

FAIR GAMES:  
NINETEENTH CENTURY CULTURAL PHILANTHROPY IN CHICAGO  
AND THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY

by

TODD ROBERT JACQUES AYOTTE

B.A., The University of British Columbia, 1989

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTERS OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Department of Fine Arts

We accept this thesis as conforming  
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April 1994

© Copyright: Todd Robert Jacques Ayotte, 1994

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Fine Arts

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, Canada

Date April 26 1994

Abstract

Building on the Anthropological displays of Department M at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, held in Chicago, the Field Columbian Museum began in a particularly advantaged position: through its connection with the fair, the museum amassed a comprehensive collection "representative" of Native American societies, established an affiliation with the anthropological community, and, most importantly, received financial and ideological support from local business and economic leaders. This relationship between the museum anthropologists and their financial backers - forming in effect what I call a "cultural alliance" - is the focus of this paper. Through a chronological exposition of the five year period associated with the project - from Mayor De Witt C. Creiger's appeal in 1889 to secure the fair in Chicago, to the founding of the Field Columbian Museum in 1894 - this thesis explores the impetus behind this emerging alliance and its subsequent effect on both the anthropological and economic communities.

Utilizing a specific model outlined in Pierre Bourdieu's sociological study Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, the project and its resulting association of financial backers and museum anthropologists is shown as central to the process of cultural "legitimization" - underlining a correlation between economic, educational and social "capital"

(Bourdieu 1984:12-13). Although this "alliance" has been recognized for its role in the advancement of American anthropology - a discipline which relied heavily on funding from the private sector - this relationship must also be seen in terms of the status gains it provided for Chicago's cultural philanthropists.

Frederick Ward Putnam, Chief of Department M and promoter of the permanent museum, represented the academic front in this "cultural alliance." His credentials provided the necessary educational "capital" to validate the project, and his institutional background fostered the development of the museum initiative. In direct contention with the fair's blanket ideological program - mapping the "progress of civilization" from the time of Columbus's "discovery" of America - Putnam sought to establish a new model for the display of Native American artifacts, distinct from the assimilationist/evolutionist model supported by the United States government. At the same time, this model helped to construct an autonomous "cultural" position for the philanthropists supporting Putnam. What is revealed is an exchange between the museum anthropologists and their benefactors, designed not only to reflect their wealth and power, but to serve a "legitimizing" function in the assertion of a new and competitive cultural elite.

Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Introduction	1
Chapter One - World's Columbian Exposition	7
Chapter Two - Frederick Ward Putnam	16
Chapter Three - Department M	32
Chapter Four - Chicago's Philanthropists and the Field Columbian Museum	53
Conclusion	72
References Cited	78
Appendix I - List of Figures	83

### Acknowledgements

I would "clearly" like to thank Dr. Marvin Cohodas and Dr. Maureen Ryan for their guidance. I acknowledge the staff of the University of British Columbia library, the Newberry Library, the Chicago Historical Society, the Field Museum of Natural History, and the Chicago Public Library for their assistance in completing my research.

I thank my family and friends for their love, humour and support. Most of all I thank my parents, who have stood by me from the beginning, always believing I could pull it off.

### Introduction

Although museums had their beginnings in private collections in Europe in the eighteenth century, the "prototype" of contemporary Anthropological institutions in North America began to emerge and take shape in the late nineteenth century - a period of time often referred to as the "museum age." Anthropologist George W. Stocking Jr. states that "the great period of museum anthropology only really began in the 1890s" when many of the earlier foundations "reached institutional maturity" with the involvement of specialized personnel and funding and support for scholarly fieldwork (1985:8).

The need for financial support - realized through governmental funding or private benefaction - was of key importance in the formation of these institutions, underlining a close connection between cultural and economic development in the United States. But, as the nature and development of museums varied from institution to institution, they cannot be analyzed collectively. Each must be seen in terms of its own particular history, and of its own social and economic situation.

The Field Columbian Museum, founded in Chicago in 1894, started out in a particularly advantaged position, both socially and economically. Developed out of the Anthropological displays at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, the Field Columbian Museum

housed a distinct and comprehensive collection, had direct and prestigious connections within the "anthropological" community, and, most importantly, received financial and ideological support from local business and economic leaders. It is this relationship between the museum anthropologists and their financial backers which will be the subject of this paper. Through an analysis of the five year period from Mayor De Witt C. Creiger's appeal in 1889 to secure the fair in Chicago to the founding of the Field Columbian Museum in 1894, this thesis will present a detailed exploration of how a "cultural alliance" was formed, in order to reveal the varied interests and agendas associated with the fair, the Department of Anthropology, and the subsequent permanent museum.

I will begin in Chapter One with an exploration of the events leading to the establishment of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Fuelled by the interests of a small number of its business and economic leaders, Chicago was actively promoted as the ideal city to represent the nation. Its rapid economic growth exemplified the ideological foundations on which the fair was based, reflecting notions of American "progress" through nineteenth century industrialization and modernization. These early initiatives on the part of the city's business community will be revealed as central to the establishment of a solid economic base for the fair, thus facilitating the formation of Chicago's "cultural alliance." In turn, the program of cultural



development associated with the fair served to advance the personal and collective status of this group, effectively mapping their "progress" economically and culturally. The "theme" of the fair - the 400th anniversary of Columbus's "discovery" of America - served as a tool with which this "progress" could be measured. It is within this context that Department M at the Chicago World's Fair was shaped, expressing Putnam's desire to advance anthropological science through the collection and documentation of Native American artifacts, and to present a carefully constructed image of how Native Americans lived at the time of Columbus.

Chapter Two will look at specific initiatives associated with the development of Department M. Leading up to his appointment as Chief of the department, Frederick Ward Putnam was the first person to publicly promote the desire for such an exhibition. Putnam's impressive institutional affiliations coupled with his active role in the fair's promotion - both within the business community and to the wider public - defined his pivotal role the development of Chicago's "cultural alliance." His appointment will be seen as an indication of the Directory's allegiance to both Putnam and his plans for the development of a permanent museum. His credentials provided the necessary academic and scientific sanction to "legitimize" this alliance, and his institutional background served as the groundwork for the development of the museum initiative.

Chapter Three will explore the development of Department M, moving from Putnam's original concept to the resulting display. This display will be described in terms of its asserted ideological position - illustrating Putnam and his assistant Franz Boas's cultural relativist approach - and in terms of the various "readings" that served to contest the Department's original intentions. Although the fair's anthropological displays were not limited to those prepared by Putnam in Department M (contributions were included from the United States Government through the Smithsonian Institution, the Bureau of American Ethnology and the Department of the Interior, as well as the entertainment section of the fair, the Midway Plaisance) what was presented to visitor's was a unified anthropological paradigm. This unified front was manifested in the fair's blanket ideological program: a program based on notions of "progress" and "civilization" and directly linked to the government's assimilationist agenda. However, behind this front were contested points of view which define the development of American anthropology. In fact, one of Putnam's key agendas in terms of his involvement with Department M was to introduce Anthropology to the American public, thus opening the doors for a new institutional model, autonomous from the established governmental model.

The Field Columbian Museum - developing out of Putnam's institutional initiative - will be the focus of Chapter Four.

Putnam's efforts to promote the idea to the economic and business leaders of Chicago, the formation of a committee of Chicago's leading citizens to promote the idea to the wider business community, and the involvement of key collectors and financial backers - namely Edward E. Ayer and Marshall Field - will be explored. The establishment of a permanent museum was a key goal for these men from the earliest stages of the fair's development. The museum initiative will be seen as meeting their needs on a number of different levels: it not only provided a lasting monument to the fair, but proved beneficial to its backers in terms of their personal status, and served as the cultural symbol for the city of Chicago. It was promoted as a world-class museum that was comprehensive in its collections, scientifically sound in regards to fieldwork and research, and innovative in its display techniques, thus asserting a distinct cultural model.

As a conclusion, the complex and confluent relationships associated with Chicago's "cultural alliance" will be explored, in light of a specific model outlined in Pierre Bourdieu's sociological study Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste. Bourdieu's analysis of cultural "legitimization" - asserting a direct correlation between economic, educational and social "capital" - will serve as a model for the Chicago example. The development of the cultural alliance, extending from a perceived need to foster such a relationship, served both personal and collective interests

within the Chicago community. Furthermore it created an institutional construct independent of government connections, supported solely through private benefaction - thus reshaping the course of American anthropology.

### Chapter One

Three sources have provided the bulk of information utilized to compile the chronology of events leading up to the establishment of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. In 1897, Rossitter Johnson published his History of the World's Columbian Exposition in four volumes. Although couched within the paradigms of American "patriotism" and "progress", this work nevertheless provides a great deal of information about the structure of the fair. R. Reid Badger's two works about the fair - his unpublished 1975 PhD thesis entitled "The World's Columbian Exposition: Patterns of Change and Control in the 1890s" and his 1979 book The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition and American Culture - explore the way in which the interest shared by a few of Chicago's leading citizens grew into a major campaign to secure the fair for Chicago. Jeanne Weimann's 1981 study The Fair Women, focusing on the Women's Building at the fair, also presents a chapter dealing with governmental interest and the competition between major American cities to host the fair.

The sequence of events explicated by these three sources provides a substantial framework within which the fair can be analyzed. The structural development of the fair and interest in the formation of a permanent anthropological collection will be seen as developing concurrently - albeit nurtured by different interest groups - and eventually merging to form the strong and directed cultural alliance that existed between Putnam and

"Chicago's aristocracy." This collective group supported and promoted the fair from the beginning. Understanding this direct involvement can provide insight into how the fair served their interests both collectively and individually.

Although Washington and New York had expressed interest in the fair's development prior to this time, it was in 1889 that the public drive to hold the World's Fair in Chicago began (Badger 1975:88-89). The Mayor of Chicago, De Witt C. Creiger, appealed to the council to appoint a committee for the establishment of the exposition (Johnson 1897:I:9). This proposal was approved, and in July 1889, 100 of Chicago's most powerful industrial leaders and merchants were appointed to a committee to bring this project to its realization (Badger 1975:26). In August of 1889, the first meeting of the committee - now grown to 250 people - took place in the Council Chamber (Johnson 1897:I:9). This meeting was of key importance: it underlined the mounting interest on the part of Chicago's richest and most influential citizens to secure the fair for Chicago, and it marked the beginnings of the organizational structure within which the idea was to take shape: a corporation under the name "World's Exposition of 1892." A capital stock of \$5,000,000 was established, divided into 500,000 shares of \$10 each, titled "The World's Columbian Exposition of 1892, the object of which is the Holding of an International Exhibition, or World's Fair, in the City of Chicago, and State of Illinois, to commemorate on its

400th anniversary, the discovery of America" (in Badger 1975:103).

Two sub-committees were then established: the Finance Committee and the Steering Committee. The goals of these two committees were to "create sympathy throughout the country for Chicago to have the fair, and to raise money for the guaranteed amount" (Weimann 1981:24). The steering committee then appointed ten standing committees to look after "expenses, congressional action, local and national publicity, transportation and hotel accommodation" (Weimann 1981: 24). The 150 men on the standing committees were all "members of Chicago's aristocracy" noted for their wealth and influence. Weimann notes that they "were used to getting things done" (1981:24). By April of 1890, when President Harrison signed the act which officially selected Chicago as the venue, the capital stock was fully subscribed, and the fair had guaranteed financial support.

Although financially the committees were able to achieve their goals, there is still a question as to whether they would be able to successfully achieve support from the general population of the city. Within the body of material written about the fair at the time, very little information provides insight into how the public viewed the fair and whether or not they supported the idea from the beginning. The following passage from Johnson presents only one commerce-oriented (and sanitized) view of the

development process:

During the eight months that elapsed between the appointment of the citizens' committee of two hundred and fifty and the permanent organization of the company the work was carried on vigorously, every effort being made to awaken the proper enthusiasm in the city and State, to secure pledges of financial support sufficient to launch the enterprise properly, and to convince the nation at large and the Congress of the United States of the desirability of holding the Exposition in Chicago (Johnson 1897a:9-10).

Such descriptions of this process as efficient, financially and ideologically successful, elide contesting viewpoints. Chicago in the 1890s - despite its "burgeoning industrial development" - was in the midst of a massive economic depression, which manifested itself in widespread unemployment, strikes and civic unrest. According to historian Susan E. Hirsch, "during the depression years of 1893 to 1897, unemployment reached record levels in Chicago and the country..." (1990:73). Local leaders of business and industry who were involved in the development of the fair and the subsequent permanent museum represented the smallest and most powerful economic group in Chicago. Their initiatives alone fuelled the mounting interest in hosting the fair, whether or not they had the support of all citizens. The fair "did not encompass all Chicagoans; it was a vision created by the business leaders..." (Goler 1990:98). Therefore, the support sought by the committees was aimed not at the general population, but at the upper and upper middle classes - those who could support the fair financially, and "buy into" its ideological foundations.



The campaign to establish a solid base of support locally was still crucial as there was considerable interest from other American cities to host the fair - namely New York City, St. Louis and Washington, D.C. (Badger 1975:105). As Badger has noted, the main considerations for the chosen location were the suitability of the city to represent the nation, the financial support available within that particular city, and the ability to accommodate visitors (1975:106).

Financial support was of utmost importance due to the nature of American World's fairs, which relied heavily on backing from the private sector. Hence, Washington D.C. became less of a contender as a site for the exhibition: outside of the obvious availability of government support, the city lacked the private resources needed to stage such an extravagant event (Badger 1975:99). Although St. Louis was in consideration right up until the Senate decision of 1890, the choice was clearly between New York and Chicago due to the economic and financial weight of these two cities. It was ideologically constructed as a competition between "the established Eastern giant and the younger western challenger" (Badger 1975:99). <sup>1</sup>

At the congressional hearings, the main argument centred around "which city was the most suitable in terms of representing the

---

<sup>1</sup> The claims expressed by representatives from New York and St. Louis at the congressional hearings will not be documented in this thesis.

nation to the world" (Badger 1979:50). Mayor Creiger, in his campaign for the fair, painted a picture of Chicago as the "Metropolis of the West" central in terms of location and accessibility. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Chicago was positioned as the "transportation link between the urban East and the agricultural Midwest" and was a major trade and industrial centre, which ensured the city's place in the nation's economic base. More importantly, Creiger presented Chicago as the personification of all that "America" stood for. In his address to the congressional committee on January 10, 1890, Creiger painted a picture of Chicago as a city united in its determination to host the fair:

The People of the City of Chicago are united in the hope and desire and determination that, wherever this exposition is held, wherever in the wisdom of this congress of the United States it shall be assigned, it shall excel all former events of the kind, and not only prove eminently successful, but comport with the grandeur and dignity of this great and progressive nation. To this end, Chicago stands ready to lend her support. Chicago has been growing, under the name of a city, only fifty-six years, but during those years the city was wiped out by the most terrible calamity that history records. she has risen, recuperated and resuscitated by the power of will and new blood, to the proud position of the second city on the continent and the Metropolis of the West (Creiger quoted in Johnson 1897:I:11).

This view of Chicago as a place of rapid transformation, growing almost overnight from a frontier town to the budding urban centre of the late nineteenth century, coupled with its quick economic recovery from the great fire of 1871, was portrayed in almost mythic proportions. This image expressed the ideological foundations of the proposed fair: the city was promoted as the

personification of the American ideals of progress, industrial advancement, civic spirit, new wealth and power.

Along with Creiger, Thomas B. Bryan, the first Vice President of the Directory of the Columbian Exposition, represented Chicago at the congressional hearings. Bryan presented a similar picture of the city, arguing that "Chicago in its youth and rapid growth from frontier to metropolis typified the national character and that it also stood for the emerging American West which could no longer be ignored" (Badger 1979:50). The notion of an "emerging American West" was circulating at the time as an important part the "American experience" and grounded the country historically. In an excerpt from Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 paper "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," first presented at the Columbian Exposition and later published in the American Historical Association Annual Report, the notion of the "West" was constructed as the central element in the development of the country and its "national character." As noted by Turner: "Up to our own day American history has been in a large degree the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development" (Turner 1893:199). The closing of the frontier and the transformation of the American West was also the subject of the Bulletin of the Superintendent of the Census for 1890 - cited by Turner in his paper - stating that due to continued westward

expansion and the change this has brought about, the frontier will no longer be recognized in the census reports:

Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it can not, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports (quoted in Turner 1893:199).

Within this ideological context, Chicago was the preeminent location for the fair, able to exemplify this mythic "transformation" from a rustic frontier existence - with "primitive economic and political conditions" - into a reflection of "the complexity of city life" (Turner 1893:199).

In February of 1890, the House of Representatives officially chose Chicago as the city to host the Exposition, and on April 28, 1890, President Harrison signed the act titled: "An Act to Provide for the Celebration of the 400th Anniversary of the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus, by Holding an International Exhibition of Arts, Industries, Manufactures and the Products of the Soil, Mine and Sea, in the City of Chicago, in the State of Illinois" (Badger 1975:110). This choice provided Chicago's new economic and industrial leaders with a unique opportunity to gain recognition on both a national and international level. As Badger states, "the World's Fair victory was a positive sign that the nations eyes would be turned toward the Western Metropolis" (Badger 1975:111).

This early history of the development of the World's Columbian Exposition parallels Chicago's own cultural development; indeed a clear link existed between the ideological foundations associated with the fair and the interests of Chicago's business leaders. In his 1990 study "Visions of a Better Chicago," historian Robert Goler summarizes the structural changes that were taking place in Chicago in the late nineteenth century, transforming the city from one of "diversity" to a "unified populace" of Chicagoans working towards the betterment of the entire city (1990:90). This is suggestive of the cultural initiative outlined in this chapter - an initiative that developed out of a distinct coalition between Chicago's powerful economic and political leaders. The resulting "cultural alliance" was central to the formation of Chicago's Columbian Exposition, providing the framework within which Department M and the Field Columbian Museum would take shape.

## Chapter Two

Frederick Ward Putnam (appendix I: figure 1) provided the "educational" and "scientific" backbone in the development of this "cultural alliance." Understanding his interest and involvement in the creation of Department M, and in the subsequent permanent ethnological collection in Chicago, requires some background concerning his earlier life and activities. Two sources have provided most of the information on Putnam: Ralph Dexter, in articles from 1966 and 1970, and Joan Mark, in her 1980 book entitled Four Anthropologists: An American Science in its Early Years. Both authors analyze Putnam's pivotal role in the history of American museum anthropology. Mark not only recognizes the important contributions of Putnam to this development, but also underlines the lack of attention Putnam has received, both historically and contemporarily, for his contributions in shaping nineteenth century American anthropology:

Little attention has been paid historically to Putnam, and even in his own time, he worked during the early years of his career in the shadow of Lewis Henry Morgan and found himself eclipsed by Franz Boas, who had been his protege, at the end. Yet Putnam did more than either Morgan or Boas to create the profession of anthropology in the United States. He gave the new science of anthropology its name. He established many of its major institutions, including three museums and two university departments of anthropology (Mark 1980:14).

Putnam had a long and varied career prior to his involvement with the Columbian Exposition and the Field Museum. This information not only places these two projects (Department M and the Field

Columbian Exposition) within the context of Putnam's life work, but also sheds light into the development of his methodological approach towards the collection and display of anthropological objects.

Putnam was born in 1839 to an upper-middle class family in Salem, Massachusetts. He was educated in private schools, and grew up "exploring the natural history of Essex county and helping his father cultivate plants in the conservatory" (Mark 1980:14). He wrote his first scientific papers in 1855 at the age of sixteen, and soon after became Curator of Ornithology in the Essex Institute of Salem, "on the strength of these (papers)" (Mark 1980:15). In 1855, Putnam met Louis Agassiz, then Professor of Zoology and Geology at Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard University, and was invited to come to Cambridge to study with Agassiz. (Mark 1980:15) In 1856, Agassiz was beginning to establish the Museum of Comparative Zoology - the first research-oriented museum in the country - with the help of "university officials and private benefactors" (Mark 1980:15). Putnam worked closely with Agassiz at the Museum of Comparative Zoology from 1857 to 1864. This period in the development of Putnam's career marked the beginning of a life-long interest in research institutions, and also marked the beginning of an interest in the study of human societies.

Putnam himself credits this newly developing interest to the

meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) in Montreal in 1857:

In the year 1857 this association met for the first time beyond the borders of the United States...Already a member of a year's standing, it was with feelings of youthful pride that I recorded my name and entered the meeting in the hospitable city of Montreal; and it was on this occasion that my mind was awakened to new interests which in after years led me from the study of animals to that of man" (Putnam 1899:474).

His scientific background shaped his museological approach. Described by Mark as "an organizer," Putnam's attention to detail and his reliance on working directly with the specimens and objects under study were consistent throughout his career.

In 1866, Putnam left the Museum of Comparative Zoology and returned to the Essex Institute in Salem, where he was appointed Superintendent (Mark 1980:16). Putnam's career was advancing at a steady rate, due to his involvement with many aspects of his field. Mark remarks on Putnam's "genius for building institutions," and refers to his foundation of a popular journal for natural history (American Naturalist), his establishment of a printing office and his development of an agency to sell and exchange specimens and books (Mark 1980:19). These activities, along with his official positions with the newly formed and prestigious scientific institutions, heightened his profile within the wider community, and, at the same time, established connections which could further advance his career.

One such connection made at this point in his career proved to be



pivotal: his association with George Peabody, a London philanthropist. Peabody was originally from Essex County, Massachusetts, and, while working in London had earned a great deal of money in dry goods and transatlantic trade (Hinsley 1985:49). Putnam met Peabody in 1867 and proceeded, with the help of his colleagues at the Essex Institute, to persuade him to endow an Academy of Science (Mark 1980:19). The Peabody Academy of Science of Salem was established in 1867, and Putnam, then twenty-eight years old, was appointed Director (Mark 1980:19).

In his new position, Putnam began a calculated course of collection and scientific study. With the help of his staff and guaranteed monetary support, Putnam began to organize and coordinate collecting expeditions. These expeditions were designed not only to advance ethnological sciences (and thus the prestige of Putnam and the institution) but also to collect large amounts of ethnographic materials for future study (Mark 1980:19). This was in keeping with Putnam's belief that the role of a scientific institution was "not entertainment or education of the general public...but the furthering of scientific investigation" (Mark 1980:19).

In 1873, Putnam was appointed as the Permanent Secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). In this position - the only permanent one in the association and one which he held for twenty-five years - Putnam planned the annual

meetings and published annual reports. In the proceedings for the AAAS meetings of 1873, Putnam's first year as secretary, the subsection of Natural History previously referred to as "Ethnology" was changed to "Anthropology" (Mark 1980:21). It seems that as early as 1873, Putnam was clearly trying to establish "anthropology" as a term that would encompass many aspects of the human sciences under one heading (ethnology, archaeology, history, etc.). According to Mark, "Putnam had named the new discipline and defined its nature" (Mark 1980:21). This positioned him as the consummate "expert" on the subject who possessed a proven institutional track record. These factors were important points in Putnam's favour for his acceptance into the "cultural alliance" forming in Chicago between 1890 and 1894. He held the intellectual and academic weight needed to form a "legitimate" cultural institution in Chicago - one worthy of national and international attention.

In 1875, Putnam was appointed as Curator of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University. Soon after his arrival, he began a meticulous reorganization of the collection and its method of display. This position provided Putnam with far more scope and exercise of control in the establishment of a particular institutional mandate. Putnam's mandate for the "overhaul" of the Peabody collection was to implement a new method of display, to continue to amass publications in order to build up an important library resource,

and to "seek new collections" to facilitate a more comprehensive display (Mark 1980:22). Under his direction, the Peabody Museum began to work towards "introducing scientific methods of arrangement into the heterogeneous collections of antiquities and of curios from uncivilized peoples" (Putnam in Mark 1980:22).

Contrary to many of his contemporaries in America and Europe - namely Otis T. Mason at the National Museum in Washington and General A.H.L.F. Pitt Rivers at the Pitt-Rivers Museum in England - Putnam began to arrange the collections at the Peabody Museum in "geographical sequence," keeping the areal collections together as a whole (Mark 1980:22). Although this indicates that both the geographical and evolutionary approaches were recognized on a theoretical level, the museum "method of choice" in the late nineteenth century in the United States was the evolutionary approach - both implemented and promoted by Mason and Powell at the United States National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

The differences between these two approaches caused considerable contention within the scientific community. An antagonistic debate evolving out of this methodological rift took place in the pages of Science magazine in 1887, between Mason - supporting the "established" evolutionary approach - and young German-born scientist Franz Boas - asserting support for the geographical arrangement. Putnam had met Boas in 1886 at an annual meeting of

the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

According to Mark, "Putnam saw to it that Boas was made a foreign associate and shortly thereafter helped him get a job as assistant editor of Science magazine (Mark 1980:32).

Boas had visited Mason's collection in Washington, D.C. and felt that the method of display utilized was insufficient for research purposes in that it ignored the cultural use of artifacts. In an article published in the May 20, 1887 issue of Science magazine, Boas publicly criticized the limits of Mason's approach, which involved the exhibition of objects of a similar form together:

By regarding a single implement outside of its surroundings, outside of other inventions of the people to whom it belongs, and outside of other phenomena affecting that people and its productions, we cannot understand its meaning. The only fact that a collection of implements used for the same purpose, or made of the same material, teaches, is, that man in different parts of the earth has made similar inventions, while, on the other hand, a collection representing the life of one tribe enables us to understand the single specimen far better. Our objection to Mason's idea is, that classification is not explanation (Boas 1887:485).

Classification of objects according to formal evolutionary definitions and categories was central to Mason's approach, thus negating the interrelationships of function within the societies of origin. Comparison in terms of such evolutionary sequences became the modus operandi of these displays. It is not my intention to present fully the terms of this debate between evolutionism and cultural relativism. I would like to note, however, that whereas evolutionism was institutionalized within the federal government, cultural relativism provided a new and

competing method with which the emerging private industrial wealth could align itself (Cohodas 1993). In particular, it provided the economic leaders of Chicago with the focus for a strong "cultural alliance" which could garner both national and international attention.

In an 1889 paper published by the American Antiquarian Society, Putnam outlined his methodological approach in terms of the collection and organization of materials, and his plan to expand and restructure the Peabody Museum, emphasizing as well the institution's holdings of Native American objects:

The methods of research instigated and conducted by the Museum together with the special method of arrangement of the collections, have made it of first importance in the study of American archaeology. Much instructive material has also been gathered relating to the existing tribes of America; but heretofore, for want of room, little of a purely ethnological character could be exhibited...In relation to the methods of field research and the arrangement of the principle collections, which have given to the Museum its prominent position, it may be stated that in the first case, the collections have been largely made by trained explorers in the field, who have done their work in a thorough manner and have brought together masses of material of inestimable value for study, as each object is authenticated and the exact conditions under which it was obtained and its association with other objects fully recorded (Putnam 1889:184-5).

The conceptualization and implementation of this particular methodological approach is of key importance when analyzing the development of the anthropological displays at Chicago's Columbian Exposition. As head of the department, Putnam was intent on developing the Anthropological display at the fair - and later at the Field Columbian Museum - along these same lines.

As Mark states, Department M was to be "an enlargement of the plan for the Peabody Museum" (1980:36).

Putnam began a vigorous campaign to secure a permanent collection for the city of Chicago long before his appointment as head of Department M at the World's Columbian Exposition. He recognized early the opportunity that the fair offered in terms of creating a collection which could form the nucleus for the development of a permanent museum. He saw that it was possible to carry out much of the groundwork for the development of a world-class anthropological museum at the fair, under the aegis of Department M. Securing collections through donations and funded expeditions, creating a solid financial base with which to engage in fieldwork, as well as attracting substantial public attention, both regionally and nationally, were some of the benefits that the fair had to offer. Putnam, who had a history of expertise in the development of museum collections - as at the Peabody Museum - wasted no time in promoting his plans to Chicago's business and economic leaders.

With a specific and calculated plan of action, Putnam began to work towards gaining support for his idea, emphasizing the need for such an institution in Chicago. On May 31, 1890, only one month after the official act for the Exposition was signed by President Harrison, Putnam expressed publicly in The Chicago Daily Tribune his interest in the creation of a permanent

collection for the city of Chicago that would focus on Native American populations from the past and present, with particular emphasis on the time of Columbus's "discovery" of America. In addition, Putnam's address focused on the importance of the exhibition's contribution to science, its historical associations (connecting it to the fair's overriding program of "development" and "progress"), and the subsequent plan for a permanent museum for the city of Chicago:

To all who visited the World's Fair at Paris last year, the Ethnographical Department proved to be one of great attraction, and the study of man as he has been in the past and as he is in the present in distant countries was made possible by object lessons of the greatest interest. In this connection cannot Chicago secure and place in the Exposition a perfect ethnographical exhibition of past and present peoples of America and thus make an important contribution to science, which at the same time will be appropriate, as it will be the first bringing together on a grand scale of representatives of the peoples who were living on the continent when it was discovered by Columbus and by including as thorough a representation of prehistoric times as possible, the stages of development of man (sic) on the American continent could be spread out like an open book from which all could read. Further than this, such a collection would form a grand beginning for a permanent ethnological museum which would grow in importance and value as time goes on and the present American tribes are absorbed by the peoples of the several republics, an absorption which is taking place quite rapidly. Such an exhibition to be worthy of the name and of the city, and placed in a permanent building, would cost several hundred thousand dollars, and if it should be contemplated, not a day should be lost (Putnam quoted in Dexter 1966:316).

The sense of urgency expressed by Putnam seems to refer not only to the collection of Native American artifacts - relating to the notion of the "Vanishing Indian" and the need to collect and preserve their cultural objects - but also to the financial

commitments that had to be secured in order to carry out the project.<sup>2</sup>

Putnam, as a scientist with a strong background in the development of museums and museum collections, recognized the opportunity the fair afforded him to obtain solid financial backing to prepare the "ideal ethnographical exhibition" through a comprehensive program of fieldwork and collection. The opportunity to literally create a collection on his own terms meant that Putnam's proposed ethnographical display at the fair had a very real potential to become the most "complete" and "comprehensive" collection of its kind in America. However, in order to secure support for his project, Putnam was faced with certain compromises: in this first public appeal, Putnam stressed the exhibition's potential for education, illustrating the "development of man (sic) on the American continent." By including these references, Putnam sought to create a place for the ethnographic display within the context of the fair's ideological program - thus underlining a "need" for its inclusion.

His public appeal in the Chicago Tribune was only the first of

---

<sup>2</sup> The "Vanishing Indian" refers to the ideological construct of the inevitable disappearance of Native cultures, which fuelled a need - felt on the part of many Americans - to collect and preserve anything associated with Native American cultures before it was "too late" (Dippie 1982).



many newspaper accounts dealing with the plan for the establishment of an Ethnological department at the Columbian Exposition, and the development of a permanent museum commemorating the event. It underlined the importance of Putnam's role in planting the seed in the minds of Chicago's economic and industrial leaders. His public statement served both collective and personal interests: collectively it secured interest and money for his plan for the exposition, and marked the starting point for a four-year campaign to secure a permanent museum in Chicago; personally, it solidified his role in the fulfilment of both projects.

Over the next few months leading up to the realization of the Exposition, and the development of the Field Columbian Museum, Putnam's role proved to be pivotal. Putnam's public campaign, his alliance with Chicago's leading citizens, and his comprehensive agenda for collection not only fuelled the development of the permanent collection, but established at an early stage a solid partnership between the museum and its financial backers. Such a partnership was not foreign to Putnam. In fact, his comprehensive agenda for collection, and his skill for the development of institutions - in collaboration with key financial backers - were the keys to his earlier successes, most notably at the Peabody Museum at Harvard.

Public interest in Putnam's initiative began in 1890, stemming

from his initial proposal for the development of an anthropological department at the fair. Over the next seven months leading to the declaration of the Exposition's official departments, a variety of reactions were voiced in the national press. In September of 1890, a reporter for the Boston Herald wrote that "one of the most interesting features of the World's Fair of 1892 at Chicago will probably be the American ethnographical exhibit under the direction of Prof. F.W. Putnam of Harvard." (quoted in Dexter 1966:318). Another article which appeared in the Chicago Tribune on September 16, 1890, expressed the opposite sentiment: that such an exhibition has no place within the World's Fair and that Putnam "mistakes the purpose of the fair." The author states that "if such an exhibition as this is needed it can be amply provided from the collection of the Smithsonian Institution" (quoted in Dexter 1966:318).

The polarized reactions appearing in the local and national newspapers are understandable. For many, the idea of spending money on the research and collection of specimens was seen as unnecessary when they could be lent by the National Museum, while for others this research was crucial to create a lasting cultural institution for the city of Chicago. The common denominator to these contested points of view is the assumption that collections of Native American objects were their "property" to be used in constructing and legitimating Euro-American institutions. The Board of Directors of the World's Columbian Exposition agreed

with Putnam: in December 1890, Department M became one of the official departments for the fair (Johnson 1987:II:316).

Although it did cover a broad range of topics - including Archaeology, History, Cartography, the Latin-American Bureau, and the Collective and Isolated Exhibits - Department M proved to be an extremely important step for the development of American Anthropology. Not only was it the first time that the sciences of archaeology and ethnology were included in an official department at a world's fair, it was the first time that the term "Anthropology" was used to refer to the entire spectrum of the discipline.<sup>3</sup> This action on the part of Putnam served to introduce a new term - and a new science - to the American public. Additionally, it closed the gap between the name "Putnam" and the discipline of "Anthropology" in the minds of the scientific community: Putnam was clearly setting himself up as the founder of American Anthropology. It was now time for Putnam to begin to carry out his much anticipated plan for the fair, and to establish the framework within which his "new" science would operate.

Putnam officially accepted his appointment as Chief of Department M on February 13, 1891, one month after the position was offered to him by George R. Davis, then Director-General of the World's

---

<sup>3</sup> The separate Anthropological Building was originally to be called the "Educational Building" (Dexter 1966:323)

Columbian Exposition. In their original negotiations regarding the position, Putnam outlined his plans for the department. In addition to his condition that the Directory should "appropriate sufficient money for original research and exploration...to bring together as much new scientific material as the time would permit," Putnam also expressed his wish for the development of a permanent museum (Johnson 1897:II:316).

In his monthly report to Davis from December 1891, Putnam refers to their original meeting and the conditions under which he accepted the position, namely that the exhibition would include funded research and field collection, and that a permanent museum for Chicago would be the result of Putnam's work:

You will remember that in our first conversation relating to my appointment as Chief of the Ethnological Department, I stated that I could not afford to give my time simply to establish a tableau of six months duration, but if the exposition would give me the opportunity to advance science by bringing together a thoroughly scientific collection worthy of the country and creditable to myself, I would take the position with the hope and belief that a permanent museum in Chicago would be the result and that therefore my labors of nearly three years would not be lost - I consider it of the first importance that this permanent museum should be established at an early date, as it will then be understood by exhibitors and promoters of the exposition that many exhibits will remain permanently in Chicago (Putnam in Dexter 1970:24).

This recollection of a specific negotiation concerning Putnam's involvement with the fair, and the parameters within which he was willing to work, is important for two reasons: upon accepting these conditions, Davis indicates his (and the Directory's) early support for Putnam's plans; and, second, it underlines a strong

allegiance to Putnam himself. Putnam had a great deal to offer. Not only could he provide the scientific and intellectual know-how to carry out such a project successfully, Putnam also exhibited great drive and passion for this project in particular - one he had been promoting himself for almost a year. Putnam's involvement with the development of American anthropology museums extends to the period before his involvement with Chicago's Columbian Exposition, and continued after the establishment of the Field Columbian Museum. In 1894 he became curator of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, and in 1903 he became the Director of the Anthropological Museum at the University of California at Berkeley (Dexter 1966:154).

### Chapter Three

In order to reconstruct the displays of Department M, a variety of sources have been utilized. In particular, two sources published by the Exposition's Department of Publicity and Promotions proved valuable in compiling the information. Headed by journalist Moses P. Handy, the Department of Publicity and Promotions developed a variety of written materials for each of the Departments. Particularly useful were the original "Plan and Classification" for Department M, published in 1892, and an edition of the "Official Catalogue" for the department, published in 1893. These sources will be supplemented by newspaper and periodical accounts which circulated at the time of the fair, as well as detailed descriptive information taken from Johnson's History of the World's Columbian Exposition (1897) and Hubert H. Bancroft's Book of the Fair (1893).

Although the focus of this chapter will be specifically to outline the Anthropological Building and outdoor ethnographic displays of Department M - in terms of the scope of the project as a whole and the way in which the collection was formed - these must be seen as existing within a larger framework. Thus, the Anthropological Building and the outdoor ethnographic display will be explored first as they relate to other sections included under the rubric of Department M - the Midway Plaisance and Isolated Exhibits - and second in relation to specific governmental exhibits presented at the fair - the Smithsonian

Institution's Ethnological Hall, located in the Government Building, and the Department of the Interior's Model Indian School, situated alongside the outdoor display. This comparative analysis will reveal part of the complex web of agendas and ideological approaches that co-existed within the confines of the fair, and the way in which these components come together within the context of the overall ideological framework of the Columbian Exposition. Finally, I will present a comparison between the "cultural relativist" methods employed by Putnam in Department M and the approach taken up by Mason in the Ethnological Hall of the Government Building.

In the original "Plan and Classification" for Department M, Putnam outlined the structure of the department "as determined by the National Commission" (Putnam and Davis 1892:3).<sup>4</sup> Each section was defined within the publication. In essence, the "Plan and Classification" served as a solid introduction to the general plan and scope of the department. On another level, it sought to solicit direct support from the private sector for the development of the project. The following excerpt illustrates Putnam's efforts to facilitate the implementation of his plan:

The following summary of the several sections into which the department is subdivided, in order to facilitate the work of bringing together and arranging the exhibition as a whole, briefly describes the plan of the department. It also shows wherein the cooperation of foreign governments, of state boards and

---

<sup>4</sup> Although it appears that the "Plan and Classification" was written by Putnam, it was signed by both Putnam and Davis.

of individual exhibitors is specially needed in order to make the exhibitions in every way worthy of the occasion and of importance to science and education (Putnam and Davis 1892:4).

Putnam goes further to specifically signal private collectors for their involvement in the formation of the department's exhibition. Under the heading "Plan and Scope of Department M," Putnam explained the way in which objects and collections were to be secured for the exhibition:

By means of special research in different parts of America, under the direction of the Chief of the department, important scientific collections in the ethnological and archaeological sections of this department will be brought together. While a large amount of valuable material will be secured this way, it is hoped that every state board, and many historical and scientific societies, as well as owners of private collections, will join in this educational exhibit, that a full and effective illustration may be presented of the present status of American archaeology and ethnology (Putnam and Davis 1892:5).

The direct involvement of private collectors in addition to state boards, and historical and scientific societies, is important for two reasons. First, the inclusion of their collections indicates an interest on their part in the type of display presented and the ideological message it conveyed; and second, their monetary support ensured direct involvement in the collection policies developed by Putnam in regards to the department's original fieldwork. Putnam's agenda to create an historically significant and comprehensive collection of Native American artifacts will be revealed as central to the interests of these private collectors.

Department M was originally to be housed within the Manufactures



and Liberal Arts Building, but, due to space constraints caused by the expanding program of the exhibit, it was relocated to its own building in the Southeastern section of the fair grounds (appendix I:figure 2). As noted by Douglas Cole in his 1985 book Captured Heritage, the relocation caused numerous problems for Putnam and his department. Delays in the construction and installation plagued the set up of Department M, and the exhibit would not be open to the public until early July, nine weeks after the fair had opened (1985:125-6).

As noted by a journalist from the Chicago Daily Tribune on July 2, 1893, the exhibit, although open to the public at this time, was still not complete:

It will be well into July before it be fully ready for inspection. This is not the fault of Chief Putnam nor of his exhibitors, but of the Construction Department. The exhibits have been on hand for many months, exposed to injury in many ways, while the building itself at a snail's pace crept onward towards completion. So long and so exasperating had been the delay that Chief Putnam decided last week that he would bar out the public no longer, and threw open his doors to the eager crowd to see what they could. During the whole week, in spite of noise, dirt, and confusion, and of the fact that the exhibits were not one-half ready, the building has been almost packed with visitors (Anonymous 1893e).

One early report in fact predicted that the Anthropology Building had "the most promise of being a failure" and was considered "likely to be overlooked by nine out of every ten visitors." This projection from the New York Times of May 22, 1893 (Anonymous 1893d) referred to the department's delay in completion and its inaccessibility.

Such public attacks on the Anthropology Building stemmed in part from an overall cynicism articulated in the national press towards Chicago and its ability to carry out such a project successfully. These reports may also reflect an underlying resistance on the part of powerful and established Easterners to recognize Chicago's emerging institutional position. However, despite the early problems faced by Putnam and his department, and such grim predictions circulating in the popular press, the Anthropology Building received wide public attention and, when the fair was over, was seen to be a success.

The "Official Catalogue" for Department M was prepared by Putnam and distributed by the Department of Publicity and Promotions. It contained a detailed listing of the Anthropological Building, the Midway Plaisance and Isolated Exhibits. The Midway Plaisance was located on a strip of land adjoining the fair grounds, and was set up as the "entertainment section" of the fair. A variety of concessions were located here, including Persian, Japanese and Indian bazaars, a Moorish Palace, an Algerian Theatre, Sitting Bull's Log Cabin, the Ferris Wheel, and the "Streets of Cairo" which included over sixty shops - as well as camel and donkey rides (Badger 1979:107-8). Other "Isolated Exhibits" included an "Eskimo" Village, a Viking Ship, and the Cliff-Dwellers exhibit (Johnson 1897:II:333).

According to Johnson, the Midway Plaisance and Isolated Exhibits

were included in Department M "merely for classification" and "had no direct connection with it" (Johnson 1897:II:333). In fact, although the Midway Plaisance was officially placed under the jurisdiction of Putnam and Department M, Sol Bloom, a promoter from San Francisco, was appointed as Manager of the concessions. Bloom later reminisced:

The Midway Plaisance...had been placed under the direction of the chief of the Department of Ethnology, a distinguished educator and scientist who was a professor at Harvard University. There never was any question about Professor Putnam's qualifications as head of the ethnological section, but to have made this unhappy gentleman responsible for the establishment of a successful venture in the field of entertainment was about as intelligent a decision as it would be today to make Albert Einstein manager of the Ringling Brothers and Barnum and Bailey Circus (Bloom 1948:119).

Bloom had complete charge of the Midway, answering directly to Daniel Burnham, Director of Works for the Columbian Exposition (Bloom 1948:120). The conscious separation of the "amusement" section of the fair from the anthropological display is suggestive, indicating an effort to maintain a more "serious" tone for Department M: by removing it both intellectually and spatially from the "carnavalesque" section of the Midway Plaisance, Department M could more readily project an image grounded solidly within the confines of "science" and "education."

Putnam appointed Franz Boas as Chief Assistant in charge of the Laboratories of Physical Anthropology and Ethnology. Working with Boas were "fifty-five volunteer field assistants (mostly from

universities in different parts of the country) who collected material for the sections of Physical Anthropology and Ethnology" (Johnson 1897:II:317). Johnson states that twenty more assistants "were engaged for special ethnological, archaeological and historical work for the department, under special agreements" (Johnson 1897:II:317). In addition, six other key assistants were appointed, each in charge of a particular section of the department: Dr. Joseph Jastrow, Laboratory of Psychology; Dr. H.H. Donaldson, Laboratory of Neurology; Stewart Culin, Ancient Religions, Games and Folklore; George A. Dorsey, South American Archaeology and Ethnology; John Bidlake, Isolated Exhibits and Midway Plaisance; and C. Staniland Wake, Library (Johnson 1897:II:317). I have included this information in order to underline the extensive network of professionals from the scientific community needed to facilitate such a project. Each of these assistants, both regular and volunteer, received instruction directly from Putnam or, in his absence, from Boas (Johnson 1897:II:319).

Putnam's instructions for the collection of materials for the archaeological and ethnological exhibitions were comprehensive and systematic, and were designed to provide visitors with a view of Native habitations and of actual Native peoples themselves:

The Department of Ethnology has planned a comprehensive ethnographic exhibit which is intended to present a picture of the actual home life of the native peoples in different parts of America. In accordance with this plan, arrangements have been made to bring to Chicago a number of representatives of several tribes, who,

dressed in their native costumes, will live in their native dwellings, surrounded by their utensils, implements, weapons, etc., and carry on their characteristic industries of pottery making, basket weaving, etc.

In connection with this ethnographical exhibit all assistants of the department among the native peoples are requested to give as much time as possible to the collection of objects illustrative of each tribe they may visit. For this purpose it is very desirable that a characteristic aboriginal dwelling of each tribe shall be secured, with all the appurtenances. Particular attention should be paid to the fact that the most important things to be collected are those of genuine native manufacture, and especially those objects connected with olden times. Objects traded to the natives by the whites are of no importance, and are not desired; the plan being to secure such a complete collection from each tribe as will illustrate the condition and mode of life of the tribe before contact with Europeans (Putnam in Johnson 1897:II:319).

This emphasis on a wide range of materials was designed to facilitate "exact reconstructions" of Native American habitations, with the aim of creating a microcosmic community within the confines of the fair grounds. By focusing specifically on objects of "genuine native manufacture," and especially those "connected with olden times," the exhibit served to de-historicize Native American cultures, removing them from time.

The methods of field collection laid out by Putnam were designed to facilitate a comprehensive display, and to maintain complete documentation of each article collected:

Every object should be carefully labelled, giving the full statement of its use, and, if possible, its method of manufacture. Specimens of the crude material, showing various stages of manufacture, should also be placed with the object when possible. All these objects should be carefully packed in strong boxes and forwarded to Chicago (Putnam in Johnson 1897:II:319).

This attention to detail was typical of Putnam's approach. The carefully outlined methods of collection and the meticulous documentation ensured that Putnam's exhibit in Department M would be seen as having both historical and scientific merit in terms of its full account of American anthropology, and would not be viewed simply as an irrelevant "cabinet of curiosity." <sup>5</sup>

However, despite the careful scientific agenda set forth by Putnam - in terms of the collection and documentation of Native American artifacts - the exhibit still developed within the context of a larger agenda based on the accumulation of objects. In this respect, Department M very much resembled a "cabinet of curiosity." The display in the Anthropology Building - titled "Man and His Works" - covered more than 100,000 square feet devoted to archaeological and ethnological exhibits (appendix I: fig.3). The exhibition included ethnographic material collected during the fair's funded expeditions, as well as material donated by state boards, private collectors and foreign countries. Hence, the range of material secured by Putnam for the final exhibit was overwhelming, much larger than originally anticipated. Putnam's original aim was to present an exhibition revealing the "status of American archaeology and ethnology", but the final result was a somewhat jumbled display including a great amount of

---

<sup>5</sup> "Cabinet of curiosity" is the term for private collections of European Gentlemen of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. These cabinets consisted of an array of "curious" objects, including both artifacts and natural history specimens.

ethnographic material from all over the world (Putnam and Davis 1892:5). Thus, two related agendas are discernable in the development of Department M: one based on documentation and classification and another based on accumulation and possession.

Located on a strip of land along the South Pond of the Exposition grounds, the Outdoor Ethnographic Display included several groups of Native Americans living in constructions designed to represent their Native habitats and surroundings (appendix I:fig.4). These displays were the quintessential examples of the "cultural relativist" framework which Putnam and Boas were promoting: each Native community was set up independently in what was described as "their own houses, dressed in their native costumes and surrounded by their own utensils, implements, weapons and results of their own handiwork" (Putnam in Hinsley 1990:347).

As Boas stated in a September 1893 article in The Cosmopolitan, the "meaning" of the ethnological specimens was "made clearer by the presence of (this) small colony of Indians" (Boas 1893:609). Putnam, like Boas, felt that the outdoor exhibition would "prove of the greatest popular interest" and be seen as "essential and appropriate" in terms of both the occasion and his agenda for the introduction of a "new" anthropology to the American public (Putnam in Hinsley 1990:347). On these terms, Department M was successful: the exhibition received a great amount of public attention, from descriptive accounts appearing in magazines and

periodicals such as Popular Science, American Antiquarian and The Cosmopolitan, to newspaper and popular press accounts published before and during the fair. Of all the features of Department M, the outdoor display received the greatest amount of press attention.

Much information can be drawn from these primary sources in regards to the scope of the display and its structural format. An article from the April 12, 1893 edition of the Chicago Daily Tribune, entitled "Quackuhls (sic) Are Here," provides a description of the outdoor display's spatial configuration and places the display within the specific ideological framework of Native peoples so-called "progress" towards "civilization:"

It (the Outdoor display) will be one of the steps in "The March of the Aborigine to Civilization"...typified by the government school house, which is at one end of the exhibit. Next comes the Esquimau village, and then, in order, Crees from Manitoba, Penobscots from Maine, Iroquois from New York, Quackuhls, Chippewas from Minnesota, Winnebagos from Wisconsin, Sioux, Blackfeet, Nez Perces, and other tribes from the far West. The come South American natives - Arrawacs and Savannah Indians from British Guinea and natiyes from Bolivia and other States (Anonymous 1893a).

Outlined by Putnam, the outdoor display was specifically designed to "bring together the remnants of the native tribes" in order to afford a "last opportunity for the world to see them and realize what their condition, their life, their customs, their arts were four centuries ago" (Putnam in Hinsley 1990:347). At the same

---

<sup>6</sup> The reference in the article's title to "Quackuhls" refers to the Kwakwaka' wakw (Kwagiulth) Nation of the Northwest Coast.



time, Putnam was aware of the fair's ideological program based on notions of "progress" and "civilization" and how his exhibition served to nurture these ideas.

Putnam's stated methods grounded Department M's outdoor display solidly within the framework of "ethnographic salvage," a nineteenth century intellectual paradigm stemming from a perceived sense of urgency to collect and preserve the "remnants" of disappearing cultures. As stated by Gruber, "this tradition of salvage...and the concepts and methodology that flowed from it imbued anthropology with much of its early character" (Gruber 1970:1290). Central to the approach taken up by Putnam and Boas was a stated interest in "genuine" objects "from olden times." The "salvage" project reflected in these exhibitions functioned as a way of capturing some notion of the past, freezing and de-historicizing Native American cultures, thus removing them from time.

Anthropologist Virginia Dominguez's general statement on the collection of Native American objects underlines the way in which collections like those of Putnam and Boas operated in terms of both Chicago's Columbian Exposition and the subsequent permanent museum:

Each act of selecting items, selecting peoples from whom to collect, electing or not electing to elicit information on the detailed history of each item, their producers, users, and owners, choosing items for public display in exhibitions, and organizing those displays was an act of creation. The interest in collecting

those items for storage and display came not from the Indians themselves but from the Americans and Europeans...The idea that tradition or heritage was manifest in material objects was of Euro-American origin (1986:550).

The "new" approach to display utilized in the Columbian Exposition's outdoor ethnographic constructions reflected a careful and deliberate construction of heritage, designed to reflect the state of Native American peoples at the time of Columbus. It became one of the reference points for Euro-Americans to demonstrate the four centuries of "progress" associated with Columbus's quadricentennial.

The model Indian School, set up by the United States government through the Department of the Interior, provided a strong ideological foil to Putnam's outdoor display, due to its close proximity (appendix I:fig.5). The spatial relationship facilitated an evolutionist reading of the outdoor display, suggesting a sequence or temporal scale with which one could ultimately measure the "progress" of Native Americans towards "civilization" (Hinsley 1990). This reading was in direct conflict with Putnam and Boas's intentions in constructing the outdoor display. Based on cultural relativist ideals, the outdoor display was intended to reflect an "allochronic" structure, removing Native American cultures from time, thus negating developmental comparisons or judgements.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> see Johannes Fabian's 1983 study Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object.

A May 16, 1893 article from the Chicago Inter Ocean expressed the object of the exhibit, referring to a statement by S.B.

Whittington, the Superintendent of the Model Indian school:

...to show what progress has been made in educating the indians (sic) to fit them for useful occupations. They will continue their mental as well as manual training while on the grounds, but especial attention will be given to showing the progress which they have made in the useful arts (Anonymous 1893f).

As reiterated by historian H. Bancroft, this exhibit of the "civilized Indian" was designed to illustrate the "progress" of the "nation's proteges" (Bancroft 1893:631). The model Indian school, prepared by the U.S. Department of the Interior and headed by Whittington, presented the government agency's contemporary model: as Native American cultures were relegated to the past and slotted comfortably into the museum context, Native American peoples were to be assimilated into the framework of modern America.

The "assimilation" stage fit neatly within the Exposition's ideological framework, which not only stressed the "progress of civilization" over the past four centuries, but looked optimistically towards the future, to a unified and thoroughly modern America. Although these ideas do not reflect Putnam's approach, the outdoor ethnographic display became central to this construction, through the juxtaposition of the outdoor ethnographic display and the U.S. Department of the Interior's model Indian school (appendix I:fig.1). The "official" program of "progress" and "assimilation" tended to override the multiple

anthropological agendas discernable at the fair. To a certain degree, the ideological rift that existed between Mason's evolutionary model and Putnam and Boas's cultural relativist model was smoothed over by this overriding frame of assimilation in the paradigm of "progress."

Through his writing, Boas sought to reestablish the distinctions that existed between Department M and the other ideological approaches represented at the fair. In a September 1893 article in The Cosmopolitan, Boas presented an overview of the exhibition prepared by the Department of Ethnology, through a direct comparison between two "models" of display:

At great expositions the achievements of individuals and of nations may be set forth in two ways, either by competitive exhibits, in which each individual and each country endeavors to show to best advantage the points of eminence of its products; or by selected exhibits, which are arranged with a view of giving a systematic series of exhibits covering a certain field. The latter method gives the best result for the student of the history of civilization...it is the museum method (Boas 1893:607).

The implementation of selected and systematic exhibits was seen by Boas as the "distinctive feature" of Department M, placing it in direct contrast to those prepared by other departments, namely the Ethnological Hall in the Government Building (appendix I: fig.6). A comparison between the methods employed by Putnam and Boas in Department M with those employed by Otis T. Mason in the Ethnological Hall of the Government Building will reiterate the ideological conflict that arose between the two groups of scientists.

Mason was curator of Ethnology at the United States National Museum, and was responsible for the ethnographic exhibit included in the Government Building. Throughout his career, Mason displayed meticulous attention to the classification of Native American societies. In 1879 he worked with the Bureau of American Ethnology and recorded thousands of names for the "Handbook of American Indians" (Hough 1908:664).

In his paper, "Ethnological Exhibit of the Smithsonian Institution at the World's Columbian Exposition," Mason outlined the main agenda behind the institution's representation: "to bring together the results of the labors of men connected with the Smithsonian Institution" (Mason 1894:211). An enlarged map prepared by Major John Wesley Powell formed the basis of the Ethnological Hall's exhibition, classifying Native American cultures according to "linguistic stocks:"

Of the fifty-seven linguistic stocks the great majority of them are represented now by a very small number of individuals who have lost their own connection with their ancient aboriginal life...at the time of discovery the North American continent was inhabited by Indians speaking a few great families of languages. These are, in alphabetical order, the Algonquian, Athapaskan, Eskimauan, Iroquoian, Keresan, Kiowan, Koluschan, Muskogean, Piman, Salishan, Siouan, Skittagetan, Tanoan, Wakashan, Yuman, Zunian (Mason 1894:211).

Powell was the Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology and was closely affiliated with Mason and the Washington circle. In his 1981 book Savages and Scientists, Hinsley outlines this alliance: "Powell's map, the culmination of that work opportunely

published in 1891, furnished the stimulus and organizing principle for his (Mason's) efforts. Mason's goal at Chicago was to honor Powell, the map, and American anthropology" (Hinsley 1981:110).

The seventeen groups Mason chose to represent - selected to correspond to Powell's map and its language group classification system - were set up in "life group" arrangements, in which life size models of Native Americans were exhibited "each in the peculiar costume of his nation" in active and interactive poses (Johnson 1897:III:505). The implementation of the "life group" exhibits evolved out of the single life-size wax figures that had been used periodically at the Smithsonian Institution in the 1870's. At that time, they were strictly experimental displays which were not incorporated into the permanent exhibition (Hinsley 1981:108). Single figures had been used to display costumes in the Smithsonian exhibits at the Philadelphia World's Fair of 1876, but "only in 1893 were groups of such costumed figures arranged in dramatic scenes from daily life and ritual" (Jacknis 1985:81). According to Hinsley, the display at the Columbian Exposition set a precedent which continued as a mainstay in museum display technique: "after Chicago virtually every government anthropology exhibit featured primitive peoples working and playing in appropriately naturalistic environments" (Hinsley 1981:109).

However, the "life group" was not an American invention. Hinsley suggests that the implementation of the "life group" into the Smithsonian Institution's exhibits was a direct result of Mason's trip to Europe in 1889, where he saw similarly structured displays at the British Museum (Hinsley 1981:109). Mason's tour of Europe also brought him in contact with a variety of museum display methods. He visited the 1889 Paris Exposition Universelle, where he was struck by the ethnographic villages set up along the Seine. These were seen by Mason as illustrative of the "evolution" of human cultures (Hinsley 1981:109-10). In addition, Mason's visits to museums in London, Oxford and Dresden served to underline his belief in the importance of the developmental approach, further confirming his support of the evolutionary arrangements (Hinsley 1981:109-10).

The Government's Ethnological Hall at the World's Columbian Exposition included several display cases set up according to "typologies," where like objects were grouped together with very little regard to cultural distinctions. These types of displays were more in keeping with Mason's approach at the National Museum, directly reflecting his alliance with contemporary theories of historical evolutionism. Mason's overall approach to other cultures, as pointed out by Franz Boas in an 1887 article from Science magazine, was "to classify human inventions and other ethnological phenomena in the light of biological specimens," underlining his belief in a close connection between

racess, the character of the artifacts, and the environment (Boas 1887:485).

This type of object classification had an important history in the United States. The notions of "progress" and "development" associated with evolutionist thought were central to the government's assimilation project. The General Allotment Act, or the Dawes Act - passed in 1887 - was designed to affect rapid assimilation of Native Americans. A rigorous educational agenda became the new government objective, designed to "transform" the "Indians" into "civilized" Americans. The government policy was reiterated at the Columbian Exposition through the Model Indian School, which was seen to represent the final stage in the "March of the Aborigines to Civilization" (fig.5). It was Boas and Putnam who sought to challenge the government's evolutionist and assimilationist model through the assertion and institutionalization of the cultural relativist approach.

The motivations behind the development of Department M reflect a clear connection between the fair, the introduction of anthropology, and the larger cultural (or museum) movement that was taking place in the late nineteenth century. As explained by Dominguez, those involved with the development of these institutions were "caught up in the discourse of an educated elite Euro-American community that grew to assume the value of museum collections and the 'civilized world's' duty to develop



and maintain them" (1986:548). At the same time, the newly-defined discourse of anthropology "carried with it its own momentum" in regards to its connection to a "shifting conceptualization" of man (1986:548). The accumulation of objects from other cultures was tied directly to a specific "historical consciousness" where objects were collected "as a metonym for the people who produced them..." (Dominguez 1986:548). Native Americans became a reference point for Euro-Americans to understand their own "historical trajectory" (Dominguez 1986:548).

The difference between the two ideological approaches to the display of Native Americans is an important part of the construction of Chicago's Columbian Exposition. The assertion of a "new" science based on methods distinct from those employed by Mason and the Washington institution served to construct a new image for the city of Chicago, endowing it with "cultural status," and a level of autonomy within the scientific and economic communities. The Columbian Exposition and Department M became the first steps towards placing Chicago on the "cultural map." The introduction of such cultural institutions grounded the city of Chicago solidly within the ideological framework of American modernization, and, at the same time, the viable "museum model" highlighted in the department effectively challenged the methodological monopoly held by Mason and the Washington circle. By looking closely at how the collection came about, the possible

interests of the individuals involved, and the subsequent display (the way in which the collection was presented to the public), the varied histories associated with Department M begin to emerge.

#### Chapter Four

In the article "Chicago's Entertainment of Distinguished Visitors," published in the September 1893 edition of The Cosmopolitan, Hobart C. Chatfield-Taylor refers to the Columbian Exposition as the singular event which established a new image for the city of Chicago:

With the dedication ceremonies of the World's Columbian exposition in last October young Chicago made her debut in the society of the world. Previous to that time she had been looked upon as a vigorous - though somewhat uncouth - exponent of western energy, whose efforts were characterized by the boisterousness of untrammelled youth rather than by the repose and grace of well-bred maturity. In October she appeared to the world as its hostess, and by her dignified performance of the arduous duties the occasion demanded she won the admiration of her guests and demonstrated her almost inherent knowledge of social amenities (1893:600).

Chicago's "debut" was carefully orchestrated by the city's leading citizens to establish their position as economic and cultural leaders within the United States. The Columbian Exposition, launched directly from their initiative, provided the catalyst to achieve this goal, in terms of its international exposure and its relation to the development of the Field Columbian Museum in 1894.

It was in the latter half of the nineteenth century that the development of "culture" was a definite agenda in the minds of Chicago's citizens. In her 1976 book Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917, Helen Lefkowitz-Horowitz looks closely at how the "economic opportunities of an expanding and industrializing nation"

facilitated a cultural transformation in the city of Chicago, and, at the same time, "effectively challenged the authority of the old governing elite" (1976:2). In the late nineteenth century, the city of Chicago - a "new city built on the foundations of commerce and industry" - demonstrated a calculated program of cultural development in order to establish its place within the larger cultural community (1976:28). Already a proven economic leader, this cultural initiative was the obvious next step: "As their (Chicago's) horizons had expanded, they increasingly compared their city to other great cities of the world. It was no longer enough to be economically powerful...the test it was forced to meet was the level of its culture" (Lefkowitz Horowitz 1976:85).

In the previous chapters, I have outlined how the development of Department M was part of a specific agenda to secure a collection for the city of Chicago, in order to form the nucleus of a permanent museum. Beginning with Putnam and William R. Baker, the President of the World's Columbian Exposition, I will look closely at the campaign directly related to the museum agenda and how it was targeted towards Chicago's business and economic leaders. This will further outline the scope of this cultural alliance and its key players on the economic front. Edward Everett Ayer, a Chicago lumber magnate, will be revealed as the most influential player in this alliance, not only in terms of his contribution to Department M through the inclusion of his

collection of Native American artifacts, but also through his drive to promote and fund the museum idea within the commercial circle. Finally, I will outline the larger framework within which the Field Columbian Museum developed, as one of a number of institutional projects which were established in Chicago in the late nineteenth century. These projects were designed to foster widespread cultural development, and raise the status of the city.

Baker publicly supported Putnam's plan in an April 18, 1891 article in the Chicago Times, wherein he confidently stated that "The museum will be built and the contents will be the nucleus of what I think is to become the greatest collection of its kind in the world" (quoted in Dexter 1970:22). In November 1891, Baker invited Putnam to speak before the Commercial Club on the subject of the development of a permanent museum - six months after Putnam's initial public proposal from the Chicago Tribune. The Commercial Club was one of many men's clubs that were formed in Chicago in the nineteenth century. These clubs - the Union League, the Iroquois, the Chicago, the Calumet, the Commercial and the University - were "social and semi-political organizations" which brought together members of Chicago's business community for a variety of purposes (Lefkowitz-Horowitz 1976:56). <sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> The names of two of these clubs - the "Iroquois" and the "Calumet" - are appropriated terms with direct associations with Native Americans. The Iroquois are a Native American group from the

According to Lefkowitz-Horowitz, the Commercial Club held a key position in the development of cultural institutions in Chicago, where "two-thirds of the men most active in cultural philanthropy [were] members" (1976:57). The monthly meetings of the Commercial Club served as forums in regards to the development of many cultural institutions: the Auditorium, the University of Chicago, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and the Field Columbian Museum (Lefkowitz-Horowitz 1976:57).

Putnam's efforts in regards to his association with the Commercial Club were directed towards making connections within Chicago's business circle, thereby securing solid financial support for the museum. In his address of April 28, 1891, Putnam reportedly asked for the citizens of Chicago to contribute \$1,000,000 for the realization of the museum (Dexter 1970:23). Baker himself "offered to contribute money and get others to do likewise" (Dexter 1970:22). He proved to be an important connection for Putnam: through Baker he was able to come in close contact with a number of Chicago's wealthiest citizens. In a letter to William E. Curtis, Putnam referred to his association with Baker in regards to the plan, and further stated that he "had the opportunity of talking over the matter with several wealthy men who have promised their assistance" (in Dexter 1970:22).

---

Eastern United States, and a "calumet" is a term for a ceremonial pipe.

This address before the Commercial Club received wide press coverage. In a December 5, 1891 article from the Chicago Tribune, the meeting was reported to be successful in establishing an alliance between the two fronts - Putnam and his potential financial backers:

The following concerning the proposed Columbian Memorial Museum was issued from the World's Fair headquarters yesterday by Pres. Baker of the Board of Directors and Chief Putnam of the Department of Archaeology and Ethnology: "The project for the Columbian Memorial Museum would now seem to be launched on the road to success - F.W. Putnam was especially asked by the Commercial Club to outline the character and scope of the proposed Art Museum (sic) at its recent banquet. Pres. Baker, Director-General Davis, and the World's Fair authorities generally are in accord with the plan and a united effort on the part of wealthy and influential citizens will be made to create the Memorial Museum upon such a scale as will make it an honor to Chicago" (in Dexter 1970:24).

As a result of first this meeting, members of the Commercial Club recommended that a committee be appointed to promote the idea further within the business community.

The first formal initiative was put forth at a meeting of the Directors of the Exposition, held August 11, 1893. At this meeting, the committee was formed "for the purpose of crystallizing community sentiment in favor of a museum" (Lockwood 1929:186). A call was issued to the wider community "to adopt measures in immediate aid of the project to establish in Chicago a great museum that shall be a fitting memorial of the World's Columbian Exposition and a permanent advantage and honor to the City" (quoted in Lockwood 1929:186). The museum was seen as a way

to establish a level of cultural status for the city of Chicago. The memorial museum was intended to "honour" Chicago, benefitting both the city and the founders of the project. One week after the meeting, "a hundred leading citizens" met in the Administration Building on the Exposition grounds, headed by Director-General George R. Davis. As a result of this initiative, a committee consisting of a handful of Chicago's leading businessmen was officially appointed. Although not on the original committee, Ayer was soon appointed to the committee, and began to working to secure a museum for the city of Chicago (Lockwood 1929:186).<sup>9</sup>

The following excerpt from Frank C. Lockwood's book The Life of Edward E. Ayer underlines the conscious effort on the part of the committee - from the first meeting - to form a museum that was recognized as both autonomous and distinct:

It was first proposed that the scope of the Columbian Historical Society be enlarged so that it might include the museum, but this suggestion was voted down for the reason that this society was incorporated in Washington. The next plan brought forward was to have the new organization operate under the charter of the Academy of Sciences of Chicago. This proposal, also, met with opposition, particularly from President H. N. Higinbotham, who spoke very earnestly in favor of "a new and strong organization, independent of educational institutions, locality, creed, or calling, strong enough to stand alone, and large enough to take in everything" (Lockwood 1929:186).

The museum was designed to stand alone, thoroughly independent

---

<sup>9</sup> The original committee consisted of the following: G.E. Adams, E.C. Hirsch, J.A. Roche, C.H. Harrison, S.C. Eastman, A.C. Bartlett, General A.C. McClurg, R. McMurdy, and C. Fitzsimmons. As stated by Lockwood, when General McClurg withdrew from the committee, Ayer was appointed as his replacement (1929:186).



from any existing local or national associations. Within the framework of American cultural institutions, Chicago planned to assert its position, and be seen on the same level but distinct from existing national institutions, thus elevating the status of Chicago from that of a frontier town to a metropolitan centre of influence, both economically and socially.

Edward Ayer was recognized as both a key supporter of the museum idea, as well as a major contributor to Department M. In a September 1893 article from Popular Science Monthly, Frederick Starr refers to Ayer's collection as one of the most "notable private collections illustrating the ethnography of our American Indians" to be included in the Anthropology Building:

Mr. Ayer's collection is from a larger range of peoples and represents quite fully the dress, implements, and arts of not only the plains tribes, but also of the peoples of the Northwest coast and of the Southwest. His collection of modern Pueblo pottery, the straw dresses of the California Indians, and the carved work from the Northwest coast, are of special interest (Starr 1893:610).

By the time of his involvement with Department M and Chicago's Columbian Exposition, Ayer had been collecting Native American artifacts, as well as a substantial amount of books about them, for over twenty years. Ayer's involvement at all levels of the project - from his position as Chairman of the Financial Committee of the Preliminary Organization to his appointment as the museum's first President - was pivotal. Many of Chicago's "leading captains of industry" were Ayer's intimate friends (Lockwood 1929:76). Thus, his role proved to be one of great

influence in driving the project to full realization in terms of securing both the initial interest among his peers and guaranteed financial commitments.

Edward Everett Ayer (appendix I:fig.7) was originally from Harvard, Illinois, where his father, Elbridge Ayer, ran a railroad hotel (Lockwood 1929:4). In April 1860, Ayer headed for California. Five months after leaving on his journey, he arrived in San Francisco and began working in the lumber industry - first at a woodyard, and later at a planing mill (Lockwood 1929:32-5). At the beginning of the Civil War, Ayer enlisted in the "cavalry company" and reported to the Presidio for duty (Lockwood 1929:36). Throughout the first years of his military career, Ayer was stationed in Tucson, Arizona, and travelled widely in the Southwest. In fact, when his military career was over, Ayer was said to have "compassed the whole circuit of the mountains and plains of the great West and Southwest" (Lockwood 1929:60). It was at this time that he developed an interest in the history and material culture of Native Americans.

In July 1864, Ayer returned to Illinois and began to build a successful career in the lumber industry (Lockwood 1929:59-60). At this time, Ayer was supplying railroad ties to both the Chicago and Northwest Railway Companies, and later to the Union

Pacific Railway Company (Lockwood 1929:66-69). <sup>10</sup> In the 1870s, Ayer opened a mill in Flagstaff, Arizona to supply ties and poles to the Mexican Central, Santa Fe and Atlantic and Pacific Railway Companies. As well, he set up lumber yards throughout the area to dispose of surplus wood (Lockwood 1929:93-95). In 1880, at a time when he was securely established as a leader in the lumber supply industry, Ayer moved from Harvard to Chicago where he joined the "new generation of business leaders" who resided in the city, and whose industries helped to create a solid and competitive place for Chicago within the national economy (Lefkowitz-Horowitz 1976:29).

Ayer's first interest in Native American materials began in 1860, during his travels across the Plains. While serving in the military, Ayer had "seen much of the Indians and had become deeply interested in everything that [pertained] to them" (Lockwood 1929:78). In 1871 Ayer travelled to Denver and Omaha where he "found large quantities of Indian paraphernalia for sale," including beadwork and buckskin clothing. It was at this time that he made his first acquisition, "enough to fill two bushel bags" (Lockwood 1929:78).

When Ayer returned to the Plains nine years later, he found that "everything pertaining to Indian life was much changed" (Lockwood

---

<sup>10</sup> By 1871, Ayer was selling almost 1 million ties per year (Lockwood 1929:73).

1929:78). Such changes resulted in part from the assimilation policies of the United States government, achieved through the displacement of Native Americans, land redistribution, residential school education, Westward expansion and Euro-American settlement.<sup>11</sup> The presumed necessity for "salvage" was the motivating factor behind Ayer's collecting practices. As biographer Lockwood uncritically noted: "His observant eye saw that aboriginal life in America would soon be a thing of the past, so he set diligently to work collecting Indian material, wherever it could be found" (Lockwood 1929:78-9). An agenda based on a belief that Native American cultures were disappearing and, therefore, needed to be "salvaged" and "preserved" was prevalent among Euro-Americans in the late nineteenth century, and propelled both professional and amateur collectors towards a widespread "scramble" for objects illustrative of Native American ethnicity.<sup>12</sup> A natural adjunct to Ayer's "scramble" to capture and record a "dying" race was the collection of books about Native Americans. Lockwood states that Ayer began to collect books about the same time as he began to buy "Indian paraphernalia" (1929:81). At his home in Chicago, Ayer built an "Indian Library" in which he kept his collection (Lockwood

---

<sup>11</sup> See Brian Dippie's 1982 study The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy.

<sup>12</sup> The term "scramble" comes from the title of Douglas Cole's 1985 study Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts.

1929:82).<sup>13</sup> This suggests that Ayer's collecting practices, on another level, served an educative function. Lacking a solid childhood education, Ayer regarded both his collections and his travels to be his "formal" education (Lockwood 1929:75).

Ayer travelled extensively throughout North America, adding to his collection whenever the opportunity arose: "He bought everything he could lay his hands on - blankets in many colors and designs, baskets of beautiful and curious weaves, and even three or four totem poles..." (Lockwood 1929:81). The Inside Passage Tour, popular in the late nineteenth century (Lee 1991:7), provided Ayer with the opportunity to amass a sizeable collection of Northwest Coast objects (Lockwood 1929:81).

Before moving to the exhibition halls of the Anthropology Building at the Columbian Exposition, and then the Field Columbian Museum, Ayer's collections were exhibited in his summer home at Lake Geneva, Illinois. In a converted bowling alley, Ayer displayed the "wealth of Indian material" for weekend guests (Lockwood 1929:80). When his collection was transferred to Department M, it was divided into three sections. Section 1 housed Ayer's archaeological materials, including "Mexican idols, copper implements, obsidian implements, etc. Stone pots, mortars

---

<sup>13</sup> In 1911, Ayer donated the contents of his "Indian Library" to the Newberry Library in Chicago (Lockwood 1929:156). Ayer was on the Board of Trustees for the library from its incorporation in 1892 the time of his donation (Lefkowitz-Horowitz 1976:231).

and implements from California and Colorado" (Putnam 1893:178). His ethnological exhibit from the Anthropology Building, classified as Section 51, was described as "Ethnological collections from various Indian tribes of North America, including a large collection of baskets, beadwork, costumes and ornaments" (Putnam 1893:180). In conjunction with the outdoor display, Section 248 included "two large totem poles from the northwest coast of America" from Ayer's collection (Putnam 1893:186). Until they became part of the Ethnographic "village" at the Columbian Exposition, the poles had been "piled up against the barn" at his summer home at Lake Geneva (Lockwood 1929:81).

In his 1985 book Captured Heritage, Douglas Cole refers to Ayer as the "businessman catalyst" in founding the museum (1985:165). Ayer recognized the potential to develop his collection into a permanent museum, as well as the opportunity to keep much of the material in Chicago at the close of the fair. The following excerpt reflects an urgency in terms of seizing the opportunity for the city:

During the fair, I often went to see the different collections and, indeed, studied everything very carefully; as a result I saw that there would be a tremendous amount of material from different countries, as well as from all parts of America, that could be secured at a minimum price at the end of the exposition. I had collected a good deal in the Americas and had already collected a little here and there in Europe during the several years that I had been going abroad, and I felt that the time had come to start a natural history museum in Chicago at the end of the World's Fair and that the opportunity should not be allowed to pass (Ayer quoted in Lockwood 1929:187).

As Chairman of the Financial Committee for the Preliminary Organization, Ayer promoted the idea in his circle of wealthy friends at "the various Chicago clubs...at the table and at card games" (Ayer quoted in Lockwood 1929:187). Ayer understood the role which he and other philanthropists needed to play in order to carry the project to a successful conclusion: "I began on all occasions to urge the importance of our getting material for a museum at the close of the World's Fair" (Ayer quoted in Lockwood 1929:187). This was clearly set up as a group effort for the betterment of the city, to achieve both personal and collective status. As stated by the committee at the outset, their ultimate goal was to build a museum that would be a "permanent advantage and honour to the City" (Davis, Higinbotham and Scott in Lockwood 1929:186).

In his account of the events associated with his quest for financial support, Ayer recognized Chicago department store magnate Marshall Field as key to the success of the project: "Of course Marshall Field was the richest man we had among us in those days, so during our fishing trips and on social occasions when I would meet Mr. Field I began to talk to him (and others did, too) about giving a million dollars to start with" (Ayer quoted in Lockwood 1929:187). One million dollars was the amount that the committee felt was necessary to start the museum. Without Marshall Field's involvement, the projected funds available were only two to three hundred thousand dollars (Ayer

quoted in Lockwood 1929:188). If the museum was not attainable due to lack of funds, it was suggested by the committee to buy as much material as possible and store it until the time when financial support was available. Ayer felt this was not a viable option, and suggested that, in the event that a museum was not possible, that the available material be divided between four local universities and colleges - the University of Chicago, Northwestern, Beloit College, and the University of Illinois - to create "four working collections" (Ayer quoted in Lockwood 1929:188). Ayer's allegiance to Chicago was clear: in his suggested alternate scenario, his own collection would be bequested to the University of Chicago. According to Ayer, Field's financial backing would be the deciding factor.

Although he had turned the committee's advancements down on many occasions, Ayer continued to try to secure Field's support. In urging Field to become involved, and offering to include his name as part of the museum's title, Ayer dramatically pointed out the far reaching educational affects the museum was assured to have, and the important role Field could play in this "epic" and "timeless" project: "You [Field] have an opportunity here that has been vouchsafed to very few people on earth. From the point of view of natural history you have the privilege of being the educational host to the untold millions of people who will follow us in the Mississippi Valley" (Ayer quoted in Lockwood 1929:190).



In his appeal to Field's ego, Ayer reveals his own understanding of the impact this project could have on the personal social status of those involved. In his plea to Field, Ayer refers to the late merchant A.T. Stewart who - although an important and powerful figure in his lifetime - left nothing as a lasting memorial, and therefore was no longer remembered: "Now, Marshall Field, you can sell dry goods until Hell freezes over; you can sell it on the ice until that melts; and in twenty-five years you will be just the figure A.T. Stewart is - absolutely forgotten" (Ayer quoted in Lockwood 1929:189). To have his name associated with the permanent museum would make the museum not only a fitting memorial to the Columbian Exposition and the city, but to Marshall Field. After many attempts, one of which included a guided tour of the fair grounds, Field agreed to put forward the money. In addition to his contribution of one million dollars, George Pullman and Harlow Higinbotham gave one hundred thousand a piece, and Ayer donated his collection "which was estimated to be worth a hundred thousand" (Ayer quoted in Lockwood 1929:190).

The Field Columbian Museum opened on June 2, 1894, housed in the Fine Arts Building of the Columbian Exposition. Ayer presided over the opening ceremony as the institution's first elected President (Lockwood 1929:191). At the close of the ceremonies, speaker Edward G. Mason praised the philanthropic efforts of the institution's founders, citing a commitment that extended far beyond monetary support:

To them it is not easy to render a fitting meed of praise. But they already have a reward in that consciousness of a grand deed grandly done, of which nothing can deprive them. This great creation is due to a munificence far more than princely. A prince can only give his people's money. These donors have given of their very own, freely, lavishly, for the good of their city and of their race. As we enter into their labors there enter with us the rejoicing shades of the philanthropists of all time to welcome this latest exemplification of the spirit of those who love their fellow men, and in their shining list will forever appear the names of the founders of the Field Columbian Museum (Mason quoted in Lockwood 1929:191-2).

The museum was central to a specific civic agenda, aimed at the betterment of the city of Chicago. It was consciously conceived by its benefactors "for the good of their city," thereby reflecting a need for a collective social status extending far beyond any personal initiatives. Ayer had stated that his own philanthropic efforts were motivated by a need to show "gratitude" to his "Maker...Country, and...fellow men" (Ayer quoted in Lockwood 1929:76). A distinct educative agenda "which would give the boy (sic) coming after...a better chance for an education" was also central to his efforts (Ayer quoted in Lockwood 1929:76).

The following excerpt from Lockwood's book places Ayer within a category of American business magnates who, through their philanthropic efforts, drew a clear connection between economic power and the development of cultural institutions:

Mr. Ayer belongs with that remarkable group of American business men - J.P. Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, Henry E. Huntington, and others of like calibre and taste - who, while exerting a masterful control over the material things of this world and inspiring and directing the

wills of countless other men in vast constructive enterprises, were able at the same time to rise above the lure of money and the slavery of business routine into the realm of ideas, of beauty, of culture (Lockwood 1929:280).

Ayer's contributions fit within the framework of the larger "cultural project" aimed at developing Chicago's role within America's social and cultural milieu. Ayer and the other business and economic leaders of the city used their financial clout to fuel the larger initiative of placing the city of Chicago on the "cultural map."

The Field Columbian Museum was only one part of this broad project, and the businessmen associated with the museum in its early years had interests that extended to other institutions. The trustees of the Field Columbian Museum - George Adams, Edward Ayer, Watson Blair, Harlow Higinbotham, Huntington Jackson, Chauncey Keep, Cyrus McCormick, George Manierre, Martin Ryerson and Albert Sprague II - were also key supporters of the recently formed Art Institute, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the Newberry Library, the Auditorium Association, the Crerar Library, as well as the World's Columbian Exposition (Lefkowitz-Horowitz 1976:230-34). These projects reflected a collective effort of cultural philanthropy, through which they sought to "transform Chicago into a fitting object of their intense loyalty...to be thought of as the best" (Lefkowitz-Horowitz 1976:84).

Andrew Carnegie, a well respected New York businessman and

cultural philanthropist, in a letter to Charles Hutchinson, congratulated the Chicago businessman on the collective efforts of philanthropy aimed specifically at the betterment of the city: "Our friend Mr. Ayer...filled me with interest and admiration for the good work a band of you - all cordial friends - are doing for Chicago" (Carnegie quoted in Lefkowitz-Horowitz 1976:46).

Carnegie's 1889 article "The Best Fields for Philanthropy" from the North American Review, provides a context for Chicago's efforts, outlining how such philanthropic efforts were perceived by him in the United States in the nineteenth century. Carnegie states that "surplus wealth" should be applied to specific projects aimed at the betterment of any given community: "Surplus wealth should be considered as a sacred trust, to be administered during the lives of its owners...for the best good of the community in which and from which it had been acquired" (Carnegie 1889:684). According to Carnegie, several "avenues" were appropriate for philanthropy, including the funding of such educational and public institutions.

Carnegie's article provides important contemporaneous insight into the confluent relationship that existed between economic and cultural endeavours in the nineteenth century - a relationship which was by no means particular to Chicago. However, this connection was particularly strong in Chicago, where a period of rapid economic growth through the latter half of the nineteenth century paralleled an equally rapid development of cultural

institutions. Chicago's major institutions were formed during this period: the Chicago Public Library (1873), the Art Institute of Chicago (1883), the Newberry Library (1887), the Auditorium and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra (1889), the University of Chicago (1889), the John Crerar Library (1894), and the Field Columbian Museum (1894) (Lefkowitz-Horowitz 1976:235-37). Until this time, the city was seen to be lacking "refinement and experience with culture" (Lewis 1983:29). Cultural philanthropy was a way to counteract this view, thus elevating the status of Chicago. Through such widespread cultural development, Chicago was able to compete on a "cultural" front with more established cities of the East.

### Conclusion

In his 1985 essay "Philanthropoids and Vanishing Cultures," anthropologist George W. Stocking Jr. explores the role of philanthropists in the development of the human sciences in the United States in the early part of the twentieth century. This essay is important in that it provides a "philanthropic model" which can be mapped onto the Chicago example, thus underlining the important role museums had in establishing a connection between anthropologists and their financial supporters: "Anthropologists had to turn to wealthy individual benefactors, and to a particular cultural institution - the museum - which was in turn supported largely by their benefaction" (Stocking 1985:113). Museums were the "most important single institutional employers of anthropologists" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Stocking 1985:114). Indeed, museums provided the initial institutional framework for a new American anthropology to assert its voice.

Stocking goes on to state that in the development of museum anthropology, the relationship between anthropologists and their financial backers was built upon "bridges [of] enlightened self-interest" (1985:113). Although this quote alludes to an exchange between these two factions, it is one that is seen primarily in terms of commodity values, where museum objects functioned as a "return on investment" (1985:113). While Stocking explains how this relationship benefitted anthropologists, the "return" is not

explored in terms of its role in fostering the development of a new social and cultural status for the benefactors.

In Chicago, the development of a framework for the assertion of cultural status began before the Field Columbian Museum was founded in 1894, during the initial planning stages for the World's Columbian Exposition. As outlined in preceding chapters, the fair provided the necessary venue for Chicago's business community to proclaim its position as one of national importance, both economically and culturally. The committees established to promote the idea recognized the important role the fair would have in terms of its effect on the development of Chicago's cultural identity. In fact, the fair was seen as the "critical moment" in the transformation of Chicago into a viable "cultural center" (Lefkowitz-Horowitz 1976:43).

Chicago's business leaders - the smallest but most powerful economic group in the city - were not "descendants from old and venerable families" but, like Edward Everett Ayer, were hard working entrepreneurs (Badger 1979:39). The cultural agenda set forth by this group was motivated by a need to elevate their status, both personally and collectively. Their associations with the Columbian Exposition, and later the Field Columbian Museum, facilitated this quest to "legitimize" their status.

The preceding chapters have outlined Putnam's central role in the

development of this "cultural alliance." In an 1894 letter to his colleague Edward H. Thompson, Putnam specifically addresses his relationship with Chicago's cultural philanthropists, in terms of the development of the Field Columbian Museum:

In Chicago, all would be drive and rush and largely sensational effects. This is what they are now after, and it is natural in a place which has started out with great hopes and plenty of money and a feeling that money will do anything. By and by they will realize that while money is an important factor in the work, it alone will not make a scientific institution (Putnam in Hinsley 1991:15).

This quote, according to anthropologist Curtis Hinsley, simply positioned Putnam as "a scientific voice in the commercial wilderness" (1991:15). I argue that this quote reveals much more. Through these words, Putnam demonstrated his reliance on private benefaction, as well as a frustration with its limitations. Initially, this confluent relationship was consciously promoted and exploited by Putnam. His association with the World's Columbian Exposition, and his subsequent role in the development of a permanent collection for Chicago, positioned Putnam within the framework of the larger cultural movement, and established his role as a key promoter of Chicago's "cultural alliance." However, while Putnam recognized the need to nurture the development of this relationship in the early stages of Chicago's institutional development, it is apparent from this quote that Putnam sought to move past this alliance, in order to reassert a "scientific" position - one perceived as distinct from existing governmental models, and free of such economic associations.



In Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, Pierre Bourdieu provides an analytical framework for the study of "culture" in terms of its relationship to economics and education. "Culture" is categorized as a particular form of "capital" - the others being economic, social and educational (Bourdieu 1984:12-13). Bourdieu looks closely at how social status is achieved through the acquisition of such "capital," and subsequently how notions of culture are developed, supported and legitimized within modern Western society.

The World's Columbian Exposition and the Field Columbian Museum served important roles in the construction of legitimacy for Chicago. The status of these institutions, reflected in their specific "educational" and "scientific" associations, in turn served to "legitimize" the social and cultural status of Chicago's business and economic leaders. What is revealed is the formation of an interdependency between the two factions, manifested in the form of a solid "cultural alliance." This alliance was formed at a crucial time in Chicago's transformation into one of the leading cities in the United States. According to Badger, the latter half of the nineteenth century was a time when Chicago became "conscious of itself" (1979:38). With this awakened consciousness came an interest in a "municipal identity" and a "commitment to more than economic progress" (Badger 1979:38). In terms of Bourdieu's equation, Chicago was a city built upon new commerce and business opportunity ("economic

capital") striving to gain social recognition ("social capital") through the establishment of autonomous cultural institutions ("cultural capital") (1984:53), in turn legitimated through the acquisition of a specific form of educational "capital" - namely Putnam's "new" anthropology.

Both Putnam and his "new" model for the display of Native American artifacts were embraced by his financial backers as a way to legitimize their claims of status . The asserted difference illustrated in his cultural relativist model ensured that the displays prepared by Putnam would stand alone, independent of the established institutional models presented by the United States government. Through their support of this independent model, Chicago's economic leaders were able to create a separate identity for themselves, and an autonomous "cultural" position. Thus, the alliance forming around Putnam and Boas's "new" American anthropology can be seen as linked to the larger cultural movement taking place in Chicago in the late nineteenth century. It was a "win win" situation for both the anthropologists and their financial backers, setting the stage for the establishment of new cultural institutions. These institutions were not only designed to reflect their wealth and power, but served a "legitimizing" function in terms of the assertion of a new and competitive cultural elite. At the same time, these institutions attempted to fabricate a "comfortable" slot for Native Americans, appropriating their objects and

defining their authenticity, in order to clear the way for the emergence of what they perceived to be a "progressive" and "modern" America.

References Cited

Anonymous

1893a Quackuhls are Here. Chicago Daily Tribune (22 May).

Anonymous

1893b Shows Many Customs: Ethnological and Archaeological Display Excellent. Chicago Daily Tribune (30 April).

Anonymous

1893c Quackuhls at Home. Chicago Daily Tribune (7 May).

Anonymous

1893d Professor Putnam's Hard Luck. New York Times (22 May).

Anonymous

1893e In Study of Mankind: Wonders of the Ethnological Building's Sections. Chicago Daily Tribune (2 July).

Anonymous

1893f Are Useful Citizens. Chicago Inter-Ocean (16 May).

Badger, Rodney Reid

1975 The World's Columbian Exposition: Patterns of Change and Control in the 1890's. PhD Dissertation, Syracuse University.

1979 The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition and American Culture. Chicago: Nelson Hall.

Bancroft, Hubert H.

1893 The Book of the Fair: Columbian Exposition, 1893, 4 Volumes. Chicago: Bancroft.

Bloom, Sol

1948 The Autobiography of Sol Bloom. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

Boas, Franz

1887 Museums of Ethnology and Their Classification. Science 9 (228): 587-589.

1893 Ethnology at the Exhibition. The Cosmopolitan 15 (5): 607-609.

Bourdieu, Pierre

1984 Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, Translated by Richard Nice. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Buel, J.W.

1894 The Magic City. St. Louis: Historical Publishing Company.

Carnegie, Andrew

1889 The Best Fields for Philanthropy. The North American Review: 682-698.

Chatfield-Taylor, Hobart C.

1893 Chicago's Entertainment of Distinguished Visitors. The Cosmopolitan 15 (5): 600-602.

Cohodas, Marvin

1993 High on the Rivers: The Basketry of Elizabeth and Louise Hickox. Manuscript.

Cole, Douglas

1985 Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Deans, James

1893 Totem Posts at the World's Fair. American Antiquarian 15 (4): 281-286.

Dexter, Ralph

1966 Frederic Ward Putnam and the Development of Museums of Natural History and Anthropology in the United States. Curator 8: 315-332.

1970 The Role of F.W. Putnam in Founding the Field Museum. Curator 12-13: 21-26.

Dippie, Brian W.

1982 The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy. Connecticut: Westeyan University Press.

Dominguez, Virginia

1986 The Marketing of Heritage. American Ethnologist 13 (3): 546-555.

Fabian, Johannes

1983 Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object. New York: Columbia University Press.

Goler, Robert I.

1990 Visions of a Better Chicago. In A City Comes of Age: Chicago in the 1890s, edited by Susan E. Hirsch and Robert I. Goler. Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, pp. 90-153.

Gruber, Jacob

1970 Ethnographic Salvage and the Shaping of Anthropology. American Anthropologist (Dec 1970): 1289-1299.

Handy, Moses P., edited

1892 Department M: Plan and Classification. Chicago: World's Columbian Exposition Press.

1893 World's Columbian Exposition, 1893: Official Catalogue: Department M. Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company, Publishers.

Hinsley, Curtis M.

1981 Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.

1985 From Shell-Heaps to Stelae: Early Anthropology at the Peabody Museum. In Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture, edited by George W. Stocking Jr. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 49-74.

1990 The World as a Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893. In Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display, edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 344-365.

1991 Collecting Cultures and Cultures of Collecting: The Lure of the American Southwest, 1880-1915. Museum Anthropology 16 (1): 12-20.

Hirsch, Susan E.

1990 The Metropolis of the West. In A City Comes of Age: Chicago in the 1890s, edited by Susan E. Hirsch and Robert I. Goler. Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, pp. 24-89.

Hough, Walter

1908 Otis Tufton Mason. American Anthropologist 10: pp. 661-667.

Jacknis, Ira

1985 Franz Boas and Exhibits: On the Limitations of the Museum Method of Anthropology. In Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture, edited by George W. Stocking Jr. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 75-111.

Johnson, Rossiter

1897 A History of the World's Columbian Exposition, Four Volumes. New York: D. Appleton Publishers.

Lee, Molly

1991 Appropriating the Primitive: Turn-of-the-Century Collection and Display of Native Alaskan Art. Arctic Anthropology 28 (1): 6-15.

Lefkowitz-Horowitz, Helen

1976 Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Lewis, Russell

1983 Everything Under One Roof: World's Fairs and Department Stores in Paris and Chicago. In Chicago History 12 (3): 28-47.

Lockwood, Frank C.

1929 The Life of Edward E. Ayer. Chicago: A.C. McLurg.

Mark, Joan

1980 Four Anthropologists: An American Science in its Earliest Years. New York: Science History Publications.

Mason, Otis Tufton

1890 The Mutual Obligation of the Ethnologist and the Historian. Papers of the American Historical Association Volume 4(3): 5-12.

1894 Ethnological Exhibit of the Smithsonian Institution at the World's Columbian Exposition. In Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology, edited by C. Staniland Wake. Chicago: The Schutte Publishing Company.

1895 Similarities in Culture. American Anthropologist 8 (2): 101-117.

Putnam, Frederic Ward

1889 The Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Cambridge. In Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society October 1889, pp.180-190.

1893 World's Columbian Exposition, 1893: Official Catalogue, Department M. Chicago: W.B. Conkey Company.

1899 A Problem in American Anthropology. In The Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Washington: Government Printing Office, pp.473-486.

Putnam, Frederick Ward and George R. Davis

1892 Plan and Classification: Department M. Chicago: World's Columbian Exposition Press.

Rydell, Robert W.

1984 All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions 1876-1916. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Starr, Frederick

1893 Anthropology at the World's Fair. Popular Science Monthly 43: 610-621.

Stocking, George W. Jr.

1985a Essays on Museums and Material Culture. In Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture, edited by George W. Stocking Jr. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp. 3-14.

1985b Philanthropoids and Vanishing Cultures: Rockefeller Funding and the End of the Museum Era in Anglo-American Anthropology. In Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture, edited by George W. Stocking Jr. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, pp.112-145.

Turner, Frederick Jackson

1893 The Significance of the Closing of the American Frontier. In American Historical Association Annual Report for 1893. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, pp. 199-227.



Appendix IList of Figures

- Figure 1: Frederick Ward Putnam, Chief of Department M, World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893.  
From H. Bancroft's Book of the Fair.
- Figure 2: Map of the Exposition Grounds:  
A. Anthropology Building, Department M.  
B. Outdoor Ethnographic Display, Department M.  
C. Model Indian School, U.S. Department of the Interior.  
D. Ethnological Hall, Government Building.  
From H. Bancroft's Book of the Fair.
- Figure 3: Interior View, Anthropology Building, Department M.  
' From H. Bancroft's Book of the Fair.
- Figure 4: Outdoor Ethnographic Display, Department M.  
From J.W. Buel's Magic City.
- Figure 5: Model Indian School, U.S. Department of the Interior.  
From H. Bancroft's Book of the Fair.
- Figure 6: Interior View, Ethnological Hall, Government Building.  
From J.W. Buel's Magic City.
- Figure 7: Edward Everett Ayer, First President of the Field Columbian Museum, Chicago.  
From F. Lockwood's The Life of Edward Everett Ayer.

Figure 1



Figure 2

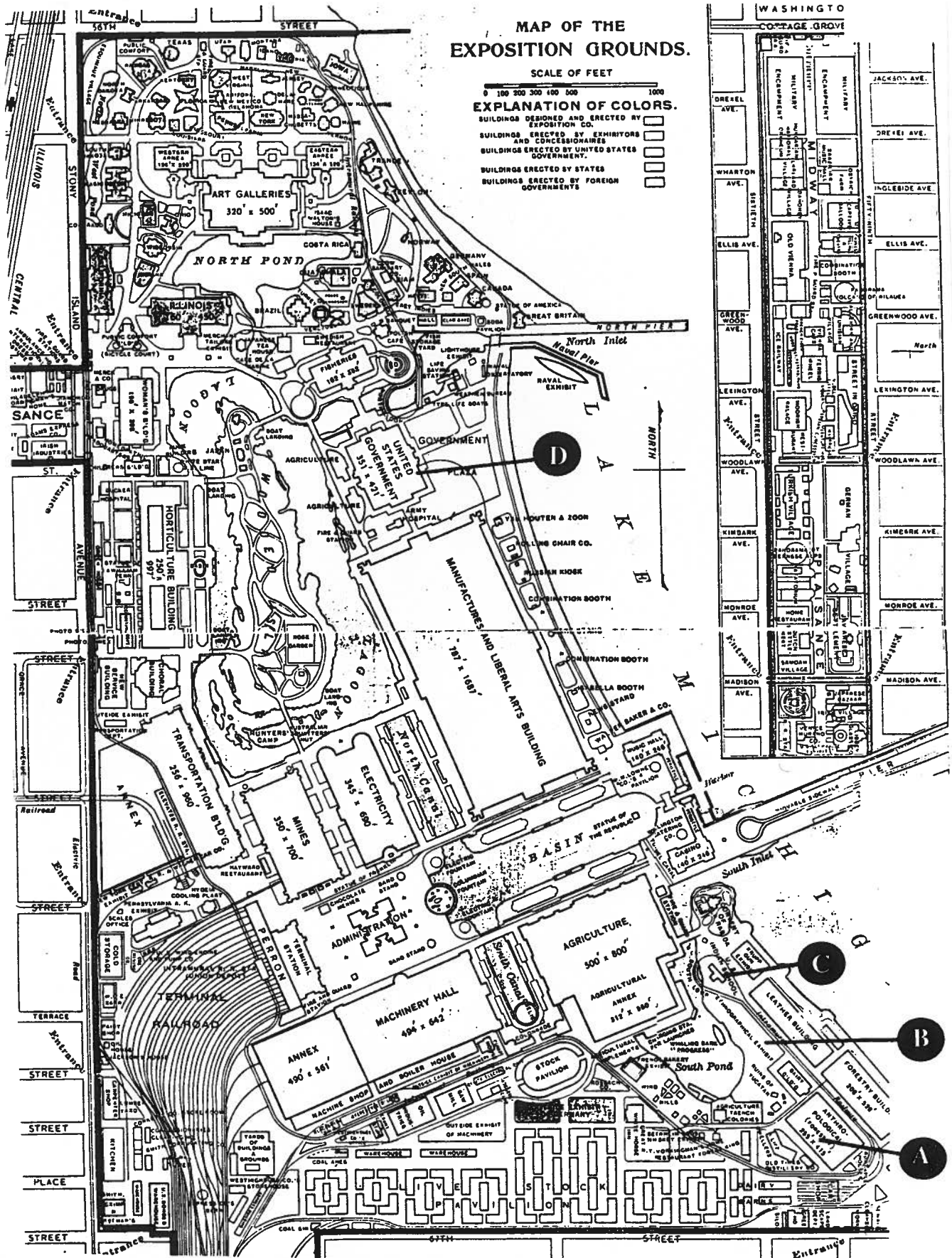




Figure 3

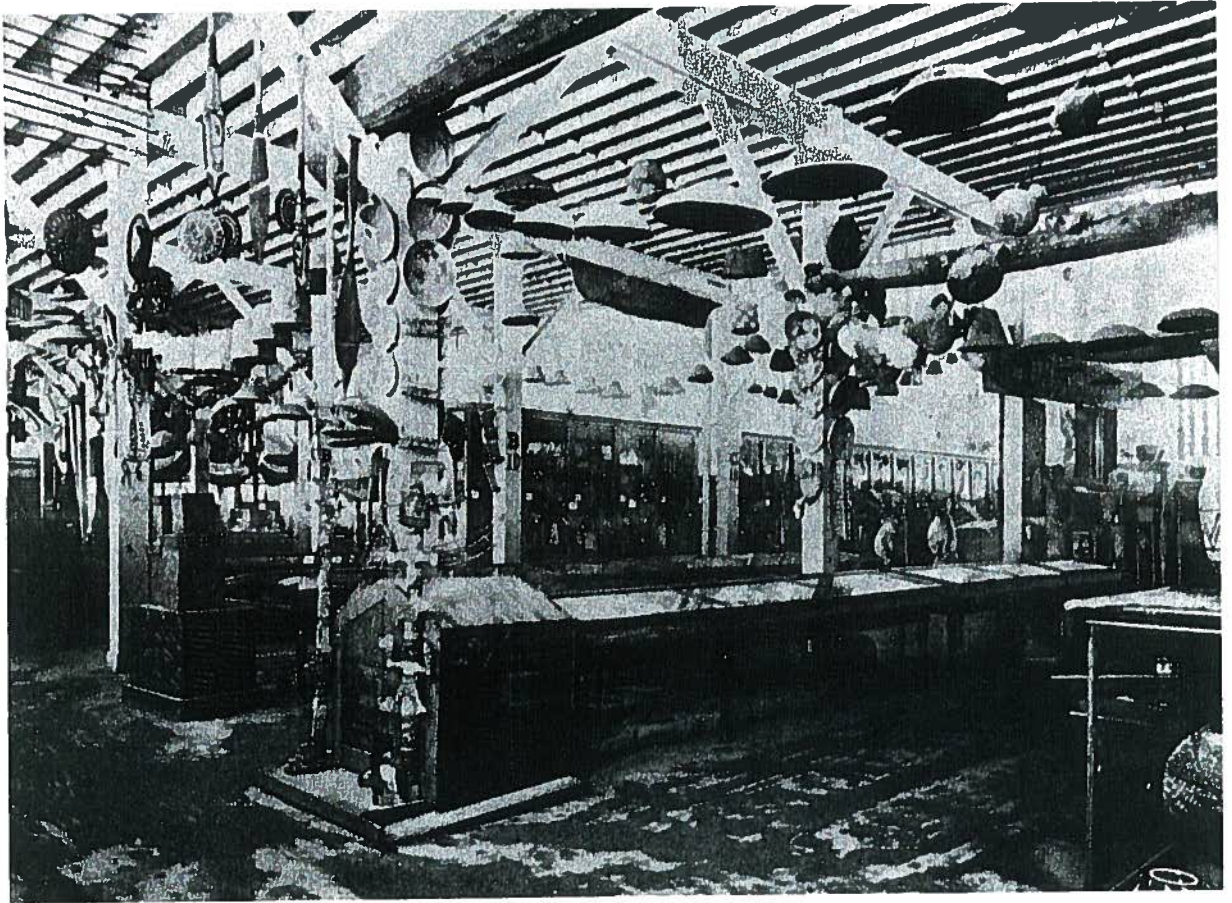




Figure 4

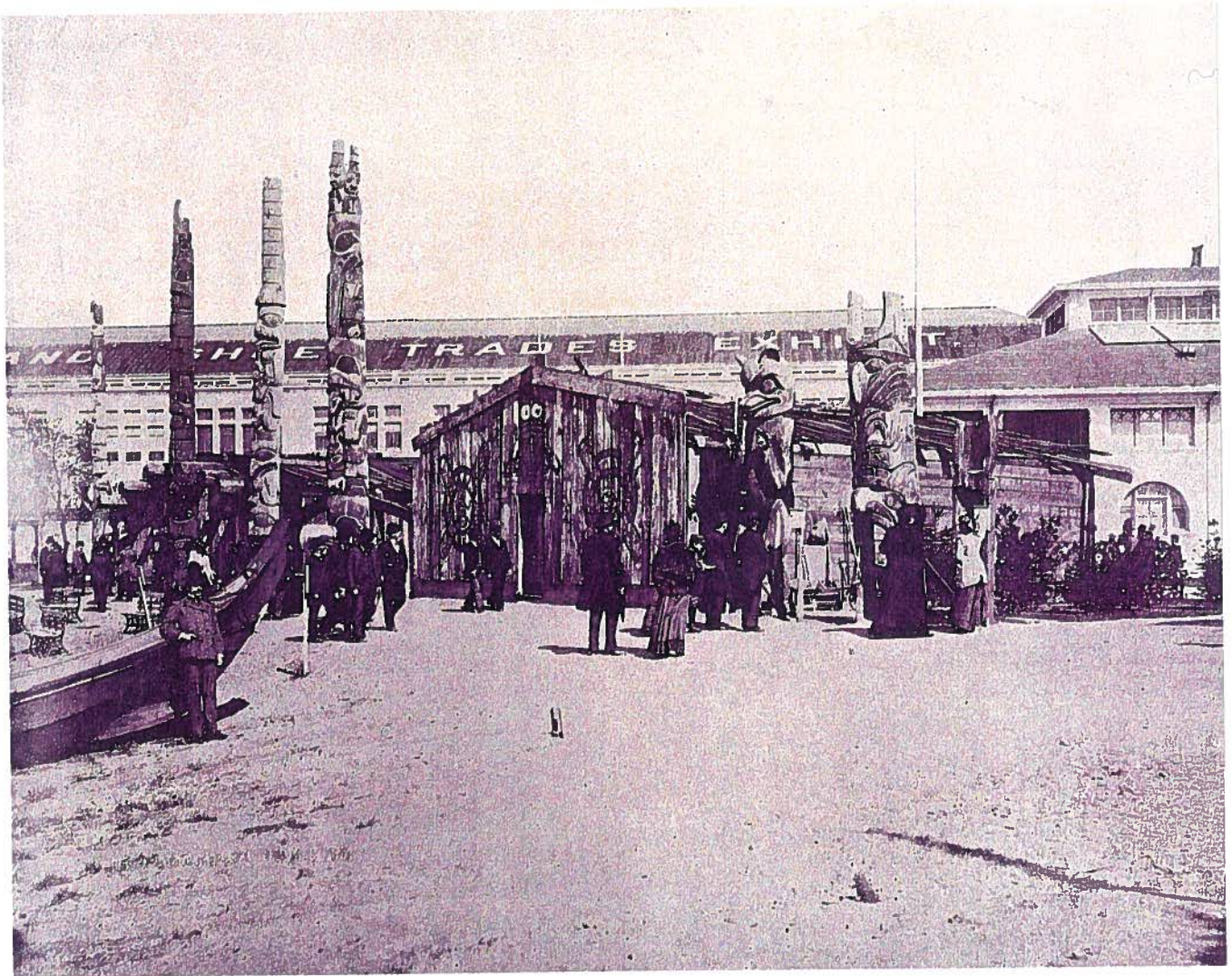




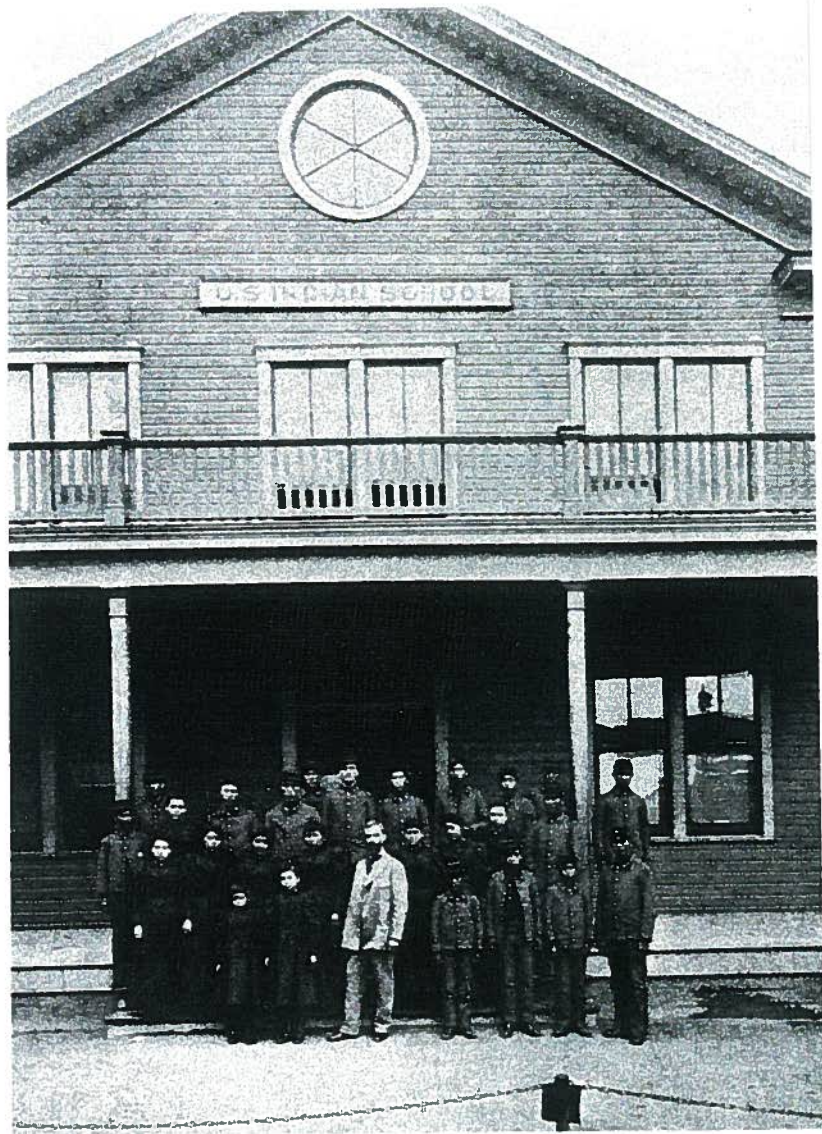
Figure 5



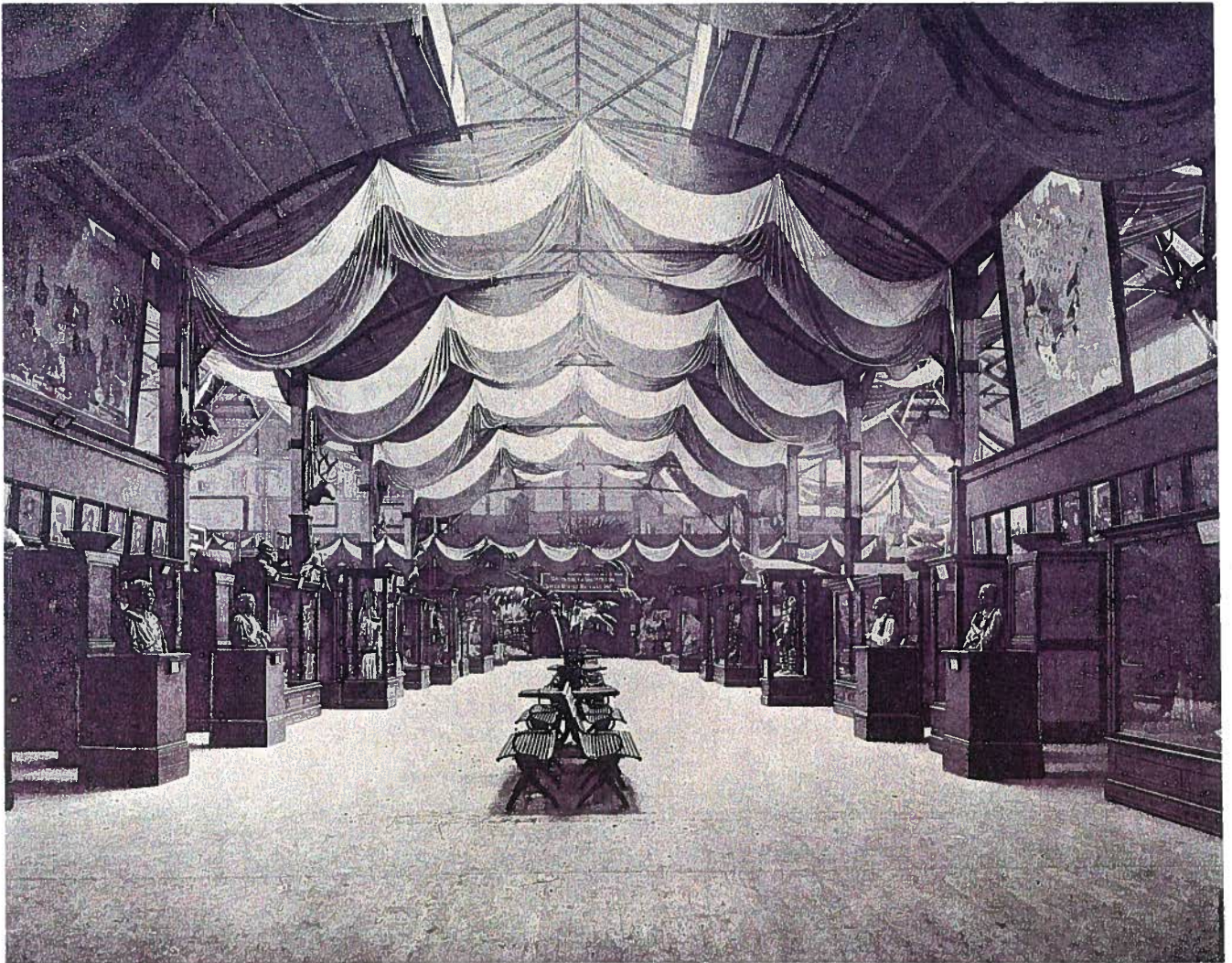
Figure 6

Figure 7

