



✧ CURTIS M. HINSLEY and DAVID R. WILCOX, Editors ✧

# COMING OF AGE IN **CHICAGO**

*The 1893 World's Fair and the  
Coalescence of American Anthropology*

—“*Coming of Age in Chicago* is at once a major contribution to the burgeoning literature on Chicago’s 1893 World Columbian Exposition as well as a critical examination of a crucial phase in the development of American anthropology. . . . Such notable personalities as Frederic Ward Putnam, Franz Boas, Daniel Garrison Brinton, and especially Frank Hamilton Cushing, as well as lesser luminaries, all come alive and shine forth in this sparkling, multifaceted volume.”

—RAYMOND D. FOGELSON, professor emeritus of  
anthropology at the University of Chicago

“In this richly detailed account of anthropology at the fair—and of the fair’s exhibits in the minds of anthropologists—the authors deepen our understanding of the cultural origins of the anthropology profession.”

—ROBERT W. RYDELL, professor of history at Montana State  
University and author of *All the World’s a Fair*

“*Coming of Age in Chicago* presents an account of the interplay of anthropology and the public spectacle of the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair that is both authoritative and engaging. Original documents and photo essays heighten the reading experience and help convey the material realities of anthropology at the fair, just as the discipline was coalescing.”

—FREDERIC W. GLEACH, curator of the Anthropology  
Collections at Cornell University and founding coeditor  
of *Histories of Anthropology Annual*



CONTENTS

List of Illustrations . . . . .	xi
List of Tables . . . . .	xiv
Introduction: The Chicago Fair and American Anthropology in 1893 . . . . .	xv
CURTIS M. HINSLEY AND DAVID R. WILCOX	
Abbreviations . . . . .	xlili
Essay 1. Anthropology as Education and Entertainment: Frederic Ward Putnam at the World's Fair . . . . .	1
CURTIS M. HINSLEY	
DOCUMENT A. Franz Boas, "Ethnology at the Exposition" (1893). . . . .	78
DOCUMENT B. Frederic Ward Putnam, "The Columbus Memorial Museum: Address to the Commercial Club of Chicago" (1891). . . . .	84
DOCUMENT C. "Man and His Works: Ethnological Exhibit at the Fair" (1893) . . . . .	91
Essay 2. Ambiguous Legacy: Daniel Garrison Brinton at the International Congress of Anthropology . . . . .	99
CURTIS M. HINSLEY	
Appendix: Analysis of Registered Members of the International Congress of Anthropology, World's Columbian Exposition, 1893 . . . . .	110
DAVID R. WILCOX	
DOCUMENT D. William Henry Holmes, "The World's Fair Congress of Anthropology" (1893) . . . . .	120



<b>Essay 3. Anthropology in a Changing America: Interpreting the Chicago "Triumph" of Frank Hamilton Cushing</b> . . . . .	125
--	-----

DAVID R. WILCOX

DOCUMENT E. Excerpts from the Diary of Frank Hamilton Cushing at the World's Fair (June 16–September 12, 1893) . . . .	153
--	-----

DOCUMENT F. Monthly Report of Mr. Frank Hamilton Cushing (September 1893). . . . .	212
--	-----

DOCUMENT G. "The Pueblos at Home" (September 1894). . . . .	232
---	-----

<b>A Visual Interlude: Popular Images of Anthropology and Its Subjects at the Fair</b> . . . . .	239
--	-----

CURTIS M. HINSLEY

<b>Essay 4. Refracting Images: Anthropological Display at the Chicago World's Fair, 1893</b> . . . . .	261
--	-----

IRA JACKNIS

<b>Essay 5. Relic Hunters in the White City: Artifacts, Authority, and Ambition at the World's Columbian Exposition.</b> . . . .	337
--	-----

JAMES E. SNEAD

DOCUMENT H. Cushing's Analysis of the Hazzard Cliff Dweller Collection (1895) . . . . .	362
---	-----

DOCUMENT I. Warren King Moorehead, "The Ancient Man: The Anthropological Exhibit at the World's Fair" (June 22, 1893). . . . .	369
--	-----

<b>Essay 6. Patrons, Popularizers, and Professionals: The Institutional Setting of Late Nineteenth-Century Anthropology in Chicago</b> . . . . .	375
--	-----

DONALD MCVICKER

DOCUMENT J. "Heir of the Big Fair: Field Columbian Museum Opened" (1894) . . . . .	405
--	-----

<b>Essay 7. Going National: American Anthropology Successfully Redefines Itself as an Accepted Academic Domain</b> . . . . .	413
--	-----

DAVID R. WILCOX

*Book Review*

<i>Appendix: Comparison of Primary Contributors to the American Anthropologist, 1888–1925</i> .....	455
---	-----

DAVID R. WILCOX

DOCUMENT K. Daniel Garrison Brinton, “The Aims of Anthropology” (1895) .....	459
---	-----

DOCUMENT L. Franz Boas, “The Limitations of the Comparative Method of Anthropology” (1896) .....	476
---	-----

<b>Afterword: The Ironies of the Fair, the Uncertainties of Anthropology.</b> .....	489
---	-----

CURTIS M. HINSLEY

Acknowledgments .....	497
-----------------------	-----

Bibliography .....	499
--------------------	-----

Contributors .....	547
--------------------	-----

Index .....	549
-------------	-----

ILLUSTRATIONS

Souvenir map of the Fair . . . . .	frontispiece
1. John Wesley Powell portrait, 1889 . . . . .	xxv
2. Frederic Ward Putnam in his Peabody Museum office, ca. 1890 . . . . .	xxvi
3. Daniel Garrison Brinton, portrait by Thomas Eakins, ca. 1900 . . . . .	xxvii
4. Frank Hamilton Cushing, portrait by Thomas Hovenden. . . . .	xxviii
5. Thomas Hovenden, <i>Breaking Home Ties</i> , 1890. . . . .	xxix
6. Willard Leroy Metcalf, <i>Sunset Hour on the West Lagoon</i> , 1893 . . . . .	xxx
7. Daniel Hudson Burnham, portrait, 1912. . . . .	xxxi
8. <i>Cairo Street Waltz</i> , sheet music lithograph, 1893 . . . . .	xxxii
9. Putnam's Penobscot Village under the elevated rail. . . . .	27
10. Eskimos at the World's Columbian Exposition . . . . .	41
11. Esther and Columbia (Palmer) Eneutseak. . . . .	43
12. Bertha Honoré Palmer . . . . .	44
13. Illuminated White City at night . . . . .	49
14. The Ferris Wheel on the Midway . . . . .	65
15. The Midway Plaisance looking eastward from the Ferris Wheel . . . . .	66
16. Stewart Culin . . . . .	133
17. Sara Yorke Stevenson, 1917 . . . . .	134
18. Sarah Tyson Rorer, ca. 1886 . . . . .	137
19. "Mrs. Rorer's Corn Recipes Cookbook" . . . . .	138
20. Daniel Burnham with Exposition architects and officials. . . . .	139
21. Francis Davis "Frank" Millet, ca. 1891 . . . . .	140
22. Charles Deering, ca. 1908 . . . . .	142
23. Henry Blake Fuller, ca. 1896 . . . . .	143
24. "In the Cairo street," from <i>World's Fair Puck</i> , 1893 . . . . .	245

25. "A privileged race," from <i>World's Fair Puck</i> , 1893 . . . . .	246
26. "Travels on the Midway," from <i>World's Fair Puck</i> , 1893. . . . .	247
27. "A pre-Columbian shell game from Peru," from <i>Herald</i> , 1893 . . . . .	248
28. "A victim of long and continued riding in suburban trains" (Chac Mool), from <i>Herald</i> , 1893 . . . . .	248
29. The Anthropology Building, from <i>Herald</i> , 1893 . . . . .	249
30. "I'm not crazy yet," from <i>Herald</i> , 1893 . . . . .	250
31. "Great excitement—Indian lady throwing out dishwater," from <i>Herald</i> , 1893 . . . . .	251
32. Mary Dookshoode Annanuck (Eskimo), from <i>Portrait Types of the Midway Plaisance</i> . . . . .	252
33. Antonio (Apache Indian), from <i>Portrait Types</i> . . . . .	253
34. William (Samoan), from <i>Portrait Types</i> . . . . .	254
35. Monahan Levi, Isaac Cohn, and H. Hondon (Turkish Jews), from <i>Portrait Types</i> . . . . .	255
36. Northward from center of Wooded Isle, from <i>Vistas of the Fair in Color</i> . . . . .	256
37. Totem poles and Kwakiutl Indians, from <i>Vistas of the Fair</i> . . .	257
38. Statue of Industry, Court of Honor, from <i>Vistas of the Fair</i> . . .	258
39. <i>Humors of the Fair</i> by Julian Hawthorne, 1894 . . . . .	259
40. The cosmopolitan future: Strolling on the illuminated Midway . . . . .	260
41. Smithsonian Institution display, U.S. Government Building, World's Columbian Exposition . . . . .	270
42. Anthropology Building general view, World's Columbian Exposition . . . . .	271
43. Miniature model of the Haida village of Skidegate . . . . .	279
44. Model of Captain Gold's house, Queen Charlotte Islands, ca. 1892 . . . . .	280
45. Captain Gold's house, Queen Charlotte Islands, 1884 . . . . .	281
46. Cosmos and Victor Mindeleff working on models of Peñasco Blanco Pueblo Indian village, 1885 . . . . .	282
47. Model of Serpent Mound, Ohio, by Charles Willoughby, 1893 . . . . .	284
48. Serpent Mound, Ohio, 1887 . . . . .	285
49. Plaster casts of Mayan ruins from Uxmal and Labná, Yucatán, 1893. . . . .	288

50. Vaulted archway, northwest façade, Labná, Yucatán, 1888–91 . . . . .	289
51. Alfred Maudslay's team molding the Great Turtle, Quiriguá, Yucatán, 1883. . . . .	291
52. Photographs and casts of Mayan ruins, Anthropology Building. . . . .	292
53. Hopi bread makers life group, U.S. National Museum, ca. 1894. . . . .	296
54. Hopi bread makers, Hano, Arizona, 1893. . . . .	297
55. Navajo silversmith life group, World's Columbian Exposition . . . . .	302
56. Navajo silversmith (Pesh-'lákai-ilhini), Ganado, Arizona, 1892. . . . .	303
57. Mannequin of Comanche mounted chief, World's Columbian Exposition . . . . .	311
58. Frank H. Cushing posing for mannequin of Comanche mounted chief, ca. 1892. . . . .	312
59. Mannequin of Ojibwa scribe, World's Columbian Exposition . . . . .	313
60. Walter J. Hoffman posing for mannequin of Ojibwa scribe, ca. 1892. . . . .	314
61. Powhatan quarry life group, World's Columbian Exposition. .	320
62. Powhatan quarry life group, Rock Creek Park, Washington DC, ca. 1895. . . . .	321
63. Powhatan quarry life group, expanded version, Smithsonian Institution, ca. 1920 . . . . .	322
64. Richard Wetherill at Round Tower, Mesa Verde. . . . .	341
65. Warren K. Moorehead and workers in the field at Fort Ancient . . . . .	344
66. The "Cliff Dwelling," World's Columbian Exposition . . . . .	349
67. Frederick Starr "at home," in mid-career at the University of Chicago . . . . .	378
68. George A. Dorsey with Patagonian (Tehuelche) "Giant" Colojo, 1904. . . . .	382
69. Edward Everett Ayer, portrait by Elbridge Ayer Burbank, 1897. . . . .	391
70. Harlow N. Higinbotham. . . . .	392
71. Marshall Field. . . . .	393



**TABLES**

1. Comparison of membership levels in the Anthropological Society of Washington and the American Anthropological Association for selected periods and places . . . . . 432
2. Members of the AAA, 1902–1915, by category of interest. . . . . 435



## Coming of Age In Chicago: The 1893 World's Fair and the Coalescence of American Anthropology

Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox, editors. (2016) University of Nebraska Press. xliii+574 pp., 54 b&w illustrations, 18 color illustrations, 2 tables, 2 appendixes, references. \$65.00 (hardback).

*Reviewed by Brian Adams, Illinois State Archaeological Survey,  
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.*

This work is a comprehensive account of both the role the emerging field of anthropology played in the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, celebrating the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' "discovery" of the New World, as well as the impact the Fair had on the subsequent development of the discipline of anthropology. It consists of seven essays devoted to various aspects of the incorporation of then current anthropological concepts into the Exposition that "...would illustrate 'the steps of progress of civilization and its arts in successive centuries, and in all lands up to the present time'...and be an "...illustrated encyclopedia of humanity" (Hinsley and Wilcox, p. xviii). Most of the essays include related "documents" consisting of relevant contemporary articles/addresses written by participating anthropologists (e.g. Franz Boas, Frederic Ward Putnam, William Henry Holmes, Daniel Garrison Brinton), as well as primary accounts of the Fair (e.g. excerpts from Frank Hamilton Cushing's diary). In addition, some essays include appendixes that present synopsised biographical information about practicing anthropological researchers of the period. The book includes a discussion of the social, political, and economic environment of Chicago at the time, and how existing tensions between eastern politicians and the newly rising socio-economic and political status of Chicago initially threatened its selection as the site for the exposition by the U.S. Congress. The book also documents the related struggle between those who envisioned the Fair as a strictly professional, academic forum for educational purposes (e.g. Putnam, Boas) and those who saw the opportunity to "popularize" the Fair and appeal to the masses (e.g. Frederick Starr and George A. Dorsey); the latter were supported to a degree by businessmen expecting a return on their investment in the Fair. The book is well illustrated, and includes a "Visual Interlude" of anthropological images derived from contemporary magazines, newspapers, paintings and photographs of the Exposition.

As the book discusses, three "centers" of anthropological research associated with key anthropological researchers existed at the time of exposition and these were tapped for contributions to the Fair: John Wesley Powell and William Henry Holmes of the Bureau of Ethnology/Smithsonian Institute; Frederic Ward Putnam and Franz Boas of the Peabody Museum in Cambridge; and Daniel Garrison Brinton of Philadelphia and the International Congress of Anthropology. Putnam, assisted by Franz Boas, headed Department M (Ethnology), and directed and supervised the acquisition of numerous archaeological and anthropological

collections from North and South America to be housed in the "Anthropology Building" and in ethnographic villages on the Midway Plaisance. Unfortunately, to Putnam's disappointment, the Anthropology Building was relatively secluded, located in the remote southeast corner of the fairgrounds, and wasn't completed until July 4, 1893, over two months after the Fair opened. Putnam advocated "object lessons," stressing the educational value of museum displays and "ethnographic villages" over classroom instruction to educate the general public. The book describes in detail how collections were made and how displays were prepared. Anthropological/archaeological "life group" exhibits for the Bureau of American Ethnology/Smithsonian Institute were housed in the "Government Building" and were installed with expert assistance of Frank Hamilton Cushing, noted expert on Zuni life and culture. Again, the book describes in detail how the archaeological/ethnological collections were secured and how the displays were prepared, though ethnographic exhibits tended to take precedence over archaeology. Cushing's role in the latter is especially well documented. As with Putnam's work, displays for the Government Building were unfinished by the time the Fair opened on May 1, 1893, and many wouldn't be completed until September. Daniel Garrison Brinton, president of the International Congress of Anthropology, presided over the meeting held in Chicago between August 28 and September 2, 1893, most of which was held at the Exposition fairgrounds. Though few European specialists attended, the congress was considered a success, despite the fact that Brinton, influenced by the works of Lewis Henry Morgan, adhered to concepts that were beginning to be questioned by younger researchers and to fall into disfavor (e.g. psychic unity of mankind, independent invention). Brinton was a well-respected scholar, and his theoretical positions generated lively debate at the congress, especially among rising scholars such as Franz Boas, who advocated the study of migration, borrowing, and culture contact in social/cultural development (the "historical method" of investigation). As the book demonstrates, these theoretical differences and debates set the stage for the coalescence of anthropological study in America.

Reading this volume one quickly realizes how important archaeological investigations were to the early development of anthropological theory in America; such investigations were closely intertwined with ethnographic investigations, physical anthropology, linguistics, and folklore studies. Further, many of these key archaeological investigations were conducted in the Midwest with results presented at the Fair: Moorehead and Putnam's work at the Madisonville Cemetery, Fort Ancient, Turner Group, and Serpent Mound sites in Ohio, and results of their investigations at the Effigy Mounds in Wisconsin and the Cahokia site in Illinois. Also of interest to Midwest archaeologists is the early career of Warren K. Moorehead. Though later recognized as the "Dean of American Archaeology," Moorehead's early involvement in archaeology and the Chicago Exposition did not bode well for an aspiring professional in the field. A brief summary is presented here given his future role in Midwest prehistory, and to illustrate the paths by which scholars attempted to establish themselves in the field at the time. While Moorehead attended both Denison University and the University of Pennsylvania, he never graduated from either institution. Due to his familiarity with prehistoric sites in Ohio, Moorehead was hired by Putnam to conduct excavations

at Fort Ancient and the Hopewell Mound Group to secure collections for the Chicago Fair. Moorehead's attempts to get involved with investigations in the Southwest and at "Cliff Dweller" sites to increase his prestige eventually backfired, alienating him from Putnam and financial backers. Eventually, "...Moorehead...began to see the anthropological establishment as an obstacle to his success" (Snead, p. 350). After the Fair, Moorehead's behavior bordered on the unethical when he "trespassed" into Chaco Canyon and initiated work at Pueblo Bonito to further his own career, despite prior plans by Richard Wetherill and the Hyde Exploring Expedition to commence work at the site. In the end, Moorehead would salvage his career and become renowned for his published contributions to the field.

A significant outcome of the Fair was the creation of the Field Columbian Museum (now the Field Museum of Natural History), which Putnam considered a major outcome of the Fair. He worked fervently to make it a reality to insure a permanent public institution in Chicago to house collections secured for the Fair. The volume describes in detail how this occurred in Essay One (*Anthropology as Education and Entertainment*) and Essay Six (*Patrons, Popularizers, and Professionals*).

For the most part, this is very well researched and documented volume, but a few areas could have benefited from relatively minor improvements. To begin with, a more detailed map of the fairgrounds would have been useful. The 1893 Souvenir Map of the World's Columbian Exposition in the frontispiece is much too small and of poor quality to track the events discussed in the text.

While the book addresses the issue of the often-unfair and exploitative interactions between native groups (e.g., Navajos and Inuits) "on display" in "*tableaux vivants*" and Fair organizers, there is virtually no discussion of the issue of the ethics of rampant collection of prehistoric artifacts for the Fair from throughout North and South America, many of which were undoubtedly secured from burial contexts. This is a serious issue today, and it would have been instructive to at least briefly examine and explain how the profession has changed its views on this practice over time through increased collaboration and cooperation with tribal groups and governmental legislation, similar to the discussion of the rise of the controversial eugenics movement presented in various parts of the book.

Frank Hamilton Cushing was an enthusiastic participant in the Fair, assisting with displays for the Bureau of American Ethnology/Smithsonian Institute housed in the "Government Building." Essay Four (*Anthropology in a Changing America: Interpreting the Chicago 'Triumph' of Frank Hamilton Cushing*) includes two related "documents": "Document E" consisting of excerpts from Cushing's diary kept at the Fair, and "Document F," a formal report composed by Cushing describing his activities between July and September 1893. Cushing's diary excerpts, while generally fascinating, often proved difficult to follow due to unclear abbreviations, incomplete sentences, missing names, and so on, and this section may have benefited from more extensive abridgement and editing. These shortcomings are somewhat rectified by the inclusion of over 100 footnotes with the excerpts. Further, following Cushing's activities as recorded in his diary might have been easier had "Document F," the formal account of his work, preceded

### *Book Review*

the diary excerpts. Document F is well organized and written, and provides a good framework for reading and following the diary excerpts in Document E.

Finally, the book includes summary tables in Essay Seven (*Going National*), two within the essay (Tables 1 and 2), and a third attached as an appendix. This essay successfully tracks the increasing professionalization of anthropology following the Fair, and employs the tables to summarize developments over time. Table 1 compares changing membership levels temporally and regionally in the Anthropological Society of Washington (ASW) and the American Anthropological Association (AAA). While these summary statistics are enlightening and provide a measure of the shifting centers of the field over time, I found the table too cluttered with Arabic and Roman numerals, upper and lower case abbreviations, and bracketed numerals to convey a clear and concise summary of the data to the reader. Likewise, the appended table, "Comparison of Primary Contributors to the *American Anthropologist*, 1888–1925" is overly cluttered with upper and lower case letters, and it is unclear how the author classified contributors as "regular" or "occasional."

In summary, this volume provides a fascinating, well-documented and illustrated account of the impact the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago had on the distillation of the professional field on anthropology in America. Despite a few minor shortcomings, this book is an important and valuable contribution to the history of the discipline.