Curators, Collections, and Contexts: Anthropology at the Field Museum, 1893–2002

Stephen E. Nash and Gary M. Feinman, Editors
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The Field Museum’s mission is to explore the earth and its people. Since 1890, when Frederick Ward Putnam began directing anthropological collecting expeditions for the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, the story of anthropology at the Field Museum has been deeply intertwined with the history of Chicago. In addition to this deep local association, the lattice of Field Museum research, collections, and anthropological scholarship extends across space and through time to the far corners of the planet.

For the past several years, the Department of Anthropology at the Field Museum has enjoyed an unprecedented level of productivity. More curators and permanent staff members now grace the offices and storerooms of the department than ever before. Publication and grant award rates are exceptional. Given these successes, the long and illustrious history of the department, and the American Anthropological Association’s centennial in 2002, we thought this an appropriate time to examine in detail the department’s history. As a result of generous funding provided by the Museum’s Cultural Collections Committee, a two-day event was held on October 22 and 23, 2000, to celebrate a century of Field Museum anthropology. This volume is the result.

As we look to the future, we are eager to begin moving anthropology collections into a new, state-of-the-art, 70,000-square-foot storage facility under the southeast terrace of the Museum. Scheduled for completion in 2004, the Collections Resource Center will provide anthropology, for the first time in its history, with compactorized, climate-controlled storage space for most of its priceless collections. It is truly an exciting time to be associated with Field Museum anthropology.

John W. McCarter
President, The Field Museum
Acknowledgments

Any volume such as this depends on the contributions and hard work of many dedicated people. Our appreciation begins with those individuals who helped plan and manage the two-day event, Celebrate a Century of Field Museum Anthropology, held at the Field Museum on October 22 and 23, 2000, that was the genesis of this volume. We would like to offer our heartfelt thanks to Charles Benton, Dodie Baumgarten, Jean Carton, Connie Crane, Daphne Cunningham, Becky D’Angelo, Eileen Day, Laura Front, Peter Gayford, Leona Gray, Warren Haskin, Carolyn Schiller Johnson, Mary Lawton, Renee Logan, Carolyn Moore, John Shea, and Lisa Stringer, all of whom donated time, effort, and other resources to ensure that the event was a success. Museum staff members Beth Adams, Nancy Dedakis, Armand Esai, Steve Hines, Pat Kremer, John McCarter, Nancy O’Shea, Stephanie Powell, Amanda Reeves, Robin Ross, Megan Sweeney, and many unnamed members of the Audio-Visual, Education, Guest Relations, Institutional Advancement, Protective Services, and Special Events departments at the Museum deserve thanks. Department of Anthropology staff members who deserve recognition include Elisa Aguilar-Kutza, Mavis Blacker, Anne Carpenter, Sarah Coleman, Lauren Fishman, Martina Hough, Pat Kremer, Holly Lundberg, Dorren Martin-Ross, Will Pestle, Chris Philipp, Dan Schnepf, Isabel Tovar-Castro, Sheila Wheatley, and Amanda Wosczak.

Many individuals contributed to the successful completion of this volume. Nancy Parezo, Raymond Thompson, and Richard Woodbury graciously gave their time and expertise in reviewing the text. We also thank Linda M. Nicholas for her editorial assistance. John Aubrey of the Newberry Library, Chicago, granted permission to publish Edward Everett Ayer's paper. David Collier and the Collier family granted permission to publish their father’s paper. The editorial board of American Anthropologist should be recognized for making the papers by George Dorsey, Donald Collier, and Harry Tschopik available for inclusion. William Burger, Scientific Editor of Fieldiana, deserves thanks for his work in seeing this volume through to completion. Finally, Sarah Coleman of the Field Museum deserves special mention for all her work in photograph selection, data compilation, and the numerous other tasks that she performed with cheerful aplomb.

Stephen E. Nash and Gary M. Feinman
Introduction: A Glorious Foundation: 109 Years of Anthropology at the Field Museum of Natural History

Stephen E. Nash and Gary M. Feinman

The seeds of the American Anthropological Association (AAA) were sown at the winter meeting of Section H (Anthropology) of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) in Chicago in 1901, when a committee of ten anthropologists (Franz Boas, Stewart Culin, Roland Burage Dixon, George Amos Dorsey, Livingston Farrand, Jesse Walter Fewkes, George Grant MacCurdy, William John McGee, Frank Russell, and Frederick Starr) agreed to form the AAA at the next AAAS meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1902 (Bricker 2002; Hinsley 2002).

When founded on June 30, 1902, the stated goal of the AAA was "to promote the science of anthropology, to stimulate and coordinate the efforts of American anthropologists, to foster local and other societies devoted to anthropology, to serve as a bond among American anthropologists and anthropologic organizations present and prospective, and to publish and encourage the publication of matter pertaining to anthropology" (AAA Articles of Incorporation). Dorsey, the Field Museum's curator of anthropology (Stephen Simms and Charles Owen were assistant curators), was one of only five signatories to the original charter (the others were Culin, Fewkes, McGee, and Joseph D. McGuire). The Field Museum thus played a crucial role in the founding of the AAA.

In the early 20th century, when museums played a prominent role in anthropological research, universities played a lesser role and had just begun to create departments of anthropology (Welsch 1999). During the latter half of the 20th century, universities assumed a dominant position in the development of anthropological method and theory; museums and the study of material culture were relegated to the scholarly back burner. Though the nature of the relationship between museums, universities, and anthropology has changed over time (see Conn 1998), museums are once again coming to the fore as foci for anthropological research as we enter the new millennium.

In the fall of 2000, the Field Museum's Cultural Collections Committee, faculty and staff of the Department of Anthropology, members of the Museum's administration, and many distinguished guests gathered to celebrate a century of Field Museum anthropology. This event, intended as a precursor to the centennial celebrations of the American Anthropological Association in 2002, examined the central role played by the Field Museum's Department of Anthropology in the development of anthropology as a global scholarly discipline. This volume is the result of that event.

On Sunday, October 22, David R. Wilcox of the Museum of Northern Arizona gave the keynote address, in which he examined in great detail the development of anthropology at the Field Museum, particularly as it related to the growth of the city of Chicago. Jonathan Haas (Field Museum), Elaine Bluhm Herold (formerly of the State University of New York at Buffalo), and Don McVicker (formerly of North Central College in Naperville, Illinois) offered their own perspectives on the changing role of the curator, on life at the Field Museum in the 1950s, and the contributions of Edward Herbert Thompson and John Eric Sidney Thompson, respectively. Also on Sunday, Alice Beck Kehoe of the University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee offered perspectives on Carl Akeley's role in the acquisition of Field Museum collections.

On Monday, October 23, symposium participants toured the Museum's collections, met with Museum personnel, and examined archives and collections for their own research. That evening, after an introductory presentation by Museum President John McCarter and an exquisite dinner, department personnel presented brief overviews of significant research in the department's history. Curator Bennet Bronson examined Berthold Lau-
fer’s work in Asia in the first decades of the 20th century. Head of Collections Stephen E. Nash contrasted the role played by consummate collector George Dorsey in the first years of the Museum’s existence with the role of the late James VanStone, a consummate curator in the traditional sense of the term. Adjunct Curator Sibel Barut-Kusimba examined Henry Field’s Paleolithic research, and Curator John Edward Terrell considered the historical significance of Field Museum research in the Pacific.

The current volume builds on these presentations, with some significant additions or modifications. In addition to new chapters by Don Fowler; Warren Haskin, Nash, and Sarah Coleman; Tristan Almazan and Coleman; Raymond Codrington; John Staller; and Dorren Martin-Ross and Bill Barnett, a critical contribution of the present volume lies in the seven detailed appendices that bring together, for the first time in one publication, data on Department of Anthropology curators and staff members, Field Museum trustees, anthropology expeditions, Fieldiana: Anthropology publications, anthropologically oriented temporary exhibitions, and synthetic data on the department’s historic photograph resources. Unfortunately, neither Kehoe nor Barut-Kusimba could participate in the final volume, though Barut-Kusimba deferred to Field Museum Associate Edward Yastrow and Nash for the chapter on Henry Field.

What This Volume Is

The volume is divided into three parts. Part I establishes the context of Field Museum anthropology at increasingly refined levels of resolution. Don Fowler of the University of Nevada–Reno, who attended the event but did not present a paper, graciously contributed a synthetic overview of the worldwide development of the natural history museum as a scholarly institution. His paper helps place Field Museum anthropological research in a broad scholarly context. Next, in a paper first published in 1954, Donald Collier of the Field Museum and Harry Tschopik of the American Museum of Natural History examine the place of museums in anthropology nearly half a century ago. Wilcox then narrows the focus to examine the Field Museum and its anthropological research within the confines of Chicago area philanthropy and high society, followed by his own personal insights into the development of the New Archaeology at the Field Museum in the 1960s. We then publish, for the first time, a paper written by Edward Everett Ayer in 1916 that presents a first-person account of how, in 1893, he and others convinced Marshall Field to donate $1 million to develop a natural history museum in Chicago. George Dorsey then outlines, in a paper first published in American Anthropologist in 1900, the first six years of the department (Dorsey 1900). Haskin, Nash, and Coleman then chronicle significant events in the history of the department and offer some basic data that may be used to negotiate subsequent presentations in the book. Finally, Dorren Martin-Ross and William Barnett examine the history and future of the critically important task of information management in the Department of Anthropology.

Part II includes 11 chapters that focus on specific contributions by Field Museum curators from 1907 to 2002, among them two chapters of personal reflections by a 1950s Field Museum staff member, Elaine Bluhm Herold, and a curator, Donald John Collier. Tristan Almazan and Sarah Coleman appraise the role that various assistants played in accumulating collections under George Dorsey’s tutelage between 1895 and 1914. Robert L. Welsch examines Albert Buell Lewis’s role, between 1908 and 1940, in assembling one of the world’s great collections of material culture from the Pacific, arguing that Lewis was fulfilling Dorsey’s grand vision for what a museum is and should be. Bennett Bronson examines the productive yet semitragic career of sinologist Berthold Laufer, who served the Museum from 1907 to 1934. Yastrow and Nash then review the eclectic contributions of Henry Field, who served as curator of physical anthropology from 1926 to 1941. McVicker takes a comparative approach in comparing the careers and scientific reputations of Edward H. Thompson, who was not formally a curator but who led a Field Museum Expedition (see Appendix 4) to Mexico in 1895–1896, and J. Eric S. Thompson, curator of Mexican and South American ethnology from 1926 to 1935. Raymond Codrington examines the scholarly career of Wilfrid Hambly, the Museum’s first Africa curator (1926–1952), who made significant contributions to ethnology and physical anthropology while at the Field Museum. Nash analyzes the long tenure (1929–1972) of Paul Sidney Martin, one of the pillars in the development of North American archaeology. John Staller then critically examines Collier’s role in research and exhibit development in the department from 1941 through
1992. Jessica Rooney and Chapurukha Kusimba use an oral history approach to examine the astonishingly large number of scholarly contributions to Arctic anthropology made by the late James VanStone, curator from 1966 to 1992. Part III, Present and Future Challenges, brings to completion the curatorial perspective with Jonathan Haas's description of the multilayered life of a modern curator, followed by two chapters that address the significance of collections and information management in the Department of Anthropology.

Even a cursory reading of these chapters reveals that the history of Field Museum anthropology is complicated. It constitutes a rich tapestry of interweaving strands of scholarship, philanthropy, politics, competition, cooperation, success, failure, ego, ambition, chutzpah, tragedy, and all the other vagaries and contingencies that make life, and particularly scholarly life, so interesting. The strength of the current volume lies in the diversity of analytical approaches to the subject matter at hand. Some authors (Fowler, McVicker, Nash, Welsch, and Wilcox) have published extensively on the history of anthropology and are well versed to situate their analyses in broader scholarly contexts. Others (Haskin, Rooney, Staller, and Yastrow) are current Museum volunteers, associates, or students who have focused their efforts on particular subjects or individuals that interested them. Some (Ayer, Bronson, Collier, Dorsey, Haas, and Herold) write with the authority granted them by years of experience at the Field Museum, while others (Almazan, Barnett, Codrington, Coleman, Feinman, Martin-Ross, and Nash) are comparative newcomers to this institution. Still others (Fowler, McVicker, Staller, and Wilcox) have never worked at the Field Museum but know a great deal about the history of the discipline and the institution. Two papers (Dorsey and Collier and Tschopik) were published more than a century and nearly half a century ago, respectively, while two others (Ayer and Collier) have never been published at all. Some researchers (Almazan, Bronson, Codrington, Coleman, Haskin, Martin-Ross, McVicker, Nash, Staller, and Welsch) have made detailed use of Field Museum archives. Others (Fowler, Wilcox, and Yastrow) have used the published record almost exclusively as their source material. Still others (Ayer, Barnett, Collier, Collier and Tschopik, Dorsey, Haas, Herold, Kusimba, and Rooney) used personal experience, expertise, or oral histories to guide their presentations. Two papers (McVicker and Welsch) take a comparative approach to illuminate the contributions of significant curators and in so doing give the volume an additional layer of scholarly context. This diversity of approaches makes for an eclectic volume that should raise a number of new questions and answer a great deal of others, as good scholarship should.

The fourth and final part of this volume consists of the seven appendices that, we believe, constitute some of the most important contributions of this volume. For the first time ever, summary data on all Field Museum anthropology curators (Appendix 1), Field Museum anthropology staff members (Appendix 2), Field Museum administrators and trustees (Appendix 3), anthropology expeditions and fieldwork (Appendix 4), Fieldiana: Anthropology publications (Appendix 5), temporary exhibitions (Appendix 6), and a summary of department photographic resources (Appendix 7) have been compiled together in one volume. Given the complexity of the subject matter and the fact that these data have been gleaned from published and unpublished sources of variable reliability, these appendices should be seen as a starting place for future research rather than an end point in and of themselves. This volume is not, and does not pretend to be, the definitive volume on the history of Field Museum anthropology.

Definitions

From a terminological standpoint, we must establish some baselines in order to avoid confusion. The Field Museum of Natural History has undergone several name changes during its existence. From 1893 to 1894, it was the Chicago Columbian Museum. From 1894 to 1905, it was the Field Columbian Museum. In 1905, it became the Field Museum of Natural History until 1943, when it became the Chicago Natural History Museum. In 1966, it reverted back to Field Museum of Natural History, which still serves as the official legal title of the Museum, though the public title was shortened to the Field Museum in 1997. In most instances and in order to avoid confusion, we will refer to "the Field Museum" in this volume, though other terms will be used if historical context requires it for clarity and to ensure accurate quotes and citations.

With regard to departmental administration,
there was only one "curator of anthropology" for the first forty-three years (1893-1936) of the Museum's existence, and it was held by only four individuals: Franz Boas (1893-1894), William Henry Holmes (1894-1896), George Amos Dorsey (1897-1914), and Berthold Laufer (1915-1934). In 1935, when the department had grown to include six curators, the position of "chief curator" was created. Over the next three and a half decades, only two individuals—Paul S. Martin (1935-1964) and Donald Collier (1964-1970)—held the position. In 1970, the current structure using a rotating department chair position was created. Since then, that position has been held by James VanStone, John Edward Terrell, Bennet Bronson, Charles Stanish, and Gary Feinman, though significant portions of that period have seen acting department chairs in place.

With regard to the physical location of the Museum, from 1893 to 1921 the Museum was housed in the old Palace of Fine Arts building (now Museum of Science and Industry) at 57th Street and Lake Shore Drive in Jackson Park. In 1921, the new building at Roosevelt Road (12th Street) at Lake Shore Drive in Grant Park was completed, and the department spent the next five years moving the collection north along the lakefront. As this volume goes to press, construction has begun on a new 70,000-square-foot underground storage facility into which most of the anthropology collections will move. This move will occupy much of the department's attention for the next decade.

Much work remains to be done, and the potential for the future is more secure given the glorious legacy on which we have to build.
A Context for
Field Museum Anthropology
A Natural History of Man: Reflections on Anthropology, Museums, and Science

Don D. Fowler

The purpose of this essay is to reflect on the historical development of natural history and anthropology museums as background to the papers herein on the history of the Department of Anthropology at the Field Museum. Although natural history and anthropology museums continued to be created in the twentieth century, the Chicago Columbian Museum, founded in 1893 (Collier 1969; Dorsey 1901, this volume; Haskin et al., this volume; Wilcox, this volume), was the last of the “great” museums that were nineteenth-century phenomena—institutions housed in grandiose physical plants and concerned to study and exhibit the natural world, including those human societies and cultures, past and present, thought to be part of or close to the natural world. There were, of course, other museums devoted solely to past and present human societies and cultures, usually called “museums of ethnology” or “museums of anthropology.” Here we necessarily consider both types of museums together since some natural history museums include anthropology and others do not, yet both share a common heritage.

A survey of museums in 1900 listed (in round numbers) 250 natural history museums in the United States, 150 in Germany, 250 in Great Britain, 300 in France, and dozens more in other European countries and various cities of the European colonial empires (Sheets-Pyenson 1988). These ranged in size from small provincial museums to the great institutions, such as the American Museum of Natural History in New York; the National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.; the British Museum and Natural History Museum in London, the Trocadero Complex in Paris, the natural history and anthropology museums in Berlin, the great natural history museum in Vienna, and the Field Columbian Museum in Chicago, then just under way.

A century later, the sixth edition of Museums of the World, current through mid-1997, listed 27,380 museums under 250 subheadings (Bartz 1997). Of these, over 800 are ethnology museums and more than 750 natural history museums, many undoubtedly with anthropology collections. There are over 1,100 “archaeology” museums, 400 “archaeology, Greek and Roman museums,” more than 100 “archaeology, Ibero-Americas museums,” and some 250 “indian artifact” museums, primarily in Canada and the United States but including the Indianermuseum der Stadt in Zürich, Switzerland.1 The figures from 1900 and 1997, based on different criteria, can realistically be taken only to indicate a great increase in museums generally; half of them apparently have been created since the end of World War II. However we interpret the figures, in 1900 there were hundreds of natural history museums across the world, many with anthropology sections, as well as an unknown number of more strictly anthropology museums. This continues to be the case, and it is on these we reflect.

Origins: Seats of the Muses

In classical times, the Greek term mouseion (Latin: museum) meant the seat of the Muses (Oxford English Dictionary 1971:1880; Encyclopaedia Britannica 2001), that is, a place within which scholars and artists pursued the learned arts that
are the provinces of and nurtured by the nine Muses, the goddesses presiding over the arts and sciences, including Clio (history) and Urania (astronomy). As an aside, we may say that Clio nurtures both natural and cultural histories and that Urania nurtures science in general; hence, both may be seen as the Muses of natural history and anthropology museums. In Hellenistic Alexandria, about 280 B.C.E., the rulers Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II established the Museum, a complex of buildings and gardens, including the great Alexandrine Library. There were lecture halls, banquet halls, and chambers for scholars. Here the museum took on part of its modern meaning: a place where scholars do their work.

But museums (although not so called), in the sense of collections of natural and cultural objects displayed for personal or public edification or enjoyment, preceded Alexandria. Leonard Woolley’s excavations in sixth-century B.C.E. levels of Ur demonstrated that the Babylonian kings Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus collected antiquities, and the latter’s daughter, Ennigaldi-Nanna, maintained a small educational museum complete with clay tablet labels for the antiquities on display. The “treasuries” of classical Greek and Roman temples often contained curiosities from Asia and Africa. During the Middle Ages, the brilliant civilizations of the Islamic world had collections of scientific instruments and books at the great centers of learning such as Cairo, Baghdad, and Cordoba (Blair and Bloom 1999; Dallal 1999) but few museums in our sense of the term. In Europe, during the same time, learning was kept alive in monasteries, but there were no museums as such. There were collections containing alleged relics of saints in cathedrals and shrines. Some rulers and members of the clergy collected classical statuary, and there was trafficking in art objects and curiosities from the Levant during the Crusades, but these seemingly were for private enjoyment, not public display.

When science and naturalistic learning were infused back into Europe from Islamic civilization beginning in the 1200s, interest in natural and cultural objects was rekindled and flourished throughout the Renaissance. By 1594, Francis Bacon (cited by Impey and Macgregor 1985:1) described the facilities that every “learned gentleman” should have to properly study the universe, its contents and processes: a “most perfect and general library [containing] the wit of man [in] books of worth.” Next, “a spacious and wonder-

ful garden” containing both exotic and useful plants, as well as stables for rare beasts and cages for “rare birds”; a “still house” containing various machines and instruments for use in experiments; and, finally, “a goodly huge cabinet, wherein whatsoever the hand of man by exquisite art or engine has made rare in stuff, form or motion; whatsoever singularity, chance, and the shuffle of things hath produced; whatsoever Nature has wrought in things that want life and may be kept; shall be sorted and included.” In modern terms, Bacon thought that the advance of secular knowledge required libraries, botanical gardens and zoos, scientific laboratories, and museums of art, industry, natural history, and anthropology.

By Bacon’s time, such cabinets had been filling up for a century, as European sailor-explorers brought back examples of the “exotica”—people, animals, plants, fossils, minerals, and artifacts from the New World, Africa, and Asia (Brockway 1979; Shelton 1994). The people often became slaves but were also exhibited in masques, pageants, street shows, and theaters (Altick 1978:270–301; Hodgen 1964:111–112; Honour 1975:63–64); the animals and plants went into zoological and botanical gardens (Duval 1982; Prest 1981), and the minerals, fossils, and ethnographic and archaeological artifacts went into cabinets of curiosities. Some items were curious indeed, such as the hat purportedly owned by Pontius Pilate’s wife’s chambermaid’s sister or the remains of cobbled-together mermaids and basilisks (Miller 1974:26).

Significant collections of ethnographic artifacts from Africa and the New World had accumulated by the 1570s, such as in the great Uffizi Gallery in Florence (Miller 1974:21). There were some 250 natural history collections recorded in Italy in the sixteenth century. Other collections of natural history specimens and artifacts found their way into various royal cabinets across continental Europe. By the late 1500s, some of these “good hugely cabinets” had come to occupy whole buildings. By the 1570s, treatises were being written on the proper formation of collections (e.g., Quicheberg 1571) and how they ought to reflect the systematic classifications of “all things in heaven and earth” that had been developed over the centuries by the great encyclopedists, from Pliny the Elder, to Isadore of Seville, to Conrad Gesner, and on to the Encyclopédie of Diderot and Alembert in the eighteenth century (Fischer 1966; Lough 1968; Neickel 1729). The cabinets and the
concern with classification were the foundations on which modern museums were built.

The Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology at Oxford University is perhaps the first example of a cabinet become museum and to be so named. John Tradescant, the Elder (d. 1638), and his son John, the Younger (1608–1662), had assembled a large cabinet of natural and cultural objects. Their collection was transmitted by deed of gift to Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), who added to it and conveyed (and later willed) it to Oxford University. In May 1683, “Ashmole’s Museum” opened, consisting of a building housing the collection, a chemical laboratory, and lecture rooms. The general public was admitted to see the collections. But “museum” still carried its classical connotations. In an early dictionary, *New World of Words*, published by Edward Philips in 1706, “museum” was defined as “A Study, or Library, also a College, a Publick Place for the Resort of Learned Men.” A second definition was “Ashmole’s Museum, a neat Building in the City of Oxford” (Ovenell 1986). Following Ashmole’s lead, by the 1750s “museum” was commonly used in the modern sense, such as the British Museum: “a building or a portion of a building used for the presentation and exhibition of objects illustrative of antiquities, natural history, fine and industrial arts, etc.” (Oxford English Dictionary 1971:1880).

Ashmole’s Museum became much more of an anthropology museum when a large material culture collection, made by George Forster, who was with Captain Cook on the 1772–1775 voyage to Oceania, was donated there. In 1829, Keeper Philip Duncan and his brother John reorganized the natural specimens according to the tenets of “natural theology” (see the following discussion); ethnological specimens were pushed aside. At the same time, archaeological materials from Britain, Rome, and Egypt continued to be added. In the 1850s, the natural history specimens were transferred to the new Oxford University Museum of Natural History in its wondrous cast-iron-framed Gothic Revival building. Arthur Evans became keeper of the Ashmolean in 1884 and soon transferred the ethnological collections to the newly founded Pitt Rivers Museum (see the following discussion), concentrating on the archaeological collections. Later still, a major art collection was donated to the museum (Ovenell 1986). The Ashmolean thus represents possibly the first combined natural history and anthropology collection to be called a museum. Like many later museums, collections came and went, and exhibits changed to reflect new holdings and intellectual fashions.

**Natural History, Science, and Anthropology**

Before we continue, we need to discuss the etymologies and cultural contexts of the terms “natural history,” “science,” and “anthropology.” The terms “natural history” and “naturalist” were in use by the 1580s. The former is concerned with studies of “the properties of natural objects, plants, or animals; a scientific account of any subject written along similar lines.” The latter is “one who studies natural, in contrast to spiritual things; one who regards natural causes as a sufficient explanation of the world and its phenomena” (Oxford English Dictionary 1971:1899). One of the first great naturalists was the Englishman John Ray (1628–1705), who, along with his Swedish successor Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778), laid the foundations for modern biological systematics. Ray (1704; see also Raven 1986) is regarded as perhaps the first proponent of “natural theology,” the idea that God is best understood not by perusing canonical literature but by the active study of the created natural world. Linnaeus, also a promoter of natural theology, is, of course, of great importance for his overall method of hierarchical classification and use of binomial nomenclature (Linnaeus 1766–1768; see also Koerner 1999).

By the 1760s, natural history began to be fashionable among both leisurely amateurs and nascent professionals (Allen 1987:245; Hankins 1985:113–157; Spary 2000:15–154). By the 1780s, a chair of natural history had been established in Edinburgh. There was a major battle for the chair and control of collections in a local natural history museum (Withers 1992), the first of many such contests to come in the museums of Europe and North America. In France, the Jardin du Roi, which had been directed and expanded for fifty years by the great naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707–1788), was converted by the Revolutionary Tribune into the great Muséum d’Histoire Naturelle in 1793 (Spary 2000:193–239). Buffon’s (1749–1804) massive *Histoire Naturelle, Générale et Particulière*, an attempt to synthesize all existing knowledge in natural history, geology, and anthropology, stimulated research and disputes in those fields for nearly a century. For example, Buffon’s assertion that New
World plants and animals were “weak and immature” vis-à-vis Old World forms stimulated rebuttals by Thomas Jefferson (1944) in his *Notes on Virginia*, published in 1784, and the Jesuit scholar Francisco Javier Clavigero’s (1979) *History of Mexico*, published in 1787.

The term “science” has a long historical etymology but was being used in its present sense by about 1725: “a branch of study which is concerned either with a connected body of demonstrated truths or with observed facts systematically classified and more or less colligated by being brought under general laws, and which include trustworthy methods for the discovery of new truth within its own domain” (*Oxford English Dictionary* 1971: 2268). Eighteenth-century science encompassed both natural history (studies of the earth and the living things thereon, including humans and natural philosophy) and studies of chemistry, physics, astronomy, and the mechanics driving a Newtonian universe. Between 1800 and 1840, natural philosophy metamorphosed into the specialized disciplines later called the “physical sciences.”

By 1840, the process of mystifying “science” as the only objective, value-free knowledge-making system capable of discovering “real truths” about the universe, its contents, and its operations was well under way. The term “scientist” was coined in that year by the British philosopher and historian of science William Whewell (1867:113). The British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) was organized in 1831 and its American counterpart (AAAS) in 1848 (Kohlstedt 1976). The creation of the BAAS and AAAS and the practice of linking related associations and societies to them in various ways marks the organizational beginnings of the modern sciences.

**The Heyday of Natural History**

The popular acceptance of and broad support for natural history museums in the nineteenth century derived in large measure from a natural theology cum natural history “craze” that swept Britain and to some degree northern Europe and North America (Barber 1980). Britishers of the late Georgian and Victorian eras studied natural history for the lessons it provided in the natural theology promulgated earlier by Ray and Linnaeus. The key popular work was William Paley’s (1802) *Natural Theology or Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity Collected from the Appearance of Nature*, reprinted and reissued numerous times throughout the nineteenth century in both Britain and the United States.3 Therein, Paley set forth his famous analogy of the watch as a means of “arguing from design” for the existence of God. Anyone contemplating a watch will note its intricacy of design and infer that it must have had a maker. Similarly, anyone must infer a maker when contemplating nature, for “every indication of contrivance, every manifestation of design, exists in the works of nature; with the difference on the side of nature, of being greater or more, and that in a degree which exceeds all computation” (Paley 1802:12). Paley urged the active contemplation of nature—the “lesson book of God’s design of the world.”

As Barber (1980:13–26) shows, studying natural history cum natural theology was socially acceptable, morally uplifting, and very popular. The pious flocked to the countryside to net butterflies, pick and press flowers, impale insects on pins, and collect bird’s eggs, mollusks, and mineral specimens. In Britain, hundreds of natural history treatises were published by amateur enthusiasts. Many were best-sellers and remained so for years despite the fact that the scientific information therein was often dreadfully inaccurate. There was a parallel interest in Britain in “antiquities,” especially standing stone circles, dolmens, and barrows, and in the United States in “Indian relics,” especially the “mysterious Mound Builders” (Silverberg 1968).

In both Britain and the United States, there were dozens of local academies of science, natural history societies, and related organizations attended by hundreds of amateur biologists, geologists, and archaeologists. All this activity created an intense interest in natural history and archaeology and provided widespread popular support for the creation of natural history museums. There were similar developments widely across continental Europe, providing support for the transformation of the various royal cabinets of curiosities into natural history or anthropology museums.

**Anthropology and Natural History**

Anthropology fell within the realm of natural history and hence ultimately into the halls of natural history museums. Why was this so? Why not solely into museums of culture? The answer depends on some very old assumptions in the ide-
ology of Western civilization. Some additional etymologies are needed. The Oxford English Dictionary (1971:1899) defines “nature” as “1. The creative and regulative physical power which is conceived of as operating in the material world and as the immediate cause of all its phenomena; 2. The material world, or its collective objects and phenomena, especially those with which man is most directly in contact; frequently the features and products of the earth itself as contrasted with those of human civilization.” “State of nature” is defined as “the condition of man before the formation of organized society.” “Nature,” then, is both the noncultural world and a force that is ontological and regulative, causally “governing” the operation of natural phenomena by “natural law.”

And prior to the emergence of “organized society,” humans were “in nature” or were “natural beings”: hence their development and behavior also was governed by natural law (Fowler and Fowler 1991:38–39; Milton 1981:185–186).

The long and complex articulation of nature and natural man in Western thought is termed primitivism (Lovejoy and Boas 1935). For our purposes, two assumptions are salient. First, “nature” is a standard of human values—that is, the good equals that which is “natural” or “according to nature.” Since natural man lives a simple life in a state of nature, he is, ipso facto, “good”—at least in the eyes of members of “highly evolved, complex” societies who see their cultures as artificial, corrupt, and alienating (Lovejoy and Boas 1935:8–13, 447). Studying and possessing (or seeing in museums) objects made by “natural folk” becomes desirable to the alienated folk of high civilizations (Fowler 2000:343–356).

The second salient assumption involves the core of what anthropology is about: the search for “original human nature” and the “natural laws” governing human behavior. This requires knowledge of the range of human physical and sociocultural variability to be used as data in the determination of the commensurability of human groups. The search was begun in the eighteenth century by those wishing to develop a “science of man” (Hankins 1985:158–190). Scholars developed the idea that living “savages”—that is, contemporary tribal peoples living as hunter-gatherers or “simple farmers”—could serve as proxies or analogs for “original” humanity: “as they [living tribal peoples] now are, so our [collective human] ancestors once were.” This idea assumed human psychic unity—human minds were originally all the same and changed only as people progressed through stages of sociocultural development, from hunting and gathering to farming to civilization. Those still living as hunter-gatherers were, by definition, psychically the same as “original” humans and therefore could serve as analogs for research purposes.

Because “savage” folk were seen to be “closer to nature” than “civilized” folk, they were considered to be part of the natural world; hence, they fell within the province of natural history. This view is clearly represented in an 1894 letter written by Frank Hamilton Cushing to his good friend Stewart Culin soon after both completed their work at the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago: “Ours is a New World where things speak as in times primaeval, and our museums become books and histories, or should become so, for the History of Man in America is, thank heaven, a natural history, and an unwritten one” (quoted by Fane 1991:21).

In short, studies of “savages,” that is, living, nonliterate tribal peoples, and of the cultural remains of past peoples, all the way back to “the beginning” of protohumans, were seen to fall, properly, within the realm of natural history. This view is reflected also in the contents of numerous learned treatises published from the late 1700s until the 1970s, each containing The Natural History of Man (or Histoire Naturelle de l’Homme) in its titles, such as Blair (1803), Debay (1845 [the only author to gallantly include “et de femme” in his title]), Desmoulins (1826), Kennedy (1851), Kinmont (1838), Le Clerc (1767), Plichard (1843), Quatrefages (1875), Van Amringe (1848), Virey (1801), Weiner (1971), and Wood (1870). Finally, the analogical uses of contemporary tribal peoples are reflected in the full title of one of the most widely disseminated anthropology books of the nineteenth century, John Lubbock’s (1865) Prehistoric Times as Illustrated by Ancient Remains, and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages.

But there was fear (and sometimes the hope) that the “savages” who stood in the way of imperialist expansion in the Americas, and later in Australasia and Africa, were “vanishing.” Those concerned to develop a science of man, being good inductivists, saw their duty to be data collection: to record as much as possible about the languages, cultures, and societies and to collect as many of their “traditional” artifacts as possible from the savages before they vanished, either by ethnocide or by acculturation. This theme is com-
mon from the late eighteenth century until the end of the twentieth and was the major rationale for the massive accumulations of ethnographic artifacts by museums throughout the period (Fowler 1990).

Ethnology, Anthropology, and Science

If there was to be a science of man, what should it be called? Aristotle first defined "anthropology" as "discourses treating of man," that is, of all humanity. His usage was followed by various scholars, including the French savant Alexandre André Chavannes (1788), who published a 400-page treatise, Anthropologie, ou Science Générale de L'Homme, in 1788. The previous year, in another work, he had coined the term ethnology: the history of the progress of peoples in civilization (Chavannes 1787). For Chavannes, anthropology is the inclusive, generalizing science of humanity considered physically, socially, and culturally; ethnology is particularizing, focusing on the comparative historical development of different peoples toward and in civilization, a view later taken by James Cowles Prichard (1843) in Britain and by those who styled themselves as "ethnologists" (see the following discussion).

The generalizing, scientific approach arose from attempts by political philosophers to develop a general stage theory of human cultural development. The roots of this approach lie in the works of Hugo Grotius (1622 [1625]), Thomas Hobbes (1665 [1651]), and John Locke (1690) in the seventeenth century. All saw natural man qua "savage" as being in the first stage of human development and contemporary "savages" as living analogs or proxies for the earliest human societies. As John Locke (1960, 2:49, 1: 108:1-2) put it, "In the beginning all the world was America." By the eighteenth century, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, John Millar, and others had all proposed similar stage theories, usually four: hunter-gatherer, pastoralists, farmers, and civilized (see Meek 1976). In the nineteenth century, the four stages were reduced to three: savagery, barbarism, and civilization, as in the works of Charles Lubbock (1865), Lewis Henry Morgan (1877), and Edward Burnett Tylor (1871).

From Grotius to Morgan, all assumed some form of psychic unity. All presented some form of change mechanism centering on the unfolding of elementary ideas. From Grotius to Millar and to some extent Lubbock, Tylor, and Morgan, this usually was seen as an innate propensity to acquire private property. The difference was that the nineteenth-century writers framed their stage theories in evolutionist terms. The fact that living peoples were seen to be at different stages of development was attributed to differential environments or historical circumstances. Nevertheless, those in "lower" stages had the psychological ability to "advance" in due time. Some evolutionists, such as John Wesley Powell (1878, 1885), drew a parallel between societal stage development and the growth of the individual. Savages were mentally "child-like" but would grow up to have adult mentalities in the stage of civilization.4

The ethnologists took a different tack. Their emphasis was on particularist interpretations. By the 1830s, "race" and racial differences were central concerns, especially the "place" of various races in the greater scheme of things, however defined. The German Counter-Enlightenment arguments of Johann Herder (1966), Wilhelm von Humboldt (Sweet 1978, II:3-107), and their followers—that the Bildung, the historical development, of each Volk (read "ethnic group," "nation," or "race") was the product of its own Geist (collective mind or spirit) interacting with its native environment and affected by historical chance—were especially amenable to studies emphasizing human physical, psychological, and cultural differences rather than similarities. Subsequently, in the hands of Adolph Bastian, Freidrich Ratzel, Leo Frobenius, and others (see Lowie 1937:30-39, 177-195), this approach led to the historical particularism of German ethnology (Schmidt 1973) and greatly influenced the ways in which German museums of ethnology were organized (Koepping 1983).

From the 1830s through the 1850s, arguments over race were framed in monogenist versus polygenist terms—whether there had been a single creation of humans, with subsequent division into "races," or multiple creations of individual races. In post-Darwinian times, polygenism versus monogenism was argued in evolutionist rather than creationist terms. In either case, the central questions were, Are "races" psychologically, socially, and culturally commensurable, and how might their commensurability, or lack thereof, be demonstrated scientifically? The real issues, of course, had to do with apologies for and campaigns against slavery, the subjugation of colonized populations (including Native Americans), the in-
ternal sociopolitical structures of the recently freed colonies of Spain in Latin America, and internal matters of social class, cast in racist terms, especially in France, Germany, and Great Britain (Shipman 1994).

The "science" of craniometry, the idea that a skull form, metrically defined, was a sure indicator of race, was begun by Johann Friederich Blumenbach in the 1770s. His "racial" classification of humanity (Blumenbach 1865:235–243, 264–269, 298–300), published between 1776 and 1796, greatly influenced the development of both ethnology and physical anthropology in the nineteenth century (Fowler and Parezo 2002).* Cranio-metry and, in general, anthropometry were major scholarly efforts throughout the nineteenth century to metrically, hence "scientifically," define race (Garson 1887). In the end, however, the entire attempt was futile: craniometry was shown to indicate nothing of biological significance (Boas 1899; Cleland 1870a, 1870b; Gould 1981).

The Ethnological Society of Paris was founded in 1839; its purpose was proclaimed to be the study of differences between and among human races (Blanckart 1988). The Ethnological Society of London and the American Ethnological Society in New York, both founded in 1842 (Stocking 1971), also conceived of ethnology as concerned principally with racial differences.

The Ethnological Society of Paris went defunct after a few years, replaced in 1859 by the Anthropology Society of Paris. Therein, anthropology meant the study of humans as physical entities but also the study of ethnography, linguistics, archaeology, and folklore (Wilson 1891). In Britain, the Ethnological Society and a rival group were merged in 1865 into the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (Stocking 1971). The British and American science associations and similar organizations on the Continent were organized into sections, reflecting the ongoing disciplinary specialization in science of the time. The BAAS and, ultimately, the AAAS created sections of anthropology rather than ethnology.

The terminological debate is reflected by actions taken in 1879. In that year, John Wesley Powell received congressional funding for a "Bureau of Ethnology" (later Bureau of American Ethnology) under the Smithsonian Institution. The naming was deliberate since "ethnology" was much the better-known term publicly and in the minds of congressmen, who had focused on issues of racial difference throughout the nineteenth century. On the other hand, in his first annual report, Powell (1881:xxxiii) stated that "it is the purpose of the Bureau of Ethnology to organize anthropologie[al] research in America." Powell, Morgan, and Fredric Ward Putnam saw to it that the AAAS created an anthropology section rather than an ethnology section. In Britain, Tylor's (1881) overview of the discipline was titled simply Anthropology. Putnam gave further cachet to the term at the World's Columbian Exposition by creating the Anthropology Building (Fogelson 1991). There was also a World Anthropology Congress at the exposition, following the precedent of similar congresses at previous expositions in Paris and elsewhere (Holmes 1893; Mason 1890, 1894; Wake 1894).*

Both ethnologists and anthropologists saw themselves as scientists. As such, their task was to generate "objective, value-free, scientific knowledge" about humanity but especially about the commensurability of races. Such knowledge was seen to be essential to resolving ongoing debates about race that swirled through national and international politics and colonial administrations throughout the nineteenth century. This knowledge was also used in what Bruce Trigger (1989: 110–147) calls the "Imperial Synthesis," the essentialist justification for "Progress," meaning continued expansion of Western capitalism and industry through the exploitation of natural resources and cheap labor in colonial countries and regions. Anthropology museums and exhibits became loci for presenting and interpreting this knowledge. According to William Gowland, the president of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1904.

Our ethnological museums play an important part in the education of the nation, but their influence may be enormously increased. With our Imperial and Colonial interests and responsibilities, the study of comparative and local ethnology is of prime importance to us, not only because we are exceptionally favored in regard to the material for that study, which lies ready to hand, by reason of our dominant position in many and varied regions of the world, inhabited by races in all stages of culture, but still more because the proper understanding of native races and their relationship to each other is a matter of vital interest to us, if we are to govern justly and intelligently the very heterogeneous people who come under our sway. Nor is this all. The great variety in the conditions of culture observable amongst the peoples and tribes of various regions, supplies it with a most valuable mass of material for tracing the developmental history of human culture in general. Gaps in the archaeological and historical record may, as is now fully recognized, frequently be filled by means of
Anthropology and natural history museums were also seen to have a definite role to play in justifying and maintaining the social status quo. As Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, wrote in 1909 to his friend Madison Grant, author of the eugenics apology, *The Passing of the Great Race* (Grant 1916), the museum should become a "positive engine" for the "propagation of socially desirable views" (quoted by Kennedy 1968:154).

The nineteenth century was also the time of the development of the great museums of art—the arts of Western Civilization—in the principal cities of Europe, the United States, and some colonial centers. The differences in attitude supporting these museums is reflected in an 1888 editorial in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, the organ of the Archaeological Institute of America. A reader had complained that the journal focused only on the archeology of Classical civilizations and ignored the Americas. In reply, the editors wrote:

"There is a common popular delusion which had its source partly in ignorance, partly in a foolish misdirection of national conceit. The archaeology of America, even when it has to do with the remains of the former life of still existing native tribes, is essentially prehistoric archaeology, that is, it is busied with life and work of a race or races of men in an inchoate, rudimentary, and unformed condition, who never raised themselves, even at their highest point, as in Mexico and Peru, above a low stage of civilization, and never showed the capacity of steadily progressive development. Within the limits of the United States, the native races attained to no high faculty of performance or expression in any field. They had no intellectual life. (cited by Dyson 1998:48; emphasis added)"

The "capacity of steadily progressive development" was exhibited principally by the heirs of Western civilization, the source of which lay in the classical Greco-Roman and Renaissance worlds. To gather into great museums, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and many others elsewhere, the archaeology and "high art" of those worlds was to celebrate the origins—and the success—of European and Euro-American civilization. That success was further celebrated in the great industrial exhibitions/expositions and museums of science and technology created throughout the nineteenth century. Almost by definition, people seen to be in an "inchoate, rudimentary and unformed condition" and having no "intellectual life" were still in or barely removed from the natural world and should, therefore, be depicted in museums of natural history, ethnology, or anthropology. And so they were.

**Changing Exhibits Philosophies**

But how were indigenous tribal and colonized peoples, as well as nonclassical civilizations, to be depicted in museum exhibits? The question has to do with systems of classification in relation to exhibits philosophies and which publics museums ought to serve. The question can only be touched on here, but it is relevant since, after decades of debate and discussion, the basic principles were established between about 1890 and 1910, the period when the Field Museum came into existence. Two examples and their implications will suffice: the Pitt Rivers Museum and discussions and debates centering on exhibits in the U.S. National Museum in the 1880s and 1890s.

**The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford University**

Colonel Augustus Henry Lane Fox collected many types of artifacts throughout his career as a British Army officer. In 1875, he displayed his collection of weapons and other objects "illustrating the development of prehistoric and [present-day] savage cultures" arranged on "typological lines" (Lane Fox 1875:293). After inheriting a very large estate and receiving an army promotion, he became Lieutenant General A. H. L. F Pitt Rivers. In 1884, he gave Oxford University his collection of some 18,000 objects ranging across the spectrum of human technological development. The gift specified that the items be perpetually displayed "typologically, that is grouped by form or purpose rather than by geographical or cultural origin. This unusual layout developed from the General’s theories concerning the evolution of ideas" (Pitt Rivers Museum 2001:2; see also Chapman 1985; Van Keuren 1984). The Pitt Rivers Museum epitomizes nineteenth-century museology until about 1880: row upon row of glass cases stuffed with specimens (or rows of objects attached to walls) to provide, "for the specialist," all possible variations of a given object or species of animal or plant or to
demonstrate their presumed evolution. Current Pitt Rivers Museum publicity attempts to make the most of the situation:

The Pitt Rivers still retains its Victorian atmosphere. The cluttered cases, the original small handwritten labels and the absence of intrusive text panels all contribute to the special experience it offers. The Museum is a fascinating place for those studying changing historical attitudes [toward museum exhibits]. (Pitt Rivers Museum 2001:2)

The general public’s attitude toward such exhibits was generally one of yawning ennui. Perhaps they were “of interest to the specialist,” but they were mind numbing and confusing to everyone else.

George Brown Goode and U.S. National Museum Exhibits

At the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in 1876, the Smithsonian Institution presented long rows of glass cases stuffed with animals, birds and artifacts, all “demonstrating evolutionary principles.” The exhibits were generally seen to be a failure (Trennert 1974, 1976). This led George Brown Goode, among others, to begin to rethink the purposes of public museums and their exhibits philosophies. Goode spent his professional career at the Smithsonian Institution, where he rose from assistant director of the U.S. National Museum to assistant secretary of the Smithsonian. He was monomaniacally concerned with systems of classification for museums throughout his career. As we saw, such concerns had begun as early as the 1570s. Those concerns multiplied over time as curators coped with the floods of natural history and anthropological specimens deriving from the exploration and colonization of much of the world in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. The Smithsonian’s experience at Philadelphia led Goode to think about systems of classification per se, how classified objects should be displayed, and whom museums were for.

It is useful to briefly review Goode’s work since he had a major influence on museum development and drew on the latest publications and thinking in both America and Europe. Goode (1882:5–7, 1883:83) says museums exist for three purposes: “for record, for research, for education.” Museums of record originated “within the last 3–4 centuries . . . perhaps one of the results of the propagation of the inductive philosophy [i.e., science]."

Museums of research contain “materials gathered together that they may serve as a basis for scientific thought . . . Objects, which have served as a foundation for scientific study, or which, from their historical significance, are treasured up and preserved . . . that they may serve purposes of record, permanent land-marks of the progress of the world in thought, in culture, or in industrial achievement . . . constitute the most valuable of all materials for future study” (Goode 1883:82).

In Goode’s (1883:82) view, educational museums are modern developments “an outgrowth of the modern industrial exhibition” beginning with the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 in London. The U.S. Congress had funded a building to house many of the exhibits from the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 (the present-day Arts and Industries Building of the Smithsonian Institution). Goode (1883:84) saw this new museum as the beginning of a comprehensive national educational museum, one “which shall show, according to one consistent plan, the resources of the earth and the results of human activity in every direction.”

But how should exhibits be organized for the general public? In “ordinary museums so much duplicate material is exhibited that the really instructive objects are lost to view.” The labels are poor, and the “wrong objects” are shown. Education museums must develop programs of “thorough labeling” (Goode 1883:85). Goode’s famous museology maxim follows: “An efficient museum . . . may be described as a collection of instructive labels, each illustrated by a well-selected specimen” (Goode 1883:85; emphasis in original). “Certain cardinal principles” should be followed in arranging all public museums:

1. Every article exhibited should illustrate an idea, and no two objects should be shown which illustrate the same idea in a similar manner.

2. The idea which any object is intended to illustrate should be explained upon its label in such a manner that any intelligent visitor, without previous special knowledge of the subject, may be able to learn (a) why the object is shown, and (b) what lesson it is intended to teach;

3. The objects should be so carefully classified that their relations to each other may be recognized by the visitor, so that, taken together, they suggest certain general conclusions; in the formation of these conclusions he should be aided by certain general or collective labels which relate to and describe groups of objects in a manner similar to that
in which the individual labels describe separate articles;

(4) The labels individual and collective, should be supplemented by guide books and manuals for special departments. (Goode 1883:85–86)

Goode (1882, 1883) also proposed an “Outline of the Scheme of Museum Classification” with eight major divisions divided into sixty-four classes. A much more ambitious scheme for the World’s Columbian Exposition (Goode 1893) had ten “Groups or Departments,” each containing numerous “divisions” and subdivisions totaling nearly 1,000 categories!

Museum Exhibits Philosophies

Finally, we come to museum exhibits. Goode’s maxim provides guidance for clarity of organization, but not form and style, of exhibits. In 1887, young Franz Boas (1887a, 1887b), newly arrived in America and wishing to make a name for himself (Bunzl 1996; Liss 1996), published two brief articles in Science criticizing the ethnological exhibits in the U.S. National Museum: glass cases stuffed with artifacts, arranged by Otis Tufon Mason to demonstrate presumed evolutionary sequences (Jacknis 1985, 1996). Mason (1887) and Powell (1887) replied, thus initiating a dialogue that led to the development of ethnographic life groups by Mason and William Henry Holmes (who were also influenced by the work of William Temple Hornaday, then also at the Smithsonian, on “habitat groups” for natural history displays). The Smithsonian’s first life groups were shown at the World’s Columbian Exposition. In the U.S. National Museum, these were later organized by “geo-ethnic provinces,” or “culture areas” (Holmes 1903, 1914; Mason 1894, 1896). The subject of life groups and habitat groups and their impacts on natural history and anthropology exhibits is discussed elsewhere (Lucas 1921; Wonder 1990) and will not be further pursued here. The point is simply that systems of classification have long been of central concern in the museum world and directly influence exhibit design, as in the case of the Pitt Rivers collection and the Smithsonian’s glass cases. A different system of classification, such as that promulgated by Franz Boas, led to exhibits much more likely to catch the interest and educate members of the public, as Goode had hoped.

Summary

The Field Museum came into legal existence while the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 was still under way. Its founding directors, administrators, and curators were the heirs of the half millennium of ideas about natural history, ethnology, anthropology, nomenclature, classification systems, and exhibits philosophy touched on herein. They put the latest and best of those ideas into practice, as did the staffs of major and minor natural history and anthropology museums throughout the world. Wittingly or not, exhibits and publicity often reflected the ideas about subjugation of the natural world in name of Progress and about the “place” of natural man and colonized peoples in the scheme of things current in 1900. In Chicago, for ideas about “civilized man,” visitors went to the Art Institute or, after 1933, the Museum of Science and Industry. In New York, they crossed Central Park from the American Museum of Natural History to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. All that was acceptable (Collier and Tschopek, this volume) until about 1960, when indigenous peoples and, in the 1970s, postmodernist critics began to question the contents and implications of the exhibits and the symbolic purposes of natural history and anthropology museums alike. The Field Museum and other, similar institutions responded to the critics, but that is another story (Ames 1986; Durrans 1988; Fabian 1983; Freed 1991; Kreeh and Hail 1999; Simpson 1996; Tater 1995). Our purpose has been to provide background to the founding of the Field Museum and its Anthropology Department. The subsequent histories of the museum and the department are celebrated in the essays that follow.

Notes

1. Some museums are cross-referenced, and the editors are certain they have not listed all extant museums worldwide, including hundreds of small local history museums. For an even more expansive view of the world of museums in 2002, see the Virtual Library Museum Pages on the Internet.
2. The other Muses are Calliope, epic poetry; Erato, erotic poetry; Euterpe, lyric poetry; Melopomene, tragedy; Polyhymnia, sacred song; Terpsichore, dance; and Thalia, comedy and

3. Paley’s works were very popular with religious leaders and laity as well as nascent scientists. Charles Darwin claimed that studying Paley’s work was the best course he had at Cambridge.

4. This view was also taken by others in debates as to whether savages and colonialized peoples had “pre-logical” mentalities (e.g., Levy-Bruhl 1923).

5. As an aside, Blumenbach (1865:243) coined the term “Caucasian” because he was enamored of a “most beautiful skull of a young Georgian female” from the Caucasus Mountains.

6. Usage varied at later expositions. For example, Buffalo in 1901 had an Ethnology Building, but there were anthropology exhibits at St. Louis in 1904 and a major anthropology exhibit at San Diego in 1915.

7. I am aware that major “nonclassical” archaeological collections from Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, and (sometimes) Mesoamerica are held by and exhibited in fine art rather than natural history or anthropology museums (e.g., the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Brooklyn Museum of Art, and the Art Institute of Chicago). Elsewhere, such collections are in anthropology museums, such as the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the Hearst Museum at the University of California, Berkeley, or more “general purpose” institutions, such as the British Museum.
The Role of Museums in American Anthropology

Donald Collier and Harry S. Tschopik, Jr.

American museum anthropology began to assume its modern character in the 1890s under the aegis of Frederick Ward Putnam and Franz Boas. Field Museum curator Donald Collier and American Museum curator Harry Tschopik, Jr., writing from the perspective of half a century later, identify foundational personalities and events in the creation of the discipline and raise questions about the future of museum anthropology that remain very much alive today. This work takes stock at a critical juncture for American museum anthropology.—Eds.

The Past

Although it is scarcely necessary to trace the history of anthropology from the beginning, it would seem profitable, before considering the present relation of museums to the anthropological profession, to glance backward briefly to the formative period of American anthropology. As will be shown, some of the most pressing problems facing anthropological museums can only be appreciated when seen in historical perspective.

In a sense it is true that, just as anthropological science began as a miscellaneous collection of facts about primitive people, museums developed from miscellaneous collections of objects. The museum began, in fact, as the "cabinet des curiosités," private collections of objects collected during the great period of exploration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The transition from the private cabinet to the public, or semi-public, museum was achieved, however, by the end of the eighteenth century. Thus from the beginning the museum assumed the character of a repository, and although at first the objects housed in museums were exhibited chiefly as curiosities almost at once they began to take on a far greater significance.

It is not true, however, as has often been assumed, that the anthropological museums of America that are still in existence began their respective careers completely and entirely devoid of plan and theoretical orientation. At the time when these institutions opened their doors to the public, the theoretical climate of American anthropology was already well developed, as was dominated by the thinking of men such as [Adolf] Bastian, [Johann Jakob] Bachofen, [Henry S.] Maine, [Lewis Henry] Morgan, and [Edward Burnett] Tylor. In fact the basic patterns of anthropological museums in this country were established in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In 1890 the Peabody Museum at Harvard and the anthropology departments at the American Museum of Natural History and the United States National Museum were about twenty years old, and the University Museum at Philadelphia had been recently established.

During the 1880's, museum programs had been concerned mainly with the acquisition of objects by purchase or gift, and the cataloguing, preservation, and display of specimens. The scanty information available indicates that these collections were usually displayed typologically or geographically. Before 1890, there was very little systematic research or field investigation, notable exceptions being the program of archeological field work during the eighties under the direction of

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One of the most outstanding events that foreshadowed and led into the great period of development in the anthropological museums of the United States was the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. As head of the Department of Ethnology of the Exposition, Putnam selected Boas as his assistant in the vast enterprise of gathering anthropological collections and data, and of organizing this material into exhibits. During the ensuing two years they carried out an unprecedented program of collecting and research that extended from Alaska to Tierra del Fuego. Altogether, approximately a hundred persons were engaged in these activities. They included nearly all the anthropology students from Clark and Harvard, as well as established ethnologists and archeologists, government officials, missionaries, and army and navy officers. Boas organized a program of physical anthropology that collected skeletal material from both hemispheres and gathered anthropometric data from various Indian groups, as well as measurements of the children of different races from the United States, Canada, Hawaii, and Japan. These data were organized in diagrams and charts for display in the physical anthropological laboratory at the Exposition. In addition to the numerous exhibits of the Department of Ethnology, the Exposition contained an Eskimo and several Indian villages, and various ethnological and archeological exhibits organized by foreign governments.

The immediate results of the Exposition was the founding of the Field Columbian Museum, which took over most of the anthropological and natural history collections that had been assembled for the World's Fair. Of wider importance was the precedent of larger-scale, systematic anthropological fieldwork, and the crystallization of a growing interest, both public and professional, in the ethnography and antiquities of the New World. The dual result was that more persons were attracted to the pursuit of anthropology and a great deal of private money was made available to support anthropological research.

In 1894 Putnam returned to the museum at Harvard and also took over as curator of anthropology at the American Museum in New York, where he soon added Boas, [Marshall] Saville, and others to the staff and launched an ambitious research program. At this time there was a feeling among American anthropologists that the aboriginal cultures of the New World should be studied immediately, before the native way of life vanished forever. Professional anthropologists, moreover,
had begun to distrust the accounts of travelers and other untrained observers that had, hitherto, served as a basis for theoretical speculations. Under the influences of Boas, especially, there was a growing demand for accurate, detailed, monographic descriptions of native peoples. As a consequence, Saville was sent to work in Mexico, and Boas directed the Jesup North Pacific Expeditions of 1897-1902 to the Northwest Coast and Siberia. This large-scale, planned, problem-oriented, team research proved to be a milestone in American anthropology. While the Jesup Expedition was still in progress the American Museum initiated intensive fieldwork among the Plains tribes. Within this same period [William Henry] Holmes and [George Amos] Dorsey were conducting expeditions for the Field Museum, Uhle was working for the University Museum at Pachamac in Peru, the Peabody Museum at Harvard was expanding its fieldwork in North and Middle America, and other museums were supporting investigations in a number of areas.

By 1900 the basic pattern of anthropological activities in American museums, which was to flourish for the next thirty years, was well established. These activities consisted of programs of exhibition, research, scientific and popular publications, contributions to journals, teaching, and popular lectures. A large proportion of the field research during this period was performed by museum men or as a part of museum-financed projects. Museum research was guided in some cases by the need for collections, and in others by the desire to follow up theoretical leads suggested by existing collections. In other instances, the collections indicated whole regions where knowledge was fragmentary or totally lacking. At this time there developed the tendency for given museums to map out areas of research activity—for example, the Peabody Museum at Harvard in Middle America and in the Southwest, the Field Museum in the Southwest, the Plains and Old World, the American Museum of Natural History in the Plains, Mexico, and Peru, and the University of California in California and adjacent regions, and Peru. The large area projects fostered regional comparisons and delimitations, and these, reinforced by the growing collections, led to the culture-area formulation, which, in turn, inspired further regional studies.

The theoretical interests of museum men, as of most American anthropologists of the period, were empirical, strongly historical, and anti-evolutionary, but with a considerable retention of the natural history approach of the nineteenth century. There was a strong emphasis on descriptive and comparative studies of material culture. Many of the most important theoretical contributions of the time came from museum men writing in their role of museum men: the importance of diffusion; the culture-area and age-area concepts, the relation of man to nature, the denial of trans-Pacific contact, and the autonomy of New World culture.

As [Alfred Louis] Kroeber had pointed out, museums during this period were the centers of anthropological teaching; or rather, museum curators formed the core of university teaching staff. The major university departments drew heavily on the staffs of their anthropological museums or established a working relation with a nearby large museum. Most of the important teachers were museum men or former museum men: Putnam, Boas, Kroeber, Lowie, [Clark] Wissler, [Frederick] Starr, Sullivan, [Roland Burragle] Dixon, [Alés] Hrdlička, to name a few.

From an early date the museums recognized an obligation to educate the public. Their programs of popular lectures and publications achieved this objective with notable success. The theoretical positions that resulted from the great areal research programs in turn set the pattern for museum exhibits, and, by and large, these were displayed geographically—by region or culture area—or chronologically. Through detailed (and often endless) labeling, the curators applied descriptive monographic treatment to anthropological objects, with no concessions to the limits of interest and attention span of the average visitor. These areally organized exhibits—which we now think of as open storage—were arranged with a maximum of specimens and a minimum of interpretation. This was the empirical approach: the student was supposed to bring to the exhibits his own orientation, and to draw from them his own conclusions. At the time the question of whether the museum should exhibit for the professional or for the public at large seems not to have arisen. At least no attempt at differentiation for these very different audiences was made in the exhibition halls.

To sum up this review of the past, from 1890 to about 1920, anthropological museums played a dominant role in the development of anthropological research, theory, and teaching in the United States. Before the period of the great philanthropic foundations, they marshaled the financial support that made possible the steady growth of anthropology. Museum anthropologists organized
and influenced the direction of a major part of anthropological fieldwork of all types. Their theoretical views they dispensed both in monographs and technical papers, and through the medium of museum exhibits. In teaching they reinforced the empirical tendencies of anthropology and emphasized its place in natural science or as a branch of natural history. In large part they ignored or eschewed the humanistic aspects of the study of man and culture, which were left to museums of art and classical archeology.

The Present

During the past thirty-odd years the balance of influence has shifted from museum, or museum-oriented, anthropologists, who have increased relatively little in numbers, to nonmuseum anthropologists, attached to universities, government offices, hospitals, interdisciplinary programs, and the like, who have increased vastly. At the same time, the rapid growth of anthropology in the United States and the great proliferation of anthropological interests and specialties has resulted in an ever-widening gap between the total range of anthropological activity and the more slowly changing, traditional interests of museums.

Although nearly all archeologists and students of human paleontology have continued to utilize museum collections, most social and cultural anthropologists have become less and less concerned with historical problems and descriptive ethnography, and have, generally speaking, lost interest in material culture and technology, the traditional and most fruitful stock-in-trade of museums. Similarly, many physical anthropologists who have specialized in anatomy, genetics, constitutional studies, and the like, feel more affinity for the medical school than for the museum. On the other hand, museums have not gone very far in widening their programs in the direction of the current interests of anthropology. Exhibitionwise, an occasional museum display may illustrate a "functional" approach to the ethnological material. Certain others have dealt modestly with problems of cultural evolution, man and his environment, with diffusion, convergence, or other specific mechanisms of culture growth. But, by and large, these exhibits have been tentative, experimental, and restricted in proportion to others arranged along conventional areal lines. Most importantly, the newer exhibits have not, to date, reflected any systematic or integrated plan, and treatment of many problems of current theoretical interest has never been attempted.

It is probable that the research output of museum anthropologists is as great as ever. It is certain that many conduct their investigations in the newest and most fashionable field of research and, in so doing, make important theoretical contributions. Yet such research is usually pursued in addition to, or in spite of, traditional museum activities rather than as a part of a changing or expanding program. This is diametrically opposed to the position of the university anthropologist, whose research projects not infrequently represent direct outgrowths of his teaching, and vice versa. The relationship of the research program to the seminar room needs no further elaboration here.

At best this schizophrenic role of the museum anthropologist is a difficult one to maintain, and at worst there is a tendency to slight curatorial duties by those curators who are concerned more with their professional standing as anthropologists than with the effectiveness of their museum work.

Curatorial work, in the broadest interpretation, imposes very real and unavoidable obligations. It is often not easy for a museum man to broaden his research when he is aware of how much there is at hand to be done. If he does overcome this difficulty, he is apt to draw a sharp dichotomy between his museum work and his research, and to pour his creative energy into the research rather than in constructive and original thinking regarding the museum's program, since it is in the former that he must seek the respect of his anthropological colleagues. There results the paradox that the better a man is as an anthropologist in terms of current value judgments of the profession, the poorer he is likely to be in performing traditional curatorial duties and in contributing to a more vital museum program.

Although museum anthropologists may, and usually do, keep abreast of the nonmuseum colleagues in research, there is no doubt that the role of training professional anthropologists has, with few exceptions, passed from the museum to the university. This is not to say that museum anthropologists have abandoned teaching: far from it. Most, if not all, devote at least a part of their time to teaching in universities, and many have formal professorial status as well. Yet with the great proliferation of universities and colleges during the past thirty-odd years, many graduate students have been, and—particularly in ethnology and social anthropology—are being, trained who have
never set foot in an anthropological museum, and see no reason to do so.

While universities have largely assumed the role of training the professional anthropologists, museums have, for the most part, been left the task of instructing the public. The day is not long past when it was not considered quite respectable, in professional circles, for anthropologists to write "popular" books. Public instruction, on the other hand, has been an obligation of museums almost since their inception in the United States, as witnessed by the excellent handbook series issued by most anthropological museums. This interest in public education is not dictated at the present time entirely by sheer benevolence, nor exclusively by awareness that public knowledge of basic anthropology is desirable or necessary in the face of the present world crisis. The fact is that most museums are becoming increasingly dependent upon public support, a situation reflected by the recent proliferation of public relations officers, popular membership drives, and the use made by museums of mass media such as radio, television, and motion pictures.

The publication record—both scientific and popular—of most anthropological museums are generally excellent and above reproach, but most museums have neglected their unique educational stock-in-trade, the visual presentation of anthropological materials. One of the main causes of the apparent conservatism in this respect is that museums have vested interests—financial, intellectual, and occasionally, sentimental as well—in their collections and exhibits. The majority of these exhibits are out of date in terms of the present theoretical position of anthropology, in terms of educational effectiveness for either student or the public, and in terms of the role anthropology would like to play in the present world crisis. This lag is due in part to the factors discussed in the preceding paragraphs and in part to the high cost of exhibits, their rapid obsolescence, and the lag between planning and execution, which in turn results from understaffing and lack of money. It costs the work of many brains and hands and twenty to forty times more money to produce an effective anthropological exhibit than to produce a sound popular book covering the same range of subject matter. The book had a good chance of paying for itself or even making a profit, but museum exhibits can never pay for themselves under the present organization of museums. If it be asked, can we afford museums, and why not depend solely upon books, we would answer that we can afford museums; that exhibits, through their visual appeal, excite the interest and imagination, and offer experiences not found in books. Even if exhibits can never tell the whole story—and this has not been demonstrated because it has never been attempted—they reach many persons who will not read the kind of books we are talking about.

It is clear, then, that the relation of anthropological museum to the field of anthropology has been changed radically in the United States during the past thirty years. Although they may hold their own in research and teaching, museum men, except through their writings, exert relatively little influence on the present trend in anthropological theory. How far this development has gone is evidenced by the number of graduate students and recent Ph.D.'s who think of museums as intellectually low grade, if they think of them at all. This attitude is due in part to trends toward specialization, in part to the opinion of some university anthropologists that museums have nothing to offer their students, and in part to the failure of museum men to keep their exhibits abreast of current anthropological interests.

The Future

Are anthropological museums doomed to stand on the periphery of anthropology? Have they no choice but to become holding operations to preserve and study the remnants of past cultures, with periodic forays abroad to observe the death rattles of the fast-disappearing primitive societies? Once these have vanished, does the museum, ethnographically speaking, close up shop? We do not think so, and will attempt to point up our beliefs by means of a series of questions. We do not claim to offer complete answers, but we have some convictions and suggestions. The ramifications of these queries, quite naturally, overlap, but this is inevitable. Although the complex problems of exhibition techniques are beyond the scope of this discussion, some reference to the content and organization of exhibits is unavoidable.

Research and Theory

What lines of research of importance to anthropology are museums best fitted to pursue?
These are several uniquely suited to the museum, and one, now largely neglected, happened to be the museum’s traditional stock-in-trade: namely the detailed documentation of \textit{primitive} cultures before it is too late. On virtually every continent there still remain a number of primitive tribes, yet undescribed or only partially described, that could be studied profitably from an essentially ethnographic point of view. If this is not done, this knowledge will be lost forever, and who can say what descriptive material will be required for the anthropological theory of the future? Obviously an ethnographer of the 1950’s will differ in theoretical orientation from one of the 1920’s; but he should at least amass comparably complete data, and it seems to us that in many cases this is not being done. Such investigation would be especially appropriate for museums, because, today, it is very difficult to obtain funds from foundations for descriptive studies of primitive people. Since museums are traditionally acquisitive institutions, the possibility of collections should prove an additional incentive.

While foundations favor investigations of folk culture, community studies, applied problems, and the like, most social anthropologists concerned with the study of acculturated peoples are either disinterested in material culture or believe, erroneously, that “acculturated objects” hold no interest for museums.

Actually, with such collections museums could provide a hitherto unexploited potential in acculturation studies. Many aspects or processes of culture change can be studied concretely in terms of material culture, yet few modern studies of this nature have been made. Investigations of contemporary or recent acculturation would enrich our knowledge of culture change generally, and would add much to our understanding of changes in the past. Such studies would be particularly valuable to archeologists in providing insight into the meaning of comparable changes in the prehistoric past. Such a program would involve a deliberate policy of collecting material culture from contemporary cultures in transition—in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Oceania—with accompanying contextual data, in contrast to the more traditional policy of collecting only the “native and uncontaminated” in art and artifact.

Finally, museums might aim at collecting motion picture and photographic records of primitive peoples, as well as sound recordings of their language and music. Not only are museums in a position to take advantage, for ethnographic documentation of this type, of the numerous and varied expeditions they are constantly sending to all parts of the globe; many museums have specialized departments of photography, and a few have sound technicians as well. To the best of our knowledge, few university departments have so far attempted the type of audio-visual records now being sought by some museums.

\textit{Is material culture, as a proper subject for anthropological investigation, a dead duck?} We believe that material culture and technology have not yet lost their significance as subject matter for research. In fact, they offer a great potential for studies with a modern orientation. To point to a single example, anthropologists are showing an increased interest in art—its history, as well as the problems of style, function, and values. At the same time, artists and art historians are becoming increasingly interested in anthropology. Anthropological museums house the raw materials for such studies, and could come to be common meeting ground for this branch of the humanities and social sciences.

\textit{Are there any museum needs that necessitate research?} We think that there are, and that the anthropological museum itself is a fair and necessary field for investigation. In order to plan more effective displays, which, once constructed, represent large investments of money and time, research and experimentation in exhibition techniques are essential. If museum exhibits are to be modernized conceptually, new avenues must be explored so that ways and means of displaying these concepts may be found. In this regard the fields of advertising, window display, and the theater have a wealth of suggestions to offer.

Systematic studies of audience reaction to exhibits would be equally profitable. Mass communication studies are currently fashionable in social science. Why is not the anthropological museum as a medium of mass communication itself a suitable object of study?

\textit{Are research problems best left to the interest of individual staff members, or are co-ordinated projects more desirable?} Here, obviously, there can be no unequivocal “yes” or “no.” nor is it likely that an official ruling along these lines will ever be made in any museum. Yet the anthropological museum, embracing as it does archeologists, ethnologists and physical anthropologists on its staff, is in an excellent position to tackle projects that require knowledge of these three now highly specialized fields. Broad problems of culture history and/or ecology necessitate closely
geared teamwork, and museums could well specialize in assembling the data and carrying out research in these fields.

Other types of useful co-operative enterprise come to mind. The natural history museum, embracing under one roof diverse subjects such as anthropology, paleontology, comparative anatomy, mammalogy, and ecology, is ideally situated to produce integrated studies of man the animal and to investigate his place in nature. This would require large-scale interdepartmental co-operation on the part of scientists from the several fields as well as the use of extensive study collections.

Finally, museums, rather than anthropologists acting as private individuals, are in a better position to arrange projects that require co-operation on the institutional level, both at home and abroad. In the latter case, the prestige of the museum as a reputable and established institution is often in itself a factor of considerable importance, and one that greatly facilitates research.

Can museums once more contribute importantly to anthropological theory, apart from the published theoretical papers of their staff members? It is, perhaps, premature to attempt an answer to this question, but one outstanding example comes to mind. The special exhibition, "Across the Pacific," arranged by Gordon Frederick Ekholm at the American Museum of Natural History in 1949, stimulated professional anthropologists to reconsider the important problem of trans-Pacific contact. The exhibition led directly to a symposium held in Philadelphia in 1950, as well as to a series of technical papers on the subject of possible Old World—New World connections. We see no reason to doubt that other museums' exhibits, dealing with current and controversial issues, would have equal influence on American anthropological theory.

Teaching

How can we resolve the old problem: does the museum exhibit for professional anthropologists and advanced students, for the general public, or for both? As stated earlier, the larger museums are already committed to programs of public instruction, and are becoming increasingly dependent upon public support. Their obligation to the public can, and must, be fulfilled. Museums are potentially the most effective mechanisms for transmitting anthropological knowledge and concepts to the public at large, and in the execution of this task, exhibits are the museum's basic and unique form of communication.

Although some university museums may still be puzzled by the dilemma of whether exhibits should be designed for students or the public, most larger public and semipublic museums have taken a stand in favor of the layman, even though they are uncertain where this decision is leading them. In our opinion, this dilemma has always been a false one. Experience has indicated that well-designed exhibits—exhibits that generalize anthropology—are more effective with students than the archaic "open storage" displays and narrowly technical exhibits labeled with anthropological jargon. Certainly the newer types of exhibits mean more to the layman.

In opposition to the policy of modernizing anthropological exhibits along conceptual lines, some die-hards argue that "Exhibits become dated." Anything and anyone "become dated." What is wrong with most anthropological exhibits today is that they are dated—usually circa 1920. Yet many principles of anthropology, as well as processes and attributes of culture, are now established beyond all reasonable doubt. Future research may refine and clarify them, but essentially many will remain unaltered. The argument that exhibits "become dated" does not apply, therefore, to the central core of anthropological knowledge. There are many basic concepts of anthropology that may be put on public view without fear that the exhibits which represent them will be come obsolete before the paint is dry.

In the training of anthropology students, we believe that the museums' most important contribution, which is at present imperfectly realized, lies in the teaching of ethnography and culture history. As long as culture remains an important unifying concept in anthropology, students need to know a good deal about the history of culture, its varieties, and the way it has changed. And every anthropologist needs to attain a certain literacy in ethnography. Many university teaching programs are inadequate in these respects, and it is here that museums can be most helpful by creating integrated and meaningful exhibits.

In order to present anthropology as it exists today, exhibits must be expanded far beyond the traditional culture history—culture area approach. It is likely that some phases of anthropology can never be demonstrated visually in museum exhibits, but the limits of what can be done are not known. Carefully planned and organized exhibits
treating the following topics could be safely installed at the present time.

(2) The nature of culture: a hall describing the attributes and properties of culture, its varieties, and what it "does" for man.
(3) Culture growth and change: a hall that would describe these processes, as well as outline cultural and social evolution.
(4) A hall of cultural ecology: perhaps the utilization of a single locality or landscape by man as seen through time.

These exhibits could be arranged with the collections and materials now existing in large museums. In most of these institutions sufficient collections would remain for additional, although reduced, halls arranged along conventional cultural lines.

Another way in which museums can contribute importantly to the training of anthropologists is to establish more effective programs for student learning by manipulation of and research on the study collections. Both students and professionals have needs which cannot be met by exhibits. Even in the most extreme "open storage" type of exhibit, total series of specimens are almost never displayed, and, in any case, most anthropological specimens cannot be studied effectively through glass. Well-organized storage is essential for students and professionals, but in order for collections to be effectively used by scholars museums will have to improve the sadly inadequate arrangements of their study collections and the facilities for using them. This is one of the most vital and difficult problems faced by museums, and the importance of solving it will have to be sold, in some instances, to museum trustees, to foundations, and to the donors who customarily give money for expedition or the purchase of collections.

*Can we stimulate the study of museum collections as a substitute for the increasingly expensive field trip?* Although all large museums are literally mines of untapped material, encouragement is needed to induce gifted anthropology students to seek experience and do research in museums. The number of such students has fallen off noticeably in recent years, for reasons already discussed. Such able students are important both as a stimulus to museum staffs and as potential museum curators of the future. Presumably a revitalization of museum programs would attract more good students. In the meantime, a series of fellowships offered by museums and by universities would help to attract first-rate students. At another level, museums, universities, and foundations could work together to encourage a greater quantity of high-quality research on museum collections.

*How can museums keep abreast of current theoretical trends in the face of the high cost of installing exhibits?* The obvious solution that comes to mind is the temporary exhibition hall. The anthropological museum could devote one hall to current problems. This would serve both to focus attention upon these issues and to keep the museum's displays up to date. It would also help to close the gap between current professional knowledge and that of the layman who, in science, at least, is traditionally several years or more behind.

In these ways, and in others that have not occurred to us, it should be possible for anthropological museums to serve more fruitfully both anthropology and the public. This end cannot be achieved by museums alone. The active support and collaboration of universities and of the anthropological profession as a whole is necessary as well. But in developing new programs and new approaches museums should not lose sight of their traditional and still fruitful role of linking anthropology with natural science. The natural science outlook had been one of the distinguishing characteristics of anthropology in the past. We believe that museums should strive to keep it a dynamic force in the anthropology of the future.

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Creating Field Anthropology: Why Remembering Matters

David R. Wilcox

In an age of networking, bandwidth, and globalization (Friedman 2000), the connections made by the Field Museum after more than a century of dedicated community service have propelled it into the twenty-first century determined to be the best museum in the world (McCarter 2000a). Under the presidency of John McCarter, the financial struggles of many decades have been ameliorated (McCarter 1999), the Museum’s accessibility in the new Museum Campus has increased (McCarter 1998), and the board of trustees has rededicated the Museum to the goal of creating knowledge through its research programs (McCarter 2000a). For anthropology, one of the four scientific departments in the Museum, the challenge is clear: to go forth from this “sanctuary for learning, exploration and discovery” (McCarter 1996) and, by originality, creativity, and moral courage, bring back to it the information and collections necessary to create new contributions to knowledge, new ways of packaging that knowledge, and new ways of communicating it to the diverse publics served by a world-class facility.

The key player charged with creating this new knowledge is the curator, whose adventures away from the Museum have long been called “expeditions.” But the curator’s role is much greater and more complex than research alone (see Collier, this volume; Collier and Tschopik, this volume; Haas, this volume). As a curator’s curator, the paleontologist Edwin Colbert (1958) once explained, a curator is also a “keeper” who cares for the collections of objects and archives brought back to a museum. A curator is active in public programs, including both lectures and exhibitions, and also must attend to a certain amount of administration. However, a curator’s greatest importance to an institution, as Colbert (1958) stressed, is in the role of researcher, which brings to an institution the authority and originality of its message. All these roles must be continually balanced, now one, now another, being foremost in the curator’s daily activities. In most larger institutions, the curator’s role has become differentiated, shifting the balance to a purely research role with separate staffs being hired to handle the exhibition and education dimensions of the job (Colbert 1958; Fenton 1960; Terrell 1979; see also Collier and Tschopik, this volume; Haas, this volume). Such personnel bring the specialized training now needed to the tasks of collections management, exhibition design, and educational outreach. In some cases the curator then becomes a team player, working closely with professional collections staff, exhibit designers, and educators, an approach that often produces superior results (Terrell 1991a). In other cases, the curator has been shut out of the process, with results that may be pretty but that lack serious intellectual content (but see Honan 1990). Allowing too much autonomy to professional staff who do not fully understand the relationships of the whole to the parts—the museum’s mission to its individual activities—can have profound and regrettable effects in the areas of computerization, repatriation, and archival management. On the other hand, curators often need professional input on exhibit choreography, story lines, and simplicity. How to properly balance the traditional roles of the curator in a large, modern museum like the Field Museum is one of the principal challenges of the current museum administration (see also Dickinson 1991).
It has ever been so. The goals of the Field Museum today—to create new knowledge and to disseminate it—are nineteenth-century ideals embraced by all institutions that would call themselves a "museum" (see Fowler, this volume). The history of museums can be told in terms of the interactions among museum administrations of trustees and directors—or now president/chief executive officers—and their curatorial staffs as they struggled to find the best balance among research, collections care, exhibitions, and education. At another level, the history of museums can be examined externally in the ways its personnel interacted with the multiple communities it seeks to serve. What is expected of museums, and what would have to be accomplished today to be regarded as a "world-class facility"? Is the civic purpose of museums today different from what it once was? How has the variable and shifting nature of expectations about the civic purpose of museums affected the internal interactions between administration and curatorial staff and the trajectories of research, exhibition, and education programs? What does the current structure of the Museum's support system tell us about the kind of new knowledge curators are expected to create tomorrow? Are the expectations of curators as professional anthropologists/archaeologists congruent with those of the public and museum administration, or are they between a rock and a hard place, struggling mightily to exercise free expression, teaching us things we would rather not know? What has been the relationship of the Field Museum to other institutions, such as the Oriental Institute and the University of Chicago; how do its contributions to knowledge and its programs of research compare with those of other institutions; and what can be done today to build more effective alliances and programs?

Let us then look at the history of the Field Museum, with a particular focus on its Department of Anthropology and its social context. My purpose is not so much to answer the huge questions I have posed as to sketch out some directions for answering them and to further entice our doing so. I shall try to show why remembering matters. Only then can we understand how we have come to be as we are.

Although no comprehensive history of the Field Museum has been published, the broad outlines of its history are fairly well known. It grew out of Chicago's success in hosting the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. Agreeing with an idea suggested by Harvard's Peabody Museum curator, Frederic Ward Putnam (whose second wife was from Chicago), 64 local Chicago businessmen (see Appendix 3) and others incorporated a museum under the laws of Illinois that same year, and Marshall Field 1 was persuaded to contribute a million dollars for its endowment (see Ayer, this volume). First sited in the exposition's Fine Arts Building in Jackson Park, the museum opened in its present location in 1921. Stanley Field, a nephew of the founding benefactor, joined the board of trustees in 1906, the same year Marshall Field I died (leaving an additional eight million to the Museum [Goodspeed 1922]). Stanley Field became board president in 1908, a position he ably filled until his death in 1964. Another great patron of the Museum was Marshall Field III, the grandson, who personally sponsored many Field Museum expeditions beginning in 1922 (see Appendix 4). On reaching age 50, in 1943—the 50th anniversary also of the Museum (Anonymous 1943)—Captain Field came into his full inheritance. That year he gave property to the Museum that was to support it at a level he had been providing, and he asked that its name be changed to the Chicago Natural History Museum, which was done. Shortly after Stanley Field's death, in 1966, it was changed back to the Field Museum of Natural History. A woman's auxiliary board (Smith 1976) was then added, and many efforts were launched to keep up and expand the Museum's programs and to modernize its now historic building.

In anthropology, a series of renowned curators—from William Henry Holmes (1894–1896), George Amos Dorsey (1895–1914), and Berthold Laufer (1907–1934) to Paul Sidney Martin (1929–1972), Alexander Spoehr (1940–1952), Donald Collier (1941–1992), and George Quimby (1942–1965) and their assistant curator and research associate colleagues—brought back world-class collections, created and then transformed interesting exhibitions, and prolifically published valuable scientific monographs. Late in his career, Martin became world famous by embracing the so-called New Archaeology and by providing intellectual support and encouragement to its young practitioners, including the present writer—though I was then, and remain now, critical of certain aspects of the New Archaeology (see Wilcox 1975). After Donald Collier stepped down as chief curator in 1971, a group of new hires set in motion a new series of research and exhibition initiatives funded largely with outside grants, an approach that continues today.
With this brief overview in mind, we can begin to probe more deeply into the history of anthropology at the Field Museum. To understand the importance of such endeavor to American society, it is useful to look back to the origins of this area of interest, which was provoked in Western culture by the explorations of the 15th century (see Fowler, this volume).

Columbus’s discovery of America in 1492 was part of a general thrust of European nations outward into the rest of the world, a process that produced multiple encounters between seemingly very different races and cultures. The intellectual effort to understand non-Western peoples led to the birth of anthropology, an attempt to address the great questions of commensurability and, in America, of origins (Fowler and Wilcox 1999; Wilcox and Fowler 2002). Of related interest were issues about the management of these people. The Declaration of Independence by the American colonies in 1776 added urgency to these inquiries when it asserted that “all men are created equal,” a proposition that would lead to civil war in the American republic, as Garry Wills (1992) eloquently discusses in Lincoln at Gettysburg. Before then, Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under both Thomas Jefferson and James Madison and then the minister to France, founded the American Ethnological Society in New York City in 1842 (Walters 1957). He had been in Washington in 1804 when the scientific polymath Alexander von Humboldt (Botting 1973), in a dramatic gesture, sailed from Mexico to meet Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, before returning to Europe. In France, Gallatin was part of von Humboldt’s circle, and his interest in ethnology was stimulated by those contacts (see Gallatin 1836). Examining the “Semi-Civilized Nations of Mexico, Yucatan, and Central-America,” Gallatin (1845) asked the question of “whether savage tribes can, of themselves, and without any foreign assistance, emerge from the rudest and lowest social state, and gradually attain even the highest degree of civilization known to us.” Pointing to the Mayan successes in astronomy, mathematics, and the calendar, Gallatin (1845) affirmed the independence of New World civilizations, thus also implying that the new American republic, of which he was one of the founders, could also create a new civilization independent of the traditions of European autocracy. There is a statue of von Humboldt in Chicago’s Humboldt Park on Humboldt Boulevard (Fig. 3.1).

Chicago in 1893 afforded the world two mea-sures of America’s success as a civilization (Lewis 1997). The skyscrapers in its central business district, the Loop, symbolized to Europeans our “go-ahead” values of “openness to change, acting with confidence, acting quickly, and assuming that each improvement or advancement would soon be superceded” (Lewis 1997:88). The Court of Honor at the World’s Columbian Exposition, in contrast, and its relationship to the area of state pavilions, the Woman’s Building, and the Midway Plaisance strikingly affirmed America’s capacity to stand on the shoulders of Western culture and to reach farther than its intellectual predecessors (for this metaphor, see Merton 1993).

Daniel Burnham (1895:ii–iii; see also Klarowicz 1970), the Chicago architect who was Director of Works at the exposition, told his collaborating architects and artists that

[the material progress and commercial supremacy of the country seemed conceded, but, though the city of Chicago was one of the greatest centers of power in finance, commerce, and manufactures, our cultivation in higher and more refined interests, and especially regarding the fine arts, was denied; and there existed, however, a growing appreciation of these interests, and that this feeling would not be satisfied with merely the extent and abundance of the Exposition, but that the designers would be strongly supported by the people in an endeavor to attain a superior result in the fine arts themselves; and that the Chief of Construction would therefore use all his power to remove this stigma placed upon our country and especially upon the West.

Not only did he agree that the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876 had failed artistically, Burnham was probably well aware of the opinion of both Oscar Wilde and Rudyard Kipling, after visiting Chicago, that Americans were barbarians and savages (cited in Lewis 1997:16–17). And “elite Chicagans continually worried about the impression their city made on visitors from more cosmopolitan places” (Bluestone 1991:3).

One of the most beautiful of the exposition buildings was the Palace of Fine Arts (now home to the Museum of Science and Industry), designed in Greco-Roman Imperial style by Burnham’s assistant, Charles Atwood (Condit 1973:10; Masters 1933:249). It was here that the Chicago Columbian Museum was first housed. Burnham soon had greater plans for Chicago, and after redesigning Washington, D.C., Manila, and other American cities—and becoming a leader in the City Beautiful movement (Hines 1972, 1974; Kahn 1979; Moore 1921; Wilson 1989)—he succeeded in
Fig. 3.1. Alexander von Humboldt statue, Humboldt Park, Chicago. (Photograph by David R. Wilcox, October 23, 2000.)
gaining official acceptance of his Plan of Chicago in 1909. It called for the Field Museum to be relocated in the center of Grant Park, where it would be a principal icon of Chicago's civic life. This idea was blocked, however, when Montgomery Ward (of department store fame) brought suit to stop it, arguing successfully that Grant Park was for the people and that the Field Museum was an elitist organization (Anonymous 2000; Wille 1991). Why did that come about, and how was this problem overcome?

Marshall Field I, a self-made man, at his death in 1906 was thought to be the fifth wealthiest man in America, with a fortune estimated at $120 million (Fortune 1936; Goodspeed 1922:27; Wendt and Kogan 1952) (Fig. 3.2). As was apparently customary (see Goodspeed 1922), once a million dollars was committed to the Museum's endowment, Field was able to reorganize the board of trustees with his own men. Nine (Armour, Black, Bullock, Burnham, Ellsworth, Farwell, Hirsch, Hutchinson, Roche; see Appendix 3) of the original 15 trustees resigned in January 1894, and their places were taken by friends or associates of Field, including his business partner Harlow Niles Higinbotham, his secretary Arthur Jones, and Cyrus Hall McCormick II (who became president of International Harvester Corporation). Norman Bruce Ream (a business associate of J. P. Morgan), William Chalmers (of Allis-Chalmers), Martin Ryerson, and the banker Watson Franklin Blair. These men did constitute a significant segment of the business and intellectual elite in Chicago in the 1890s (Horowitz 1976; Jaher 1982).

Edward Everett Ayer, who had made a respectable fortune selling railroad ties (Lockwood 1929; Webber 1984), remained as board president. According to Ayer's often cited account (see Ayer, this volume), it was he who persuaded Marshall Field I to give that million dollars by pointing out to him in a closed-door session that by thus establishing a world-class museum his name would be perpetuated. Was elitism and vanity, then, what the Field Museum was really all about? I think not and that we should be skeptical of Ayer's claims about Field's motives.

Marshall Field I did not indicate that he agreed with Ayer's pitch, and it was only after he and others of his family took a tour of the exposition that he agreed to the endowment. We should notice who was—to use a sociological concept—Field's "reference group." Field owned a controlling interest in his friend George Pullman's Palace Car Company (Goodspeed 1922:23), in which Andrew Carnegie was another partner. On Pullman's death, Field's friend Robert Todd Lincoln was installed as president. In 1902, when U.S. Steel was founded, Field was on the board, and it was he who would insist on the location of its steel plants in Gary, Indiana, only 20 miles from Chicago. The principal organizer of both U.S. Steel and the International Harvester Corporation was Field's boyhood acquaintance John Pierpont Morgan. Morgan was a founding trustee of the American Museum of Natural History in New York and became the president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, spending nearly half his fortune (60 million dollars) to bring the treasures of world culture to America (Strouse 1999). John Davison Rockefeller Sr., the wealthiest American, with about $900 million at his death, was the principal patron of the University of Chicago, for which Marshall Field I gave much of the original land (Goodspeed 1922). Rockefeller and Field were business partners in the Vermillion iron range of Minnesota (Wendt and Kogan 1952:182). It was, therefore, a fitting civic gesture for Marshall Field I to also become the principal patron of a comparable civic institution, a world-class museum. Although he allowed it to bear his name, at the opening ceremonies he declined to say a word despite the numerous entreaties from the crowd (Chicago Herald 1894; see also Bay 1929).

A comparison with another Chicago institution, the Oriental Institute, is also instructive at this point. William Rainey Harper, the first president of the University of Chicago (Storr 1966), hired James Henry Breasted as a professor of Semitic languages (Breasted 1943). Trained in Germany, Breasted was a member of an international elite of Orientalist scholars that also included Berthold Laufer, the fourth curator at the Field Museum. With Rockefeller money, Harper sponsored an expedition by Breasted to Egypt, but with Harper's death in 1906, Breasted had to return to Chicago. A brilliant writer, Breasted's (1916) high school text Ancient Times became a best-seller, and Mrs. Rockefeller read it to her children (Fosdick 1956: 283). In 1919, Breasted wrote a letter to Rockefeller Jr., pointing out that the new era of oil development in the Near East following World War I would destroy many historic sites—would Rockefeller help? He did, and over the next 16 years, Breasted (1935) articulated project after project directly to Rockefeller, all parts of a coherent program that he funded in the amount of 17 million dollars (see Wilcox 1988). Expedition houses were built in Egypt and several other Near Eastern

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Fig. 3.2. Marshall Field I. (From Goodspeed 1922.)
Fig. 3.3. Stephen Chapman Simms (FMNH).

countries, and at home the Oriental Institute building was erected in 1930 with a sculpture occupying the tympanum over the entrance that was “intended to suggest the transition of civilization from the ancient Orient to the West” (Breasted 1935:103). Tucked away in the midst of the University of Chicago, this building may be modest, but its program was powerful, and it has influenced the world’s conception of what civilization is. By contrast, the early Field Museum’s programs were modest, but its architectural presence sent an imposing message.

How did the Field Museum, as Daniel Burnham wished, become an icon of American civilization in Chicago? The Burnham Plan was the culmination of many efforts to redefine the relationship between the city center of commercial skyscrapers and civic institutions designed to cultivate unity among the urban masses (Bluestone 1991). Many of these efforts failed, but not entirely. In the face of ebbing civic idealism after 1900, when “people used their free time and wealth to explore more private, rather than public, concerns” (Bluestone 1991:199; May 1983:202), some Chicagoans clung to the earlier ideals. The successful relocation of the Field Museum to its current location south of Grant Park and the later construction nearby of the Shedd Aquarium (1929) and the Adler Planetarium (1930) are a testament to their success. Just how the former was accomplished, however, remains something of a mystery (but see Condit 1973; Wille 1991). Yet its outlines can be sketched.

An important step was taken in 1912, when the banker Norman Wait Harris (Goodspeed 1925a), then at the height of his career, gave a quarter of a million dollars to establish a school extension program at the Field Museum. His son Albert became a trustee (see Appendix 3) and later added handsomely to this fund (National Cyclopedia of American Biography [hereafter NCAB] 1968). Stephen Chapman Simms, an assistant curator in anthropology who later became director of the Museum (1928–1937), took charge of this program that did much to mute the elitist image of the Museum (Fig. 3.3).
Grant Park was then administered by the South Park Commission, and in 1911 a recent Field Museum trustee, the lawyer John Barton Payne, became head of the commission. He promptly resigned as a Museum trustee, probably to avoid the appearance of a conflict of interest. Another commissioner (from 1907 to 1922) was Charles Lawrence Hutchinson, one of the great cultural philanthropists of Chicago (Goodspeed 1925b; Horowitz 1976). A banker, Hutchinson was an original trustee of the Field Museum, the president of the Art Institute of Chicago, the treasurer of the University of Chicago, and a close friend of Martin Ryerson, the board president of the University of Chicago and the first vice president of the Museum. When Payne was increasingly called to Washington, D.C., where he eventually became Secretary of the Interior (1920–1921; see NCAB 1909), Hutchinson was left in charge of the South Park Commission. He is credited with helping the Field Museum move to its present location on land reclaimed from Lake Michigan contiguous to Grant Park (Goodspeed 1925b:39–40). That land was reclaimed by the Illinois Central Railroad. When a 1910 U.S. Supreme Court decision held that the reap of the sale of this area to the railroad by the Illinois legislature was valid, Stanley Field seized the opportunity to propose to the Illinois Central that they give some of this land to the Field Museum (Wille 1991:37, 80). Because of the inflation caused by World War I, the new Field Museum building was only about half the size originally planned and was thus smaller than its original building (Goodspeed 1922:32–33), which soon was refurbished as the Museum of Science and Industry (Werner 1939). Greater detail on how all this was accomplished would be a fascinating story that needs to be more thoroughly investigated.

Beginning in 1908, Stanley Field was president of the Field Museum. His biography, too, would be fascinating to research. Connected with Marshall Field and Co. from 1893 until 1917 (when he stepped down as vice president but remained on the board of directors [Wendt and Kogan 1952: 299]), he became chairman of the board of the Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Co. A close associate of Samuel Insull, the principal owner of Chicago’s (and the Midwest’s) major electric and gas companies, Stanley Field directed Insull's project to build a Civic Opera House in Chicago (McDonald 1962). They attended its first performance (of Aïda) in November 1929, sitting with everyone else in an auditorium without special boxes for the rich (Masters 1933:319; McDonald 1962). Samuel Insull Jr. became a Museum trustee in 1929, continuing to serve until his death in 1983 (Fig. 3.4).

Marshall Field I had bankrolled Insull Senior when he was brought to Chicago in the 1890s by Robert Todd Lincoln (Becker 1964:49; Masters 1933:315). Insull built a huge financial empire, but in the early 1930s, during the first part of the Great Depression when Insull was in his 70s, raids on his companies eventually brought him down (McDonald 1962). It was Stanley Field who went to tell him he must resign, and James Simpson (NCAB 1963), the president of Marshall Field and Co. and a Field Museum trustee, who was called back from India, where he was hunting tigers, to take over three of the Insull companies (Andrews 1946:280; Fortune 1936:86; Bishop and Gilbert 1932:437, 549; Gilbert and Bryson 1929:738) (Fig. 3.5). The Morgan interests in New York had won, and the Continental Bank went into receivership, as did many other Chicago banks (Masters 1933:326; McDonald 1962:336).

The effect of all this on the Field Museum was that expeditions in the middle of the 1930s had to cease (see Appendix 4 and Haskin et al., this volume). The larger story of the impact of these events on the history of Chicago, its rate of growth, the influence of its wealthy elites on the management of the city, and their ability to protect its civic institutions has yet to be seriously investigated. Why, for example, was the design of the Lake Shore Drive in 1943 allowed to convert the Field Museum into a traffic island, a situation corrected only in 1998 (McCarter 1998; Vosper 1998)?

Much has been written about the Field Museum’s earliest anthropology curators (Cole 1985, 1999; Collier 1952; Dexter 1970; Haskin 2000; Haskin and Nash 2001; Hinsley 1996; McVicker 1989, 1990, 1999a, 2000a; Meltzer 2000; see also Collier, this volume; Dorsey, this volume; Haskin et al., this volume). But the more we know, the more able we are to ask new questions and to probe ever more deeply into the meanings of the Museum’s history. Let me give a few examples.

1. Frederic Ward Putnam was an incorporator of the Museum and hoped to be its director (Dexter 1970; Hinsley and Holm 1976), but Frederick Skiff was chosen instead (Fig. 3.6). Was this because Marshall Field and the trustees wanted a natural history museum, not an anthropological museum, as Putnam recommend-
Fig. 3.4. Stanley Field and Samuel Insull at the opening of the Civic Opera House, November 1929. (From McDonald 1962.)
Fig. 3.5. James Simpson. (Photograph by Blank & Stoller, Inc.)
Fig. 3.6. Frederick Skiff.
ed? Or is it simply that Putnam was regarded as an outsider or perhaps an inept administrator? Afterward, Putnam was bitter, and this may have stimulated his efforts in developing departments of anthropology to rival the Field Museum's in both New York and Berkeley (Dexter 1966a, 1966b, 1966c, 1966d; Hinsley 2000). However, he apparently got over his bitterness, and the Field Museum's trustees were subscribers to the Putnam Anniversary Volume in 1909. It would be interesting to know more about Putnam's interactions with the Field Museum in the early 20th century when his student George Amos Dorsey was curator (1897–1914).

2. William Eleroy Curtis (NCAB 1907) was a Chicago newspaperman who was appointed by President Arthur as secretary to the South American Commission whose purpose was “to ascertain the best methods for promoting the political and commercial relations between the United States and the other American republics”—the beginnings of the Pan-American movement (Fig. 3.7). He was appointed the director of the Bureau of American Republics (1890–1893). He also was chief of the Latin American Department and Historical Section of the World’s Columbian Exposition. An incorporator of the Field Museum who became an honorary curator (Bay 1929), he played a key role in arranging to get the exposition’s collections from Latin America to the Museum. This was a time when U.S. trade dominance over Latin America was established (LaFeber 1963; Williams 1972), and Curtis was a key political operator in that process. It would be fascinating to know more about how the creation of the Field Museum might have been thought to further these aims.

3. Franz Boas was also bitter that he was not hired as the first curator of the Field Museum (McVicker 1999a). Sara Stevenson of Philadelphia wanted to hire him at the University Museum there but could not meet his salary demand of $3,000 (Pepper 1893). Holmes was paid $4,000 to come to the Field Museum (McVicker 1999a), and when the American Museum of Natural History was considering whom to have come in and reorganize its anthropology department, the two men considered were Putnam and Holmes (Cole 1985). Boas later would become the acknowledged “father” of American anthropology, but in 1893 others were generally perceived as much more prominent (Darnell 2000; Meltzer 2000). Arguably, it was not until he left the American Museum for Columbia University and began teaching students that Boas’s prominence began to be established (Cole 1999).

4. George Amos Dorsey, Putnam’s first Ph.D. student, replaced Holmes as curator. Regrettably, he did not exercise the kind of scientific rigor and intellectual control that men like Boas and his friend Berthold Laufer demanded (see Almazan and Coleman, this volume). In a letter to Boas dated April 13, 1908, Laufer scathingly reports that “[a]ccording to the Dorsey method, ... it is possible for every ethnologist to work in any territory; he photographs a little bit, buys indiscriminately everything he can get his hands on, has a good time with the people, and that settles the matter” (Cole 1985:340). William Fenton (1960:343), however, had high regard for Dorsey’s exhibit on the Pawnee sacrifice to the morning star. I think what would be particularly interesting is to investigate Dorsey’s relationship with the press. In an age before anyone had taken a course in Anthropology 101, he sought to shape public opinion; Fay-Cooper Cole (1931) said of him that “no one of our generation has done more toward popularizing science” (see also Dorsey 1925). What, for example, was Dorsey doing working for the Chicago Tribune between 1909 and 1913 (Cole 1985)?

5. During Berthold Laufer’s time as chief curator (see Bronson, this volume), the early years were spent packing up the Museum for its move to Grant Park (Bay 1929). Then, in the 1920s, many new expeditions were sponsored, beginning in 1922 with coordinated attention by all the Museum’s departments on South America. Interestingly, the fledgling National Research Council in 1919 had identified South America as a particularly important field of study (Frantz 1985:89). One wonders whether this national goal affected decisions at the Field Museum.

6. During the 1920s, assistant curators came or went with great frequency (see Appendix 1), and many of these men became leaders in the profession: Fay-Cooper Cole, J. Alden Mason, Ralph Linton, and William Duncan Strong (Fig. 3.8). Why did they not stay? John Eric Sidney Thompson (Graham 1976; Thompson 1963; see McVicker, this volume), for exam-
Fig. 3.7. William E. Curtis. (From National Cyclopaedia of American Biography.)
Fig. 3.8. Field Museum Anthropology curators, mid-1920s. Left to right: Henry Field, Wilfred Hambly, J. Eric Thompson, and Berthold Laufer.

people, made significant collections in British Honduras, wrote an account of Mayan archaeology in the Museum’s popular series (Thompson 1927), and after leaving the Museum for the Carnegie Institution remained as a lifelong research associate. A curator who did stay, Albert Buell Lewis (see Welsch, this volume), has been the subject of a superb study by Robert Welsch (1998). More critical appraisal of the work done in the 1920s is needed.

A new era of stability in the Museum’s Department of Anthropology began when Paul Sidney Martin was hired in 1929 (see Nash, this volume). A freshly minted Ph.D. under Fay-Cooper Cole at the University of Chicago, he was a local Illinois boy who made good. In his early career at the Museum, Martin did brilliant work at the Lowry Ruin in southwestern Colorado (Martin 1936) and pioneered in the definition of the highland Mogollon culture (Martin 1940). Reviewing “Fifty Years of Anthropology,” Martin (1943b) praised the work of his predecessor as chief curator, Berthold Laufer, but noted that “some of the leaders of expeditions have been wont to collect furiously and without much thought to selectivity”—a clear reference to the Dorsey era. No longer interested in expeditions that aimed only to collect well-documented objects, Martin (1943b) stated that the “anthropologist . . . is interested in investigating and clarifying man’s social relationships . . . No proper solution of the world’s problems and psychoses can be made without the aid of anthropology.”

Self-reflective about the past, Martin was searching for new ways of doing anthropological archaeology. Factors that would soon bring the Oriental Institute, the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, and the Field Museum into a favorable conjunction were to give him that chance. The results were so exciting that Martin (1971) proclaimed “revolution in archae-
ology” and was proud to act as the midwife of its gestation. The first moves in this process were that Robert Braidwood and Robert McCormick Adams from the Oriental Institute, after they had done fieldwork in the Near East, each spent a summer with Martin in Pine Lawn Valley, New Mexico, Braidwood in 1941 and Adams in 1952. Why they did that would be interesting to know (Yoffee’s [1997] excellent biography of Adams does not mention that summer). The circumstances of Braidwood’s (1949) publishing of Primitive Men as a leaflet of the Field Museum also need explication. In the mid-1950s, Braidwood and Adams began teaching together in the Department of Anthropology at Chicago, bringing with them Breasted’s (1935) program of the Career of Man from the Paleolithic through the Beginnings of Domestication to the Rise of Civilization. Many bright young graduate students interested in archaeology were thus attracted to a department known more for social anthropology than archaeology. From 1958 to 1961, the department’s one full-time archaeologist was the graduate student Arthur Jelinek.

In preparation for this paper, I interviewed Jelinek, who was my chief professor at the University of Arizona; also William Longacre, for whom I worked at the Grasshopper Field School, where he introduced me to the feisty Susan Furer, who became my wife; and my colleague Charles Redman, an Arizona State University professor, about what happened next. This is what they told me (see also Longacre 1976, 2000).

Longacre, a student of music and social anthropology at the University of Illinois, had many archaeologist friends and had spent a summer in Arizona with John McGregor, but he went to Chicago to take graduate work in social anthropology and while there was employed by David Schneider in American kinship studies. Through Elaine Bluhm (see Herold, this volume), he got a job with Paul Martin in 1959 doing archaeological survey in the Little Colorado River Valley of Arizona. Looking for a fresh way to analyze the ceramics, Longacre and Martin showed the collections to a social anthropology student, Constance Cronin, who started seeing some interesting patterns. She consulted with Jelinek about them, and he encouraged her. These patterns suggested to Longacre a synthesis of archaeology and kinship studies. He got very excited. Then-graduate student Lewis Binford replaced Jelinek at Chicago.

When Longacre told his new professor about his and Cronin’s ideas, Binford, too, became excited, and Longacre took him over to the Museum to meet Martin. Binford charmed Martin and soon turned him on to many of his ideas. What Binford offered Martin, Longacre, and many other Chicago students were methods and methodologies for achieving their anthropological goals. With Longacre’s help, Martin had applied for and received the first of a series of National Science Foundation (NSF) grants, beginning in 1960, and in 1965 until his death in early 1974, Martin received support for an NSF-sponsored undergraduate field school that was headquartered in Vernon, Arizona. It became the seedbed of the New Archaeology. Longacre became Binford’s first Ph.D. student and was soon hired at the University of Arizona by Emil Haury, paragon of the “old archaeology,” and Raymond H. Thompson, whose work was severely criticized by Binford.

One of the students turned on by the Vernon experience was Charles Redman, who had come to Chicago from Harvard to study with Braidwood and Adams. Someone, possibly Braidwood, recommended that he spend a summer, in 1967, with Martin. What was most wonderful and unusual about Martin’s field school was the freedom he gave to the students to design and carry out their own research projects. For Longacre, this meant being able to surface collect a Folsom site (Longacre and Graves 1976) and excavate the Carter Ranch site “his way,” using a table of random numbers to select collection or excavation units (Longacre 1970). To Chuck Redman, it meant learning about statistical sampling and research design, two of Binford’s (1964) principal emphases.

But Binford did not last long at Chicago. Too caustic, and at times even nasty to other faculty, particularly to Robert Braidwood (see Binford and Binford 1966; see also Binford 1968), he left in 1965. The movement he started was carried on by graduate assistants and a “second generation” of true believers. Perhaps because Martin retired in 1964, becoming emeritus chief curator, few students any longer went over to the Field Museum. In his 1978 book, The Rise of Civilization, Redman ably synthesized the ideas of his professors Braidwood and Adams and brilliantly counterposed them with those of his friends the new archaeologists, transforming what had been an ad hominem and even anti-intellectual critique by Binford into a legitimate scientific debate. Longacre (1970) and James Hill (1970) in the publications of their work in the Hay Hollow Valley also wrote brilliant and even-handed reports.
that caused intense excitement among a generation of new graduate students. The new archaeology was growing up.

And most of the New Archaeologists got good academic jobs—though, as Longacre points out, not in Eastern establishment universities nor at the Field Museum. Instead, the Museum hired new curators (James VanStone [see Rooney and Kusimba, this volume], Stephen Gasser, Bennet Bronson, and John Edward Terrell; see Appendix 1) from the Eastern establishment, a move it would be interesting to know more about. Was this a conservative reaction to the ethos of the 1960s that became so much identified with the youthful new archaeologists who were allowed to run free in the American Southwest? What effect, if any, did such conservatism have on the nature of the research projects undertaken and the support they received inside and outside the Museum?

As a beginning of a self-reflexive process, I interviewed many of the present curators, from Ben Bronson and John Terrell, who began at the Museum on the same day 31 years ago, to Antonio Curet, the most recent one hired (at the time of this writing1) and many others. I found a fascinating ferment of ideas and aspirations about the future and a variable knowledge of and interest in the struggles of the past generation. There is a renewed determination by curators to become more centrally involved in the exhibition programs, restoring the balance lost during previous administrations. Curators John Terrell (1991b, 1993) and Jonathan Haas (1996, 1998), in particular, have shown leadership in realizing that repatriation is about a new era of relationships with First Nations that can greatly increase the civilizing power of museums in fostering greater human understanding and appreciation of accomplishments. The installation of the replica of Olmec Head No. 8 on October 23, 2000, is a fine illustration of this kind of effort (Fig. 3.9). With the archaeologist Bill Barnett on board as Vice President for Information Services (see Martin-Ross and Barnett, this volume), an exciting new initiative of reaching out and touching people world-

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1 Peruvianist Patrick Ryan Williams and physical anthropologist Robert D. Martin were hired in 2001.—Eds.
wide through the Internet and in other ways is just beginning, promising to build individual relationships organized around user communities of interest that will evolve as the interactions thus created move forward.

With the fall of the Berlin Wall, we mark the beginnings of the post-cold war world order of globalization that has brought down walls of many kinds all over the world (Friedman 2000). Inside the Field Museum, too, the traditional departmental walls must also symbolically fall, or at least function differently, challenging curators and professional staff alike to forge new relationships to accomplish the Museum's mission. Such change is not likely to be easy, but it is stimulating, and the likely rewards in new contributions to knowledge are great.

Now the eve of tomorrow is at hand. The administration of the Museum is supported by a new board of trustees (see Appendix 3) notable for its comparative youth, much wider ethnic diversity, and more even balance among the sexes than at any previous time in the history of the institution. A new Center for Cultural Understanding and Change, directed by Alaka Wali, aims "to promote understanding and respect for cultural diversity" and "to lend . . . support to the many people around the world, as well as here at home, who are fighting to protect and preserve their cultural identities" (McCarter 2000b). Leadership of the Department of Anthropology has been bestowed on Gary Feinman, a student of new archaeologists at the University of Michigan who were hired to teach there by another paragon of the old archaeology, James Griffin. What will Feinman do? How will he shape a world-class program in anthropology in a 21st-century Field Museum determined to become the best museum in the world? That will be interesting to see, and I believe we have all been invited to help him do it.

Acknowledgments

First I would like to thank my old friend Gary Feinman for asking me to deliver the first version of this paper as an address at the Field Museum; it has been a most challenging and stimulating assignment! Much thanks also goes to Warren Haskin, Steve Nash, Don McVicker, Curtis Hinsley, and Raymond Thompson for their help in assembling data, suggesting ideas and improvements, and providing encouragement. Arthur Jelinek, William Longacre, Charles Redman, David Gregory, John Hanson, and James Schoenwetter freely offered many insights about Paul Martin and his times, and I am most grateful to them all. I am also grateful to my institution, the Museum of Northern Arizona, and to Edwin Wade, Michael Fox, and our new President/CEO, Arthur Wolf, for their support and encouragement. The curators and other staff at the Field Museum were most cordial and helpful, and I want to thank them one and all. For errors that may be found, I alone am responsible.
Edward Everett Ayer

Edward Everett Ayer, a Civil War veteran who made his fortune selling railroad ties, played a key role in the events of 1893 that eventually gained support from Marshall Field I to create a permanent museum for preserving and displaying artifacts exhibited at the World Columbian Exposition. A prominent Chicago philanthropist, Ayer served as a trustee of the Field Museum from 1893 through 1927, the Newberry Library in Chicago (1892–1917), the Art Institute of Chicago (1882–1889), and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra (1894–1917). Ayer's original paper1 is archived by the Newberry Library and has been dated by watermark to 1916, when Ayer was 75 years old and still a Field Museum trustee.—Eds.

At the time of the start of the great Chicago Exposition, and for a long time before and after there had been a certain party of gentlemen whom I had the honor of knowing and participating in their sports and business life consisting of Marshall Field, George Pullman, C. W. Doane, W. W. Kimball, William Walker, the Sprague Brothers, and many others. We used to meet twice a year at our fishing Club at Pele Island on Lake Erie, and quite often had games of cards at each others houses, and of course, met almost every day at the Chicago Club.

Early in the conception of the Exposition we recognized the fact that it would be a great opportunity to get material at the end of the Fair to found a museum in Chicago. It was generally recognized that we could not start it without two or three millions of dollars at least. The subject was often talked over by us, and it was evident that Marshall Field was the only man who could take that much money out of his business without harm, consequently the subject was often broached to Mr. Field by Mr. Pullman, Mr. Ream and myself, but we were met all the time with the argument that he did not care especially for museums, and was not interested and he would not subscribe a million dollars to start the fund.

Probably this subject had been talked over between our set thirty or forty times during the preparation of the World’s Fair and its continuance. I being particularly interested in natural history and especially in the North American Indian; having made a very large collection of paraphernalia used by them, and which comprised part of the exhibit at the World’s Fair (Fig. 4.1). As you all remember the World’s Fair ended up during the panic of 1893, which made it still more difficult, and it seemed impossible to raise the funds necessary for the purpose. Things drifted on in this way until about the last month of the Fair when there was a Committee appointed of about thirty people to take up the matter and see what could be done, of which I was one.

The first meeting of the Committee I was out of the City and could not attend, but the second I attended. The consensus of opinion was that it would be impossible to raise an amount of money large enough to found a museum, and they were trying to form an organization to raise $200,000 or $300,000 for the purchase of different collections, and to get the different exhibitors and individuals to present their collections to this Committee so that they could box them up and store

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1 Published with permission of the Newberry Library, Chicago. The figure has been added for this edition.
them, and when times got more propitious money could be raised to found the museum. After listening to the many remarks on the subject I was asked my opinion. I told them as a collector that the scheme would not work, as everyone who made any kind of a collection did so with the hope and belief that it could be made useful, that their theory of boxing and storing a natural history collection was impracticable owing to the fact that everything except the stone and wood in such a collection would have to get constant care; that it had many enemies in the insect world, that it must be kept where it could be looked after, poisoned and have constant care to preserve it.

I was asked if I would not give my great Indian collection for that purpose, and I said no, if they were to box and store my great Indian collection it would be worthless inside of a year. I further said that of course it was impossible to form a museum collection now for Chicago unless we could get some man to give a million dollars to start it, and that there seemed to be only one man in Chicago at that time and under the conditions at that time who was able to do it, and that was Marshall Field, but he had said many times that he would not, and that under the circumstances, in my judgment, the only thing to do is to raise what money we can, go to work energetically and get all the material we can to make four working collections of natural history for the University of Chicago, Northwestern University of Evanston, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin, and Champlain University [Editors’ note: Champlain University is in Burlington, Vermont, and was established in 1878. Though this may be the correct referent, it seems more likely that this is a typing or transcription error and that Ayer meant to refer to the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, which was chartered in 1867]. Under those conditions I said I would lead off by presenting
my great Indian Collection to the [University of] Chicago. I sat down and retired from the meeting.

That afternoon a letter from the Committee was handed me by Mr. James Ellsworth asking me if I would not serve as Chairman of the Finance Committee at least long enough to try Mr. Field once more. I told Mr. Ellsworth that I would but I felt it was hopeless.

The next morning I was in Mr. Field's office at 9:30, he arrived about ten, and I said to him, "I want to see you tonight after dinner." He said it was impossible that he was going out to dinner. I then told him I would see him the next night after dinner, but he said, "I am going out again." He said to me: "You want to talk to me again about that Museum." I said: "Yes, Mr. Field, the time has come when we have to determine whether we have a museum or not, and I want to talk to you about it." He said to me: "How much time do you want?" I said: "If I cannot talk you out of the million dollars in fifteen minutes I am no good or you either." He smiled, got up and closed the door of the office, and his exact words were: "Fire ahead."

I had made a very careful study for months of what material could be secured from the exhibition for the four great divisions [Anthropology, Botany, Geology, Zoology] of the museum, and had carefully inquired what could be bought and contributed if we were to found the museum and certainly was thoroughly in earnest. I started out by saying: "Mr. Field, how many men or women twenty-five years of age or younger know that A. T. Stewart ever lived?" "Why," he said, "nobody of course." "Now," I said, "Mr. Field, he was the greatest merchant this country had produced, greater than you or Claffin or Wanamaker; because he originated the great scheme that you so successfully carrying out, and here he is forgotten in twenty-five years. Now," I said, "Mr. Field you can sell dry goods until hell freezes over and then sell them on the ice until that melts and you will be forgotten in ten years. By giving a million dollars to found a Museum in Chicago you will be doing a great good, in addition you will become the host of the untold millions of people who will be born in the Mississippi Valley, and who now have no opportunity of getting an education in the four great divisions of natural history, by furnishing this opportunity you will perpetuate your name for all time and it always be blessed, and you cannot afford not to do it." I talked fast and earnestly. Finally Mr. Field pulled out his watch and said: "Here you have been here forty-five minutes; you get out of here."

I said: "Mr. Field, you have been awful nice to listen to, and you have not said no, and I want you to promise me that you will not say no until you go through the four great divisions of natural history in the Exposition with me." He said: "I will be very glad to do it." He said: "Mr. Pullman told me that he went through with you and he was very much pleased." He said: "Brother Joe is here and I will go through with you tomorrow morning at ten o'clock." I immediately communicated with the Chiefs of the divisions, and the next morning we went through these divisions, included in the party were brother Joe, Mr. Field, the chief of each division while in his section and myself. When I got through I asked Mr. Field if I could go and see him again at 9:30 the next morning, and he said: "Yes." I took Mr. Ellsworth and Norman B. Ream with me, and he then said he would give the million dollars, provided we would raise another million. I immediately rushed off to Mr. Pullman, who contributed $100,000, appealed to Mr. Leiter and others for several days, and found that it would be impossible to raise over $500,000, and Mr. Field kindly consented to give the million provided we got the other $500,000. They were willing that my great Indian collection should count as cash. Mr. Higginbotham kindly consented a few days later to put in $100,000, and we raised the money.

The subject then came up of organization. Mr. Field asked me to serve as President, which I consented to do, and told him that I wanted two things. One was that the museum should be open Sunday and Saturday free. The other was that we should get the best talent that money could secure as Curators of the Divisions.

The first object was to get a Director. The friends of several men advanced their names, and after careful scrutiny Mr. Skiff of the Colorado Exhibit was chosen for the following reason. His exhibit was one of the best, cleanest, and organized collections in the Field Museum, and we thought that any man that could keep a collection in that condition and maintain it in that condition at the time of the exhibit would make a good Director, and he was chosen on that account.

The largest single subject practically of natural history would be Anthropology. We approached William H. Holmes of the International Museum at Washington and he was secured. We chose Mr. Farrington for Geology as at the Chicago Exposition he seemed to have the qualifications necessary for it. Mr. Millsop in Botany was chosen.

"In Re: Founding of the Field Museum"
In looking for a Zoologist our mind immediately went to D. G. Elliott, a very cultured and accomplished gentleman, and a great authority on ornithology and mammals. Each of these departments under these chiefs was filled with able and capable curators. It gives me pleasure to say that the splendid scientific and enormous strides of the Field Museum are due to these splendid men who were chosen for these prominent positions. Their splendid talent was a subject of gratification to all the people of Chicago, and everyone always felt that everything done by this class of men could not help but be absolutely right, and through that confidence the talent engaged at that time enjoyed the museum has always had a warm place in the hearts of the people of Chicago.

We were also under great obligation to Professor Putnam of Boston for his many valuable suggestions and work.

We have been most fortunate in the selection of all the subordinates, men who would go through any trial of labor or suffering in the interest of their Department, and it gives me especial pleasure to mention the unique Mr. Akeley, who Dr. Elliot selected for Taxidermist, a man whose name had gone into literature as the Michelangelo of animal sculpture. Mr. Field immediately commenced to take great interest in the museum, and his interest continued to increase gradually year by year until his death, and one of the most gratifying thoughts of all of us connected with the museum is that Mr. Field lived to see the Field Museum take rank amongst the great museums of the world.
The Department of Anthropology of the Field Columbian Museum: A Review of Six Years\(^1\),\(^*\)

George A. Dorsey

George Amos Dorsey served as curator of anthropology at the Field Museum from 1897 through 1914. This chapter provides a detailed personal chronicle of the first six years of the Department of Anthropology, and its emphasis on collections, collecting activity, and collections organization. The paper reveals Dorsey’s proclivities, which set the tone for the Department of Anthropology until his resignation from the Museum in 1914.—Eds.

The Origin of the Museum

The termination of the World’s Columbian Exposition in October, 1893, made imperative the founding in Chicago of a permanent scientific museum. Not only had the chiefs of certain departments of the Exposition, especially those of Mines and Metallurgy, Anthropology, and Transportation, assembled extensive exhibits which had been specially prepared with a view to the needs of a permanent museum, but opportunities were offered on every hand by domestic and foreign exhibitors for the immediate acquisition of valuable collections, which, under ordinary conditions, would consume much time and money for their assembling. The work of establishing a museum was given a new and irresistible impetus by the splendid gift of one million dollars by Mr. Marshall Field.\(^\dagger\) Within a few months this fund had increased by cash contributions to the extent of nearly half a million dollars more. The Museum was incorporated on the 14th of September 1893, as the “Columbian Museum of Chicago.” On June 25, 1894, this name was changed to “Field Columbian Museum.” Mr. Edward Everett Ayer was elected president of the board of trustees and Mr. Harlow Niles Higinbotham was chosen chairman of the executive committee; in October 1899, Mr. Higinbotham was also elected president of the board, Mr. Ayer having resigned in January of that year.

During the fall and winter of 1893 the work of transferring the collections donated by the Exposition was being rapidly performed. The Fine Arts building of the Exposition had been decided upon as the temporary home of the new Museum (Fig. 5.1), and space was at once allotted to the different departments. In the meantime many donations of valuable collections had been made by various Exposition commissioners, and many other collections were bought outright, and by the opening of the year 1894 the work of installation had been entered upon in earnest. The Museum was dedicated and declared open to the public on June 2, 1894, by Mr. Frederick J. V. Skiff, director.

An examination of the director’s first report shows that the Museum consisted at that time of the departments of Anthropology, Geology, Botany, Zoology, Ornithology, Industrial Arts, and The Columbus Memorial, and of the divisions of Transportation and the Railway. By this time also (October, 1895) four courses of lectures had been given, a publication series, including a guide, had been begun, a library had been organized, a thorough system of records and departmental inven-


\(^\dagger\) Discussed in Ayer, this volume.—Eds.
Fig. 5.1. Field Museum of Natural History in Jackson Park, Chicago, 1907.

tories had been inaugurated, a section of photography and a printing office had been established, and several expeditions had been undertaken in the interests of the various departments.

From the director's reports for the five years are extracted the following statistics showing the total expenditure and the attendance for each year:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>Attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>$156,909.97</td>
<td>328,321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>156,999.53</td>
<td>230,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>104,804.88</td>
<td>220,283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>111,940.50</td>
<td>224,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>128,936.50</td>
<td>223,304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>$659,591.38</td>
<td>1,226,491</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examining the latest available reports of the American Museum of Natural History (1898), and the United States National Museum (1897), it is shown that their expenditures were $204,955.95 and $186,498.33 respectively. The attendance is not stated for the American Museum; for the National Museum it was 229,606.

The Origin of the Department of Anthropology

Confining our attention now to be the Department of Anthropology, let us first notice the material presented by the directors to the Museum at the close of the Exposition. These collections were obtained through special expeditions sent out under the direction of Professor Putnam, or by collectors resident in the field who were commissioned by the Department of Ethnology to undertake the work. The principal expedition to South America was under the direction of George A. Dorsey, who in 1891 was sent to Peru, Ecuador, Chile, and Bolivia. Other collections from South America were gathered through United States naval officers, commissioned by the department to go to widely remote localities; the result of their
work is to be seen in the Scriven collection from Costa Rica, the Welles collection from Orinoco River, the Safford collection from Peru, and the Bertolette collection from Patagonia. Africa, and Oceania; the Peale collection from Melanesia; the Finnish collection from Polynesia; the Wyman collection of copper and stone implements from Wisconsin; the Boas collection of skulls and skeletons; the Remenyi collection from South Africa; the Pogosky collection from Siberia; the Lumholtz Mexican collection; the Green cliff-dweller collection; the Harris collection from Peru; the Johnson collection of Irish jewelry; the Ward collection of skulls, skeletons, masks, etc., and the Cunningham collection of brain models.

Naturally much osteological material of great ethnic value was procured along with many of the collections donated by the Exposition, as well as with many of the collections obtained by purchase. As a result the department was in possession of skulls and skeletons from Alaska, the Northwest coast, and several of the Plains tribes; from Ohio, New Jersey, and Arkansas mounds; from prehistoric graves in Costa Rica, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, and Chile; and through the Boas and Ward purchases many specimens from America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Pacific islands.

It should also be stated that in the section of industrial arts and transportation the Museum possessed a large amount of material which might be considered as a part of the anthropological exhibit, and indeed at a later date the section of industrial arts was abandoned and its collections were transferred to the Department of Anthropology.

Thus at the very outset the Department of Anthropology began its existence with many extensive and important collections representing many widely separated regions of the world, and illustrating many and diverse stages of culture and periods of time. Such was the condition of the department in the summer of 1894, six months after the close of the Exposition. The work, however, was only just begun. To be sure all these collections had been installed and the inventory had been commenced; but the installation had been hurriedly performed, many of the collections were in a state of confusion, the records of transfer and the collectors' original lists were more or less tangled, numerous varieties and styles of cases had been pressed into service, collections or parts of collections had been received which were discovered not to belong properly to a scientific museum, and above all great gaps were to appear which must be filled in the future. Looking back on those memorable six months it seems incred-
ible that so much was accomplished so well, and too much credit can not be given to Dr. Franz Boas, who directed the work of installation until April 15, 1894, and to Prof. W. H. Holmes, who became the first curator of the department.

1894–1895

By the time of the appearance of the first report of the director (in October, 1895), the work of reorganization had been begun in a serious manner and an inventory of the material in the department was undertaken. The system adopted was that of the card catalogue and inventory book, and during the year 15,000 objects had been catalogued and over 650 labels printed. In eight of the exhibition halls the cases had been made more serviceable; an additional court had been devoted to anthropology, and many new cases had been provided. Through the generosity of Mr. A. V. Armour, Professor Holmes, the curator of the department, visited several of the ruined cities of Mexico and Yucatan, where he obtained about a thousand archeological specimens and gathered considerable data which were embodied in the first two publications of the Department. Miner W. Bruce had been outfitted by the Museum and had made a most successful expedition to Alaska, as a result of which the department acquired an extensive and valuable ethnological collection from the Eskimo. Through President Ayer extensive purchases of interesting archeological specimens were made in Egypt and Italy, and from the Naples Museum were secured 260 reproductions of Roman bronzes. A special hall was set aside for the Egyptian material.

Other purchases during the year include the Keam collection for the Hopi of Arizona, thirty-seven paintings of American Indians by George Catlin, the Berlin collection of Egyptian and Assyrian casts, and the complete outfit of a Navaho medicine-man.

1895–1896

The second annual report of the director contains two statements which so admirably portray the activities not only of the Department of Anthropology but of the entire Museum, that I quote them: "Expenditures have been made more in the direction of classification than in reinstallation; in working over old rather than in purchasing new material, and in labeling, numbering, and cataloguing specimens. . . . The great courts have been metamorphosed, not only providing requisite space for the growing collections, but substituting for an installation of the character of an exposition, an arrangement on museum lines."

The inventory of specimens was continued and to the card catalogue were added over 13,000 entries. The work of labeling was in general interrupted by other more essential work, but Dr. Breasted of the University of Chicago was engaged for a limited time and made label translations of the numerous hieroglyphic texts of papyri, grave tablets, etc., for the Egyptian section.

Many important acquisitions of material were recorded during the year. The curator [Holmes] visited Rockland, Michigan, where he collected a series of flint implements from an ancient copper mine. Mr. Bruce was again permitted to visit Alaska, returning with a more extensive collection of Eskimo products than had been obtained in the previous year. The exhibit showing the life of the Romans was further enriched by numerous specimens of bronze, including the two bronze bathtubs and a circular table of remarkable beauty from a villa near Pompeii. An exhibit representing the Etruscan and stone ages of Italy and some Roman terracottas were added through the generosity of Vice-president Ryerson. To the Egyptian collections were also added by purchase and gift many specimens of great interest, chief among which was a bronze sistrum in perfect condition which proved from its inscriptions to have been used in the temple of Ammon at Thebes. An unusually large bronze statue of Osiris is also worthy of special mention. Among other specimens from Egypt were a stone statue of Apet in black basalt, a series of grave tablets and tomstones, and a large number of figurines in faience. From Mr. A. V. Armour and Mr. Owen F. Aldis were received over 300 objects of great archeological value from the Valley of Mexico and Oaxaca. A beginning was made in illustrating the antiquities of southern Illinois by the purchase of a large series of flint agricultural implements from W. J. Seaver, and President Ayer again manifested his interest in North American ethnology by presenting a number of specimens illustrating the arts and industries of the Plains Indians.

Mr. E. L. Thompson of Merida, Yucatan, became associated with the department and began a series of excavations among the ruins of Xkich-
mook and Chichén Itzá, which in the following years was to yield important archeological material. The staff of the department was further increased by the appointment of George A. Dorsey to the position of assistant curator in charge of physical anthropology. This made possible the work of identifying and cataloguing the material in the division, much of which had remained in storage and none of which had been catalogued, although Dr. G. M. West had done effective work during the brief period that he was in charge of the collection at the opening of the Museum.

1896–1897

During the time from October 1896 and October 1897, as we learn from the third report of the director, much was accomplished. The records of the department, it was realized, demanded heroic treatment, as new material had poured in at a steady rate and the old accessions had as yet by no means been put in creditable condition. Hence the clerical force of the department was increased and the work of cataloguing was pushed forward with all possible speed, especially during the four months preceding October. As a result it was estimated that the card catalogue was increased to the extent of ten thousand numbers.

The only expedition of the department during the year was by the assistant curator. During the field trip several tribes in the west were visited, in the following order: Blackfoot, Blood, Flathead, Kootenay, Haidé, Tsimshian, Hopi, and Zuni. From all these tribes, except one, large collections illustrating many and varied industries were gathered. From the Blackfeet, Bloods, and Haidé was also collected a large amount of osteological material, while a small amount of similar material was obtained from the Kootenay, Tlingit, and Tsimshian. Mr. Thompson, who in the previous year had undertaken exploration in Yucatan on behalf of the Museum, continued his excavations at Xkichmook and Chichén Itzá, and from both ruins were obtained collections of the utmost value to the student of Mayan archeology.

Mr. A. V. Armour placed the department under further obligations to him by presenting a collection of Mexican archealogical objects, comprising notable sculptures, vessels and ornaments in stone and terracotta, and many specimens of copper, clay, shell, etc. From Mr. C. L. Hutchinson was received a most timely acquisition to the archeology of Italy, consisting of several hundred Etruscan objects of earthenware and bronze, excavated under the direction of Professor Frothingham. Another gift by Mr. Hutchinson consisted of a funeral couch of bone and ivory excavated from a tomb at Orvieto. To the rapidly increasing Egyptian collection were added several interesting specimens in terracotta and stone, a gift of Mr. E. M. Petrie of London. The only accession representing American archeology was a gift from Mr. Clarence B. Moore of an interesting collection of shell cups and ornaments, earthen vases, and stone implements from mounds of Georgia and Florida. From Mr. Gustavus Goward was purchased a small but carefully selected series of specimens illustrating the ethnology of Samoa; while from Mr. D. W. Gill were purchased eighteen casts of Peruvian trrophine skulls. The curator of Zoology transferred to the department over 150 ethnological objects which he had collected in Somaliland.

In the matter of installation provision was made for new cases for the Hutchinson collection, and in the division of physical anthropology the work of thoroughly rearranging the entire osteological collections, begun the previous year, was continued until they had been placed in proper condition. The material on exhibition was all withdrawn, and instead was submitted a series of exhibits, occupying twenty-six cases, showing the normal range of variation of the human skeleton. This was to have been followed by a more extensive osteological exhibit based on ethnic principles. The section of graphic arts and of monographic arts were abolished during this year and the collections which composed them were transferred to the Department of Anthropology. Thus the department was enriched to the extent of three halls containing important series of exhibits illustrating modern ceramic and textile industries.

At the end of September the curator of the department, Professor Holmes, resigned to accept the position of curator of anthropology in the United States National Museum. George A. Dorsey was placed in charge as acting curator, and four months later was appointed curator.

1897–1898

The office of the curator was removed into new quarters, near the end of the east court, and more convenient to the exhibition halls. The room made
vacant by the removal was put in order for exhibition purposes. Three new and much-desired workrooms were also added. Mr. Stephen Chapman Simms, who had been connected with the Museum from the beginning and for two years with the department, was made assistant curator of ethnology, and seven additional preparators were added to the force during the year. With the force thus strengthened it was possible to make advances in the department which had been already contemplated. The first work undertaken related to the records, and inasmuch as up to that time the department was practically dependent on the recorder's files for information concerning original data for the entire mass of collections, and as the records on file in the recorder's office were in many instances defective and otherwise incomplete, it seemed best to withdraw temporarily the entire body of records relating to the Department of Anthropology. These were carefully examined, omissions supplied, new acquisitions added—in short the records were almost rewritten. Duplicates were then made of all the records, and these were retained in the office of the department, which was thus put in an independent position for all existing information in regard to its collections.

Although the department was in possession of a card catalogue that covered nearly all the collections, this catalogue was found, for nearly every collection, to be more or less defective, owing to the fact that the curator had not been able, for financial reasons, to have at his command assistants experienced in work of this nature. In view of these facts it was decided to begin the catalogue anew, taking the cards of one collection after another and putting them in order, adding, changing, correcting, and often entirely rewriting them. Thus, including the additions to the card catalogues which were made from new acquisitions, there were handled 41,989 cards during the year. As rapidly as the card catalogue of any given collection was complete, it was referred to the assistant in charge of the records to be entered upon the inventory books and then to be filed away in numerical order according to the number of acquisitions. In this manner over 200 separate acquisitions were catalogued, occupying 17,960 entries in the inventory books.

The acquisitions of the year were many and important. The only expedition by any member of the staff of the departments was that of the curator [Dorsey] to the Hopi Indians of Arizona. On this trip he was accompanied by Mr. Melville, and the object was to make plaster casts of certain Indians for use in the construction of ethnic groups, and to obtain the proper accessories thereof, such as clothing, domestic utensils, etc. In both respects the expedition was entirely successful. Additional casts of aborigines for ethnic groups were also secured under most advantageous circumstances through the presence in Chicago of a party of Eskimo from Port Clarence, Alaska, under charge of Capt. M. W. Bruce, who had just returned from that region with the third consignment of Eskimo material. In this latter collection was an especially large number of fine specimens of ivory and jade implements. The largest and most valuable accession of the year was that obtained by President Ayer in Egypt and Italy. This included a large number of mortuary tablets and tomb fronts covering a large period of Egyptian history, many beautiful and costly specimens of Egyptian and Etruscan jewelry, some unusual bronze statues, and two very remarkable stone tombs of the early Etruscan period. The textile collections were further enriched by several hundred fabrics, representing the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. These specimens were collected in Venice by Vice-president Ryerson, who presented them to the Department. From Rev. T. W. Woodside, a missionary to Portuguese Southwest Africa, was acquired an extremely interesting collection illustrating the manners and customs of the Ovimbundu, a minor division of the great Bantu stock, and not hitherto represented in the museum. The Polynesian collection was augmented by the purchase from W. T. Shephard of over 600 specimens. In the division of physical anthropology more than 150 skeletons were accessioned, the most important single collection being one of fifty-two Papuan skulls from Gazelle peninsula, New Britain, received in exchange from Dr. Parkinson.

Much new installation was recorded for the year. Twelve new cases were added to the north court, devoted to European archeology, six of which were installed with the content of Etruscan tombs (Fig. 5.2). The east court was entirely reinstalled with material relating exclusively to American archeology, all collections not relating to the subject being transferred to their proper positions (Fig. 5.3). Hall 7 was emptied of the paper images from a Chinese josshouse and was reno- vated and prepared for the reception of new material. The content of Halls 16 and 17 were reinstalled. In the former were placed new cases after a standard design at that time adopted for the Department. Hall 17 was also equipped with new
standard cases and was devoted to the ethnology of the Hopi. A large group representing a Hopi domestic scene, and four smaller groups representing certain religious customs, were added to the hall (Fig. 5.4). In connection with the work of installation it may be noted that 2270 prints labels were placed with the specimens.

1898–1899

Dr. Breasted of the University of Chicago was again employed for a limited time to prepare translations of Egyptian hieroglyphics for labels, and in January the services of Rev. H. R. Voth were enlisted in preparing labels for and in assisting in installing the Hopi Collection.

The work of cataloguing and inventorying collections was industriously carried forward; as a result the card catalogue was increased by more than 10,000 numbers, and in the inventory books 15,912 entries were made.

As in previous years the accessions were both numerous and important. To increase the exhibits showing the methods of the manufacture of flint implements, the curator [Dorsey] made two expeditions to aboriginal flint quarries. The first was to the Mill Creek quarry, Union county, southern Illinois, where over 2000 specimens were collected, showing every stage in the manufacture of twelve specialized types of implements. This great quarry is of unusual interest, as here were made the great flint agricultural implements, of several forms, which in size and beauty are among the most remarkable known to archeologists. The quarry is also of great interest inasmuch as there was developed, in the excavation of the raw material and in the manufacture of the immense implements, special forms of mining tools, hammers, and grinding and polishing stones. The second expedition was to the great chert beds on the
Peoria reservation, Indian Territory, where nearly 400 specimens of unfinished implements, hammerstones, cores, and flakes were collected. During the summer the curator also made an extended expedition in the west, visiting first the cliff-ruins of Walnut canyon, Arizona. From there he went to Ukiah, Mendocino county, California, where, accompanied by Dr. J. W. Hudson, local ethnologist, he visited several tribes of the Pomo or Kulanapan stock in Mendocino and Lake counties. The result was a collection numbering over 300 objects of ethnologic interest, and representing nearly every phase of native life. From Ukiah he proceeded to Tacoma, Washington, where he was joined by Mr. Melville and his assistant. Through the cooperation of the Ferry Museum of Tacoma, casts of nine individuals were made which were intended for ethnic groups to show the native industries of the people of Puget Sound. Incidental-

By purchase the Department procured a collection of 380 stone and flint relics from Putnam County, Ohio, a collection of over 200 objects from the Sioux, a collection of over 100 specimens from the Cheyenne and Arapaho, and a most interesting collection of sixteen mural panel decorations and other specimens from Hadrian’s villa. Through exchange with Mr. David Boyle, curator of the Toronto Museum, there was secured a valuable collection illustrating the archeology of Ontario; and by a similar method a full and complete series of tools, nodules, flakes, cores, etc.,
illustrating the method of the manufacture of gunflints at Brandon, England, was obtained from Dr. J. W. Phillips of Northwestern University, Evanston.

Of the many accessions to the department by gift, two deserve special mention. The first was that of Mr. Stanley McCormick, who presented a collection of over 1600 specimens illustrating every phase of the past and present life of the Hopi Indians of Arizona. This collection was formed by Rev. H. R. Voth during many years as missionary among the Hopi, and is one of the most complete and representative collections ever assembled from any one tribe. Of the many excellent series comprised by the collection, of special interest are the dolls or tihu's representing katsinas, masks of katsinas, bahos or prayer offerings, stone implements, tools and utensils representing every known form, and a large number of specimens of so-called cream-colored pottery excavated from Hopi ruins, and especially valuable for the symbolism represented. Through Mr. McCormick's generosity the department was also enabled to profit by Mr. Voth's services for fourteen months in the preparation of a complete series of labels for the collection, and also in the construction of certain altars and sand mosaics which play so important a part in Hopi ceremony. Mr. McCormick's liberal provision for this work was most timely, for the Hopi, who for over two hundred years have successfully resisted the encroachments of the whites, seem about to be entering upon the period of unrest and innovation which usually precedes the breaking up and gradual abandonment of the strictly aboriginal way of life.

The second donation, of almost equal importance, was that of President Higinbotham, who presented a Korean ethnological collection of over 500 specimens, comprising many jade objects of rare beauty and workmanship; bronze utensils; clothing and uniforms, including head- and footgear representing every station of life; armor and implements of warfare, personal ornaments, etc.

The work of reinstalling all the exhibition halls

Fig 5.4 Hopi House diorama, Field Columbian Museum, ca. 1900.
of the department and providing them with new cases, begun in the previous year, was carried forward as rapidly as time would permit. The acquisition of the McCormick Hopi collection, together with the altars in process of construction, necessitated an additional hall, hence two halls hitherto devoted to South American archeology were vacated and into one were removed the ethnological collection from Venezuela, British Guiana, Brazil, and Paraguay, newly installed the previous year, and in the other were displayed the remaining ethnological collections from South America, chiefly from Peru. The room thus vacated (Hall 16) was then devoted to an exposition of Hopi ceremonies, the other Hopi hall containing the archaeological collections and those objects which pertain to everyday life. The halls (10 and 11) devoted to the Eskimo were entirely rearranged, new cases being supplied and a new installation made. They were also furnished with four groups, from life casts, illustrating certain phases of specialized Eskimo life. From Ayer Hall were removed all specimens not having their origin in the Indians of the Great Plains, and in their stead were substituted other specimens from the Great Plains tribes, acquired by purchase or exploration. These changes made a new arrangement of Ayer Hall necessary, and this was done along the lines of ethnic division. The addition of much new archeologic material and the transfer of the prehistoric collection from South America necessitated some few changes in the east court, and made possible its complete installation, when it contained all the collections relating to American archeology. In connection with the general work of installation, over 3400 printed labels were placed with the specimens.

In September the curator was permitted to visit the chief museums of central Europe, where many valuable ideas in regard to museum management were obtained and negotiations were entered into for the acquisition of material illustrating the prehistoric archeology of Europe.

October, 1899, to March, 1900

During the five months work of a progressive nature has been conducted, such as characterized the year last described. The card catalogue has been increased 10,523 numbers, and 6136 entries have been made in the inventory books. The event of unusual importance had been the additional interest manifested in the department by the gift of Mr. Stanley McCormick of $5000 for the purpose of making more complete the Hopi exhibit. Under this fund two expeditions have already been undertaken. Mr. J. A. Burt spent nearly two months in the exploration of several Hopi ruins along Little Colorado river, Arizona, and as a result the exhibit showing the ancient life of the Hopi has been increased by over 300 fine specimens of pottery, bone, stone, shell and textile fabrics. Part of Mr. Burt's time was spent in examining ruins hitherto not represented in scientific museums, and while the full significance of his discoveries is not yet determined, it is safe to say that new factors have been added to our knowledge of the early movements of certain Hopi clans. The second McCormick expedition was that of the curator and Mr. Voth in December to six of the Hopi pueblos, at which time notable additions were made to the collections devoted to the modern life of their occupants. While these additional specimens cover nearly every phase of activity, of special interest are the series of rare dolls, masks, prayer-sticks, and pipes. By the provisions of Mr. McCormick's gift the department is enabled to retain the services of Mr. Voth until the new specimens are labeled and until certain additional altars are constructed. Provision is also made for further exploration of Hopi prehistoric ruins, especially of those not yet represented in the Museum's collections.

In February the assistant curator [Simms] made a visit to the Grand River reserve, Ontario, where he witnessed the complete ceremony of the sacrifice of a sacred white dog by the pagan Iroquois, and obtained an interesting collection of ceremonial paraphernalia, including about twenty of the masks worn in the dance. Material of this nature was not hitherto represented in the Museum.

The most important recent accession by purchase had been the Perrine collection, consisting of nearly 3000 specimens of stone, pottery, shell, and bone. This collection was made by Mr. T. M. Perrine about twenty years ago in the mounds and of the village and quarry sites of Union county, Illinois. It includes many of the finest chipped and polished stone implements ever brought together from this interesting region. Of unusual beauty are several very large specimens of polished chipped flint, a number of so-called bannerstones, stone pipes (one being of remarkable interest), and a large series of hematite adze blades. But the most valuable single object of stone is a statue of human form, of which a cast is figured in Wilson's Prehistoric Art p. 481.
Of pottery there are over a hundred specimens illustrating the characteristic forms of the region. In the shell there are among other objects three gorgets, one a beautiful specimen of the spider effigy, the other two with a cross, one of the latter being figured in Holmes' *Art in Shell.* A collection of over a thousand objects from prehistoric graves at Caldera, Chile was acquired by gift from Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick. Included in this collection are very interesting series of bone carvings, copper and gold ornaments, and a large number of the most beautiful spear- and arrow-points of jasper and chalcedony that are to be found in the department. The special value of the collection lies in the fact that hitherto the Museum possessed no collections illustrating the archeology of the western coast of South America south of Iquique, save a few specimens from Huasco.

In the work of installation, the last five months have been productive of much that is of a progressive nature, and one feature of the work is characteristic of the more recent trend of development in the Museum as a whole. I allude to the fact that Halls 8 and 9, which, since the establishment of the Museum, have contained the material transferred from the Exposition and known as the Columbus Memorial, have been emptied of their content and are now being installed with purely anthropologic collections. Hall 9, one of the four largest in the building, is already installed with the Egyptian collection (Fig. 5.5), while Hall 8 and the hall made vacant by the transfer of the Egyptian collection are to be devoted to the continually increasing collection illustrating the culture of the more primitive non-American races.

The two halls devoted to the ethnology of the Northwest coast of America have also been dismantled, and the collections have been carefully examined and the objects compared with collectors' original lists, all preparatory to a reinstalla-
tion in new cases in the same halls, to which will be added four ethnic groups, for which casts have already been made, illustrating certain phases of the domestic and religious life of this very interesting and complicated region.

Among the improvements which are to be in the near future, provision is already made for the reinstallation of the contents of Ayer Hall (devoted to the tribes of the Great Plains) in new cases and with the addition of three illustrative ethnic groups, for which casts for one of the Cheyenne are already made, and the complete overhauling of five halls, devoted to Old World ethnology, with the expansion and reinstallation of their contents into seven halls.

With changes and improvements noted above an accomplished fact, the exhibits which comprise the department will be classified according to locality or people; they will be in plain, simple, substantial cases, safe from the ravages of dust and moth. But the work of the department will not be finished, for, has not Prof. F. Brown Goode declared that a finished museum is a dead museum? It is recognized that there are vast regions of America, and even one entire great continent and many regions of other continents, which are but poorly represented or not represented at all, and to these regions must be directed the energies of the future, if the high educational objects of the Museum are to be adequately fulfilled.

Notes


A Chronicle of Field Museum Anthropology

Warren Haskin, Stephen E. Nash, and Sarah Coleman

When the Field Museum was formed as the Chicago Columbian Museum, the Department of Anthropology became the principal beneficiary of the objects acquired from the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. The more than 50,000 specimens acquired included, among other things, archaeological objects from the Hopewell culture, centered in the Ohio River Valley, and ethnographic objects from the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia, the latter featuring spectacular totem poles and house poles.

Over the next 109 years, many different curators and staff members have worked, at differing paces and with varying degrees of success, at gathering a world-class collection of material culture, publishing significant anthropological research, and making the Field Museum one of the world's great anthropology museums. In this chapter we examine the department’s history by presenting some facts and briefly analyzing a series of data sets. First, we present and examine a list of the department’s curators and a partial list of staff members. Second, we examine trends in expeditions and fieldwork conducted by curators and, in some cases, staff. Third, we examine trends in departmental acquisitions. Fourth, we examine scholarly output in the form of Fieldiana: Anthropology publications. Fifth, we examine the Museum’s temporary exhibitions that have anthropological content. Finally, we summarize the department’s photographic holdings.

A Précis of Departmental History

In 1893, the now legendary Franz Boas was named temporary curator of anthropology (see Table 6.1). He wanted, and expected, to be appointed curator, but he resigned in early 1894 after the Museum’s trustees (see Appendix 3) hired William Henry Holmes, who was then employed by the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., as curator of anthropology. In late 1894 and early 1895, Holmes acted as coleader of an expedition to Mexico that lasted four months and acquired important Maya, Aztec, and Zapotec objects from visits to Chichén Itzá, Uxmal, Palenque, Mitla, Monte Alban, and Teotihuacan (see Appendix 4).

In 1895, the department’s curatorial faculty doubled with the appointment of George Amos Dorsey as assistant curator. Dorsey had collected materials in South America for the 1893 exposition and then acted as the superintendent of archaeology for that event. Once hired, he was immediately dispatched to the western United States to amass archeological and ethnological material (see Almazan and Coleman, this volume: Appendix 4).

Holmes felt a great urgency to explore and collect. In a letter to F. S. V. Skiff, the director of the Museum, in early 1897, he proposed "a somewhat extended exploration of certain little-known portions of South America ... [for] the acquirement of Museum materials and the prosecution of the research work that properly accompanies the collection and use of such materials." He feared that the "museums of the world" were "sending expeditions to the most remote corners of every country" with the likely result that "the vast body of the materials and data now available for the study of Anthropology are doomed to disappear before proper representations can be secured." The Field Museum, he asserted, "as a young and aspiring institution, ... cannot afford to take a
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<td>1975–1984</td>
<td>Middle and South American archaeology and ethnology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitcomb, Donald</td>
<td>1979–1980</td>
<td>Middle Eastern archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanish, Charles</td>
<td>1987–1996</td>
<td>Middle and South American archaeology and ethnology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt, Anna</td>
<td>1991–2002</td>
<td>Archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kusimba, Chapurukha</td>
<td>1994–present</td>
<td>African anthropology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wali, Alaka</td>
<td>1995–present</td>
<td>Ethnology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feinman, Gary</td>
<td>1999–present</td>
<td>Mesoamerican anthropology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underhill, Anne</td>
<td>1999–present</td>
<td>Asian anthropology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curet, Antonio</td>
<td>2000–present</td>
<td>Circum-Caribbean archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin, Robert W.</td>
<td>2001–present</td>
<td>Biological anthropology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Patrick Ryan</td>
<td>2001–present</td>
<td>Scientific archaeology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: This list was compiled by Bennet Bronson, Warren Haskin, Chapurukha Kusimba, and Stephen Nash. See also Appendix 1.

* In a strict sense, Boas was never a curator for the Chicago Columbian Museum because it did not formally exist during his tenure. Given his impact, however, it is appropriate to list him here.
† William Jones was killed in the Philippines while conducting research among the Ilongot, without ever serving as curator in Chicago.
‡ Fay-Cooper Cole, John Rinaldo, and Alexander Spoehr also made significant contributions to the department before being promoted to the position of curator.
subordinate place in this field." Holmes wanted to send Dorsey to South America but had to be satisfied to send him on a shorter trip to the Pacific Northwest, California, Arizona, and New Mexico in 1897 and 1898.

Holmes resigned in 1896 to return to the Smithsonian, and Dorsey, at the age of 29, became curator of anthropology: he held the position until 1914. Through his own efforts and those of others whom he directed, the Museum amassed a huge collection of objects, particularly those relating to North American Indians. He has been described as "the greatest museum builder of the period" (Cole 1952:163) and "the principal architect of Field Museum Anthropology collections" (Welsch 1999:450). Although the Museum is today the fourth largest natural history museum in the world, trailing only the British Museum, the Smithsonian Institution, and the American Museum of Natural History, in its early years it was an upstart with a need to establish itself among its competitors as quickly as possible (see Dorsey, this volume; Wielox, this volume). Dorsey felt the need to collect acutely and was determined to address it with all the means at his disposal. He was a relentless collector and a formidable and aggressive motivator of his assistants (see Almazan and Coleman, this volume).

One of Dorsey's acquisitions, almost unnoticed at the time, has a fascinating history and has made a lasting impact. In the 1890s, the elements of a large, wooden, Maori meetinghouse in New Zealand named Ruapupuke were sold to a dealer in Hamburg, Germany. Dorsey purchased the meetinghouse components in 1905 for $5,000, but the Museum had no space in the Palace of Fine Arts building (now the Museum of Science and Industry) for another exhibit. After the Museum moved to its new and current building in Grant Park, the meetinghouse was reassembled on the ground floor in 1925, where it was exhibited continuously until the 1980s. At that time, its fate became unclear until the Maoris decided that it should remain in Chicago as an authentic Maori outpost. It remains on display today, on the far west side of the balcony level, where it continues to be used for a variety of scholarly, educational, and entertainment purposes.

The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis aroused Dorsey's interest in the culture of the various tribes of the Philippines, which had recently become an American colony. Over the next five years, no fewer than five department representatives—Dorsey, Fay-Cooper Cole, William Jones, Stephen Chapman Simms, and Laura Benedict—collected objects in the Philippines.

In 1907, Berthold Laufer (see Bronson, this volume), who had received his Ph.D. in Germany and trained under Boas at the American Museum, was appointed assistant curator of Asiatic ethnology. Laufer was hired to conduct an expedition to China and Tibet using special funds donated by a benefactor. Laufer left for China before he ever visited the Museum! When he returned three years later, he had collected more than 10,000 objects. Laufer returned to China in 1923, acquiring objects to augment the Museum's already extensive collections.

By the end of 1908, 14 years after the opening of the Museum, the Department of Anthropology had grown from a single curator to a faculty of seven: Dorsey, Simms, Charles Owen, Cole, Laufer, Albert Buell Lewis, and Jones.

In 1908, Dorsey made a whirlwind collecting trip around the world, during which he visited what was then German New Guinea. Having decided that Melanesia was a promising area in which to collect, Dorsey obtained funding and sent Lewis, a 41-year-old bachelor, to Melanesia; he did not return until 1913. In an eerie coincidence, on the day Lewis left Chicago, the Chicago Tribune carried the news of Jones's murder in the Philippines. Jones and Lewis had been students together at Columbia University.

Lewis collected more than 14,000 objects in New Guinea that, together with the 2,000 collected by Dorsey in 1908 and several collections purchased by Dorsey from dealers and other collectors, gave the Museum the world's largest collection of artifacts—about 25,000 items—from Melanesia. This huge mass of material was not completely installed for exhibit until 1921, when the Museum was in its new home in Grant Park. From 1921 until 1986, the exhibit was the largest and best-known exhibit on Melanesia in the United States. Today, 87 years after Lewis returned from Melanesia, the material culture he collected remains important and continues to inform anthropological interpretation (Welsch 1999).

Dorsey resigned in 1914 and was succeeded by Lauffer, who worked at the Museum for 27 years, the last 19 as curator. Lauffer is known today not only for his leadership of the department during years of far-ranging and extensive acquisitions, but also for his critically acclaimed scholarship in Asian archaeology and ethnology (see Bronson, this volume). Lauffer, in fact, had achieved considerable prestige in his field before coming to the
Museum. He read and spoke Chinese and several other languages and was a scholar of great erudition as well as a prolific writer. By the time of his death, he was considered to be the leading Sinologist of his day. He received inquiries from experts and amateurs alike on questions of the ethnology, archaeology, history, and, in particular, the art of China and Tibet. As virtually the only anthropologist in the Western world who could read and speak Chinese, Laufer became the authority that other anthropologists consulted on questions concerning artifacts from China.

During 1919, 1920, and the first few months of 1921, the department and the Museum were occupied with the Museum’s plans to move from its original site in the Hyde Park neighborhood to the Museum’s present location at the south end of Grant Park. The new building opened on May 21, 1921, the first of three buildings to be erected on what is now the Museum Campus. It was joined by the Shedd Aquarium in 1929 and the Adler Planetarium in 1930.

In 1923, the Field Museum began a decade-long collaboration with the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford University to excavate the ancient site of Kish near the city of Babylon in Mesopotamia (in present-day Iraq; see Yastrow and Nash, this volume). The agreement called for the Baghdad Museum to receive a one-third, representative sample of all objects recovered, while the Ashmolean Museum would get all inscribed objects and the Field Museum would get all other archaeological, skeletal, and related scientific objects. The expedition yielded more than 30,000 objects, though unfortunately a synthesis of the split collections has never been published and remains sorely needed.

In 1933, the department installed two exhibits that became immensely popular (see Yastrow and Nash, this volume). The Hall of the Stone Age of the Old World was a series of dioramas depicting scenes of prehistory covering more than 500,000 years. They were the work of Henry Field, curator of physical anthropology, and artists and sculptors at the Museum. The exhibit remained in place for almost 60 years and was dismantled as a casualty of later scholarship that undermined the assumptions on which the dioramas were based. The other exhibit was the Hall of the Races of Man, which featured life-size bronzes sculpted by Malvina Hoffman under contract with the Museum. In all, Hoffman produced 104 bronzes, most of which were ready when the Hall opened at the same time as the Century of Progress world’s fair in 1933. More than two million people visited the Hall in its first year. In 1967 the exhibit was taken down, although a number of the beautiful bronzes can be seen today on all three of the Museum’s exhibit floors.

Despite the economic depression that began in late 1929, the Museum continued to sponsor expeditions through 1934. By 1935, the effect of the depression was being felt, and no expeditions were undertaken in that year or the following year.

In 1935, Paul Martin became chief curator of the Department of Anthropology after Laufer’s death in 1934. He served in that capacity until 1964 and continued his association with the Museum as curator emeritus for another eight years thereafter.

In 1941, Donald Collier joined the Museum as assistant curator for South American ethnology and archaeology (see Collier, this volume; Staller, this volume). George Irving Quimby Jr. became assistant curator for North American archaeology in 1942. Both had long careers with the Museum. Collier eventually succeeded Martin as chief curator of the department and was the last person to hold this title. Quimby served first as curator of North American archaeology and later became curator of exhibits; eventually, he returned to his original position.

The Department of Anthropology has benefited from the association of several distinguished scholars who carried the title of research associate. These included Alfred Kroeber (American archaeology; professor at the University of California), John Eric Sidney Thompson (curator of Mesoamerican archaeology 1926–1935; later associated with the Carnegie Institution; see McVicker, this volume), and Fay-Cooper Cole (curator of Melanesian ethnology; chairman of the Anthropology Department at the University of Chicago), among numerous others.

Cole’s role at the Museum provides interesting insights on the relationships between university academics and the department. Though his best-known Museum work occurred in the Philippines prior to 1923, Cole is now generally credited with setting standards for archaeological excavations while teaching numerous field schools at the University of Chicago through about 1951. After that, he began to study more thoroughly the materials he collected during the 1907–1911 expeditions.

Archaeological fieldwork at the Field Museum resumed in 1946 as Paul Martin returned to the Southwest after a World War II–induced hiatus (see Appendix 4). In all, Martin operated in the
Southwest for 35 seasons, usually for a three-and-a-half-month period from June to September. In the American Southwest, he excavated 69 Anasazi and Mogollon sites in Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico, bringing to the Museum more than 600,000 objects. Martin died in 1974, having devoted 43 years, virtually his entire career, to the Museum. So extensive were his collections that almost half the artifacts were not cataloged until recently, when a grant from the National Science Foundation enabled Curator Jonathan Haas and Stephen Nash, now head of collections, to catalog the collection and create a searchable electronic database thereof, which is now available on the Museum's Web page (Nash 1999a).

In 1968, Martin received the Alfred Vincent Kidder Award from the American Anthropological Association for his many contributions. He used his fieldwork to train dozens of archaeologists, many of whom later became prominent in the field. Martin was known for his generosity in sharing credit with colleagues in his research and writings and for his collegiality and willingness to listen to the views of others, regardless of their status or years of experience, even to the point of self-mockery, as in his response to an inquiry from a student about his dissertation: "It is true that my thesis was on the Kiva, but I may as well frankly confess that I am much dissatisfied with this work and find it full of flaws" (Martin Correspondence, Field Museum Archives).

In 1966, the first Department of Exhibits was established under the direction of the vice president for Museum affairs rather than the vice president for collections and research (now called academic affairs). The addition of an Exhibits department occurred while Collier was chief curator (see Collier, this volume) and would have dramatic consequences for the traditional role of the curator (Terrell 1979, 1991a; see Haas, this volume). The attendant loss of control over exhibits, as well as the greater emphasis being given to special, "blockbuster," and traveling exhibits, had an effect on the Department of Anthropology and required adjustments in curatorial responsibilities. One positive result was that the curators had more time to pursue their research interests.

James VanStone joined the department in 1966 as assistant curator of North American archaeology and ethnology after 15 years on the faculties of the Universities of Alaska and Toronto (see Rooney and Kusimba, this volume). VanStone's particular expertise was culture change during the 19th century among the Indians and Eskimos of Alaska and the Arctic, particularly the impact of Western culture on these groups.

Don Collier, who succeeded Martin as chief curator in 1964, served the department from 1941 until 1970 and thereafter as curator emeritus (he died in 1995). He is best remembered today for his contributions to Andean archaeology and for his work with a number of permanent exhibits in the museum. In the late 1940s, Collier was the first Field Museum curator to make materials available for radiocarbon dating, a significant step since the technique is destructive. Collier was a leader in the development of the ethical standards that many museums now apply to such issues as the acquisition of illicitly recovered antiquities and the representation of ethnic minorities in museum exhibits.

The year 1970 marks the end of an era. When Collier stepped down as chief curator, he ended a 76-year period during which the department was led by only five chief curators: Holmes (1894–1896), Dorsey (1897–1914), Laufer (1914–1934), Martin (1935–1964), and Collier (1964–1970). James VanStone then became the first leader of the department under a new system of rotating, four-year chairships, holding the position from 1971 through 1975. From 1975 through 1979, Phillip Lewis held the position. In 1980 and 1981, Lewis and Bennet Bronson shared the position in alternating six-month appointments. Glen Cole then became the full-time chair in 1981 and held the position until 1986, when John Terrell followed him. Terrell held the position for only one year, followed again by Lewis for one year. In 1988, Bronson again became department chair, holding the position until 1995. From 1995 through 1997, Charles Stanish was chair, followed by Alaka Wali, who was named acting chair and held that position from 1997 through 1999, when Gary Feinman was hired as the new department chair.

In 1977, the Museum enjoyed its largest attendance in many years and the greatest number of people to visit a single exhibit when the "Treasures of Tutankhamun" (see Appendix 6) was brought to Chicago through the efforts of the Department of Anthropology and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

By 1993, Lewis, Cole, and VanStone had become curators emeriti. Lewis continued to study continuity and change in the art of Melanesia. VanStone was honored in 1998 when the November issue of *Arctic Anthropology* was dedicated to a celebration of his work (Fratt et al. 1998).

In 1994, Haas became MacArthur Curator of North American anthropology, giving up the position of vice president of collections and research; Chapurukha Kusimba became curator of African archaeology and ethnology; and Alaka Wali became visiting associate curator and director of the Center for Cultural Understanding and Change. Stanish left the department to join the faculty at University of California at Los Angeles in 1997. In 1999–2000, Anne Underhill and L. Antonio Curet joined the department as assistant curators, as did Patrick Ryan Williams and Robert D. Martin in 2001. Martin is the department’s first physical anthropologist since Wilfrid Hambly (see Codrington, this volume). Currently the department has 11 curators and one curator emeritus.

Table 6.1 lists all the department’s curators chronologically by date of initial appointment and duration of tenure. It does not include acting, visiting, or adjunct curators. As such, the dates listed in Table 6.1 indicate only the period during which these individuals were assistant, associate, or full curators. It does not list their time as curator emeritus, when applicable (these data can be found in Appendix 1). It does not include research associates, restorers, conservators, and collections managers or important professional staff members who may have made significant contributions, though a partial list of staff since 1926 can be found in Appendix 2. The dates listed do not correspond directly with each curator’s total employment history at the Museum. Many of the individuals listed began working at the Museum in some other capacity (e.g., John Rinaldo was a volunteer in 1938 before being hired as assistant in archaeology in 1939 and promoted to curator in 1950; Alexander Spoehr was also an assistant before becoming a curator in 1940). Individuals may have also retained research associate (e.g., Fay-Cooper Cole after 1923, when he left for the University of Chicago) or emeritus (e.g., Paul S. Martin from 1964–1972) status after leaving a curatorial position.

It is clear from Table 6.1 and the ensuing chapters of this volume that many great names have graced the halls of anthropology at the Field Museum. It is also clear that only specialists will recognize the names of some of the more obscure curators.

The average length of curatorial service is 13 years. The shortest service in Chicago is one year, by William M. McGovern, curator of South American and Mexican ethnology. William Jones, curator of North America and the Philippines, actually never served as curator in Chicago because he was murdered while doing fieldwork in Luzon. The longest term of service is 36 years, by Phil Lewis (curator of primitive art), followed by Paul S. Martin (North American archaeology), at 35 years, and Albert Buell Lewis (curator of African and Melanesian anthropology) and Donald Collier (curator of South American archaeology), at 33 years. Lewis’s record will almost certainly be broken soon, as Bennett Bronson (Asiatic archaeology and ethnology) and John Terrell (Oceanic archaeology and ethnology) currently each have 31 years of service and show no signs of retiring anytime soon.

The only female curator until Anna Roosevelt was hired in 1991 was Helen C. Gunsaulus, who served as curator of Japanese ethnology from 1918 to 1925. There are now, at the end of 2002, two: Alaka Wali, curator of ethnology, and Anne Underhill, curator of Asian anthropology.

As a simple indication of recent growth in the department, nearly 25% (11 of 47) of all curators ever employed by this department are currently employed, and the current complement of 11 curators and eight staff members is far and away the largest number of permanent employees within the department at any given time.

### Staff Members

Appendix 2 lists, as much as possible, all staff members employed by the department from 1926 through 2002. The list does not include students, interns, volunteers, or associates. The data were gleaned from catalog cards maintained in the Department of Anthropology office, annual reports, grants, and other records. The catalog cards begin in 1926; we have been able to find almost no record of department staff members prior to that year. Appendix 2 also includes a separate listing of the numerous Works Progress Administration (WPA) employees in the department between 1933 and 1940, when the pace, tenor, and demographics of work in the department were radically
altered by the dismal economic situation of that era.

Overall, there are 233 staff members listed in Appendix 2, of which 60% (140) are women and 40% (93) are men. If we consider only the non-WPA years (prior to 1933 and after 1940), the ratio is more extreme: 67% (111) of the staff members have been women, while 33% (53) were men. During WPA years between 1933 and 1940, this ratio is reversed—there was a total of 70 staff members, of which 57% (40) were men and 43% (30) were women. This temporary departure from the Museum's longstanding tradition of hiring predominantly women staff members probably reflected a broader societal belief that women in the workforce were depriving men—the heads of families—of jobs (see McElvaine 1993).

Given that there have been only 47 curators in the department in its entire history and that a partial list of staff members covering just over 75% of the department's history includes almost four times that number, two things are immediately evident. First, staff members, especially in the modern era of grant-funded projects and term employment, are much more transient than curators, who often obtain tenure and many of whom remain at the Museum for decades. It is also clear that a great deal of departmental work in exhibit development and maintenance, research, collections management, and conservation is conducted behind the scenes, away from the public eye, by an often talented and professional, yet comparatively invisible, cadre of technicians (Shapin 1989).

Table 6.2 and Figure 6.1 present the staff data. The WPA-induced peak in the 1930s is clearly evident. The peaks in the 1970s and early 1980s stem from the move of collections into the new Central Anthropology Storage and an associated computerization project (see Collier, this volume). The doubling in the number of staff members in the 1990s results from two grants written by conservator Catherine Sease and awarded by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) that have allowed the department to rehouse, in archive-quality packaging, a majority of the collections. Finally, the continuing high number of staff members in the 2000s results from strategically planned permanent additions to collections-based staff and temporary projects, including new exhibit development projects, efforts to prepare for the move into the new Collections Resource Center, the acquisition of grants from the Museum Loan Network, the Getty Foundation and anonymous donors, department fund-raising activity, as well as the continuation of the NEH project.

**Table 6.2. Total Field Museum Anthropology staff members, 1926–2002, by decade.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930–1939</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>1940–1949</td>
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<td>1990–1999</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000–2002</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 6.1. Anthropology staff members, by decade.**

**Collections**

The Museum’s anthropology collections contain more than 1.5 million objects, though the exact number is uncertain because some large archaeological collections (e.g., Nelson’s Bay Cave) have never been completely catalogued. The collections also tend to reflect the history of the department more than current curatorial research interests. They continue to be a vital resource for knowledge and ongoing research. More than 150 researchers and dozens of tribal delegations visit the collection each year, and research inquiries via telephone, e-mail, and personal visits easily number in the thousands annually.

Though we can only begin to scratch the surface in describing the collections, the summaries provided here have been written by current curators and emphasize entire collections and their research potential rather than individual objects and their aesthetic or monetary value.
Collections from Asia

(Curated by Bennet Bronson and Anne Underhill)

The collection from China contains 23,500 archaeological, historical, and ethnographic objects made between 10,000 B.C. and A.D. 1980. The collection is strong in textiles (more than 3,000), rubbings of stone inscriptions (more than 5,000), and utilitarian and decorative objects of the 18th to 20th centuries (ca. 10,000). Field Museum anthropologist Berthold Laufer acquired three-quarters of the collection in China between 1908 and 1923 (see Bronson, this volume). Well-known and often studied subcollections include some 400 stone and glass snuff bottles, 230 toggles, 130 rhinoceros horn cups, 500 puppets, 1,000 coins, 1,000 jade carvings, 1,500 folk embroideries, 30 early cast iron objects, 500 items of Daoist and Buddhist sculpture, 400 Han dynasty ceramics, 230 pewter objects, and 300 pieces of equipment for pets, mostly pigeons and crickets.

The 4,700 historical and ethnographic objects in the Museum's Japan collection were acquired as gifts to the Museum. Approximately 200 items were exhibited at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. In the early 1950s, Commander and Mrs. Gilbert Boone of Monmouth, Illinois, acquired extensive collections in Japan and later donated them to the Museum. Their gift compose one-half of the current collection and includes 500 illustrated, woodblock-print books and 300 traditional paintings from the 18th to the 20th century. Gifts from other Chicago-area collectors include more than 1,000 Japanese sword furnishings (tsuba, fuchi-kashira, and so on) in the Gunasaulus collection, 200 lacquerware items (with many inro) in the Kroch and Leslie collections, and 300 Ainu objects.

The Tibet collection includes approximately 4,400 secular and religious objects that were acquired in China and eastern Tibet by Berthold Laufer in 1908–1909. Nearly all date from the 17th through the 19th century. The highlights of this collection include more than 1,000 traditional Tibetan books, both printed and handwritten woodblocks, 850 costumes and personal accessories, 800 ritual containers and images, and 350 Tibetan religious paintings, or Tangkas. These objects constitute one of the largest and best-provenanced Tibetan collections in the United States.

The 6,400 objects in Indonesian-Malaysian collection include approximately 600 objects gathered from Malay hunter-gatherer (Orang Asli) groups, 700 textiles and textile-related items, 400 iron and steel weapons, 300 wayang drama items, and one of the finest sets of gamelan musical instruments outside of Java. Much of the Java subcollection was assembled in the 1880s. The objects from Sumatra, Borneo, and the Malay Peninsula were collected in the 1920s, while the Sulawesi Toraja subcollection came to the Museum more recently. Objects were collected by Field Museum anthropologists Cole, Dorsey, and Robert Welsch; the English civil servants Ivor H. N. Evans and Alleyne Ireland; and the Dutch administrator E. E. W. G. Schroder. Though the Field Museum collection may be smaller than similar collections in the Netherlands or Germany, it is one of the finest in the United States.

The Field Museum's Philippine collection includes more than 8,000 ethnographic-historical and more than 1,000 archaeological objects. Its collection of Luzon and Mindanao tribal material is considered the largest and finest in the world. Collected by Field Museum anthropologists Cole, Jones, and Simms between 1907 and 1910, this well-documented collection covers all facets of traditional Philippine culture. Many of the textiles in the 700- to 800-piece collection are unique and of considerable scholarly interest.

The 400 specimens in the small Andaman and Nicobar Islands collection were purchased in the field by the noted British anthropologist Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown and were illustrated in his book The Andaman Islanders (Radcliffe-Brown 1922). This collection consists of wood, bamboo, and rattan utilitarian and ritual objects reflecting the material culture of the Andamanese. This collection is the only one of its kind in the United States.

The collection from Iraq consists of more than 30,000 archaeological objects excavated between 1923 and 1933 by a jointly sponsored expedition of Oxford University and the Field Museum at the former capital of Kish, led by Stephen Langdon, Ernest MacKay, and Henry Field (see Yastrow and Nash, this volume). Although most of the collection dates to the Early Dynastic period (middle 3rd millennium B.C.), it also includes a significant number of objects from the Sassanian period (ca. A.D. 200–600) and the Jemdet Nasr period (ca. 3000 B.C.). It is especially strong in everyday artifacts such as ceramic and bronze items and flaked stone tools. This is one of the largest, most comprehensive and most systematic collections of
objects from Early Dynastic Mesopotamia in the United States.

Collections from Africa

(Curated by Chapurukha Kusimba)

The African collection includes 15,400 ethnographic, 3,490 historic (mainly from Egypt), and more than 140,000 prehistoric archaeological objects. The strongest collections are as follows.

Ralph Linton collected the Madagascar Ethnographic Collection of 3,770 objects in 1925. It is well documented and is the most systematic of the Museum's African holdings. All Malagasy tribes are represented, with special attention paid to the Merina, Tanala, and Betsileo. While the 500 traditional textiles in the collection have received the most scholarly attention, the collection is also strong in woodcarvings, weapons, and ironwork. This collection is the largest and best-provenanced Madagascar collection in the United States.

Wilfrid Hambly collected the Field Museum's Angola Collection in 1929 while he was the Museum's curator of African ethnology (see Codrington, this volume). The 850 objects are primarily from the Ovimbundu tribe.

The Benin ethnographic collection of 400 objects includes wood sculptures, hide fans, and cast brass, ivory, and beaten brass objects. It is one of the Museum's most significant African collections in terms of both artistic worth and monetary value. Half of the collection was donated to the Museum by Sir William M. Flinders Petrie, H. W. Seton-Karr, and Gertrude Caton Thompson. In 1944, the Egypt collection was further enhanced through the gift of the Gurley collection, which consisted of jewelry, scarabs, canopic jars, ushabtis, and statuettes. Notable within the collection is the funerary boat of Sen-Wosret, one of only six known outside of Egypt. This comprehensive Egypt collection also includes Coptic textiles, stone, bronze, and pottery pieces.

A field party from the University of Chicago gathered the 7,500-piece Tanzanian archaeological collections in 1957 and 1958 while working at Isimila in the Central Highlands. A majority of these specimens, recovered from the Achuelian levels of the site, were dated by the uranium-series method as more than a quarter of a million years old but are now suspected to be considerably older. A smaller collection of Middle Stone Age and later artifacts was obtained from higher, more recent deposits at the site from neighboring localities.

The South African archaeological collection is from University of Chicago excavations at the Nelson Bay Cave Site along the southern African coast. The material was excavated from the Middle Stone Age levels at the site, which are considered to be more than 60,000 years old and perhaps as much as 120,000 years old. Of particular interest are artifacts that are similar to those believed by historians and archaeologists to be the work of the earliest anatomically modern humans.

Collections from Europe

(Curated by Bennet Bronson)

With only 1,360 Roman and Etruscan objects (of which 200 are replicas) in its collection, the Museum might not appear to be a significant archaeological repository of Classical material. In fact, the Museum's 280 Etruscan objects represent several complete tomb groups and are, therefore, of great scientific and educational significance. Many of the genuine Roman objects come from the site of Boscoreale near Pompeii and include important fresco paintings, fine bronzes and jewelry, and a good selection of well-preserved objects illustrating everyday life during the Roman period. All were purchased in Italy in the 1890s.

The Western European archaeological collection contains a total of 45,700 objects acquired by Henry Field in the late 1920s. The French prehis-
tomic materials, including stone and bone tools, and artifacts of materials decorated by engraving or painting constitute a particularly valuable part of the collection and are of considerable scholarly interest.

Collections from North America
(Curated by Jonathan Haas)

Since its founding, the Field Museum has devoted considerable attention to the Native peoples of North America. The result is a series of collections of striking depth, strong in recent history and contemporary culture. Staff collaborate actively with Native American groups, some of whom regularly visit and study the collections. The Museum’s collections from the Arctic and sub-Arctic show the many-faceted adaptations of human societies to challenging environments. Among the types of collections we have from these areas are hunting and fishing paraphernalia, clothing, and ceremonial objects from the Davis Inlet and Barren Ground Naskapi of northern Labrador and from Native groups in Alaska and Canada, including the Inupiat, the Tlingit, and the Haida. Together with superb photographs and field notes, these late 19th- and early 20th-century collections are one of the world’s most exceptional records of the traditional life ways of the far north’s Native peoples. Prehistoric artifacts from the Aleutian Islands and from southwest Alaska constitute an invaluable resource for scholars investigating both the migration of peoples into the Western Hemisphere and the texture of Native cultures before and after the arrival of Europeans.

One of the Field Museum’s largest and most comprehensive North American collections comes from the Plains, including representative material from the Cree, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Sioux, and Crow. The collection of Crow shields is particularly fine and continues to inspire and inform Crow traditional leaders, art historians, and anthropologists alike. James Murie, who was of Pawnee descent, and George Dorsey made the well-documented collection from the Pawnee of Oklahoma. This collection includes artistic and utilitarian objects associated with mythology and oral traditions, linguistic texts, and written records of Pawnee religion and social organization. The Museum has recently entered into an accord with the Pawnee tribe that allows for the long-term care and preservation of important Pawnee sacred bundles.

Prehistoric material from the Museum’s Southwestern collections have played a key role in understanding the origins of agriculture in North America as well as cultural adaptations to changing environmental conditions. For over 40 years, Museum Curator Paul Martin was responsible for assembling systematic collections that stand today as a national resource for archaeologists working in the Southwest.

Historic ceramics, textiles (blankets, sashes, dresses, and kilts), agricultural implements, and other artifacts constitute one of the largest assemblages of material culture ever assembled for the Hopi tribe of Arizona. The Hopi material is the largest collection for any single culture group in the Museum. Recent acquisition of a magnificent collection of kachina dolls from the 1970s to 1990s reflects our commitment to ongoing augmentation of this important Hopi collection. Another important collection from the Southwest comes from the White Mountain Apache Reservation and consists of baskets, ceremonial objects, medicines, clothing, and games. The Museum has developed a collaborative relationship with the White Mountain Apache tribe that actively involves tribal members in the use of the collection for exhibit and research purposes.

Collections from Mesoamerica and South America
(Curated by Gary Feinman, Antonio Curet, Alaka Wali, and Ryan Williams)

The Department of Anthropology holds an exceptional collection of ancient Aztec pottery collected in the 19th century by Frederick Starr. This collection consists of several hundred pieces of exhibition-quality decorated pieces, a number of which have been exhibited in the Field Museum’s Mesoamerica Hall. As part of a major scientific study in the early 1990s, microscopic quantities of clay from several pieces were analyzed through neutron activation.

The Department of Anthropology holds an exceptional collection of ancient Peruvian objects purchased in the 19th century from a private Peruvian collector. This collection consists of approximately 1,200 objects, the vast majority of which are ceramic vessels from the Inca period.

Field Museum collectors purchased the Muse-
um’s collection of rare Andean textiles, dating to the 18th and 19th centuries, in the late 19th century. These ethnographic textiles originate from the high Andean areas of Peru and Bolivia and represent an indigenous weaving tradition that is now virtually extinct because of the influence of industrial dyes and the effects of tourism on the local society.

The Museum’s important scientific and exhibit-quality collection of Maya archaeological specimens was collected at the turn of the 20th century from the Yucatan of Mexico and sites in Belize (see McVicker, this volume). These archaeological objects were scientifically collected (according to the standards of the time) and are valuable because there is reasonable provenance and documentation available for the entire collection.

In the late 1940s, Donald Collier excavated Cerro Narrio, an early agricultural site and one of the most important archaeological settlements in the northern Andes in Ecuador. The Field Museum holds the type collection from this site as well as thousands of objects from the systematic excavations. The collection has been repeatedly studied over the years and serves as the basis for several critical theories on the early prehistory of Ecuador.

In the 1920s and 1930s, anthropologist Alfred Kroeber excavated a number of important archaeological sites on the Peruvian coast. The Field Museum possesses systematically collected and well-documented objects from these sites. The collection includes ceramic pieces and textiles from at least 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1300 and is extensively studied by scholars. The Nazca collection of ceramic objects, in particular, ranks as one of the finest in North America.

The Department of Anthropology holds a fine collection of contemporary Guatemalan textiles purchased throughout the 20th century. Guatemala is known for the rich diversity of its indigenous and mestizo ethnic groups and communities who express their social affiliation through dress.

The Brazil collection is comprised of select, well-preserved archaeological and ethnographic objects from the Amazon and Central Brazil. It includes 50 important vessels of polychrome archaeological pottery from Marajo Island excavated around 1918 by anthropologist William Farabee of the University Museum at the University of Pennsylvania. The pottery, excavated from well-known artificial earth mounds at the mouth of the Amazon, dates to A.D. 400–1100. The Brazil collection, specifically its ethnographic material, also includes more than 200 items of ceremonial paraphernalia and musical instruments from Tukanoan- and Arawakan-speaking Indians of the Northwest Amazon region, more than 200 articles of dress, artwork, containers, and tools for daily living from native tribes and rural peoples of the Middle and Lower Amazon and Northeast Brazil, including the well-known Caraja and Tapirape Indians and lesser known groups such as the Karapana. Theodore Koch-Grunenberg collected many of the objects from the Northwest Amazon, while the Museum acquired its Caraja collection from collections of Erland Nordenskiöld, an important synthesizer of South American anthropology.

Collections from the Pacific

(Curated by John Terrell)

The Museum’s ethnographic materials from Melanesia represent one of the world’s finest collections of Pacific materials. The collection consists of approximately 36,000 objects, including tools, weapons, works of art, and clothing—most originating from the first two decades of the 20th century. Most of lowland and coastal New Guinea is represented, as are the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, New Britain, New Ireland, the Admiralty Islands, the Solomon Islands, New Hebrides (now called Vanuatu), and New Caledonia. Curator A. B. Lewis amassed half the Melanesian holdings of the Museum, or some 15,000 artifacts, between 1901 and 1913 (see Welsch, this volume). The remainder is derived from other sources of the time, including ship captains, German dealers, and German anthropologists.

The ethnological and archaeological collections from Micronesia in the Field Museum number 11,270 objects. Alexander Spoehr, curator of Oceanic archaeology and ethnology, carried out anthropological work immediately after World War II and collected ethnological and archaeological materials for the Museum’s collections. Fred Reinman, a Pacific archaeologist and the Museum’s Oceanic curator from 1964 to 1967, also conducted fieldwork and collected in these regions. While the collection is varied, it is comparatively good, and the archaeological collections from Spoehr and Reinman are noteworthy.

The collection of Polynesian ethnological and archaeological objects numbers approximately 5,190 and covers most of the island groups com-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Continent(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895–1899</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(North America 9, Central America 2, Africa 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900–1909</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>(North America 57, Pacific 12, Asia 6, Africa 1, Central America 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910–1919</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(North America 6, Pacific 6, Asia 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920–1929</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>(Asia 9, North America 5, Central America 5, South America 2, Africa 1, Europe 1, Pacific 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930–1939</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(North America 6, Europe 4, Asia 4, Central America 3, Africa 1, Pacific 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940–1949</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(North America 5, Pacific 2, South America 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950–1959</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>(North America 18, Europe 1, Central America 1, Pacific 1, South America 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960–1969</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>(North America 20, Asia 3, Pacific 2, Africa 1, Central America 1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970–1979</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(South America 4, Pacific 4, Central America 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980–1989</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>(Asia 8, South America 6, Pacific 4, Africa 2, North America 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990–1999</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>(South America 17, North America 12, Africa 11, Pacific 7, Asia 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000–2001</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>(North America 7, South America 10, Asia 5, Africa 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>309</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

prising Polynesia, including New Zealand, Hawaii, Easter Island, Samoa, Tonga, the Marquesas, the Cook Islands, and others. A significant portion of this collection originated in the A.W.F. Fuller collection. The Polynesia collection includes some outstanding individual objects, such as the Hawaiian “mate” to the Bloxam figure and the Hawaiian feathered war god Kukailimoku. The Hawaiian tapa is particularly noteworthy. The Maori collection is outstanding and includes the council house, Ruatopupuke II, one of only three council houses outside New Zealand. Many of the Maori weapons and implements are also of fine quality and of scholarly importance.

Expeditions

Appendix 4 lists chronologically by year and alphabetically by leader as complete a list as possible of the expeditions and fieldwork that have been conducted by Department of Anthropology curators. Table 6.3 and Figure 6.2 summarize these data.

For a number of reasons, the expedition and fieldwork data are “fuzzy” at best and incomplete at worst. During the early years of the Museum, record keeping was not as precise as we might like (see Martin-Ross and Barnett, this volume). As such, shorter and unnamed expeditions may have also occurred but may not be listed. Travel in the early part of the 20th century was much more opportunistic and subject to change (see Bronson, this volume; Welsch, this volume; Yastrow and Nash, this volume). Early expeditions, such as A. B. Lewis’s expedition to the South Pacific in 1909–1913, often took on epic proportions and lasted years. The count of other early expeditions, particularly in North America in the 1900s, may be artificially inflated because records, such as are available, listed them by tribe rather than geography or calenndrics. After about 1970, the nature of Museum fieldwork changed, with curators conducting research but not collecting objects, at least in large numbers, for the Museum’s collections. The Field Museum archives should be consulted for additional data on the expeditions listed.

Though we have tried to focus exclusively on fieldwork conducted by curators during their employ at the Field Museum, such an approach would delete incredibly important projects in the history of the Museum. Noticeably absent from Appendix 4 would be the Museum’s excavations at the archaeological site of Kish, in Iraq, continuously between 1923 and 1933, except for 1925 and 1926, when Curator Henry Field joined those excavations. A similar difficulty arises when we try to tabulate Malvina Hoffman’s expedition in 1931–1932 (see Yastrow and Nash, this volume), for she was technically not a curator—similarly with J. Ried Moir’s expeditions to Ipswich, Eng-
land, in 1930–1931, Donald Lehmer's archaeological expedition to Sonora, Mexico, in 1949, and numerous other collecting trips in the 1900s.

The expedition and fieldwork data nevertheless indicate a number of trends. The Museum's fledgling years, roughly coincident with Dorsey's leadership (1898–1914; see Almazan and Coleman, this volume) are characterized by a massive amount of collecting activity. The 1900s have the highest number of expeditions of any decade (77), followed by the 1990s with 53, though the latter includes activity by a total of 12 curators, as compared to only 6 during the 1900s. If current trends continue, the 2000s, which have averaged more than 10 fieldwork episodes per year, will surpass the 1900s (7.7 per year) as the most active decade.

Except for the 1900s and 1990s, no other decade has been characterized by more than 27 expeditions (the 1960s), though the 1920s saw 24 expeditions go into the field. The 1940s, with travel restrictions imposed by World War II, had the fewest expeditions (9). Similarly, the 1910s, with travel restrictions due to World War I, had only 12 expeditions, all of which occurred before 1915. Interestingly, the 1970s saw only 10 fieldwork expeditions, indicating that the department was in transition from the decades-long domination of departmental activity by Chief Curator Paul Martin to an era with a more modern aspect, with rotating chairships and the arrival of Ben Bronson, John Terrell, and others. In addition, the poor worldwide economic climate and energy crisis of the mid-1970s may have had an impact as well.

Geographically, North America dominates expedition and fieldwork activity in 7 of the 12 decades under consideration and overwhelmingly dominates fieldwork through 1914 (the Dorsey years) and during the 1940s to 1960s (the Martin years). Since 1970, fieldwork has diversified, however. There have been 30 expeditions to South America, 21 within North America, 18 to Asia, 16 to Africa, and 11 to the Pacific. This trend away from North America has continued, such that currently none of the 10 curators conducts fieldwork in North America. The fact that Asia dominated expedition activity in the 1920s is a function of the decade-long excavation of Kish, which occurred during a lull in other department expedition activity.

**Accessions**

During the approximately 50 years between the founding of the Museum and the end of World War II, two shifts occurred in the Department of Anthropology. One mirrored a shift in emphasis in the discipline itself, away from the collection of objects to the study of civilizations, cultures, and past patterns of behavior (see Collier and Tschopik, this volume). The other involved funding, which shifted from private sources to government agencies or charitable institutions, such as the National Science Foundation and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Figure 6.3 charts the number of accessions processed by the Field Museum per year from 1893 to 2001. In some ways, trends in these data are directly related to trends in the expeditions data, though in others they are indirectly related. For instance, prior to about 1910, a large number of accessions were processed as Dorsey-induced collecting expeditions come back from the field (see Dorsey, this volume). In the 1920s, when expeditions were limited in number, it appears that departmental faculty and staff invested more effort in processing collections after moving to the new location in Grant Park.

The department also benefited by acquiring existing collections that became available for sale. In the Museum's early years, the typical procedure was to identify an existing collection that was for sale, then find a benefactor who would buy it and present it to the Museum. Among the many such benefactors are persons whose names are prominent in the history of Chicago, including the Armours, the McCormicks, the Ryersons, and, repeatedly, Marshall Field (who died in 1906, leaving the Museum $8 million) and his descendants.

During the early years of the Museum, the prevailing attitude was that what was acquired should be displayed (see Fowler, this volume; Welsch, this volume), a notion that appears quaint today, when less than 1% of the approximately 1 million objects in the anthropology collections are on display at any given time. Over time, there has been a marked decrease in the number of objects displayed and an increase in the depth of the accompanying explanatory and interpretive commentary (see Collier, this volume).

**Fieldiana Publications**

Appendix 5 lists all the *Fieldiana: Anthropology* volumes published through 2002. Table 6.4 offers the tabulation, and Figure 6.4 illustrates it.

Of the 172 *Fieldiana* volumes published, 69 are
on archaeological topics, 60 are on ethnological or historical topics, 24 focus on existing Museum collections, 8 are on physical anthropology, 3 are on methods, and 3 are bibliographies.

Between 1895 and 1899, the only authors of the Field Museum's *Fieldiana* volumes are George Dorsey (3), who was working in the Pacific, and William Henry Holmes (2), working in Mexico.

Between 1900 and 1909, contributions were primarily ethnological (14 of 18) and centered on North America (15 of 18). Much of the work published is by George Dorsey (9 of 18) and Henry Voth (6 of 18, though he is also listed as junior author on two others) in the American Southwest and Plains.

Between 1910 and 1919, the majority of publications were archaeological (8 of 13) and centered on Asia (8), with Fay-Cooper Cole publishing (4) on his work in the Philippines and Berthold Laufer publishing (4) contributions on research he conducted in China.

Between 1920 and 1929, the decade with the fewest number of *Fieldiana* publications (6), nevertheless covers a wide range of topics, from the Hopewell of Ohio to the prehistory of aviation to the correlation of Mayan and European calendars, and no generalizations are possible.

Between 1930 and 1939, the contributions are evenly split between archaeology (9 of 22) and ethnology (10 of 22). Geographically, Africa has the most contributions (6 of 22) because of the work of Wilfrid Hambly (see Codrington, this volume), followed by a roughly even distribution around the rest of the globe: North America (4), Central America (4), South America (3), Asia (2), and Europe (1).
Table 6.4. *Fieldiana: Anthropology* publications, by decade.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895–1899</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900–1909</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>1910–1919</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920–1929</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930–1939</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>1940–1949</td>
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<td>1950–1959</td>
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<td>1960–1969</td>
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<td>1970–1979</td>
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<td>1980–1989</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990–1999</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000–2002</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>172</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between 1940 and 1949, contributions are again evenly split between archaeology (9 of 20) and ethnology (8), though geographically North America dominates (12). A wide variety of scholars made contributions during this decade, including Paul Martin and John Rinaldo in the Southwest (4), Alexander Spoehr in the Southeast among the Seminole (3), and George Quimby in the Aleutian Islands (3).

Between 1950 and 1959, archaeology dominates ethnological (18 vs. 4) contributions, largely because of the efforts of Martin, Rinaldo, and their associates, and therefore the North American Southwest dominates the contributions geographically. George Quimby in Louisiana, Donald Collier and Alfred Kroeber in Peru, Cole in the Philippines, and Spoehr in the Pacific round out the 1950s contributions.

The story is similar between 1960 and 1969, when archaeology has double the number (10) of ethnology contributions (5). Again, the focus is on the North American Southwest but also the Great Lakes (Quimby and Lewis Binford) and Alaska (VanStone).

Between 1970 and 1979, the situation is reversed as archaeologist Paul Martin retires and ethnologist James VanStone begins to publish *Fieldiana* volumes in rapid succession. There are twice as many ethnology contributions (12) during this decade as there are archaeology contributions (5), and North America continues to dominate all contributions (13 of 18).

From 1980 to 1989, only one archaeological contribution is published. The rest (12 of 13) are ethnological, and the vast majority of them, 11 of 12, have to do with North American groups or collections.

From 1990 to 1999, the situation is again dominated by ethnological contributions (12 of 18), largely because of VanStone’s efforts, though archaeology again makes a respectable showing (6). North America dominates geographically (13), though South America has the highest number of contributions in the Field Museum’s history (5).

VanStone leads in the number of *Fieldiana* publications on which he has served as senior author (31) and is more than 50% ahead of his nearest competition, Paul Martin (20). In decreasing order, the next leading senior authors are Dorsey (13), Hambly (10), Laufier (9), Voth (8), Quimby (8), Spoehr (7), Cole (6), Thompson (5), Rinaldo (3), Field (3), Weber (3), Stanish (3), Holmes (2), Tarbell (2), Mason (2), Collier (2), Lewis (2), Lucier (2), and many others with one each.

More than half (95) of the *Fieldiana: Anthropology* volumes published address topics in North America, followed by Asia (including the Philippines) with 20 contributions, Central America (13), the Pacific (12), South America (12), Africa (9), and Europe (including Egypt [4]). Six contributions do not fit neatly within any geographic division. The North American contributions are divided evenly between the Southwest (36) and the Arctic (35), followed by the Plains (15), the South/Southeast (5), and the Midwest (4).

**Temporary Exhibitions**

Given the importance of temporary exhibitions in today’s museum world, it is difficult to conceive of a time when such was not the case, but in bygone eras, museums installed artifact-laden permanent exhibits and did not see a need for temporary exhibitions. Appendix 6 lists anthrop-
Table 6.5. Temporary anthropology exhibits, by decade.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decade</th>
<th>Exhibits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940–1949</td>
<td>13 (one becomes permanent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950–1959</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960–1969</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970–1979</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980–1989</td>
<td>43 (two become permanent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990–1999</td>
<td>66 (two become permanent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000–2002</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The increasing importance of temporary exhibitions over the past six decades is clearly evident in Figure 6.5, where an average of just over one temporary exhibit per year in the 1940s increased sixfold to nearly 6.5 during the 1990s. At midcentury, temporary exhibits tended to honor major historical events, such as the 500th Anniversary of the Gutenberg Bible (1940) or the centennial of the publication of Charles Darwin’s Origin of Species (1959). Other temporary exhibits highlighted the previous summer’s expedition haul, such as Paul Martin’s discovery of a Mogollon Mummy from Tularosa Cave, New Mexico (1950). Some clearly highlighted academic changes within the Department of Anthropology, such as the 1957 hiring of Phillip H. Lewis as curator of primitive art, in the What Is Primitive Art? installation of 1958. Some exhibits are recycled or, perhaps more appropriately, rejuvenated over the years. For instance, a lesser-known such exhibit in 1962 preceded the 1977 blockbuster exhibit Treasures of Tutankhamun. Similarly, a more current (2002) Day of the Dead installation was preceded by another in 1991. The 1990s have seen several multimedia exhibits, such as Sounds from the Vaults (1999) and Cajun Music and Zydeco (1996). Still others, including The Art of the Motorcycle (1998), Chicago Bears: 80 Years of Gridiron Legends (1999), and Star Wars: The Magic of Myth (2000), stretch the traditional boundaries of the anthropological exhibition but nevertheless remain popular with museum audiences.

Photographs

The Department of Anthropology’s photograph collection constitutes a priceless record of anthropological research and collecting activity that begins in 1890. The department curates more than 60,000 photographs in 429 albums, the organization of which was established as early as 1903 (see Martin-Ross and Barnett, this volume). Appendix 7 lists the summary data in detail; we merely offer some highlights on a continent-by-continent basis.

The photographic record for research conducted in Africa includes some 4,800 prints divided roughly into scenes, specimens, exhibits, expedition photos, and physical types. Of critical importance are Wilfrid Hambly’s ethnographic and physical type photographs (see Codrington, this volume) and photographs of Egyptian specimens and exhibits. The Asian collection consists of nearly 30,000 separate prints, including extensive documentary photographs of expeditions and ethnographic work by Henry Field in Iraq (see Yastrow and Nash, this volume) and large numbers of scenes from the Philippines (see Welsch, this volume). Many Chinese and Tibetan specimens have been photographed, though we have comparatively few scenes or ethnographic settings from these areas (see Bronson, this volume).

The Australian and Pacific collection includes nearly 6,000 photographs, about evenly divided between scenes and specimens. Most of the
1,800-print Central American photograph collection focuses on archaeological research, as does the European photograph collection, which has 2,700 prints. The North American photo collection of 13,000 prints includes 4,500 shots taken by Paul Martin’s Archaeological Expedition to the Southwest from 1930 to 1972 (see Nash, this volume; Herold, this volume) as well as extensive and priceless ethnographic documentation from numerous expeditions to visit Native American reservations across the United States and Canada. The South American collection (ca. 3,000 prints) focuses primarily on archaeological objects and features, though some ethnographic prints are available. There is also an invaluable collection of more than 300 staff photographs, including, in addition to curators, some less-well-known members of the department, such as conservator Christine Danzinger and paleobotanist Hugh Cutler. Some 2,600 photographs document past or current anthropology exhibits in the Museum and can be exceedingly useful for information management purposes and catalogue problem solving (see Martin-Ross and Barnett, this volume). Finally, there are more than 1,500 other photographs that are not so easily categorized but that document early postcards, exhibits at the old building in Jackson Park, the move from Jackson Park to Grant Park, and other interesting topics.

This chapter concludes Part I, which has erected the historical and organizational framework of Field Museum anthropology. Part II turns to the “works and lives” that flesh out the foundational skeleton. In the chapters that follow, current Field Museum curators, staff members, and associates examine the lives and contributions of nine of the most influential curators—Dorsey, Lewis, Laufer, Field, J. E. S. Thompson, Hambly, Martin, Collier, and VanStone—ever to grace the halls of the department. In addition, one former curator, Collier, and one former staff member, Herold, provide first-person commentaries on the vagaries of day-to-day life both within the department and in the field. Taken together, these contributions offer a multilayered perspective on the many glories and occasional ignominies of a century of anthropology at the Field Museum.
II

A Selection of Curators
Interchapter

Stephen E. Nash and Gary M. Feinman

The Department of Anthropology at the Field Museum has had 47 curators during its history. Some of these figures stood at the top of their profession and helped secure a prominent place for the Museum in American and worldwide scholarly circles. Others had but fleeting associations with the Museum, and their contributions are recorded only more sketchily in the archives. The selection of curators for detailed treatment in this book was neither systematic nor random. The selection criteria had to do more with the research interests of potential authors than it did with a specific strategy to balance these treatments with respect to research area, time period, scholarly output, or some other criterion. Having said that, of the curators who enjoyed long (greater than 15 years) tenures at the Field Museum, only George Quimby, curator from 1942 to 1965, does not receive his own chapter, although his work and his large scholarly influence are treated in some detail in the chapter by Donald Collier.

The interests of the selection of curators who appear in the following chapters cut a wide swath across topics of importance to anthropologists and historians alike. Geographically, the chapters in this section consider research on all six inhabited continents, if New Guinea can, with some license, be considered part of the Australian continent. Temporally, the research emphases range from the Archaic Period of the American Southwest to Classic Period Maya and ethnographic research in Africa, Asia, and Alaska. It covers research spanning the entire 20th century. Methodologically, A. B. Lewis implemented new systematic collection procedures while in New Guinea. J. Eric S. Thompson and Edward H. Thompson made significant contributions to Mayan studies while approaching their subject matter from radically different directions. Theoretically, Paul Martin was at the forefront of archaeological method and theory for decades, and James VanStone made significant contributions to the fledgling field of ethnoarchaeology.

Demographically, the story of Field Museum anthropology is largely a story of European-American men. There have been only four female curators (Helen Gunsaulus, Anna Roosevelt, Alaska Wali, and Anne Underhill), one African curator (Chapurukha Kusimba), one Native American curator (William Jones), and one Hispanic curator (Antonio Curet) in the department’s history. All but Gunsaulus, Jones, and Roosevelt are currently employed in the department. Given broader demographic trends in academe and the lack of turnover in any situation in which tenure is offered, increased diversity will naturally take time.

As might be expected, however, the professional staff roster tells a completely different story. The majority (60%, n = 233) of Field Museum anthropology staff since 1926 have been women. If we remove from the calculation the 1933–1940 Works Progress Administration staff, which was more evenly divided between male and female, the staff roster through time is overwhelmingly female (69%). Unfortunately, data are not available on staff member ethnicity, nationality, or other demographic criteria.
Early in the history of the Field Museum, a curator and his enlisted comrades shaped the future of the Department of Anthropology. George Amos Dorsey held the position of curator of anthropology between 1899 and 1915—sixteen impressive years of collecting, traveling, and publishing. From the beginning, the Museum ingrained in Dorsey the goal of turning the Field Museum into a world-renowned institution comparable with other major natural history museums. As it is now the fourth largest museum in the world, we can say that Dorsey planted the seed for the Department of Anthropology by overseeing the early and rapid growth of the department’s collections. He was just one man, though, and surrounded himself with a group of assistants who helped him develop the department. He accomplished many of his goals through their actions, and their role in the history of the Department of Anthropology should not be overlooked.

This chapter is divided into two major sections, The Curator and The Comrades. Both emphasize the work Dorsey and his assistants conducted in North America during the first half of his career at the Museum. Dorsey is most widely known for his expeditions and research among Native Americans and the collections that he gathered. In the first section, we provide a brief overview of Dorsey’s career, followed by an examination of the collecting he and his assistants did in North America. Next, we look at one of Dorsey’s major focuses—his study of tribes on the Plains between 1901 and 1907. Then we discuss his information-gathering strategies and his resulting publications. Last, we expand upon the partial leave of absence he took in the midst of his work in North America to labor in the private sector at the Fred Harvey Company. The second section of this chapter focuses on some of Dorsey’s assistants—his comrades. These men fall into four categories: Field Museum staff members, trained anthropologists, scholars from other disciplines, and Native American informants. A short biography of each man is given along with a discussion of his role in the Department of Anthropology under the direction of Dorsey. A concluding section reflects on the impact both Dorsey and his assistants had on the history of the department.

The Curator

An Introduction to George Dorsey

George Amos Dorsey was the first person in the United States to graduate with a Ph.D. in anthropology, which he received from Harvard University in 1894 under the tutelage of Frederic Ward Putnam. Before that, in 1888, Dorsey received an A.B. from Denison College in Ohio. While at Harvard, Putnam, who was also chief of the Department of Ethnology of the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, chose Dorsey to collect objects for the exposition in South America. During 1891–1892, Dorsey went to Peru, Ecuador, Chile, and Bolivia. In 1893, Putnam named him Superintendent of Archaeology for the Exposition’s Department of Anthropology. After finishing his doctorate degree, Dorsey taught Anthropology at Harvard until he accepted the position as assistant curator in charge of physical anthropology at the Field Museum in 1896 (Calhoun 1991a). In 1897, the Museum changed his title to acting curator after the departure of William Hen-
ry Holmes, and on January 1, 1899, he became the curator of anthropology.

When Dorsey joined the staff of the Museum, it was apparent that he was ambitious, demanding, and driven, but also enthusiastic about advancing the Department of Anthropology. Shortly after being hired, he led his first expedition for the department in 1897, spending four months collecting objects from tribes in the northern and western regions of the United States and Canada. From December of that year to January of 1898, he traveled to Arizona to collect objects from the Hopi and to witness one of their ceremonies. From August to September of 1899, he returned to the Northwest Coast to visit more tribes and collect even more objects. He went to the far western areas of the United States in 1900, which turned out to be his last major collecting trip in the region.

In 1901, Dorsey shifted his focus to Oklahoma, where until 1907 he studied Plains tribes, most notably the Pawnee, Arapaho, and Cheyenne. While working in Oklahoma, he gathered not only objects but also information on Native American material culture, society, religion, and language. To bolster his research, he received grants from the Carnegie Institution of Washington and made connections with informants and tribal members. In 1903, he took a partial leave of absence from the Museum to work for the Indian Department of the Fred Harvey Company, but he continued his studies and grant work during the leave. He returned as full-time curator in the spring of 1904 and continued his work among the Plains tribes until 1907.

Soon after the death of Marshall Field in 1906, a decade of feverish collecting in North America came to a close, and the direction of the department changed significantly. By 1906 and 1907, only a few expeditions were still being undertaken in North America. The R. F. Cummings Expeditions had begun in 1906 after Mr. Cummings provided a $20,000 donation to conduct investigations in the Philippines, and Berthold Laufer was hired in 1907 to begin work in Tibet and China. Dorsey himself led an expedition around the world in 1908 (most notably in Asia), an expedition to Mexico in 1909, and an expedition to British India in 1915.

Dorsey resigned from the Museum in 1915 after his last expedition. He continued to work, though, using his rich anthropological training to address a new set of experiences and challenges. During World War I, he served as an Assistant Naval Attaché in Madrid and Lisbon. He subsequently became a correspondent for the London News and a lecturer on anthropology at the New School of Social Research in New York. He continued to publish and became well known through his best-selling popular science book, Why We Behave Like Human Beings (Dorsey, 1926). Much to the surprise of his colleagues and friends, he died suddenly in 1931 at the age of 72 (Calhoun, 1991a).

**Collecting in North America**

Dorsey began his career at the Museum by conducting expeditions in the western regions of the United States and Canada. He participated in many expeditions in North America for the Department of Anthropology but hired many others to do the same. From 1897 to 1907, he employed roughly a dozen assistants to help him gather objects and information from Native American tribes. In the span of a decade, he and his assistants led over sixty ethnographic and archaeological expeditions within North America. The objects collected on these trips, along with many purchases, gifts, and exchanges, resulted in a quantity of Native American specimens representing 30,000 catalogue numbers.

As the first major natural history museum in the Midwest, the Museum wanted to make a strong statement about its place among major museums in the country. The Department of Anthropology was set to be the centerpiece of the Museum, and although it had acquired a substantial number of artifacts from the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition from which it was born, there was urgency for more collections. The fear that unique and genuine artifacts were disappearing at an alarming rate along with the indigenous cultures that made them (especially Native American cultures) increased this sense of urgency. The Museum encouraged a strategy of rapid collecting and exhibit mounting to build its status as a scientific institution.

The numbers above indicate that these strategies were not lost on Dorsey when he came to the Department of Anthropology. Two major goals guided him: to fill in the gaps of the collections, and to ensure that they would make good exhibits. Dorsey wanted the Museum to have the best representative sample of material from a given tribe, so he and his assistants sometimes went to great lengths to gather objects. In a letter dated January
31, 1900, to Stephen Simms, assistant curator of ethnology from 1898 to 1912, Dorsey states:

When you go into an Indian's house and you do not find the old man at home and there is something you want, you can do one of three things; go hunt up the old man and keep hunting until you find him; give the old woman such price for it as she may ask for it running the risk that the old man will be offended; or steal it. I tried all three plans and I have no choice to recommend. (FMA/GAD)

After asking another one of his assistants, Charles Newcombe, to study the Northwest Coast collection at the Museum before conducting work there, Dorsey suggested that Newcombe could "... then return ... and ... collect from tribe to tribe in a systematic manner, making special effort to fill in the gaps in our collection and to visit those tribes, which are at the present time unrepresented here" (Letter FMA/GAD January 10, 1901).

Not only did Dorsey want to gather complete collections, but he also wanted them to be worthy of exhibition at the Museum. Clearly his predecessor, William Holmes, instilled these goals in him with the instructions he gave Dorsey for his 1897 expedition:

You are to endeavor in the first place to secure collections illustrating the physical characteristics of the principal ethnic groups visited, and in the second to collect material and data for the construction of certain culture groups illustrative of the great culture provinces into which your work may carry you ... the latter contemplates the erection of Museum group exhibits. ... The general idea ... is that they should include life size models of the men, women, and children of the typical community selected to represent the group, and that these figures should be represented as engaged in some characteristic occupations and surrounded by such of their belongings as may be conveniently brought together and displayed. Photographs are essential, and casts of faces are very desirable. ... The importance of securing a few complete and characteristic exhibition units rather than many imperfect ones should be kept constantly in mind. (Letter FMA/WHI May 12, 1897)

Dorsey and his assistants collected objects for the Museum exhibits, but they also supplemented them with props to enhance their educational value. Dorsey had casts made of Eskimo and Hopi peoples as well as of Native Americans around Vancouver Island in British Columbia. One of his assistants, Jesse Burt, made miniature dioramas of Native American dwellings and scenes of ceremonies. H. R. Voth, another assistant, made life-size recreations of Hopi ceremonial altars for the Southwest exhibits.

Both the collection of objects and the construction of exhibits were important to Dorsey because, as with most collectors of Native American artifacts during this period, he believed cultural characteristics and material of most tribes were rapidly disappearing. In a letter to Stanley McCormick, a private donor, dated February 5, 1900, he states: "It is none too soon that we are taking up this work, for it is my firm belief that within three or four years there will not be a ruin on the Hopi Reservation that has not been ransacked and devasted either by eastern institutions or by Arizona relic hunters" (FMA/EV). Had the collections been made later, they would not have been as comprehensive and important to the study of these cultures as we now realize them to be. Nonetheless, their strategies were a doubled-edged sword—they may have saved objects for present generations of Native Americans, but they also contributed to the loss of traditional ways of life by removing the objects that reinforced cultural identity.

Focusing on the Plains

In 1901, Dorsey began visiting Native American tribes living in Oklahoma—an area that had not yet been studied by anyone else in the Department of Anthropology. His demanding duties as curator of a growing museum no longer allowed him to go on extended expeditions to the far reaches of North America; therefore, Oklahoma was the perfect place for him to conduct field investigations. By then, he began to depend more heavily on field assistants to work in the out-of-the-way places—the Northwest Coast, California, and the Southwest—while he worked closer to home. He became interested in the ceremonial life of tribes and began making trips to Oklahoma to witness Sun Dance ceremonies of the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Osage, and others. He continued his study of the Plains tribes until 1907.

As in other regions, Dorsey needed assistants to help him conduct his research among the Plains tribes. The most important men he hired were Native Americans who were members of some of these tribes and who also could read and write English. Two such men, James Murie, a Pawnee, and Cleaver Warden, a Southern Arapaho, were instrumental in helping Dorsey understand these two cultures as well as other related tribes. Dorsey

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hired Murie and Warden to collect information and objects from the tribes with whom they lived for most or part of the year. Having assistants on the reservations allowed Dorsey to easily learn when ceremonies would be held so that he could attend. They were also able to provide information on an abundance of topics, including religion, mythology, language, games, and the symbolism of designs on the objects they gathered.

By 1903, Dorsey felt his research on the Plains was important enough to warrant long-term study. To ensure he had continued funding for his new interest, and perhaps to help pay for his assistants, he applied for and received grants from the Carnegie Institution of Washington between 1903 and 1907 to perform investigations among Caddoan Indians. He used most of the funds to do fieldwork among the Pawnee but conducted research on other tribes as well. Under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution, he published the results of his work in four volumes: *Mythology of the Wichita* (Dorsey 1904), *Traditions of the Arikara* (Dorsey 1904), *Traditions of the Caddo* (Dorsey 1905), and *The Pawnee: Mythology* (Dorsey 1906). A second book on the Pawnee was to be published as part two to the volume on mythology, but he never completed it.

Funding was not the only challenge Dorsey faced in 1903 when a trip to Oklahoma led to public criticism of him and his anthropological work. In July of that year, he and James Mooney of the Bureau of American Ethnology witnessed a Sun Dance on the Cheyenne reservation. Shortly thereafter, news reports surfaced that they had induced or paid two Cheyenne men to participate in the “torture” part of the dance whereby the men pierced their own chests and backs. A large number of newspapers reported the story and proceeded to lambaste and denounce Dorsey and Mooney for their actions. Dorsey denied the charges and stated in an interview, “the sun dance is religion to the Indians and they have a right to celebrate it under the clause of the Constitution granting American citizens freedom of worship” (Chronicle Telegraph 1903). The news circulated across the country for several months, but Dorsey maintained his innocence and continued to advocate the rights of Native Americans.

Statements and actions such as the above earned Dorsey friendship, or at least acquaintance, with members of tribes on the Plains. These tribal members invited him to their ceremonies, sometimes as a means of protection against the reservation agents, who they feared would try to stop their ceremonies. Dorsey wrote to F. W. Antelope, a Northern Arapahoe, on November 19, 1906:

> About your ceremonies, I can only give this advice. Go ahead and have them when the time comes without waiting to ask permission from your agent. You Indians are not slaves to do the bidding of the Indian agent. As long as you do not violate the laws of Wyoming he can not touch you. The laws of this country which are supposed to make for freedom are as much for the freedom of you as of the white man. The Arapaho ceremony is a kind of worship, as much so as a Methodist camp meeting, and the Indian agent has no moral or legal right to stop you. The Agent of your reservation tried to stop your sun dance once before, and you remember I wrote the United States agent and he gave you authority to have the dance. Your great mistake is allowing the agent to bluff you into believing he can stop your dances by threatening to call out troops. (FMA/GAD)

Dorsey’s attendance at ceremonies and the respect he extended to tribal members allowed him and his assistants to collect ceremonial objects and regalia after the events were over. On at least one occasion, tribal members wrote to Dorsey asking him to bring back some objects so that they could use them in a ceremony.

Overall, Dorsey and his assistants did not collect as many objects from the Plains tribes as they had from other groups, but the ethnographic work they conducted in Oklahoma, North Dakota, and Wyoming led to a greater understanding of Plains culture. Dorsey made at least eleven trips to the Plains during his six years of study there. Together, he and his assistants collected approximately 3,000 objects for the Museum. He published ten books on Plains tribes (Dorsey 1903a,b, 1904a,b,c, 1905a,b,c, 1906; Dorsey & Kroeber 1903) and published many essays on them in professional journals. His study of the Plains tribes added a new aspect to the Department of Anthropology’s goals of object collecting and exhibit mounting.

### Information Gathering and Publishing

In the first few years of Dorsey’s career at the Museum, he focused on gathering objects quickly and transferring them into museum exhibits. That focus left little time for gathering information about the specimens. Dorsey was more interested in having a large number and varied amount of objects from a particular tribe or culture area to exhibit at the Museum than he was in gathering
objects and information for research purposes. Few field notes remain for the collecting activities of Dorsey and his assistants from 1897 to 1901, and the notes that do remain often do not include anything more than the name of the object, the price paid for it, and the name of the tribe. In the case of archaeological excavations, assistants noted only the general regional location of a grave along with its contents.

In 1901, for reasons that remain unclear, Dorsey began to ask his assistants to collect more than just objects. On numerous occasions, he wrote to those working for him in the field and asked that they write down as much information as they were able about a culture, its religion, games, objects, and so on. This information-gathering objective coincided with Dorsey’s shift in focus to the Plains. In a letter dated January 27, 1901, to Cleaver Warden, he gave these instructions:

I want you during the next two months to devote your entire attention to two things: In the first place I want you to secure all the information you possibly can and to write it down as you get it from time to time, concerning the Arapahoe shields—Get drawings of shields; make a list of all shields that used to be in existence with the name of the owner; get pictures of all these old shields, the meaning of the symbolism, etc., etc. . . . In the second place I want you to begin to collect and write down additional information of everything relating to Dance Societies, i.e. Cut Foxes, Thunderbird, Lime Crazy, etc. etc., giving especially the . . . legend of each one of these societies, everything relating to their costumes, dances, to their paraphernalia, to their songs, etc. etc. Finally I shall be glad if you will be collecting incidentally, everything which you can concerning Arapahoe games, getting from the old people, the account especially of the origin of the games. (FMA/GAD)

On September 6, 1902, Dorsey wrote to Richard Davis, another Native American he hired to conduct fieldwork.

The old men, and especially the blind, are generally the best storytellers. Do not fail to get stories from women as well as from men. Insist upon stories being completed; the longer the better. When you get hold of a good storyteller, get everything he knows before you go to another man. Cover the ground thoroughly and make your money go as far as possible. (FMA/GAD)

Not only did Dorsey tell his assistants to gather this type of information, but he also began to publish on these subjects.

Dorsey’s publications resulted from his own fieldwork, as well as from that of his assistants. Although he often wrote from personal experience of witnessing ceremonies and traveling, Dorsey sometimes used the field notes of others without giving them full or even partial credit for their work. The field notes, writings, and drawings of his Native American assistants gave him an abundance of rich information, which he included in published and unpublished writings. Most of the time, however, he only thanked these assistants for their interpretive skills and did not give them credit as co-authors. The Museum Archives hold extensive field notes by Cleaver Warden, but Dorsey thanked him only in his Arapaho Sun Dance volume (Dorsey 1903a) for performing “the office of interpreter in a most conscientious and satisfactory manner.” Dorsey gave explicit directions to all his assistants and, because he could not do fieldwork himself in five places at once, perhaps felt a sense of propriety over the contents of those notes.

The numerous works Dorsey published and the lectures he gave reveal his ambitiousness. It is hard to estimate the number of books, articles, and so on that he published during his lifetime. He authored or co-authored ten Fieldiana volumes (Dorsey 1897, 1898, 1900, 1901, 1903a, 1904a, 1905b,c; Dorsey & Kroeber 1903; Dorsey & Voth 1901, 1902), four volumes for the Carnegie Institution of Washington (Dorsey 1904b,c, 1905a, 1906), and numerous journal essays during his tenure at the Museum. He left behind two unfinished, unpublished manuscripts in the Museum Archives. He also gave many lectures on what he observed during his fieldwork. From 1897 to 1910, he was listed as speaking seventeen times for the Museum’s lecture series, and there is no doubt that he gave more at other unnamed institutions. His publications and lectures not only spread his name and research, they also gained attention for the Department of Anthropology and the Museum as a whole.

The Fred Harvey Company

Although his interests and the interests of the Museum drove him to achieve a great deal, Dorsey occasionally directed his attention elsewhere. He took a partial leave of absence from the Museum between January 1903 and April 1904 to work for the Fred Harvey Company, a tourist enterprise based in New Mexico that included Santa Fe Railway dining cars, restaurants, hotels, and

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tourist gift shops/museums (Pardue 1996). The company had an Indian Department that collected, displayed, and sold thousands of Native American specimens to tourists and museums. Many of the prominent museums in the United States with Native American collections have objects purchased from the Fred Harvey Company (Howard 1996).

Dorsey worked for both the Fred Harvey Company and the Museum during his leave. It is unclear what motivated him to work for the Fred Harvey Company; he might have been enticed by the significantly higher wages he earned, or he may have wanted a chance at the private side of collecting. Nevertheless, he collected objects both for the Indian Department (the extent of his collecting activities is unclear) and for the Museum during this period. He also provided the Indian Department with contacts that he had already made at the Museum. The Fred Harvey Company and the Museum dually paid several of his assistants, including Charles Owen, H. R. Voth, and John Hudson during that time (Pardue 1996).

If Dorsey was taking advantage of the opportunities afforded to him by the Fred Harvey Company, then the Fred Harvey Company was taking advantage of Dorsey and his institutional affiliation. To make their collections appear more important and worthy of the high sale prices, the Indian Department and its museum at the Alvarado Hotel in Albuquerque tried to align itself with the scientific community. The Fred Harvey Company hired Dorsey, a curator of anthropology, to lend his name and the name of the Field Museum to their collections. While there, Dorsey wrote catalogues and "scholarly" or promotional materials about their collections (Pardue 1996). His book, Indians of the Southwest, published in 1903, guided tourists riding on the Santa Fe Railway from Chicago to California. He discussed the tribes and reservations that one could visit on the way, how to get there, and where one could stay and eat on the journey. The book lured tourists to the Southwest and, of course, to the hotels and restaurants owned by the Fred Harvey Company.

In April of 1904, Dorsey left the Fred Harvey Company to return as full-time curator in Chicago. On January 1 of that year, he wrote to Museum Director F. J. V. Skiff about his own future after the end of his agreed-upon one year of leave. In spite of the satisfaction derived from earning a salary of very much greater magnitude than that which I received as Curator of the Department of Anthropology, during the past year, I have never felt that sincere satisfaction and delight which has always been mine in performing the work of the Curator of Anthropology. For work of this nature I prepared myself through several years of study, all this study having this special end in view. When I set out upon preparing myself for this work I deliberately abandoned the idea of entering an occupation which would prove highly remunerative; I chose rather to devote my life to the advancement of science, in so far as I had the ability. After a year's trial of the other life, I am still of the opinion that whether in my selection of a career ten years ago I chose wisely or not, I did select one into which I could and have put all my energies, always with the keenest delight and satisfaction, and, after all, I am doubtful if there is any higher standard of success in life than this. (FMA/DCGAD)

Although his work at the Fred Harvey Company may have been financially satisfying, Dorsey clearly preferred the rewards of his museum work.

The Comrades

The remarkable success of the Department of Anthropology would not have been possible without the forethought of Dorsey and his careful selection of staff members and field assistants. The majority of the men he hired lacked formal training in anthropology. Few men had been educated in anthropology because fewer than a handful of schools offered it as a formal discipline at that time. These assistants tended to be geologists, government officials, physicians, military men, and missionaries, and thus the methods they used were unconventional by today's anthropological standards. During the great museum-building period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, however, their actions were common. These assistants were essential in the collection of archaeological and ethnographic material and information from Native Americans. Generally, the assistants Dorsey hired fell into four categories: Field Museum staff members, trained anthropologists, other scholars, and Native American informants.

Field Museum Staff Members

The anthropology staff members Dorsey chose to conduct anthropological investigations in North America came from various backgrounds. Jesse A. Burt's official title was preparator for the department, but Dorsey sent him on two archaeological expeditions. Charles Owen began his ca-
reer at the Museum as a poisoner in the department before he became the assistant curator of archaeology. Stephen Simms previously worked in the Geology and Industrial Arts departments before becoming assistant curator of ethnology in Anthropology. Dorsey taught his staff how to collect ethnographic and archaeological material and instructed them on what they were to collect.

Jesse A. Burt—Jesse Burt began working for the Museum in 1897 as a preparator. He bleached and mounted skeletons, prepared specimens for exhibit, and created dioramas representing scenes and homes of the Pawnee, Wichita, and Sac and Fox. In 1899 and 1900, Dorsey sent Burt to conduct archaeological fieldwork along the Lower Little Colorado River in Arizona. In 1903, Burt went to Oklahoma, where he studied the construction of Pawnee earth lodges and Wichita grass houses. He also recorded information on the Pawnee Medicine Society. In 1904, Dorsey sent him to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, where he studied native dwellings built for the fair. Burt created several dioramas for the Museum’s exhibits based on the information he had gathered during these trips. During the building of these dioramas, he was unable to find a suitable way to preserve or recreate foliage; therefore, in 1904, he designed a machine that could do it for him. Burt stated to Director F. J. V. Skiff that Burt’s machine would “produce something of distinct and material value to science” (Letter, FMA/ADF, August 25, 1904). In 1910, Burt asked for a leave of absence from the Museum because of inflammation of the kidneys. Dorsey had hoped Burt would return to the Museum, but Burt died the next year.

Charles Lorin Owen—Charles L. Owen was born in 1861 in Granville, Ohio. He received his A.B. from Denison College in 1885 (the same school from which Dorsey received his A.B.). In 1893, he worked for the Peabody Museum at Harvard University. He was a civil engineer from 1885 until 1898 when he began working at the Field Museum as a poisoner (Cattell 1906). Just two years later, in 1900, he became an assistant curator of archaeology, a position that he held until 1925. While assistant curator, he led expeditions to Arizona, California, and Ohio. During his expeditions in Arizona, he conducted archaeological excavations and collected ethnographic material from the Hopi, Apache, and Navajo. In California, he bought baskets from groups of Mission Indians, and in Ohio, he conducted more archaeological work. To Dorsey, Owen was a loyal assistant who eagerly tried to fulfill the collecting strategies of the department. Owen alluded to his eagerness in a letter he wrote Dorsey in 1903, saying, “Give me the additional money I ask for and no museum on earth will be able to duplicate our Apache Collection” (FMA/COL, June 7, 1903). During his tenure at the Museum, Owen did not publish any findings from his expeditions. Sadly, little is known about the man who worked for the Museum for twenty-five years.

Stephen Chapman Simms—Stephen C. Simms was born in Georgetown, Washington, D.C., in 1863. He worked as a reporter, correspondent, and assistant managing editor from 1884 until 1890. In 1891, he began working as an assistant charged d’affaires for the Department of Foreign Affairs at the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition (Marquis 1936). After the conclusion of the World’s Fair, he began to work as a preparator in the Department of Geology at the Field Museum. That same year, he became the assistant curator of the Department of Industrial Arts. The Museum incorporated the Department of Industrial Arts into the already existing Department of Anthropology, and Simms became the assistant curator of ethnology in 1899. Afterwards, Dorsey sent him on his first collecting trip to the Six Nations Reserve in Canada. Simms’s inexperience with anthropological collecting is apparent in Dorsey’s letters to him while Simms was conducting fieldwork in the Southwest in 1901. Dorsey wrote to him:

... I must frankly say that I have been disappointed. I was not surprised that you did not get among the Supai, ... but that you did not go among the Parker River people; that you did not see the [C]heamehuaviv; that you did not spend more time around the Needles,... Remember that you are after stuff and to... clean it up and do your whole duty to yourself and to the Museum. You are absolutely compelled to get to the out of the way places; to suffer inconveniences and on occasion suffer hardship,. . . Overcome difficulties and make yourself thoroughly master of the situation on this occasion and the West is yours from this time on for a good many years. (Dorsey 1900a)

During his tenure as an assistant curator, Simms led eight expeditions between 1899 and 1912—six within North America and two to the Philippines. His North American expeditions include visiting the Six Nations Reserve, Pima and Yuma, Crow, Cheyenne, Cree, and Chippewa. In 1906, he accompanied the R. F. Cummings Expedition of Luzon, Philippines, to study the Igorrot Indi-
he collected over 260 objects. Later that year, he set out on his two-year expedition to the Philippines. During this expedition, he met his premature death at the age of thirty-eight, when several Ilongot tribesmen murdered him after he lost his temper with one of them.

MERTON LELAND MILLER—Merton L. Miller received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1897; he was the second man to do so from the university. Afterwards, he worked as a professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago. In 1901, Dorsey offered him an assignment to collect in the Columbia River Basin of the northwestern United States. The letters between Dorsey and Miller indicate that this was Miller’s first collecting expedition. He was unaware of the amount he should pay for ethnographic objects and constantly looked to Dorsey to give him guidance on prices. During his expedition, Miller also conducted archaeological excavations in Idaho and Oregon. Overall, he collected only 380 objects. After finishing his first and only expedition for the Museum, he went on to work as assistant chief of the Ethnological Survey of the Philippine Islands for the Department of the Interior. In 1905, Dorsey asked Miller to undertake several years of fieldwork for the Museum in the Philippines, but Miller declined.

Other Scholars

John Hudson, James Mooney, Charles Newcombe, and H. R. Voth did not have formal educations in anthropology but had made names for themselves as collectors and amateur ethnographers before working for the Museum. Dorsey most likely chose these men because of their individual familiarities with specific tribes or regions and their proven abilities to put together collections worthy of a museum. These scholars were essential to the formation of Native American ethnographic collections.

JOHN WILZ HUDSON—John Hudson was born in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1857. He attended the University of Tennessee, where he received training as a physician. Dorsey was familiar with Hudson’s interest in California Indians, and in 1901 offered him a two-year position as an assistant ethnologist with the Museum, which Hudson accepted. Dorsey envisioned that Hudson would collect both ethnographic information and objects from the different bands of tribes then living in California. Dorsey wanted him to make the col-
collections as complete as possible, and where Hudson could not obtain objects, he was to have them made to order. Hudson, through some hardships, systematically visited the various tribes of California and collected over 3,200 objects for the Museum. He filled several notebooks with ethnographic information. In Hudson, Dorsey saw the ideal ethnographer—a man that would get the job done, no matter the situation. Hudson’s relationship with the Museum ended on an unfavorable note when Dorsey published notes and photographs given to him by Hudson without permission or credit in his 1903 book, *Indians of the Southwest* (Dorsey 1903b). Hudson found out about the book and was angry and disheartened. Thereafter, he refused to hand his notebooks over to Dorsey and eventually resigned in 1905.

**James Mooney, Jr.—** James Mooney was born in 1861 in Richmond, Indiana. He was educated in the Richmond public schools but never earned a higher education degree. Instead, he embarked on a campaign to show the Smithsonian Institute’s Bureau of American Ethnology that he had the qualifications needed to work for them. His determination paid off, and the Bureau hired him as an ethnologist in 1885. During the years he worked for the Bureau, he studied and worked among many Plains tribes (Calhoun 1991c; Moses 1984). Eventually, he began to be considered as “the man who knew more about North American Indians than anybody else in the world” (Moses 1984: xii).

From 1901 until 1906, the Field Museum and the Bureau of American Ethnology undertook a joint venture to study the Cheyenne and Kiowa under Mooney’s direction. For the Museum, Mooney collected Cheyenne objects and had miniature models of Cheyenne shields and tips for a Cheyenne camp circle constructed. Dorsey admired Mooney’s work and, in 1904, wrote William H. Holmes at the Bureau to explain his opinion:

> I am profoundly convinced of the great importance and magnitude of his work. . . . It is undoubtedly Mooney’s great life work, and when complete, will form one of the most extended, most valuable, and most interesting contributions to the sciences of ethnology ever made on this or any other continent (FMA/GAD, February 22, 1904).

In 1906, additional appropriations for the joint venture failed, and Mooney never fully completed his work on the camp circle. He continued to work for the Bureau until his death in 1921.

**Charles F. Newcombe—** Charles Newcombe was born in Newcastle upon Tyne, England, in 1851 (Goddard 1925). He studied medicine and specialized in mental disease. Sometime before 1901, he retired from active practice and moved to Victoria, British Columbia, where he studied the botany, history, and anthropology of the Northwest Coast. In 1901, Dorsey felt that the Museum’s Northwest Coast collection lacked many important pieces, and he saw the need to “set about the work of filling the gaps, strengthening the collection in general, and making it thoroughly representative of this great region” (Letter to F. J. V. Skiff, FMA/DGAD, January 18, 1901). Dorsey recommended that the department hire Newcombe in March 1901. Newcombe worked for the department until 1905. During these four years, he collected over 1,400 objects, including totem poles, house posts, and other ethnographic and archaeological material. Up until his death in 1924, he continued to form collections from the Northwest Coast and is known today for his contributions to many museum collections.

**Heinrich (Henry) Richard Voth—** H. R. Voth was born in 1855 in the village of Alexanderwohl in southern Russia. In 1874, he immigrated to America with his family and attended the Evangelical Synod of North America, from which he graduated in 1879. Voth worked among the Arapaho and Cheyenne Indians as a missionary assistant at Darlington, Oklahoma, in 1882 before being ordained as a missionary in 1883. From 1893 until 1902, he worked as a missionary among the Hopi (Wright 1979). Dorsey met Voth in Arizona on the last leg of his 1897 expedition, after which Voth began working for the Museum by making labels and assisting with the installation of the Hopi collection. He resigned from his mission work in 1902 and continued to work for the Museum. He wrote a total of ten *Fieldiana* volumes for the Museum’s Anthropology Series (Voth 1901, 1903a,b, 1905a,b,c, 1912a,b; Dorsey & Voth 1901, 1902). These publications resulted from the ethnographic work he did under Dorsey’s direction between 1901 and 1903 and again in 1911—all of which were funded by Stanley McCormick. In 1910, Assistant Curator Owen commissioned Voth to construct four altars, three shrines, and a spring for the Hopi Exhibit at the Museum. Voth’s relationship with the Museum ended after the completion of the exhibit. He died in 1931 in Newton, Kansas.

George Amos Dorsey 95
Native American Informants

When Dorsey conducted fieldwork in Oklahoma, he met two men, James Murie, a Pawnee, and Cleaver Warden, a Southern Arapaho, whom he used as interpreters and later employed as field assistants. Both Murie and Warden were educated men who could read and write English. Through their field notes, Dorsey gained a better understanding of the Pawnee, Arikara, Cheyenne, and Arapaho and, in turn, prepared publications on each of these cultures. These men lived among their own people and collected ethnographic material under Dorsey’s direction.

James Rolfe Murie—James Murie was born in Grand Island, Nebraska, in 1862. His mother was Skidi Pawnee and his father was an American captain and commander of a battalion of Pawnee scouts (Murie 1981). In 1879, Murie began attending Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, where he learned to read and write English as well as Arikara, which would later help him in his fieldwork. He received his diploma from the Normal Department in 1883 and had goals of becoming a teacher. From 1883 until 1884, he worked as an assistant teacher at the Pawnee Agency boarding school. In 1884, he became assistant disciplinarian and drillmaster at the Haskell Institute, a position he held until 1886. His first true ethnographic work began in the mid-1890s, when he worked with Alice Fletcher of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University transcribing and translating Pawnee songs and other materials (Murie 1981). In 1902, he began working as a full-time assistant to Dorsey. During his employment at the Museum, he collected objects and ethnographic information on the Skidi Pawnee and Arikara, including stories and songs. His work with Dorsey ended in 1907, on the same year that Dorsey was to publish a manuscript about the Pawnee under the auspices of the Carnegie Institute of Washington, which listed both Dorsey and Murie as authors. The manuscript was never finished, and much of Murie’s work for the Museum unfortunately remains unpublished. He continued to live among the Pawnee and worked for both the Bureau of American Ethnology and the American Museum of Natural History. He died in 1921 after studying Pawnee and Arikara culture for over twenty-five years.

Cleaver Warden—Cleaver Warden, a Southern Arapaho, was born in Oklahoma in 1867. He was educated at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania and could read and write English and speak his native language. In January 1901, Dorsey hired him to collect information and objects from the Arapaho. As usual, Dorsey gave explicit instructions about what information to collect. However, having been separated from his culture for many years while away at school, Warden was unsure at times about describing Arapaho religious ceremonies. Dorsey tried to provide him with material that would help him accomplish the fieldwork Dorsey had hoped for. Dorsey wrote him in July 1904,

Now I am sending by this mail, Kroeber’s paper on Arapaho Ceremonial Organization [Kroeber 1904]. What I want you to do for me is to write everything that you know, in the same order as he had pursued, . . . which you have not already sent me. You now know what Kroeber has covered and what you have sent me. What we want is additional information, especially regarding those societies about which neither Kroeber nor myself have as yet sufficient information. (FMA/GAD, July 2, 1904)

Warden informed Dorsey that after reading Kroeber’s paper he understood his own culture better. Warden worked most often in his home territory of Oklahoma but also made at least two trips to the Northern Arapaho in Wyoming. He kept extensive notes on Arapaho ceremonies and objects and drew sketches of robes, cradles, and ceremonies. He kept Dorsey updated on upcoming ceremonies and collected and commissioned objects for the Museum. The end of Dorsey’s relationship with Warden in 1907 paralleled the department’s close of collecting in North America.

Conclusion: Their Legacy

When Dorsey left the Field Museum in 1915, World War I was beginning, and collecting expeditions for the Department of Anthropology were put on hold. Expeditions did not resume until 1922, when the Museum completed its move to the new building in Grant Park. Collecting in North America was never taken up again on such a large scale. Although later curators, such as Paul Martin and George Quimby, contributed to the department’s Native American collections, they collected only archaeological material and did not study the areas in which Dorsey and his assistants had concentrated their efforts. The department moved away from the exhibit-driven collecting strategies that Dorsey once enforced and began
conducting expeditions with more scientific purposes in mind.

Although Dorsey and his assistants did not necessarily form collections to contribute to anthropological research, the many Native American collections they made enhanced the prestige of the department. These collections and the resulting exhibitions and publications led to a greater understanding of Native American culture. Dorsey felt he was fulfilling his obligations to the Museum by rapidly collecting and displaying objects that would attract the public. The success of the department, and indeed of the whole Museum, rested on his abilities as curator.

In order to raise the status of the Museum, Dorsey needed to build a network of assistants to do what he himself could not do alone. He recruited men from different backgrounds and a variety of experiences and interests to work among Native American peoples. He encouraged his assistants to get as much material and information as they could during their expeditions. He expected these men to endure hardships and sacrifice comfort in order to produce excellent and complete collections for the museum exhibits. In return, these men were loyal and gave continuously to further the goals of the Museum. Without these assistants and Dorsey's ambitious nature, the Department of Anthropology and the Field Museum would not have grown into what they are today.
Albert Buell Lewis: Realizing George Amos Dorsey’s Vision

Robert L. Welsch

Albert Buell Lewis (1867–1940; Fig. 8.1) came to the Field Museum of Natural History in March 1907, having completed his doctorate in anthropology at Columbia University the previous spring. He was the fourth student of Franz Boas to complete a Ph.D. in anthropology and the second of these students to be hired by the Field Museum—the other being William Jones, the first Native American to earn an anthropology degree. In certain respects, Lewis epitomized what some historians of anthropology have come to see as the “Boasian” preoccupation with data collection rather than analysis. Data gathering—especially collecting examples of material culture for the Museum—was particularly important for him. Lewis’s greatest legacy remains the collection of some 14,000 objects he acquired during the four-year Joseph N. Field South Pacific Expedition that began in May 1909 and ended about June 1913 (see Welsch 1998). By all accounts he was a quiet man, much more at home in the library than in the tropical jungle. He was patient and persistent, yet he was also inspired by a vision of what an anthropologist could do for his discipline if given enough time and sufficient funds for an extended period of research in a newly accessible region. He was the first American anthropologist to conduct any systematic fieldwork in any part of Melanesia, and during his expedition Lewis amassed the largest South Pacific collection ever assembled by a single individual in the field. This collection—nearly all of it still at the Field Museum—remains the premier ethnological reference collection for many parts of Melanesia and is the core of the Museum’s world-renowned Oceanic collections.

Lewis’s achievement in the field was very much a personal triumph, one that he accomplished on his own and with minimal assistance from his colleagues and superiors back at the Museum. But if one situates these accomplishments in the context of the history of anthropology at the Field Museum, it is very difficult to disentangle Lewis’s successes from the vision of his colleague and superior, George Amos Dorsey (Fig. 8.2). Lewis’s most productive years were the Dorsey years, extending from 1907, when Lewis arrived at the Field Museum, until a few years after Dorsey left the museum in 1915. It is virtually impossible to fully understand the achievements of any of the Museum’s anthropology curators up to 1918 without appreciating Dorsey’s powerful presence and vision that influenced all their work and their many field trips to exotic places for the good of the department.

George Dorsey’s Vision

George Dorsey was the architect of the Field Museum’s enormous ethnological, archaeological, and somatological collections. He dreamed of world-class museum collections for his young department and knew that he needed trained anthropologists to undertake the kinds of field expeditions that would build these collections. A less ambitious person might have focused his department’s attentions exclusively on only a few select culture areas. But Dorsey looked farther and imagined important collections from most parts of the world. This vision fit nicely with the desires...
of the Museum’s director (Frederick J. V. Skiff) and the board of trustees (see Appendix 3), all of whom wanted their young Museum to compete with the older museums in New York and Washington, and they encouraged Dorsey’s efforts even if they sometimes felt these efforts too expensive (see Wilcox, this volume).

Ironically, as a personality Dorsey was as forceful, flamboyant, and driven as Lewis and several of the other curators of his day (Berthold Laufer, Charles Owens, and Stephen Simms) were patient, calm, and persistent. Dorsey worked tirelessly on his field research, on building the department, and on his numerous publications. But he found time to mingle with Chicago’s social elite, those who could afford to sponsor his various projects, and consistently worked toward finding patrons for his various plans for research and for building up the department’s holdings. And he traveled a great deal for the benefit of the department throughout his twenty years at the Museum.

In 1897, William Henry Holmes (Fig. 8.3) left his position as curator of anthropology at the Field Museum to head the anthropology department at the U.S. Museum of Natural History (part of the Smithsonian) after only two years on the job. This sudden departure left Dorsey as acting curator and the only professional in the department. On January 1, 1899, he was promoted to curator; on the same day, Stephen Chapman Simms (Fig. 8.4) was hired as assistant curator. Charles L. Owen (Fig. 8.5) was added in 1900. A professional staff of three was hardly sufficient for the plans Dorsey had for his department, but he made use of ev-
eryone’s talents. He added important collections by sending curators to the field, by coaxing museum patrons to donate valuable objects, by purchasing collections from dealers, and by commissioning individuals all over the world to assemble collections for him to buy.

Up to 1900, Dorsey had personally made at least six brief expeditions and collecting trips to the Northwest Coast, the Rockies, Arizona, California, and southern Illinois. Even before his assistant curators (Simms and Owen) were established, he had others (J. A. Burt and J. W. Hudson; see Appendix 4) sent off on (at least four) expeditions within North America as well. Between 1901 and 1905, Simms and Owen had each set off on four expeditions while Dorsey conducted eight more, all of these field trips to collect material culture from Indian communities throughout the western United States. Much as Dorsey was eager to acquire collections from overseas, until 1905 funding prevented his doing more than purchasing these collections from dealers or from knowledgeable professionals already living or conducting research in exotic places overseas. In 1902, he began to purchase a series of collections from Alleyne Ireland representing North Borneo, Burma, and Malaya, and in 1905 and 1908 he bought two collections from anthropologist A. R. Brown (later Radcliffe-Brown) representing the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In these acquisitions, Dorsey was merely extending an acquisition program that since 1901 had proved successful for acquiring large numbers of Native American items: Northwest Coast objects from C. F. Newcombe (1901), California Indian material from J. W. Hudson (1903), and Plains Indian pieces from James Mooney (1902).

In 1904, Dorsey scored a major coup with a multiyear gift from R. F. Cummings. This grant allowed Dorsey to send Assistant Curator Simms on a collecting trip to the Philippines and to add two more bodies to his department: he hired Fay-Cooper Cole in 1905 and William Jones in 1906 to conduct research (and assemble collections) in the Philippines. Both Jones and Cole were in the Philippines in 1907–1908. When Dorsey sent Cole to study with Boas at Columbia, Jones stayed on among the Ilongot, where Dorsey visited him in 1908. When Jones was killed by an angry tribesman in 1909, Dorsey sent Simms back to the Philippines to gather up Jones’s collection and field notes; in the process, Simms naturally

Fig. 8.2. George Amos Dorsey.

Fig. 8.3. William Henry Holmes.
made another collection of his own. All these trips to the Philippines were funded by the Cummings fund and were part of the R. F. Cummings Philippines Expedition.

This period was the heyday of what I have elsewhere called anthropology’s “expedition period” (Welsch 1998). Sending his staff off to assemble collections was central to Dorsey’s vision of what the Museum’s anthropology department could (and should) be. It was not a unique vision, as he knew that German, Swiss, and British museums were sending their anthropologists out to build collections as well. The way Dorsey allowed it to develop showed that his was a bold vision designed to put the Field Museum on the map. But unlike many ambitious visions, Dorsey’s became a reality for about six or seven years following receipt of the Cummings gift.

Dorsey’s second fundraising success was with Joseph N. Field, brother of the Museum founder, Marshall Field, and father of the Museum’s president of the board of trustees (from 1908 to 1961), Stanley Field. This three-year gift of $5,000 per year would support A. B. Lewis’s expedition to Melanesia in 1906–1907. About the same time, Dorsey helped arrange the Blackstone Fund, which would support several of Berthold Laufer’s trips to China and Tibet (see Bronson, this volume). During the same period, Dorsey personally made numerous trips to visit dealers in Europe or other parts of the United States and made several collecting trips overseas on his own, the most important being an eight-month round-the-world expedition in 1908. During this expedition he visited and made collections in Egypt, India, Java, Australia, German New Guinea, and the Philippines. His own collections remain important, as do the several collections he arranged to purchase from others on this trip. But Dorsey’s most important legacy remains the rich collections assembled by his assistant curators on their various expeditions. During his twenty-year (1895–1915) tenure at the Museum, Dorsey’s efforts had expanded the department’s holdings from about 30,000 objects to
nearly 160,000. They included more than a thousand different accessions, the largest being Lewis’s main accession from the Joseph N. Field Expedition (Accession 1113) containing more than 11,000 catalogue numbers.

But for all of Dorsey’s ability to attract the attention of Chicago’s wealthy patrons, he must—at the very least—have been a difficult man to work with or for. Yet, despite his frequent insensitivity to the needs and concerns of his staff and what can only be understood as a total lack of sensitivity to the villagers and informants with whom he himself worked in the field, Dorsey had an uncanny ability to bring out the strengths of the men in his department.

Like Simms, Cole, and Laufer on their various overseas expeditions, Lewis personally deserves credit for his success in Melanesia. But Lewis probably would not and perhaps could not have achieved as much without Dorsey’s firm support. Lewis had clearly embraced his mentor’s vision of what anthropological fieldwork might achieve. Bolstered by his training under Boas and his own personal drive, Lewis accomplished considerably more than anyone would have imagined before the expedition. Most important, during four years of arduous fieldwork, Lewis became the realization of Dorsey’s vision of what his curators could accomplish in the field. In this way Lewis’s role in the history of the Field Museum’s anthropology department is directly tied to the role of the department’s chief curator.
Becoming an Anthropologist: The Years Before the Field Museum

Albert Buell Lewis was born 21 June 1867 in Clifton, Ohio, a village of some 300 people in central Ohio, not far from Springfield. He was the only child of Charles Boughton Lewis and his wife Anna E. McKeehan. The families of both of his parents were solid, well-to-do Presbyterian citizens of this rural farming community. Albert’s grandfather, Bennett Lewis, had been one of Clifton’s original proprietors and for many years was the village’s largest landowner. But tragedy soon struck the family when Albert’s mother died on his second birthday. Albert’s father remarried in about 1872 and began his second family in Clifton, but he moved the family to Santa Ana, California in about 1884, leaving Albert to board with his uncle Storrs Lewis in Clifton until he had completed high school. Albert graduated from Clifton Union School in 1887, one of only three students in his graduating class. He was an exceptionally bright student and is said to have been the only pupil at the school ever to receive marks of 100 in all of his subjects. After high school, Albert joined his father in California, but returned to Ohio in 1890 to attend the University of Wooster (now Wooster College), a Presbyterian liberal arts college.

Albert’s class at Wooster was also small, with forty-two students in his class (thirty-four men and eight women). Completing his studies there in 1893, he continued his education in biology, enrolling for the autumn term at the University of Chicago. Although the University of Chicago had only opened the year before, it already offered the possibility of more advanced training in the sciences than anything available at Wooster. In June 1894, he completed his bachelor’s degree in biology and was among the first graduates of the college.

Following graduation, he continued his science curriculum from 1894 to 1897 with assistantships at the university in biology (1894), histology (1895), and bacteriology (1896). During these three years he took courses often associated with medical training in anatomy, physiology, morphology, osteology, and embryology, as well as courses in paleontology, botany, zoology, geology, chemistry, and geography. Lewis was clearly headed for a career in biology or medicine during these rigorous years at Chicago. It is unclear what interest, if any, he had in anthropology at the time. But even if he had wanted to study anthropology, there were no anthropology programs in the Midwest, and it would be another thirty years before the University of Chicago would have an anthropology department or a proper anthropology curriculum.

In 1897 Lewis followed his career trajectory in the biological sciences, accepting a teaching position at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln. Here he taught zoology for five years, first as a fellow (1897–1899) and later as an instructor (1899–1902). But as a bright, thirty-something academic, Lewis seems to have wanted more out of life than merely to be a low-paid instructor who could afford no better than to be a lodger in someone else’s house in Lincoln. The University of Nebraska must have seemed a very remote and relatively unimportant university, far from his home in Ohio and even farther from his family in California. In describing this phase of his life, Lewis later wrote of teaching zoology in Nebraska that “I accidentally got started in that line, and had to stay by it till I got enough money ahead to make the break” (Lewis in Welsch 1998:2:10).

The move from zoology to anthropology may now seem like an abrupt shift, but at the turn of the century it would not have seemed so. Anthropology training in the United States was essentially limited to Harvard and Columbia. In both programs students received considerable training in somatology, human anatomy, and physical anthropology, courses Lewis had already completed at Chicago. It was probably these studies that had drawn his attention to anthropology in the first place (Hambly 1941), even though in graduate school he soon became caught up in what we now understand as cultural anthropology. In the end, he applied and was admitted to graduate school at Columbia to study anthropology under Boas. Here he began his first formal studies in the field, and it was, of course, at Columbia that he sat around Boas’s dining room table in seminar with most of the first generation of American anthropologists.

When Lewis arrived at Columbia for the fall term of 1902, Franz Boas was the university’s leading, and practically only, anthropologist. Boas had taught anthropology at the university since 1896 and had been appointed professor of anthropology in 1899. When Boas arrived at Columbia, he had arranged a simultaneous curatorial appointment for himself at the American Museum of Natural History. This arrangement ensured close ties between the two anthropology depart-
ments, a relationship that persisted even when Boas's own interest in the museum began to wane.

Boas played a surprisingly important role in shaping the anthropology department at the Field Museum. Many may assume this role was because he was the "father of American anthropology," but rather it was because he had trained or mentored at least four of Dorsey's assistant curators. It is also important to note that unlike Dorsey who had trained directly under Frederic Ward Putnam at Harvard, all of the Field Museum's early anthropologists were Boasians.

Before coming to Columbia, Boas had been at Clark University (1888–1892) where he taught Alexander F. Chamberlain, his first graduate student to receive the Ph.D. From 1892 to 1894, Boas was in Chicago, working under Putnam on the anthropology exhibits for the World's Columbian Exposition. When the Field Columbian Museum was founded in 1893 by acquiring a large part of the collections Putnam had assembled for the fair, Boas stayed on and supervised new installations of the material in one of the old Exposition buildings. But he left Chicago in 1894 following an acrimonious dispute with Field Museum Director Skiff. In 1895, Boas obtained an appointment in New York at the American Museum of Natural History. The following year he started at Columbia, beginning a long-term relationship with the university that would last until his death in 1942 and that would have such a profound impact on the young discipline of anthropology in the United States.

When Lewis began his studies at Columbia, the anthropology department was still very small. But the first decade of the new century would see many changes. It brought many promising, young faculty members and a group of talented graduate students and in effect established the new discipline of anthropology as part of the modern American university. Most of these key developments at Columbia occurred during Lewis's four years of study with Boas.

In one of his early letters, Lewis mentions five men with whom he had worked or studied at Columbia besides Boas: Livingstone Farrand, Clark Wissler, Adolph Bandelier, Marshall H. Saville, and Berthold Laufer. All of them came to the department after Lewis had begun his studies with Boas. Farrand had long been at Columbia in the psychology department when he was appointed professor of anthropology in 1903. Wissler, Saville, and Bandelier also joined the department in 1903, and Laufer arrived two years later. It was a very young faculty. Only Bandelier—whose appointment was actually at the American Museum rather than at the university—was a mature scholar. 63 years old in 1903. Of the others, Farrand and Saville were the oldest. But they were only 36 when they joined the faculty. Both had by chance been born the same month as Lewis—June 1867. Lewis was three years older than Wissler and seven years Laufer's senior. The faculty must have seemed to Lewis a very young faculty indeed. Yet despite their relative youth, Boas had recruited a distinguished group. And aside from Farrand, they were all, like Boas, deeply involved in museum-based research.

The year before Lewis arrived, the department had awarded its first Ph.D. to A. L. Kroeber, who immediately left to take up a position in Berkeley's newly established anthropology department. But if Lewis missed having Kroeber as a classmate, he sat in seminars and classes with an impressive group of other students, including William Jones, Frank G. Speck, Robert Lowie, Alexander Goldenweiser, Edward Sapir, and Fay-Cooper Cole. Of these early students of anthropology, only Goldenweiser subsequently had no important ties to a museum.

Anthropology at Columbia involved studies that often considered material culture as appropriate data for analysis. Material culture was routinely used as an important marker of previous cultural connections, a topic of special interest to the early Boasians. There were also close relations between the university and the American Museum of Natural History. Faculty members at Columbia often had appointments at the museum, and the museum's curatorial staff often taught at the university. These ties clearly shaped the directions and kinds of research Boas's early students conducted after leaving the university.

In June 1905, Boas sent Lewis a postcard asking him to present a preliminary account of the ethnology of the Columbia River tribes in relation to their neighbors during their autumn seminar (Franz Boas to A. B. Lewis, 18 June 1905). Boas had likely discussed the subject with him earlier in the spring. It is not clear whether Lewis had proposed the topic or if—equally plausibly—Boas had suggested the topic to him since this subject fit so nicely with Boas's own work on the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. In any event, by the summer of 1905, Lewis had already begun research on what would become his dissertation. His thesis, "Tribes of the Columbia Valley and the Coast of Washington and Oregon," was a li-
brary study whose object was to “bring together the more important facts known regarding the natives of this area, group them according to culture areas, and see if they throw any light on possible movements of peoples and cultures” (Lewis 1906).

Lewis had wanted to conduct his own original fieldwork, but the cost kept such a field trip well beyond his reach, and in 1905 there were no grant agencies that could step in to cover the costs. As it was, he had been forced to supplement his small savings by working. Wissler, for example, had used him as a research assistant at the American Museum, and Farrand had hired him to do some of the research and writing of various encyclopedia and dictionary entries.

Like most scholars and students who worked with Boas in this period, Lewis began by defining the region’s culture areas. But from the outset he faced a perplexing intellectual challenge in his analysis of the coastal tribes of Washington and Oregon. His research dealt with a diverse collection of peoples that had previously been discussed as a mix of northern California and Northwest Pacific slope cultures. Rather than write of these communities exclusively in terms of what they had borrowed from their northern and southern neighbors, Lewis approached their culture as an example of local development. He did not deny borrowings from neighboring groups but turned the problem on its head and saw neighboring cultures and communities as part of the environment within which the Columbia River tribes had developed. Clearly, the importance of the Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia, who were renowned traders and middlemen within the region, encouraged him to conceptualize the area as one with its own internal dynamic rather than as a set of peoples whose culture was entirely derived from more important neighbors. For its time, this was a sophisticated analysis of a perplexing problem and one that would likely have been missed had his work come from field research. This study was an important testing ground for understanding complex cultural relationships in a context where there is much obvious trade and other kinds of interaction.

he met Lewis, who was soon to become the fourth Boas student to complete a doctorate. In 1905, Dorsey had hired William Jones—Boas’s third Ph.D. student; Columbia was a natural place to scout new talent for his department’s growing staff. Over the next months there followed an exchange of letters between Dorsey and Lewis in which they discussed the possibilities of employment at the Field Museum. Dorsey finally hired him a year later in March 1907, but had kept him danging for many months. During this time Dorsey tried unsuccessfully to find support from one or another wealthy Chicago patrons who could provide funds for Lewis to go off on an expedition. In 1906, Dorsey had successfully found such money from R. F. Cummings for hiring Fay-Coo-per Cole, who had not even begun graduate school. Dorsey, who moved comfortably in Chicago’s social circles, felt confident he could do the same for Lewis.

What is most important in the early correspondence between these men is that Dorsey makes it clear that he wanted Lewis to come to the Field Museum with the explicit intention of sending him off on an expedition. Dorsey had many possible ideas about where he might send Lewis, but no firm decision was made. In these letters, including one soon after Lewis had joined the Field Museum’s staff, Polynesia, Melanesia, South America, Africa, the Pacific Northwest, and the Malay region are variously mooted as possible destinations. The diversity of this set of potential fieldwork destinations illustrates how open the discipline was at the time. Anthropologically speaking, vast regions were virtually unknown, and the choice of field site depended more on being able to interest a patron in a specific region than on pursuing any particular research problem.

When Dorsey had more trouble than he expected finding a patron, he decided to snatch up Lewis before he was hired by some other institution. Dorsey shrewdly hired him as an “assistant” to replace Wake Stanfield, one of the department’s preparators who had recently died. This was not Dorsey’s original intention, but the Museum administration offered him no funds for another assistant curator, and with no patron forthcoming, this was the best Dorsey could offer. So, in the winter of 1907, Lewis returned to the “Windy City” to catalogue collections for $50 a month. For some months he worked primarily with African material collected by Carl E. Akeley in British East Africa and by some German collectors in Togo and the Cameroons. It looked to

Waiting for the Call: At the Field Museum Before Setting Off on His Own Expedition

Early in 1906, Dorsey came to New York to visit the American Museum, and it was here that
him as if he too was headed for Africa. But even on this point Dorsey was vague, and as always, Dorsey keep his cards close to his chest.

In the fall of 1908, Dorsey returned from his round-the-world trip, which had kept him away from the Museum for nearly eight months and which had kept Lewis busy cataloguing African collections. Of all the places Dorsey had visited, one stood out as being the most likely to attract a patron. This was the remote colony of German New Guinea, where Dorsey himself had collected some 3,500 specimens in just two months (see Dorsey 1909a, 1909b; Welsch 2000). Dorsey was proud of his own New Guinea collection and later bragged about how his own “loot” had filled the tiny steamer Siar to overflowing. But during his sojourn in German New Guinea, Dorsey developed a grand plan, which he presented to Director Skiff in a letter a month after his return to Chicago:

New Guinea, as a whole, is in the peculiar position of a country freshly opened, but where it is possible to travel with safety and with a fair amount of comfort, and where the natives are willing to part with the objects of their material in exchange for the cheap knives, hatchets, axes, adzes, beads, looking glasses, etc., of German manufacture. In other words, the conditions there are absolutely ideal for museum collecting. . . . We have it easily within our power to make from New Guinea the greatest and most valuable collection ever to be made. . . . We are in a position to do in New Guinea to-day what might have been done, for example, among our western Indians sixty years ago. (Dorsey to Skiff, 22 December 1908, in Welsch 1998:1:22–23)

Melanesia clearly seemed to be one of the most promising field areas for one of his assistant curators. This, finally, was an expedition suitable for Lewis. It was an ambitious plan, and given Lewis’s lack of field experience, there must have been several at the Field Museum who may have wondered whether Lewis was up to the task. It is to Dorsey’s credit that he tried Lewis at all.

Dorsey informed Lewis of his intentions and instructed him to start boning up on the South Seas in the library. In his letter to Skiff, Dorsey outlined his plan for a South Seas expedition, nominating Lewis to head the expedition. Skiff agreed, provided that Dorsey could raise the funds, and in the end they found a patron in Joseph N. Field.

Joseph Field’s son, Stanley, was president of the Museum’s board of trustees, and it was probably through him that Dorsey and Skiff were able to interest the elder Field in adding to his department’s South Seas collections. Dorsey expected funds of $5,000 per year for a total of three years, and on this basis Skiff and the board agreed that Dr. Lewis should make himself ready for this long expedition. In March and April 1909, Lewis purchased a camera and other things to outfit himself for an extended stay in the tropics. Days before Lewis departed, Dorsey wrote him formal instructions outlining what was expected of the expedition. These instructions outlined what colonies he should visit and in what order and noted a few areas that might prove especially interesting. But Dorsey offered few suggestions in the way of fieldwork techniques or research strategies or even specific goals for the fieldwork.

Thus, at the age of forty-one, untried and untested in the rigors of fieldwork, Lewis readied himself for what would be one of the longest anthropological expeditions ever mounted. Lewis was still single and so had no wife or children to keep him from an extended period of fieldwork. He seems to have been dating at least one Chicago woman before he left, but this incipient relationship did not survive four years in Melanesia. Two years after his return from the field, he married Gertrude Clayton of Chicago, but when he set off on the expedition, he had no family commitments to hold him back.

Four Grueling Years in Melanesia

It is not at all clear what Lewis hoped do to in the field when on 8 May 1909 he left Chicago for the South Pacific. He left us no notes or letters describing how he expected to move about in the field or what kind of daily routine he anticipated. Nor is it clear what kinds of data, if any, he hoped to collect beyond collections of specimens that could be used to illustrate the ways of life of the peoples he encountered. Elsewhere (Welsch 1999) I have suggested that Lewis had heard Dorsey’s stories about how he moved about and assembled collections during his two-month sojourn in German New Guinea the previous year. Lewis probably did expect the life of a fieldworker to be as carefree as Dorsey (1909a) projected it to be in his published account. Nevertheless, when Lewis reached his first two field destinations he did not really behave at all as Dorsey did. He appeared tenuous and tentative throughout his month in Fiji, and Lewis was nearly overwhelmed by the complexity of colonial life that was buzzing
around him the first month in German New Guinea.

His field notes from Fiji suggest that whatever he may have been expecting, he was deeply disappointed to find Fiji as acculturated as it was. Throughout his visit, he approached this first field site as the most casual of observers. He seems to have learned more about Fijian customs and culture from reading a copy of Berthold Seemann's 1862 book *Viti: An Account of a Government Mission to the Viti or Fijian Islands in the Years 1860–61* than he did from actual observations of local practices and from watching what people actually did. Even his collections, which numbered barely 250 objects, were mostly obtained from John Waters, a local trader, photographer, and businessman who had assembled a much larger collection for the American Museum of Natural History in New York the previous year.

All of this changed, however, as soon as he reached Kaiser Wilhelmsland, the name the Germans had given to the New Guinea mainland section of German New Guinea (now the northern part of Papua New Guinea). Here he saw native communities only marginally transformed by the colonial presence. Most communities had seen labor recruiters. In nearly every village a few able-bodied men had spent at least a year or two at plantation work elsewhere in the colony where they had learned pidgin English. And by 1909 nearly everyone in New Guinea had acquired steel tools. Lewis clearly recognized these influences since he makes scattered references to them in his notebooks. Nevertheless, New Guinea seemed as pristine and pure a place as anywhere to study the "traditional" lives of its people from collections of material culture.

During his first three or four months of collecting in German New Guinea, he visited the villages around Aitape and was immediately struck by how much trade existed between communities that spoke different languages. This situation must have immediately reminded him of his dissertation topic, because he immediately identified the islanders living on Tumleo, Ali, Seleo, and Angel as the region's middleman traders. He also began noting in his specimen lists and diaries where the items he was buying had been made, a pattern that was essential if he wanted to trace out cultural influences as he had tried to do for the coastal tribes of Washington and Oregon. His data are so rich about trade among these coastal New Guinea communities that Lewis's notes alone nearly double what can be learned about exchange relations from all other sources published up to 1960 (see Welsch 1999). His baseline data are so important that they motivated John Edward Terrell and me to repeatedly visit the same region in 1990, 1993–1994, 1996, and 1997 to build on Lewis's work (Terrell and Welsch 1990a, 1990b, 1997; Welsch and Terrell 1991, 1998; Welsch 1996).

As he began collecting objects for the Museum, Lewis systematically filtered out nearly every object that bore the slightest hint of Western influence. In other words, he systematically excluded nearly every object ornamented with beads, glass rings, Western cloth, or paper. Nowhere in his diaries or letters does he directly discuss this point in detail, but on occasion he notes that interesting objects were of no scientific value because they were made with imported paper or cloth or in some other way were influenced by the colonial presence. If we compare his collections with those collected by Dorsey and by Captain H. Voogdt in 1908, we find that both the Dorsey and the Voogdt collections contain numerous objects with bits of cloth or a few beads attached. Clearly, by the time Lewis started collecting in earnest, he had reinterpreted Dorsey's instructions and guidelines to conform to a new model of fieldwork; he wanted to document "traditional" forms of material culture, influenced by interactions with other New Guinean groups but unaffected by the presence of Europeans.

Ironically, German New Guinea presented another challenge to Lewis's expectations that we can appreciate only by reading between the lines of his diary entries and letters. During two months in German New Guinea, only during a brief visit to New Ireland and New Britain did Dorsey encounter other anthropologists. This was an impressive group of German scientists that included Georg Friederici from Berlin, Dr. Fülleborn and Dr. Müller from the Hamburg-based *Peiho Expedition*, Karl Sapper from Berlin, and Otto Schlaginhaufen from Dresden. But in his first two months around Aitape (the modern Aitape), Lewis encountered Georg Friederici, Richard Neuhauß, Otto Schlaginhaufen, Richard Schlechter, and Riegerungsrat von Wiedenfeld. Lewis arrived in German New Guinea shortly after the *Peiho Expedition* had left the protectorate, and he had barely missed anthropologist Richard Thurnwald on one of his several expeditions to the German colony. Virtually every one of these men made collections for their sponsoring museums, and Lewis makes it clear in his notebooks how much competition
he felt he was under to obtain the objects he desired for the Field Museum’s collections.

In this respect, Lewis undoubtedly felt that the field in which he was working was far too crowded and that these hordes of collectors threatened to undermine his developing agenda. For example, in a letter to Dorsey, he describes conditions in the Huon Gulf:

From Finsch Hafen I went by native canoe to the head of the gulf, visiting Labo in the Hertzogsee, and going south as far as Laukanu, beyond Parsi Point. This (Laukanu) is the pot-making center for the whole region. In spite of the fact that the place is fairly well cleaned out (Capt. Voogdt and the missionaries together), I got some 400 specimens, many of which I had never seen or heard of before. One night I slept in the house from which Capt. Voogdt had taken the ornamented sideboards—the ones we have, I think. (Lewis to Dorsey, 1 May 1910, in Welsch 1998:1:157)

While he would almost certainly have preferred a field site where no other Westerner had visited, it is hard to imagine how he would have survived such places for more than short sojourns. As it was, Lewis had a hard enough time coping with the challenges of malaria, transport, and language that confronted him, so it is clear that he kept within his own personal limits. Nevertheless, the competition with other collectors for specimens was a constant challenge that seems to have played heavily on him throughout his four years of fieldwork. The point here is that from Lewis’s perspective, overcollecting by Europeans scientists in otherwise pristine New Guinea threatened to undermine his personal goals for building a research collection in the same way that acculturation had disrupted them in Fiji. Lewis would not have been worried about the impact of these Europeans on the people, but he feared they would have carted off all evidence of their traditional lives—objects untainted by Western influences and materials.

Lewis was interested in objects that had something to say about traditional culture, but this did not mean that he was only looking for fine old objects. Many objects in the Lewis Collection had been made within the year of their purchase, and quite a number of others had not even been finished. He saw New Guinea cultures as living cultures, and newly finished or only partly completed objects would illustrate in his exhibit how such objects were made. But none of these objects showed the slightest sign of European influence, except that nearly every wooden object he acquired had been carved with steel tools. Lewis’s collection from German New Guinea (see Figs. 8.6, 8.7) was a systematic collection, rich in types, varieties, and numbers of objects. But it was not a random collection that characterized what any casual observer might find in the villages he had visited, since he had conscientiously refrained from buying anything that showed obvious signs of European contact.

Most important, Lewis systematically tried to obtain documentation about the objects he was
buying in the villages, including information about where objects were made, how they were used, what they were called, and so on. In this way, the Lewis Collection is far superior to any other Melanesian collection of its time in number of objects, in the amount of documentation, in the number of communities surveyed, and in the range of stylistic variation represented, both within communities and among neighboring communities. Lewis’s collecting strategy was, thus, shaped by his own developing vision of what a research collection could be and what he hoped it might show.

Lewis’s style of collecting was clearly shaped by Boas’s insistence that anthropologists needed to collect data and to collect data systematically in ways that would identify the influences of one community on another. Such concerns had filled the pages of his dissertation, and we should hardly be surprised that, when given a chance, he collected exactly the kinds of field data that had been absent in the collections and literature about the Indians of the Washington and Oregon coast. Viewed as a whole, the Lewis Collection is the most systematic collection from Melanesia of its period in any museum in the world.

The way he collected specimens also illustrates how he built on what he must have learned from Dorsey. Nowhere in his notebooks or letters does he brag about the excitement of his buying sprees in one village or another in the way that Dorsey did in his published diary. Two examples from Dorsey’s field notes published in the Chicago Tribune illustrate how he assembled his collection in

Fig. 8.7. Wooden mask from German New Guinea.
the field as well as the flamboyance and enthusiasm Dorsey brought with him to the field:

I opened [my] bag and offered two fishhooks for an arm ring; that opened the briskest two hours' trading I ever went through in my life. Their greed for fishhooks, fish lines, mirrors, paint, and arm rings was really great. In that time I made just 288 distinct trades. It was hot, fast, and furious. (Dorsey 1909a:17 August 1908, Angriffshafen)

Five days later he wrote the following, outlining the excitement of the quest for specimens but also the dangers:

I did a brisk trade for half an hour, the most common object sought being fishhooks, "Me likem huke, master." . . . In my haste to make the most of my time, and in their greed to get fishhooks and lines a big crowd got about me and nearly swamped me. One old chap brought up a club, gave it to me, grabbed three fish lines and ran. I could not stand that and it looked like trouble for the moment. They were a greedy, wild lot, and never would let go of a thing till they had the trade equivalent in their hands. When I started to leave they tried to steal more than half of my plunder. There is a great harvest here, but a single man might be killed. (Dorsey 1909a:22 August 1908, Roissy Island)

Lewis must surely have repeatedly found himself surrounded by villagers wanting to sell him things, but only once in Simar on the Sepik River did he describe any difficulty, and even this incident was not interpreted as threatening:

The men were quite bold, almost impudent, in the way in which they pressed their things upon one. They were also given to thieving, and stole my notebook of specimens, which I had carelessly left in my pocket when I left the ship. (Lewis, 14 August 1910, in Welsch 1998:1:312)

One suspect that had the villagers not grabbed his notebook—a loss that troubled him greatly at the time—Lewis would not have found the incident worth noting at all. Elsewhere he describes what must have been an equally intense morning of purchases, but Lewis displays his calm and patient style throughout:

Early the first morning after my arrival the natives began arriving at the mission house, where I was staying, with all sorts of specimens for sale, Herr Lehner having told them that I was here to buy such things. This kept up the greater part of the day, as well as the next forenoon, by which time I had bought representative specimens of practically all that they had, and was forced to refuse most of the things offered. Later I went through the village, and I tried to find if they had anything new, but found little. I also purchased some things from Herr Lehner, including 2 carved boards from men's house, a number of charms, and several things from the Laewomba, a tribe inland on the Markham river, which Herr Lehner had visited several months previously. (Lewis, 17 February 1910, in Welsch 1998:1:197)

Because Lewis worked calmly and methodically in assembling his collection, its character as a research and study collection is far more valuable than Dorsey's. We know that Lewis recognized this point because he mentions it in a letter to Director Skiff. Skiff had written Lewis during his second year in the field criticizing the first shipment of specimens to arrive because they contained only small, worthless-looking items of daily life instead of the large, showy specimens that museum administrators so often admire:

Many of these apparently common things have a deep interest when shown up in connection with the native's daily life. I fear that the possibilities of making exceedingly interesting and valuable exhibits from many of my apparently worthless specimens have not been duly considered; but it can only be done by one who has studied native life, and never from such collections as Voogdt's or even Dorsey's. Pardon me if I say that my studies also increase the value of such collections to the Museum when I have had time to properly classify and label them. I am sure Dr. Dorsey agrees with me in the above statement, as we have spoken of such things frequently. I do not take it that even a museum should limit itself to show specimens, but should make its exhibit illustrate that sum total of the life and achievements of a people, whether showy or not. (Lewis to Skiff, 5 December 1910, in Welsch 1998:1:351)

These comments suggest that Lewis and Dorsey had discussed the goals of collecting and collection building at some length, but they also suggest the ways in which Lewis built on and developed Dorsey's ideas.

By the time Lewis returned to Chicago, some 300 boxes and crates awaited him in the department. His colleagues had been forced to close off one of the galleries just to hold the collection. It contained types, varieties, and numbers of specimens and surveyed large sections of the New Guinea coast and much of island Melanesia as well. It contained many large, showy pieces as well as hundreds of small utilitarian items and everything in between. Where other collections might contain two or three examples of an object type, Lewis brought back ten or twenty or fifty to document the range of variation he had observed in the many different villages he visited. His doc-

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umentation seems thin by today’s standards, but it is far superior to most other Melanesian collections of its period. In all these ways, Lewis built precisely the kind of collection that Dorsey wanted, and in the end received considerable praise from Dorsey, from Skiff, and from his fellow assistant curators. It was one of the best examples of what Dorsey hoped his assistant curators could do. And in this sense, the Lewis Collection was the realization of Dorsey’s vision for the department’s activities in the field.

The Return from Melanesia: The End of the Dorsey Era

A. B. Lewis’s life, both personally and professionally, is a bundle of contradictions. When he returned from four years in Melanesia with the largest collection ever obtained by a Field Museum anthropology curator, his work received great praise within the Museum. The annual report of the director had repeatedly praised the size and quality of his collection. But while the next decade should have been a productive period for Lewis, he published almost nothing. The sum total of his publications during this period consists of two short book reviews and two anthropology leaflets, “New Guinea Masks” and “The Use of Sago in New Guinea” (Lewis 1916, 1919, 1922, 1923). He did not, of course, sit idle during the decade since he had a mountain of objects from his own collection to sort through and catalogue, not to mention the 10,000 objects Dorsey had collected in 1908 or had purchased soon after. But what happened to keep Lewis from taking up a more prominent role in the discipline than he actually played?

There are several possible explanations, and the sheer volume of cataloguing must surely have played a contributing if not central role. As I have suggested elsewhere (Welsch 1998:1:356ff.), the discipline was changing in dramatic ways as local ethnographic studies won out over regional surveys as the major field method in the discipline. This shift certainly occurred, but it would not emerge in the United States until the late 1920s. Functionalism, which required intensive local studies of face-to-face communities, would not arise until the classic monographs of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (1922) and Bronislaw Malinowski (1922) were published, though it would still take several years for the local ethnographic method to take over the discipline in American anthropology. Therefore, to understand Lewis’s lack of productivity during his first decade back from the field, we must look to other factors to explain what happened to Lewis during this period.

It is conceivable that Lewis was simply unable to write up his field experiences, either because he found these experiences too traumatic or because he simply had difficulty writing. But the evidence suggests that he never found the expedition the least bit traumatic, since he gave several lectures about his fieldwork in the first two years after his return from Melanesia. In virtually everything he wrote subsequently about himself, the Joseph N. Field Expedition was the one accomplishment about which he was most proud. Similarly, while it is true that Lewis did not find writing easy in the way that Dorsey or Boas obviously did, over his career Lewis managed to write quite a number of short articles, many of which dealt with the expedition. When given encouragement and museum time for writing, as he was in the late 1920s, Lewis produced both technical reports, such as his article on shell money (1929), and pieces for a popular audience, such as his monograph The Ethnology of Melanesia (1932).

The most likely explanation for what appears to me to be a kind of professional lethargy seems to me to center on changes within the department after his return. In this way, Lewis’s apparent inertia directly intersects with the department’s history. It also sets in high relief Lewis’s abrupt shift in performance. The two most likely factors are that Dorsey’s departure from the Field Museum undermined Lewis’s confidence or that the department developed a new vision after Dorsey left. These explanations are really two sides of the same coin, since Dorsey’s resignation in 1915 coincided with a striking change of tone at the department. It is not clear where the department’s post-Dorsey vision was focused, but after Dorsey’s resignation, not a single one of the anthropology curators set off on an expedition for the next seven years (i.e., 1915–1922). No longer were the halls of the department abuzz with news of who was going where to acquire new specimens. Instead, there were very few new acquisitions in the department, and it would appear that all the department’s energies were focused on sorting through and cataloguing the material that had been collected in the Museum’s first twenty years.

From the annual reports we get hints of how many catalogue cards Lewis had entered over
each of the next several years until 1919, when, after six years of cataloguing, he could finally say he had organized his collection. Two other factors must also have affected the mood around the department: World War I, and construction of the new Museum building in Grant Park. Once this structure was completed, in 1920, the department was undoubtedly working full time, moving collections from Jackson Park and installing new exhibits for the opening on 2 May 1921. But neither of these factors seems sufficient to explain the department’s complete shift of focus.

When Dorsey resigned from the Museum, he had not lost his enthusiasm for anthropology or for museums. His departure seems to have arisen over some personal difficulties with Skiff and possibly with one or another of the trustees. As always, Dorsey landed on his feet and launched a second career as a journalist, filmmaker, and popular science writer. Although his filmmaking career seems not to have been so successful, his popular writing was. He wrote many popular articles for magazines like *Cosmopolitan*, and in 1925 he published *Why We Behave Like Human Beings* (1925), which became the most popular science book in America (see Cole 1931).

But if Dorsey’s departure had little negative impact on his own career, it had a profound impact on activities within the department. The administration soon appointed Berthold Laufer as curator, leaving only Owen, Lewis, and Cole as assistant curators, though J. Alden Mason was added in 1916 and Helen C. Gursaulus in 1918. But from Dorsey’s departure until 1922, the department did not send a single assistant curator out to the field. It is unlikely that Lewis would have wanted to go off on another expedition, and by 1915 he had a wife who would probably have wanted him to stay home anyway.

My point here is that during the Dorsey years the department was an exciting, lively place, with assistant curators heading off to the most remarkable places. Departmental correspondence to one or another assistant curator in the field was routinely filled with news about who was going where and what they were bringing back for the collections. But with Dorsey’s departure this pattern ceased and would not return until 1922 and 1923, when two expeditions sponsored by Captain Marshall Field and another supported by Arthur B. Jones would send Cole, Laufer, and J. Alden Mason to Malaysia, China, and South America, respectively.

From 1922, the department would experience a renaissance, with fieldwork for the curatorial staff and new collections once again flowing in. This sudden spurt of sustained activity also focuses attention on the fact that Laufer’s first years as departmental head were very different from the Dorsey years (see Bronson, this volume). Lewis worked hard cataloguing his collection, but there seems to have been very little encouragement for publishing studies about the department’s magnificent collections. Dorsey would likely have encouraged his staff to write up their material, but Laufer seems to have had other preoccupations, including processing the backlog and packing up the collections for the move to the new building.

It was not until the late 1920s that Laufer did encourage Lewis to write up some of his material. Laufer himself added an epilogue to Lewis’s short *American Anthropologist* article on tobacco (Lewis 1931b). And it was only because of Laufer’s support that Lewis published four numbers in the design series (1924a, 1924b, 1925, 1931a) and finally completed his monograph (1932) almost twenty years after his return from the field. But before the move to the new building, Lewis seems to have received none of this support and virtually no museum time for his writing.

In a similar way, a decade later Laufer and the administration would miss at least one other opportunity to help keep the Field Museum and museum-based anthropology at the center of the changing discipline of anthropology. In 1923, after returning from his expedition to Malaysia, Fay-Cooper Cole (Fig. 8.8) arranged to teach anthropology courses at Northwestern University. Both Field Museum Director Davies and Laufer were unhappy with this arrangement because teaching kept Cole away from the Museum a couple of afternoons each week during ordinary business hours. They may have worried that Cole was about to leave the Museum to take up a permanent post at Northwestern, but they framed the problem as dissatisfaction with his being away from the Museum when he should have been working in the building. Although this incident undoubtedly coincided with other tensions between Laufer and Cole, it led to Cole’s resignation from the Museum, his subsequent appointment for a time at Northwestern, and his eventual appointment at the University of Chicago, where he established what many consider the leading academic department of anthropology in the United States. The Museum administration’s narrow vision in issues of this sort ultimately hastened the demise of museum
anthropology in the 1920s by driving away some of its most dynamic staff to nearby universities. Is it possible that from 1915 to 1922, the Museum’s focus had shifted from building collections to merely cataloguing and installing these collections? Did Laufer have a different vision for the department and what his assistant curators could do? Or was Laufer under pressure from Skiff and the trustees to tidy up the department rather than add to the collections? Or, alternatively, was Laufer less able than Dorsey to communicate his own vision to his staff during his first decade as curator and department head? By the mid-1920s, the department would reemerge from its slumber and accomplish many great things, and by then Laufer was clearly guiding and encouraging his growing staff. And, of course, it was Laufer’s encouragement that led Lewis to publish everything of importance about Melanesia in his oeuvre.

But the 1920s had a very different feel than the decade from 1905 to 1915, both in the museum and in the discipline of anthropology. Even the expeditions mounted in the 1920s had a different character as well. The department would never take on the bustle of activity it had during the Dorsey years. If we look back to that earlier period, with Dorsey, Simms, Cole, Jones, Laufer, Owen, and Lewis heading off to one distant place after another, we see that Lewis’s expedition was the longest field trip and that he brought back more specimens than any of them. But while we must salute this quiet, reserved man for achieving so much in such a rigorous and harsh environment, the vision that he set off with could only have come from Dorsey. It is true that Lewis built on and enhanced Dorsey’s vision, as I suspect at least Cole and Laufer did in their respective research trips to the Philippines and China. But each of these men became the tangible realization of Dorsey’s vision of what the department and its collections could be.

Notes

1. For the text of Lewis’s field diaries and notebooks together with many field photographs

Fig. 8.8. Fay-Cooper Cole with a Negrito man during the R. F. Cummings Philippine Expedition, 1907–1908.
and pictures of objects in the collection, see Welsch (1998). In that work and in Welsch (1999), I offer an extensive commentary on Lewis’s objectives in the field and how his research fits into the discipline of anthropology. Here, I focus more on Lewis’s role in the history of the anthropology department at the Field Museum.


3. Dorsey had bragged to several of the German scientists in New Guinea that he was going to mount a huge expedition on his return to Chicago, and they imagined he would return to the colony with a 100-ton ship. Such claims infuriated the German scientists, who also felt that even allowing American scientists into the colony was offensive to German pride. Dorsey’s braggadocio also caused the Germans in the colony to take offense and overreact to Dorsey’s (1909a) diary in the Chicago Tribune. The German reaction to these newspaper columns caused no end of problems for Lewis, who was just beginning his fieldwork when they were published (see Welsch 1998:1:225–228, 259–260).

4. See, for example, some of Dorsey’s published comments, reproduced in Welsch (2000).

5. The most important extant source for this dispute between Boas and Skiff appears in a series of letters or memos in February and March 1894 at the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. These are available on microfilm (see note 7; see also Herskovits 1953:16).

6. Kroeber was for many years director of the University Museum at the University of California. Jones had gone to the Field Museum from Columbia and was killed in the Philippines in 1909. Speck was associated with the University Museum at the University of Pennsylvania for much of his career. Lowie played a key role in the University Museum at the University of California, which was later named the Lowie Museum in his honor until recently, when the name was changed to the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum. Sapir was at the National Museum of Canada from 1910 to 1925. Cole arrived at the Field Museum in 1904 and maintained ties until 1923, when he left the Museum, eventually establishing the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago.

7. This postcard and other letters to Boas from Lewis can be consulted at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia or on the microfilm of these papers, which are indexed in the two-volume Guide to the Microfilm Collection of the Professional Papers of Franz Boas (American Philosophical Society 1972).

8. For transcripts of these letters, see Welsch (1998:2:10–17).

9. Of the 300 communities Lewis visited, only one village, on the upper Sepik River, did not already have access to steel tools.

10. William M. McGovern left the Museum to form a department of anthropology at Northwestern University in 1928, and Ralph Linton left Chicago for the University of Wisconsin the same year.

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Berthold Laufer

Bennet Bronson

Fig. 9.1. Berthold Laufer.

Berthold Laufer (Fig. 9.1) took his own life in 1934, leaping from an eighth-floor fire escape of the Chicago Beach Hotel in Hyde Park, five miles south of the Field Museum. He left behind more than 450 publications, a superb private library, filing cabinets full of letters, many boxes of notes on works in progress, major collections of artifacts at two museums, and almost nothing about himself. If he was in the habit of writing letters with personal information in them, these disappeared at the time of his death, along with any diaries or field notes that may have existed. Hence, we know very little about him personally. He is the most enigmatic of the major figures in the history of Field Museum anthropology.

He started early. Born in 1874 in Cologne, Germany, to a middle-class Jewish family, he proved to be a precocious, brilliant student. He entered the University of Berlin in 1893 and received his doctorate at the University of Leipzig in 1897. He concentrated on Asian languages, studying Semitic, Persian, Sanskrit, Malay, Chinese, Japanese, Manchu, Mongolian, Dravidian, and Tibetan. It may be that his necessarily brief studies gave him only moderate familiarity with many of these, but by 1897 he had acquired a fluent reading knowledge of Chinese, Japanese, Manchu, Mongolian, and Tibetan as well as most European languages, including Russian. He could speak many of these, too, and could write well in French and English as well as German. He was 23 years old when he finished at Leipzig. In view of his youth, it might not have been easy to find a job that made use of his spectacular but specialized skills.

Fortunately, he had already come to the attention of the anthropologist Franz Boas, a fellow German of Jewish ancestry who had immigrated to the United States a decade previously. Laufer wrote Boas in April 1896 at the suggestion of his professor, Wilhelm Grube, to inquire about the possibility of joining the project that was to become the Jesup North Pacific Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Boas responded favorably and, after exchanging another letter or two, signed Laufer up to be one of eight independent researchers work-
ing under Boas's overall direction in a massive attempt to clarify the nature of early contacts between Asia and North America, Laufer's assignment was to be the southwestern end of the North Pacific arc—Sakhalin Island and the area around the mouth of the Amur River in Siberia. As Sakhalin was part of Russia but closely connected with Japan, Laufer's command of both languages would clearly have been an asset.

Whether Laufer actually visited New York at this point is not clear. But by April 1898 he was in British Columbia waiting for a ship to Yokohama. By early June he was in Japan, buying and shipping an ethnographic collection back to New York, and before the end of the same month he was on Sakhalin. More than a year of strenuous fieldwork on Sakhalin and on the lower Amur ensued, during which he made significant ethnographic collections and gathered much cultural, linguistic, and even physical anthropological data. At that time, the local tribal peoples (Ainu, Nанoи, Nikhпі, and Evenk) had not yet been much affected by Russian culture; few of them spoke Russian or any other European language. The winter climate was harsh, living arrangements were very basic, and travel was limited to open boat, horseback, and reindeer and dogsled. Yet Laufer, never a robust man, seems to have survived these exceptionally rough field conditions. He finished work in Siberia in October 1899, stayed in Japan through January 1900 and was in New York by February or March, apparently in good health.

His Jesup Expedition salary may have ceased at that point. At any rate, there seems to have been little to hold him in the United States. He returned to Cologne, presumably to his family home, in late May 1900 and was still there in April 1901. He may not have returned to New York before being hired once again by the American Museum of Natural History, this time as leader of (and sole participant in) the Jacob H. Schiff Expedition to China (Warlaves 1979:144–149).

Arriving in Shanghai in August 1901, he stayed in that city for six weeks and then toured through Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces before proceeding to Beijing, which he reached in December. He stayed in Beijing continuously for almost a year, except for a three-week side trip to Chengde (Je- hoI) in northern Hebei province. In late November 1902, he began a much longer journey, going first to Shanghai, then by boat up the Yangtze to Nanjing and Wuhan, and then by mule cart to Xian and finally back to Tianjin and Beijing. He arrived in Tianjin in late October 1903 with seven cart-loads of ancient pottery and bronze (Fig. 9.2). This time he stayed in the Tianjin-Beijing area for only two months, after which he traveled in Shangdong province for six weeks en route to Shanghai, which he reached on February 8, 1904. He left Shanghai in early April, spent the spring and summer in Cologne, and reached New York in the fall.

He had again shown his toughness in coping with difficult field conditions. He seems to have traveled alone, living in a Chinese rather than expatriate world. In a letter written in 1903, he told Boas, "I have come to love the land and people and have become so sinicized ("chinisiert") that . . . I feel myself to be better and healthier as a Chinese than as a European." However, as was also to be true of his trip to China in 1908–1910, his letters and field summaries from this period include very few names of either Western or Chinese individuals whom he met in the field; he evidently was not a social man. He did only limited ethnographic work while in China, mostly focused on drama, music, temple rituals, and popular amusements; otherwise, he spent his time traveling and buying artifacts. By the time he finished, he had acquired a major collection of archaeological and ethnographic material—about
10,000 objects, plus books, rubbings, photographs and cylinder recordings (Fig. 9.3).

Shortly after his return from China in 1904, he was put on the American Museum of Natural History's regular payroll for the first time, receiving the title "Assistant in Ethnology." In 1905–1907 he was also a lecturer in anthropology and (from 1906) in Eastern Asiatic languages at Columbia University. Under the guidance of Boas, the museum and university had both become leaders in the developing field of academic anthropology. However, neither had a strong interest in Laufer's brand of historical, artifact- and text-focused research. A lack of intellectual support and decreasing interest in Asia on the part of the American Museum of Natural History led Laufer to consider a change of employment.

His chance came in 1907. In June of that year, he met George Dorsey in New York and suggested assembling a Tibetan collection for the Field Museum. In November 1907, he accepted Dorsey's offer of the position of assistant curator of Asiatic Ethnology. His new employers promptly endorsed Laufer's Tibetan suggestion and asked him to carry out a three-year expedition to be funded, to the tune of $40,000, by Mrs. Timothy B. Blackstone, the wife of a Chicago railway magnate. Tibet was to be the chief objective of the Blackstone Expedition. While Laufer would be buying Chinese and Tibetan books for the

Fig. 9.3. Objects collected by Berthold Laufer in China, 1908–1910.
Newberry Library and the Crerar Library (now at the University of Chicago), the rest of his budget and time were to be spent on acquiring Tibetan and "Lamaist" materials for the Field Museum (Fig. 9.4). He was to be leader and only member of the expedition.

Laufer's first attempt to enter Tibet was from the south and was unsuccessful. Although he waited at Darjeeling for more than two months, he could not get the British colonial government's permission to proceed to Lhasa. He did manage to buy 634 Tibetan objects from traders in Darjeeling and Sikkim, which he shipped back to the Museum from Calcutta before leaving for China by sea (Fig. 9.5).

He was in Beijing by August and stayed there until the end of January of the next year, buying Tibetan and Chinese objects. In August or September 1908, he took a three-week side trip to Japan in order to look for old editions of Chinese books. Dorsey came to Beijing for a brief visit in late October, when Laufer seems to have convinced him to use a significant part of the Blackstone money for buying more Chinese antiquities. By late December, Laufer was packing up his new Chinese acquisitions: 413 pieces of pottery, 68 ancient bronzes, 89 ancient bronze mirrors, 89 "nonreligious" paintings, and 112 other objects (including three stone rubbings). He finally left for Tibet on January 28, 1909. He reached Taiyuan in Shanxi province on January 30, Xian in Shaanxi province on February 20, and Chengdu in Sichuan province on April 12. He acquired a good many more Chinese objects during his three-week stays in Xian and Chengdu: 1,759 pieces from the former and seven cases of specimens from the latter. In Chengdu he also bought supplies and horses for his onward journey to Tibet.

Traveling through Tibetan-speaking western Sichuan province, he reached the border of Tibet itself at Chiamo in early July 1909. There once again he was turned back. Chinese government officials, like their British counterparts in Darjeeling, refused to allow Laufer to enter Tibet. Forced to return, he did manage to buy a quantity ("25 large cases") of Tibetan objects but was clearly discouraged by the time he arrived at Songpan, back in the Chinese-speaking part of Sichuan, in November. During the next two months he seems to have lost interest in visiting.
any more Tibetan areas. Going first northward to Lanzhou in Gansu province, he considered and rejected the idea of going to the Tibetan monastery of Kumbum in the west, instead turning east toward Xian. He reached that city in February 1910, where he bought 1,100 of “the choicest Chinese antiquities.” Three months later he was in Beijing. He left China in November, was in Cologne by December, and was back in Chicago by January 1911, with approximately 8,000 items for the Museum plus two good collections of Tibetan books for the Cerar and Newberry Libraries.

Reading between the lines of his letters, he had not enjoyed his field experiences as much as those six years previously. His visit to the Tibetan-speaking part of Sichuan seems not to have been at all enjoyable—not only did he never write about it, but he even turned away from Tibetan studies, writing less and less about Tibet in later years. He may not have liked rural China all that much, either. His letters contain fewer comments than in 1901–1904 about the pleasures of the simple country life and the virtues of the peasantry. Significantly, he was never to do fieldwork again in undeveloped rural areas, in or outside China. During his only other trip to Asia, in 1923, he spent most of his time in big cities.

In these two collecting trips to China for the Field Museum, Berthold Laufer acquired about 19,000 archaeological, historical and ethnographic objects made or used by Han Chinese, spanning the period from 6000 B.C. to A.D. 1890. His acquisitions included about 1,500 textiles, 5,000 rubbings of stone inscriptions, 2,000 archaeological objects, and 10,000 utilitarian and decorative objects of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. Well-known and often studied subcollections include some 400 stone and glass snuff bottles, 130 rhinoceros horn cups, 500 puppets, 1,000 jade carvings, 30 early cast iron objects, 500 items of fifth- to seventeenth-century Daoist and Buddhist sculpture, 400 Han dynasty ceramics, 230 pewter objects, more than 300 prints and posters, and 300 items of pet equipment, mostly for pigeons and crickets.

Laufer also acquired significant Tibetan holdings, counted separately from the Chinese. These comprise approximately 4,000 secular and religious objects, mostly from Beijing and the Tibetan-speaking parts of western Sichuan province. Nearly all date from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century. Highlights include more than 1,000 traditional Tibetan books (both woodblock printed and handwritten), 850 costumes and personal accessories, 800 bronze ritual containers and images, and 350 Tibetan religious paintings, or tangkas.

Laufer’s 1911 return to Chicago marked a major change in his life, which henceforth became more sedentary and stable. He was promoted almost immediately to associate curator, which not only carried increased status in a department where many staff were simply “assistants” but also meant he had at least some financial security. However, he was bored. As he wrote to Boas in July 1911, “I am becoming mummified for lack of intellectual stimulation; there is not a trace of intellect here” (quoted in Walravens 1979:xxxiv; other curators at time included George Dorsey, A. B. Lewis, Charles Owens, and Stephen Simms). His answer was to immerse himself in museum work and to push up his already high rate of publication. In 1912, he published 16 books and articles; in 1913, 20; and in 1914, 14. He became curator of the Department, the equivalent of a modern department chairperson, in 1915, but his new responsibilities did not affect his productivity. He continued to produce between 10 and 20 books, articles and reviews annually down through the year of his death in 1934.

Perhaps because of the outbreak of World War I, which cut off scholarly communication with most of Europe and caused German-Americans to reexamine their own loyalties (Walravens 1979:xxxiv), Laufer seems to have reconciled himself to living in the Midwest. His bitter diatribes against life in Chicago ceased as he came to know more people who treated him with respect, if not understanding. By 1914–1918 he was socializing with a number of upper-class collectors, including Charles Freer in Detroit and various Chicagoans: Lucy Driscoll, Russell Tyson, Kate Sturges Buckingham and Lucy Maude Buckingham, and Edward and Louise Sonnenfels. None of these individuals was closely, if at all, associated with the Field Museum. In later years he was to be on friendly terms with an international cast of elite collectors, dealers, and museum curators, including A. W. and Peter Bahr in Shanghai, Alfred and Louise Pillsbury in Minneapolis, Ralph Chait in New York, C. T. Loo in Paris, Shigejirō H. Yamakana in Tokyo and Boston, Arthur Upham Pope in Iran, Langdon Warner of the Fogg Museum at Harvard, Benjamin March in Detroit, and George Eumorfopoulos in London. He was also closely associated with a number of art- and culture-oriented Chicago institutions: adviser to the

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Arts Club of Chicago, president of the American Friends of China, honorary curator at the Art Institute of Chicago, and a founding member of The Orientals, a support group for the Art Institute (Pearlstein 1997:259).

Whereas many of these activities did not greatly benefit his own museum, other museums and collectors not only benefited but paid him a good deal of money. He sold pieces from his private collection—for instance, two paintings to Charles Freer in 1912 for the then-considerable sum of $600 (Laufer-Freer, December 8, 1912; Freer-Laufer, January 1, 1913). In the 1930s, his standard fee for appraising jades, in which he was the leading Western expert, was $500 per day (Henry Field, in Walravens 1979:xxv). This may or may not have been winked at by the Field Museum: after all, he was becoming famous and thus at risk of leaving for another job.

Astonishingly, the Museum’s indulgent attitude may have extended to allowing Laufer to help the Art Institute of Chicago acquire Asian collections from Chicago-area donors like Tyson, the Somnenscheins, and the Buckinghams. These were the people who laid the foundations for the Art Institute’s world-class Chinese and Japanese holdings, and this was done not only with the assistance of Laufer but virtually under his direction. To keep this a secret would have been impossible—upper-class Chicago was a small world then, and the Field Museum, in the person of Stanley Field, its president, held a central position within that world. We can only assume that Field had decided, for some reason, not to interfere. Perhaps he felt that Asia was big enough for two Chicago museums.

Laufer had previously purchased objects for private collectors during museum expeditions; for instance, he had collected ceramics for Mrs. Robert DeForest of New York, with the approval of the American Museum of Natural History, in 1903–1904. He did so again on his last trip to China, the Captain Marshall Field Expedition, in 1922–1923, when he collected pewter objects for Edward Everett Ayer, a long-term benefactor of the Museum (see Ayer, this volume; Dorsey, this volume). He also carried out some private commissions that he did not mention in his report. One example was a group of Zhou period (seventh century B.C.E.) bronze fittings that he bought in Shanghai and then sold to Kate Buckingham when he got back (Pearlstein 1993:39). She donated the fittings to the Art Institute in 1924.

Another possible example of Laufer’s acting as an agent or even a principal was in connection with an imperial throne screen (Fig. 9.6) given to the Field Museum in 1926 by the Arts Club of Chicago. The screen had been purchased by the Arts Club in the same year from an obscure Chicago importer named Hague, who, surprisingly, knew enough about Chinese art to be able to tell the Arts Club that the screen came from Qianlong’s palace but may have been made earlier, in the Ming period (Anthropology Department Accession Files, No. 1671). This screen definitely came from one of the imperial palaces, probably from the Forbidden City in Beijing. We know that Laufer did buy a number of imperial objects while in Beijing in 1923 and that he did “not wish to have it publicly known that most of these treasures emanate from the imperial palace” (Laufer-Davies Correspondence 1923:11). It seems plausible that it was Laufer himself who bought the screen in Beijing, shipped it to Chicago, and sold it through Hague, who would have been acting not as a principal but as an agent for the deal. True, Laufer had sold the fittings to Miss Buckingham directly, but clearly such openness would not do when an object was to be donated to the Field Museum. Selling through an agent, if that is what happened, avoided a good deal of embarrassment.

The Captain Marshall Field Expedition was a quick affair devoid of the hardship of earlier journeys. Laufer left Chicago on April 20, 1923, and reached Shanghai on May 20. His formal report on the expedition (Laufer-Davies 1923) contains lengthy explanations why he could not visit most of the cities on his original itinerary: Xian and Fuzhou were too dangerous, provincial governments were rapacious, provincial cities were expensive and stripped of antiquities, bandits were everywhere, and so forth. He writes that therefore he decided to concentrate on Beijing and Shanghai, which were at that time “not only the centres for the trade in antiquities but also the emporiums for all goods manufactures throughout the empire.” He stayed in Shanghai for a month and then went on to Beijing. He spent the next ten weeks in that city, taking several short excursions to nearby places and a longer four-day trip with the American ambassador to view the Buddhist cave-temples at Yungang before returning to Shanghai in late August. His six weeks there were broken by one- and two-day train trips to the ancient cultural capitals of Hangzhou and Suzhou. He left Shanghai on October 4, having purchased about 1,800 artifacts. Perhaps by then there was not
much left for him in Germany, for he returned directly to the United States without stopping to see family and friends in Cologne.

He seems to have been more socially inclined on this trip than on his previous ones. The fact that he was no longer an obscure young researcher certainly helped. As he says in his report to Davies, not too modestly, "the fact that fame is a curse was illustrated by numerous invitations pouring in from universities, colleges, scientific organizations and clubs with request to deliver addresses." He declined most of the hospitality offered by expatriate Westerners but did accept gratefully the help of the Eurasian business elite and various Chinese intellectuals and collectors.

His dealings with wealthy Chinese collectors in Shanghai brought out all of his latent Sinophilia. Whereas he was struck by the "shocking conceit and cocksure judgment" of Western collectors, he felt that their Chinese counterparts, although often enormously wealthy and powerful, were distinguished by an almost excessive sense of modesty and finesse coupled with an extreme simplicity and charm of manner. He goes on to say that

I was filled with admiration for all these men, not so much because they had generously given me the opportunity of acquiring new knowledge and aesthetic enjoyment, but because of their wonderful and inspiring personalities. I reflected that a country which produces such perfect types of humanity

Fig. 9.6. Imperial dragon screen from the K'ien-lung period. Lacquer and wood.
as the result of a many thousand years old civilization and social training can never be lost, and that
is it just such types of men who are the true index
of the degree of a nation’s civilizations. (Lauffer-
Davies Correspondence 1923)

While his letters to Boas during these years were no longer so frank about his disdain for American and European culture, there can be little doubt that he still felt that way. As far as is known, he never considered moving to China, and this one later visit to China was very short. Yet he continued to feel that Chicago, and the West
in general, was shallow and vulgar. This paradox, of wishing he were Chinese but not liking China
very much, was a leading motif of Lauffer’s life.

The last decade of his career at the Field Museum
saw him famous, still committed to research and
writing, but much distracted by his duties as
curator of the Department of Anthropology:

A poor administrator, he encouraged each of his
Curators and Assistant Curators to interrupt him if
they needed assistance of any kind, . . . The tele-
phone rang constantly, often with silly questions
from librarians, students or newspapers. Correspondence was often just as bad . . . In addition to
[these] interruptions, Dr. Lauffer discussed with his
Staff the cataloguing and installation of exhibits,
checked each label before it went to the Museum
printer, examined temporary layouts for exhibits in
the huge workroom, visited storage rooms, etc.
(Henry Field, in Walravens 1979:xxi)

Lauffer was also spending more time on his pri-
ivate business. Between 1924 and 1934, he cata-
alogued or helped to organize a number of com-
mercial exhibitions of Oriental art. From Walrav-
ens’s bibliography (1979. 1:xxii–lxxx) and Pearl-
stein’s archival research (see Pearlstein 1997), it
is clear that Lauffer was involved in the following
for-sale exhibitions: for “various collectors” in
Paris and Brussels in 1924, for Jan Kleykamp
Gallery in New York in 1925, for Herbert Devine
in Chicago in 1928, for Frederick Peterson in New
York in 1930, for C. T. Loo and Co. in Chicago
in 1931 (also in 1922 and 1926?), for Ma Chang
Kee at Ralph Chait Gallery in New York in 1933,
for Parish Watson and Co. in New York in 1934,
and for S. H. Yamanaka and Co. in Chicago in
1934. Together with his work as an appraiser and
adviser to collectors, these activities took up a
good deal of time. Henry Field’s memoir (Wal-
ravens 1979. 2.1:xxv) says that Lauffer confined
his commercial work to his annual three-week va-
cation, but this is evidently not true. The few pri-
ivate business letters preserved in the Museum ar-
chives, especially Lauffer’s correspondence with
Alfred Pillsbury in 1930–1931, make it clear that
he worked as an adviser and appraiser throughout
the year.

In spite of all this, he continued to do research
and to publish, maintaining an admirable level of
productivity throughout his career. By now he had
become internationally known in three partially
distinct fields: museology, anthropology, and text-
oriented Asian studies.

As a museum curator, he should be credited
with personally acquiring about 13,000 Chinese,
Tibetan, and Japanese artifacts, plus several thou-
sand more traditional books and rubbings, and
with persuading donors to present a good many
more artifacts. As department head, he was re-
sponsible for overseeing the moving of the full
anthropology collections when the Field Museum
itself moved from Jackson Park to Grant Park in
1919–1922 and for supervising the reinstallation
of more than 100,000 square feet of anthropology
exhibition space. As curator of the Asian collec-
tions, he had general responsibility for two major
Southeast Asian halls that had been curated by
Fay-Cooper Cole until his departure in 1923 and
sole responsibility for several permanent exhibi-
tions: Chinese archaeology and ethnology, Viet-
namese culture, and jade. The Chinese and Tibetan
halls were reinstalled three times during Lauffer’s
tenure at the Museum, first in 1911–1912 after his
return from China, then in 1919–1922 after the
move from Jackson Park to Grant Park, and lastly
in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Covering some
15,000 square feet, tightly organized and densely
labeled, these halls represented an extraordinary
intellectual effort for a single individual. No other
Asian exhibit in the world contained as much au-
thoritative information. And it may be that no oth-
er exhibit of any kind, inside or outside the Field
Museum, attempted as successfully to represent
the views of the cultures that made the artifacts
on display. Even Boas at the American Museum
of Natural History in New York, despite his ar-
dent advocacy of cultural relativism, could hardly
match Lauffer in the conviction that native cultural
achievements were as worthy of respect as our
own and that native opinions on meaning, authen-
ticity, and age should be considered definitive.

As an anthropologist, Lauffer had studied briefly
under the German ethnologists Adolf Bastian and
Felix von Luschan, worked under the direction of
Franz Boas, and spent more than a year doing
fieldwork among tribal peoples in eastern Siberia.
While these anthropological credentials were re-
garded as sound enough for him to be made head of the Field Museum's anthropology department, he was in fact somewhat outside the mainstream of the field. Formal and introverted, he could not have greatly enjoyed the company of his fellow anthropologists, who in those days, as now, were a relatively casual and extroverted lot. He may have known George Dorsey better than any other anthropologist except Boas, having been hired by Dorsey, having traveled with him in India and China, and having been his subordinate for eight years. Yet Laufer did not like Dorsey much. In a letter to Boas in 1908, Laufer comments on Dorsey's "downright shocking superficiality" and a few months later writes patronizingly that he envies Dorsey's "enthusiasm and half-childish joy in all things."

He does not seem to have tried to involve other anthropologists in East Asian research; as far as is known, he never promoted or gave his blessing to a single anthropological field project in China, Japan, or Korea. His judgment of young anthropologists was good—while head of the Field Museum's anthropology department, he chose and hired such anthropological stars as J. Alden Mason, J. Eric Thompson, Ralph Linton, and Paul Martin. (Other, lesser-known anthropologists employed by the Museum at the time include Helen C. Guanaus, Wilfrid Hambly, Henry Field, William M. McGovern, and William Duncan Strong.) And yet very few of these or other anthropologists seem to have been collaborators or friends. His surviving professional correspondence is almost entirely to and from historians, philologists, collectors, and art historians; the only anthropologists with whom he corresponded at all regularly were Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History, with whom he exchanged about 25 terse notes on museum business, and Franz Boas, to whom he wrote and received more than 344 letters.

As a Sinologist, a specialist in Chinese (and Tibetan) culture, Laufer was a dominant figure but equally isolated. In the words of one China specialist, "During most of his life, America had no sinologists who could equal him in his acquaintance with the languages and in his prodigious learning in the pre-nineteenth century culture [of eastern Asia]" (Latourette 1936:55). He knew far more about this subject than his peers at other North American or European museums. In Europe, one of his few equals for linguistic ability and knowledge of Asian cultures was the French Sinologist Paul Pelliot, who served as an adviser to the Musée Guimet. In American museums before the 1930s, only Kazuo Okakura at Boston's Museum of Fine Arts could read Chinese nearly as well as Laufer, and even American universities had no one who knew as much of that language. And yet he seems not to have fit comfortably into the ranks of American Sinologists, either.

Part of the problem may have been the strong missionary orientation of Asian studies in the United States. Laufer did not feel that the "wretched, hypocritical Christian religion" had benefited China (Laufer-Boas Correspondence, December 4, 1903), and he did not have a high opinion of missionaries. He felt especially strongly about the American variety, "the worst under the sun for unpleasantness and wickedness. If I were a Minister in Peking, I would let the whole outfit be murdered in a single Bartholomew's night. That alone could remove the guilt and responsibility from unlucky China" (Laufer-Boas Correspondence, September 18, 1902).

Another part of the problem was Laufer's broadly cultured background and an intolerance of those who did not share that background. Trained in a tradition than emphasized history, languages, and the arts, he did not share his sinological colleagues' narrow focus on contemporary economic and political issues: "He could never quite adjust himself to the American outlook nor free himself from a certain impatient disdain for it." (Latourette 1936:55). This may have contributed to the harshness of his reviews and criticisms, which contemporary biographers all mention (Cree 1935–1936:488; Hummel 1936:103; Latourette 1936:55).

A third part of the problem was alienation. Laufer did not like Chicago all that much and disliked New York, or at least the American Museum of Natural History, where "the fossil rhinoceroses have not yet become extinct" (Boas-Laufer Correspondence, 1914). He did not like Germany, either. In 1917, he wrote an article titled "Germany Needs a Thorough Defeat." While the article could not have endeared him to his German colleagues, the fact that he felt he had to write it shows that he was insecure in his American identity as well. In his letters to Boas, the only place he wrote about with genuine enthusiasm was China: "Chinese culture is in my opinion as good as ours and in many things even better, above all in its practical ethics... If I regret anything, it is the fact that I was not born Chinese." And yet, as pointed out above, he returned to China only

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once after 1910 (in 1923), and that was for a stay of less than five months.

Thus, Laufer comes through to us as something of a misfit who, in spite of his prodigious talents, had few friends, no collaborators, and only a handful of intellectual successors. All those successors were sinologists, including Robert van Gulik and Edward Schaefer, both of them also brilliant scholars who were mavericks within their field. No anthropologists chose to follow him; one gets the impression, in fact, that the only young anthropologists he knew were the junior curators working in his department. Yet it could be argued that in museology he did have a lasting influence. American museums now are outstanding among the world’s museums for their wholehearted adoption of the approach that Laufer exemplified: that of listening carefully to the voices of those whose heritage is on display and teaching visitors to see an artifact in the same light as its maker. Back in the 1910s and 1920s, most Western museums were patronizing in their approach to all non-Western art. This was even true of the Field Museum with respect to most of its exhibits, but not with respect to China: there, Laufer’s warm admiration shone through his dry, didactic label style. He was a pioneer in discarding the old Western ethnocentrism that even now infests museum exhibits. Modern museum professionals still can learn from him in that regard.

Laufer’s suicide was definitely due to cancer and not overwork. Henry Field says that it was the sculptor Malvina Hoffman, with whom Laufer “shared a mutual admiration and respect,” who finally persuaded him to undergo surgery in 1934 (Field 1979). He went to Cleveland for the operation. Three weeks later he returned, weakened and depressed. Shortly afterward, he killed himself. Perhaps his depression was not solely because of his cancer. His letters show him to have often been gloomy and sensitive, a driven worker with few relaxations, and, except for his wife, Bertha, about whom we know little, and Boas, no one to tell his troubles to. Yet his was an extraordinary mind: the greatest in his field then, and one that has had few equals since. One is happy to know that many of his contemporaries recognized this and that Laufer felt pleasure in that recognition.

Notes

1. This chapter is based mainly on Laufer’s field letters and reports as preserved in the Field Museum’s archives, notes on Edward and Louise Sonnenschein and Kate Buckingham assembled by Elinor Pearlstein of the Art Institute of Chicago, the Laufer-Freer correspondence kept at the Freer Gallery, and the extensive documentation, including the Boas-Laufer correspondence, reprinted by Walravens (1976, 1979) in his definitive four-volume work, Kleine Schriften von Berthold Laufer.

2. The Field Museum’s Laufer archives include a program of the celebration of the 50th wedding anniversary of his paternal grandparents, Salomon and Johanna Laufer, held at a synagogue in Krotoschin in Prussia, now Poland (Walravens 1976: cxxx). It is unclear whether Berthold’s parents, Max and Eugenie Laufer, were practicing Jews as well. Berthold himself was not religious.

3. Proof that Laufer usually kept his business correspondence separate from his museum correspondence and that his copies of the former were subsequently destroyed comes from Elinor Pearlstein, who found 62 letters between Laufer and the Detroit collector Charles Freer in the archives of the Freer Gallery in Washington. Although a number of Laufer’s letters to Freer are on Field Museum letterhead, there are no copies in the Field Museum’s own archives. Laufer was advising Freer about his collection, presumably for a fee.
Henry Field, Collections, and Exhibit Development, 1926–1941

Ed Yastrow and Stephen E. Nash

Fig. 10.1. Henry Field

Henry Field (Fig. 10.1) joined the Department of Anthropology as assistant curator of physical anthropology and archaeology in 1926 and held the position until 1941. During that decade and a half, Field played a critical role in the development of some of the most famous exhibits the Field Museum has ever produced: the Hall of the Races of Mankind, which displayed the bronze statutes made by Malvina Hoffman, and the Hall of Prehistoric Man, which contained the world-famous dioramas of prehistoric humans in action and appropriate context. Field was also involved in the acquisition of some of the most important Paleolithic and Neolithic collections curated by the Field Museum. He was instrumental in the acquisition of the skeleton known as Magdalenian Girl from the site of Cap Blanc in southwestern France. He collected objects at the world-famous Neolithic site of Kish in Iraq and at numerous Upper Paleolithic sites in Europe. Henry Field’s unique career certainly benefited from the fact that his great uncle, Marshall, was the Museum’s founder and that his cousin, Stanley, was the Museum’s president. Nevertheless, he authored significant scholarly contributions on the archaeology and ethnology of the Levant and Near East, thereby establishing his scientific credentials.

Henry Field was born in Chicago in 1902. When he was 6, his mother married for the second time. Her new husband, Algernon Burnaby, owned a 2,000-acre estate in the beautiful countryside of Leicestershire, England. It was at that estate that the 11-year-old Henry discovered his first prehistoric artifacts. Many years later he elaborated on the significance of this seminal event: “No discoveries since have equaled those, for they were my first, [and] I knew then what I wanted to be—I would be an archaeologist” (Field 1953:18).

Field enjoyed many advantages and opportunities because of his pedigree, not the least of which was a privileged and extensive education, beginning at the prestigious secondary school of Eton College in Windsor, England, followed by undergraduate and graduate work at Oxford University in England and courses at Heidelberg Uni-
versity in Germany. As a student, he often expressed his desire to work in a museum and had said that he especially wanted to be associated with the Field Museum for both familial and scientific reasons.

In 1925, before Field graduated from Oxford, his grand-uncle Barbour Lathrop provided him with a check for $1,000 to travel the world and work at the famous archaeological site of Kish, a 5,000-year-old city located between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in Iraq. The Field Museum had been involved since 1923 in collaborative excavations at Kish (Fig. 10.2) with the Baghdad Museum and the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford University. Field’s funding was sufficient that he was able to invite L. H. Dudley Buxton, a member of Oxford’s anthropology staff, to travel on the 415-day excursion with him. Buxton’s expertise in excavation, as well as his professional associations with others working in the fertile crescent, helped make the 1925–1926 excursion an inspiring and memorable experience in Henry Field’s career.

In the summer of 1926, shortly after graduating from Oxford, Field enrolled at Heidelberg University. He attended lectures on geology and anatomy and acquired some basic knowledge of how museum specimens were catalogued, numbered, and recorded. He visited museums in Heidelberg and 17 other European cities. He reviewed museum management techniques and examined their important archaeological and fossil specimens.

The published version of Field’s (1935) dissertation research, titled *The Arabs of Central Iraq, Their History, Ethnology and Physical Characters*, was written and submitted after he completed excavations at Kish and elsewhere in Southwest Asia in 1926, 1928–1929, and 1934. Field did not receive his doctor of science degree from Oxford University until 1937, however, because of that institution’s traditional refusal to award doctorates to individuals younger than 35.
Exhibit Development

In 1927, shortly after being hired by the Field Museum, Field was encouraged by Chief Curator Berthold Laufer to conduct research that would lead to new exhibitions in the Museum. Field had long had dreams for two new exhibits. The first was to portray, in lifelike form, the evolution of prehistoric humans and technology from 250,000 years ago to about 8,000 years ago. The second was to identify all the races of mankind—at the time he believed there to be more than 100 living races of humans—and to depict each in sculpture.

After consulting with Laufer, Stanley Field, and Marshall Field, Henry was charged with developing both of these exhibits in time for the opening of the 1933 World’s Fair, celebrating “A Century of Progress.” With great determination and enthusiasm, Henry in 1927 began to lay plans for exhibits that would do justice to the mass of visitors, the high aspirations of the Museum, and the extreme confidence that the Museum’s leadership (and his family members) had placed in him. He was not going to cut corners. In a memo to Laufer, he wrote, “For both halls the finest artists in the world must be found. . . . When completed the two halls will be the most popular [exhibits], not only in the Museum, but on any continent” (Field 1953:132). Laufer forwarded the memo to President Stanley Field with a covering letter of recommendation. The latter urged them to begin work at once. Years later, Henry Field remarked, “[Laufer’s] brief memo on one single sheet was to change my life for the next six years” (Field 1953:132).

The Hall of the Races of Mankind

Field’s other vision, the Hall of the Races of Mankind (Fig. 10.3), required that he research the latest literature and collaborate with leading authorities to determine which races should or should not be represented in the exhibit. Field had hoped that each life-size figure in the exhibit would be morphologically accurate as well as emotionally expressive. Laufer suggested that Field visit other museums to learn how they had designed and implemented similar exhibits. Field traveled to San Diego to study the exhibit curated by Alés Hrdlička, the highly respected expert in physical anthropology. Field was impressed by the details of the presentation and hired an artist to copy them during his five-day visit.

As a result of this research, Field came to believe that there were 155 separate racial types, although after conferring with the leading physical anthropologists in the world, including Hrdlička, Henry Fairfield Osborn and William King Gregory of the American Museum of Natural Hist-
tory in New York, and Earnest A. Hooton of Harvard University, he and Laufer ultimately concluded that there were in fact 164 races of mankind.

They had agreed on the content of the exhibit; now they had to find a sculptor to complete the charge. Stanley Field wanted "realistic portraits with an artistic flair" and suggested that Henry visit the Art Institute of Chicago to find an appropriate artist. After a disappointing afternoon wandering the halls of that institution, Henry reported that he had not found even one full-length figure, bust, or head conveying the inspiration and reality he sought. In frustration, Stanley asked Henry if he knew of any sculptor who would meet his requirements. Henry could name only the bronzes that Henry Ward had created of African natives in the Smithsonian Institution. Unfortunately, Ward had died several years before.

Marshall Field was aware of the problem and, when in New York, sent a telegram back to Chicago recommending sculptor Malvina Hoffman (Fig. 10.4). He also suggested that Henry visit her studio in New York. Two days later Henry Field stood before Hoffman's "Pavlova" at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, at which time he recognized immediately that the amazingly life-like figure represented the "skill of a great artist" (Field 1953:190).

The next afternoon Henry Field met Hoffman in her studio and was further impressed by her work and her background; she had studied with Herbert Adams, Gutzon Borglum, and Auguste Rodin, and was the recipient of many "gold medals, awards, and foreign decorations" (Field 1953:191). Learning of Field's plan to sculpt 164 figures, she was both shocked and excited, for the sheer size of the potential commission was unheard of. She was not able to give him a cost estimate, but she agreed to meet in Chicago shortly thereafter for further discussion.

After meeting with Laufer, Stanley Field, and anthropologist Stephen Chapman Simms, curator at the Field Museum, Hoffman dined with Henry and Stanley Field. Following dinner, she proposed a six-figure fee that stunned them both. As he walked to the door, Stanley said that he would (or could not even attempt to raise such a large sum of money. Hoffman, a shrewd businessperson, fascinated by the scope of the unprecedented job, suggested that reducing the number of figures from 164 to 100 and reducing the number of full-length figures would allow her to substantially reduce the cost of the commission.

Stanley, who had originally thought 164 to be too high a number anyway, instructed Henry to work with Laufer immediately to cut the less important types and to submit a shortened list by noon the following day. After a sleepless night of negotiations, they presented a final list of 100 races to the Museum president. Hoffman subsequently revised her estimate, working in her posh room at the Drake Hotel at Michigan Avenue and Oak Street. Laufer, Field, and Hoffman were called to the director's office at 3:15 p.m. Henry Field later recounted their conversation:

Stanley Field: Dr. Laufer, are you perfectly satisfied with this revised list [of 100 racial types for the commission]?
Laufer: Yes, Mr. Field. It is a good working list, but we must not be held to it, because circumstances may arise, especially in Asia, which may make it impossible to obtain a representative of some of these types. However, I'm satisfied with these reservations.
Stanley Field: Thank you, Dr. Laufer. Henry, you've been working on this plan for a good long
time now. You have received advice and suggestions from top anthropologists all over the world. In your considered opinion, is this the best possible plan you can produce?

Henry Field: Yes, with certain reservations, and I have perfect faith in Miss Hoffman's ability.

Stanley Field: Thank you, Henry. Miss Hoffman, do you think that you will have the physical stamina and courage necessary to complete this assignment?

Hoffman: With God's help I will, Mr. Field.

Stanley Field: All right, my instructions from the Board of Trustees given at a meeting less than an hour ago are "full speed ahead." The money is raised. We'll draw up a contract tomorrow. Good luck to the three of you.

Henry encapsulated the moment: "All three of us [Field, Laufer, and Hoffman] almost collapsed. The strain of the past few days and of the preceding sleepless night was suddenly released. We staggered to our feet and went upstairs to begin the great project. We were at long last on our way" (Field 1953:194).

The final agreement, signed by Hoffman on February 18, 1930, called for her to produce 20 full-length figures, 27 life-size busts, and 100 life-size "face masks" or heads, for a guaranteed sum of $109,000. With travel and other expenses, this sum could not exceed $125,000 (Contract on file, Field Museum Archives).

The winter of 1929–1930 was devoted primarily to planning, coordinating assignments within the Museum, negotiating contracts, and arranging travel accommodations and artists’ studio space throughout the world. Hoffman returned to her studio in Paris to set up where the final stages of her work would be completed. The first task was to travel to Africa, Asia, Australia, and other parts of Europe, sketching, photographing, and generally studying the people whose images she would sculpt (Fig. 10.5). For her round-the-world trip,
Hoffman was given 122 official letters of introduction on Field Museum letterhead.

When Hoffman completed the commission in 1934, she had produced the following:

- Abyssinian girl (bust)
- Afghan Kabuli (half-length figure)
- African Elephant Hunter (head)
- Ainu male (full-length figure)
- Ainu male (head)
- Alpine Austrian (bust)
- Andaman Islander (full-length figure)
- Absaroke (Sioux) Indian (head)
- Arab from Kish, South Arabia (head)
- Armenian Jew (head)
- Australian Bushwoman (bust)
- Australian Bushman (full-length figure)
- Aztec Indian (head)
- Bali female (full-length figure)
- Bali female (head)
- Bali female (bust)
- Basque male (bust)
- Benares Brahman (head)
- Bengali female (head)
- Berber of Morocco (head)

Borneo cockfighter and youth (full-length figures)
Borneo (Sarawak) male (bust)
Borneo woman with brass necklaces (bust)
Breton woman (bust)
Burmese male (head)
Carib man (bust)
Chinese coolie (full-length figure)
Chinese male (Dr. Hu Shih; bust)
Congo boy (bust)
Dahomian male (head)
Egyptian male (bust)
Eskimo female (bust)
Eskimo male (bust)
Georgian male (head)
Hamite Wahima male (bust)
Hawaiian male (head)
Hawaiian surf rider male (full-length figure)
Hindu male praying (full-length figure)
Hong Kong female (bust)
Indian, American male (full-length figure)
Indian, Pasi (full-length figure)
Indian, Tamil (full-length figure)
Ituri Pigmy male (full-length figure)
Fig. 10.7. "Neanderthal family of Gibraltar, about 50,000 years ago," from the Hall of Prehistoric Man.

Ituri Pigmy female, with child (full-length figure)
Jaipur female (head)
Jakun male (bust)
Japan female (bust)
Japan female, dressed (bust)
Japan male (bust)
Java boy (full-length figure)
Java female (head)
Java male (head)
Javanese cockfighter and youth (full-length figure)
Kalahari Bushman male (full-length figure)
Kalahari Bushman female and baby (full-length figure)
Kalahari Bushman male (bust)
Kalahari female (bust)
Kashmiri male (head)
Sir Arthur Keith, Anglo-Saxon (head)
Korean man (head)
Malay male (head)
Manchu male (head)
Mangbetu woman (bust)
Mayan Indian male (head)
Mongolian male (head)
Nordic man (full-length figure)
Patagonian Indian male (bust)
Pakin male (head)
Rajput Indian female (bust)
Mr. Rudier, French (bust)
Sakai male (head)
Samoan male (bust)
Sara Tribe, Africa, woman (full-length figure)
Semang Pygmy (full-length figure)
Shanghai male (stone)
Shilluk warrior male (full-length figure)
Sicilian male (full-length figure)
Ceylon Singhalese male (head)
Solomon Islander male (full-length figure)
Symbolic Group—Black Race (full-length figure)
Fig. 10.8. “Aurignacian scene: Cro-Magnon Man,” from the Hall of Prehistoric Man.

Fig. 10.9. Swiss Lake Dweller diorama.
the African dancing girl is a jungle Pavlova. The merchant from Lhasa, Tibet, wears the look of the philosopher. Each race has its own distinction and its own dignity. (Field 1953:226)

The Races of Mankind exhibit was removed in 1968. By that time, the concept of race had become anathema to anthropologists: “The term ‘race’ has been confused by so much emotion and false meaning that it is better not to use it at all in the case of man” (Montagu 1959:101). As such, an exhibit that had been conceived in the 1920s and early 1930s to identify and distinguish racial difference could exist in toto no longer. Because the Malvina Hoffman statues are so famous, however, 44 of them remain on display throughout the Museum.

The Hall of Prehistoric Man

Field’s vision for the Hall of Prehistoric Man included a series of dioramas in which expertly sculpted, life-size models of our human ancestors would depict different eras in the evolution of early humans. At the time, anthropologists’ understanding of human evolution and culture tended to simplistically equate cultural and biological evolution and technological development in stages in a manner that proved convenient to the exhibit conceived by Field. Of the eight proposed dioramas, one would include Lower Paleolithic tools from Africa being used by Homo erectus, which was at the time the earliest known human ancestor (Fig. 10.6). Another would have Neanderthals from southwestern France using Middle Paleolithic tools (Fig. 10.7). A third would have fully modern Homo sapiens using Upper Paleolithic stone tools, though the human models would be replete with ornaments and other artistic items that were unknown in earlier time periods (Fig. 10.8). A fourth diorama would include Swiss Lake Dwellers, known from archaeological sites in the Alps (Fig. 10.9).

Fredrick C. Blaschke, a distinguished sculptor with whom Henry had worked previously, was contracted to sculpt the figures for the eight dioramas planned for the Hall of Prehistoric Man. The carved and hand-painted exhibit backgrounds provided the viewer with a perception of depth and greater size for the exhibit and included representative plants and animals of each period. Each of Blaschke’s life-size figures was expressive and realistic, adorned with real human hair (Fig. 10.10). Where appropriate, exhibit cases dis-

Fig. 10.10. Neanderthal Man.

Symbolic Group—White Race (full-length figure)
Symbolic Group—Yellow Race (full-length figure)
Tam Tam of Senegal (full-length)
Tibetan male (full-length figure)
Tibetan female (head)
Toda, southern India male (bust)
Uganda woman (bust)
Wedua male. Ceylon (full-length figure)

Of the completed Hall of the Races of Mankind, Henry Field later wrote,

No one can see these bronzes and fail to be impressed by the innate dignity of man. The Shilluk warrior epitomizes the hunt. The tiny African Pygmies portray the seriousness of family life. Daboa.
played the tools, weapons, and decorative and symbolic objects that the respective people had made and used and the fossil remains of the animals they exploited.

The artifacts shown being “used” by the figures in each diorama were scientifically accurate and, where possible, were actual artifacts from the Field Museum’s collections. Lower Paleolithic tools came from Egypt, Somalia, South Africa, and India. The Swiss Lake Dweller material came from gifts made to the Chicago Columbian Museum at the close of the world’s fair in 1893. Middle Paleolithic hand axes and cleavers had come from the famous excavations by the Abbe Breuil in the Somme gravels of central France. Upper Paleolithic artifacts came from Henry Field’s own collecting work in Europe, especially in France, where Museum folklore has it that Field built a church for the townspeople of Solutre in exchange for the bulk of the collection from La Solutre, a famous Upper Paleolithic site.

On May 30, 1933 the Century of Progress exposition opened. As Field wrote, “On that day, to our own blaze of publicity, our two halls were at last thrown open to the world. . . . The Hall of Prehistoric Man was all I had hoped it would be, as I had dreamt it since my sixteenth year. Here within the space of a half hour, walking past the
eight dramatic and colorful dioramas, a visitor might read in true-to-life chapters the past quarter of a million years of Man's history” (Field 1953: 210-211).

The Hall of Prehistoric Man remained virtually unchanged for 55 years. Certain modifications, however, were made when new discoveries warranted change. A large case displaying casts of the Piltdown Man “discovery” was removed in the early 1950s when the original specimens proved to be fraudulent. In 1972, live Neanderthal statues were replaced when anthropologists discovered that their physical appearance was considerably different from what earlier experts had thought. (The first Neanderthal reconstruction, by Marcellin Boule in 1913, had been based on the skeleton of an elderly Neanderthal from the site of La Chapelle-aux-Saints, who was crippled by arthritis and was therefore severely stooped over even when trying to stand upright. More recent Neanderthals discoveries and more sophisticated paleopathological analyses forced scientists to revise their presentations of Neanderthals to a more upright, nearly modern gait.) In 1985, all of the exhibit labels in the Hall of Prehistoric Man were rewritten because some of the objects were inaccurately dated, cultural and chronological terms were no longer in favor, or countries had been renamed. In 1988, the exhibit was dismantled, marking the end of an era for Field Museum anthropology. Some of the specimens, including the Magdalenian Girl, are now included in the Museum’s permanent exhibit, Life Over Time, where the history of life on Earth is described.

Collections: Magdalenian Girl

One of Henry Field’s most significant acquisitions came to the Field Museum somewhat fortuitously after he visited to the American Museum of Natural History in New York in the early 1930s. During that visit, Gregory told Field about a skeleton from the Upper Paleolithic site of Cap Blanc in the Dordogne region of southwestern France. The American Museum had been holding the skeleton on consignment for eleven years. The Cap Blanc skeleton (Fig. 10.11), now also known as the Magdalenian Girl, is the nearly complete skeleton of a teenage girl who lived during the latest part of the Upper Paleolithic (Magdalenian period) some 15,000 years ago. It remains the most complete Upper Paleolithic skeleton available for study in North America.

The skeleton was found buried below a magnificent frieze of horses carved on the limestone wall of the Cap Blanc rock shelter. The owner of the site, Monsieur Grimaud, recognized the importance and potential value of the skeleton, and rumor has it that he smuggled it out of France during World War I as the remains of an American soldier, replete with coffin and forged papers. In New York, he offered the skeleton to the American Museum for $12,000, but no transaction was ever finalized.

Field was quite enthusiastic at what he saw as a “chance to fire the imagination of Chicago” (Field 1953: 135) and recommended to Lauffer that a representative of Marshall Field and Company then in Paris be sent to Grimaud, with the equivalent of $1,000 in cash and a receipt for his signature. Once made, Grimaud accepted the offer, and Field hurried to New York to personally and carefully pack the skeleton in cotton wool and carry it, in a suitcase, from the basement of the American Museum to a compartment on the 20th Century Limited train to Chicago. Some years later, Field reported the concurrent acquisition of “an ivory harpoon point, described as having been found near her ventral cavity” (Field 1953: 135). He referred to the object as the possible cause of death and so labeled it in the exhibit.

On a Saturday morning, Magdalenian Girl was wheeled, in an exhibit case, into the majestic Stanley Field Hall, near the main entrance to the museum. In Field’s words,

The evening and morning papers and the press services had carried the dramatic story of the arrival in Chicago on the [20th Century Limited] of a twenty-thousand-year-old Magdalenian girl [since redated to about 15,000 years]—“the only prehistoric skeleton in the United States,” which she was at the time. This was front-page news. The story went all over the world.

There was much speculation. Why had she been buried beneath the frieze of horses? Was she killed by her lover’s ivory lance point? Was it by another Cro-Magnon girl? Was her brother avenging the family’s honor? Was she killed in battle? Why was she buried in the sanctuary? Was she the daughter of the sculptor-high priest?

That Saturday 22,000 visitors came to the museum, most of them to see “Miss Cro-Magnon.” At noon the crowd was so dense around her that captain of the guard, Sergeant Abbey, notified the Museum director that two guards must be placed there to keep the people moving and orderly. D. C. Davies, Museum Director, could hardly believe his eyes—

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nothing like this had happened before at the Field Museum. The press and photographers badgered Dr. Laufer, as Chief Curator, for interviews and pictures. This was the first exhibit in the new building to capture the public and press imagination. That night I went to bed very happy.

The furor continued again on Sunday and to a lesser extent on the following weekdays and paydays. I am sure that "Miss Cro-Magnon's" obvious popularity played a dominant role in deciding the president and trustees to look favorably upon our proposed Hall of Prehistoric Man. (Field 1953:135–136)

Most likely it did. But even if it had not been so gloriously "hyped" to account for record crowds, or even if it did not influence the decision to install the Hall of Prehistoric Man, the Cap Blanc skeleton was and is a superb acquisition. Recently, President John McCarter initiated an effort to cast the Cap Blanc skeleton, and in mid-2001 a replica was sent back to the site for exhibition.

The Field Museum accession file on the 155 bones and fragments constituting the specimen includes copies of the correspondence between the American Museum in New York and Grimaud, the French owner, from 1922 to 1925. In that correspondence, Gregory, at the American Museum, repeatedly and specifically asked whether any artifacts had been found in direct association with the bones. Grimaud assured him that no such artifacts had been found. This begs the question of where the ivory point, alleged by Field to have been found with the skeleton, actually came from. The data remain unclear.

Henry Field left Chicago in 1941 to take oath of his commission as lieutenant in the U.S. Navy in Washington. On arriving, he was informed that he had been assigned to other duties "on higher authority." President Franklin D. Roosevelt had approached Field in the Museum a year earlier with questions concerning the Near East. Now, with the threat of war growing, Roosevelt wanted Field as a research specialist and adviser on that area. Field remained in Washington until late 1945. His assignment had been broadened to include other intelligence matters here and abroad at the direction of President Roosevelt and later President Truman. Now, after the demands of government service and the nearly frenetic years at the Field Museum, Henry felt free to devote himself fully to anthropological research, the revision and publication of eight manuscripts on Southwestern Asia, and world travel. Field's dedication, enthusiasm, and resources allowed him to make significant contributions to the Field Museum in both research and exhibition spheres. Two of the most famous exhibits at the Field Museum in the twentieth century are the result of his indefatigable efforts, and the acquisition of much of the Museum's Upper and Middle Paleolithic collections from Europe are similarly attributable to this remarkable individual. Henry Field died in 1986.
A Tale of Two Thompsons: The Contributions of Edward H. Thompson and J. Eric S. Thompson to Anthropology at the Field Museum

Donald McVicker

Edward Herbert Thompson (1860–1935) and John Eric Sydney Thompson (1898–1975) are known for their archaeological work in the Maya area, and both were associated with Chicago’s Field Museum. Yet they appear to represent opposite poles of Maya research: Edward Thompson the nineteenth-century era of roman tic description and Eric Thompson the twentieth-century era of scientific classification. Today’s assessment of Edward Thompson is quite negative: his name brings to mind the gutting of the High Priest’s Grave at Chichén Itzá and the dredging of the Sacred Cenote at the same site. Eric Thompson, on the other hand, is considered to have been the doyen of Maya archaeology: his name brings to mind his correlation of the Maya/Christian calendar and his catalogue of Maya hieroglyphics.1

This chapter reevaluates the reputations of these two Mayanists in the light of the work that they did for the Field Museum and the impact of Eric Thompson’s assessment of Edward Thompson’s place in the history of American archaeology. It uses archival records to examine the scientific value of often underutilized collections stacked in storerooms. These records also provide insight into how collections were obtained and the role that institutions as employers played in the amassing of antiquities (see Welsch, this volume). Archival research indicates that the drive to gather objects for professional and financial rewards encouraged fieldworkers to carry out questionable maneuvers regardless of their public reputations.

Edward H. Thompson

Edward Thompson’s Chicago connection began with the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893. In the 1880s he had been appointed American consul to Yucatán and had begun to carry out explorations for his patron Charles P. Bowditch and the Worcester American Antiquarian Society (Thompson 1929). He was soon connected with Harvard University’s Peabody Museum, and when Director Frederic Ward Putnam was appointed chief of the Anthropology Section at the Chicago fair, he retained Thompson to make molds of ancient Maya structures for his exhibits (Fig. 11.1). The reconstructed facades of Labna and Uxmal were quite popular at the fair, and Thompson caught the attention of a second patron, Allison Vincent Armour, scion of one of the wealthiest families in Chicago—not, however, the meatpacking Armours (McVicker 1999b). Armour was a guarantor of the World’s fair and sat on the board of the newly founded Museum. He was also quite a yachtsman, sailed to visit Edward Thompson in Yucatán, and in 1894 “assisted” Thompson in the purchase of the hacienda on which Chichén Itzá was located.

When William Henry Holmes joined the Field Columbian Museum as the first curator of anthropology in 1894, Armour proposed a joint archaeological/botanical expedition to Mexico. In late December 1894, Holmes and curator of botany, Charles F. Millspaugh, sailed for the Yucatan peninsula on Armour’s yacht, the Ituna. On landing in Progreso, they were met by Edward Thompson, now known as Don Eduardo, who served as their
guide and mentor. The results of this expedition placed the Field Museum on the map of Mesoamerican studies. Later, Armour supported the publication of Holmes’s *Archaeological Studies Among the Ancient Cities of Mexico* (1895, 1897) and provided the funds for the sizable collection of top-quality antiquities received by the Museum.

Armour wanted Thompson to associate himself with the Field Museum and provide collections for it. He was willing to pay Thompson’s salary—a tempting offer, since Thompson’s consul position had not been renewed. Against Putnam’s advice that money alone would not make a scientific institution and that “in Chicago all would be drive and rush and largely sensational effects” (FWP/ WCE, Putnam to Thompson, May 19, 1894), Thompson chose Armour’s patronage and the new museum. He was expected to continue his work in Yucatan, and his proposal to excavate at Xkichmook and Chichén Itzá (Fig. 11.2) was accepted.

Thompson worked at Xkichmook, submitted well-received reports, and “by the kind liberality of Mr. Allison V. Armour” sent a large collection of potsherds and other artifacts (Fig. 11.3) to Chicago to be “placed at the disposal of the Field Columbian Museum (E. H. Thompson 1898:213). This collection remains largely unstudied, although Mayanist Charles Lincoln began research on it over ten years ago.²

After Xkichmook, Thompson concentrated his efforts on Chichén Itzá. Best known from this time is his excavation of the Mound of the Burial Shaft, now known by his later label The High Priest’s Grave. The original reports that Eric Thompson later edited for publication (Thompson 1938) are in the archives of the Museum (FMA/HPG). On December 28, 1896, Thompson wrote to Holmes (FMA/HPG), “Every specimen was personally found by me and taken by hand from graves . . . and the notes made make the specimens . . . priceless and will give to the Museum at one blow the best existing collection of the kind from the ruined groups of the Yucatan.” In a subsequent letter of September 23, 1897 (FMA/ HPG), he assures Holmes of the accuracy of his works and plans, and offers minor corrections as “sins of omission.” Thompson’s determination to gather the “best” collection for the Museum became a running theme that was to be repeated

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Fig. 11.1. Papier-mâché casts of Mayan stele ruins, and Mesoamerican sculptures made by Edward H. Thompson for the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.
more than 30 years later in the work of Eric Thompson in British Honduras (now Belize).

The extent of Thompson's work at Chichén Itzá is not generally recognized and is therefore undervalued. He did extensive survey and excavation in "Old Chichén," and his lengthy report on the Temple of the Tablets and Temple of the Phallos remains archived and unpublished. His introduction to this report captures the flavor of late nineteenth-century archaeology and the tension between romanticism and science:

About three-quarters of a mile south of El Castillo in the Chichen Itzá group lies buried in the forest a terrace three hundred thirty feet long by three hundred feet wide. Great trees like those of the primeval forest cover its surface. A thick blanket of vegetable mould, the product of centuries, hides from view the greater portion of man's handiwork and only the formless mounds that loom up above its otherwise level surface and the ends of broken columns or sculptured fragments show that man once worked his will where nature reigns supreme.

Fig. 11.2. Temple of the Jaguars, Chichén Itzá, Yucatan, Mexico.

Fig. 11.3. An orange ware pedestal vase and a pottery incense burner from Chichén Itzá, Yucatan, Mexico.
The temptation was great to throw our system to the winds, select the spot most promising for finding specimens, and dig. Having been taught by experience that any work to be well done must be systematic, and that haste to achieve brilliant results is the ruin of accurate data, I steadily resisted the temptation and commenced clearing the entire terrace of its forest growth and vegetable covering until every outline of fallen stones or standing walls was visible and ready for intelligent investigation. (FMA/HPG, “Explorations in Chichén Itzá”)

Although usually thought an amateur and self-taught, Thompson had learned “all systematic methods of field work and general investigation” from Putnam (PMAC, Thompson to Putnam, December 9, 1893). In 1894 he had been assured by Putnam, who did not have an advanced degree himself, that college graduation did not make a difference. “We care not whether a man is a graduate or not so long as he is at the head of his special line of work” (FWP/WCE, Putnam to Thompson, May 19, 1894).

Perhaps if Thompson had not dredged the Sacred Cenote and removed its treasures, he might not be reviled by so many today. By the time he began, he had ended his association with the Field Museum and had been retained by Putnam and Harvard’s Peabody Museum. Although the Field Museum did receive some specimens from the cenote, the bulk of the booty went to the Peabody. Despite later suits by the Mexican government and the postrevolution seizure of his hacienda, old Don Eduardo remained unrepentant. In a paper he read before the American Antiquarian Society titled “Forty Years of Research and Exploration in the Yucatan” (Thompson 1929:48), he concluded that “all those treasures of a past civilization are stored under the roof and between the walls of a great institution [Harvard’s Peabody Museum], safe from the grasp of vandals’ hands, saved for science to study and reveal for which I am thankful” (emphasis in the original).

An aspect of Thompson’s career that is often overlooked was his devotion to the Yucatecan Maya and his ethnographic records of their lifeways. His recognition of the close relationship between studying the present and reconstructing the past compares favorably with the later work of Eric Thompson. In his popular memoir, Thompson described himself as “the Yankee archaeologist who became almost a Maya in the belief that a close study of the psychology of the descendants of the ancient builders and calendar-makers might be of aid in reconstructing the ideas and methods of times long past.” Living most of his adult life in Merida and at Chichén he claimed fluency in Yucatec Maya—“and while I lived among them I learned their legends firsthand. About the campfire, on the jungle trail, or while at work in the ruined cities of their forefathers. The ancient Maya tongue became my second language” (Thompson 1932:11).

Professional reputations in science often are built on publications. Thompson’s bibliography is curious at best. Early on, Putnam had warned him against too great an involvement with Chicago, since he had “much to do in the future preparing of all your material for publication” (FWP/WCE, Putnam to Thompson, May 19, 1894). Despite Putnam’s advice, Thompson seemed unable or unwilling to prepare a manuscript for publication without the aid of an editor. Even his best field report on his excavations at Xkíchmook (Thompson 1898) was edited by Holmes, and his best-known monograph on the High Priest’s Grave was prepared by Eric Thompson (1938) more than 30 years after the excavations.

After Holmes left the Field Museum in 1897, he was sent Edward Thompson’s existing manuscripts to edit and prepare for publication. However, after he “rewrote the Xkichmook paper,” Holmes returned the other manuscripts and informed Curator George Amos Dorsey in 1899 that he received no thanks from Thompson for it and that Thompson did not reply to his letters (FMA/HPG, Holmes to Dorsey, November 22, 1899). “As he [Edward Thompson] does not desire to have other papers published as yet I am hardly justified in wasting more of my time revising them.”

Why there was a falling out with Holmes is not recorded. However, by 1899 Armour had also left Chicago, and Thompson had once again placed his future in the hands of Putnam and the Peabody. Despite all his work at the Cenote, after his 1904 Peabody paper on Archaeological Researches in the Yucatan (Thompson 1904), Thompson was never again to publish the results of his research.

Edward Thompson ended his archaeological career at Chichén Itzá. Eric Thompson began his career at the same site. They were there at the same time in 1926 and obviously must have met, yet neither acknowledges having met the other. Eric Thompson’s view of Edward was negative to a fault. In 1929, he wrote regarding Thompson’s work at Chichén, “A fragment of truth hidden below the fantastic embroidery of a lurid imagination. The romantic mind of Mr. Edward H.
John Eric Sidney Thompson

Eric Thompson (Fig. 11.4) arrived at Chichén Itzá in 1926 as a young scholar fresh from studying anthropology with Haddon at Cambridge to work for Sylvanus G. Morley and the Carnegie Institution of Washington. He surveyed and excavated and made three trips to the largely unknown site of Cobá, convincing Morley that it was a Classic site predating Chichén. While there, he was in contact with the Field Museum and even proposed a cooperative endeavor between the two institutions. He also suggested that the Carnegie Institution get permission from the Mexican government to take to the United States from Chichén a duplicate plumed serpent masked panel that would be given to the Field Museum in return for cooperation the next season. "As you can see [enclosed photos] it is a most beautiful work and art, and would make a great addition to the Museum" (FMA/DC, J. E. Thompson to Davies, undated [1926?]). The Field Museum did not respond to his proposal.

Following his stint at Chichén Itzá, he served briefly as an assistant in the Department of Anthropology at the Field Museum. He resigned his post because he had promised to help British archaeologist T. A. Joyce on the British Museum’s second expedition to Lubaantun, British Honduras (Belize) (Thompson et al. 1927). While there, he proposed to Joyce, who was overseeing the excavations, a cooperative arrangement between the British Museum and the Field Museum to work at Copan, Honduras. Joyce would have none of it, and in turn Thompson wrote a highly critical letter describing the British expedition (FMA/DC, J. E. Thompson to Lauffer, March 27, 1927). Unhappy with his countrymen, in the same letter Thompson expressed his desire to reconnect with the Field Museum: "I would like to know if your offer that I could return to Field Museum, if I wanted to still holds good."

Unfortunately, President Stanley Field was unhappy with "the rather abrupt manner in which [Thompson] left the Museum" (FMA/JETEF, Field to J. E. Thompson, August 23, 1927), and predictably Museum Director D. C. Davies also "was positively opposed to [his] re-instatement" (FMA/DC, Lauffer to J. E. Thompson, September 24, 1927). Fortunately, Thompson’s case was strongly supported by Curator Berthold Lauffer. Thompson created a near disaster when the impetuous young archaeologist wrote directly to Stanley Field that the Museum should drop the Maya area and establish itself in Peru. "Personally I would as soon excavate in Peru... Excavation in the Maya area is a gamble, one cannot be assured of finding good material, and the chances of getting a good showing are small" (FMA/JETEF, September 19, 1927). To Thompson’s advantage, Lauffer succeeded in calming the waters (FMA/DC, Lauffer to J. E. Thompson, September 24, 1927). Thompson received his letter of appointment as assistant curator of Mexican and South American archaeology at $3,000 dated October 7, 1927, and signed by Director Davies.

It was at the Museum that Eric Thompson made his reputation conducting three "Captain Marshal Field Expeditions to British Honduras" in 1927,
1928-1929, and 1931 and one joint expedition with the Carnegie Institution in 1934.\(^9\)

These expeditions were not only archaeological. Eric Thompson was as devoted to ethnography and the living Maya as was Edward Thompson. Eric Thompson's expedition files contain numerous manuscripts recording his ethnographic fieldwork. In the Annual Report for 1929 (Annual Report To The Board Of Trustees [ANRD] 1930: 47), it is noted that "Mr. Thompson lived exactly the same life as they [the peasants of San Antonio] do, lodging with a Maya family and subsisting on native food." In fact, Thompson's first major publication with the Field Museum was an ethnography (Thompson 1930). Even in his collecting activities, Thompson was as interested in gathering a fine collection of ethnographic specimens for the Museum as he was in the excavated and purchased archaeological material. As a result of his efforts, the Field Museum today maintains an outstanding collection of highland Maya ethnographic material from Guatemala (cf. FMA/JETEF; Thompson to the Director [Davies], February 28, 1929).\(^10\)

In writing the history of museums and their agents, the subject of collections gathering is a topic to be handled with some tact (see Bronson, this volume).\(^11\) Archaeological imperialism and outright violation of antiquities laws were common among all excavators in Mexico at the turn of the nineteenth century. Edward Thompson is but one of the best-known and most dramatic examples. However, the illegal removal of antiquities under the aegis of major museums continued well into the 1930s. Despite his growing professional reputation as a Field Museum curator and researcher, Eric Thompson was not above engaging in questionable wheeling and dealing to make sure that his employer received the best he could deliver.

There were powerful institutional forces at work to drive an ambitious young museum archaeologist to provide outstanding collections (see Wilcox, this volume). Despite Lauffer's insistence on science (see Bronson, this volume), in large part Eric Thompson's career depended on the directors of the museum (David C. Davies, Stephen C. Simms, and Clifford C. Gregg, successively), the president (Stanley Field), and the board of trustees during his tenure (see Appendix 3). The tension between the objectives of the scientific staff and the businessmen who controlled the board and appointed the director existed from the founding of the Field Columbian Museum (McVicker 1999a). It continued throughout Thompson's tenure. For example, on September 24, 1927, Lauffer, a colleague and disciple of Franz Boas, the architect of scientific anthropology in the university, recommended to Field Museum director Davies that "Mr. Thompson should be given to understand that the primary object of his work is research and gathering scientific data and novel information which will yield interesting results and make a substantial contribution to our knowledge of Maya civilization, but that the acquisition of material is of secondary consideration. At any rate, the value of an expedition is not judged by the quantity of material it is able to bring home, but by its quality, scientific results and advance of knowledge" (FMA/JETEF).\(^12\)

This "understanding" did not stop Thompson in his determination to "help remove the stigma of Field Museum having the worst Maya collection of any Museum of importance in the U.S.A.," and in his desire to make the Museum a center of Maya research (FMA/JETEF [1928?]). He seems to have switched Lauffer's priorities when he wrote in his January/June 1928 expedition report, "In brief, the Expedition has accomplished its threefold purpose by obtaining good show material, new archaeological data, and ethnographic information" (FMA/JETEF).

When Thompson felt he had hit a "veritable city of the dead" on his first expedition to Mountain Cow (Tzimin Cax), he wrote to Lauffer (FMA/JETEF; March 31, 1928) that he had gotten "about ten times as much stuff as we got the whole season last year at Lubaantun." He goes on to portray the vaulted burial chambers and describes the best in terms of "one of the, if not the, biggest haul ever taken out of a single burial in the Maya area."

Thompson's view of the collections from his first expedition is summed up when he reports to Lauffer (FMADC, February 26, 1928) that his "fairly good haul," which "although it doesn't sound very impressive is a better haul than Morley got spending $50,000 a year at Chichén Itzá, or that the British Museum got after two years at Lubaantun."

It was not just grave goods and caches that provided the haul. Thompson from the beginning had expressed his fascination with monuments and inscriptions. However, inscribed stone monuments were much more difficult to "export" than pots and jade. In 1928 (FMA/JETEF), he wrote to Lauffer (?), "Please give no publicity to the finds until you receive my cable as I don't want the author-
ities to know of the [stone] altar until I have obtained the concession. Probably the British Museum will want to retain the altar, but it will at least be a good bargaining weapon when the spoils are divided." He also requested (and later received) saws sent by the Field Museum to Belize so he could separate the carved face of the altar from its back.\(^1\)

At the end of his first expedition, Thompson targeted Corozal in the north of the colony as the focus of his final set of excavations, since it “represents a phase of Maya culture not represented so far in the Museum collection.” He planned to dig on private land since “the government has projected a law prohibiting work on private land,” and so he thinks he “should take the chance while it is still open and the law still unpassed.” He hoped to arrange with the landowner to “dig for a cash payment” and then assures Museum director Simms that all he finds will be for the Museum (FMA/JETFE, Thompson to Simms, May 30, 1928).

Since most government permits for archaeological excavations required that collections be divided, Thompson became expert at assuring a favorable selection for the Museum. During his second expedition to British Honduras, he became particularly concerned that the British Museum would select for their collection a beautiful painted vase he had excavated. In January 1929, he wrote to Laufer that he looked forward to seeing it some day in one of the cases in the Museum’s Hall of Mexican Archaeology, and that he was going to cover up all the designs with ash and soil so that the British Museum representative would not want to chose it (FMA/JETEF, January 28, 1929). He succeeded since the representative, British physician and archaeologist Thomas Gann, “whose knowledge of pottery is not very great,” failed to see through his ruse (FMA/JETEF, Thompson to Laufer, May 1, 1929).

If Thompson still failed to obtain the pieces he desired, he could encourage the Museum to buy the second half of the collection. To his credit, Thompson argued in his March–April 1929 report to Laufer (FMA/JETEF) that “a division of the collection would destroy much of its scientific value” since most of the material was recovered from graves and caches (cf. McVicker 2000b).

Thompson’s aspirations were not restricted to artifacts from British Honduras. Guatemalan and Mexican material was needed if the Museum was to have a representative collection of Maya civilization both past and present. He had crossed over to Mexico and found the Classic Maya site of Rio Hondo interesting. In his January/June 1928 report to Simms dated May 30, 1928 (FMA/JETFE), he describes how he arranged for a private landowner to dig the site for him and then arranged for a trustworthy resident of Corozal (Belize) to purchase the material on British soil. The Belizean would in turn sell the material to the Museum for a small commission. However, Thompson assures Simms that “officially the Museum has nothing to do with this work.”

Thompson’s rationale for his actions was to broaden the Museum’s Maya collections and to make specimens available for comparative study. By the time of his second expedition (1928–1929), Thompson proposed expanding the Museum’s work to Guatemala, Honduras, and even El Salvador. Toward this end, Thompson visited his Carnegie colleagues at Uaxactun in the northern Guatemala lowlands during his second expedition. He reported that his objective was to try and link up his finds in British Honduras with those from the Peten (FMA/JETSE, monthly report number 3, February 13–March 14 [1929]).

Thompson had his eye on highland Guatemala as well. At the end of his second expedition, he traveled to highland Guatemala and purchased a small archaeological and ethnographic collection (FMA/JETSE, Thompson to Director [Simms], February 28, 1929).

By the time of Thompson’s third expedition, in 1931, removing collections from Guatemala had become more difficult. At the end of his preliminary report (FMA/JETEF), he notes that “important archaeological collections were also made in Guatemala, but as the exportation of archaeological material from Guatemala is strictly prohibited no mention of this has been made in the body of this report in view of its possible publication in the Annual Report.”

Thompson’s plans for his third expedition express his expanding ambition and acquisitiveness. In 1930, he wrote a memorandum proposing a two-year archaeological and ethnological expedition to be undertaken (FMA/JETTEF). He justifies this extensive fieldwork as a response to the increasing interest of the general public and scientific world in the ancient civilization of the Mayas and the inspiration that Maya art provides for modern art and architecture. He points out the natural pride in the purely American achievement of the ancient civilization of the Maya in contrast to “the oft asserted cultural superiority of the old world” and the interest fostered by closer trade.
relations between the United States and the republics of Central America. Thompson then becomes specific and introduces a point that caught the attention of Lauffer and Simms: the impact on the Museum of the 1933 Chicago Century of Progress Fair (FMA/JETEF, Lauffer to Director Simms, September 9, 1930; Director [Simms] to Lauffer, September 11, 1930; see Yastrow and Nash, this volume).

The fair’s commission was planning to construct a full-size replica of one of the largest ancient Maya buildings to house a part of the anthropological collections. In his memorandum, Thompson argues that “this large building with its magnificent decorated façade will be a dominant feature of the exposition, and will still further arouse public interest [in the Maya].” Of course, visitors to the fair “with this fine vista still in mind, will naturally turn to Field Museum in order to study the arts and crafts and to obtain information concerning the builders of such a culture.”

Thompson further supports his fieldwork proposal by noting how disappointed these visitors will be unless the Museum’s Maya collections are augmented and improved. He then compares Field Museum’s collections with those held by other museums: “Few Museums possess good Maya material with the exception of the British and Peabody Museum.” However, “it is still possible to obtain good Maya collections, particularly in British Honduras,” with several years of excavation. He targets northwest British Honduras where it is well worth digging “from both a scientific and spectacular view point”:

An expedition to this area should enrich considerably the Museum’s Maya collections... and should yield much of great scientific importance in the solving of many outstanding cultural and chronological problems. One can hope then to kill two birds with one stone—to enrich the Museum’s collections and help to make Field Museum a recognized center of Maya research.

Although the third expedition was approved, with the Great Depression-era financial constraints and delays for personal reasons, it was not fated to fulfill Thompson’s grand plans. The expedition got under way at the end of February 1931, and ended three months later in early June.

Thompson was to conduct a fourth and final expedition in 1934, jointly sponsored by the Field Museum and the Carnegie Institution of Washington. On December 23, 1933, Alfred Kidder, chairman of the Carnegie Institution’s Division of Historical Research, wrote to Museum Director Simms (FMA/JETEF, Kidder to Simms, December 23, 1933), formally proposing the joint expedition. If the Field Museum would pay Thompson’s salary, there would be no other expense. The Carnegie Institution would publish the report and give full credit to the Field Museum as joint sponsor. The collections gathered would go to the Field Museum, and since the antiquities law of British Honduras required equal division, the Carnegie was willing to purchase from Kidder’s contingency fund the colony’s half for up to $300. “And, if materials particularly valuable scientifically, or especially desirable for exhibition purposes are recovered, I will, if Thompson so recommends, attempt to increase the purchase fund to $500.00.”

Thompson had finally achieved his ambition for cooperative work between scientific institutions. It had taken him eight years from his initial proposal while working with the Carnegie at Chichén in 1926 to achieve this end. It was to be his farewell to curatorship at the Museum. By the mid-1930s the Museum could no longer afford to send major expeditions into the field (see Appendix 4), and patronage had all but disappeared. The Carnegie was one of the few institutions that still had the funds to carry on long-term research projects. And so Thompson returned to where he had begun his field career, conducting research for the Carnegie Institution. He was to remain with the Carnegie in Cambridge, Massachusetts, for the remainder of his distinguished professional life.

Despite their commitment to the Field Museum, both Thompsons were more devoted to the field, the Maya and Mesoamerica, than to Chicago. In his field notebook for Mountain Cow in 1928, Eric Thompson penned the following (FMA/JETEF):

The loop, Oh God, the awful din
Ugly Chicagoons fat and thin,
The fearful roaring of the L,
Like fiery dragons leashed in hell.

The stench that wafted on the breeze,
Toward the parks’ gaunt grimy trees,
A stench of Bullocks, sheep and hogs,
That soon will sell as prime hot dogs.

... Thank God I’ll leave for good some day,
And in a steamer sail away.
To where the palm trees gently sway
And life is one eternal May.

...
Where I can see the dawn once more, 
Far from some bedraggled shore, 
Who plies her trade by night and day, 
In some gin-scented cabaret.

The sweat will pour down in my eyes, 
I'll suffer hell from bugs and flies, 
The dago boys will tell me lies, 
But you can bet it's paradise.

Both Thompsons were men of their time and profession. In fact, Edward Thompson's early excavations, mapping, and photography were far in advance of many of his colleagues. The Field Museum still profits from the results and the public from the objects displayed. In turn, scholars are indebted to his contributions to archives and storerooms. His removal of material from Mexico in violation of the antiquities laws is reprehensible but no worse than others of this time. Whether in Washington, Boston, or Chicago, London, Berlin or Paris, all were saving from modern savagery the remains of the past for the enlightenment of the Western world.¹⁷

Edward Thompson survived in a world of patronage. He was never fully employed by the Field Museum; his position was always that of an "outside agent," and the Museum anticipated that Allison V. Armour would supply the funds for salary and collections. It was the collections that Thompson sent to Chicago that defined his success, not his own research agenda. He repeatedly informed Holmes that he could remove the material from Mexico if left to his own devices: "I do not need any concession if I can only have time sufficient to get in my work and get my specimens out of the country in a quietly secure way" (FMA/AF, Thompson to Holmes, December 28[?], 1896).

Thompson, the expatriate, rarely visited Chicago and the Museum. However, in Accession file number 491, relating to one of the largest assortments of "Ancient Relics from Chichén Itzá" (and an Armour gift), curator Holmes noted that when Thompson was in Chicago in 1896, he made additions and wrote cards for all the specimens. These notes are still of value to researchers.

Thompson never extended his excavations beyond the northern lowlands of the Yucatan peninsula, and by 1897 he had become almost exclusively identified with Chichén Itzá. This afforded him few opportunities for comparative research, which could be used to address a broader range of anthropological interests. Although the site can be all-consuming, it offered him limited opportunities for contributions to areas that were later to cinch the fame of Eric Thompson—hieroglyphics and calendrics. Although the art and architecture of the site are remarkable, neither is as accessible or as attractive to the American public as are the artistic achievements of the Classic Maya of the southern lowlands, including much of Belize.

Overall, it can be argued that Edward Thompson was one of many early researchers who were marginalized in the then professionalizing field of anthropology dominated by the Boasian agenda (McVicker 1989); this agenda demanded that all data be precisely gathered and objectively described, that all cultures be placed in their own historical context and be evaluated on their own terms. In addition, Thompson was demonized for dredging the cenote and removing its treasures from Mexico, work carried out under the aegis of the Peabody Museum at Harvard.

Why Eric Thompson, not a noted Boasian, seemed determined to destroy Edward Thompson's reputation at every opportunity cannot be explained in a satisfactory manner. Perhaps he viewed himself as representing a new generation of professional archaeologists, and did everything he could to disassociate himself from the perceived errors of his predecessors. As anthropologist Raymond H. Thompson noted (personal communication, 2002), "Eric may have felt that he had to dissociate himself from Edward H. Thompson—he told me that on his first trip to Mexico [Mexican archaeologist and architect Ignacio] Marquina advised him to use his mother's maiden name because 'the name Thompson stinks in Mexico'!"

Writing style also played a role in diminishing the contributions that Edward Thompson made to the Field Museum and to Maya archaeology. He began his career before the standards of scientific reportage had been fully formalized (some might say fossilized). He never clearly separated his science from romance, and as anthropology professionalized his reputation suffered as a result. However, as reviewed above, he was adamant that his maps and descriptions were as accurate as possible.

Edward Thompson's collections are a significant part of his legacy. Certainly some of the most striking pieces in the Maya collection would not be held by the Museum had it not been for his

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efforts. If he had not provided Holmes with his expertise on the Armour Ituna expedition, many of the finest pieces of Mesoamerican art would not have entered the Museum collections. However, these exhibit pieces overshadow his excavated material, particularly from Xkichmook. It is this material that may prove to have the most enduring scientific value for contemporary archaeology.

In some respects Eric Thompson appears to have been the opposite of Edward Thompson. He was employed by institutions and was adept at balancing the conflicting demands of the scientific staff and the business dominated boards. Supported by Lauffer, the Boasian, he was often able to promote his own research agenda. His early fascination with inscriptions and calendrics established him as one of the leaders in a prestigious specialty. In his memoir (1963:5–6), he recalls how “the ability to read and complete Maya hieroglyphic dates” was his chief asset in convincing Morley to hire him at Chichén in 1926, for “students of Maya glyphs were as scarce as hen’s teeth.”

Eric Thompson understood the significance of carefully excavated objects not only for complete collections but also as data for comparative studies. He was equally clear on the significance of variation within the colony and sought information from the north to the south. Since each expedition proposal required approval by the host government, when the Museum requested a concession for the Museum’s third expedition to British Honduras (1931), Thompson had the Museum director write to the governor of British Honduras (FMA/JETEF, Director to Governor of British Honduras [1930?]) that “one of the objects of the proposed expedition is to define Maya culture zones of the [colony’s] districts, and to ascertain connections with the cities of Peten.”

Though Edward Thompson’s work and interests in “tombs and temples” remained remarkably consistent throughout his long career, Eric Thompson was more in touch with changes in his profession. Before he left the Field Museum, he recognized the importance of digging in residences and wrote to Simms on February 16, 1934 (FMA/JETEF), “The mound I am excavating appears to have served as the residence of persons of some importance, and in that respect represents a type of Maya building about which very little is known, since most excavations in the Maya area have centered on temple buildings.”

Eric Thompson was also sensitive to issues of chronology and origin. In the division of material at the end of his second expedition in 1929 (FMA/JETEF, Thompson to Lauffer, May 1, 1929), he is explicit concerning his interest in “pre-Maya” and his determination to get all the early material from his excavations for the Field Museum.

As a curator and full-time employee, Eric Thompson was committed to the Museum’s missions. On April 21, 1928, he wrote to Lauffer from the field (FMA/JETEF) that he would have plenty to do when he got back to Chicago: his ethnographic publication and installation of collections. “Personally I would be all for a season next year in Honduras, but work is accumulating so much from the last two seasons that I think I ought to put in a year at the Museum.” This commitment continued until the end. In the annual report for 1933 (ANRD 1934:183), the reorganization of Halls 8 and 9 under the direction of J. Eric Thompson was recorded, a reorganization that would include 12 cases of archaeology and ethnology filled with many objects never before displayed. When Lauffer reached the end of his tenure, Thompson even took over the responsibility of continuing his former curator’s work on the ethnology of China and Tibet (ANRD 1936:322).

Eric Thompson far exceeded Edward Thompson in writing and publication. Although he clearly had a flair for the dramatic and a way with words, he expressed himself appropriately in public, private, and professional communications. His popular Field Museum leaflet The Civilisation of the Maya was first published in 1927 and, by the time of his death in 1975, had gone through 57 editions. He also produced a similar leaflet on the archaeology of South America (Thompson 1936). Both Thomsons wrote memoirs toward the end of their lives (Thompson 1932; Thompson 1963). When these memoirs are compared, their contrasting styles and content illustrate different writers working at different times.

Both Thomsons faced the tensions inherent in an organization where the aims of the board of directors to gather sizable collections and present dramatic exhibitions for the public and patrons were often in conflict with those of the scientific staff (see Terrell 1991). Scientific objectivity and emphasis on data collection to test hypotheses had less appeal to museum directors, patrons, and collectors than the search for attention-grabbing objects, particularly when the objects excavated con-
sisted of fragments of tools and broken pieces of pottery.

For example, when Franz Boas resigned after his brief tenure organizing the anthropology collections from the Chicago World’s Fair, he claimed that Museum Director Skiff, acting for the board of trustees, had refused to support the scientific staff in its research objectives. Following Boas, Holmes resigned after less than three years as curator and echoed Boas’s accusations (McVicker 1999a:46, 48). On the other hand, Edward Thompson’s responses to institutional demands aligned him closely with the board. He was both a product of his times and beholden to his patrons, although in context, he too tried to balance his understanding of science with his drive to collect.

Although Eric Thompson balanced science and showmanship with greater skill than did Edward Thompson, their attitude toward building collections was surprisingly similar. As an assistant curator in the Department of Anthropology, he could leave the campaign for science to Chief Curator Lauffer. However, it is clear that he too was capable of putting collections enhancement as his primary objective. Perhaps it was Thompson’s imperial background that served him well in Britain’s Central American colony. He justified the removal of cultural patrimony using the same arguments that Edward Thompson used a generation before—saving the objects from the fate they would suffer in backward countries. From the time of his first expedition to British Honduras, he understood that “a primary objective of the expedition was to obtain exhibitable material for the Field Museum” (Thompson 1963:160).

In establishing their objectives, both Thompsons were responding to the philosophy that guided public programming in the Field Museum. Although this collecting mentality was hardly unique to the Museum, at times it may have been overstressed in Chicago. Chicago was always determined to be the first city, a ranking that depended on the excellence of its cultural institutions. The Chicago Museum was always competing with New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. Despite Putnam’s warning to Edward Thompson, after he and Boas were replaced at the new Columbian Museum by businessmen and a well-connected archaeologist (Holmes) from the Bureau of American Ethnology (McVicker 1999a), both Edward H. Thompson and J. Eric S. Thompson were unable to initially resist the hustle, bustle, and big show of the City on the Make.

Notes

1. For a brief biography of Edward H. Thompson, see Brunhouse (1973). For a brief biography and select bibliography of J. Eric S. Thompson, see Hammond (1977:1–17).

2. Charles Lincoln (personal communication), who has done extensive work at Chichén Itzá (cf. Lincoln 1986), finds that Xkichmook is a “fabulously interesting site” and considers Edward Thompson’s collection quite valuable. Lincoln conducted a surface survey at the site in the 1980s and was able to compare his collection with Thompson’s material gathered 100 years earlier. Thompson was “thorough, if nothing else...” and the Field Museum collection is considerably richer than what can be collected on the surface today.

3. Ignacio Bernal (1980:155), in his History of Mexican Archaeology, mentions Thompson only once and refers to his Chichén Itzá “digs” as the work of an amateur. On the other hand, he refers to Eric Thompson’s research and publications many times and labels him “the greatest of the Mayanists” (1980:179). However, as a Mexican scholar, Bernal shared the continued bitterness of his colleagues and fellow citizens over the “looting” of the Sacred Cenote by Edward Thompson.

4. In Anthropology Accession File 499 (FMA/AF) is a letter of “resignation” from Thompson to Museum Director Frederick J. V. Skiff dated December 9, 1897. In the letter he states, “I think that the decision of your Executive Committee is entirely a wise one. I think I know your desires in this matter, and I am sure that I cannot fulfill them so long as the laws of Mexico are as they are...” Presumably the subject of this letter is the “export” of artifacts. It is ironic that Thompson shows such sensitivity to the laws under question and apparently stands against the Museum’s desire to increase its collections; several years later he began the dredging of the Sacred Cenote and engaged in machinations to remove the greatest number of jade and gold objects ever taken from Mexico.

5. It should be noted that the dredging of the Cenote was carried out with such secrecy to avoid clashes with the Mexican authorities that no official publication appeared analyzing artifacts recovered until 1952 (Lothrop 1952). In 1926, T. A. Willard’s account of
Thompson's activities at Chichén Itzá were published. His book, *City of the Sacred Well* (Willard 1926), included Thompson's reminiscences of treasures recovered by dredging and diving in the cenote of sacrifice. Coincidentally, in 1926 the Mexican government unsuccessfully sued Harvard's Peabody Museum for the return of Thompson's collection and accused the Field Museum of "harboring stolen goods" (FMA/DC, Laufer to E. H. Thompson, September 8, 1926; cf. Coggins 1984:25).

If Thompson had written any unpublished accounts, then they were probably destroyed along with his personal museum and other papers when his hacienda at Chichén burned at the time of the Mexican Revolution. According to Alfred Tozzer's friend, correspondent, and fellow Americanist Adela Breton, there was a manuscript. "I am glad you are going to bring out the Report on the Cenote and can imagine Mr. T's [manuscript] is difficult to utilize" (PMA/TC, Breton to Tozzer, November 28, 1920). Tozzer's report was finally published in 1957 (Tozzer 1957).

6. Edward Thompson's contemporary Frederick Starr, the first anthropologist at the University of Chicago, had a considerably more positive view of Thompson's work and objectives. On one of his expeditions to Mexico, Starr met Thompson in Merida. "I was much interested in Mr. Thompson's work. I had never realized that it is his chosen life work. He has really done a great deal and has done it very well.... His farm at Chichen is close to the ruins and he has built it with some care and wants it to be a sort of scientific center and meeting and stopping place for workers" (FSFN/UC, February 1901:17–19). Alfred Tozzer had a less positive view. "Now Miss [Adela] Breton looks at the artistic side with a little archaeology thrown in. Mr. Thompson from that of a half-popular, half-scientific scientist.... Mr. Thompson has outlined his plans to me for his future work here among the ruins [Chichén]. They constitute a little of everything. This is his great trouble, he doesn't stick at one place but flits around, a hole dug here, another there" (PMA/TC, Tozzer to his mother, March 12, 1902).

7. Less diplomatically, in the first proof of the High Priest's Grave manuscript, above the notes on artifacts, Eric Thompson remarks, "Here Mr. [Edward] Thompson disregards tradition which is unanimous in sending the shadowy Kukulcan back to Central Mexico during his lifetime and pays scant attention to the teachings of Mr. Plinsoll." Next he inserts a footnote quoting a poem by an anonymous English nautical author:

I have often asked them as a kid
"What was it Mr. Plinsoll did?"
He did what's all too rare. In fine
He taught us where to draw the line.

8. When the verse was to be edited out, Thompson addressed a letter to Chief Curator Paul Martin (FMA/HPG, J. E. Thompson to Martin, October 4, 1937), "so I must make it clear that I won't have my comments published except with the footnote included. It is the redeeming feature of a dull paper almost swamped by old Eduardo's droollings." Despite Eric Thompson's declaration, the editor deleted the poem. Michael Coe (1992:123) finds these irrelevant quotations from English poets and prose writers pretentious and most annoying.


10. At the end of his second expedition, Eric Thompson wrote from Guatemala to Director
Simms (FMA/JETSE, May 3, 1929) describing the opportunity to purchase a "superb" ethnographic collection. "A couple of good cases of material could be obtained for the Mexican Hall without much difficulty, adding a bright touch of color to a hall, which from containing mainly archaeological material, is at present a little dull for the general public."

11. Although by present standards Museums may be criticized for amassing great collections at the expense of other nations' patrimony, in the context of the times discussed in this paper, the actions were not considered reprehensible from the curators' perspective. Today museums are making amends for past actions, and in the 1960s Harvard University returned the Cenote gold to Mexico and later returned a representative sample of jades to the regional museum in Merida. Another outstanding example of institutional and international collaboration is the bilateral agreement for the preservation, study, and display of the Wagner murals looted from Teotihuacan, smuggled into California and left as a bequest to the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (Berrin 1988). Certainly the "saving the treasures for humanity" argument is unacceptable today. However, the legacy of 100 years of collection-driven expeditions and purchases is now of increasing scientific value. Vast collections in single locations offer opportunities for concentrated research and comparative studies that widely distributed smaller collections would never provide (Lambertino-Urquizo et al. 1999).

12. Laufer expressed almost exactly the same sentiment in a letter to Eric Thompson (FMA/DC, Laufer to Thompson, September 24, 1927): "I want you to understand that in the first place we do not care for a huge quantity of material, but that we are primarily interested in novel information based on solid research and in scientific results which will make a substantial contribution to our knowledge of Maya civilization."

13. Perhaps the most striking pieces of Maya sculpture in the Field Museum collections is the half altar (no. 188205) Thompson obtained from Hatzap Ceel, part of the site of Mountain Cow. It has been on display in the Hall of Mexico and Central America. For a recounting of its removal from Belize, see Thompson (1963:169-170).

14. The Middle American Research Institute (then the Department of Middle American Research) at Tulane University in New Orleans was chosen to create this remarkable structure. An expedition was undertaken to Uxmal led by Institute Director Franz Blom, molds were made of buildings in the Nunnery Complex, and casts were erected on the Chicago lakefront (MAR/AF, Chicago's World Fair 1933). It was a great success with the public. Thompson seems unaware of the irony that he is promoting this structure and the positive effects it will have on Maya studies and the Field Museum, when less than 50 years before, Putnam had commissioned Edward Thompson to engage in exactly the same endeavor for the Chicago World's Fair. As recounted above, the same Puuc-style buildings were erected from Edward Thompson's molds in 1893 at the fair. These were the casts that attracted Armour's attention and led to beginning of the Field Museum's outstanding Mesoamerican collections.

15. However, Thompson did not sever his ties to the Museum entirely. In the annual report for the year ending 1941 (ANRD 1942:352), it is recorded that "Mr. J. Eric Thompson, of the staff of the division of Historical Research at the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., was given an honorary appointment on the staff of Field Museum, as Research Associate in Middle American Archaeology."

16. Eric Thompson's departure left the limited resources for fieldwork to the new chief curator, Paul S. Martin. Although Martin had also begun his career with Morley at Chichén in 1926, where he had met Eric Thompson (and presumably Edward as well), when he joined the Museum's Department of Anthropology, he shifted his focus to the American Southwest (see Nash 2001; Nash, this volume).

17. Unfortunately, the profit motive lay behind much of the "saving the remains of the past" arrogance. Despite rumors and concerns that Edward Thompson was pocketing treasures, particularly at the time of the Cenote dredging, there is little evidence to support accusations of extensive personal aggrandizement. As Adela Breton recalls, "I saw nothing of his work [at the Cenote] as he wished no one to go there and kept it as secret as possible. This only caused wild reports of valuable finds among his workmen" (PMA/TC, Breton to Tozzer, November 28, 1920). Tozzer in turn reports, "As much as I dislike to play
the spy. Professor Putnam intimated he wished me to find out just what he [Edward Thompson] was doing in the way of archaeological work for the Peabody (PMA/TC, Tozer to his mother, March 12, 1902). In Tozer’s correspondence, no major demeanors are mentioned.

18. Eric Thompson remarked in a letter from the field to Laufer dated January 28, 1929 (FMA/JETEF), “A new date to me is like honey to the flies.” His fascination with dates and hieroglyphics, clear during his first season at Chichén, endured throughout his life. Unfortunately, Thompson’s view of the Maya as a unique peaceful people isolated in their jungle domains led by time-worshiping priests led him to insist that Maya hieroglyphic inscriptions contained no historical or dynastic content. He defended his misguided position to the end and attacked viciously those who took a linguistic approach to “breaking the Maya code” (Coe 1992:139–140).
Sub-Saharan African research has historically occupied only a sporadic presence in the research agenda of the Field Museum because of shifting research interests and priorities as well as the availability of funding. It was not until the 1920s that research interests concerning geographical areas in Africa came to the fore. Before this time, North American anthropological research in the general sense heavily focused on Native Americans (Stocking 1968:297). African ethnology attained its most prominent place in Field Museum research activity during the late 1920s and 1930s. This chapter attempts to contextualize the most consistent period of ethnological research related to sub-Saharan Africa, dating from 1928 through 1953, which marks the tenure of Wilfrid Dyson Hambly, curator of African ethnology, who was integral to the development of the anthropology of Africa at the Field Museum.

The collection of sub-Saharan African material culture by Field Museum staff began at the turn of the century. In 1908, Albert B. Lewis became assistant curator of African and Melanesian ethnology, but his research agenda in relation to Africa appears unclear, if not unstated, as the first expedition to expressly pursue African materials did not occur until 1925 and was headed by Ralph Linton, assistant curator of Oceanic and Malayan ethnology (Fig. 12.1). While in Madagascar, Linton primarily studied the Hova in the capital of Antananarivo, the Betsileo in the central south of the country, the Sianaka near Lake Alaotra, the Betsimisaraka on the east coast, and the Tsimahety and Sakalava of the north. Linton was especially interested in studying ancient burial customs, religious beliefs and rituals, and marriage. From a collections standpoint, Linton focused on jewelry, prayer rugs, pottery, and textiles (Fig. 12.2). The textiles he brought back to the Field Museum are now thought to constitute the largest collection of textiles from the Malagasay ethnic group outside of France (Bronson 1996:8), especially after a large fire at the Queen’s Palace (or
Wilfrid D. Hambly

The most focused and sustained contribution to sub-Saharan African ethnology and ethnography at the Field Museum was the work of curator of African ethnology, Wilfrid D. Hambly (Fig. 12.3), from 1926 to 1953. Hambly’s tenure marks the longest continuous appointment of a curator for the African collection in the Field Museum’s history.

Hambly was born in Clayton, Yorkshire, England. Initially a schoolteacher, he took part in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan Archeological Expedition for the Wellcome Historical Museum of London. After an enlistment in the Royal Navy in World War I, Hambly became a lecturer in biology at Eastham Technical College as well as a research worker for the Industrial Research Board in London. During his tenure at the Field Museum, he received a doctor of science degree from Oxford University for his work in Africa.

Hambly undertook a number of academic pursuits during his time at the Museum, ranging from ethnology and physical anthropology to the writing of a children’s book (Hambly 1949). As an educator, he took part in regular lectures at the Museum and wrote several museum-based pamphlets for academic and popular audiences dealing with multiple aspects of his work in Africa.

Hambly is most noted for his lead of the Frederick Holbrook Rawson Expedition to Angola and Nigeria in 1929 and 1930. Rawson was a trustee of the First Union Bank and the Field Museum (see Appendix 3), and also contributed money for the development of the Hall of Primitive Man (see Yastrow and Nash, this volume), which included some of Hambly’s collections. During the Rawson Expedition, Hambly traveled approximately 10,000 miles while crisscrossing Angola and Nigeria (Fig. 12.4). His ethnologic work in Angola with the Ovimbundu is seen as the most significant outcome of the trip (see Hambly 1934). In all, the expedition collected over 2,000 specimens and recorded 550 photographs (see Appendix 7). For what he estimated to be one-tenth of their actual market value, Hambly collected much of the ethnological material that constitutes the Africa Collection at the Field Museum.

Angola was chosen as the primary site for the expedition in order to acquire data and material culture that would complement the Museum’s existing collection of sub-Saharan materials from Cameroon and Benin. Three decades earlier, in 1898, the Museum had purchased the Angolan collection of Reverend T. W. Woodside, a mis-

Manjakamiadana Palace) in Antananarivo, which burned to the ground in November 1995.

In a curious twist of anthropological fate, Linton’s primary informant in Madagascar was killed because other informants in the area suspected that he had tried to poison Linton after the latter became severely ill. According to Linton, this event impeded a more detailed understanding of regional ethnology and gathering of additional collections (see Field Museum of Natural History Publications—Report Series 1926–1928). Nevertheless, one of Linton’s major ethnographic works, The Tanala: A Hill Tribe of Madagascar, (1933) came out of the expedition. While receiving word of the museum’s new hire in African ethnology, Wilfrid Dyson Hambly, Linton signaled a desire to work with the new anthropologist to discuss his findings.

Fig. 12.2. Figured raffia cloth used as a *lamba* (shroud or cloak) in Kaudreuo, Madagascar.
Fig. 12.3. Wilfred D. Hambly alongside the S.S. Waganda in Antwerp, Belgium.

The Field Museum viewed the Rawson Expedition of 1929–1930 as an opportunity to establish the Museum at the forefront of anthropology in Angola in particular and Africa more generally. In relation to this expedition, Chief Curator Berton Lauffer stated, “The museum would acquire a well-explained and adequately illustrated collection from an area which is totally unrepresented in most museums” (Field Museum Archives, correspondence Lauffer to Simms, January 7, 1929). In addition, the Museum saw Angola as a favorable research area because there were both British and American consulates in Angola, thus making diplomatic and financial exchanges more readily possible. Throughout Hambly’s time in Africa, this convenience was central to his success as he sent regular progress reports stating his need for aid in negotiating colonial relations and money transfers from the Museum in order to purchase and transport objects.

At the turn of the century, Dorsey had begun to acquire art from the Benin in Nigeria but did so without gathering contextual data. As a result, though the Museum had a preexisting collection of art from the Benin Empire, it did not have a means to study the role of art in ceremonies in Benin society. In Lauffer’s words,

We are still in ignorance of the historical background, local conditions, processes, and symbolism relating to the artifacts from Benin, which merit a close study in relation to their environment. To solve the mysteries of Benin is one of the objects of the [Rawson] expedition. (Field Museum Archives, correspondence between Lauffer and Simms, January 7, 1929)

The Rawson Expedition had two primary di-
Fig. 12.4. Map of the principal exploration areas of the Rawson-Field Museum West African Expedition.

rectives that included the acquisition of material culture as well as the analysis of the development of the cultural traits of the subjects. The expedition placed special emphasis on the acquisition and documentation of the pottery, basketwork and weaving, games, and musical instruments of the groups it encountered. The objects taken from this expedition formed a large part of the exhibit in the Hall of African Ethnology in Hall D, which stood from 1928 to 1971. Hambly attempted to analyze the Ovimbundu’s cultural traits by examining them in relation to local history to determine whether they arrived in the area by assimilation or independent invention. His approach was strictly comparative as it examined the cultural traits of the Ovimbundu in relation to the sur-
rounding tribes of the Congo basin, Rhodesia, and South Africa.

Photography

A distinguishing point of Hambly's work was his use of photography for the documentation and classification of peoples and objects. In all, he took 550 pictures (see Appendix 7) of African peoples during the expedition. These pictures chronicle much of the expedition and include many images used for ethnographic purposes as well as more personal images that captured the general experiences related to conducting fieldwork. Hambly was explicit about how photography was integrated in his expedition and research: "Photography has been a subject for special attention. The importance of this work cannot be overemphasized. Scientific writing, publicity, and popular education are all dependant on successful photography" (Hambly 1929).

Hambly photographed subjects involved in different activities, some deliberately posed (Figs. 12.5 and 12.6); others captured more natural actions without Hambly's direction (Fig. 12.7). The purpose of these photographs was to capture the range of motion in stages in order to illustrate the processes involved in any particular activity. Hambly's field notes expressed the difficulty in taking pictures in both settings (Hambly 1929a). Some subjects allowed themselves to be photographed for reasons of vanity and compensation, while others refused for spiritual reasons—they thought that having their picture taken removed or stole part of their soul. Hambly, in fact, remarked that one in three "natives" ran away or refused to be photographed. In any case, his task
was to classify, record, and collect ethnographic data for the Field Museum. His photographs, which can still be viewed in the Department of Anthropology, have been repeatedly used for scientific publication, exhibition illustrations, and general publicity. For public consumption, the pictures went into pamphlets, scholarly works, and popular articles.

In Hambly’s estimation, the photographs from this expedition would serve as both art and science: “The pictures, like the objects collected, have both artistic merit and ethnological value” (Hambly 1929b). Interestingly, the link, or tension, between art and science would be taken up several years later in the work of sculptor Malvina Hoffman (see Yastrow and Nash, this volume; for a discussion of the tension between science and art at the Field Museum, see Conn 1998).

Though Hambly attempted to capture people in a range of “natural” actions, his collection of photographs maintained the boundaries related to the construction of group identity consistent with physical anthropology of the period. Sixty of the expedition’s photographs reflected standard images of people taken as front, back, and side profiles of males and females. According to Hambly, these images were to “give a fairly complete account of the main racial types.” In this sense, the expedition photography illustrates the methodological and theoretical concerns of physical anthropology that existed since the mid-19th century. This is seen especially in his characterization of physical types as groups. I return to the presence of physical anthropology in Hambly’s work later in the chapter.

Motion Picture Films

Hambly took 2,300 feet of motion pictures of native dances, ceremonies, and the production of various objects. This footage is available in brittle form in the archives of the Field Museum. The film serves as a recording of events for documentation as well as for ethnographic purposes. The films highlight activities such as the transportation of materials by indigenous male and female “porters,” the creation of music, and religious ceremonies. In one instance, an individual is recorded while he hits a tall drum with both hands. The focus of the camera is on the rhythm of the drummer’s hands. The drummer looks around unencumbered by the camera as Hambly sits attentive-ly and obtrusively only a foot from the drummer’s hands. Noting the significance of the footage, Hambly believed, perhaps prematurely, that he was the first person to “apply the idea of a “talking movie” to scientific work in ethnology.”
(Hambly 1929). The film serves as a useful complement to what Hambly documented in his field notes and the images in the photography collection. Interestingly, this film footage adds a particular depth to his research, as it allows the viewer to gain a framework in which to contextualize the experiences and relationship between anthropologist and subject. For example, the viewer is allowed to see the great pains and impracticality with which Hambly traveled and transported his materials. In one instance, his truck is transported across a river on a 50-foot boat with the aid of 12 indigenous people. While the 12 people stand upright, they row and steer the boat with long oars, as Hambly watched idly.

The footage was also used for educational purposes. As a member of the Committee on African Anthropology of the Division of Anthropology and Psychology at the National Research Council, Hambly made his ethnographic film footage available for presentations dealing with the visual study of African life. Universities and other educational institutions had access to this material as teaching and research aids.

Physical Anthropology

In Europe, especially Germany and France, during the second half of the 19th century, the rise of physical anthropology ushered in an era in which human groups were classified into types on the basis of physical characteristics. Though this movement would not take firm hold in academic anthropology in the United States until the post–World War II era (Spencer 1982), Hambly was involved in physical anthropology throughout his career at the Field Museum. His use of anthropometry (Fig. 12.8) was consistent with the general methodological and theoretical approaches of physical anthropology of the period. In this instance, anthropologists viewed groups and individuals as fixed entities by characterizing physical features that were ultimately conflated with cultural features. This represented groups as static bodies with little contextual data to support ideas of behavioral and social change. As is evidenced by the remaining physical anthropology pictures stored at the Field Museum, anthropologists created similar forms of representations during ethnological expeditions to Asia, South America, Europe, and the Pacific, among other areas, as they gathered ethnographic data.

In 1938, Hambly published his physical anthropometry research in the Anthropometry of the Ovimbundu Angola (Hambly 1938). This publication was Hambly’s attempt to observe and compare the physical characteristics of the Ovimbundu alongside other tribes outside Angola in the Congo region and southern and eastern Africa. He based this study on data collected during the Rawson Expedition. At the time, Hambly took measurements from the torso, head, face, nose, and ears of 53 adult Ovimbundu males. Because there were no comparative data concerning the anthropometry of the Ovimbundu available, Hambly compared these measurements to statistical measurements taken from four adjacent tribes approximately 15 years before his study.

References to methods used by Harvard University physical anthropologist Earnest A. Hooton in Hambly’s field notes suggest a consistency between the two anthropologists in the link between the use of photography and physical anthropology. Hooton popularized studies of body types through the use of photography (Banta et al. 1980). To this end, Hambly stated, “Hooton of Harvard thought that a set of 50 [measurements] would make a reliable series from which to judge the racial characteristics of the people. I have made twenty-five close-up pictures of the full-face, profile, and back views (Field Museum Hambly Archives 1929, Box 12). Noting the subject’s discomfort with being studied in this manner, Hambly stated, “Head measuring is not popular with the people, neither is close up photography” (Field Museum Hambly Archives 1929, Box 12).

Hambly’s notes reveal uneasiness with the practice of lumping cultural groups together while conducting research in ethnology and physical anthropology. At an initial point of his research, Hambly stated,

The Ovimbundu are a people numbering possibly a million, distributed over the major portion of Angola. Obviously there are people not of the Ovim bundu whose presence is a matter of inquiry. There are problems physical, linguistic, and sociological. If a study is made at Elende there will be great interest in observing the resemblances and differences of Ovimbundu culture over an extensive tract. Is the culture homogeneous? ... There is great difficulty that a truly representative collection should be gleaned from a very wide area. (Third Report of the Rawson Field Museum West African Ethnological Expedition)

Hambly recognized the physical variation within and between the groups he studied, yet this variation is seemingly lost in the discussions of
African peoples in the *Field Museum Bulletin* and other publications. In an article titled “Africa, So Vital in World Affairs Today, Well Represented in Field Museum,” Hambly (1942) discussed the representation of African peoples in the work of sculptor Malvina Hoffman (see Yastrow and Nash, this volume). In line with his own research conclusions, he continues to discuss the relevance of the African physique in the representation of Africans:

The physical types of man in Africa, together with various personal ornaments, and in some instances bodily deformations are shown. . . . The most remarkable of the African types depicted are those
illustrating the physique of the Pygmies, the Bushman hunters of South Africa, the exceedingly tall Shilluk Negroes of the Upper Nile valley, and the Zulus of South Africa. (Hambly 1942:5)

He uses a base set of characteristics, in this instance the capacity to create music and dance, to describe diverse sets of people. Here, cultural and physical diversity are ignored, and instead identity is reduced to practices related to expressive culture.

Hambly’s approach to conducting physical anthropology research attempted to include contextual data, including immigration patterns and intergroup contact in the analysis of physical types. When discussing physical types in Africa, he recognized that inter- and intragroup contact within the African continent produced a range of physical features among peoples. However, this observation remained linked to the concept that physical features were tied to “racial” or, to use his terminology, “group” characteristics.

As previously mentioned, Hambly was aware of the difficulties in defining groups as particular races. He termed this a problem of nomenclature in naming and classifying groups based on the conflation of biological, linguistic, and cultural criterion. Hambly acknowledged the lack of clarity in using the term “race” and instead categorized subjects as African “peoples.” This was his attempt to remove biology from discussions of group characteristics. In relation to this, he stated,

We will at the present avoid the use of the term race and speak of people, employing the word according to the general everyday usage in the sense of persons and individuals. This will avoid the assumption that “race” has a clear connotation, and that definite biological ideas may be legitimately connected to the word. (Hambly 1937:161)

However, his categorization of African peoples ultimately relied on distinctions that corresponded to physical features.

During World War II, Chief Curator Paul S. Martin (1943c) published an article in Field Museum News that attempted to address the link between race and biology by refuting definitions of race as physical characteristics distinguished by anatomical features. In his discussion of race, Martin stressed the inconsistency of existing racial classificatory frameworks based on biological criteria: “The various divisions of the human race do not arise as purely biological entities, but rather through arbitrary and artificial classification. The racial problem is really a cultural, social and economic one, rather than a purely biological one” (Martin 1943b:4).

Despite this more relativistic stance, Martin returned to the idea that subgroups comprised racial categories because he stated, “We may loosely speak of the Negroid race; but we really mean the Negroid division of the Human Race” (Martin 1943c:4). This perspective did not move away from the hierarchical nature of racial classification. A complete dismissal of biological factors in the construction of racial categories, in this case Negroes, did not occur. This was an especially egregious undertaking in relation to a continent that has historically been seen as stunted in the Western imagination. In both the pre- and the post-Enlightenment periods, the hierarchical ranking of racial groups was used to rationalize the supremacy of Western culture in relation to Africa and other parts of the world. This is reflected in the problematic relationship that anthropology and anthropologists had with the continent as Western powers defined its identity, culture, and geography.

Museums have historically contributed to the making of cultural and physical representation of various groups. In this instance,

The selection of knowledge and the presentation of ideas and images are created within a power system. The sources of power are derived from the capacity of cultural institutions to classify and define peoples and societies. This is the power to represent structures of belief and experience through which cultural differences are understood. (Karp 1992:2–3)

Here, the representation of various groups has led to a particular perception of the cultural development and physical features of groups. This creates a particular view of African peoples and other indigenous groups as static cultural and political entities that are untouched by larger social and historical processes. Such a perception has historical precedents: “In the past, museums frequently made the mistake of trying to preserve unchanged the cultures of people as represented by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ethnographic collections” (Simpson 1996:251).

Addressing issues of research and representation is an active process because it is influenced by the changing research priorities of an institu-
tion as well as the social context of the time period. The varied research interests of the Field Museum become apparent after the 1920s as the number of expeditions at the Museum slowed because of economic concerns related to the Great Depression. At this time, the Field Museum and other cultural institutions like it began to increasingly rely on the exchange of materials between museums rather than direct acquisition by researchers. Funds were no longer available from the museum or private funding bodies to support large-scale organized expeditions to Africa. In addition, museums began to occupy a less central role to the study of anthropology as universities became more central to an emerging university-based anthropology. In this instance, the push to develop more rigorous theoretical and methodological frameworks for anthropology became apparent. After World War II, research interests changed again as the Museum began to rely more on private and government grants (Collier 1952).

During the post-Rawson Expedition period, Hambly’s main contributions to ethnology at the Museum came in the form of publications. He maintained a productive writing schedule, publishing works roughly every two or three years during the 1930s. Contributions include *Serpent Worship in Africa* (1931), *The Ovimbundu of Angola* (1934), *Cultural Areas of Nigeria* (1935), and *The Source Book for African Anthropology* (1937). In addition, during the second half of his tenure at the Museum, Hambly prepared digests of information for combat forces and civil administrations before and during and the American occupation of North Africa. Hambly retired from the Field Museum on December 31, 1952.

The post-Hambly period witnessed a general move away from ethnographic studies of Africa to a focus on the “primitive” art of African peoples. In 1957, Philip H. Lewis (Fig. 12.9) joined the museum as assistant curator of primitive art. The Museum committed to an anthropological

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**Fig. 12.9.** Philip H. Lewis holding a Pi mask from northern New Ireland, with an African figure in the background.
study of art that would link artistic activity "to society, to culture, and to the psychology of the individual (Field Museum News, February 1957). The Museum saw this as an opportunity to relate art in this context to wider issues. Here, the Museum would "systematically explore the relationships of art to society by showing the actual objects of art in the context of graphic analyses of these relationships" (Field Museum News, February 1957). The interest in primitive art coincided with that of the Museum's neighbor, the Art Institute of Chicago, which developed a Department of Primitive Art at about the same time. The Field Museum hosted a temporary exhibit, What Is Primitive Art? in 1958.

From 1965 to 1970 the Museum again had a Curator of African Ethnology. Leon Siroto's (Fig. 12.10) specialization was in African art and culture. He was the first African specialist on staff in 22 years since Wilfrid Hambly's retirement.

Most recently, the Field Museum has sought to address issues of representation and diversity of the African continent. Since the 1960s and 1970s, the social movements of people of color, women, and anti-colonialists have, among others, "focused attention on the cultural needs of the ethnic communities and disadvantaged inner city residents" (Simpson 1996:10). The opening of the new Africa exhibit in 1993 marks an attempt at a more contextually based approach to the representation of Africa by highlighting the geographical, cultural, and historical diversity of the continent. Africa's importance at the Museum has also been recently addressed by the hiring the first full-time curator since Leon Siroto. Kenyan archeologist Chapurukha Kusimba came to the Museum in 1994 as curator of the Africa collection. The Field Museum will have to continue to address its demographics, research interests, and intellectual roles in a continuously changing social context. How it addresses these changes will influence the way visitors perceive the African continent and its inhabitants, just as they did in the past and will continue to do in future.
Paul Sidney Martin

Stephen E. Nash

Paul Sidney Martin (Fig. 13.1) served as a curator in the Field Museum Department of Anthropology from 1929 to 1972, during which time he made significant contributions to North American archaeological knowledge, method, and theory. Martin professionally excavated more than 70 archaeological sites in Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico for the Field Museum. He recorded hundreds more while overseeing six major archaeological surveys in those states. He collected more than 585,000 artifacts, trained more than 50 individuals who went on to become professional archaeologists, and published more than 200 monographs, papers, and popular articles throughout his career. Martin was one of the few scholars in any discipline who was willing to embrace radically new developments in method and theory (see Wilcox, this volume). Though it is not easy to compartmentalize Martin’s career, his work at the Field Museum did pass through three general phases: The early years (1929–1938) and Anasazi archaeology, the middle years (1939–1955) and Mogollon archaeology, and the later years (1956–1972) and the New Archaeology.

The Early Years (1928–1939): Anasazi Archaeology

Born November 20, 1899, Martin graduated in 1918 from New Trier High School in Winnetka, a northern suburb of Chicago (Longacre 1976). He then enrolled at the University of Chicago, earned his bachelor’s degree in English in 1923, and, after taking a year off, enrolled in graduate school in anthropology at the same institution in 1924. Though it is not clear how he became interested in archaeology, he conducted his first fieldwork in Wisconsin in 1925. In 1926 and 1927, Martin embarked on a typically ambitious project to conduct an archaeological survey of 450 Mound Builder sites in the area around Galena, Illinois (Martin 1927a). During the winters of 1926, 1927, and 1928, he joined Sylvanus Morley of the Carnegie Institution at the Maya site of Chichén Itzá, where the Temple of Two Lintels soon became, and still is, dubbed “Martin’s Temple” (see Martin 1927b). Though Martin wanted to continue a career in Maya archaeology, simultaneous cases of malaria, worms, and amoebic
dysentery in 1928 precluded further work in the tropics (Martin 1974).

In pursuit of more healthful environs and another archaeological career, Martin joined the Colorado State Museum and the Colorado Historical Society to conduct research among the impressive Anasazi ruins of southwestern Colorado and southeastern Utah (Martin 1929, 1930). He used this fieldwork as the basis for a dissertation at the University of Chicago on the origin and development of the Anasazi kiva, in which he stated flatly that "the kiva grew out of the pithouse" (1929:370). He also presented the novel suggestion that site-to-site regularity in room-to-kiva ratios across the region might indicate that some aspect of prehistoric social organization was manifest in the ruins.

In late 1928, Martin heard that the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago wanted to develop a southwestern archaeology research program. George Amos Dorsey had collected southwestern archaeological objects for the Field Museum three decades before (see Appendix 4), but his collecting expeditions cannot be considered "research" in the modern sense. In 1929, Martin accepted a position as assistant curator at the Field Museum and began a swift ascent to become acting chief curator in 1934 and chief curator in 1935, a position he held until his retirement in 1964. He was chief curator emeritus until 1972, when he moved to Tucson, Arizona. He died in 1974.

At the Field Museum, Martin continued his work in southwestern Colorado and immediately focused his professional attention on Lowry Ruin, a 50-room, late 12th century Anasazi pueblo (Fig. 13.2). Though the recovery of exhibition-quality artifacts for the Field Museum was certainly one of Martin's goals during the excavation, his research was in the mainstream of North American culture-historical archaeology as it was practiced in the early 1930s:

I hoped, by exploring [Lowry Ruin] to . . . attain a historical perspective which would permit me to solve problems, such as the mechanics of growth of a particular pueblo, the architectural skill of these Pueblo Indians, the size of the population at various periods and its changes, the length of time that the pueblo was inhabited, the pottery sequence, and the cultural and chronological relationship of

![Fig. 13.2. Excavation of Kiva I at Lowry Ruin.](image)
this pueblo to other large villages in New Mexico and Arizona. (Martin et al. 1936:23)

A detailed reading of the rest of the Lowry Ruin site report (Martin et al. 1936) clearly indicates that he was interested in more than just time-space systematics—he was also interested in prehistoric psychology and culture patterns (see Hawley 1937). Martin also reestablished an analytical precedent set by John Wesley Powell in 1881 by hiring an architect, Lawrence Roys, to analyze the construction of Lowry Ruin (see Longacre 2000).

Martin was one of the few archaeologists of the day to use motion pictures to document his excavations (Fig. 13.3) and, in a more dubious distinction, used horse teams, a mining car and chute, and narrow-gauge railroad track (Fig. 13.4) to expedite the excavation of Lowry Ruin. It was not uncommon for Martin's team to move 21 tons of dirt per day during the 1930 field season. Room fill was removed in natural levels when these were discernible; otherwise, arbitrary one-foot-thick levels were removed. (The Lowry Ruin excavation was the last time that Martin used English measurement units during fieldwork.) Unfortunately, Martin's excavation technique, which Florence Lister (2000:13) has described as "archaeology by remote control" given Martin's penchant for the comforts of the laboratory rather than the harsh reality of fieldwork in southwestern Colorado, emptied Lowry Ruin and thus precluded future excavation of this important site using more modern and refined excavation techniques. To make matters worse, Martin saved only whole or reconstructable vessels, formal stone and bone tools, and a sample of the decorated sherds recovered from Lowry Ruin. Though Martin spent four seasons excavating (1930, 1931, 1933, and 1934) Lowry Ruin, the Field Museum curates only 12,000 artifacts from the site, 11,500 of which are sherds. (By comparison, excavations directed by Cynthia Irwin-Williams in the 1970s that used more modern techniques at a similar number of rooms at Salmon Ruin, a Chacoan outlier near Farmington, New Mexico, yielded more than 1.5 million artifacts and samples; Reed 2002).

After a two-year (1935–1936) hiatus in fieldwork brought on by monetary constraints of the Great Depression as well as administrative adjustments resulting from Martin's promotion to chief curator, the Field Museum's Expedition to the Southwest returned to Colorado in 1937 and 1938 to investigate smaller sites in the area of Lowry Ruin. In 1937, Martin examined a number of smaller sites dating to the mid- to late 800s to try to understand their developmental relationship to Lowry Ruin. Though he did not use the term, it is clear that one goal of this project was to better understand regional settlement patterns (Martin et al. 1938). In 1938 (Martin and Rinaldo 1939), he continued this work on Pueblo I period sites and had Carl Lloyd conduct an extensive archaeological survey of southwestern Colorado to address the problem of the Basketmaker-to-Pueblo transition.

The year 1938 is significant in Field Museum anthropology for another reason, namely, the arrival of John Beach Rinaldo (1912–2000; Fig. 13.5). Rinaldo joined Martin as a volunteer in southwestern Colorado and continued in that capacity during the fall in Chicago, focusing on descriptive artifact analyses and report writing. In 1939, Rinaldo's perseverance and dedication as a volunteer paid off, and he was hired as an associate in southwestern archaeology, thus beginning a professional collaboration with Martin that would last for a
quarter century. In Rinaldo, Martin found an able
and willing assistant who could handle with
aplomb the many practical matters of archaeolo-

gical field and laboratory work (see below).

After spending six seasons excavating Anasazi
sites, Martin grew intellectually restless. Though
he had been promoted, he was still a relatively
young scholar seeking to make a scholarly mark
on the profession. Martin’s research did not occur
in a vacuum, and he knew that a new intellectual
challenge lay due south in the mountainous re-
gions of west-central New Mexico and east-cen-
tral Arizona, where his colleague and friend Emil
Walter Haury of the University of Arizona had
recently discovered a new and controversial prehistoric culture: the pithouse-dwelling Mogollon (Haury 1936). In 1937, Martin (1937) published a glowing review of Haury’s (1936) Mogollon Culture of Southwestern New Mexico, in which his enthusiasm for Haury’s discovery was palpable: “The results of [Haury’s] work are so astonishing, so far reaching, and so unorthodox that the worth of this report and of the new data contained therein probably will not be understood or esteemed for some years. . . . The hypotheses set forth in this excellent report will doubtless be scoffed at by many competent people. . . . I am willing to go along with Haury” (Martin 937: 233–234). With these words, Martin jumped headlong onto the Mogollon bandwagon and went to west-central New Mexico to excavate the SU Site.

The Middle Years (1938–1955): Mogollon Archaeology

The SU (pronounced “shoo”) Site, named for the Stevens–Underwood ranch on which it rests, is a 1,500-year-old pithouse village located seven miles west of Reserve, New Mexico. The site consists of more than 30 pithouses (Fig. 13.6) and three surface structures, of which Martin and crew excavated 26 during the course of three years excavation in 1939, 1941, and 1946 (see Martin 1940, 1943a, 1947). The published goals of Martin’s research at the SU Site were to search for the possible origin of Abajo Red-on-Orange pottery, to investigate major characteristics of the newly defined Mogollon culture, and to examine the relationship between Mogollon and the “San Juan Core [of Anasazi prehistory]” (Martin 1940:7).

Because Martin was helping to define a newly discovered prehistoric culture, he adjusted his excavation and recording techniques to stress the culture traits that would help differentiate Mogollon from other prehistoric cultures. During the 1939 field season, Martin collected 12,000 sherds, as well as formal stone and bone tools, from eight pithouses at the SU Site. More than half of these sherds were Alma Plain, the origin of which was deemed critical to determining the location of the earliest pottery in the Southwest.

The 1941 season at the SU Site was essentially a repeat of the 1939 season: 10 pithouses excavated and 20,000 sherds and 750 formal stone and bone tools collected. After a four-year hiatus because of World War II travel restrictions, Martin and crew returned to the Southwest to excavate more pithouses at the SU Site in 1946. The following year, they returned to the Pine Lawn Valley in New Mexico to excavate sites representing the earliest part of the regional sequence, which are now known to date to the Archaic period (Martin et al. 1949).

The seeds of analytical change in Martin’s research had been sown during the hiatus in fieldwork from 1942 through 1945 as a result of increased interaction with social anthropologists five miles to the south on Lake Shore Drive at the University of Chicago. In the 1947 site report for the last (1946) excavation season at the SU Site, Martin (1947:287) proffered surprisingly prosessual research questions regarding prehistoric subsistence, social organization, and religion. The seeds of the New Archaeology of the 1960s may indeed be found in the report’s “Conjectures” section, in which he wrote.

One of the main objectives in carrying on further excavation at the SU site was to gain more information as to how the former inhabitants of the village lived, how they grouped themselves socially, how they solved their subsistence problems, wheth-
In 1950, Martin described the source of these changes (Martin and Rinaldo 1950b:404):

Several years ago [i.e., in the mid-1940s] Professor Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago gave at the Museum a seminar on "Problems in Southwestern Archaeology and Ethnology." During the seminar, he made some suggestions concerning the methods of reconstructing the social organization of proto- and prehistoric cultures. That inspiration gave us food for thought and has been mulled over in our minds for some time. In 1949, Dr. [George Peter] Murdock published his Social Structure, which gave impetus to our thoughts and without which we could not have made much progress.

When compared to the published raison d'etre for excavations at the Lowry Ruin, each of these statements had a decidedly modern flair. By 1949, Martin had a secure material baseline on which to understand the development of Mogollon culture and the inter- and intrasite relationships thereof. The combination of pithouse excavations at the SU Site and the Turkey Foot Ridge Site in 1947 and 1948 (Martin et al. 1949; Martin and Rinaldo 1950a), coupled with excavations of aboveground structures at Oak Springs Pueblo, Wet Leggett Pueblo, and other sites (Martin and Rinaldo 1950b), Martin understood much of the relative sequence. Unfortunately, given the paucity of tree-ring dates for Mogollon sites and the fact that radiocarbon dating had not yet burst on the archaeological scene, Martin did not yet have a secure chronological baseline for the sequence. He therefore set out to excavate a site with a long chronostratigraphic sequence on which to test the relative sequence he and Rinaldo had developed. In 1950, he began excavating a truly remarkable site: Tularosa Cave.

**Tularosa Cave**

Tularosa Cave (Fig. 13.7) is the largest of a series of small caves in Tularosa Canyon, approximately one mile east of Aragon, New Mexico (Martin et al. 1952). Prior to its excavation, only
open-air Mogollon pueblos and pithouse sites had been excavated. Nonperishable ceramic and stone technologies of the Mogollon were therefore well understood, as were the spatial attributes of such sites, but botanical and faunal remains do not preserve well in these sites, and Mogollon subsistence was therefore poorly understood. The 2.8-meter-thick deposit at Tularosa Cave, the contents of which have always been protected from both precipitation and groundwater, contained exquisitely preserved organic remains and objects spanning some 1,300 years of occupation (Fig. 13.8). Excavations in 1950 by Martin, Rinaldo, and crew yielded a remarkable assemblage, including 33,000 maize cobs; more than 1,700 pieces of string, netting, basketry, and wood; and 2,600 animal bone fragments in addition to the usual ceramics, chipped, and ground-stone tools.

Martin and Rinaldo must have received a psychological boost when the chronology they established through superposition at Tularosa Cave verified the chronology they had derived on the basis of seriation analyses of material excavated at open-air sites during the previous decade. The site report for Tularosa Cave remains a classic for its detailed and collaborative presentation and analysis of the perishable remains from this important site. Unfortunately and inexplicably, Martin and Rinaldo never published, nor apparently recorded, a stratigraphic profile for Tularosa Cave, which they excavated in arbitrary 20-centimeter-deep, one-meter-square units, a technique that almost certainly oversimplified the likely complex stratigraphy of the cave. In addition, they cleaned out the cave of all cultural remains. These actions have diminished the analytical potential of the assemblage recovered from Tularosa Cave. Having said that, the collections remain available for new analyses, including DNA analysis, neutron activation analysis, and others.

On the basis of their analyses of Tularosa Cave and, in 1951, Cordova Cave, Martin and colleagues discerned three major changes in material culture at the beginning of the Pine Lawn Phase (ca. 150 B.C.), the beginning of the San Francisco Phase (ca. A.D. 700), and the beginning of the Reserve Phase (ca. A.D. 1000; Martin et al. 1952: 496). Though Martin was reluctant to identify a single cause of these changes, he pointed to diffusion as a causal factor in the introduction of
Fig. 13.8. Warp sandals with scalloped toes from Tularosa Cave, New Mexico.
pottery and architecture in the region. He also inferred an increased reliance on wild plants during the Georgetown Phase (A.D. 500–700), evidenced by a 50% drop in the amount of maize present, and a decreased reliance on hunting after A.D. 700. These reconstructions constitute, for Martin, a shift in analytical emphasis away from the largely descriptive and speculative proclamations offered for the SU Site and other open-air Mogollon sites toward a nascent cultural ecology emphasizing subsistence and human relationships with the environment. Martin and Rinaldo continued their prior (Martin and Rinaldo 1950a) search for evidence of the social organization in the archaeological record and indeed used the term “culture process” to characterize their goals (Martin and Rinaldo 1950b:496).

During the 1950s, Martin increasingly began to engage other Field Museum scientists in the analysis of faunal and botanical remains. In the site report for excavations at Higgins Flat Pueblo in 1953 and 1954 (Martin et al. 1956), Hugh Cutler described the plant remains and used the term “cultural ecology” while noting that “we can reconstruct quite clearly the food habits of the people who occupied the site and can even identify directions from which some of the cultivated forms were introduced” (Martin et al. 1956:174).

Despite these important contributions to the understanding of Mogollon culture history, subsistence, and settlement patterns, Martin still could not determine what had happened to the Mogollon after about A.D. 1350, when the classic Mogollon characteristics disappear from or blend into the rest of the southwestern (and especially Anasazi) archaeological record. Curiosity got the best of him, and he headed west to excavate later sites in Hay Hollow Valley, near Vernon, Arizona.

The Later Years (1957–1972): Revolution in Archaeology

By the mid-1950s, Martin’s professional career had entered a new and different phase. He had been at the Museum for nearly three decades and was nearing retirement age. Rinaldo had been promoted to curator of archaeology in 1950 and began to take a more independent role in the fieldwork, analysis, and writing than he had before. Martin was named, formally and for the first time, lecturer in anthropology at the University of Chicago in 1955. In the next few years, he established new relationships with a host of influential and charismatic professors, particularly Lewis Binford. In stark contrast to his first 25 years at the Field Museum, Martin began working intensively with energetic and ambitious graduate students, including William Longacre, James Hill, Leslie Freeman, James Schoenwetter, and others. Where Martin had once been notoriously reluctant to admit visitors and women to his excavations and field camps, he began to slowly admit both (see Herold, this volume). Elaine Bluhm (1957) and Rinaldo (1959) were allowed to publish single-authored site reports on the Sawmill Site and Foote Canyon Pueblo, respectively, both of which were excavated under Martin’s direction and the auspices of the Museum’s Expedition to the Southwest (see also Rinaldo and Bluhm 1956). It is clear that as his research became more democratic, Martin had more time to reflect on the nature and meaning of his archaeology, though this existential and philosophical change was not instantaneous.

In 1957, Martin and crew excavated four sites in the upper Little Colorado drainage of eastern Arizona (Martin and Rinaldo 1960a) to learn more about the area’s culture sequence. They excavated the Little Ortega Lake and Laguna Salada Sites, both of which had preceramic occupations: Site 30, a pithouse village, and Site 31, an incipient pueblo village. In 1958, they turned their attention to another remarkable site, Table Rock Pueblo (i.e., Davis Ranch Site; Fig. 13.9), named after an unusually shaped and culturally modified rock formation near the site (Fig. 13.10). Table Rock Pueblo is a large, planned pueblo with more than 50 rooms arranged in two rows on the north and south sides of an irregularly shaped passageway that runs along the spine of a sandstone hill. Despite the changes in Martin’s perspective in the 1950s, the site report for Table Rock Pueblo (Martin and Rinaldo 1960b) is a classic in culture history site report preparation and a comparatively conservative version of the typical Martin and Rinaldo publication. Gone are the ambitious, if brief, forays into cultural ecology, religion, and social organization at Tularosa Cave, the SU Site, and even Lowry Ruin. Present is a tentative reiteration of possible connections between the prehistoric Mogollon and ethnographic Hopi and Zuni cultures (Martin and Rinaldo 1960b:288).

Given the conservatism inherent in the analysis and presentation of Table Rock Pueblo, it is apparent that the bulk of report was Rinaldo’s, while
Fig. 13.9. View from Table Rock Pueblo looking east. Room 38 is in the foreground with a firepit. The arrow, 30 cm long, points north. A meter stick rests against the wall of Room 34.

Martin's new colleagues were pushing the research envelope in other locations.

In 1959, William A. Longacre began a three-year-long systematic archaeological survey of the upper Little Colorado drainage in Arizona, focusing on the triangle between Springerville, Show Low, and Saint John's (see Martin et al. 1962:147-164; Martin et al. 1964:203). Though Rinaldo had begun a search for sites in the area in 1956, his survey was not as systematic or as exhaustive as Longacre's. Building on Martin and Rinaldo's prior publications and research, Longacre published "A Synthesis of Upper Little Colorado Prehistory, Eastern Arizona" (Martin et al. 1964:201-215), in which he identified a series of phases in the occupation of the region, differentiated on the basis of settlement types and patterns, architecture, subsistence practices, and radiocarbon and tree-ring dates. He was able to estimate population levels for the region through time (Martin et al. 1964:206). Excavations in 1959 focused on the Mineral Creek Site and Hooper Ranch Pueblo (Martin et al. 1961), the analysis and presentation of which are fairly conservative, though Martin had specialists at the Field Museum conduct petrographic analysis of clays and sherds found at the sites.

In 1960, the scope and aspect of Field Museum research changed significantly. Martin secured one of the first National Science Foundation (NSF) grants ever awarded for archaeological research. The Field Museum also provided funds for traditional excavations of five sites (Chilcott Ranch Sites, the Goesling Site, the great kiva at Hooper Ranch Pueblo, Rim Valley Pueblo, and the Thode Site). The NSF funding was directed toward the excavation of a preceramic site (Tumbleweed Canyon Site), Longacre's systematic survey, and, perhaps more important, the revolutionary application of pollen analysis to the study of archaeological sediments by James Schoenwetter (Martin et al. 1962:168-209). It appears that Martin did not really know what to make of Schoenwetter's palynological report, in which the latter argued that a shift from summer-dominant to winter-dominant rainfall had occurred at about A.D. 1000. Martin wrote simply, "I find it suggestive and informative" (Martin 1962:4). Also in the 1962 publication is "An Analysis of Pottery Design Elements, Indicating Possible Relationships between Three Decorated Types," by Constance Cronin (Martin et al. 1962:105-114), a graduate student in cultural anthropology at the University of Chicago. This plainly titled paper constitutes the first foray into the ceramic sociology that later formed the basis of so much of the New Archaeology.

Martin obtained additional NSF grants in 1961 and 1962, and as a result the field research took on an increasingly scientific aspect. Excavations focused on the critically important site of Carter Ranch Pueblo (Fig. 13.11), a roughly rectangular, medium-sized pueblo located along Hay Hollow Wash. The Pueblo was excavated in order to determine the nature of the environmental and cultural changes that occurred in east-central Arizona between 1050 and 1200 (Longacre 1968:93).

The excavation of Carter Ranch Pueblo is interesting in the history of North American archaeology for it straddles a cusp in the development of archaeological method and theory. The grant application submitted to the NSF for the 1961 season is largely grounded in the traditional culture history paradigm of pre-1960s archaeology, with a smattering of cultural ecology thrown in. The first year's research proposal sought to apply pollen analysis, fill in a gap in the known Hay Hollow valley archaeological sequence, trace the
relationship between the Hopi, Zuni, and prehistoric (Mogollon) peoples in the region, and establish a "stratigraphy" of traits for the area. The 1962 grant application has a more modern aspect, stressing cultural ecology and the processes of culture change. It includes sophisticated sampling techniques, statistical methods, and analytical computing technology.

The year 1962 is critical in Field Museum and, by extension, North American anthropology. Though he had much to be proud of, Martin began to question more directly everything he had done as an archaeologist and scholar. The apogee of Martin's despair is recorded in a letter to one of his graduate students (Field Museum Archives, Paul Martin Papers), in which he wrote, "I have dumped all of my research prior to 1962." Martin felt that the largely descriptive field reports that he, Rinaldo, and their colleagues had produced over the preceding four decades had become nothing more than "boring repetitions of minute archaeological details." Martin's change of heart did not, of course, occur in a vacuum. The 1960s was a turbulent decade in many disciplines, and new orders were established in everything from mathematics to physics and sociology. Rarely, however, has so senior a scholar, with such a stellar record of accomplishments, so wholeheartedly and publicly rejected so much of a productive career (see Martin 1971).

Lost in the coming shuffle, however, was John Rinaldo. Whether because of the shift to the New Archaeology, the arrival and prominence of a host of specialists and students in a research program he effectively led for two decades, or personal reasons, John Rinaldo left the Museum in 1963 to work with Charles DiPeso at the Amerind Foundation in Dragoon, Arizona, where he went on to make significant contributions in the excavation of Casas Grandes in Mexico (see DiPeso 1974).

Martin continued to obtain NSF funding for his research throughout the 1960s, particularly through the NSF Undergraduate Research Program, which provided funding for more than 100 students to gain experience at Field Museum excavations under Martin's direction. Graduate students played an unprecedented role in directing the excavations during this period, though Martin

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served as more than just the titular head of excavations at a host of important sites after Rinaldo’s departure, including Broken K Pueblo (Martin et al. 1967; Hill 1970), the Vernon Site, the Hay Hollow Site, the Joint Site, and others. In one of the few blemishes on Martin’s career, only one (the Joint Site) of the last 10 sites at which Martin directed excavations has been adequately published (Martin et al. 1975), and it was published posthumously for Martin by his students. Conversely, in an achievement possibly matched only by colleagues Emil Haury at the University of Arizona or Joe Ben Wheat at Colorado, Martin trained a large number of professional archaeologists, thereby helping to set the agenda and chart the future of southwestern, and indeed North American, archaeological method and theory for decades to come.

During the four and a half decades Martin was associated with the Field Museum, he established a record of contributions to southwestern archaeological knowledge, method, and theory that no other scholar can match. He helped define the Mogollon culture. He facilitated the development of the New Archaeology. He excavated one of the largest known Chacoan outliers. He excavated one of the most remarkably preserved sites in North America. He trained more than 100 students, nearly 50 of whom went on to become professional archaeologists. He recorded more than 5,000 years of southwestern prehistory in three states. He pushed culture historical research into new arenas, including studies of prehistoric social organization, religion, settlement patterns, and subsistence practices. He helped bring science to archaeology by welcoming botanists, ecologists, geologists, geomorphologists, palynologists, petrographers, and other specialists to his archaeological projects. With the significant help of Rinaldo, Martin published more than 40 site reports in 20 monographs, usually within two years of the cessation of fieldwork, all of which were reviewed favorably by his peers. He published nearly 200 popular contributions. In an astonishing testament

Fig. 13.11. View showing most of the excavated rooms at Carter Ranch Pueblo, 1961.
to his perseverance, tenacity, and love of fieldwork, he directed expeditions to the Southwest during 34 of his 43 years at the Field Museum.

In 1997, curator Jonathan Haas obtained a grant from the NSF to catalogue and computerize the entire Martin Collection; in 1999, Stephen I Nash successfully completed that task. We are pleased to report that information about the Martin Collection is now available on the Museum's Web site at www.fieldmuseum.org.
Recollections of the Department of Anthropology in the Mid-Twentieth Century

Elaine Bluhm Herold

Elaine Bluhm occupied an unusual role in the Department of Anthropology. Hired in 1948 as an assistant to Paul Martin, she spent several seasons excavating in the American Southwest. While in Chicago, she also spent time working with George Quimby and Donald Collier. As such, she experienced first-hand the shift in the discipline from a concern with establishing sequences to more processual questions and what would prove to be the forerunner to the New Archaeology. In the following account her personal experiences are refracted through her association with eminent archaeologists of the 1940s and 1950s.—Eds.

In May 1948, after completing a master’s degree in anthropology, I was hired by Paul Martin as an assistant in the Department of Anthropology (see Nash, this volume) (Fig. 14.1). At that time the curatorial faculty consisted of Paul Martin, chief curator; Donald Collier, curator of South American ethnology and archaeology; George Quimby, curator of exhibits (and later curator of North American archaeology and ethnology); Alexander Spoehr, curator of Oceanic ethnology; and Wilfrid D. Hambly, curator of African ethnology. John Rinaldo, who had his Ph.D., was an assistant at that time, though he later became curator of archaeology.

In addition there was a support staff (see Appendix 2) that included Agnes McNary, departmental secretary; Gustaf Dalstrom, an artist who worked with the curators in the selection of objects for exhibits, planned layouts, and executed small drawings that made the exhibits more meaningful; and John Pletincks, the preparator, who restored pottery, cast objects, and in some cases produced replicas of artifacts in plaster when originals were not available. (For one exhibit, he manufactured a metate of plaster and baking soda that looked just like the original volcanic stone but weighed less.) Lee Rowell (Fig. 14.2), an engineer turned artist, planned and executed the miniature dioramas that gave three-dimensional perspective to the exhibit halls.

Research was the primary activity in the Museum program. It included gathering new data and writing scientific reports on topics of special interest by members of the curatorial staff as well as planning exhibits, presenting lecture programs to the public, and answering inquiries from the public and colleagues.

The Museum had a longstanding exhibit program in anthropology at that time. The staff had just completed a hall that dealt with the prehistory of North America that was associated with the textbook published by Martin, Quimby, and Collier (1947; see Collier, this volume; Staller, this volume). The exhibits introduced color into the exhibit world at the Museum and included small drawings to better explain the life of the Indians and the use of artifacts. Color in exhibitions was a dramatic innovation in an institution that for years had had exhibits of objects neatly arranged in rows on institutional beige backgrounds. Color was therefore introduced slowly, as there was some resistance to it on the part of the administration. Small dioramas were frequently included to provide a three-dimensional interest to the flat-screen exhibits.

Working on the exhibits consumed a large portion of curatorial time. In those days each department had its own exhibit staff. An exhibit began with the story line, which was researched, and a script was written. When that was complete, the
Fig. 14.1. Elaine Bluhm surveying with alidade and plane table at the Huber site outside Chicago, 1956.

actual exhibit layout began. There were long tables that were about the size of the exhibit screens. The curatorial staff selected objects from collections, and the exhibit layout was planned. When the plan was approved, the screen was painted, objects and explanatory drawings were installed, and appropriate labels were prepared. One hundred words was the limit for a main label, according to Curator of Exhibits George Quimby. Labels were written and rewritten until they were clear, concise, and informative. Except for the main label, labels were not printed, but letters were attached one at a time in the days before transfer printing and silk screening.

Another facet of research was the never-ending curatorial task of answering questions that arrived daily not only from visitors, who sometimes brought things in to be identified, but also from colleagues and schoolchildren who wrote letters to the museum. Incoming mail from the public was delivered to the director’s office, where letters were referred to the departments for suggested replies. Frequently, the staff was confronted with letters that began, “Tell me all about . . .” or some equally general inquiry for which some informed reply was expected, even though such a question could never be answered completely. We also became aware of the times when anthropology students from Roosevelt College (now Roosevelt University) were facing exams on human evolution, for we would get telephone calls wanting to know about particular fossils that might appear on a quiz.

Most of the inquiries were concerned with the identification of objects. One incident I recall concerned the identification of a mummified fetus that was brought into the Museum one morning. I heard on the late-night news broadcast one evening that a mummified “little man” had been found in a sealed cave in Wyoming. Supposedly, it had been found in an area where Eohippus (a small, primitive, four-toed horse from the Eocene period) once lived. This area, according to the
news broadcast, was where tiny arrowheads had also been recovered. The owner of the specimen therefore concluded that the little man rode *Eohippus* and shot tiny bows and arrows! The news broadcast ended with the remark that the specimen was going to be taken to the Field Museum the next day.

The next morning, a man came in with the tiny "mummy" under a glass bell. He wanted the anthropologists to confirm his conclusion as to its identity and age. Everyone looked at it. It resembled a small figure sitting on its heels. Dr. Martin concluded that it should be X-rayed. They took the specimen over to the Department of Zoology, and the zoologists examined and X-rayed it. Human fetal bones were found in the museum collections and compared to the X-ray and specimen. The anthropologists and zoologists were convinced that this was the fetus of an anencephalic individual, one born without a skullcap. It probably died at birth and had been placed in a cave where it was found. It had mummified naturally, as the area was very dry.

The owner was disappointed. Paul somewhat reluctantly agreed to appear on a newscast the next evening that was broadcast along the East Coast. Throughout the entire incident, Martin tried, with great patience, to explain the specimen to the owner without upsetting him, but the latter left the Museum surely disappointed.

Publishing was another aspect of Museum research. The Field Museum had a series of publications. When I arrived at the Museum in 1948, Martin, Quinby, and Collier had just completed their volume titled *Indians Before Columbus*, which was published by the University of Chicago Press in 1947. It was the most comprehensive summary of American prehistory at the time. No student of American archaeology could get along without it. The volume not only was a credit...
to the authors who wrote it, it also reflected favorably on the Museum. There were favorable reviews of it in American Antiquity by W. Duncan Strong (1947) and in American Anthropologist by Carl Guthe (1949). Guthe compared its usefulness to Wissler’s book on the American Indian (Wissler 1940). Strong disagreed with some of the dating and interpretation, which is not surprising, given that the book came out about the time that radiocarbon dating began to be considered by archaeologists (Libby et al. 1949).

Probably the best-known aspect of Museum research was the actual field collecting of information—the expedition. Martin, Quimby, and Collier all participated in field research at various times. Quimby worked primarily in the Midwest and the Mississippi Valley, and Collier participated in research in Peru.

Paul Martin had been engaged in several summer expeditions in southwestern Colorado before coming to Chicago, and he continued that program for several years (see Nash 2001, and this volume). In 1938 he was looking for a new area in which to work and became interested in a lesser known culture of the Southwest, the Mogollon, which had been identified by Emil Haury (1936), who had been associated with the Gila Pueblo Archaeological Foundation in Globe, Arizona, before going to the University of Arizona (see Nash 1999a, and this volume). In 1938, Martin and Rinaldo visited Gila Pueblo and studied the collections there. They decided they wanted to work on the Mogollon and in 1939 began their study focusing on the Pine Lawn area located west of Reserve in west-central New Mexico (Martin 1940:9–11).

There had been some earlier work in that area by Walter Hough in 1907 and in the Mimbres area to the south by Wesley Bradfield and then Hattie and Burt Cosgrove (Martin et al. 1949:17–18). Martin and Rinaldo selected the SU site, a Mogollon pithouse village (Martin 1940:8–10), as the place to begin their study in the area. At first they were interested in the earlier occupation, but their research in that area continued for a number of years while they excavated pithouses, surface pueblo sites, and caves.

Each spring in Chicago, plans were made for the annual Southwest Archaeological Expedition. A list was made of the supplies and equipment required for the field season, and they were ordered and packed for shipment. In late May, Paul and John departed. Alex Spoehr, Donald Collier, and others also participated in different seasons. Vehicles were rented in Gallup, New Mexico, and driven to Pine Lawn. A local crew did the digging (see Lister 2001).

As they planned to spend several seasons in the area, Paul had a permanent camp built on the mesa alongside an arroyo in the Pine Lawn Valley. Camp included a comfortable frame main building that included the kitchen, Paul’s bedroom and office, a bunk room for the men, and a large living/dining room with a stone fireplace at one end. There was also a cabin for camp cook Mrs. Perry (Fig. 14.3), a laboratory, and two privies. There was a porch on the front of the building overlooking the arroyo. Pine Lawn is situated at an elevation of about 5,500 feet. Days were warm and pleasant, but evenings and early mornings were cool, sometimes cool enough to freeze water in the washbasins. The fireplace was most welcome in early morning and evening.

Running water was pumped in from a storage tank that sat above the kitchen. One year we were given a dishwasher. Paul had calculated how much water pressure we needed to operate it and how much water it would take to run it in an area where water needed to be conserved. He felt that
we would save water if the dishes were cleaned in a dishwasher. After many hours of studying the manual that came with it, we tried several times to connect the dishwasher, but could not get it to work. We finally concluded that despite Paul's calculations, we needed more water pressure to operate the dishwasher, and obtained a small pump that solved the problem. Paul frequently demonstrated his ability to combine the scholarly aspects of academic research and the practical aspects of operating a camp in a field situation.

Paul had some health problems that came about following his early period of fieldwork in the Yucatan. As a result he had dietary restrictions, which were resolved by having a cook in camp who could substitute ingredients Paul could tolerate for the ones he could not. Food was ordered in bulk quantities, and Mrs. Perry set a good table.

In a sense, the Pine Lawn camp was Paul's real home. He was more relaxed there than in Chicago. In camp he entertained visiting colleagues—Bob and Linda Braidwood, Watson Smith and his family, John Otis Brew, and others. Bertha Dutton brought a group of Girl Scouts on a tour of southwestern sites one season, and they camped on the mesa.

The camp was well organized and followed a consistent routine from day to day. Meals began on time. Three meals were served each day: breakfast and dinner in the main building were more formal meals. Generally, each individual had an assigned seat, with Paul at the head of the table and Mrs. Perry at the foot. Lunch for those who were digging consisted of sandwiches in the field. John Rinaldo and some of the students in camp went to the dig five days a week, leaving camp about 7 A.M. Those who stayed in camp ate lunch there. Following lunch there was an imposed rest period. Paul took a short nap every day after lunch, and at that time the rest of us were to remain quiet. The part of the crew that remained at camp worked on cataloguing (Fig. 14.4), ran errands, and did what needed to be done around camp. Days began rather early. Paul was up first. Each day began when Paul selected a record that was heard as a wake-up call. Usually this was Bach, Beethoven, Saint-Saëns, or occasionally Brubeck. On rare occasions we heard the Peruvian

Fig. 14.4. Margaret Adler and Mark Winter classifying pottery and stone and bone tools, 1959.
singer Ima Sumac, who had a tremendous vocal range, three to four octaves. She was always a jolt first thing in the morning.

Paul’s collection of phonograph records traveled back and forth from Chicago every year. Paul was a musician and earned his way through school by playing the organ for a local church. One year he had an old pump organ in camp that he hoped to get to play, but was not successful. Someone suggested that he try to use the vacuum cleaner as a source of air power, but that did not work.

Mail was delivered in the town of Reserve, New Mexico, so it was necessary to go in and get it. Paul enjoyed going into town, visiting with the people he knew there. Some of our supplies were ordered locally, others had been ordered and sent out from the suppliers.

Each day after the crew returned from the field and had time to clean up, dinner was served. After dinner everyone relaxed, dishes were done, and the kitchen was put in order. Most of us gathered on the porch in the evenings following dinner. As the temperature fell in Pine Lawn as the sun went down, we would sit around, adding coats or jackets as needed, to discuss the day’s activities and listen to music. There was usually some shoptalk while we caught up on the progress of the dig.

Life in camp was not all work. There were occasional picnics and visits to other sites in the Southwest and an occasional trip to Gallup to pick up a visitor. Paul was not much of an athlete, but he did occasionally enjoy a game of Ping-Pong on the table next to the house. Sometimes there were disconcerting events that had to be reckoned with, like the forest fires one summer that were close enough that we could see the smoke (Fig. 14.5) but not close enough that the camp was threatened or the crew pressed into service fighting the fires. The fires made Paul, who smoked, very nervous, and he made conscious effort to make sure that his and everyone else’s cigarettes were extinguished. Another year we were invaded by a colony of skunks that moved up from Mrs. Crackels’s yard across the road to new quarters under our houses. They had to be evicted, protesting all the time as only skunks can. One summer it rained so hard in the mountains around us...
that the arroyo next to camp ran for a few hours, and we all went down to watch the water pour out of what was usually a dry stream.

My first summer in camp was the summer of 1950. After a leave from the Museum in June and July to dig in Utah for Jesse Jennings at Danger Cave, I went from Salt Lake to Flagstaff to attend the Pecos Conference (see Woodbury 1993). Paul was there and asked whether I would be willing to delay my return to Chicago for a month or so to help them with the cataloguing at Pine Lawn. That was the summer they were digging in Tularosa Cave, and the quantity of the dry perishable artifacts they recovered was so great that they could not keep up with the cataloguing. That summer an Antioch college student, Jim Barter, assisted with the cataloguing. We worked many days recording and packing corn cobs, sandals, textile fragments, and numerous twigs wrapped with string, twigs, wound together, and other items whose function was not known at that time. Never before had there been such a collection of perishable artifacts recovered from a Mogollon site.

Every summer, on return to Chicago, a press conference was held at the Museum, announcing the return of the expedition and its successful summer. That year the publicity attracted so much attention that we received calls asking when the objects would be available for viewing by the public. This prompted a sudden flurry of activity to install a temporary exhibit about the dig.

Each fall Martin and Rinaldo worked through the collection from the summer to prepare a report on the field season. They had established the practice of completing the report in the winter before they departed for the following field season. With the greatly increased number and variety of artifacts recovered from Tularosa Cave, the problem of accomplishing this was somewhat daunting. In addition to the usual stone and pottery objects collected from the open sites, there were wooden, cloth, string, and fiber objects and the remains of wild foods utilized by the Mogollon, including some 33,000 corn cobs recovered from the cave. In the previous years John and Paul had been able to handle the description, tabulation, and analysis of the material recovered by the end of March, and the report was in the hands of the editor by the time to leave for New Mexico in May. The Tularosa Cave situation was different. Even though the artifacts had been catalogued in the field, the great variety and new types of artifacts in the collection were more than could easily be organized by the two of them.

In order to expedite the final report, Paul asked others to help with the analysis. I was asked to work on the sandals, textiles, and basketry. Roger T. Grange, another University of Chicago student who was on the staff at that time, agreed to take on wooden objects, sticks, twigs, and so on, most of which were unfamiliar and difficult to sort into meaningful categories. Hugh C. Cutler, curator in the Department of Botany, agreed to study the remains of vegetable food plants and in particular the corn cobs. Paul and John handled the ceramic and lithic artifacts as well as the descriptive site material and other background information included in the report. It was not possible to complete the analysis and description of such a sizable collection in the eight months allowed, so the final report was delayed until the following year, with time out for another summer field expedition.

Each of us worked on a particular segment of the collection, and we met periodically to report our findings and compare notes. It was exciting to see how conclusions based on the analysis of certain artifacts supported the results from the study of the others. The end result was a volume appropriately titled Mogollon Cultural Continuity and Change (Martin et al. 1952), which described the findings and the changes in the sequence of occupation in the area near Pine Lawn from earliest settlement until the Mogollon left the area. Earlier conclusions about the Mogollon occupation in the Southwest that had been based on the analysis of stone, bone, and pottery artifacts were sometimes supported and sometimes modified by the new data.

Paul and John agreed that all authors should receive credit for the report by being identified as authors. This was somewhat appalling to Lillian Ross, the scientific editor, as she was concerned about how librarians would index the report, and she thought the list of five authors—Martin, Rinaldo, Blum, Cutler, and Grange—read somewhat like a brokerage firm, but she was overruled. Today, multiple-authored papers are more the rule than the exception. Assembling a report was a ritual in the precomputer days. Paul, John, Agnes McNary, and several others would sit around a table, each with a copy of the report, numbering pages and inserting figures to get it into final shape for the editor.

In the late 1940s and 1950s, connections between the Museum and the University of Chicago’s Department of Anthropology were closer than they have been since. At that time the staff taught museology courses at the Museum (see Collier, this volume). Small classes were intro-
duced to the various activities of classifying, cataloguing, restoring, and storing museum specimens. In addition, there were the occasional seminars taught at the Museum or on campus. Martin, Quimby, and Collier served as advisers or on committees. The close association between the university and the Museum might have been stronger if the two institutions had not been so far (five miles) apart geographically. At that time few students had cars, and the only easy way to get from the university to the Museum was on the Illinois Central railroad trains.

When I first knew Paul, he did not take college students with him to the Southwest, although he did have the occasional high school student to help out about camp. One—Tod Egan (Fig. 14.6)—handled the photography, for several seasons. When I asked Paul why he did not take college students, his answer was, "They asked too many questions." After I left the Museum, I went to the University of Illinois, where one of our anthropology students, Bill Longacre, was considering going to Chicago for graduate work. I recommended Bill to Paul because I felt that Paul might change his mind, and he did. In the years that followed, there were several summer programs that involved college students and graduate students (see Nash, this volume).

The early 1950s could perhaps be considered a growing period in a nonfinancial way for the Department of Anthropology. We were becoming aware of the need for more support from the public—hence the emphasis on more attractive exhibits and more publications for the public, examples being Braidwood's *Prehistoric Men* (1949) and, later, Martin's *Digging into History* (1959). In addition, there were a number of articles in what was then known as the *Museum Bulletin* (now *In the Field*).

Archaeology at this time was changing. With the introduction and refining of radiocarbon dating, the problems of time depth and chronological sequences became less of a concern. Archaeology, always considered a part of anthropology at the University of Chicago, attracted more students at the end of World War II. Many of them had had previous archaeological field experience. Some of them had written reports before the war. As the amount of archaeological information increased, various phases of occupations became better known, and the assemblages associated with them became more complete. Interests were changing, and more time was spent on interpretation. So it is not surprising that the concepts and data from ethnology and other fields of anthropology came to be considered, and in time the "New Archaeology" became accepted.

The opportunity to work in the Field Museum in midcentury was a valuable one. Those of us who were graduate students at the Museum in that period were very fortunate. We had an opportunity not only to learn about a vast variety of collections from all over the world but also to associate with senior colleagues on the staff who shared their knowledge with us. We learned to identify, curate, and catalogue artifacts, and on some occasions had a chance to learn about conservation methods. Several of us had the opportunity to write parts of reports, and in doing so we learned how to organize information for publication and to edit it into acceptable form. Paul, originally an English major, was an excellent writer, and Lillian Ross, the scientific editor, was a real stickler for detail.

Martin, Quimby, and Collier had different interests, but all were genuinely interested in archaeology and anthropology and in the quality of the exhibits and the research produced at the Museum. They willingly shared information with
those of us who were starting out and discussed
points of view and approaches to problems. Paul
and John applied ceramic seriation to Pine Lawn
area sites when tree-ring dating could not be ap-
plied (Martin and Rinaldo 1950b:531). In the ear-
ly 1950s, Paul considered ideas presented by Mur-
dock (Martin and Rinaldo 1950b:556–568) in his
discussion of Mogollon social organization. It is
not too surprising that in time he became sup-
portive of the New Archaeology. Paul was the
more imaginative member of the team, John the
more conservative. John had a fantastic memory,
and I came to believe he could recall chapter and
verse for almost every artifact in the literature on
the Southwest. Their policy of publishing a report
every year before undertaking another dig was a
productive pattern for archaeologists to follow.
Their reports were well organized and consistent.

They used the same format for most reports, and
the typology they employed was consistent from
year to year so that it was easy to work from
report to report. Reports were well written and
well illustrated. The plan of remaining in one rel-
atively limited area until they came to understand
the development and settlement in the area from
early to late was articulated in the introductions
of several reports (Martin and Rinaldo 1950a:237;
Martin and Rinaldo 1950b:403); by carrying out
that plan, they achieved their goal.

The mid-twentieth century was a good time to
be associated with the Field Museum. Information
in archaeology was increasing, and changes in an-
thropology were taking place. It was a good time
and a good place to start a career in anthropology.
It would have been difficult to find another place
with the breadth and scope of that institution.
Donald Collier: A Curator’s Life

John E. Staller

Donald Collier was curator of Middle and South American archaeology and ethnology at the Field Museum for 36 years, from 1941 until 1976, and remained actively associated with the Museum until 1991 (Fig. 15.1). His career spanned a period of significant reorganization within the Museum that saw a fundamental transformation in the role of the curator. His delight in exhibit development, which benefited from his considerable knowledge of ethnography and insistence on intellectual honesty in creating attractive, popular exhibits, was much dimmed by the creation of a separate Exhibits Department in the later years of his service at the Museum. During his tenure, too, his familial connections with civic institutions in the nation’s capital and throughout the length of the Americas brought great vitality to the Museum. This account introduces a few of his many contributions to the anthropology department at the Field Museum, and more broadly to the discipline as a whole. The notes provided here are fleshed out in Collier’s personal recollections in the next chapter.

Donald J. Collier was born on May 1, 1911, in Sparkill, New York, to a family that over the decades contributed in diverse ways to anthropology. His father, John (1884–1968), was U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and author of Indians of the Americas (Collier 1947). The younger Collier’s interest in anthropology and American Indian culture was fueled in part by his early exposure to their cultures, particularly the cultures of the indigenous peoples of the American Southwest, where he would often travel with his father. His wife, Malcolm Carr Collier (1908–1983), was a professional anthropologist who specialized in Navajo culture and was also the director of the Anthropological Curriculum Study Program of the American Anthropological Association. Donald Collier’s brother, John Collier, Jr., became a leading visual anthropologist. His brother-in-law, Rene d’Harnoncourt, was the first chair of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and for many years served as director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. These family associations with different branches of organized anthropology and
his own regular exposure to working anthropologists undoubtedly nourished Collier’s lifelong interest in anthropology and Amerindian culture. His success in scholarship, exhibit development, and museum politics can also be laid in part to the extended family’s network of professional associations.

Collier’s interests in the field led him to study anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, from which he received a bachelor’s degree in 1933. That same year he participated in excavations at the Wupatki site, north of Flagstaff, Arizona, as part of the Rainbow Bridge-Monument Valley Expedition. In 1936 he served on a Department of Agriculture expedition to study the land use and terrace systems in Colorado. The following year, as a Dumbarton Oaks Fellow, Collier began working in the Peruvian Andes for the first time, with Julio C. Tello, whom many consider to be the “father” of Peruvian archaeology. This fieldwork occurred in two phases. The first took place in the Casma Valley; the second included a survey transect from Huarmey to Huancaco. Other fieldwork that year focused on the coastal Chavin sites of Moxeke, Cerro Sechín, and Pallka. The entire experience appears to have left a lasting impression on Collier, and it may have motivated him to return to Casma later in his career (Collier 1956). Collier confided to John V. Murra that Tello was a severe taskmaster. But in later years his attitude mellowed somewhat in that he would emphasize the master’s profound interest in Chavin religious symbolism—although, on a whimsical note, he confided to Donald Thompson that when he visited Tello’s grave, he was uncertain whether to genuflect or merely remove his hat (Thompson 1996:45).

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Collier studied Native American rituals and traditional methods of folk healing and divination (Collier 1943a, 1944). His first publication was on the hallucinogenic cactus peyote (Collier 1937). His master’s thesis on Kiowa social organization, written while Collier was enrolled in the University of Chicago’s Department of Sociology (Collier 1938), was accepted by the Department of Anthropology. The shift from a career path in sociology to anthropology was in part a result of the article on peyote, which was written at the behest of his father, who presented the data at a hearing of the Senate Indian Committee. Collier studied under the brilliant University of Chicago sociologist Robert Redfield, whose methodological and intellectual influence is particularly apparent in Collier’s earlier publications (e.g., Collier 1937, 1943a, 1944) and later in his work on exhibits.

Before arriving in Chicago, in August 1941, Collier was affiliated with Washington State College at Pullman, where he served as associate director of the Columbia Basin Archaeological Survey (see Collier et al. 1942). In correspondence with Field Museum Director Clifford C. Gregg, Collier emphasized his commitment to finishing the Columbia Survey report before assuming the position of assistant curator in Chicago (Collier 1941). After arriving at the Museum, Collier left almost immediately on a five-month archaeological expedition to highland Ecuador (see Collier and Murra 1943), returning to Chicago just a week before the birth of his first child. He was promoted to full curator in 1943 and held that position until 1964, when he was promoted to chief curator, a position he held until 1970.

In 1945, Collier, along with Museum colleagues George I. Quimby and Paul S. Martin, designed and taught one of the first courses in museology. The course covered all aspects of museum theory and practice and was offered in some form for a total of nine years, although it averaged only four or five students per year. Collier later built on this experience and wrote extensively on the role of museums in American anthropology (1959a, 1959b, 1961a, 1964, 1969; Collier and Fenton 1965; Collier and Tschopik 1954).

In 1946, Collier joined the Virú Valley Project, which remains one of the most famous and influential archaeological surveys ever conducted in coastal Peru and indeed had ramifications for the discipline as a whole. Gordon Willey’s settlement survey of the valley set the methodological standard on which all later surveys were based (Willey 1953). Although the Virú Valley Project never produced an integrated final report, each of the participants, including Collier, published separate reports, and the excavations that Collier conducted served as his Ph.D. dissertation, which was accepted by the University of Chicago in 1954 (Collier 1955). Willey would later describe Collier as reserved, with a pleasing formality that was in no way condescending or imperious. In cocktail-hour debates at the Hotel Jacobs in Trujillo with various Virú Valley Project participants, Collier would express very definite but not overbearing opinions “in a pleasant discursive style” (Thompson 1996:46).

In his first years at the Field Museum, Collier was invited to write a chapter for the Handbook of South American Indians on the archaeology of
Ecuador (see Collier 1946). His synthesis of Ecuadorian archaeology was later expanded in an article, “Peruvian Stylistic Influences in Ecuador” (see Collier 1948). At the time Collier published his later report, he was one of a very few archaeologists who possessed a working knowledge of the early ceramics of both ancient Ecuador and Peru.

During this period, Collier also did some field reconnaissance with John Rowe and Willey at the site of Huari, near Ayacucho. The reconnaissance at Huari was a result of having taken advantage of a flying trip over the Peruvian Central Highway and making a brief visit to the site (Rowe et al. 1950:120). They were driven south along the coast and inland to Arequipa, then to the Titicaca Basin, and finally northward to Cuzco, where they were joined by John Rowe, who took them to Inca sites. It was Rowe’s colleague Victor Navarro de Aiquila who persuaded them to return to Lima through Arequipa, thus permitting their short visit to Huari and a resulting publication (Thompson 1996:45–46). Their descriptions of the architectural styles and pottery diagnostics in the American Antiquity article represented the first systematic depiction of the material remains from this important Andean site (see Rowe et al. 1950). This research expanded on earlier but unpublished fieldwork previously undertaken by Tello in the Casma Valley (see, e.g., Tello 1931, 1940:28, 1942).

Unlike many of his colleagues on the Virú Project, Collier did not have many graduate students who would go on to become professionals in their own right. However, he appears to have been generous with his knowledge and time with those students who had the privilege of working under his tutelage. It was in part Collier’s contacts with some of the most prestigious and highly regarded scholars in the field and his familial contacts with elite circles in Washington, D.C., and Latin America that made him such a valuable asset to the Museum. These factors undoubtedly made him an attractive candidate when he was hired as assistant curator by Paul Martin. It is rather telling that although Collier’s circle of colleagues included some of the most powerful and influential scholars of their generation, he chose to focus his contributions on the Museum, the students, and the general public. He certainly had the intellect, skills, and academic pedigree to have taken a very different career path.

Instead of pursuing field research while curator at the Field Museum, Collier was given the title of lecturer in anthropology at the University of Chicago between 1949 and 1973 (Collier 1976). He typically taught one course per year between 1955 and 1973, alternating between Mesoamerican Archaeology and Andean Archaeology, though between 1949 and 1953 he taught a sequential two-year course that included Human Origins, An Introduction to Anthropology, and Peoples of the World. He served on graduate committees and passed along valuable insights not only to students and colleagues but also to part-time workers and volunteers in the Museum (Thompson 1996:47).

When Collier returned to Casma, Peru, in 1956, he brought along his family and his graduate student Donald Thompson. They stayed in a house on Tortugas Bay, just north of the Casma Valley. The research methods developed in the Virú Valley Project served as the basis for Collier’s regional survey, and he used analyses of architecture and surface pottery sherds to establish a relative chronology. Thompson (1996:46) described Collier as a great mentor who demanded detail and accuracy, yet was good-humored and a “delight” to accompany in the field. Collier’s last fieldwork for the Museum occurred during a 1962 trip to Mexico.

Donald Collier was always very active in publishing articles in the Museum Bulletin, which is geared to a popular audience. Indeed, he wrote ably for both popular and academic audiences. He turned several of his exhibit projects into scholarly publications, and one of his most acclaimed publications was a catalogue on an exhibition that he organized titled Indian Art of the Americas (see Collier 1959a, 1959b). After W. F. Libby developed radiocarbon dating in 1949 (Libby et al. 1949), Collier became the first anthropologist to write on the technique and its potential applications in archaeology (Collier 1951a, 1951b; Johnson et al. 1951). His interest in the radiocarbon dating technique continued into the next decade (Collier 1961a).

Unlike many of his North American colleagues, Collier made a point of publishing in Spanish in Latin American journals (e.g., Collier 1958), and he appears to have had a particular sensitivity for and fascination with both Latin American and Amerindian cultures. Although Collier was best known for his writings on Andean archaeology, he was active early in his career in the ethnology of North America (see Collier 1937, 1938, 1943; Martin et al. 1947).

Collier served as editor of American Anthro-
pologist from 1949 through 1950 and American Antiquity from 1958 through 1962. Through his early years at the Museum (1949–1962), Collier served as a reviewer for both publications. He is one of the few scholars ever to serve in both capacities, demonstrating his expertise in both social anthropology and archaeology. He was a founding trustee of the Council of Museum Anthropology, chairman of the Institute of Andean Research, and president of the Central States Anthropological Society.

Donald Collier’s central role in museum politics and the role of American museums within American anthropology are clearly evident in his professional associations and publications (see, e.g., Collier 1961a, 1964; Collier and Tschopik 1954; Collier and Fenton 1965). Between 1966 and 1971, Collier was a member of the executive board of the Committee on Anthropological Research in Museums (CARM). His active involvement in committees that worked through and with the federal government was no doubt influenced by his early exposure to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Collier’s ties to the federal government are apparent in his positions as representative to the National Research Council and, between 1949 and 1951, his service on the Committee on Anthropology and Psychology. His role in American museums and his interest in ethnographic research were also readily apparent in a number of articles on these topics addressed to both professional and popular audiences (Collier 1945, 1959c, 1961b, 1962, 1965, 1969, 1972a).

Collier’s family and his field contacts had deep connections with some of the most politically powerful people in academia and government circles. Donald Collier was therefore influential in the politics of museums and their collections, particularly through his brother-in-law, Rene d’Harnoncourt, who was director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. Collier’s father, in addition to his role in government, was also well acquainted with the powerful political elites of Latin America, and it was through these contacts that Donald Collier was able to play a major role in bringing some important anthropology collections to the Field Museum. Collier’s political associations and contacts helped make the Museum one of the most politically prestigious and highly regarded natural history museums in the world.

Collier was also one of the first curators in a major museum to recognize the importance and value of computers and computer-based data for museums. In 1970, he organized and hosted an international conference on museum computers and information systems through CARM at the Field Museum. The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research largely funded this conference. The activities of CARM led directly to the creation of the Council on Museum Anthropology in 1974, of which Collier was a founding trustee. In 1977, just after he officially retired, Collier received funding from the National Science Foundation and the Wenner-Gren Foundation to create a computer database of the Department of Anthropology’s collection catalogue. Much of the collection was moved into the then new Central Anthropology Storage facility, which, 30 years later, remains the department’s flagship storeroom.

Collier was dedicated to making the Department of Anthropology at the Field Museum more visible to the general public and local scholars, and at the same time a better and more interesting place for the public to visit. His commitment to the institution is clearly brought out by his many popular publications, and particularly by his work with exhibits (see, e.g., Collier 1959a, 1959b, 1969, 1972a, 1972b, 1990b; Collier and Robinyi 1968).

Collier and Field Museum Exhibits

During his long association with the Museum, Collier organized many major exhibitions (see Collier, this volume). His standards of excellence are still evident in the North America and Middle America exhibit halls and the Hall of Chinese Jades. These exhibits stand as testimony to his vision and creativity in presenting objects from the past. Perhaps because Collier was an ethnographer, a first-rate field archaeologist, and a highly regarded teacher, he was able to use his expertise to translate a broad range of topics into exhibits that were accessible to the general public. In stark contrast to the highly specialized nature of anthropological expertise today, Collier was part of a generation of scholars that understand anthropology to be a holistic science. As such, Collier may properly be seen as a “renaissance anthropologist” who was equally as adept in ethnology as he was in archaeology. This broad range of interests perhaps explains why his exhibits not only displayed artifacts but also incorporated them with traditional Amerindian clothing and
dress. It was his expertise in bringing together the ethnographic and the archaeological that distinguished the Museum's anthropology exhibits from those of many other major U.S. museums of the 1940s to 1970s. The North American Hall included original 19th- to early-20th-century paintings of Amerindians by George Catlin and others. Perhaps one of the reasons why Collier's permanent exhibits of North and Middle America have remained longer than any other anthropology exhibits in the Museum was his dedication to writing for the general public and his natural ability to make complex and remote cultures come to life.

In 1941, when Collier was appointed assistant curator, Chief Curator Paul Martin decided to redesign all of the American Indian exhibits. Martin hired Collier to carry out his proposed program, and Collier directed these efforts for the next 25 years. During his long tenure at the Museum, Collier worked on four major permanent exhibits: *Indians Before Columbus, Archaeology and Ethnology of Central America and Mexico, South America*, and the Hall of Chinese Jades. Collier also worked on seven large temporary exhibits, one of which, *Ancient Ecuador: Culture, Clay and Creativity*, became the core of the archaeology museum of the Banco Central del Ecuador, in Guayaquil. The intense effort that went into the last of these, and the friendships Collier developed with the people of Guayaquil, are detailed in the next chapter.

*Indians Before Columbus* represented a significant departure from most museum exhibitions up to that time. Rather than merely presenting artifacts from various cultures, region by region, the new exhibit sought to incorporate ethnographic and ethnohistoric perspectives to convey new ideas and anthropological concepts. The exhibit inspired Paul Martin, Collier, and George Quimby to publish an incredibly successful textbook, *Indians Before Columbus: Twenty Thousand Years of North American History Revealed by Archaeology* (Martin et al. 1947). This publication significantly enhanced the Field Museum's prestige in the academic world.

In putting together *Indians Before Columbus*, Collier was specifically involved in background research on Indian economies and the arts, and he designed the exhibit's picture maps on clothing, transportation, and architecture. He also designed an Inca diorama showing irrigation terraces, a suspension bridge, and the recreation of an actual village, called Ollantaytambo, along the Urubamba River, which he had visited in 1936 while doing research on archaeological terraces and collecting local varieties of maize. For the *Indians of the Plains* exhibit, Collier did background research on the maps that illustrated Plains Indian migrations into the Midwest as a result of pressure from the fur trade and the French and Indian Wars. He was particularly intrigued with how the spread of the horse dramatically changed Amerindian adaptation and exploitation patterns across North America. He also supervised and researched a diorama showing a bison hunt and a Plains Indian encampment. This diorama was particularly well conceived because Collier was an expert on the Blackfoot, Crow, Plains Cree, and Oglala Sioux, and on Kiowa social organization (Collier 1938; see also Collier 1937, 1943, 1944).

Collier also planned and supervised exhibit components for the Northwest Coast, Northern Plateau, and the southern California Coast exhibits. His interest in the Northwest Coast was intense: he had written a Ph.D. qualifying paper on the cultures in that region (Collier 1990b:5). He had also carried out fieldwork in the upper Columbia River Basin in Washington and had undertaken ethnographic studies of the Indians who lived around Wanapum Lake. The dioramas of the Pomo Indians gathering live-oak acorns and preparing acorn mush in a Pomo village were his main contributions to the exhibit on California Indians (Fig. 15.2). This scene was taken from a place about 120 miles north of San Francisco that Collier had visited while still a teenager doing undergraduate studies at Berkeley.

Collier had a keen interest in Mesoamerica and designed and installed *Indians of Mexico and Central America*, a permanent exhibit on the archaeology and ethnology of those regions (Collier 1959c). The exhibit was in preparation between 1955 and 1960, was very well organized, and incorporated a wide variety of material culture as well as examples of hieroglyphic writing. Collier did background research for panoramas and dioramas on ceremonial and secular life, and was particularly interested in the ancient Mayan ball game (Fig. 15.3). The dioramas were created by Collier in association with the gifted dioramist Alfred Lee Rowell. Collier believed that Rowell's finest work was the re-creation of the great Aztec market at Tlatelolco (Fig. 15.4). This diorama was constructed on a rapidly diminishing scale from front to back, in order to convey the massive size of the market. To re-create this scene, Rowell made some 270 human figures and 50 different market commodities, all meticulously adjusted to...
create the three-dimensional perspective (Collier 1959c; Rowell 1959). Collier did much behind-the-scenes research for this remarkable work. In addition to Spanish eyewitness accounts drawn from the 1519 report of the conquistador Bernal Diaz del Castillo, all of the costumes and commodities presented in the Tlatelolco diorama were based on Aztec codices and the Museum’s outstanding collection of Aztec artifacts. Collier also worked out an exchange of collections with the Museum Antropológico in Mexico City in the 1950s through his association with the famed Mexican artist and art historian Miguel Covarrubias. Some of these objects were renowned the world over and greatly enhanced the already formidable Mesoamerican collection in the Museum.

Since Collier was a Latin American specialist, he seems to have taken particular interest in preparing and coordinating important temporary exhibits of Pre-Columbian art. On the occasion of the Third Annual Pan-American Games in Chicago in 1959, Collier designed a temporary exhibit titled *Indian Art of the Americas* in collaboration with the architect Daniel Brenner, who had previously designed exhibits for the Museum of Modern Art in New York and the Art Institute of Chicago. (Collier’s personal reflections on his association with Brenner can be read in the next chapter.) The exhibit involved Field Museum specimens as well as others borrowed from four other major museums. Collier’s family contacts in the Eastern art establishment played a large role in bringing this exhibit together. He published a 64-page, color-illustrated catalogue (Collier 1959a) for the traveling version of the exhibition, which was later shown at three other institutions (Collier 1990b).

In 1968, Collier put together an exhibition of traditional and contemporary Indian art in the United States. The *Festival of American and Indian Art* included contemporary and prehistoric American Indian art objects, a lecture series, a film series, and music and dancing. Native artisans were invited to the Museum to demonstrate their skill in crafting objects from the various media (Collier and Rubinyi 1968). In 1969 a similar event, *Fiesta Mexicana*, focused on Pre-Columbian, Colonial, and contemporary folk art, and also included traditional dances, craftsmen, lectures, and a re-created Mexican market (Collier...
1990b). Also in 1969, Collier organized one of the largest and most comprehensive exhibits ever undertaken on the Cuna of Panama. Cuna Art and Life included artifacts borrowed from three museums, two art galleries, and six private collections (Thompson 1996:47). The continued popularity of Cuna textile art, which is sold in many shops and galleries throughout the city, may have been initially influenced by this exhibit.

One of the most interesting and sensational projects that Collier coordinated and installed was the 1975 traveling exhibit on the ceramics of Formative period Ecuador—Ancient Ecuador: Culture, Clay and Creativity 3000–300 B.C. (see Lathrap et al. 1975). This exhibit included 600 archaeological specimens and many photomurals and charts. Collier had the help of a very good scriptwriter and label writer, Bob Martin, who later became chief designer for the National Archives in Washington exhibits and publications. Martin produced not only some of the finest chronological charts but also comparative charts of related regional chronologies.

In keeping with his publication philosophy, Collier insisted that the exhibit labels and catalogue for Ancient Ecuador be written in both
Spanish and English. Most of the archaeological specimens for this exhibit came from the Norton/Perez Collection, in Guayaquil, which includes exquisite Formative period ceramics from coastal Ecuador. The exhibit had the enthusiastic support of the Ecuadorian consul general in Chicago and the Ecuadorian ambassador in Washington. It was favorably reviewed in American Anthropologist (Thompson 1976) and was strongly supported by Chicago’s South American community in general. Collier collaborated with Donald W. Lathrap and Helen Chandra to produce the catalogue for the exhibit (Fig. 15.5). Lathrap wrote the text, which Collier heavily edited, and it has become one of the most widely cited studies on the Ecuadorian Formative ever published (see Lathrap et al. 1975). In 1980, thanks in no small part to Collier’s efforts, the Norton/Perez Collection became a permanent exhibit in the newly built Museo Arqueológico del Banco Central del Ecuador, in Guayaquil (Thomson 1996:47).

**Ancient Ecuador** was Collier’s last foray into exhibit development as a curator at the Field Museum. Insofar as his work on exhibits had begun 35 years earlier, with Indians Before Columbus, his legacy in this department is unmatched at the Museum. Few curators anywhere have such an impressive record in developing exhibits.

**Scholarship or Showmanship? The Media Debate**

Collier’s role in the history of the Department of Anthropology at the Field Museum can be fully understood only by taking into account the sweeping administrative changes that occurred while he was chief curator, from 1964 to 1970. In late 1968, the Museum’s administration created a new Exhibits Department. This marked a significant change in the Museum’s structure, for exhibit de-
development had always been the purview of the individual academic departments. Collier always felt that curators were responsible for conveying their knowledge to the public through exhibits and popular writing, and indeed considered this an ethical calling of the position. Being a student of human nature, Collier also recognized that not all were equally up to the task, noting that while many curators demonstrated considerable enthusiasm for planning and designing exhibits, not all were equally talented in the execution. (Collier’s exact remarks can be read in the following chapter.)

The creation of the Exhibits Department dramatically changed the nature of the curatorial position at the Museum to one in which the curator’s
first and foremost task was to conduct research and disseminate newly produced scientific knowledge. With the shift away from exhibit development and education, anthropology curators at the Field Museum were increasingly restricted in their involvement with Museum exhibits. Eventually, this led to a period in which the traditional exhibit development philosophies, such as that espoused by Collier, and the newer philosophies of the Exhibits Department clashed.

At one point, the local news media unfortunately reduced this complicated issue to a simplistic debate over “scholarship” versus “showmanship” (Pridmore 1990). Collier’s exasperation with the situation is evident in a letter to his colleague, Robert McCormick Adams, of the Smithsonian Institution: “to speak of showmanship versus old fashioned scholarship is absurd. Curators have always been in favor of showmanship as far as they had the ability and means to create it. They do object to showmanship that lacks integrity and is intellectually and physically sloppy in execution” (Collier 1990a).

Collier’s legacy of anthropology exhibit development at the Field Museum is unparalleled, though slowly but surely his permanent exhibits are being replaced. His publications stand as lasting testimony to his belief that curators have an ethical responsibility to disseminate knowledge to a variety of publics, and to the notion that anthropology is a holistic science. During his remarkable career, Collier used but did not take advantage of a widespread network of professional and familial contacts in anthropology and the museum world. Instead, he focused his efforts, skills, and creativity on giving back to the institution, thereby enriching the lives of those who saw his exhibits and read his writings. Collier was an extraordinary person, scholar, and, most of all, curator. His association with the Museum is a classic example of what it once meant to live a curator’s life.

Collier retired in 1976 at the age of 65, although he served as curator emeritus until he moved to California in 1991. The curator’s role at the Field Museum in the last few years of Collier’s life was very different from what it was when he entered the field, and his gradual dissociation from the Museum in the later years of his life was almost certainly related to these shifting priorities. Donald J. Collier died January 23, 1995, at the age of 83 of complications from injuries sustained in a fall.
My Life with Exhibits at the Field Museum, 1941–1976

Donald Collier

The following selection offers Donald Collier’s many and varied contributions to exhibit development during a period of significant transition in exhibit philosophy, both at the Field Museum and in the broader museum community. From the matter-of-fact, curator-developed *Indians Before Columbus* exhibits of the late 1940s to the dynamic and often flamboyant festivals of *American Indian Art* (1968) and *Mexicana* (1969), Collier at once remained true to scholarly content and open to new developments in exhibit design and presentation. With amendments to the text by his son, David Collier, and others, this previously unpublished memoir offers first-person insights on a critical period in the history of American museum anthropology and its public face.—Eds.

In the narrative that follows, I offer some observations and reflections on my career in working with exhibits at the Field Museum of Natural History between 1941 and 1976. This was an era when a central goal of the Museum’s curators was to create new exhibits, based on their own scholarly insights and the most up-to-date knowledge in their respective disciplines. The curators saw their expertise and connoisseurship as essential ingredients in crafting exhibits. Relatedly, they were also strongly committed to informing the general public through writing popular articles for the *Museum Bulletin* and through other museum publications. While my focus is primarily on my own years at the museum, I briefly sketch the earlier development of the Field Museum, especially in the field of anthropology. My goal in discussing this earlier period is to underscore the remarkable convergence of intellectual and financial leadership that went into establishing the Museum as an institution that sought to create exhibits and publications that brought to the general public the very best insights and thinking about natural history.

I Early Intellectual and Financial Leadership in Creating the Museum

The Field Museum grew directly out of the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893, which was organized to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the “discovery” of America by Columbus. The fair had great exhibits, unprecedented in size and quality, that focused on the ethnology and archaeology of the New World. The State of Illinois chartered the Field Columbian Museum, later known as the Field Museum, on October 15, 1893, two weeks before the close of the fair. Among the many people whose dedicated efforts led to the creation of the Museum, let me mention three. The first was Frederic Ward Putnam, professor of anthropology and director of the Peabody Museum at Harvard, who was chief of the Department of Ethnology of the Exposition. His involvement reflected the remarkable degree to which the ethnographic exhibits had attracted national and international scholarly support and attention. Putnam led a three-year campaign for the formation of a new museum, to be based on the collections from the Exposition, and the scholars he drew into the enterprise included Franz Boas, later to emerge as one of the most prominent anthropologists in the United States. Second, the formation of a museum had the passionate support of Edward E. Ayer, the railroad-tie king and a prolific collector of American Indian art and artifacts, who was a trustee of the Exposition. Finally, Marshall Field contributed $1 million to launching the Museum, at a time when that was
indeed a very large amount of money (see Ayer, this volume).

The newly established Museum was housed in the Fine Arts Building of the Exposition, which subsequently became the only major structure to be preserved in Jackson Park after the close of the fair. The new museum acquired by gift and purchase nearly all of the collections displayed in the Exposition: (1) the foreign, federal, and state exhibits; (2) the collections from the fair’s Department of Ethnology, which included extensive ethnographic and archaeological materials, many of which were acquired or excavated in 1891 and 1892 by the largest anthropology task force ever organized; (3) the great natural history exhibit in the fair, supplied by Ward’s Natural History Establishment of Rochester, New York; and (4) a 2,000-volume anthropology library that Putnam had solicited from the foreign governments participating in the fair. This library included a significant portion of all the anthropology publications in print at the time.

The new museum in Jackson Park was on its way. It had collections, but it took time to build a curatorial staff. In the next 28 years, prior to the move to the present building in Grant Park, many gifted and pioneering curators joined the Museum and were centrally involved in creating the initial exhibits during a time of extraordinary activity and creativity. Their activities included productive fieldwork, the acquisition of important collections from many parts of the world, publication of many scientific studies, the organization of collections from the Exposition, and the presentation of the growing collection in exhibits.

The Move to Grant Park in 1921, Expanding Exhibits, and Education

In 1921 the Museum moved from Jackson Park, on the south side of Chicago, to its present home at the south end of Grant Park, close to the downtown center of the city (Figs. 16.1 and 16.2). The old exhibits were reinstalled almost intact, and all four scientific departments had active exhibit programs during the ensuing two decades. Most of the great habitat groups in zoology, including mammals and birds, were created during this time, as well as exhibits on fishes, sea mammals, and reptiles. The Department of Geology, collaborating with the Department of Botany, created new exhibits on paleontology and mineralogy, as well as a great diorama showing life in the Coal Age (the Carboniferous). My favorite exhibit was a Pontiac coupe shattered by a meteorite, with the meteorite still lodged in the car seat. Charles Knight, who began his paleontology murals in the 1920s, completed them under the supervision of Bryan Patterson in the 1930s. The murals covered two billion years of Earth’s history from the time before life began (the Azoic), through the beginning of life, the rise of invertebrates, the age of reptiles, the rise of mammals and birds, and, finally, the animals of the Ice Age (the Pleistocene).

In botany, the exhibit showing models of flowering plants made of glass, wax, and plastic was more varied and wonderful than the famous glass flowers at Harvard. Botany also created fine dioramas of Alpine flora, an Illinois woodland in spring, and a tidal habitat in the Bay of Fundy, and toward the end of this period the artist Julius Moessel painted his widely praised murals showing the human uses of plants. The Museum’s plant reproduction project was close to the heart of Stanley Field, who was president of the Museum’s board of trustees from 1908 to 1962.

Prominent Anthropologists Create Exhibits

The Department of Anthropology sustained an ambitious program of exhibits during the first 20 years in the new building in Grant Park, drawing on the talents of some of the great anthropologists and archaeologists of that era. A. B. Lewis installed the Melanesian exhibit and wrote a guide to the peoples of Melanesia (see Welsch, this volume). Ralph Linton put together the Polynesian and Madagascar exhibits, and Fay-Cooper Cole installed the Malaysian and Indonesian exhibits. Wilfred Hambly installed the African exhibits (see Codrington, this volume). Henry Field put together the European Prehistory exhibit in Hall C, as well as the Hall of Man exhibit in Hall 3. The latter featured the Malvina Hoffman sculptures titled the Races of Man (see Yastrow and Nash, this volume), a project that Museum President Stanley Field funded and that included casting these bronze sculptures in Paris at a cost of $250,000. Richard Martin supervised the Sumerian exhibit on Kish in Hall K, the Roman and Etruscan exhibit, and a partial reinstallation of the Egyptian Hall in Hall J. In addition, Martin wrote a popular leaflet on mummies for the Egyptian exhibit. Berthold Laufer, chief curator of anthropology, created and installed the great collections from China and
Tibet and wrote several popular leaflets on Chinese culture (see Bronson, this volume).

J. Eric Thompson, who was for several decades perhaps the leading specialist in Maya archaeology, reinstalled the Mexican and South American exhibits (see McVicker, this volume). In 1927 he wrote a popular leaflet, The Civilisation of the Maya, which went through ten printings and two revisions. He also wrote a handbook of South American archaeology for the Museum. Alfred L. Kroeber enhanced the South American collections with materials he excavated on the first and second Captain Marshall Field Expeditions to Peru, in 1925 and 1926. Kroeber, who was the founding chair of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, also served as a research associate in the Museum’s anthropology department from 1925 until his death in 1960. Finally, during the early thirties, Ralph Linton reinstalled the Northwest Coast and Eskimo exhibits in Hall 10.

The Museum Participates Again in a World’s Fair

The Field Museum was involved with another world’s fair in 1933, which bore the rubric “A Century of Progress.” The fair was built on Northerly Island, most of which is now Meigs Field, on the north side of Burnham Harbor, and it extended down the lake shore to 39th Street. Given the new location in Grant Park, the Museum was right on the northern edge of the fair, as were the Shedd Aquarium, built in 1929, and the Adler Planetarium, built in 1930. (This was the first planetarium erected in the United States.) It was clearly unnecessary for the Museum to or-
ganize special exhibits—the entire Museum was close at hand for the fair's visitors, and attendance increased dramatically. The largest day's attendance at the Museum during the fair reached 65,000, a record that still stands.

The Field Museum had on display in the Exposition two important totem poles from British Columbia, too tall to be displayed in Hall 10. Hence, they were exhibited in the fair, outside of the Museum. Unfortunately, as this was the height of the Depression, they were subsequently sold for $150 apiece. One ended up in a YMCA camp in Illinois and the other in a Scout camp in Minnesota. Thus, while the Museum made great strides in preserving the artifacts and collections entrusted to it, these efforts occasionally faltered.

Children, Families, and Schools

From the start, the Field Museum was "a place of wonder," attracting both young and old Chicagoans, along with visitors from the eastern seaboard as well as overseas. Some children frequented the Museum regularly, and it became an integral part of their environment as they grew up.

A few were so inspired by the Museum and their contacts with the curators that they pursued scientific careers of their own. One such youngster was Rupert L. Wenzel, who began visiting the Museum's zoology exhibits in 1925 at the age of 11. He kept coming to the Museum throughout his youth, and finally contacted Dr. William J. Gerhard, curator of insects. In 1934, after the Depression terminated his second year in college, Wenzel applied to be a full-time volunteer in the Division of Insects, which meant working the same hours as staff, including Saturday mornings. After a year and a half as a Museum volunteer, Wenzel returned to college. He kept in touch with Gerhard and subsequently worked with Alfred Emerson, the great termite specialist at the University of Chicago, under whom he later studied as a doctoral student. Wenzel was appointed assistant curator of insects in 1940 and served as

Since I didn’t grow up in Chicago, I can only imagine what the Field Museum might have done to me during my youth. As it was, the two museums that I frequented in New York, when I was between the ages of 5 and 8, left a strong impression. Particularly vivid are the memories of the great painted Kwakiutl war canoe at the American Museum of Natural History and the Egyptian mummies at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The exhibits in these museums, along with my many other varied life experiences, contributed to the interests and expertise that I subsequently acquired and then shared—both with professional colleagues and with the general public—once I too became a curator at the Field Museum.

The fascination that museums hold for children was important in motivating many of us in a number of ways, not only through exhibits but through other Museum activities as well. For example, during the Museum’s annual members’ night, my two sons could explore all four departments—botany, zoology, anthropology, and geology—to see the kinds of tasks in which curators and staff were engaged on a day-to-day basis. Perhaps stimulated in part by this experience, my son Bruce later worked as a Museum volunteer one summer, helping to find tiny fossil teeth among large collections of small pebbles carefully collected from ant hills in Wyoming. The work was interesting but very tedious, so Bruce would alternate this task with efforts to remove large fossil jaws from the stone matrix in which they had been discovered, using an old-fashioned dentist’s drill for the purpose.

Indeed, it is appropriate to mention here that the families of curators in natural history and anthropology museums have always played an important role in research and other museum activities. This resulted from the great emphasis in these museums on field research and the frequent participation of families in fieldwork. Many research trips are to remote places, and usually a family unit works well there. Often a spouse has training in the curator’s specialty and takes part in the expedition activities and in the analysis of the data and specimens collected when back at the museum. For example, my wife, Malcolm, who was also an anthropologist, was an active partner in my work on the Upper Columbia River in 1940 and on two expeditions to Peru in 1946 and 1956. This type of family involvement and collaborative work added to the holistic life of a curator and made research trips even more rewarding.

The Museum’s efforts to engage and educate both young and old often extended outside the Museum, involving what today we call outreach. In 1911 Norman Wait Harris endowed the Harris Public School Extension program of the Field Museum, which designed and produced exhibits focused on themes of anthropology and natural history. The exhibits were housed in small, portable, “child-proof” cases and distributed to about 800 Chicago schools. Two exhibits were delivered monthly during each school year. The Museum was thus beginning to do more for its visitors and to reach out to the school population, but the activities were meager compared to the rich spread of services and programs developed by the Museum’s Department of Education after the First World War.

During the 1920s and 1930s the Field Museum further increased educational activities. Within the Museum’s nascent Department of Education, the James Nelson and Anna Louise Raymond Foundation for Public School and Children’s Lectures was established in 1925 with a gift from the Raymonds. This permitted expansion of “lectures, tours, moving pictures, and lantern slides provided for the entertainment and instruction of school children, at gatherings both in the Field Museum itself, and in the classrooms and assembly halls of the schools” (Gregg 1938). The motion pictures and lectures were often held in the Museum’s James Simpson Theatre.

Redoing the American Indian Exhibits, 1941–1982

In 1941, Paul S. Martin, chief curator of anthropology from 1935 to 1964, formulated an ambitious plan for redoing the Museum’s exhibits on American Indians. I had first met Martin at a remote trading post on the Navaho Reservation in Arizona in 1933, and we shared deep commitments to learning and teaching about the cultures and societies of the American Indians that are so vividly present in the American Southwest. Martin held the strong conviction that curators should use their scholarly expertise in educating the public through exhibits and publications. He turned this personal philosophy into museum policy, insisting that exhibits reflect the best available scholarly insight.
Martin also set an example by writing one or more articles annually for the Field Museum News, later entitled the Museum Bulletin, drawing upon his 30 field seasons of archaeological research in Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona between the years 1928 and 1974. I was similarly committed to writing for the general public—I wrote 48 popular articles for the Museum Bulletin. Many of these articles grew directly out of particular exhibits, such as “Aztec Trade” and “The Maya Ball Game,” which were reprinted in Archaeology. Others were unrelated to exhibits, as in the case of the “New Radiocarbon Method of Dating the Past,” which was reprinted in the Museum Journal and the Journal of Biblical Archaeology. I wrote “Chicago Comes of Age: The World’s Columbian Exposition and the Founding of the Field Museum” for the 75th anniversary of the Museum. Other prolific Bulletin authors included Edward Olsen, curator of mineralogy, who wrote an astounding 52 articles, as well as Austin Rand, chief curator of zoology, and Berthold Laufer, chief curator of anthropology.

Martin was the inspiration and force behind the program to reinstall the American Indian exhibit in Halls 4–10, which was started in 1941 and completed in 1982, eight years after his death. Martin recruited the curators who did the work: Alexander Speephr, North America and later Oceania; Donald Collier, Middle and South America; and aspects of North America; George I. Quimby, who later became curator of exhibits, North America; John Rinaldo, North America; James VanStone, North America; and Philip Lewis, primitive art. Stanley Field, the Museum’s president, provided crucial support for Martin’s program over the years.

My Role in the Exhibits for Indians Before Columbus

I arrived at the Museum in August 1941 as an assistant curator. I set out immediately on a five-month archaeological expedition to highland Ecuador, but on my return in early February, a week before my son David was born, I plunged into work on the exhibits for Indians Before Columbus. This general exhibit on Pre-Columbian Indians of the Americas placed special emphasis on the archaeology of the eastern United States and on an interpretation of the Field Museum’s great Hopewell collection. The latter had been excavated in 1891–1892 for the World’s Columbian Exposition at the type site on the Hopewell farm in Ohio. When we reinstalled the Hopewell exhibit in 1945, archaeologists still believed Hopewell dated from A.D. 500 to 1100; subsequent radiocarbon dates in the mid-1950s established that it dated back much earlier, to 500 B.C.

I worked first on the introductory section of Indians Before Columbus, which surveyed Indian economies and arts, and then on the three picture maps dealing with clothing, transportation, and architecture. I planned and/or supervised exhibits in this hall on the Northwest Coast, Plateau, and southern California coast, as well as the Aztec and Inca exhibits. My previous archaeological fieldwork on the Upper Columbia River in the state of Washington, plus my ethnographic studies of the local Lake Indians and my Ph.D. qualifying paper on Northwest Coast cultures, provided an excellent background for this endeavor. I supervised the completion of the Maya ball game diorama and planned and supervised the Inca diorama showing a suspension bridge, farming terraces, and a village near Ollantaytambo in the Urubamba Valley. I had visited this site in 1936 while collecting Indian maize and studying agricultural terraces in Peru. At the time there had been no bridge there. In creating the exhibit we in effect “transported” it from another site.

For Indians of the Plains, in Hall 6, I conducted the research for the historical map showing the migration of many tribes into the plains from the eastern woodlands as a result of pressures from the fur trade and the French and Indian Wars. I also studied the sources for and the spread of the horse in the plains region, realizing that by 1750 most tribes were well supplied with horses, which came mainly from the Spanish settlements in the Southwest. The horse drastically transformed plains transportation, economy, and military patterns. In addition, I planned and supervised two dioramas for this hall showing a bison hunt and an encampment. I was able to draw on my experience on the Plains Indians, having done fieldwork on the Kiowa in 1935 as a fellow of the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, as well as on the Blackfoot, Crow, Plains Cree, and Oglala Sioux. I had also written a master’s thesis on Kiowa social integration.

For the section of Hall 6 on the California Indians, I helped plan the two Pomo Indian dioramas showing the gathering of live-oak acorns and the preparation of acorn mush in a Pomo village. I had visited the site of this scene on the shore of Clear Lake, located 120 miles north of San Fran-
cisco, five times as a teenager and knew the location well—including the live-oak trees, where my parents and older brother used to hide Easter eggs on our Easter picnics.

Collaboration with Martin and Quimby

George Quimby arrived at the Museum in 1942 as assistant curator of North American archaeology and ethnology. Quimby had been trained in archaeology at the University of Michigan and had worked for Louisiana State University on various archaeological projects. He conducted geological studies on the eastern shore of Hudson Bay, and studied the Eskimos on the Belcher Islands, which are also in Hudson Bay. In the early 1950s Quimby was appointed curator of exhibits in the Department of Anthropology. He planned all of the eastern archaeology exhibits in Indians Before Columbus and the Eastern Woodland ethnology and Plains and California exhibits in Halls 5 and 6. The new installation of Indians of the Southwest in Hall 7 was planned by Paul Martin and John Rinaldo, assistant curator of North American archaeology.

This collaborative renovation of the American Indian exhibits led Paul Martin, Quimby, and me to undertake a joint writing project that produced a book whose title echoed that of our exhibit: Indians Before Columbus: 20,000 Years of North American History as Revealed by Archaeology. The book was published as a 582-page volume by the University of Chicago Press in 1947. The Field Museum held the copyright and received the royalties, because we had written the book on Museum time and had used the Museum's facilities to prepare the illustrations. For about ten years it was the only general book available on North American archaeology. It went through eight reprints for a total of some 30,000 copies in about 15 years.

Another enterprise that Martin, Quimby, and I undertook was the organization of a museology course that began in 1946 in cooperation with the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago. The course, which met from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. two days per week for three quarters, offered credit at the University of Chicago. It was both an academic and a tool course—that is, it dealt with both museum theory and practice. The course covered ideas about the organization and goals of museums, as well as the practical skills needed to implement those theories, which the students acquired through a variety of tasks, including accessioning and cataloguing specimens, designing exhibits, writing exhibit labels, and surveying visitor behavior based on observations and interviews. One of the conclusions reached through these surveys over a five-year period was that the 7- to 13-year-olds gained the most from the exhibits. These youngsters read more labels, had longer attention spans, and looked harder at the exhibits than any other age group. Adults sometimes seemed unable to put aside their preoccupations to really see the exhibits. We had great confidence in this conclusion about the 7- to 13-year-olds, and developed strong convictions that they should not be "written down to" in the exhibits.

Right after World War II a number of foreign students took our course, including students from Argentina, Colombia, Puerto Rico, Northern Ireland, Norway, and Burma. Three of these students later became museum directors: at the Anthropology Museum in Oslo, the National Museum of Anthropology in San Juan, and the Anthropology Museum in Belfast. A fourth became a curator at the National Museum in Rangoon.

In 1954 the museology course was reduced to half a day per week for one quarter, representing one-twelfth its former length. This reorganization was part of a dramatic revision of the anthropology curriculum at the University of Chicago, which came to place far less emphasis on the study of material culture. The new short course in museology was continued at the Museum until 1965. This drastic change from immersion in museology to dabbling in museology was clearly part of a long-term shift in the center of gravity of American anthropology from the natural history museums to the universities.

Curators Work with Artists and Craftsmen, 1941–1960

One of the great pleasures in the preparation of exhibits at the Field Museum during these years was the opportunity to collaborate with the remarkable artists and craftsmen who worked within each department. In most cases, while these artists were deeply engaged in the substantive knowledge that went into the exhibits, at the same time they brought unique skills to the task of creating exhibits that were both informative and beautiful.
A Dioramist Perfects His Art

From 1941-1960 the Anthropology exhibition staff consisted of one carpenter/preparator, Walter Reese (?): a preparator/ceramic restorer, John Ple tincks; an artist, Gustav Dalstrom; and a dioramist, Alfred Lee Rowell. Rowell created 13 splendid miniature dioramas, each approximately five to six feet in width, between 1941 and his retirement in 1961. These dioramas dealt with the archaeology of the Southwest, a Marksville temple mound in Louisiana, Plains and southern California ethnography, the Aztec Market at Tlatelolco, a Mayan ball game at Chichén Itzá, a Mayan dedication ceremony in the Peten, and the scene (noted above) in the Urubamba Valley, Peru, showing an Inca suspension bridge, farming terraces, and a hamlet.

Rowell had grown up in the bean fields of western Colorado. He was an amateur Western genre painter when he was lured in the 1930s by Works Progress Administration funds to the archaeology and natural history museum at Mesa Verde National Park to work on miniature dioramas of cliff dwellings and the Anasazi culture. During the next five years, Rowell developed his extraordinary skills as a dioramist, stimulated by the cliff-dweller milieu in which he worked and by visits from Paul Martin, who was digging near Cortez, Colorado, during those years, and from other Southwestern archaeologists such as Earl Morris.

Early in 1941 the diorama project at Mesa Verde was coming to an end, while at the Field Museum, the Indians Before Columbus project was about to begin. When the Museum hired Rowell as a dioramist, his first assignment was to create a diorama of the cliff dwelling in Mummy Cave, Canyon del Muerto, Arizona, in Hall 4 (Fig. 16.3).

Throughout his career at the Museum, Rowell continued to perfect his skills and his art. Without question, he was the greatest miniature dioramist of his time. He combined great technical skill and a strong but flexible sense of scale with an ability to animate the figures in the diorama and to imbue them with a vital sense of humanity. Perhaps his supreme work was the great Mexican market at Tlatelolco, the important twin city of the Aztec capital Tenochtitlan, which was constructed on a system of forced perspective, with a rapidly diminishing scale from front to back, in order to convey the vast size of the market. The diorama contained 270 human figures and 50 different market commodities that were all meticulously adjusted to the forced perspective. The re-creation of this market, which had contained up to 50,000 vendors and customers, was based on observations made by Bernal Díaz del Castillo in 1519.

The depiction of costumes and commodities in the market was based on Spanish eyewitness accounts, Aztec codices, and the Field Museum’s outstanding Aztec collection.

Dalstrom’s Colors

Another important member of the Anthropology team was Gustav Dalstrom, a gifted etcher and painter, who worked on our exhibits from 1943 until his retirement in 1961. The style and bright color patterns used in Indians Before Columbus had already been developed by artist Ann Harding Spoehr in the two years prior to Dalstrom’s arrival, and Dalstrom continued these patterns with his own palette. Dalstrom worked on three-fourths of the exhibits in Indians Before Columbus, as well as on those in Halls 5-8 which contained the Eastern Woodlands, Plains, California, Southwest, and Mexico-Central America exhibits. Throughout this time Dalstrom used subtly varied colored backgrounds to set off the specimens and to distinguish the different topics covered within each case. The sections of a hall were color-keyed, so that, for example, in the Mesoamerican hall, the exhibit on Central America was yellow, the Maya areas were in shades of green, and the central Mexico display was in steadily darkening red tones, with the Aztec exhibit the darkest of all—symbolizing the rise of the Aztec civilization. These color keys were used as well in a separate case that displayed a chronological chart for Mesoamerica.

Museum President Stanley Field took a strong interest in Dalstrom’s use of color. He was in the habit of roaming the third floor once or twice a week in the afternoon, after lunching at the Chicago Club, to see what was going on in Exhibits. Field became very fond of Dalstrom’s colors, and he eventually issued a dictum that the other departments should consult Dalstrom about the pigments they planned to use in their displays. Thereafter, anthropology exhibit screens, after being covered with shade cloth, were taken to the fourth floor south, where Design and Production is now located, to be primed and painted with the colors mixed by Dalstrom.
Exhibit Staff in Other Departments

During the years 1941–1960, other Museum departments likewise used artists, craftsmen, and technicians with unique skills that were especially matched to the challenges of preparing exhibits in each department. The Botany Department had one general preparator, one artist, and one plant-reproduction preparator. This department had a long history of installing plant dioramas and models of flowering plants. In the 1940s, curators in botany installed two more plant dioramas, and in the 1970s and early 1980s they reinstalled Plants of the World and Economic Botany with the help of the Exhibition Department.

The Department of Zoology staff prepared nu-
numerous exhibits of habitat groups showing mammals and birds of the Americas and many other parts of the world. Those involved included a specialist, Leon Walter, who cast in plastic fishes, reptiles, and amphibians, two taxidermists for fishes and birds, two taxidermist assistants, a tanner, the dioramist A. Rueckert, who crafted plant accessories for the habitat groups, and one or more outside artists working on contract. In addition, the department had two taxidermists skilled in the Carl Akeley method of mounting mammals. According to this method, the skin is stretched over a meticulously sculpted mannequin based on careful anatomical observations and recording in the field. These groups were accurate, convincing, and beautiful. Carl Akeley himself had prepared the elephants in the early years when he was on the staff of the Field Museum, before he moved to the American Museum of Natural History in 1917. Similarly, Geology had a preparator and artist, as well as a specialist for preparing and mounting prehistoric skeletons, in addition to two assistants.

Creation of Exhibit Department in the 1960s

The prior sections depict what I think of as a golden era of exhibits at the Field Museum, when scientists, working within the four academic departments of the Museum, drew on their expertise to create exhibits that reflected the most up-to-date scholarly understandings of natural history. They did this work in collaboration with artists and craftsmen who—as with Alfred Lee Rowell’s deep experience in the American Southwest—themselves often brought great substantive expertise to their work. Under this system, many curators showed considerable aptitude and developed a zest for planning and executing exhibits. However, admittedly, some were mediocre in their exhibit talents, and a few resented being diverted from their own research. Yet nearly all curators did share the ethic that called for conveying their specialized knowledge and understanding to the public through exhibitions and popular writing.

system was gradually superseded in the 1960s when a central Exhibition Department was established at the Museum. This transition was in many ways a difficult one, bringing important debates—and not a few conflicts—over the content and presentation of exhibits. I was strongly committed to the earlier system in which responsibility for exhibits was in the hands of the scientific department, yet they became increasingly marginalized from the planning and execution of the exhibition program. However, as I acknowledge below, the Exhibition Department did provide valuable assistance with some of my final exhibits.

Building the Collection: The Field Museum-Mexico Exchange

In 1948 we launched the most ambitious international exchange of collections ever undertaken by the Museum, and this event strongly affected my reinstallations of the exhibits on Mexico and Central America. As can be seen in the discussion that follows, such an exchange depends both on a high level of professional expertise on both sides, and also on mutual trust between colleagues who work in different national settings.

The director of the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico, Dr. Daniel Rubin de la Borbolla, and his advisor, the painter and author Miguel Covarrubias, proposed an exchange with the Field Museum. De la Borbolla wished to build up anthropology collections from outside Mexico in order to establish a museum that encompassed non-Mexican cultures. He proposed an exchange of Mexican archaeological material for archaeological and ethnological material from the American Indians of the United States and Canada. A preliminary agreement was reached, and Covarrubias spent five weeks in 1948 at the Field Museum picking out specimens. He had a strong interest in primitive art in general, and in ancient and contemporary Indian arts in the Americans in particular. He had studied these areas in European and American museums, and had a strong visual memory—he could make an accurate sketch of, for example, a Haida carving that he had seen in the Berlin Museum ten years before. The tentative selection included archaeological objects from the eastern United States, the Southwest, and the circumpolar areas, as well as ethnological material from these same areas and from the Northwest Coast. In addition, Covarrubias selected some carvings from Melanesia.

At the end of that year Paul Martin and I went to Mexico to work on the other end of the exchange. Although there was air service from Chicago to Mexico City at the time, we preferred to go by train and then return from Tampico to New York on a freighter, and from New York to Chicago by train. Our travel expenses were covered

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by a subvention from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, I spent most of the month of January with Covarrubias in the storerooms of the National Museum, which was in the old Mint building near the Zocalo—the new museum in Chapultapec Park was still ten years away. Covarrubias had studied our Mexican archaeology collection when he was in Chicago, and I had made lists of our major lacunae and weaknesses. With these areas in mind, we picked specimens that would strengthen the Field Museum collection, both in terms of its value as a scholarly resource, and with an eye to using the collection for exhibits. The major gaps we were able to fill included (1) a complete series of figurines and ceramics from Tlatilco, a Formative stage culture in the Valley of Mexico, contemporary with Olmec; many of the Tlatilco pieces had been excavated by Covarrubias; (2) Classic period Aztec ceramics; (3) figurines and pottery from Chupicuaro, in northeastern Michoacan; (4) Late Classic Gulf Coast material and Late Classic Maya figurines from Jaina Island; and (5) Late Classic and post-Classic Zapotec and Mixtec ceramics.

After the selection, de la Borbolla, Covarrubias, Martin, and I discussed the balance of the exchange, in which the Mexican specimens numbered 1,126 and the Field Museum specimens numbered 651. It was agreed that the two institutions were satisfied with the materials selected, and that the two directors, de la Borbolla and Clifford Gregg, would exchange letters of understanding and commitment.

In anticipation of redoing the Mesoamerican exhibits, I took the opportunity while in Mexico to visit all of the major sites in the Valley of Mexico, as well as Cholula, Monte Albán, Mitla, and several sites in Michoacan. During the five weeks in Mexico City, I also renewed my friendship with Alfonso Caso, the excavator of Monte Albán and a student of Aztec culture and religion. I became well acquainted with four other Mexican archaeologists as well, who were of great assistance to me in the years ahead during the planning and reinstallation of the Mesoamerican exhibits.

After our return to Chicago at the end of February 1949, we packed up the Field Museum specimens in anticipation of a simultaneous shipment of the two parts of the exchange in May or June. However, in early May, Diego Rivera, the famous revolutionary painter, got wind of the exchange and decried it in two scathing articles in radical Mexico City newspapers. He denounced de la Borbolla for dissipating the national treasure for a handful of South Seas tourist trinkets. This furor delayed the exchange for a year, but it went through at the end of 1951. The materials we received made possible a richer and more complete depiction of ancient Mexican cultures in the new exhibits.

The Mexican exchange, which resulted from three and a half years of patient and persistent negotiation, was unique—nothing like it had been previously arranged with the Mexican government. Since the Mexican material was national property, the negotiation had to pass through the National Institute of Anthropology and History and the Ministry of Education, to be finally sanctioned by supreme Presidential decree.

**Primitive Art at the Field Museum**

After the Second World War a widespread interest in non-Western art emerged in the United States. This trend was stimulated in part by the overseas experience of many Americans during the war in Africa, the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, China, and Oceania. In the United States these materials came to be called "primitive art," a label that might seem paradoxical, given their aesthetic sophistication. These collections and their corresponding exhibits became so popular that Phillip H. Lewis was appointed assistant curator of primitive art at the Field Museum in 1957. This was the first curatorship of primitive art in a natural history or anthropology museum in the United States.

Because these precious objects were made of organic substances, stringent conservation measures were applied that affected how one handled and studied them. In those days, such ethnographic material was taken to "poison rooms" that were charged with ethylene dichloride, a toxic gas that was marketed as Dow Fume 75 and that called for special protection for those who examined the collections. These precautions produced some incongruous moments that I remember fondly. For example, I have a vivid memory of a visit to the Museum by René d'Harnoncourt, my brother-in-law, who was director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and Ralph Linton, who at that stage of his career was a professor of anthropology at Columbia University. They had come to the Museum to select material in preparation for an exhibit at the Museum of Mod-
ern Art entitled "Arts of the South Seas," which drew heavily from the Field Museum's collections. They both wore special protective masks while they examined and discussed the Museum's perishable Melanesian art held in roomy poison room No. 5, on the fourth floor south of the Museum. René d'Harnoncourt was six foot six inches tall, and Ralph Linton was six foot two and rotund. They were both not only very tall but were great talkers, and they shouted at each other through the masks like giant creatures from Mars.

In 1958 the Field Museum substantially expanded its holdings on primitive art by purchasing the great Captain A.W.F. Fuller Collection of Oceanic art and ethnology. Roland Force, who succeeded Alexander Spoehr as curator of Oceanic ethnology, negotiated this acquisition with Captain Fuller in London. After Fuller's death in 1961, his wife gave the Museum a superb collection of Benin art from Nigeria. Roland Force reinstalled the Polynesian and Micronesian exhibit in 1961, using a large number of Fuller specimens. The exhibit was designed by Susan Schank, artist and preparator. As part of the purchase agreement, the Museum was committed to publish a fully illustrated catalogue of the Fuller Oceanic Collection. Force finished the catalogue after he left the Museum to serve as director of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, and it was published in 1971 by Lund Humphris in London and by Praeger in New York.

An Architect Helps Design Exhibits

I first had the experience of working with the talented designer and architect, Daniel Brenner, in 1959. Brenner taught in the Institute of Design and the School of Architecture at the Illinois Institute of Technology and had worked on several exhibits for the Museum of Modern Art and the Chicago Art Institute. He designed my exhibit Indian Art of the Americas, using great ingenuity in creating a coherent exhibit, which included many relatively small objects, within the massive space of the Museum's entrance hall, Stanley Field Hall (Fig. 16.4). The exhibit included 106 specimens from the Field Museum collections, as well as loans from nine other major museums. Two thirds of the specimens in the exhibit were Pre-Columbian and the rest were from the nineteenth century. The show was part of the Festival of the Americas on the occasion of the Third Pan-American Games in Chicago. Arnold Maremont, president of the festival and a wealthy art collector who owned Midas Mufflers, personally paid Brenner's fee and the cost of the illustrated catalogue. The Festival of the Americas exhibit was launched with a lavish opening event, attended by officials from both the festival and the Pan-American Games, Mayor Richard J. Daley, and members of the Latin American Consular Corps.

Brenner's architect's eye and his ingenuity in solving the daunting problems of staging the exhibit in the great entrance hall of the Museum were a revelation to me at a time when the Museum had no adequate space for temporary exhibits. The difficulties encountered in placing a large integrated exhibit in Stanley Field Hall convinced me of the need to establish an adequate gallery for temporary exhibits. In 1962 we took a step in this direction by using the west half of Hall 9 for the first King Tut exhibit, which was sponsored jointly with the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in order to raise money to save Abu Simbal, an ancient Egyptian temple, behind the Aswan Dam. The space was freed by moving all of the South American cases from the west half into the east half, which meant that the South American exhibits were closed during the King Tut exhibit.

During the following year, in 1963, I proposed to Director Lee Webber the conversion of the west third of Hall 9 into a temporary exhibit gallery to be designed by Daniel Brenner. Mr. Webber agreed and budgeted the cost of carrying out the plan. Brenner designed the partition separating the gallery from the rest of Hall 9 east with built-in spotlights, thus enabling us to install extensive photo exhibits on Andean archaeology and ethnology. Brenner also designed the adjustable overhead lighting system for the gallery. The north wall of the gallery had three built-in wall cases; when not in use these could be covered with special curtains. There were two Mies van der Rohe glass-top tables, six Mies leather sling chairs, and ash stands, to create a spot of repose. This furniture can be seen today on the second floor south, although the ash stands have since been retired.

This temporary exhibit hall was in continuous use for many years after it was finished in 1964. I put four temporary exhibits there myself: Festival of American Indian Art, Fiesta Mexicana, Cuna Art and Life, and Ancient Ecuador. The hall was not large enough, however, for the two blockbusters, Ancient Chinese Archaeology and Trea-
sures of Tutankhamun, which were each installed in two vacated botany halls on the second floor, in 1970 and 1977 respectively.

Exhibits and Education After 1960

A number of personnel changes took place in the 1960s. Gustav Dalstrom retired in 1961. He was succeeded by Chicago artist Theodore Halkin, from 1961 to 1966, who designed and installed China of the Ch'ing Dynasty and Culture of Tibet, and assisted me on some new South American exhibits and the installation of the photo exhibits on the east face of the Hall 9 gallery partition. The Chinese and Tibetan exhibits were planned by Kenneth Starr, but Starr left the Museum in 1965 when work on Tibet had only just begun. Research and label writing for the exhibit were conducted by Georgette Meredith, departmental assistant.

During the early 1960s, Phillip Lewis installed two new exhibits in Hall 2: Primitive Artists Look at Civilization (1961), which showed how artists in "traditional" societies depicted the life of "modern" societies, and The Human Image in Primitive Art (1962). Lewis was assisted by Walter Boyer, artist and preparator. In 1962 he organized a temporary exhibit, Art of Benin, which was shown in the Hall 9 Gallery. The exhibit itself contained the Fuller Benin Collection and other Benin material from the Field Museum collection. The academic consultant who provided scholarly expertise on the collection was Philip Dark, a specialist on Benin art from Southern Illinois University and a research associate in the Department of Anthropology. He wrote the exhibit catalogue, Art of Benin, which consisted of 74 pages and 47 plates and was designed by Sue Allen. The exhibit
itself was designed by Susan Schank. After the temporary show, the exhibit was moved intact down to the West Africa Hall L.

In 1963, Harriet Smith, a long-time staff member of the Museum’s Department of Education, organized a summer high school course in anthropology that was conducted in the Field Museum. It was funded by the National Science Foundation Program in Science Education, and was taught by Smith, members of the anthropology department, and outside lecturers. Included was a five-day dig in the Chicago area under the supervision of graduate students in archaeology, often a husband-and-wife team from Indiana University. The course was offered until 1979 with the continuing support of NSF. The project used the exhibits, the collections, and the Museum’s library. It was the best high school course of its kind in the United States.

My Work on Exhibits: Mid-1960s and 1970s

In 1964 I succeeded Paul Martin as chief curator and served in that capacity until 1970. During these years, and in the following period up to the mid-1970s, my exhibit activity sped up, resulting in an exhibit of Mayan art in 1966, the Festival of American Indian Art in 1968, and the Fiesta Mexicana (Figs. 16.5 and 16.6) and Art and Life of the Cuna, both in 1969. In 1970–1971 I supervised the planning and organization of the Hall of Chinese Jades, and in the period up to 1975 I worked on a major exhibit on the archaeology of Ecuador.

Mayan Art and the Introduction of Audiovisuals

In 1966 I organized the Mayan Art: Rubbings from Stone Carvings exhibit depicting the Mayan rubbings of Merle Greene, an eminent artist and student of Mayan art. By using the Chinese rubbing technique on rice paper, Merle recorded all of the major Mayan carvings and inscriptions, including the great stone sarcophagus in the tomb beneath the Temple of the Inscriptions at Palenque. These rubbings are an important documentary source, because the sides of the sarcophagus had never been photographed due to the lack of room in the tomb for the camera and for proper illumination. Displayed with the rubbings were eight pieces of Mayan stone sculpture borrowed from the Museum of Primitive Art, the Chicago Art Institute, and four private collections.

I designed the exhibit in which we used, for the first time at the Field Museum, a 35 mm back projector synchronized with a taped lecture that lasted about 12 minutes. I wrote the lecture and found someone else to record it. The slides were a combination of Merle Green’s and mine. I obtained advice on the project from the head of audiovisual services at the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry, and then I ordered the components. This audiovisual setup was designed with the help of the Museum’s chief engineer, Lonard Carrion, and then built in the Museum carpentry shop. It effectively conveyed to visitors the general context of the stunningly beautiful rubbings, and performed without interruption during the 40 days of the exhibit. We later used this back projector, and another like it that we also built, in Fiesta Mexicana.

Engaging the American Indian and Mexican-American Communities in Exhibits

The attitudes toward American Indians and their representation in museums changed over the years. Initially the focus had been on the artifacts, not the people. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Indians were all too often viewed, very myopically, as strange and barbaric, and as having no connection with contemporary American society. The natural history and anthropology museums did little to dispel these views at first. The Museum’s philosophy of presenting Indian cultures was not concerned with contemporary Indians, who were back on the reservations; the important thing was to save the precious Indian artifacts and put them on display. After all, when the great museums got their start, Custer and the Battle of the Little Bighorn (1876) were only a few years past. The westward-moving settlers and miners and the federal government were still taking land from the Indians, and in 1890, the Sioux tribes were being confined by the military to reservations.

Fortunately, the situation is different today. The Indians have changed, American culture has changed, and museums have changed. Instead of becoming extinct, the Indian population increased, with 16,000 Indians in Chicago alone as of 1968. Federal Indian policy, court decisions,
and federal legislation, particularly the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, have all given the Indians independent status and the right to run their own affairs. After the Second World War many Indian families migrated to the cities in search of jobs, encouraged by Bureau of Indian Affairs policy and by government subsidies. Suddenly the Indians were at the doorsteps of the big museums, with different attitudes toward museums—more critical and more assertive. Museums and anthropologists gradually responded to the changed cultural and political situation, as reflected in many different areas, including the new policy of museums to interact with them as urban neighbors, not as relics of the past.

The Field Museum was a leader in this policy transition, and an early sign of change was seen in the Indians Before Columbus exhibits discussed above. This Pre-Columbian display was widely recognized in the 1940s and 1950s as innovative, and it had considerable influence on natural history and anthropology museums in the country. Rather than simply presenting objects, it used figures in dioramas and attractively executed paintings to depict individuals using diverse tools, working at various tasks, and living in different

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kinds of dwellings. It was an exhibit about "real people." These approaches were developed through the interaction of the curators and our artists, who were not expert designers initially but became so through necessity and experience.

By the later 1960s, contemporary American Indians began to have a more direct connection with Museum exhibits. For example, in 1968 the Festival of American Indian Art, which was organized in cooperation with the American Indian Center in Chicago, included exhibits on traditional and contemporary Indian arts of the United States, music and dancing, and a photographic essay on the Indian community of Chicago by Orlando Ca-

banban that had been commissioned for the Festival. The crafters included the Kwakiutl artist, Tony Hunt, who carved a house post in Stanley Field Hall. He did the preliminary carving in advance, and Air Canada shipped the post free from Victoria to Chicago. Hunt also had some of his silver jewelry and his prints for sale.

I designed the exhibits in the Festival with help from Theodore Halkin. Specimens were borrowed from the Institute of American Indian Arts, Santa Fe, the Indian Art and Crafts Board, the Department of the Interior, and eight private individuals. The Festival was supported by grants from the Illinois Arts Council, the Ernest G. Shinner Foun-
Fiesta Mexicana, which I organized in 1969, included Prehispanic art, Colonial art, and contemporary folk arts, as well as crafters and dancers from Mexico. There was a lecture and film series, and another photo essay by Orlando Caban that was commissioned for Fiesta Mexicana titled “Mexicans of Chicago, 1969,” as well as slide presentations, archaeology photo exhibits, and a Mexican market. I even included the recently finished Mesoamerican Hall as part of Fiesta Mexicana. The exhibits were designed by Ben Kozac.

The displays consisted of a generous loan from the Nelson Rockefeller Collection of Mexican folk art, material from the Milwaukee Public Museum, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico, the Field Museum, and five private collectors. Fiesta Mexicana was supported by grants from the National Foundation for the Humanities, the Bertha Le Bus Trust, Illinois Art Council, Robert R. McCormick Charitable Trust, Mexican Airlines, Consejo Nacional de Mexico, and the Department de Turismo, Mexico, with a substantial contribution by the Field Museum consisting of $4,500 in cash and $51,539 in staff time.

In preparation for this exhibit, I made a two-week trip to Mexico to arrange support from the Mexican government and to find a weaver and a troop of dancers to bring to Chicago. The Mexican government presented me with an award following the great success of the Fiesta.

The staging of the Festival of American Indian Art and Fiesta Mexicana was thus a new departure for the Department of Anthropology and for the Museum. The purpose of these festivals was to take a step toward putting the Museum into a more meaningful relationship with the 16,000 American Indians and the 120,000 Mexican-Americans who lived in the Chicago area as of 1968, and to make better known to all the people of Chicago the cultural background and contemporary life of these important ethnic groups. These projects were produced through a joint effort on the part of the wider museum staff. The success of the festivals, in terms of response of the public, including the Indians and Mexican-Americans, appears to have justified these efforts.

Another example of involving American Indians in exhibits arose in 1976 when John White, a Cherokee Indian on the staff of the Department of Education, researched, designed, and supervised the construction of the full-sized Pawnee earth lodge in Hall 6. He employed the advice and support of many elderly Pawnees. It is authentic and beautiful, and served as a wonderful classroom for school and adult groups.

Cuna Art and Life and the Hall of Chinese Jades

In 1969, I organized the Cuna Art and Life exhibit on Panama, which was the most comprehensive production of its kind ever shown in the United States. The exhibit was designed by Robert Martin and the materials were from the Field Museum's large representative collection, with specimens borrowed from the Museum of the American Indian and other museums, the Staempfli Gallery in New York, and five private collectors. Scholarly expertise was provided by Regina Holloman, an anthropologist teaching at Roosevelt University who had carried on fieldwork for two years among the San Blas Cuna. She wrote a seven-page illustrated article on the Cuna acculturation for the Museum Bulletin.

During these years, the Field Museum had a centralized exhibition staff of 28 to 30 individuals, with an adequate complement of designers, preparators, etc. They helped me, after the departure of Kenneth Starr, with my last three major temporary exhibits and the design and installation of the Chinese Jade Hall. Robert Martin designed the Hall of Chinese Jades, and the scholarly component of the jade exhibit was contributed by Louise Yuhas of the University of Michigan.

The Ecuador Exhibit

My final exhibit at the Museum, Ancient Ecuador: Culture, Clay and Creativity 3000–300 B.C. (1975), contained 604 specimens and many photomurals and charts (Fig. 16.7). I had the help of a very good script and label writer, Helen Chandra, and a superb designer, Robert Martin, who had worked on the Cuna exhibit and who later became chief designer of exhibits and publications for the National Archives in Washington. I was also assisted by a picture editor, who found
and obtained the needed photographs from outside sources.

Most importantly we had as consultant Donald Lathrap from the University of Illinois, who served as research associate in the Department of Anthropology at the Museum. Lathrap was a gifted and imaginative specialist on the Formative Stage of Ecuador and hence was exceptionally well qualified to write catalogue text. The exhibit was guided by a working group composed of myself, the designer, the scriptwriter, and a representative from the Department of Education, an arrangement that worked very well.

Ninety-five percent of the specimens in the Ancient Ecuador exhibit were borrowed from a single private collection, the Norton/Perez Collection, in Guayaquil, Ecuador. I met the owners at the archaeology meeting in Miami in 1972, and they were enthusiastic about lending the material for the exhibit. I traveled to Guayaquil in 1973 to study and photograph the collection and to make preliminary export arrangements with the government. At that time, I conducted some studies of the environment in Guayas Province, the original location of the material, and took extensive color photos of the landscape.

I returned to Guayaquil in June 1974, having in the interim selected the pieces we wanted to borrow. I supervised the packing of the collection into 41 custom-made wooden boxes, prepared a catalogue list taken from the owner’s index, and made the final arrangements to obtain the government permit to export the collection based on a supreme Presidential decree. I went back to several of areas where the Valdivia specimens, dating from 3000 to 1800 B.C., had been excavated, and took more color photos. I went to one of the few remaining mangrove swamps, known as manglares, on the coast of Guayas. There I engaged a crew of shell fishermen, who harvested the Ana-dara bivalves which were a staple of the Valdivia people, to take me into the mangroves in their
dugout and to gather the shellfish. I photographed the crew at work, and the swamp itself. When we returned to dry land, we shucked the shellfish and ate them raw like oysters. I used in the exhibit the photographs of the swamp and the other habitats; five photographs were made into photomurals.

There was no administrative mechanism in the Field Museum in 1974–1977 to handle large traveling exhibits—Ancient Ecuador went to six other American Museums, including the Smithsonian, and ultimately to the Museo Arqueológico of the Banco Central del Ecuador, in Guayaquil. Consequently, I took on the entire task of negotiating with the borrowing museums, contracting with a major shipping company for the whole tour, arranging insurance, keeping in contact with the conservators in the borrowing museum regarding breakage during shipment, and arranging for reprinting the catalogue part way through the tour. At one point the Minneapolis Institute of Arts decided not to accept the exhibit, which would have deprived us of the $7,500 exhibit fee. After some difficult negotiations, they fulfilled the contract after all. The Field Museum sent either a preparator or the set designer to each of these museums for two to three days to help install material contained in the 41 cases that traveled with the exhibit. All of these tasks are handled by registrars in most big museums today.

In 1974, after my second trip to Ecuador, I had a conference with Museum Director Leland Weber and Tom Sanders, who was head of development, concerning the financing of the Ancient Ecuador exhibit catalogue. Donald Lathrap had agreed to write the text and we had begun to plan it; we had arranged for Cliff Abrams of the Department of Exhibitions to design the book. Mr. Weber was very negative about the catalogue. He said the Museum could not afford it, and he doubted that we could raise the money. I explained that since the subject matter and conclusions of the exhibit were unknown to the public and to most archaeologists, the catalogue was an essential part of the project. After half an hour of discussion that was getting nowhere, I declared that if we had to abandon the catalogue, I would not carry on with the exhibit, even though we already had a large National Endowment for the Humanities planning grant. I went off to my house in Door County, Wisconsin, for the weekend, not knowing whether there was going to be an Ancient Ecuador exhibit. When I returned to my office four days later, I found a note from the director saying we could go ahead with the catalogue, but I should not expect him to raise the money for everything I wanted to do. I replied that I was delighted to move ahead and that I would find the catalogue money if he would so permit.

Within a month I had raised $3,000, half the production costs of the catalogue, from the Illinois Arts Council and a private donor. This was sufficient support to go ahead with the catalogue, since we could charge the cost of preparing the illustrations to our $50,000 NEH grant. We decided to have 88 text figures, with six in color; three maps, a complete catalogue listing at the end of the book with small photographs of each specimen, and captions in English and Spanish. We found a young photographer, John Alderson, to take 604 photographs in black and white and a dozen in color. The collection arrived in Chicago in August 1974.

Lathrap was going to Ecuador at the end of August for six months of fieldwork and would not be back for the opening in April 1975. A week before his departure he had not yet written the catalogue text. He declared that if Helen Chandra would come down to the University of Illinois at Urbana he would dictate the text. This she did and sat through two four-hour sessions while he dictated into a tape recorder. Her presence was essential, for he needed an audience. It was arranged for a stenographer in Urbana to transcribe the tape, and two weeks later I had the text. Because of the way it was produced it was more like a series of classroom lectures than a catalogue text. I edited it extensively, supplied the footnotes and bibliography, and planned the illustrations. Chandra and I prepared the complete inventory of specimens, to be placed at the end of the book with identifications provided by 12 members of the Museum’s scientific staff and several outstanding experts. The catalogue went to press at the end of December and was delivered two weeks before the April opening.

Ancient Ecuador received enthusiastic support from the Ecuadorian and Colombian populations and the Ecuadorian Consul General in Chicago, as well as from the Ecuadorian Ambassador in Washington, who energetically helped in overcoming many obstacles to displaying the exhibits at the Smithsonian Institution. About three-quarters of the Ecuadorians in Chicago in 1969 visited the exhibit, many of them several times during its three-month showing. A review of the exhibit by Donald Thompson, professor of anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, was the first of a series of reviews of anthropology museum exhib-
its initiated by the American Anthropologist in 1975 and published in 1976.

The catalogue went through three printings, with about 10,000 copies sold between 1975 and 1977. These included 6,000 copies in the United States, as well as 4,000 copies in Ecuador that were bought by Ecuadoreans and American tourists. The best sales were during the six-week showing of the exhibit at the Institute of Inter-American Relations in New York, when 1,000 copies were sold. As of 1990, the Museum was still selling about 30 copies a year by mail order, since the volume was not carried in the bookstore. I never succeeded in obtaining an account of the sale, but I estimate that the Museum gained a substantial amount of revenue from the catalogue, and would have easily recouped the amount needed for the original production costs.

I retired in 1976 with the title of curator emeritus and was pleased when the Norton/Perez Collection was purchased by the Banco Central del Ecuador in Guayaquil in 1978. With our encouragement and assistance they made Ancient Ecuador the core of their new archaeology museum. We reprinted 2,000 copies of the catalogue for them at cost and then another 2,000 copies of the new Spanish edition, for which we hold the copyright. Lathrap and I flew to Guayaquil as guests of the bank for the opening of the new museum in 1980, and we participated in the symposium celebrating the event, at which I gave a paper entitled “One Hundred Years of Ecuadorian Archaeology.” I came away feeling very close to the Province of Guayas in Ecuador, where the collection originated, and to the many people I had dealt with there and had gotten to know.

Epilogue

By David Collier

The Ecuador exhibit certainly brought together many of the elements that Donald Collier had most enjoyed in many years of work at the Museum—along with, unquestionably, some problems and crises. Donald Lathrap’s text reflected the very best thinking about the Formative Stage in Ecuador. The catalogue was itself a contribution to scholarship, thereby continuing a long-standing Field Museum tradition of linking new research and exhibits. At the same time, the exhibit commanded the attention of a wide public, and, as with several earlier exhibits, Ancient Ecuador sparked the interest and pride of many Latin American visitors—who in this case lived not only in Chicago, but also in several other U.S. cities, and finally in Ecuador. This project posed complex challenges of collaboration both within and between museums, and fortunately here the successes and accomplishments outweighed the frustrations. It brought Collier’s own work back to the Andean country on which he had worked three and a half decades earlier, and he continued his past practice of visiting the archaeological sites on which he was preparing exhibits, as well as linking the archaeological material to contemporary ethnographic insights and documentation. Finally, although times had certainly changed in the organization of museum exhibition programs, Collier had the great pleasure of collaborating once again with creative and dedicated colleagues who loved museum work as much as he did.

Acknowledgments

By Donald Collier

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good friends, and working with him was a stimulating experience.

Editors' Note: The present version of this essay was edited in 2002 by Stephen Nash, Michelle Bonogofsky, and David Collier. The text has been slightly shortened, in part to avoid overlap with other chapters on the history of the Museum that are included in this volume. Editorial judgments were based in part on Donald Collier's notes that accompanied his final drafts of the essay, which were written in 1990.
The Legacy of James W. VanStone in Museum and Arctic Anthropology

Jessica M. Rooney and Chapurukha M. Kusimba

The contributions of Jim VanStone to anthropological studies in the American North are without precedent. No anthropologist, living or dead, can begin to approach the breadth and depth of his achievements. Prehistoric and historic archaeology, community studies, ethnohistories, Russian translations, ethnological works, and editorial involvements represent examples. Will there be another VanStone in northern studies? I doubt it. (Wendell Oswalt, quoted by Pratt et al. 1998:1)

James VanStone (Fig. 17.1) served as curator of North American archaeology and ethnology at the Field Museum from 1966 until the time of his death, on February 28, 2001. In 1992 he became curator emeritus. He is best known for his work on the anthropology and history of the Arctic. In addition to pioneering a number of research methods for understanding the lived human experience, he was a prolific writer, publishing more than 40 books and monographs, 45 book reviews, and 100 articles and book chapters.

Jim VanStone belonged to a fast-dwindling generation of anthropologists who were trained and remained steadfastly committed to holistic anthropological knowledge—a complementary application of the four-field approach. His career spanned more than five decades and typified perhaps one of the final applications of Boasian anthropology. Arctic studies have benefited from the attention of eminent scholars who studied and rigorously applied Boasian theoretical and empirical anthropology, but who remained open to new developments in the field. In addition to Franz Boas, they include Alés Hrdlička, Froelich Rainey, and Frederica De Laguna. Jim VanStone belongs to this august group. In some respects he was ahead of his peers in recognizing the importance of ethnoarchaeology in archaeology, a stance that later became more accessible with the work of Lewis Binford in the 1960s (e.g., Binford 1978) and Ian Hodder in the 1980s.

Jim VanStone’s long tenure at the Museum was marked by regular and important contributions in the form of curating special collections, interpreting these collections in the context of North American lifeways, and developing new exhibit halls. These local efforts, and the modesty and tact with which he conducted himself in often trying situations, should not obscure his larger contributions to the ever-broadening field of museum anthropology and his singular knowledge of Russian–Arctic peoples’ contact. In the following selection, we take on the rather formidable task of recounting the vie et œuvre of an outstanding figure in North American archaeology.

James VanStone and his twin sister Suzanne were born in Chicago on October 3, 1925, to Nathan Edward VanStone and Estella VanStone. His father was a chemist who worked on paint chemistry in a Chicago laboratory. Estella was born in Battle Creek, Michigan, and studied music at a nearby conservatory. After marrying Nathan, Estella continued to pursue music and became a choir director in several Chicago churches until 1937, when the VanStones moved to Cleveland. Nathan accepted a job as paint chemist at Sherwin-Williams Paint Company. He worked his way...
up the corporate ladder to become vice president and director of paint manufacturing. He died in 1970, at the age of 80, but was honored posthumously by the company and the American Chemical Society for his contribution to the development of water-based paints. Suzanne attended college at the University of New Mexico but left a year later to marry Russell J. Stambaugh. The VanStones were pleased with her choice of husband. The senior VanStone called him a "good catch" because her father-in-law, Armstrong Alexander Stambaugh, was the president of Ohio Standard Oil, which later became American Oil Company (Amoco).

At age nine, James came down with poliomyelitis. He was sick for two years, bedridden for six months, and wore a brace for the next 18 months. Because he spent most of the two years listening to classical music and reading, this inactive period may have indirectly contributed to his future interest in anthropology (Lantis 1998). Indeed, VanStone acknowledged that his interest in history began then. Like many young people who eventually become archaeologists, VanStone was fascinated with Egyptian, Greek, and Roman archaeology, quite unaware that there were other types of archaeologies until he went to college (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:1). Thus, he could have become an Old World archaeologist, but his disinterest in Latin, then a compulsory language for classical archaeologists, discouraged him from venturing any further (Pratt et al. 1998:1).

VanStone graduated from high school in 1944 and attended Oberlin College in northern Ohio, graduating in 1948. At the time, anthropology at Oberlin had not yet become a major, so he majored in art history. There was only one professor of anthropology at Oberlin, Loren Eisley. VanStone took every course Eisley offered. Although Eisley's main interest was in prehistory, he was nevertheless intrigued by the broader aspects of social science and the humanities (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:1). A year before VanStone graduated, Eisley left Oberlin to become the head of the anthropology department at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

Fig. 17.1. James W. VanStone at a trapper's camp near Snowdrift, Northwest Territories, winter 1961.
VanStone spent the summer of 1947 at the Field Museum, where he worked on the installation of the *Indians Before Columbus* exhibit (see Collier, this volume). He also participated in an archaeological field school on the Blue Hill site in Maine. His museum and fieldwork experiences were enjoyable enough to convince him to devote the rest of his life’s career to anthropology. Because he was keenly aware that he had not been a star student at Oberlin—he had received grades of B in Eiseley’s courses—he wrote to his former professor to explain his continued interest in anthropology and his wish to pursue it in graduate school. At the time, Eiseley was developing the new graduate program at the University of Pennsylvania and needed students, so he urged VanStone to apply (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:1).

VanStone was more successful in graduate school, where he decided to focus on archaeology (Lantis 1998:6). He found himself studying with the leaders of the discipline of anthropology at Pennsylvania and was, literally, at one of the epicenters of the discipline as it was being developed and refined. VanStone worked with Louis Giddings, a fellow student, and professors Alfred Irving Hallowell and Frank Speck, as well as Frederica de Laguna, from nearby Bryn Mawr College, who taught a number of classes at Pennsylvania. He took courses from the director of the University Museum, Froelich Rainey, as well as from Linton Satterthwaite and Carleton Coon. It was Speck who steered VanStone’s interest toward the Northwest coast, before the former died suddenly in the middle of the semester in 1947. Hallowell encouraged VanStone to study ethnology. However, it was Giddings, while later teaching at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, who pushed VanStone toward Arctic anthropology (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:1). Rainey helped VanStone hone his interest and appreciation for museum anthropology. After Speck’s sudden death, Frederica (“Freddie”) de Laguna was invited to complete his course on Native American anthropology. De Laguna was later to have a major influence on VanStone’s career. She was one of the first anthropologists to work in Alaska, and one of the first anywhere to employ history, oral traditions, anthropology, and archaeology to understand the Arctic cultures. VanStone generously acknowledged Freddie’s influence on his thinking and work over the years. Their friendship was to last for the rest of their lives.

Giddings had begun his fieldwork experience with Froelich Rainey and Helge Larson in 1939. He discovered and developed tree-ring dating of Eskimo cultures, especially in northwestern Alaska (Rainey 1965), and taught VanStone tree-ring dating (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:1; see also VanStone 1953; Nash 1999a, 2000). After receiving his master’s degree in 1950, VanStone accompanied Giddings to excavate at Cape Denbigh in the Norton Sound region of Alaska (Pratt et al. 1998:1).

This field experience made a profound impression on VanStone. He went to Alaska interested in archaeology but was most impressed by the persistence of traditional lifestyles of native Alaskan peoples. Unlike their counterparts in other areas of the United States, who had been relocated to reservations, the native Alaskans had remained on their ancestral lands for thousands of years. After this experience, VanStone realized he had received his calling: “as soon as I saw some living Eskimos I began to get less interested in archaeology” (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:111). At the time, in the 1950s, most Alaskanists were primarily concerned with finding the earliest evidence of human settlements in the Americas. This was understandable because the Bering Strait served as the bridge linking the Old World to the New World and was a controversial and exciting place to conduct research, as it still is (Roosevelt 2000). VanStone had the chance to build on previous Paleoindian work (e.g., Nelson 1935), thereby making a name for himself with splashy discoveries. Instead, he found himself increasingly fascinated by the living people, in whom he saw the opportunity to study the effects of their relative isolation from the Western world and their way of life.

In 1951, VanStone conducted archaeological excavations at Kotsébue, Alaska (Pratt et al. 1998:1), in partial fulfillment of the requirements for his doctoral degree (VanStone 1954). That same year, Giddings accepted a position at the University of Pennsylvania and returned to Philadelphia. Giddings’s departure created a vacancy at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, that, thanks to Rainey’s and Giddings’s stellar recommendations, was offered to VanStone (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:1).

VanStone remained at the University of Alaska from 1951 until 1958. During that period, he successfully completed and defended his doctoral dissertation at the University of Pennsylvania, receiving his degree in 1954 (Pratt et al. 1998:1). While doing field research in 1950 and 1951, he became acquainted with an Inupiat family and
lived with them for two years. Elderly Inupiat were his primary informants on material culture, ethnohistory, and oral traditions. These two years in the field convinced him to begin paying closer attention to recent material culture not as proxy for understanding archaeology but as an important area of research in its own right. He began to incorporate the ethnography of living people into his research, a trend that remained a hallmark of his research agenda throughout his academic career and can be found in almost all his subsequent field-based publications.

Despite his newfound interest in ethnography and material culture, VanStone did not completely abandon teaching and conducting archaeological research in Alaska. It was at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, that he met Wendell Oswald. Oswald not only excelled as a student of VanStone’s, he also went on to earn his doctorate at the University of Arizona. He became a highly accomplished anthropologist in his own right, known for pioneering studies in the anthropology of technology (Oswald 1976). Both VanStone and Oswald were influenced by De Laguna, whose magnum opus, Under Mt. St. Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit (1972), built on her earlier archaeological work, published in 1964 as The Archaeology of the Yakutat Bay Area, Alaska (De Laguna 1964; see De Laguna 1972: 4). According to VanStone, Under Mt. St. Elias was the finest work ever written in Arctic anthropology. Pratt and his colleagues credit De Laguna and VanStone with recognizing the importance of applying archaeology, ethnography, and ethnohistory in a complementary fashion (Pratt et al. 1998:3). In this sense, they were pioneers of the new ethnoarchaeology that became popular in the mid-1960s and early 1970s through the writings of Binford (1968), Gould (1978), Longacre (1994), and Yellen (1977).

Ethnoarchaeology changed the thinking of many scholars who were wrestling with the limitations of traditional archaeology. Simply defined, ethnoarchaeology is ethnography performed by archaeologists using methods and theories borrowed from ethnology and ethnography. Oswald defines ethnoarchaeology as “the study, from an archaeological perspective, of material culture based on verbal information about artifacts obtained from persons, or their direct descendants, who were involved with the production” (Oswald n.d.:3). Archaeologists need ethnography’s focus on material culture, which many sociocultural anthropologists do not emphasize. As Oswald points out, the term was originally spelled with a hyphen—ethno-archaeology—as early as 1900, but both concept and term were then submerged for a number of years (see Orme 1973). The term reemerged in 1967 in The Ethnoarchaeology of Crow Village, Alaska, written by Oswald and VanStone. In the following passage they describe their intent in using this term, and the approach it subsumes:

The comparative information available for the recent past is virtually always more complete than for the more distant past. Thus, it is logical to develop an archaeological program in any particular geographical area by digging the recent sites and then working back in time to older sites. However, the overwhelming majority of archaeologists compound their already staggering interpretive problems by being obsessed with antiquity. Thus many potentially useful sequences hang in uncertain limbo or are linked to history by frail suppositions and inferences. We hoped to avoid this pitfall through the kind of archaeology we undertook. (Oswald and VanStone 1967a:11)

Many prefer the expression “ethnoarchaeology” to similar ones such as “living archaeology,” “action archaeology,” or “ethnographic archaeology” (Kramer 1979:12). During the 1970s, it became a popular way to gain archaeological insight. Watson (1979:277) further explains the implications of this type of methodology:

The theoretical basis for ethnoarchaeology is the use of analogies derived from present observations to aid interpretation of past events and processes. The reason we archaeologists do this—make observations in contemporary communities—is to provide ourselves with as many and as varied interpretive hypotheses as possible to help us understand (explain and predict) archaeological remains. Archaeological remains, of course, are the sole means of describing and explaining human behavior throughout those vast reaches of time and space where there are no written records.

Yet in the early 1950s, these were only ideas on which VanStone would base much of his future research agenda and had not yet been realized. VanStone took advantage of the opportunity to live in an Alaskan community and excavate, as well as to study its culture for an extensive period of time, in 1955. VanStone and Oswald developed a program to conduct community studies that involved examining Alaskan villages, focusing on ethnography. Oswald went to the Kuskokwim River region and worked with the Napaskiak (Oswald 1963), and VanStone went to Point Hope (VanStone 1962) in the far north of Alaska, where he
stayed for more than 18 months studying culture change as part of the popular community studies of the 1950s and 1960s (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:1).

Proponents of community studies argued that anthropologists should go to the field and record each community as it was in that moment. Additional studies would be undertaken in the same community over a number of years. Such studies would then be compared, and the data would be gleaned to determine the rates of change over time, called acculturation.

VanStone confessed that his time at Point Hope "was the best two years of my life" (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:III) and had the greatest impact on his career. This is not surprising because he had a heavy teaching load at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, teaching 10 courses a year. At the same time, he was able to find time to escape to the field. After seven years of teaching more than 70 courses, he was burnt out and looking for a way to leave Alaska. Finding no way out, he finally quit his position in 1958 and went to Europe looking for adventure. Unfortunately, he soon ran out of money and found himself living at home with his parents for the rest of that year.

In 1959, VanStone accepted a position at the University of Toronto as assistant professor of anthropology. Compared to the University of Alaska, his teaching load at the University of Toronto was only nine hours a week (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:1). He remained at Toronto for seven years, conducting ethnographic field research in Canada and collections-based research in the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM). He also honed his interest in collections research in the years he worked at the ROM (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:1).

Van Stone's *Point Hope: An Eskimo Village in Transition* was published in 1962 at Toronto. This book is considered by some Arctic scholars to be "the best [study] on an Alaskan Native community at the threshold of modernization" (Pratt et al. 1998:4). Yet despite progress in community studies projects and the publication of some classic community-based research, like Carl Withers's *Plainville USA* (1945), VanStone remained uneasy with the ahistorical nature of these ethnographic studies (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:III; see also Lantis 1970).

For VanStone's research in the Arctic, the importance of historical documents in understanding the impact the Russians had on the Eskimos of southwestern Alaska in the 19th century was crucial: Alaskanists could not afford to ignore history. De Laguna had successfully used archival sources for understanding the Tlingit of Yakutat. VanStone and Oswalt found archival and historical data—including church records and eyewitness accounts—especially valuable in their research in the Kuskokwim River region. Their complementary use of historical, anthropological, and ethnographic materials in *The Ethnoarchaeology of a Crow Village* (VanStone and Oswalt 1967) was a pioneering effort that anthropologists found informative and refreshing.

VanStone took three years of Russian at the University of Toronto in order to improve his knowledge about the history of Alaska during the years of Russian control (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:III). His tenure at Toronto was rewarding and productive. He had published four books and monographs and 32 articles, and had become one of the leaders of Arctic anthropology. He had won respect from his colleagues and teachers. His influence on Arctic anthropology had began to emerge both in the quality of research and in methodological rigor.

Curator of North American Archaeology and Ethnology: The First 20 Years

Many academics would have been satisfied with what VanStone had accomplished and would have settled down to a comfortable career after earning tenure. Toronto is a beautiful city, and the University of Toronto is one of the best universities in North America, but VanStone's career and personal philosophy had been guided by an intense need to avoid conflict. When we asked VanStone why he left the University of Toronto, he responded that he did so in order to avoid turmoil in the Department of Anthropology. He felt that such turmoil was unnecessarily counterproductive to the performance of faculty and had ramifications for students in the department. Because he enjoyed working in museums at Fairbanks and Toronto, he began to look for a museum position (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:1). While interviewing for an opening at the Smithsonian, the interviewer mentioned that the Field Museum was looking for a curator to replace George Quimby, who had left the Field Museum to become director of the Burke Museum at the University of Washington in Seattle. VanStone applied for the Field Museum position and was in-
vited for an interview. Both Donald Collier, chief curator of anthropology, and Lee Webber, the director of the Museum, were so impressed by VanStone that Webber offered him the position that same day (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:II).

VanStone joined the Field Museum in 1966 at the rank of associate curator of North American archaeology and ethnology. In those days, there were fewer scholars willing to work in museums. There was an ironic disrespect for museum positions in academia, and a lack of good anthropologists in general led to a surplus of jobs in the market (see Collier and Tschopik, this volume; Kusimba and Stanish 1995:II). Thus, the position at the Museum had been open for a year before VanStone accepted it. VanStone laughed as he recalled the difference between how it is now, with an abundance of qualified applicants for any scholarly position, and then: “The job had been open for a whole year, and Don [Collier] said ‘Hey! We got somebody! We caught one, don’t let him go’ and Mr. Webber said ‘Ok, I’ll offer him a job at lunch…’. Now with equal opportunity and the desire for diversity in the departments, it has to be more complicated. And also there are lots of good applicants. My god! The stuff I read for [job applications in the 1990s]’” (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:II).

VanStone’s candidacy for the position was especially impressive because of his knowledge of both archaeology and ethnology. When he was hired, Collier hoped VanStone would work on renovating the Maritime Peoples exhibit. VanStone was interested in the curatorship because of the freedom the position offered for expanding his knowledge and testing hypotheses he had developed during decades of fieldwork. He would have unlimited contact hours with the collections. He also hoped he would have more time for research—at last, no students and courses to deal with. It was too good to be true!

When Collier stepped down as chief curator in 1970, the Museum’s administrative structure was altered (see Collier, this volume; Haskin et al., this volume). Instead of having long-term appointments of chief curators, the system was changed to follow that used in universities, with rotating four-year term appointments as chair of the department. VanStone gets the distinction of having served as the first chair of the Department of Anthropology from 1970 to 1974. VanStone admired and respected the way Collier ran the department and tried to emulate him. VanStone appreciated Collier for his selfless demeanor, for he was a boss who would go out of his way to “protect his staff from the administration” (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:II). Looking back, VanStone felt that his reign as chair was just “a holding operation” and not especially successful, though he was proud of having made the decision to hire Bennet Bronson, currently the curator of Asian archaeology and ethnology, and John Edward Terrell, currently the curator of Oceanian archaeology and ethnology (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:II).

VanStone’s initial impression and attraction to the Field Museum was the fact that the institution not only emphasized but also respected the curators’ research time. He was, however, somewhat disappointed when he noticed a change in how the curators’ responsibilities were perceived (see Collier, this volume).

Tenure was also not in place when VanStone came to the Museum; in fact, he was hired without a contract. VanStone has the distinction of having consistently been a “jump ahead” of tenure wherever he went. He was hired as associate curator at the Museum on the strength of his research and teaching experience despite never having been reviewed for tenure at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, or at the University of Toronto. When he felt that he was ready for promotion to the rank of curator, he told Collier, who agreed, and promptly had him promoted (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:II).

VanStone made many important contributions to North American archaeology and anthropology while at the Field Museum. We will list only a few that clearly stand out:

The best-selling Fieldiana author, and will probably hold this distinction for a very long time to come (see Haskin et al., this volume).

The first person from any museum to receive a National Endowment for the Humanities grant. His proposal to the NEH “called attention to a different kind of humanistic archaeology” (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:III) and found support from peer reviewers in nonarchaeological disciplines.

The curator who had more available exhibit space than any other North American curator in the world (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:II).


An associate editor of Arctic Anthropology from 1961 through 1989.
The founder and editor of the *Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska* from 1952 to 1957 and consulting editor from 1957 through 1967.

While at the Field Museum, VanStone published 19 books and monographs and as many as 50 articles not directly related to the Museum collections. He also maintained an interest in teaching. He taught two courses at the University of Chicago—one was a seminar in 1967 and another in 1969. He then taught at Northwestern University for 10 years, starting in 1968. He wanted to teach specific courses on the Arctic or Subarctic, but they wanted him to teach introductory Native American studies courses. An agreement was reached in which VanStone would teach the Native American courses every other year and a more specific Arctic class in the alternate years. He later published his Northwestern lectures in *Athapaskan Adaptations* (1974).

For the first 20 years at the Field Museum, VanStone regularly conducted fieldwork. In 1978 and 1980, he carried out excavations at Nushagak (VanStone 1967b, 1970a, 1971, 1972a, 1972b). Between 1970 and 1979 he carried out three field seasons in the Yukon River region (VanStone 1976, 1978, 1979a, 1979b). His final trip to the field was in 1985 and 1986, when he followed up on earlier fieldwork at Akulivikchuk (see VanStone 1970b). Though declining health prohibited him from conducting additional fieldwork thereafter, he continued to attend conferences in Alaska. VanStone also continued to enjoy working at the Museum because there were always other productive anthropologists (even if none were Arctic specialists) close by who inspired his work, as well as students to talk to, teach, and influence (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:III).

**Collections-Based Research**

When Jim VanStone was hired, the Field Museum was considering revising the exhibit on the Northwest and Arctic cultures, called the *Maritime Peoples of the Arctic and Northwest Coast*. As curator of North American archaeology and ethnology, the responsibility fell onto his shoulders. For various reasons, however, it took almost 10 years for the project to get under way. This delay provided him with an opportunity to explore the collections under his care. He wanted to devote as much time to field- and collections-based research as to teaching. The more he became acquainted with the field, the less he felt he knew about the material culture of North America. He was impressed by his senior colleagues’ knowledge of materials under their care. He was especially impressed by Donald Collier’s encyclopedic knowledge of the entire Museum’s anthropology holdings. Therefore, VanStone spent the next decade acquainting himself with the entirety of the North American collections.

One of VanStone’s initial curatorial responsibilities was to reorganize the old Eskimo Collection storeroom. The storeroom was in a state when he began working on it: “It was a mess! At least [now] the light shines in there. You should have seen it, it was a disaster.” With the help of an intern from Antioch College, in Ohio, he developed a system for evaluating the collections’ integrity, understanding their context, and teasing out information from the incomprehensible way in which materials had been stored. The old Eskimo storeroom has since been converted into an office, and the Eskimo collection has been reunited with the rest of the North American ethnographic collections.

In addition to Donald Collier’s unparalleled knowledge of the collections, VanStone also admired Collier’s administrative skill. Determined to emulate Collier’s example, VanStone spent much of his time in the exhibit halls and storage rooms. Perhaps one of VanStone’s Achilles’ heels was his inability to be satisfied with his own knowledge. He became obsessed with the desire to learn everything about the collection. He was the author of more monographs on North American material culture than any other curator in the history of the institution and knew more about the North American collection than any of his curatorial colleagues, but he still seemed convinced that his contributions were insufficient. A few years before his death he confided to his colleagues that “even now, I don’t know as much as I wish I did” (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:1). This feeling of inadequacy may have contributed to his unhappiness during his later years, when declining health prevented him from spending more time with the collections.

VanStone strove to share his knowledge of the Museum collections with both the public and scholarly communities. He believed the public had a right to learn and thoroughly understand the material culture of indigenous people stored in museums. He was a gifted and eloquent writer. In
all of his monographs, he adopted a style in which he provided the background to the area of concern, explained the objects, analyzed their significance—and left room for readers to draw their own conclusions. His work included illustrations almost without fail.

Overall, he published 37 books and monographs, in addition to 70 articles and over 34 book reviews, in the 35 years he was at the museum. That is 140 publications, more than four per year. He thus left an enviable record that no anthropology curator at the Museum can match. We therefore requested him to name seven publications that he considered representative of the breadth and quality of his work. He returned the following list:

1993 The Ainu Group at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904. Arctic Anthropology 30(2).

He considered the 1979 Ingalik Contact Ecology monograph to be his best work. The monograph combines documented history, ethnohistory, archaeology, and ethnography to discuss transformations that occur among the Ingalik during 135 years of contact with Europeans. This book was modeled after De Laguna’s comprehensive work Under Mt. St. Elias (1972). The others represent his work on the collections (1985 Naskapi material culture monograph), his concern for methodology (1970 Lantis book chapter), his concern for the informants themselves (1993 Ainu article), and his contributions to history through translations (works with Kraus). These seven articles best illustrate how passionate VanStone was about the use of multiple methodologies, brilliantly melded together to understand each culture accurately.

VanStone wrote other influential works. McClellan (1998:8) calls Athapaskan Adaptations “the first comprehensive survey of Northern Athapaskan cultures,” which came from years of archaeological, ethnographic, and historical study, and points out that later VanStone brought together northern specialists from two continents. Lantis (1998:6) also believes that VanStone’s translations demonstrated his expertise in and respect for the history of anthropology. She cites his Preface and Introduction in V. S. Khromchenko’s Russian Exploration in Southwest Alaska (1973) and his Introduction to Russian Explorations on Southwestern Alaska: The Journals of Petr Korsakovskiy and Ivan Ya. Vasilev (see VanStone and Kraus 1988b) as two of his best publications. And Pratt and others (1998:4) have said that Point Hope is still “the best [study] on an Alaskan Native Community.”

The sheer volume of publications on the collections, as well as those that continue to be influential on Arctic studies as a whole, just scratch the surface of VanStone’s contributions to anthropology. He represented the old and great school of curators who spent a lot of time with the collections and did not see them as a nuisance. He recognized that collections are housed in museums in large part to be available to scholars and the public who want to use the artifacts to clarify the past and present of humankind’s cultural and natural experience. VanStone felt it was his duty to deal with the collections but also genuinely wanted to get the information into the flow of knowledge. For example, in An Annotated Ethnohistorical Bibliography of the Nushagak River Region, Alaska (VanStone 1968:150), he wrote, “This bibliography represents an attempt to draw sources together and present them in such a way as to indicate their value to the ethnologist, archaeologist and ethnohistorian. These are materials for the study of culture history, studies that would provide a firm foundation for the consideration of contemporary Eskimo culture in the area.” VanStone taught us by example to be more concerned with the knowledge the collections can
provide for the world and less worried about what the Field Museum can do for us, treating the collections as if they were only in the Museum to be stored.

The Maritime Peoples of the Arctic and Northwest Coast Exhibit

The Maritime Peoples exhibit at the Field Museum is arguably the best exhibition of anthropology of the Arctic and Northwest Coast Native American peoples in the world (Fig. 17.2). At 10,000 square feet, it is the largest anthropology exhibit at the Field Museum. It is VanStone's brainchild and contains over 2,500 artifacts—more than any other Field Museum anthropology exhibit ever (Bronson 1998:10). The exhibit is divided into five sections: Environment, Hunting and Fishing, Village and Society, Spiritual World, and Art. The hall has an incredible level of detail and a variety of artifacts, dioramas, texts, photographs, and videotapes. There are similar exhibits around the world, for example at the Muse Vol- keskund in Germany, but this one is the most informative, complete, and intriguing.

When VanStone arrived at the Field Museum, the Maritime Peoples Hall was the oldest of the anthropology halls, having been assembled by Ralph Linton in the 1920s (Kusimba and Rooney 2000:1). People recognized the quality, beauty, and variety of the collections within the exhibit but knew it needed to be revised. According to VanStone, the cases were extremely crowded, unorganized, dark, old-fashioned, and dilapidated, and did not tell any story well.

Working with Ronald Webber, who was hired to assist in developing the new exhibit, VanStone began developing a plan in 1976 to rebuild the hall. Money was tight and work progressed slowly, interrupted by numerous "blockbuster" temporary exhibits. Finally, VanStone and Webber got grants from the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities that enabled the Exhibits Department to create a special team to complete the project. They hired an administrative assistant, Kristine Westerberg, to make sure everything was organized properly. Although the exhibit could have been built in three or four years, it ended up requiring eight (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:11).

Weber and VanStone began the process by writing a 200-page exhibit design (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:11). When he presented this detailed script to the designers, he was surprised to hear them say that all they needed was an outline! So, he recounted later, he "sat down and wrote that in ten minutes, and that's why the hall looks the way it does. Each section of the hall is devoted to a major aspect of culture that I thought ought to be covered" (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:11). VanStone chose the objects, he and Weber wrote the labels, and VanStone signed off on every case before it was installed (Kusimba and Rooney 2000:1). The entire exhibit cost more than $7 million, far more than was originally estimated, and it remains the most costly exhibit in the Field Museum's history (Kusimba and Rooney 2000:III).

The exhibit was constructed in five sections because VanStone thought that was the best way to organize it. The exhibit space can be accessed through many entrances, and although VanStone hoped people would walk through the exhibit from start to finish, he recognized the importance of making each section able to stand alone while still contributing to the whole picture of maritime life. The Exhibits Department wanted continuity no matter where viewers entered. They hoped to satisfy both viewers who wanted a "quick fix" and those who would spend more time in the exhibit. The Maritime Peoples hall was a state-of-the-art exhibit for its time; it includes graphic art and video monitors that display anecdotal stories, and it is much more comprehensible than the original (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:II).

Because the Maritime Peoples hall was developed as two parallel exhibits, with the Northwest Coast on one side and the Arctic on the other, it is easy and interesting for the viewer to compare the different styles of material culture. There are dioramas of Arctic and Northwest scenery, photographs taken in the field, television presentations, historic time lines, diagrams of trade routes, textual explanations, colorful artifacts, multiple examples of similar collections to show variety, descriptions of how to do native crafts, maps, replications of houses, and so on (Fig. 17.3). The dioramas display the interaction between humans and the natural world. Because it emphasizes environmental differences, the hall features a combination of visual and textual information, allowing the visitors to choose what to examine. Artifacts include totem poles, pottery, clothing, armor, baskets, children's toys, weapons, blankets, knives, spoons, hunting materials, boats, fishing nets and hooks, stuffed dogs, cooking tools, jewelry, ceremonial masks, domestic containers.
Fig. 17.2. The Spiritual World section of the Maritime Peoples of the Arctic and Northwest Coast exhibit, showing Kwakiutl clothing.
carved ivory pipes and bows, furniture, and more (Fig. 17.4). VanStone again proved his commitment to disseminating knowledge by not only formulating this exhibit as a teaching device but also publishing on its artifacts. He wrote *Eskimo Whaling Charms* (1967b), *Masks of the Point Hope Eskimo* (1969), *Sealskin Bags of Unusual Construction from the Bering Strait Region* (1984a), and *Athapaskan Indian Clothing in the Collections of the Field Museum* (1983), among others, from the exhibited collections.

VanStone felt the *Maritime Peoples of the Arctic and Northwest Coast* exhibit was "fairly successful" at achieving a balance between a simple outline covering a broad spectrum and detail that graduate students could use, and he once confided that he thought it the best exhibit at the Field Museum, as do we (Kusimba and Rooney 2000:111). But it seems the exhibit's major strength is also its weakness: too much detail. Some have called the exhibit a fine example of artifact overkill. Are the cases so full that people cannot focus on the artifacts' significance? Do the visitors notice subtle differences in all the objects of the same type? Is the text too detailed and intimidating to the visitor? Although VanStone thought some of the cases are too crowded, he nevertheless admitted that the reason he did not return them to the collections was his desire to show visitors how rich, diverse, and technologically accomplished the so-called maritime hunter-gatherers of the Northwest Coast and the Arctic truly were (Kusimba and Rooney 2000:1). The problem is that the Museum visitor gets to see less and less of the collections in the more modern exhibits, which typically use more technology than original objects. Ironically, this deprives the public of their right of access to collections.

The *Maritime Peoples of the Arctic and Northwest Coast* exhibit represents one of the best traditionally inspired permanent exhibits at the Field Museum. VanStone organized it in such a way...
that people could simultaneously learn about the two cultures. The Maritime Peoples hall attains a balance between assuming the visitors are educated and interested while also making sure they are entertained at a superficial and visual level. It appeals to five-year-olds and graduate students alike and teases the imagination of those who believe the Native Americans had no culture, and for these reasons we are proud of it. The Maritime Peoples of the Arctic and Northwest Coast exhibit is a gem. We should treasure and celebrate this rare jewel and in so doing honor the memory of the man, colleague, teacher, friend, and mentor who made it possible.

A Summing Up: VanStone’s Contributions

Many museum scholars know or have an idea of what a great anthropology curator should do (see Colbert 1958; Terrell 1991; Collier and Tsheopik, this volume; Haas, this volume). Yet when it is discussed, it seems an unreachable ideal. Fenton (1960:332–333) outlined his conception of the qualities of a curator as follows: (1) an interest in the study of humans, whether it be ethnology, archaeology, or physical anthropology; (2) concern for the collections and their significance; (3) desire to do research in the field; and
(4) desire to teach through exhibiting. Wilcox (this volume) agrees, writing.

A curator is active in public programs, including both lectures and exhibitions, and also must attend to a certain amount of administration. A curator’s greatest importance to an institution, however, Colbert (1958) stressed, is the role of researcher, which brings to an institution the authority and originality of its message. All of these roles must be continually balanced, new one, new another, being foremost in the curator’s daily activities.

Clearly, VanStone was one of a small handful of curators who exemplified these qualities and had meticulously prioritized every separate aspect of a curator’s job. He successfully accomplished all of the above by being interested in archaeology, material culture, ethnography, history, and translations as well as spending time on the collections, creating exhibits, teaching, and being involved in administration.

He enjoyed fieldwork and returned to the field to give back to the communities in which he had worked. During the mid-1970s, VanStone revisited the villages several times to participate in cultural awareness programs. During these educational events, elderly people from the area would present to younger people. Mitsu hunters talked, and VanStone discussed his work. At one such event he even learned how to weave fishing net from elderly women (Kusimba and Stanish 1995: III). The Eskimo people received him well, for he appreciated their friendship as well as their contributions to his research. Some anthropologists rarely return to research areas after completing their studies; even fewer ever feel the responsibility to give back to those communities. VanStone not only revisited villages but also was active in the movement to assist Native American peoples’ attainment of equal civil and human rights enjoyed by other Americans. VanStone felt that if he could pass on one piece of advice to all anthropologists, it would be how important it is that “researchers leave the villages and areas where they are with a good impression” because it helps the next group of researchers (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:III). He always felt guilty because informants he worked with thought he was going to write a book on them and make loads of money, and he was frustrated, but he could not convince them otherwise. He was keenly aware that he was using them to make a career for himself, and as a result he felt guilty at times. He saw and appreciated how much better it is now that anthropologists need consent to work in a village.

can rarely take artifacts, and have to explain to the informants how they will benefit. VanStone said, “That’s the way it should be” (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:III), demonstrating his progressive attitude and genuine concern for the native people.

VanStone created or was a part of three exhibits at the Field Museum, including the Maritime Peoples exhibit in 1982, Indians Before Columbus in 1947, and the Pawnee Earth Lodge (Fig. 17.5). VanStone also curated several collections away from the Field Museum, including the Smithsonian’s acclaimed Crossroads of Continents exhibit, which toured several museums nationally and contained artifacts that had previously never left Russia (see Fitzhugh and Crowell 1988).

VanStone taught, at four excellent universities (Alaska at Fairbanks, Toronto, Chicago, and Northwestern), advanced theory and methodology, and published extensively. He recognized his contributions but exaggerated his weaknesses. He saw the errors of the past and his role in them, but he was never one to let those problems—personal or work-related—stand in his way. He constantly aspired to better the institutions he was affiliated with, the villages he worked in, and the discipline of anthropology. When we visited him at his new home in Evanston, Illinois, shortly before his death, he was quite jovial and was talking about an unfinished manuscript that he could not wait to get back to as soon as he settled down. He was not satisfied then, and we believe he never was.

When asked what he would want a brand-new graduate student to do, he replied.

I would like to see someone who did like me, only better than me—who would spend a lot of time where there is rich archaeological material, where there are stable villages, and concentrate on one area for a long time. . . . And I think these intensive studies, of restricted areas using all of the methodology at your command is good. (Kusimba and Stanish 1995:III)

That quote reminds us that VanStone was modest and that he was interested in the multitheoretical and multimethodological approach. Yet what made VanStone such an outstanding scholar was his relentless pursuit of knowledge. This can be seen in the sheer number of articles, monographs, and books he published, as well as in his methodological approaches to anthropology. He was one of the pioneers of ethnoarchaeology. When he later felt this approach was insufficient, he pi-
Pioneered the analysis of history and language translations in his anthropological research (Pratt et al. 1998:2).

Personally, VanStone was articulate, shy, witty, and private, with a contagious smile. His writing was intense and flawless. He relished his time at the Museum. He remained loyal to Chicago, the Field Museum, and the Chicago Cubs baseball team, and he had a weakness for classical music. He was always focused on his career. He never let convention control his viewpoint. In fact, the tribute edition of Arctic Anthropology to VanStone was subtitled No Boundaries: Papers in Honor of James W. VanStone precisely because he was never limited by narrow ideas or lack of imagination (Pratt et al. 1998:2). He always sought more: more texts, more accurate information, more sensitive approaches, more complete sources, more useful data, more resourceful attitudes, and more imaginative ways to learn and to teach. As McClellan (1998:9) said, "I want to stress . . . that VanStone's work represents the kind of holistic approach to anthropology I hope will never be lost." Any of us can only begin to hope our careers reach the scope and importance of VanStone's. But if we have learned one thing from this extraordinary individual, it is that becoming an ideal academic is attainable, as VanStone in his turn learned from Giddings, De Laguna, and Collier. We were fortunate for the opportunity to learn how to learn from Jim VanStone. His legacy will be felt for years to come.

Fig. 17.5. Interior, Pawnee Earth Lodge replica.
III

Present and Future Challenges
The Changing Role of the Curator

Jonathan Haas

I am writing this paper while sitting at a small desk in a motel room in a small town called Kayenta on the Navajo Indian Reservation in northern Arizona. I have just returned from a hike up onto two nearby mesa tops where I was looking for evidence of defensive fortifications dating to the period from A.D. 1250 to 1300. This is an area where I have worked in the past, investigating the beginnings of intense warfare and social consolidation in the Four Corners region (see Haas and Creamer 1993). I have been eyeing the two mesas now for over 10 years, but this is the first chance I have had to climb them to look for archaeological sites. No luck in either case. I found a few scattered potsherds here and there, but no signs of ancient settlements. As I sat on top of the higher mesa, I realized that there was no water anywhere in the vicinity and no arable land that could have been farmed prehistorically, I probably could have saved myself the hike, but I wanted to be sure.

This short field excursion is only a small part of my trip to northern Arizona. Yesterday I made arrangements with a local Navajo family to guide a group I am leading to the magnificent ruins of Kiet Siel on Navajo National Monument early in the summer. This is an educational tour that also includes a potential benefactor for my other ongoing research project on the coast of Peru. While I am here, I will also be visiting several people who are with the Office of Cultural Preservation for the Navajo Nation in Window Rock, Arizona. Again, there are a couple of reasons for this visit. I will be meeting with the director of the Navajo museum to make arrangements for a long-term loan and curation agreement for the storage of a large collection of archaeological artifacts. This collection is the result of my previous excavation and survey projects here on the reservation. Next door to the museum, I will be meeting with the director of the Navajo Nation's repatriation office to discuss the status of our efforts to repatriate two very important Navajo sacred bundles held by the Field Museum for over 100 years. Certain items in these bundles were treated with arsenic many years ago, and the nation is justifiably concerned about the impact of this contamination should the bundles be put back into use by Navajo religious leaders.

The purpose of this somewhat lengthy exposition is not to relay the specific details of a trip into the field but to illustrate graphically the range of activities that fall within job description of a museum curator at the beginning of the 21st century. Curators today have three primary roles: research and writing, curation of collections, and exhibits and public programs. The present short trip embodies all these curatorial roles in one form or another.

Research and Writing

The field of anthropology emerged as a distinct social science in the late 19th century. In these early formative years, there was a close link between museums and the rest of anthropology (see Welsch 1999; Fowler, this volume). There was an unspoken consensus at the time that the goal of anthropology was to extract and describe the "essence" of the wide variety of non-Western cultures found scattered throughout the far corners of the world. There was also a general agreement that artifacts—material culture—provided valuable and necessary tools for describing those var-
ied cultural essences. Articles written in 19th-century anthropological journals were commonly illustrated with material culture and various schemes of cultural organization proffered in the 19th century used material culture as a primary axis for distinguishing one cultural level or type from another (see Morgan 1877; Tylor 1881). It is then not surprising that museums and museum curators played a central role in these beginning years of anthropology. Museums were the repositories of the numerous collections being made by anthropologists around the world. Museum curators in turn were responsible for carrying out research to gather both data and artifacts and for acquiring collections of artifacts made by others—anthropologists and nonanthropologists alike—throughout the world. There was a sense back then not only that all the cultures could be described, but also that museums should strive for representative collections from all those cultures.

Alas, an intervening century has shown that the 19th-century goals of anthropology were and still are unattainable. Anthropology no longer strives to extract the essence of an infinitely variable cultural world, and museums no longer seek representative collections of the world’s ancient and contemporary peoples. What, then, of the curator? It is not unreasonable to question the research role of the anthropology curator in a 21st-century museum. If their job is no longer to amass collections of material culture, what is it? The answer to this question comes in the evolving role of the museum itself (see Colbert 1958; Terrell 1991; Collier and Tschopik, this volume).

Although museums are often equated with their collections both within the profession and in the eyes of the public, there have been significant shifts away from this equivalency in anthropology museums at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st. As museums seek effective and engaging ways to convey the knowledge and insights of anthropology to their visiting audiences, they are finding that their storehouses of objects cannot serve as the sole medium of communication. Exhibits filled with ceramics, textiles, baskets, or religious icons can be wonderful vehicles for giving audiences an appreciation for the aesthetics and history of the art of diverse peoples around the world. Such exhibits, however, do not address the much broader range of social and cultural patterns that are the foci of contemporary anthropology and relevant to the lives of today’s visiting public. Population growth, for example, along with immigration, warfare, human-environ-

ment interactions, the changing face of the family, ethnicity, and race, are among the kinds of issues being addressed by anthropology today and have significance for every visitor who walks in a museum’s door. If museums are to avoid being marginalized as the sole purveyors of non-Western art, they have to address the issues and concerns of present-day visitor (be that visitor in the 20th, 21st, or 22nd century). This is where the role of the curator comes in.

The anthropology curator in the museum of the 21st century, through research and publications, provides the academic leadership for the institution. In this case, the comparison with a university is apt. In a university environment, the faculty sets the academic agenda. The teaching faculty determines the content of the courses, the requirements for a major, the graduate examinations, and the standards for a degree. In a museum, the curatorial faculty has similar responsibility for setting the academic agenda. Curators have responsibility for determining the focus and content of exhibits (though see Terrell 1991), educational programming, the publications, and even the gift shop of the museum. If we look at the anthropology museum today as a place where an interested public comes to learn about peoples and cultures other than themselves, then the anthropology curators are the people responsible for guiding that learning process. In order to set this academic agenda, a curatorial faculty has to be aware of and actively engaged in current research in the field of anthropology.

Active research and concomitant publication accomplish a couple of different goals. First, they ensure that the curators remain in touch with current methods, theories, and the basic knowledge base of anthropology. Research in this context plays an even more important role in the museum than it does in the university. In a university, teaching is a day-to-day dialogue. The teaching faculty has the constant stimulus of an inquisitive, hungry, skeptical student body. To stay ahead of or even just abreast of that student body, professors have to stay current. But in museums, the “student” body is a visiting public with whom curators have only a passing acquaintance. There is minimal dialogue in any meaningful sense. Without an independent source of stimulation, active research and publication provide the means whereby curators engage the issues of contemporary anthropology and convey a sense of currency and substance to the academic agenda of the museum.
The second goal of research and publication by a museum's curatorial faculty is to serve in a very fundamental way to advance the institutional goal of increasing public understanding of the human condition. In a rapidly changing world filled with cultural diversity, ever-more-complex social relations, and environmental challenges, museum visitors need to be provided both with a better appreciation for the world’s cultures and with basic tools for better understanding the causes of culture change and the role of people in an evolving cultural and natural environment. The research of curators, to the extent that it directly addresses issues of public concern, provides immediacy to the institutional message of the museum. The museum is able to rely on the research findings and publications of the curatorial faculty to engage the interest of the public and demonstrate graphically the relevance of anthropological research to the real world of the visiting audience.

The exact focus of a curator’s research is largely an independent decision. Some curators concentrate on analysis of the material objects found in a museum’s collections. This was certainly a primary focus for much of the 20th century, and it remains a viable option today. In contemporary anthropology, there has been a renewed interest in material culture studies, and new theoretical foundations allow for arriving at new insights into the arts and belief systems of the people who made and used the objects. At the same time, a growing number of anthropology curators at the start of the 21st century are engaged in a variety of cultural, archaeological, and biological projects that may or may not involve collecting or analyzing material culture. Perhaps the biggest shift in contemporary museum anthropology is that collecting and collections are no longer seen as ends in and of themselves, but rather as one of many possible means to the end of increased cultural understanding.

Without the expectation of collections-based research, the spectrum of research possibilities has broadened greatly in the most recent generation of anthropology curators. How then does the research program of a museum’s curatorial faculty differ, if at all, from research programs of faculties in universities and other kinds of academic settings? The answer to this question comes back again to the role of the museum. If the goal of a museum is to increase public understanding of the human condition, and if it is the responsibility of the curator to provide academic leadership in the museum, then it is not unreasonable that the research program of that museum curator ultimately relate back to that goal of public understanding. It is not enough for a museum curator to simply “increase knowledge” under the cloak of absolute academic freedom. By that standard, as a gratuitous example, a curator could spend an entire career counting the fibers in a single textile. Knowledge is increased, but toward what end? Knowledge alone, without anchor in the contemporary world, cannot justify any and all research conducted in a museum (or any other academic) environment. In an institution of public learning, then, the researcher/curator has the charge not only of conducting research and writing for a professional audience but also of being able to translate that research in a way that can be understood and appreciated by a general public audience. This places a heavier weight on museum curators to conduct research that has an immediate connection to the issues and subjects of concern and interest to the visiting audiences.

The Curation of Collections

At the inception of museum anthropology, the role of the curator was self-defined: to “curate” collections. A curator was charged with acquiring objects for the collection, taking care of those objects once they came into the museum, and putting those objects on public display for the visitors. But, as noted above, the anthropological research in museums has progressively shifted away from an exclusive focus on collections and material culture. To some extent, this is based on recognition that material culture is not a window into the full spectrum of people’s lives. Cultural anthropologists seeking an understanding of contemporary community politics, family organization, or religious movements, for example, do not look for that understanding to be somehow embodied or reified in clothing styles, cooking utensils, or even ceremonial paraphernalia. Material culture is certainly one part of any living cultural system, but it may or may not serve as a useful source of information for a researcher (see Codrington, this volume), depending on the questions being asked in the research.

The roaring jets of globalization further complicate the research value of contemporary material culture today. With a growing global economy and international markets, there is an increasing level of homogenization of material goods that
cuts across cultural lines and obviates the value of broad-spectrum collecting (see Friedman 2000). The Pokémon lunch boxes carried by children going to school on the Hopi mesas in Arizona or Lima, Peru, are the same as the Pokémon lunch boxes carried by any number of Chicago schoolchildren—as are the peanut butter sandwiches and apples (grown in Chile) contained within. Thus, as cultural anthropologists look at the relationships between people and their environment or at changing family organization or the melding of traditional healing with modern medical practices, the emphasis is not on material culture.

Nevertheless, there are still important reasons for continuing to collect modern material culture as part of a long-range curatorial research program working with living peoples. First and perhaps foremost among these is that the artistic and craft traditions of almost all non-Western people are still alive, well, and thriving. The material objects coming out of these traditions reflect both the dynamics and the stability of diverse symbolic, social, and technological systems. Anthropology museums stand today as literally the only public repositories of material culture that do not fall under the somewhat vague aegis of “high art.” Without active collecting programs, the global diversity of material culture that is already shrinking will be lost to humanity. Somewhat ironically, this is the same cry that drove the intense period of collecting at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th (see Welsch, this volume; McVicker, this volume). At that time there was a sense that the various non-Western cultures were endangered and soon to be extinct. If we did not gather together their material manifestations, there would be no record of these endangered peoples. Of course most of these cultures did not become extinct in the 20th century, and the situation today, while sounding similar, is quite different. Today, the issue is not the extinction of the cultures themselves but the potential loss of the artistic and technological diversity expressed in the wide range of living cultures. A related reason for collecting contemporary material culture is to provide museums with physical (“real”) media for developing exhibits on living peoples. Although anthropology exhibits in recent decades have shifted from mass presentations of artifacts to more multimedia interactive exhibits, actual objects are an ideal medium for communicating certain aspects of cultural reality and remain as material touchstones for the visiting audience.

Collection of prehistoric materials has also changed significantly over the history of museums. Archaeological curators in the past had a charge similar to cultural anthropologists: go forth and amass spectacular and representative collections (of objects or data) from the assorted ancient cultures that once inhabited the corners of the earth (see Fowler, this volume). Early excavations at the turn of the 20th century were little more than hunting expeditions designed to bring home artifacts that could be put on public exhibition (see McVicker, this volume). As archaeology itself changed in the 20th century, so too did the nature of collections made by museum anthropologists. The focus shifted from pretty, whole artifacts to comprehensive collections of the assorted bits and pieces of detritus that make up the large majority of objects found in any archaeological site. Not very interesting to look at and certainly not something a museum would want to put on exhibit, these collections were (and are) nevertheless the material foundations for reconstructing the cultural systems of societies long dead. Just within the past few years, even the acquisition of these comprehensive collections of broken stones and ceramics has slowed substantially. Because of growing concerns for retaining archaeological collections in the areas from which they originate (this is true even in the United States, where archaeological collections often cannot be curated outside their state of origin), few research projects today result in large numbers of artifacts coming back to the museum. What often do come back to museums are nontraditional collections of floral, faunal, soil, and chronometric samples. With constantly improving analytical methods, such nonartifactual materials are found to contain more and more of the information available from archaeological sites.

Beyond the acquisition of contemporary material culture, the role of the curator has changed in many other ways in the past century. During the era of active collection building there was a personal and possessive connection between curators and “their” collections. Although this possessiveness persists to the present, as curators are assigned responsibility to materials from a particular world area, the personal connection has diminished considerably. There has developed over the years a cadre of trained, specialized professional staff who have responsibility for the actual physical curation of collections held by a museum.
Collection managers, registrars, and conservators now handle all aspects of collections maintenance, including the catalogue, accessions, inventory, security, conservation, and loans, and accommodating visiting researchers, artists, and delegations from native groups whose material culture is represented in the collection (see Martin-Ross and Barnett, this volume). A curator is then one part of a professional collections management team. Rather than "curate" in a physical sense, a curator has responsibility, often mandated by the institution, for making decisions and recommendations about diverse aspects of collections care and use. These run from the substantive to the mundane and include such things as the appropriate use of collections for research purposes and exhibits, storage strategies (e.g., whether to group objects by type or by culture group), identification of objects and nomenclature for the collection catalogue, assigning monetary value to objects for loan insurance purposes, accessioning and deaccessioning collections, repatriation, and weighing the inevitable conflicts that arise between collections use and conservation. The level of engagement for an individual curator with the curation of collections, like an individual research agenda, varies considerably.

Exhibits and Public Programs

There is an interesting phrase in the museum world that arises from the equation of a museum and its collection: "exhibits curator." (George Quimby was the first and only Field Museum anthropology curator to hold this title, from 1943 to 1953.) The notion of an exhibit curator arose from the historic pattern of curators making collections, taking care of collections, and mounting exhibitions of those collections. This pattern continues to hold true in most art museums and other institutions directly object-oriented, such as car museums; however, the situation today in anthropology museums tends to be much more complex. To illustrate this complexity, I will relate a personal case study.

Several years ago the Field Museum proposed doing an exhibit on chocolate. As the exhibit would include both the biology and the cultural history of chocolate, a botanist and an anthropologist, me, were brought on as exhibit curators. One of the first issues to be resolved at the onset of the exhibit was to define its educational focus. What did we want our visitors to learn as they went through the exhibit? While a simple answer to this question might seem self-evident—we wanted them to learn about the origins and history of chocolate—I argued that this was not enough. I felt the exhibit had to have a more substantive anthropological message. What my colleague, Curator Alaka Wali, and I proposed was that the exhibit use chocolate as an example to talk about the process of commodification. How did chocolate go from being a natural plant in the rain forest to a hard commodity traded impersonally on the international commodities market? As an example of the process of commodification, chocolate resembles any number of other commodities, such as bananas, corn, oil, or even diamonds. It would offer our visitors a different kind of insight into the various kinds of economic roles played by natural products in the evolution of cultural systems.

After lively discussions about how a complex topic like commodification could come to be translated into visitor-friendly language and media, the entire team then concentrated on developing the parts of the exhibit. This was a dynamic interaction between exhibit developers, designers, educators, curators, and other content specialists. It was always understood that the Exhibits Department was responsible for the way the exhibit turned out and the ultimate translation of the content messages. My role was to help develop the initial themes of the exhibit as they related to the archaeology and history of chocolate use, ensure accuracy of content as it was developed and articulated by the exhibits team, help select artifacts, and serve as a general watchdog to hold the exhibit to the main theme of commodification. It was also my job to bring chocolate delicacies to as many meetings as possible and not attend any meetings where chocolate was unavailable. After all, we had an obligation to know our subject matter personally.

The Chocolate! exhibit is still under development as this is being written. We are now reviewing label copy in the context of three-dimensional mock-ups of the exhibit components. While I cannot report on the success or failure of the exhibit itself, its development can stand as a highly workable prototype for basically any anthropological exhibit today. Curators clearly have a central role to play in exhibit development, but it is not the independent, master-hand role it was in the past. As with collections management, there has been tremendous professionalization and specialization in exhibit design and execution. Anthropology cu-
rators are trained to be anthropologists, do fieldwork, publish scholarly works, and advance our understanding of human thought and behavior. They are not particularly trained in how to get complex ideas into readable label copy, build inter- actives, conduct audience research, adjust lighting, comply with disability regulations, or figure out what colors harmonize together and create the right "feeling" for the message being communicated. There are, however, exhibit professionals who are trained and experienced in these central aspects of increasingly sophisticated exhibits. As one part of the exhibit team, the curator has responsibility for setting the anthropological and academic agenda for exhibits as the central media that a museum has for communicating with the visiting audience in an informal learning environment. To the extent that curators participate in exhibit development, they have an unparalleled opportunity to communicate with an audience many times the number who are likely to read any of their scholarly treatises.

There are many other opportunities and responsibilities for curators in exhibits and public programs, including public lectures, leading educational tours, writing general audience publications, and, more and more, helping to develop new communication and outreach tools through various cybermedia and the Internet. Curators play a critical role in engaging the interest and commitment of funding agencies and potential donors and in demonstrating directly the importance of the messages a museum is attempting to convey to the public. It is in the area of public programming that the role of the anthropology cu- rator in the 21st century is undergoing the most dramatic changes. There is a certain degree of tension between the immediate goals of the museum to provide entertaining exhibits and programs that bring in larger audiences and the deeper goals of the institution to serve as a forum for public learning and imparting the insights and knowledge of anthropology (see Terrell 1991). The curator has to find ways to relieve this tension, ensuring that content is not lost on the altar of economics and at the same time actively encouraging the innovative kinds of exhibits and programs that will attract audiences. Not fulfilling either of the goals of financial health and effective public learning is a mark of institutional failure, and the curatorial faculty of a museum must assume an active role in steering the institution toward success and away from failure on both fronts.

While started in a motel room in Arizona, this paper is being finished in the offices of a tour and public learning organization in Santa Fe. I came here to work out the details of a tour we are developing. I am planning to lead a group of Field Museum members on a combination culinary and archaeological tour of sites and cities in Mexico with a theme focused on what else but Chocolate! We will visit cacao orchards and a variety of prehistoric sites, tracing the origins and development of chocolate domestication and trade in ancient Mesoamerica. To make it more interesting, we will also study the culinary history of chocolate in Mexico by sampling drinks, candy, and the delights of molé. Yes, the role of the curator at the start of the third millennium is a tough one, but someone has to do it.
Information Management in the Department of Anthropology: History and Prospects

Dorren Martin-Ross and William K. Barnett

The museum registration system is the memory of the museum. Long after curators and registrars have come and gone, the records of the museum will speak. In keeping the historical story straight, they are as important as the object itself. A museum that fails to keep good records is failing in its primary function—some would say its only function. With good records, more than the object is preserved. With poor records, something more valuable than the object itself may be destroyed. (Reibel 1997:15-16)

Information distinguishes museum artifacts and specimens from similar objects outside the museum. Ideally, a museum knows not only how it acquired an object but also the object’s provenience. The purpose is not just to have an object but to know as much as possible about it. Through research performed by the museum’s curators, visiting researchers, scientists, and conservators, additional information becomes associated with a museum object: its history of use and manufacture, cultural information, field data, and scientific analysis. All this information accumulates over time. When integrated, these data have the ability to bring our collections to life.

Managing collections information has traditionally been the responsibility of a registrar. In a large institution like the Field Museum, the work is actually done by a team of people whom the public rarely sees, of whom the registrar is but one. Other important players are the curators, archivists, librarians, computer specialists, collections managers, clerks, interns, and volunteers who assist in the process. The Department of Anthropology has dedicated millions of person-hours to acquiring objects and recording the information it has gathered or generated in its 109 years of existence. The collections and associated documentation are therefore a unique and irreplaceable resource that affords us the opportunity to advance our mission as a world-class research and educational institution.

Developing a system to preserve information, to aid in its retrieval and dissemination, and to relate that information to the objects and other data is a huge task. As with any project, it is affected by the technology, research program, individuals, finances, ideas, and events that surround its creation and maintenance. The Department of Anthropology's rich history is bound up within the Field Museum's history. Their stories are closely reflected in the information management system that exists today.

Record Keeping in the Department of Anthropology

The Field Museum and its Department of Anthropology grew out of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. The management of the exposition was centralized, with a lot of authority given to the various departmental heads for the actual organization of their area. This same system was adopted, with a smaller number of academic departments, when the Chicago Columbian Museum was formally established in 1893. The collection records reflect this. The Office of the Recorder initially processed objects acquired by
all departments in the Museum. The recorder formally accepted gifts on behalf of the Museum, accessioned them by recording the transactions and assigning unique tracking or catalogue numbers, and turned them over to the appropriate department for storage and further cataloguing. A duplicate of the accessioning paperwork was given to the department for its own file (Annual Report [AR] 1894:14–15; Thomas 1933).

This record-keeping system had several advantages. The formal process of accessioning transfers legal title to the museum. Ultimately, the collections are owned by the board of trustees, which holds them in the public trust. Having a central recorder secure legal title is therefore logical. It acknowledged, through its structure, that acquisitions are made for the Field Museum as a whole, not for any particular department. By the time an object reached a department, it was therefore museum property. Any further work done on the object only enhanced its value to the museum. This centralization also allowed continuity in processing while curators were in the field, especially because all the academic departments at that time had very small staffs. Additional cataloguing was often left for clerks or the departmental secretary to complete (Executive Committee Minutes, December 2, 1895). The first time a person was hired specifically to manage the department’s records was not until 1989, when Janice Klein became the first registrar in anthropology (see Appendix 2).

Centralized control of accessioning appears to have slowly drifted into individual departments after the dissolution of the central recorder position in 1951 (Anthropology Department Archives, 1894–2001). Details are sketchy, but there appears to have been a museumwide reduction in record keeping for 30 years starting around 1940, roughly coincident with Paul S. Martin’s tenure as chief curator in Anthropology. Basic accessioning proceeded as usual, but other departmental records are thin for these decades.

There were also changes in emphasis in administration with the retirement of the Museum’s longtime president of the board of trustees, Stanley Field, in late 1961. Field and the directors who ran the Museum for him followed every detail of museum management. This control extended to museum records, planning and executing exhibits, and correspondence, all of which activities were overseen by the president’s office. Subsequent leaders have given the departments more autonomy.

Within the Department of Anthropology, there were other concerns that might also have contributed to the lapse in documentation. There was a new focus on renovating anthropology exhibits and constructing the Pacific Research Laboratory. Anthropology exhibits were produced within the department until 1965, when the central Exhibits Department was established, so this effort took much more departmental time than it does today (see Collier 1952:9).

Historical events have certainly influenced the management of information at the Field Museum. World War I brought financial cutbacks, reduced staff levels, and prevented expeditions from traveling abroad. Between 1917 and 1922, most of the Field Museum’s focus was on the construction of the Grant Park building and the subsequent move from the old building in Jackson Park. This resulted in improved conditions for the collections, but it was also a deterrent to the time-consuming, staff-intensive process of cataloguing. A brief heyday of expeditions and collecting came in the late 1920s, cut short by the Depression in the 1930s and later by the advent of World War II. The silver lining to these events was assistance the Museum gained from the Works Progress Administration project, which brought many extra hands to the Museum for cataloguing and physical management of the collections (AR 1932–1935) (see Appendix 2).

The development of anthropology as a field of study, the growth of the Field Museum, and individual interests have also influenced record keeping in the department. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, curators answered the needs of the institution by acquiring huge numbers of objects on far-ranging expeditions. Indeed, curators often competed with other museums and private collectors for material. Object documentation was often not seen to be as important as amassing collections, although some of the department’s early collections are exceptionally well documented. Collections data and research became more of a priority as the century progressed, especially after Paul Martin came to the Museum in 1929.

Politically, the colonial mind-set that had driven early anthropology declined as different groups and nations around the world became self-empowered and more aware of their cultural heritage. This necessitated changes in record keeping, such as correcting the anglicized names of people and places or reflecting developments in nationhood. Interpretations embedded in the records are also seen as outmoded.
Museology, like anthropology and archaeology, developed professional standards during the twentieth century. One way these standards are manifest is through the development of policy. Over the years, the Field Museum has developed policies that regulate the acquisition, use, care, and disposal of objects in its collections. Nationally and internationally, laws have been passed that protect cultural patrimony, sacred objects, and human remains from being the focus of museum acquisition, as they were in earlier times. The Field Museum has contributed to the development of key legislation, such as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990. These events have put more importance than ever on keeping accurate records on objects. They also challenge us to find new ways of using information about objects that museums can no longer hold. In early 2002, the professional staff and faculty codified and approved, for the first time in its history, a formal collections management policy for the Department of Anthropology.

The sheer volume of material that came into the collections in 1894 would have challenged any person or process. Fifty thousand artifacts were displayed during the World’s Columbian Exposition (Collier 1952:7). Most of these were transferred to the fledgling museum. Addressing this backlog became a priority during the late 1890s (Farrington 1930). In 1898, a new position was created in anthropology for someone to “place the records in proper condition” (Executive Committee Minutes, January 29, 1898). At this time original tracking numbers from the World’s Columbian Exposition were changed, and all objects were catalogued in one numbering system.

Today, accessioning and cataloguing are done within each academic department. Departmental record keeping includes starting a file for each accession. Each accession is assigned a unique serial number for record-keeping purposes. An accession is an entire group of objects acquired at one time from one source. Each individual object within an accession is assigned a separate, unique serial number called a catalogue number. This allows information regarding an individual object to be recorded and utilized. The catalogue number and basic identifying information on each object are recorded in a large ledger book. The same or sometimes more detailed information on the artifacts is written on individual catalogue cards. A copy of the records is sent to the archives for safety, but there is no longer a central office monitoring the end process.

Other collection information resources originally maintained by the department included a library and archives (which have since been incorporated in the main Museum entities), photographs, donor/collector cards, exhibit labels, and records of loans or deaccessions. A satellite library system consisting of a main library and smaller departmental ones was envisioned from the beginning of the museum (AR 1894:14). The archives were a natural outcome of museum activities, slowly amassing a record over time of expeditions, correspondence, collection documentation, and business transactions. Visual documentation of the collections, field expeditions, archaeological sites, exhibit installations, and Museum staff was organized in 1903, when a set of photographic albums, organized geographically and by subject, was established to meet public demand for such materials (AR 1903:267). Careful notation was made in these albums that linked the print with its negative. Exhibit labels, which were actually an extension of cataloguing information for the objects, were also preserved starting in 1915 (AR 1915:11).

By early 1908, a categorization system was developed to help bring meaningful order to the thousands of catalogue cards in their drawers (AR 1908:225). The cards are divided into three categories: ethnology, archaeology, and physical anthropology. Within each category, the cards are further subdivided according to their geographical origin and type of object or material. At the time, this system was referred to as the “Tribal Lists.” Today we refer to it as the “subject code,” since the original system was augmented with alphanumeric codes for each category to enhance computerization.

This coded card catalogue system expanded as needed over the years as new categories were identified. While it does aid retrieval of data, it also has inherent faults. It does not allow for accurate classification of multiple-use artifacts. As with any paper system, there is a constant struggle to update the classification as new attributions come from research. The categories themselves lack consistency, since they have grown haphazardly through time. Some of the categories are determined by function, some by material, and some by type of object. There are many objects that are not adequately covered by the categories at all.

All of the early records were recorded by hand. Forms were designed and printed to standardize and streamline the process. To handle the quantity
and repetitive nature of some of the cataloguing information, rubber stamps were frequently used. The first typewriter was purchased for the Field Columbian Museum in 1897 (Executive Committee Minutes, March 20, 1895), although most collection record keeping continued to be done by hand. Many of the same turn-of-the-century forms and ledgers are still used today in the accessioning and cataloguing processes, although records kept on computer databases now supplement the information.

In 1976, bicentennial planning prioritized the widespread incorporation of computers in records management. The Field Museum was among the first museums in the country that started to automate its records, beginning about 1970. The Department of Anthropology joined in 1975 by developing the Anthropology Information Management System (AIMS), at first on the University of Illinois computer system and then transferred to the Museum on a donated DEC PDP-11/40 mainframe with a Unix operating system. AIMS focused on data capture and inventory, using a columnar format with six fields. At the time, the department was facing a major collections move, and AIMS facilitated the process well with its automated inventory function.

A second phase of AIMS was later undertaken to expand its purpose from simple inventory to include accessioning, cataloguing, loan processing, and tracking photography requests. In the late 1970s, the hardware was upgraded to a VAX computer, and in the mid-1980s, C-Base software was introduced. The speed of development in the electronic world quickly rendered this system inefficient as more and more demands were placed on it for different types of information. In 1998, the Department of Anthropology, with the support of the Computer Services department, purchased a server and transferred all the data to FileMaker Pro software and expanded the number of fields in the database.

The shift to automation is yet incomplete. Registration and cataloguing procedures used in the department now constitute an odd combination of old processes and new technologies. Basic accession tracking is still done by hand in the same bound ledgers used in the 1890s. The current database was never properly planned to perform all the functions currently expected of a collections management system. The large number of entries, limited design, lack of standardized terminology, inaccuracy, or sheer lack of data entry mean that the paper records—ledgers and card catalogues—are still the main means of access to information about the collections. In the modern day, this is unacceptable.

Information is one of the main assets a museum has to offer the public, in addition to its collections. Indeed, museums are expected to be a source of authenticity for information regarding their collections, research, and exhibitions. How can we perform this key mission-related function when our basic records are inaccessible to scholars and visitors through electronic media, contain numerous errors, and are difficult to update, track, and disseminate at the speed that today’s business world requires?

The Museum’s existing information management system is now inadequate to deal with the growing quantity of and public demand for information within and without the Museum. It results in insufficient capacity to manage the collections, inefficient or wasted effort, and loss of information. The growth in information technology usage within the Museum and the burgeoning volume of data require greater overall planning, coordination, and accountability from our collections management system than ever before. The Museum has recognized this challenge by creating the Information Services area, which is now working together with all the collections-holding departments within the Museum to address this challenge.

The success of the Internet has driven a worldwide shift to increased dissemination of digital information. Information management systems are available or can be built that can enhance our collections management substantially. A new focus on the industries of the collection, management, and dissemination of digital information has produced a raft of new tools and resources. Sophisticated content management tools, information architectures and standards, digital thesauri and metadata, and digital libraries are revolutionizing the structure and integration of digital compendia. Yet we must ask why this necessarily has relevance for Field Museum anthropology. This change comes at an important juncture for our discipline, when the acquisition of large collections through expositions and expeditions is being replaced by the production of information through the management of existing collections and new partnerships with foreign scholars and communities.

As stewards of the collections, our scientific departments are also stewards of the information that adds critical value to the actual objects. That information is now seen as intellectual property
Table 19.1. The Field Museum’s digital information strategy.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scientific achievement</th>
<th>Enhanced public experiences</th>
<th>Integration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Digital library, including collections databases</td>
<td>Digital channels such as the Web and mobile computing</td>
<td>Technology infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advanced analytical research technologies</td>
<td>Building constituency relationships</td>
<td>Enterprise resource planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worldwide integration of fieldwork into the Museum</td>
<td>MTEC (Museum Technology Experimentation Center)</td>
<td>Policy development and new technologies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

that extends beyond simple object identification to provenience information, representations by images or drawings, field notes, as well as accession, loan, and usage data. Simultaneous access via information systems allows greater access to the research communities we serve. Providing more information about the collections can also protect physical objects by permitting more targeted use by researchers. Simply put, it has value that must be safeguarded.

In order to help keep itself relevant, the Department of Anthropology now has the challenge of keeping up with the changes that are revolutionizing the rest of the world. Expectations have changed. We must provide digital information to our research staff, to visiting scientists, to educators, and to the visiting public. We are using new analytical technologies that produce classes of information that will allow us to understand our collections in new dimensions. We must discover new ways of bringing information, instead of collections, back to the Field Museum, as well as opening communications channels among the museum, field locations, colleagues, and other important constituencies.

A relatively new Information Services area, led by the chief information officer, is responsible for undertaking many of these information management challenges for anthropology and other disciplines. It oversees both strategic and tactical technology programs, both operational and programmatic. Still quite rare in the museum world, it incorporates the technology service areas of telecommunications, computer services, photography, and media (audiovisual and multimedia) along with the information management areas of the institutional library and Web publishing. This area represents a strategic institutional commitment to the development of technology solutions for the Museum. It also allows us to think institutionally and to integrate solutions across departments.

The Field Museum’s commitment to an institutional Information Services area supports the anthropology information management goals as we look at future directions. Through a 1999 strategic initiative, information technology was identified as a strategic focus, and recommendations were made that included programmatic focus for this area and that it should be supported by a chief information officer at a vice-presidential level with responsibilities for data management across the institution. It is all the more relevant for this discussion that the individual now filling that office (Bill Barnett) is a research archaeologist and an adjunct curator in the Department of Anthropology.

The institutional digital strategy at the Field Museum is logically divided into three areas, as mandated by the strategic initiative: scientific achievement, enhanced public experiences, and integration (see Table 19.1). Within each of these areas, there are three general initiatives for information services. We emphasize initiatives in scientific achievement, as they are particularly relevant to the challenges faced by anthropology.

The digital library initiative covers the principal area of information management in anthropology, although there are other contributing areas. This initiative focuses on the massive challenge of managing the information that makes our collections meaningful and accessible. It is a living knowledge management approach that emphasizes the constant accumulation and change of scientific information and the multiple groups that seek to interact with that information in different ways.

Additional benefits of digital information management lie in its ability to move beyond collections management functions to support the entire research enterprise. Digital libraries integrate diverse information sets in new ways to support research, education, and public outreach. For example, use records can help justify the investment in our collections and help us better manage them. The ability to overlay site information on digital
maps displaying relevant ecological reconstruction data can help us plan excavation strategies and greatly advance our understanding of the evolution of ancient societies. The further addition of field journals can provide insight on research. When integrated with the scholarship surrounding the area, this digital library can be the core resource for managing our collections and for understanding past and present societies, and it can be a magnet for research.

There are multiple categories of information that need to be considered in constructing such a digital library. As mentioned previously, site location, artifact information, geographic data, analytical data, and scientific writings all contribute to the exponentially greater value of an integrated data repository. In addition, correspondence, educational and exhibit programming, photographs and other media, and information resulting from the interaction of people with the library, such as patterns in integrated data retrieval, information on how people use the repository, and news stories and other third-party publications, all contribute to this living repository.

The successful construction and operation of such a digital repository requires several types of institutional commitment. The most obvious is the investment in technologies to acquire, store, manage, access, and interact with digital information. More important, it will require a change in the way scientists and other users of digital libraries go about their business of managing collections, engaging in scientific research, and publishing the results of their efforts. We will be challenged to move from a dependence on handwritten journal entries to digital entry of information. We will need to think in new ways about recording observations on our collections. More important, to maintain the scientific integrity of our collections, we will have to carefully consider how we will establish the authority to contribute collection notes, interpretations, and publications. There are innumerable opportunities to advance our mission through a digital library approach, but we will have to consider the implications to the way in which we do our work.

Advanced analytical research technologies, from GIS (geographical information systems) to three-dimensional imaging of objects to dating and materials analysis data, have already revolutionized anthropology, creating opportunities to ask and answer questions once beyond the reach of the discipline. In order to accomplish the research mandate of these new analytical approach-
es, it is necessary to provide the proper analytical program, including instrumentation, methods for validation, and access to comparable data sets. This has become a critical foundation for the operation of a modern anthropology department. These analytical capabilities and the information they produce present a whole separate set of challenges for the Field Museum. Not only must analytical data integrate with other information, but the nature of the analytical data represents whole new classes of information that must be managed well if they are to be utilized productively.

Integration of information with an active fieldwork program is another great opportunity for information management to serve the Field Museum. The Field Museum, like nearly all modern museums, is shifting emphasis from a focus on collecting physical objects to collecting information. This is particularly true as countries that have traditionally been the location of field expeditions have discovered the value of their own cultural patrimony. New approaches are needed to effectively incorporate these concerns into our research program. These new approaches will necessarily depend on the fluidity of data in an information-driven world. It is important to consider wisely our approach even to data collection, as we can envision concerns about the patrimony of content following closely on the heels of the patrimony of objects.

The opportunities to provide venues for the collaborative use of information with colleagues, educators, and the public are exciting. With the growth of digital libraries and the production of new classes of analytical data also comes the opportunity to provide the same type of interaction with information during fieldwork as we enjoy in the museum. Access to collections information, digital maps, images, analytical data, and scholarship from fieldwork sites can greatly improve our capabilities and opportunities. Curator Gary Feinman began a regular series of e-mails to Museum members from his annual expeditions to Oaxaca, Mexico, and Shandong, China. These communiques fill a research role by providing timely news of discoveries to colleagues and an even more important educational role by informing the public about our scientific research. This program has been expanded in 2002 with the "Expeditions@fieldmuseum" project, which will incorporate live video reports from field sites. In the future, the opportunity to provide digital library data and access to analytical instrumentation and analyses will per-
mit even better integration of field efforts and scientific communication and collaboration.

A great deal of experimentation and investment will be necessary to provide effective information management solutions to support our fieldwork. In order to move toward the goal of "always on" worldwide access to our collections, we need to begin to consider several conditions. What is the nature of the need for data in the field? What types of research collaboration can most effectively support a research program? What are the educational opportunities of delivering information about live research from field locations to the Museum? How do we need to change how we collect, document, process, and use information to be able to build these strategic investments in our intellectual property? What are the available technologies for accomplishing these tasks, where are they going, and where can we begin to assess the true value of the integration of field information management?

As we evaluate how best to move information management forward at the Field Museum, it will be critical to understand where we are and where we want to go. The acknowledgment of our current technology and museum culture is critical to the understanding of what will be required of us to be able not just to capitalize on the opportunities the information economy is making possible but also to continue to fulfill our mandate to be effective stewards of the collections we house and the science we represent.
A Foundation for the Future of Field Museum Anthropology

Stephen E. Nash and Gary M. Feinman

We live and work in a diverse and complex world, one that, even with accelerating rates of globalization, is still characterized by many different peoples and cultures. In the face of the numerous political, economic, ethnic, and religious conflicts of the twentieth and now the twenty-first centuries, we believe that anthropology ought to have a central role in helping us understand the human condition, its origins, and the development of the complex world in which we currently live (see Gledhill 2000).

One might expect that museums, as caretakers of the material culture that illustrates some tangible examples of humankind's cultural differences and as centers of public learning, would be the ideal place in which to address the anthropological issues behind current events. This has not always been the case, especially during the middle part of the twentieth century, when museums lost ground to universities as foci for cutting-edge anthropological and archaeological research (see Conn 1998:102; Parezo and Hardin 1993; Wilson and Parezo 1995; see also Asma 2001; Kadanoff 2002).

As we ponder the history of the Department of Anthropology at the Field Museum and its role in the development of museum anthropology as a whole, a number of general trends reveal how the nature of museum work in general and Field Museum anthropological work in particular has changed radically since the early 1890s. The collection of papers in this volume also raises a number of important questions.

Where curators once used individual patrons' money to embark on wide-ranging expeditions to gather museum-quality specimens for study and exhibition in the museum, today's curator is apt to use government or foundation funding to conduct problem-focused, multidisciplinary research, returning to the museum only those specimens and data that will be analyzed further in the museum's laboratories. The museum is now, more than ever, a center for the creation of knowledge and a repository for information as well as for objects. Does this mean that Field Museum collections will always consist primarily of objects collected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, or will significant new artifact collections ever be added?

The answer to both of these questions is yes—the bulk of our object collection will not change, although we will continue to add select collections and objects if their research value is demonstrable beyond a reasonable doubt and resources are available to curate and conserve these targeted additions. New information collections—databases, archives, digital photographs, and samples of various kinds—however, will be added at an increasing rate as field research is conducted around the world as well as in the Museum on the artifact collections themselves, the latter of which is made possible by the many new technologies available to the archaeologist. In this manner, we hope that the Museum can serve an expanded role as a center for the records, notes, samples, and images associated with basic anthropological research. At present, such records are all too often lost to the discipline with the aging and death of key researchers (see Darnell 1995; Fowler and Givens 1995; Wilson and Parezo 1995).

Where unnamed staff members once toiled in relative obscurity, sorting, poisoning, and processing collections, a highly trained professional staff now manages, registers, and conserves those same collections. How does a department or a museum bal-
once the wide-ranging priorities and responsibilities that include collections management, registration, conservation, field research, public learning, outreach to diverse communities, fund-raising, and more? What exactly is an appropriate division of labor between faculty and staff?

The answers to these questions can be found in the changing nature of relationships between curators and museum collections over time, as shown in the papers of this volume as well as in the professionalization of collections management, conservation, and registrar positions that began across the American museum world in the early 1970s. The addition of these professionals says a great deal about the changing mission of major museums from repositories of collections and curiosities to that of full-fledged research and public learning institutions, in all the meanings of those terms.

Where curators were once responsible for most, if not all, aspects of exhibit development, a professional cadre of exhibit developers, designers, mount makers, and maintenance people now perform most of those tasks. How do we continue to maintain the proper balance between scholarly content and entertainment value of new and temporary exhibitions?

This question and transition has sometimes stirred contention and controversy over the past several decades (Boas 1907; Dorsey 1907; Terrell 1991; Collier, this volume), although several recent examples at the Field Museum indicate that curators and exhibit developers are once again working together to produce interesting, informative, and popular exhibits.

Where students, interns, and members of the general public once were denied access to the inner workings of the museum, they now participate in all aspects of museum work, and we now have a series of dynamic programs in which numerous visitors take advantage of Field Museum collections and exhibits in myriad ways. How accessible should the collections be to such parties, given staffing shortages and the other priorities outlined by the institution?

Access to collections must always be considered in light of available resources, object security, and preservation, but thankfully gone are the elitist days in which only a select few ever enjoyed the magnitude and splendor of the collections that never (or rarely) go on exhibit. Having said that, there was a time when museums collected objects only for exhibit, and research could therefore be conducted by anyone who could afford the price of admission and examine an object through glass panes. Today, Internet technology makes collections even more accessible by allowing museum visitors, whether virtual or in-house, the ability to see objects that are not on display. Nevertheless, the sheer amount of work that needs to be done to preserve a collection, much less conduct research on it, requires that we take full advantage of an interested and intelligent public that is willing to volunteer time and effort for access, intellectual stimulation, and often academic credit. In so doing, we are helping train the next generation of scholars and professionals as we perpetuate stewardship of our unique collections.

Where museum collections once were treated as private property—bought, sold, exchanged, or disposed at a director’s or even (at times) a curator’s discretion—a number of changes to the legal codes in the United States (see Echo-Hawk 2002) and international arenas (see Hingston 1989) now allow additional parties to claim, or at least dispute, ownership of portions of the collections. How do we negotiate and renegotiate these complex issues while still performing the Museum’s mission of research, education, and heritage preservation?

This question can be reduced to one of ownership versus stewardship. Although the board of trustees of the Field Museum owns all the objects in the collections, we hold them in public trust and now see our role more as stewards than owners in any strict sense. Recent legislation, including but not limited to the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990, has added a legal aspect to relationships between museums, native peoples, and various federal agencies that the Field Museum has long nurtured (Haas 1996).

The many complicated sociopolitical, economic, legal, moral, and ethical issues raised by these and other trends beg further examination by specialists in museum anthropology and the history and sociology of science as well as other disciplines before their implications can be fully understood. Nevertheless, the papers in this volume (as a whole) establish a factual, analytical, and interpretive baseline regarding the history of Field Museum anthropology on which we, as a department and a discipline, may build. At the same time, this volume does not purport to review and give sufficient attention to all the important figures, collections, and events that have marked Field Museum anthropology since its inception more than a century ago.

From our present vantage, the future of the
Field Museum looks bright. There are ten curators on the faculty conducting field research on five continents. In a span of four years, from 1998 to the end of 2001, the faculty has received six National Science Foundation grants and several National Geographic Society awards in support of this research. During the same period, faculty and staff have published six books and edited an additional ten. They have published 46 book reviews, 18 popular articles, and 72 peer-reviewed publications, journal articles or monographs. In addition, scholarly visitors to our collections have produced other key publications in a range of disciplines. Finally, the Field Museum maintains an active loan program that annually contributes hundreds of objects to exhibitions at dozens of institutions worldwide. 

The professional staff also has grown in the past 15 years, reflecting the institution's growing commitment to managing and preserving its priceless collections. Since the hiring of the department's first registrar in 1989, the permanent professional staff now consists of a head of collections, a chief conservator, a registrar, and three collections managers. In addition, the Department usually has at least a dozen soft-money or grant-funded positions occupied at any one time. Such positions, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Park Service, and the Museum Loan Network, as well as anonymous donors, now focus on deferred maintenance projects in collections management and conservation, and over the past 10 years have allowed the department to rehouse, in archive-quality packaging, the majority of our unique collections. By the time we move into the new Collections Resource Center in 2005, all the collections will have been so processed. Much work remains to be done, however, and in the near future we will be undertaking cataloging, bar-coding, digital imaging, and conservation projects in addition to the array of other activities that we engage in.

Because museums are comparatively small institutions that employ highly trained professionals with diverse expertise, ranging from fund-raising and finance to public relations, graphic design, exhibition, education, and information services, they can often pursue new initiatives much more nimbly than university departments, which have to focus on their central role of teaching large numbers of undergraduates and smaller but significant numbers of graduate students. With an active curatorial faculty, an entirely new and better-trained professional staff, enhanced vision and resources, strong research programs, and exceptional collections, we endeavor to develop multiple portals of anthropological engagement through exhibits, education, and public programs that will be informed by our scholarship, research, and collections. We believe that, through teamwork and dedication, anthropology at the Field Museum will reemerge as a world-class enterprise at or near the forefront of museum-based anthropology. If we achieve this mission, not only will we live up to the department's rich history and noteworthy forebears, but we should carve a more central niche in the future directions and influence of our discipline. Anthropology could use a more accessible and effective public face (Gledhill 2000), and we believe that anthropology departments in museums like ours can and should have a central role in addressing that need.
IV

Appendices
The summary data listed in the following appendices should be seen as a starting point for further research rather than as a definitive source. As is always the case with historical data, it can be difficult to definitively establish their veracity, given the highly variable extent to which certain departmental events have been documented through time.—Eds.
Appendix 1  The Field Museum’s Anthropology Curators and Staff Members, 1893–2002

The information in this appendix was compiled by Bennett Bronson, Sarah Coleman, Chap Kusimba, Stephen E. Nash, and Ed Yastrow, using annual reports and employee cards. This list contains assistant curators, associate curators, and curators only. The precise dates of when the curators started and left the Museum are difficult to determine exactly because from 1894 to 1901 and again from 1968 to 1988, the annual reports are biannual. Bracketed entries for Fay-Cooper Cole and John Rinaldo refer to years in which they were employed by the Museum as curatorial assistants and made significant contributions but did not hold the title of curator in a strict sense. Boas was never technically a curator for the Chicago Columbian Museum because it did not formally exist during his tenure. Given his impact on the fledgling institution, it is appropriate to list him here.

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# Appendix 2  The Field Museum’s Anthropology Staff Members, 1926–2002

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*Note: Works Progress Administration staff are listed separately.*

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The Field Museum’s Anthropology Staff Members, 1926–2002
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**Works Progress Administration staff, 1933–1940**

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Appendix 3  Field Museum Administration and Trustees, 1893–2002

Museum Administration

In the original administrative formulation, the president of the board of trustees and a director were the chief governing officers of the Field Museum. In 1976 the position of president of the board of trustees was retitled chairman, and the position of director of the Museum was divided into two positions, president and director, although one person, E. Leland Webber, held both positions for the next four years. In 1980 the directorship was given to Lorin I. Nevling. In 1986, a second reorganization resulted in a management structure composed of a president and area vice presidents. The current slate of vice presidents includes those for Academic Affairs (responsible for research and collections), Finance and Administration, Institutional Advancement (also known as Development), External Affairs (government relations), and Information Services.

Presidents (1894–1962) and Chairmen (1962–2003) of the Board of Trustees

Edward E. Ayer (1894–1898)
Harlow N. Higinbotham (1898–1908)
Stanley Field (1908–1961)
Clifford C. Gregg (1962–1964)
James L. Palmer (1964–1968)
Remick McDowell (1968–1974)
Leo F. Mullin (1994–1997)
Judith S. Block (1997–2000)
Marshall Field V (2003–present)

This list simplifies what has at times been a complicated leadership arrangement of the board of trustees. In 1961, after Stanley Field retired as president of the board, he assumed a new position and title as chairman of the board of trustees. This position existed as such for the next 12 years and was held by individuals who may or may not have concurrently been president of the board of trustees. The archives indicate that the following individuals served as chairman of the board between 1961 and 1976: Stanley Field (1961–1964), Clifford C. Gregg (1964–1966), James L. Palmer (1967–1969), Remick McDowell (1970–1973), and Blaine J. Yarrington (1974–1976). As part of a museumwide administrative reorganization in 1976, the president of the board of trustees position was eliminated, and the title was formally changed to chairman of the board of trustees, which it remains today.

Directors (1894–1986) and Presidents (1976–2003) of the Field Museum

Frederick J. V. Skiff (1894–1921)
David C. Davies (1921–1928)
Stephen C. Simms (1928–1937)
Clifford C. Gregg (1937–1962)
E. Leland Webber (1962–1980)
John W. McCarter (1996–present)

This list simplifies what has at times been a complicated leadership arrangement in the Museum. The Museum director position was split in 1976 into two new positions, those of Museum director and Museum president, though E. Leland Webber held both positions for the next four years (1976–1980). In 1980, Webber stepped down as Museum director and was replaced by Lorin I. Nevling. Webber continued to serve as Museum president until 1981, when Willard L. Boyd replaced him.
Trustees

David R. Wilcox (Wilcox 2000b) assembled the trustees’ data from the following sources:

DAB: Dictionary of American Biography
NCAB: National Cyclopaedia of American Biography
NYT: New York Times Obituaries
WWAfRAm: Who’s Who Among African Americans
WWAm: Who’s Who in America


Armour was a trustee of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1892–1899, and of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, 1894–1897 (WWW Am I: Horowitz 1976:230). He sponsored William Henry Holmes’s trip to Yucatan and gave many collections to the Museum in the mid-1890s (Dorsey 1900).


Black was commissioner of pensions, 1885–1889, and U.S. congressman at large for Illinois, 1892–1895, and then became U.S. attorney for northern Illinois, 1895–1898. He was commander in chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, 1903–1904 (WWWAm I; NYT; DAB 2).


Bullock manufactured mining machinery (Chicago City Directory for 1893).


Burnham became a leader in the City Beautiful Movement and in city planning, proposing a plan for Washington, D.C., in 1901 and the Plan of Chicago in 1909 (DAB). He was a trustee of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, 1894–1912, and of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1906–1912, giving it the Burnham Architectural Library.


A president of coal companies, Ellsworth was also a member of the board of the South Park Commission, 1888–1898, and was one of the principal organizers and financial supporter of the World’s Columbian Exposition. He helped influence Marshall Field to endow the Field Museum. Widely known as a bibliophile and art collector, his collection was sold in 1923 for $450,000. He was a director of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Postal Telegraph Cable Company (NCAB vol. 26).


Farwell and his brother John built the Texas state capitol, receiving three million acres for it. He was a member of the U.S. Congress, 1871–1876 and 1881–1887, and U.S. senator, 1887–1891. He helped establish Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Illinois (WWWAm I: DAB 6: Andrews 1946).


A “Jewish apostle to the non-Jewish world,” Hirsch was rabbi at Chicago’s Sinai Congregation and taught rabbinical literature and philosophy at the University of Chicago and was president of the board of the Chicago Public Library, 1888–1897. He was the editor of the Reform Advocate, 1891–1923 (NCAB 2; DAB 9).


The principal business of the Corn Exchange Bank was to finance the grain and meatpacking.

WWWAm: Who Was Who in America
WWAmLaw: Who’s Who Among American Lawyers

Other sources listed can be found in the Literature Cited. Warren Haskin, Nancy DeDakis, and Stephen E. Nash contributed data as well.

In the following listing, trustees are listed chronologically by beginning date of service. An asterisk (*) indicates individuals who were incorporators of the Museum (see Chicago Columbian Museum Annual Report No. 1).
business of Chicago; Hutchinson was president, 1886–1898, and vice president, 1896–1924. His closest friend was Martin A. Ryerson (Goodspeed 1925: 45). Hutchinson was a founder and president of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1882–1924. He also was a trustee and treasurer of the University of Chicago, 1890–1924; a trustee of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, 1914–1924, and Hull House; and president of the Chicago Orphan Asylum, 1897–1924. He was also a member of the Chicago Plan Commission and was a vice president (and often acting president) of the Board of South Park Commissioners, 1907–1922. "He was one of the men who labored successfully to secure for the Field Columbian Museum its location in Grant Park, and was a corporate member and patron of that great institution" (Goodspeed 1925: 39–40; NCAB vol. 4; WWWAm I; DAB 9; Horowitz 1976: 232).


A Civil War veteran who later served with General Sheridan fighting Indians, Davis served three terms in the U.S. Congress, 1878–1883. He was treasurer of Cook County, 1886–1890 (NCAB vol. 11).


Walker was special counsel for the United States in the conspiracy case against Eugene Debs in 1894 and solicitor general of the World’s Columbian Exposition; he was also a member of the Board of Reference and Control for the Directory of the World’s Fair. For a time he was a law partner with John Barton Payne (WWWAm I; NYT; see DAB 21: 595; Weinmann 1981: 93).


Adams served as a state senator, 1881, and in the U.S. Congress, 1883–1891. He was a trustee of the Newberry Library, 1892–1917, Art Institute of Chicago, 1882–1889, and Chicago Symphony Orchestra, 1894–1917; an overseer of Harvard University, 1892–1904; and a member of the Chicago Board of Education, 1896–1899. He was also president of the Chicago Orchestral Association for six years (NCAB vol. 19; WWW Am I; Horowitz 1976: 230).


Gunsaulus was pastor of the Plymouth Congregational Church, 1887–1899, and then pastor in the pulpit of the independent Central Church for 20 years, drawing great crowds. He also was president of Armour Institute of Technology, 1893–1921; an author and bibliophile; and a trustee of the Art Institute of Chicago. His daughter Helen Cowen Gunsaulus became assistant curator of Japanese ethnology, 1918–1924 (DAB 8; Gilbert and Bryson 1929; Haskin 1999; Haskin et al., this volume).


In 1911, Ayer presented his library of around 49,000 items to the Newberry Library. He gave many antiquarian collections to the Field Museum, including its Egyptian collection. He was a trustee or director of the Newberry Library, 1891–1911; Art Institute of Chicago, 1891–1927; and the Chicago Historical Society (NCAB 20).


Blair was also a trustee of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1882–1888 (Horowitz 1976: 230).


Chalmers became president of the Thomas Chalmers Company in 1891. In 1901–1905 he was vice president of the newly formed Allis-Chalmers Company. He was a member of the Chicago Board of Education, 1891–1893, and he headed a relief group for Belgian children during World War I (NYT; DAB 22).


Higinbotham rose from a bookkeeper at Field, Palmer and Leiter to a partnership at Field, Lei-
ter and Company, resigning in 1901. He then was president of the American Luxifer Prism Company, Portland Cement Company, and National Grocery Company and was a director of the Northern Trust Company (NCAB 18; Gilbert and Bryson 1929: 736). His daughter Florence married Richard Teller Crane, Jr. He was a founder of the Chicago Home for Incurables (see NYT, July 29, 1949, 21: 1).


Jones was also a good friend of Marshall Field's and one of the executors of his will (Goodspeed 1922: 19; Andrews 1946: 221).


Manniere was also a trustee of the Newberry Library, 1898–1919 (Horowitz 1976: 233; Jaher 1982: 509).


A close friend of Marshall Field I (Goodspeed 1922: 23) and son of the inventor, McCormick was president of the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company from 1884 and then president of International Harvester, 1902–1919, and chairman of the board, 1919–1935. He was a trustee or director of the War Fund, Y.M.C.A., Princeton University, and Presbyterian Theological Seminary (WWW Am I; DAB 22; Marsh 1985).


An intimate friend of Marshall Field, George M. Pullman, Elbert H. Gary, and J. P. Morgan, Ream was an organizer of the National Biscuit Company and the United States Steel Corporation. In 1898, he successfully reorganized the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. He was a director or trustee of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Central Safety Deposit Company; Chicago and Erie Railroad; Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton; Cumberland Corporation; Equitable Life Assurance Society; Erie Railroad; Fidelity-Penn Fire Insurance Company; First National Bank of Chicago; Franco-American Financial Association; Metropolitan Trust Company of New York; Mount Hope Cemetery Association; Susquehanna and Western Railroad; New York Trust Company; Pere Marquette Railroad; Pullman Company; Reliance Company; Seaboard Air Line; Securities Company; and Sussex Realty Company (NYT; DAB 15). He left an estate of about $40 million (see NYT, December 13, 1924, 15: 3).


Ryerson was president of the University of Chicago, 1893–1922. He was also a trustee of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1890–1924, vice president, 1902–1925, and president, 1925–1926. He also was a trustee of the O. S. A. Sprague Memorial Institute and a director of Northern Trust Company, the Auditorium Association, and the Chicago Orphan Asylum. After the death of his wife in 1937, the university, Art Institute, and Field Museum each shared two-ninths of about $6 million (DAB 16; Andrews 1946: 157–160; Horowitz 1976: 234; NYT, September 6, 1937, 17: 5).


Smith's father, Solomon Albert Smith, was president of the Merchants Loan and Trust; the son founded Northern Trust in 1889, with Marshall Field as a major stockholder (Andrews 1946: 86, 142). Smith was a director of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad; Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad; Commonwealth Edison Company; and the Chicago Telephone Company (WWW Am I; NYT).


The only son of Marshall Field, Field "accidentally" shot himself to death on November 22, 1905 (NYT). His father died a few weeks
Later, of pneumonia (NYT. November 6, 1956, p. 29, col. 1; Becker 1964).


The first director of the Field Museum, 1893–1921, Skiff also was in charge of the American exhibits at the Paris Exposition in 1898–1901 and director of exhibits at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904 (NYT).


Son of Joseph Field, Marshall Field’s brother Stanley was for years (to 1917) a director and chairman of the executive committee of Marshall Field and Company, “the largest wholesale and retail dry goods business in the world.” He had a determinative hand in the establishment of Grant Park and the Shedd Aquarium, directing the construction of the 1921 Field Museum building. He was also chairman of the Continental Illinois National Bank and Trust Company, 1932; first vice president of Marshall Field and Company (to 1917 and afterward a director [Wendt and Kogan 1952: 299]); and a director of the Merchandise Bank and Trust Company; Illinois Central Railroad; Peoples Gas Light and Coke Company; Commonwealth Edison Company; Public Service Company of Northern Illinois; Mutual Life Insurance Company (New York) (Bishop and Gilbert 1932: 199). During World War I, he was in charge of all purchasing for the Red Cross (NYT; Fortune 1936a).


Porter was a director or trustee of the Chicago Transfer and Clearing Company, Nevada Land Company, and the Art Institute of Chicago. He was also chair of the convention committee, Progressive National Committee, 1916, and assistant to the chair, Republican National Convention, 1920 (WWW Am I).


Crane’s father, who was concerned about the growing gulf between the classes, criticized the Plan of Chicago; he left a fortune of $20 million (Andrews 1946: 161–163). His son married Florence Higinbotham, the daughter of Harlow Higinbotham (NCAB vol. 18: 390). He became president of his father’s company in 1914 and distributed over $12 million in stock to his employees during his lifetime. He also gave generously to numerous hospitals around the country and was a director of the Civic Opera Association of Chicago (NCAB 26). In 1929, he was the second richest man in Chicago, with a fortune estimated at $50 million (Fortune 1936b).


Payne was senior member of Winston, Payne, [Silas Hardy] Strawn, and Shaw, 1905–1918. He was secretary of the interior, 1920–1921, in the Wilson administration, among many other posts; chairman of the American Red Cross, 1921–; and president of the South Park Commissioners, 1911–1924. He was “largely instrumental in establishing Chicago’s largest playground system.” South Park included both Jackson Park, where the Museum was initially located, and Grant Park, where it moved to, opening in May 1921; by a state law in 1903, the ownership of the Field Museum and Art Institute was transferred from the city to the South Park Commission, and Payne resigned from the board of the Museum when he became president of the commission (WWW Am I; Condit 1973; Horowitz 1976: 214).


Health Institute, National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Municipal Voters League, and Legislative Voters League (NYT; Bishop and Gilbert 1932: 427).


Grandson of Marshall Field, he inherited an estimated $75 million in 1943 at age 50, adding to the estimated $93 million he then had. Called "a traitor to his class," Field in 1940 founded the afternoon newspaper in New York and later the Chicago Sun Times. An ardent New Deal liberal, he supported Robert Hutchins's fight for academic freedom at the University of Chicago in the 1930s and wrote the remarkable book Freedom Is More Than a Word (Field 1945).

He was a director of the Metropolitan Opera Association of New York and a founder of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. At the beginning of World War II, he founded and was president of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children. He founded the Field Foundation in 1940 to address problems of race relations and child welfare and from 1935 was president of the Child Welfare League of America. He also helped to found Roosevelt University (NYT; DAB sup 6; see also DAB sup 7: 244; Andrews 1946).


Keep was vice president of the Illinois Merchants Trust Company; a director of the M and O Railroad, Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, Pullman Company, Elgin National Watch Company, Bell Telephone Company, and Western Union Telegraph Company; and a trustee of the New York Trust Company and US Trust Company (New York) (WWA 15). He also was a trustee of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, 1906–1929, and a director of the Chicago Historical Society (WWW Am I; Gilbert and Bryson 1929: 674; Horowitz 1976: 232).


See Barker (1964).


Starting with $32 in capital, by 1931 Wrigley had spent $100 million in advertising. With a fortune estimated at over $50 million, in 1919 he bought Santa Catalina Island in California and the Arizona-Biltmore Hotel. He was director or trustee for the First National Bank, First Trust and Savings Bank, Boulevard Bridge Bank, and National Reserve Corporation (WWW Am I; NYT; DAB 21).


Borden was secretary of the Chicago Yellow Cab Company to 1923. He then was involved in various oil and mineral companies. He led a Field Museum expedition to Alaska in 1927 in his schooner Northern Light (NCAB vol. 50). His father John Borden was Chicago's "outstanding real estate attorney" (Andrews 1946: 110).


Harris was the son of Norman Wait Harris, who established the Field Museum's public school extension department in 1911, the year he opened a new building of the Harris Trust and Savings Bank (on land purchased from John Borden for $900,000 [Goodspeed 1925: 143, 147]). A. W. Harris was president of the bank from 1913– and became chairman in the early 1920s (Goodspeed 1925: 144). He had an active role in establishing the Federal Reserve System; he was also chairman of the Protective Committee of the old Chicago Railways Company. He and his father founded the Chicago Community Trust in 1915. His estate was valued at $6 million (NYT; NCAB 50).


Simpson was Marshall Field's confidential clerk who became president, 1923–1930, and chairman of the board of Marshall Field and Company, 1930–1932. He was chairman of the Chicago Plan Commission (Jaher 1982: 542). He also was a director of the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois, Seventh District Federal Reserve Bank, New York Central Railroad, A. M. Castle and Company (steel supplies), Super Power Company of Illinois, and Western United Gas and Electric Corporation (parts of the Insull organization of Commonwealth Edison and Public Service). He was also a director or trustee of the Chicago Chapter of the American Red Cross, Children's Memorial
Hospital, Chicago Sunday Evening Club, Chicago Zoological Society, Shedd Aquarium, and Otho S. Sprague Institute (NYT). In 1932, he became president of Commonwealth Edison, Peoples Gas and Public Service (Gilbert and Bryson 1929: 738; Bishop and Gilbert 1932: 437, 549; Fortune 1936a; Andrews 1946: 280).


Smith was the son of Byron Latlin Smith, the first treasurer of the Field Museum. He became the Museum’s treasurer in 1915 and a trustee in 1920. He was also a director or trustee of Commonwealth Edison Company, Illinois Tool Works, United States Gypsum Company, Montgomery Ward Company, Presbyterian-St. Luke’s Hospital, Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago Child Care Society, Chicago Zoological Society, and many other organizations (NCAB 51).


Byram was a protégé or friend of James J. Hill, John D. Ryan, and Percy Rockefeller (NYT).


Graham was associated for five years with Holabird and Roche, architects, and then was appointed assistant director of works under Daniel Hudson Burnham of the World’s Columbian Exposition, becoming a partner with Burnham in 1894. This company in 1917 became Graham, Anderson, Probst and White, which built many famous structures throughout the nation, including the Field Museum, 1915–1920, from Burnham’s design of 1911. Among the buildings designed and built by Graham at various stages of his career were the Marshall Field Store, 1902, 1914; Marshall Field Annex, 1914; Field Building, 1934; People’s Gas Building, 1911; Wrigley Building, 1921, 1924; Civic Opera Building, 1929; and the Shedd Aquarium, 1929. He was vice president of the Shedd Aquarium (NCAB 33; DAB 22).


Davies was from Wales, coming to the United States in 1888 and joining the Field Museum in 1894. He was assistant secretary and auditor from the earliest days of the Museum, becoming director from 1921 to 1928. He was a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (WWA 15; WWW Am I).


Markham was president of the Gulf Refining Company and other Mellon oil interests in Texas, moving to the presidency of the Illinois Central Railroad, 1911–1918, and chairman, 1919–1926 (NCAB 25; DAB 12; Gilbert and Bryson 1929).


Strawn was a law partner of John Barton Payne. He represented Montgomery Ward and Company, serving briefly as president in 1920 and a member of the board of trustees for 12 years. He also represented many railroad interests and was a director of the First National Bank, Chicago and Alton Railroad, American Creosoting Company, Wahl Pen and Pencil Company, and Hurley Machine Company. His firm represented the Union Stock Yards and Transit Company since 1865. He was a past president of the American Bar Association, 1927–1928; the U.S. Chamber of Commerce; and the International Chamber of Commerce. He was a charter member of the Northwestern University Associates and a trustee of the university. During the 1930s, he was a strong opponent of the New Deal (NYT; NCAB vol. 34; DAB sup 4; Bishop and Gilbert 1932: 447, 549).


Rawson was a director of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and the Miehle Printing Press and Manufacturing Company. He was a trustee of the Chicago Public Library and several hospitals and treasurer of the Chicago Sanitary District (WWW Am I; NYT).


The son of John J. Mitchell was the chairman of Paine, Webber, Mitchell, Hutchins. He was also a director or trustee of Texaco, Continental Illinois Bank and Trust Company, Northwestern University, and Northwestern Memorial Hos-

Wilson, of Wilson and McIlvaine, attorneys, was a director or trustee of the Marshall Field and Company, International Harvester Company, First National Bank of Chicago, Harris Trust and Savings Bank of Chicago, General Electric Company, United States Trust Company of New York, the Newberry Library, the University of Chicago, and Williams College. He served on the board of the Children's Memorial Hospital for 25 years and was president for many years. His father was general counsel of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and drafted the law creating the Chicago Sanitary District (NYT; FM Annual Report for 1959).


Field served as a lieutenant in the U.S. Navy during World War II (FMNH Annual Report for 1941).


Block was chairman of the board of Inland Steel, 1919–1940. He was also a director of the American Iron and Steel Institute, First National Bank of Chicago, and Commonwealth Edison Company (NYT; WWA 23).


Dick was a director of the Northern Trust Company, First National Bank of Lake Forest, Commonwealth Edison Company, Marshall Field and Company, Lake Forest Hospital, and Presbyterian-St. Luke’s Hospital. He served a term as mayor of Lake Forest. His estate was valued at $2.85 million (WWWAm II; NYT; Field Museum Annual Report, 1954).


McCulloch was a director or trustee of First National Bank of Chicago, Omnibus Corporation, Chicago Motor Coach Company, Texas Company, Commonwealth Edison Company, and Northwestern University (WWA 23; WWWAm II).


Gregg was assistant to the director of the Field Museum, 1926–1937, before becoming director. He became a colonel during military service in World War II when on leave of absence from the Museum. Orr Goodson, his assistant, was appointed acting director in the interim (Field Museum Annual Report for 1942).


Brigadier General Roosevelt served in both world wars, dying of a heart attack shortly after leading an assault leading the 4th Division on Utah Beach, Normandy. From 1921 to 1924 he was assistant secretary of the Navy. He then led two Field Museum expeditions to Asia, in 1925 and 1928–1929, was governor of Puerto Rico, 1929–1932; governor-general of the Philippines, 1932–1933; chairman of American Express: 1934–1935; and vice president of Doubleday Doran and Company, 1935–1944. He authored many books about his experiences. He also was a director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (WWWAm II; NYT; DAB sup 3).


Armour was the grandson of Phillip Danforth Armour, the founder of the Chicago meatpacking business. He was vice president and a director of that company until 1931. He was a director of the Zonolite Company, Pure Oil Company, American Can Company, Allis-Chalmers Company, and many other companies. He was a trustee of the Armour Research Foundation (NCAB J; WWWAm V). During World War II he was a commander in the U.S. Navy (FMNH Annual Report for 1944).


Blair was a president and life trustee of the Art Institute of Chicago and a life trustee of the University of Chicago (WWAm, 1980–1981). He also served as the president of the Chicago Historical Society (Jaher 1982: 549).


Cummings was summoned to Washington in 1933 by Secretary of the Treasury William H. Woodin to head up the screening of the nation’s 17,000 banks after the “Bank Holiday.” He became the first chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 1933–1934, and then treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. He supported Roman Catholic charities and was a life trustee of Northwestern University (NYT; DAB sup 8).


Wetten’s firm handled many property transactions in Chicago’s Loop district. He was a director or trustee of the Chicago Title and Trust Company, First National Bank of Chicago, the First Trust and Savings Bank, Newberry Library, and Children’s Memorial and St. Luke’s Hospitals (NCAB vol. D).


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Fenton moved up from vice president to become president of the Harris Trust and Savings Bank when Albert W. Harris became chairman of the board (Goodspeed 1925: 144).


The only son of Marshall Field III, Field was a lieutenant commander in World War II and a lawyer; he died of a heart attack. From 1950 he was the editor-publisher of the Chicago Sun-Times and from 1956 president of Field Enterprises. In 1958 he bought the Chicago Daily News (NYT; DAB sup 7).


Isham was a captain of field artillery in World War I. He was a director or trustee of the Clearing Machine Corporation, Dresser Industries, American Shipbuilding Company, Marshall Field and Company, First National Bank of Chicago, Passavant Memorial Hospital, and the Newberry Library (NCAB 55). Edward S. Isham was Robert Todd Lincoln's law partner (Andrews 1946: 81).


Starting in the 1920s, McBain held many important management positions in Marshall Field and Company, becoming president in 1943. He was also a director of the First National Bank of Chicago, the chapter of the Red Cross, and Children's Memorial Hospital (NCAB G).


Randall was a government consultant on the Marshall Plan in 1947, served President Eisenhower as a special adviser on foreign economic policy, and was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Kennedy. When President Truman seized the nation's steel mills in 1952, Randall wrote the brief that won in the Supreme Court, denying such presidential powers. Author of many books on free enterprise and a foe of socialism, Randall believed strongly in the responsibility of businessmen in a world economy (NYT). The New York Times editorialized about him that "He defended freedom for the individual by demonstrating how much one free American could contribute to advancing the total welfare" (NYT, August 7, 1967, p. 28, col. 2).


Searle built a multinational company in pharmaceuticals. He was a director of the Harris Trust and Savings Bank, vice president of board of Northwestern University, president of the Otho S. A. Sprague Memorial Institute, and a director of the Hospital Planning Council of Metropolitan Chicago (NCAB I).


Buchen led safaris for the Field Museum to Africa and was president of the Adventurers and Chicago Shikar-Safari Clubs. He was also a trustee of the Chicago Heart Association, 1949--; Ripon College, 1942–1957; the Library of International Relations, 1955--; and the Geographic Society of Chicago, 1952– (WWWAm III; NYT).


Ware was president of the United Electric Coal Company, 1935–1939, and the International Agricultural Corporation, 1939, which became the International Minerals and Chemical Corporation in 1941, "the largest producer of phosphate rock in the U.S." He was also a director of the First National Bank of Chicago (NCAB G).


Pirie was director or trustee of Universal Resources Corporation, the Salvation Army, and Seeing Eye (WWWAm VII).


Campbell was with the Chicago Tribune from 1921, becoming a director in 1953 and president, 1955–1960. He was a trustee of the McCormick-Patterson Trust, executor and trustee of the Robert R. McCormick Charitable Trust, and director of the First National Bank, Ontario Paper Corporation (Quebec), North Shore Pa-
per Company, and New York News (WWWAm IV).


See Biography Index (BI), vol. 2.


Miller was the president of Northwestern University, 1949–1969, and chancellor, 1969–. He was also a director of G. D. Searle and Company; Sears, Roebuck and Company; American Hospital Supply Company; First National Bank and Trust Company (Evanston); Fidelity Life Association; Fe Kemper; Children’s Memorial Hospital; and the Museum of Science and Industry (WWWAm VII).


Wood was with the Chicago Tribune from 1925, becoming president, 1960–1966; chairman, 1966–1971; and chairman of the executive committee, 1971–. He was a director or trustee of the Manicouagan Power Company; News Syndicate Company; Lake Shore Bank; Robert R. McCormick Charitable Trust; McCormick-Patterson Trust; Hoover Institute of War, Revolution and Peace; and the University of Chicago (WWWAm, 1972–1973).


Blair was a director or trustee of the Peoples Gas Company, Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago Historical Society, and Beloit College (WWWAm, 1980–1981).


Reed was president of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, 1967–1978. He also was a director of the Northern Trust Company and Kraft (WWWAm 1980–1981).


Son of James Simpson, he was with A. M. Castle and Company from 1934, becoming president, 1949–1961, and chair, 1961–. He was a director or trustee of Marshall Field and Company; Wyco Tool Company; and Presbyterian-St. Luke’s Hospital (WWWAm VII).


Palmer came to Chicago in 1919 and was a professor at the University of Chicago School of Business, 1929–1944. He became a director of Marshall Field and Company, 1942, and vice president, 1949–1964. He was president of the Field Museum, 1964–1969. He was also president of the Community Fund of Chicago, 1946–1948. (WWWAm VII).


Smith was the chairman of Northern Trust, 1963–1978. He was also director or trustee of Illinois Tool Works, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Chicago Zoological Society (WWWAm 1980–1981).


Dickinson was with the McLvaine law firm from 1937 and a partner from 1952. He was a director of KEY television, Schwepppe Foun-
dation, Lake Forest Hospital, and Children’s Memorial Hospital and the president of the Chicago Zoological Society (WWAm vol. 36).


Goodrich was with Chicago Title and Trust from 1931 and president, 1953–1959, chairman of the board, and chief executive officer from 1969. He was a director or trustee of Swift and Company, International Harvester, Peoples Gas Company, Drake University, and Wesley Memorial Hospital and a member of the Chicago Police Board (WWAm vol. 36).


Sivage began with Marshall Field and Company in 1931, becoming president in 1964. He was a director or trustee for the First National Bank, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Northwestern University, and Carroll College (WWAm vol. 36; NYT, September 29, 1977, p. D-14).


Swarthchild, as a trustee of the American Association of Museums, helped prepare a comprehensive code of ethics for museum personnel and volunteers. He became board chairman of the Field Museum on January 16, 1978, until January 1982. He was also board chairman of the Children’s Memorial Hospital and Northwestern University McGaw Medical Center and a board member of Blue Cross-Blue Shield (FMNHB, 1978, 493: 3).


Galitzine was chairman of the capital campaign in the early 1970s (FMNHB; WWAm vol. 8).

John Sumner Runnells II. Served 1968–present.


Wilkins was a partner with Jenner and Block from 1950. He was a director of Seaway National Bank and Cedco Capital Corporation and chairman of Health and Hospital Governance Committee, Cook County, 1969–1971, and the Children’s Memorial Hospital (WWAm vol. 38).


Murphy was president of C. F. Murphy Associates and the Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in Fine Arts. Buildings he designed include O’Hare International Airport, First National Bank, New McCormick Place, Blue Cross-Blue Shield Building, Chicago Civic Center, and the FBI building in Washington, D.C. (WWAm vol. 38; WWAm vol. 8).


member of the Chicago Board of Education, 1966–1969; president of Volunteer Agys of Chicago, 1956–1986; and a trustee of the Old Peoples Home (Chicago) and the George M. Pullman Educational Foundation (WWAm vol. 53).


Yarrington began with Standard Oil in 1938, becoming president of Amoco Oil, 1970–1974, and executive vice president of Standard Oil (Indiana), 1974–. He was a director or trustee of the Continental Illinois Bank and Trust Company, Continental Illinois Corporation, American Hospital Supply Company, Northwest Community Hospital, United Way of Metropolitan Chicago, Alliance of Business (Chicago), and Northwestern University (WWAm vol. 42). He became board president in 1974 and chairman of the board in May 1976.


Cook was with the Chicago Tribune from 1951, becoming publisher in 1953, and president and chief executive officer from 1973. He was a director or trustee of the Chicago Boys Clubs, Junior Achievement (Chicago), University of Chicago, Museum of Science and Industry, Robert R. McCormick Trusts and Foundations, and Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (WWAm vol. 38).


Strotz was on the faculty of Northwestern University from 1947, becoming president in 1970 (WWAm vol. 38; NYT [late ed.], November 12, 1994, p. 29).


Davis was a captain in the U.S. Air Force during World War II (WWAm 1980–1991).


O’Connor was/is a director or trustee of Talman Federal Savings and Loan Association, Borg Warner Corp, Esmark, First Chicago Corporation, First National Bank, Scottsmans Industries, Tribune Company, United Airlines, Chicago Boys Clubs, Museum of Science and Industry, Sprague Memorial Institute, Catholic Charities of Chicago, Citizenship Council of Metropolitan Chicago (chair from 1976), Adler Planetarium, Michael Reese Medical Center, Northwestern University, and the Chicago Urban League (chair), among other activities (WWAm 1980–1981; Standard and Poor’s Register of Corporations, Directors and Executives [S and P] for 1999). He was chairman of the board of the Field Museum, January 1982–March 1986.


Mr. Tieken was with Winston, Strawn and Shaw from 1963 and was president of Babson Brothers Company from 1964 (WWAm vol. 38).


Armour was corresponding secretary of the Women’s Board (Field Museum of Natural History Bulletin, 1977, 48/8: 3).


Bass was chief operating officer of Borg Warner from 1975; president, 1975–1979; and vice chair from 1979. He was also a director or trustee of SCM Corporation (New York), Raymond Corporation, Illinois Manufacturers Association, and Memorial American Management Association (FMNHB, 1977, 48/8: 3).


In 1946, Richards founded the Donald Richards Bryological Fund, which supports the collection and study of mosses and related plants (FMNHB, 1977, 48/8: 3; see Taxon 30: 875–876, 1981).


Dr. Carton was at the Rush Medical College (American Men and Women of Science [Am MWSc] vol. 15).


Boyd, formerly president of the University of Iowa, became president of the Field Museum on September 1, 1981, and served until October 1996. He was a director of the National Arts Stabilization Fund, National Federation of Humanities Councils, and Women of the West Museum and chairman of the Harry S. Truman Library Institute, 1997– and the Illinois Arts Alliance (WWAm 2000).


Nevling was a botanist who came to the Field Museum in 1973 as chairman of the Department of Botany. He became assistant director of science and education from January 1, 1978, becoming director and chief executive officer May 20, 1980, until 1985.

Judith S. Block (Mrs. Phillip Dee Block III). Served 1984–present.

Block served as president of the Women’s Board and chair of the board of trustees, 1997–2000. She serves on the board of Northwestern University and board president of the Child Welfare League of America. Other civic activities include United Way/Crusade of Mercy of Metro Chicago as past vice chairman, Chicago Community Trust as a member of the Executive Committee, Museum of Science and Industry as a member of the President’s Council, the Latin School of Chicago as a trustee, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra as a Women’s Board member, the University of Chicago as a Women’s Board member; and the Goodman Theatre as a Women’s Board member.


Eyerman was with Skidmore, Owings and Merrill from 1966 and a general partner from 1973. He is a director of the Harvard Business School and on the governing board of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1981– (WWAm vol. 43).


Neal was managing partner of Earl L. Neal and Associates, 1968–. He was a trustee or director of the University of Chicago, Chicago Title and Trust, Chicago Title Insurance Company, Peoples Energy Corporation, Lincoln National Corporation, First Chicago Corporation, First National Bank, and the Chicago Central Area Commission (WWAm for 1998).


Pritzker was president of the Marmon Corporation, Colson Group, Marmon Holdings, and Marmon Industries. He is a director or trustee of the Hyatt Corporation, Dalfort Corporation, and Union Tank Car Company, and chairman of the Pritzker Foundation, Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago Symphony Orchestra, and Rush-Presbyterian-St. Luke’s Medical Center (WWAm 2000). He was board chairman of the Field Museum from February 1988 to February 1991.


Jones was board chairman of the Field Museum, March 1986–February 1988.


Clark is the president and chief executive officer of Nalco Chemical Company, 1982–, and chairman, 1984–. He is a director or trustee of the Chicago Northwest Transportation Company, Northern Trust Corporation, USG Corporation, DePaul University, Rush-Presbyterian-St. Luke’s Medical Center, and the Museum of Science and Industry (WWAm vol. 45).


Kinsella was with Leo Burnett from 1959, becoming president in 1972, chief executive officer in 1981, and chairman in 1983. He was a director of Santa for the Very Poor and the Chicago Economic Development Council (WWAm vol. 44).


Cadieux started with Amoco Oil in 1972, becoming president in 1983 (WWAm 2000).


Compton was a director of numerous organizations, including the Chicago Community Urban Opportunities, Community Fund of Chicago, and Chicago Regional Purchasing Council, and was a trustee of DePaul University (WWAfrAm vol. 11).


Johnson was with Borg-Warner Corporation, 1953–1987, becoming president and chief operating officer, 1984–1987, and chief executive officer, 1986–1987. He now is senior vice president, Kidder-Peabody and Company, 1987–. He also was in the U.S. Navy, 1944–1946, and
was a special agent of the FBI before 1953 (WWAm vol. 45).


Hedien was an engineer with Cook Electric Company (Skokie, Illinois), 1957–1964, and with Allstate Insurance Company, 1966; president, 1986–1989; chairman and chief executive officer, 1989–. He is a director of Kellogg Graduate School of Management, Northwestern University, and a trustee of Neighborhood Housing Services of America (WWAm 2000).


Kunkler is a director of the Northwestern Memorial Hospital (S and P 1999).

William [“Bill”] Horton Kurtis (b. 1940). Broadcast journalist.

Kurtis was co-anchor of CBS Morning News, 1982–1985, and with WBBM-TV, Chicago, from 1966 (WWAm vol. 45).


Former partner in Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill.


Smith is president of the Native American Educational Services College.


Rogers served as chairman of the board of commissioners, Chicago Park District, 1993–1999.


Canning was with First National Bank, 1969–1980. He was the president of First Chicago Venture Capital, 1980–1992, and is president of Madigin Dearborn Planners, 1993– (WWAm vol. 51).


Chico is partner and chairman of the management committee, Altheimer and Gray. Chico was deputy chief of staff for Mayor Richard Daley, 1991–1992, becoming chief of staff, 1992–1996. He is a partner with Altheimer and Gray and past president of the School Reform board of trustees (WWAm 2000).


Mr. and Mrs. Schnadig were cochairs of the Founder’s Council, 1997–1999. Mr. Schnadig is an attorney and an adjunct professor at the Kellogg Graduate School of Business, Northwestern University.

Cowell is former chief executive officer of U.S. Robotics. He is also a governing member of the Orchestral Association and a director of PLATINUM Technology, System Software Associates, and May and Speh, Inc. (In the Field 69/3).


Cross was president of the New York State Higher Education Association, 1981–1988; associate provost, University of Minnesota, 1988–1990; and president of Chicago State University, 1990–1997. She was president of the General Electric Fund, 1996–1999, and is president of the Morris Brown College (Atlanta), 1999–. She also is a director of the Urban League and Leadership for Quality Education (WWAm 2000).


Fisher has been with Northern Illinois Gas since 1967, becoming vice president and treasurer in 1978. He is also treasurer of Nicor and a director of Aurora Redevelopment Company, Aurora Christian School, and the American Management Association (WWAm vol. 41).


Past president of the Women’s Board.


Front is chairman of Front Barnett Associates (In the Field 69/3; S and P 1999). Prior to starting his own investment counseling firm in 1994, Front worked for nearly 30 years at Stein, Roer, and Farnham. He is a trustee of the Museum of Contemporary Art, Columbia University, and the Latin School.


Fuller began with the Chicago Tribune in 1973, becoming president and chief executive officer, 1993–1997; publisher, 1994–1997; and president of the Tribune Publishing Company, 1997–. He is a director or trustee of the McCormick Tribune Foundation and the University of Chicago (In the Field 69/3; WWAm 2000).

Sue Ling Gin. Served 1994–present. Chair and chief executive officer, Flying Food Group, Inc.

Gin serves on numerous civic and philanthropic boards, including the Adler Planetarium, Chicago Community Trust, DePaul University, Georgetown University, and the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business.


Greenberg was with Arthur Young and Company, 1964–1982. He became executive vice president of McDonald’s Corporation, 1982; president and chief executive officer, 1997; and chairman and chief executive officer, 1999. He is a director or trustee of Arthur J. Gallagher and Company, Harcourt General (Boston), and DePaul University, Kent College of Law (WWAm 2000).


Marks retired as vice chairman and member of the board of directors of First Chicago NBD Corporation in 1997 after a 14-year career at the bank. He is a director of Children’s Memorial Hospital and Medical Center and the WBEZ Alliance (S and P 1999).

Marsh was with Dart and Kraft and General Foods USA. He was chairman and chief executive officer, Pet Inc. (St. Louis), to 1995; president and chief executive officer, Ft. James Corporation (Richmond and Deerfield, Illinois), 1995; and chairman, 1996–2000 (WWAm 2000).


Measelle was with Arthur Andersen from 1970, becoming worldwide managing partner in 1989. He is a trustee or director of the University of Detroit, 1985–, and the Detroit Economic Growth Corporation, 1975–1987, chairman of the United Negro College Fund (Detroit), 1982, and a member of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (WWAm for 1996).


Ryerson and Tull is the largest metal distributor and processor in North America.


Benton is chairman of the Field Museum’s Cultural Collections Committee. Public Media, Inc., is a video publishing and distribution company based in Chicago.


Ms. Colburn and her husband Richard Colburn head a family foundation that has given grants to many organizations, including the Field Museum, Chicago Symphony Orchestra, United Negro College Fund, and Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra. Robin Colburn is a governing member of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.


Brook Furniture Rental is the nation’s fourth-largest furniture rental company.


Fain is an attorney whose practice concentrates on economic development, real estate, school board, and government issues. She has served as chief legal counsel to the office of the Illinois State Treasurer and as senior counsel to departments in the Illinois Secretary of State’s office. Fain serves on numerous boards, including Harold Washington College, Chicago State University, and the National Association of Women Business Owners.


Hirschland heads a company that takes computer hardware and software, accounting and financial models, industrial processes, and statistical and other technical products and procedures and “translates” them into plain, easy-to-understand English for use by nontechnical businesspeople. Hirschland is president of the Friends of the Field Museum Library.


President of the Women’s Board, 2000–2002.

Peter B. Pond. Served 1998–present. Partner, ALTA Equity Partners, LLC.

Pond was principal and managing director with Donaldson, Lufkin and Jenrette (DLJ) and head of DLJ’s Midwest Investment Banking Group from 1991 to 2000 (In The Field 69/3).


Reátegui served as president of the Field Associates, 1999–2001. She is a member of the junior boards of the Lincoln Park Zoo and the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.


William J. White (b. 1938). Served 1996–present. Professor of industrial engineering and management science, Northwestern University, and former chairman and chief executive officer, Bell and Howell Corporation.


Wolf joined Leo Burnett in 1978 as assistant account executive and is the president of Leo Burnett USA (In The Field 69/3; WWAm 2000).

Sam Zell (b. 1941). Served 1999–present. Chairman of the board, Equity Group Investments, and president, Equity Financial and Management Company.

Zell was the chairman of Great American Management and Investment Company, 1981–. He is co-chairman of Revco and chairman of Equity Group Investments, 1976–; Delta Queen Steamboat Company (New Orleans), 1984–; and Intel Corporation, 1985– (WWAm 2000).


Alexander is lead trustee of the Elizabeth Morse Charitable Trust, trustee of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, and director of the Lyric Opera of Chicago.


Bobins serves on the Chicago Board of Education and numerous civic boards, including University of Chicago Hospitals, Metropolitan Planning Council, and Chicagoland Chamber of Commerce.


Svoboda, Collins is a $70 million equity fund focused on small- to medium-sized growth


Hodges was elected president of the Field Associates in 2001.


Ferro founded Click Commerce, a software design firm that is the leading provider of Enterprise Channel Management (EMC) solutions that synchronize all commerce activities for clients. Ferro was listed in *Crain's Chicago Business* as one of the “Top 40 Entrepreneurs Under 40.”


Mota has served as chairman of the Illinois Capital Development Board and is a director of the Northern States Financial Corporation and Bank of Waukegan.


Executive vice president and chief risk officer, Bank One.

The information in this appendix was compiled by Sarah Coleman, Peter Gayford, Warren Haskin, Stephen E. Nash, Robin Ross, and David Wilcox. Expeditions are listed chronologically by year, then alphabetically by expedition or project leader. An asterisk (*) indicates a significant collecting expedition or fieldwork conducted by a noncurator (such as a staff member or associate) on behalf of the department.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Expedition Leader(s)</th>
<th>Fieldwork Details</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>*Ayer, Edward E.</td>
<td>Purchasing trip to Egypt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Bruce, Captain Miner</td>
<td>Bruce Expedition to Alaska and Siberia, 1894–1896.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Holmes, William Henry</td>
<td>Armour Expedition to Yucatan and Islands and States of Mexico.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Thompson, Edward H.</td>
<td>Archaeological fieldwork in Mexico, 1895–1896.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Xhichmook, Chichén-Itzá, and Mayas</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>*Bruce, Captain Miner</td>
<td>Second Bruce Expedition to Siberia and Alaska, 1896–1897.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Dorsey, George A.</td>
<td>Ethnological expedition to the Far West United States.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Blackfoot, Kootenay, Flathead, Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Moki, and Zuni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Dorsey, George A.</td>
<td>Anthropological fieldwork in Arizona.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hopi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>*Burt, J. A.</td>
<td>Anthropological expedition to Lower Little Colorado River, 1899–1900.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dorsey, George A.</td>
<td>Hopi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dorsey, George A.</td>
<td>Archaeological expedition to Union County, Illinois.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dorsey, George A.</td>
<td>Anthropological expedition to Arizona.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hopi (ethnology)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simms, Stephen C.</td>
<td>Ethnological expedition to California, Puget Sound, and Vancouver Island, 1899–1900.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Pomo and Kwakiutl Indians</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Anthropological expedition to Six Nations Reserve, Canada.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1900
*Burt, J. A.
Dorsey, George A.
Dorsey, George A.
*Hudson, J. W.
*Newcombe, C. F.
Owen, Charles L.
Owen, Charles L.
Owen, Charles L.
*Phillips, W. A.

Second anthropological expedition to Little Lower Colorado River, Arizona.

Hopi Indians

Ethnological expedition to California, Puget Sound, and Vancouver Islands.

Ethnological expedition to Oklahoma, 1900–1901.

Osage, Pawnee, and Wichita

Ethnological expedition to California, 1900–1901.

Mariposa and Maquelumman Indians

Queen Charlotte Island, British Columbia, 1900–1901.

Haida

Arizona, 1900–1901.

Apache and Navajo Indians

Arizona, 1900–1901.

Hopi (prehistory)

Province of Tusayan.

Hopi

Archaeological expedition to southern Illinois.

1901
Dorsey, George A.
Dorsey, George A.
Dorsey, George A., and Charles L. Owen
*Hudson, J. W.
*Miller, Merton L.
*Mooney, James
Owen, Charles L.
*Phillips, W. A.
Simms, Stephen C.
Simms, Stephen C.

Ethnological expedition to Oklahoma, 1901–1902.

Pawnee and Arapaho

Ethnological expedition to Oklahoma, 1901–1902.

Pawnee, Osage, and Oto

Stanley McCormick Expedition to Arizona, 1901–1902.

Hopi graves in Walpi and Mishongnovi

Ethnological expedition to California, 1901–1902.

Mariposa and Maquelumman Indians

Anthropological expedition to Columbia River Basin.

Shahaptian tribe

Ethnological expedition to Oklahoma, 1901–1902.

Kiowa and Comanche

Ethnological expedition to Arizona.

Apache and Navajo


Pima and Yuma

Ethnological expedition to Arizona and California.

Ethnological expedition to Montana, 1901–1902.

Crow and Cheyenne

1902
Dorsey, George A.
Dorsey, George A.
*Hudson, J. W.
*Ireland, Alleyne
*Mooney, James

Ethnological expedition to North Dakota, 1902–1903.

Arikara

Ethnological expedition to Oklahoma, 1902–1903.

Pawnee ethnology

Ethnological expedition to California, 1902–1903.

Wintun, Maidu, and Hupa

Ethnological expedition to Eastern Asia and British North Borneo (ethnology), 1902–1903.

Cheyenne
Newcombe, C. F.  
Ethnological expedition to Alaska.  
_Haida and Tlingit_

Newcombe, C. F.  
Ethnological expedition to Queen Charlotte Island, British Columbia, 1902–1903.

Owen, Charles L.  
Ethnological expedition to Arizona, 1902–1903.

Phillips, W. A.  
Archaeological expedition to Indiana, Kentucky, Missouri, and Tennessee.  
_Mill Creek Quarry Distribution Map_

Simms, Stephen C.  
Ethnological expedition to Canada and Minnesota, 1902–1903.  
_Cree and Chippewa_

Simms, Stephen C.  
Ethnological expedition to Montana.  
_Crow_

Voth, Henry R.  
Expedition to Arizona, 1902–1903.  
_Hopi_

1903

*Burt, J. A.

Dorsey, George A.  
Ethnological expedition to Oklahoma.  
_Pawnee and Wichita_

*Ireland, Alleyne*

_Hudson, J. W.

*Mooney, James*

Newcombe, C. F.  
Ethnological expedition to Northwest Coast of America, 1903–1904.  
_Haida_

Owen, Charles L.  
Ethnological expedition to southern California, 1903–1904.  
_Apache_

Voth, Henry R.  
Ethnological expedition to Arizona, 1903–1904.  
_Hopi_

1904

Dorsey, George A.  
Ethnological expedition to Oklahoma, 1904–1905.  
_Pawnee_

_Hudson, J. W.

*Mooney, James*

Owen, Charles L.  
Ethnological expedition to California.  
_Cheyenne and Kiowa_

Newcombe, C. F.  
Ethnological expedition to the North Pacific Coast, 1904–1905.  
_Tsimshian_

Warden, Cleaver  
Ethnological expedition to Wyoming, 1904–1905.  
_Arapaho_

1905

*Benedict, Laura E.

*Brown, Alfred R.*  
Dorsey, George A.

_Ireland, Alleyne*

Ethnological expedition to Philippine Islands, 1905–1907.  
_Bagobo_

Ethnological expedition to Andaman and Nicobar Islands, 1905–1906.  
Ethnological expedition to Oklahoma.  
_Pawnee_

Ethnological expedition to Malay Peninsula.
*Mooney, James
Ethnological expedition to Oklahoma.
  Cheyenne and Kiowa

*Newcombe, C. F.
Ethnological expedition to North Pacific Coast, 1905–1906.
  Haida Indians

1906
Cole, Fay-Cooper
Ethnological expedition to Luzon, Philippines, 1906–1908.
  Tinguianes

Dorsey, George A.
Ethnological expedition to Oklahoma.
  Pawnee

Dorsey, George A.
Ethnological expedition to Wyoming.
  Arapaho

*Mooney, James
Ethnological expedition to Oklahoma.
  Cheyenne

*Newcombe, C. F.
Ethnological expedition to North Pacific Coast.
  Haida and Kwakiutl

Owen, Charles L.
Ethnological expedition to Mission Region, southern California.
  Mission Indians

Simms, Stephen C.
Cummings Philippine Explorations—Luzon, Philippines (ethnology), 1906–1907.
  Igorrot

1907
*Brown, Alfred R.
*Jones, William
Ethnological expedition to Andaman and Nicobar Islands.
  Negrito ethnology

*Dorsey, George A.
Ethnological Expedition to Oklahoma.
  Sauk and Fox

*Newcombe, C. F.
Ethnological expedition to the Northwest Coast.

1908
*Dorsey, George A.
Around-the-world expedition: Egypt, Assam, Philippines, Java, India, Ceylon, Australia, Solomon Islands, Bismarck Archipelago, New Ireland, New Guinea, China, Japan, Buka, and Bougainville.

*Jones, William
Ethnological expedition to Philippine Islands, 1907–1909.
  Mayayo, Igorrot, and Ibalua

 Laufer, Berthold

1909
Cole, Fay-Cooper
Second R. F. Cummings Ethnological Expedition to Philippine Islands (ethnology).
  Mangyan

*Dorsey, George A.
Expedition to explore certain ruins, Mexico.
  Chiapas

Jones, William
Ethnological expedition to Philippine Islands, 1907–1909. (Jones murdered November 1909.)
  Negrito ethnology

 Laufer, Berthold

Lewis, Albert B.
Joseph N. Field South Pacific Expedition—Ethnological Expedition to Fiji Islands (ethnology), 1909–1913.
Simms, Stephen C.

Ethnological Expedition to Luzon, Philippine Islands, to collect materials after the death of William Jones.

Igorot tribe: Ilongot Indians

1910
Cole, Fay-Cooper

Laufer, Berthold
Lewis, Albert B.

Owen, Charles L.
*Ayer, Edward E.

Fifth R. F. Cummings Ethnological Expedition to Philippine Islands (ethnology).

Bukidnon, Mandaya, Manobo, Negrito, and Bataan Bagobo Indians

Joseph N. Field South Pacific Expedition—Ethnological Expedition to Fiji Islands (ethnology), 1909–1913.

Preliminary investigative trip to Ohio.

Expedition to Congo, Africa.

1911
Cole, Fay-Cooper

Lewis, Albert B.

Owen, Charles L.

Owen, Charles L.

Simms, Stephen C.

Fifth R. F. Cummings Ethnological Expedition to Philippines Islands (ethnology).

Manobo, Bilaan, and Divavaon Mandaya
Joseph N. Field South Pacific Expedition—Ethnological Expedition to Fiji Islands (ethnology), 1909–1913.

Ohio (archaeology) Hopewell Mounds, 1911–1912.

Stanley McCormick Hopi Expedition.

Hopi

Ethnological field trip to Kansas (ethnology).

1912
Owen, Charles L.
Lewis, Albert B.

Ethnological expedition to Arizona.

Joseph N. Field South Pacific Expedition—Ethnological Expedition to Fiji Islands (ethnology), 1909–1913.

1913
Owen, Charles L.

Lewis, Albert B.

Ethnological expedition to Arizona.

Hopi

Joseph N. Field South Pacific Expedition—Ethnological Expedition to Fiji Islands (ethnology), 1909–1913.

1915
Dorsey, George A.

Ethnological expedition to British India.

1922
Cole, Fay-Cooper

Mason, J. Alden


Captain Marshall Field Expedition to Colombia, 1922–1923.

1923
Various personnel
Laufer, Berthold
Mason, J. Alden

*Excavations at Kish, Iraq.

Captain Marshall Field Ethnological Expedition to China.

Captain Marshall Field Expedition to Colombia, 1922–1923.

1924
Various personnel

1925
*Breasted, James H.

*Excavations at Kish, Iraq.

Egypt archaeological expedition.
Chandler, Milford
Field, Henry
*Kroeber, Alfred L.
*Linton, Ralph.

1926
Field, Henry
*Kroeber, A. L.
[Strong, William D.]

Trip to Iraq and Kish excavations.
The Second Marshall Field Archaeological Expedition to Peru.
Rawson-MacMillan Sub-Arctic Expedition for Field Museum.

1927
Field, Henry
Various personnel
*MacMillian, Donald
Strong, William D.
Thompson, J. Eric S.

Marshall Field Archaeological Expedition to Western Europe (Spain and France) and Egypt, 1927-1928.

1928
Various personnel
Various personnel
Strong, William D.
Thompson, J. Eric S.

Cornelius Crane Pacific Expedition.

1929
Various personnel
Hambly, Wilfrid
Thompson, J. Eric S.

*Excavations at Kish, Iraq.
Rawson-Field Museum Ethnological Expedition to West Africa (Angola, Nigeria) 1929-1930.

1930
Various personnel
Field, Henry
Hambly, Wilfrid
Martin, Paul S.
*Moir, J. Reid

*Excavations at Kish, Iraq.
Marshall Field Archaeological Expedition to Western Europe (England and France).
Fredrick H. Rawson-Field Museum Ethnological Expedition to West Africa (Angola, Nigeria).
Archaeological expedition to the Southwest. (Colorado; Anasazi sites).

1931
Various personnel
*Hoffman, Malvina
Martin, Paul S.
*Moir, J. Reid

*Excavations at Kish, Iraq.
Chauncey Keep Memorial Hall sculpture work (France, Germany, Hawaii, Japan, and China).
Field Museum Archaeological Expedition to the Southwest (Colorado; Anasazi sites).
Thompson, J. Eric S.

1932
Various personnel
Field, Henry
*Hoffman, Malvina

1933
*Burleson, E. L.
Various personnel
Martin, Paul S.

1934
Field, Henry
Martin, Paul S.
Thompson, J. Eric S.

1937
Martin, Paul S.

1938
Martin, Paul S.

1939
Martin, Paul S.

1941
Collier, Donald
Martin, Paul S.

1946
Collier, Donald
Martin, Paul S.

1947
Martin, Paul S.
Spoehr, Alexander

1948
Martin, Paul S.

1949
*Lehmer, Donald

The Third Marshall Field Archaeological Expedition to British Honduras and Guatemala.

*Excavations at Kish, Iraq.
Archaeological expedition to Europe (France, England, and Germany).
Chauncey Keep Memorial Hall sculpture work (Philippines, Java, Bali, Singapore, Penang, Malaya, and India).

Burleson-Field Museum expedition to Mexico.
*Excavations at Kish, Iraq.
Field Museum archaeological expedition to the Southwest (Colorado; Anasazi sites).

Field Museum anthropological expedition to the Near East (Iraq, Mesopotamia, Soviet Union, and Persia).
Field Museum archaeological expedition to the Southwest (Colorado; Anasazi sites).
Joint Archaeology Expedition of the Carnegie Institute and Field Museum (British Honduras).

Field Museum archaeological expedition to the Southwest (Colorado; Anasazi sites).

Field Museum archaeological expedition to the Southwest (Colorado; Anasazi sites).

Field Museum archaeological expedition to the Southwest (New Mexico; Mogollon sites).

Joint Expedition of Field Museum and Institute for Andean Research to Ecuador 1941–1942, Canar Valley.
Field Museum Archaeological Expedition to the Southwest (New Mexico).

Archaeological expedition to Peru (Trujillo).
Southwest archaeological expedition (New Mexico).

Southwest archaeological expedition (New Mexico).
Ethnological Expedition to Micronesia (Marshall Islands).

Southwest archaeological expedition (New Mexico).

Mexico (Sonora) archaeological expedition.
Martin, Paul S.  
Spoehr, Alexander  

Southwest archaeological expedition (New Mexico).  
Micronesian anthropological expedition (Marianas Islands), 1949–1950.

1950
Martin, Paul S.

Southwest archaeological expedition (New Mexico).

1951
Martin, Paul S.

Southwest archaeological expedition (New Mexico)

1952
Martin, Paul S.  
Quimby, George I.

Southwest archaeological expedition (New Mexico).  
Archaeological fieldwork (Norway).

1953
Martin, Paul S.  
Lewis, Phillip H.

Southwest archaeological expedition.  
Ethnological expedition to the Ivory Coast, 1953–1954.

1954
Martin, Paul S.  
Quimby, George I.

Southwest archaeological expedition (New Mexico).  
Lower Mississippi Valley archaeological field trip.

1955
*Bluhm, Elaine  
Martin, Paul S.  
Quimby, George I.

Chicago-area archaeological field trips.  
Southwest archaeological expedition.  
Louisiana archaeological field trip.

1956
*Bluhm, Elaine  
Collier, Donald  
Martin, Paul S.  
Quimby, George I.

Chicago-area archaeological field trips.  
Peru archaeological expedition (Casma Valley).  
Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).  
Great Lakes area archaeological field trip (Michigan, and Ontario).

1957
Martin, Paul S.  
Quimby, George I.

Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).  
Great Lakes area archaeological field trips (Michigan, Ontario, and Wisconsin).

1958
*Liss, Allen S.  
Martin, Paul S.  
Quimby, George I.

Archaeological fieldwork, Anker site (Illinois).  
Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).  
Great Lakes area archaeological field trip (Michigan, Wisconsin, and Ontario).

1959
Collier, Donald  
Martin, Paul S.  
Quimby, George I.

Ethnological trip to Chiapas.  
Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).  
Great Lakes area archaeological field trip (Michigan).

1960
*Liss, Allen S.  
Martin, Paul S.

Archaeological fieldwork, Cahokia site, East St. Louis, Illinois.  
Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).
Quimby, George I.
Starr, Kenneth

1961
Martin, Paul S.
Quimby, George I.

1962
Collier, Donald
Martin, Paul S.
Quimby, George I.

1963
Martin, Paul S.
Quimby, George I.

1964
Martin, Paul S.
Quimby, George I.

1965
Martin, Paul S.
Quimby, George I.
Reinman, Fred

1966
Cole, Glen H.
Martin, Paul S.
Starr, Kenneth
VanStone, James

1967
Collier, Donald
Martin, Paul S.
VanStone, James

1968
Lewis, Philip H.
Martin, Paul S.

1969
Lewis, Philip H.
Martin, Paul S.

1970
Lewis, Phillip H.
Martin, Paul S.

Great Lakes area archaeological field trip (Michigan, Wisconsin).
Formosa anthropological field trip (Taiwan), 1960.

Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).
Great Lakes area archaeological field trips (Michigan, and Ontario).

Mexico archaeological field trip.
Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).
Great Lakes area archaeological field trip (Michigan, Wisconsin, and Ontario).

Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).
Upper Great Lakes archaeological field trips (Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Ontario).

Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).
Great Lakes archaeological field trips (Michigan, Wisconsin, and Ontario).

Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).
Great Lakes archaeological field trips (United States and Canada).

African field investigation (Malawi).
Republic of China.
Southwestern Alaska expedition.

Archaeological expedition to Guatemala.
Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).
Archaeological excavation and ethnographic research in southwest Alaska.

Variation in Art and Society in New Ireland.
Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).

Variation in Art and Society in New Ireland.
Southwest archaeological expedition (Arizona).

Ethnological fieldwork—Melanesian, Lossu Village (New Ireland).
Southwest archaeological expedition.
<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Researchers</th>
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<td>Collier, Donald</td>
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<td>1974</td>
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<td>1976</td>
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<td>1979</td>
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<td>Survey of archaeological sites (Thailand). Fieldwork—Programa Contisuyu (Peru).</td>
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<td>1987</td>
<td>Stanish, Charles, Stanish, Charles</td>
<td>Archaeological fieldwork—Proyecto Juli (Juli-Pomata area, Bolivia) Fieldwork—Nuclear Centers of Civilization (Peru).</td>
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Department of Anthropology Expeditions and Fieldwork
Terrell, John E.
VanStone, James

1990
Bronson, Bennett
Creamer, Winifred, and Jonathan Haas
Stanish, Charles
Terrell, John E.
Terrell, John E., Robert L. Welsch

1991
Bronson, Bennett
Roosevelt, Anna
Stanish, Charles

1992
Bronson, Bennett
Creamer, Winifred, and Jonathan Haas
Roosevelt, Anna
Stanish, Charles
Stanish, Charles

1993
Roosevelt, Anna
Stanish, Charles
Terrell, John E., and Robert L. Welsch

1994
Haas, Jonathan, and Winifred Creamer
Haas, Jonathan, and Winifred Creamer
Kusimba, Chapurukha, and Sibel Kusimba
Stanish, Charles
Stanish, Charles
Stanish, Charles

1995
Haas, Jonathan, and Winifred Creamer
Kusimba, Chapurukha, and Sibel Kusimba
Stanish, Charles
Wali, Alaka

1996
Haas, Jonathan, and Winifred Creamer

Archaeological fieldwork (Hawaii).
Archaeological fieldwork (Alaska).

Survey of Sites in Southern Thailand.
Archaeological fieldwork—San Marcos Pueblo (New Mexico).

Archaeological fieldwork—Proyecto Juli (Peru).
Aitape District, West Sepik (Sandaun) Province, Papua New Guinea.
Albert B. Lewis Research Project in Aitape, West Sepik Province (New Guinea).

Fieldwork in Thailand.
Excavation at Caverna da Pedra Pintada, Monte Alegre, Para, Brazil
Archaeological Fieldwork—Proyecto Lupaqa (Peru).

Fieldwork in China.
Archaeological fieldwork—Pueblo Blanco (New Mexico).

Excavation at Caverna da Pedra Pintada, Monte Alegre, Para, Brazil.
Fieldwork—Nuclear Centers of Civilization (Peru).
Archaeological Fieldwork—Proyecto Lupaqa (Peru and Bolivia).

Excavations at Taperinha and Santarem, Para, Brazil.
Archaeological fieldwork—Proyecto Lupaqa (Peru).
Aitape District, West Sepik (Sandaun) Province, Papua New Guinea.

Archaeological Excavation and Mapping Project (New Mexico).

Archaeological survey for National Geographic Magazine (Arizona).

Archaeological fieldwork, Mtwapa, Kenya.

Archaeological fieldwork—Island of the Sun.
Archaeological project (Bolivia)—Lake Titicaca Basin.
Archaeological fieldwork—Proyecto Lupaqa (Peru).

Archaeological fieldwork at site of Pueblo Blanco (New Mexico).

Archaeological fieldwork, Mtwapa, Kenya.

Archaeological reconnaissance (Titicaca, Peru).
Ethnographic research in Harlem, New York.

Archaeological survey and mapping of sites in northern New Mexico.
Kusimba, Chapurukha, and Sibel Kusimba
Roosevelt, Anna
Stanish, Charles
Stanish, Charles
Terrell, John E., and Robert L. Welsch
Wali, Alaka

Archaeological fieldwork, Mtwapa, Kenya.

Fieldwork (Brazil).

Island of the Sun Archaeological Project (Bolivia).

Fieldwork—Lupaqa (Peru).

Aitape District, West Sepik (Sandaun) Province, Papua New Guinea.

Ethnographic research in Harlem, New York.

Excavation of 11th century Puebloan site (New Mexico).

Preliminary survey of archaeological sites in Peru.

Archaeological fieldwork, Mtwapa, Kenya.

Upper Sangha River sites, Central African Republic.

Excavations at the Alima River and Lower Congo River, Republic of Congo (Brazzaville).

Aitape District, West Sepik (Sandaun) Province, Papua New Guinea.

Ethnographic research in Harlem, New York.

Archaeological excavation, Merrigan site (New Mexico).

Archaeological fieldwork, Tsavo, Kenya.

Fieldwork—Sanglia River and Bangui (Central African Republic).

Fieldwork (Republic of Congo).

Fieldwork, Aitape (New Guinea).

Archaeology survey: Settlement Patterns in Liangchengzhen (China).

Archaeological survey: Archaic sites of central Peru.

Archaeological fieldwork, Tsavo, Kenya.

Excavations at Upper Sangha River sites, Central African Republic.

Excavation at Liangchengzhen in southeastern Shandong Province, China.

Ethnographic research, Chicago, Illinois.

Archaeological excavation at El Palmillo, Oaxaca.

Archaeology survey: Settlement Patterns in Liangchengzhen (China).

Archaeological survey and dating of archaic sites of central Peru.

Archaeological fieldwork, Tsavo, Kenya.

Excavations at Santarem, Para, Brazil.
Excavation at Liangchengzhen in southeastern Shandong Province, China.
Ethnographic research, Chicago, Illinois.
Ethnographic research, Lake Calumet, Illinois.

Geophysical study of the ceremonial center of Tibet, Ponce, Puerto Rico.
Archaeological excavation at El Palmillo, Oaxaca.
Archaeology survey: Settlement Patterns in Liangchengzhen (China).

Archaeological survey and dating of Archaic sites of central Peru.

Archaeological fieldwork, Tsavo, Kenya.

Excavations at Lower Congo River sites, Democratic Republic of Congo (Kinshasa).
Excavations at Curupite, Para, Brazil.
Excavations at Santarem, Para, Brazil.
Excavation at Liangchengzhen in southeastern Shandong Province, China.
Ethnographic research, Chicago, Illinois.
Ethnographic research, Lake Calumet, Illinois.
Ethnographic research, Peru.
Cerro Baul archaeological expedition, Moquegua, Peru.

Archaeological excavation at El Palmillo, Oaxaca.
Archaeology survey: Settlement Patterns in Liangchengzhen (China).

Archaeological survey and dating of Archaic sites of central Peru.

Archaeological fieldwork, Tsavo, Kenya.

Cerro Baul archaeological expedition, Moquegua, Peru.


Collier, Donald, and John V. Murra. 1943. Survey and excavations in southern Ecuador. Fieldiana: Anthropology 35.


Field, Henry. 1939. Contributions to the anthropology of Iran. Fieldiana: Anthropology 29(1).


Martin, Paul S., and John B. Rinaldo. 1940. The SU Site excavations at a Mogollon village western New Mexico, 1939. Fieldiana: Anthropology 32(1).

—. 1943. The SU Site excavations at a Mogollon village western New Mexico, 1941. Fieldiana: Anthropology 32(2).

—. 1947. The SU Site excavations at a Mogollon village western New Mexico, 1946. Fieldiana: Anthropology 32(3).


Quimby, George I. 1946. Toggle harpoon heads from the Aleutian Islands. Fieldiana: Anthropology 36(2).


Quimby, George I., and Albert C. Spaulding. 1957. The Old Copper Culture and the Keweenaw Waterway. Fieldiana: Anthropology 36(8).


Tarbell, F. B. 1909. Catalogue of bronzes, etc. in Field Museum of Natural History reproduced from originals in the National Museum of Naples. Fieldiana: Anthropology 7(3).


Wright, H. E. 1932. The solar year of the Mayas at Quirigua, Guatemala. Fieldiana: Anthropology 17(4).


1903. The Oraibi Summer Snake ceremony. Fieldiana: Anthropology 3(3).

1903. The Oraibi Oaoqol ceremony. Fieldiana: Anthropology 6(1).


1912. The Oraibi Marau ceremony. Fieldiana: Anthropology 11(1).


1981. An analysis of Santa Maria urn painting.


Fieldiana: Anthropology Publications, 1895–2002
In the following list, an asterisk (*) indicates the opening of a permanent exhibit, but the records do not indicate whether there was a temporary component as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Five Hundredth Anniversary of Gutenberg Bible</td>
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<td>1942</td>
<td>Indians of the Americas</td>
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<td>1943</td>
<td>Fiftieth Anniversary celebration</td>
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<td>1944</td>
<td>Congo Photo Exhibition</td>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>Dutch East Indies Exhibit</td>
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<td>1946</td>
<td>Costume Jewelry of Ancient Persia</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Arts of Nature</td>
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<td>The Incas</td>
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<td>1947</td>
<td>Costumes of Guatemala</td>
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<td>1948</td>
<td>Photographic Essay on Atomic Energy</td>
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<td>Photo Exhibition of the Life of the Navahos</td>
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<td>Islands and of Guam</td>
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<td>1952</td>
<td>Story of Angkor</td>
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<td>1954</td>
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<td>18th-Century Jade Jar</td>
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<td>1956</td>
<td>Member's Night reinstallation of African King's House</td>
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<td>1957</td>
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<td>Peasants and Princes</td>
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<td>Food Plants of American Origin</td>
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<td>150 Chinese Rubbings</td>
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<td>What Is Primitive Art?</td>
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<td>Impressions of Iran</td>
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<td>Kenya Gems</td>
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<td>Indian Art of the Americans</td>
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<td>People and Places in India</td>
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<td>Peoples of the World</td>
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<td>Eleven Centuries of Icelandic Culture</td>
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<td>Sea Peoples of the Zulu Archipelago</td>
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<td>Prehistoric Art of Libyan Sahara</td>
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<td>1962</td>
<td>Indians of the Overland Trail</td>
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<td>Tutankhamen Treasures</td>
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<td>Tribal Life of East Africa and Zanzibar</td>
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<td>1963</td>
<td>Indian Life in the Navajo and Hopi Country of the Southwest</td>
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<td>1964</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>The Character of Korea</td>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>Rubbing from Maya stone carvings</td>
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<td>One hundred small clay sculptures from tombs of ancient Middle America</td>
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<td>Exhibition of Pre-Columbian Medical Miniatures</td>
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<td>1968</td>
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American Indian Festival
Javanese puppets

1969: Wedgewood Medallion
The Art and Life of the Cuna Indians [or Kuna]
Fiesta Mexicana
Eskimo Masks: The World of the Tarmumut

1970: Tibetan Carpets
Mexican Silver Jewelry
Cast of Australopithecus Boisei
Ancient Chinese Archaeology

1971: Afro-American Style
Portrait of the Chippewa
Deerskin Jacket Warriors on Horseback
Seven Silver Greek coins

1972: Art in Arnhem Land, Australian Aboriginal Art
A New Spirit in Search of the Past: Archaeology and Ecology in Lower Illinois River Valley
Soviet Union: Art and Crafts in Ancient Times and Today (Russian Folk Art)
Greenland: Arctic Denmark
Chokwe Masks from Angola
Paracas Whistling Jar

1973: Spanish Prehistoric Art
Rhinoceros Horn Cups from the Chinese Collection

1974: Contemporary African Arts

1975: Ancient Ecuador: Culture, Clay and Creativity 3000–300 B.C.
Man in His Environment
Nineteenth Century Alaskan Eskimo Art

1976: Male and Female: An Anthropology Game
Cash, Cannon, and Cowrie Shells: The Non-Modern Money of the World

1977: Place of Wonder
Treasures of Tutankhamen
Magic of Egyptian Art
Pawnee Earth Lodge
Basketry of the Northwest Coast Indians Gamelan

1978: Peru’s Golden Treasures
Chinese Folk Art
Locks from Iran: A Key to Culture
Yoruk: Nomadic Weaving Tradition of the Middle East
Imperial China: Photography 1846–1912
A Stamp Sampler: Postage from Natural History

1979: Feather Arts: Beauty, Wealth, and Spirit from Five Continents
The Art of Being Huichol
Lacquer Arts of Japan
Treasures of Cyprus
Image of Life: 50,000 Years of Japanese Prehistory

1980: Gold of El Dorado: The Heritage of Columbia
The Great Bronze Age of China: An Exhibition of the People’s Republic of China

1981: Hopi Kachina: Spirit of Life and the Year of the Hopi
In the Shadow of the Pyramid: Reinstallation of Egypt Hall J

1982: Maritime Peoples of the Arctic and Northwest Coast* The People and Art of the Philippines
The Last and the First Eskimos

1983: Master Dyers to the World: Early Fabrics from India
Treasure from the Shanghai Museum: 6,000 Years of Chinese Art

1984: Inua: Spirit World of the Bering Sea Eskimo
Grasp Tight the Old Ways: The Klamer Family Collection of Inuit Art
Black Folk Art in America, 1930–1980
African Insights: Sources for Afro-American Art of Culture

1985: The Art of Cameroon
The World of Agustin Victor Casasola, Mexico, 1900–1938

1986: Te-Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections
Gods, Spirits, and People: The Human Image in Traditional Art

Music and Dance in Papua New Guinea
Webber Resource Center for Native Cultures of the Americas
Spectacular Vernacular: Traditional Desert Architecture from West Africa and Southwest Asia
Cultural Energy Size
Tiffany: 150 Years of Gems and Jewelry
The Stuff of Dreams: Native American Dolls

Temporary Anthropology Exhibitions, 1940–2001
1988: Mothers and Daughters
Japanese Lacquer Wares
Mexican Textiles: Color, Texture, and Traditions
Shaman and Spirits: Myths and Medical Symbolism in Eskimo Art
Rearing Young
Dark Lady Dreaming: Quilts and Drawings by Amy Cordova
No Easy Roses: A Look at the Lives of City Teenagers
Traditional Crafts of Saudi Arabia
Legends in Stone, Bone, and Wood
Inside Ancient Egypt*

Coyote: A Myth in the Making
Changing Chicago: Cultural Diversity Among the Maya: Photographs by Justin Kerr
Charles Carpenter: Native American Portraits
Sport Feelings
Homeless in America: A Photographic Project
Families at Work

1990: Remember the Children
Pacific Encounters, Island Memories of World War II
Guatemalan Masks: The Pieper Collection
Something Old, Something New: Ethnic Weddings in America
From Old to New: Crafts of Alaska’s Athapaskan Indians
In Shadows Ancient: Maya, of Earth, the Heavens, and the Gods
Who’s a Thought It: Improvisation in African-American Quiltmaking
Pacific Spirits: Life, Death, and the Supernatural* "And He Was Beautiful"

1991: Skulls
The Art of Private Devotion: Mexican Retablo Painting
Wheel of Time. Sand Mandala: The Kalachakra
Life Meets Death: Mexico’s Day of the Dead
Asmati. Dani, and Sentani Peoples of Irian Jaya

Photographs of Native American Shoshone and Arapaho Powwow
Fort Mose: Colonial America’s Black Fortress of Freedom
Guaman Poma de Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author

1993: China Between Revolutions: Photographs by Sidney D. Gamble
Te Wka Toi: Contemporary Maori Art from New Zealand
Yemen: A Culture of Builders
Asian Art Objects
Ruatepupuke: Maori Meeting House Africa*

1994: Africa’s Legacy in Mexico: Photographs by Tony Gleaton
Visiones del Pueblo: Folk Art of Latin America
Geography Is Discovery: Exploring the World Through Children’s Art
Cuadros from Pamplona Alta: Textile Pictures by Peruvian Women
Black Trans-Atlantic Experience: Street Life and Culture in Ghana, Jamaica, England, and the United States

1995: One Horse, One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the Santa Fe Indian School
Laura Gilpin: Photographs of the Southwest
Always Getting Ready: Upterrlainarluta Yup’ik Eskimo Subsistence in Southwest Alaska
Modern Japanese Ceramics
Travelers in an Antique Land: Early Travel Photography in Egypt
In Their Own Voices

1996: Feeling the Spirit: Searching the World for the People of Africa
Planet Peru
Ancient Rome
Cajun Music and Zydeco
Heaven on Earth: Orthodox Treasures from Siberia and North America
Red White Blue and God Bless You: A Portrait of Northern New Mexico

1997: Sacred Arts of Haitian Voodoo
Kayapo Imaging
Portraits of Clay: Potters of Mata Ortiz
A Basketmaker in Rural Japan
Sisters of the Great Lakes: Art of American Indian Women
Living Together*
1998: Soul of the Game: Images and Voices of Street Basketball
Voyage of a Nation: The Philippines
Charles Carpenter, Native American Portraits
Poster Art from the Golden Age of Mexican Cinema, 1936–1957
Swedish Folk Art: All Tradition is Change
The Art of the Motorcycle
La Guadalupana: Images of Faith and Devotion
Chicago Bulls Basketball Trophies

1999: Origins
Women in Science: Conversations in Conservation
Margaret Mee: Return to the Amazon
The Tibetan Buddha’s Art of Healing
With Patience and Good Will: The Art of the Arapaho
The Art of Being Kuna: Layers of Meaning Among the Kuna of Panama [or Cuna]
Summer Festivals of Guerrero and Oaxaca: The Cycle of Propitiation and Sacrifice
The Chicago Bears: 80 Years of Gridiron Legends
Sounds from the Vaults
Cartier 1900–1939
Eureka! The Archimedes Palimpsest

2000: Africa: From Eritrea with Love
Masks: Faces of Culture
The Dead Sea Scrolls

2001: Wrapped in Pride: Ghanaian Kente and African American Identity
In Her Hands: Craftswomen Changing the World
Julie Taymor: Playing with Fire Cheyenne
Sigmund Freud: Conflict and Culture
Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth
Between Cultures: Children of Immigrants in Chicago

2002: Chocolate
Pearls
Tiniest Giants
A Celebration of Souls: Day of the Dead in Oaxaca
Queen Elizabeth I Medallion
Archaeology News from the Holyland Pier Walk Maquettes
From Prairie to Field: Photographs by Terry Evans
Bamboo Masterworks

Temporary Anthropology Exhibitions, 1940–2001
Appendix 7  A Summary of the Anthropology Photograph Collection

The information in this appendix was compiled by Sara Coleman.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number of albums</th>
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<td>Total number of photographs in both albums and cabinets</td>
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African Photo Collection

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<td>Total number of photos</td>
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The photographs found in these albums include Scenes, Specimens, Exhibits, Expedition Photos, and Physical Types.

<table>
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<th>Ethnic Groups, Events, Exhibits, and Expeditions</th>
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<td>Egypt—Specimens: Clay, Stone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egypt—Specimens: Bronze, Stone, Glass, Wood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egypt—Specimens: Writing, Papyri, Demotic Ostraka, Rosetta Stone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egypt—Textiles</td>
<td>443</td>
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<td>Egypt—Mummies, Coffins</td>
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<td>Egypt—Animal and Bird Mummies</td>
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<td>Egypt—Mastaba Tombs: Metheruser, Unisankh</td>
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<td>Egypt—Stelae</td>
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<td>Egypt—Tomb Sculpture and Painting, Dynasty I to XX</td>
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<tr>
<td>Egypt—Tomb Sculpture and Painting, Dynasty XXI to Roman Dynasty</td>
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<td>Egypt—Scenes, Exhibits</td>
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<td>Egypt Exhibit</td>
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<td>West Africa, Angola—E. H. Rawson-Field Museum Expedition</td>
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<td>West Africa, Subarea: Western Sudan Area; Guinea Coast Area, Benin</td>
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<td>Africa—Algeria, Tunisia, Sahara Desert</td>
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<td>East Africa, Eastern Sudan; Egypt; East Horn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Africa—Belgian Congo Area; Cameroon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Africa—Belgian Congo and Angola Area; Cameroon; Specimens, Exhibits</td>
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<td>South Africa Area—Bushmen; Hottentots; Boer War Exhibit, etc.</td>
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<td>Africa—General</td>
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<td>Africa—Halls D and E</td>
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<td>Africa—Nigeria, Benin</td>
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<td>Malaysia—Madagascar (Photos by Ralph Linton, Capt. Marshall Field Expedition, 1925–1927)</td>
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<td>Physical Types</td>
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Asian Photo Collection

Total number of albums 146
Total number of photos 27,126

The photographs found in these albums include Specimens, Scenes, Expedition Photos, Physical Types, and Exhibits.

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Australia and Pacific Photo Collection

Total number of albums 51
Total number of photos 5,807

The photographs found in these albums include Scenes, Specimens, Expedition Photos, Exhibits, and Physical Types.

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Melanesia—Dutch New Guinea—Specimens, Scenes, People
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Melanesia—Solomons (Fuller Collection)
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Melanesia—New Ireland, Matty, Admiralty (Fuller Collection)
Melanesia—Tapa (3184)
Australian Physical Types
Physical Types

Central American Photo Collection

Total number of albums 17
Total number of photos 1,790

The photographs found in these albums include Scenes, Daily Life, Specimens, Archaeological Excavations, Exhibits, and Physical Types.

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European Photo Collection

Total number of albums 18
Total number of photos 2,684

The photographs found in these albums include Scenes, Specimens, Exhibits, and Physical Types.

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North American Photo Collection

Total number of albums 119
Total number of photos 12,773

The photographs found in these albums include Scenes, Ceremonial Activities, Daily Life Activities, Specimens, Physical Types, and Archaeological Excavations.

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Navajo or Navaho
Apache (Specimens, Scenes; in Costume)
Hopi Specimens
Hopi Kachina Dolls
Hopi Scenes: Hano, Mishongnovi, Oraibi, Shungopovi, Siihomovi, Walpi, Shipaulovi, Hopi Area—General
Hopi Activities: Ceremonial, Daily Life
Hopi Physical Types
Southwest Exhibits: Hopi Altars, Dendrochronology, Archaeology
Southwest Archaeology: Hopi, Little Colorado, Canyon de Chelly, Fort Apache, Montezuma, Kiet Siel, Wupatki, Aztec N. Mon., Puye, Mesa Verde, San Juan Co. Utah
Southwest Archaeological Expeditions 1930–1972
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Southwestern Pottery: Anasazi Painted Pottery
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Woodland Tribes: Seminole, Sauk and Fox, Chippewa, Winnebago, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, Iroquois, Penobscot, General
Hopewell Mounds Excavation, 1891, Ross Co., Ohio
Upper Great Lakes Region
Archaeology of Chicago Area
North American Archaeology: Old Hall B Cases
Hall 4—Exhibits—Indians Before Columbus
Hall 5—Woodlands—Indian Tribes of Eastern North America
Hall 5—Prairies—Indian Tribes of Eastern North America
North American Archaeological Specimens
Lower Mississippi Valley Archaeology
North American Archaeology
North American Archaeology—Indians Before Columbus (Book)
Hall 6—Plains—Western North American
Hall 6—Inter—Mountain Tribes, California
Hall 7—Southwest—Ancient and Modern Indians of Southwestern United States
Maritime Peoples of the Artic and Northwest Coast—Hall 10 Exhibits
Native American Physical Types

South American Photo Collection

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The photographs found in these albums include Scenes, Daily Life, Specimens, Photos of X-rays, Archaeological Excavations, and Physical Types.

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<th>Ethnic Groups, Events, Exhibits, and Expeditons</th>
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<td>Peru—Textiles</td>
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<td>Peru Archaeology—Pottery</td>
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<td>Peru Ethnology—Highland, Cuzco, Amazon, Yahua</td>
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<td>Peru Skulls—X-Rays, Photos</td>
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<td>Peru Mummies—X-Rays, Photos</td>
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<td>Brazil—Archaeology and Ethnology</td>
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Anthropology Department Staff Photos

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<td>Phillip H. Lewis</td>
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<td>Fred Reinman</td>
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<td>Christine Danzinger</td>
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Field Museum Exhibit Photos

- Total number of albums: 43
- Total number of photos: 2,605

The photographs found in these albums include Dioramas, Screens, Specimens, Case Photos, and Exhibits.

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The photographs found in these albums include Travel Photos, Physical Types, Museum Photos, Exhibits, and Postcards.

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<td>Physical Types—North American, Middle America, South America</td>
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<td>Physical Types—Europe, New East, Africa</td>
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<td>Physical Anthropology—“Pedro” and “The Angel”</td>
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<td>Exhibits, Other Museums, Foreign</td>
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<td>Postcards</td>
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FMA/DC: Field Museum Archives, Anthropology Department Correspondence, 1893–1935.
FMA/DCGAD: Field Museum Archives, Director’s Correspondence 1893–1907. Dorsey, George Amos.
FMA/EV: Field Museum Archives, Office of the Recorder, Administration, Expedition Vouchers.
FMA/GAD: Field Museum Archives, Anthropology Department Correspondence, 1893–1935. Dorsey, George.
FMA/JETEF: Field Museum Archives, J. E. Thompson Expedition Files.
FSFN/UIC: University of Chicago Special Collections, Frederick Starr Papers, Field Notebooks.
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