From the Cheney House to Taliesin: Frank Lloyd Wright and Feminist Mamah Borthwick

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Submitted to the Department of Architecture on May 6, 1988
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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to investigate the impact of Frank Lloyd Wright's contact with feminist theory on his design and his thinking. For, in 1912, Wright and his companion Mamah Borthwick co-translated a book by Swedish feminist Ellen Key into English. I argue that Key's notion of an "organic" system of male-female relationships prompted Wright to redefine his notion of what an organic architecture should be; and, that this shift in understanding led to the birth of Wright's first "natural house," Taliesin, which was built for Wright and Borthwick's life together.

Ellen Key believed that the values which she associated with women's childrearing responsibilities -- those of love and empathy -- should be honored above all other societal values. These values were to flow out of the house into the public realm, so that in a world transformed by Key's "sex morality," men would share them, and restructure their actions accordingly.

Taliesin's location in rural Wisconsin made it possible for Wright and Borthwick to construct a private life based on respect for the natural forces of sexuality and nature. Therefore Wright could say that "the house married the hill" on which Taliesin sat. Moreover, I believe that Taliesin's design is governed by Key's empathetic approach -- that of listening rather than imposing. Taliesin is not a hierarchical composition of traditional domestic signs; instead, the relationship of space within the house to space outside it is as important, if not more so, than the actual physical fabric in which Wright rendered his individual design statement.

Thesis Supervisor: David Friedman
Title: Associate Professor of the History of Architecture

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While reviewing the names of those many people to whom I owe thanks, I thought of the thousands and thousands of books I have read in my life dedicated to long-suffering wives. Often these wives were described in such glowing terms that I wondered why they weren't named co-authors. So I wondered: should I describe my husband in that manner or should I say, `heck, I wrote the thesis myself?' He did launder, shop, cook and encourage. Yes, he's terrific. But was he my facilitator, my muse? Like the resolutions of many thorny theoretical discussions, I decided the answer wasn't one thing or the other. His name is David Platt, and I simply thank him.

I have accumulated many other happy debts, particularly to those who have supported my interest in a feminist architectural history. In this vein, I first thank Professor John R. Stilgoe for his voluble faith in my ability to perceive. I consider him a real friend. Elizabeth G. Grossman was kind enough to talk with me while I was formulating my plan of attack, for which I am very grateful, as I am for all her helpful comments. Alice Friedman of my alma mater, Wellesley College, offered insightful guidance, as did Joni Seager. Marguerite Shaffer and I wrestled with issues on a day-to-day basis, and Christina Van Horn, as always, was an inspiration. Ultimately I feel I have only begun to understand what a proper feminist method should be, so all inadequacies are mine alone.

Professor Neil Levine, generous Wright scholar, not only aided my efforts as I wrote this paper, but actually suggested the topic. I am very grateful for his seemingly tireless support of my work throughout the two years I have known him.

Professor David Friedman of M.I.T. read all my drafts and propelled me forward. I thank him and all the faculty of M.I.T.'s History, Theory and Criticism program for letting me into the program in the first place, and for their `tough love.'

Also, I want to thank Rives T. Taylor, Toshiaki Nagaya, the terrific Rotch librarians, and my family, especially my father.

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" . . . history records man´s escape from and triumph over the submerging claims of domesticity and nature (closely identified with the engulfing feminine)."

-- Elizabeth Fox-Genovese

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

In 1870, Alfred Tennyson published the poem "Flower in the Crannied Wall:"

> "Flower in the crannied wall,
> I pluck you out of the crannies; --
> Hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
> Little flower -- but if I could understand
> What you are, root and all, and all in all,
> I should know what God and man is."[1]

The image of this poem became very important to architect Frank Lloyd Wright: in the course of his early career, first Wright (and his co-authors) featured the poem in their privately-printed book The House Beautiful; later, Wright had sculptor Richard Bock translate the poem into "a decorative figure in cream white terra cotta"[2] for use in the hallway of his Dana House. At Taliesin, the house Wright built in 1911 for his companion, Mamah Borthwick, and himself, Wright installed a duplicate of the Bock statue at a point which mediates between the house and the top of the hill on which Taliesin sits. Wright said he placed the house at the hill's brow instead of its top (Taliesin is a Welsh word which means "shining brow") in order to show his respect for the hill and for nature:

> I knew well that no house should ever be on a hill or on anything. It should be of the hill. Belonging to it.[3]

The statue that marks this union has been long associated with

Borthwick (Figs. A and B). The association relies on the fact that Wright´s later wife Olgivanna removed the statue, and that Borthwick was popularly known as "Mamah of the Hill" and "Mamah of the Garden."

Tennyson´s poem suggests that nature is the source of man´s self-understanding; to understand the vulnerable flower is ultimately to understand both the world and the self (as man).[4] In order to achieve this understanding, the protagonist, in Tennyson´s view, must "pluck" the flower out of its niche so he can examine it, "root and all." The flower is thereby sacrificed, but its death is hardly noted. In the end, even though the flower has a vital power, its real purpose, again, would seem to be as a tool for others.

In aligning Borthwick´s identity with the statue and thereby with the image in the poem, Wright echoed the common association of women and the natural world -- an association which dates back far into history. At the turn of the century, the conjunction of the two was a cliché, and Tennyson´s example would have been taken entirely for granted. The action depicted in the statue suggests the role of women as muse, as she merges with the form in front of her. But in this thesis I want to suggest that Taliesin represents a time in which Wright chose not to use women and nature as tools, but as forces acting in their own right, and, with this change in outlook came a change in design.

Mamah Borthwick, of course, was more than a symbol for nature and Taliesin. She was real. How was her presence -- her <u>real</u> presence -- manifested at Taliesin? Unfortunately little specific information about her remains to help us. Since this is the case, I will at times have to flesh out the skeleton of existing information with material written about women in her day. But if Borthwick will again exist as something of a symbol, at least she will be recuperated from the perspective of women´s lives, and not as an idealized muse of men´s visions.

Borthwick was not the "hot-house" woman often associated with the turn of the century: she was a feminist and a wage-earning professional, and can be characterized as one example of what was then called the `new woman.´ While Borthwick lived with Wright, she worked as a translator; earlier she had worked as a teacher. All her published translations were of works originally written by famous Swedish author and teacher Ellen Key (1849-1926). Wright´s name is given as co-translator of one of these books, and, as we will see, he and Borthwick both had many reasons for agreeing with the tenets included in it. Spurred by new conceptions of women, Key had suggested reworking the family institution; one can be sure that for any thinking architect, as Wright certainly was, belief in any of Key´s ideas would have necessitated a concommitant rethinking of the family house. As the works of Dolores Hayden and Gwendolyn Wright have shown, women and men alike were actively engaged in exploring the house typology at this time, seeking to accomodate a modern family and the modern housewife.[5] Since Taliesin is Wright´s first "natural house," surely this stylistic shift needs to be evaluated both in light of Key´s work, and in regard to Borthwick´s presence. This is what I will attempt to cover in this thesis.[6]

I am particularly interested in the various levels at which ideas of the "organic" play into Taliesin´s design. Wright´s definition of organic architecture (one that "develops from within outward in harmony with the conditions of its being as distinguished from one that is applied from without"[7]) was first clearly stated in 1914 (when he and Borthwick were living together), and encompasses all the terms used by contemporary feminists to discuss the "ever more organic" fusion, in Key´s words,[8] of man and woman -- a union characterized by mutual respect, with each partner specializing in `separate but equal´ spheres. The fact that architecture and gender roles could be discussed with the same terminology deserves to be explored. Is it a simple collision, or, for Wright, might it have had profound significance?

I have sought to understand the impact of Borthwick and Key on Wright by examining contemporary documents about or by these three players. Since Wright edited and re-edited his life to such a large extent, I have avoided retrospective commentary as much as possible. As for contextual material, my endeavor has been to align Wright´s work with women´s history; valuable, too, would have been a sustained examination of the influences of other feminist reformers on domestic architecture, but that will have to come at another time.

NOTES

Chapter One

Epigraph: Fox-Genovese, Elizabeth. "Placing Women´s History in History." New Left Review, no. 133 (May-June 1982), p. 14.

1. Tennyson, Alfred. The Holy Grail and Other Poems. London: Strahan and Company, 1870, p. 204.

2. Wright, Frank Lloyd. "In the Cause of Architecture" (1908). Reprinted in Gutheim, Frederick. In the Cause of Architecture: Frank Lloyd Wright. New York: Architectural Record, 1975, p. 119.

3. Wright, Frank Lloyd. An Autobiography (1st edition). New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1943, p. 168.

4. The protagonist of the poem was meant, no doubt, to be a man. It is unlikely that Tennyson would write a poem in the 1800s expressing a woman´s attempt to understand a man. Women then were so much \`other´ that it seems unlikely that he would consider writing about their thoughts.

5. See Hayden, Dolores. The Grand Domestic Revolution. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981. Also Wright, Gwendolyn. Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981.

6. This thesis was substantially written before I heard about the work of Anthony Alofsin, whose dissertation "Frank Lloyd Wright: the Impact of Europe, 1910-1914" (done for Columbia University) deals with Key´s impact on Wright, though not, I understand, on his design. I have not yet read his work, though I look forward to doing so, nor did I hear his presentation at the April 1988 Society of Architectural Historians meeting.

7. Wright, Frank Lloyd. "In the Cause of Architecture: Second Paper. \`Style, Therefore, Will be the Man, It is His. Let His Forms Alone´" (1914). Reprinted in Gutheim, p. 122.

8. Key, Ellen. Love and Ethics, translated by Mamah Bouton Borthwick and Frank Lloyd Wright. Chicago: The Ralph Fletcher Seymour Company, c. 1912, p. 39.

Chapter Two

MAMAH BORTHWICK (CHENEY) FROM 1869 - 1904

In 1903, Frank Lloyd Wright designed a house for Edwin Cheney and Mamah Borthwick, then Mrs. Cheney.[1] The Cheneys were either expecting or just welcoming the first of their two children. Their Wright house was to be located in Oak Park, an upper-class suburb of Chicago and the same town in which Wright lived with his family. Indeed the Wrights and Cheneys were acquainted and seem to have participated in the same social circuit (Borthwick and Wright´s wife Catherine [Tobin][2] were both members of the elite Nineteenth Century Club,[3] and co-authored and presented papers to their fellow members).

Borthwick was an active participant in the design of the Cheney house;[4] at the turn of the century such a female-client/architect relationship was common. The role of housewife was often popularly cast as that of a professional and, in keeping with that belief, women had some say about their alloted sphere.[5] (Of course, this sphere, about which much more shall follow in the next chapter, was agreed to be secondary to the public world.) Wright and Borthwick grew close and, together, they eventually left the suburban world and their families behind for an extended trip in Europe. Neither returned to their previous families, nor to the suburbs. Instead, Wright designed Taliesin in rural Wisconsin for their life together. Even after Borthwick died, Wright never again resided in a suburban location. Although it might well have been difficult to reestablish ties to the social world on which the new couple had so demonstrably turned their back, clearly it could have been done if they had so wished. Wright was never known to restrain himself if he didn´t choose to, and it is hard to imagine him being overwhelmed by a fear of ostracism. Therefore it seems important to understand what Wright and Borthwick left behind for "the house that hill might marry,"[6] as he later referred to Taliesin. To do so, I will discuss the Cheney house, both architectonically and in its suburban context. What kind of lifestyle would this house contain? And what tensions, with some aid of hindsight, can we identify as built-in? But in order to really understand this house, more information is needed about Mamah Borthwick. (I will not discuss Edwin Cheney, as newspaper accounts cite Borthwick´s contribution and never his, as if he had not been importantly involved.) How did Borthwick come to be a housewife? And what did it then mean to be married to a house, as implied by that word? So in this chapter we will learn about Borthwick, then in the next chapter we will turn to the Cheney house itself.

Mamah Bouton Borthwick was born in Iowa in June, 1869. That makes her the same age that Wright implied he was through his use of a fictitious birthdate; actually, he was two years older than she.[7] Between 1888 and 1893, Borthwick was a student at the University of Michigan, where she received her first degree -- either a teaching certificate or a Bachelor of Arts (university records are not clear) -- in 1892. In 1893 she was awarded a Master of Arts. Her coursework was primarily in the subjects of teaching skills, the arts and languages.[8]

The first colleges for women had been formed in the 1860s, and soon midwestern land-grant colleges, hitherto all male, opened their doors to women as well. So Borthwick was not of the first cohort of female graduates, but she was among the earlier. At the University of Michigan, known to be liberal, prejudice was somewhat hidden by the time she was a student; a female contemporary wrote:

> The school was coeducational [this must be considered in light of the fact that most schools still weren't] and had been so for some twenty years, so we women were taken for granted and there was none of the sex antagonism which I saw later in Eastern schools.

This alumna further characterized her experience in such manner:

> Ann Arbor gave me my first taste of emancipation and I loved it. I loved to feel that nobody was worrying about me when I came back late from the library, nobody even knew when I came.[9]

Such freedom was the exception, not the rule: scholarly tomes continued to be published well into the 20th century that `proved´ that women were `naturally´ (innately) intellectual inferior to men, and questioned whether the female body could survive academic life without impairment. Debate over women's education was vociferous when Borthwick was in college, pitched in tenors that ranged from raucous to scientific. Edward Clarke's extremely popular book Sex in Education or, A Fair Chance for Girls (1873) set forth the debate about women's schooling, saying that if women were to develop their brains (favored, `masculine' skills), their reproductive systems would physically suffer (their ovaries would shrink).[10] This view was echoed in British Darwinist Herbert Spencer's The Study of Sociology (1874), another widely-quoted book. Spencer viewed the body as a closed-energy system: taxing one part meant taking from another; women's physique was thought to make them especially susceptible to this.[11] Intelligence itself was seen as a secondary sex characteristic (which was not disproven until 1906, when genetics came to be understood). Historian Rosalind Rosenberg writes:

> The idea that woman's mind was limited by her body was as old as antiquity. But at no time was that idea ever more fervently held or more highly celebrated than it was in America after the Civil War. In those years many, perhaps most, Americans feared that changes taking place in the traditional division of sex roles posed a serious threat to a social fabric already weakened by war. Rapid commercial expansion was luring farmers' daughters to work outside the home. Female benevolent societies were introducing middle-class women to urban squalor. A woman's movement, spawned by abolitionism, was urging women to demand greater autonomy. And, most alarming to male educational leaders, the need for women teachers was now spurring a movement to open higher education to females. Because the home no longer defined the limits of female activity and women were joining the men in the outside world, however marginally, many Americans believed that the need to draw a clear

> line between appropriately male and female activities had become acute.[12]

After graduating, Borthwick became a professional, a teacher -- embarking on the most acceptable and available profession for women. Like mothers, teachers were to inculcate proper, polite American notions. For three years, she taught at the Port Huron public high school, first teaching English, history and French, then history and French.[13] The Port Huron Times Herald later claimed that she made "many friends," citing no specific source (and the article is chock-full of errors), and said she was "beautiful, talented and unusually refined."[14]

After that date, I cannot with certainty establish what she did until 1899, when she married Edwin Cheney. Chicago Tribune articles state that she worked as a librarian in Port Huron, as do Wrightiana texts, but at least one examination of St. Clair Library records does not support that claim.[15] Journalism was played fast and loose 80 years ago, with facts sacrificed to coloration, but I quote the following Tribune text anyway to show that Borthwick was hesitant to marry:

> The wooing by Mr. Cheney was in itself a romance. Rebuffed many times when his wife was in charge of a public library in Port Huron, Mich., he made journey after journey to that city before he finally convinced the librarian to capitulate, and then friends declared it was only the whirlwind campaign of her impetuous lover which swept her off her feet.[16]

For a middle or upper-class woman, getting married meant being sentenced to the purdah-like realm of the suburb: for Mamah Borthwick specifically, Oak Park, where the couple moved to. Statistics show that only half the number of females who graduated from the University of Michigan prior to 1900 ever married[17] -- some unwilling, presumably, to pay the price of spatial seclusion. The official reason that wives were to remain at home was that they were to prepare for their presumably full-time and practically life-long occupation as mothers. Of course women were forced to withdraw from the marketplace before their marriages produced children, and to stay out of it even if children were not forthcoming; the real prompt for seclusion was, I think, that the women were becoming sexually active. Married women were sullied, no longer virginal. This fact alone relegated wives to the status of economic dependency on their husbands.[18] (It could be said that this ability to control gave men a sense of power that they might not otherwise have had in the face of a nation-wide economy over which no one had sure control.) This state of dependence, then, is what Borthwick entered upon her marriage in 1899.

It is important to make absolutely clear what the family institution was in 1899. Sociologist Kathleen Gerson explains:

> Historically, American households have often diverged from the model of breadwinner-father, homemaking-mother,

> and closely tended children surrounded by doting adults. That family form is actually a relatively recent and short-lived phenomenon. Before the advent of modern medicine and modern standards of sanitation, infant mortality was prevalent, and parents were reluctant to rejoice in the birth of a child before he or she reached an age when survival seemed likely. Death often robbed children of their grandparents and one or more parents as well. One-parent families are thus not unique to the modern world.
>
> Families in pre-industrial and early industrial times also were not especially child-centered. Instead, they generally operated as small businesses, looking to all family members to contribute to the household economy. In order to sustain an acceptable standard of living for the family as a whole, children were often treated in ways that appear decidedly adult to modern eyes. Many left the parental home to work at apprenticeships and reside in boarding houses long before the age now considered appropriate for children to live on their own. Adolescence as it is generally thought of is actually a comparatively new life stage which became a social and psychological pattern only after the rise of mass education and a capitalist industrial economy.
>
> The housewife is also a relatively recent historical development. During the early stages of industrialization, many women and children worked alongside men in the factories. These groups withdrew from the industrial workplace only after male workers secured a "living wage" upon which the entire household could depend. Some groups of women, moreover, have never been able to withdraw from the paid labor force; large segments of working-class and poor women have always worked outside the home for pay.[19]

In an agrarian age, then, women had had control over specific and imperative skills; in a capitalist age, women like Charlotte Perkins Gilman (a major feminist critic), "questioned whether there could be any dignity in a domestic life which no longer centered on women´s distinctive skills, but on mere biological existence."[20]

Painfully little descriptive material exists about Borthwick. Wright described her publicly only once. Writing at the time of her death in 1914,[21] he said she was "brave and lovely," had "innate dignity and gentleness of character," and that she:

> had a soul that belonged to her alone -- that valued womanhood above wifehood or motherhood. A woman with a capacity for love and life made real by a higher, more difficult ideal of the white flame of chastity than was "moral" or expedient and for which she was compelled to crucify all that society holds sacred and essential -- in name! .... And she was true as only a woman who loves knows the meaning of the word.[22]

Wright´s son John wrote:

> Mamah ... was a cultured, respected and sensitive woman -- a bright spot in Oak Park. Her laugh had the same quality as had Dad´s, so did her love and her interest in his work.[23]

It is sad to see such a hackneyed description like this which does not allow much of Borthwick´s distinct personality to emerge. But we have enough information to see already that Borthwick, as Wright said, had "a soul that belonged to hre alone." Her early stint as a professional showed perserverance and intelligence. As we will continue to see, her actions mark her as a `new woman´ -- one who strove to value her needs as highly as others´.

NOTES

Chapter Two

1. For consistency´s sake, I will identify Borthwick with this name throughout, the one she bore before and after her marriage (she had her name legally changed back).

2. I will refer to her as Catherine to cut down on the repitition of the name Wright.

3. Sweeney, Robert L. Frank Lloyd Wright: An Annotated Bibliography. Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1978, p. xxv.

4. "Awful Crime in Wisconsin," Chicago Tribune, August 16, 1914, pp. 1 and 6.

5. Women of the day were often well-versed in issues of home design, as the social housekeeping movement (which will be discussed soon) encouraged women to control the home for the sake of their families´ health, both spiritual and physical. Early women architectural students were often specifically channelled into house design as most befitting their supposed capabilities and concerns. (See, for example, Cole, Doris. From Tipi to Skyscraper: A History of Women in Architecture. Boston: i press, 1973, chapter four: "Education of Women Architects: The Cambridge School," pp. 78-106.)

6. Wright, An Autobiography, p. 193.

7. Thomas Hines, the historian who first established that 1867 was Wright´s true birth year, has not figured out when Wright began to claim 1869, except to say: "By the time of Wright´s first inclusion in Who´s Who in America in 1924, he was listing the year as 1869. When and why he changed the date by two years may never be known." (Hines, Thomas S., Jr. "Frank Lloyd Wright -- the Madison Years, Records versus Recollections." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, vol. XXVI, no. 4 (December 1967), pp. 227-33 [this quote page 228].)

8. Telephone conversation with the transcript division of the Registrar´s Office, December 4, 1987.

9. McGuigan, Dorothy Gies. Dangerous Experiment: One Hundred Years of Women at the University of Michigan. Ann Arbor: Center for Continuing Education of Women, 1970, pp. 90-91.

10. "Friends of coeducation suspected that his book had been unofficially inspired by the reluctance of Harvard [where Clarke worked] to open its doors to women."

ibid, p. 53.

Clarke´s book was a best-seller, with 17 editions published right away; according to McGuigan it was still being quoted in the 20th century.

See also: Ehrenreich, Barbara and Deidre English. For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts´ Advice to Women. New York: Anchor Press, 1978, especially chapter 4: "The Sexual Politics of Sickness -- The Dictatorship of the Ovaries," pp. 91-126.

11. Because they menstruated on a monthly basis, and their wombs were thought to drain their energy. It was believed that:

> Motherhood compounded the female´s metabolic disadvantage by forcing her into dependence on the male. Standing at one remove from the full force of natural selection, she was in small part immune from its progressive tendencies ... [and] gradually fell behind the male.

Rosenberg, Rosalind. Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982, p. 7.

12. ibid , p. xv.

13. That this is the case is proven by Port Huron Board of Education rosters printed during these years, which Mr. J. McKinsey´s office was kind enough to send me copies of. Borthwick´s address is listed as 1317 Seventh Street. One Miss M.H. Chadbourne, high school teacher of English, History and and German, is listed at this same address; indeed, many of the teachers seem to have lived in one house or another on Seventh Street.

14. "Former Port Huron Teacher Put to Death along with Five Other Souls by Crazed Negro." Port Huron Times Herald, August 7, 1914, pp. 1-2(?).

15. Per February 27, 1988 telephone conversation with a long-time Port Huron librarian, one Mrs. Marshall, who said she had previously searched library records for Borthwick´s name, to no avail.

16. "Cheney Champion of Runaway Wife." Chicago Tribune, November 9, 1909, p. 7.

17. McGuigan, Dangerous Experiment, p. 77.

18. Both men and women actively campaigned at this time to get employers to provide "living wages;" for men to be unable to provide one came to be a source of shame. Female reformers did not seem to notice that they were thereby making women absolutely captive to their biological role. They took women's nurturing capabilities for granted, and tried to upgrade the status of nurturers. Men's abilities to parent were never in question. (And still really aren't: one can "mother" a child [embrace, protect, fuss over...], but one still cannot "father" a child except on the most biological level.

19. Gerson, Kathleen. "Changing Family Structure and the Position of Women: A Review of the Trends." Journal of the American Planning Association, vol. 49, no. 2 (Spring 1983), pp. 138-39.

20. Ehrenreich and English, For Her Own Good, p. 12.

21. In An Autobiography Wright doesn't even give her name until he is describing the incident in which she and her children were killed by Taliesin's cook in August, 1914. It was a horrific tragedy.

A long-time Taliesin apprentice, Edgar Tafel, wrote that "In the nine years I lived and worked with Mr. Wright he never mentioned the name of this extraordinary woman .... he kept the memory of her far within his own thoughts."

Tafel, Edgar. Apprentice to Genius: Years with Frank Lloyd Wright. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1979, p. 81.

22. "Frank Lloyd Wright to His Neighbors." (The Spring Green, Wisconsin) Weekly Home News, August 20, 1914, pp. 1 and 12.

23. Wright, John Lloyd, My Father Who Is on Earth. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1946, p. 80.

He is not an ideal source as, for example, in My Father Who Is on Earth, he wrote that both the Cheney children were girls (in reality they were a boy and a girl). His acquaintance with Borthwick was limited to when he lived in Oak Park as a youngster.

Chapter Three

THE CHENEY HOUSE, OAK PARK, ILLINOIS AND THE FLIGHT FROM IT

(1904-1909)

Instead of focusing on the ways in which male designers shaped the suburban house, my primary focus in this chapter will be to see how women -- and to a lesser degree, men -- lived there. Ultimately I choose this position from a belief that Borthwick and Wright left the suburbs because they realized that suburban norms were stifling. Neither wished any longer to live within the bounds prescribed for social relationships. So I am looking for social tensions built right into the house, so to speak. We will hear Wright´s contemporary statements about his decision to leave Oak Park, and in the next chapter we will see that, following Borthwick, he later committed himself to a new vision of what family life could be. So this chapter works from a wide, social lens to a close examination of the specific Cheney design. How does Wright´s opinion emerge?

The suburbs represent a constructed version of the line Rosalind Rosenberg described separating the intellectual from the reproductive. Generally suburbs were perceived of as innately feminine: populous with women and children, fecund with (cultivated) natural elements, and bereft of men for the important portion of the day (Figure C). It was hoped that this realm could shield women and children from the decay and moral pollution believed to pervade downtowns. Men were sentenced to their place just as women were sentenced to theirs, but men received the most highly esteemed forms of renumeration. For a woman to leave the suburb (her `place´) was to sully and ultimately de-sex herself. And de-sexing oneself largely meant becoming identity-less, since one´s gender role was the most significant factor of one´s identity, especially for women.

Noted agitators Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Margaret Sanger and Ellen Swallow Richards, to name a few, fell victim to paralyzing depressions when they were confronted with the limitations of their lives; a new disease, hysteria (a sort of nervous depression), was described during this time, a disease which mysteriously seemed to only strike women.[1]

Many of the women who did enter the public realm cloaked themselves with the aura of "home." "Social housekeepers," kin of "home-economics" proponents, worked vigorously to improve home life, constructing "settlement houses" from which to carry out their campaigns. (Wright´s mother participated in this movement as an early volunteer at Jane Addams´ "Hull-House."[2] And his aunts, who operated a boarding school in which the students were required to contribute domestic labor, called it the "Hillside Home School," a title indicating their belief that the home should be the center of all experience.[3]) Much of the efforts of these reformers went into organizing women´s work to make it more efficient; by doing so they hoped to lessen the drudgery of housework. The idea of home was very elastic, as we can already see: some women embraced it in order to improve domestic life, and others embraced it as a means of enabling women´s escape from it (ultimately home economists, for instance, were professionals rather than housewives). This can be seen as a continuum of advocacy, with poles defined by the short-term goal of improving women´s given lot, versus the more radical goal of eventually extricating women entirely from the domestic milieu.

How the domestic reformers wanted simplicity to affect the household can best be explained by the tenets of the home economics movement. This movement had emerged at the end of the 1880s but really picked up steam in the 1890s, about the time Wright went out into his own practice (1893). In the first national conference on home economics held in 1899, MIT´s Ellen Swallow Richards said:

> The ideal home life for today unhampered by the traditions of the past;
> The utilization of all the resources of modern science to improve the home life;
> The freedom of the home from the dominance of things and their due subordination to ideals;
> The simplicity in material surroundings which will most free the spirit for the more important and permanent interests of the home and of society.[4]

Architects also were calling for control of the cacaphonous elements which characterized the end-of-the-century house.[5] But their call was inspired by different motives. Architecture was just beginning to be a profession in the United States, and so architects' call for simplicity revolved around ideas of purity -- that styles should be properly deployed by knowledgable professionals.[6] Their work generally involved back-to-the-basics treatment of existing styles (notably the Classical after the World's Columbian Exposition). And most of their commissions were for civic structures, not houses -- they were urban projects.[7]

Located in the female realm, was Wright like the domestic reformers, working for the housewife? Or, like members of the architectural profession, was he working against, in opposition to, the domestic realm? Clearly Wright's prairie style buildings represent something of a middle ground between the dictates of his profession and those of the domestic reformers. But I want to argue that at this time in his career Wright's personal sympathies were with the female reformers at the conservative end of the spectrum more than they imitated his fellow architects' interests. Wright celebrated that properly-run house and its genie, the housewife. As Leonard Eaton points out, Wright had not had the benefit of domestic security in his early life, except as a child at the Taliesin farm; judging from the size and the immediate inception of his and Catherine's family, he must have desired a close, well-nurtured family group.[8] He greased the wheels of the domestic machine so that women like his wife would have time to raise their children.

By both living and working[9] in the suburbs, he had put himself right into the problem zone, the place where masculine dictates had the least claim (or, one could see it as the place where control most needed to be exerted). Contemporary newspaper accounts show that Wright stood out in the popular eye for being in the suburbs, but aspersions cast in his direction suspected him of taking advantage of the situation, not as compromised by it (as women who moved out of their prescribed spot were considered to be).

Contemporary observers allied Wright's work with the domestic reformers' calls for simplification. As Wright himself wrote with some disdain in 1908, his early works were called "dress reform houses."[10] This indicates that the prairie style's relative cleanness and lack of busy detailing were perceived of as aesthetic demonstrations of simplicity at least as well as demonstrations of stylistic purity.[11]

The Cheney house is a perfect example of Wright's early focus on the positive potentials of the domestic world. I think that its openness represents a celebration of the essence of the domestic, what the conservative reformers wanted to pare the house down to. I believe that the wall which surrounds the house is an evocation of the housewife, herself dependent and held away from society. When Wright observed Borthwick pushing at the chains that bound her to her domestic duties, and when he realized the limitations he perceived in his wife were due to her family obligations, then, I feel, it was impossible for him to build the family home as this sort of sanctified cage. But I am getting ahead of myself. Let us turn to the Cheney house itself.

Wright´s design emphasizes two elements, to my mind, both of which were pivotal in the enshrinement of women in the home: the living room, and traditional signs of domesticity. The very concept of the modern living room, that totemic volume that holds the place of honor in the Cheney house, is regularly allied with Wright´s name as if he invented it. Of course, he was not solely responsible at all. Reformers were also pushing for the integration of formal interior rooms which had proliferated in the form of parlors, drawing rooms, libraries and "boudoirs" during the Victorian age.[12] Let´s look at the revival of this room type a bit more closely.

First, in pre-Victorian society, most houses had two basic rooms, the kitchen and a second room which could be transformed into the `best room´ when the situation warranted it (Figure D).[13] Extra-familial socializing took place at public spots, such as markets. Inside the house, the private family tended to congregate in the kitchen, which served as workroom and gathering place both.

By mid-century, as we can see in Alexander Jackson Downing´s Cottage Residences (1842), society was making inroads into this heretofore private sphere (Figure E). The era of parlors and boudoirs had arrived. Mark Girouard suggested in regard to English country houses that these proliferating rooms were places in which to withdraw from, or hold off, this incursion. Each room had a distinct purpose, so that the house featured uses, rather than users.[14]

Lizabeth A. Cohen has shown that immigrants resisted the imposition of parlors, perceiving that getting one meant opening up the family unit to Americanization.[15] As one made more and more purchases that were displayed there, one became increasingly embedded in American society, both economically and socially.

Looking at the images shown in the 1873 edition of Downing´s Cottage Residences, one can see that by this time society had moved demonstrably nearer to the house itself (Figure F). Not only can one see the proliferation of rooms in the plans, but one can also see that the images show more people. In the edition printed thirty years earlier, many images did not show a person at all, or, if there was one, it was a little figure so awkwardly rendered that it is hard to believe the figure could have been meant to be anything but a scale reference. In 1873, an explosion of social intercourse is depicted, with people everywhere. Society has entered the yard, and most of the people are women. (In the 1842 edition, the figures were as apt to be male as female.) And these are seen as social females, on gentlemen's arms, or talking, or sheperding young children. One can see that as society came near the family, the woman became increasingly identified with the house itself, and the family began to revolve around her.

By the end of the 19th century, the reform call of which Wright was a part arose. The parlor was seen as polluted by too much cheap gimmrackery, or one too many potted ferns or urns. Instead, any reasonable American would now desire a living room. In effect, the reform doctrine of simplicity staked out the difference of the middle class from the rich and the poor, both of whom were portrayed as captive to material goods.[16] Middle-class moderation was claimed to be characteristic of true Americans. But the middle-class' transformation of the parlor into a living room could not return Americans to a time when the house was autonomous. More and more pressure came to be put upon women to keep themselves separate and unsullied, so that their family could radiate around their pure core.

The turn-of-the-century living room pushed the activities of the family onto center stage even as it provided a focus for the activities and attentions of the household as private, single-family unit.[17] (No doubt it is not a coincidence that the phrase "living wage" was coined [so to speak] at this same time; essentially both applications use "living" to imply the tacit equation: living = family.)

To reiterate, the living room was a studied place for family intimacy; no longer would the family go out into the polis to mingle, but they retreated into the home where they could safely present a tableaux of domestic harmony to invited guests. The protected housewife enabled the house to function as a realm of isolation.

Wright's design development drawings show that he continually refined the plans to emphasize this room. Seven of these drawings still exist (Figures G through L). Figure M shows the rendering of the final conception, and Figure N shows the plan of the house as published by Wright in Henry-Russell Hitchcock's In the Nature of Materials, a plan which presumably represents the house as built. At first the scheme resembled the letter H, with the primary representational rooms grouped at a formal, centralized entrance and to its left (Fig. G). It seems as if a major second floor was provided for, judging from the prominent stairs behind the fireplace; probably due to cost considerations, this floor was lopped off and a ground floor substituted.[18]

Next the H was filled out to a shape which resembles a square (Fig. H). In this scheme, the public and private areas are absolutely separated, with a hallway and the kitchen serving to buffer -- and further set off and formalize -- the representational spaces. The entrance has moved from its original prominent location to the side of the house, where it is hidden behind the signal of its presence -- the pushed-out room labelled "reception." The axis which links the dining, living and reception rooms extends outside to two gardens. Such cross-axial arrangements had already been developed by Wright in, to give two examples, the F.B. Henderson house of Elmhurst, Illinois (1901) and the Ward Willits house of Highland Park (1902) [Figure O]. In this stage of the Cheney design, as in the other two houses cited, the axes organize space and impart a sense of dynamism through their opposition (by creating surprises and shifting vistas as one proceeds throughout). In order to create complexity within any single space, Wright went to some effort to fracture walls and partitions, as well as diffusing building corners. But already in this stage of the Cheney design, Wright is working toward imparting an equal sense of dynamism within a more restrained framework. Figure I shows a decrease in roof pitch -- a sort of further tightening.

The final plan (Figure N) is even more compact than the one sketched in Figure H. Entering the Cheney space is a matter of a very few steps, but within those several seconds, one would enact an extremely dynamic experience. In the entry itself, one´s forward view would stop at a blank wall; to one´s left one would see the library, looking like a simple square. The minute one passed through the entry, one would simultaneously be exposed to the entire formal area (since one would enter on the diagonal), as well as the totemic fireplace hard by one´s right (Figure K). The Arthur Heurtley house (Oak Park, 1902), by contrast, which is also relatively square, requires one to first walk upstairs, and then take quite a few steps before one perceives the spatial complexity of the house (Figure P). In the Cheney house, just a few simple wall manipulations provide a tremendous amount of spatial complexity, all tensely contained in what is basically one room. The passageways running between the public rooms have been removed, and this whole space flows together, a united space for all family activities (there´s no place else but the bedrooms[19]). In the Henderson house the spaces were also united, but its ceiling configuration emphasizes the central block, so that the rooms off it (which would also tend to be brighter) seem attached, appended. The Cheney ceiling emphasizes the essential unity of the space. So although Wright did give the various portions of this space several labels ("fireplace alcove," "dining room," "library" and "living room"), the spatial unity makes it also read as one room for family living.

Let us now turn to the Cheney house exterior. One consequence of the rendering´s bird´s-eye perspective (Fig. M) is that the house looks as if it would be open to a viewer´s gaze: one sees in via the open terrace door; one sees the open corners and many windows; and one gets the idea that this is a light, airy structure, rather tent-like. And this is an apt perception, but only from this artificial vantage point, for it metaphorically enables the viewer to look over the wall that separates and holds the house above the streetscape. From the sidewalk, any passerby would see the high perimeter walls and, beyond, little but the wide roof of the house and its tremendous chimney.[20] Even though the family was symbolically revealed, in reality the house was dominated by traditional symbols of home: sheltering roofs and walls, and the hearth, suggesting the housing of a closed nuclear unit. The house is defined as it draws in its skirts, so to speak, and shuts everything else out. The rigid geometry of the house´s outline reinforces this separation. And fittingly, as stated above, its entrance is hidden from view. In this way society´s access is (only apparently) controlled.

Only for its residents, and for those invited into the precinct, is the house open (both in terms of the interpenetrating public rooms, and in terms of its openness to the gardens). The degree to which the wall is cut into with windows, as well as their proximity to each other, is exceptional in Wright's *oeuvre* to that point. But again, this all takes place behind an absolute wall.

The architectural conception of the Cheney house represents a tension between two opposing conceptions: the house as an expression of the supposed openness of the American family; and the house as something which defines itself by exclusion. Since the openness is achieved by opening up the *interior* and allowing views to the outside (not *vice versa*), the resolution favors a conservative pitch for the family -- that is, by excluding all that the family is not.

But what if the housewife was not satisfied with her role as genie, as the sacrificed enabler of this separation? Wright and his wife Catherine had a marriage that fulfilled all traditional paradigms. Yet Wright complained; he said that Catherine Wright only "wanted children, loved children, and understood children. She had her life in them." He went on to claim that his buildings were his children.[21] Up on the pedestal of glorified motherhood, enshrined in the home, women like Catherine were able to be perfect maternal influences. But this came at the price of their own self-development, as well as their identity as spouse, as Wright observed (though he doesn´t credit Catherine with having fulfilled a proscribed mandate). And in reality, of course, women could only maneuver within limits set by their husbands´ paychecks and personalities.

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By 1908 Borthwick had two children. Apparently being a full-time mother was not fulfilling enough for her and, fortunate enough to be wealthy, she was able to rely on a governess and house-servants to provide her sufficient freedom to take classes in 1908 and 1909 at the University of Chicago.[22] (Her sister also lived there, probably playing the role of relief soldier.[23]) Perhaps Borthwick´s intellectual work impressed upon her how stifling the bounds of suburbia were. At this same time, Wright and Borthwick apparently decided they wanted to live together, and they informed their respective spouses of this. Everyone then agreed to a sort of interim separation, during which the four would remain in their respective homes but would live in separate rooms. Catherine and Edward apparently hoped that Wright and Borthwick would change their minds during this year. In 1911, Wright explained this period´s events:

> At the end of a year no divorce was in sight, no immediate separation possible except on statutory

> grounds, which entailed needlessly harsh and untrue conditions, or a visit to Reno for the rag with which society is content to quibble for respectability.
>
> The man [himself] was called abroad for a year, a respite from years of hard work, to overlook the publication that was to crown those years with a foreign recognition. He made no secret of the fact that he would take the woman [Borthwick] with him, to those who had a right to know, for the time was up. But he neglected to inform the Chicago newspapers and, owing to that omission, it was said that he had eloped.[24]

In June of 1909, Borthwick told her husband that she was going to leave him and, taking her children, went to a friend's house in Colorado. A 1909 Chicago Tribune article about the flight says that Borthwick's friend was one "Mrs. Chadburn;" it seems possible that this was the Miss Chadbourne of her Port Huron days (unwed).[25] In October, Chadburn/Chadbourne died giving birth. Following this sad and probably radicalizing experience,[26] Borthwick sent word to her husband that he should come pick up the children, because she was departing without them. Depart she did, as too did Wright, for their lengthy European sojourn, bringing forth a storm of criticism. After the European trip, Borthwick was ready to challenge such inflexible norms, as we are about to see. She proceeded to secure a divorce (it sounds as if she refused to live with Wright on any long-term basis until it was secured). Divorce was still abhorred, though actually it was relatively common by 1910;[27] but Borthwick's position was particularly notorious since she had entrusted their children to Edwin Cheney:

> [T]he majority of Americans....could accept most Progressive women reformers because, as one analyst put it, most of them were `good wives and mothers´ who `personally deserved public esteem´ and who had not taken up such `eccentricities of base quality´ as free love [quoting an 1895 book]. But Americans were suspicious of behavior and ideology that deviated from the middle-class norm. Charlotte Perkins Gilman was vilified by the press for divorcing her husband and later sending their daughter to live with him; Margaret Sanger, who underwent a similar experience, did not fare any better.[28]

I suspect that after coming to understand the problems the suburban, middle-class world held for Mamah Borthwick and other women who wished to develop an independent personality, Wright could no longer be its designer. Or, at least, it became too problematic a position for him to maintain. He might have realized that the interior focus of the suburban house, which he had so concisely expressed with his design of the Cheney house, represented a prison-wall to its female inhabitants. If openness was desired, then the suburbs could not provide it. A move elsewhere might potentially free women as well.

By the time Wright and Borthwick left the suburbs behind, many domestic reformers had realized that changing the house could not improve women´s status if society did not change as well.[29] And traditional ideas about the house were too strong to overcome.[30] Wright and Borthwick´s eventual decision to live in rural Wisconsin should be seen against the background of this realization, for in moving themselves to a realm they could control, they only effected a personal solution to a problem of a larger scale.

NOTES

Chapter Three

1. This phenomenon is documented in Ehrenreich and English, For Her Own Good.

For a moving contemporary depiction, see Charlotte Perkins Gilman's 1899 "Yellow Wallpaper," republished by the Feminist Press in 1973.

2. Wright became acquainted with Hull-House soon after his arrival in Chicago, for his mother, Mrs. Russell Wright, was an early volunteer worker there and for a time took care of [important member] Florence Kelley's three children. Wright's uncle, Jenkin Lloyd Jones ... was also a frequent visitor of Hull-House and a loyal ally of Jane Addams in her many reform campaigns. Wright himself was an interested observer of, though rarely a participant in, the settlement's activities [by which the author presumably includes the Arts and Crafts Society founded there].

Davis, Allen F. and Mary Lynn McCree, eds. Eighty Years at Hull-House. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969, p. 85.

Addams' autobiography Twenty Years at Hull-House doesn't mention either Wright.

3. See photograph of female Home School pupils being taught how to cook in At Home: Domestic Life in the Post-Centennial Era, 1876-1920. The authors suggest that the Lloyd Jones' taught the children scientific house management skills, as opposed to traditional cooking techniques. (They do not cite any proof.) In any case, the school's name shows that the sisters believed that home life could not be separated from one's overall life experience. I am intrigued by the metamorphic similarity between "hillside" and "Taliesin" (the house on the 'shining brow' of the hill). (Talbot, George. At Home: Domestic Life in the Post-Centennial Era, 1876-1920. Milwaukee: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, c. 1976, p. 28 [illustration 7.3.])

4. Quoted in Wright, Gwendolyn, Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 155.

5. Naomi Schor´s book Reading in Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine makes clear that details have long been considered tainted. They are places of particularity, of the everyday, of the personal, and when they multiply to a large number, they make it impossible to "transcend."

Schor, Naomi. Reading in Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine. New York: Methuen, 1987.

6. They were also engaged in throwing off the persona of the effiminate artiste, as was portrayed in Henry Fuller´s With the Procession (1895).

7. Gwendolyn Wright makes clear that most midwestern architects were doing civic structures in Moralism and the Model Home, p. 74.

8. Eaton, Leonard K. Two Chicago Architects and their Clients: Frank Lloyd Wright and Howard Van Doren Shaw. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1969, p. 65.

9. I wonder what percentage of architects had their offices in the suburbs, as opposed to the city. The only other person I can think of was H.H. Richardson, who worked from his home in part from health reasons. Wright´s announcement that his office had moved into the studio next to his Oak Park home said it was important to work in a place "fitted and adapted to the work to be performed and set outside distractions of the busy city."

The brochure with this announcement is reprinted in Wright, John Lloyd, My Father Who Is on Earth, p. 22.

William Dean Howell also was a lone male professional ensconced in the suburban world of women. His book Suburban Sketches focuses, however, on the inescapable fact that suburbanization was a phenomenon of class separation. He describes many a tramp through Cambridge and vicinity, noting the variances of lifestyles. As far as women go, he talks about them primarily in the context of what was then called the `servant problem.´ (Howells, William Dean. Suburban Sketches. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1969 [originally published 1898].)

10. Clearly in his mind, this was a negative comment. Gutheim, In the Cause of Architecture, p. 58.

11. Wright was always sensitive about having his work proclaimed the offspring of any movement or any person other than himself, with few specific exceptions (most notably Louis H. Sullivan). He always asserted an individualistic, heroic status. I do not believe that should keep us from

understanding his sources.

12. In 1897, Helen Campbell "praised Frank Lloyd Wright's Winslow house in her Household Economics" for picking up on these issues. The Winslow house was Wright's first major commission when he began his private practice.

Wright, Gwendolyn, Moralism and the Model Home, p. 168.

13. This illustration is from an 1850 book, but because it depicts a lower-class house, it represents a continuation of a type from the past.

14. Downing wrote: "This practical part of architecture involves ... what is called the plan of a building -- providing apartments for the various wants of domestic and social life; adapting the size of such apartments to their respective uses, and all other points which the progress of modern civilization has made necessary to our comfort and enjoyment within doors."

Downing, The Architecture of Country Houses; Including Designs for Cottages, Farm Houses, and Villas. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1850, pp. 6-7.

15. Cohen, Lizabeth A. "Embellishing a Life of Labor: An Interpretation of the Material Culture of American Working-Class Homes, 1885-1915." In Upton, Dell and John Michael Vlach, eds. Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1986, pp. 261-78.

16. Wright, Gwendolyn, Moralism and the Model Home, p. 167.

17. My thanks to Joni Seager for pointing this out to me. No decent discussion of the various developments of this room exists, to my knowledge.

18. It's amazing how many Wright buildings turn out to have basements, given his polemic against them.

19. Well, there may be something going on in the basement, of which I cannot locate plans. But it seems highly unlikely that there are any major rooms there since access is through the kitchen.

20. The rendering does not represent the house as built, exactly, but in terms of this argument, the difference between conception and execution is one of degree, not kind.

21. "Spend Christmas Making `Defense' of `Spirit Hegira.'" Chicago Tribune, December 26, 1911, p. 1.

22. Per telephone conversation with the Registrar´s Office, University of Chicago, December 31, 1987. Specific class titles are lost in the sands of time.

23. If Wright was told that the sister would be a resident, then the original floor plan would have one room for the sister, one for Cheney and Borthwick, one for the extant child, and one for assumed forthcoming children.

24. "Wright Reveals Romance Secret." Chicago Sunday Tribune. December 31, 1911, p. 4.

25. "Cheney Champion of Runaway Wife," p. 7.

26. She may have realized that sexuality often led to one of three stumbling-blocks to women´s self-realization: children, soul-crushing sacrifices or death. Birth control was not widely available until the 1920s.

27. See: O´Neill, William L. "Divorce as a Moral Issue: A Hundred Years of Controversy" in George, Carol V.R., ed. `Remember the Ladies:´ New Perspectives on Women in American History. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

28. Banner, Lois W. Women in Modern America: A Brief History. 2nd ed. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984, p. 114.

29. Wright, Gwendolyn, Moralism and the Model Home, p. 253.

30. Of course it´s not quite so black and white: reformers´ efforts had lessened the amount of time needed to run the house, thereby allowing more women to leave it (unless they chose the conservative option of spending the time with their children).

Chapter Four

THE WORDS OF ELLEN KEY

When Wright and Borthwick went to Germany in 1909, Borthwick apparently encountered the works of Ellen Key, whose views were already well-known in that country.[1] Wright spent much of the year abroad preparing the Wasmuth portfolio, and Borthwick prepared to launch a public attack on the American patriarchal family by furthering Key´s endeavors.

The Chicago Tribune records Borthwick studying "old and new philosophies of life:"

> Mrs. Cheney spent part of her time taking a course of study in Leipzig. She interested herself in the old and new philosophies of living, and found what was to her a justification for the "spiritual hegira" which the Wright-Cheney flight came to be called. She began to talk of "the mating of souls," the "realization of self," the "attainment of the ideal," the "higher perception of duty." Many like phrases formed themselves in her mind.[2]

(The quoted phrases all relate to Key tenets.) But not much is really known about this period. The Taliesin Fellowship appears to hold back information, particularly relating to Wright´s state of mind.[3] This suggests to me that this period was one of uncertainty, questioning and re-thinking. That upon his emergence from this period Wright´s work looked different suggests that this lacuna needs further consideration.

Today Ellen Key is remembered, when she is recalled at all, as an advocate of "free love." By associating her with this socially-loaded term, it is easy to overlook the fact that she set forth a new world view: a world renewed by "sex morality." Key called for a reworked family institution based on equality between the sexes and, on a larger scale, a world of transformed social relations. She envisioned a public, \`masculine´ world "ennobled" with a \`feminized´ stance allied to a holistic approach to nature.

Key´s beliefs are somewhat difficult for a current reader to comprehend, since they are not easily encompassed within recent notions of feminism. Many of Key´s early writings glorified mothering, which she believed women had an inherent aptitude for (a belief in keeping with contemporary scientific theories, as we saw in the second chapter). Later, in such books as Love and Ethics, she espoused sexual freedom for women, and at other points she called for a socialist world. Not until the twentieth century did she throw her weight behind the suffrage campaign.

Organized feminist movements, whose first concerns were those of suffrage, worked to gain equal votes and ultimately, equal rights for women.[4] Even though current feminism has enlarged the scope of its debate, feminism´s earlier goals based on similarity rather than difference remain in the forefront.

Key was interested in difference and, furthermore, she was never as concerned with the rights and autonomy of the individual female as she was with every person´s responsibility to act as part of single community transformed by values which women had long maintained. I now see Key not so much as a proponent of men and women being `separate (that is, different) but equal,´ although she was that, but more as someone who tacitly believed women´s nature was better than men´s. (Key´s arguments were usually confined to a call for tipping the scales back into balance, but her supreme validation of love favors a component of women´s sphere above men´s.)

Key´s The Century of the Child appeared in English translation (not by Borthwick) in 1909, published by G.P. Putnam´s Sons. (The original Swedish version had appeared in 1900.) It was Key´s first American best-seller; and it was read by an international audience. In it she broadcast her belief that the future of the human race depended upon women. She was one of many woman´s movement participants to realize that when men had moved into the public realm they had unwittingly "left something important behind in `woman´s sphere´ -- the child."[5] Here was a source of power at women´s disposal. Key argued that because women were given responsibility for the raising of children, they were responsible for the future. She suggested that "[t]he child was no longer `a mere incident in the preservation of the species´ but the potential link to a higher plateau of evolutionary development."[6] (To give another example of how this notion of motherhood´s sanctity was used, some suffrage proponents argued that since only mothers properly understood the needs of children, women should be able to vote -- not for their own purposes, but to protect the rights of their children.)

The idea that mothers had responsibility for the future via their children would have been satisfying to the vast majority of Western turn-of-the-century women. Critics could hardly have argued against this notion since it drew upon commonplace conceptions of women´s `special´ nurturing capabilities. And the view seems to have met with general acceptance. Even Theodore Roosevelt praised such a view of motherhood (albeit in regard to the essentially equivalent writings of Jean Finot, a well-known French feminist).[7] But as I read Key´s works, I was surprised to see how rarely she really talked about children themselves -- her real interest clearly lay in emancipating women´s capabilities, not in motherhood per se.

In Love and Ethics,[8] the book which Wright translated with Borthwick, Key set forth her thoughts on love. That they both inscribed their names on the book must mean they were willing to be identified with Key´s cause, especially in light of its controversial proposals -- many of which they fulfilled

(Figure Q). Love is presented as the mechanism that not only ensures the quality of future generations, but also shapes present society. At some points in the book it can be difficult to decide whether Key is using "love" to refer to sexual intercourse or to romantic attachment. This confusion arises not only because the two have often been used interchangably but also, I understand, because Key thought they should not be separated. That society had sundered this tie was something against which Key reacted. To her mind, this schism had turned male-female relationships into nothing but economic unions. Key wanted society´s dictates removed from romantic unions, and felt that by doing so love´s force would be unleashed.

If women were freed to make autonomous decisions, Key was sure that they would not instigate relationships with physically hardy men (in line with common Darwinian notions), but instead would choose men they loved.[9] For:

> the durability of a people is one thing, the ennobling of the soul another.... the race then is to be uplifted, ennobled, only when choice roots out from the child of men the inheritance of the beast and of the savage. (p. 11)

And:

> While it has not yet been proved (sic) that children born in a great love are finer and healthier of mind and body than those born in inharmonious unions, "It will be."[10]

Key had realized that the day-to-day relations of a couple were basic to society itself. And since women were particularly adept at love (inherently equipped, she felt), _ipso facto_ they deserved equal control over sex and the present. In terms of sexuality, what Key proposed was that women make their sexuality their own property. Instead of having it writ onto them, and therein controlled by society, they themselves would control it. _Et voilà_, the `new woman.´ Her move to take charge of her sensuality was a profound challenge to society´s norms on all fronts. This was well realized, as one can see just from the stock phrase "free love," which itself shows how sexual freedom was viewed as an attack directed at that most `natural´ modern institution, the economy. Could the economic system continue to give control over all the things that really counted in society -- home and lucre -- to men alone?

On a larger level, Key argued against the suppression of love, its closeting. She believed that "erotic life-repressions" (p. 35) were at the root of all social problems, although few realized it, and:

> For this reason every endeavor to solve social-political problems is a building upon ground shaken by earthquakes... (p. 31)

And again, "practically no one comprehends that all this destruction _has its deepest root in the denial or the ignoring of the life value of love_" (p. 32). The "ennoblement" of society required that the positive forces of love become society´s governing forces. In order to achieve a true transformation, men had to strive to match women´s ability to love. Key asked:

> Who counts all the immature works, all the faculties from their very beginning atrophied or arrested in development, or the powers prematurely exhausted whose renewal will be ever incomplete; aims lowered or missed, all through an unhappy family life? Who considers that a large part of this loss to society of strength and spiritual virility could be avoided if men as well as women had not learned to take everything more seriously than the sex life; if men as well as women did not receive from society more rights in regard to all other life demands, than for their love! (p. 35)[11]

These calls could not have been unfamiliar to Wright and Borthwick, since they had been articulated by many American progressive reformers during the 1890s, as Gwendolyn Wright has demonstrated.[12]

Besides Key´s overarching claim for women´s equality and sexual fulfillment, in Love and Ethics she challenged many basic mooring-stones underlying society´s treatment of women. For one, she questioned the norm that decreed that even loveless marriages should continue for society´s sake; or, as society put it, `for the sake of the children.´ Neither should young girls be handed over into loveless matches. In either case, too much sacrifice was involved for both men and women. Finally, either partner should be able to declare a relationship over if their love was extinguished. In these cases, the state was to maintain a fund to provide money for children´s upbringing for three years.[13] Key argued that the only legitimate children were those borne of love, not law. Women were never to have to stay in a relationship because they were dependent upon their husband for subsistence for themselves or their children. But "from all sides" Key had already observed "men bring[ing] props for the support of the society-value of marriage, even statistics" (p. 33).

Again, in line with contemporary scientific thought, Key confused women´s ability to carry fetuses, give birth and lactate with what are commonly acknowleged today to be the learned skills of mothering. She believed that women and men had intrinsically different personalities which fitted women to stay home, and men for public and business activities. As one historian phrased it, she promulgated an "affirmative emphasis on difference,"[14] as I have already developed. But the biological determinism served only as a backdrop to her real concern of reworking the world. Biology was not necessarily destiny. Men could learn to value love, if only in future generations carefully primed by Keysian women. But what would happen to women who left the home in the meanwhile? If they worked for a pay in a factory, might their (innate) capabilities shrivel? This, I believe, is what motivated Key to so vigorously argue that women should remain in houses. Perhaps only when the world was ennobled by sex morality would women not need to remain shielded from the world outside the home.[15] In the interim, homes served as the most favorable environment -- which women were smart enough to appreciate. This position was dangerous because it could easily be rewritten into conservative arguments.

Key herself was clearly overwhelmed by the implications of her beliefs, and she insisted that her message was more conservative than it was popularly cast:

> The basic idea ... was not:
> "The individual shall receive the highest possible measure of erotic happiness." But rather: "Society must render it possible for the erotic happiness of the individual to serve and foster the enhancement of the race, the ennobling of life." (pp. 8-9)

Even in this apologia Key does not distinguish between men´s and women´s right to "erotic happiness," therefore iterating her call for women´s freedom.

If we were to imagine a house that would suitably contain a Keysian family, how might it be described? (Key herself did not address the question.) We have seen that the suburban Cheney house was dependent upon its wall which ensured the family´s privacy at the cost of caging the housewife. If a `new woman´ was to be resident of the family house, how would the home be transmogrified? In a world revamped by sex-morality, these suburban barriers would no longer be necessary, for families would not need to be shielded from an outside world focused on sex-morality´s positive values.

Since according to a Keysian paradigm women are to be in charge of all nurturing, the female realm of the house would be matricentral, focused upon children and their upbringing. We might expect to see a continuing focus on open living rooms, and a domestic existence shared by all its members. Yet because Key believed that a woman should never be sacrificed to her husband or her children, it would have to also include places for her to perform independent activities. That is, the home would be for nurturing, but the role of chief nurturer within it would have to be different than it had been in a patriarchal society. Perhaps the home itself would take on some of the nurturing burden.

If a woman was truly an equal partner, she would not need to be `pedestalized´ -- to have her identity glorified in order to hide the fact, and compensate her for, her actual second-class status. All the traditional signs of domesticity could then be seen as toys to divert a woman´s comprehending gaze -- toys that would no longer have to be emblazoned on a house´s exterior.

Yet in Love and Ethics Key´s real emphasis seems to weight more toward being a fulfilled spouse than toward being an individual. A house for such a team would have to be built for romance -- a romance between equal partners, not a patriarchal relationship of dominance.[16] (Traditionally male-female relationships are basically egalitarian until children arrive: then the romance recedes and men´s sphere takes precedence over the women´s, as his paycheck becomes crucial.) But the only way I can think of that this would transform the actual space of the house is by looking at 1980s houses for two-career professionals: with luxurious saunas, huge `master´ bedrooms and small children´s bedrooms, and two walk-in closets holding two `power´ wardrobes. To apply this back in time seems problematic.

Of course there´s a problem related to both a matriarchal and a romantic home: when it comes right down to it, who does the woman put first? Herself, or another (child, partner)? Doesn´t she <u>have</u> to make choices? How does nurturing happen if children aren´t put first? This problem is not one I see Key addressing. As women began to do professional work, and eventually to vote,[17] such questions inevitably arose: how could the working mother nurture herself as a person, be `chief cook and bottle-washer,´ <u>and</u> create a home-like, nurturant environment for her family?

As we saw in chapter two, Wright said that Borthwick ultimately believed women should put themselves first. This belief would have rescued her from the fate of women who chose to put others first: "Where money is essential to individual independence, and therefore the ability to defend one´s rights in <u>any</u> relationship, women have been taught to value love --

and dependency."[18] That is, women's seeing themselves in connection to the others for whom they felt responsible inevitably transmuted into seeing themselves as dependent and secondary to the main breadwinners.

In practice Borthwick was more like Key herself than the women Key dreamed of. Neither Borthwick nor Key actually nurtured on a full-time basis, even though they advocated doing so. In this way they were able to be new women in the home glorifying women's traditional, biologically-associated capabilities.

We have seen that the world transformed by sex morality would demand a new set of social relations. What I have not yet documented is that Key believed such a state was "organic." One of the most extraordinary things about the Borthwick/Wright translation is its use of this word. The notion of organic was in no way new, nor exclusively linked to turn-of-the-century feminist or architectural discourse. Indeed my readings have proven to me that organic was a buzzword in the last part of the 19th century. But Wright's first carefully-specified definition of "organic" architecture echoes Key's very closely. And Wright committed this definition to paper in 1914, after he had helped make the Love and Ethics translation. That he had read and spoken of organic before cannot be questioned; that only after his exposure to Key and sex morality did he fix his definition and ratify his espousal is what is important here. I argue that this profound understanding led Wright to abandon the prairie style as the carrier of organicism and shift instead to the natural style as the new carrier. Here, I will set out Key's beliefs, which later will be contrasted with Wright's.

Key wrote that relationships fused men's and women's specialized characteristics as follows:

> Therefore it is the greatest promise of happiness of the time, that the intellectual development of the modern woman and the erotic development of the modern man [Key portrayed men as theretofore insufficiently capable of love] begin to give a new conception and content to her inner life as well as to his outward directed nature. (p. 49)

This inward and outward characterization appears repeatedly. Love represented the "ever more organic" fusion of the two (p. 39), viz: "Only in the measure in which the woman-soul is organically fused with the work and ideals of man, and the soul of man so fused with the work of woman does spiritual fertility arise" (p. 46); or, "So will the powers of the soul be freed from within" (p. 62).[19] Over time, as women renewed "mankind from within," feelings of love would multiply, leading to an "all-embracing feeling of unity, of oneness" (p. 27). Key is clearly implying that such sexual and affective harmony was a natural phenomenon which needed to be rediscovered.

Before we turn to Taliesin and see what is set there in terms of male-female roles, and architectural organic qualities, let me quickly discuss the impact Key had on American feminism. (Key, I should insert, was translated into English by one Arthur G. Chater as well as by Borthwick. Chater´s works were carried by the major publishing houses. Borthwick´s last translation cracked into the major trade, as it was published by G.P. Putnam´s Sons [see Bibliography].)

It is difficult to ascertain Key´s impact, as no study has been done on the subject. Several current scholars mention Key, but rigidly within the context of their particular interests. For this reason I will only gloss the information I have located.

Mari Jo Buhle, in her book on women in the American socialist movement, identifies two periods in the early 20th century in which socialism intersected with the woman question.[20] Buhle dates the intersection of `free love´ and socialism to 1910, which she traces back to interest in Sigmund Freud and Havelock Ellis (who wrote introductions to several of Key´s books). She writes:

> The new [socialist] intellectuals sought in sexual liberation the key to future social revolution, the destruction of `bourgeois´ values in general. They therefore linked sexual repression to the spiritual barrenness of middle-class society, its conventions and artificialities. They hoped to destroy `polite society´ and thereby recognize a sensuality purportedly lost in a materialistic age.... Love, the soul union of two individuals, thus represented the ultimate escape from the existential loneliness of life under

capitalism.[21]

Socialists under sway of this idea argued that women should be released from their bondage to the house -- thus this tack of `free love´ would not have been entirely endorsed by Key.

Buhle believes that Key´s 1911 book Love and Marriage (which was translated by Chater, not Borthwick) sparked the start of American feminism. She defines feminism as women asking what they wanted for themselves (qua women) besides sheer "equal" treatment (inquiring as to difference). What needs did women have that might not be covered by identical legal rights (which were now well in the process of being achieved)? How did these rights mesh with child-rearing, for instance? Were women to give up child-rearing? Such questions demanded answers -- but the feminist movement largely turned away from them.[22]

If Borthwick decided to translate Key´s works in Germany, then her interest would predate the American publication of Love and Marriage. Whether by translating Key´s works Borthwick and Wright felt they were in any way bringing a new type of Socialism in the Midwest is an open question. Generally, proponents of `free love´ were taken to be `hysterical,´ an expression which at the time indicated that women inflicted with this condition were unreasonable and sexually unhealthy, as opposed to displaying a reasonable "protest against postoedipal femininity."[23]

NOTES

Chapter Four

1. See Kay Goodman's essay that describes how Key's tenets influenced the German feminist movement:

Goodman, Kay. "Motherhood and Work: The Concept of the Misuse of Women's Energy, 1895-1905." In Joeres, Ruth-Ellen B. and Mary Jo Maynes, eds. German Women in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986, pp. 110-27.

2. "Awful Crime in Wisconsin," p. 6.

3. For instance Alan Crawford's article, "Ten Letters from Frank Lloyd Wright to Charles Robert Ashbee," says that he was not given permission to print one letter and portions of two others which were written in Fiesole. The two letters which are cited in part are obviously concerned with Wright's state of mind at that time. Little information about this period is released. (Crawford, Alan. "Ten Letters from Frank Lloyd Wright to Charles Robert Ashbee." Architectural History 13 [1970].)

4. One historian writes:

> Woman's new status as citizen [the ultimate object of equality], finally, did not sit well with the notion of breadgiver. A voter, after all, was honored for his independent judgement and expected to act in his own self-interest. He, and now she, was expected to assume public responsibility and could not cower in particularistic family relationships. On this score, as historian Ellen DuBois has argued, the vote was the most radical and far-reaching demand of the nineteenth-century women's movement.
>
> Suffrage, unlike most reforms of the era, struck a decisive blow against the walls of woman's sphere, for it brought her directly into the public sphere to a place she would share with men, and called upon her to act as an individual agent and autonomous decision maker.

(Ryan, Mary P. Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present, 3rd edition. New York: Franklin Watts, 1983, pp. 215-16.)

5. Ehrenreich and English, For Her Own Good, p. 172.

6. ibid, pp. 170-71.

7. "The Feminism that Roosevelt Admires." Current Literature, vol. LIII, no. 3 (September 1912), pp. 309-11.

8. The book was originally published, I think, as part of her three-volume series Lifslinjer (Life Stories), a series written between 1903 - 1906. Their translation must be of Liebe und Ethik, published in Berlin by Neues Leben, circa 1905. I don´t know what prompted Borthwick and Wright to translate it (since Wright did not know German, actually, his part in the translation must have had to do with smoothing English). Presumably their knowledge of Key dates to publication of The Century of the Child.

In 1911 another translation was published by the B.W. Huebsch company of London and New York. It was reviewed in major periodicals, and was the copy which people and libraries apparently knew. Seymour did not advertise the Borthwick/Wright translation in Publishers´ Weekly, as Huebsch did. Still, Seymour was pleased with the numbers he sold. In a later reminisce, he says that Wright:

> laid two manuscripts by Ellen Key on my table, for publication, on which he had the American rights. These I read with surprise. They appeared to be of a pattern similar to Wright´s and dis-similar to thinking of almost everybody else. They advocated a sensible attitude toward love. I published both of them and to my surprise found that thousands of people were eager to read them. Ellen Key´s writings marked a step ahead in the matter of sex morality and were accepted for a time as the last word in that field.

(Seymour, Ralph Fletcher. Some Went this Way: A Forty Year Pilgrimage Among Artists, Bookmen and Printers. Chicago: Ralph Fletcher Seymour Publisher, 1945, p. 114.)

Wright said that Borthwick loved Key as everyone did who "knew" her (in the newspaper statement printed in the (Spring Green) Weekly Home News when she died); what kind of knowing he meant to specify isn´t clear. A massive workers´ strike in Sweden in 1909 prompted Key to return from extensive travels to her homeland, feeling it was her responsibility to be there. Between May of 1910 and June of 1911, she oversaw the construction of her house and probably did not leave Sweden at all.

Page numbers will be cited in the text henceforth.

9. Key had convinced herself that women selected the mates with whom they theoretically propagated increasingly-perfect children. Of course men really made the selection: "Will you marry me?" The answer can only be yes or not to a proffered proposal.

10. Quoted in Larsen, Hanna Astrup. "Ellen Key: An Apostle of Life." The Forum, vol. XLVI (October 1911), p. 389. Larsen is quoting Key.

11. This translation is muddled, one must admit; the British translation is much more readable.

12. Wright, Gwendolyn, Moralism and the Model Home, ch. 4: "The Homelike World," pp. 105-49.

13. Actually Key does not make this point in Love and Ethics; she thought that true love matches would never leave children stranded (hopefully they would last a lifetime, or if not, they would be so spiritually uplifting that neither parent could think of neglecting his or her offspring). Later books carried the federal insurance plan, as it were.

14. Goodman, "Motherhood and Work," p. 124.

15. Dorothy Dinnerstein's famous The Mermaid and The Minotaur calls for a world in which men would nurture as well as women. It is strange to note however that Dinnerstein feels that society is warped because heretofore only women have nurtured children; her book comes uncomfortably close to saying that women are to blame for the mess we're in. All the same, her main idea seems sound: that society suffers from giving all the responsibility for nurturing to women, and all responsibility for public/outward-directed activities to men. By doing so, a balance between respecting others and using others is not easily kept.

Dinnerstein, Dorothy. The Mermaid and The Minotaur: Sexual Arrangements and Human Malaise. New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1976.

16. See: André, Rae. Homemakers: The Forgotten Workers. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

17. Women in Wisconsin did not get the vote until 1919, after Borthwick died.

18. André, Homemakers, p. 134.

19. Here I cannot resist inserting the Huebsch translation of this last phrase. It reads: "Thus the energies of the soul are freed from within outwardly." This of course is closer to

Wright´s architectural interpretation of organicity.

20. Buhle, Mari Jo. Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981. See "Vagaries of Feminism" section of the chapter "Autumn Song," pp. 290-95, and pages 257-68.

21. ibid, p. 260.

22. Betty Friedan´s recent book The Second Stage apparently returns to this question. Also, historian Nancy Cott´s just-released book Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism attempts to sort out the history of the slippery term "feminism."

23. Ramas, Maria. "Freud´s Dora, Dora´s Hysteria." In Newton, Judith L., Mary P. Ryan and Judith R. Walkowitz, eds. Sex and Class in Women´s History. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983, p. 79.

Hysteria and other neuroses, Freud believed, "are to be regarded as inhibitions in the development of the libido." He said that "[t]here are no specific causes of nervous disorders..." (p 722). Ramas and other feminist critics have shown that hysteria was "an attempt to deny patriarchal sexuality." (Freud, Sigmund. "Psychoanalysis." Entry in Encyclopaedia Britannica, vol. 18. Chicago: William Benton, 1973, pp. 720-27.)

Chapter Five

TALIESIN I: LOOKING AT THE HOUSE (1911)

Taliesin is the second house Wright built for Mamah Borthwick; as he later wrote, he felt he had built "her life ... into the house of houses."[1] Taliesin was designed and built in 1911 upon their return from Germany. That it played an important role in Wright´s stylistic development is undeniable. During the almost 50 years he lived there, he tinckered regularly with its form. Today the house stands as an amalgam of all that experimentation, and the original design is long ago submerged. The main goal of this chapter is to recapture the original house and begin to define it as the wellspring of the "natural style."

I could never describe Taliesin as beautifully as Wright did. The section of his Autobiography called "Taliesin" is a lovely, elegiac evocation. I include it here as Appendix A. The earliest photographs of the house, believed to be staged by Wright, are also superb images (Figure R). But both the photographs and the words are only approximations, doubtlessly unjust ones, of the house as it stood.

Taliesin sits above the Helena Valley in Wisconsin, land which had long been in the possession of Wright´s mother´s family, the Lloyd Jones.[2] Many of Wright´s aunts, uncles and sisters lived in the Valley. By the time of his return from Europe, he had already designed three structures there for various family members.[3] In his youth Wright spent a number of summers working on his uncle´s farm, as he movingly detailed at the start of An Autobiography (he recalled "adding tired to tired" out in the fields).[4] He wrote that through this experience "...I had learned to know the ground-plan of the region in every line and feature" (p. 167).

Besides functioning as a residence, when built, Taliesin was a farm and a workplace for both Wright and Borthwick. Wright´s studio was next to the house (and a business office was in Chicago). Borthwick worked on her translations -- at which location in the house, I am not sure -- having announced that "she was to devote the rest of her life to literary work." She and Wright were discussing the possibility of her running a newspaper before she died.[5] All in all, the house "was to be a complete living unit,"[6] much like Wright´s aunts´ Hillside Home School provided training for both home life and intellectual endeavors.

In order to properly analyze the house, I must begin by discussing the issue of whom it was intended for. Unfortunately it is not clear whether or not Taliesin was originally conceived of as the container of Wright and Borthwick´s life as "affinities," as popular terminology put it. (They never married, either because they no longer believed in the type of marriage then legally defined, or because Catherine Wright did not want to divorce [which may have been a convenient excuse to help the "affinities" avoid further censure, as if it was Catherine's fault that they had to live together.]) The first known design development drawing (Figure S) is labelled "Cottage for Mrs. Anna Lloyd Wright," Wright's mother. (Henceforth I will refer to Anna Wright as "Mme. Wright," as residents of Oak Park did.[7]) But no evidence indicates she ever lived at Taliesin. In the Autobiography (written thirty years later) Wright said that his mother bought him the property on which Taliesin came to stand, thinking that he and Borthwick might need it for a "refuge" (p. 167). Professor Neil Levine says that Wright approached a former client for a loan to help him build Taliesin, describing it as a house for his mother.[8] He suggests that Wright might have said that the house was for his mother because he believed he would be more likely to get the loan in that case. However, that would not necessarily explain why this plan would have to maintain this duplicity, especially since it is a working, not presentation, plan.

One possible scenario is that Wright's mother wanted to give him a commission in order to re-invigorate his career. Mme. Wright, presuming she had continued to run her kindergarten,[9] would have had some money (if it was not "liquid" that would explain the loan). In this scenario, she would have said something like `Please build me a house in the Valley with a room for yourself to use as a refuge when and if you need it...´

The other possibility of course is that Wright meant the house to be for himself and Borthwick all along and, since he designed Taliesin while living in Oak Park, he used his mother´s name to confuse his wife Catherine. But then Mme. Wright would have had to agree with the subterfuge, which seems improbable. Perhaps Wright used this label to encourage Mme. Wright to leave Oak Park, where she lived next door to Catherine Wright and the children. Labelling the house for her use might be seen as an enticement in this direction (`Come, Mother, I´ll build us a house far away from here...´).

But, as we know, Mme. Wright stayed in Oak Park. This must have been a blow for Wright. After his parents´ divorce he seems to have envisioned himself as her benefactor and supporter -- and probably, a center of her existence. No doubt he must have been unhappy at her ultimate decision to side, if only physically, with Catherine.

Clearly Borthwick was going to need a place to live upon her return, for it seems she and her husband had decided to divorce from the minute she left Oak Park in 1909. After that date she never went back to live at the Cheney residence.[10] But a July 1910 letter that Wright sent C.R. Ashbee from Fiesole suggests that he and Borthwick at that late date may have been unsure about remaining together. Wright wrote that he was headed home to Oak Park "to pick up the thread of my work and in some degree of my life."[11] Moreover, he writes "the fight has been fought" (note past tense). Is he suggesting that he did not know how he could fit back into society, or that he was considering a return to Catherine? Since Wright says he will be picking up only part of his personal life ("some degree of my life"), I believe his letter indicates the profound alienation he felt from mainstream/ suburban society, and his despair at the belief that he would have to go back to being part of that society in order to get commissions. Following this interpretation, it is reasonable to think that Wright returned to Oak Park only to get his business affairs in order. Further, I suspect that the six month lag between Wright's return and the first Taliesin drawing can be attributed to his uncertainty about where to locate his office.[12] Understandably, it might have taken him a while to feel confident that he could leave the suburbs and still maintain a practice.

The second design development drawing is dated June, 1911. Its label reads "Cottage and Stable," bearing no reference to Mme. Wright (Figure T). The conception here is for a much larger house and estate. I believe this drawing can be dated to the inception of the Cheney divorce -- an event that could have shocked Wright into real action. Their divorce came to trial at the end of July, 1911. Given its amicableness,[13] it seems safe to assume that before the case was entered, the Cheneys came to their own private resolution of what they would do, then sought out and hired lawyers, finally reserving a court date.[14] Thus June seems like a reasonable date for the divorce's private inception.

As the Taliesin workroom became larger, Wright's conception of his practice surely grew more elaborate. Not only is the workroom larger, but there is an entire apartment planned next to it. The southwestern end of the house has also grown to include a closet (then reworked into a bath) and sitting room. It must be that Wright now anticipated living there with Borthwick, lock, stock, barrel and office. It could be at this point that Mme. Wright withdrew her support or presence, or, it may be that she and Wright decided Taliesin should be his. Or perhaps the deception was simply dropped.

Comparing the plan described as being for Mme. Wright with the house as built, the only real difference which presents itself is one of scale, not conception. In the end I am therefore inclined to believe that the house was intended to be for Wright and Borthwick from the start.

Who was the second bedroom intended for (if not Mme. Wright)? I believe it was set aside for the Cheney children. The divorce papers say Borthwick agreed to give full custody to Edwin Cheney. According to Wright, however, Martha and John Cheney spent summer vacations with their mother.[15] This would have been clear already in June, if I have correctly reconstructed the divorce. A statement of John Lloyd Wright´s, a child of Wright´s first marriage, makes it sound as if the Wright children never visited Taliesin at all while Borthwick lived there. The younger Wright says that Wright senior "was careful to protect me from any involvement in connection with the unconventional life he was living." Further, he states that the first time he was ever at Taliesin was the time of the fire.[16] The room labelled "servant" on Figure S would have therefore probably been for a maid/governess (the Cheneys had employed one in Oak Park[17]), or, it was retained as a separate suite for Mme. Wright. But this last bedroom is extremely small, and it´s hard to believe Wright would have meant for his mother to spend any time there.[18] (This area reads as a single suite, and I doubt such an entity would have been planned for the Cheney children either.)

Let me quickly finish discussing the cast of characters that I believe were intended to live at Taliesin with Wright and

Borthwick. When Wright began to plan Taliesin, he had only one architectural assistant (in Oak Park).[19] How many he actually brought to Taliesin is a mystery. (His practice is not known to have expanded until March of 1914, when Wright was approached about an exhibition.) In sum, I think Taliesin was built for Wright, Borthwick, part-time residence by the Cheney children, one household helper/governess, and an unknown but no doubt small number of architectural assistants.

Daniel Abramson's careful analysis of extant documentation has identified four states in Taliesin's early existence.[20] Abramson's first state is dated as coinciding with Borthwick and Wright's joint presence (that is, from the end of 1911 when the house was built, to 1914, when it first burned). Abramson believes that "[t]he plan that comes closest to representing Taliesin, as built, in its first state is the plan that appears in Henry-Russell Hitchcock's In the Nature of Materials..." (Figure U).[21] Among other plans of this state, there is an undated one labelled "Taliesin: Residence of Frank Lloyd Wright Destroyed by Fire" (Fig. V), which I believe is an even more exact representation, given its incorporation of a stair leading to the southwestern part of the house -- a stair bordered by a short pier which can be seen in early photographs. But since the "Destroyed by Fire" plan only shows the house, not the greater estate, I have used the Hitchcock plan as the basis of my discussion of Taliesin's first actual state. But there is one thing to note about Hitchcock´s plan, and that is that it does not show the garden properly. Instead, the garden looked the way it is represented in a plan published in Western Architect in 1913, which Abramson identified as Wright´s "vision" of what he wanted Taliesin to be (Figure W).[22] (Again, an exception: the semi-circular seat did not throw off the southwestern-directed path that is shown.)

To my mind the most striking thing about the plan of the house proper is its lack of a defined center. The only central core which we would recognize as a continuation of Wright´s suburban work appears in the assistants´ area. Consistent with previous work, all the assistants´ rooms gravitate around that core. But in the main house, the major fireplace is off to the left as one enters. As always, it is hardly small -- but clearly it is not the emphatic node around which all other spaces radiate, either. Our old clue of domesticity, the hearth´s masonry core, is essentially gone.

If we look at dark elements on the plan to see where the heavy zones are, we can observe a sequence of rusticated zones lying along the path of entry. First, one would pass under the porte cochère. Compared to daylight, this would be an area of shadow, dominated by the limestone masonry which forms a pillar and a fireplace. These areas contrast with the smooth, light plaster used on the majority of Taliesin´s walls. After passing through this sort of primitivized ceremonial arch, one would continue by the wall of the living quarters up to another dark area, the loggia (Fig. X). Here as well, the pillars and side walls are heavy masonry. Pivoting around the right wall, the fireplace suggests where the next transitional point lies: at the entrance. All these zones are on the periphery of the house proper. The masonry spreads out like fragments from an explosion of the traditional hearth core. The epicenter is a place bordered by sky and earth -- an outside place. So in Taliesin the masonry is used not so much to signal domesticity but as signals of nature and movement through space.

Continuing to think in terms of figure-ground, we can see that the other elements that show up as dark spots on the plan are tree trunks, as if the trees support other key elements in the plan.[23] The two trees labelled "Oaks" in Figure U actually existed.

But before we have looked at the house itself, I have let its lack of a center lead us outside. Turning back to the interior, I will continue to discuss it in terms of procession. No other way to analyze it presents itself easily. Axes are skewed; symmetries not apparent; and uses seem to slither, unfixed, around zones. This is a house of process, not a house of parts subjected to a priori schemes. Inside the entrance, one´s eyes are directed right outside again via the axis which leads across the dining room table out onto the terrace and beyond. To the left, a tall room divider prompts one along to the center of the living room; one would be far inside before one´s first view of the room would occur. Once in the room -- which seems at first so open in plan -- the feeling would be of enclosure, proving one had arrived at a bona fide destination. For the fireplace anchors the southwestern corner, and the fractured northwest corner deflects one´s view out. Together, these two effects establish a back to the room, giving one the security to look out the implied front: through the window walls overlooking the valley.

The dining area is not labelled on any of the plans. It exists as a part of the large living room, the only formal part of the house. In middle- and upper-class homes (e.g. in Oak Park), the dining room was a house´s most formal area. It was often reached at the end of a carefully-staged procession from the door though the house. Historian Norris Kelly Smith has described how Wright´s prairie-style dining rooms are severe, even "liturgical" in nature[24] (Fig. Y). To have an open dining room, one fitted with benches (as shown in Fig. Z and in early photographs), is a long step away from the formality of most of Wright´s earlier houses.

To the right of the entry, partially visible as one approaches the front door, is the kitchen. A separate kitchen is provided in the assistants´ area, but we know from 1914 evidence (and Figure V) that the assistants ate at least some of the time in the main house, suggesting their food was made there as well.[25] It looks to be about average for a suburban kitchen of that time,[26] but it must have proved too small when Wright´s architectural practice expanded to the size his studio was designed to hold, and food for eleven to thirteen had to be prepared.[27] In any case, it is certainly given a location of prominence which also remains to be explained. Upper-class kitchens were usually hidden away, populated as they were by servants.

The hallway would be a dark place. Off it fed all the family bedrooms in a traditional manner. The bedroom connected to the terrace was presumably Borthwick and Wright´s. It has access to a sleeping porch area set off on the terrace. (Sleeping porches were also signs of the great late-19th century preoccupation with air quality that lived on into the 20th century.) At the far end of the hall is the zone of rooms which seem to have been most often redesigned. Because their use remains unclear, I will not discuss them further except to hazard one possibility for the "sitting room" (as it is labelled). Perhaps it was used as an office for

Borthwick´s work. Traditionally a sitting room was a place to which women went for privacy or intimate socializing. Taliesin´s sitting room looks like a room which would have worked for a writer, in that it has a comfortable heat source, privacy, and what appear to be built-in bookshelves. If this was the case, it would have made it easy for Borthwick to supervise her children, or take a few steps over to the kitchen -- or the studio where she oversaw the architectural practice while Wright was away. Although this may seem unlikely, given its alternate labels and known uses, I want to suggest that Borthwick might have eventually sacrificed her use of the room to Wright´s. Although from Key´s works we would want to believe that Wright and Borthwick considered her work to be as important as his, ultimately she might well have considered his needs more compelling than hers in that his work probably provided them with the bulk of their income, for I doubt there was much money in translation.)

Before I leave economic subjects behind, I want to discuss the spaces for the hired help. First I must say that the basement is a big unknown. It is not clear where their apartments were. The "visionary" Western Architect plan locates their rooms above the cooling room in the farm area (far from the house itself), but Figure U shows a power room in that spot. (As the American home came to have the capacity to run mechanically-powered implements, those implements really did replace `hands.´ This transition was happening, actually, just at this time, but I don´t know the specifics for Taliesin.) It is possible that no place was originally intended for them because Wright did not foresee the employment of household help. One 1914 article, admittedly a resource to be skeptical about, said that the (black) cook felt lonely at Taliesin.[28] All in all, I suspect that the haziness that characterizes the placement of the help, and the cook´s (possible) statement, show that the household help was considered alien, if not second class. But in reality Borthwick´s ability to do her literary work depended upon their labor. Similarly, when radical feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman proposed the creation of apartment hotels for working women and their families, she does not seem to have considered who would provide the domestic labor. The space for the architectural staff does not have much autonomy from the workroom, but I think this may be attributable to a farm model for Taliesin, which will be further developed just below. Basically, farms were places in which little if any distinction was made between "help" and family. Everyone worked, ate, and spent free time together. (I must say that the axial nature of the workroom is more controlling than the octagonal studio in Oak Park would have been.) I have already suggested that farm-like feelings of mutuality between apprentices and Borthwick and Wright did not extend to Taliesin´s household help.

In examining the house´s documentation, I was struck by the many ways this "complete living unit" reflects the farmhouse type. I do not believe that Wright ever saw the house proper as for anyone but a gentleman (upper-class) farmer, but still, the farmhouse type seems to have provided him with crucial architectonic and intellectual structures.

Later, of course, Wright was to develop the Taliesin Fellowship. Its fellows were required to participate both in architectural and in farming activities, indicating Wright´s continuing affirmation of the values of an agricultural life. Yet his valuation of this experience for his budding architectural protegés contrasts with the absence of (admittedly later) writing about actual farming by the full-time, year-round farmer.[29] That is, from the start Wright was more gentleman farmer than real farmer.

In particular, the prominence given the kitchen, the relative informality of the dining area, and the siting of the house itself strongly echo farmhouse conventions based on physical and natural conditions (wind, rain, topographical considerations, etc.). Hill-top locations were traditionally avoided because of the more severe weather conditions found there.

The prominent situation given Taliesin's kitchen parallels the prominence given kitchens in American farmhouses. For a great deal of the work of a farm was done in the kitchen, which in effect was a processing facility. Farm kitchens were given central sites that commanded a view of the entire farmyard so that they could monitor all its activities.[30] The centrality of Taliesin's kitchen might reinforce the idea that Wright and Borthwick did not conceive of household help from the beginning, as at the turn of the century the existence of such labor can generally be inversely related to the prominence given kitchens. (Certainly early suburban Wright houses had hidden kitchens.)

That Taliesin did not have a "real" farm kitchen, though, is clear from the fact that so few workrooms are proximate to it. Typically spaces specifically intended for such activities as storage (which necessitated a pantry), cleaning (washroom), and processing of milk products (dairy) would be located very near the kitchen, if not actually connected to it via an ell.[31]

Lastly, the dining area's informality relates to both the farm and by-now flourishing ideas of a reformed, progressive house. The progressive house in large measure recalled ways of domestic life that rural Americans still lived. In farms, eating had taken place in the house's main room, the kitchen;

for Wright in 1911 the main room would translate into the living room. But a more convincing argument can be made that domestic reformers influenced Wright´s design. After 1900 reformers concentrated their energies on the kitchen rather than the parlor, as historian Gwendolyn Wright has shown. Instead of putting all one´s store-bought goods into the parlor as was previously done, early twentieth century houses integrated a host of expensive technological objects, many of which could be found in kitchens. Gwendolyn Wright describes these new kitchens in the latest house type, the bungalow, which is the term newspapers used to refer to Taliesin. She writes: "the average kitchen in the turn-of-the-century bungalow or larger house was compact and carefully planned. It measured approximately 120 square feet, and everything had its place."[32] This looks to be Taliesin´s kitchen´s size.

So let me turn from the farm model to the bungalow, the focus of progressive reformers. By now bungalows were king of the suburban block. Many of the identifying characteristics of the bungalow can be found in Taliesin; clearly the journalists had cause to refer to Taliesin with this term.

> By 1910 it was rare to have single-purpose rooms such as libraries, pantries, sewing rooms, and spare bedrooms, which had comprised the Victorians´ sense of family uniqueness and complex domestic life. In a moderately-priced two-story house there were usually only three downstairs rooms: living room, dining room, and kitchen. On the second floor, bedrooms were only alcoves for sleep and privacy, no longer receiving rooms for one´s friends and children.... Formality in the home was declining.

> As dining habits became more relaxed, doors between dining room and living room could be left out or the wall itself removed so that the two rooms became one.[33]

The many built-in cabinets shown in Figure U makes me think that Wright and Borthwick had heeded the progressives´ calls for `a place for everything, and everything in its place´ (earlier Wright kitchens were usually drawn as undifferentiated cubicles).

Most other architects at that time were bringing the bungalow type, essentially unchanged, to the country. (In an article, Wright´s friend Robert Spencer goes on about how to provide a suitable spot for farmhouse residents to look out at what´s all around them, assuming that they needed an architect to provide them with a proper vantage point.[34]) Country Life in America magazine promoted a suburbanized existence to make country life more up-to-date; for instance, one article suggests that the:

> highest form of art, because of most practical value, is that which deals with the refinement of the commonplace. Not only is it good art, but its educational influence is unlimited. Man is unconsciously influenced by, and acquires tempermental qualities or characteristics from his surroundings.

In 1916, according to the same author, the farm house could become something more than a:

> `four-poster house with a lean-to,´ and [take] on some of the aspects of suburban dwellings.[35]

This was the predominant attitude toward the farm, as

Gwendolyn Wright has also observed.[36] But Wright´s approach is different. True, he has forged a new style. But although I have associated this newness with the word "style," I think that Taliesin is in a sense only semi-stylistic. That is, to my eye the house is in no way meant to be an architectural statement in and of itself. It is about its interrelation with the space outside it -- the hill, Helena Valley (female form, as we´ll see); and about the space contained within it. Wright is not extending suburbia out to the margins; rather, he is re-invigorating, re-interpreting and bringing indoors a holistic way of life.

Wright had built in the countryside before, and he had designed relatively spread-out houses before (the 1907 Harold McCormick project and the 1908 Coonley house, for example), but he had never designed a building like Taliesin before. I feel that the McCormick plan (Figure AA) is quite different from Taliesin, for even as the McCormick project spreads out on the land, it seems like this spread is a product of multiplication, not profound integration as I claim for Taliesin.[37] The McCormick project is unified by its roof and alignments along axes. Therefore, like the Cheney house, it is defined by drawing itself in on the basis of internal organizing elements. It is capped, and it is zoned.

Taliesin seems very different. Of course it is smaller, and thus easier to synthesize, yet according to Levine´s on-the-spot observations, and per my analysis, Taliesin is never defined by its logic. In no way is its organization its raiment. Where is the front of Taliesin? Is there a front? And the entrance? The signals that lead one to it are voids. Such characteristics are not absolutely different from those which govern the prairie style, but because Wright has broken out of the rectangle, all traditional notions of house are gone. Indeed the house and the workspaces are not distinguished. At Taliesin we do not see overwhelming evidence of traditional modus operandi. Each representational room seems to be determined by its needs. If a living room is determined to need the most sun and air, then its shape reaches quietly out to get it from as many avenues as possible. Such rooms are then interwoven together to form a considered piece, which is to say that the whole is nonetheless considered greater than the parts (a distance from a farm).

It is too easy to attribute these new characteristics to the fact that Wright was his own client; or that this site was so spectacular; or to say he may have been following progressive tenets -- not that there is no truth to these assertions. I think we need to further pursue Wright´s own attribution to Borthwick´s influence.

NOTES

Chapter Five

1. Wright, An Autobiography, p. 165.

2. See the book by Wright´s sister: Barney, Maginel Wright. The Valley of the God-Almighty Joneses. New York: Appleton-Century, 1965.

3. The `Romeo and Juliet´ watertower/windmill for his aunts´ Hillside Home School, a house called Tanyderi for his sister and her husband, and the Hillside Home School main building itself.

4. See especially pp. 3-4, 17-32, 38-48. Quotation is from p. 17.

5. "Awful Crime in Wisconsin." Chicago Sunday Tribune, August 16, 1914, p. 6.

6. Wright, An Autobiography, p. 171.

7. See "Cheney Champion of Runaway Wife." Chicago Daily Tribune, November 9, 1909, p. 7.

8. This comment was made during Professor Levine´s Fall 1987 seminar on Taliesin, the class which provided the impetus for this paper. Many of the insights contained herein no doubt reflect ideas brought out in class. Where specific attributions are called for, I have done so to the best of my memory. Class members besides myself were: Daniel Abramson, Nancy Adelson, Peter Bentel, Stacy Cohen, Scott Gartner, Timothy Love, Linda Phipps, and Rives Taylor.

9. Edgar Kaufmann says Wright´s mother ran a neighborhood kindergarten in the Oak Park playroom. I don´t know how this part of the house was affected by the renovation work that went on at this time.

Kaufmann, Edgar, Jr. "Crisis and Creativity: Frank Lloyd Wright, 1904-1914." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, vol. 25, no. 4 (December 1966), p. 293.

10. See "Certificate of Evidence" filed in Cook County, Illinois, August 5 or 6, 1911 (both dates appear on document), Appendix B.

11. Crawford, Alan. "Ten Letters from Frank Lloyd Wright to Charles Robert Ashbee," p. 68.

12. Further information about Wright´s elusive, unresearched partnership with Joseph Sanderson would be illuminating here.

13. I say this also because Cheney defended Borthwick to the press when she left with Wright: see "Cheney Champion of Runaway Wife," Chicago Tribune...

Cheney later married "Miss Elsie Mello, formerly an Oak Park school teacher." (Note the past tense; clearly Elsie Mello gave up her job too.)

"Soul Mates Leave Badger Love Home." [Baraboo, WI] County Democrat, January 16, 1913, p. 1.

14. Important court dates, per extant Cook County records, are:

July 21, 1911: Summons served to Borthwick
July 28 : Bill of Complaint filed by Edwin Cheney
August 3 : Case heard by Judge Theodore Brentano, Cook County, Illinois
August 5 : Judge´s decree, granting divorce and giving full custody to Edwin Cheney
August 5 or 6: Certificate of Evidence (transcript) filed (Appendix B)

15. "Mamah´s children....have been with her every summer." "Negro Murderer of Seven." The [Spring Green, WI] Weekly Home News. August 20, 1914, p. 5.

16. Wright, John Lloyd, My Father Who Is on Earth, pp. 79 and 81.

17. "Stoutly Defends Erring Husband." Chicago Tribune, November 8, 1909, p. 7.

18. "Negro Murderer of Seven" (Weekly Home News) does say that this area was "built for Mr. Wright´s mother." (p. 1.)

19. I gleaned this information from a letter dated April 22nd 1911(?) that Wright sent to Taylor A. Wooley, as summarized in Meehan, Patrick J. Frank Lloyd Wright: A Research Guide to Archival Sources. New York: Garland Publishing, 1983, doc. B51.

Meehan cites reasonable evidence for believing this letter was written in 1911. The letter does not mention Sanderson.

20. Abramson, Daniel. "A House in the Country: The United States of Taliesin." Seminar paper for Professor Neil Levine's class on Taliesin, given at Harvard University in the Fall term of 1987.

21. ibid, p. 21.

22. ibid, p. 25.

23. Following Neil Levine, Timothy Love suggests that a diagonal axis governs the manipulation of Taliesin. One of the points on this axis is the two oak trees near the Flower in the Crannied Wall statue.

Love, Timothy. "Taliesin and the Planning Sensibility of Frank Lloyd Wright." Seminar paper for Professor Neil Levine.

24. Smith, Norris Kelly. Frank Lloyd Wright: A Study in Architectural Content. Watkins Glen, NY: The American Life Foundation, 1979, p. 88.

25. I suspect that all their lunches were made there, following the practice used for feeding farm help. Maybe the assistants et al. were on their own for other meals...

26. Wright, Gwendolyn, Building the Dream, p. 170.

27. Here's my count, which uses information from the 1914 fire accounts:

*Brunker - "hostler" (in charge of machines or animals) of nearby Ridgeway
*William Weston - carpenter from Spring Green
*Ernest Weston - choreboy
*Joseph Grauvogl - ran farm; lived elsewhere
Emil Brodelle of Milwaukee - draftsman
Fritz of Chicago - draftsman
Lindblum - "gardener"
(2) Carletons - household help
(2) Cheney children
Wright
Borthwick

(*lived elsewhere, so only would have been there for lunches)

This totals thirteen people; I say eleven to thirteen because it still is not clear to me when Wright first had any drafting assistants at Taliesin. Wright apparently was gearing up as of March 1914 in preparation for an exhibition in Chicago or San Francisco. May is when he brought the Carletons on.

Brodelle and Fritz billetted above farm appendices?
Lindblum, described as having room, in house proper?
Carletons, as couple, in asst. area? described in Spring
  Green paper as "office"
sitting room described as "temporary" men´s dining room

28. This was a common complaint of servants in suburban or rural locations. See chapter three, footnote 9, about William Dean Howells´ book which describes `the servant problem´ at length.

29. Daniel Abramson says that he believes the Western Architect plan (Figure W) shows an egalitarian conception of country living that is later overcome by more of a conception of a fiefdom of sorts. I agree that this is the case. The first stage of Taliesin´s life was an especially holistic one, as we will see.

30. A more recent guide to farm building states "the [properly-planned] kitchen has a view of the road, the entrance and driveway, and all the animal shelters." I do not believe that this could be too different from the conventions of fifty years earlier, since the physical conditions that gave rise to farm-building tenets had not changed.

Neubauer, Loren W. and Harry B. Walker. Farm Building Design. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961, p 22.

31. Here I am pulling up information about earlier farmhouses, but I would make the same argument I made about the 1961 farmhouse design manual: that some -- not all -- things about farming haven´t changed very much.

Stilgoe, John R. Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982, "Farmhouses," pp. 159-170.

Mechanized implements must have had some impact by 1911, but I don´t know how much. One interesting book traces the following incursion of several labor-saving devices into the home:

1900 Power came into home when small motors were perfected [later cites vacuum cleaner specifically]
1904 Metal wash tubs, also fiber [?]
1909 Washing machines run by power as well as hand
Electric iron

(Allen, Edith Louise. American Housing As Affected by Social and Economic Conditions. Peoria, IL: The Manual Arts Press, 1930, p. 195.)

If nothing else, Wright´s inclusion of a cooling, cooking and pantry in the "gardener´s" section of the Western Architect plan (which I don´t believe were built), shows that Taliesin´s house kitchen was not a farming kitchen.

32. Wright, Gwendolyn, Building the Dream, p. 170.

33. ibid, p. 171.

34. See Spencer, Robert C., Jr. "Attractive Farmhouses for Real Farmers." Country Life in America, vol. VI, no. 6 (October 1904), pp. 546-48.

Spencer´s designs are very English in derivation (and Wrightian as well); but they carefully stay within traditional bounds. They could be in any suburb. Displaying a woeful misunderstanding of the work which fell to farmwomen, Spencer says that the kitchens "may be simply a large alcove off the dining-room." This progressive model was hardly suitable for active farm wives. Most striking is Spencer´s discussion of what farmers should want to look out at (p. 547).

35. Anonymous (probably Alfred Hopkins, the architect whose work is featured). "The Modern Farm Building." Country Life in America, vol. CIX, no. 2090 (January 12, 1916), pp. 20-21.

The designs featured in this article are also very English-inspired, or neo-Colonial. They too could fit in any suburb.

36. She writes:

> The plight of the farm wife, who had the most extreme isolation as well as the most primitive facilities for housework and cooking, received special attention. When sociological studies described the high incidence of depression among farm wives, home economists and architects considered what kind of house might raise these women´s spirits and encourage their daughters to become farmers´ wives rather than moving to the city. In 1913 the Minnesota State Art Assocation sponsored a competition for `progressive farm houses,´ with the published plans available to farmers at a nominal fee. These twelve-room dwellings were designed to make work easier for the woman, to separate the family from the farm hands, and to improve the appearance of the rural landscape. New appliances and telephones for the model homes were strongly recommended by architects, who argued that these would buoy the farm wife´s state of mind.

Wright, Gwendolyn, Building the Dream, p. 175.

37. This is especially true of the holographic plan (Figure AA). The bird´s-eye perspective from the Wasmuth portfolio makes the projected house look more irregular, but this later rendition was made in Germany, which, we´ll see, would predispose me to say it is post-Borthwick in influence.

Chapter Six

TALIESIN II: INTERPRETATION

As I noted earlier, Wright's first crystallized definition of organic did not appear until 1914. His earlier uses of the word shifted in meaning with each context, it seems to me. Generally, Wright used organic to signify that something was right and proper and, in some undefined way, intrinsic. In 1901, in his talk "The Art and Craft of the Machine," Wright used organic to mean inevitable or essential: he wrote about the organic process of history, and the organic nature of the machine. His goal was to inspire architects to harness the machine as "Intellect" so that machinery, and by extension the architect, could "master[] the drudgery of earth that the plastic art may live." The heroic practitioner of this new art would "clothe Necessity with the living flesh of virile imagination, as the living flesh lends living grace to the hard and bony human skeleton." This is a very Sullivanian essay.

The following year, in a speech given to The Chicago Women's Club,[1] Wright again used organic as an imprimatur of natural correctness. He glorifies the architect who wrestles to control the machine, and calls for architects to learn from nature. Further, in a passage which echoes Sullivan's 1894 essay "Emotional Architecture As Compared with Intellectual:

A Study in Subjective and Objective,"[2] Wright chastizes his fellow architects for forgetting to listen to the subjective. This is a problematic stance: inevitably the need to listen to nature and the architect's desire to look at nature -- and therein rewrite it -- conflict, as we will soon see.

In the 1908 essay "In the Cause of Architecture,"[3] the word organic is used ubiquitously. Basically Wright postulated that buildings should look, and be decorated to look, natural. "[F]orms are complete in themselves and frequently do duty at the same time from within and without as decorative attributes of the whole." The organic is still desired, but the "whole" can be distinguished from the organic, which acts as inspiration. The organic as muse would finally be submerged in his larger artistic statement.

Finally, in the 1914 Architectural Record article[4] -- that is, after his intersection with feminism -- Wright championed a personal tack of organicism while angrily resisting the idea that others who followed organic principles had to produce buildings that looked like his. Organicism now was a world view, not an kit of architectural parts. At Wright's first use of the word organic, he marked it with an asterisk; the definition given below reads:

> By organic architecture I mean an architecture
> that develops from within outward in harmony
> with the conditions of its being as distinguished
> from one that is applied from without. (p. 122)

First I want to observe that the architectural world is to be transformed in a way synonymous with the transformation of relationships which Key called for. That is, a set of inherent architectural powers are to be freed from the dominance of some imposition, just as love was to be released from its captivity to marriage as social and economic contract. Commonly-accepted schemes for working up partis, for instance, would seem to be discouraged. Inherent, not imposed, modus operandi would be privileged in this transformed architectural method. And this new method is allied, clearly enough, with the natural world, suggesting that natural forces might no longer be restrained in the built environment, that architects should not think of their buildings as devices shutting out nature.

The belief in nature-as-muse favors a looking mode of perception, as I will now explain. Psychologists have explained the conflict between looking and hearing modes as follows:

> The tendency for women to ground their epistemological premises in metaphors suggesting speaking and listening is at odds with the visual metaphors (such as equating knowledge with illumination, knowing with seeing, and truth with light) that scientists and philosophers most often use to express their sense of mind. Physicist Evelyn Fox Keller ..., tracing the metaphorical uses of vision in the history of Western intellectual thought, argues that such analogies lead to a favored model for truth and the quest for mind. Visual metaphors, such as `the mind's eye,' suggest a camera passively

> recording a static reality and promote the illusion that disengagement and objectification are central to the construction of knowledge. Visual metaphors encourage standing at a distance to get a proper view, removing -- it is believed -- subject and object from a sphere of possible intercourse. Unlike the eye, the ear operates by registering nearby subtle change. Unlike the eye, the ear requires closeness between subject and object. Unlike seeing, speaking and listening suggest dialogue and interaction.[5]

The tactic of disengaged looking provided the mindset necessary for people to believe they could `conquer´ nature. In the fascinating book Witch Hunting, Magic and the New Philosophy: An Introduction to Debates of the Scientific Revolution, 1450-1750, historian Brian Easlea traces this tactic to the mechanical and experimental philosophers who masterminded the scientific revolution. These men:

> expressed confidence in their potential ability to gain power over the natural world. The truth they sought was, as Francis Bacon so crisply put it, the truth whose measurement is power: the knowledge they sought was causal knowledge of natural processes.[6]

That is, they sought to harness the world that seemed to operate outside of human control. People were buffetted by storm, both literally and in their attempts to cope with life´s uncertainties. Cataclysms might arise at any minute. Necessarily, it took a belief that people could effect a degree of control over the world in order to begin to manage it. The goal was for `mind [to win] over matter.´ Hegel opined that what was in the mind was real, and what was unreal was what was `out there.´

So philosophers and scientists created logical models as guides to perception. Basically these structures diagrammed forces which were perceived to animate nature. The notion of forces was crucial, since the ultimate goal of scientific theory was to take power. By understanding these diagrams -- skeletons, as it were -- scientists believed they would be able to manipulate natural forces to their purposes. Since the method seemed to work,[7] each object's forces were seen as being its essence (its `nature'), rather than portions of the object's entire being.[8] Understanding itself came to be seen as an activity that demanded only one thing: a logical mind.

Easlea continues:

> I have argued ... that the principal [motivation of such paradigms] remains class control of productive forces together with the (consequent) maldistribution of wealth, privilege, power and knowledge within and between nations.
>
> But perhaps there is ... an equally serious and perhaps even more recalcitrant problem than that of class structure. In many men's eyes it must have appeared in gathering-hunting societies that women could do everything men could do and yet also possessed the magical power of creating and growing babies. (p. 254)

Easlea (and others) argue that this produced a sense of insecurity in men which they have thereafter attempted to overcome:

> [O]verall in pre-capitalist society the proof of male virility and the means of men's oppression of women remained anchored to men's greater physical strength. In class-structured capitalist society, however, further problems arise in so far as the ruling and

> privileged classes are no longer `virile´ warriors but calculating, reasoning men. However, ruling-class virility, especially that of bourgeois and scientist (as opposed to the warrior class), can now be demonstrated to (sexually repressed) women and to oppressed classes and races by grandiose technological appropriations of the earth. For since scientific power over natural processes ... not only `works´ but is highly efficacious, the scientists, technologists and managers of capitalist society have at their disposal a real means of displaying their virility and of reassuring themselves of their `superior´ masculinity. (p. 255)

Creating an image of women as more earthy or natural, somehow more biological than men, allowed mind to win over mater (mother)/women as well as matter/nature. Women were made to represent absence of reason -- the very thing which men were attempting to control, or escape.

In contrast to the distancing effect that visual metaphors imply, hearing involves respectful concern for perceived objects and willingness to accept their ability to speak, and act, on oneself. Speaking on the broadest level, women have had to develop such listening skills due to their responsibilities for raising and nurturing children. Thus the skill of empathy has becomes a "central feature in the development" of what psychologists today call "connected procedures for knowing" (what has otherwise been called "maternal thinking").[9] I think it is now possible to see that Key´s idea of organicism is based on empathy between men and women; sex morality encouraged men to pick up women´s empathetic skills ("the soul of man so fused with the work of woman") so the men could be "freed from <u>within</u>."

Easlea cites Herbert Marcuse (1898-) as a man who tapped into a world view involving respect for nature and by implication for women as well. For Marcuse observed that:

> [Nature] may well be hostile to man, in which case the relation [between man and nature] would be one of struggle; but the struggle may also subside and make room for peace, tranquillity, fulfillment. In this case, not appropriation but rather its negation would be the nonexploitative relation: surrender, \`letting-be,´ acceptance.... [T]he faculty of being \`receptive,´ \`passive´ is a precondition of freedom: it is the ability to see things in their own right .... This receptivity is itself the soil of creation: it is opposed, not to productivity, but to <u>destructive</u> productivity. The latter has been the ever more conspicuous feature of male domination; insasmuch as the \`male principle´ has been the ruling mental and physical force, a free society would be the \`definite negation´ of this principle -- it would be a female society. (p. vii [source not given])

To my mind, it was Wright´s fortuitous meeting with Borthwick (and knowledge about Key) that prompted him to become another to make this realization and live by it, if only temporarily. If we return to his 1914 (post-European) definition of organic, I believe we can see that Wright has now integrated a receptive, listening approach into his definition of architecture itself:

> By organic architecture I mean an architecture that <u>develops</u> from within outward in harmony with the conditions of its being as distinguished from one that is <u>applied</u> from without.

The last chapter documented, I hope, such a holistic stance operating at Taliesin.

It is interesting to note that at the same time Wright was being exposed to Key´s feminism in Germany, German architects and theorists were discussing notions of empathy. The definition of empathy which appeared in Wilhelm Worringer´s Abstraction and Empathy (1908), in which Worringer contrasts fundamental drives of abstraction and empathy, reads much like Wright´s post-Keysian definition of organic architecture in the way that empathy is posited as natural and receptive, viz:

> Just as the urge to empathy as a pre-assumption of aesthetic experience finds gratification in the beauty of the organic, so the urge to abstraction finds its beauty in the life-denying inorganic, in the crystalline, or in general terms, in all abstract architecture.[10]

Therefore the "psychic precondition" for empathy was "a happy pantheistic confidence between man and the phenomena of the external world."[11] I think it is also possible to argue that abstraction represented a response to the `new woman´ who, in taking control of her sexuality, made theories of space -- theretofore thought of as feminine -- seem dangerously erotic. Abstraction `hardened´ architecture again and made it safe. Wright would have nothing to fear about architecture visualized as erotic. It is not clear whether or not Wright knew of these theories, though he certainly saw the architecture which was discussed in these terms. (See Appendix C for further speculation.)

In 1914, Wright attributed the genesis of the organic to his architectural forebears in Chicago, particularly Louis Sullivan:

> This ideal of an organic architecture for America was touched by Richardson and Root, and perhaps by other men, but was developing consciously twenty-eight years ago in the practice of Adler & Sullivan, when I went to work in their office.[12]

He did not mention Key. But the fact that Wright now focused on a listening approach rather than a seeing one implies a different attitude toward the act of creation than Wright's "Lieber Meister" had had. As we saw in Wright's 1908 essay, which was heavily influenced by Sullivan, looking at objects allows them only to serve as inspiration. Such had been Sullivan's very traditional tack when he wrote, for instance, that H.H. Richardson's Marshall Field Wholesale Store:

> stands as the index of a mind, large enough, courageous enough, to cope with these things, master them, absorb them and give them forth again, impressed with the stamp of large and forceful personality; artistically, it stands as the oration of one who knows well how to choose his words, who has something to say and says it -- and says it as the outpouring of a copious, direct, large and simple mind. Therefore I have called it, in a world of barren pettiness, a male; for it sings the song of procreant power, as the others have squealed of miscegenation.[13]

Although Sullivan did believe that architects should listen to the building program, he thought that after doing so they should submit the results of that listening session to their "large and forceful personalit[ies]."

Instead of following Sullivan as heroic architect by responding to a building program and secondarily "heading the imperative voice of emotion,"[14] Wright met this natural, instinctual, `feminine´ voice in the middle -- the voice that Key promoted.

Of course, Sullivan did say that it was necessary to "heed the imperative voice of emotion." But, as the criticism runs, his emotional aspects (particularly the ornamental) were always ultimately viewed as "add-ons," as they indeed were. Like Emerson, who used nature as a stepping stone to greater self-understanding (like the poem "The Flower in the Crannied Wall"), Sullivan´s allegiance was to the armature of pre-established, masculine dictates. (He accepted the world of downtown, as "four-square and brown...") That is, Emerson harnessed a muse in order to construct heroic version of mankind; he used nature to transcend to a land of capital-m Men.

Sullivan desired the subjective/emotional; Wright seized it. The house married the hill. Natural, spatial, and intuitive came together. Taliesin was a place for listening, not willfulness.

Let us now compare Taliesin to the architectural model I developed in the fourth chapter about how an Ellen Keysian family house might be organized.

Again, to follow my model, the house itself would promote open interrelations, would not need traditional domestic signs (necessary in a patriarchy), would have a place for a woman's independent activities, might display evidence of a romantic relationship, and would have an altered tie to a (revised) public realm. Last, it would evince a tie to nature; this, I feel, was proven in the last chapter. Working from a current perspective, we might also expect to see some of the conflicts between women's selfhood and role as mother. (How was a new woman to be a mother?)

I think that in the last chapter I also established that the signs of domesticity were revamped to stand for space and passage. As for Borthwick's role, I have unfortunately only speculatively been able to fix a spot for her professional work. It is possible that she too worked in the workroom, of course. At least we know she did work, even if there is no spatial evidence. The open quality of the representational rooms suggests that the house continues to support family interrelations and nurture above anything else. Further, I would suggest that the house's enhanced sense of relatedness to the land strengthens the concept of nurture as a natural, basic activity. As for signs of romance, I do not espy any: only verbal descriptions of the house as "love bungalow" envince such love.[15]

The trick about looking for spatial clues in regard to the degree in which motherhood was embraced is that the children were never other than part-time residents. That is, Borthwick and Wright had effected something of a resolution of who came first (the mother or the children) by arranging for a temporal alternation. Some months one would come first, other times the other would.[16]

Because the American social world was as yet unmodified, Wright and Borthwick withdrew from it. Within a world under their control, they established a life in close contact with nature, and maintained a relatively egalitarian lifestyle.

Last, I see Key´s influence on Taliesin in the link to a farmhouse model -- which Wright and Borthwick probably saw as supporting a relatively egalitarian lifestyle. For, as I implied in the comparison of Taliesin´s kitchen to that of a traditional farming kitchen, women played a crucial role on farmsteads. Unlike suburban housewives who prepared items for private consumption, farm women played a pivotal role in the farm´s ability to produce things that brought in money. Wright would have observed women playing this important role when he was a child at Taliesin, no doubt. Therefore I would argue that Wright updated a farmhouse model out of commitment to a life which depended on the labor of a husband-wife team -- not, like his friend Spencer, out of fidelity to suburban, more `modern´ lifestyles.

Wright´s non-competitive submission to the 1913 City Club of Chicago competition for a "Scheme of Development for a Quarter-Section of Land within the Limits of the City of Chicago, Illinois" gives further proof that Wright´s programmatic thinking now took a feminist view into account (Figure AA). The competition stipulated the number of people who were to live in the model quarter-section on the outskirts of the city. Other competition entrants assumed that a proper suburban format would include only families, or families and rooming-house arrangements for necessary single male laborers. Only Wright made housing provisions for single females. Men´s housing was placed near the cultural facilities; housing for women is next door to facilities for educating children. Still, unmarried, presumably professional, women are recognized as a deserving population type.[17]

In conclusion, where did Wright´s rendezvous with feminism take him? We saw that the Cheney house celebrated the capable nurturer, but the house, like the housewife, depended on being pedestalized and walled off from the modern, `masculine´ realm in which both were embedded. Key suggested that the natural forces of sexuality and nature should be met in the middle, not transcended (`looked at´); empathetic ways of perception should guide women´s <u>and</u> men´s thinking alike: everyone should `listen.´

We have seen that Wright´s notion of the organic came to stand for such a holistic attitude, one Easlea (via Marcuse) allied with the feminine. At Taliesin, Wright listened to his program, and built "from within outwardly." The house is not about domestic symbolism, an enshrinement of the feminine domestic spirit; rather, it is a free-form composition which meets nature in the middle. Inside this controlled area, Borthwick was able to both nurture and do independent work.

Finally, I read (I hear) Mamah Borthwick´s presence primarily in the fact that once she was tragically taken from Wright, he reverted in regard to his respect for women. There is no lack of evidence to show that he came to think of women as selfless helpmates, women-as-mother,[18] a role Olgivanna Lloyd Wright certainly played. When Borthwick controlled Wright´s perception of her, and of nurturing activities, then he respected their self-determined force. When he began to think of listening as women´s responsibility, not his (via stereotypical thinking), then he `transcended´ women once again. If men as well as women do not take on the burden of respect for natural forces, then traditional ways of thinking will inevitably win out. But Borthwick and Key´s impact remained in that Wright´s enhanced respect for nature´s force only deepened.

In the end, I wonder: did Wright "use" Mamah Borthwick? Did he "pluck" her as Tennyson metaphorically plucked the flower from the crannied wall? I say no -- for I believe that he listened to her voice, her feminist force -- and nature´s, too --- and gave them expression. His own voice -- his style -- does not `talk´ louder than they do at Taliesin.

NOTES

Chapter Six

1. Wright, Frank Lloyd. "The Modern Home as a Work of Art." Speech given to the Chicago Woman's Club, 1902. (Typescript from collection of Library of Congress)

2. Sullivan, Louis H. "Emotional Architecture As Compared with Intellectual: A Study in Subjective and Objective." (1894) In: Sullivan, Louis H. Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings (1918 revised edition). New York: George Wittenborn, 1947.

3. Wright, Frank Lloyd. "In the Cause of Architecture." The Architectural Record, vol. XXIII, no. 3 (March 1908).

4. It would seem quite possible that Borthwick saw and perhaps edited Wright's manuscript, since they were living together when he wrote it, and since she was the writing expert.

5. Belenky, Mary Field, and Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger and Jill Mattuck Tarule. Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind. New York: Basic Books, 1986, p. 18.

6. Easlea, Brian. Witch Hunting, Magic and the New Philosophy: An Introduction to Debates of the Scientific Revolution, 1450-1750. Sussex, Great Britain: The Harvester Press, 1980, p. 253. (page numbers will be cited in the main body of text)

7. Only within the definition of taking control; as many ecologists point out today, mankind has thereby caused the earth great damage, damage which may well wreak vengenence back upon us.

8. As another author observes: "Twentieth-century physics still views the world in terms of fundamental particles -- electrons, protons, neutrons, mesons, muons, pions, taus, thetas, sigmas, pis, and so on. The search for the ultimate unifying particle, the quark, continues to engage the efforts of the best theoretical physicists."
(Merchant, Carolyn. The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980, p. 291.)

9. Belenky, et al., Women's Ways of Knowing, p. 143.

10. Waite, Geoffrey C.W. "Worringer´s Abstraction and Empathy: Remarks on its Reception and on the Rhetoric of Criticism" in Chapple, Gerald and Hans H. Schulte, eds. The Turn of the Century: German Literature and Art, 1890-1915. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, pp. 197-223 (this quote p. 210).

11. ibid, p. 210.

12. Wright, "In the Cause of Architecture" in Gutheim, In the Cause of Architecture, p. 122.

13. Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" in Kindergarten Chats," p. 30.

14. Sullivan, "The Tall Office Building Artistically Considered" in Kindergarten Chats, p. 206.

15. "Awful Crime in Wisconsin," p. 6.

16. Again, I saw Key subtly favoring the claims of womanhood as well.

17. Yeomans, Alfred B., ed. City Residential Land Development. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916, pp. 96-102.

Wright´s "quadruple block" schema is the basis of the plan. His text ends by saying that "our own problems need, not fashioning from without, but development from within" (p. 102).

18. Somewhere I read that this is how Wright referred to Olgivanna, but I cannot recall where.

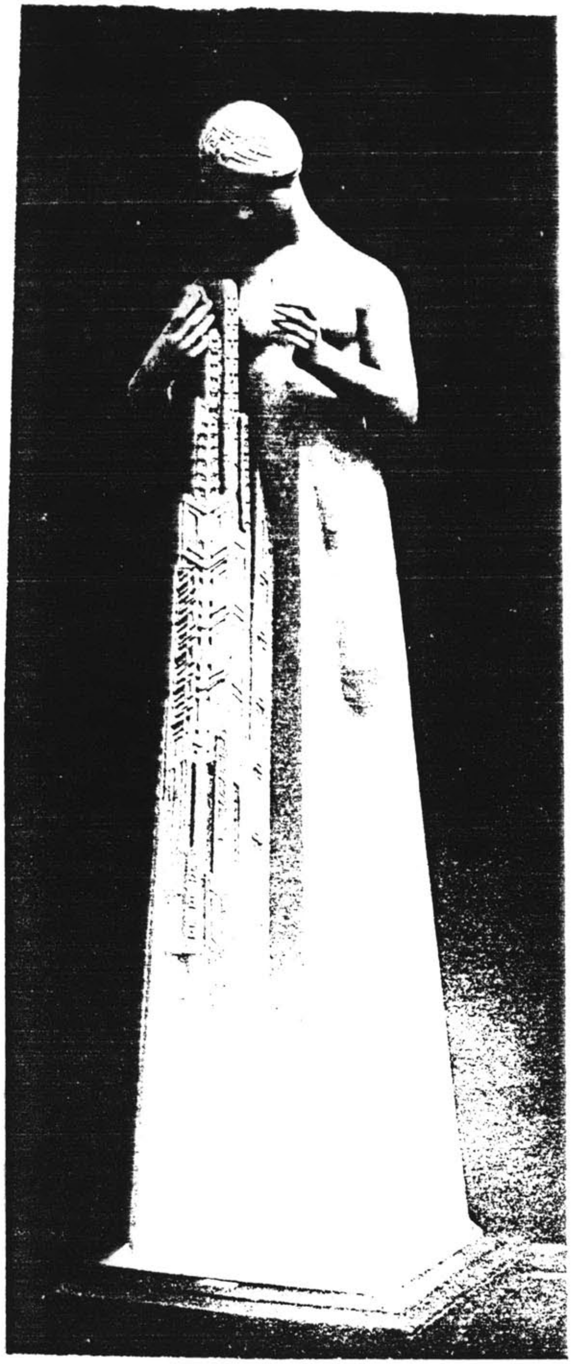


FIGURE A : "Flower in the Crannied Wall" statue

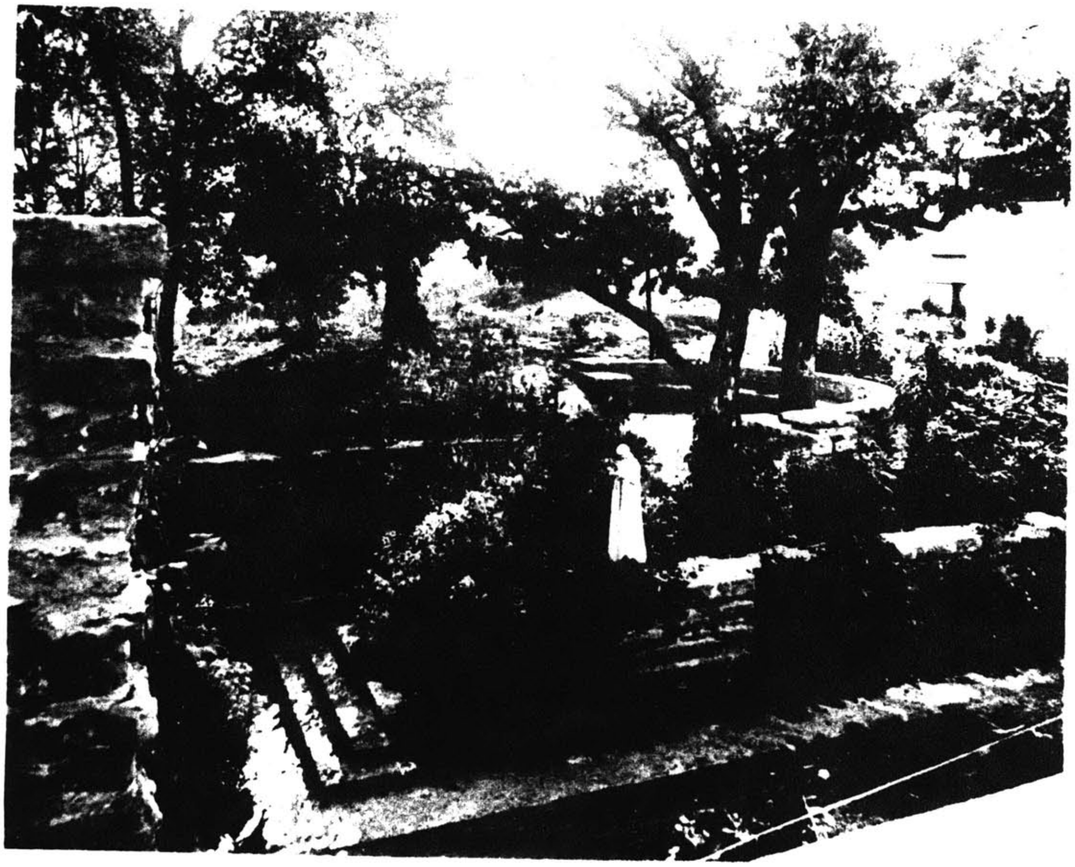


FIGURE B : Taliesin's garden, with statue

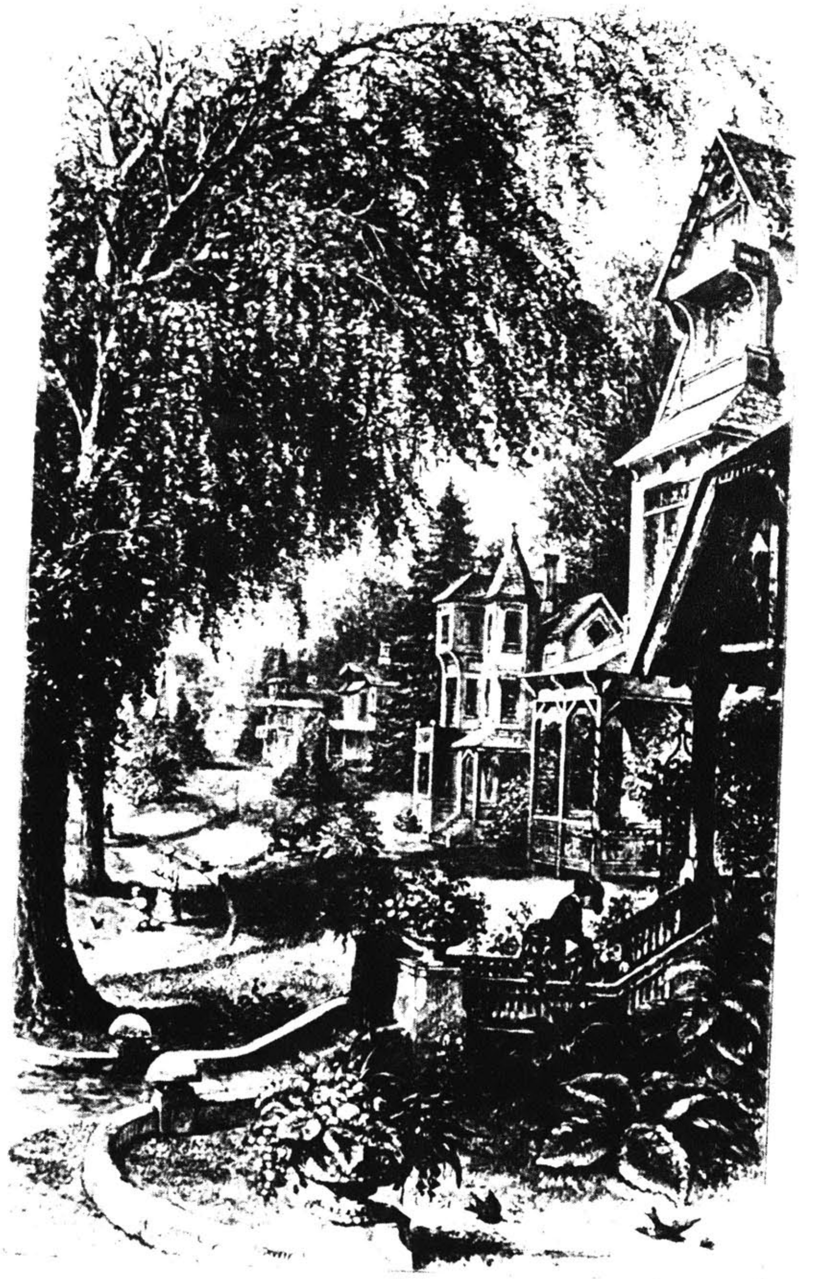


FIGURE C : Suburb as feminine

DESIGN I

A LABORERS COTTAGE

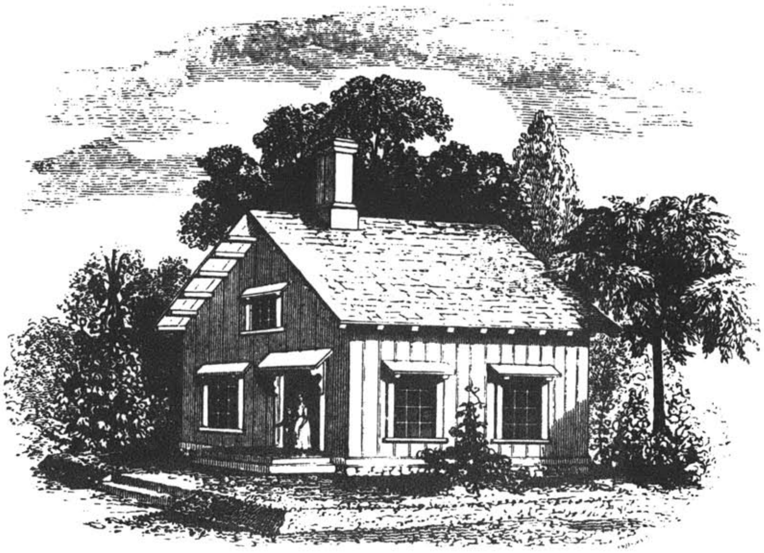
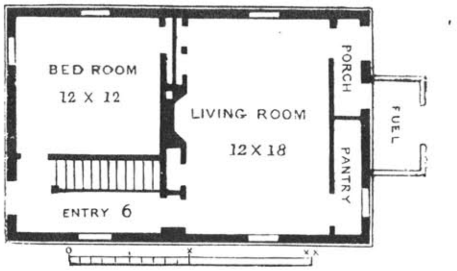


Fig. 5


BED ROOM
12 X 12
LIVING ROOM
12 X 18
ENTRY 6
PORCH
FUEL
PANTRY

PRINCIPAL FLOOR
Fig. 6

FIGURE D : "A Laborer's Cottage," 1850

DESIGN I.

A Suburban Cottage.

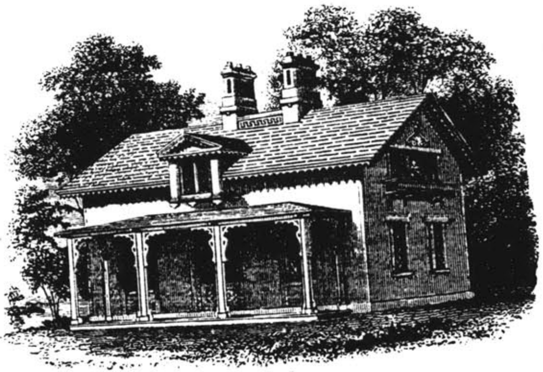


Fig. 3.

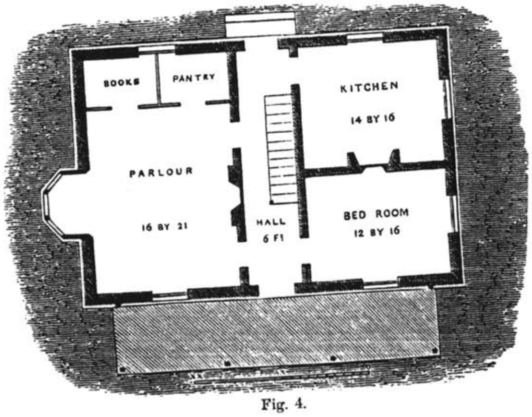

BOOKS
PANTRY
KITCHEN
14 BY 16
PARLOUR
16 BY 21
HALL
6 FT
BED ROOM
12 BY 16

Fig. 4.

DESIGN II.

A Cottage in the English or Rural Gothic Style.

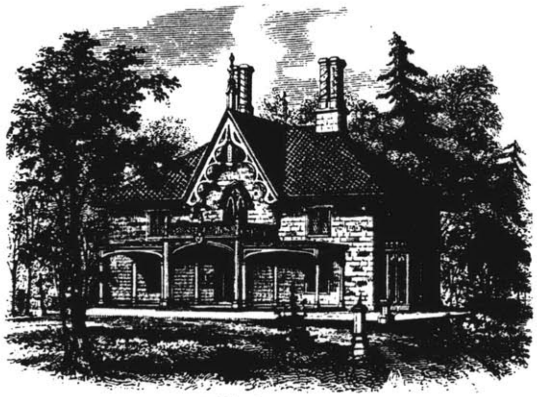


Fig. 9.

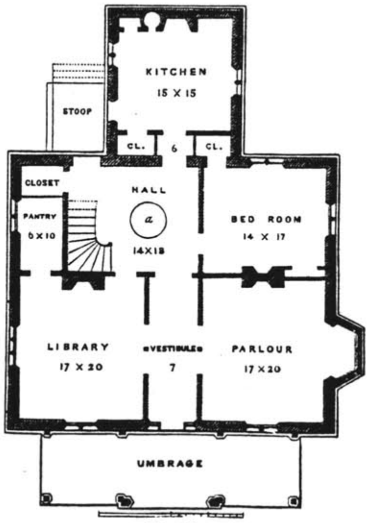

KITCHEN
15 X 15
STOOP
CL.
6
CL.
CLOSET
HALL
a
14X18
PANTRY
5X10
BED ROOM
14 X 17
LIBRARY
17 X 20
VESTIBULE
7
PARLOUR
17 X 20
UMBRAGE

Fig. 10.

FIGURE E - 1 : Various 1842 designs CONTINUED --

DESIGN VII.

An Irregular Cottage in the Old English Style.

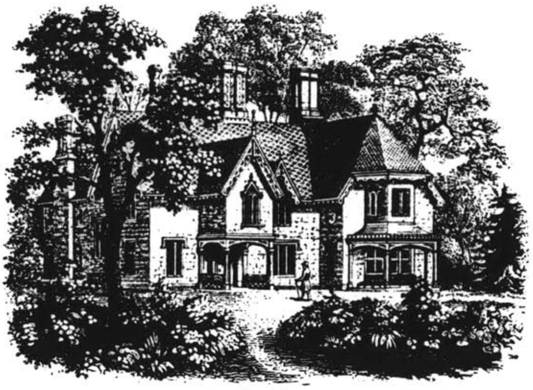


Fig. 54.

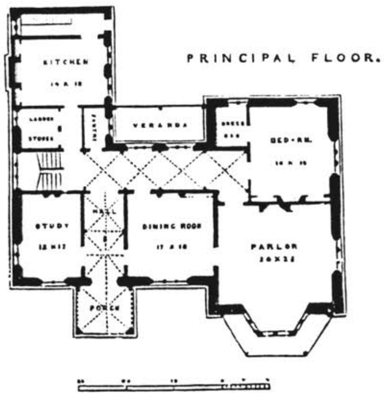

PRINCIPAL FLOOR.
KITCHEN
LARDER
STORES
PANTRY
VERANDA
DRESS RM
BED-RM.
STUDY
12 X 17
HALL
DINING ROOM
17 X 18
PARLOR
PORCH

Fig. 56.

FIGURE E - 2 : Various 1842 designs

DESIGN XXIII.

AN ARCHITECT'S RESIDENCE.

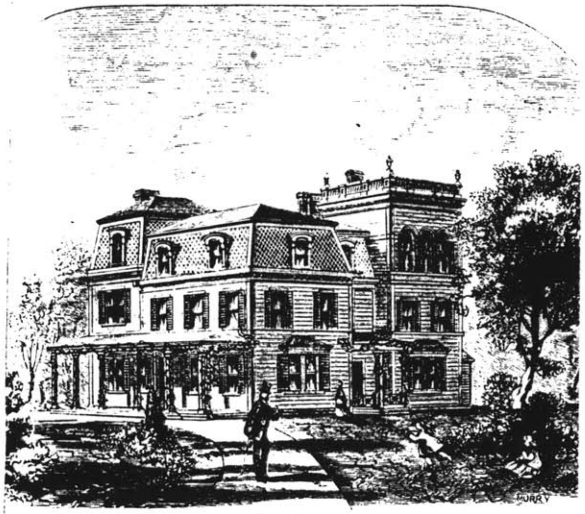


Fig. 123.

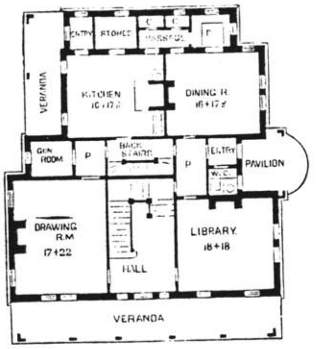

ENTRY
STORES
C
C
PASSAGE
P
VERANDA
KITCHEN
16×17½
DINING R.
16+17½
GUN ROOM
P
BACK STAIRS
P
ENTRY
W.C.
PAVILION
DRAWING R.M
17+22
HALL
LIBRARY
18+18
VERANDA

Fig. 124.

DESIGN XXI.

A COTTAGE FOR A VILLAGE LOT.

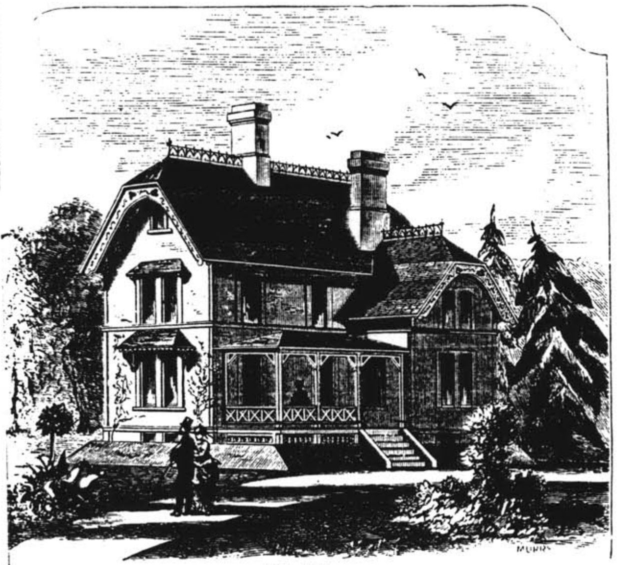


Fig. 117.

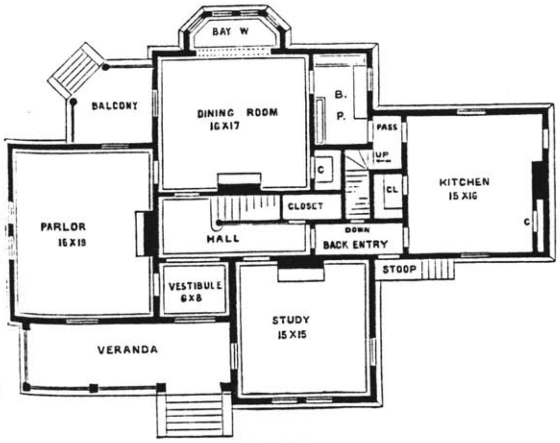

BAY W
BALCONY
DINING ROOM
16X17
B.
P.
PASS
UP
C
CL
KITCHEN
15 X16
C
CLOSET
PARLOR
16X19
HALL
DOWN
BACK ENTRY
STOOP
VESTIBULE
6X8
STUDY
15X15
VERANDA

Fig. 118.

FIGURE F : 1873 designs

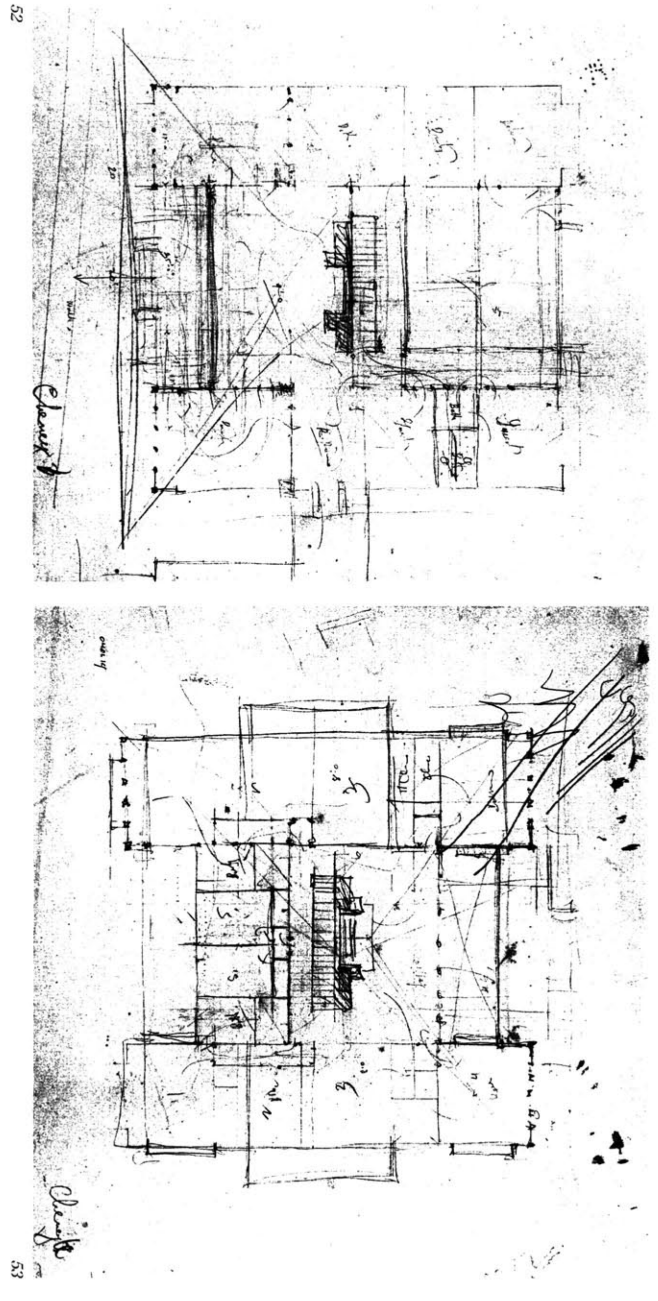

52
Cheney
Cheney
53

FIGURE G : Sketch plans, Cheney design

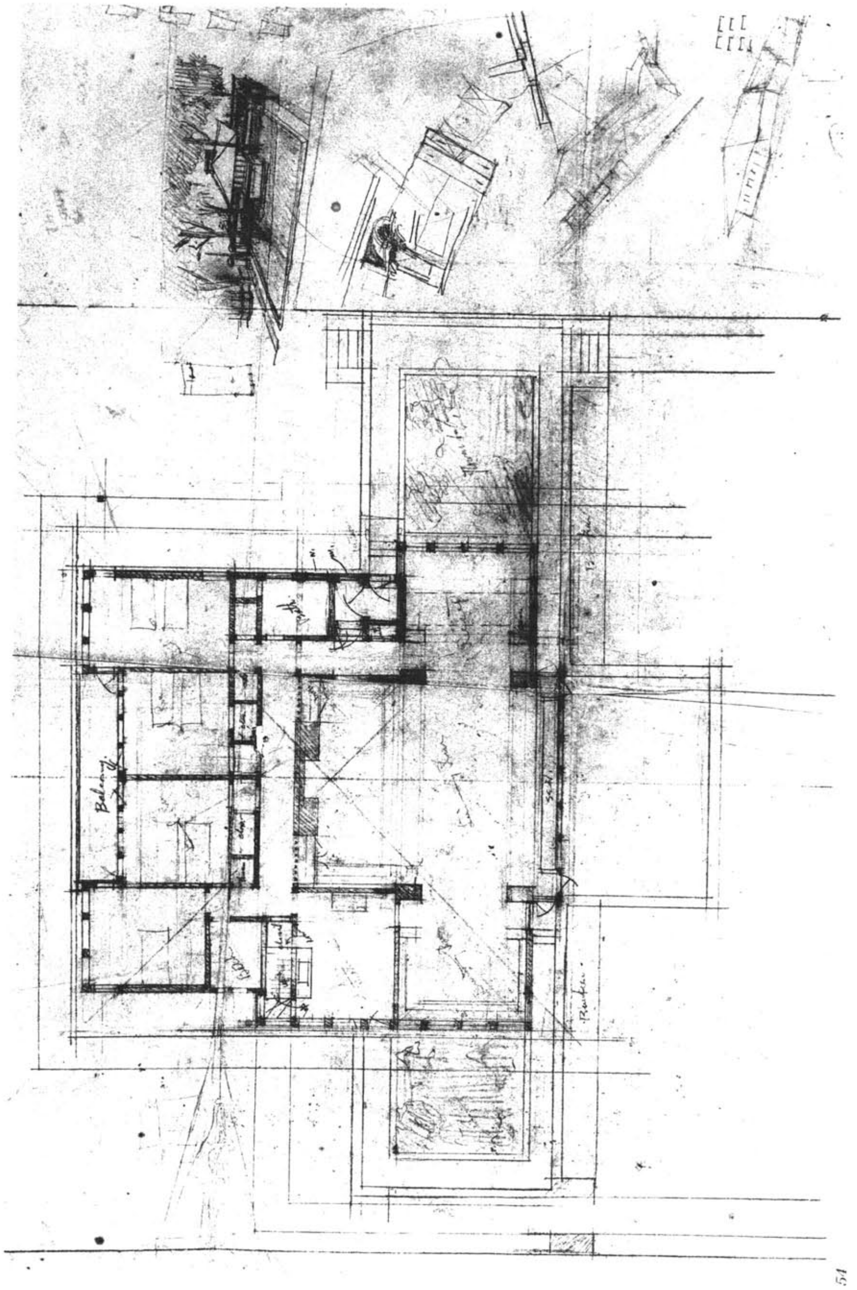


FIGURE H : Second stage, Cheney design

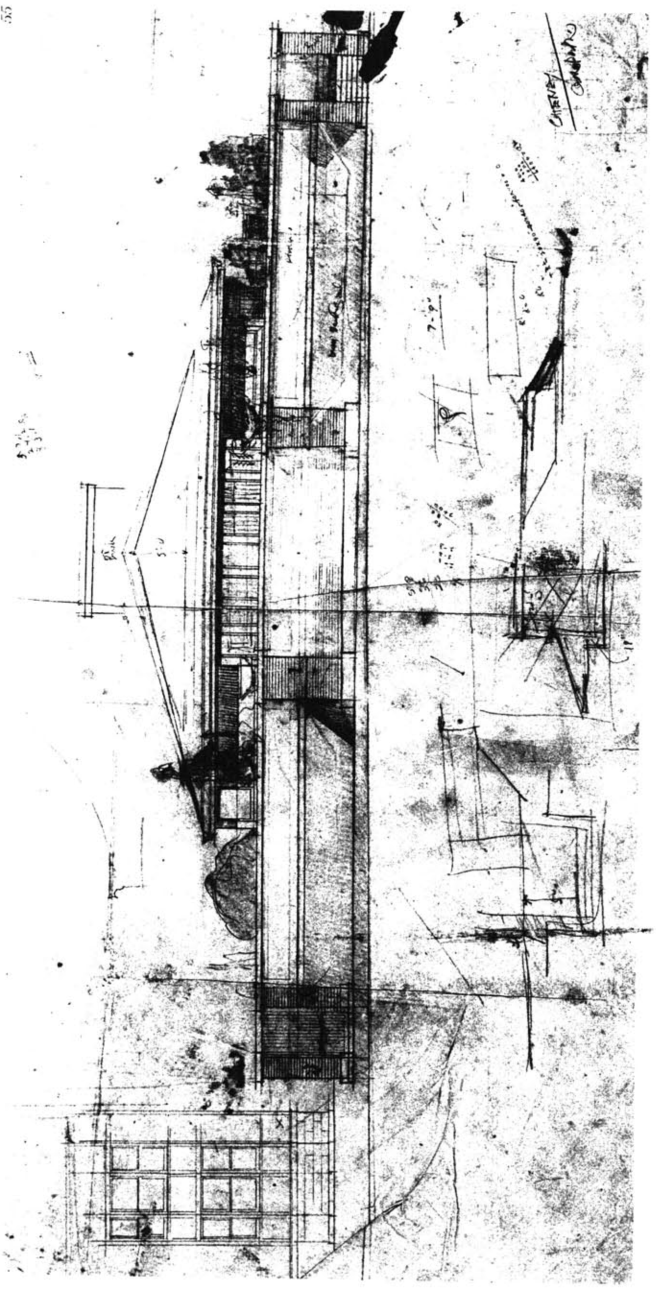


FIGURE I : Cheney design

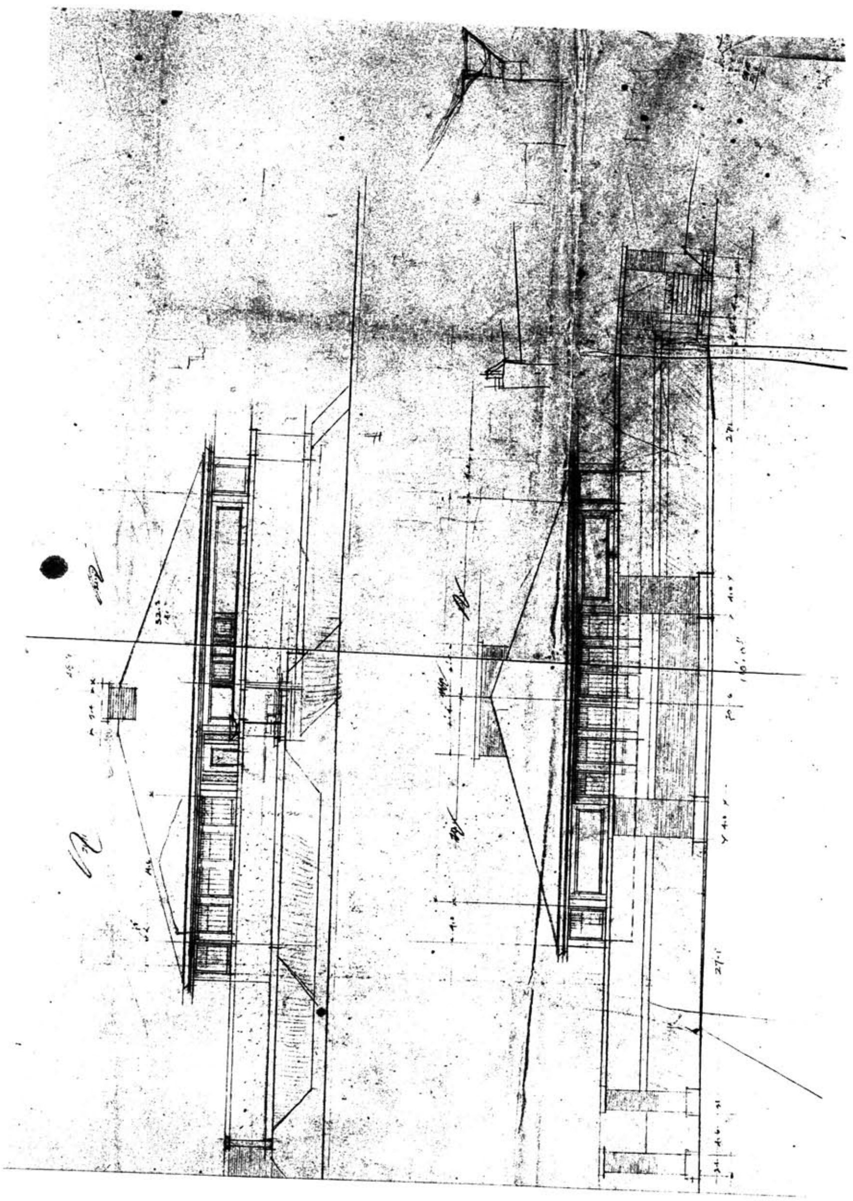


FIGURE J : Preliminary elevations, Cheney design

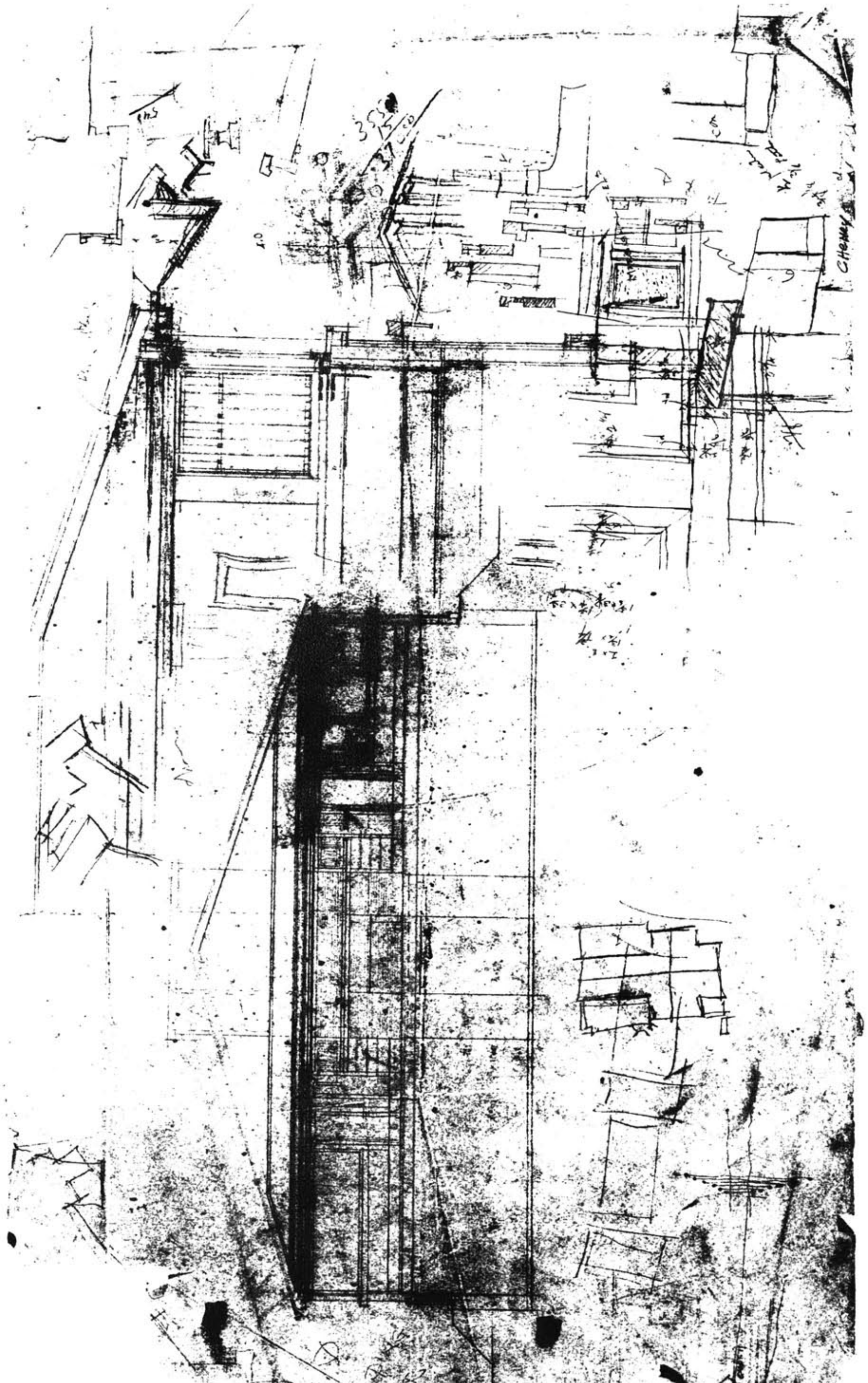


FIGURE K : Preliminary section, Cheney design

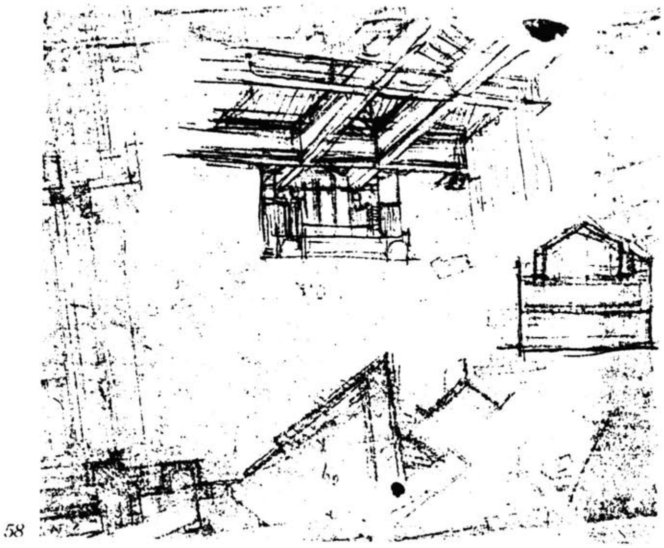


FIGURE L : Study detail

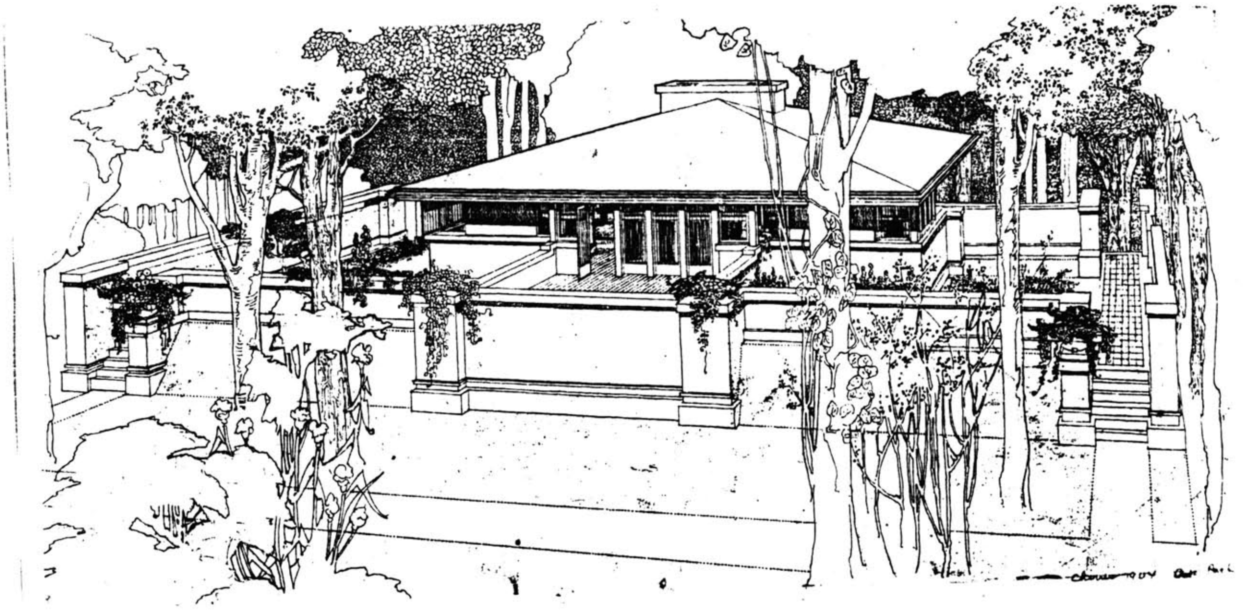

Cheney 1904 Oak Park

FIGURE M : Final perspective, Cheney design

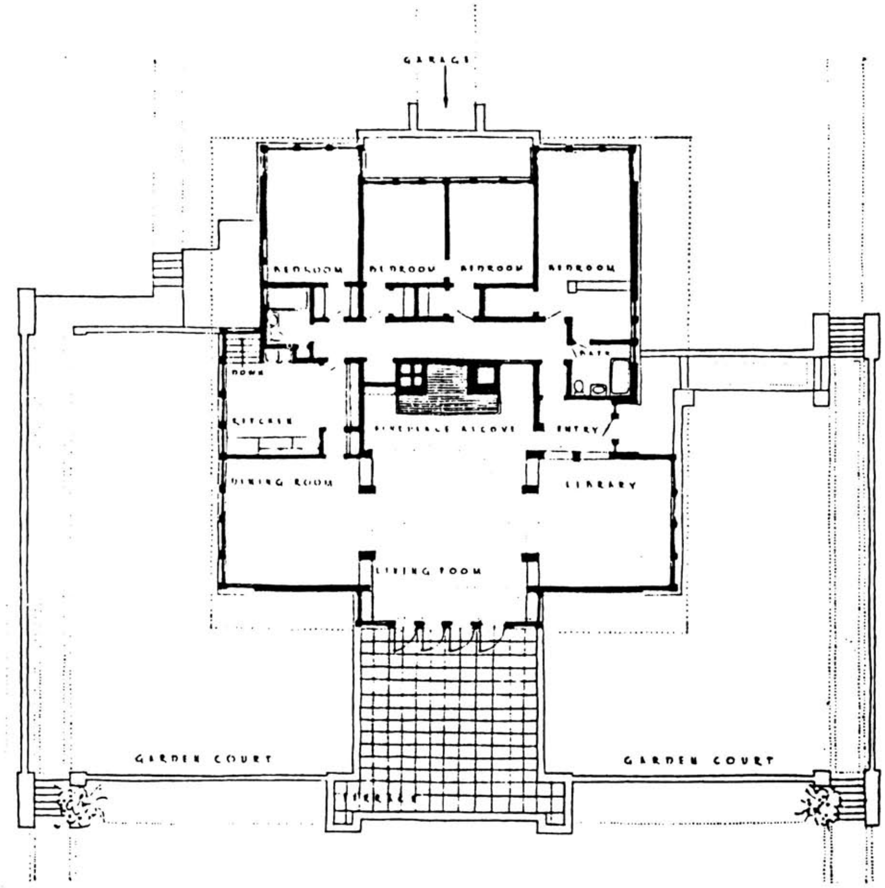
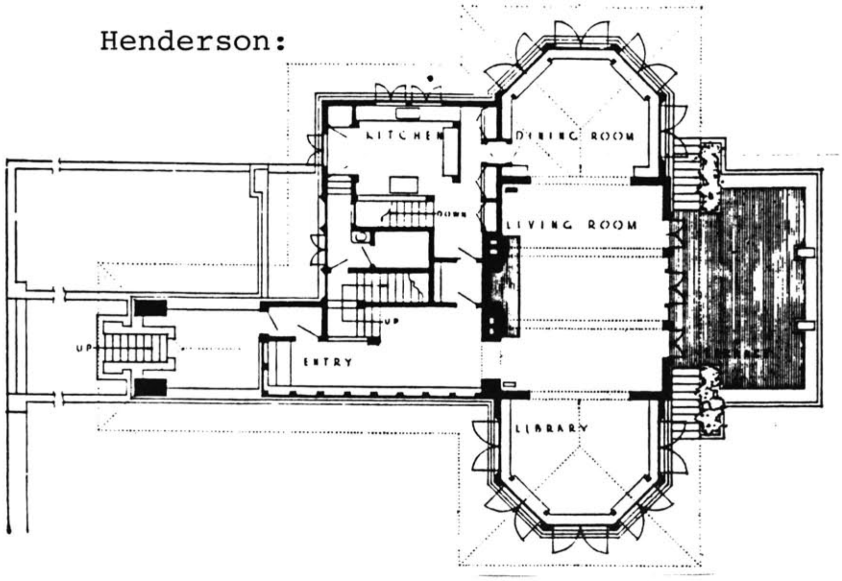

GARAGE
BEDROOM
BEDROOM
BEDROOM
BEDROOM
BATH
DOWN
KITCHEN
FIREPLACE ALCOVE
ENTRY
DINING ROOM
LIBRARY
LIVING ROOM
GARDEN COURT
GARDEN COURT
TERRACE

FIGURE N : Final plan, Cheney design

Henderson:


KITCHEN
DINING ROOM
DOWN
LIVING ROOM
UP
UP
ENTRY
LIBRARY

Willitts:

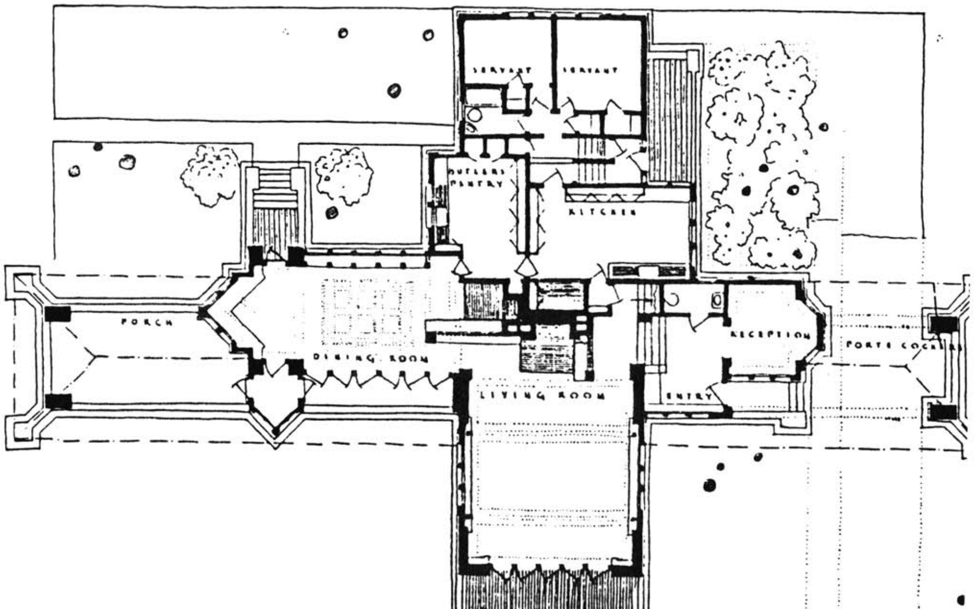

SERVANT
SERVANT
BUTLERS PANTRY
KITCHEN
PORCH
DINING ROOM
LIVING ROOM
RECEPTION
PORTE COCHERE
ENTRY

FIGURE O : Plans of Henderson and Willitts houses

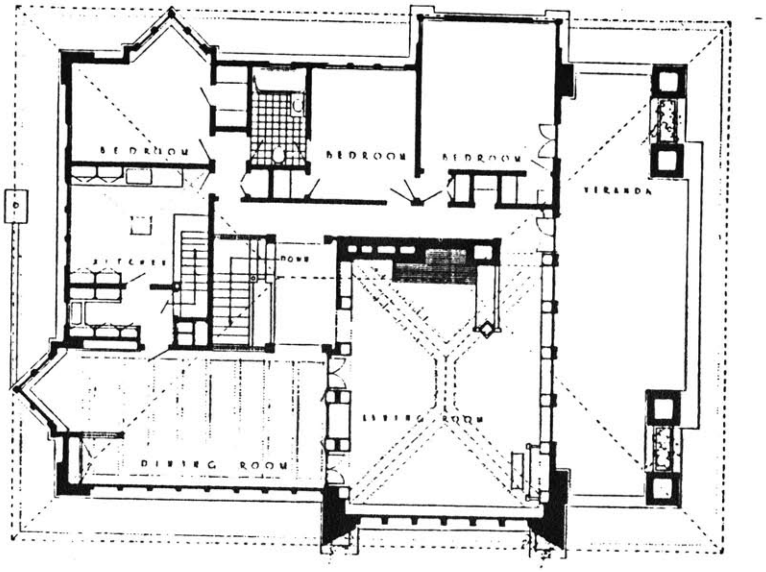
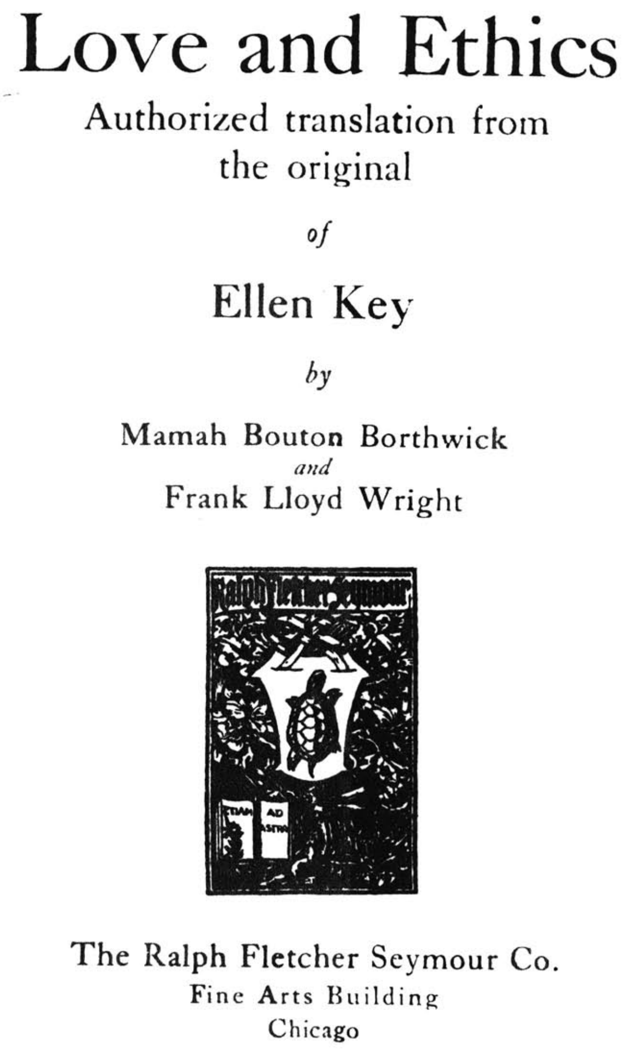

BEDROOM
BEDROOM
BEDROOM
VERANDA
KITCHEN
DOWN
LIVING ROOM
DINING ROOM

FIGURE P : Plan of Heurtley house



Love and Ethics

Authorized translation from
the original

of

Ellen Key

by

Mamah Bouton Borthwick
and
Frank Lloyd Wright

The Ralph Fletcher Seymour Co.
Fine Arts Building
Chicago

FIGURE Q : Cover of *Love and Ethics*

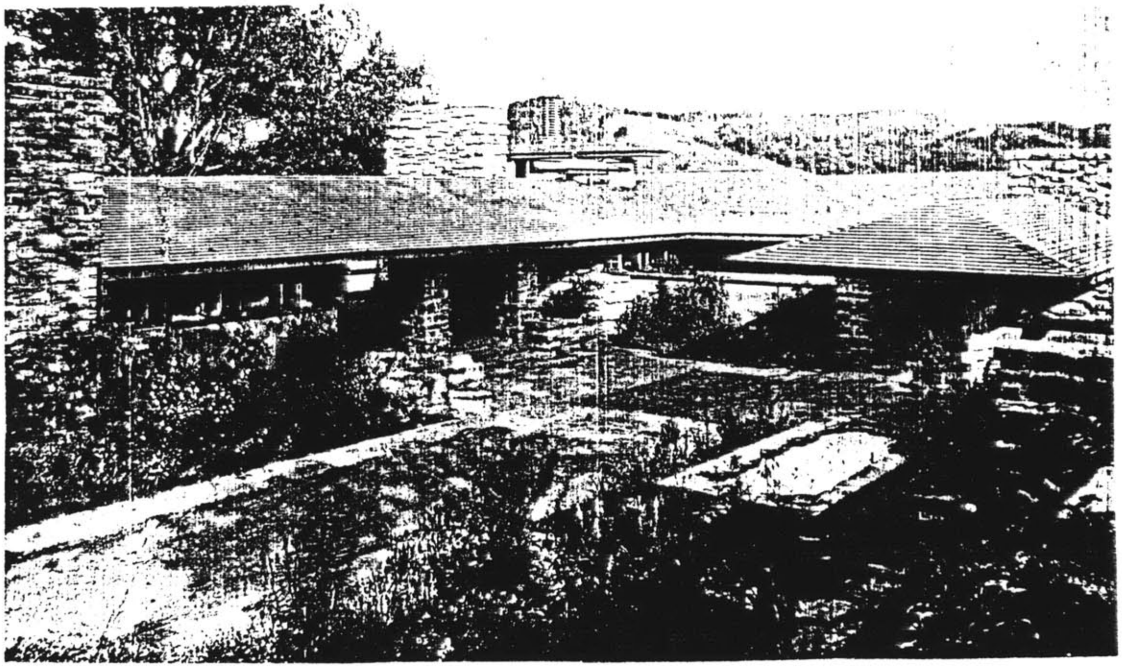


FIGURE R : Taliesin

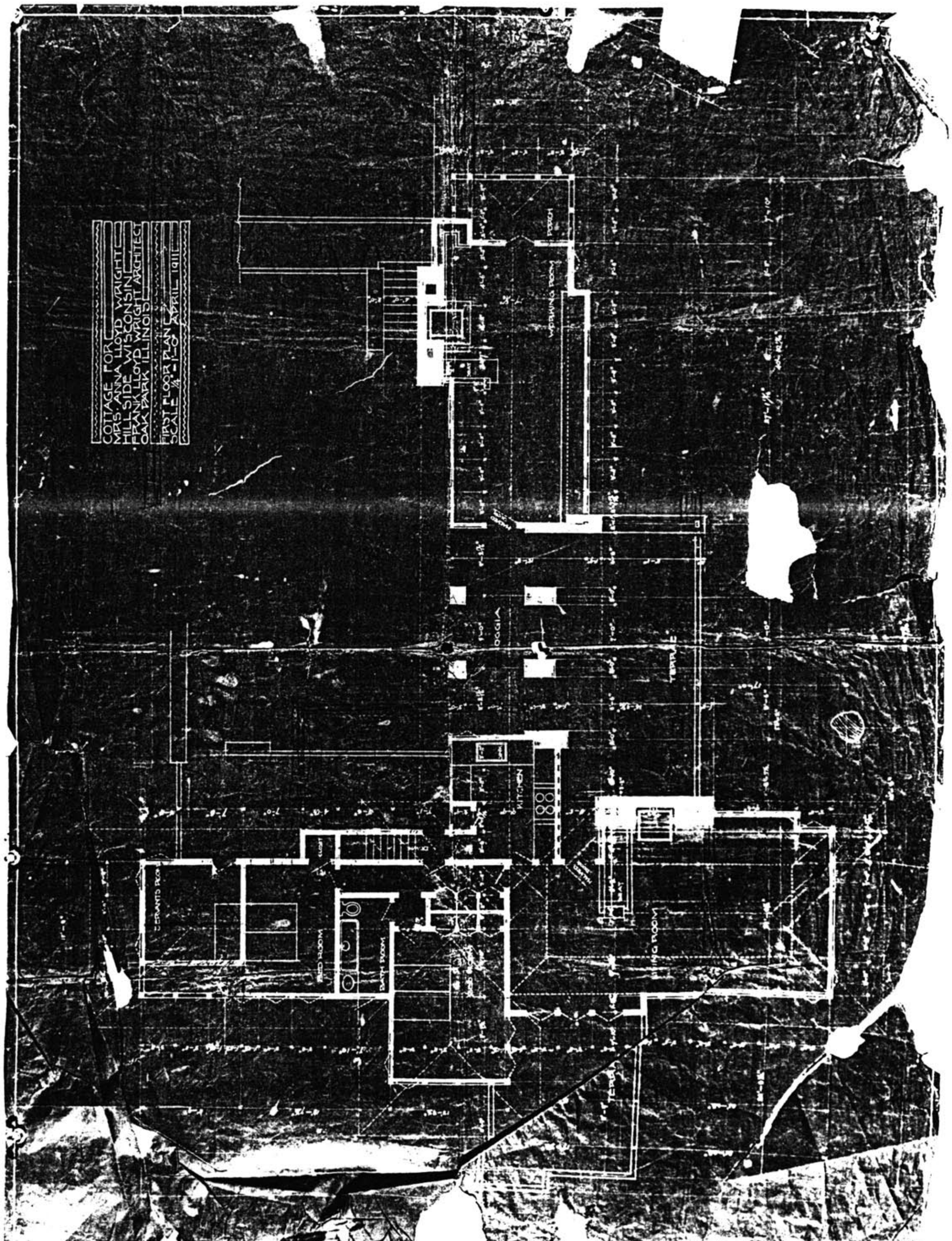

COTTAGE FOR
MRS. ANNA LLOYD WRIGHT
HILL SIDE WISCONSIN
FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT ARCHITECT
OAK PARK ILLINOIS
FIRST FLOOR PLAN
APRIL 1911
PORCH
WORKING ROOM
LOGGIA
KITCHEN
SERVANTS ROOM
BED ROOM
BATH ROOM
LIVING ROOM

FIGURE S : Cottage for Mrs. Anna Lloyd Wright

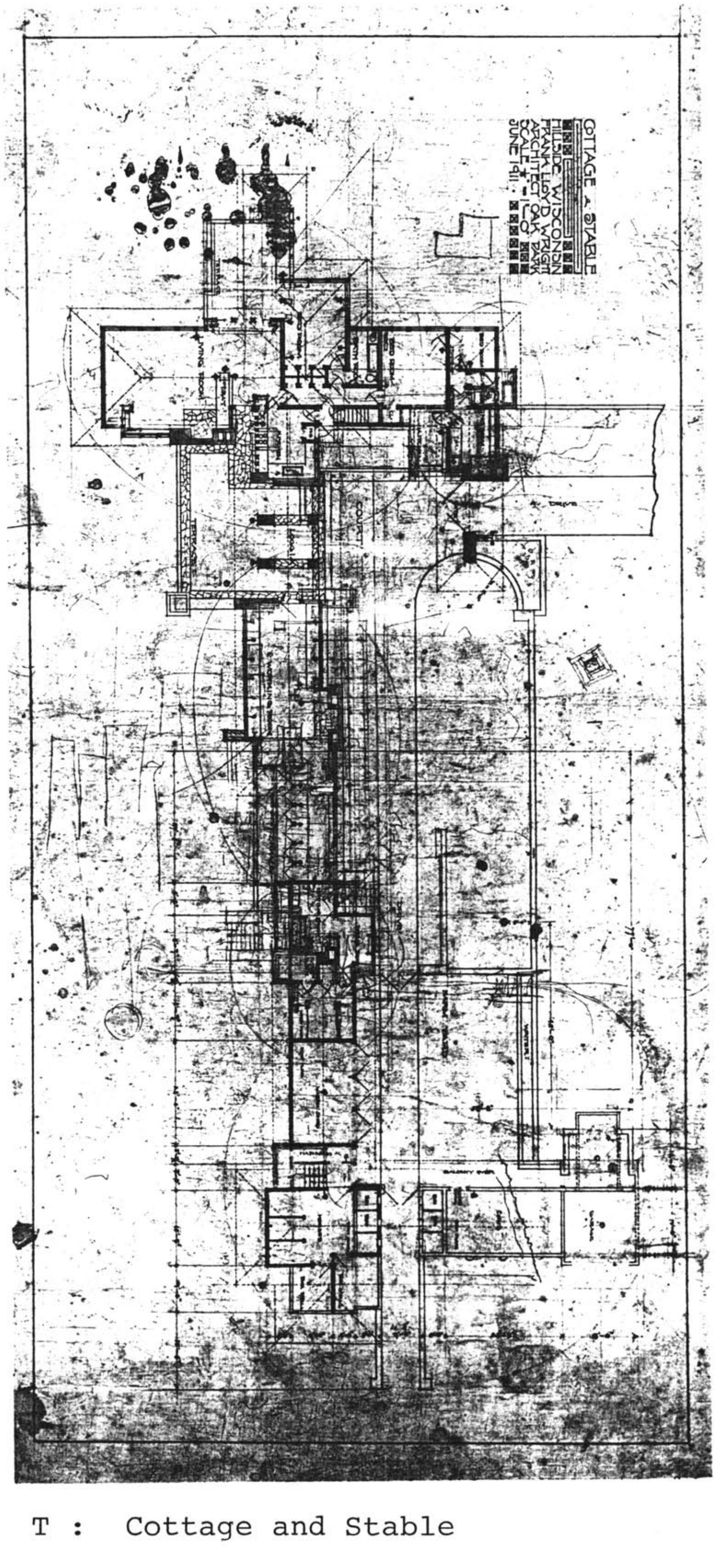

COTTAGE & STABLE
HILLSIDE WISCONSIN
FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT
ARCHITECT OAK PARK
SCALE ⅛" = 1'-0"
JUNE 1911

FIGURE T : Cottage and Stable

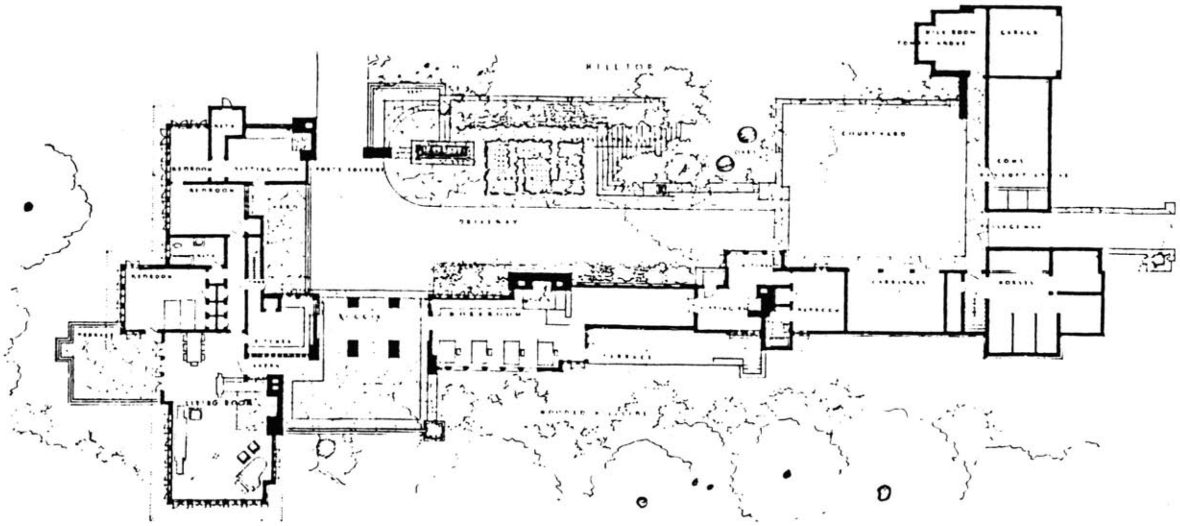

HILLTOP
BEDROOM
SITTING ROOM
BEDROOM
BEDROOM
DRIVEWAY
LOGGIA
TERRACE
LIVING ROOM
TERRACE
COURTYARD
GARAGE
COWS
CARRIAGES
HORSES

FIGURE U : Plan from In the Nature of Materials

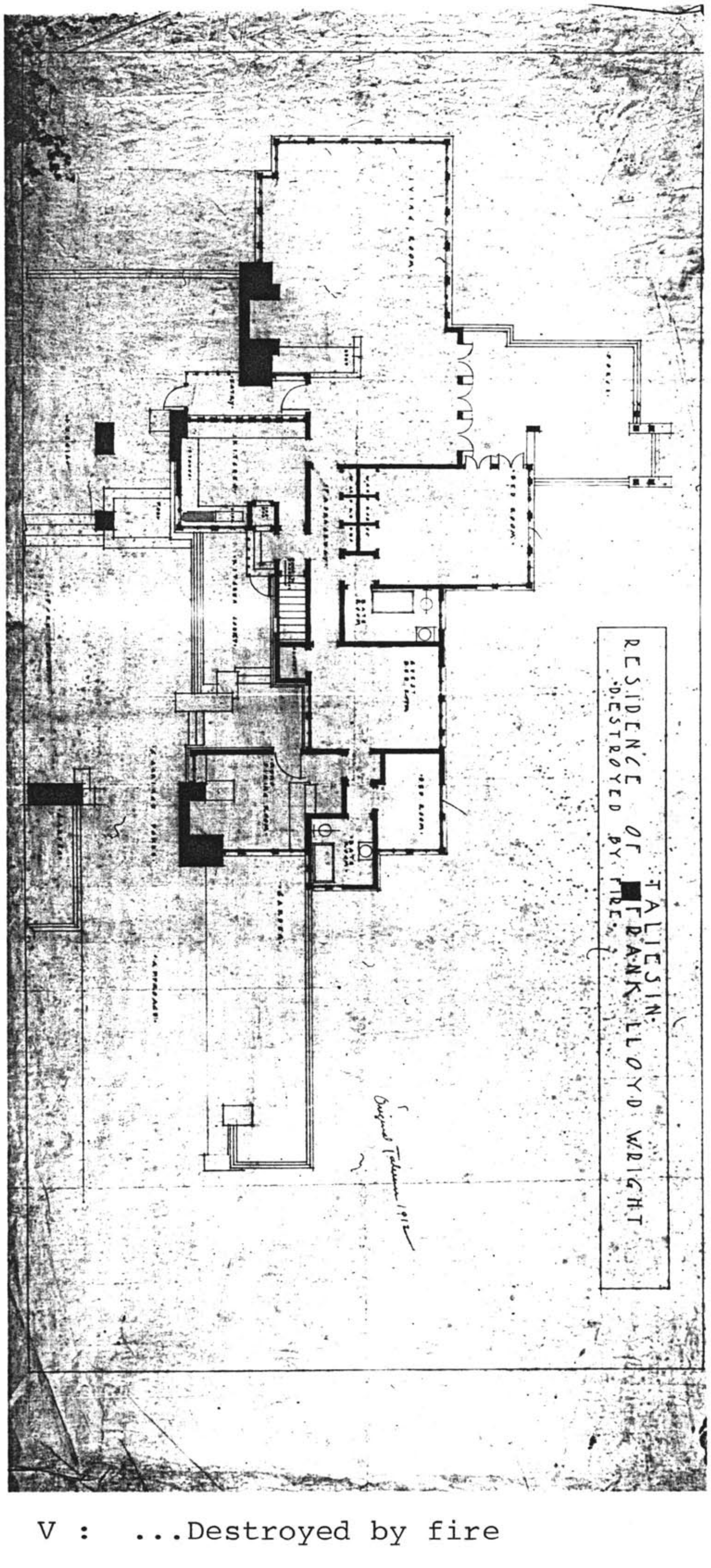
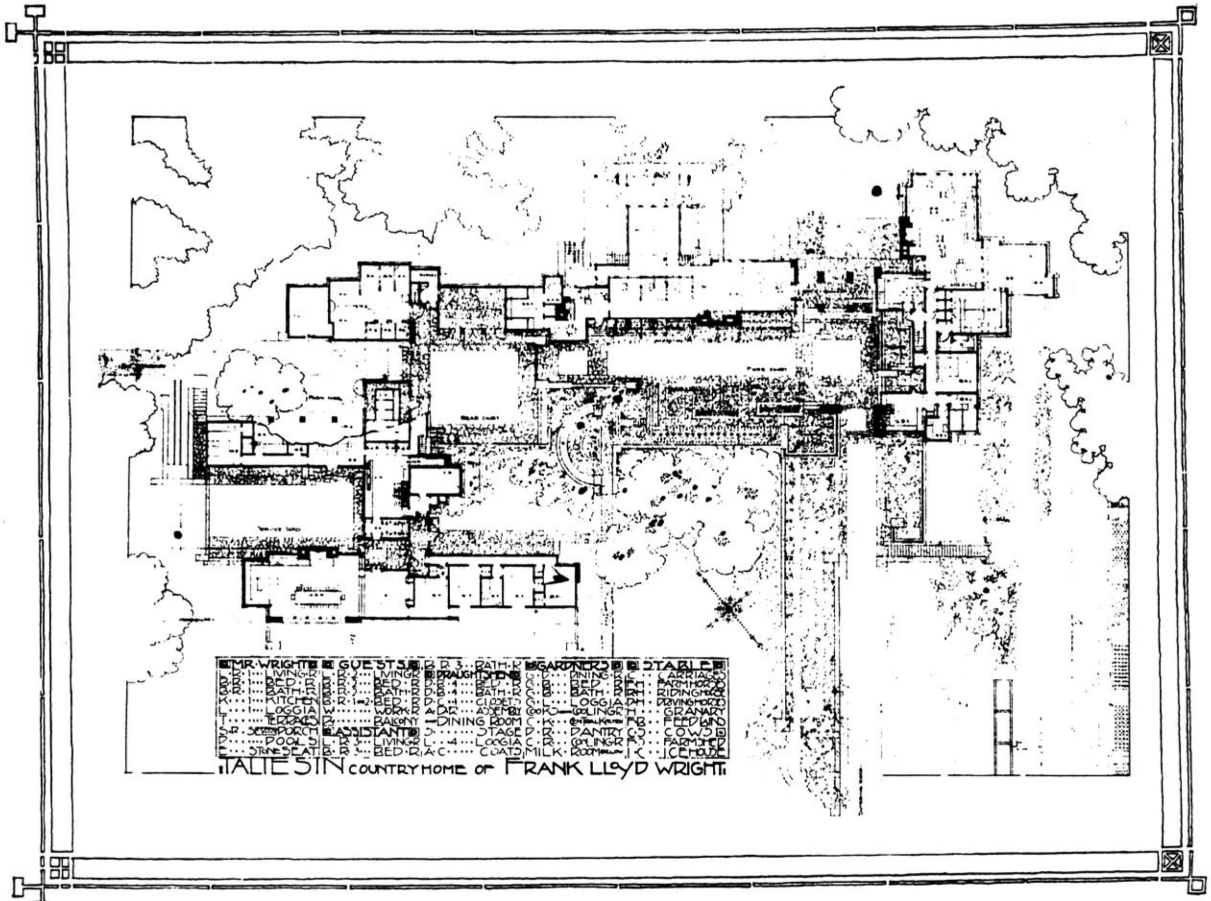

TALIESIN.
RESIDENCE OF FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT
DESTROYED BY FIRE.
Original Taliesin 1912

FIGURE V : ...Destroyed by fire


MR·WRIGHTS
L·R·1··· LIVING·R
B·R·1··· BED·R
B·R·1··· BATH·R
K···1··· KITCHEN
L···1··· LOGGIA
T······ TERRACES
S·P· SLEEPING PORCH
P······ POOLS
E··· STONE SEAT
GUESTS
L·R·2··· LIVING R
B·R·2··· BED·R
B·R·2··· BATH·R
B·R·1&2· BED·R
W······· WORK·R
B······· BALCONY
ASSISTANT
L·R·3··· LIVING·R
B·R·3··· BED·R
B·R·3··· BATH·R
DRAUGHTSMEN
D·B·4··· BED·R
D·B·4··· BATH·R
D·C·4··· CLOSETS
A·D·R··· ASSEMBLY
— DINING ROOM
S······ STAGE
L···4··· LOGGIA
A·C···· COATS
GARDNERS
G·D··· DINING·R
G·B··· BED·R
G·B··· BATH·R
G·L··· LOGGIA
COOKS — COOLING R
C·K··· CENTRAL KITCHEN
P·R··· PANTRY
C·R··· COOLING·R
MILK·ROOM
STABLE
C·· CARRIAGES
F·H· FARM HORSES
R·H· RIDING HORSES
D·H· DRIVING HORSES
H··· GRANARY
F·B·· FEED BINS
C·S·· COWS
F·S·· FARM SHED
I·C·· ICE HOUSE
TALIESIN COUNTRY HOME OF FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT

THE WESTERN ARCHITECT
FEBRUARY :: 1913

FIGURE W : Plan published in *Western Architect*, 1913

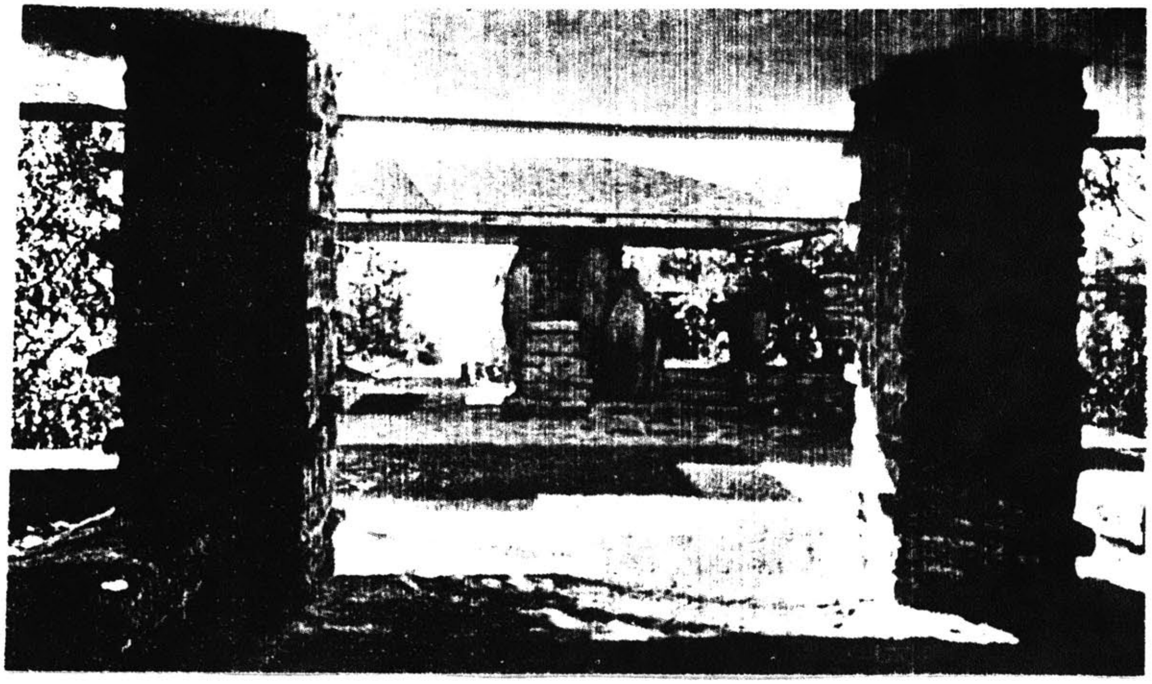


FIGURE X : Under loggia looking toward porte cochere

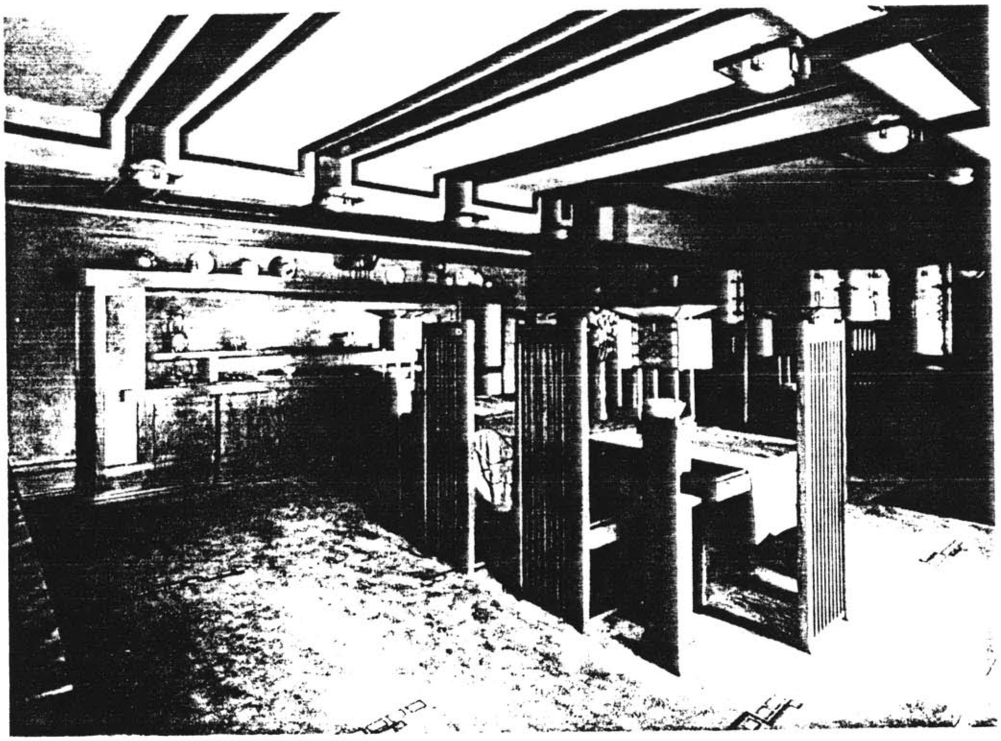


FIGURE Y : Robie house dining room

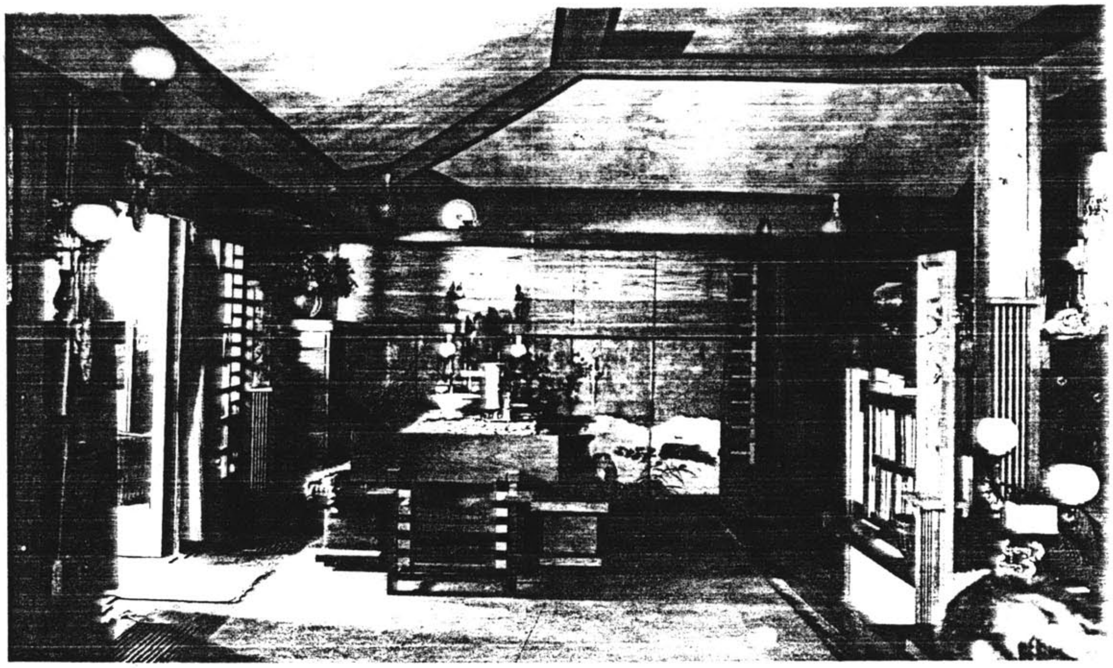


FIGURE Z : Taliesin dining room

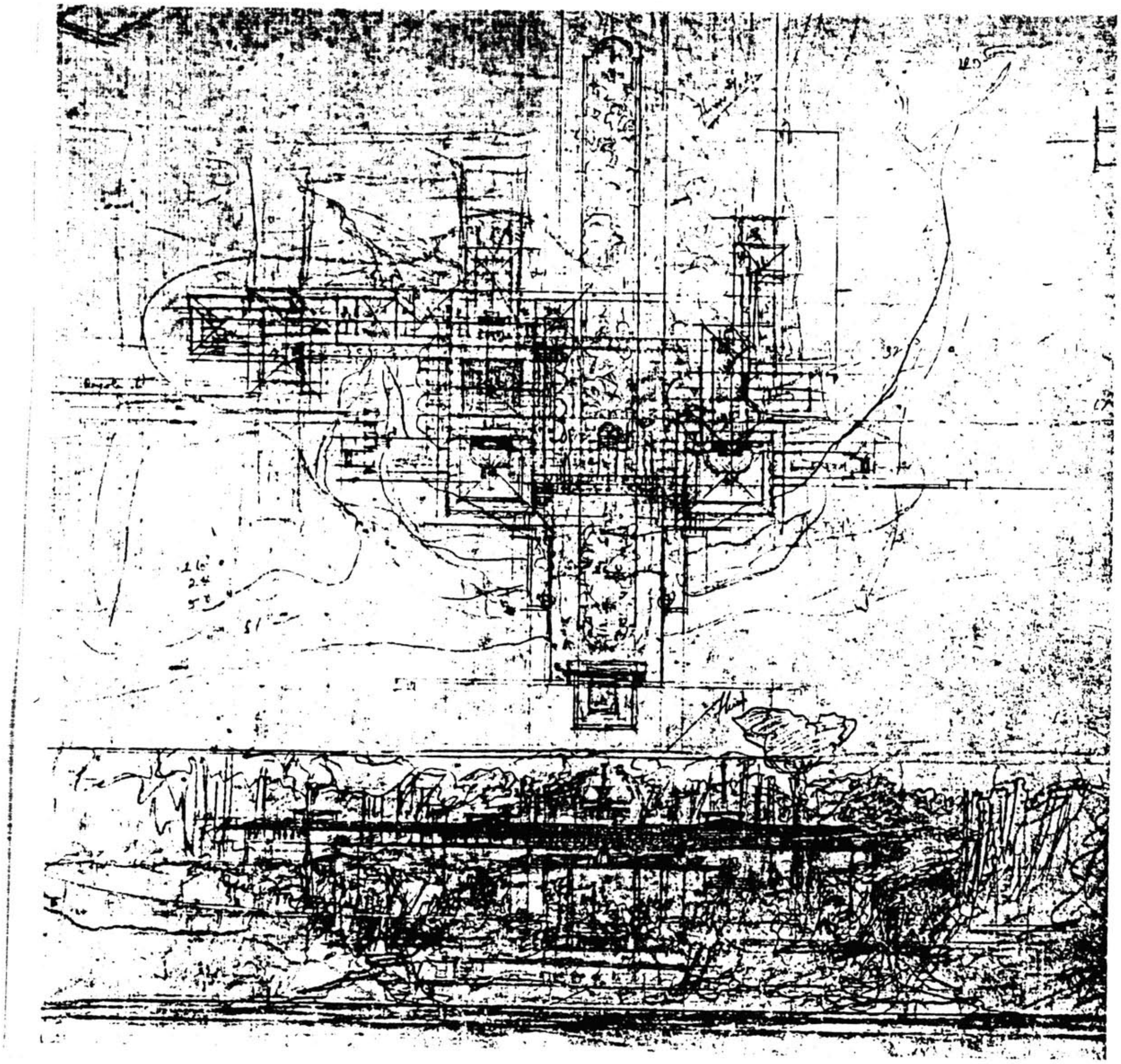
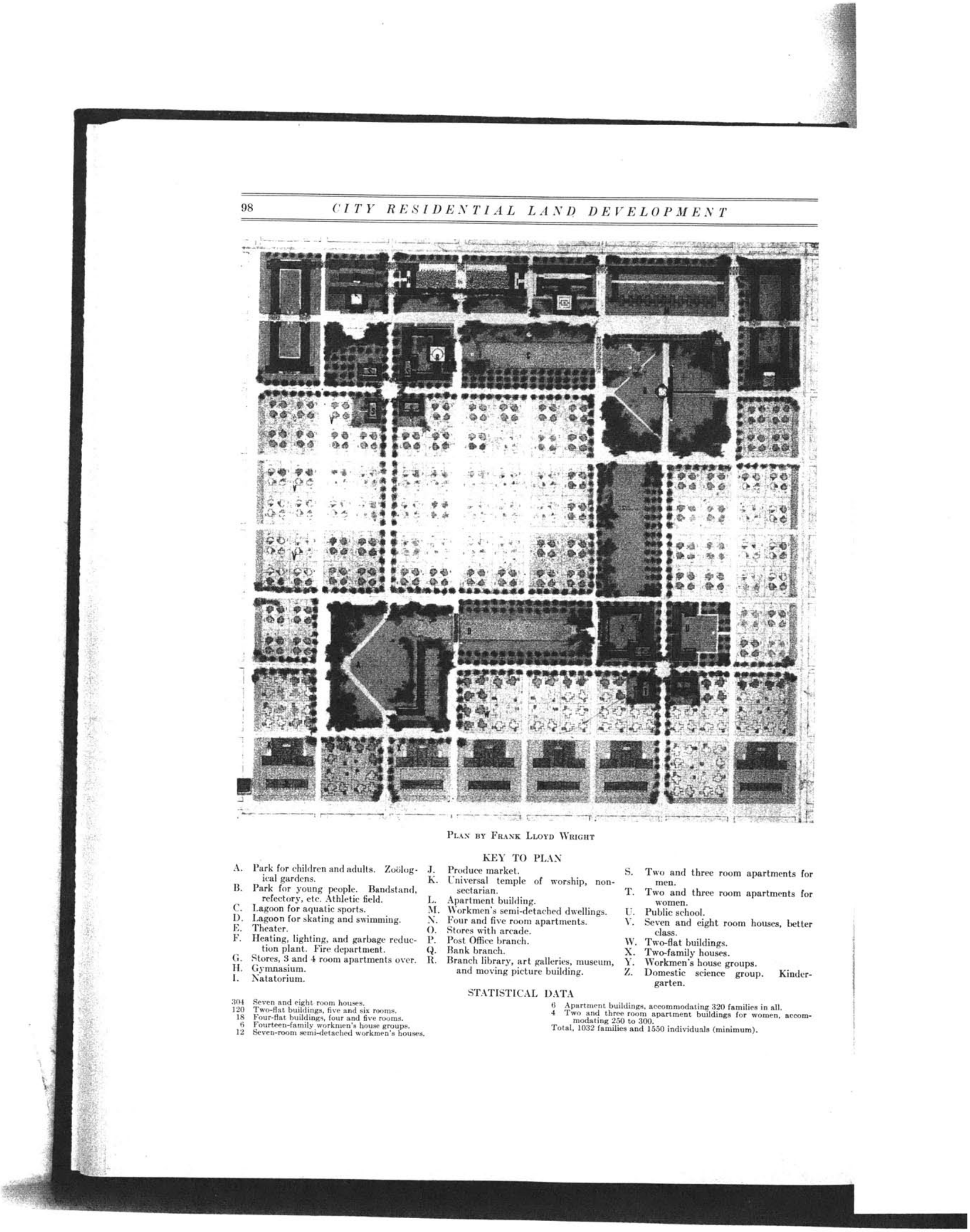


FIGURE AA : McCormick plan



Plan by Frank Lloyd Wright

KEY TO PLAN

- A. Park for children and adults. Zoölogical gardens.
- B. Park for young people. Bandstand, refectory, etc. Athletic field.
- C. Lagoon for aquatic sports.
- D. Lagoon for skating and swimming.
- E. Theater.
- F. Heating, lighting, and garbage reduction plant. Fire department.
- G. Stores, 3 and 4 room apartments over.
- H. Gymnasium.
- I. Natatorium.
- J. Produce market.
- K. Universal temple of worship, nonsectarian.
- L. Apartment building.
- M. Workmen's semi-detached dwellings.
- N. Four and five room apartments.
- O. Stores with arcade.
- P. Post Office branch.
- Q. Bank branch.
- R. Branch library, art galleries, museum, and moving picture building.
- S. Two and three room apartments for men.
- T. Two and three room apartments for women.
- U. Public school.
- V. Seven and eight room houses, better class.
- W. Two-flat buildings.
- X. Two-family houses.
- Y. Workmen's house groups.
- Z. Domestic science group. Kindergarten.

STATISTICAL DATA

304 Seven and eight room houses.
120 Two-flat buildings, five and six rooms.
18 Four-flat buildings, four and five rooms.
6 Fourteen-family workmen's house groups.
12 Seven-room semi-detached workmen's houses.
6 Apartment buildings, accommodating 320 families in all.
4 Two and three room apartment buildings for women, accommodating 250 to 300.
Total, 1032 families and 1550 individuals (minimum).

FIGURE AB : Competition entry, 1913

ILLUSTRATION CREDITS

Figure A
Hitchcock, Henry-Russell. In the Nature of Materials: The Buildings of Frank Lloyd Wright, 1887-1941. New York: Da Capo Press, 1979, Figure 176.

Figure B
Gutheim, Frederick. In the Cause of Architecture: Frank Lloyd Wright. New York: Architectural Record, 1975, p. 119.

Figure C
Handlin, David. The American Home: Architecture and Society, 1815-1915. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1979, illustration 56, p. 174.

Figure D
Downing, A.J. The Architecture of Country Houses, 1st ed. (1850). Reprinted by Da Capo Press (New York, 1968), Design I.

Figure E
Downing, A.J. Cottage Residences, 5th edition (1873). Reprinted as Victorian Cottage Residences. New York: Dover Publications, 1981, illustrations following pp. 26, 40 and 128. (All illustrations from 1843 version)

Figure F
Downing, Cottage Residences, illustrations following pp. 202 and 198. (From section entitled "New Designs for Cottages and Cottage Villas," added in 1873 by George E. Harney to update Downing´s designs)

Figure G
Futagawa, Yukio, and Bruce B. Pfeiffer, eds. Frank Lloyd Wright, Volume 9: Preliminary Studies, 1889-1916. Tokyo: A.D.A. Edita, 1985, Figures 52 and 53.

Figure H
Futagawa, Figure 54.

Figure I
Futagawa, Figure 55.

Figure J
Futagawa, Figure 56.

Figure K
Futagawa, Figure 57.

Figure L
Futagawa, Figure 58.

Figure M
Hitchcock, Figure 105.

Figure N
Hitchcock, Figure 107.

Figure O
Hitchcock, Figures 68 and 74.

Figure P
Hitchcock, Figure 72.

Figure Q
Title page of Ellen Key's Love and Ethics.

Figure R
Original photographs owned by the Frank Lloyd Wright Memorial Foundation; duplicates loaned to Neil Levine.

Figure S
Original drawing owned by Frank Lloyd Wright Memorial Foundation; photographic reproduction loaned to Neil Levine.

Figure T
Same as Figure R.

Figure U
Hitchcock, Figure 175.

Figure V
Same as Figure R.

Figure W
"Taliesin: Country Home of Frank Lloyd Wright." Western Architect, vol. 19, no. 2 (February 1913), precedes page 11.

Figure X
Hitchcock, Figure 178.

Figure Y
Hitchcock, Figure 166.

Figure Z
Hitchcock, Figure 177.

Figure AA
Hitchcock, Figure 139.

Figure AB
Yeomans, Alfred B. City Residential Land Development.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916, p. 98.

TALIESIN

TALIESIN was the name of a Welsh poet, a druid-bard who sang to Wales the glories of fine art. Many legends cling to that beloved reverend name in Wales.

Richard Hovey's charming masque, "Taliesin," had just made me acquainted with his image of the historic bard. Since all my relatives had Welsh names for their places, why not Taliesin for mine? . . . Literally the Welsh word means "shining brow."

This hill on which Taliesin now stands as "brow" was one of my favorite places when as a boy looking for pasque flowers I went there in March sun while snow still streaked the hillsides. When you are on the low hill-crown you are out in mid-air as though swinging in a plane, the Valley and two others dropping away from you leaving the tree-tops standing below all about you. And "Romeo and Juliet" still stood in plain view over to the southeast. The Hillside Home School was just over the ridge.

As a boy I had learned to know the ground-plan of the region in every line and feature. For me now its elevation is the modeling of the hills, the weaving and the fabric that clings to them, the look of it all in tender green or covered with snow or in full glow of summer that bursts into the glorious blaze of autumn. I still feel myself as much a part of it as the trees and birds and bees are, and the red barns. Or as the animals are, for that matter.

When family-life in Oak Park that spring of 1909 conspired against the freedom to which I had come to feel every soul was entitled, I had no choice, would I keep my self-respect, but go out a voluntary exile into the uncharted and unknown. Deprived of legal protection, I got my back against the wall in this way. I meant to live if I could an unconventional life. I turned to this hill in the Valley as my Grandfather before me had turned to America—as a hope and haven. But I was forgetful, for the time being, of Grandfather's Isaiah. His smiting and punishment.

And architecture by now was quite mine. It had come to me by actual experience and meant something out of this ground we call America. Architecture was something in league with the stones of the field, in sympathy with "the flower that fadeth and the grass that withereth." It had something of the prayerful consideration for the lilies of the field that was my gentle grandmother's: something natural to the great change that was America herself.

It was unthinkable to me, at least unbearable, that any house should be put *on* that beloved hill.

I knew well that no house should ever be *on* a hill or *on* anything. It should be *of* the hill. Belonging to it. Hill and house should live together each the happier for the other. That was the way everything found round about was naturally managed except when man did something. When he added his mite he became imitative and ugly. Why? Was there no natural house? I felt I had proved there was. Now I wanted a *natural* house to live in myself. I scanned the hills of the region where the rock came cropping out in strata to suggest buildings. How quiet and strong the rock-ledge masses looked with the dark red cedars and white birches, there, above the green slopes. They were all part of the countenance of southern Wisconsin.

I wished to be part of my beloved southern Wisconsin, too. I did not want to put my small part of it out of countenance. Architecture, after all, I have learned—or before all, I should say—is no less a weaving and a fabric than the trees are. And as anyone might see, a beech tree is a beech tree. It isn't trying to be an oak. Nor is a pine trying to be a birch, although each makes the other more beautiful when seen together.

The world had had appropriate buildings before—why not appropriate buildings now, more so than ever before? There must be some kind of house that would belong to that hill, as trees and the ledges of rock did; as Grandfather and Mother had belonged to it in their sense of it all.

There must be a natural house, not natural as caves and log-cabins were natural, but native in spirit and the making, having itself all that architecture had meant whenever it was alive in times past. Nothing at all I had ever seen would do. This country had changed all that old building into something inappropriate. Grandfather and Grandmother were something splendid in themselves that I couldn't imagine living in any period-houses I had ever seen or the ugly ones around there. Yes, there was a house that hill might marry and live happily with ever after. I fully intended to find it. I even saw for myself what it might be like. And I began to build it as the brow of that hill.

It was still a very young faith that undertook to build that house. It was the same faith, though, that plants twigs for orchards, vineslips for vineyards, and small whips to become beneficent shade trees. And it planted them all about!

I saw the hill-crown back of the house as one mass of apple trees in bloom, perfume drifting down the Valley, later the boughs bending to the ground with red and white and yellow spheres that make the apple tree no less beautiful than the orange tree. I saw plum trees, fragrant drifts of snow-white in the spring, loaded in August with blue and red and yellow plums, scattering them over the ground at a shake of the hand. I saw the rows on rows of berry bushes, necklaces of pink and green gooseberries hanging to the under side of the green branches. I saw thickly pendent clusters of rubies like tassels in the dark leaves of the currant bushes. I remembered the rich odor of black currants and looked forward to them in quantity.

Black cherries? White cherries? Those too.

There were to be strawberry beds, white, scarlet and green over the covering of clean wheat-straw.

And I saw abundant asparagus in rows and a stretch of great sumptuous rhubarb that would always be enough. I saw the vineyard now on the south slope of the hill, opulent vines loaded with purple, green and yellow grapes. Boys and girls coming in with baskets filled to overflowing to set about the rooms, like flowers. Melons lying thick in the trailing green on the hill slope. Bees humming over all, storing up honey in the white rows of hives beside the chicken yard.

And the herd that I would have! The gentle Holsteins and a monarch of a bull—a sleek glittering decoration of the fields and meadows as they moved about, grazing. The sheep grazing too on the upland slopes and hills, the plaintive bleat of little white lambs in spring.

Those grunting sows to turn all waste into solid gold.

I saw the spirited, well-schooled horses, black horses and chestnut mares with glossy coats and splendid strides, being saddled and led to the mounting-block for rides about the place and along the country lanes I loved—the best of companionship alongside. I saw sturdy teams ploughing in the fields. There would be the changing colors of the slopes, from seeding time to harvest. I saw the scarlet comb of the rooster and his hundreds of hens—their white eggs and the ducks upon the pond. Geese, too, and swans floating upon the water in the shadow of the trees.

I looked forward to peacocks Javanese and white on the low roofs of the buildings or calling from the walls of the courts. And from the vegetable gardens I walked into a deep cavern in the hill—modern equivalent of the rootcellar of my grandfather. I saw its wide sand floor planted with celery, piled high with squash and turnips, potatoes, carrots, onions, parsnips. Cabbages wrapped in paper and hanging from the roof. Apples, pears and grapes stored in wooden crates walled the cellar from floor to roof. And cream! All the cream the boy had been denied. Thick—so lifting it in a spoon it would float like an egg on the fragrant morning cup of coffee or ride on the scarlet strawberries.

Yes, Taliesin should be a garden and a farm behind a real workshop and a good home.

I saw it all, and planted it all and laid the foundation of the herd, flocks, stable and fowl as I laid the foundation of the house.

All these items of livelihood came back—improved from boyhood.

And so began a "shining brow" for the hill, the hill rising unbroken above it to crown the exuberance of life in all these rural riches.

There was a stone quarry on another hill a mile away, where the yellow sand-limestone uncovered lay in strata like outcropping ledges in the façades of the hills. The look of it was what I wanted for such masses as would rise from these native slopes. The teams of neighboring farmers soon began hauling the stone over to the hill, doubling the teams to get it to the top. Long cords of this native stone, five hundred or more from first to last, got up there ready to hand, as Father Larson, the old Norse stone mason working in the quarry beyond, blasted and quarried it out in great flakes. The slabs of stone went down for pavements of terraces and courts. Stone was sent along the slopes into great walls. Stone stepped up like ledges on to the hill and flung long arms in any direction that brought the house to the ground. The ground! My Grandfather's ground. It was lovingly felt as intimate in all this.

Finally it was not so easy to tell where pavements and walls left off and ground began. Especially on the hill-crown, which became a low-walled garden above the surrounding courts, reached by stone steps walled into the slopes. A clump of fine oaks that grew on the hilltop stood untouched on one side above the court. A great curved stone-walled seat enclosed the space just beneath them, and stone pavement stepped down to a spring or fountain that welled up into a pool at the center of the circle. Each court had its fountain and the winding stream below had a great dam. A thick stone wall was thrown across it, to make a pond at the very foot of the hill and raise the water in the valley to within sight from Taliesin. The water below the falls thus made was sent by hydraulic ram up to a big stone reservoir built into the higher hill, just behind and above the hilltop garden, to come down again into the fountains and go on down to the vegetable gardens on the slopes below the house.

Taliesin, of course, was to be an architect's workshop, a dwelling as well, for young workers who would come to assist. And it was a farm cottage for the farm help. Around a rear court were to be farm buildings, for Taliesin was to be a complete living unit genuine in point of comfort and beauty, yes, from pig to proprietor. The place was to be self-sustaining if not self-sufficient, and with its domain of two hundred acres was to be shelter, food, clothes and even entertainment within itself. It had to be its own light-plant, fuelyard, transportation and water system.

Taliesin was to be recreation ground for my children and their children perhaps for many generations more. This modest human programme in terms of rural Wisconsin arranged itself around the hilltop in a series of four varied courts leading one into the other, the courts all together forming a sort of drive along the hillside flanked by low buildings on one side and by flower gardens against the stone walls that retained the hill-crown on the other.

The hill-crown was thus saved and the buildings became a brow for the hill itself. The strata of fundamental stone-work kept reaching around and on into the four courts, and made them. Then stone, stratified, went into the lower house walls and up from the ground itself into the broad chimneys. This native stone prepared the way for the lighter plastered construction of the upper wood-walls. Taliesin was to be an abstract combination of stone and wood as they naturally met in the aspect of the hills around about. And the lines of the hills were the lines of the roofs, the slopes of the hills their slopes, the plastered surfaces of the light wood-walls, set back into shade beneath broad eaves, were like the flat stretches of sand in the river below and the same in color, for that is where the material that covered them came from.

The finished wood outside was the color of gray tree-trunks in violet light.

The shingles of the roof surfaces were left to weather silver-gray like the tree branches spreading below them.

The chimneys of the great stone fireplaces rose heavily through all, wherever there was a gathering place within, and there were many such places. They showed great rock-faces over deep openings inside.

Outside they were strong, quiet, rectangular rock-masses bespeaking strength and comfort within.

Country masons laid all the stone with the stone-quarry for a pattern and the architect for a teacher. The masons learned to lay the walls in the long, thin, flat ledges natural to the quarry, natural edges out. As often as they laid a stone they would stand back to judge the effect. They were soon as interested as sculptors fashioning a statue; one might imagine they were as they stepped back, head cocked one side, to get the general effect. Having arrived at some conclusion they would step forward and shove the stone more to their liking, seeming never to tire of this discrimination. Many of them were artistic for the first time, and liked it. There were many masons from first to last, all good. Perhaps old Dad Signola, in his youth a Czech, was the best of them until Philip Volk came. Philip worked away five years at the place as it grew from year to year—for it will never be finished. And with not much inharmonious discrepancy, one may see each mason's individuality in his work at Taliesin to this day. I frequently recall the man as I see his work.

At that time, to get this mass of material to the hilltop meant organizing man and horse-power. Trucks came along years later. Main strength and awkwardness, directed by commanding intelligence, got the better of the law of gravitation by the ton as sand, stone, gravel and timber went up into appointed places. Ben Davis was commander of these forces at this time. Ben was a creative cusser. He had to be. To listen to Ben back of all this movement was to take off your hat to a virtuoso. Men have cussed between every word, but Ben split the words and artistically worked in an oath between every syllable. One day Ben with five of his men was moving a big rock that suddenly got away from its edge and fell over flat, catching Ben's big toe. I shuddered for that rock as, hobbling slowly back and forth around it, Ben hissed and glared at it, threatening, eyeing and cussing it. He rose to such heights, plunged to such depths of vengeance as I had never suspected, even in Ben. No Marseillaise nor any damnation in the mouth of a Mosaic prophet ever exceeded Ben at this high spot in his career as a cusser. William Blake says exuberance is beauty. It would be profane perhaps to say that Ben at this moment was sublime. But he was.

And in Spring Green (the names in the region are mostly simple like Black Earth, Blue Mounds, Cross Plains, Lone Rock, Silver Creek) I found a carpenter. William Weston was a natural carpenter. He was a carpenter such as architects like to stand and watch work. I never saw him make a false or unnecessary movement. His hammer, extra light with a handle fashioned by himself, flashed to the right spot every time like the rapier of an expert swordsman. He with his nimble intelligence and swift sure hand was a gift to any architect. That William stayed with and by Taliesin through trials and tribulations the better part of fourteen years. America turns up a good mechanic around in country places every so often. Billy was one of them.

Winter came. A bitter one. The roof was on, plastering done, windows in, men working now inside. Evenings the men grouped around the open fire-places, throwing cord-wood into them to keep warm as the cold wind came up through the floor boards. All came to work from surrounding towns and had to be fed and bedded down on the place somewhere during the week. Saturday nights they went home with money for the week's work in pocket, or its equivalent in groceries and fixings from the village. Their reactions were picturesque. There was Johnnie Vaughn who was, I guess, a genius. I got him because he had gone into some kind of concrete business with another Irishman for a partner, and failed. Johnnie said, "We didn't fail sooner because we didn't have more business." I overheard this lank genius, he was looking after the carpenters, nagging Billy Little, who had been foreman of several jobs in the city for me. Said Johnnie, "I built this place off a shingle." "Huh," said Billy, "that ain't nothin'. I built them places in Oak Park right off'd the air." No one ever got even a little over the rat-like perspicacity of that little Billy Little.

Workmen never have enough drawings or explanations no matter how many they get —but this is the sort of slander an architect needs to hear occasionally.

The workmen took the work as a sort of adventure. It was adventure. In every realm. Especially in the financial realm. I kept working all the while to make the money come. It did. And we kept on inside with plenty of clean soft wood that could be left alone pretty much in plain surfaces. The stone, too, strong and protective inside, spoke for itself in certain piers and walls.

Inside floors, like the outside floors, were stone-paved or if not were laid with wide, dark-streaked cypress boards. The plaster in the walls was mixed with raw sienna in the box, went onto the walls natural, drying out tawny gold. Outside, the plastered walls were the same but grayer with cement. But in the *constitution* of the whole, in the way the walls rose from the plan and spaces were roofed over, was the chief interest of the whole house. The whole was supremely natural. The rooms went up into the roof, tent-like, and were ribanded overhead with marking-strips of waxed, soft wood. The house was set so sun came through the openings into every room sometime during the day. Walls opened everywhere to views as the windows swung out above the tree-tops, the tops of red, white and black oaks and wild cherry trees festooned with wild grape-vines. In spring, the perfume of the blossoms came full through the windows, the birds singing there the while, from sunrise to sunset—all but the several white months of winter.

I wanted a home where icicles by invitation might beautify the eaves. So there were no gutters. And when the snow piled deep on the roofs and lay drifted in the courts, icicles came to hang staccato from the eaves. Prismatic crystal pendants sometimes six feet long, glittered between the landscape and the eyes inside. Taliesin in winter was a frosted palace roofed and walled with snow, hung with iridescent fringes, the plate-glass of the windows shone bright and warm through it all as the light of the huge fire-places lit them from the firesides within, and streams of wood-smoke from a dozen such places went straight up toward the stars.

The furnishings inside were simple and temperate. Thin tan-colored flax rugs covered the floors, later abandoned for the severer simplicity of the stone pavements and wide boards. Doors and windows were hung with modest, brown checkered fabrics. The furniture was home-made of the same wood as the trim, and mostly fitted into the trim. I got a compliment on this from old Dan Davis, a rich and "savin' " Welsh neighbor who saw we had made it ourselves. "Gosh-dang it, Frank," he said. "Ye're savin' too, ain't ye?" Although Mother Williams, another neighbor, who came to work for me, said "Savin'? He's nothin' of the sort. He could 'ave got it most as cheap ready-made from that Sears and Roebuck . . . I know."

A house of the North. The whole was low, wide and snug, a broad shelter seeking fellowship with its surroundings. A house that could open to the breezes of summer and become like an open camp if need be. With spring came music on the roofs, for there were few dead roof-spaces overhead, and the broad eaves so sheltered the windows that they were safely left open to the sweeping, soft air of the rain. Taliesin was grateful for care. Took what grooming it got with gratitude and repaid it all with interest.

Taliesin's order was such that when all was clean and in place its countenance beamed, wore a happy smile of well-being and welcome for all.

It was intensely human, I believe.

Although, thanks to "bigger and better publicity" among those who besieged it Saturdays and Sundays from near and far, came several characteristic ladies whose unusual enterprise got them as far as the upper half of the Dutch door, standing open to the living room. They couldn't see me. I was lying on a long walled-seat just inside. They poked in their heads and looked about with Oh's and Ah's. A pause. In the nasal twang of the more aggressive one, "I wonder . . . I wonder, now, if I'd like living in a regular home?"

The studio, lit by a bank of tall windows to the north, really was a group of four studies, one large, three small. And in their midst stood a stone fire-proof vault for treasures. The plans, private papers, and such money as there was, took chances anywhere outside it. But the Taliesin library of Genroku embroidery and antique colored wood-block prints all stayed safely inside. As work and sojourn overseas continued, Chinese pottery and sculpture and Momoyama screens overflowed into the rooms where, in a few years, every single object used for decorative accent became an "antique" of rare quality.

If the eye rested on some ornament it could be sure of worthy entertainment. Hovering over these messengers to Taliesin from other civilizations and thousands of years ago, must have been spirits of peace and good-will? Their figures seemed to shed fraternal sense of kinship from their places in the stone or from the broad ledges where they rested.

Yes. It all actually happened as I have described it. It is all there now.

BUT the story of Taliesin, after all, is old: old as the human spirit. These ancient figures were traces of that spirit, left behind in the human procession as Time went on its way. They now came forward to rest and feel at home, that's all. So it seemed as you looked at them. But they were only the story within the story: ancient comment on the New.

The New lived for itself for their sake, as long ago they had lived, for its sake.

The storms of the north broke over the low-sweeping roofs that now sheltered a life in which hope purposefully lived at earnest work. The lightning in this region, always so crushing and severe, crashed (Isaiah) and Taliesin smiled. Taliesin was minding its own business, living up to its own obligations and to the past it could well understand. But the New, failing to recognize it as its own, still pursued and besieged, traduced and insulted it. Taliesin raged, wanted to talk back—and smiled. Taliesin was a "story" and therefore it and all in it had to run the gauntlet. But steadily it made its way through storm and stress, enduring all threats and slanderous curiosity for more than three years, and smiled—always. No one entering and feeling the repose of its spirit could ever believe in the storm of publicity that kept breaking outside because a kindred spirit—a woman—had taken refuge there for life.

GRADUALLY creative desire and faith came creeping back to me again. Taliesin was there to come alive and I to settle down to work.

Chicago business offices were now in the Orchestra Hall Building, though the studio-workshop was still at Taliesin. A number of buildings went out from that studio. The neighborhood playhouse of Mrs. Coonley was among them, and the Midway Gardens on the Plaisance near Chicago University. As the Gardens were a product of the first re-establishment and are associated in my mind with the tragedy at Taliesin and because they were so new in so many ways, here is the story of that adventure. A tale of the Architectural "Arabian Nights."

STATE OF ILLINOIS)
) ss.
COUNTY OF COOK.)

IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF COOK COUNTY,
IN CHANCERY.

EDWIN H. CHENEY,
Complainant,
-vs-
MAMAH BORTHWICK CHENEY,
Defendant.

Gen. No. 288,177
Term No. 10,901

CERTIFICATE OF EVIDENCE

THIS IS TO CERTIFY, that heretofore, to-wit: on the third day of August, A. D. 1911, at ten o'clock in the morning of said day, the above entitled cause came on to be heard before his Honor, Theodore H. Brentano, presiding as Chancellor in said Court.

Eugene G. Fassett, Esq., appeared as solicitor in behalf of the Complainant.

Messrs. Mac Chesney, Becker & Bradley, appeared as solicitors in behalf of the Defendant.

Whereupon the Complainant, to maintain the allegations in his Bill of Complaint set forth, by his solicitor, introduced the following evidence, to-wit:

APPENDIX B

EDWIN H. CHENEY,

the Complainant herein, produced as a witness in his own behalf, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY

Mr. Fassett.

Q What is your full name? A Edwin H. Cheney.

Q Where do you live? A Oak Park, Illinois.

Q You are the complainant in this cause? A I am.

Q Are you now, and have you been for some time past an actual resident of the County of Cook? A Yes sir.

Q How long have you been an actual resident of the State of Illinois continuously? A Since 1892.

Q State when and where you married the defendant, Mamah Borthwick Cheney? A In Oak Park, June 15th, 1899.

Q After your marriage you and the defendant lived together as husband and wife for how long? A Until June 28th, 1909.

Q What happened on that date affecting yourself and the defendant, Mamah Borthwick Cheney? A Mrs. Cheney left me, stating that she was not going to return.

Q She stated to you that she was not going to return?

A Yes, two or three days prior to that she so stated.

Q As a matter of fact, has Mrs. Cheney returned since that time? A No.

Q Has she offered to return? A No.

Q Or shown any inclination to return? A No.

Q During the time that you were living together as husband and wife, did you conduct yourself as a true, kind and indulgent husband? A I did.

Q And supported her to the best of your ability?

A Yes.

THE COURT: Did you give her any occasion to leave you?

A No, no occasion at all.

MR. FASSETT: Q There was no reason at all that you know of, so far as you are concerned, that she should have left you? A No, not so far as I am concerned.

Q What children were born of the marriage between you and her? A Two.

Q What are their names and ages? A Martha Cheney, aged five years, and John Cheney, aged eight years.

Q Are both children still living? A Yes sir.

Q And are they now in your custody and control?

A Yes sir.

Q And have at all times been in your care, custody and control? A Yes sir.

Q You are able to support those children? A I am.

MR. FASSETT: That is all.

MR. Mac CHESNEY: That is all.

THE COURT: Is there an agreement as to the custody of the children?

MR. FASSETT: Yes, there is an agreement that the children are to remain in the custody of the Complainant.

THE COURT: Has the defendant entered her appearance here?

MR. MacCHESNEY: Yes, your Honor, she signed it in my presence in my office.

ARMILLA A. CHENEY,

produced as a witness in behalf of the Complainant, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY
Mr. Fassett.

Q What is your full name? A Armilla A. Cheney.

Q You are the mother of the Complainant here, Edwin H. Cheney? A Yes sir.

Q Where do you live? A Oak Park, Illinois.

Q What is your house number? A 520 North East Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois.

Q Is that the new number? A Yes, sir - Number 520.

Q That is the home of Mr. Edwin H. Cheney? A Yes sir.

Q How long have you lived in the home of your son, the complainant? A Over two years.

Q Were you there in June, 1909? A I was not.

Q Were you there in the early part of July, 1909?

A Yes sir.

Q And since the early part of July, 1909, you have been there practically all the time up to the present time, have you? A Yes sir.

Q During any of that time, since the early part of July, 1909, have you seen your son's wife, Mamah Borthwick Cheney, at his home? A No.

MR. FASSETT: That is all.

BY THE COURT:

Q Well do you know that shehas left him? A Yes.

Q She has left his home? A Yes.

Q And has been away for more than two years? A Yes.

Q Without any fault on his part? A without any fault on his part.

MR. MacCHESNEY: It is admitted, your Honor, that Mrs. Cheney left without cause, and has been away for a period of more than two years; and she consents that her husband shall have the custody of the children.

MR. FASSETT: That is, that she has been away for more than two years prior to the filing of the bill.

MR. MacCHESNEY: Yes, for more than two years prior to the filing of the bill.

WALTER S. HOLDEN,

produced as a witness in behalf of the Complainant, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY

Mr. Fassett.

Q What is your full name? A Walter S. Holden.

Q You are an attorney practicing at the Chicago bar?

A Yes.

Q Where do you reside? A 534 North East Avenue, Oak Park, Cook County, Illinois.

Q That is the next door but one to the house of the complainant in this cause? A Yes.

Q When Mrs. Cheney, the defendant in this case, was at home, did you have occasion to see her fairly frequently?

A I saw her as a neighbor off and on, once or twice a week, perhaps, during the years that I have lived there prior to two years ago.

Q This bill was filed on the 28th of last month, July. During the last two years prior to that time, do you remember having seen Mrs. Cheney about her home?

A I have not seen her for that period of time.

Q Have you been about your home and about that neighborhood a great deal during that time? A Substantially all of the time, yes.

MR. FASSETT: That is all.

MR. MacCHESNEY: That is all.

The Complainant here rested his case. Which was all the evidence produced or offered by or in behalf of either of the parties upon the hearing of said cause.

State of Illinois)
) ss.
County of Cook.)

I, F. H. Stephens, being first duly sworn, on oath state: That I am a Court Reporter doing business in the City of Chicago, County of Cook and State of Illinois; that on the 3rd day of August, 1911, I reported in shorthand the case of Edwin H. Cheney, Complainant, vs. Mamah Borthwick Cheney, Defendant, before Honorable Theodore H. Brentano, sitting as Chancellor in said Court; and that the foregoing is a full, true and complete transcript of the evidence heard and proceedings had in said cause.

F. H. Stephens

Subscribed and sworn to
before me this 3rd day of
August, A.D. 1911.

J. L. Barnett
Notary Public.

APPENDIX C

Here, I would like to suggest ties between Key´s empathetic feminism and German empathetic architecture. The majority of Wright´s contemporaries, unlike he, were afraid to listen to the other new natural voice: that of the unleashed `new woman´ taking charge of her sexuality. As women seized this control, things that had formerly been perceived of as safely feminine were transformed into dangerously erotic forces no longer under male control. In architecture, the emergence of the `new woman´ seems to have led to space being problematized as erotic. Historian Debora Silverman, writing about fin de siécle France, documents French architects´ anxious response to la femme nouvelle;[1] although I have not found scholarly proof of this, it seems reasonable to suspect that Silverman´s argument that the `new woman´ affected form-making paradigms would hold up everywhere that the `new woman´ made her presence known. Certainly Wright´s access to Key coincided with a problematization of form in Germany and, as I will argue below, this problematization was implicitly concerned with subduing troublesome sensuality.[2] Since Wright´s paradigm for "natural architecture" was formed during this period, and if I am correct in linking its instigation to a new notion of organic, then he may have felt an (even unconscious) `affinity´ for a `feminized´ formal vocabulary.[3]

In the five years or so before Wright and Borthwick arrived in Germany, architectural theorists there became interested in the perception, the psychology, of form. This was referred to as empathy ("einfühlung" [one feeling]) theory. Empathy theory had it that people understand buildings by perceiving forces shown in them (tension, weight, etc.), and then experiencing a corresponding "empathetic" feeling as their bodies record and mimic the effect of those forces.[4] It is not hard to see that with architecture described as an active force, gender attributes ascribed to architectural form would therein be problematized. Arguments stressing spatial perception would particularly need to be `rescued´ or `hardened´ for the experiencing male. For, traditionally, for an architect to choose to emphasize space was to choose the (previously non-problematized) feminine.[5] It is striking to see how the German discussion of space revolved around the word "erotic," as we´ll soon see, all seemed convinced that such sensuality needed to be suppressed.

I will focus my examination of German architecture on the Adolf Loos - Henri Van de Velde mêlée in the context of their implication as opposite poles in the debate about empathy theories. Surely Wright saw their architecture during his travels; whether or not he ever encountered empathy theory <u>per se</u> I do not know. It seems possible that Borthwick could have known about it since Violet Paget, a writer living in Fiesole when Wright and Borthwick were there, published a book which discussed empathy theory in 1912 (Beauty and Ugliness and Other Studies in Psychological Aesthetics); the two professional writers might well have met and discussed their respective work. (I presume that Paget was working on Beauty and Ugliness in 1911, or at least still thinking about it.) Finally all I will argue is that Key´s notion of organic is remarkably similar to the German notion of empathetic architecture. This congruence deserves further scrutiny.

Empathetic architecture was notably associated with the designs of Henri Van de Velde. Van de Velde believed that his signature curving, parabolic lines (vividly seen in the dresses he designed for his companion, Maria Sethé) expressed:

> the necessary anthropomorphic trace of human creation. `The line,´ he wrote in 1902, `carries the force and the energy of that which has traced it.´ For him the `quasi-erotic´ impulses governing the course of a line were to be regarded as a literature without an alphabet.[6]

In the infamous "Ornament and Crime" essay (1908), Adolf Loos claimed that ornament was the enemy of good architecture. He viewed ornament as a relic from a primitive, "erotic" past.[7] Loos declared that ornament was added to buildings so that the buildings would become consumer products. That is, artists´ individual expressions acted in service to bourgeois society. In another essay, he observed that women likewise had to decorate themselves in order to snare financial security in the person of a husband.[8] Such bourgeois leanings needed to be stamped out of modern architecture and society, Loos felt. Although he seems to have believed that sexuality had to change, I feel that his ultimate architectural goal was to insist upon a willful, rational (`masculine´) type of design, and stamp out any female leanings. Looking at his buildings, and hearing his vehement denoucement of l´art nouveau, it is clear that he did not favor the qualities typecast as feminine, rewritten sexuality or no. (As a recent scholar writes, in Loos´ mind, "For modern man to distinguish himself from the Papuans, the erotic instinct [had to] be ruthlessly repressed."[9])

The death knell sounded for empathetic architectures with the publication of Wilhelm Worringer´s Abstraction and Empathy (1908). Worringer´s book actually recalls and rewrites Munich psychologist Theodor Lipps´ Aesthetik (1906), an early text on the subject of empathy.[10] Lipps was a major influence on Van de Velde, and Worringer can be seen as the ratifier of Loos´ theoretical beliefs. To frame his discussion, Worringer identified two fundamental drives, abstraction and empathy. Abstraction, which was the desire to transcend, led to style; empathy´s product was naturalism, as Worringer wrote:

> Just as the urge to empathy as a pre-assumption of aesthetic experience finds gratification in the beauty of the organic, so the urge to abstraction finds its beauty in the life-denying inorganic, in the crystalline, or in general terms, in all abstract law and necessity.[11]

Worringer declared that architecture´s primary concern was finally with the "abstracting away of reality."[12] A critic observes:

> Worringer´s thesis is characterized by a fascination with inorganic forms, by an anti-human [anti-female?] irrational formalism. This obsession with the "chaos of reality," "fear of space," etc., is the specific, historically determined and consistent reactionary ideology which Worringer shares with the expressionists for whom he wrote "the most influential program..."[13]

It is interesting to observe that the German architect August Schmarsow -- writing before the triumph of abstraction -- said that movement into depth was what architecture was all about. Historian Paul Zucker reports the result:

> The outer skin of a building, the façade, must be conceived as merely the shell or frame of this purposefully organized hollow. The least important part of Schmarsow´s theory, namely the influence of purpose and function on form, was the one accepted by architects at the beginning of the century. Thus the idea that one must build from inside to outside, from interior to the volume-body (<u>von innen nach aussen</u>) became actually an architectural slogan. However, the architects were satisfied if the purpose was functionally expressed in the layout and from there transferred to the façade, while for Schmarsow the creation of space was the decisive factor and its purposeful (functional) organization only a natural symptom of all human activity.[14]

That is, urges toward the skeletal (the `male´) won out, as we can see from how Schmarsow´s work was commonly interpreted. And the organic (<u>von innen nach aussen</u>), feminine ("from within outward") lost. Since skeletal readings are more likely to be read off two-dimensional surfaces (that is, intellectually re-constituted, not passively received) and translated (rationally) into third-dimensional readings, this architecture could be seen as overcoming the horror vacuii which Worringer gave voice to.[15] Loosian architecture also expressed spatial concerns, certainement, but it did not `say´ that as clearly as it displayed its rational birthing.

Again, I am arguing that via his new-found understanding of organicism, Wright would not have had trouble with the "psychic precondition" for empathy ("a happy pantheistic confidence between man and the phenomena of the external world"[16] -- here, nature and female eroticism); therefore he was able to embrace concepts which other architects saw as problematic. And one of these concepts was space-as-force, which I think governs Taliesin.

The reception accorded Van de Velde´s 1914 Werkbund Theater, which is perpetually described as a combination of sensuousness and subjectivity, shows that to choose to feature such aspects of architecture was to put oneself into a problem zone.[17] Wright´s determination to continue, nay enhance, the spatial qualities of his architecture, I would claim, represents at least the second time that he chose to take a female-identified position (an earlier example being his decision to work out of the suburbs). What Wright did, and why we might reconsider the frequent charge that his architecture was too personal or idiosyncratic, is that he proved the feminine/sensual was viable, that good buildings could be wrought from notions considered second-class.[18]

What was this objective architecture that was so hotly desired, anyway? Was it not the opposite of Taliesin? Instead of being defined by its spaces, objective architecture was defined by its mechanistic skeleton; instead of being a force that one willingly received, it was intellectually constituted and controlled (it was read [looked at]).

NOTES

Appendix C

1. Silverman´s insightful dissertation covers the intersection of psychology, the "new woman," and theories of space in _fin de siècle_ France. She defines the _art nouveau_ architecture of 1900 as "organic, interiorizing, and feminine." How the specific conjunction in France transfers to Germany is not known to me, but like Hersey´s associationism, its ties to empathy theories seems worth further examination. In "Chapter Three: Republican Society in the _Fin-de-Siécle_: `_Amazone_,´ `_Femme Nouvelle_,´ and the Threat to the Bourgeois Family," Silverman writes:

> The discovery of the interior of the human organism as a sensitive nervous mechanism, prone to suggestion, visual thinking, and imagistic projection in dreams -- these were the elements of a new psychological knowledge that would contribute to transforming the meaning of interior decoration in the _fin de siécle_. This specifically French version of psychological interiority provided the intellectual vehicle for the transformation of the interior from the display of historical anchorage to the expression of personal feeling.... Although he consciously rejected the antirational implications of his own discoveries, [Doctor of the Salpêtrière] Charcot´s practice of interior design translated into spatial form the principles of subjective self-projection and imagistic suggestibility.

Silverman attributes the birth of the psychological man to feelings of isolation within modern, especially urban, society.

Silverman, Debora Leah. "Nature, Nobility, and Neurology: The Ideological Origins of "_Art Nouveau_" in France, 1889-1900." Dissertation presented to Princeton University, June, 1983, p. 192.

2. The German feminist movement was very active in the earliest years of the 20th century, until some major legislative restrictions hampered their efforts starting in 1908. See:

Evans, Richard J. "Liberalism and Society: The Feminist Movement and Social Change." In Evans, Richard J., ed. _Society and Politics in Wihelmine Germany_. New York: Harper and Row, 1978, pp. 186-214.

Evans´ essay suggests that as more women entered the German feminist movement, it became less and less radical:

> As the women´s movement came to an increasing extent after 1908 to represent the interests of married women and housewives as well as those of unmarried women, teachers, white-collar workers and professionals, so it shifted away from demanding equal rights on the basis of the freedom of the individual woman and her equality with man, towards an acceptance of women´s role in society and an attempt to defend the interests of women within the confines of this role. (p. 202)

Key would seem to be implicated in this shift. How well Borthwick would have understood Key´s role in the German women´s debate is not known to me.

3. Whether or not there is an inherently feminine/female architecture is debatable. I think that for my argument, it doesn´t matter.

Margrit Kennedy´s 1981 article "Seven Hypotheses on Female and Male Principles in Architecture" posited that there is: "Although it is impossible to define clear and exclusive categories for male and female architecture, it may still be possible to distinguish, in analogy to biology and psychology, male and female principles in architecture." As her second hypothesis, she bravely set forth polarities defining male and female principles, as below:

The Female Principles		**The Male Principles**
More user-oriented	than	designer-oriented
More ergonomic	than	large-scale, monumental
More functional	than	formal
More flexible	than	fixed
More organically ordered	than	abstractly systematized
More holistic	than	specialized
More complex	than	one-dimensional
More socially oriented	than	profit-oriented
More slowly growing	than	quickly constructed

One of Kennedy´s statements reminds me of the way Key´s affirmation of women´s skills shaded into favortism:

> the overwhelming dominance of the male principle... is at the root of architecture´s problems today, rather than the inherent merit of the female principle and fault of the male. Dominance of the female principle would be equally bad, although it may be necessary for a time to restore balance.

Kennedy, Margrit. "Seven Hypotheses on Female and Male Principles in Architecture." Heresies 11, vol. 3, no. 3 (1981), pp. 12-13.

4. See Heinrich Wölfflin's "Prolegomena to a Psychology of Architecture" (1886); the work of Johann Volkelt, and cited contemporary works. Empathy theory has not received much critical attention: the Geoffrey C.W. Waite article is the best piece I have located. Kenneth Frampton discusses Van de Velde's work as an examplar of empathetic architecture in his Modern Architecture: A Critical History (1985); it is interesting to note that the chapter concludes by saying that "unique empathetic expression[s]" like the Werkbund Theater could not address the serious problems which the functionalists were able to address. That is, Frampton uses empathy theory as his bad example preceeding the breakthrough of `true' modernism.

5. In High Victorian Gothic: A Study in Associationism, George Hersey documents various ways in which architecture was described as having gender attributes by the eighteenth-century French architects Germain Boffrand, Jacques-François Blondel, and later Blondel's pupil, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. These architects identified a `female' architecture which they characterized as sinuous, sensual, ornamental and decorative (pp. 4-5). Because curves and sensuality are commonly written onto the female body, such notions of genderized form largely continued through the 19th century into the present, reinforced by the continuing identification of women as consumers of fashion (ornament), and objects of consumption.

Surely Wright would have known these basic typological distinctions through his knowledge of John Ruskin's writings, since Ruskin brought the previous century's simple gender analogies into the mid-19th century. (It is funny to hear these polarities described, as they often are, as "crude." What makes them so crude?) (Wright was a Ruskin enthusiast for a long time.) Ruskin promoted his version of an organic architecture, a type he described as sensual (therefore feminine and natural).

Ultimately, as Hersey paraphrases Ruskin's fellow architect Alexander Hope, 19th century architects felt "[t]he one is cavelike, the other skeletal" (p. 53). Ruskin said that `male' architecture displayed the "massy power of man" (p. 49, quoting "Common Sense of Art"). "Massy," at least according to my reading of Hersey, was associated not so much with the spatial as with an effect of power achieved through constructional (not ornamental) devices. In other words, `male' architecture emphasized not pliancy but tectonic joinery.

(Hersey, George L. High Victorian Gothic: A Study in Associationism. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972.)

Moreover, in a famous essay published in 1865, Ruskin urged women to take their womanly qualities out into the world and reform it (as Key had). Ruskin's essay was "Of Queens' Gardens," originally included in Sesame and Lilies. This enormously popular and controversial work called for women to use their "queenly power" outside the walls of their house and garden. As a current book notes:

> The role [Ruskin] envisioned for women, as most suited to their special natures, was essentially an extension of their domestic responsibilities: to be man's helpmate and moral guide, freely dispensing "order, comfort, and loveliness" to those on both sides of the garden gate. But the helpmate was also, in Ruskin's account, implicitly the critic of her spouse and his world. Her supposed natural concerns made her a powerful ally for Ruskin ... for he, too, as a critic of culture and society, cared for the order, comfort, and loveliness he saw threatened in the ordinary Victorian world.

Ruskin wrote:

> The man, in his rough work in open world, must encounter all peril and trial: -- to him, therefore, the failure, the offence, the inevitable error: often he must be wounded, or subdued, often misled, and always hardened. But he guards the woman from all this; within his house, as ruled by her, unless she herself has sought it, need enter no danger, no temptation, no cause of error or offence. This is the true nature of home -- it is the place of Peace; the shelter, not only from all injury, but from all terror, doubt, and division. In so far as it is not this, it is not home; so far as the anxieties of the outer life penetrate into it, and the inconsistently-minded, unknown, unloved, or hostile society of the outer world is allowed by either husband or wife to cross the threshhold, it ceases to be home; it is then only part of the outer world which you have roofed over, and lighted fire in.

Although I have not seen this said anywhere, architectural readers could have put two and two together and come to the conclusion that Ruskin's transformed world would be housed in `female,' organic architecture. Such, anyway, might have crossed Wright's mind, if he knew of Ruskin's beliefs about women.

(For a discussion of this essay, its popularity and influence, see Helsinger, Elizabeth K., Robin Lauterbach Sheets, and William Veeder. The Woman Question: Defining Voices, 1837-1883. New York: Garland Publishing, 1983, pp. 77-102 [first quote, pp. 78-79; second quote, pp. 81-82].)

6. Frampton, Kenneth. Modern Architecture: A Critical History. London: Thames and Hudson, 1985, p. 98.

7. Frampton (above) quotes Loos´ use of the word erotic, as does Naomi Schor in Reading in Detail.

8. Schor, Reading in Detail, pp. 50-55.

9. ibid, p. 51.

10. Aesthetik was translated in part by Violet Paget in Beauty and Ugliness.

11. Waite, Geoffrey C.W. "Worringer´s Abstraction and Empathy: Remarks on its Reception and on the Rhetoric of Criticism" in Chapple, Gerald and Hans H. Schulte, eds. The Turn of the Century: German Literature and Art, 1890-1915. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag, pp. 197-223 (this quote p. 210).

12. ibid, p. 207.

13. ibid, p. 207.

14. Zucker, p. 9, quoting Schmarsow´s Grundbegriffe der Kunstgeschichte (Leipzig, 1905).

15. This would have made Wölfflin happy, since the problem he discussed in his "Prolegemena" was how intellectual constructs that operated in architecture -- such as symmetry -- were perceived if empathy was only a corporal (that is, receptive) process.

16. Waite, "Worringer´s Abstraction and Empathy," p. 210.

17. Lipps had been misread by Worringer (and many others), as Geoffrey C.W. Waite has shown, for promulgating a subjective idea of architecture. The misinterpretation has it that one projects the self onto the building, and only reads the self there. Lipps however set up a dialectical relationship in which both the self and the perceived object affected the other. For Lipps, Waite writes,

> the verb "sich einfühlen" [to empathize] is something more than a reflexive verb.... It is not so much a projection ("sich einfühlen"), although it is this, but rather an activity of objectification ("eine Thät-

> igkeit").... But this object is something, as he repeatedly insists, which makes counter demands ("Forderungen," "Zumuthungen") on you. The relation between the object and the subject is thus precisely circular, part transcendental, part naive. (pp. 212-13)

Even if it was a circular relationship, functionalist architects like Loos "did not consider as pertinent the emotional reactions of man, what Wöllflin called `humanization.´" (Zucker, Paul. "The Paradox of Architectural Theories at the Beginning of the `Modern Movement.´" Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, vol. X, no. 3, p. 9.)

18. I suspect that Wright´s oft-cited ego might have grown because he was put in the position of being defensive all the time. One way of dealing with attack is to yelp in self-protection.

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