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The Siren Beyond the Self: Henry James and the Popular Arts of the MacKaye Family

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Maybe you, sitting inside of yourself--let us say you at Centre, are not deaf, dumb and blind, but eagerly alert for a signal. From the very beginning till now, left to ourselves, this urge at Centre never rests. It batters forever at the inner side of our walls, crying "Welcome!" and dragging down bars, wrenching gates, prying at portholes, listening at cracks, reaching everywhere and demanding the utmost and always more of every sense. Thus sense-gates are built because of demand on either side, and they swing both ways, because we want to push out to meet Environment pushing in.

--Emma Sheridan Fry, *Educational Dramatics* (1913)

This new Community Drama brings us the new form we have been told we ought to want, ever since New York's Stadium opened with Euripides. This work rings true in expression and intention. Its ideas are easily understood; its emotions those of the Group. And Mr. MacKaye's introduction of a new dramatic instrument, his *Group-Person*, helps to get these ideas and emotions--through the eyes and ears of the crowd--to the community brain.

--New York *Evening Post* (29 November 1919), review of Percy MacKaye, *The Will of Song*¹

Talking about Henry James is really talking about *our* Henry James, the one Alfred Habegger describes so well, a prominent pillar of the liberal establishment that created him (more so, anyway, than he created it)--the presiding spirit of [End Page 219] early high modernism, the scribal self, the peering, peeping, probing Cartesian in a silk hat. And it is doubtless because we now need an other Henry James that I'm interested in the ways his late work might be viewed as a kind of active illiberalism, democratic but not so thoroughly committed to the ceaseless promotion of subjectivity, more interested in an unfortified consciousness (personal, but not exclusively so, and never grossly proprietary), searching like Henry Adams for an alternative to the accelerated self under modernity (figured in part by the Dynamo) for something like the sheltering cult sensibility of the Virgin. Throughout the late prose, including all of the fiction after *The Wings of the Dove*, but especially the

autobiographical and travel writing and prefaces, James's deployment of the dramatic analogy tends to indicate anything but the conventional stage. Instead it indexes pageant, procession, masque, and cavalcade--the participatory and ritual arts undergoing an immense and deeply-institutionalized revival at the turn of the century.

James was personally acquainted with a leading figure in the pageant movement--Percy MacKaye, a self-described "Dramatic Engineer" who saw participatory theatre as a "ritual of democratic religion" and who was at the time of this acquaintance actively (though moderately) socialist, counting a "Masque of Labor" among his 1911 efforts (Glassberg 171). This acquaintance came about because of the novelist's early association with MacKaye's father, James Morrison Steele MacKaye, William James's most intimate Newport friend, and evidently the leading figure in their theatrical exploits (MacKaye 70). MacKaye the elder became an internationally known actor-manager, the impresario of a massive failed spectacle-theater that bankrupted a half-million-dollar corporation before the opening of its first show. (Portions of the musical score commissioned from Anton Dvorák would later appear as *The New World Symphony*.) Perhaps most widely influential as the trainer of amateur and professional actors, MacKaye importantly shaped elocution and physical culture in schools as well as cinema semiotics and the festival practices of dance, pantomime, and pageantry by way of introducing and vigorously promoting the Delsarte system of oratory and by inventing related forms of training the body for performance, such as the "Harmonic Gymnastics" system of physical culture (Guthrie; Gordon; Curry 153-65; Naremore 52-67). Henry James was at least a junior member of the boys' Newport group, though perhaps preferring the companionship of T. S. Perry. In New York that fall, the Jameses enrolled with MacKaye at the Berkeley Institute; during two of the succeeding winters, the James family rented the MacKaye summer house. The high point of the direct influence of the MacKaye family upon the Jameses probably came in this early Newport era: William and Henry both apparently began sketching at the William Morris Hunt studio in conscious imitation of MacKaye's romantic decision to leave school and sail for Paris to study art (LeClair 283-93). After the war, the families were very little in contact (though evidently conscious of each other's public accomplishments). While Henry James gave Percy MacKaye an interview at the Player's Club during one of his U.S. visits, the most suggestive item of his surviving correspondence with either of the MacKayes is a polite but earnest note of New Year's Eve, 1911, excusing himself from one of Percy's productions on the grounds of illness (MacKaye 67-97, Grover 33n). **[End Page 220]**

If the convergence of James's late work with the intertwined pageantry and physical-culture movements were really a question of influence or artistic exchange, it would in any event be likely more productive to look not into the MacKayes, but rather the English revival of pageantry that peaked 1905-1910, in connection with William Morris and the arts and crafts movement.² The convergence of James and participatory culture instead invokes what is certainly a far more interesting question: how the vogue for pageantry, parade, expressive dance, gymnastics, and procession transformed the possibilities for meaning borne by terms such as scene, stage, and drama (not to mention terms even more closely associable with pageant activity, such as "gesture," "group," and "attitude"). This question involves the whole range of historical dramatic forms under revival, especially those with neoclassical, medieval, and renaissance reference (chorus, mystery/miracle, and procession).

Perhaps the most interesting question of all relates to the how and the why of our forgetting so many of the values that performance practice so recently sustained.

"Hey, Professor! Show us some new steps"

How can I make the present generation understand what it meant when an entire community put its heart and soul into such a production, when in *Caliban* [1916] a bootblack played Pericles and a banker carried his train; when the medical student who acted the role of St. Louis asked me to excuse his coming late to rehearsal, explaining that he had just rushed there from his marriage ceremony; when every day 1,000 to 2,000 people came merely to attend rehearsals and watch the thing grow?

--Percy MacKaye, in *Theatre Arts* magazine, 1950 (qtd. in Glassberg 281)

Based on Meredith Wilson's 1957 musical, the film *The Music Man* nostalgically records a highly ritualized performance culture that was still vivid in the memory (and practice) of many of the film's viewers in 1962, but which had been fading rapidly since 1945. Purporting to evoke an illiberal yet appealing, ineptly oppressive Anytown, U.S.A. ("River City, Iowa") in the year 1912, the film marks out the passage of fifty years in small-town life chiefly by dwelling on a vast but evidently fatigued complex of performance behavior: Fourth-of-July orations, barbership quartets, amateur theatricals, school pageants, and other rude amusements. The most tired of all the "performances" in the film is the Delsartist dance composed by the Mayor's wife (Hermione Gingold), in which several of the townswomen rotate on their toes, their toga-draped figures awkwardly representing "Grecian urns" and other tableaux. Throughout the film this web of performance behavior allegorizes an oppressive illiberalism--of compulsory civic observations endlessly reinstalling the Mayor's wife and her coterie of village elites at the center of disciplinary spectacle. (The grammar of the film tells us that the spectacle is disciplinary because it is boring.) [End Page 221]

Of course these practices weren't considered boring in 1912. On the contrary, Delsartist physical culture and community pageantry were enjoying a vogue evidently in excess of any late-century consumer craze.³ Many of these pageants and other formations of the community drama transpired on an enormous scale: Percy MacKaye's 1914 *Masque of St. Louis* was performed by 7500 citizen-players and attended by crowds of up to 100,000 at a time, for a total of half a million in five days. While there were more than fifty "major pageants" in 1913 alone, the most significant observation has little to do with these large-scale events, but with the substantial normalization of these practices through most spheres of everyday life (Brock and Welsh 70; Gordon 93-94). Expressive performance in organized group life was not a freak or kink in the popular imaginary: it was normal leisure in much the same way that Cartesian thought served as normal philosophy. Desire was aimed at these arts--which were simultaneously academic and popular, spectacular and participatory, instructive and subversive--and not away from them. The enormous pervasion of these activities can perhaps be understood by analogy to contemporary technology-assisted developments in leisure, such as the home viewing of videocassettes or the creation and consumption of internet content. The film models popular fatigue with these residual-yet-vigorous participatory art forms in the moment of its own production in part to *produce* that fatigue, to create the understanding that participatory art is dull and unsophisticated. In manufacturing this past that works to legitimate its own spectacular economy, the film intervenes in its present time, installing spectatorial fascination as the highest cultural value and distributing embarrassment at sub-professional participation in performance culture--actively creating the leisure economy which predominates today (threatened only by the emergence of hypermedia).

The film also contends--anxiously insists--that pageantry and Delsartian dance are disciplinary. Offering itself as a congratulatory meditation on social control, *Music Man* reinforces the growing conviction of dominant liberal elites among its 1962 spectatorship that participation in ritualistic low-cultural observances benefits the interests of local "conservatives." (Fortunately, members of this latter group are recognizable by their desire to throw books out of libraries.) Contemporary radicals felt rather differently. Leading progressives produced numerous pageants at exactly the moment that the film purports to represent, including John Reed (*Pageant of the Paterson Strike*, 1913), and W. E. B. DuBois (*The Star of Ethiopia*, New York, 1913; Washington, 1915; Philadelphia, 1916). Even liberal reformers succeeded in staging some unruliness: Hazel MacKaye's 5,000-member pageant, the *Woman Suffrage Procession* (1913) caused a riot in Washington, D.C. (Glassberg 323, n. 55).

While it is true that most pageants reproduce most of the preconceptions of most of the numerous persons staging them, pageantry also provided numerous opportunities for contesting dominance. Because it was a participatory form--and because the creative work was parcelled out to so many different persons, especially through the vast network of voluntary associations which travelled both along and across lines of difference--the degree and the nature of power exerted by the "pageant master" over the performance was radically different [End Page 222] from that of the film or conventional stage director. (The rowdy New York natives performing in MacKaye's 1916 *Caliban* staged both a revolt--by the 400 members of the orchestra, demanding a chance to see the spectacle--and a running nightly burlesque in their offstage dressing area [Gordon 98].) In 1912, pageant and amateur-theatrical culture was--taken as a set of social practices--much more vital in many respects than the film industry per se. Numerous silent films drew upon the pageant aesthetic and took, in whole or in part, the formations of associational life as their subject (even certain D. W. Griffiths spectacles, including *The Birth of a Nation*, with its 1915 glorification of the Ku Klux Klan, can be understood usefully by way of pageantry and the appeal of associational life). Particularly of interest along these lines is the phenomenon of the travelling film company, which pursued tactics much like the travelling actors before them and the travelling pageant masters with whom they must have competed. These were professionals who wrote, cast, and set their films entirely with reference to a local community, drawing upon the theatrical resources (certainly actors and the capacity to organize an audience, perhaps also the properties) of the local civic associations. One such film, created by a travelling company in 1915 in collaboration with the whole community of Muncie, Indiana (then population: 34,000), features a fictional ladies' association, the Man-Haters, apparently suggested by the presence of 179 women's clubs in the town (Kaufman).

In this context, *Music Man's* anxious misprision of pageant culture makes more sense. Perhaps the film takes so much trouble to bash participatory culture because participatory culture--at least in 1962--still represents serious competition. *Music Man* slyly congratulates liberal elites by identifying an other dominance--book-burning local dignitaries--and triumphantly marking out a clear cinema-friendly path for liberal cultural work. Evading the social control of local elites, the film suggests, is chiefly a matter of the mobilization of subjectivity, as modelled by the high-achieving, up-from-her-Irish-bootstraps liberal individual, Marion Peru (Shirley Jones). Both the town librarian *and* its music teacher, Ms. Peru emblemizes the triumphalism with which liberal education presents itself to the democratic consciousness, especially insofar as it involves the reverence of Great Books and Fine Art. While she offers the town instruction in literature and piano, she plays no role in their rustic celebrations. This is to say that Peru is "free" of the village in a familiar sense: she has the liberal freedom of irony, nonidentification, the insistent exceptionalist equivalence of separation with

uniqueness. A coarse but powerful logic of equivalence associating community with coercion and incarceration, aided by the similar equivalence linking Education to (personal) agency and (personal) mobility, not only allows but necessitates Peru to open and continuously enlarge interior distance (i.e., that of subjectivity) precisely where embarrassing, claims-making solidarities offer material restraints. She belongs to no women's club, no mediate polyvalent space of the social. Instead she appears only in binarized liberal space, constrained to the (public) library and the domestic space of the parlor, where she gives her music lessons. Self-isolated (isolated by virtue of her selfhood), she feels herself as occupying the social margin and acquires the sense of unfixity that she experiences as liberty. **[End Page 223]**

This "mobilization of subjectivity" in Marion Peru instantiates and models the social production and democratic dissemination of individual consciousness under modernity. The values of "mobilization" are multiple, and include the systemic utility of a general experience of dislocation, of the ever-wider distribution of a self-in-motion, even where the movement is figured as upward or outward (from restraint) or as voluntary. One of the chief features of subjectivity is its mobility--subjectivity is the mode of consciousness that feels continuous with itself despite substantial dislocations in time, space, and affect; in this view, one retains an essential selfhood between one's residences in Des Moines and Djakarta, the ages of eight and eighty, and the switching of one's allegiances from National Socialism to the Yankees. (Consciousness that declines to insist on continuous identification with itself or eschews any of the associated values--self-determination, self-possession, self-expression, and so forth--would not be strictly takeable as "subjectivity.") In particular, this is to further suggest Gilles Deleuze's sense of the perfect consistency of subjectivity with industrialization, of liberal consciousness with mobilization, *especially* in the sense of a literal, not figural, preparedness for war. It is in this light no accident that Peru holds the librarianship at the particular bequest of the local capitalist: she is the only one that he can trust to conserve the collection from the townsfolk's intended depredation. Peru is an instrument of what Sacvan Bercovitch calls liberal domination, the ritual production by institutional culture of a dissent-which-is-not-one, the mobilization of oppositional affect (through the various acting-outs and per-formations of "rebellious" liberal individualism) to the purposes of the cultural-industrial complex.

Beyond Exceptionalism: The "Typical American" and the Demobilization of Subjectivity

In this light, the vogue for civic pageantry asks to be seen as a mode of *demobilizing* the subject, an illiberal response to modernity insofar as it explicitly plays host to Percy MacKaye's "group person" as well as what we could call "the stereotype," what James would with far less anxiety simply call "the type." Participatory culture provides a counter-mobilization through the epistemology and the ontology of the "typical"--the gravitational pull of belonging, not the exceptionalist trajectory of escape velocity. The "typical," in James's late prose, counts as a demobilization, offering up the "localizing facts" that lead to a standing-down of the hotel civilization.

For Jamesians, a number of appealing avenues fan out from the nexus between the late writing and repressed participatory culture. We might, for example, revisit the autobiographical writings or *The American Scene* armed with the hypothesis that the urban-episodic compositions of these works share the mimetic aim of civic pageantry: "celebrating not the fame of an individual" or the nation but a "*particular* community" or an institution (Beegle and Crawford 17-19, emphasis added). This was

not merely metropolitan boosterism, but a form of active popular scholarship flowing out of a dynamic relation between pageant activity and the enormous pervasion of folklore practice at the turn of the century (so that [End Page 224] many dozens of texts in support of departments of "folk drama" in the public schools were published in the U.S. in the first ten years of the century or so, following the example of the University of Wisconsin's influential establishment of a Department of Festivals).⁴ In this way the "life displayed to the observer" in the New Hampshire passages of *The American Scene* becomes approachable as a pageant folklorics. This is not merely a question of seeing James himself as a cultural anthropologist ("The *manners*, the manners: where and what are they, and what have they to tell?" [AS 385]). It is a matter of seeing the auto-anthropology of groups generally. For instance, James's account of the "story told at the lighted windows of the inns" relies on the structural and reflexive logic of civic festival as well as its teleology, deploying the lit windows as serial tableaux "where plain, respectable families seemed to sit and study in silence" (391), with their collective identity the sole object of their study. With "awe" and a popular-sociological determinism, a "sense of inevitable doom," James imagines these New-Englanders puzzling over "their reflected resemblances from group to group, their baffling identities of type and tone, their inability to escape from participations and communities" (381). With further researches into rather more startling rural practices of New England, James casts the communities as civic pageants generally did, in a Greek tunic, observing that "under the smutch of imputation," the streets and farms and cabins "twitched with a grim effect the thinness of their mantle, shook out of its folds such crudity and levity as they might, and borrowed, for dignity, a shade of the darkness of Cenci-drama, of monstrous legend, of old Greek tragedy" (395). Not incidentally, two weeks before James sailed out of Boston for England, Percy MacKaye wrote his first contribution to a pageant-masque in the New Hampshire hills, the *Saint-Gaudens Masque-Prologue*, produced in honor of the sculptor, June 23, 1905 at the artists' colony in Cornish.

The most frequent sort of pageant (with the longest nineteenth-century antecedents) was the ritual invention of a particular institution--doing, in fact, the work of institution-building while inventing its history and tradition. This institution-specific pageant consciousness brings us to think about the fusion of the pictorial and the dramatic in the "architectural" scenic method sustaining the collaborative auto-institutionalization of "Henry James" in the New York Edition (1907-1909). Even the naming of the edition reflects the centrality of a civic-processional aesthetic in popular participatory arts (discursively intertwined with the emphasis upon setting and environment most vividly ascendant in literary naturalism and regionalism). Perhaps the most interesting line of thought in this connection pursues the shift remarked by David McWhirter toward viewing the N.Y.E. as a social text rather than (as James feared) an Ozymandian gesture of Romantic solipsism. On the most prosaic level, the compromises and negotiations of the Edition consist seamlessly with the contemporary vogue for participatory culture, in which the relaxation of the personal will in creative effort was very much the norm. More interestingly, the prefaces display James as leading an auto-ethnography of his reading community.

The pageant logic of participatory culture also inflects James's notion of seriality. This phenomenon encompasses the author and publisher's joint concern for the order of the march of the Edition (Anesko 153) and also the question of [End Page 225] processional movement generally in the late writing. This kind of ritual movement--"the processional effect"--is constitutive of the specialness of Newport for James, what he calls in *The American Scene* the "object lesson" of "the queer case of Newport" (488). What strikes him is the participatory culture of Newport, participation being "the price paid for the sticking together" despite that some participants appeared incongruous and

"unadjusted" to the task, reflecting, he concluded, "the wondrous resolve to stick":

Spectacle in any case broke out, spectacle accumulated, by our then measure, many thicknesses deep, flushing in the sovereign light, as one felt it, of the waning Rhode Island afternoons. . . . the vividest note of this [being] the long daily *corso* or processional drive (with cavaliers and amazons not otherwise than conveniently intermixed) . . . the glitter *quand meme* of "caparisoned" animals, appointed vehicles and approved charioteers, to say nothing of the other and more freely exchanged and interrelated brightnesses then at play (in the softer ease of women, the more mustachio'd swagger of men, the braver bonhomie of the social aspect at large), melted together for fond fancy into a tone, a rhythm, a representational virtue charged, as to the amenities, with authority. (*AU* 482-83)

The procession marked for James a kind of spectacle with a difference, "that pictorial which was ever for me, the dramatic, the social, the effectively human" (482)--not merely curious-queer, but positively, actively queering--a participatory *event*, not a fascinating text, an open (and piazza-like) cultural space, sponsoring "freely exchanged and interrelated brightnesses" and not an hermetically sealed, monumental central authority.

The purpose of the state of war between Marion the librarian (who better than perky Shirley Jones to play the Dynamo?) and the ritual life of the village (imaginable in 1912 as a recovery of the medieval Marian cult) is to stir up a busy and unreflective confidence in the sense that subjectivity and ideology are *essentially* opposed, that liberal selfhood and ideology cannot coexist. In this view, the mind is indeed its own place: individuals who have stepped into full, "free" subjectivity simply cannot figure as ideological formations. Of course--as Bercovitch observes--this conviction is itself the content of liberal ideology. Because individuals are the only ideology-free formations of consciousness, all forms of group expression are suspect (excepting the nation itself, which figures as a free federation of individuals). The central reading of Mark Seltzer's *Bodies and Machines* is a brilliant meditation on *The American*, called, in part, "Typical Americans" (49-59, 63-83). Moving back and forth between James and the discourse of technologies of reproduction, consumerism, and physical culture, Seltzer develops an account of the productive tension between the self-fashioning of market culture and the social-fashioning of machine culture. His most provocative conclusions flow from the understanding that these two accounts are not opposed but belong to a mutually constitutive discourse, together producing the structure of feeling that drives the culture of consumption--"the uncertain individuality of the individual" (58) [End Page 226] .

This "uncertainty" does its ideological work in a gendered field. The librarian's war with group life and collective consciousness renders liberal selfhood as maidenly virtue, so that she experiences the ritual performances of group life as a stain, a blot, a penetration. Her quarrel with the rude amusements of the village is a thin allegory identifying associational life with an interlocking series of (feminizing) vulnerabilities, especially to ideology in the form of a false "Think System" created by the film's protagonist, Professor Harold Hill (Robert Preston). By means of the Think System, Hill's dupes are led to believe that they can learn to perform musical instruments without subjecting themselves to "real" instruction. Playing on the town's weakness--its desire to figure collectively--Hill (who cannot read music) promises to train a precision marching band in a matter of weeks, aiming to skip town once he has collected on his sale of the instruments and uniforms. The film actively creates the desire

to retain subjectivity (at the expense of frustrating desire to indulge in the festival consciousness of solidarities) by continuously re-harnessing it to this maiden self of manhood, a maiden self who submits to the professional training of the liberal elite only to strengthen himself for the larger struggle with the siren (the beyond-the-self).

The librarian is therefore really at war with her own desire. She sympathetically models the yearning for collectivity, repeatedly yearning herself for the Professor: Preston's worn and lined, heavily-made-up face patiently, confidently, craftily waits for her to complete her own seduction, while close-ups of his expectant leer warn the spectator that this seduction is also a violation. In acknowledging the powerful appeal of Think Systems and their illiberal efficiency, the film shows the librarian's younger brother (Ron Howard) overcoming a lisp by way of his faith in the professor's method. Rather than deny the appeal or even the efficacy of the siren beyond the self, liberalism orientalizes it: group life, ritual existence, becomes in the liberal imagination the utterly, impossibly Other--desirable, but a desire, like the Oedipal, fortunately unattainable and at any rate too embarrassing to voice, or remember. ⁵ This gives rise to the contemporary phenomenon of "ironic participation," in which persons invest in a contingent participation at group events: "I'll just show up at that thing," as if one could *go* to an event without *being there*, have enjoyment without contamination. This flows out of the widespread liberal conviction that irony provides an ideological clean suit, rather than a desire-multiplier allowing the liberal to have his cake and eat it too (as in the "ironic" recirculation or reinterpellation of racist and sexist or classist discourse). Subjectivity--extruding irony at every aperture--therefore appears as a thin, strong, elastic barrier between the liberal self and its constitutive love of power.

The late James was, I think, increasingly free of the embarrassment of participation. In the ritual return and reconstitution of the New York Edition, he repeatedly invokes the social-fashioning of machine culture without anxiety--without, that is to say, anxiously mobilizing subjectivity as a "natural" response to the "artificial" manufacture of persons. From time to time he confesses frankly something about his fiction regarding which our own willingness to appreciate is gravely limited--that he wrote about persons as members of groups, as typical persons, in fact, and not only by way of the universal-exceptionalism of the chest-pounding [End Page 227] Subject. In the first of the New York Edition prefaces he writes of *Roderick Hudson* that upon reflection the early novel risked the "disservice of appearing to present him as a morbidly special case." Going on to acknowledge "the very claim of the fable that he *is* special," James insists that Roderick Hudson's status as a marked exception "is not for a moment supposed to preclude his appearing typical" as well (*FW* 1047). And for me it is in this shade of pageantry's "Group Person"--what we might call the "certain typicality of the individual"--that in the late James's recourse to the past we find resources to fight the future.

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Notes

¹. Quoted in part in Grover (49). Grover provides an immense (yet partial!) and generously annotated bibliography of writing by and about the prolific MacKaye family. Dartmouth College possesses a large repository of MacKaye materials. A large collection of Delsartist materials is held at Louisiana State University.

2. The relationship between pageantry and physical culture is not merely the relationship between the MacKays or even the tidal flow of influence (i.e., Delsartist dance of MacKaye the elder influencing Morris and English Arts & Crafts in turn supporting the pageantry of MacKaye the younger). Much more importantly: educational institutions swiftly seized upon the revival of pageantry as a synthetic art suitable for large-group creative expression, drawing heavily upon the Delsartist vocabulary current in elocution and expression training (including acting, dance, gymnastics, and so forth) distributed through the normal schools. See, for instance, Craig 15-16.
3. For a complete discussion of pageantry as a unified "movement," undergoing substantial alteration during and after World War I, see Glassberg. On Delsartism in America at the turn of the century, see in particular Naremore (52-67) and Ruyter, who traces Delsartism from a society "craze" in the 1890s to the institutionalized element of teacher training in dance, elocution, and physical education. Naremore offers particularly useful discussions of Delsartism's powerful influence in the cinema.
4. See for example the fifty-page bibliography produced by Beegle and Crawford.
5. There is strong justification for this implied link between the pageantry-physical culture nexus and fascist propaganda: the relationship between civic spectacle and fascist consciousness is readily visible, for instance, in the films of Leni Riefenstahl. But how fortunate for film that only boring spectacle leads to fascism! For a discussion of the role of participatory spectacle in the deliberate attempt to shape a fascist subject see Schnapp, especially Hal Foster's foreword, "Mothertruckers" (xiii-xviii).

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