Croce but depict the once leading Italian philosopher as highly idiosyncratic and distinct from twentieth-century philosophical schools of thought.
16. Burke, Crowley, and Girvin, "Theorising," 16.
17. Croce, *Aesthetic*, 18–19.
18. Sapir, "Suggestive Notes," 20–21; original emphasis.
19. Debate around the extent of Croce's impact on Sapir—which is "over-rated," according to Koerner ("Introduction," 17n4), for instance—is further indicative of my supposition that Sapir received Croce in an overly charitable reading, which calls for caution toward Sapir's own citation of Croce as his key influence. Emanuel J. Drechsel offers a convincing analysis showing that many of Sapir's ideas that he himself attributed to Croce are in fact a result of the influence of Wilhelm von Humboldt's conception of language on both Croce and Sapir (Drechsel, "Wilhelm Humboldt"). In "Franz Boas," Matti Bunzl offers an excellent account of the Humboldtian intellectual tradition out of which Boas's thinking on language and culture grew, thus also tracing Sapir's thinking—via his teacher—back to Humboldt.
20. Sapir, "Language," 238, 239, 240, 236.
21. Marc Manganaro has noted the same interrelatedness between modernist aesthetics and early twentieth-century conceptions of culture in his study *Culture, 1922: The Emergence of a Concept* (2002). Aronoff acknowledges his debt to Manganaro, who is a colleague and friend of his. Ultimately, though, his study is a substantial elaboration of Manganaro's claim of a Boasian cultural-linguistic holism, which remains one among many observations in Manganaro.
22. Aronoff, *Composing Cultures*, 42–56.
23. Sapir, "Culture, Genuine," 410, 411.
24. Sapir, "Grammarian," 443.

25. Aronoff, *Composing Cultures*, 121–24. As I have argued, though, Sapir also received Croce's *Aesthetic* in his own, rather charitable reading. His "Suggestive Notes" document a strong engagement with the original text: Sapir declares Croce's philosophy "a great advance in aesthetic theory, chiefly in its critical aspects, displacing many clouds (intellectualist, hedonistic, moralistic, utilitarian, mystic), also in affording a sound philosophical basis in its doctrine of intuition and expression," but he nevertheless also raises five major points of criticism (Sapir, "Suggestive Notes," 18, 20–21). For further discussion of the relationship between Sapir's and Croce's work, see Handler, "Aesthetics"; Modjeska, "Note"; R. A. Hall, "Sapir and Croce"; Hymes, "Modjeska."

26. Spingarn, *New Criticism*, 21, 22, 25, 6.

27. Sapir, "Language," 240, 237.

28. Sapir, "Note," 212–13.

29. Sapir, "Note," 211, 213.

30. Ironically enough, the German translator of Sapir's *Language*, Conrad P. Homberger, opted for the opposite approach in his translational work, prioritizing being true to the sense of the original and even omitting the chapter "Language and Literature" in its entirety. That chapter—which directly pertains to Sapir's own work as a translator—is derivative of Croce, Homberger claims, and "somewhat outdated": "By the way, I have tried to render Sapir's text as literally and comprehensively as at all possible in a translation. In cases where a decision between literal and lyrical translation was necessary, I have opted for the latter. In chapters seven and ten, I have slightly shortened some elaborations on English examples and American circumstances that went into great detail. I have omitted the short eleventh chapter ('Language and Literature'), which is largely grounded in Croce's aesthetics and somewhat outdated" (Homberger, "Vorwort," 10; my translation).

31. Sapir, "Note," 213, 211.

32. Sapir, "Language," 240; Sapir, *Language*, 33.

33. Barbeau and Sapir, *Folk Songs*, xi.

34. Sapir, "Language," 240.

35. "Announcement," 109; ES, index card "The Folk-Songs."

36. Monroe, "Folk-Song Collections," 350.

37. A note on my use of the term *folk* is due. The notion of the folk society has been "seductive" to European and North American thinkers, Handler (*Nationalism*, 63) notes, since the eighteenth century at least, featuring prominently, for instance, in nineteenth-century sociological theory and such dichotomies as Marx's antithesis between town and country, Maine's status and contract, Tönnies's *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, and Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity. In the context of ethnographic studies of French Canada, Horace Miner

was the first to systematically apply the concept, in the sense that Robert Redfield had defined it (63–65). The wider debate among Canadian scholars on the usefulness of this model followed with a delay of two decades, as part of a current of historical revisionism after World War II. Handler argues that this controversy is a prime example of “how well sociological models of the folk society match nationalistic visions of a rural Quebec out of which the nation has been born” (66). See also Handler, “In Search.”

For a critical analysis of the emergence of folk discourse in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that focuses on the categories of folk song and folk music, see Matthew Gelbart’s *The Invention of “Folk Music” and “Art Music.”* He attests that musical artifacts described as “folk” have been discursively aligned with “savages” and “primitives,” to serve as “foils to modern civilized Europeans” (12). Karl Hagstrom Miller’s *Segregating Sound* focuses on southern music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to explore the relation of race, region, music, and the market in the creation of a “musical color line” by both folklore collectors and the music industry. Benjamin Filene’s *Romancing the Folk* starts from the term’s eighteenth- and nineteenth-century origins to make sense of twentieth-century folk music revivalism.

38. Corbin Henderson, “Folk Poetry,” 269–70.

39. For Barbeau’s significance to Canadian anthropology and the popular appreciation of French Canadian folklore, see especially Nurse, “Marius Barbeau,” “Best Field,” “But Now,” and “Tradition”; Nurse, Jessup, and Smith, *Around and about Barbeau*. Andrew Nurse claims that Barbeau was “the most prominent anthropologist in Canadian History” (“But Now,” 436).

40. Handler, *Nationalism*, 63–75.

41. Barbeau, “Fisher-Folk,” 2.

42. Barbeau, “Fisher-Folk,” 2, 3.

### 3. “FOR YOU HAVE GIVEN ME SPEECH!”

1. The exact date when this photograph was taken remains unclear, as Mead alternates between the years 1928 and 1929 in her publications. In *Letters from the Field* (1977; xxv) and *New Lives for Old* (1956; plate 7) the picture is dated 1929, whereas *Continuities in Cultural Evolution* (1964; plate 7) and “The Cult as a Condensed Social Process” (Mead and Schwartz; 1960; 116) use 1928 as its date of origin.

2. Mead, *Letters*, xxv.

3. MMSPE, box P14, folder 25.

4. Perhaps most telling of its significance to her, Mead kept a copy of the photograph in a binder of 35mm lantern slides that she compiled for presentation and teaching purposes. The hand-colored glass slide is filed under the section “Manus 1928 Slides” (MMSPE, box P130, slide M49).

5. Mead, "Talk-Boy," 148.
6. Mead, *Continuities*, 57.
7. Mead, *New Lives*, 200.
8. Mead, "Living," 64; see also Mead and Schwartz, "Cult," 117.
9. This posturing ties in with Mead's character assessment of Ponkob in *Growing Up in New Guinea: A Comparative Study of Primitive Education* (1930), her second monograph, which follows *Coming of Age in Samoa* in presenting its subject matter in readily accessible, attention-grabbing prose. *Growing Up in New Guinea* presents Ponkob as "a strong, lusty child, imperative in gesture" and "wearisomely expansive in conversation and manner" (143). Mead ridicules his pretense of being "lord of the world" (143) and his need for an audience "who let him talk and boss" without interrupting "his running line of chatter" (146).
  10. Mead, "Talk-Boy," 146.
  11. Mead, *Blackberry*, 151.
  12. In March 1969 *Time* magazine published an article titled "Margaret Mead Today: Mother to the World," which is a testament to the public role and persona that Mead had come to adopt over the course of her long and prolific career as an anthropologist. The article invokes a lifetime spent doing pioneering fieldwork—"I have seen what few people have ever seen," it cites Mead (74)—and presents the anthropologist in her sixties as an experienced and tireless "fighter for equal opportunity" (77) with undogmatic ideas: "she favors a coed draft, although she would not give guns to women because 'they are too fierce,'" and she recommends "two different types of marriage: 'individual marriage' for young couples not intending to have children and 'parental marriage' for couples desiring offspring" (77).
    13. *Margaret Mead: Human Nature*.
    14. MMSPE, box P14, folder 24; Mead, *Continuities*, plate 5.
    15. Mead, *Letters*, xxv.
    16. Mead, *New Lives*, 199; see also Mead and Schwartz, "Cult," 124.
    17. Mead and Schwartz, "Cult," 124; Mead, *New Lives*, 199.
    18. Mead, *New Lives*, 200; original emphasis.
    19. Mead, *New Lives*, 199; Mead and Schwartz, "Cult," 124.
    20. Mead and Schwartz, "Cult," 124; Mead, *Continuities*, 231.
    21. Mead and Schwartz, "Cult," 121; Mead, *Continuities*, 231.
    22. Paliau is also featured extensively in this role on the still and motion picture records that Mead and Theodore Schwartz collected during their field stays in 1953–54 (with Lenora Foerstel) and 1963–66 (with Lola Romanucci-Ross). The 16mm film footage contains several long sequences that show Paliau giving instructions to large groups of people while writing down notes (see, for instance, MPBRS, New Guinea–Admiralty Islands Expedition Field Footage,

1963–1966, Reel 4 [ID 49118, FBC 9586], Reel 4a [ID 49132, FBC 9787], Reel 16 [ID 49117, FBC 9797], and Reel 17 [ID 49279, FCB 7875]). Roll 155 of the field footage from 1953–54 shows Paliau directing the newly established process of tax collection in Manus, taking notes of all transactions that are conducted under his supervision (Mead, Foerstel, and Schwartz, “Admiralty Islands,” 0:00–1:07, 1:51–2:21). The portrayal of Paliau’s writerly and managerial skills competes with a large number of sequences that depict the ethnographic methods of Mead, Schwartz, Foerstel, and Romanucci-Ross. The reprint of Ponkob in *Continuities in Cultural Evolution* that is preceded by a “drawing of a European ship by a Manus boy, 1928” (plate 5) is also followed by a close-up of “Paliau of Manus, 1954” (plate 8) on the opposite page, thus mirroring the contrast that Mead creates in her writing between an insufficiently literate, infantile people and their exceptional, fully developed, literate leader. For more on what Mead and her collaborators called the Paliau movement, see T. Schwartz, *Paliau Movement*, and Mead, *Continuities*, 192–234.

23. The eight poems that Mead published are “The Penciling of Pain” (1923) in the *Barnard Barnacle*, “For a Proud Lady” (1925) and “Rose Tree of Assisi” (1925) in *The Measure*, “Misericordia” (1930) in *Poetry*, and “Absolute Benison” (1932) in the *New Republic*. “And Your Young Men Shall See Visions” (1929) was published in Eda Lou Walton’s anthology *The City Day*. “Of So Great Glee” and “For M.C.B.” appeared in Mead’s *Blackberry Winter*.

24. Banner, *Intertwined Lives*; M. C. Bateson, *With a Daughter’s Eye*; Howard, *Margaret Mead*; Lapsley, *Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict*.

25. Mead, “Introduction,” 2–4; Mead, *Blackberry*, 115–22.

26. Lyotard, “Presence,” 11.

27. *King James Bible*, Ephesians 6:17, Hebrews 4:12, Psalms 55:21; original emphasis.

28. Clifford, “Introduction,” 2.

29. Clifford, “On Ethnographic Allegory,” 99, 103. See also Clifford, “The Other Side of Paradise,” his review of Freeman’s *Margaret Mead and Samoa* in the *Times Literary Supplement* (1983).

30. Clifford, “On Ethnographic Allegory,” 115–16; original emphasis.

31. Sterne, *Audible Past*, 15.

32. Clifford, “On Ethnographic Allegory,” 116.

33. Mead, *Blackberry*, 122; original emphasis.

34. *New Lives*, 00:37–02:17, 02:18–05:48, 17:59–18:16, 18:33–18:36, 17:41, 18:46–18:59, 17:42. Far from being an accidental slip back into a cultural evolutionist vocabulary, Mead routinely describes the Manus as living in “the Stone Age” when she first arrived on the island, thus testifying to the allochronism on which her understanding of anthropology’s research subject is based. The problematic

denomination also appears in two other films in whose production Mead was closely involved, *Margaret Mead's New Guinea Journal* (11:46) and *Reflections: Margaret Mead* (24:34). "South Sea culture displays in 1941 a Stone Age level of culture," Mead argues in another context, mixing a pluralist conception of culture with the notion of a singular, universal process of growing sophistication and placing different *cultures* on a ladder of increasing levels of *Culture* (Mead, "Our Educational Emphases," 633). Conflating these different culture concepts, as well, Mead's autobiography starts with an image of her visiting "a people still living in the Stone Age" and failing to explain to them the anthropologist's more sophisticated ways (Mead, *Blackberry*, 1–2). After visiting the Manus for a second time in the 1950s and being witness to "the Paliau movement," Mead declares, "In the case of these people who had to move from a virtual Stone Age culture into the present, it was necessary to change everything" (Mead and Schwartz, "Cult," 145). Finally, her article "Forty Years from the Stone Age," published after her return from her third stay with the Manus in 1964, turns the phrase into a veritable tagline, noting that the Manus are "just coming out of the Stone Age" (7), as "in the 1920s the Manus people of Papua New Guinea were living in a Stone Age culture" and led "a Stone Age life" (2). Largely owing to new schools, which employ "enthusiastic young Australians" (7) as teachers, they now "have created their own curious version of 20th century life" (2). While still failing to meet the Euro-American standard of "20th century life," Mead observes in the Manus "a remarkable demonstration of human determination" to catch up, as it were, with what she considers modern, civilized Culture.

35. Mead, "Forty Years," 4.

36. Mead is hinting here in particular at her famous first field stay with the Samoans as qualifying experience for her study of the Manus. Interestingly, though, in her "Preface to the 1973 Edition" of *Coming of Age in Samoa*, she admits that this research on Samoa was equally flawed in its salvage premises: "I did not know then, could not know then, how extraordinarily persistent Samoan culture would prove, and how fifty years later the grace that I had attempted to record as something that was surely going to vanish would still be there. I could not have prophesied that forty-seven years later there would be over 20,000 American Samoans living in the United States" (xxvi).

37. Mead, "Visual Anthropology," 3.

38. "Margaret Mead Speaks," 01:30–01:37, 02:35–02:50, 02:30–02:33, 06:25–06:35, 10:20–10:30.

39. Clifford, "On Ethnographic Allegory," 115–16, 118.

40. Schweighauser, "Faire du neuf"; Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character*, xi–xii.

41. Wolf, "Intermediality," 254; Werkmeister, *Kulturen*.

42. In a letter to Ray Birdwhistell dated April 17, 1956, she announces a recent breakthrough: "I've at last discovered what I have been studying all my life, not cultural anthropology, nor culture and personality, but human evolution. It all fits together" (MMSPE, box B2, folder 1; see also her note on the same discovery in box R7, folder 3). Mead wrote this letter one year after the publication of the scholarly edition of Darwin's *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* to which she had contributed a preface and an appendix of photographs. The new edition of Darwin's classic is targeted as relevant to those "who are becoming interested in the non-verbal aspects of human communication" that "the new science of kinesics," founded by Birdwhistell and developed in collaboration with Mead, seeks to investigate (Mead, "Preface [1955]," v; MMSPE, box P15, folder 20; for Mead's influence on Birdwhistell, see Davis, "Film Projectors," 42–43, 45; Farnell, "Birdwhistell," 48–49). Its promotional material describes Mead's "Added Illustrations" as an effort to exemplify "recent work which carr[ies] on the inquiry which Charles Darwin initiated" (MMSPE, box P15, folder 20). Thanking her publisher for "the felicitous and original idea" (Mead, "Preface [1955]," vi), Mead uses the opportunity to present some of her own work as descending in a straight line from Darwin's study of emotional expression: The section "Expressive Behavior among the Balinese" (plates 3–5), which appears between "Expressive Behavior in the Dog" (plates 1–2) and emotional expression at the Louisville University Institute for Culture and Communication (plates 6–8), comprises plate 51, figures 5–8, and plate 68, figures 3–6, from Bateson and Mead's *Balinese Character* as well as plate 41 from Mead and Macgregor's *Growth and Culture*.

43. Mead, *People and Places*, 34–35.

44. Stocking, "Introduction: Basic Assumptions," "Ethnographic Sensibility," "Paradigmatic Traditions," *Race*, and "Introduction: Thoughts."

45. Trigger, "Writing Systems," 41.

46. Taylor, *Alphabet*, 25–38; Trigger, "Writing Systems," 41.

47. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 12.

48. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 589; Mead, *People and Places*, 35. In addition to the evolutionist account with which it opens, *People and Places* presents different representational media by interlacing the body of its text with ample illustrations. When Mead was asked to write a book on anthropology for children, she reasoned that "because children's books are expected to be lavishly illustrated," she "could make the book suit a double purpose, as a text for children as well as a history of the evolution of techniques for the presentation and recording of other cultures—from the fanciful reconstructions of and [*sic*] artist illustrator, through the careful drawings of museum artifacts, early paintings, still photography and finally color photography" (Mead, "Introduction," 8). Thus these techniques not only appear in the body text of *People and Places* as part of her rendering of the

history of humankind; they are also sampled in the layout of the book, reifying her narrative along the way.

49. Rappaport, "Object and Alphabet," 271.

50. Mignolo, "On the Colonization," 311; see also Mignolo, *Darker Side of the Renaissance*.

51. Boone, "Introduction," 15.

52. Ryan, "Media," 289.

53. Werkmeister, "Postcolonial Media History," 253.

54. Teslow, *Constructing Race*, 3–12.

55. Stocking, *Race*, 302; Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, xiv.

56. Stocking, "Paradigmatic Traditions"; see also Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, xiv.

57. Regna Darnell's project and book series *The Franz Boas Papers*, which took off with Darnell et al.'s volume *Franz Boas as Public Intellectual* (2015), also promises a measured assessment of Boas's place in the history of anthropology. For the current state of this large-scale research initiative, see <https://www.franz-boaspapersproject.ca/>.

58. The six films of which the series *Character Formation in Different Cultures* consists are *A Balinese Family* (Mead and Bateson, 1951), *Bathing Babies in Three Cultures* (Mead and Bateson, 1954), *Childhood Rivalry in Bali and New Guinea* (Mead and Bateson, 1954), *First Days in the Life of a New Guinea Baby* (Mead and Bateson, 1952), *Karba's First Years: A Study of Balinese Childhood* (Mead and Bateson, 1952), and *Trance and Dance in Bali* (Mead, Bateson, and Belo, 1952). Note that the release dates given here do not follow those used by Ira Jacknis ("Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson") but match the dates that the Institute for Intercultural Studies provides in accordance with the current distributors of the films, the Audiovisual Services of Pennsylvania State University. In naming Mead first as the intellectual author, in spite of the fact that she is named second in the opening credits of each film, I follow Paul Henley. Mead not only wrote and narrated the films but also oversaw their editing process. While they were cut from the footage that Bateson shot during his stay with Mead in Bali, it is clear that, at the time when they were prepared for publication, Bateson had already moved on to other projects, and so his involvement with the film production can be seen as secondary. Henley ("From Documentation," 76) even claims that "both the original methodology on which they were based and the theoretical aspiration lying behind them came predominantly from Mead." Apart from Bateson, the title cards of the six films name Josef Bohmer, the technical director of film production at the Department of Child Study at Vassar College ("Child Study Department"; "Child Study Dept. Movies"), as the editor of the series. After her return from Bali, Mead held a visiting lecturing post at Vassar; Henley



(“From Documentation,” 86) speculates that this is how Bohmer came to function as the films’ editor “in practical terms.”

59. Curators of the Library of Congress assume that the hand-bound volume, which is held in the Margaret Mead Papers, was compiled for Ruth Benedict (*Margaret Mead: Human Nature*; MMSPE, box 59, folder 5). Apart from “Your Gift,” it contains the poems “Drifted Silence” (1923), “The Closed Door” (1924), “A Craven’s Technique” (1924), “Traveler’s Faith” (1925), “Refutation” (1926), “The Need That Is Left” (1927), “A Rueful Valentine” (1927), “Green Sanctuary” (1927), and “Cradle Song” (1927). Mead’s papers also contain two other typescripts of “Your Gift,” one of which features the handwritten note “(For R.F.B.)” under the poem’s title, supporting the claim that “Your Gift” was written for Ruth (Fulton) Benedict (MMSPE, box Q15, folder 15).

60. Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character*, xiii.

61. Mead, *Blackberry*, 151; Mead, “Some Cultural Approaches,” 133.

62. Mead, *Letters*, 214.

63. Mead, “Men and Gods,” 12.

64. Mead, *Letters*, 213.

65. Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character*, xiv. Bateson had coined the term *ethos* in *Naven* (1936) as “a culturally standardised system of organisation of the instincts and emotions of the individuals” (118; see also Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character*, xi).

66. In fact, “absence of a written language” is also the first requirement listed for choice of fieldwork location in one of Bateson and Mead’s early funding applications (G. Bateson, “Plan”). For Bateson, Mead, and the implied audience of the Royal Society’s Smithsonian Research Fund Committee, to which this application was addressed, the absence of script “would mean a culture which trained anthropologists would be able to control within a short . . . time when they used writing among a people who did not.” In order to reach the goals of the project within the allotted time frame, the proposal stipulates that the people under investigation should be deficient in the use of the medium through which the investigators represent them. The absence of alphabetic writing would render the culture more “control[lable]” in a practical sense, by alleviating the workload of fieldworkers and relieving them of the task of learning not only how to speak but also how to read and write a new language. However, the proposal’s antithesis, “they used writing among a people who did not,” which correlates the culture’s lack and the anthropologist’s use of writing, also implies a discrepancy in skill which positions the research subject at the receiving end in a relationship of control and power. The anthropologist’s ability to use script, the proposal suggests, grants them a better command over a people who do not. This assumption is then bound to remain unchallenged, as the people under investigation are denied the ability to interfere with their (written) representation.

67. Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character*, xiii.
68. Mignolo, "On the Colonization," 311.
69. Mead, Application with American Philosophical Society.
70. Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character*, xi.
71. Schweighauser, "Playing Seriously," 118.
72. Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character*, 53.
73. Mead, Application with Social Science Research Council; see also Mead, "Some Uses," 85; Mead, "Anthropology and Camera," 172.
74. Ryan, "Media," 289; Ryan, "Narration," par. 2; Rippl, "Introduction," 9; Wolf, "(Inter)mediality," 2.
75. Mead, "Some Uses," 104.
76. Rouch and Hockings, "Resolution," 533.
77. Brand, "For God's Sake," 39–42. Mead's firm belief in the scientific objectivity of photographic documentation has been frequently noted (and criticized), for instance, in G. Sullivan, *Margaret Mead*, 6–18, 20–21; Poole, "Excess," 168–69; Blake and Harbord, "Typewriters," 217, 219, 221–22; MacDougall, *Corporeal Image*, 273n3. Few scholars have followed Sol Worth's suggestion in "Margaret Mead and the Shift from 'Visual Anthropology' to the 'Anthropology of Visual Communication'" to read Mead as spearheading an "anthropology of visual communication" that breaks with the myth of photographic truth prevalent in nineteenth-century ethnographic photography.
78. Mead and Bateson, *Balinese Character*, 53.
79. Murphy and Murphy, review of *Balinese Character*; May 16, 1943, MMSPE, box 122, folder 1; original emphasis. The letter was probably typed by Bateson, but it represents the views of both authors of *Balinese Character*. The copies of the correspondence that are held in the Margaret Mead Papers are profusely annotated and show Mead giving Bateson specific instructions on how to respond to their reviewers (MMSPE, box 122, folder 1).
80. Blake and Harbord, "Typewriters," 221–22; see also G. Sullivan, *Margaret Mead*, 29–30.
81. Evans-Pritchard, *Social Anthropology*, 96.
82. Haddon qtd. in Franceschi, "Women," 176–77.
83. "The trashing of Margaret Mead," to use Paul Shankman's apt title for his study of the Mead-Freeman controversy, spanned Mead's entire fifty-year career in anthropology and even outlived her. As such examples as Derek Freeman's 1980s backlash against her emphasis on nurture over nature or Betty Friedan's chapter in *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) on Mead's problematic gender politics show, criticism against the famous public intellectual has often been waged at the forefront of critical debates and frequently carries meanings that are worthwhile subjects of analysis in their own right. For further analysis of criticism of Mead's

“thin,” literary style of writing, see in particular Lutkehaus, “Margaret Mead and the ‘Rustling’” and “Margaret Mead: Anthropology’s Liminal Figure.” For more on accusations of a lack of empirical evidence, see Stocking, “Margaret Mead,” as well as discussions of Freeman’s ostensibly objective “unmaking” of Mead’s “myth” about Samoa, such as Shankman, *The Trashing of Margaret Mead*, but also Rappaport, “Object and Alphabet”; Marshall, “Wizard”; Stocking, “Ethnographic Sensibility,” 253–57, 260; Clifford, “Other Side” and “On Ethnographic Allegory,” 101–3.

84. Mead and Macgregor, “Balinese Childhood.” Mead produced all the writing for *Growth and Culture*, whereas Macgregor was responsible for arranging the photographs, which had been taken by Bateson a good ten years before, during his stay with Mead in Bali. In preparing *Balinese Character*, Bateson had taken over the analyses that accompany each plate of photographs and Mead had written the introduction, which presents the two researchers’ overall theoretical and methodological framework.

85. Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character*, xiii.

86. “Personal names in Bajoeng Gedé,” Mead explains in a short prefatory “Note on Orthography and Pronunciation of Personal Names and Balinese Words,” “are prefixed with an I (pronounced *ee*) until an individual becomes a parent, and then the word *Nang* (father of) or *Men* (mother of) is prefaced to the name of the oldest child” (Mead and Macgregor, *Growth and Culture*, 2). For brevity, I Karba is referred to as “Karba” in the following.

87. Mead and Macgregor, *Growth and Culture*, 64. In the second paragraph of plate 1, Mead continues to present Karba in this way, using such terms as “outward rotation,” “fluidity,” and “flexibility.” Mead and Macgregor’s interest in these observational categories stems from their collaboration with Gesell and the new methodology of studying child development that he advanced at Yale. For more detailed information on these studies and the way Mead and Macgregor put them to use, see Lakoff, “Freezing Time.”

88. Mead and Macgregor, *Growth and Culture*, 66.

89. Mead, *People and Places*, 207–8.

90. Bateson to Losey, February 28, 1942, MMSPE, box J52, folder 3.

91. Mead and Macgregor, *Growth and Culture*, 66.

92. Mead and Bateson, *Karba’s First Years*; emphasis added.

93. MMSPE, box J52, folder 4.

94. May 16, 1943, MMSPE, box 122, folder 1; plate 47, figure 9, in Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character*, 149; plate 64, figure 9, in Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character*, 182.

95. May 16, 1943, MMSPE, box 122, folder 1; original emphasis.

96. Mead and Bateson, *Karba's First Years*, 19:52–19:57. Note also Mead's prediction about the youngest daughter of the Karma family at the end of *A Balinese Family* (1951): "Three or four years from now, she will again be attractive, gay, but never again responsive" (Mead and Bateson, *Balinese Family*, 19:00–19:07).

97. MMSPE, box J52, folder 4.

98. Mead, *People and Places*, 208.

99. This photograph was taken not by Bateson but by Ken Heyman, who would go on to collaborate with Mead on two photo-books, *Family* (Mead and Heyman, 1965) and *World Enough: Rethinking the Future* (Mead and Heyman, 1975). In *World Enough*, Mead recapitulates how she met up with Heyman in Bali in the 1950s to rephotograph some of the people that Bateson had taken pictures of almost two decades before, and how she then decided to include these new photos in *People and Places*, juxtaposing them with Bateson's older pictures. "The children I had studied in the late 1930s were grown now," she explains the arrangement (Mead and Heyman, *World Enough*, xxi).

100. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 12. Mead could have easily perpetuated the myth of the always active, gay Balinese by selecting another high-quality photograph of the same bathing scene. For instance, there is an unpublished shot in which Karba smiles excitedly while splashing water at his son, which would have been in keeping with Mead's earlier plurimedial portrayals (MMSPE, box OV 30).

101. Mead, Application with Social Science Research Council, 2; Mead, *People and Places*, 207.

102. Mead, *Blackberry*, 151.

103. Mead's course at Sarah Lawrence on "the use of visual materials" in the study of culture is again instructive. The course was designed to achieve the following goal: "They [students] are cooperating with me in seeing how . . . various media work. They are going to have a chance at a great variety. During these six weeks, they will hear me talk, read words I have written, see moving pictures of native behavior, see paintings painted by natives, see and touch carvings made by natives, read and analyze words which have been said by natives" (MMSPE, box J52, folder 4).

104. *Margaret Mead: Portrait*, 6:05–6:18.

105. Mignolo, *Darker Side of Western Modernity*, 9.

106. Bateson and Mead, *Balinese Character*, xi.

107. Mead and Schwartz, "Cult," 85.

108. Werkmeister, *Kulturen*, 165. Werkmeister's book has not yet been translated from German into English. I have translated the English title and all quotations in consultation with the author. For an essay that translates some of the book's key findings and analyses, see Werkmeister, "Postcolonial Media History."

109. Werkmeister, *Kulturen*, 11.

110. Mead's *Complete Bibliography 1925–1975*, edited by Gordan, lists 1,397 published writings. However, Mead remained an active writer until her death in 1978; as a result, the unpublished bibliography extending Gordan's record through 1979 that the Margaret Mead Papers hold lists 200 additional publications (MMSPE, box 11, folder 1). Its final, 1,597th entry is Mead's last column for *Redbook Magazine*, which appeared in May 1979 and was edited by Rhoda Métraux (Mead, "Mother's Day").

111. Sargeant, "It's All Anthropology," 31, 33.

112. MMOO, interview transcriptions and sync logs, Interview Transcription Mary Catherine Bateson, off-mike conversation, 8, and Interview Transcription Barbara Roll, 5–9. Mead habitually used the early morning to get large amounts of writing done not only in the field. "She was like a tugboat. She could sit down and write three thousand words by eleven o'clock in the morning, and spend the rest of the day working at the museum," Bateson describes her routine (Bateson qtd. in Howard, *Margaret Mead*, 253). During a two-week symposium she once complained about the loss of valuable writing time when showing up for a morning session that had been rescheduled without her knowledge: "Do they *realize* what use I could have made of this time? Do they not know I get up at five o'clock every morning to write a thousand words before breakfast?" (Mead qtd. in Howard, *Margaret Mead*, 287; original emphasis).

113. Greenblatt, *Marvelous*, 12.

#### 4. TOWARD UNNERVING THE US

1. Geertz, *Works*, 106.

2. Stocking, "Benedict," 73.

3. Manganaro, *Culture*, 152.

4. Caffrey, *Ruth Benedict*, 214; Goldfrank, *Notes*, 39; Dempsey, "What's in It?," 27.

5. W. Y. Adams, *Boasians*, 266.

6. Geertz, *Works*, 110.

7. Mead, "Patterns." The quote is from the original blurb that Mead composed on her friend's request. Benedict then changed the wording upon the request of her publisher Houghton Mifflin, so as to render the book's address to a general audience even more emphatic: "The book should be read by all sociologists and psychologists. It is at once an important contribution to anthropological scholarship and a thought-provoking volume for the intelligent lay reader" (Benedict to Jones, September 22, 1934, MMSPE, box 190, folder 2).

8. Benedict, "Science of Custom," 643.

9. Geertz, *Works*, 106, 107.

10. Benedict, *Patterns*, 17. My criticism of Geertz here is limited to his interpretation of Benedict. Although Geertz is without doubt one of the most widely read anthropologists in the post-*Writing Culture* era, the reception of his scholarship has been mixed, spanning strong criticisms from within his own discipline as well as enthusiastic endorsements especially by literary scholars and historians. For the two most salient critiques, concerning the lack of discussion of power differentials in Geertz, see Ortner, "Introduction," 1–6, and Sewell, "Geertz." For the overwhelmingly positive reception of Geertz by historians and the value of his writing for this discipline, see also Sewell, "Geertz," 37–51. William Sewell claims that when Geertz rose to "anthropological superstar[dom]" at the beginning of the 1970s, he took over "the ambassador's slot" that had been occupied by Benedict and Mead until then (35). He paralleled in particular Benedict's critical interests and stylistic choices but has failed to reach a general public: "[Benedict], like Geertz, was more interested in the bearing of anthropology on issues of social and moral philosophy than on current social problems. Like Geertz, Benedict was a gifted literary stylist with a penchant for ethnographic *contes philosophiques*. . . . But Geertz and Benedict have been ambassadors to somewhat different publics. *Patterns of Culture*, in particular, was intended for and read by the educated public at large. Geertz may well have been aiming for such a public, but his major impact has actually been on practitioners and students of other academic disciplines—the social sciences, literary studies, philosophy, and beyond" (35).

11. While the original typescripts are undated and the poem's date of origin remains unknown, "Parlor Car—Santa Fe" appears in a folder titled "Early Poems" that Mead assembled when working on her first, exceedingly comprehensive draft of *An Anthropologist at Work* (MMSPE, boxes 190 and 191; see also box 189, folders 5 and 6). Mead placed this folder with the Ruth Fulton Benedict Papers at Vassar College, which she helped to compile and catalogue at that time (RFB, folder 120.1). Apart from "Parlor Car—Santa Fe," Benedict's "early poems" include "The Woman-Christ," "A Psalm for Canoeing," "March 25, 1919," "Gray Pavements," "At a Solemn Mummery," "Printemps Deridens," "Awakening," "The Little Room," and "Ways Not Winds' Ways." A footnote that Mead added to "The Little Room" sheds some light on how these undated poems came to be classified as early writings, namely through the study of Benedict's handwriting and the paper that she used: "The Little Room" was written "in the same handwriting and on the same type of paper as [Benedict's] Nov.–Dec. 1915 prose notes." Interestingly, the folder also contains correspondence between Benedict and such notable literary figures as Harriet Monroe, Mark Van Doren, Rolfe Humphries, and Ridgely Torrence. Especially Monroe's letters show a relationship that was not only professional but also friendly. The personal nature of their relationship

allowed Benedict to introduce the esteemed editor of *Poetry* magazine to the poetry of Mead, her “friend’s work,” which Monroe considered “promising” to the extent that she kept “Misericordia” for publication (Monroe to Benedict, April 3, 1928, RFB, folder 120.1).

12. Benedict, *Patterns*, 223.

13. Nietzsche, “Attempt,” 5; original emphasis; Benedict, *Patterns*, 281, note regarding page 78.

14. Mead, *Anthropologist*, 548n35; Stocking, “Ethnographic Sensibility,” 226. Oddly enough, Stocking is also convinced that Benedict “mentioned Jung’s book as a starting point for the interest in culture and personality” in “Psychological Types in the Cultures of the Southwest” (Stocking, “Ethnographic Sensibility,” 226). There is no mention of Jung in Benedict’s essay.

15. As James Boon (*Verging*, 26; original emphasis) also notes, “Benedict too interpretively *selects* Nietzsche’s notion from a fuller array of philosophical and literary visions.” For the cultural history of the Apollonian/Dionysian dualism and influential interpretations of Nietzsche’s particular place in it, see Benjamin, *Origin*, especially 57–158; Habermas, *Philosophical Discourse*, especially 83–105; Sloterdijk, *Thinker on Stage*.

16. Benedict, “Psychological Types,” 572n2.

17. Nietzsche, *Birth*, 26, 14.

18. Nietzsche, *Birth*, 39, 18, 39.

19. Nietzsche, “Attempt,” 12; original emphasis.

20. Klein, *Frontiers*, 164–65.

21. Blake, *Marriage*, 13, qtd. in Benedict, *Patterns*, 79.

22. Blake, *Marriage*, 7, 28–29.

23. Eliot, “Blake,” 143.

24. Boon, *Verging*, 26; Benedict, *Patterns*, 223; emphasis added.

25. In *The Shape of the Signifier* (2004) and *The Trouble with Diversity* (2006), Michaels goes on to elaborate his critique of cultural pluralism and relativism with regard to its late twentieth-century instantiations, shifting in emphasis from race to issues of class. Of course, Michaels has also been the subject of much controversy and contestations. Julianne Newmark’s *The Pluralist Imagination from East to West in American Literature* (2014) has recently positioned itself against Michaels’s *Our America* and *The Trouble with Diversity* by claiming a counternativist cultural pluralism in the 1910s and 1920s, which Michaels fails to acknowledge due to insufficient contextualization. The trouble with this argument is Newmark’s appraisal of early twentieth-century cultural pluralism simply for being not a race-based nativism that insists on national homogeneity. As Victoria Olwell (“Uses of ‘Culture,’” 164; original emphasis) aptly points out in her review of Newmark, “Monistic nativism thus functions within the argument not

merely as the appropriate context for determining the significance of pluralism but also *only* context; pluralism's difference from the monoculturalism of nativism suffices to show its progressive value and distinction from today's pluralism." Yet other scholars have also criticized methodological shortcomings in Michaels, specifically a lack of adequate contextualization. Both Lindsay Waters in "Literary Aesthetics" and Marjorie Perloff in "Modernism" have rightly suggested that literary texts are often reduced to logical propositions in Michaels, as historical determinants—including the texts' authors—escape analytical scrutiny. Perloff ("Modernism," 100) further requests an explanation for the lag in time, that is, why precisely the form of nativism that Michaels identifies in the 1920s recurs in the 1990s. Christopher Douglas, in his *Genealogy of Literary Multiculturalism* (2009), presents a history that accounts for the decades between early and late twentieth-century cultural pluralism. However, Douglas's study carries the problematic suggestion that current racialized conceptions of culture present an unfortunate aberration—via Robert Ezra Park's Chicago sociology—from Boasian cultural pluralism, which is taken to be "race-free" in its original conception.

26. Michaels, *Our America*, 109, 141.

27. Benedict, "Can Cultural Patterns," 2.

28. Burkholder, *Color*, 65–95.

29. Mead and Baldwin, *Rap*, 8. "Ignore race. That certainly seemed perfectly sound and true," Baldwin responds dryly.

30. Benedict, *Patterns*, 78–79.

31. Babcock, "Not in the Absolute," 120; Hegeman, *Patterns*, 100.

32. Li, "Zuñi"; Goldfrank, "Socialization"; Benedict, *Patterns*, 246, 106.

33. Benedict, *Patterns*, 90; Harris, *Rise*, 406.

34. Benedict, *Patterns*, 228.

35. The contention that *Patterns* is misunderstood by the reader whose main takeaway is a cultural typology of Apollonians and Dionysians has been repeated since Mead first made this claim to defend her friend's book (for example, Mead, *Ruth Benedict*, 44). "At the risk of sounding suspiciously insistent," Boon (*Verging*, 28–29), for instance, belabors the point that readers tend to misread *Patterns* by overdrawing its Apollonian/Dionysian dualism: "Even when readers do manage to remember past an Apollonian/Dionysian (Zuni/Kwakiutl) dichotomy . . . we fixate on the sensational (doubtless ethnocentric) psychologistic emblems rather than the quiddities in Benedict's account." By warning against "the danger of lopping off important facts," Benedict (*Patterns*, 228) anticipates the reductivist reader reception of her own book, Boon maintains.

36. Benedict, *Patterns*, 54–55.

37. Benedict, *Patterns*, 228.

38. Benedict, *Patterns*, 54, 55, 228.



39. Mandler, *Return*, 18.
40. Benedict, *Patterns*, 56.
41. Hegeman, *Patterns*, 99.
42. Benedict, *Patterns*, 56.
43. Benedict, *Patterns*, 55.
44. Spencer, *First Principles*, 358.
45. Elliott, *Culture*, 16.
46. Stocking, "Dark-Skinned Savage," 122.
47. Benedict, *Patterns*, 55.
48. As early as 1929, in her magazine article "The Science of Custom: The Bearing of Anthropology on Contemporary Thought," Benedict defined anthropology's "primitive" research subject as a "natural and well-nigh inexhaustible laboratory of custom" (641). Other publications that repeat the trope as part of a general introduction to modern anthropology include an article in the *Journal of General Psychology* that likewise understands the value of "primitive peoples" for the "study of diverse social orders" in "provid[ing] a laboratory not yet entirely vitiated by the spread of a standardized worldwide civilization" (Benedict, "Anthropology and the Abnormal," 59). Concerning her teaching of the study of different cultures, Benedict wrote a proposal to obtain funding for a series she called "Laboratory Field Trips to Primitive Cultures," led by members of the anthropology faculty at Columbia. The goal was to offer each year a two-month summer field trip that would give eight students of anthropology as well as "professionally committed" graduate students from other disciplines the opportunity to use "a selected American Indian culture" as their research "laboratory" (Benedict, "Laboratory").
49. Benedict, "Anthropology and Mental Hygiene," 1.
50. Benedict, Committee.
51. Benedict, *Patterns*, 17.
52. Benedict, *Patterns*, 18, 19–20, 20.
53. Benedict, *Patterns*, 21. Klein (*Frontiers*, 156) claims that Ramon belongs to the Serrano people in Southern California, where Benedict spent some time in 1922 to collect materials for an article. Benedict's "Brief Sketch of Serrano Culture," which appeared in the *American Anthropologist* in 1924, features a seventy-year-old woman named Rosa Morongo as Benedict's main informant. Yet William Duncan Strong (*Aboriginal Society*, 10) exposed Morongo to be in fact a Cahuilla by birth and a Serrano only by marriage, thus smudging the cultural purity necessary for her to serve as a viable reference in *Patterns*.
54. Benedict, *Patterns*, 21, 22.
55. Manganaro, *Culture*, 160–61.
56. Frost, "Directive."

57. Benedict, *Patterns*, 18–20.
58. Mead, “Ruth Fulton Benedict,” 463.
59. Geertz, *Works*, 106, 109, 109n6.
60. Benedict’s poems “Discourse on Prayer” (1959), “For My Mother” (1928), “For the Hour after Love” (1928), “Miser’s Wisdom” (1926), “Our Task Is Laughter” (1926), “Rupert Brooke, 1914–1918” (1959), “Sight” (1926), “Any Wife,” “For Faithfulness,” “For Splendor,” “Genessaret,” “I Have Content More in Your Loveliness,” “Monk of Ariège,” “The Moon New Seen,” “The Night’s for Fires,” “Profit of Dreams” (1959), “Too great has been the tension of my cloud,” “The Wife,” “Price of Paradise,” and “Wilderness” are all written in the Petrarchan sonnet form.
61. *Enjoyment of Poetry*, side 1, 10:46–11:16. After introducing the poem in this way, Mead goes on to recite “Parlor Car—Santa Fe” (side 1, 11:17–12:12). The broadcast of April 6, 1958, consists of Mead and Lennon reading and commenting on a series of Benedict’s poems for half an hour. Apart from “Parlor Car—Santa Fe,” the selection comprises “Dedication” (side 1, 0:59–1:50; read by Lennon), “Wood Paths” (side 1, 05:12–05:40; read by Mead), “Unicorns at Sunrise” (side 1, 06:16–07:10; read by Mead), “Ripeness Is All” [“Dead Star”] (side 1, 09:07–10:14; read by Mead), “Earth-Born” (side 1, 12:57–13:33; read by Mead), “Lift Up Your Heart” (side 1, 14:26–15:31; read by Mead), “You Have Looked upon the Sun” (side 2, 01:21–01:45; read by Mead), “Resurrection of the Ghost” (side 2, 02:12–03:12; read by Mead), “This Is My Body” (side 2, 03:44–04:53; read by Mead), “Eucharist” (side 2, 10:50–11:25; read by Mead), and “At Ending” (side 2, 11:37–12:34; read by Lennon). The only record of this broadcast that has been preserved is a phonograph album in the Ruth Fulton Benedict Papers, which is not playable at Vassar’s Archives and Special Collections Library. The album was digitized in August 2017, though, and is now finally accessible to researchers.
62. Stocking, “Ethnographic Sensibility,” 219; Snyder, “When the Indian,” 663–64.
63. T. C. McLuhan, *Dream Tracks*, 41, 16–17, 19.
64. Cole, “Mrs. Landes.”
65. *The Harvey Girls*. For a comprehensive account of the Harvey Girls’ contribution to the history of the American Southwest, see Poling-Kempes, *Harvey Girls*. Sustained investigations of the historical significance of the Santa Fe and Fred Harvey companies are provided in Bryant, *History*; Fowler, *Laboratory*; Rothman, *Devil’s Bargains*, 37–112; Weigle and Babcock, *Great Southwest*. For studies that center around the Taos and Santa Fe art colonies, which emerged in the first half of the twentieth century in parallel to the rise of the Santa Fe Railway, see Cline, *Literary Pilgrims*; Gibson, *Santa Fe*.
66. T. C. McLuhan, *Dream Tracks*, 41.
67. Stocking, “Ethnographic Sensibility,” 220.

68. Aronoff, *Composing Cultures*, 50–51; Fowler, *Laboratory*, 343–56; Snyder, “When the Indian,” 665–72; Stocking, “Ethnographic Sensibility,” 220; Wade, “Ethnic Art Market,” 168–82.

69. Powell, “Poetry,” 73.

70. W. Johnson, “Poetry,” 77.

71. Wilson, “Fragmentary,” 581. In her unpublished “The Story of My Life,” Benedict recounts how the first person she ever saw that “belonged somewhere else” than in the society in which she lived was Dodge, who “lived for . . . something different from those things for which most people around me lived” (qtd. in Mead, *Anthropologist*, 109). Even though they barely interacted with each other in this first encounter, and the fourteen-year-old Benedict met Dodge, eight years her senior, only because they had close friends who happened to be sisters, she ended up “carr[ying] a very vivid image of her in [her] mind.”

72. Dodge Luhan, *Edge*, 63; emphasis added.

73. Lawrence, “Taos,” 101.

74. Benedict, *Patterns*, 93.

75. S. Dillon, *Palimpsest*, 4, 3.

76. Sapir to Benedict, April 8, 1924, MMSPE, box T4, folder 1. The certainty with which Sapir refers to a “Mexican priest” suggests that Benedict gave him this information in an earlier letter. In his letter of April 8, 1924, Sapir also praises “The Sacrilege” as “poetry of a high order.” His “exceedingly specific comments,” though, reveal that Benedict sent him a different version, which was later lost together with Benedict’s side of the correspondence. Sapir particularly enjoys the lines “If, upon that swift palimpsest, / In violent, twisted light” but criticizes Benedict for using a “night, sight, light” rhyme, which, according to him, “is so facile in English that it almost requires a foil of rarer blade to allow it to come to its true value.” Although Benedict rewrote the poem and integrated Sapir’s criticisms, it is possible that she remained dissatisfied and therefore did not go forward with the publication.

77. Since Benedict shared her poetry with Mead on a regular basis, several typescripts of her poetry are held in the Margaret Mead Papers, including one of “Myth” (MMSPE, box Q19, folder 6) and two of “Price of Paradise” (MMSPE, box Q19, folders 6 and 12). Mead published “Price of Paradise” in *An Anthropologist at Work* (478) and reprinted “Myth” in both her books on Benedict, *An Anthropologist at Work* (477) and *Ruth Benedict* (24). Kluckhohn, too, was interested in Benedict’s verse and received copies from her, as a note on the title page of Benedict’s unpublished poetry anthology *November Burning* indicates (RFB, folder 46.24). He published “Myth” in his contribution to Alfred Kroeber’s memorial volume for Benedict (Kluckhohn, untitled, 20).

78. Schweighauser, “Of Syncretisms.”

79. Reprinted with permission of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., New York, New York.

80. The trope of the noble savage, as is well known, was formalized by Jean-Jacques Rousseau but can be traced further back to such figures as Alexander Pope and Daniel Defoe and travelers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Out of the many studies that offer in-depth discussions, Ter Ellingson's *Myth of the Noble Savage* and Stelio Cro's *Noble Savage* provide particularly comprehensive and nuanced analyses. For elaboration and further illustration of the romantic portrayal of the noble savage, see especially Ellingson's (*Myth*, 169–92) discussion of the role of the aesthetic paradigm of the picturesque in figurations of the noble savage.

81. Mead, "Arts in Bali," 332.

82. *King James Bible*, Isaiah 53:4.

83. Di Leonardo, *Exotics*, 3.

84. As Brian Dippie notes in *The Vanishing American*, "America's noble savage was not Rousseau's natural man . . . but a doomed figure about to succumb" (21): "Since Americans had made their choice—civilization over savagery, cities and fields over forests and unplowed prairies—the noble savage most often appeared in American literature as a variation on the brooding, ill-starred creature of Romantic thought. A sense of personal tragedy had been superseded by an awareness of impending racial doom" (20). By the end of the nineteenth century, the vanishing race myth, which is "as old as the New World itself" (193n4), as Brian Hochman puts it, was also "as widespread as it was flawed, already something of a hallowed cliché" (Hochman, *Savage Preservation*, x). Apart from Dippie and Hochman, see Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings*, and L. C. Mitchell, *Witnesses*, for more detailed information on the genealogy of the figure of the vanishing Indian. Maddox, *Removals*, also provides useful readings of nineteenth-century U.S. literature after a brief survey of the theme of the vanishing Indian.

85. *King James Bible*, Hosea 10:12.

86. S. Dillon, *Palimpsest*, 4.

87. Trouillot, "Anthropology," 18, 23–28.

88. Benedict, "Tribute," 395.

89. Sterne, *Audible Past*, 331–32.

90. Sapir to Benedict, November 15, 1924, MMSPE, box T4, folder 1.

91. Stocking, "Paradigmatic Traditions," 714, 715.

92. Mead, *Anthropologist*, 542n8.

93. Royal, "Māori Creation Traditions"; Taonui, "Ranginui."

94. Te Rangi Hiroa, *Coming*, 438.

95. Leeming and Leeming, "Maori Creation."

96. Benedict, *Patterns*, 175.

97. Sapir to Benedict, September 29, 1927, MMSPE, box T4, folder 2; original emphasis. The term features in a good number of Benedict's poems, including "Annunciation" (1959), "But the Son of Man" (1930), "Consummation," "Disarmed," "For Faithfulness," "For Seed Bearing" (1959), "Miser's Wisdom" (1926), "Preference" (1925), "Tree Shadows," "Turn of the River Tide," and "The Wife."

98. For more on the academic politics of the editorship of the *Journal of American Folklore*, the relationship between Benedict's work on the journal and Boas's editorship, and the growing antagonism that Benedict faced during her tenure, see the chapter "Folklore and Mythology" in Judith Modell's *Ruth Benedict: Patterns of a Life*.

99. Wolf Briscoe, "Ruth Benedict."

100. Babcock, "Not in the Absolute," 112–13.

101. Benedict, "Folklore," 290. Benedict defines myth as a particular kind of folklore, namely stories that deal with the supernatural: "Myths like folk tales are primarily novelistic tales; the two are to be distinguished only by the fact that myths are tales of the supernatural world and share also therefore the characteristics of the religious complex. For the purposes of study mythology can never be divorced from folklore. Its stories of the supernatural, its types of plot and even its specific incidents are those of current folk tales" (Benedict, "Myth," 178–79).

102. Evans, *Before Cultures*, 67–69.

103. The American Folklore Society was founded in 1888 by William Wells Newell and presided over during its first two years of operation by Francis James Child. Boas served as its president in 1900, 1931, and 1934; Sapir held the same position from 1929 to 1930.

104. Handler, "Uses of Incommensurability," 632–33.

## CONCLUSION

1. Benedict, *Patterns*, 55.

2. Ryan, "Media," 289.

3. Mead, *Blackberry*, 151.

4. Benedict, "Tribute," 390–91.

5. Innis, *Bias*; Innis, *Empire*; Havelock, *Origins*; Havelock, *Preface*. After Goody's successes as editor of *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (1968) and author of *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (1977), Cambridge University Press gave him editorial control over the book series *Studies in Literacy, Family, Culture and the State* and published two more of his books on orality and literacy (*Logic; Interface*).

6. Goody and Watt, "Consequences," 29, 34, 43–44.

7. M. McLuhan to Mead, August 1, 1972, MMSPE, box C95, folder 6, and June 20, 1975, MMSPE, box C112, folder 1.

8. M. McLuhan, *Understanding*, 237.
9. Mead and Baldwin, *Rap*, 116.
10. Schüttpelz, *Moderne*, 17–31; Harbsmeier, “Inventions” and “Writing”; Lévi-Strauss, “Writing Lesson,” in *Tristes Tropiques*, 286–97.
11. Werkmeister, “Postcolonial Media History,” 243.
12. Todorov, *Conquest*, 80; original emphasis.
13. Greenblatt, *Marvelous*, 12.
14. Derrida, *Speech*, 78–79; original emphasis.
15. Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, 44, xv.
16. B. Johnson, “Writing,” 47; original emphasis.
17. Clifford, “Introduction,” 2.

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