The Department of Anthropology at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition: Motives, Methods, and Messages

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THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
AT THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION
Motives, Methods, and Messages

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Jeff Gauss
1994
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Approved, November 1994

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The Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 was held in St. Louis, Missouri to commemorate the centenary of the Louisiana Purchase. The fair covered more than 1200 acres and was attended by over nineteen million people most of whom were eager to absorb the new experiences and insights offered about the past, present and future.

In an effort to boost the economic development of their areas and even guide the material growth of the country, the promoters of the exposition used the fairs as a vehicle to form and sway public attitude in the direction of their particular class perspective.

The Department of Anthropology, as a puppet of these exposition directors, played a pivotal role in this manipulation and formation of public perspective. The scientific method practised by the Department of Anthropology in the design of exhibits and the interpretation of data gathered from experiments conducted in these exhibits was heavily influenced by the underlying social, political and economic agenda of the fair directors and promoters.

Headed by WJ McGee, the exhibits of the Department consisted of displays of cultural artifacts along with ethnological groups living under simulated natural conditions. Displayed as curiosities, trophies, and scientific objects these exhibits illustrate how, rather than serving the cause of science, the Department of Anthropology reinforced and quantified the racial, political, religious and economic agenda of Fair promoters.
THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
AT THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION
Introduction

Between 1876 and 1915 the United States was host to five world’s fairs. Known as international or universal expositions, the fairs reflected the singular optimism and simplistic world vision of the time. As an expression of Western cultural development of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the fairs were the result of a special combination of historical forces, conditions, and beliefs that helped shape the world view of millions of Americans. Buttressed by a long history of European fairs, the forces of industrialism, nationalism, urbanization, and the rise of science were the primary factors responsible for the American fairs.

Beginning as large, international, industrial displays and showcases for the new inventions and discoveries of science and technology, the fairs quickly acquired a symbolic nature as a means of focusing on cultural self-examination and self-expression. In static societies where the fundamental relations are embedded in the patterns of life, and are therefore assumed and unchallenged, cultural identity seldom exists as a problem. However, in the dynamic society of post-Victorian America where industrial and technological revolution was underway and increasing
knowledge of other cultures challenged the ideas of cultural isolationism, the concept of cultural definition is more problematic. The great world's fairs, in the broadest sense, represented the Victorian era's attempt to both acknowledge the reality of rapid change and to understand and control its direction (Badger 1979).

Two of the major factors which influenced both each other and the essential nature of the dominant American culture at the turn of the century were urbanization and industrialization. Underlying all the varied developments that made up American life was the momentous shift of the center of national equilibrium from the countryside to the city; that city being the primary product of the consummation of industrialism (Burg 1976). The general character of America was changing from a static, individualistic, agricultural nature to a dynamic, collectivist and urban culture. Extraordinary increases in the size and population of American cities resulted not only from the shift of population from rural to urban centers but also from the enormous influx of immigrants that occurred in the eighteen eighties and nineties. While growth in the American economy can be attributed to this flow of immigrants, so to can periods of intense nativism and hostility, although such changes produced a more pluralistic and cosmopolitan American society.

Hand in hand with urban growth came the development of a
major rail system and a national market for standardized
goods both of which helped spawn America's rise to industrial
supremacy among the nations of the world. By 1893 America had
surpassed all others in the production of timber and steel,
the refinement of crude oil, the packing of meat, the
extraction of gold, silver, coal and iron, as well as the
manufacture of arms and ammunition (Burg 1976). The effects
of this industrial might would be translated not only into
imperial muscle-flexing but would also make secure the power
and position of the businessman in commerce and finance as
well as in politics and society. The self-made millionaire
had power, status and mobility and by means of his money
dominated industries as well as politicians.

Thus the American fairs became upper-class creations
initiated and controlled by locally or nationally prominent
elites (Rydell 1984). The underlying agendas that drove
individuals to engage in the arduous production of an
exposition were many and complex. While the obvious initial
motive of fair promoters was immediate profit, long-term gain
for regional, national, and international economic interests
provided additional impetus. The fairs were also utilized as
a vehicle for maintaining or raising promoter status as
regional leaders, and perhaps most importantly, as a means of
winning broad acceptance across class lines for their social,
cultural, and religious beliefs or priorities.

Federal sponsorship was an earmark of the American fairs
as expositions were logical arenas for serving commemorative purposes and asserting the moral authority of the United States Government. The establishment of exhibits that would "illustrate the function and administrative faculty of the Government in time of peace, and its resources for war, demonstrates the nature of our institutions and their adaptation to the wants of the people" (Rydell 1984). With an increase in industrialization and the resulting economic depressions, exposition directors offered millions of fairgoers an opportunity to reaffirm their collective national identity through lavish displays of government sponsored progress and technology.

Along with advanced technology, American culture at the turn of the century was exposed to increasingly authoritative scientific theories about evolution, race and culture. The world's fair quickly provided a vehicle for the popularization of these new ideas as exposition planners enhanced and drew upon the prestige of the scientific community to make the presentation of America's progress more convincing (Rydell 1984). As a medium for endorsing popular social attitudes with apparent scientific credibility, the fairs sought out and hired noted anthropologists to help promote public support for the acceptance of specific domestic and international policies.

The dominant ethnological perspective of the
anthropologists of late nineteenth-century North America was that of unilinear cultural evolution— the belief that all cultural systems progress slowly and unalterably through the same invariable stages of development (Rohner 1969). Using the comparative method to establish hierarchical sequences of cultural development; educated, industrialized, ethnocentric nineteenth-century America placed itself at the top of the structure, representing civilization, while primitive peoples were firmly secured to the bottom of the structure. Most early scholars upheld the principle of the psychic unity of man which postulates that all men share the same basic potential at birth for action, thought, and belief, while denying the assumption that primitive peoples were in any way biologically inferior. However, the fairs often offered anthropometric and psychometric laboratories where visitors could witness and even take part in scientific research on racial characteristics. Phrenology, craniology, and anthropometry shared the assumption that the physical appearance and outward shape of the body would indicate the inner character of different races (Corbey 1993).

Central to the presentation of this constellation of ideas as a valid interpretation of social reality were the exhibits furnished by the Department of Anthropology. Consisting mainly of diverse collections of cultural artifacts along with groupings of "primitive types" of people displayed in simulated village settings, these exhibits
charted a course of racial and cultural progress toward an image of utopia that was reflected in the splendor and technology embodied throughout the main exposition buildings.

Hinsley in (Karp 1991) suggests that as a collective phenomenon the exhibits celebrated the advance of civilized power over nature and primitives, and that within the current progressivist ideologies the exhibit techniques represented these people as raw materials. He further notes that the colonial flow of movement was from the center to the periphery and back and that the peoples of the periphery were imagined and evaluated in terms of the market and its function.

Corbey (1993) examines ethnographic exhibits in the context of collecting, measuring, classifying, and narrating of colonial Others to explore the connections that developed between scientific and political practices. The implied narrative described by the exhibits consists of the epic story of mankind in which, staged by themselves, white, rational, civilized American citizens cast themselves in the role of hero, thus legitimizing colonial expansion. Imperialist expansion was represented in terms of a social Darwinist natural history where development was from lack of civilization to civilized state, from wildness to civility, achieved heroically by the White Caucasian race under its own power, and by the other races with the help of the Caucasian one, insofar as their constitutions allowed them to progress.
These stages of development from savagery through barbarism to civilization were suggested by the organization of exhibits into evolutionary sequences.

In all cultures, political and religious elites tend to accumulate and display their rare and precious objects from faraway places in order to gain prestige. Helms (1988) suggests the analogy of the tribal shaman's medicine pouch containing a collection of rare objects which confer upon him prestige and power, however, in the case of the ethnographic exhibits it is the fair promoters along with the Department of Anthropology who present exotic peoples to attain their underlying goals. Mason (1990) points out that what people saw "rather than reality as it is, was to a considerable extent, reality as perceived" and was a product of conceptions, native taxonomies, and motivational attitudes; that the perceived order was an imposed one determined by stereotypes.

Although, in principle, current museum and exhibition theory strives to achieve moral neutrality, in practice it always makes moral statements. The alleged innate neutrality of educational exhibitions is the very quality that enables them to become instruments of power. Exhibitions are inevitably organized on the basis of assumptions about the intentions of the producers, the cultural skills and educational levels of the audience, and the claims of the authoritativenss and authenticity of the exhibition. How the
The goals of this paper are to explore the manner in which the Department of Anthropology at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 was influenced by the actions, attitudes, and motives of the exposition promoters; to examine the methods utilized by the Department in creating anthropological exhibits that effectively conveyed the intentions of both Exposition promoters and the Department administration, and finally to illustrate how these messages were presented to and interpreted by the fair-going public.
Chapter 1
Background of the Fair

In 1899 the City of St. Louis was chosen to host an international exposition commemorating the centennial anniversary of the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory from France. The Fair was designed around a grand centerpiece known as the "Ivory City," which consisted of twelve gigantic exhibition "palaces" surrounded by gardened terraces bordered by cascades and basins. Forty-three foreign nations erected exhibit buildings along with the pavilions of forty-five states and territories. A mile long midway of private concessions dubbed the "Ten Million Dollar Pike" offered such curiosities as a reenactment of the Boer War, the Hagenbeck Wild Animal Show, a realistic portrayal of the Galveston Flood and a mock Tyrolean Alps. Other exposition attractions included displays of airships and automobiles, the first Olympic Games to be held in the Western Hemisphere, an international scientific congress, and such novelties as the newly invented ice cream cone, all in an effort to demonstrate national and regional progress both culturally and economically. Closed only on Sundays, throughout a seven month period
the fair was attended by 19.7 million people (Primm 1981).

David R. Francis, the President of the Exposition, stated that the most universal benefits to be expected are not economic, but educational and moral (Official Guide 1904). This, he commented, will become evident in general progress and the halo of national life. He further pointed out that "Our Federal Government, and all the states of our great union, are making here unparalleled displays of their boundless resources, their industrial progress and their ever-rising social status."

Francis (1913) quotes the Fair's Director of Exhibits as saying that the perfected exposition would comprise exhibits that "contain complete and authentic data without having scattered about them objects of a miscellaneous nature which divert and distract the attention." He also stated that fair exhibits would "represent the scientific method and intention," and would be a demonstration of "actual experiments in search of fundamental knowledge to be applied to human and social welfare and material progress." However, in an unmistakable illustration of preconceived ideas representing racial and cultural hierarchies, he notes that this exposition, in its perfected form, would be further distinctive in its universality and democracy in
that there would be no discrimination between race or sex that indicates an inferior status, except in the case of "those people close to or in a state of barbarism."

The idea for a St. Louis world's fair originated with the directors of the Missouri Historical Society and gained full acceptance at a meeting of the St. Louis Businessmen's League in 1896 (Rydell 1984).

The Fair was financed by an initial capitalization of $15 million, a symbolic figure representing the original amount paid to Napoleon for the Louisiana Territory. The city itself was able to raise $5 million by issuing a special ten-cent tax levy. A second $5 million was appropriated through unprecedented Congressional legislation and the final $5 million was created by the sale of stock to private subscribers at $10 a share. Subscribers to the stock then elected a 118-man board of directors, which was incorporated as the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company. The Directors were virtually an elite honor roll, with only a scattering of journalists, professors, architects, and out-of-town members. Small business, the clergy, ethnic and black leaders, as well as the unions were not represented. Half of the Directors were also directors of large downtown banks, thirty-three were known millionaires, and forty belonged to the St. Louis Country Club. Only a
few were of German origins, including millionaire brewer Adolphus Busch. Obviously such an enormous undertaking required the support and resources of these men, but the nature of the directorate demonstrated their assumption that major civic enterprises did not require broad representation at the decision level (Primm 1981).

Having been offered several sites for the Fair, the Directors chose the western half of an undeveloped land tract known as Forest Park. The economic motivation behind the selection of this site shortly became apparent as opportunities for land speculation were quickly seized by members of the Exposition Company. Examples include the sale of a 100 acre land tract adjacent to the park by owners who claimed they were worried about noise from the Fair. They sold the property to the Lincoln Trust Company, headed by A. Woerheide, a director of the Exposition Company, who, in turn, leased back sixty acres to the Exposition Company at an inflated price.

Speculation based on the opportunities surrounding the Fair, caused the value of land near the park to nearly double. The Parkview Realty Company, another subsidiary of Lincoln Trust, realized substantial profits by taking advantage of this situation and purchasing over 1000 acres directly adjacent to the park (Primm 1981).
Further opportunity for financial gain by city elite included the construction of a posh, nine-story, hotel overlooking the park. Built at a cost of $750,000, profits accrued by selling limited memberships to wealthy area families who used or rented the rooms during the fair.

In the four years prior to the fair, Exposition Directors, members of the Businessmen's League, and the Civic Improvement League had been involved in 227 projects including street improvement, water purification, and smoke abatement, all of which yielded local economic gain.

After fair directors leased the 109-acre campus and buildings of the nearly completed, but not yet occupied, Washington University, along with ten other parcels, the Exposition grounds totaled 1,272 acres, an area larger than any previous fair. Notwithstanding the repayment of government loans, the fair finished in the black with a balance of over $600,000 (Primm 1981). This surplus was designated as a construction fund earmarked for the erection of a monument to Thomas Jefferson. The monument was designed to eventually house the Missouri Historical Society, the group responsible for the initial idea of the exposition. In 1906, the mayor of St. Louis claimed that the fair's momentum had created an additional $12 million in industrial investment and a $50 million
increase in bank deposits, which he termed a "solidarity of movement."
Chapter II
The Department of Anthropology

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition featured the most extensive Anthropology Department of any world's fair. The special object of the Department of Anthropology as outlined by the Directors of the Exposition Company was "to promote not only knowledge but also peace and goodwill among the nations" (Official Guide 1904). W J McGee, one of the nation's preeminent anthropologists, was the individual selected to accomplish that goal.

The original focus of McGee's scientific background was geology. In 1881 he was hired by his mentor Major J.W. Powell, who was then the director of the United States Geological Survey. Ten years later Powell was named as the Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology and was accompanied by McGee, who in 1893 became the acting head of the bureau (McGee 1915). However, in 1903, amid charges of financial irregularities, McGee was forced to resign that appointment. Accepting a position at the St. Louis World's Fair offered him an opportunity not only to maintain his stature in the profession, but also to fashion the anthropology exhibits, and consequently, the national identity out of his own well-developed theories.
pertaining to cultural and racial progress (Primm 1981).

McGee endorsed a theory of mental and cultural evolution that illustrated progress in terms of movement from lower to higher stages. Beginning with the stage of animal instinct, followed by the still largely instinctive savage mentality, to the barbaric, the civilized, and finally the mind of enlightened man; McGee proposed that this arrangement corresponded "to mentality, knowledge, and cerebral capacity, and was measurably in accordance with general physical development, including strength, endurance and viability" (McGee 1904).

Cephalization was the term McGee used to describe the direct correlation between cultural advancement and cranial volume; the more enlightened the culture the greater the brain capacity and vice versa. His apparent expectation that this change occurs very rapidly is reflected in his statement that the "retreating type of [of cranial conformation] of [George] Washington" compared to "the full-forehead type of the living statesmen" demonstrated progressive cranial capacity and "decrease among none" (McGee 1899).

Thinking that "each generation is a little better than the one that went before, on average... and that consequently the trend of human development is an upward trend" (Haller 1975), McGee suggests as a useful
guideline for the evidence of such advancement "the progression toward or the regression from democracy" (McGee 1899).

Stocking (1968) suggests that the "immediate practical impact of evolutionism" as described by McGee, "was to confirm Western man in a belief that every aspect of his own civilization provided a standard against which all primitive cultures could be judged and found inferior." These views are validated by McGee's polygenist theory concerning the origin of man which asserts that man had emerged independently from a "widely distributed proto-human ancestry" and that "the Caucasian had traversed the various primitive culture stages long before the progenitors of the Indian and the Negro rose out of bestiality" (Haller 1975).

Based on these views, McGee adopted a philosophic approach to the political and economic struggles between the races. Although an apparent proponent of imperialist policies, he elected to avoid the more nationalistic terms such as the white man's burden and manifest destiny. Preferring instead to use the term "strong man's burden," McGee's ambitions reflected a more humanist goal of "enslaving the world for the support of humanity and the increase of human knowledge" (Rydell 1984).

McGee viewed imperialism as a narrow stricture and
believed that the responsibility of the enlightened races extended beyond making dutiful subjects of their inferiors. In McGee's address "National Growth and National Character" (1899) he states that the task of the civilized races was to "lift the darker fellows to liberty's plane as rapidly as the duller eyes can be trained to bear the stronger light," and that the "strong man carries the weak until cured or coaxed into strength, and seeks to lift to his own plane the world's weaklings, whether white, or yellow, red or black." As a means of achieving these lofty goals, McGee urged that statecraft and anthropology join hands in the study of human types in an effort to trace the capacity of diverse peoples for progress (Haller 1975).

This perspective offered a vision of racial progress that vindicated American national policies relevant to the political and economic repression of native Americans and other groups while validating American imperial policies by making cultural advance synonymous with increased industrial expansion. Although McGee was not an industrial capitalist, his evolutionary theories represented the ethic of industrial capitalism (Rydell 1984), therefore justifying his selection as a representative of the Directors of the Exposition. McGee freely admitted that his cultural theories were based on unpublished anthropological data, yet claimed
that the evidence of his views were "within the constant
site of all whose eyes are open" (Primm 1981).

Offered only as a sidenote regarding McGee's theory
of cephalization, upon the death of Powell in 1902, E.A.
Spitzka, a New York physician and student of brain
anatomy, made a postmortem examination of Powell's brain
as part of the settlement of a wager made between McGee
and Powell to determine whose brain was the larger. A
similar post-mortem was performed upon the death of
McGee. Results unknown.

Under McGee, the published motive of the Department
of Anthropology was to organize as many as possible of
the world's races and peoples in a harmonious assemblage
so that all might study Man and Man's achievements. The
special object of the department was to demonstrate the
course of human progress by showing each half of the
world how the other half lives. Hanson (1904) suggests
that although the primary motives of expositions are
commercial and intellectual, the Department of
Anthropology would be the best, if not only, place for
the revelation of a moral motive.

To achieve these objectives the department was
officially organized into six sections: Ethnology,
Archaeology, History, Anthropometry, Psychometry, and
the Indian School. In its final form, the goals of the
ethnological exhibits were to display representations of
a limited number of the world's least known ethnic
types, i.e., races or sub-races defined on the physical
basis; representations of a few of the world's least
known culture types, i.e., of peoples defined on the
activital or mental basis; representations of the
principal methods and appliances used in research
concerning the physical and mental characters of
mankind; representations of typical evidences of the
steps and general course of human progress, including
prehistoric vestige, protohistoric relics, and
historical records; and representations of actual human
development from savagery and barbarism toward
enlightenment as accelerated by association and
training.

McGee (1904) claims that the "work of the department
was distinctive, if not unique, in that it embraced
research in a degree comparable with that accorded to
original work in modern institutions of higher
learning." I would point out that McGee was not an
academically trained anthropologist, but rather a "lay"
professional rooted in the natural historical tradition.
His all-encompassing theory of evolutionism was easily
transferred from one area of science to another and was
maintained throughout his occupational history (Stocking
1968). This reference to formal educational
institutions could be interpreted as a means
of linking and/or raising his own personal academic
status to that of such institutions. On a broader level,
it illustrates the fact that anthropology, as a science
still in its infancy, was poorly organized and
understood by few, as McGee noted that this exposition
offers the "world's finest opportunity for framing the
science and setting it on a firm basis" (McGee 1904).
Further illustrating this point, the offices, museum
space and laboratories of the department were located in
Cupples Hall No.1, a permanent building belonging to
Washington University, which gave McGee and the
Anthropology Department implicit academic stature as the
scientific foundation of the exposition (Rydell 1984).

While the motives of McGee may have been at least
partially rooted in scientific investigation, it becomes
quite clear that the motives of McGee's direct superior,
the chairman of the Committee on Anthropology were not
nearly as noble. In a letter to the Exposition President
dated August 31, 1901, he states "Popular interest will
vie with scientific interest" and that "in addition to
its intrinsic worth" the department is recommended to
the Company as it is "absolutely unique." "From the
beginning it will produce rich returns for the outlay
made. As a means of publicity and promotion, it will
surpass everything else. As the representatives of the
Company go out into the barbarous world to secure
peoples from the various tribes" all the encountered dangers and hardships will become "legitimate news, eagerly sought by newspapers everywhere" (McGee 1904).

Statistics collected in the Division of Exploitation showed that the Department of Anthropology did indeed receive from one-third to two-fifths of all the press publicity given the Exposition, although McGee notes that the coverage was "manifestly meant to meet the public taste in newspaper matter" (McGee 1904). And unfortunately, as lucrative as the Chairman portrayed the exhibit, initial funding of the department proved to be a major obstacle.

Prior to the official inception of the department, McGee had conferred with F.W. Putnam as to the expenses incurred by the Anthropology Exhibit at the Chicago Exposition. McGee and the Chairman of the committee then proposed a budget request of between one and a half and three million dollars and allowed for a preparatory period of two or more years. With no proposal officially adopted by the middle of 1903, McGee was informed by the Director of Exhibits to frame a plan for a department on a greatly reduced budget. Although McGee felt it would reduce "the attraction and attendance at the Exposition by at least half, he accepted Directorship of the Department on the reduced basis.

The final budget appropriations were as follows:
$60,000 for Anthropology, which equaled only 2% of the original $3,000,000 estimate; $15,000 for History which was reduced from Department status into a section of Anthropology; and a $65,000 government appropriation for the Indian School creating a grand total of $140,000 or 4.34% of the originally required estimates (McGee 1904). From this amount McGee paid himself $416 a month for his nineteen month duration as Director of the Department.
Chapter III
The Ethnological Exhibits

With his budget finally in place, McGee proceeded to design, acquire and implement the exhibits. One of his first concerns was the character of the exhibits. In a letter dated September 23, 1903, he writes to the Director of Exhibits, stating that all the exhibits will be of "educational character, designed for the instruction and edification of visitors, and for purposes of original research by scientific students" (McGee 1904). In a similar letter from Putnam to the Chairman of the Anthropology Committee, after having learned of the budget cuts, Putnam writes that the exhibits would still lend a distinctive character to the Exposition only "if carried out in the proper scientific spirit, with a strict adherence to truthful presentation, and no humbuggery allowed from the start" (World's Fair Bulletin 1904). Unfortunately, many, if not all of the exhibits, fell far short of this goal.

Another obstacle confronting McGee is mentioned in his letter of the 28th, as he explains that he is trying to work up an exhibit "not wholly discreditable at but a small fraction of the originally contemplated cost." To facilitate these aims his goal is to make sure that the
exhibited ethnic groups, in lieu of receiving compensation for their participation, are relieved of the standard concessionairy taxation on any aboriginal wares produced and sold at the Fair. McGee reasons that taxation would prevent many groups from attending the Fair without compensation, and the precedent of compensating a group would prove not only expensive but demoralizing. Yet, in the same letter he makes the ambiguous statement that "none of the exhibits will be made for any commercial object, either direct or indirect" (McGee 1904).

His selection and procurement of representational ethnic groups is thus biased and restricted by budgetal restraints and the willingness of individuals to participate without an official salary. A strong likelihood even exists that participation at the Fair was, in some cases, partially coerced, and that once here the groups were sometimes forced to remain for the duration of the Exposition against their will.

Mcgee's dilemma of obtaining novel ethnic types for display while working under a severely reduced budget was reflected in his action of November, 1903, when he commissioned E.C. Cushman, Jr. to retrieve from a Mexican jail a group of Seri Indians who had been imprisoned for crimes committed in Western Sonora. Fortunately, the information was erroneous and no
prisoners were located though this move demonstrates McGee's willingness to procure exhibits through questionable channels.

The live ethnological exhibits of the Department were located on 13 1/2 acres and gathered about the Indian School. The working Indian School exhibit was located in a special structure known as the Indian School Building which was erected and conducted by virtue of special appropriation of the United States government. With the more advanced aborigines nearer the school and the less advanced tribes extending away from the building toward the Philippine exhibit, Rydell (1984) suggests that this arrangement was carefully planned by McGee to illustrate the connection between America's imperial past and imperial future.

Excluding the Native American groups, the living ethnological displays consisted of the Central African Pygmies, a Tehuelche tribe from Patagonia, and the Ainu of Northern Japan. According to Bennet (1905) these race types were exhibited living as they do at home. They occupied dwellings erected by themselves of materials secured in their native lands. They engaged in their accustomed occupations, prepared and ate their accustomed food, and wore their usual apparel. However, close scrutiny of the conduct and activities of the ethnic groups reveal that time spent at the
Exposition probably bore little, if any, resemblance to their native habits or habitats. Since the groups were not officially compensated, economic gain was the motivating factor behind most activity. Revenue was acquired through the production and sale of small artifacts or by entertaining the crowds with native songs and dances. Influenced by the daily crowds of spectators, rapid acculturation occurred, changing native habits and conduct, often to the detriment of the ethnic groups and the anxiety of Department Officials.

The Ainu group consisted of nine individuals representing four families. Observed as being the most courteous of the native groups, their main physical distinction lay in their long, well groomed hair and the tattooed moustaches and beards on the faces of the women. McGee comments that the Ainu were an endless source of interest, as they, more faithfully than any other folk on the grounds, retained their native life and customs. They wove native fabrics on simple looms and even planted and harvested a crop of Ainu millet, beans, and corn. Yet, even McGee admits that "both men and women devoted much time to carving and selling the ceremonial swords known as moustache lifters" and that "these artifacts were sold as souvenirs for a few cents each, while the charming children, Kin and Kiku, were the recipients of small coin and other gifts so often
that most of their time was spent in bowing and
gesturing their elaborate thanks" (McGee 1904).

The Ainu Group were brought to the Exposition by
Professor Frederick Starr, of the Chicago University, in
an expedition that was fully described in a book which
he was quick to market on the exposition grounds
(Francis 1913).

The seven members of the Tehuelche tribe were billed
as Patagonian Giants, although McGee notes that "the
massiveness of frame and face and the bigness of body
and limb were more apparent to the beholder than to the
student of statistics" (McGee 1904).

The group was delivered to St. Louis through a series
of agents, the last of whom, Senior Vincente Cane of
Buenos Aires, was paid an honorarium of $3,000. The
willingness of the Patagonians to travel to the Fair is
reflected in McGee's comment that the "stalwart
tribesmen being of a most stubborn and intractable
disposition, made Senior Cane's task one of extreme
difficulty," and that during the Exposition period Cane
"overcame grave difficulties in the management of the
robust savages" (McGee 1904). McGee also mentions that
no other group "so gladly shook the dust of the
Exposition from their feet when the term of their
agreement ended."

Within the Department and certainly throughout the
press the Pygmy group was the focus of much attention. The group of nine persons represented five tribes from Central Africa. Of these five tribes, only the four members of the Batwa tribe were typically considered Pygmy; their average height measuring 4 feet 10.3 inches. Consisting of nine males ranging in age from 16 to 30 years, the group was not a valid representation of a tribal family. Buel (1904) points out that the overall physical characteristics of the group differ very little from that of sixteen or seventeen year old negro boys seen anywhere in America. This lack of unusual characteristics often led to the observation of the casual visitor that they appear to be "only Louisiana niggers."

Buel (1904) further comments on how readily they adapted themselves to wearing American clothes and appreciating the value of American money. A slightly different point of view is offered by Bennet (1905), who in commenting on their capricious and troublesome behavior, writes that the Pygmies "live in close association with parrots and monkeys, and their erratic behavior showed the influence of the lower creatures upon their habits of thought."

Further uncharacteristic of their natural habitat were the huts which they erected using materials brought both from Africa and collected on the fairgrounds.
Francis (1913) notes that "all of these were rather more elaborate than the primitive bower in which the Pygmy at home resides."

The group was brought to the Exposition, and at its close returned to Africa, by Rev. Samuel Phillips Verner, President of Stillman Institute of Tuscaloosa, Alabama. In a letter dated October 21, 1903, Verner was commissioned by McGee to secure "voluntary attendance" of members from a Pygmy tribe. The total cost of the expedition was set at $5,500 with $500 allotted as payment to Verner for services rendered. However, the quality and method of that service may have been affected by an additional clause entered by McGee that stated "if by exercise of economy, without injury to the expedition, you reduce the cost of delivering the natives below $5,500; half the amount saved will be presented to you (Verner) as an honorarium" (Documents on the Tueki People 1903). In a return letter form Verner to McGee posted in Africa on March 20, 1904, Verner replies that the "first Pygmy was obtained from a village where he was held captive having been taken prisoner at a remote point." Apparently prisoners are less expensive and easier to obtain than voluntary participants.

Included in Verner's estimate of expedition expenses was $750 to be used toward the purchase of "valuable
presents as inducements for natives." These inducements consisted of 30 cases of salt, 10 cases of brass wire, 30 bales of cloth, 10 cases of cowries, 14 cases of miscellany, and 1 case each of shoes, hats, clothing, matches, knives, and cotton blankets. Verner was accompanied to Africa by two "colored men," one of whom returned with him, the other being left in Ndombe town "under the general charge of the native potentate as a sort of hostage and custodian of the goods held for use as final presents on return of the party to their homes" (McGee 1904).

Consistent with American racial and expansionist policies, transportation of the Pygmies from Africa to the United States required diplomatic and international arrangements with the government of Belgium, who considered natives of the Belgian Congo as wards of the state and controlled their movements. At first captivated by the novelty and excitement of the Fair, the Pygmies soon tired of the constant attention, especially by throngs of insatiate photographers, and persistently urged Verner to hasten their return. When the weather turned cold in October and November the Pygmies suffered and McGee writes that it required "constant vigilance and half-cruel constraint to keep them out of close-fitting clothing (acquired like their stock of salt and cheap trunks out of the small coin
spoil showered on them by visitors) which would have interfered with the functions normal to their naked skins" (McGee 1904). Tight fitting American style clothes would also have reduced the Departments effectiveness to display these people as scantily-clad savages in their "normal" setting.

Press coverage of the Pygmies was plentiful and revealed much about the nontraditional daily activities of the group. In the *World's Fair Bulletin* of September, 1904, there appears a two column discussion of the Pygmy Orchestra. "Free to all visitors and largely attended," the group organized a make-shift orchestra comprising instruments created from a water bucket, two tin lard cans, a cigar box, two bucket lids and a beer bottle. In addition, the pygmies had mastered the art of whistling since their arrival at the Fair, and varied the program with a whistling chorus. The article claims that in a show of "friendship" for the Sioux Indians, their nearest neighbors, the orchestra members gave a farewell concert and dance which was appreciated by all save Mrs. Yellow Hair, who "demonstrated her disapproval by throwing a pail of water on one of the musicians."

Intertribal animosity is further illustrated in an article of the Bulletin dated August, 1904, which describes the "spirit of jealousy" between the native American tribes surrounding the Indian School and the
Pygmy group. Upon the arrival of the Pygmies, the
Indians, who had been one of the chief attractions, had
become somewhat neglected. The writer claims that each
morning the braves would keep and compare attendance
records by cutting notches on a stick or dropping beads
in a bowl. Then one morning, "arrayed in all their
finery," several chiefs "stationed themselves near the
Pygmy camp and tried to induce visitors to ignore the
African tribe." Increased visitation of the tribal
areas by fairgoers surely meant increased sales of
native artifacts.

But according to McGee, the maintenance of order
between and among the native groups required little
attention for the reason that, "well known to the Chief
(of the Department), all savage and barbaric peoples are
both more law-abiding and better acquainted with the law
than civilized and enlightened people" (McGee 1904).
McGee indicates that the cases of internal conflict
which did occur were easily settled by a mere show of
moral force.

The greater challenge faced by the Department was the
protection of the ethnic groups from the Caucasian
visitors. McGee names amateur photographers and off-duty
soldiers as two classes of particularly pernicious
fairgoers. Since the policy of the Department was to
promote legitimate study and examination of aliens,
anyone who first sought the permission of officials to obtain photographic opportunities received support. Some of the native groups regarded unauthorized photos of themselves as a sacrilege, however, if offered a small coin either before or after the photo was taken, the offence was often overlooked. McGee's claim was that the natives considered "the minted or printed piece as a token conveying some part of the personality of the giver and his government" (McGee 1904).

The menacing exploits of off-duty soldiers from the adjacent military camps proved a more serious problem. Their favorite trick was to present the primitives with liquor as an inducement to dance or perform other unusual actions without the consent or knowledge of the custodian. If reported, such actions were punished, yet McGee states that every fresh arrival of uniformed soldiers on the tented field adjoining the Anthropology Grounds was cause for apprehension and increased vigilance.

Although a Jefferson Guard post (the Exposition police) was maintained at the Indian School Building, this service was not extended to the native camps. McGee referred to this as "inadequate protection" and added that the natives "were a constant source of anxiety." When in or around their own camps, they were fairly safe, although incipient outbreaks occurred nearly
everyday and actual altercations took place with such frequency that "fresh bruises and other wounds might be found among the Pygmies almost daily" (McGee 1904).

Away from their own grounds the foreign tribes were especially susceptible to the dangers of being overwhelmed by curious crowds of fairgoers. In an effort to create special exhibits which produced opportunities for expanded publicity aimed at increasing Fair attendance, the Emergency Exploitation Committee (a committee name not directly intended to reflect the treatment of alien groups, but nevertheless suggestive of an ulterior agenda) repeatedly "invoked the cooperation of the Department of Anthropology" (McGee 1904).

On July 16th, representatives of the native groups participated in a program on Plaza Saint Louis which attracted a gathering estimated at 15,000 persons. Upon completion of the program most of the crowd rushed forward for a closer inspection of the native group who was "extricated only with difficulty." On July 23rd, an elaborate program was given on the podium in front of the Government Building before an assemblage of 20,000 and on July 30th the Department "participated freely" in the exercises of Transportation Days, displaying various primitive transportative devices which were viewed by over 50,000 visitors. These events were found to involve
serious risk to the native groups as overwhelming crowds often descended upon the tribes for a closer look.

The above-mentioned examples of uncharacteristic traditional native activities culminated in a decidedly biased effort to attain various general determinations comparing strength and endurance between so-called primitive and advanced peoples. Spurred by startling rumors and statements as to the strength, speed and stamina of the tribes represented at the Fair, it was decided by McGee and Dr. James Sullivan, Chief of Physical Culture, to hold a two-day athletic meet to be known as Anthropology Days. The objects of the contests were to promote the up-coming Olympic Games, and to obtain for the first time what McGee termed "interracial athletic records" (Rydell 1984).

Hoping to disprove what Sullivan calls "statements by those who should know" that the average savage was "fleeting of foot, strong of limb, accurate with the bow and arrow and expert in throwing the stone," the American style games consisted of one day of inter-tribal contests and one day of final events for those who finished first or second on opening day. The records of these events were narrated by Sullivan (1905) and began with the 100yd dash which was won by an "Americanized" Indian, though his time was one "that almost any winner of a schoolboy event would eclipse at
will." The Pygmy runner, whose outdoor lifestyle Sullivan refers to as a "natural athletic one" finished even slower earning the comment that "our American champion sprinters" could have given the "African forty yards and a beating."

The shot putting contest followed and was entered by most of the tribes. The Patagonians, due to their size and strength, were expected by many to excel in putting the 16 pound shot, but once again, the performance did not meet with the high standards of American athletes and Sullivan referred to it as a "disappointing feature of the days sport" noting that "any high school championship is won with a better performance." Similar results were obtained in the baseball throw and the remainder of the running events were again won by "Americanized" Indians. In the running broad jump, the performances of the Pygmies and the Ainus were described as "really ridiculous" "proving conclusively that the savage is not the natural athlete we have been led to believe."

The events of the second day were designed to show what the native groups could accomplish in their own particular sports. Typical events included the javelin throw and the archery contest but disappointment was again the outcome. Comparisons between the use of native spears and the javelin were inferred but the results of
the contest proved unsatisfactory to spectators and officials. Expectations for skillful displays with a bow and arrow were also unreliable. The bright spots included a remarkable ability for pole climbing and an excellent showing by the Patagonians in the tug-of-war. At the end of the day, the Pygmies and the Cocopa Indians gave an exhibition of their shinny game. According to Sullivan, it was an uninteresting game which "showed conclusively the lack of the necessary brain to make teamwork a success." This was followed by one of the Pygmies favorite pastimes, a mud fight, which was described as an entertaining display of great dexterity in ducking, throwing and running. Sullivan's final analysis of the games was that "conclusive proof had been offered that the savage was an overrated man from an athletic point of view."

After reviewing Sullivan's record and report, McGee (1904) responded that "anthropologists" will necessarily make allowances for the low records of the primitives for reasons which include unfamiliar conditions, lack of habitual training, total absence of incentive and esprit de corps, and the fact that all the primitives were average individuals whose records should not be compared with athletes, but rather with average whites. Concessions should also be made for language barriers and lack of proper athletic instruction. In
spite of these allowances, McGee stands by his theories and concludes that, on the whole, the results of the contest are "in harmony with that view of the course of human development by which the plans of the Department were shaped; the tests established in quantitative measure the inferiority of primitive peoples, in physical faculty if not in intellectual grasp, and especially in that coordination which seems to mark the outcome of human development and measure the attainment of human excellence."

Just as the field records obtained during Anthropology Days seem to reinforce the cultural and racial theories of McGee from which the plans of the Department were shaped, so too do they "complement and on the whole fairly conform with" the laboratory records of function and structure obtained by the Sections on Anthropometry and Psychometry (McGee 1904).

Touted as the sole agencies for pure and applied research at the Exposition, the primary motives of the Section were to exhibit apparatuses for and processes of determining and recording the physical and intellectual characteristics of the race-types and culture-types assembled on the Fairgrounds. Pursuant to the advice of Franz Boas, Doctor R.S. Woodworth, of Columbia University, was selected as Superintendent of the Section; the service to be voluntary save for an
honorarium of $1200 to cover living and incidental expenses. Mr. Frank G. Bruner, an advanced student at Columbia, was appointed as Assistant in Anthropometry under the direction of Dr. Woodworth.

Located on the first floor of the Anthropology Building, each section occupied an exhibit hall with an adjoining laboratory. Though not originally expected to draw a crowd, information on the experiments was eagerly sought out by the press and the "actually-interested" visitors averaged 1,000 or more daily (McGee 1904).

Abundant press coverage was an influential factor in several aspects relevant to the Sections. Several local doctors seized the opportunity of being featured as volunteer collaborators in Departmental research though they published no results. Dr. and Mrs. Hoffman investigated the ethnic and activital characteristics of the feet, while Dr. Terry studied the ethnological aspects of the papillary markings of the hands, leaving Dr. Ehrenfest to conduct research on the pelvic and parturitional characteristics of the races.

Most of the apparatus and materials used in measuring the physical and mental traits of the various races were obtained, and the installation and operation of the laboratories made feasible, through the cooperation of educational institutions and manufacturers. The leading American and foreign makers of Anthropometric,
Psychological and Physiological apparatus were requested to loan such instruments on the condition that the instruments would be prominently "exhibited with the maker's name attached." Thirteen companies responded generously to this request. When the platform for final Jury Awards was outlined, one of the criteria for the category on Anthropometry Apparatus and Appliances required 20% of the judgement to be based on the "disposition of the manufacturer to cooperate with the Department."

Investigations of the various races represented at the Exposition centered around the groups directly under the control of the Department of Anthropology: the Indians, Ainu, Pygmies, and the Patagonians. Volunteers selected from crowds of visitors were plentiful, and a comparison set of at least 200 white adults was gradually accumulated. The statistical validity of such a grouping, by current standards would certainly be suspect. However, in 1904, Dr. Woodworth yielded only two qualifications; first, that the number of individuals in some of the groups was too small for a reliable average; and second, that the individuals chosen for exhibition, and consequently test purposes, did not fairly represent the average type of their group and might not be considered a random selection.

Anthropometric tests consisted of the Dimensional
Measures of stature, arm spread, girth of body and limbs, and weight; the Formal Measures of head form and facial angles; the Structural Determinations of skin color, number and form of teeth, attitude of eyes; and the Functional Determinations of respiration, circulation, body temperature, and voice. Psychometric tests included Sight Tests which measured range and quality of vision; Hearing Tests determined by acuity and auditory range; Sense Reaction Tests based on the time and intensity of reactions to various stimuli; and Sensory-Motor Reaction Tests which measured the rate of a reaction.

The interpretation of the results of the majority of these tests illustrates a strong bias toward the abilities of the White or Caucasian groups. Eventhough the Whites do not always finish as the top-ranked group, it is always pointed out that the more "primitive" groups such as the Pygmy and Ainu finish far below the White standard. In tests of strength, quickness, and accuracy the Whites are top-rated. Though finishing in the middle of the standings on visual acuity, the "male White adult American possessing normal vision" is taken as the standard of 100% from which to measure the other groups. Published results of auditory acuity in (Wisler 1908) state that "the one fact standing out most prominently as a result of these measurements is the
clearly evident superiority of Whites over all other races, both in the keenness and range of the hearing sense." From this, the conclusion is drawn that intellectual possibilities are directly correlated with the variety and effectiveness of motor responses.

In Woodworth's report to the Department, his final determination conveniently coincides with McGee’s theory of "cephalization" as he states that test results "in harmony with independent estimates" point rather strongly toward a "positive correlation, among races, between head size and mental capacity" (McGee 1904). Overall, "rather than serving the cause of science, the laboratories served to quantify the impressions visitors received from the remainder of the anthropology exhibits and from the fair in its entirety" (Rydell 1984).
Chapter IV

The Queen's Jubilee and Vatican Exhibits

An unusual feature of the Department of Anthropology and the Section on History was the Victorian Jubilee tributes, more commonly referred to as the Queen's Jubilee presents. Bearing little relevance to the science of anthropology the primary purpose of this collection was to promote public support for the acceptance of U.S. political alliances and expansionist policies.

The Royal Presents included in this collection consisted of gifts made to Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, on the occasion of the Jubilee Celebrations of 1887 and 1897. The bulk of these gifts came from India, "where native princes of all grades and representatives of all nationalities and religions vied with each other in offering to Her Majesty the splendid tribute of her Indian Empire." These presents were depicted as interesting not just for the value of the precious metals and rare woods from which they were crafted, but more importantly because they showed "how in recent years European ideas have influenced native Indian art" (Official Catalog 1904).

The remainder of the collection included gifts from
every part of the British Empire, a persuasive testament offered from the loyal and grateful subjects as to the virtue of expansionist policies. The gifts of carved ivory, wrought gold, native gems, finely set jewels, feather plumes and fans, and tooled leather objects filled thirty large cases and were entrusted to the Department of Anthropology for exhibit in the Hall of Congresses (Buel 1904).

In an effort to avoid any outward appearances of political involvement, the gifts were obtained not by government officials, but by a representative of the Exposition, Miss Florence Hayward. In her report to McGee she writes, "It was Venezuela and the Monroe Doctrine which created the opportunity of asking for the presents." She explains that prior to the Fair, England, "through no fault of her own" had been drawn into what was construed as a warlike posture towards Venezuela, and this had been magnified in the press of both Great Britain and the United States until it was blown all out of proportion to its cause. Miss Hayward contends that for King Edward to send the Jubilee presents to the United States for exhibition at the Fair would "give a tacit but undeniable assurance of England's good will towards the U.S., at a moment when it was ardently desired by both countries, and to give it in a way which was especially valuable, because it was non-political."
She believed that this exhibit would interest more classes of people and attract attention more effectively than by any other means. As the gifts belonged not to the government of Great Britain, but to the King himself, it was "an opportunity to accomplish a much desired political end by personal means" (McGee 1904).

Comparable with the Queen’s Jubilee presents, in what is referred to as "a natural association of ideas" (McGee 1904), the Department of Anthropology was also custodian for the Vatican collection. As the Jubilee presents were exhibited to demonstrate the racial and political policies of like-thinking allies, the Vatican collection utilized the Department of Anthropology to illustrate the religious beliefs and proselytizing motives of Exposition directors.

Created to "represent the internal growth and extension of influence of the Vatican during the centuries" (Buel 1904), the collection included the death mask of Pope Leo XIII, along with photographic reproductions of some of the earliest papal documents regarding America, letters from the Pope to Ferdinand and Isabella, and some text of the Codex Vaticanus—the oldest Bible in existence referred to as the "final authority" by the Roman Catholic Church (World’s Fair Bulletin 1904). Also included were forty-nine examples of mosaic art from the Roman Mosaic Laboratory.
In a letter from McGee to the Director of Exhibits dated June 21, 1904, McGee states "it may be recalled that the Vatican collection is a special exhibit made through the favor of his Holiness, at the insistence of Exposition representatives." Catholicism being the predominant religion of St. Louis in 1904, one of the leading educational and religious institutions was the economically and politically influential Jesuit college of St. Louis University. An arrangement was made between the Vatican and Exposition directors whereby the Exposition would cover the cost of preparation, transportation and installation of the exhibits, and in return, the Vatican would donate the collection to a public institution in this country at the close of the Fair. Not surprisingly, the natural recipient of the materials was St. Louis University who agreed to provide a custodian for the collection who "in his person and his knowledge would properly represent the world's foremost sacred institution" (McGee 1904).

While the local significance of the Vatican contribution is apparent, the collection embodies political implications on a national level as well. There were at the time no diplomatic relations between the United States and the Vatican, nor did the American Ambassador in Rome have any official communication with the Holy See. It was therefore "indicative of a spirit
of progressive liberality on the part of the Vatican, and also of the good will which the real and dominating spirit governing the Fair evoked." Whether it related to or was understood by visitors interested in anthropology exhibits "was of lesser consequence in comparison with the realization that liberality of view was recognized as an important part of that larger education which was the main object of the Exposition" (McGee 1904).

For the Vatican, this was an opportunity to expose thousands of American fairgoers to the theological ideology, political influence and economic wealth of the Catholic church.
Chapter V
The Indian School

Nowhere in the Department of Anthropology were the political and racial objectives of the United States Government more apparent than in the exhibits of the Indian School. Created by authority of the Secretary of the Interior and financed through appropriations from the fifty-eighth Congress, the Model Indian School was "designed not merely as a consummation, but as a prophecy; for now that other primitive peoples are passing under the beneficent influence and protection of the Stars and Stripes, it is needful to take stock of past progress as a guide to the future" (Hanson 1904).

The purpose of the Indian School, as explained by McGee, was to illustrate Man’s development through progressive acculturation, or the interchange and unification of knowledge. Described as at first slow and inimical and effected chiefly through strife and conquest, acculturation of the higher stages is termed rapid and amicable with schools replacing armies, confederations supplanting conquest and "the White Man’s burden of the ballad becoming the Strong Man’s burden in the political family of nations as in the personal family of kindred." Usually an accident of intertribal
enmity, under the principles of constitutional
government, McGee viewed acculturation as an intentional
and purposeful means of promoting the common weal where
"the United States government has performed no worthier
function than that of aiding our aboriginal landholders
on their way toward citizenship" (Francis 1913).

The plan of the Indian School was to utilize living
eamples to demonstrate the actual processes by which
the means and ends of purposive acculturation applied to
and effected native Americans. Designed to display the
educational methods which were developed in the Bureau
of Indian Affairs, the Indian School consisted of a
corps of teachers and an assemblage of pupils drawn from
various reservations. Special attention was given to
manual training "since experience has shown that among
all aboriginal peoples the hand leads the mind"
(Official Catalog 1904). The contrast between the
native and the new Indian culture was illustrated by
groups of "old" Indians employed in aboriginal handiwork
located adjacent to class rooms in which the modern work
was displayed.

McGee claimed that parents still clinging to native
customs and costumes "delighted in the progress and
achievements of their children" while the transformation
from comfortless camp life into comfortable households
was demonstrated by the "actual passage of individuals
from one stage of culture to the other during the Exposition period." The infamous chief Geronimo, a popular representative of the "old Indians," is reported to have completed his own "mental transformation from savage to citizen" indicating a course of intellectual development which "raised Man from a dull-minded and self-centered tribal existence into the active, constructive and broadminded life of modern humanity" (McGee 1904).

As developed by and through the Government's administrative, constructive and educational policies and processes, the Indian School proved to be a leading feature of the Department. Embracing contrasting displays of the aboriginal and the accultural, its inhabitants and programs proved highly attractive to Exposition visitors. Well located and attractively constructed at a price of $17,000, it is estimated that over three million fairgoers passed through the Indian School building, providing ample opportunity for agents of the Indian School to extol the benefits of government programs and policies.

The exhibit scheme placed 310 "old Indians" from fourteen different tribes on the Plaza in front of the Indian School building. They built and lived in shelters constructed as nearly as possible after their native fashion that included tepees, hogans, earth and grass
lodges, and birch bark houses. In addition 150 students were gathered from Indian schools throughout the country. Although chosen from a cross-section of native tribes, rather than depicting the most typical of reservation students, this hand-picked group represented those individuals who best illustrated the traits of acculturation and most thoroughly embraced the American way of life.

Designed so that every passer by could see at a glance the contrast between the old and the new, the first floor of the School building was divided by a central hallway. On one side there was a series of booths in which "old Indian" artisans engaged in primitive manual operations including the bead work of the Sioux, the pottery and basket work of the Apaches, the blanket weaving of the Navajo, and even Geronimo who "worked industriously on bows and arrows which he sold readily" (McGee 1904).

On the opposite side of the hall were classrooms and work rooms where the mental and manual training of the Indian youth (of both sexes) was carried forward. One of the most popular exhibits was a kindergarten class of small children who were being taught the English language. A modern domestic department with a laundry, kitchen, and dining room was conducted by the females at the school while the construction of all the building's
interior furniture was a major project of the male students. There was a fully equipped printing office which issued the daily Indian School Journal, a bulletin devoted to explaining Indian industrial exhibits and the chronicling of Exposition news. Exceedingly popular and in constant demand, a forty piece student band gave concerts twice daily on the Plaza in front of the building.

The results of the apparent transformation of the native youth culminated in the Indian School's Dress Parade. With the boys clad in neat grey uniforms and the girls in blue skirts and white waists, "all alike and very becoming" the pupils of the Indian School march in military formation, "paying reverence to the flag they have come to call their own." Performed everyday at the lowering of the flag, the boys "reverently remove their hats and hold them over their hearts" as the "vast crowd is silent and looks on with eyes of admiration at these Indians, whose every attitude and expression bespeak loyalty and devotion to the flag of their country" (McGee 1904).

Though time has proven otherwise, due to the effectiveness of the exhibit, McGee expressed the belief that "the great Indian problem was solved." He comments that prior to touring the Indian School many Exposition visitors viewed the Indian "as not only incapable of,
but unfit for civilization." Yet, after seeing the Indian problem "as it actually exists," thousands expressed their confidence in its correct solution. The exhibit illustrated in the most striking way the evolutionary steps of progress and "removed many a prejudice against Indian education from the minds of white taxpayers, and proved the wisdom of the Government's system of schools" (McCowen 1904).
Chapter VI
Conclusion

Upon the close of the Fair in November, 1904, McGee described the total experience as one with fraught with "many mistakes and few fortunate accidents, arduous labors and rare recreations, with innumerable disappointments and infrequent gratifications," where "vague ideas were hardly expressed at all." McGee expressed the judgement that if another million dollars had been added to the Department budget there would have been an additional three million admissions, and that if two million dollars had been added to the budget, gate attendance would have increased by five to ten million (McGee 1904).

The messages implied through ethnological displays illustrated the nature of the power relations between the fair promoters and exhibit directors, as well as between the subjects displayed and the attending audience. These displays could be highly deceptive and often represented idealized relationships, always from the point of view of the exhibitor. It was a time when even the most fanciful notions, scientific, social or otherwise, could be given full expression with little fear of contradiction by factual details or experience.
at the local level (Schneider 1981). It was therefore, influential not only in the numbers of people it reached but also in the pervasiveness of its messages.

The ethnic exhibit usually centers around the natives performing indigenous tasks or ceremonies in the name of science or education. However, they are also usually highly commercial, selling either artifacts or entertainment for a fee.

Benedict (1983) makes the analogy between world’s fairs and the potlatch model by suggesting that the fair may serve to rearrange status hierarchies and validate the rise of the middle class. The fairs are about the display of power and economics which are manifest in the cultural assumptions of the participants. As a potlatch was used to assert new claims to power and prestige, world’s fairs were popular as a result of industrialization and the expansion of the middle class. Within each fair were exhibits representing countries, states, cities, industries and individual companies. Within the constraints of economic and space allocations, the persons responsible for planning and implementing these exhibits chose how they would be represented, who would be consulted, and what messages would be conveyed.

The theme of historical progress strongly buttressed by doctrines of social darwinism was particularly
evident in the St. Louis exposition of 1904 (Benedict 1983). Anthropologically validated racial hierarchies served to legitimize racial exploitation at home and the creation of empires abroad. Carefully designed exhibits of non-whites were employed to justify the political and economic repression of Native Americans, Afro-Americans and Asian-Americans, as well as to validate American imperial policy overseas. Displays of and about American Indians were a part of many American fairs, but they were organized by government or private entrepreneurs, not by the Indians themselves (Benedict 1983). Rydell (1984) suggests that the emphasis on white supremacy as a utopian agency served to mute class divisions among whites, providing them with a sense of shared national purpose.

The display of people is largely about power relationships. A status difference is implied or evident between the exhibitor and the individuals exhibited. The rights of the exhibited are often dictated to them either contractually or by force. Exhibited individuals are confined to certain areas and only allowed out into the host society under supervision. Communication between exhibited individuals and the host society is often limited to scripted performances which are carefully controlled in an effort to convey and encourage certain messages
about the individuals preforming.

People are displayed as curiosities or freaks when individual physiological characteristics, collective ethnic differences or cultural behavioral traits are emphasized and utilized for commercial gain.

Benedict (1983) describes people as trophies when they are shown performing industrial tasks set for them by their conquerors or as they are seen receiving instruction in the culture of their masters— who are, of course, always assumed to be superior.

People are displayed as scientific objects when anthropometric measurements are taken of an exotic people in an effort to prove racial and/or evolutionary theories. These various types of displays can and do occur in combination.

Early in his final Report of the Department of Anthropology, McGee states that the motive and scope of the Department was to "satisfy the intelligent observer that there is a course of progress running from lower to higher humanity, and that all physical and cultural types of Man mark stages in that course." Sadly, his next sentence is "That the chief aim was gained may not now be claimed" (McGee 1904).
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