



Spring 4-16-2018

Robert H. Lamborn: At the Intersection of Anthropology and Museums in the Nineteenth Century

Sheridan S. Small

University of Pennsylvania, shesmall@sas.upenn.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://repository.upenn.edu/anthro_seniortheses



Part of the [Anthropology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Small, Sheridan S., "Robert H. Lamborn: At the Intersection of Anthropology and Museums in the Nineteenth Century" (2018).
Anthropology Senior Theses. Paper 188.

Robert H. Lamborn: At the Intersection of Anthropology and Museums in the Nineteenth Century

Abstract

In the nineteenth century, anthropology began to coalesce as a discipline while museums modernized their mission as educational institutions. Because objects were key sources of anthropological knowledge during this period, museums operated as the institutional base for the discipline. Robert Henry Lamborn was a collector who was deeply involved in developing anthropological theories and museum best practices, differing from both museum professionals and private collectors in his methods and goals. Lamborn presents an ideal case study for examining the intersection of anthropology and museums in the nineteenth century, as well as the object-based theoretical underpinnings of anthropology, a history that anthropologists and museum professionals are returning to in the present. Because he had no formal training in or obligations to the discipline of anthropology or the museum profession, Lamborn was able to explore certain topics and combinations of theories that others were not able to. Through a combination of archival research, object analysis, and theoretical examination, I explore the ways in which Lamborn utilized anthropological theories to display his objects in three Philadelphia museums.

Keywords

anthropology, museums, collectors, objects, nineteenth century, world's fairs, Philadelphia

Disciplines

Anthropology

ROBERT H. LAMBORN: AT THE INTERSECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND
MUSEUMS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By

Sheridan Small

In

Anthropology

Submitted to the

Department of Anthropology

University of Pennsylvania

Thesis Advisor: Megan Kassabaum

2018

Abstract

In the nineteenth century, anthropology began to coalesce as a discipline while museums modernized their mission as educational institutions. Because objects were key sources of anthropological knowledge during this period, museums operated as the institutional base for the discipline. Robert Henry Lamborn was a collector who was deeply involved in developing anthropological theories and museum best practices, differing from both museum professionals and private collectors in his methods and goals. Lamborn presents an ideal case study for examining the intersection of anthropology and museums in the nineteenth century, as well as the object-based theoretical underpinnings of anthropology, a history that anthropologists and museum professionals are returning to in the present. Because he had no formal training in or obligations to the discipline of anthropology or the museum profession, Lamborn was able to explore certain topics and combinations of theories that others were not able to. Through a combination of archival research, object analysis, and theoretical examination, I explore the ways in which Lamborn utilized anthropological theories to display his objects in three Philadelphia museums.

Acknowledgements

I could not have completed this thesis without the help of many people at the Penn Museum. First, I am so grateful to my two wonderful advisors, Megan Kassabaum and Ann Blair Brownlee, both of whom have helped me with theoretical research, object examination, presentation preparation, and draft edits. They have been incredibly generous with their time and support. Dr. Brownlee introduced me to Robert Lamborn, who I have had so much fun getting to know. I want to thank all the keepers who spent time examining and discussing material with me, including Stephen Lang, Dwaune Latimer, William Wierzbowski, and Consulting Scholar Jean MacIntosh Turfa. I could not have accomplished as much artifact examination as I did without their help. I am thankful for the amazing Academic Engagement staff, especially Emily Moore, for coordinating object sessions, and Sarah Linn for all the advice, editing, and support. I greatly appreciate the help and wisdom of the Penn Museum's archivists, Alessandro Pezzati and Eric Schnittke. This project was in large part made possible by the Penn Museum Fellows Program, which provided the support necessary to complete the various aspects of my research throughout the Penn Museum.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iii
Table of Figures.....	v
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Introduction to Robert Henry Lamborn.....	4
Lamborn’s Charitable Goals.....	4
Lamborn’s Participation in Scholarly Circles.....	5
Lamborn’s Contacts.....	7
Lamborn Compared to Other Collectors.....	8
How Lamborn Collected.....	12
Summary.....	15
Chapter 3: Timeline of Anthropology: From Morgan to Boas.....	16
Evolutionism and the Psychic Unity of Mankind.....	17
Independent Invention and Diffusionism.....	20
Physical Anthropology.....	22
Summary.....	24
Chapter 4: History of Museums.....	26
Encyclopedic Institutions.....	26
Importance of the Donor.....	27
Philadelphia Museums.....	28
The Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art (PMA).....	29
The Academy of Natural Sciences.....	30
The Penn Museum.....	32
Chapter 5: Anthropology in Museums.....	34
Implications of the Division Between Science and Art.....	34
Objects as Data.....	37
Methods and Goals for Displays: Classification.....	38
Independent Invention and Diffusionism in Museum Displays.....	40
Chapter 6: Lamborn’s Collecting Objectives and Use of Anthropology in Museums.....	43
The Impact of Museums on the Public.....	43
Lamborn as an Atypical Collector.....	44
Completeness: Lamborn’s Attention to Specific Objects.....	47
Completeness: Lamborn’s Attention to Specific Topics.....	49
Lamborn’s Attention to Museum Displays.....	49
Lamborn’s Use of Developmental Series.....	50
Lamborn’s Focus on Technology.....	52
Lamborn’s Use of the Comparative Method and Independent Invention.....	54
Lamborn’s Use of Diffusionism.....	56
Lamborn’s Innovative Incorporation of Cultural Mixing.....	57
Lamborn’s Use of Multiple Anthropological Theories in Museum Displays.....	59
Chapter 7: Developments in Anthropology and Museums After Lamborn.....	62
Chapter 8: Conclusion.....	67
Figures.....	69

Appendix: Lamborn's Collections by the Numbers	84
References Cited	87

Table of Figures

Figure 1: Robert Henry Lamborn.	69
Figure 2: Lamborn's Exhibit Room in Memorial Hall, Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art.	70
Figure 3: Typology	71
Figure 4: Example Letter from Robert Henry Lamborn.....	72
Figure 5: Attic Black-Figure Hydria Fragment	73
Figure 6: Metal Ring.....	74
Figure 7: Celt Cast	75
Figure 8: Adze Cast	75
Figure 9: Selection of Lamborn's Bucchero Assemblage	76
Figure 10: "Symbol of Isis" letter.	77
Figure 11: Freshwater Pearl Mussel Shell	78
Figure 12: Selection of Roman Glass.	79
Figure 13: Selection of Gem Models.....	80
Figure 14: Sword from Africa.....	81
Figure 15: African Wooden Figure.....	81

Chapter 1: Introduction

As anthropologists have returned to the study of museums and the objects within them over the past thirty years, research into the acquisition of collections has become more relevant. This thesis situates a single Philadelphian collector, Robert Henry Lamborn, within the history of museums and anthropology in the nineteenth century. Anthropology, or the study of human culture and development, became distinct from the study of history in the eighteenth century, guided by a belief in progress and the confidence that scientific laws could be discovered for understanding humankind, just as they were for math, biology, and chemistry. In the nineteenth century, with the advent of Darwinian evolutionary theory, anthropology coalesced into a discipline with distinctive explanations, methodology, and data sets (Voget 1975). Early anthropological scholars debated causal explanations and methodologies, but nineteenth century debates were united by evolutionary theory and the preponderant use of objects as data. All sub-disciplines of anthropology were concerned with material evidence of different stages and varieties of human development: archaeology with prehistory, ethnology with the present, and physical anthropology with the body. As the repositories for objects, museums provided the institutional structure and financial backing for anthropology during its growth as a discipline (Ames 1992; Bouquet 2001).

In the early twentieth century, guided by the influence of Franz Boas (1887; 1906), anthropology diverged from its roots towards a more text-based social anthropology centered on participant-observation-based fieldwork. During this time, objects, and particularly museum collections, were considered outside the purview of academic anthropologists. In the late twentieth century, as part of a larger material turn within the social sciences (Bennett and Joyce 2010; Mukerji 2015), anthropologists have been returning to museums and their collections as

valuable sources of information (Thomas 1991; Henare, Holbraad, and Wastell 2007; Hicks 2010; Loren 2015). New methodologies are being used to consider old collections and their collectors, such as Lamborn (Figure 1). There were a number of ways a museum collection could be acquired from various types of collectors during the nineteenth century, the most common being through an in-house curator, through the services of a collector who was hired to purchase certain types of objects for a museum, or through donations from private individuals with niche interests. As will be discussed below, Lamborn's collecting fits aspects of each.

Lamborn was a self-trained anthropologist who actively engaged with the discipline to organize his large, diverse collection of objects into educational exhibitions at major museums, predominately in Philadelphia. Although the involvement of laypeople in academic disciplines was not unusual during the nineteenth century, Lamborn presents an atypical case, illuminating contemporary trends and new directions of anthropology and museology in that period. He has not been recognized as a contributing member of early anthropology, but Lamborn influenced museums and scholars through his clear dedication to understanding the history and development of humankind through anthropological concepts and his exploration of these ideas through museum exhibits.

Drawing on archival research, museum publications, newspapers, object examination, and an understanding of early theoretical approaches within anthropology, I elucidate how Lamborn and his collecting utilized nascent anthropological thought in diverse ways, which in turn was reflected in his museum displays. I am uniquely situated to investigate this topic because archival materials concerning Lamborn, including letters, photographs, and financial documents, are primarily housed in Philadelphia, at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Penn Museum), the Academy of Natural Sciences (the

Academy), and the Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA).ⁱ Furthermore, while Lamborn donated objects to all three of those institutions, most of his collection is now housed at the Penn Museum. Working with curators, keepers, and collections staff at the Penn Museum, I examined hundreds of Lamborn's objects to better understand his collecting methods and goals. In this thesis, I argue that Lamborn's collecting philosophy was influenced by early anthropological thinking as well as contemporary approaches to museum practice.

In the following chapters, I explore the beginnings of anthropology as a discipline and its context within museums, as well as Lamborn's engagement with both the discipline and the institutions during the early stages of their professionalization. Chapter 2 presents an introduction to Lamborn, his place within the social and scholarly environment of the nineteenth century, his interactions with early anthropologists and museums, and details of his collection's acquisition. Chapter 3 provides background on the American anthropological theories that Lamborn engaged with. Chapter 4 is concerned with nineteenth century museums and their new dedication to organizing and representing the world through objects. In particular, I outline the early missions of three Philadelphia museums: the Penn Museum, the Academy, and the PMA. Chapter 5 covers how anthropological theories were used to organize museum collections and interpret objects. Chapter 6 elaborates on Lamborn's unique collecting habits and goals as a private collector who worked closely with museums. This chapter also explains how he used the anthropological theories described in Chapter 3 to engage with his collections within the museum setting and his hopes for what anthropology could accomplish in such institutions. Finally, Chapter 7 explores the turn anthropology took away from museums in the early to mid-twentieth century and the subsequent return to studying objects with fresh methodologies in the late twentieth century.

Chapter 2: Introduction to Robert Henry Lamborn

Robert H. Lamborn (1835–1895) was a railroad developer who dedicated his financial resources and leisure time to furthering the development of anthropological research and understanding. Lamborn was born near Kennett Square, Pennsylvania on October 29, 1835. His uncle was a librarian at the Academy and was perhaps responsible for stimulating Lamborn's future interest in collecting a range of ethnographic, archaeological, and natural specimens. Lamborn clearly loved learning and practical applications for new knowledge. After graduating from Polytechnic College in Philadelphia, he became a student at the Royal Saxon Mining Academy of Freiberg, Germany and the School of Mines in Paris, France, eventually receiving a Ph.D. in metallurgy from the University of Giessen in Germany (Aaron 1901).

Through his profession, Lamborn contributed to revolutionary changes in the American railroad system. He served as an engineer in charge of fuel and iron rails on the Pennsylvania Railroad just as coal was displacing wood as fuel for engines, and steel was supplanting iron. He was Secretary of the American Iron and Steel Association and Secretary, Treasurer, and a director of the Mississippi and Lake Superior Railroad, the first railroad to connect the two bodies of water (Aaron 1901, 2). As General Manager of a number of western railways, Lamborn was responsible for introducing the first coke blast furnaces and Bessemer steel rails west of the Missouri River (Aaron 1901, 2). During his time as the first chemical expert for the Pennsylvania Railroad, Lamborn became friends with the famously wealthy industrialist Andrew Carnegie (Aaron 1901).

Lamborn's Charitable Goals

His friendship with Carnegie helps explain Lamborn's philanthropic relationship with museums. Carnegie commented on the wealth disparities of the late nineteenth century and the

philanthropic duties of the wealthy in an article that appeared in *North American Review* in 1889 and was later referred to as his “gospel of wealth” (Hinsley 1992, 14). Lamborn agreed with Carnegie’s sentiments, believing that large fortunes should be used for the benefit of society and dedicating his money to projects that educated and employed people (Aaron 1901). Lamborn sponsored a number of essay contests that provided monetary rewards to the top contenders because he believed in encouraging scholarly activities and at the same time recognized the necessity of generating an income. One of these was a writing contest held by the Anthropological Society of Washington, of which he was a member, for the two best essays on what made a useful citizen “from the point of view of anthropology in general” (Mason 1893). Independently, he held a writing contest on the topic “Dragon Flies vs. Mosquitoes: Can the Mosquito Pest be Mitigated?” (Lamborn 1896). Lamborn became friends with the winner of the latter contest, Carrie B. Aaron, suggesting to her such profit-raising scientific schemes as developing a stingless bee and a tailless mouse. Lamborn believed in the moral benefit of visiting museums and parks, supporting and donating to institutions that were free to the public (Aaron 1901). In particular, Lamborn promoted anthropology and anthropologically oriented museum exhibits as means of understanding the world and humankind.

Lamborn’s Participation in Scholarly Circles

Private clubs – eating, social, literary, and scientific – proliferated in the upper classes of nineteenth century Philadelphia. Lamborn was a member and frequent attendee of many of the scholarly clubs run by rich hobbyists. With plentiful financial resources and leisure time, the members of these clubs hosted presentations by well-known speakers as well as their fellows, many of whom independently developed their interests in topics ranging from natural science

and history to archaeology and geography (Van Ness 1985). Anthropology was becoming a formal discipline during Lamborn's lifetime, and he was in the midst of its development. He attended lectures at the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, the American Philosophical Society (APS), the Academy, and the Folklore Society. Participation in these clubs allowed Lamborn to learn about and discuss the latest research in topics related to anthropology, which he then shared with his peers.

Lamborn was an active contributor to the dissemination of anthropological knowledge, even using the word "anthropology" in his essay contest instructions, will (Collection 191), and letters to museum curators (Lamborn 1890a; 1893c; 1894a; 1894b). Although it originally appeared in the sixteenth century, the term *anthropology* was first applied to the discipline focused on the study of humankind in the nineteenth century and began to be used more reliably only in the second half of the century (Merriam Webster). People who wrote about what would now be considered anthropological topics primarily used the word *ethnology* during this period. The use of the term anthropology marks the formation of the discipline as a far-reaching project encompassing social, physical, and archaeological researches.

Lamborn embraced the scope of anthropology; he had an extensive library—2,500 of his books now belong to the University of Pennsylvania—that included works on anthropology and archaeology, such as *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* (1848) by Ephraim George Squier and Edwin Davis, a seminal work of early American anthropology (Hinsley 1981). Lamborn was proud to contribute to the development of anthropology as a vice president of the University of Pennsylvania's Archaeological Association, the fundraising arm of the precursor to the Penn Museum,ⁱⁱ the Department of Archaeology and Paleontology. Lamborn likely became involved in the association because of his friend, Daniel Brinton, who was appointed by the

University of Pennsylvania in 1886 as the first anthropology professor at an American university (Conn 1998).

Lamborn's Contacts

Lamborn's correspondence and known travels demonstrate that he interacted with a number of important figures in early anthropology. Lamborn, along with his friend and curator at the Penn Museum, Stewart Culin, met with the anthropologist Frank Hamilton Cushing at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago to discuss Cushing's famous work among the Zuni of New Mexico (Hinsley and Wilcox 2016). Culin designed exhibits at the 1893 Fair, where he began his lifelong professional partnership with Cushing (Fowler and Wilcox 2003). Some of Lamborn's objects were also on display in the archaeology exhibits at that Fair (Report of the Committee on Awards 1901). Lamborn attended the Fair as a visitor as well, remarking on the effectiveness of the anthropology exhibits in a letter to the famous British statistician and physical anthropologist Francis Galton, who was also Charles Darwin's cousin (Lamborn 1893c). Lamborn might even have helped Culin with his displays at the Fair for Lamborn had also been United States Commissioner representing Colorado at the 1878 World's Fair in Paris, perhaps because of his experience in the West establishing towns along the railroad and collecting as he went (Lamborn 1894).

Lamborn was familiar with methods of display as evidenced through his extensive communication with Culin about the labeling and organization of his materials exhibited in the Penn Museum's rooms of Furness Library (now Fisher Fine Arts Library) (Lamborn 5 December; 1893a; 1894a; n.d.). Lamborn also had anthropological displays at the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art (now the PMA). Though his materials filled an entire room at that museum (Figure 2), he seemed specifically interested in illustrating Etruscan civilization

through bucchero typologies (Philadelphia Inquirer 1894). Lamborn wrote frequently to Dalton Dorr, the first director and curator at the Pennsylvania Museum, about methods of properly organizing educational displays.

Despite all of this work and communication with professionals, Lamborn is not known as an early scholar of anthropology. His friend Carrie B. Aaron remarked that he might have been better known if his interests had been more focused and less broad (Aaron 1901). Additionally, Lamborn did not publish or give presentations. Rather, he dedicated his efforts and resources towards discussion among acquaintances and to educational museum exhibits made for a wide audience.

Lamborn Compared to Other Collectors

Lamborn differed from both private and museum collectors while still resembling them in some ways; in many ways he was unusual. Current scholarship on collecting focuses on art collectors; these collectors typically had niche interests: sculpture, painting, ceramics, Native American artifacts, or Americana. Examples of more diversified Philadelphian collectors include John G. Johnson, who bought many styles of painting, mundane works as well as masterpieces (Thompson 2017), Robert H. Coleman, who filled his home with antiquities, and Henry C. Gibson, who displayed paintings, sculptures, and antiquities in his house (Brownlee 2017). Current scholars tend to designate collectors as “serious” and important only if they purchased fine art on the European art market, a phenomenon that became increasingly common in the late 1880s in America (Curran 2016, 3). While people were collecting historical and cultural objects during the same period, this practice remains understudied. Better-known collectors who did buy archaeological and ethnological material, including Francis C. Macauley, Samuel S. Haldeman,

and William S. Vaux, differed from Lamborn in their propensity for choosing objects based on aesthetic qualities and their tendency to keep their collections at home.

Francis C. Macauley (1844–1896) was an early supporter of the Penn Museum as a Vice President of the Archaeological Association. He was also a member of Philadelphia’s Folklore Society, for which he gave a talk on the folklore of Italy – where he lived for a time (“The Folk Lore of Italians” 1890). Macauley donated almost two thousand objects to the Penn Museum, including pieces from Ohio and New Jersey in the United States, Mexico, Armenia, Peru, and Anglo-Saxon mounds in Europe. He also left five thousand dollars to the Archaeological Association to be used in archaeological excavations in America (Times 1896a). Macauley is unusual in his particular interest in North America, which was initially underrepresented in archaeological work because of the higher standing of Classical and other Old World civilizations’ excavations with their monumental architecture, sculpture, and associated texts. Macauley, however, is better known for his time spent in Italy, where his home in Florence was full of Italian art, French and Italian miniatures, hundreds of antique intaglios and cameos, clocks, mirrors, bronzes, watches, jewelry, Florentine and Venetian glass, rare Oriental and European porcelains, furniture from old Italian palaces, candelabra, rugs, tapestries, hangings, brocade, and lace—“a remarkable collection that would adorn a museum” (Times 1897). However, most of Macauley’s collection was not displayed in museums, unlike Lamborn’s objects, which were available to the public in several museums. Additionally, Macauley is reported as collecting for the Penn Museum on his trips through Italy, but he was helped by archaeologists of that country, including Professor Henry H. Giglioli of Florence, Professor Belluci of Perugia, and Professor Giuseppe Pitre of Palermo (Times 1896b). These other individuals acquired most of the items in Macauley’s collection, unlike Lamborn who was more

personally involved in creating his collection, purchasing or ordering particular objects to fill specific gaps in his assemblage.

Like Lamborn, Samuel Stehman Haldeman (1812–1880) had a large collection of Native American material. Haldeman, a professor of natural science at the University of Pennsylvania, purchased widely and dabbled in archaeology. He excavated a prehistoric cave site near his house in order to obtain more Native American “relics” that he kept in a literal cabinet of curiosities in his home, where he could show it to family and friends (Lesley 1881). After his death, his wife donated his collection of archaeological and ethnographic objects to the Academy. In short, Haldeman differed from Lamborn because he obtained these items to display in his home, where they were available to others only by invitation, rather than in a museum available to the public.

Although William Sansom Vaux (1811–1882) did not have a formal education, his considerable fortune allowed him to establish a reputation for himself as a mineralogist, becoming a member of the Academy in 1834, an unpaid curator in 1838, and Vice President from 1860 until his death (Law 1885). A member of APS and a founder of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, Vaux had a large collection of Etruscan pottery, Peruvian mound artifacts, North American ethnographic objects, and Roman glass, which he probably collected on his travels, in addition to his renowned mineralogical collection. Unlike Lamborn, Vaux seems to have created his collection for his own enjoyment and aesthetic pleasure rather than for any specific museum purpose (Smoot 2015). Upon his death, Vaux’s minerals went to the Academy and his Etruscan pottery to the Pennsylvania Museum; the rest of his collection was left for his brother to distribute. Vaux’s large collection of Roman glass stayed in the family until 1986, when it was donated to the Penn Museum by two of Vaux’s grandnephews. Vaux’s focus on

aesthetic concerns is striking when compared to Lamborn's educational goals. Vaux's mineral collection was created with an "emphasis on the aesthetic appreciation of minerals, many selected for their great beauty" (Peck 2012) and his Etruscan pottery is part of a larger collection of Mediterranean vessels, all described as in good condition and aesthetically pleasing (Smoot 2015). The value Vaux placed on aesthetics contrasts with Lamborn's clearly typological collection of Etruscan bucchero.

Macauley, Haldeman, and Vaux exemplify the habits of standard Victorian collectors, in direct contrast with Lamborn. Most collectors purchased items for the pleasure of filling their large houses with curious and beautiful objects. Occasionally they would open their homes to invited visitors or donate parts of their collection to museums as they ran out of space in their houses. Few collectors made large donations to museums before their deaths, instead leaving large bequests to museums in their wills. Many of these donations came with strict conditions concerning the display of their collections as a group.

Lamborn defies all of these characterizations. Lamborn never had a house that he filled with beautiful and rare pieces. Instead, he constantly traveled, living in luxury hotels in Philadelphia, New York, and Washington D.C., listing his mailing address as his railroad business office. He sent objects to museums as soon as he purchased them, lest they remain in storage, unstudied (Lamborn 1889a). Additionally, Lamborn was not attached to any one institution. Rather, Lamborn gave objects "on deposit" to the Metropolitan Museum of Art (the Met), the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), the Pennsylvania Museum, the Academy, and the fledgling Penn Museum. "On deposit" was a more informal designation than a loan, allowing the owner to remove objects from the museum as he or she wished. Lamborn used this designation to his advantage, moving objects between museums to best complement each

institution's collection. Additionally, Lamborn was actively involved in the informational aspect of his displays, writing frequent letters to museum curators about adding or removing certain pieces and labels.

How Lamborn Collected

Lamborn purchased objects on business trips, on vacations, and from dealers. He did not keep precise contextual records, sometimes noting the state but more often just the country of origin. This was not a result of carelessness, but rather a reflection of his use of objects as evidence for broad cultural trends and developments. To Lamborn, general dates and cultural areas were more important than precise locations in conducting anthropological studies.

His railroad work took him throughout the United States and into Mexico. It was likely on business trips that he purchased Native American objects in Idaho, Colorado, New Mexico, California, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. While surveying for the railroad in Mexico in 1881 and 1883, Lamborn bought colonial Mexican art, later writing a book about the paintings he purchased and researched in order to fill what he felt was a glaring gap in art history (Lamborn 1891). Lamborn also purchased archaeological materials in Mexico and brought back items that were found during the construction of the railroad (Lamborn 1891, 33).

Lamborn also purchased items while on vacation and visiting friends (Lamborn Collection, Register). He traveled to Europe in 1875 and 1888, visiting Italy, France, Germany, Jerusalem, and possibly other countries. Lamborn attended and purchased objects at events such as commemorative celebrations and World's Fairs; for example, we know he purchased objects from Australia at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 and a Native American drum at an 1871 Fourth of July celebration in Minnesota. He bought a few items during his time at Niagara Falls,

including a piece of wood that he wrote came from the Cave of the Winds. He spent some time in Florida, visiting St. Augustine in 1881, 1891, and 1892, and the St. John's River in 1877.ⁱⁱⁱ St. Augustine was a popular vacation destination for the upper class, especially after Henry Flagler established a railway system to the city and constructed several luxury hotels (Martin 1949). In St. Augustine, Fort Marion was used in the 1870s to house Native American prisoners who produced works of art, including well-known drawings in ledger books, that were sold to tourists (Petersen, 1971; Wierzbowski 2003). This might have established St. Augustine's reputation as a place to obtain Native American material, which in turn may have incentivized dealers to establish businesses there. We know Lamborn purchased a batch of Alaskan material in St. Augustine, likely from a dealer given the materials' geographical distance from their origin (Accession Ledger).

Lamborn and his friends exchanged material across the United States. His friend Helen Hunt Jackson^{iv} sent him at least four baskets made by Mission Indians in California. At a time when travel across the North American continent could take days or weeks, it would have been efficient for people to exchange materials by mail. One instance of this can be seen in a letter Lamborn wrote in 1881 from St. Augustine to Dr. Joseph Leidy, anatomist, paleontologist, geologist, zoologist, botanist and curator at the Academy. Lamborn wrote to tell Leidy that his friend Mrs. Spear had been making a collection of natural science specimens in Florida, destined for her home in Burlington, Vermont, and would be happy to do some collecting for Leidy in places he had not been able to visit. Additionally, Lamborn had a number of minerals in his collection that are noted to have been collected by Leidy. It seems that Lamborn also exchanged material with Haldeman, the collector mentioned earlier, as a few of Lamborn's objects are recorded as having been collected by Haldeman.

Like other collectors of his day, Lamborn also purchased a large amount of material from antiquities dealers. He purchased a bronze object from Syria from a dealer named Michel Farah and archaeological material from Ancón, Peru from George W. Kiefer. Kiefer, a Prussian-German immigrant, was an antiquities dealer who arrived in Peru in 1880 and sold material he excavated from Ancón until his move to the United States in 1889 (Steinberg 2007). Kiefer and his New York agent Captain Paul Boyton sold materials to other dealers as well as directly to collectors, including S. F. Baird, the first curator of the U.S. National Museum (now the Smithsonian) (Steinberg 2007).

Stone tools, Mexican archaeological material, and casts of tools from places as far ranging as Oceania and Paleolithic archaeological sites in Europe in Lamborn's collection are marked with labels from the French dealer Eugene Boban. Boban (1834–1908) traveled back and forth between Mexico and Paris from 1857 until his death. He began selling antiquities upon his initial arrival in Mexico, but his business likely increased after he was named archaeological consultant to Napoleon III's Commission Scientifique in 1865. A selection of his pre-Columbian artifacts was exhibited at the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris. When the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in Paris opened in 1882, Boban's pre-Columbian Mexican material formed the basis of the museum's premier New World archaeological collection (Walsh and Hunt 2013). Boban was also familiar with Paul Broca, the French physician, anatomist, and anthropologist famous for his studies of brain anatomy; Boban attended his lectures and sold him artifacts and skulls (Walsh and Hunt 2013). Material sold by Boban also made its way into the collections of the Smithsonian and British Museum, as well as the Trocadéro (now Musée de l'Homme) and the Penn Museum. Towards the end of his life, Boban's reputation was damaged

after it was discovered that some of his antiquities were fakes. However, by that time, thousands of his objects were housed in museums around the world.

Lamborn had a large collection of minerals and gem models that he purchased from dealers including Bryce M. Wright (1850–1896) and George L. English (1864–1944). Wright was based in London and sold ethnographic and fossil rarities as well as cut and uncut gemstones from his shop, described as a “Mineralogical and Geological Museum” in his copious advertisements (Cooper 2006). English opened his mineralogy company in Philadelphia in 1887, adding a New York branch in 1888 and a Chicago branch in 1893. His company had a steady supply of mineral specimens from his worldwide contacts and his extensive travels to Europe, Canada, and throughout the United States (Bates 1905).

Summary

Lamborn owned over five thousand objects that he kept at a number of different museums. Their placement was determined by how he viewed each museum’s collections and the role each object could play in the broader narrative of cultural development. Lamborn concentrated his collection of Mexican antiquities at the AMNH and the Academy. There was once a number of Lamborn’s Native American objects at the Met. At the Pennsylvania Museum, dedicated to the industrial arts, Lamborn deposited textiles, tapestries, paintings, and ceramics from all over the world. To the Penn Museum—the first that Lamborn was involved with that was dedicated specifically to anthropology and archaeology—he gave Classical pottery, Native American ethnographic material, historic objects, and casts of Paleolithic tools, among other categories. At each museum, Lamborn used contemporary anthropological theories and his own unique insights to arrange his exhibits.

Chapter 3: Timeline of Anthropology: From Morgan to Boas

This chapter describes American anthropology during Lamborn's time, from the theories he used to understand his objects to the scholars he knew or read. Such a background is necessary for understanding how his collection was formed and used. Lamborn always remained cognizant of ongoing developments in the discipline. Aware of the complexities of studying culture, Lamborn used the theories discussed in this chapter to flexibly design his museum exhibits.

Between 1840 and 1870, social, political, and academic developments set the stage for the establishment of a new discipline concerned with the physical and cultural history of humankind: anthropology. European expansion had led to a newfound awareness of different peoples in Asia, South America, Africa, and the Oceanic Islands. Discoveries in the realms of prehistory, geology, and biology created a need for a discipline that would incorporate the scope of these new findings as they related to human history. Emerging evolutionary theory formed a new basis and stimulus for understanding human change and variation, both biological and cultural, through processes dictated by natural laws (Voget 1975). Charles Darwin kindled an interest in forming a new discipline studying the origins and development of man (Voget 1975). Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859), describing the process and mechanisms of change in the natural world, profoundly influenced anthropology's goals and methods in explaining human diversity and cultural change (Voget 1975; Hinsley 1981; Pearce 1992; Jenkins 1994). In order to describe societal progression, chronologies were established with new archaeological findings.

Inspired as it was by natural science and humanistic reasoning, early anthropology was rigorously scientific with its emphasis on objective evidence and systematic methods. Humanists of the time believed that human history was subject to natural laws and could be explained with

reason rather than religion. Defending rationalism and empiricism over dogma and superstition, the French positivist philosopher Auguste Comte asserted that “there are laws...for the development of the human species as for the falling of a stone” (Voget 1975, 138). Thus, nineteenth century anthropology was viewed as a positivist science, like physics or biology, that could catalogue and explain human diversity objectively and concretely through sensory experience and reason.

Evolutionism and the Psychic Unity of Mankind

During this formative period of anthropology, the field was dominated by untrained “armchair” theorists, such as Lewis Henry Morgan and Edward Burnett Tylor, who maintained a positivist, progressive, and hierarchical view of the world in a theoretical orientation referred to as *classical cultural evolutionism* (in recognition of the impact of Darwin’s theory of evolution). These founders combined professional careers in law, medicine, and economics with anthropological theorizing. Their work tried to explain both how they, European Americans, reached their current position and how to describe other peoples in relation to themselves.

Morgan (1818–1881) was one of the most influential theorists of the nineteenth century. His book, *Ancient Society* (1877), describes the stages of human civilization as he saw them, building on his ethnographies of Iroquois kinship systems, originally published in *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871). Morgan subdivided the philosopher Montesquieu’s (1748) categories of savagery, barbarism, and civilization into three stages—lower, middle, and upper—each characterized by specific technological advances (Morgan 1877; Seymour-Smith 1986).^v Morgan postulated that the stages of technological development were associated with a sequence of cultural forms best described by patterns governing family

structure (e.g., incest, marriage patterns, kinship structures). Although not all anthropologists subscribed to such a broad view of the impact of technological development, Morgan was extremely influential. His ideas were further developed by later evolutionists and signify how important technological development, and the objects that represented that development, were to early anthropologists.

Tylor was another evolutionist who took a particular attitude towards the different developmental stages of human civilization, developing and promulgating the theory of the *psychic unity of mankind*. Although it is a subtle difference, some anthropologists, including Tylor and Lamborn's friend Daniel Brinton, thought it was important to study humanity as a whole and argued that all people were equally capable while ordering them in a series of developmental stages. Rather than merely ranking different societies, these scholars believed that various societies achieved different stages of development due to environmental circumstances. Tylor subscribed to the eighteenth century rational Enlightenment belief that all peoples could progress. Thus, he argued fiercely against the idea of degeneration, which explained perceived differences in societal development as the cause of deterioration rather than delayed progress, and instead supported the psychic unity of mankind. This theory held that all peoples, primitive and civilized, had the same basic capacity for cultural change because everyone shared the same fundamental psychological and cognitive make-up (Erickson and Murphy 2008). Because all people shared the same history of development, it followed that living people in an earlier, or lower, stage of civilization represented European Americans' own past. In other words, "savages" were not degraded descendants of civilized ancestors, but rather people in an earlier stage of development, with the capacity to improve.

In *Primitive Culture* (1871), Tylor described the scientific process of studying culture, of seeking the natural laws that were believed to underpin human thought and action by looking at objects. Tylor (1896) coined the term *object lessons* because he believed that objects were critical for illustrating stages of civilization as seen in present and past societies. He encouraged students to study materials as primary source documents “which no verbal description can attain to” in their efforts to understand human development (as quoted in Hicks 2010, 33). In particular, careful consideration of the objects possessed by a society, rather than the ones the society lacked, was important. As Brinton (1890, 101) said, “the possession of a given art, as the bow and arrow, or smelting iron, does not lift a people;” societies as a whole cannot be arranged in a hierarchy on the basis of one technology or skill. Rather, Brinton argued that the past should be studied through the appearance and development of new technologies, rather than the presence of any one technology, because such changes illustrate the course of history. Technology can represent certain social and historical developments that highlight the “universality of motive which unites all into one brotherhood,” the central tenet of the psychic unity of mankind (Brinton 1890, 73).

While using progressive stages of development to inform his work, Tylor believed that peoples advanced at different rates because of different opportunities and constraints, environmental and otherwise. Relatively “undeveloped” peoples constituted what Tylor called *survivals*, providing clues to the past as cultural vestiges (Erickson and Murphy 2008, 52). This idea became critical to comparative ethnology, which compared cultures to make analogies between past and present societies and was one of the primary drivers of early anthropology. Many people, Lamborn among them, were interested in other cultures precisely because they were thought to illuminate the scholars’ own past.

Independent Invention and Diffusionism

As the nineteenth century advanced, anthropologists attempted to define the methods, terms, and central theories of the burgeoning discipline. Two theoretical concepts are especially important to understand as they provide opposing views of the development and spread of new technologies, a topic at the heart of early anthropology and one that formed the basis for museum collections. The first concept is the doctrine of *independent invention*, an expression of Tylor's belief that all peoples could be culturally creative, and if given the same opportunities, different peoples could invent the same artifact independently. The contrasting explanation is *diffusionism*, the principle that inventions appear only once and are then acquired by other groups through successive borrowing or population movement (Erickson and Murphy 2008). While most anthropologists, such as Cushing and Culin, felt the need to endorse only one theory, people more tangential to the discipline, like Lamborn, could more fluidly utilize each theory as they saw fit. These theories and their interpretations of cultural change strongly influenced anthropologically curated museum displays, and in turn, collecting. This impact will be discussed further below.

The work of Cushing and Culin illustrates the prevailing debate on cultural change among anthropological professionals of the period. After getting to know Cushing at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Culin, a curator at the newly formed Penn Museum, worked extensively with him on the anthropology of games. Because Cushing perceived similarities between the Zuni games from his research in the southwestern United States and those from eastern Asia in Culin's collection, the two devised a model of independent evolution, a project supported by Brinton (Oppenheim 2016, 77). Their project serves as an example of the comparative method and standard scientific practice for evolutionary anthropology (Oppenheim

2016). Culin put together a series of games from across both hemispheres that showed spatial gaps, thus demonstrating that diffusion, or transmission from one culture to the next, could not explain the appearance of similar games around the world (Oppenheim 2016, 79). Because he felt diffusionism was “anti-American” in its description of New World cultures as derivative from Old World cultures, Culin wanted to establish a relationship between the cultures of the West and the East that was “based not on historical accidents of movement but on identical laws and regularities of civilizational development” (Oppenheim 2016, 79). Thus the positivist scientific search for laws was implicated in nationalist agendas. However, Culin was not fully committed to the theory of independent evolution and relied on Cushing and his work on the development of arrows for theoretical support. In a letter to Cushing in 1894, a year before publishing his book *Korean Games*, Culin privately expressed his indecision (Oppenheim 2016, 79). Even with his book shortly to be published, Culin could not decide which theory he wanted to pursue.

Cushing, on the other hand, was firm in his belief in independent invention. As he maintained in his essay “The Arrow,” following the concept of the psychic unity of mankind, anthropologists can, and should, select specific examples of technology or art, not as “isolated phenomena, or as mere examples of racial similarities and dissimilarities...but rather...as illustrations...of the laws and principles which have governed man’s development under all sorts of circumstances and in every age and land” (Cushing 1895, 309). Viewing all of humankind as one entity under the same laws of development negated the need to rank cultures or races as derivative or otherwise.

Unfortunately for Culin, Cushing died suddenly in 1900. Left without the academic backing he required, Culin became theoretically unmoored and ended up arguing a theory of

counter-diffusionism – essentially, that trans-Pacific similarities in games and arrows indicated that these technologies *did* have a single origin, but in America, not Asia or Europe, making the Asian examples in his collections “historically secondary and conceptually subordinate” (Oppenheim 2016, 91). Culin’s approach is criticized as indecision rather than flexibility by Oppenheim (2016) because Culin was a publishing member of the discipline, someone who people worked with and responded to at a time when scholars were pressured to pick one theory and defend it. Theoretical positioning had serious implications for individual anthropologists’ work and career trajectories, as well as methods of museum display (e.g., the debate between Franz Boas and Otis Mason discussed in Chapter 5).

Physical Anthropology

Nineteenth century anthropology was primarily concerned with human cultural and physical development. Scholars studied the progressive change of cultures over time through object analysis and examined the diversity of people in different geographical regions using physical measurements. A reliance on natural history as a model of proper science, along with the publication of Darwin’s theory of evolution meant that anthropology was firmly evolutionary in its approach during this period. Following this conceptual framework, European-American scholars saw themselves at the apex of the developmental hierarchy with all others below them on the lower rungs of the evolutionary ladder. While most anthropologists focused on developing evolutionary explanations for cultural diversity, a subgroup of scholars focused on the early development of physical anthropology. Comprehensive learner that he was, Lamborn also studied this topic, which is reflected in some aspects of his collection.

Lamborn included biological variation in his suite of interests. It is likely that he was familiar with the work of the Philadelphia-based founder of physical anthropology, Samuel G.

Morton. Morton published his craniometric studies detailing what he understood to be the five races of mankind in *Crania Americana, An Inquiry into the Distinctive Characteristics of the Aboriginal Race of America* (1839) and *Crania Aegyptiaca, or Observations on Egyptian Ethnography, Derived from Anatomy, History, and the Monuments* (1844) (Renschler and Monge 2008). Lamborn focused on another aspect of human variability—eye color. He ordered a set of glass eyes made by Amand Schlehennried for the purposes of studying “racial distinctions and in identifying temperament,” because eyes “add interest to such ethnological and allied studies” (Lamborn 1894a). This understanding of eye color was an established opinion within anthropology. In *Races and Peoples*, Brinton (1890, 7) listed “color of the eyes” alongside topics like “craniology” as important for understanding differences and similarities among “individuals and races.”

Anthropologists thought variation in human bodies could be described scientifically through physical differences in the way that cultures were through objects. In 1884, the British anthropologist, biologist, and statistician Francis Galton established an anthropometric lab with which he traversed England measuring everything from heads, noses, arms, and legs to color of eyes and hair, breathing power, reaction time, height, and weight (Newman 1954; Kenna 1964). Lamborn wrote to Galton in 1890, expressing his wish for establishing a similar laboratory in the United States, presumably at the University of Pennsylvania, and asking Galton what instruments he should buy (Lamborn 1890a). Lamborn also wrote to Galton in 1893 about the representation of anthropology at the Chicago World’s Fair, where several rooms were “dedicated to instruments for measuring and recording human faculty” (Lamborn 1893c). In the same letter, he asked Galton to contribute to the definition of the “Most Useful Citizen” for his 1893 essay

contest because he wanted essayists to consider anthropological measurements as well as psychology, mental traits, patriotism, charity, and other qualities (Lamborn 1893c).

Despite the tendency to divide the world's people into races, there was no clear consensus within anthropology concerning the meaning of *race*. For instance, the 1892–1893 annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology stated that although races were defined by things like skull shape, nose shape, and eye color, such physical (somatologic) features “do not indicate affinity in arts and motives, ideas and sentiments, and other essentially human characteristics” (Powell 1896, xxviii). John Wesley Powell, Director of the Bureau of Ethnology, Otis T. Mason, curator at the U.S. National Museum, and Brinton all wrote that human society could not be divided into races that were meaningful for the subject of cultural progression (Stocking 1994). The concept of the psychic unity of mankind that they subscribed to directly contradicted the idea that people could be divided into races with varying capabilities (Voget 1975). In fact, Broca (1863) said that “all the human races, in spite of their diversity, form a great whole, a great harmonic group, and it is important to examine the group in its ensemble” in order to understand the development of mankind (as quoted in Voget 1975, 134). This theoretical camp supported monogenism, or the idea of one origin for all the world's people, as opposed to Morton's support of polygenism, or the idea of multiple origins for humankind (Fowler and Wilcox 2003).^{vi}

Summary

In conclusion, the dominant perspective within nineteenth century anthropology was that different peoples must be understood as representatives of different stages of cultural development rather than different races (Hinsley 1981). As W. J. McGee (1898, 318) wrote, although man used to be classified by race, a more sophisticated “ethnology... classified

[humans] by mind rather than by body, by culture rather than by color.” Therefore there was not a simple one-to-one mapping between physicality and mentality; every person was considered equally capable of learning, but cultural differences existed due to matters of circumstance, environment, and resources. So-called primitive peoples represented earlier stages of civilization that Europeans had once occupied, and many anthropologists thought that they could and would naturally progress to reach civilization. Before that happened, it was considered the duty of anthropologists to record their lives in museum exhibits, as snapshots of the past.

Chapter 4: History of Museums

Museums have their origins in cabinets of curiosities—personal collections of oddities—but the mission of museums has changed dramatically over time. In the era after the Civil War, American museums began to strive for systematic, scientific, all-encompassing exhibitions of the order of the world. In the second half of the nineteenth century, museums were established in every major city in the United States as symbols of civic pride and rational, scientific understanding of the world. As Edward Drinker Cope, a paleontologist from Philadelphia, summed up in 1876, “As the middle ages were the period of cathedrals, so the present age is one of colossal museums, and of an extensive development of knowledge of the sensible creation” (Cope 1876, 176). During this time dozens of museums were founded including Harvard University’s Peabody Museum (1866), the AMNH (1869), the Met (1870), Boston’s Museum of Fine Arts (1870), the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art (1876), the Art Institute of Chicago (1879), the Detroit Institute of Arts (1885), and the Penn Museum (1887).

Encyclopedic Institutions

Although ostensibly concerned with specific topics such as natural history, art, industrial art, or the new discipline of anthropology, each of these museums had encyclopedic collecting policies. Broadly defined, encyclopedic museums are institutions with large and varied collections of objects from many regions, cultures, and time periods (Cuno 2011). The museums founded in the second half of the nineteenth century constituted encyclopedic projects under the belief that “objects, systematically arranged, could make perfect sense of the world” (Conn 1998, 31). The encyclopedic project is thus one that inherently aims to contain the entire world in a condensed and systematic way (Cuno 2011).

Collecting and acquisition policies supported the encyclopedic aims of these new museums. As new institutions, many were desperate for pieces to display and, having been brought up with Victorian principles, museum professionals were obsessed with collecting for interrelated reasons concerning the display of wealth, power, knowledge, and influence. Museums built to house collections first displayed at World's Fairs, like the Field Museum in Chicago and the Pennsylvania Museum, had even stronger encyclopedic tendencies. World's Fairs served as encapsulations of humankind and representations of the host nation's power and control, themes that were embodied in the museums that were established to maintain the Fairs' collections (Rydell 2011). In the nineteenth century, people believed that museums and the scientific concepts that guided them could present the rational order of the world in systematic, encyclopedic displays that fulfilled the Enlightenment ideal of universal knowledge (Conn 1998; Giberti 2002; Cuno 2011). Because objects served as embodiments of achievement, social aspiration, measures of status, and the means of knowledge production, museums were centers for the production of anthropological knowledge (Bmizl 1996) (see Chapter 5).

Importance of the Donor

This period was the era of the amateur. Before the professionalization of the museum industry or scholarly disciplines like anthropology, a large part of museum holdings came from private donors whose own interests and priorities shaped museum collections and the frameworks by which they were, and often still are, understood (Curran 2016). As Laurence Coleman (1939, 31), director of the American Association of Museums wrote, "The donor's hand has done much—probably more than anything else—to shape museums." This is partly because newly established museums were willing to accept large numbers of objects

indiscriminately and did not have professional staff trained in collection and curation. Museums attempted to collect systematically by sending curators across the continent to collect everything possible. For example, between 1879 and 1885, the Stevenson and Mindeleff expeditions of the Smithsonian collected 12,609 artifacts from Zuni and 11,006 objects from the Hopi villages alone (Parezo 1986, 15). The alternative for these early museums was ordering large batches of objects from people who wanted adventure and travel but were uninterested in museum curation (Hinsley 1981; Parezo 1986). Although his collection may appear extensive and unwieldy, Lamborn had more in common with modern museum curators than the people collecting for museums in the nineteenth century. He thoughtfully focused his attentions and purchased items depending on where he saw gaps in scholarly knowledge and in his own collection (see Chapter 6).

Philadelphia Museums

In order to understand the collecting policies of the three museums in Philadelphia that Lamborn copiously donated to, I offer a brief history of each. At present, most of Lamborn's Philadelphia-based collection is housed in the Penn Museum because of an informal agreement in the early twentieth century between the directors of the Penn Museum, the Pennsylvania Museum, and the Academy to draw clear boundaries for their collections so as to avoid overlap and competition for artifacts and visitors (Conn 1998). Each museum director agreed to focus on the areas where their collections were strongest, consequently lending material back and forth to accomplish the division of control (Kimball 1929). For example, in exchange for a large loan of Classical ceramics, the Penn Museum lent Islamic artifacts to the Pennsylvania Museum (Dohan 1935; Conn 1998). Multiple exchanges took place as each institution refined their mission over time, requiring a reassessment of collections formed in the years of encyclopedic accumulation.

The Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art (PMA)

The Pennsylvania Museum opened in May 1877 in Memorial Hall, one of the buildings constructed for the 1876 Centennial Exposition held in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Museums and World's Fair exhibitions had symbiotic relationships; in contemporary publications, the 1876 exhibition was referred to as a museum and in turn, museums were referred to as "permanent exhibitions" (Giberti 2002, 181). In 1872, as planning for the Centennial Exposition was just beginning, it was proposed that a museum, called the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, be formed around a collection of items from the future exhibition. This museum was to be modeled on the South Kensington Museum in London (now the Victoria and Albert Museum), the core collection of which was derived from the Great Exhibition of 1851. *Industrial art* was defined as the application of art to industry, using historical forms as inspiration for the development of artistic taste and skill. It was thought that exposing workers to industrial art would benefit the American economy just as it did the English economy during a time when exhibitions and museums were creating a "visually oriented consumer culture" (Giberti 2002, 195). Displays at museums, World's Fairs, and department stores emphasized the increased value society placed on visual data for both scholarly and economic purposes (Giberti 2002).

The South Kensington Museum in London and the Louvre in Paris represented two different methods of using art that required different display styles, collection policies, and audience interactions. Because the Pennsylvania Museum followed the South Kensington model (Zhou 2015), in contrast to the Met, which focused on exhibiting fine art donated by wealthy benefactors after the Louvre model, the museum struggled with organizing a coherent collection out of the many objects purchased and donated from the Fair (Conn 1998; Giberti 2002). This initial eclectic collection established a precedent for diverse acquisitions, and in 1911 the

museum *Bulletin* ruefully reflected that “the policy of the Museum had been one of accumulation only,” which now required a serious rethinking of their mission and removal of nonconforming objects, including archaeological, anthropological, and duplicate objects; this included most of Lamborn’s collection, especially his hundreds of Etruscan bucchero vases (Giberti 2002, 198). As the Pennsylvania Museum continued to refine its mission, the Penn Museum accepted loans of large numbers of objects still housed there today, including Lamborn’s collection of Mediterranean pottery.

The transformation of the Pennsylvania Museum from one of industrial art, modeled on South Kensington, to one of fine art, modeled on the Louvre, was made complete with its move in 1928 to a new neoclassical building and its rechristening as the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Conn 1998). In the new building, the director, Fiske Kimball, separated the collection by displaying the best works on the main floor and keeping the more minor works on the ground level in study rooms (Giberti 2002). Thus, Kimball effectively separated scholars from the casual museum visitor, a new trend at the time.

The Academy of Natural Sciences

The Academy of Natural Sciences was founded in 1812 as a research group with funding for expeditions. From the beginning, the Academy collected and accepted gifts of archaeological, anthropological, and ethnological artifacts as reflected in the lists published in the first volumes of the Academy’s journal (Peck 2012). The Academy opened exhibits to the public for the first time in 1828. In 1876, having outgrown its previous buildings, it moved to its present location at 19th Street and the Benjamin Franklin Parkway, becoming a “modern museum” with proper exhibition areas (“History of the Academy”). Curator at the Academy starting in 1873, Edward

Drinker Cope believed that museums should constantly accumulate new objects in the encyclopedic fashion, writing “an institution without new collections is a stomach without food” (Cope 1876, 174). By 1871, some Native American material had been moved to other institutions due to a lack of space (Peck 2012); however, the museum continued to accept material of an anthropological nature, as evidenced by the donation of Lamborn’s collection of Mexican antiquities during this time. It was not until 1928 that the museum dramatically redefined their mission and consequently reshaped their collection.

In 1928, Charles Cadwalader was named to the newly created position of Managing Director of the Academy, and he promptly set about remaking the museum into one focused on natural history. In March 1929, archaeological and ethnographic material, including the Vaux and Haldeman collections, was sent to storage in an old building owned by the Academy in order to make room for dioramas of taxidermied animals (Wardle 1929). Clarence B. Moore recognized what was happening and sent the large amount of Native American material he had collected and excavated to the Museum of the American Indian, run by George Gustav Heye in New York, where Moore believed it would be properly cared for (Wardle 1929). Lamborn’s collection of Mexican antiquities was mistakenly sent to New York along with Moore’s material. Attention was drawn to these events by the Assistant Curator of the Department of Archaeology at the Academy, Harriet Newell Wardle, a museum professional dedicated to material culture and the belief that technology contained evidence for various phases of history. She called the discarding of the anthropological material “the greatest scandal there has ever been in the history of American archaeology and ethnology” (Wardle 1929, 121; see also Mason 1964). This treatment of anthropological material was seen as a great disservice to both the city and the discipline. Wardle resigned and raised public and private protests, resulting in the return of some

of the anthropological collection to Philadelphia in May 1929 (Wardle 1929). Much of this material, including Lamborn's collection, was promptly lent to the Penn Museum, formally becoming a part of the permanent collection in 1997.

The Penn Museum

As one of the few museums dedicated to anthropology, the Penn Museum had the enormous task of telling the history of all mankind through objects, and thus was deemed the proper place to house material that did not fit the refined missions of the Pennsylvania Museum and the Academy. In fact, the Penn Museum's scope was so large that a board member, C. Howard Colket, resigned in 1894 because he felt that the museum was attempting to cover an amount of information better suited to an institution like the British Museum (Darnell 1970, 82).

The University of Pennsylvania was one of the first institutions of higher education to provide support for anthropological work. Provost William Pepper led the charge by hiring Near Eastern philologist Morris Jastrow, Babylonian archaeologist Herman Hilprecht, and anthropologist Brinton in 1886; these appointments were meant to facilitate the establishment of a museum (Darnell 1970, 81). In 1889, Pepper established a Department of Archaeology and Paleontology at the University. That same year, an autonomous fundraising group called the Archaeological Association was formed, with Lamborn as one of the vice presidents (Pezzati 2012). This group helped pay for the University's expedition to the ancient city of Nippur, the materials from which stimulated the establishment of a museum. The collection was first kept in College Hall, at the center of the University campus, while Furness Library was being completed nearby (Madeira 1964). The collections were installed in dedicated rooms within Furness Library in 1890, only to overflow the space by 1892. This prompted Pepper and Sara Yorke Stevenson,

curator of the Egyptian and Mediterranean Sections, to begin plans for a separate museum building (Madeira 1964). The museum opened as the Free Museum of Science and Art in 1899, but was consistently referred to as the University Museum, which formally became its name in 1913. After a few more name changes, the museum eventually became the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology or the Penn Museum (Pezzati 2012). Over the years since the period of reorganization described above, the Penn Museum has occasionally exchanged material with the PMA and other museums, but other than adding objects through donations and excavations, the collection has not changed significantly.

Chapter 5: Anthropology in Museums

At the time of its inception, anthropology sat between science and art. This tension can be seen within the discipline during its formation and in the treatment of anthropological subjects in museums. In 1888, George Brown Goode, administrator at the U.S. National Museum, wrote that between natural history collections and fine art collections was a kind of no-man's land, only describable by the German word *kulturgeschichte* (Goode 1889). He suggested that historians and naturalists come together within the realm of anthropology to study the “natural history of civilization” (Goode 1889), thereby defining anthropology as the description of human history using natural history methods. This liminal position of anthropology was reflected in a disciplinary divide between two kinds of culture, one equated with history and the other with pre-history. Cultures that could be substantiated with textual evidence were treated as historical. Cultures lacking texts were thought of as lacking a historical past and were treated as scientific (Goode 1895). Yet both types of culture were being studied within anthropology, leading to differential treatment.

Implications of the Division Between Science and Art

Evolutionary anthropology viewed primitive or savage people as significant because they were thought of as relics, representatives of another time (Fabian 1983). Words like primitive, savage, mythical, ritual, or tribal are all temporal concepts that flatten the historical depth of studied populations (Fabian 1983; Conn 1998). Through these descriptions, anthropology created a concept of *naturalized time*, in which both past and living cultures were irrevocably placed on a temporal slope that illustrated progress and the development of civilization (Fabian 1983, 17).

In this model, some cultures were viewed as further developed or higher on the temporal slope and other cultures were remnants of the past or lower on the temporal slope.

The Penn Museum's previous designation as the Free Museum of *Science* and *Art* encapsulates this division. History, equated with art, has a sense of permanence, of being rooted in time; in contrast, prehistory, equated with science, had a transience that had to be recorded before being lost forever (Conn 1998). This concept of the transient, scientific nature of culture can be seen in anthropological practice, from the desire of people like Galton and Lamborn for anthropological laboratories to the rapid collecting methods of salvage ethnology.

During the early history of the Penn Museum, Old World archaeology or "art" was given precedence over New World archaeology or "science." This was partly because of the interests of influential people and partly due to the differential status of each field within the popular imagination and scholarship. Stevenson was instrumental in working with Pepper to found the Museum; consequently, she held considerable power over the direction the Museum would take. Because her main interest was Egyptian antiquity, significantly more money was spent on the Old World collections than on New World materials (Oppenheim 2016, 63). The 1893 Report of the Board Managers records that \$8,000 was allotted to the Egyptian, Mediterranean, and Babylonian Sections while the American and Prehistoric Sections received only \$331.20 (Conn 1998, 93). The Old World also attracted more funds because the historical and textual connections to large empires and important individuals drew more interest and excitement from donors; for instance the role archaeological excavations played in debates over the accuracy and legitimacy of biblical texts was a matter of public interest (Darnell 1970; Conn 1998, 93). Brinton and curators Culin and Charles C. Abbott attempted to advocate for American archaeology with limited success (Hinsley 1985). Both Abbott and Culin were forced to leave

the museum, in 1894 and 1903 respectively, because of disputes with trustees, primarily Stevenson (Darnell 1970).

This distinction between New World and Old World was reflected in the organization of the Penn Museum's building as well. When the Penn Museum first opened, visitors walked through two large doors onto a landing from which they could ascend to find the civilizations of the Near East and Mediterranean or descend to find the Indigenous peoples from the New World, Oceania, and Borneo. This physical arrangement mirrored the differing positions of Old World and New World on the temporal slope mentioned earlier. Old World archaeology was understood as a historical study and its ancient civilizations could be measured and understood with familiar temporal mechanisms like calendars, clocks, and chronologies (Conn 1998, 94); conversely, so-called primitive peoples were viewed as evolving ahistorically with few distinctions made between the past and the present (Conn 1998). This conception was necessary for comparative ethnology to work, allowing anthropologists to use present societies as examples of the earlier stages and cultural development of Old World cultures.

This idea can also be seen in the current placement of exhibits on Indigenous peoples in natural history museums and exhibits on Europeans in history and art museums, as well as in the physical layout of these institutions. The Princeton University Art Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston prioritize European art by placing it in their main gallery spaces, with non-European art placed in lower, subterranean rooms. At the Met, European artifacts are designated by country and non-European objects are lumped together in one space (Browarny 2010). The fact that nineteenth century evolutionary anthropology was established in and has defined museums through much of their history has clearly impacted museum organization to this day.

Objects as Data

Museums provided the primary institutional base and support for early anthropological research because the anthropological studies of the day focused on objects. By containing the sources of anthropological data, museums helped create the discipline by consolidating the sub-disciplines of linguistics, ethnology, archaeology, folklore, and other topics under the same “terminological umbrella” and institutional roof (Conn 1998, 79). In Brinton’s 1892 essay “The Nomenclature and Teaching of Anthropology,” he outlines his rules for using anthropological terms and lists the different foci of ethnography, or what he calls, the “science of man.” Among them is *technology*, an all-encompassing term “embracing the development of the utilitarian and the fine arts” and requiring the methods of natural science (Brinton 1892, 111). Among the different aspects of ethnographic study, only objects were seen as providing concrete, physical evidence of cultural development, leading to the widespread use of an object-based epistemology (e.g. Cushing 1895).

Cushing believed that someone familiar with the production and use of particular objects could “phenomenologically unfold cosmologies and suggest anticipations of their technological futures” (Oppenheim 2016, 83). In other words, objects could reveal entire pasts and futures if read properly. At the U.S. National Museum, the heart of anthropological authority, Mason declared that “the true history of our race is written in things... the material expressions of the human mind” (Bmizl 1996, 194). Objects embodied ideas and psychological states, thus representing human development. Culin agreed with Cushing that objects should serve as the primary means of evidence and that all anthropologists “must learn the language of things” (Fane 1991, 24; see also Oppenheim 2016). As Cushing told the *Philadelphia Press* in 1894, objects contain stories, “stories which will tell themselves to the untrained observer” if properly

exhibited (Conn 1998, 4). With the proper experience, people could see that objects embody entire cultures and ideas, objectively speaking to the observer from the past as effectively as a person or text.

Methods and Goals for Displays: Classification

Museum collections needed to be arranged in a specific, rational order to be legible to the public (Goode 1895). Museums were seen as scientific spaces in which truth was exhibited through tangible evidence (i.e., objects). In the seventeenth century, scientific standards of authenticity shifted from relying on the reputation of the scientist to where and how the results were produced. Authentic scientific results became those that were produced within a certain space through specific procedures that anyone was capable of replicating (Macdonald 1998). Therefore, what visitors learned in museums was taken as scientific truth. Evolutionary displays were meant to teach visitors a specific version of history while simultaneously improving visitors intellectually and morally (Macdonald 1998).

Nineteenth century museums relied on the idea that objects represented ideas or facts that, when combined in displays, formed “visual sentences” that constituted the “metanarrative of evolutionary progress” (Conn 1998, 5). In that way, objects could tell the story of human development just as professors could lecture on history. The ways in which objects were combined depended on classifications, which provided the means of understanding objects in museum collections (Conn 1998). Most generally, *classifications* recognize the differences and similarities among phenomena and are inherent to daily life and scholarly work. A *typology* is a specific type of classification: a group formed on the basis of a consistent pattern of characteristics which is distinguished from other groups that have a different patterning of

characteristics. As the anthropologist Igor Kopytoff (1986, 70) said, “the human mind has an inherent tendency to impose order upon the chaos of its environment by classifying its contents, and without this classification knowledge of the world... would not be possible.” Classification is central to understanding the world as predictable and ordered. The empiricist model of classification maintains that all phenomena have inherent meaning or significance (Hill and Evans 1972). The positivist model holds that classification is merely a tool that varies with one’s theoretical goal and that phenomena do not have inherent meanings waiting to be discovered by the scholar (Hill and Evans 1972). These models reflect the difference between believing that the laws of human behavior are embodied in classifications of objects (or typologies) and thinking that there is a diversity of classifications, with no ideal system.

Debate about the value and meaning of typologies has occurred within anthropology for decades, and yet today anthropologists undeniably utilize typologies to induce order in an assemblage and make it understandable in a meaningful way (Hill and Evans 1972). This is especially true in archaeology where typologies form the basis of chronologies, which are used to trace the origin, movement, and interaction of cultures through time and space (Hill and Evans 1972, 243; Adams and Adams 1991; Read 2007; Figure 3). Today anthropologists are more hesitant about ascribing broad interpretations to objects alone but in the nineteenth century, scholars had no such qualms, and objects served as metonyms, each standing for part of a larger body of anthropological, historical, or natural historical knowledge (Conn 1998). Theorists as famous as Tylor stated that “to trace the development of civilization and the laws by which it is governed, nothing is so valuable as the possession of material objects” (as quoted in Bmizl 1996, 194). Civilizations were organized by artifact typologies just like the natural world was organized by the Linnaean system of classification. The importance put on object typologies

influenced what collectors like Lamborn purchased, in turn shaping the form of museum collections.

Independent Invention and Diffusionism in Museum Displays

As discussed above, nineteenth century anthropology tried to understand changing civilizations through either diffusionism or independent invention. Because scholars used objects in museums to elucidate their ideas and demonstration of these concepts required different arrangements of the material evidence, this debate played out in museum exhibits. Lamborn visited many museums and attended various discussions of museum practice, forming his own ideas about how his collection could be interpreted by these models of cultural change.

The debate over independent invention and diffusionism was taken up by Franz Boas and Otis Mason in 1887 (Stocking 1994, 3). Each offered a different explanation for the occurrence of similar objects in geographically distant areas. Mason, a curator at the U.S. National Museum, modeled his anthropology on biological science, endorsing the premise that like causes produce like effects through his assumption that “the human mind, faced with similar problems in similar environmental situations would produce similar devices to perform similar functions” (Stocking 1994, 3). In contrast, Boas, an anthropologist who had done extensive ethnographic work and was an assistant editor at the journal *Science*, emphasized the differences between natural science and history by emphasizing the differences among people, and insisting that “in ethnology all is individuality,” and thus objects that look alike might have quite different meanings based on the context of their use (Boas 1887, 589).

Boas took issue with Mason’s arrangement of objects in an evolutionary or functional series of inventions, all presumably serving as examples of different cultures’ solutions to a single adaptational problem (Stocking 1994). Instead, in support of a diffusionist theory, Boas

thought Mason should display museum collections as *culture areas*—sets of objects representing a specific culture or closely related cultural variants within one geographic area (Stocking 1994). John Wesley Powell, effectively the leader of the Washington anthropological establishment, entered the debate on Mason’s side. Arguing that cultures are always in “flux,” Powell (1887, 613–614) stated that “mankind cannot be classified into races thoroughly inclusive and exclusive,” and thus “no classification of their arts” on a racial or tribal basis is possible; rather, “the unity of mankind is the greatest induction of anthropology.” Mason and Powell represented the old guard of anthropology, defending the psychic unity of mankind and the validity of comparative ethnology. Having recently obtained his Ph.D. and emigrated to the United States from Germany, Boas was in a precarious position with regard to his career, and he could not afford to be as forward as he wanted about what he considered to be the drawbacks of current museum practice (Bmizl 1996).

Boas’s professional trajectory shows a clear transition from working with museums and subscribing to the dominant objective, natural-scientific positioning of late nineteenth century anthropology to associating primarily with universities and using more historical subjectivity in his work with textual ethnographies. Over time, Boas became the first anthropologist to focus his ethnological method on texts rather than objects (Bmizl 1996). He thought that any array of objects was necessarily “only an exceedingly fragmentary presentation of the true life of a people” (Boas 1907, 928). Consequently, he said what was needed was a record of “the customs and beliefs and traditions of the people in their *own words*, thus giving us the objective material which will stand the scrutiny of painstaking investigation” (Boas 1906, 188; emphasis added). For Boas, the words of people were superior to the information presented by objects. With a permanent appointment at Columbia University, Boas’s theories became more developed and

spread nationally along with his students, who in turn amplified his ideas, thereby transforming anthropology into a field dominated by the textual evidence of ethnographic fieldwork carried out in a present-oriented, participant-observation mode (Bmizl 1996).

The debate between Boas and Mason marked the beginning of the end for the nineteenth century anthropological stance, as the U.S. National Museum later changed their displays from an evolutionary sequential arrangement to culture areas with diorama-based, ethnic life-group exhibits (Stocking 1994). This was accompanied by an increasing prioritization of context across museums as curators and visitors showed a preference for realistic groups; dioramas were installed in natural history museums and period rooms were arranged in history and art museums (Chapman 1985). The widespread use of these contextual displays reflected a wider professionalization in the museum field. In the nineteenth century, museum exhibitions were more variable as curators and collectors tried to determine the best methods of display. In both periods, museum collections, and consequently displays, were inextricably shaped by donors.

Chapter 6: Lamborn's Collecting Objectives and Use of Anthropology in Museums

Although Lamborn did not leave behind any diaries or publications explaining his theoretical outlook, consideration of his objects in the Penn Museum and examination of his letters and other documents housed in archives throughout Philadelphia has allowed me to examine what he chose to collect, how he described his collections, and what he considered important for display. My analysis reveals that Lamborn's collecting was guided by anthropological concepts in his efforts to create certain kinds of exhibits. His understanding of culture both corresponded with and departed from contemporary anthropological thinking; because he was professionally independent, he was able to move fluidly between anthropological theories being actively debated at the time. Lamborn chose to understand and demonstrate anthropological ideas through objects because he subscribed to the nineteenth century belief that objects could encode cultural information. Additionally, he focused on museums, as opposed to other ways of transmitting information, because he was dedicated to providing educational opportunities for all people. Lamborn's collection was carefully curated and directed by his interests in education, technological development, process, and cultural change.

The Impact of Museums on the Public

Lamborn shared the opinion with other nineteenth century museum theorists that museums could be a positive moral and educational force in the lives of ordinary people, and he had unique ideas about how to best display his objects to that end. As discussed in Chapter 4, a number of prominent museums were founded in many American cities during the nineteenth century as part of a larger movement to improve the lives of the majority of the population, who lived in poor conditions as a result of mass industrialization and growing wealth disparities (Rees 2016). As crime and poverty rose in these cities, social reformers proposed the creation of more

parks, libraries, lecture halls, and museums as civilizing forces that offered safe, healthy entertainment with the added benefit of edification (Bennett 1995). Goode (1895), the highly influential museum administrator, wrote that museums should regard their task as increasing the knowledge, culture, and enlightenment of the people. The settings people lived in and the education they received were believed to shape their moral development and overall usefulness to society (Bennett 1995). Lamborn agreed with this sentiment, thus supporting the opening of museums, parks, and “places of healthful recreation to the public on Sunday” so the common man could improve himself on his one day off, and only placing his collections in museums that were free to the public (Aaron 1901).

Lamborn as an Atypical Collector

As a private collector, Lamborn presents an atypical case for collecting and museum display preferences of the late nineteenth century. As discussed in Chapter 2, Lamborn did not focus on collecting aesthetic pieces with which to fill his house as other private collectors did at the time. He never owned a house or rented one long-term, negating the possibility of filling a private setting with beautiful and rare pieces for select audiences. Instead, he constantly moved around for business, pleasure, and to maintain intellectual contacts. Stationary used by Lamborn shows that he lived in luxury hotels,^{vii} writing his mailing address as his business office^{viii} at the bottom of the page (Figure 4). Because Lamborn had no private setting in which to display his objects, Lamborn deposited objects at museums as he purchased them, the only alternative being finding a storage place (Lamborn 1889a). He expressly did this with his large collection of Etruscan bucchero, sending eleven cases of pottery to the Pennsylvania Museum “directly from the Custom House” (Lamborn 1888a).

In addition, unlike most collectors, Lamborn was not guided by an interest in beauty or rarity. Analysis of the objects within the collections of the Penn Museum indicates that Lamborn was not purchasing objects because they were visually appealing, unusual, or curious. He made type collections, amassing things that were considered to be prime examples of standard forms because they were meant for education rather than aesthetic appreciation. For instance, Lamborn had a number of tool casts, apparently ordered through Boban, illustrating tools from Oceania as well as Paleolithic Europe. In a letter to Dorr, Lamborn makes it clear that these items, “chiefly antiques or casts” were “intended for instruction,” a purpose that could only be fulfilled by placement in a museum (Lamborn 1892b).

Significantly, Lamborn never sold material to museums, nor were objects from his collection sold to museums after his death. Some private collectors (or their heirs) sold objects to museums rather than donating them (e.g. Ann Gilchrist; see Curran 2016) and others acquired enormous collections as a form of business, only to sell them to various institutions (e.g., Emil Lenders; see Feest 2017). In his will, Lamborn left everything he owned to the Academy, trusting that a museum could best handle the allotment of his objects, lands, stocks, and funds. Indeed, after visiting each museum to inspect their collections, curators at the Academy agreed to let each respective institution keep most of the objects Lamborn had deposited there during his lifetime (Collection 191). Consequently, after his death these museums continued to move elements of Lamborn’s collection to other museums, as Lamborn did during his lifetime.

Lamborn was also unlike the typical curator of his time because he was not attached to any one institution. Rather, Lamborn gave objects “on deposit” to the Met, the AMNH, the Pennsylvania Museum, the Academy, and the Penn Museum, moving objects from institution to institution in order to create more complete collections and exhibitions. Because the

Pennsylvania Museum was an industrial art museum, Lamborn deposited more artistic pieces there, including his colonial Mexican paintings and Etruscan ceramics. To the Academy Lamborn gave Mexican antiquities that he likely collected during his time in Mexico in 1881 and 1883, donating them to the Academy because the Penn Museum had not yet been established. After the Penn Museum opened exhibits in Furness Library, Lamborn kept the Mexican antiquities at the Academy while donating Northern Native American, African, and historic European objects to the Penn Museum. The Mexican antiquities, numbering in the hundreds, would have severely taxed the Penn Museum's space in Furness Library and would not have contributed to any existing collections at that institution, as the Native American objects did. Lamborn donated a large collection of reproduction gems and cut and whole models of minerals to the Penn Museum rather than the Academy, perhaps because the Academy already housed the collections of the renowned mineralogists who worked there while such a collection was lacking at the Penn Museum. As Philadelphia museums changed their missions and collecting policies over the next half century, it became necessary to exchange objects, including Lamborn's. He likely would have accepted the continuation of this practice as it furthered his goal of creating complete educational exhibits aligned with those of the given museum's mission.

Contrary to the possessive desire of most collectors, Lamborn put his objects on deposit at museums not to retain ownership over them, but to be able to move objects from museum to museum as he saw fit (Pearce 1992). Exchanging items was a common practice for museums during this formative period from the end of the nineteenth century through the beginning of the twentieth century. The Penn Museum exchanged objects with the Field Museum in Chicago, the U.S. National Museum in D.C., and with private collectors like George Gustav Heye and Emil W. Lenders, not to mention the division of materials between the three Philadelphia institutions

in the 1930s–1940s. These exchanges were meant to bolster collections where they were patchy or weak and even out sections where the collections were particularly comprehensive.

Lamborn’s behavior was similarly holistic as he viewed the museum industry as a whole when considering where to move objects.

Completeness: Lamborn’s Attention to Specific Objects

Some objects in Lamborn’s collection demonstrate his attention to detail and his attempts to fully understand cultures through objects. While he does not appear to have kept a consistent list of his objects, as he occasionally wrote to museums to ask if they were keeping one, Lamborn clearly had a good sense of the objects in his collection. His treatment of two objects in the Mediterranean section of the Penn Museum illustrate this idea nicely: the first, a sherd of an Attic black-figure hydria depicting a woman holding a circular object (MS4053; Figure 5), and the second, a metal ring (MS4054; Figure 6) that resembles the item painted on the sherd.

Although it is unlikely that they were purchased together, these two objects have consecutive accession numbers, indicating that they were received by the Museum together. Furthermore, Lamborn displayed the two objects together at the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair (“Report of the Committee on Awards of the World’s Columbian Commission” 1901, 342). While it is unlikely that the metal ring is what the painted woman was meant to be holding, it provided a physical example of an item similar to the one depicted on the sherd, and thus Lamborn arranged for them to arrive at the Museum as a pair.

Lamborn’s collection of stone tools demonstrates his interest in technological development and his desire to create a complete collection rather than a pristine or beautiful one. Lamborn purchased stone tools throughout the United States on his railroad business trips. It was

not uncommon for collectors to purchase such artifacts from farmers who found them on their land (Kassabaum correspondence). Lamborn also bought stone tools in Mexico during his time there on railroad business. Among boxes of stone tools in the Penn Museum's American Section lies a plain white plaster cast of a celt (97-566-43; Figure 7), raising the question of why Lamborn would buy an unartistic copy when he had dozens of real examples. My examination of his collecting policies and the anthropological theories of his time suggests that the purchase of this cast was meant to fill a gap in his collection. He never collected two identical tools; rather, they all vary slightly in size, shape, color, or evidence of striking or chipping that would elucidate some minor difference in the production process. Because Lamborn was interested in the change of stone tool shapes over time, he felt that he needed a certain tool that demonstrated a transitional form between two tools he already owned; however, for some reason he could not buy said tool, and so he ordered a cast made.^{ix} This cast is not as nicely made as the cast of an Oceanian adze (21886; Figure 8) in his collection, which has realistically painted stone, wood, and twine. This is likely due to the fact that the primary purpose of the tool was to show the shape, not the color or material. In addition, perhaps Lamborn felt it was more important that the adze look natural because he had less comparative material for Oceania than he did for the stone tools. It was not enough for Lamborn to understand the role of each object in his collection. Because these pieces were meant for display, museum visitors also had to understand the larger cultural message of the object or assemblage, and Lamborn made sure that each object was suited to its function in the exhibit.

Completeness: Lamborn's Attention to Specific Topics

Lamborn was dedicated to completeness in scholarly subjects as well as groups of objects. He chose to focus on specific aspects of history and culture that he felt were overlooked by academics and historians. Although Lamborn visited Rome and traveled throughout Italy, he did not have a large collection of typical Roman material, like Classical sculpture, because he felt that other topics that were lesser known but more technologically interesting deserved his attention. Therefore, Lamborn purchased an extensive quantity of Etruscan bucchero, an unusual material type for an American collector to focus on during the nineteenth century. At the time, American scholars used the term Etruscan haphazardly, applying it to materials that were clearly not Etruscan in origin (Brownlee correspondence). In an 1888 letter to Dorr, Lamborn said that he felt the Etruscans had been neglected by other Philadelphia collectors (Lamborn 1888a). Lamborn was working on a catalog of his Etruscan collection at the time of his death as a way to remedy this. He had a similar motivation when it came to collecting Mexican colonial art; he felt that the topic had been sorely neglected and that the lack of art history scholarship on Mexican art was “manifestly so unjust” and “misleading” that he wrote and published a book on the topic himself (Lamborn 1891, 22–23). However, overall Lamborn published little about his objects, preferring instead to reach wider audiences with museum exhibitions.

Lamborn's Attention to Museum Displays

In addition to filling gaps in his own collection and scholarly research, Lamborn was clear about how his objects could contribute to specific museums' collections. Because museums require self-guided instruction, Lamborn frequently wrote to curators to ensure that his objects were displayed in the most useful and educational ways. For example, in 1893 Lamborn was

disappointed not to find a label describing a Paleolithic tool cast displayed at the Penn Museum and admonished Culin that “the size and importance of the subject would warrant a large & descriptive label” (Lamborn n.d.).

Additionally, Lamborn had ideas about how to more creatively make his objects illuminating to visitors. Writing to Abbott at the Penn Museum, Lamborn detailed his desire to have a textile displayed between two plates of glass, saying “the peculiarity of aboriginal weaving and designing are so interesting that I am sure you will see the importance of thus placing these objects in a form to enable the student to examine them critically” (Lamborn 1890c). Lamborn wanted to put students in a position to study the objects, thus undertaking anthropological research themselves. In a later letter to Culin, Lamborn wrote that he wanted “the gems and models so mounted that they will vibrate whenever [their] case is touched” (Lamborn Dec 5). Although his reasoning is unclear, Lamborn clearly felt that movement would help students understand the crystalline structure or facets of the gems more clearly. In addition, Lamborn instructed Dorr at the Pennsylvania Museum to incorporate a gunflint he sent into his exhibit on the development of the use of fire, asking “will you kindly place it in the jaws of the ‘Wheel Lock.’ Which has no flint in it. It will then strike fire” (Lamborn 1892a). In this case, Lamborn was clearly more dedicated to illustrative exhibits than to traditional standards of museum safety. Other aspects of Lamborn’s display ideas were more conventional. For instance, his use of developmental series. “Series” was a popular term used to describe artifact sequences that illustrated development (Hicks 2010).

Lamborn’s Use of Developmental Series

Lamborn purchased items to form a number of complete collections that could be displayed in evolutionary developmental series. His collection of stone tools was likely used in

such a way, arranged to show a progression of form, one transitioning into the next.

Additionally, he had a personal adornment exhibition at Furness Library that displayed jewelry from around the world (Philadelphia Inquirer 1894). This exhibit enabled visitors to see the universal development of jewelry through the visual similarities of pieces originating from spatially and temporally diverse places. For instance, the exhibit included a piece of Native American quartz set in leather and sewn with beads (1825) which Lamborn considered to be a “remarkable illustration of the first steps towards the use of stones in personal ornament” (Philadelphia Inquirer 1894). By gathering objects from varying time periods and locations around the world, Lamborn felt that he could provide museum visitors with all the evidence necessary to understand the progressive development of mankind.

As a member of the Anthropological Society of Washington, Lamborn remained cognizant of trends in anthropological scholarship. He thus would have known that jewelry, or personal adornment, was an important topic within anthropology. W. H. Holmes (1892, 523) wrote an essay entitled “On the Evolution of Ornament,” in which he said “much has been written upon that ever fascinating topic—the evolution of ornament. All find within this theme the touch of nature that makes the whole world kin...fascinating to the...earnest but prosaic student of the evolution of culture.” This statement emphasizes the importance of evolutionary theoretical frameworks and the psychic unity of mankind to the study of anthropology, and consequently to Lamborn’s understanding of culture.

Examination of Lamborn’s letters and collections reveals that the formation of a specific type of classification – typologies – was also guiding his collections and exhibition techniques. Whereas series are groups of related objects that can be as broad as “jewelry,” a typology is a grouping based on a specific pattern of characteristics. Items in a typology often have more in

common than items in a series, facilitating the study of subtler changes rather than broad similarities and differences. In his correspondence, Lamborn clearly uses the concept of typology when describing how some of his objects illustrate historical and cultural change. These descriptions can be extrapolated to understand assemblages he does not comment on in any existing letters. When he sent eleven cases of bucchero to the Pennsylvania Museum, he instructed Dorr not to unpack them before he arrived, but rather to find a “room where they can be laid out on shelves at the time they are unpacked” so Lamborn could “save time... by classifying them at the moment of unpacking,” a clear indication that he had a specific classification scheme in mind (Lamborn 1888b). My examination of the Etruscan bucchero showed that he was purchasing similar vessels to show subtle variations in the shape of their handles, body shapes, and decorations, which he must have considered important for understanding historical variation in the culture that produced them (Figure 9).

Lamborn's Focus on Technology

Like other nineteenth century anthropologists, Lamborn demonstrated a marked focus on technology, the all-encompassing term for man-made objects (Voget 1975). Although Lamborn acknowledged that the study of ephemera like songs and folklore was important, he was primarily interested in concrete manifestations of human behavior and thought rather than elements of humanity that were not as easily captured through objects (Lamborn 1891). In particular, he collected objects to understand practical, quotidian behavior. In a letter to Pepper at the Penn Museum, Lamborn explicitly expressed his thoughts on the subject, writing “the primitive man is much more important to us for his habit and customs than for his superstitions...any number of idols and fetishes...after all are pretty much alike the world over”

(Lamborn 1890b). Although objects can illustrate mental states, Lamborn found such studies to be less fruitful. To him, cultural change and diversity could more clearly be seen in objects than philosophies could be, and he was frustrated in his attempts to study religious symbolism. For example, in a letter to Stevenson, Lamborn expressed the difficulty he had in tracing a “symbol of life” from the Blood of Isis symbol “as a transitional form” through to the Egyptian ankh (Lamborn 1893b; Figure 10). In the end, Lamborn preferred to focus on the production and use of various technologies, rather than any obscure mental states that might also be encoded in them.

Lamborn’s stance is useful for understanding the presence of a particular object in his collection—a freshwater pearl mussel shell (17057; Figure 11). On the surface of the interior of the shell can be seen small Buddha shapes, about two centimeters tall. Three have fallen off and the corner of a fourth is exposed, revealing that they are metal Buddhas that have adhered to the shell through the natural nacre-producing process of the organism. Since 500 CE, Chinese people have been placing artificial irritants in mussels to create the world’s first cultured pearls (“Chinese Pearl Mussel”). In some areas of rural China, families who grew rice could generate extra income by producing *culture pearls*. These status goods were created by inserting small bits of metal into living mollusks and then waiting a few months to retrieve the pearls that the organism produced by secreting a calcium-based nacre around the irritating foreign body (Kunz 1908). The use of a Buddha-shaped piece of metal was not common and because the resulting pearl retained the form of the Buddha, these were typically used as religious icons (Kunz 1908). During the nineteenth century, Americans and Europeans performed many experiments attempting to perfect this activity (Kunz 1908). It is highly likely that Lamborn purchased this

mussel not because it was a religious icon, but because of the natural and technical process used to create it.

A similar interest can be seen in his collection of Roman glass fragments and model gems. All the glass fragments are different, displaying a huge range of color and pattern rather than representing one broken object (Figure 12), and the gems were cut in a variety of ways (Figure 13). Lamborn focused on the production and use of technologies because they were seen as vital for ordering cultures scientifically across space and time. To this end, comparative studies of technologies like baskets, bows and arrows, and even methods of personal adornment, were highly popular within anthropology (Voget 1975; Hicks 2010).

Lamborn's Use of the Comparative Method and Independent Invention

Lamborn was quite committed to the comparative method, which depended on the theory of independent invention and the psychic unity of mankind. This is clear in his treatment of a Sioux buffalo robe (10273). In a number of letters to Dorr at the Pennsylvania Museum and Culin at the Penn Museum, Lamborn made it clear how important he considered this robe to be and stressed how the singularity of the object increased its value. He wrote, “it makes a good museum piece; such things are now almost beyond the reach of the collector” (Lamborn 1893a). In another letter, he emphasized that “Buffalo skins thus ornamented are now very rare. And are no longer produced” (Lamborn 1889b). In addition, Lamborn felt that the content of the imagery on the robe was similar to that of the famous European Bayeux Tapestry from the eleventh century. Both pieces illustrated what Lamborn considered to be military conquests. He specifically wanted Dorr to accept the robe “as being on the same plane so to speak—with the Bayeux Tapestry—which describes in the same way a somewhat similar expedition into our

fatherland,” adding “I think that it will be interesting to place them near each other” (Lamborn 1889b). Lamborn saw that Dorr was reluctant to accept the robe and insisted he do so a few months later in another letter.

I think you will find it an interesting object to hang over or near the Bayeux Tapestries to show that the picture writing of our ancestors and that of the Sioux was not widely dissimilar. Also that the wild indians [*sic*] art was not childish – but that the artist seriously sought to tell a clear story to those who came after him. – as seriously as [the 19th century French painter Horace] Vernet did when he painted his battle scenes. The art of miniature painting began by drawing upon prepared skins – In one sense this illustrates the history of miniature painting [Lamborn 1889c].

Lamborn did not intend this to be a diffusionist argument, but rather an evolutionary one focused on the idea of evolutionary stages and independent invention. Lamborn was clearly interested in tracing the psychic unity of mankind through the development of artistic techniques. In addition to the case just described, he studied artistic progression in his work on Mexican colonial painting. In his book on the topic, he included a section on “the transition from brilliant native featherwork to painting in oil colors,” again describing the development of art by comparing work done in different media (Lamborn 1891, 25).

Brinton’s work helps explain Lamborn’s theoretical position on independent invention and his belief that an American buffalo robe could be compared to a European tapestry as evidence of a singular course of development rather than physical contact. At the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, which Lamborn attended, Brinton “traced the development of mankind and social institutions from the primitive state through successive stages to the present condition” in his opening address, exactly what Lamborn did with his collections (Holmes 1893, 119). Additionally, Brinton presented a paper at the Fair on “ancient contact between America and other continents,” affirming that any evidence of such contact does not exist and that the diffusionist theory is based on accidental similarities “arising from correspondences in man and

his environment”” (Holmes 1893, 121). As the psychic unity of mankind states, similar environments give rise to similar technologies in corresponding cultural stages. In his comparison of the buffalo robe and the Bayeux tapestry, Lamborn made an analogy between cultures on the basis of the comparative ethnographic assumption that living indigenous people in North America were “survivals” of a stage of cultural development that Europeans had once passed through. Thus, while there is the appearance of contact, Lamborn instead argued that there was independent invention. Due to his position outside of the professional field of anthropology, Lamborn was accorded a theoretical flexibility that he took advantage of in using multiple theories to explain his collection.

Lamborn’s Use of Diffusionism

Despite this apparent commitment to theories of independent invention, Lamborn recognized that different situations required different theoretical models and was not opposed to utilizing diffusionist arguments when appropriate. Lamborn wrote that “it’s more than probable that Africa gave the world its earliest knowledge of iron smithing” (Lamborn 1890b), demonstrating that he believed at least some technologies did arise in one place and then spread out to the rest of the world. Lamborn likely spent a significant amount of time researching metals and their use during his graduate work on metallurgy. Clearly, he became convinced that the production and use of iron began in Africa. Therefore, he expressed a desire to form a collection of the various tools used to produce iron in Africa with the supposition that such a grouping of objects would support his idea of the diffusion of iron technologies from Africa to the rest of the world (Lamborn 1890b).

Just as there does not seem to have been any conflict in Lamborn's mind between using diffusion to explain one grouping of cultural activities and independent invention to describe another, he did not feel the need to describe the world's cultures in a rigid or strict hierarchy, even as he used a progressive framework to understand them. Although Lamborn showed interest in measuring human physical differences, he did not have a strict racial hierarchy, unlike many physical anthropologists, but rather credited non-Europeans with novel technological contributions and unique skills (e.g., his statement about iron smithing originating in Africa). Given the perceived contrast between industrial Europe and colonial Africa during this time, Lamborn was unusual in attributing a major technological innovation to the people of Africa. Furthermore, in his book on Mexican art, Lamborn stated that it was important to discuss aboriginal art in order to demonstrate that in fact "the earliest, and probably...the most protracted period in the development of the arts of drawing, painting, and sculpture had already been traversed by [Indigenous people] long before the influence of European thought intruded," thus crediting indigenous peoples with creativity and skill independent of European influence (Lamborn 1891, 35).

Lamborn's Innovative Incorporation of Cultural Mixing

Lamborn also recognized that cultural change and development occurred outside of the binary constraints of either strict independent invention or simple diffusionism. Although Lamborn does not explicitly discuss particular African items in his collection in his letters, examination of the objects that remain in the Penn Museum indicate that Lamborn was interested in cultural mixing and exchange. Examination of two objects in particular, a sword and a wooden carved figure, clearly demonstrates this interest. The sword (17026; Figure 14) is stylistically

Islamic, with Spanish influence evident in the shape of the hilt (Latimer correspondence). Given the fact that Lamborn was well-educated and a world traveler, it is likely that he would have recognized the Spanish and Persian influences present in the sword, marking it as distinct from traditional African examples.

The wooden figure (17037; Figure 15) is depicted wearing a European, “clerical” costume consisting of a black coat and trousers. The style of the facial features marks this figure as a well-defined Lower Congo type, and yet it is dressed in a foreign style (“Object 17037”). The Congo fell under the colonial rule of Belgium in the late nineteenth century, the same period in which Lamborn would have purchased this figure (Pakenham 1991). Lamborn might have been interested in it because it symbolizes cultural mixing as well as the colonial idea of civilization’s impact on a more primitive culture (Loren 2015). This contrasts with most other anthropologists and collectors, who specifically wanted ancient or traditional items that they felt were uninfluenced, or untainted, by civilization (Parezo 1986) and believed that European and American influences degraded Native arts, making them less useful for the purposes of studying a stage of culture which White people had already passed through.

An intersection of cultures can also be seen in Lamborn’s Mexican art collection. Writing in 1911 about the Mexican bone and ivory carvings that Lamborn collected, Stevenson describes them as unusual for an art museum, being “without art or merit,” but notes that some show evidence of the “blending of ethnic elements” that took place when Mexico was colonized by Spain (1911, 24). Thus, Stevenson identifies the non-aesthetic reason that Lamborn likely purchased these objects. Examples such as these demonstrate that Lamborn certainly viewed cultures as differentially developed, but he still believed that so-called primitive cultures had

elements of technical sophistication and could contribute to the creation of new technologies independently and by cultural mixing.

Lamborn's Use of Multiple Anthropological Theories in Museum Displays

Lamborn also engaged with contemporary anthropological debates concerning museum displays. Lamborn straddled the debate between Mason and Boas in dictating how his objects should be arranged. In his letters to Dorr at the Pennsylvania Museum, Lamborn acknowledged that “it may be a little difficult to find just how best to distribute my various objects so as to give them a full use and meaning for the public” (Lamborn 1892c). In order to make his collections educational for students and the general public, Lamborn’s objects required specific classificatory arrangements.

The value of the museum will be greatly lessened if the objects are misscientifically [*sic*] affiliated... The lesson which they now teach (and for which they were largely collected) of the growth and character of the configuration of the Countries from which they were drawn would be lost if the arrangement were changed so to throw for instance all objects that happened to be of leather in one case...all engraved brass and copper objects in another (Lamborn 1892c).

Lamborn collected objects to illustrate the development of certain technologies such as fire-making, spoon-making, ornamentation, and miniature-painting. He sometimes combined objects from different regions (e.g., his exhibit on personal adornment), but was also interested in the development of specific groups, as he states in the letter above. He felt that the progress of one cultural area or country would be occluded if objects were displayed by material type, as the Pennsylvania Museum did during their time in Memorial Hall (Giberti 2002). Lamborn thus saw something to be gained in Mason’s typological displays as well as Boas’ organization by culture area, clearly recognizing the complexities of anthropology’s stated goal of constructing a better understanding of human diversity and cultural change.

In short, Lamborn presaged a version of the modern perspective that methods and theories need to be driven by the questions asked. For example, one set of objects can be arranged in multiple different typologies depending on the questions and aims guiding the classification, which consequently has serious implications for how the data is understood (Adams 2010). There is not one truth waiting to be uncovered by research. Rather, researchers can only use different interpretations or theories to explain various phenomena. In particular, question-driven research is specific enough to provide reliable answers for certain sets of data (Baert 2006). Lamborn demonstrated this practice by borrowing elements from both evolutionary and diffusionist models and departing from them as necessary, depending on what he perceived as the most likely and rational way of elucidating the meaning behind each of his objects.

Lamborn was able to easily move between theoretical positions because of his existence outside of the discipline; he never published essays on anthropology nor explicitly worked for a museum or university. This flexibility is similar to the less rigid stance taken by later scholars, who had come to accept that one framework could not describe all cultural phenomena. In his 1920 work “The Methods of Ethnology,” Boas himself critiqued both evolutionary and diffusionist theories as limited in their focus. He agreed that there are certain “parallelisms” between cultures, but emphasized that they had to be explained by a cause other than like causes produce like results (Boas 1920, 318). Similarly, he thought that cultural exchange was viable, but that the diffusionist model required historical contact for unreasonably large geographical areas as well as unnaturally stable cultural traits (Boas 1920). As a solution, Boas called for more contextualization and increased attention to specific cultural instances. Lamborn’s work appears to have foreshadowed Boasian anthropology (and in some ways, contemporary anthropology) by applying various theories according to the research questions being asked. However, Lamborn’s

dependence on objects to illustrate cultural diversity and development would be eschewed by anthropologists, most significantly by Boas, soon after his death. Boas's emphasis on texts, rather than objects, would contribute to the movement of anthropology away from museums and into universities during the twentieth century.

Chapter 7: Developments in Anthropology and Museums After Lamborn

Michael Ames (1986) neatly divided anthropology into three stages, the *museum period* (1840–1890), the *museum-university period* (1880s–1920s), and the *university period* (post–1920s). During the museum period, classical evolutionism defined anthropological thought, predominately based on material culture. In the museum-university period anthropology began to shift to textual ethnographies and fieldwork funded by universities (Darnell 1970; Ames 1986). The discipline was professionalized as universities began offering proper training in anthropological theory and methods. As universities replaced museums as the heart of new scholarship and sponsorship of fieldwork, along with organizations like the Rockefeller Foundation, newly trained anthropologists never truly left universities, causing a decline in the amount of novel research produced by museums (Stocking 1985). The theoretical underpinnings of anthropology shifted at this time as well. Once closely aligned with natural scientists and their focus on physical manifestations, anthropologists began to be more associated with social scientists concerned with symbolic or ideational components of culture (Ames 1986).

Boas led early twentieth century anthropologists during the university period in distancing themselves from unilineal evolutionary doctrine and emphasizing historical particularism and context. Boas' relativism focused on the diversity of cultures rather than any psychosocial solidarity of mankind (Stocking 1994; Erickson and Murphy 2008). He cast considerable doubt on the ability of objects to illustrate cultural practices and emphasized ethnography and texts over object examination (Jacknis 1985). Through his position at Columbia University, Boas was extremely influential in shaping the course of American anthropology, impacting an entire generation of American students who would then go on to train the next generation of scholars at universities across the United States (Jacknis 1985; Freed 2012). Boas'

theoretical positioning led to the development of cognitive anthropology and New Ethnography in the 1960s, in which scholars stressed the context-dependent nature of all classifications and analysis (Erickson and Murphy 2008).

At the same time, neo-evolutionism and New Archaeology, or processual archaeology, pushed back against cognitive anthropology and New Ethnography. The main proponents of neo-evolutionism, Leslie White and Lewis Binford, sought to revive theories from classical cultural evolutionism in an effort to make anthropology more scientific (Erickson and Murphy 2008). White (1959) applied Morgan's (1877) concept of cultural stages to his explanation of cultural laws, and Binford (1983) restored the comparative method in his analyses of archaeological material (Erickson and Murphy 2008). White (1959) tried to prioritize technology over ideology in his analysis of cultural change, but most neo-evolutionists did not privilege objects to the same degree as nineteenth century anthropologists; context was still emphasized over letting objects speak for themselves. As Walter Taylor (1948, 154), a predecessor of Binford, said "an archaeological find is only as good as the notes upon it." This focus on context pushed scholars to recover their own material rather than use previously excavated objects.

In the 1980s, post-processual archaeology developed as a pushback to processual archaeology. Post-processualists maintained that archaeology was more similar to history than to science and because history was in the humanities, the relativism and particularism of Boasian explanations seemed more appropriate than Binford's law-like processes of cultural change (Erickson and Murphy 2008). This change in archaeology was accompanied by the development of symbolic and interpretative anthropology which questioned the nature of authoritative knowledge and emphasized the ethnographic practice of thick description, or recording every possible aspect of context in order to make sense of culture (Erickson and Murphy 2008).

This movement was wrapped up in the postmodern turn in the 1980s and 1990s, which endeavored to correct the sins of anthropological disciplinary forefathers by stressing a concern for power, conflict, and the origin of knowledge (Erickson and Murphy 2008, 134). The postmodern perspective recapitulated Boas' idea of cultural relativism—culture affects all knowledge of the world and thus cultural studies cannot be objective (Erickson and Murphy 2008). This notion was most influential in the writing of ethnographies as anthropologists became extremely conscious of the subjective nature of the documents they produced (Erickson and Murphy 2008).

The increasing reflexivity of anthropology following these recent theoretical shifts has also stimulated a return to museum collections. Through reflexive practice, anthropology has gained a more nuanced understanding of how nineteenth century anthropologists and gentlemen-scholars contributed to museums and society's understanding of culture, as well as the powerful role that objects play in enactments of culture. To illustrate these developments, I turn to the tension between the University of Pennsylvania and the Penn Museum during the early twentieth century (Kopytoff 2006).

At the time, the University and the Museum offered different frameworks for anthropological activity (Darnell 1970; Conn 1998). Anthropology's shift from museums to universities was instigated by Boas, symbolized by his permanent move from the American Museum of Natural History to Columbia University in 1905 and his increased focus on textual ethnography. The Penn Museum was not immune to his desire to shift the scholarly framework. In fact, in 1903, Boas, then a professor at Columbia University, suggested to Stevenson, curator and board member of the Museum, that Culin, who was curator of the General Ethnology and American Sections until 1904, should be replaced by George Gordon, who Boas felt saw the

potential for a symbiotic relationship between the Museum and the University. In other words, Boas was asserting that the university setting could produce archaeologists who were competent in museum work (Darnell 1970, 87). After being named General Curator of American Archaeology in 1904, Gordon hired Frank Speck, a student of Boas, as an anthropology instructor in 1907. Struggles soon ensued between Gordon, representing the Museum, and Speck, representing the University – which had an informal program of Archaeology and Ethnology until the Department of Anthropology was founded in 1911. In 1913, complaining that students did not have enough access to the Museum, Speck moved anthropology classes across campus (Darnell 1970). The separation of the Museum and the Department of Anthropology at Penn remained virtually complete until a reconnection was deliberately forged in the 1940s and 1950s (Darnell 1970). Donald Collier (1954, 775) at the Chicago Natural History Museum gave a first-hand account of the broader situation, writing that anthropology graduate students had no use for museums and “think of museums as intellectually low grade, if they think of them at all.” Despite this dire outlook, Collier (1954, 775) believed that museums still held value for anthropology in their ability to illuminate the history, varieties, and development of culture stating that “all large museums are literally mines of untapped material.”

However, only recently have scholars and students of anthropology realized the vast amount of research that needs to be done on museums and museum collections. In the last three decades, there has been a shift within anthropological theory towards a recognition of the investigative value of objects. As part of a movement more broadly throughout the social sciences, this change has been referred to as the *material culture turn* (Hicks 2010). It is manifested in the increased physical and scientific examination of objects in places like the Penn Museum’s Center for the Analysis of Archaeological Materials (CAAM), as well as material

engagements in various forms of fieldwork. Hicks (2010) directly connects present material culture studies to the museum-based anthropological studies of the nineteenth century.

Major events like the 1990 passage of the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) can be thought of as a symptom of this effort to reexamine museum collections. NAGPRA caused the enormous quantity of objects within many American museum collections to be brought to the forefront and emphasized the need for fresh object examination and archival research through *restorative methodologies* (Bruchac 2010; 2016) designed to trace the history and use of objects intended for repatriation. This type of research has spread to other objects as well, creating a form of research project called the *object biography* (Kopytoff 1986). These types of explorations demonstrate that valuable information can be obtained from objects that lack contextual data or detailed provenance, but which often make up the majority of museums' collections.

Interestingly, even as scholars evince a renewed focus on objects, many museums seem to have moved away from objects (Conn 2010). The emphasis of museum practice today is on curation and description rather than crowded displays. Photographs of nineteenth century museum halls crowded with items hanging from the ceiling and display cases packed with objects stand in stark contrast to the object-sparse exhibits in today's museums. Rather than limiting the importance of objects however, this transformation highlights the need for research into objects that rarely leave their storage rooms as well as those that are on display. Within these countless objects and their related archival materials is an immeasurable amount of information about how they were made, who used them, where they have been, why they were collected, the people who collected them, how they have been displayed, and how different meanings have been constructed around them over time.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The analysis of Lamborn presented here offers a case study on how much can be learned through a detailed examination of a particular collection, when the material, archival, and historical records are combined. As a private collector interested in anthropology and museology and wealthy enough to pursue these interests outside of his business, Lamborn provides a fascinating glimpse into the early development of the anthropological discipline. He was obviously aware of advances, debates, and theoretical frameworks within the field while remaining independent enough to develop his own ideas and pursue his own research without the burden of a scholarly reputation. In this way, Lamborn encapsulates some of the theories and discussions within the anthropology of his time and foreshadows some of the developments to come after his death, though he certainly could not have predicted the discipline's movement away from museums in the first half of the twentieth century.

During the nineteenth century, the formation of anthropology as a discipline took place largely in museums, the repositories of the objects that operated as the primary source of anthropological data. Objects were treated as authoritative subjects, containing entire histories and cultures within their forms. World's Fairs, department stores, and encyclopedic museums emphasized the visual nature of cultural studies during this time. Anthropological debates about the nature of cultural variation and change played out in lecture halls and museum exhibits. New and conflicting theories, such as diffusionism and independent invention, affected the ways objects were arranged and conceptualized, as well as the collectors who purchased them. Lamborn was unusual in his attempts to follow and apply developments in anthropological theory to his vast collection.

Lamborn's primary aim in developing his collection was educational. He wanted to illustrate the nature of culture and history around the world through objects in museum displays, free and available to students and the general public. How Lamborn chose to organize his objects in various typologies and groupings reflects his ideas about current anthropological theories. Because he was interested in objects as signs of larger cultural practices and ideas and less as archaeological or ethnographic finds, much of his collection lacks detailed contextual information. However, as this thesis demonstrates, significant information can be learned about certain objects through the contextual analysis of their collector. My research into Lamborn, including examination of his objects, letters, and theoretical background, has led to a greater understanding of each individual object as well as a better conception of how these objects fit together as a collection. Of the thousands of objects in this collection, the only commonality between most is their collector. Lamborn bought them to fill gaps in his various groups and series, and to address the lack of attention to specific subjects; however, because many of his objects have been moved from their original institutions, not to mention their original displays, much of their initial museological function has been lost. Close, contextual analysis of the collections and archival materials, however, reveals a great deal about the objects' original use within their museum contexts and their role in anthropological research.

In the decades after Lamborn's death, anthropology shifted from object-based to text-based evidence, but in the last thirty years anthropologists have reemphasized the value of objects. As this paper demonstrates, the contextual analysis of a single collector like Lamborn, including objects, letters, and theoretical and historical background research, can lead to important insights into the questions and methods of anthropology both in the past and present as well as a greater understanding of objects that might lack traditional provenience data.

Figures

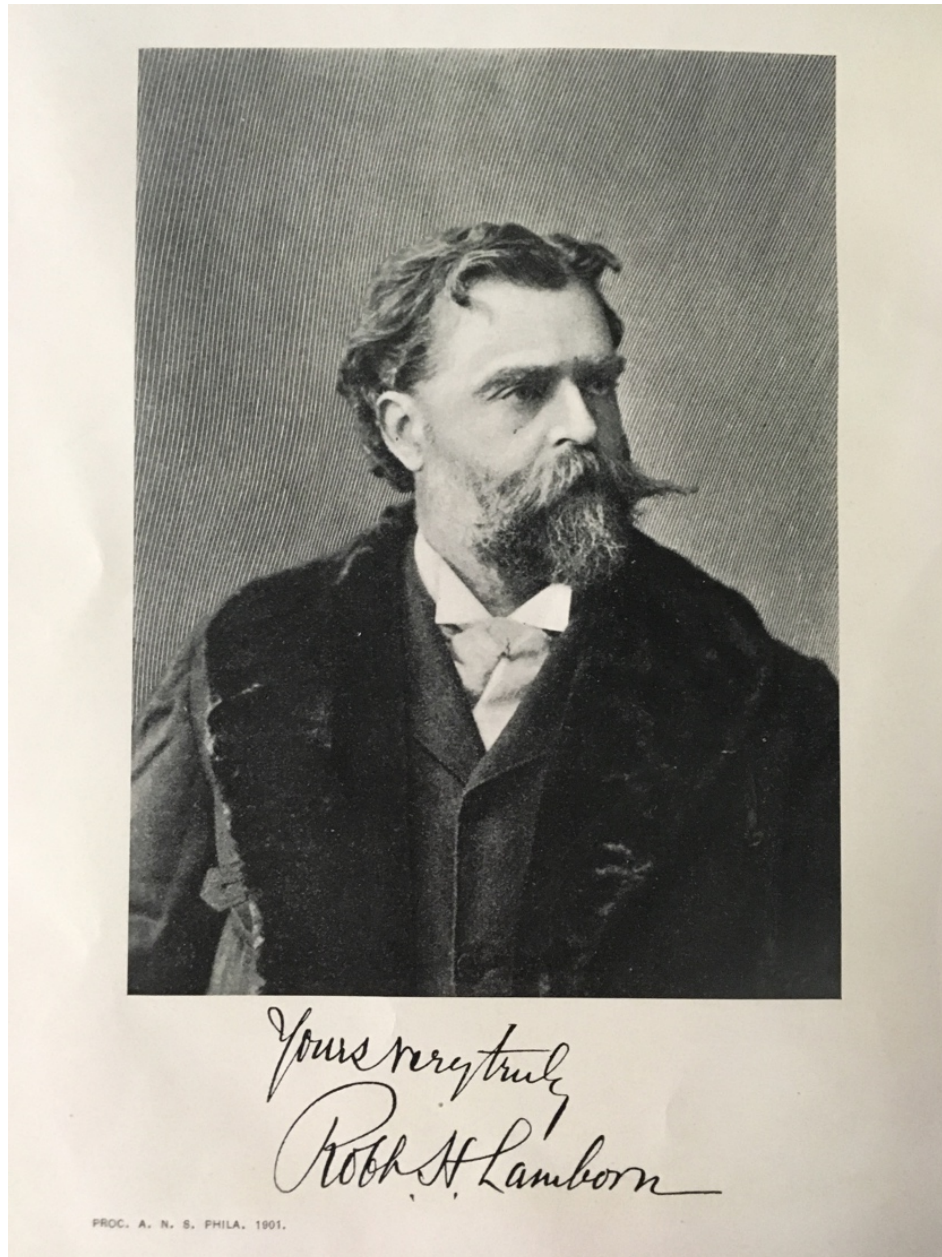


Figure 1: Robert Henry Lamborn.

Photo in Carrie B. Aaron, 1901, "Biographical Notice of Robert Henry Lamborn," *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 53 (2): 486–490.



Figure 2: Lamborn's Exhibit Room in Memorial Hall, Fairmount Park, Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, 1889. In this staged photo, Lamborn is seated with his back to the camera while Dalton Dorr faces the camera.

Image 141987. Portrait Collection. Courtesy of the Penn Museum Archives.

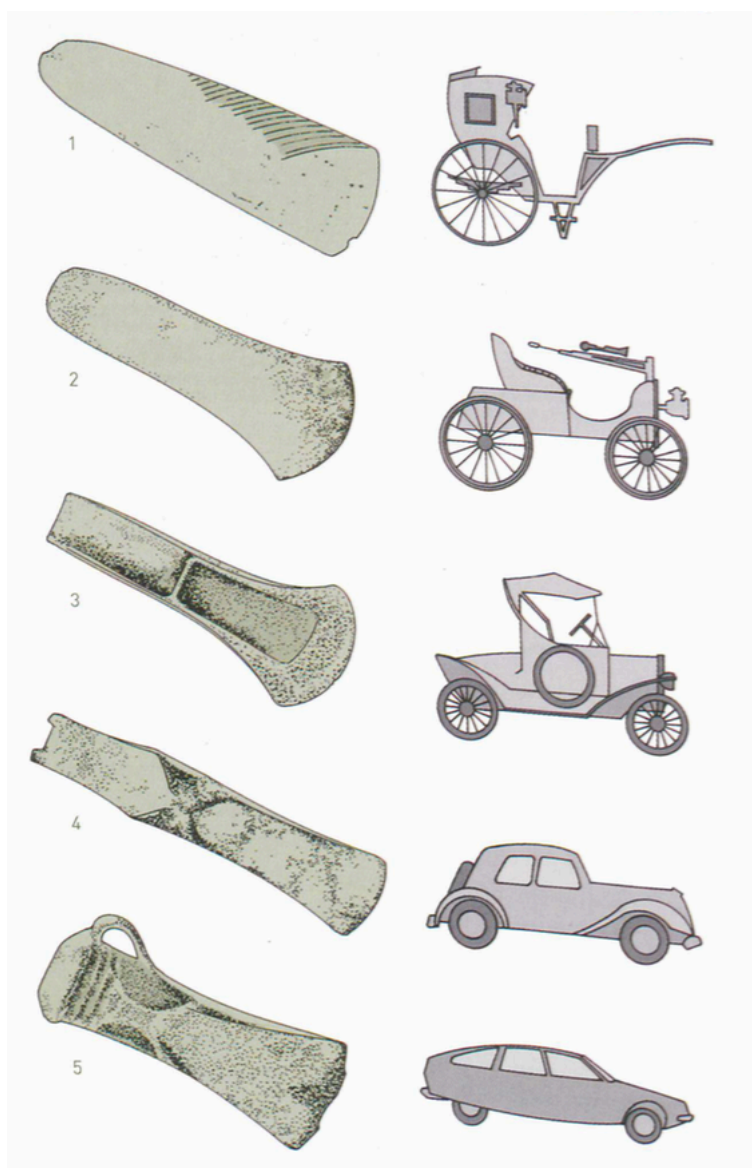


Figure 3: Typology – the arrangement of artifact types in a sequence that shows gradual progression, based on aspects of appearance that are distinctive.

Diagram from Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn, 2016, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*, London: Thames & Hudson, 134.

HOTEL SAVOY
FIFTH AVENUE & FIFTY-NINTH STREET,
NEW YORK.

Dear Sir,

I have your favor of a few days ago in which you speak of wishing further information regarding some of my objects in the Museum.

Please keep a list of all these and ~~send~~ send them to me and I will give you the desired information.

I send you by mail an additional "Mouse in the hole" puzzle. Have you one like it?

Yours truly,
Robert H. Lamborn

32 Nassau St.
Feb. 15th 1894

Figure 4: Example Letter from Robert Henry Lamborn written to curator Stewart Culin. This letter illustrates the fact that Lamborn frequently used hotel stationery while writing his business address in at the bottom of the page.

Courtesy of Penn Museum Archives. Administrative Records: American Section Records, Box 9/22. Folder American Section - Collectors and Collections - Lamborn - Pan-American collection.



Figure 5: Attic Black-Figure Hydria Fragment. This vessel fragment depicts some sort of procession. In particular, Lamborn was interested in the woman holding an intriguing notched ring that he thought was an example of the object in Figure 5.

MS4053. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Photo by author.



Figure 6: Metal Ring. This object was purchased by Lamborn because he thought it served as a good example of the type of object held by the woman depicted on the sherd in Figure 4.

MS4054. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
<https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/339148>.



Figure 7: Celt Cast.

L-566-43. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Photo by author.



Figure 8: Adze Cast. Note the dealer Eugene Boban's label.

21886. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Photo by author.



Figure 9: Selection of Lamborn's Bucchero Assemblage. Arranged in the object study room of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Photo by Ann Blair Brownlee.

time to look it over I shall send it to you

32 Kanau.
Jan. 26th
1893



My dear Mrs Stevenson
Your most
interesting letter gave me a new
departure in my work on the Sepulchral
of life. And I have been to "Send me
howling to my gods "again." I am
striding up the blood of Isis' symbol.
I think it is something there.

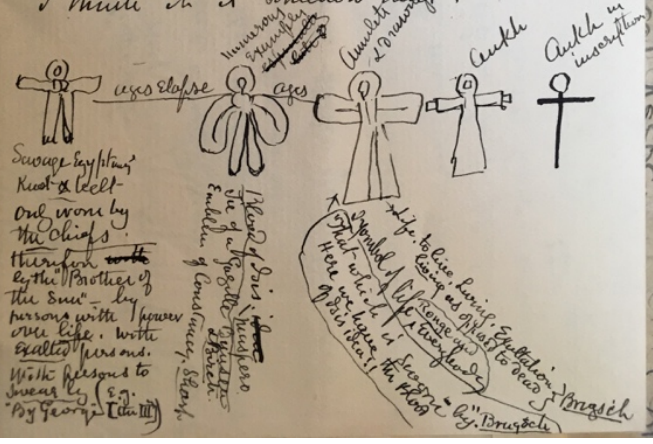


Figure 10: "Symbol of Isis" letter from Robert Henry Lamborn to Sara York Stevenson, 26 January 1893.

Courtesy of Penn Museum Archives. Administrative Records: Board of Managers (1887-1910). Box 1/7. Folder: Office of the Director/Board of Managers - University Archaeological Association - Correspondence 1890-91.



Figure 11: Freshwater Pearl Mussel Shell. This shell contains Buddha icons naturally formed by the nacre-producing process of the organism around irritants in the form metal Buddhas. Details reveal the metal Buddha pieces covered in nacre.

17057. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. First image: <https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/163717>. Other photos by author.



Figure 12: Selection of Roman Glass illustrating the range of the collection. Photos by author.

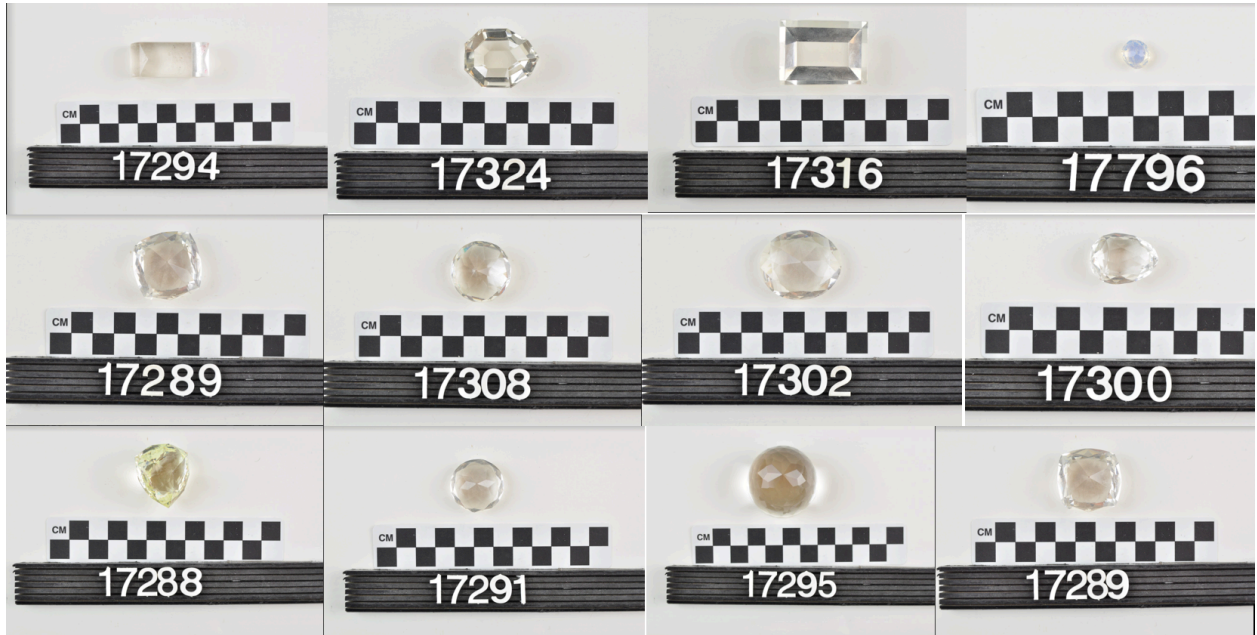


Figure 13: Selection of Gem Models illustrating the diversity in shape. Photos by author.



Figure 14: Sword from Africa showing Spanish and Islamic influences.

17026. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Photo by author.



Figure 15: African Wooden Figure.

17037. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Photo by author.

Endnotes

ⁱ The Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA) was originally known as the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art. Because Lamborn knew this institution by the latter name, the PMA will be referred to as that throughout the rest of this paper.

ⁱⁱ During Lamborn's life, the Penn Museum was known only as the University's Department of Archaeology and Paleontology and the fund-raising group called the University Archaeological Association (although it remained independent of the university). Lamborn would have been alive to hear that the museum would be called the Free Museum of Science and Art, as university provost William Pepper obtained land from the city in 1894 to erect a museum of that name. However, most people referred to the museum as the "University Museum," which ultimately became its name in 1913. After two more name changes in the 1980s and 1990s, the museum is now the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, officially shortened to the Penn Museum. Therefore, it will be referred to as the Penn Museum throughout this paper, except in any excerpts from documents dating to earlier periods that refer to it as something else.

ⁱⁱⁱ Two labels in a register book record pottery, oyster shells, and a packet of red pigment found in mounds along the St. John's River in Florida in 1877 (Lamborn Collection, Register). These might have been collected during a visit to St. Augustine, which is about one hundred miles north of the St. John's River, as Lamborn is known to have traveled to St. Augustine multiple times. Another possibility is that Lamborn visited the mounds along the river with the Philadelphian Clarence B. Moore (1852–1936), a prolific archaeologist who made chartered boat trips up the St. John's River six times from 1873 to 1882 and excavated more than 850 archaeological sites in the United States between 1891 and 1918, most of which were mounds (Fowler and Wilcox 2003). Like Lamborn, Moore was self-trained and donated the material he found to museums rather than keeping a large private collection. Alternatively, Lamborn could have visited the mounds with Jeffries Wyman (1814–1874), who was well-known as an anthropologist despite his training as a physician and anatomist. He created the Museum of Anatomy and Physiology and served as a curator at the Museum of American Ethnology and Archaeology (now the Peabody Museum) in Cambridge from 1866 until his death. Wyman spent his winters in Florida, excavating shell heaps (Randall 2015), which he wrote about in papers published in the *American Naturalist* and in a book *Fresh-Water Shell Mounds of the St. John's River, Florida* (1875). Even if Lamborn did not travel with Wyman, he might have read his work, including his papers on physical anthropology and anatomy published in the proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History ("Jeffries Wyman").

^{iv} Helen Hunt Jackson was a close friend of Lamborn's. She might have met him through her second husband, who worked for the Denver and Rio Grande railroad at the same time as Lamborn (Odell 1939). Jackson was an author who became an activist for Indian rights after hearing a speech by Standing Bear, a Ponca chief, in 1879 (West 1994). She wrote *A Century of Dishonor* (1881) about the outrages committed against Native Americans by the United States government (Odell 1939). Her book *Ramona* (1884) dealt with the plight of the California Mission Indians. She traveled throughout the Southwest, collecting baskets and other "handicrafts" (Odell 1939).

^v This was further developed by Elman Service (1915–1996) in his classification of the four stages of social evolution based on political organization—band, tribe, chiefdom, and state—a well-known and still pervasive paradigm in anthropology.

^{vi} The history of physical anthropology is a complicated topic that has been covered extensively by others authors (e.g., Brace 1982; Caspari 2003; Stocking 1968; Stocking 1988; Sussman 2016). For the purposes of this thesis, it is important to note that physical anthropology began as a way to explain diversity in human appearance, just as cultural anthropology first aimed to elucidate diversity in human behavior and material culture. The history of the use of physical anthropology to justify racist and colonialist enterprises is beyond the scope of this thesis but is an important aspect of the history of the discipline.

^{vii} Including the Aldine in Philadelphia; the Netherlands, Hotel Savoy, Buckingham, and Brevoort House in New York; and the Arno, Cosmos Club, and the Shoreham in Washington D.C.

^{viii} He includes both the Office of the Lake Superior and the Mississippi Rail Road Company at 424 Walnut Street, Philadelphia in the 1860s and the Rio Grande Western Railway Company headquarters in New York in the 1880s and 1890s.

^{ix} Montroville W. Dickeson (1810–1882), a resident of Philadelphia and a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences, was a collector of Native American objects and a self-trained archaeologist who pioneered the use of modern archaeological techniques like trenches and cross-sections (Montroville Wilson Dickeson collection 1080, University of Pennsylvania Finding Aids). Although a notable collector, amateur archaeologist, and lecturer, Dickeson is not widely known, perhaps because he, like Lamborn, did not publish. Dickeson shared some acquaintances and interests with Lamborn, and thus his diary can be used to help understand why such a collector might order a cast. For example, Dickeson records that he made a plaster cast of a decorative head housed at the Dorfeul Museum in Ohio (14768) and a pipe that he was unable to purchase from a private collector (14308) (Dickeson 1848, 129, 3).

Appendix: Lamborn's Collections by the Numbers

It is difficult to establish an exact accounting of Lamborn's objects for a variety of reasons. First, Lamborn gave his objects to numerous museums "on deposit" so he was free to move them between museums, and even World's Fairs exhibitions, as he saw fit, with little or no records documenting their movement. Second, although he might have numbered some of his objects (a successive list of numbers appears across multiple archival sources), Lamborn appears not to have kept a comprehensive list of the objects he owned. Third, I was not able to physically access the collections at the Metropolitan Museum of Art or the American Museum of Natural History. Fourth, the importance of Lamborn's work was not acknowledged during his lifetime, so his letters and other personal documents are scattered and mixed in with other people's documents in multiple archives around the United States and even outside it, including Yale University, Colorado College, the three museums mentioned in Philadelphia, and the Wellcome Library in London. Lastly, after his death, he left everything he owned to the Academy of Natural Sciences, leading to a complicated reorganization of the materials.

Lamborn's objects were left in limbo for nearly a decade as his will was examined and a long legal negotiation ensued over where his legal domicile was located. He was listed as a resident of New York but had no permanent address, and, as friends attest, was planning on relocating to Philadelphia at the time of his death. Therefore, where and how exactly his will was to be executed and whether it was legal under New York law, was a matter of debate, which his brother, Charles B. Lamborn, seized upon in disputing the will (Collection 191). Although he was originally left out of the will, Charles succeeded in claiming about half of Lamborn's wealth. Ultimately, it was agreed that the Academy would oversee distribution of Lamborn's collection. The Academy sent curators to inspect the collections at each institution; in general,

they allowed each museum to keep the objects Lamborn had originally deposited there. At last, each museum could formally accession Lamborn’s material. Most of the original accession numbers for Lamborn’s objects were therefore assigned in the early 1900s, years after his death.

Finally, as discussed above, many museums refined their missions over the course of the twentieth century, consequently exchanging and deaccessioning those objects of Lamborn’s that did not fit their new goals. Below, I present a series of tables that provide the most accurate accounting of Lamborn’s collections possible at this time. I have separated the collections by the institution currently housing them, including the Penn Museum (Table 1), and the PMA (Table 2), and the AMNH (Table 3). There is no table for the Metropolitan Museum of Art because it is unknown whether or not Lamborn’s material is still there. It is known, however, that the institution once had a display of Lamborn’s Mexican material as well as some Native American material.

Table 1. Lamborn’s collections at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

Section	Count
American	698
African	16
Asian	4
European	322
Historic	273
Mediterranean	572
Near Eastern	3
Oceanian	37
Deaccessioned	86
Total	2308

Note: The American and Mediterranean Sections include pieces exchanged with the PMA and Academy of Natural Sciences in the 1930s.

Table 2. Lamborn’s collections at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA).

Section	Count
American Art	2
Costume and Textiles	10
East Asian Art	32
European Decorative Arts	14
European Paintings	68
South Asian Art	9
Deaccessioned	1,277
Total	1,412

Note: Etruscan bucchero owned by the PMA but on permanent loan to the Penn Museum are included in Table 1. In addition, the 1914 Pennsylvania Museum bulletin records Lamborn as having donated 1,600 pieces of glass (“fused mosaic” glass of the ancient Egyptians, found in Rome and tombs in Italy, forming “a transition from the primitive Egyptian form to the true blown glass of imperial Rome,” [Stevenson 1914, 26]), but this material’s location is currently unknown.

Table 3. Lamborn’s collections at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH).

Section	Count
Central America	303
North America	23
Total	326

Note: The Academy took 737 pieces from AMNH to Philadelphia in 1900, leaving them “sundry other Archaeological specimens” (AMNH Archives). These 737 objects might now be in the Penn Museum, in which case they would be included in Table 1.

References Cited

14308. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
14768. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
17026. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
17037. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
17057. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
21886. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- 97-566-43. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Aaron, Carrie B. 1901. "Biographical Notice of Robert Henry Lamborn." *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 53 (2): 486–490.
- Accession Ledger, Miscellaneous, nos. 11476-15200. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- Adams, W. Y., and E. W. Adams. 1991. *Archaeological Typology and Practical Reality: A Dialectical Approach to Artifact Classification and Sorting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Adams, William Y. 2010. "Classification and Typology." *Archaeology* Vol. 1, edited by Donald L. Hardesty, 136-144. United Kingdom: Eolss Publishers.
- Ames, Michael. 1986. *Museums, the Public and Anthropology: A Study in the Anthropology of Anthropology*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Bates, A. C. 1905. "George Letchworth English." *The Mineral Collector* 12 (3): 33–36.
- Baert, Patrick. 2006. "Social Theory and the Social Sciences." In *Handbook of Contemporary European Social Theory*, edited by Gerard Delanty, 14-24. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bennett, Tony. 1995. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, and Politics*. London and New York: Routledge.
- . 1998. "Speaking to the Eyes." In *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, and Culture*, edited by Sharon Macdonald, 22–30. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bennett, Tony and Patrick Joyce, ed. 2010. *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn*. New York: Routledge.

- Bmizl, Matti. 1996. "From Volksgeist and Nationalcharakter to an Anthropological Concept of Culture: Franz Boas and the Humboldtian Tradition." In *Volksgeist as Method and Ethic*, edited by George W. Stocking, 17-78. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Boas, Franz. 1887. "Museums of Ethnology and Their Classification." *Science* 9 (228): 587-589.
- . (1906) 1974. "Some Philological Aspects of Anthropological Research." In *A Franz Boas Reader: The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883-1911*, 183-188. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1907. "Some Principles of Museum Administration." *Science* 25: 921-33.
- . 1920. "The Methods of Ethnology." *American Anthropologist* 22 (4): 311-321.
- Bouquet, Mary, ed. 2001. *Academic Anthropology and the Museum: Back to the Future*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Brace, CL. 1982. "The roots of the race concept in American physical anthropology." In *A History of American Physical Anthropology*, edited by Frank Spencer 11–29. New York: Academic Press.
- Brinton, Daniel Garrison. 1890. *Races and Peoples*. New York: N. D. C. Hodges.
- . (1892) 1960. "The Nomenclature and Teaching of Anthropology." In *Selected Papers from the American Anthropologist (1888–1920)*, edited by Frederica de Laguna, 109-117. Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company.
- Broca, Paul. 1863. "History of the Proceedings of the Anthropological Society of Paris," *Anthropologic Review* 1 (2): 274–31.
- Browarny, Laura. 2010. "Art, Artifact, Anthropology: The Display and Interpretation of Native American Material Culture in North American Museums." MA thesis, Seton Hall University.
- Brownlee, Ann Blair. 2017. "Collecting Classical Antiquities in the Athens of America." *Have to Have It: Philadelphians Collect 1850–1930* PMA symposium, November 3, 2017.
- Bruchac, Margaret M. 2010. "Lost and Found: NAGPRA, Scattered Relics and Restorative Methodologies." *Museum Anthropology* 33 (2): 137-156.
- . 2018. *Savage Kin: Indigenous Informants and American Anthropologists*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

- Caspari, Rachel. 2003. "From Types to Populations: A Century of Race, Physical Anthropology, and the American Anthropological Association." *American Anthropologist* 105 (1): 65–76.
- Chapman, William Ryan. 1985. "Arranging Ethnology: A. H. L. F. Pitt Rivers and the Typological Tradition." In *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, edited by George W. Stocking, 15–48. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- "Chinese Pearl Mussel." n.d. American Museum of Natural History. Accessed October 20, 2017. <https://www.amnh.org/exhibitions/pearls/freshwater-pearls/chinese-pearl-mussel>.
- Coleman, Laurence. 1939. *The Museum in America: A Critical Study*, Vol. 1. Washington DC: The American Association of Museums.
- Collection 191. Lamborn, Robert Henry, 1835–95. Bequest, 1895–1915. Archives of the Academy of Natural Sciences. Academy of Natural Sciences.
- Collier, Donald and Harry Tschopik Jr. 1954. "The Role of Museums in American Anthropology." *American Anthropologist* 56: 768–779.
- Conn, Steven. 1998. *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876–1926*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2010. *Do Museums Still Need Objects?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Cooper, M. P. 2006. *Robbing the Sparry Garniture; A 200-Year History of British Mineral Dealers*. Tucson: Mineralogical Record.
- Cope, Edward Drinker. 1876. "The Academy of Natural Sciences." *The Penn Monthly* 7: 173–180.
- Cuno, James B. 2011. *Museums Matter—In Praise of the Encyclopedic Museum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Curran, Kathleen. 2016. *The Invention of the American Art Museum: From Craft to Kulturgeschichte 1870–1930*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
- Cushing, Frank Hamilton. 1895. "The Arrow." *American Anthropologist* 8 (4): 307–349.
- Darnell, Regna. 1970. "The Emergence of Academic Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania." *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 6 (1): 8–92.
- Dickeson, Montroville W. 1848. *Catalogue of the Stone and Terra Cotta Implements and Ornaments of the North American Mound Builders Collected by Prof M W. Dickeson MD. from 1838 to 1848*. Dickeson Collection, Special Collections; Bound Volumes, University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.

- Dohan, Edith H. 1935. "Attic Vases from Memorial Hall." *The University Museum Bulletin* 5 (6): 70–76.
- Erickson, Paul A. and Liam Donat Murphy. 2008. *A History of Anthropological Theory*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Fane, Diana, Ira Jacknis, and Lise M. Breen. 1991. *Objects of Myth and Memory: American Indian Art at the Brooklyn Museum*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Feest, Christian. 2017. *Frederick Weygold, Artist and Ethnographer of North American Indians*. Altenstadt: ZKF Publishers.
- Fowler, Dan and David R. Wilcox. 2003. *Philadelphia and the Development of Americanist Archaeology*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Freed, Stanley A. 2008. *Anthropology Unmasked: Museums, Science, and Politics in New York City: Volume I: The Putnam-Boas Era*. Wilmington: Orange Frazer Press.
- Giberti, Bruno. 2002. *Designing the Centennial: A History of the 1876 International Exhibition in Philadelphia*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Goode, George Brown. (1888) 1889. "Museum History and Museums of History." Paper read before the American Historical Association. Printed from the Papers of the Association. New York: Knickerbocker Press.
- . 1895. *The Principles of Museum Administration*. York: Coultas & Volans, Exchange Printing Works.
- Henare, Amiria, Martin Holbraad, and Sari Wastell, eds. 2007. *Thinking Through Things: Theorising Artefacts Ethnographically*. New York: Routledge.
- Hicks, Dan. 2010. "The Material-Cultural Turn: Event and Effect." In *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, edited by Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, 25-98. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hill, J. N. and R. K. Evans. 1972. "A model for classification and typology." In *Models in Archaeology*, edited by David L. Clarke, 231-273. New York: Routledge.
- Hinsley, Curtis M. 1981. *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology 1846–1910*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington DC.

- . 1985. “From Shell-Heaps to Stelae: Early Anthropology at the Peabody Museum.” In *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, edited by George W. Stocking, 49-74. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- . 1992. “Collecting Cultures and Cultures of Collecting: American Southwest, 1880–1915.” *Museum Anthropology* 16 (1): 12–20.
- Hinsley, Curtis M. and David R. Wilcox, eds. 2016. *Coming of Age in Chicago*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- “History of the Academy.” n.d. Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia. Accessed November 2017. <http://ansp.org/about/academy-history/>.
- Holmes, W. H. (1892) 1960. “On the Evolution of Ornament – An American Lesson.” In *Selected Papers from the American Anthropologist (1888–1920)*, edited by Frederica de Laguna, 523-532. Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company.
- . (1893) 1960. “The World’s Fair Congress of Anthropology.” In *Selected Papers from the American Anthropologist (1888–1920)*, edited by Frederica de Laguna, 119-130. Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company.
- Jacknis, Ira. 1985. “Franz Boas and Exhibits: On the Limitations of the Museum Method of Anthropology.” In *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, edited by George W. Stocking, 75-111. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Jackson, Helen Hunt. 1881. *A Century of Dishonor*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- . 1884. *Ramona*. Boston: Roberts Brothers.
- “Jeffries Wyman.” 1874-1875. *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 10: 496-505.
- Jenkins, David. 1994. “Object Lessons and Ethnographic Displays: Museum Exhibitions and the Making of American Anthropology.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36 (2): 242–270.
- Kenna, John C. 1964. “Sir Francis Galton's Contribution to Anthropology.” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 94 (2): 80–93.
- Kimball, Fiske. 1929. Director’s Office: Jayne (1929–1940). University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- Kopytoff, Igor. 1986. “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process.” In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 64–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- . 2006. “A Short History of Anthropology at Penn.” *Expedition* 48 (1): 29–36.
- Kunz, George F. and Charles H. Stevenson. 1908. *The Book of the Pearl: The History, Art, Science, and Industry of the Queen of Gems*. New York: The Century Company, De Vinne Press.
- Lamborn Collection, Register. n.d. Administrative Records, American Section Records, Box 9/22. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- Lamborn, Robert Henry. 5 December. Letter to Stewart Culin. Administrative Records, American Section Records, Box 9/22. Folder Lamborn (Robert), Pan-American collection. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- . 1888a. Letter to Dalton Dorr. Box 3, Folder 16, Letter 81, Dalton Dorr Records, Series I Museum Letter Books. Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.
- . 1888b. Letter to Dalton Dorr. Box 3, Folder 16, Letter 83, Dalton Dorr Records, Series I Museum Letter Books. Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.
- . 1889a. Letter to Dalton Dorr. Box 4, Folder 1, Letter 132, Dalton Dorr Records, Series I Museum Letter Books. Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.
- . 1889b. Letter to Dalton Dorr. Box 4, Folder 1, Letter 123, Dalton Dorr Records, Series I Museum Letter Books. Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.
- . 1889c. Letter to Dalton Dorr. Box 1, Folder 2, Letter 171, Dalton Dorr Records, Series I Museum Letter Books. Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.
- . 1890a. Letter to Francis Galton. Correspondence L, Francis Galton Papers. Wellcome Library.
- . 1890b. Letter to William Pepper. Administrative Records, Board of Managers (1887–1910) Box 1/7. Folder Office of the Director/Board of Mgrs. Univ. Archaeological Assoc. Correspondence 1890–91. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- . 1890c. Letter to Charles C. Abbott. Administrative Records, American Section Records, Box 9/22. Folder Lamborn (Robert), Pan-American collection, Letter 44. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- . 1891. *Mexican painting and painters; a brief sketch of the development of the Spanish school of painting in Mexico*. Philadelphia: Allen, Lane and Scott's Railroad and Mercantile Printing House.
- . 1892a. Letter to Dalton Dorr. Box 4, Folder 3, Letter 150, Dalton Dorr Records, Series I Museum Letter Books. Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.

- . 1892b. Letter to Dalton Dorr. Box 5, Folder 9, Letter 115, Dalton Dorr Records, Series I Museum Letter Books. Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.
- . 1892c. Letter to Dalton Dorr. Box 5, Folder 9, Letter 125, Dalton Dorr Records, Series I Museum Letter Books. Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.
- . 1893a. Letter to Stewart Culin. Administrative Records, American Section Records, Box 9/22, Lamborn (Robert), Pan-American collection. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- . 1893b. Letter to Sara Yorke Stevenson. Administrative Records, Board of Managers (1887–1910) Box 1/7. Folder Office of the Director/Board of Mgrs. Univ. Archaeological Assoc. Correspondence 1890–91. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- . 1893c. Letter to Francis Galton. Correspondence L, Francis Galton Papers. Wellcome Library.
- . 1894a. Letter to Stewart Culin. Administrative Records, American Section Records, Box 9/22, Lamborn (Robert), Pan-American collection. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- . 1894b. Letter to Stewart Culin. Administrative Records, American Section Records, Box 9/22, Lamborn (Robert), Pan-American collection. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- . n.d. Letter to Stewart Culin. Administrative Records, American Section Records, Box 9/22. Folder Lamborn (Robert), Pan-American collection. University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives.
- Lamborn, Samuel. 1894. *The Genealogy of the Lamborn Family with Extracts From History, Biographies, Anecdotes, etc.* Philadelphia: M. L. Marion Press.
- Law, Philip H. 1885. "Obituary Notice of William S. Vaux." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 22 (120): 404–405.
- Lesley, J. P. 1881. *Memoir of Samuel Stedman Haldeman (1812–1880)*. Washington: National Academy of Sciences.
- Loren, Diana DiPaolo. 2015. "Seeing Hybridity in the Anthropology Museum: Practices of Longing and Fetishization." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 0 (0): 1-20.
- Macdonald, Sharon, ed. 1998. *The Politics of Display: Museums, Science, and Culture*. London: Routledge.

- Madeira, Percy C. 1964. *Men in Search of Man: The First Seventy-Five Years of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Martin, Sidney Walter. 1949. *Florida's Flagler*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Mason, Otis T. 1893. "The Citizenship Prizes of the Anthropological Society of Washington." *The American Anthropologist* 6 (2): 223–224.
- McGee, W. J. 1898. "Fifty Years of American Science." *Atlantic Monthly* 82 (489): 307–320.
- Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, Baron de. (1748) 1899. *The Spirit of the Laws*, translated by Thomas Nugent. New York: The Colonial Press.
- Morgan, Lewis H. (1877) 1985. *Ancient Society*. Reprint in *Classics of Anthropology*, edited by Ashley Montagu. Tuscon: The University of Arizona Press.
- MS4054. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- MS4053. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
- Mukerji, Chandra. 2015. "The Material Turn." In *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, edited by Stephen Michael Kosslyn and Robert Scott, 1-13. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Newman, James R. 1954. "Francis Galton." *Scientific American* 190 (1): 72–77.
- "Object 17037." Penn Museum Collections. *University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*. <https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/198086>.
- Odell, Ruth. 1939. *Helen Hunt Jackson*. New York: Appleton-Century Company.
- Oppenheim, Robert. 2016. *An Asian Frontier: American Anthropology and Korea, 1882–1945*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Pakenham, Thomas. 1991. *The Scramble for Africa: White Man's Conquest of the Dark Continent from 1876 to 1912*. New York: Avon Books.
- Parezo, Nancy J. 1986. "Now is the Time to Collect." *The Masterkey* 59 (4): 11–18.
- Pearce, Susan M. 1992. *Museums, Objects, and Collections*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Peck, Robert M. and Patricia T. Stroud. 2012. *A Glorious Enterprise: The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia and the Making of American Science*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Petersen, Karen Daniels. 1971. *Plains Indian Art from Fort Marion*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Pezzati, Alessandro. 2012. "A Brief History of the Penn Museum." *Expedition* 54 (3): 4–19.
- Philadelphia Inquirer*. 1894. "Ornaments Used in All the World: Rare and Unique Collection of Personal Adornments on View at the University."
- . 1896. "For the University: Francis Macauley Campbell Bequeathes Valuable Articles and \$5000 to It." March 20, 1896.
- . 1890. "The Folk Lore of Italians." April 6, 1890.
- Powell, J. W. 1896. *Annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 14th pt. 1 1892–1893*. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- . 1887. "Museums of Ethnology and Their Classification." *Science* 9 (229): 612-614.
- Randall, Asa R. "How Jeffries Wyman put Florida and Shell Mounds on the Map (1860-1875)." *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 25 (2). Accessed March 13, 2018. <https://www.archaeologybulletin.org/articles/10.5334/bha.259/>.
- Read, Dwight W. 2007. *Artifact Classification: A Conceptual and Methodological Approach*. California: Left Coast Press.
- Rees, Jonathan. 2016. "Industrialization and Urbanization in the United States, 1880–1929." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*. Oxford University Press. Accessed February 2018. <http://americanhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-327>.
- Renfrew, Colin, and Paul Bahn. 2016. *Archaeology: Theories, Methods, and Practice*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Renschler, Emily S. and Janet Monge. 2008. "The Samuel George Morton Collection: Historical Significance and New Research." *Expedition* 50 (3): 30–38.
- "Report of the Committee on Awards of the World's Columbian Commission." 1901. In *Special Reports Upon Special Subjects or Groups*, Vol. 1, 342–3. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Rydell, R. W. 2011. "World's Fair and Museums." In *Companion to Museum Studies*, edited by Sharon Macdonald, 135-151. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Seymour-Smith, Charlotte. 1986. *Dictionary of Anthropology*. Boston: Macmillan Publishing.

- Smoot, Madeline. 2015. "William Sansom Vaux." For ARTH321: Ancient Art in the Modern Museum, Ann Blair Brownlee.
- Steinberg, Ellen F. and Jack H. Prost. 2007. "Bringing Ethnography Home: Knut Hjalmar Stolpe's Works in Peru (1884)." *Andean Past* 8: 103–143.
- Stevenson, Sara Yorke. 1911. "On Some Mexican Bone and Ivory Carvings in the Lamborn Collection." *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum* 9 (34): 24–27.
- . 1914. "Bowl of Roman Madrepor Glass." *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum* 12 (46): 25–27.
- Stocking, George W. 1968. *Race, Culture and Evolution*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1985. "Philanthropoids and Vanishing Cultures: Rockefeller Funding and the End of the Museum Era in Anglo-American Anthropology." In *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, edited by George W. Stocking, 112–145. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- , ed. 1988. *Bones, Bodies and Behavior*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- . 1994. "Dogmatism, Pragmatism, Essentialism, Relativism: The Boas/Mason Museum Debate Revisited." *History of Anthropology News Letter* 21 (1): 3–12.
- Sussman, Robert. 2016. *The Myth of Race: The Troubling Persistence of an Unscientific Idea*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Thomas, Nicholas. 1991. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Thompson, Jennifer. 2017. "John G. Johnson: Lawyer, Collector, Philadelphia." *Have to Have It: Philadelphians Collect 1850–1930* PMA symposium, November 3, 2017.
- Times* (Philadelphia). 1896a. "Bequests to the University: Francis Campbell Macauley, Who Died Abroad, Leaves It His Library and \$10,000." March 20, 1896.
- . 1896b. "Rare Old Playing Cards: The Curious Collection Presented to the University of Pennsylvania - What Some Represent." November 15, 1896.
- . 1897. "A Collector's Treasures: Frank Macauley's Antique Furnishings, Gems and Bric-a-Brac at Auction." April 21, 1897.
- Tylor, Edward B. (1871) 1874. *Primitive Culture. Researches into the Development of Mythology, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*, Volume 1. Boston: Estes & Lauriat.

- . 1896. Preface. In *The History of Mankind* by F. Ratzel, translated by A. Butler, i–xxiv. London: Macmillan.
- Van Ness, Christine Moon. 1985. *The Furness-Mitchell Coterie: Its Role in Philadelphia's Intellectual Life at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*. PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- Voget, Fred W. 1975. *A History of Ethnography*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Walsh, J. M. and D. R. Hunt. 2013. "The Fourth Skull: A Tale of Authenticity and Fraud." *The Appendix* 1 (2). Accessed January 2018. <http://theappendix.net/issues/2013/4/the-fourth-skull-a-tale-of-authenticity-and-fraud>.
- Wardle, Harriet Newell. 1929. "Wreck of the Archaeological Department of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia." *Science* 70 (1805): 119–121.
- West, Mark I, ed. 1994. *Westward to a High Mountain: The Colorado Writings of Helen Hunt Jackson*. Denver: Colorado Historical Society.
- Wierzbowski, William. 2003. "Matches's Sketchbook." *Expedition* 45 (3): 15–20.
- Wyman, Jeffries. 1875. *Fresh-Water Shell Mounds of the St. John's River, Florida*. Salem: Peabody Academy of Science.
- Zhou, Xiuqin. 2015. "After the Fairs: World's Fairs and the Development of Museums." *Expedition* 57 (1): 15–1.