THE AURA OF REPRODUCTION: PLASTER CAST COLLECTIONS AT THE 1904 LOUISIANA PURCHASE EXPOSITION

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And hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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To my parents, who have been unending sources of inspiration throughout my academic career and without whose unflagging support I would not have accomplished all that I have done.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Juv.	Juvenal
Plin. *HN*	Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*
Plut. *Mor*.	Plutarch, *Moralia*.
MU Archives	University of Missouri- Columbia Archives
SEMO Archives	Southeast Missouri State University Archives
SIA	Smithsonian Institute Archives
NAA	National Anthropological Archives
MSC	Museum Support Center

Introduction

The handwritten introduction to the 1911 catalogue of P.P. Caproni and Brother, the leading cast making company in the United States, highlights several key themes in the study of plaster casts:

> The quality of a reproduction is of the greatest importance. In an original work of merit there is a subtleness of treatment- a certain feeling which, if lost in reproduction, places the reproduction outside of what can be classed as a work of art. Our casts are from imported models, made directly from the originals, which is the secret of their known excellence, apart form the perfection of workmanship in reproduction. Every cast of our make has a brass label bearing our name and address- a guarantee of quality and exclusiveness based upon out own search for the choicest subjects in the Museums of Europe and upon our personal supervision of our workshops…[1]

The tensions between the original and the reproduction are noted in several places in this passage. Caproni acknowledges the plaster casts as reproductions, yet also considers them works of art. He notes they are made from models and, in the same sentence, regards them as a "perfection of workmanship." A brass-label serves as the company's "signature," as well as a blatant reminder of the commercial aspects of plaster casting. Throughout this passage, Caproni likens his products to art as he stresses the importance of workmanship, the use of molds directly taken from the originals, and the fact that each piece is stamped with their label. The introduction of the catalogue ends with the claim that the company's casts are the foremost in the country, as evidenced by their presence in leading museums in the United States. These introductory remarks in the catalogue represent how complicated the notion of authenticity of plaster casts was during the early twentieth century in America.

[1] P.P. Caproni and Brother 1911, 4.

Plaster casts occupy a suspended position between original works of art and reproductions of them in art. This humble material is full of potential, which at the turn of the twentieth century was embraced for its promising capabilities to accurately replicate antique statues with precision.[2] Plaster's widespread availability, low cost, and ease of production contributed to its minor status in the art world.[3] Plaster, because of its plasticity, readily lends itself to the creation of replicas generated through molds and the casting process. In spite of its lower position in the hierarchy of sculptural materials, plaster casts based on molds from antique statues were often regarded with high value and served as markers of status, especially during the early years of collecting in Europe and the United States.[4] Regardless of the potential of the material, plaster is more fragile than other mediums of sculpture, highly absorbent, and easily discolored and stained.[5] It is ironic that plaster casts are one of the only methods of reproduction in which the copy is generally more susceptible than the original.

Although many of the production techniques of plaster casts have remained the same since antiquity, the mold has significantly evolved and contributed to the tensions of the precarious position of casts between authentic and reproductive works of art. Although casts have always been produced in sections, in antiquity the molds comprised

[2] Biagi 2002, 7.
[3] Plaster is composed of calcium sulphate, also known as gypsum, which when heated to about 300° F loses most of its water content and becomes a fine, white powder (Biagi 2002, 7). Once this powder is mixed with water, it stabilizes and becomes useful in an abundance of artistic applications.
[4] For example, in the seventeenth century in England, Charles I commissioned casts for his palaces and country house (Penny and Haskell 1981, 31). This continued to be a standard practice for powerful leaders in Europe to amass collections of casts in their residences. In America, the traditions of leaders building plaster collections continued. In 1759 George Washington amassed a collection taken from busts in London for his home in Mount Vernon. As evidenced by a 1771 list of sculptures, Thomas Jefferson also planned to display ten plaster casts at his estate, Monticello, which was heavily grounded in the classics (McNutt 1990, 160).
[5] Penny 1993, 198.

of a multitude of sections that were then pieced together to produce a single mold.[6] By the mid-nineteenth century, flexible molds made of gelatin became available allowing for fewer pieces in the casting process. Molds could be made with a variety of substances including plaster and resins.[7] Due to the technique of pieced-together molds, fine, raised lines appeared on the surface of the cast, marking the divisions of the mold. While these lines call attention to the fact that the statue is a reproduction, during the nineteenth century it was common practice to let them stand to attest to the quality of the mold. Thicker lines, resulting from subpar molds, were often rubbed out or artists would add threads dipped in gesso to their casts to create an allusion of a high quality work.[8] The concern of artists during the nineteenth century regarding mold lines points to the precision required to create reproductions and the assumption that the works would be appreciated for their artistic quality.

In the late nineteenth century, a hierarchy amongst casts was determined by the size and number of lines on the cast; the rarity of the mold; and the reputation of the plaster cast maker as an artist. Having an "original cast" was key to demonstrating the high quality, and thus the artistic integrity, of the work with such a precise mold. Especially relevant today, as access to ancient statues is limited, molds are sometimes taken from the plaster casts and not the originals themselves. Also, continued use of a single mold over time creates build up resulting in casts of lesser detail and accuracy.[9] These things then signify a further disconnect from the original mold and imposed a hierarchy within the genre of plaster casts.

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[6] Landwehr 2010, 37.
[7] Earlier casts of statues were made in other media such as bronze and marble. These materials were more expensive and heavy and thus went out of fashion (Haskell and Penny 1981, 35).
[8] Penny 1993, 196.
[9] Haskell 2002, 16.

Second, the value of casts was demonstrated by its rarity and the need to attain permission by museum authorities to take a cast. While casting was done both by museums and individuals, more often museums had their own workshops.[10] This forced cast makers to obtain permission from various venues in order to obtain a comprehensive collection to offer to clients.[11] In the mid-nineteenth century Pietro Caproni, of the Caproni Brothers in Boston, was one of the last independent cast makers allowed to take molds from works in Europe.[12] An independent cast maker who was able to obtain a comprehensive collection was highly valued for his ability to provide clientele with a complete range of artistic works. Diego Brucciani was a cast maker who worked for the South Kensington Museum in London and would later work for the British Museum.[13] Cast makers associated with museums, such as Brucciani, had the support of a museum to give them validity as an artist. In England and Italy it was more often single individuals who owned the right to distribute molds, while in Germany and France the molds were associated with the workshops within the museum.[14] The worth of molds is evident even today since they are collected alongside plaster casts.[15] Therefore, despite the fact that plaster casts are reproductions, the reproducibility was limited based on the restricted accessibility to molds and thus imposed a hierarchy amongst cast makers.

Third, the changing status of the cast makers throughout history can be attested back to antiquity. The pride taken by the cast maker in his work is noted in the way in

[10] Haskell 2002, 16.
[11] Thus, today, this challenge of acquiring molds is virtually impossible, as museums do not permit outside casters to take molds (Stone 1987, 27).
[12] Stone 1987, 27.
[13] Connor 1989, 214. Kenworthy-Browne 2006, 182.
[14] Haskell 2002, 16.
[15] James Perkins, an entrepreneur who owns nearly 3,000 plaster casts, also collects molds. He does this in order to ensure the future of the casts and even has his own workshop that continues to produce casts (Perkins 2010, 627-33).

which he signs his casts. From as early as the 3rd- 2nd century B.C.E. is a plaster cast of an earlier Hellenistic bronze horse's nosepiece at Princeton that bears an inscription reading "the plaster…of Isidoros."[16] This not only confirms the use of plaster casts in Greek workshops, but the fact that it is signed suggests ownership and a certain degree of artistic pride in the work. Roman signatures of artists were also featured on Roman copies suggesting that the replicas were valued and had worth as an object of art.[17] Roman plaster casting attests to the labor exerted by the craftsman to produce a copy. About 400 human hours would go into making a plaster cast of a Greek statue.[18] Then the artist would use the plaster cast to create a marble statue, which was an even more time consuming procedure. Thus, these two laborious processes of copying would imply a high value of worth since the act of creating a copy was, "more costly than a statue executed without the constraint of fidelity to the original."[19] Thus, the craftsmen were elevating their craft through their skills and effort put into creating a replica. By the late nineteenth century, these makers of casts, *formatori* or *formerei*, were often directly associated with museums.[20] The maker of the cast was put on display in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when they signed their works either by hand or by affixing a metal plaque to the cast. The selection of casts offered, the rarity of the molds, and the quality of the reproduction were all factors that went into determining the status of a cast maker and in turn the plaster casts.

Adding to the complexity of the tension between the authentic and original are the myriad uses to which plaster has been put since its use in the seventh millennium B.C.E.

[16] Frederiksen 2010, 14.
[17] Marvin 1997, 21.
[18] Landwehr 2010, 37.
[19] Landwehr 2010, 37.
[20] In fact, they were so highly esteemed that in Italy and Germany, they received their own titles.

At Jericho human skulls were uncovered that were treated with plaster, suggesting an attempt to portray people as they looked before death. In essence this was an early form of the death mask and an attempt to portray an exact replica of the real "object."[21] Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans also continued to use death masks in the medium of plaster.[22] Pliny the Elder thought that plaster was first employed as an artistic medium during the reign of Alexander the Great in the 4th century B.C.E. to make molds of the face in order to have more accurate portraits.[23] Again, this is significant since death masks represent an early form of plaster as a tool of replication.

A tenuous relationship between the copy and the original was already present during the antiquity and the reception of casts was contingent upon context. Tensions are noted in the various places in which plaster casts are found. As early as the Neolithic period plaster was primarily used in statuary as evidenced by statues from Ain Ghazal in Jordan.[24] Egyptian sculptures in plaster include a bust of Ankhhaf, a prince from the fourth Dynasty, found in his tomb.[25] A plaster bust of Nefertiti was found in the Amarna workshop of Thutmose, indicating its use in a commercial setting.[26] The evidence of plaster in both a tomb and workshop setting relays the flexibility of the medium. Roman plaster statues in private contexts especially highlight the tense relationship between originals and copies. Plaster within a private context might suggest that there was some

[21] Frederiksen 2010, 15. Biagi 2002, 7. Kurtz 2000, 2.
[22] Frederiksen 2010, 18.
[23] Pliny *HN* 35.151-2.
[24] Frederiksen 2010, 15.
[25] Frederiksen 2010, 15.
[26] Frederiksen 2010, 15. This seems to suggest that the practice of using plaster in the process of creating sculpture in Roman and Renaissance workshops had earlier origins.

sort of value associated with these as works of art.[27] However, Juvenal ridicules those who appear to be learned by displaying plaster casts of Greek philosophers in their homes.[28] Thus, it might be that plaster casts displayed as works of art were simply an economical alternative to marble copies.

Although literary evidence indicates that plaster was commonly used in the Roman era, it is the physical evidence that promotes its status as art.[29] Casting in antiquity might not have been a simple case of mechanical reproduction.[30] In 1954, 400 fragments of plaster casts were found in Baiae. It appears that the fragmentary nature of these casts, which were found near the baths in a cellar filled with debris, was due to the systematic removal of the metal dowels that held the casts together. Christa Landwehr, who has published the results of this find, suggests that these fragments originated from at least 24 to 33 statues.[31] Importantly, they can be identified as the casts of original, bronze Greek statues including the group of Aristogeiton and Harmodius, the Sciarra, Mattei, and Sosikles Amazons, Athena Velletri, Aphrodite Borghese, and the group of Eirene and Ploutos.[32] It is likely that these plaster casts were used in the workshop as

[27] Evidence of the medium includes a plaster statue of Dionysos in the home of Creusis in the Harbor of Thespiai that Pausanius records seeing (9.32.1). Also within a private context is the head of a plaster cast athlete from Seleuceia Pieria in Turkey (Frederiksen 2010, 24).
[28] Juvenal here does refer to plaster busts, " quamquam plena omnia gypso Chrysippi invenias" (Juv. 2.4-5).
[29] Literary sources from antiquity document the use of plaster casting in antiquity. It is possible that Plutarch records a specific instance of cast taking when he documents that envoys of Ptolemy I took a statue of Persephone from Sinope and left behind a copy (Plut. *Mor.* 984b). Pliny the Elder, however, credits the Greek sculptor Lysistratos of Sikyon as the inventor of taking plaster casts (Pliny *HN* 35.153). Loukianos records that the statue of Hermes in Athens was covered daily by sculptors taking casts (*Iuppiter Tragoedus* 33). Other literary evidence includes the physical qualities of plaster. Theophrastus included a description of plaster in his work, *On Stones*, in which he describes how to turn gypsum into plaster of Paris (64-9).
[30] Penny 1993, 191.
[31] Landwehr 2010, 35.
[32] Hees-Landwehr 1982, 23; 24-45. Gisela Richter first suggested that the plaster cast of the head of Aristogeiton was from the Greek, bronze original (Richter 1970).

aids to create true to scale marble copies of these Greek originals.[33] The casts from Baiae are not the only examples of plaster casts from the Roman period. Casts of Greek craft objects, such as tableware, are also found at Memphis in Egypt. Plaster casts of Hellenistic reliefs were found at Begram in Afghanistan.[34]

The copies of these Greek originals by Roman artists are often grouped into a genre called *Idealplastik.* The function of these copies for the Romans, however, functioned more as decorative items intended evoke a certain learned or luxurious environment in both domestic and public contexts. Indeed, the display of copies in antiquity can be interpreted as the display of statues that were conceived as valuable works of art.[35] Minute differences from the original also promoted the works as art objects. Landwehr uses the plaster cast of Aristogeiton found at Baiae to demonstrate that it actually differs from other Roman copies, suggesting that these replicas were not mechanical reproductions, but strayed in detail from the original.[36] Roman copies are works of judgment and skill since they differ in material, size, quality, and iconographic minutiae.[37] These ideas easily translate to notions of artistic qualities in plaster casts during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The topic of reproduction in Roman sculpture, *Idealplastik,* correlates to plaster casts created during and after the Renaissance. Plaster casts of these antique statues, based on the similarities to the Roman copying of Greek statuary, can be considered a second age of the *Idealplastik.* During the Renaissance, casts were collected that were of

[33] Landwehr 2010, 35.
[34] Frederiksen 2010, 22-3.
[35] There was an instance of coping in the twin statues of Demeter in Juba's place in Caesarea Maureteniae. In all likelihood Juba would not have placed these identical statues in his palace had he not considered them to be of high artistic integrity (Landwehr 2010, 39).
[36] Landwehr 2010, 40.
[37] Marvin 1997, 8-9.

other media, such as bronze and marble, in addition to plaster.[38] Just as the Romans created plaster casts and replicas from Greek statues, so beginning in the Renaissance plaster copies began to disseminate Greek and Roman works as well as the Roman copies of Greek works.

Cast collecting as a practice really began during the Renaissance in the fifteenth century. The earliest Renaissance collection was by Francesco Squarcione in Padua who collected casts in Greece in order to train his apprentices.[39] Shortly thereafter, casts entered the collections of private artists and humanists who wanted to assert knowledge of classical education. In the mid to late seventeenth century, casts became a common component of art academies in Europe used in developing drawing skills.[40] Collections of casts were formed with more vigor in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with the rediscovery of classicism. At this time, plaster casts were associated with refined tastes and could be found in private collections as well as in fine art institutions.[41]

In America in the second half of the nineteenth century and towards the turn of the twentieth century, cast collecting became an extremely prevalent practice. In order to understand the ways that plaster casts were displayed in the 1890s and 1900s it is necessary to first understand their history and cultural uses both in Europe and the United States. Large, public cast collections of works from antiquity as well as the Renaissance began to be assembled in the 1880s.[42] They were typically not as often purchased for private collections, as in Europe, as for fine arts schools and museum and university collections. John Smibert purchased the very first collection in the United States in 1728

[38] Haskell and Penny 1981, 35-41.
[39] Kurtz 2000, 2.
[40] Haskell and Penny 1981, 37.
[41] Haskell and Penny 1981, 79-91.
[42] Connor 1989, 227.

to display in his studio, which acted as the first art school in Boston and was open to the public.[43]

The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and the Metropolitan Museum in New York are two examples of how plaster casts were used to promote refinement and build collections. The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston made plaster casts a central feature of their iconographic program.[44] The museum began in the 1870s with 25 casts on loan, which would enable the museum to educate the public between the distinctions of high and vulgar art.[45] By the time its first catalogue was published, the collection had grown to over 100 casts. Three years later they had acquired an additional 800 casts.[46] This rapid growth in collections demonstrates the museum's desire to form a solid collection and provide a classical education for the general public.

In 1891, the Metropolitan Museum published, "Metropolitan Museum of Art: Tentative Lists of Objects Desirable for a Collection of Casts, Sculptural and Architectural, Intended to Illustrate the History of Plastic Art."[47] This action, along with raising $80,000 for purchasing casts, was prompted by the cast collection of the smaller Slater Memorial Museum in Norwich, Connecticut.[48] The casts, once acquired, were

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[43] His original aim was to educate natives of Bermuda, but he ended up elevating the culture of his fellow Bostonians instead. In fact, his studio served as an art school so artists who were unable to go abroad were still able to learn about European works (McNutt 1990, 159).
[44] Wallach 1998, 41.
[45] DiMaggio 1982, 41-8.
[46] Connor 1989, 277.
[47] These casts represent the common desire to obtain a comprehensive collection- including Egyptian, Chaldean, Assyrian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Medieval (covering Byzantine, Carolingian, France, Spain, Germany, Italian and English art), and the Renaissance (covering Italy, Germany, and France). The list included not only statuary and relief panels, but also casts of architectural members and models (Special Committee on the Casts of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1891). A comprehensive collection was useful not only for didactic purposes, but also for drawing comparisons.
[48] Smaller museums began to create cast collections as well including Slater Memorial Museum that was solely devoted to the display of casts. Modeled after this museum, was the George Walter Vincent Smith Museum in Springfield, Massachusetts that opened in 1899. In 1905, casts that were installed in the Albright Art Gallery of the Buffalo Academy (Connor 1989, 228). Even places like the Springfield Public

arranged in the new, northern wing of the Metropolitan Museum in November of 1894.[49] The amount of money and lengths that went into organizing this comprehensive collection in a single swoop illustrates the desire to acquire a collection that could meet the didactic demands of the time.

At the end of the nineteenth century museums, art schools, and universities relied on plaster casts. In museums, plaster casts were used to refine public tastes, build up museum collections, and continue the European tradition of a classical education. The International Convention for Promoting Universal Reproductions of Works of Art in 1867 encouraged museums to replicate and share works of art amongst each other.[50] This enabled museums, which were formed in the nineteenth century to create a place of national heritage and to promote the nationalistic pride of their holdings.[51] Between the years of 1874 and 1914, a visitor to an art museum in the United States would inevitably find a collection of plaster casts.[52] Large and small museums alike used cast collections as a way to build collections they did not have. Unlike European museums, American art institutions did not have the resources to acquire "authentic" art objects of the classical world. Instead, they used the next best thing- plaster casts, which were asserted as equal and even superior to the originals on which they were based.[53] These plaster casts were considered superior, not only because they had to be since there were no originals, but also because museums were able to assemble comprehensive collections in one place. Since in the United States the core of education still was closely linked with classics,

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Library in Massachusetts boasted collections of casts, which were acquired when drawing classes began to be offered (Wallach 1998, 53).

[49] Connor 1989, 227-8.

[50] Bilbey and Trusted 2010, 466.

[51] Fredericksen and Marchand 2010, 7.

[52] Wallach 1998, 38.

[53] Wallach 1998, 46.

museums followed this precedence and attempted to bring artworks similar to those in European museums to America. Therefore, plaster casts in museums afforded Americans a unique opportunity to present an entire canon of antique sculpture- something that could not be fulfilled by contemporary European museums with their original artworks.[54]

Plaster casts were first used in art instruction with the nationalistic intention to foster American art that would surpass that of Europe.[55] The use of plaster casts in conjunction with art schools promoted taste in the antique as well as cultivated a sense of the human body that allowed American artists to reach the caliber of any European artist.[56] Plaster casts in art academies served as teaching tools from which students learned how to draw.[57] One of the earliest instances of academy use of plaster casts on a large scale in the United States was the New York Academy of the Fine Arts, organized by Robert R. Livingston, in 1803 who ordered the casts from Paris and displayed them publicly.[58] Plaster casts in art academies continued to increase in popularity after the foundation of the New York Academy of the Fine Arts.[59]

Finally, plaster casts took on a much more principal role within the didactic setting of the university. Plaster casts in the university played an extremely prominent role in aiding the study of art history and classical archaeology. Naturally, plaster casts

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[54] Wallach 1998, 48. Michael Camille suggests that the mobility of the casts presents a canon of art that can be forever added to and changed. He argues that because of this flexibility, the canon is only representative of objects (1996, 198). In viewing the canon of art as representative, he is in effect paralleling the replicated plaster casts. In referring to both as reproductions, Camille advances the status of plaster casts as a medium capable of presenting a canon of art.

[55] Cooke 2010, 578.

[56] Van Rheeden 2001, 216. It is believed that this practice began as early as the 1440s as Vasari records that Andrea Mantegna studied the casts collected by Squarcione (Vasari 1991, 242-4).

[57] McNutt 1990, 166.

[58] McNutt 1990, 162.

[59] This establishment inspired the creation of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and many others. Inspired by the New York Academy, Joseph Hopkinson established the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and brought casts into the picture in 1806. In 1907, the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburg opened a collection of casts. Casts were also present at the Rhode Island School of Design (Connor 1989, 228-9).

were instrumental in teaching both art history as well as the fine arts; thus, it is not surprising that museums at universities hosted plaster casts. Since universities were not always in large cities, the responsibility fell to the university to establish an art museum.[60] Due to this increased demand from museums, universities, and private citizens, plaster casts became a commodity in America.[61] To students of art and art history, plaster casts aided in learning to recognize the different stylistic periods in the field of art history. Cast collections, which comprised of casts from many different museums and individuals, represented a desire in the nineteenth century for completeness that was largely compelled by the desire to ensure observers a chronologically and geographically comprehensive survey of antique sculpture.[62] Additionally, the white nature of the plaster casts made the casts physically similar, which facilitated comparisons amongst works of different regions and periods.[63] By the end of the nineteenth century, most colleges or universities had some sort of museum, and the plaster casts in these collections played a critical role in archaeological pedagogy.[64]

Plaster casts also functioned as a way to advance classical education. Classical archaeology, as a formal academic discipline, arose in the 1880s with the appointment of Charles Eliot Norton at Harvard University.[65] While in Germany the use of plaster cast collections by universities to facilitate studies in classics was commonplace, the practice

[60] This was the case with universities such as Cornell, Illinois, and Missouri (Dyson 1998, 140). However, plaster casts also appeared in primary and secondary schools as sources of aesthetic inspiration to the students (Dyson 2010, 570).
[61] Dyson 2010, 572. P.P. Caproni and Brother of Boston, operating from 1892-1927, was the only *formatore* in the United States and supplied the continent with over 2,500 different casts. Today the Giust Gallery continues to carry on the work of P.P. Caproni and Brother producing plaster casts still using the surviving molds and methods of Caproni.
[62] van Rheeden 2001, 221.
[63] Gamp 2010, 510.
[64] Dyson 1998, 108.
[65] Dyson 1998, 1.

did not arise in the United States until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a direct result of the rise of classical archaeology.[66] While many scholars still had to go to Germany to get a formal education in the subject, by the 1890s American universities began to increasingly offer programs of classical archaeology. The advent of plaster casts, along with photographs and lanternslides, allowed for students of classical archaeology to visualize the objects that they were studying.[67] These tools provided for more accurate views of ancient monuments.[68] In fact, plaster casts during the late nineteenth century were usually owned by and displayed in the classics departments of United States universities.[69] Archaeological digs in nineteenth century Europe also fueled the dissemination of plaster casts and the classical education.[70] As sculptures were being pulled from the earth, molds were taken and plaster casts were sent around the world to promote good taste.[71] The dissemination of these discoveries fostered nationalistic pride in the countries from where these archaeological projects originated.

Plaster stepped out of its didactic roles in the university settings to fulfill social obligations as a way in which to refine the taste of the American public. Early collections of plaster casts, like those later to come, were collected in order to cultivate high culture and to promote the artistic standards of the time.[72] Literature in the late nineteenth century addressed the ways in which plaster casts could be used to civilize middle and working class Americans. The cultural elite claimed that plaster casts

[66] Frederiksen and Marchand 2010, 5.
[67] Edward Forbes, a student at Harvard University, described his only visual memory of a course with Dr. Norton as a trip to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston to see plaster casts (Dyson 1998, 107). This, of course, was prior to when casts were a common part of university collections and highlights the need for visual aids.
[68] Dyson 1998, 63.
[69] Dyson 1998, 108.
[70] Haskell 2002, 14.
[71] Haskell and Penny 1981, 77-91.
[72] Cooke 2010, 577.

elevated the barbaric general public of America and enhance their cultural lives. Museums played a large role in this goal to civilize since they were able to reach a broad audience.[73] In order to improve American taste, it was imperative that cast collections be complete for without this overarching survey, the quest to refine taste would be meaningless.[74]

One of the most formative moments in cast collecting is the nationalistic role that plaster casts played in the Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace in 1851 in Hyde Park, London. This was one of the first times plaster casts entered the public domain outside of museums, universities, and private homes.[75] The plaster casts of ancient statues were specifically selected from abroad and were displayed in the Fine Arts Courts that were divided into displays of different periods: Greek and Roman, Gothic and Renaissance, modern Italian and French, and modern English and German sculpture.[76] Although there was Egyptian and Assyrian art as well, the main concentration was on the classical antiquities in the Greek and Roman courts.[77] The exhibit was not only didactic in nature, but also nationalistic. The "Prospectus of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851" announced that, "The French, Germans, and Italians will cease to be the only European nations busy in educating the eye of the people for the appreciation of art and beauty…"[78]

In addition to foreshadowing the wave of nationalism that arose in connection with casts in American fairs, the Great Exhibition also promoted the casts as original

[73] Wallach 1998, 47-8.
[74] Bury 1991, 122. McNutt 1990, 159.
[75] Connor 1989, 209.
[76] Kenworthy-Browne 2006, 176; 185.
[77] Kenworthy-Browne 2006, 186.
[78] Kenworthy- Browne 2006, 174.

works of art. When the exhibit of plaster casts at the Crystal Palace first opened, people protested the nudity of the sculptures. Fig leaves were added, infusing a cultural preference into the artwork, and thus fundamentally changing it. Another choice, which affected the works as copies, was the decision to color the casts. Not all of the casts were colored, but some whose originals were bronze were colored to resemble the metal using the electrotype process while others remained white.[79] These plaster casts were merely mechanical copies of the originals since the reproductions were changed. In fact, the simple act of reproducing an object gives value to the replicated object since it is worthy of the effort taken to copy it.[80] Just as the Romans had their "replica series," the dissemination of plaster casts during the nineteenth century promoted a new "replica series" present in museums, universities, and private collections.

This thesis will be investigating the changing notions of authenticity in three collections of plaster casts that appeared in the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis. Although in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the term authenticity had no set definition, I would suggest that the craftsmanship, dimensionality, color, and the ways in which plaster casts were written about all contribute to a notion of authenticity in collections. These collections of casts promote the plaster reproductions as authentic art objects in a variety of ways and for different reasons. The University of Missouri-Columbia collection was amassed prior to the exposition and was exhibited there only through the medium of photography. The university sought to acquire high quality casts and to display them in an environment that promoted them as authentic. At the fair, the plaster casts, represented through photography, demonstrated the university's

[79] Kenworthy-Browne 2006, 183.
[80] Allington 1997, 162.

desires to present itself as a top institution as well as to participate in the larger dialogue of classical archaeology.

The second collection that will be investigated are the casts of August Gerber of Cologne, Germany. These casts were first part of Gerber's exhibits at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition and then were purchased by Louis Houck for the State Normal School in Cape Girardeau, Missouri. Gerber promoted his plaster casts at the fair as nationalistic and educational. He also heavily advanced the authenticity of the casts through his focus on color and himself as an artist. At the Normal School, the plaster casts were embraced for their educational value.

The final set of casts are those that were exhibited in the Anthropology Department's Exhibit of the Smithsonian Institution at the exposition. The casts are now in the storage facilities of the National Museum of National History at the Smithsonian Institution. At the fair, these plaster casts were conceived in order to promote the indigenous objects of the Americas as works of art. The art works chosen in this display as well as the way in which the plaster casts were exhibited invited comparison to the indigenous works and advanced the latter as "art."

Throughout the discussion of these collections, many of the themes inherent in any dialogue on plaster casts, including authenticity and reproduction, will be addressed. Also pertinent to each of these cast collections, are the ways in which they were acquired. This will be investigated in relation to each collection and it will become evident that collections are more often sporadically assembled than meticulously planned. I propose that the notions of authenticity and the differing didactic purposes of the plaster casts were directly determined by the contexts and spaces they occupy. This thesis will track

how function and space established the specific meanings of the plaster cast collections at the University of Missouri, those of August Gerber and the Normal School, and finally the collection now at the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution.

Chapter One: University of Missouri-Columbia

The plaster cast collection of the University of Missouri-Columbia, formed by John Pickard, illustrates how context dictates the notion of authenticity in casts. The casts themselves, the collection as a whole, the presentation of the casts in the museum, and the display of the casts at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition demonstrate the ways in which the casts were variously regarded as authentic objects of art. In addition, the University of Missouri, which was founded through the Morill Act of 1862 that provided land grants to institutions of higher education, played a role in shaping the discipline of classical archaeology in the Midwest.[81] Its collection of antique plaster casts propelled the Department of Classical Archaeology into the larger conversation of the discipline of classical archaeology.

Conceptions of authenticity can be noted in the casts themselves and the ways in which John Pickard acquired them. Shortly after joining the faculty as a Professor of Classical Archaeology and as an Assistant Professor of Greek, John Pickard began a campaign to purchase plaster casts in order to form the foundation for a museum and a department of classical archaeology, as well as to insert the university into the larger dialogue of classical archaeology.[82] In a report dated January 1, 1895 to the Board of Curators, Pickard made his case for a museum by listing other leading universities that had plaster cast collections and classical artifacts including Cornell University, University of Michigan, University of Illinois, Harvard University, Yale University, Princeton University, University of Pennsylvania, and nearby Kansas University. He

[81] Dyson 1998, 100.
[82] MU Archives. *Catalogue of the University of Missouri* 1893-4.

asked for $8,000 worth of Classical plaster casts with an additional $800 for books and illustrations. “It is now two years since, by your action, the Department of Classical Archaeology was established. This department today is almost bare of equipment.”[83] He spent nine times more on classical archaeology than he did on the Renaissance equipment consisting of engravings, illustrations, and books. The large sum of money reserved for classical items represents of the University’s desire to meet the classical standards set by universities within the United States and Europe.

The places from where Pickard purchased the plaster casts indicate the quality and artistic craftsmanship he demanded to meet his notions of authenticity. By the 1894-5 school year, the catalogue records that in Academic Hall there was a space reserved for the Museum, which was also called a laboratory, that would contain plaster casts and other representations of the best works of classical art and architecture in Europe.[84] This indicates that although no casts had yet been purchased, the University was dedicated to the idea of a Museum of Classical Archaeology filled with plaster casts. Pickard wrote again asking for money from the Board of Curators to pay the authorities for the casts from the Musée de Louvre in Paris, the British Museum in London, and the Technischen Hochschule in Munich. Pickard was very forward in pushing for payment so that he could acquire the casts without delay citing that it was, “a matter of great importance for my work…”[85] It is not surprising that Pickard went to Eugene Arrondelle of the Louvre

[83] MU, Western Historical Manuscript Collection- Columbia. 2582- The University of Missouri President’s Office Papers. 1/1/1895. The amount Pickard spent on these casts could be roughly equivalent to $195,000.00 today.
[84] The original Academic Hall burned down in 1892. A new Academic hall was rebuilt and this building is today called Jesse Hall.
[85] MU Archives. UW: 1/1/2 Box 4 Folder 2, July 24, 1895. Additionally, a biennial report states that plaster casts were purchased for Classical Archaeology from the Musée du Louvre, D. Brucciani & Co., G. Gerfaud Fils- casing and packing casts, and Technsichen Hochschule- sundry plaster casts for a total of

or Diego Brucciani & Co. of the British Museum to acquire plaster casts since this meant that he was receiving an "original cast," a cast of high quality and artistic integrity. Michael Camille argues that plaster casts taken from the original mold should be viewed as "contact relics, made from molds taken…from the surface of the divine prototype, thus giving them their own peculiar kind of authenticity."[86] Perhaps this sort of attitude was also present during the early twentieth century, contributing to a notion of the authenticity of the objects.[87]

Although the Technischen Hochscule was not a renowned venue for casts, later purchases from well-known cast makers perhaps reveal the increasing importance in the concern of the quality of casts.[88] A 1902 disbursement was made to the General Verwaltung of the Königlichen Museen for plaster casts. Two years later Pickard made another purchase from the noted cast maker of the Musée de Louvre, Eugene Arrondelle.[89] Although Pickard was purchasing from well-known casters and unknown ones alike, the weight that the museum-produced casts carried must have compensated for the lesser known and perhaps lesser quality casts to still promote the casts as authentic objects worthy of display in a museum.

$987.14 (MU Archives. UW: 1/3/1 Biennial *Report of the Board of Curators to the 39th General Assembly for the Two Years Ending December 31, 1896*, page 60, no. 945-48).

[86] Camille 1996, 198.

[87] In a 1907 textbook of sculpture, the author, Ernest Henry Short, notes the value of the statue of Hermes and Dionysus as an original, surviving work of Praxiteles. In the same discussion, Short states that everyone had seen the cast of the statue (Short 1907, 57). Thus, it seems probable that there is a strong association between the idea of the original and the cast.

[88] However, it is surprising that Pickard went to Technischen Hochscule as they are almost unknown in the world of plaster cast making. Perhaps Pickard went to this Munich cast supplier since he studied under Adolf Furtwängler at the University of Munich where he received his doctoral degree in 1892 (Weller 1992, 6). This lesser importance of the Technischen Hochscule is directly reflected in the amount of money Pickard spent since he used less than one quarter of the amount than at either the Louvre or British Museum. I would argue that major cast makers are those listed under addresses for plaster casts in Brucciani's own catalogue (Brucciani & Co. 1889, xx-xxii) that is also repeated in Marquand and Frothingham's A *Text-Book of a History of Sculpture* (1901, xviii- xx).

[89] MU Archives. UW: 1/3/1 *Biennial Report of the Board of Curators to the 39th General Assembly for the Two Years Ending December 31, 1902*,188, no. 2384*;* 164, no. 2606.

The University's collection of plaster casts reflects the values of authenticity, comprehensiveness, classification, and the classical education that were common in the period. Pickard's list of potential casts reflects his desire to create a comprehensive collection that appropriately illustrated the nuances in style between periods of classical art.[90] The 133 desired casts that Pickard listed to the Board of Curators in 1895 reproduced what he deemed a "canonical Classical history of art" representative of all periods.[91] He divided his desired selections into the following categories: Archaic Greek, Hellenistic art, Busts- Greek and Roman, and Roman art.[92] The list, with the inclusion of the Venus de Medici, Venus de Milo, of Arles, and of Capua, shows Pickard's desire to collect objects where stylistic differences between periods could be compared. Importantly, Pickard only purchased 28 of the 133 casts listed, approximately 21% of the plaster casts he actually desired, which points to the general difficulties surrounding obtaining specific casts, especially since Pickard travelled to Europe twice to retrieve plaster casts (Table 1).[93]

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[90] This list was attached to his proposal that he sent to the Board of Curators. MU. Western Historical Manuscript Collection- Columbia. 2582- The University of Missouri President's Office Papers. 1/1/1895.

[91] MU. Western Historical Manuscript Collection- Columbia. 2582- The University of Missouri President's Office Papers. 1/1/1895.

[92] However, I would suggest that it is unusual that there was no attempt to collect Egyptian or Assyrian plaster casts as these were deemed essential to any cast collection that considered itself worthy in the nineteenth century (Bilde 2000, 213). What is even more striking is that Pickard's course on Greek Art begins with Egyptian and Assyrian art (MU Archives. Catalogue of the University of Missouri 1901-2, 70). His cause followed larger trends in the field as textbooks of sculpture also began with Egyptian and Assyrian sculpture (Lübke 1872, vii-viii. Marquand and Frothingham 1901, vii).

[93] Perhaps also indicative of hardships acquiring casts is the account of the Temple of Hera. Pickard petitioned the Board for money with which to buy eight pieces of sculpture excavated in the Temple of Hera near Argos including heads, a torso, and a fragment of seima (MU. Western Historical Manuscript Collection. University of Missouri President's Office Papers. Shelf no. 2582. Folders 1893-1908). He sent photographs of some of the casts that he wished to purchase with the letter and claims that they are very cheap, yet of fine quality. It is odd that although President Jesse approved these expenses, these casts never actually entered Missouri's collection. Pickard states that the moulds for these works were in New York and they would have to be freighted from there, suggesting that the casts would be made in New York. I am unsure why the molds were in New York since Dr. Charles Waldstein, Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, carried out the excavations on the temple in 1892. It is also surprising that the moulds were in New York since the major cast maker in the United States was located in Boston

The ways in which the cast collection was classified as scientific demonstrates not only the authenticity of the casts, but also their importance beyond the Department of Classical Archaeology and to the larger university. Prior to chronological groupings, casts were sometimes arranged by the donor. The switch to chronological groupings was largely in the early nineteenth century due to an upsurge in classification.[94] This sort of grouping promoted a "stylistic taxonomy of objects" which in turn lent authenticity to the collection as it was arranged in a scientific manner and was elevated to the level of science.[95] Furthermore, in all of the disbursement files of the university, any expenses of the museum are listed under "Laboratories" along with those of Chemistry and other sciences. This common grouping signals that the university held this museum in high regard and as an integral component of the department, just as a chemistry laboratory would be similarly crucial to the Department of Chemistry. This also has interesting implications in terms of classification. Mary Beard argues that placing plaster casts in a laboratory, specifically in the instance of the Fitzwilliam Museum at the University of Cambridge, declassifies them as works of art and reclassifies them as specimens.[96] Rather, I would suggest that in the case of the University of Missouri the consideration of the museum as a laboratory simply highlights the plaster casts as objects worthy of consideration and their classification is representative of larger interests in ordering during this time.

The cast collection was used also by the Department of Classical Archaeology to promote classical education. The university catalogue's description of the course on the

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(Waldstein 1892). Perhaps the casts remained in New York because of Waldstein's association with New York as he was a native of New York City and attended Columbia University (Lord 1947, 32).

[94] Beard 1993, 11.

[95] Camille 1996, 198.

[96] Beard 1993, 18.

History of Greek Art in the catalogue confirms the pedagogical role of the plaster casts: "Lectures, collateral readings, essays, with constant use of lantern slides, photographic reproductions, and models and casts in the Museum of Classical Archaeology."[97] This directly affirms that classical courses would spend time in the museum with the plaster casts in order to advance their learning. The fact that the course was only using reproductions in conjunction with the lectures suggests that these objects were promoted as authentic, as there were no original Greek sculptures with which to draw a comparison. Also, the three-dimensionality of the casts, as compared with the illustrations and lantern slides, provided a more authentic experience of the object.

The manner in which the plaster casts were displayed at the University of Missouri validates the ways in which context dictates the authenticity of the objects and affirms the pedagogical uses of the casts (Fig. 1). The Museum of Classical Archaeology was founded in 1895. In the 1896 edition of *Savitar,* the university's yearbook, the museum was described as, "filled with casts of the rare works of ancient art. With the scientific spirit so dominant, and scientific laboratories all around, it is especially fitting that there should be one place where the products of a great imaginative age shall pose in beauty and dignity."[98] By the time the catalogue was published in 1895-6 the laboratory on the third floor of the west wing of Academic Hall was finally occupied. It stated that,

> During the past year an excellent beginning has been made in equipping a laboratory for the study of Classical Archaeology. For this purpose the third floor of the west wing of Academic Hall, a room 110 x 36 ft., is fitted up. It is now supplied with models of temples, illustrating the three orders of Greek Architecture, and with fifty plaster casts of the most famous specimens of Greek and Roman Art. These are arranged chronologically, and with them are hung one hundred and fifty framed photographs of other works of classic

[97] MU Archives. *Catalogue of the University of Missouri*, 1902-3, 73.
[98] MU Archives. *Savitar* 1896, 21.

> art. Besides these, the Museum possesses some six hundred photographs, and a fine collection of lantern slides.[99]

This description of the museum reveals several common trends. The first is that the plaster casts are arranged chronologically. Since one of the major goals of plaster casts was to teach, collections at this time were usually arranged in terms of chronology to demonstrate stylistic differences. The fact that they were set up chronologically, as were art objects in a museum setting, would also advance their status as authentic.

Moreover, casts were promoted as authentic art objects through their juxtaposition with the framed photographs of classic art alongside them. It was a common practice to fill out plaster cast collections with photographs.[100] They often worked as supplementary evidence, either to fill out collections, or to show a photograph of the original work next to the plaster reproduction. Pickard's decision to represent these two reproductive mediums side by side demonstrates the importance given to the plaster casts as didactic tools. While lantern slides and photographs were available for teaching and could be considered more convenient because of their smaller size, plaster casts continued to hold precedence in the museum most likely due to their true to life size and three-dimensionality. In fact, this three-dimensionality gave plaster casts an air of authenticity since they allowed viewers to dictate the terms of their encounter, unlike photographs. However, it should be noted that the photograph of the original actually depicts the original work, which can be paralleled in the fact that plaster casts retained the original

[99] MU Archives. *Catalogue of the University of Missouri* 1895-6, 35.
[100] The Museum unter den Arcaden, like the Museum of Classical Archaeology, also displayed photos in frames that were hung on the walls behind the plaster casts (Bilde 2000, 218). Sometimes photographs were even on the bases of the casts, however, they were later removed because they were believed to be distracting attention away from the object (Weller 1992, 11). Sometimes an original photo of an artwork was also displayed with the plaster cast of the same object, as noted with a display at the South Kensington Museum of Michelangelo's *David* (Baker 2010, 494).

form of their prototype.[101] It is possible that this act of displaying photographs of originals simply justified the medium of reproduction seen in the plaster casts.

Nevertheless, university catalogues indicate that the status of the casts changed over time. In 1902, Pickard set out yet again to Europe and *The Daily Tribune* chronicled his journey.[102] He purchased "Many casts and four original specimens of Egyptian sculpture." The original specimens of Egyptian sculpture are worth noting for the fact that they are referenced as "original." This indicates a sense of pride that is taken in the acquisition of an "original cast" versus a reproduction and thus signals a turning point in the way that casts were regarded.

The reproductions of Renaissance and Modern paintings in the museum collections signal a change in the reception of the plaster casts. They are also useful as representations of the tensions between the original and the copy. In the catalogue, the Renaissance and Modern paintings are described as: "A few of the best reproductions in color of famous paintings are also to be seen here. In addition to many other unframed photographs, the gallery also has an excellent collection of lantern slides, some of which reproduce the colors of the originals."[103] Despite the fact that the lantern slides themselves were reproductions, they were able to reproduce color in a more exact manner and might have been considered a more useful teaching tool in the classroom. The attention given to color in the photographs brings up the performative nature of the casts. As a sea of white, plaster casts served a specific function in being physically similar so

[101] Baker 2010, 495.
[102] *The Daily Tribune* stated on March 5, 1902 that Pickard left to go to Europe to collect material for the museum, and a later entry records that Pickard returned to Missouri and in December thirty to forty plaster casts were expected to soon be a part of the University Archaeological Department (*The Daily Tribune*, September 6, 1902; December 8, 1902).
[103] MU Archives. *Catalogue of the University of Missouri*, 1902-3, 74-5.

that they could be compared.[104] This white nature of the plaster casts, which did not preserve the individual veins in the marble, would be strikingly different from the color of the Renaissance and Modern reproductions that strove to accurately portray the original colors in turn lending the photographs more authenticity. In this context then, I believe the true to color reproductions further marks a departure from seeing plaster casts as original works of art. Therefore, the changing contexts in which the plaster casts were exhibited directly influenced their aura of authenticity.

The plaster casts from the Museum of Classical Archaeology were also central to the University of Missouri's exhibit in the Palace of Education at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri.[105] The Palace of Education, where the plaster casts were located, was the first time an exposition provided an entire building specifically dedicated to education. Here educational systems from thirty U.S. states and renowned universities from foreign countries exhibited their achievements through monographs of their educational systems and charts and models demonstrating the progress of the universities (Fig. 2).[106] These exhibits worked not only to promote achievements, but also to spread knowledge of new ideas generated from these institutions.

[104] Gamp 2010, 510. Nowhere is this better exemplified than by the plaster casts at the Musée de Sculpture Comparée in Paris where the plaster casts were specifically intended to facilitate comparison. With the casts all the same color, it became much easier to compare works of arts from different time periods, cultures, and materials.
[105] The University of Missouri also had additional exhibits in the Palace of Mines and Metallurgy as well as several other buildings, including the United States Government Building (Pickard 1904, 4).
[106] Bennitt 1905, 547.

World fairs were sites of contact with large crowds and as such they readily lent themselves to economic exchange and the dissemination of knowledge.[107] They worked to shape public taste through overwhelming exhibitions of art and architecture.[108] Fair buildings, filled with exhibits, were strikingly similar to museums themselves.[109] The 1904 St. Louis World Fair was the largest exposition to date and had over nineteen million visitors. The president of Colorado College, William F. Slocum, stated that the St. Louis World Fair was, "…as perfect as illustration as has been seen of the method of the University of the Future which is to exchange pictures and living objects for text books and to make these, with the aid of laboratory work, the means whereby instruction is given and individual development is obtained."[110] Even further evidence of the fair as an educative site is Frederick Starr, a professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago, who actually offered a course entitled the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Class in Ethnology for which thirty enrolled students received credit.[111]

The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exhibition was held from April 30, 1904 to December 1, 1904 in Forest Park in St. Louis, Missouri and is significant in terms of the reproductions can be noted across the fair. The central, domed building of the fair was Festival Hall that was surrounded by the Colonnade of the States, symbolizing each of the 13 states and the one territory of the Louisiana Purchase, and the Cascades, which symbolized the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans (Fig. 3). All of the 10 palaces and the United States Government Building boasted classically inspired façades, emphasizing the

[107] Harris 1990, 114. The centrality of economics at the St. Louis World's Fair can be evidenced by the fact that the 1905 history of the fair the very first page states that the revenue amounted to $11,500,000 (Bennitt 1905, ix).
[108] Wygant 1983, 98.
[109] Harris 1990, 120.
[110] Rydell 1984, 155.
[111] Rydell 1984, 166.

importance of the classical world. In fact, the United States Government Building's dome was directly modeled after the Pantheon. The Plateau of the States was an area in which the states were able to erect a building and fill it with goods to show off the prosperity of the state. Here, the buildings themselves were reproductions- Louisiana reproduced the Cabildo in New Orleans and Virginia recreated Thomas Jefferson's home, Monticello. This reproduction of buildings is also seen within the foreign buildings at the fair.[112] Other forms of reproduction were present at the fair in the Palace of Fine Arts in the form of plaster reproductions in the central sculpture court. Even on the Pike, the entertainment district of the fair, reconstruction can be noted with the exhibit, "Creation" which allowed visitors to enter a diorama via a boat to witness the creation of man and then a reenactment of the creation.[113]

The fair was also significant for its living exhibits, which were also another forum for reproduction. The Division of Anthropology and the Philippine Reservation presented "colonies" or "villages" were composed of Native people from all over America who were put on display to demonstrate their crafts and aspects of everyday lives.[114] In fact, the Anthropology exhibit included a Model Indian School to illustrate the progress of the native peoples. In the Palace of Education, an exhibit from the Missouri School for the Deaf in Fulton exhibited students demonstrating their skills in tailoring. The St. Louis Public Schools put on the largest living display with students from various schools in the public school system participating in weeklong classes.[115] The exhibit of Brown's Business College consisted of a schoolroom inside of which

[112] For example, France built a reproduction of Versailles and Germany partially reconstructed the Palace of Charlottenburg (Fox and Sneddeker 1997, 161-173).
[113] Fox and Sneddeker 1997, 138, 221.
[114] Parezo and Fowler 2007, 194-202.
[115] Fox and Sneddeker 1997, 104-5.

classroom drills on subjects such as shorthand were being conducted with living participants.[116]

The University of Missouri exhibit, which also boasted reproductions, was intended to promote the university as equal to and excelling universities within and outside of the United States (Fig. 4). Since the fair was held in nearby St. Louis, the University of Missouri had a responsibility to promote the academic success of the state. The University of Missouri's exhibit of 10,000 square feet was directly within the main entrance of the Palace of Education, signaling its importance within the building and its general prominence amongst other institutions. In a letter to the Executive Board of the University of Missouri, dated July 12, 1901, the committee for the world fair indicated that since other leading universities in the United States and Europe will have exhibits, it is important that the University of Missouri, "far outrank that of any other institution" and assert the supremacy of the education system in the Midwest.[117] Indeed President Jesse acknowledged that even, "our worst enemies will admit that we met the obligation [to outrank other institutions] fully." This is affirmed by the fact that the University won 15 medals and prizes for their exhibit, including the grand prize for the general exhibit.[118]

The University's award-winning display in the Palace of Education was divided into two parts. The first was an exhibit depicting what the university was generally, while the individual departmental exhibits constituted the second part.[119] The center of the entire exhibit was the gravestone of Thomas Jefferson; extremely fitting considering the fair was honoring his Louisiana Purchase. Photographs and charts depicting the

[116] Bennitt 1905, 552.
[117] MU Archives. UW 1/1/2 Box 8 Folder 5, RC # 002674.
[118] MU Archives. UW: 1/1/2 Box 11, Letter to the President and Board of Curators of the University of Missouri. MU Archives. UW: 1/1/2 Box 12, Folder 6.
[119] Pickard 1904, 5.

growth of the University of Missouri were included, along with a plaster model of the grounds of the university by George Carroll Curtis.[120] The university also displayed various publications ranging from the subjects of law to Romance languages. These items demonstrate that the University of Missouri complied with the outline for an education exhibit suggested by the chief of the Department of Education of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. It recommended a topographical map and model of the grounds, charts showing growth, photographs of interior views, publications, and so on. The outline ended with the statement that, "It is not the great bulk of material that is impressive, but care in selection and system in arrangement."[121] This statement must have resonated with the university as Pickard wrote, "Though the university occupies more space than is given to any other university at the exposition, space is lacking to show all the departments of the university or to show adequately even the departments represented."[122]

Of the thirty departments of the university represented, the Museum of Classical Archaeology did have a small presence at the fair that suggests Pickard's influence and the growing importance of the department. In a 1901 letter to the Board of Curators from the committee, prior to when Pickard became involved, they listed the departments that would hold exhibits at the fair. The Museum of Classical Archaeology was not listed amongst them; however, under miscellaneous the letter stated that, "Selected models and

[120] Pickard 1904, 6-8. This plaster model is described as, "supplemented with pictures exhibiting university work and student life, interior and exterior views of buildings, and the equipment and grounds of the university" (MU Archives. UW 1/1/2 Box 8 Folder 5, RC # 002674). This is an interesting parallel to the plaster casts in the Museum of Classical Archaeology that were also supplemented with photographs.
[121] 1904. *Universal Exposition at Saint Louis, 1904 by its Division of Exhibits: Department of Education.* Again, this statement highlights the role that the plaster casts played in classification. The ways in which objects were classified were critical in this exhibit. In fact, the entire Palace of Education was part of a classification scheme of elementary, secondary, and higher education (Fox and Sneddeker 1997, 101).
[122] Pickard 1904, 8-9.

photographs from the university's extensive collections in architecture, archaeology, and Greek and Roman life."[123] However, the 1904 publication of the University of Missouri's presence at the world fair, written by John Pickard, does record an exhibit by the Museum of Classical Archaeology: "This exhibit is limited to framed photographs of views in the Museum of Classical Archaeology."[124] Thus, since the museum at this time was composed of plaster casts, the photographs would have included these reproductions and might have been similar to contemporary photographs of the museum (fig. 1). This implies that the department rose in importance over the years since the initial plan of the exhibit, especially given that the museum's collection had grown stronger, and merited its own departmental exhibit rather than being part of a "miscellaneous" category.[125] It is surprising that the plaster casts were exhibited in only photographs since the chair of the University of Missouri's exhibit was John Pickard.[126] The growing collections of the museum and its usefulness to the university in promoting itself as a top institution, to the students in coursework, and to the community all explain why the exhibit was included at the world fair, however minor.

The fact that the plaster casts were seen through photographs at the exhibit demonstrates the importance of the university, and its departments, to assert itself as a

[123] MU Archives. UW 1/1/2 Box 8 Folder 5, RC # 002674.
[124] Pickard 1904, 17.
[125] Classical art was important to the greater Louisiana Purchase Exposition as demonstrated by the Congress of Arts and Sciences held at the fair. President Jesse of the University of Missouri was part of its administrative board and one of the panels held in September was on Classical Art where Dr. Adolf Furtwängler of the University of Munich and Dr. Frank Tarbell of the University of Chicago spoke regarding classical art (Münsterberg 1905, 59). This suggests the importance classical art held at the time and the fact that President Jesse was involved with this project might account for the Department of Classical Archaeology exhibit, especially considering he was the one who ultimately approved Pickard's plaster cast purchases.
[126] Other departments had much more space. For example, the Botany Department had an exhibit with both photographs and hundreds of mushrooms present (Pickard 1904, 13-5). Civil Engineering had specimens illustrating tests conducted by students, maps, drawings, and photographs (Pickard 1904, 17). The Romance Languages department had phonetic tracings hung on the wall, a talking machine, and photographs (Pickard 1904, 51).

key player in classical academia. While it was not unusual in itself to have plaster casts at world fairs, as will be demonstrated by the additional collections physically present at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, it is curious that the casts were represented through photography.[127] The photographs of plaster reproductions of antique sculpture were a part of a "reproductive continuum" which served to advance the University of Missouri, which, as mentioned earlier, was attempting to present itself as a top institution.[128] In fact, it seems extremely fitting that modes of representation are represented in exhibits, as the world fairs themselves were also filled with reproductive exhibits and being publicized by reproduction.[129] I would suggest that it was perfectly acceptable to have a stand-in for the original at the fair since other aspects of the university, such as the plaster model of the grounds, were similarly represented through reproductive manners. Since, for whatever reason, the plaster casts were not physically represented at the fair, it is significant that strides were taken to attest to the university's ability to participate in the classical dialogue, which was so prominent in Europe at the time. Neoclassicism and classicism present in the art and architecture at the fair represented the culmination of human achievement in the artistic tradition and the university wished to present itself as part of this.[130] By displaying views of the cast museum, the university was proving that even though the casts were not physically present, it could still promote itself as part of

[127] Collections did exist also at prior world fairs. For example, there were plaster casts at the Columbian Exposition in 1893, as will be discussed in relation to the casts at the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution. Plaster casts also continued to be exhibited after the 1904 fair as evidenced by the exhibit by Greece at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915. See Committee of the Greek Section Ministry of National Economy, Athens, 1915 for further information.
[128] Baker 2010, 495.
[129] Harris 1990, 307. Not only was the fair publicized through reproduction, but also reproduction was one of the key exhibit types.
[130] Leja 1996, 65. This was not unique to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition as other fairs such as the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 also embraced the neoclassical tradition in art and architecture and replicated in plaster works of art symbolic of the height of achievement (Wygant 1983, 98).

this refined and civilized environment through the photographs. In essence, the university was asserting its nationalistic importance.

The plaster cast collection at the University of Missouri played different roles in its environment in Academic Hall and at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition. At the university, the chronologically ordered collection served strictly didactic purposes to provide authentic material for the desperately lacking Department of Classical Archaeology. The Museum of Classical Archaeology, filled with reproductions, also represented an attempt to begin a museum collection. Similar to other American museums, this museum, which began with plaster casts, would eventually evolve to include genuinely "authentic" objects. Its environment at the university and its purpose as a museum for students determined the authenticity of the objects. The casts were judged as authentic simply because of their setting and classification in a museum. Despite the fact that most museums boasted cast collections, the setting in a museum would reference museums in Europe where originals art and artifacts were exhibited. They served as a tool of cultural refinement to the students and citizens of Columbia. As a land grant institution, the University of Missouri was compelled to prove the ability of the casts to participate in cultural trends, such as the classical education. The plaster casts both served this purpose in addition to providing simple didactic mechanisms to the students of classical archaeology. However, in St. Louis the photographs of the casts took on a completely different didactic role. Surrounded by the academic achievements of the university in terms of charts and publications, the casts, now doubly removed from the original work of art, served to educate the public about the university's role in the conversation of classical archaeology, education, and cultural refinement within the

United States and abroad. As the University of Missouri was given the largest and most prominent space, it had an obligation to assert its place in the world of academia.

Chapter Two: August Gerber and the State Normal School in Cape Girardeau

"These works have received the highest awards wherever exhibited."[131] These words are proudly branded on the cover page of August Gerber's catalogue of his exhibits at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exhibition and reveal the cast maker's interests in promoting both himself and his casts as objects of art.

The plaster cast collection at Southeast Missouri State University, located in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, was purchased in 1904 directly from the exhibit of August Gerber at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis Missouri. The acquisition of these casts will be addressed only after having discussed their original context at the fair in St. Louis. The artistic skills of the German artist August Gerber of Cologne were prominently displayed in his casts at the fair and dictated the authenticity of his casts. Before examining how the specific environments of the exhibits of August Gerber shaped the authenticity of his collections, it is necessary to first address the nature of his exhibits.

August Gerber's plaster cast exhibits were displayed across various palaces at the world fair, which signaled the primacy of these items in the German exhibits. Germany was, in fact, the center of the plaster cast movement in Europe and thus it is only logical that they would promote this strength with one of their most successful cast makers.[132] Gerber, the premier cast maker in Cologne, was the chosen cast maker for the German exhibits signaling his importance within the German tradition of cast making.[133] He was

[131] Gerber 1904, cover page.
[132] Nichols 2006, 117.
[133] This is as attested by a 1901 textbook on the history of sculpture that lists plaster cast makers by their respective cities and lists only Gerber for Cologne, whereas other cities boast multiple casters (Marquand and Frothingham 1901, xix). In fact, in 1917 the College Art Association of America published a report,

also awarded gold and silver medals by the state in 1883 and 1902. In fact, the catalogue of the German Empire at the fair claimed that Gerber had the largest business in all of Germany.[134]

The variety of places that Gerber's casts were exhibited at the fair contributes to the centrality of casts to Germany's celebration of its nation. In the Palace of Education, Gerber's casts were not exhibited together, but spread amongst the divisions of the university and elementary education exhibits (Table 2). Gerber also displayed his casts of ivory and woodcarvings, as well as reduced copies of antique bronzes and sculptures, in the Palace of Varied Industries (Table 3).[135] The largest plaster cast exhibit was in the Palace of Liberal Arts and was placed at the main entrance of the Reichsdruckerei and German Book Industry exhibits (Fig. 5).[136] It included casts from antiquity, both German and Italian works from the Middle Ages, and Modern art (Table 4).[137] Lastly, the plaster casts of prominent Germans were exhibited also at the German State Building (Table 5). August Gerber's plaster casts evoked German nationalism, but also underscored his sense of himself as an artist.

Gerber's plaster casts at the fair showcased the nationalism that shaped the production and collection of casts. The rise of nationalism during the nineteenth century

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compiled by an appointed committee, on reproductions for the college museum and art gallery in which they postulated that August Gerber was, "the best cast-maker and worth all the others put together" (Robinson 1917, 16). Thus, Gerber's status was secure outside of Germany as well.

[134] Maberly-Oppler 1904, 442.

[135] Gerber 1904, 18.

[136] Gerber 1904, 9. Although there is no known documentation as to why Gerber's casts were the entrance to the Book Industry exhibit, it might be proposed that it was beneficial in promoting both the casts and the book industry as artistic practices. The Book Industry's report has an entire section devoted to the "artistic considerations" of the industry that highlights its appeal to be considered a work of art despite its reproductive techniques (Maberly-Oppler 1904, 175-80). Also the exhibit included reproductive prints of artists such as Rembrandt, Ruebens, and Botticelli (Reichsdruckerei 1904, 14-21).

[137] This might also reflect on the Book Industry exhibit that grappled with combining both classical and German styles in its works. This was particularly discussed within the context of font styles (Maberly-Oppler 1904, 176-7).

fostered an ideal environment for both museums and cast makers alike to promote their national heritage and to push for national art production.[138] The nationalistic spirit is mostly noted in Gerber's exhibits through the inclusion of busts of celebrated German individuals.

August Gerber's plaster casts included in the university section of the German Educational exhibit celebrated German individuals and thus promoted Gerber as a champion of these German ideals. Gerber's plaster busts of notable Germans were placed along the wall encircling the exhibition of German universities (Fig. 6).[139] The inclusion of busts of famous Germans at the German university exhibit in the Palace of Education - especially Winckelmann and Goethe- promoted the importance of Germany in the fields of art history and classical studies.[140]

At the very center of the German university exhibit stood Gerber's cast of Athena Lemnia, serving as the axis around which the other exhibits rotated. Its central position represents of the great importance of classics and antiquity in general to the German exhibit.[141] In fact, an entire exhibit was dedicated to educating the public on the recent German excavations in Saalburg, Baalbek, Babylon, Abusir, Miletus, and Priene. These exhibits of archaeological sites included photographs, models of the sites, and authentic artifacts. Also, the original statue from which the cast of Athena Lemnia was taken was

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[138] Frederiksen and Marchand 2010, 7.
[139] 1904 *St. Louis 1904 German Educational Exhibit: Universities and Other Scientific Institutions*, 46-52.
[140] Gerber 1904, 8. Classical archaeology really developed in Germany in the late 18th century with the foundation of the first scientific foundation of classical studies at the University of Gottingen and the work of Johann Winckelmann (Dyson 2006, 1-4). Despite the influence of Germans on classical archaeology, it was in America that they had the greatest impacts (Dyson 2006, xiii). Thus, it makes sense that there would be such a push in these German exhibits to display Germans in connection with art history and archaeology.
[141] 1904, 23-40. Simulacra, including models, were being displayed alongside artifacts. The photographs that were displayed were, "serving for the purpose of instruction in artistic education" suggesting an interest in learning from reproductive items (Maberly-Oppler 1904, 116).

in fact a reconstruction, pieced together by the German archaeologist and art historian, Adolf Furtwängler.[142] Again, displaying this cast of Furtwängler's reconstruction boasted of German scholarship as well as lent an air of intellectual authenticity to the statue. Therefore, the cast of Athena Lemnia highlighted interests in promoting not only German involvement in classical archaeology, but also in art history.

Other casts that were part of the educational exhibit were displayed amongst the technical colleges and also reveal nationalistic concerns. For the medical department, Gerber provided busts of eminent German medical professionals. The same trend is observed with the chemistry department and its inclusion of Gerber's casts of renowned German chemists. This proliferation of portrait busts of illustrious Germans throughout the German university exhibit demonstrates the extreme significance of promoting Germany's universities at the world fair as top institutions. The fact that Gerber was chosen to be part of this indicated German recognition of the superior quality of his casts. Plaster casts of prominent Germans are also noted at other locations at the fair, particularly the Palace of Liberal Arts and the German State Building. As part of Gerber's Modern Sculpture exhibit at the Palace of Fine Arts, there are specific busts of famous German musicians and scholars, despite the fact that most of the modern sculptures displayed boasted classical subjects (Fig. 7).[143]

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[142] This reconstruction had been challenged by scholarship briefly during Furtwängler's lifetime and, but more extensively in the twentieth century (Hartswick 1998).

[143] There is one considerable anomaly to note concerning the plaster casts of the Modern Art section. While all of the plaster casts grouped in this section concern modern art, there were two busts in this section that were classical. The busts of the philosophers Sophocles and Demosthenes were listed in his catalogue as "copy of original, Rome." While most of the modern sculptures displayed boast classical subjects, the specific busts are famous German musicians and scholars. The inclusion of these classical busts within the noted German individuals might be explained by their context. Perhaps this is simply a way to physically associate the classical world amongst that of the Germans as well as to promote the idea of a German lineage. It may also be that Gerber felt the need to justify his castings of modern art. While most of his plaster casts were being promoted as works of authentic art, it must have been difficult to do so

Especially evident is the nationalistic purposes of the casts at the German State Building. Considering their context in a building specifically dedicated to Germany, it is fitting that their subject is also German in nature. The casts are thus promoting German nationalism in a dual manner. The casts themselves, as plaster casts, promote the German prominence in archaeology and plaster casting. Then the subject of the plaster casts in the two displays was also German. In the main hall, portrait busts of prior Prussian leaders flank either side of the room (Fig. 8).[144] This is appropriate considering the fact that the German State Building was modeled after the Royal Palace at Charlottenburg.[145] In the reading hall, there were busts of German scholars, musicians, orators, champions of liberty, and scientists appropriately illustrating the achievements of the German people (Fig. 9). Gerber's plaster casts promoted German nationalism as well as Gerber's status in the Empire.

The ways in which August Gerber focused on the color of the casts contribute to their authenticity. Although plaster casts traditionally remained white in order to facilitate comparison, Gerber went against this trend, stating that his were toned, bronzed, or painted in accordance with the original material. Gerber remarked that almost all museums and universities producing casts were making them with these imitative finishes, which suggests that Gerber considered himself on par with even museum cast makers. Gerber himself in his exhibition catalogue notes this emphasis on color stating that color was important to ensure that the viewer received a correct impression of the

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with more recently made artworks. Perhaps, the casts of the antique sculptures were included as a visible reminder to the viewer of the artistic qualities inherent in Gerber's work.

[144] Gerber 1904, 21-3.

[145] Maberly-Oppler 1904, 105.

work.[146] The attention to color is also noted in the plaster busts of Germans placed along the wall of the university exhibit as Gerber described them as, "toned to imitate marble."[147] In this concern with reception, Gerber revealed that he was interested in dictating that the viewers see his casts as works of art. Color, then, according to Gerber not only secured authenticity, but also played a major role in the didactic purposes of his casts.

Importantly, Gerber did not seek to copy the original or mimic its materiality. Rather, Gerber believed that color would lead to a better understanding of classical art: "All these casts…enable one to understand the different kinds of classical art, as white casts cannot possibly do." This assertion would explain why Gerber put so much effort into ensuring that he portrayed the original colors of works of art. In fact, Gerber stated in regard to his casts colored bronze that, "…the artistic imitation is so perfect that any one without touching the sculpture would believe it to be nothing less than real metal."[148] The coloring of casts was significant because it was something that could not be as clearly represented in photographs.

Gerber's emphasis on color in his casts was predicated on economics as well. The casts he offered were composed from a secret recipe that presumably enhanced the value of the casts through exclusivity.[149] Gerber imbued commodity and hierarchy into

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[146] Gerber 1904, 17.

[147] Gerber 1904, 8. This was not the only exhibition where Gerber demonstrates concern with color. In a bulletin for the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, color is noted, along with texture, as the distinguishing element that made Gerber's casts so accurate (*Bulletin of Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art* III: 85).

[148] Gerber 1904, 17. This passage is particularly intriguing because of the mention of touch. The idea of touching in relation to plaster casts is interesting in terms of determining authenticity. What I would suggest is that since Gerber considered his casts as objects of art and he was marketing them for sale, he would not have encouraged the public to actually touch the plaster casts. Instead, this inability to touch would enhance the authenticity.

[149] Rademacher 2003, 76. SEMO Archives. Bulletin, State Normal School. December, 1904.

the status of his casts as he stated in both his catalogue of casts and of his casts at the world fair that plaster casts in their original white plaster are available for a price reduction of 20-50%.[150] It is clear that Gerber himself thought that the way in which he, as the artist, colored the casts bestowed them with authenticity and value.

Perhaps the most significant demonstration of color as a tool of authenticity is demonstrated by the way in which Gerber chose to produce the cast of Athena Lemnia, essentially creating a new work of art (Fig. 6). Although the original sculpture was composed of marble, Gerber colored it as antique bronze.[151] By coloring the cast bronze, Gerber referred to the original Greek, bronze Athena of Lemnos whom Phidias was believed to have made as opposed to the Roman copy reconstructed by Furtwängler. In this way, Gerber suggested that his cast was even more authentic than the original from which it was molded.[152] His bronze would evoke the ultimate original copy of Phidias and go beyond both the Roman copy and the reconstruction by Furtwängler. Since Gerber fundamentally changed the cast, it is imbued with the status of an original work of art.[153]

The way in which Gerber colored Athena Lemnia was not a singular example as is noted by the way in which Gerber addresses color in his 1904 catalogue of his exhibit. Gerber listed the works, not necessarily by their original material, but by the "material" in which he colored them. For example his listing for the Apoxyomenos is as follows:

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[150] Gerber 1907, 1. In a later catalogue the reduction is only 20-35% (Gerber 1910, 11).
[151] Gerber 1904, 8.
[152] During this period, plaster casts were not usually colored. In fact, it was considered that color might divert from the actual form of the sculpture. Therefore, art educators and teachers preferred the whiteness of the casts (van Rheeden 2001, 220-1). This suggests that Gerber was not so much as falling in with a trend to color the casts, but rather he was coloring them in order to promote his vision. However, Gerber did still traditionally color casts to imitate the statue from which the mold came. For example, he painted the Spinario bronze in accordance with the original bronze material.
[153] The cast of Athena Lemnia was important to Gerber as he even had notepaper for his company featuring the cast (SEMO Archives. President's Office Subject Files. Papers. Box 1335, Folder 11).

"Statue APOXYOMENOS, Vatican, Rome, bronze."[154] This listing reads as if Gerber were displaying an actual work of art, and not a reproduction. Like the Athena Lemnia statue it is also extremely important to point out that Gerber is referencing the original, Greek medium and not the surviving Roman, marble copy from which it takes its mold (Fig. 10). Gerber continually suggested that his plaster copies were almost more original than the original statue from which it was based.

Color of the casts worked together with the ordered chronology in teaching the nuances of the history of classical art and promoting authenticity. Unlike the scattered casts in the educational exhibit, in the Palace of Liberal Arts the casts were grouped into different exhibits based on cultural groups and to a lesser extent, chronology. Gerber's exhibits in the Palace of Liberal Arts were grouped into Sculptures of Antique Art (Fig. 10), Sculptures of Italian Middle Age (Fig. 11), Sculptures of German Middle Age (Fig. 12), and Sculptures of Modern Art (Fig. 7), following the typical classification systems used in art at the time. This would then demonstrate that there was more of an interest in the works themselves as art, rather than being there simply as an ornamental element to the environment. I would suggest that since the casts were classified and grouped according to culture and chronology that they were being treated as if genuine objects in a museum, which would necessitate them to be viewed as genuine artworks.[155]

The ways in which Gerber regarded himself as an artist, and in turn promoted his casts as works of art, will be explored through his catalogues and the ways he addresses his plaster casts. Gerber himself clearly thought highly of his work. In the introduction

[154] Gerber 1904, 11.
[155] This also follows typical classification systems used in textbooks of ancient sculpture at the time and art in the Palace of Fine Arts. Over the main portico of the Palace of Fine Arts were six sculptures representing the great periods of art: Egyptian, Classic, Gothic, Oriental, Renaissance, and Modern Art (Bennitt 1905, 485).

to his 1910 catalogue, he claimed that, "Unser Kunstinstitut ist das bedeutendste seiner Art, nicht nur in Deutschland, sondern auf dem Kontinent überhaupt."[156] Importantly, throughout Gerber's catalogue he referred to his casting company as a, "Kunstinstitut" or "Kunstanstalt für klassische Bildwerke" suggesting he regarded his work as artistic in nature. Gerber included a plaque on most of his casts that read: Sculpturen-Museum/ August Gerber. In some cases, he even signed the casts by hand. This would further indicate that Gerber regarded himself as an artist, his pieces worthy of a museum, and thus his work creating casts as an artistic process.

Gerber's advertisement of his awards in his catalogues also stresses his status as an artist. The exhibit of August Gerber at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition won the highest awards possible at the fair- the grand prize and a gold medal. In his 1910 catalogue, August Gerber proudly advertised his winning plaster casts, amongst other awards, on one of the opening pages. The font size for the medals from the fair far outsized the other awards he received.[157] Gerber must have also taken pride in his exhibits at the fair as evidenced by the inclusion of photographs of the exhibits in his plaster cast catalogues of both 1907 and 1910. It is significant that there are no other photographs of exhibits present in his catalogues, which highlights the extreme importance given to the ones in St. Louis.[158]

There are several further points to make in connection with Gerber's own catalogue of his exhibits at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition and the way he approached "the touch of genius." In his publication of the exhibit of classical plaster

[156] Gerber 1910, 11.
[157] Gerber 1910, 11.
[158] In this light, it is important to point out that Gerber had exhibited his casts previously in the United States in the Foreign Exhibition of 1883 in Boston (Norton 1883, 91).

casts at the fair, it is evident that Gerber considered the casts to be authentic by the ways in which he addressed them. The names of the specific exhibits in the Palace of Liberal Arts, such as "Sculptures of Antique Art" or "Sculptures of Modern Art," imply by the very lack of any modifying adjective that they were not copies. Gerber referred to his casts most often as sculpture; only once in the entire publication did he describe the objects as plaster casts.[159] Although Gerber did not necessarily hide the fact that his works were reproductions, he still branded them with the adjective "artistic", implying that in his mind these were still works that required the hand of an artist. In pushing the idea that the casts were made by an artist, Gerber faced the idea of "the touch of genius." In high quality plaster casting, which Gerber's company clearly provided, the touch of the original artist was preserved in the mold taken from the original. Thus, it seems to stand that Gerber's plaster casts are actually a collaboration of the skills of more than one artist.[160] It is in this way that Gerber could negotiate between the original artist and himself as an artist while still preserving the integrity of both.

Gerber's references to "original casts" imply that he was using high quality casts taken directly from the original imbuing a sense of legitimacy. In fact, Gerber boasted of the high quality of his artistic execution emphasizing the many molds and models he has been able to acquire, and his ability to furnish complete collections to a host of different educational institutions.[161] In addition, Gerber mentioned in a letter that he was requested to visit the directors of the Metropolitan Museum and the South Kensington Museum, thus highlighting not only his importance in the art world, but the fact that he

[159] For example: "All this sculpture (casts)…" (Gerber 1904, 23).
[160] Allington 1997, 161. Also, this concept can be extended even further into antiquity as Roman sculptors could be argued to be preserving the artistic genius of the original Greek bronzes.
[161] Gerber 1904, 23.

had the right connections to get molds of the originals.[162] Gerber boasted that his exhibit in the Palace of Varied Industries, "…is one of the greatest interest in the history of Art because it shows especially the form of older art, of which originals are seldom to be had." Here Gerber again asserted the value of his casts in that he had the molds for what he claimed were rare sculptures.

Gerber also pushed the idea of his artistic integrity throughout his catalogue of his exhibit at the fair by making it known that he would be able to furnish references to attest to his skill and precision in casting. Gerber stated that he had so many molds he was able to provide complete collections to universities, museums, art schools, and public schools and all of these could attest to his artistic execution. Further interest in disseminating his casts to these educative venues came from his publication on his exhibit which stated, "I will cheerfully and promptly furnish advice and estimates for whole or part collections of artistic casts to Museums, Universities, Schools of Art, Libraries, and Public Schools…" Even further Gerber explicitly claimed that he could provide references from authorities of archaeology and art history as well as from the heads of educational departments not only in German, but also from all over Europe and the United States.[163]

One of the primary aims of the firm of August Gerber was to supply plaster casts for educative purposes, which was ideal considering their display at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.[164] Gerber highlighted his interests in education by displaying his casts within the German Educational Exhibit, which was very select and designed with the purpose to exhibit items with which North American educators had limited familiarity

[162] SEMO Archives. President's Office Subject Files, Box 1335, File 11. December 6, 1905 letter from Gerber to Dearmount.
[163] Gerber 1904, 1-23.
[164] Haskell and Penny 1981, 118.

(Fig. 13).[165] In fact, one North American educator stated of Gerber that, "I feel that he is performing a service of lasting value to America in introducing his reproductions of works of art to the schools of this country."[166] This would suggest yet again that one of the main concerns in connection with plaster casts was a sense of nationalism and pride, as well as didacticism. His displays of plaster casts encapsulated both his interests as a businessman and in education. Gerber even claimed that the price did not reflect that of a monopoly, but rather one that could be afforded by rich or poor institutions alike allowing for all to cultivate artistic sense and good taste.[167] This statement provides further evidence that Gerber's firm was motivated to supply to educational institutions and not necessarily specific individuals. This also highlights the role that casts played in the world at large as a tool to refine and cultivate taste in educative settings.

Gerber's plaster casts displayed in the Palace of Education were in accordance with the German educational exhibit's mission to educate visitors as to the accomplishments of the Empire's universities. Its exhibit, measuring over 4400 square meters, was divided into two sections. The first section was dedicated to German universities, technical colleges, and other scientific institutions. The remaining half of the exhibit was dedicated to the public school system. Since the section of the exhibit of

[165] Gerber 1904, 5. This is in accordance with the Rescript of the Department of Education of November 19, 1903.
[166] SEMO Archives. President's Office Subject Files. Box 1335, File 11. June 28, 1905 Letter from the President of Faculty.
[167] Gerber 1910, 11. Perhaps the contemporary Benziger Brothers provides a good comparison to the way in which Gerber sold his art. Like Gerber, the Benziger Brothers too were coming from Europe to America to sell their plaster, religious statuary (Zalesch 1999, 59). Like Gerber with educators, the Benziger Brothers made an effort to make sure that even the poorest of Catholics could afford statuary (Zalesch 1999, 61). Also similar to Gerber, who represented modern art and art of the middle ages with a variety of cultures, so the Benziger brothers concentrated on regional saints which appealed to specific ethnic neighborhoods (Zalesch 1999, 66). Although Gerber's catalogue does not list prices for different sizes, there is an increase in price between changes of materials. Any finish other than the plain plaster is dramatically more expensive. The Zalesch Brothers, on the other hand, seem to be distinguishing prices on size, perhaps revealing opinions on status (Zalesch 1999, 69). I would suggest that this is also the case with Gerber's casts.

the universities was limited, the exhibitors decided to, "include things belonging to the last ten years and arousing more than a local interest."[168] This statement effectively placed the plaster casts into a position of primary importance in regard to German education.

Also interesting is the fact that photographs and paintings in the German educational exhibit surrounded these plaster casts. Like the University of Missouri, the thirteen German universities represented presented photographic and artistic views of their university campuses. These representations were either hung on the wall and or placed in portfolios available for viewing (Fig. 6). Those of other important scientific buildings such as Royal Library and Royal Meteorological Institute accompanied the university exhibitions. The photographs, which depicted exact representations of buildings and campuses, contributed to the notion of the authenticity of the casts. The casts were actually three-dimensional which would afford the viewer control, unlike the photographs.

August Gerber also displayed casts in the part of the German educational exhibit reserved for higher education where they were promoted as authentic artworks largely due to their context. In this exhibit schools were represented through models and photographs and their methodology was shown through the presence of curricula, textbooks, exercises, exam papers, and many other products of the classroom.[169] Gerber's casts were displayed as part of the "Classical Gymnasium" which was an exhibit devoted to the typical form of German school, based mainly on the classical

[168] 1904 *St. Louis 1904 German Educational Exhibit: Universities and Other Scientific Institutions,* III, VI-VII, 45.
[169] Bahlsen 1904, IV.

literature of the ancient Greeks and Romans.[170] The casts were described as, "artistic wall decorations" and comprised of ancient and medieval statues as well as an assortment of classical and modern busts of noted writers and philosophers.[171] The purpose of the wall decorations was, "intended to educate the taste and esthetic feeling of young people rather, than to influence their intellects or enlarge their knowledge."[172] So while these plaster casts had an educative function, it was not to teach students the history of art. Rather these casts were intended to promote taste, much like plaster casts were to civilize populations, and emphasize art appreciation. The following quote adequately explains the German interest in aesthetics: "The pains we take to train the eye, to develop in the rising generation a more and more aesthetic temperament and an interest for the highest and most ideal faculty of recreation existing in man, namely, for Art- all this is the purpose of our exhibition of drawing and artistic wall decoration."[173]

However, Gerber's exhibits in the Palace of Education were not the only ones that revealed his interests in education. Gerber's attitude toward his exhibits in the Palace of Liberal Arts served as authentic objects to educate the public. Gerber regarded the casts as instructive stating that both students and the general public would be interested in, "collections of artistic casts made up in this manner."[174] Gerber geared his casts specifically towards students and the general public which suggests that he was not only interested in the ways in which plaster casts could aid education, but also that he was interested in promoting Germany as a forerunner in this civilizing art medium. In fact,

[170] Bahlsen 1904, 6.
[171] Bahlsen 1904, IV-V.
[172] Bahlsen 1904, V. While this may be the case, it is worth noting that the subject of these casts, in particular the busts, were appropriate subjects to inspire aspiration of knowledge in a school modeled after the "Classical Gymnasium." These busts included Homer, Caesar, Cicero, Augusteus, Sophocles, Demosthenes and Euripides (Bahlsen 1904, 88-9).
[173] Maberly-Oppler 1904, 150.
[174] Gerber 1904, 17.

Gerber was more interested in disseminating his casts and their educative and nationalistic values since he provided his casts free of charge to the German State Building.[175] Regardless of these motives, it is clear that Gerber had hopes of selling his plaster casts while at the fair.

Gerber's exhibits at the fair were specifically aimed to be sold to educative venues as is evidenced by the plaster cast collection at Southeast Missouri State University, located in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, which was purchased in 1904 directly from Gerber at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri. Mr. Louis Houck was a member of the Board of Regents at the State Normal School in Cape Girardeau who, while visiting the fair, became especially interested in the German exhibit of plaster casts. After discovering that the artist of the exhibit, Gerber, did not wish to return to Germany with his casts, Houck made him an offer for some of the plaster casts to take back with him to the Cape Girardeau Normal School, now called Southeast Missouri State University.[176] Mr. Houck corresponded with both August Gerber and the president of the Normal School, Washington Dearmount, and eventually purchased the plaster casts for $1,888.25 on October 19, 1904. All of the plaster casts purchased by Houck, except for several from the Palace of Education exhibits, came from Gerber's main exhibit at the Palace of Liberal Arts which might suggest that Houck was more interested in establishing a history of art instead of art appreciation (Table 6).

As in Columbia, the academic community of Cape Girardeau heralded the arrival of the plaster casts. On October 25, 1904 President Dearmount at the Normal School

[175] This might also imply that he provided his casts free of charge to the other German exhibits at the fair. Since one of Gerber's objectives was to sell his casts to educators, the presence of his casts at the world fair served as an advertisement.
[176] Mattingly 1979, 100.

declared the anonymous donation of 58 plaster casts from the world fair and boasted that they won first prize and a gold medal at the fair.[177] In the local paper the collection was described as, "…a collection of statuary that for its kind is not excelled or even equaled by any school in the country."[178] Dearmount himself added stated that the casts were," much superior to any casts that I have ever seen."[179]

In December of 1904, a more official and detailed proclamation of the casts appeared in the Bulletin of the State Normal School. Unlike other bulletins that usually contained information on coursework and the school at large, the bulletin announced the arrival of the casts and focused solely on the collection. It included a list of the 58 plaster casts purchased along with an explanatory text that proclaimed that Gerber, "has a high reputation in Europe for his work, as is evidenced by the fact that many of the busts purchased for the school have been specially selected for the German Educational Exhibit of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition." Furthermore, the text states that all of the plaster casts purchased for the Normal School bore the label, "Sold—Missouri State Normal School, Cape Girardeau."[180] This is significant because this label was put on the plaster casts that were still on exhibit at the fair, thus advertising the Normal School and their participation in the classical tradition. This helped Gerber as well, since it served as an advertisement for other educators to purchase his casts.

[177] SEMO Archives. President's Office Subject Files. Box 1335, File 11.
[178] Cape Girardeau *Democrat*, December 24, 1904.
[179] SEMO Archives. President's Office Subject Files. Box 1335, File 11. June 12, 1905 Letter from the President of the Faculty.
[180] SEMO Archives. Bulletin, State Normal School. December, 1904.

After arriving in Cape Girardeau, the plaster casts were slated for exhibit in Academic Hall's main corridor under the advisement of August Gerber.[181] In fact, Gerber overseeing the installation of the casts was actually a stipulation of the contract of the purchase of casts.[182] I would suggest that this not only is an indication of his dedication to educative nature of plaster casts, but is also indicative of a certain devotion to his award-winning, artistic products.[183] Gerber arranged the casts under the supervision of President Dearmount, further evidence of the importance of the casts to the school.[184] While he was there Houck purchased additional casts including an Apollo Belvedere for $150, a Venus de Milo for $90, and 6 other additional busts adding to the total of 58 plaster casts of classical, medieval, renaissance, and modern art works. It is evident from the selection of representative artworks from various periods that this collection was conceived as comprehensive teaching tool, similar to Gerber's aims.

In March of 1905 the plaster casts were exhibited in the west end of the main corridor of the new Academic Hall, especially created for their display (Fig. 14). The casts were barricaded from the visitors by a short railing implying that these were art objects that should not be touched. Academic Hall was filled with other furnishings from the Missouri State Building at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Houck was the one who proposed that they be donated to the school, especially considering that a fire

[181] Academic Hall was currently being rebuilt after a fire. The new Academic Hall was redesigned in a neo-Classical style ignoring the former structure of the brick building. This again demonstrates an interest in classical themes at the Normal School (Mattingly 1979, 100).
[182] SEMO Archives. President's Office Subject Files. Box 1335, File 11. June 12, 1905 Letter from the President of the Faculty.
[183] This was a standard practice of Gerber. In a 1905 Philadelphia Museum Bulletin, Gerber is also recorded as having physically been present at the time of the purchase of his casts (*Bulletin of Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art* III: 85).
[184] Despite not being able to see Houck at that time since he was out of town, Gerber made later plans to meet him again before he left the country (SEMO Archives. Houck Papers, Louis and Giboney. Box 1531, File 7. Letter from Gerber to Houck, January 14, 1905).

damaged most things in the Missouri State Building anyway. The Normal School received carpets, two leather divans, grand chandeliers, two large oil paintings, assorted ornaments, and a mahogany mantle and table.[185] Houck also tried to secure seats and vases from the British Royal Pavilion as attested by a letter from Houck inquiring after their purchase.[186] It is extremely fitting that Houck essentially recreated a hall to fill with objects from the 1904 fair, the fair that was meant to be the university of the future.

Houck donated the statuary to the Normal school with the stipulation that a room would be dedicated to them where they could be permanently displayed and these casts were certainly proved critical to the school's mission to train teachers. The mission of the Normal school was to train students to become, "competent teachers in the public schools of this state."[187] Plaster casts were instrumental to achieving this aim for an appropriate aesthetic background and general "civilizing" effects.

The casts also appropriately fit in with the curriculum of the school that involved ancient languages, including Latin.[188] In fact, during the presidency of Dearmount there were three courses of study: a one-year Common School or sub-Normal course, and the four-year Latin or English courses. In conjunction with both the Latin and English courses students studied free hand drawing, ancient history, and medieval and modern history.[189] The ancient history class spent two-thirds of its term discussing Greek and Roman history, and all three of its textbooks were devoted to the same subject.[190] It is extremely likely that this subject would have made use of the plaster casts. The plaster

[185] Rhodes 2008, 217.
[186] SEMO Archives. Houck Papers, Louis and Giboney. Box 1531, File 1. Letter from Houck to C. Watson, November 17, 1904.
[187] Mattingly 1979, 71. SEMO Archives. *Bulletin of the Missouri State Normal School, Catalogue,* 1904, 5.
[188] Mattingly 1979, 36.
[189] SEMO Archives. President's Office Subject Files. Box 1251, File 5. Courses of Instruction.
[190] SEMO Archives. *Bulletin of the Missouri State Normal School, Catalogue,* 1904, 23.

casts would also be likely to have played a role in drawing courses, as was common in education at the time. The Normal School concentrated studies on languages, and the fact that they had an entire path of study devoted to Latin indicates their dedication to the field of classical study. They offered courses in both Latin and Greek that covered classics such as Virgil and Homer, as well as prose from Caesar, Cicero and Xenophon.[191] Further evidence of the collection being used for didactic purposes is the care of the selection of pieces. The collection represented a truly comprehensive one including casts from antiquity, German and Italian Middle Ages, and Modern works.

I would suggest that the placement of the plaster casts in Academic Hall, the academic heart of the school at that point, as well as the community's and school's pride in these works which were described as a, "valuable collection of works of art" that outshone any other in America were viewed as authentic. The way in which reports of these casts emphasized their value and award winning status would suggest that they were regarded as authentic. I would suggest that this was especially so in consideration of the plaster casts value to the school as one that valued a classical education. August Gerber's desires to promote his casts as educational and authentic were affirmed in the context of the State Normal School in Cape Girardeau, Missouri.

[191] SEMO Archives. *Bulletin of the Missouri State Normal School, Catalogue,* 1904, 24-25.

Chapter Three: The Department of Anthropology of the United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution

The United States National Museum's (USNM) display within the Smithsonian Institution exhibit in the U.S. Government Building at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition also made use of classical plaster casts. Like the plaster casts that were part of the University of Missouri and August Gerber's exhibitions, the USNM collection was also didactic in nature. The plaster casts instructed fair goers about the aesthetic achievements of humankind, including those of the indigenous Americas. The casts of the ancient artworks were promoted as authentic in order to further the USNM's objective promoting Mesoamerican and Native American Indian objects as genuine works of art. The USNM's plaster casts were specifically acquired for the 1904 exhibit and have since primarily remained in the storage facilities of the National Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution (previously the USNM). I will examine how these casts functioned within the greater context of the Anthropology Department at the world fair, and more specifically, within research and educational paradigms.

The Department of Anthropology at the United States National Museum closely adhered to the greater themes of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition (LPE), the Division of Anthropology, and the USNM. The central theme of the entire exposition was the "University of the Future" and education took a dominant role.[192] The goal was to get away from textbooks and to instead encourage visitors to observe and examine the exhibits as a new method of object centered learning. The president of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, David R. Francis, considered the fair as a venue in which to

[192] Parezo and Fowler 2007, 19.

advance theories of progress.[193] He also believed that fairs should display only the highest products from industry, art, and science.[194] In this manner, the plaster casts which were intended to educate visitors about the pinnacle of mankind's achievements and to promote the Mesoamerican and North American Indian works as art, fell in line with the themes of the exposition.[195]

The Department of Anthropology's exhibit within the USNM also adhered to the goals of the Division of Anthropology. The Division of Anthropology was its own entity at the fair and displayed its exhibits- the Indian School, Anthropology Villages, and Philippine Reservation, among other general Anthropology exhibits- on the opposite side of the fairgrounds from the U.S. Government Building (Fig. 15). William J. McGee, the chair of the Division of Anthropology, asserted that these exhibits should trace the course of human progress.[196] The Division of Anthropology at the LPE represented the most extensive anthropology exhibit ever to be present at an international exposition, a direct reflection of the importance of anthropology at the fair.[197]

Interest in anthropology was also present in the USNM's exhibit, which shared the didactic purposes at the fair. The USNM complied with the mission of the entire Smithsonian Institution that was then and still is now, "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."[198] The USNM became involved in expositions in order to

[193] Incidentally, Francis was the Missouri governor who kept the University of Missouri in Columbia after the 1892 fire burned down Academic Hall and proposals were made to move the university elsewhere in the state.
[194] Parezo and Fowler 2007, 32.
[195] This idea was largely developed with Dr. Nancy Parezo of the University of Arizona and I am greatly indebted to her many suggestions.
[196] Parezo and Fowler 2007, 49.
[197] Rydell 1984, 160.
[198] Rydell 1984, 6.

educate American visitors and impress foreign ones.[199] The Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution said regarding the USNM, "All of this is accepted without complaint, because though the Museum undoubtedly loses much more than it gains on such occasions, the opportunity for popular education is too important to be neglected."[200]

The plaster casts were only one segment of the Department of Anthropology's exhibit in the USNM's exhibit in the U.S. Government building (Fig. 16). The Department of Anthropology displayed plaster casts of antique subjects representing the Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman cultures, and were arranged according to culture, as were Gerber's exhibits at the Palace of Liberal Arts (Table 7, Fig. 17). This reflected common practices at the time in education. The remaining portion of the Department of Anthropology exhibit included Mesoamerican and North American Indian artifacts and plaster casts (Fig. 18). During the preparations for the fair, one of the organizers described the exhibit's goals:

> A series of exhibits covering the entire range of arts and manufactures of the Native American peoples, so selected as to illustrate their artistic or esthetic development; the specimens chosen in each case to be the best examples of their kind. The exhibit will include illustrations of architecture (models), water-craft (models), sculpture in its many branches, ceramics, weavings, metal work, musical instruments, inlaying, pictorial art, pipes, ornaments, ceremonial art in its manifold forms, etc. The whole is to form a synopsis of the achievements of our native peoples, from the far north down through the Unites States, Mexico, Central American and South America to Patagonia.[201]

The description of the exhibit highlights the tensions inherent with reproductions. The indigenous exhibits used models and reproductions to illustrate "artistic development."

[199] Parezo Ch12b short, 1.
[200] Rydell 1984, 7.
[201] NAA. Letter: Holmes to F. W. True, December 16, 1902. Outgoing correspondence, BAE, 1902.

The ways in which these indigenous objects were highly considered and selected with care was clearly expressed by the director of the exhibit, William Henry Holmes: "I hope to make this extremely attractive, since it will bring together examples of the best work, the finest carvings, paintings, sculptures, etc., found in America."[202] Like the University of Missouri exhibit, the plaster casts of Native American and Mesoamerican art were, in some instances, shown with photographs of the original works of art.[203] In this way, the indigenous casts were being promoted as original works of art because of their three-dimensional nature. Therefore, selecting only the best and most aesthetically pleasing works of indigenous art advanced the art of the Americas.

Although William Henry Holmes was the director of the Department of Anthropology's exhibits at the world fair, the plaster casts were specifically dictated and organized by Cyrus Adler and J.M. Casonowicz, the Old World Archaeology directors of the museum. The casts were acquired from a variety of cast makers, thus indicating that Adler and Casonowicz sought specific examples for inclusion.[204] Originally, Adler intended to collect casts for an exhibit of religious ceremonials. Holmes wrote on September 3, 1903 that, "Dr. Adler has asked to make an exhibit of religious objects, and I have tentatively assigned to him [a] small space..."[205] True then wrote to Samuel Langley, the secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, that he was, "informed by Mr. H. W. Holmes…that he desires to add to the exhibit of that department at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition a small series of casts of classical and oriental sculptures illustrating

[202] SIA. RU 70, Box 2, Folder 16. November 16, 1902 letter from Holmes to F.W. True.
[203] A plaster cast of the statue of a Mayan Deity from Quirigua, Guatemala was accompanied by a contemporary photograph of the statue (SIA. RU 70, Box 70, Folder 1. Report on exhibits of the Department of Anthropology and Bureau of American Ethnology, 1905, 26)
[204] These included the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, E. Arrondelle fils, P.P. Caproni & Bro., D. Brucciani & Co., and the American School of Classical Studies in Rome.
[205] SIA. RU 70, Box 62, Folder 16. Holmes to True.

religious ceremonials."[206] This letter, written March 5, 1904, was several years after Adler originally wrote Holmes asking permission. Additionally, Adler had already begun acquiring plaster casts by this point, leaving the USNM little choice but to include them.[207]

Despite Adler's original intentions to put on an exhibit of religious ceremonials, the plaster casts at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition did not function as representatives of religion. Indeed, the casts illustrated "the art of ancient Rome, Greece, Assyria, and Egypt." True described the final anthropology exhibit as follows: "The theme was to show the aesthetic achievements of the Native American peoples. In conjunction with this was shown some of the works of art of ancient civilizations of the old world."[208] True's statement reveals the new purpose of the casts: they were conceived as works of art to be purposefully contrasted with the adjacent New World objects.[209] In this context then, it was critical that the plaster casts were seen as authentic works of art that then worked to promote the indigenous arts of the Americas to a similar status. As much as this exhibit strove to represent the indigenous arts of the Americas as works of art, it is impossible to deny the evolutionary implications of the plaster casts of antique sculpture.[210]

The classical casts in the Department of Anthropology exhibit were divided into cultural groups, which facilitated drawing comparisons amongst the objects (Fig. 17).

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[206] SIA. RU 70, Box 66, Folder 2. This original theme of religion would have actually corresponded well with the North American and Mesoamerican plaster casts of statues of deities (SIA. RU 70 Box 70 Folder 1. Report on exhibits of the Department of Anthropology and Bureau of American Ethnology, 1905, 26).
[207] This was not the first time that Adler showed interest in a religious exhibit as he also planned a similar one for the 1897 Nashville Exposition (SIA. RU 70 Box 47 Folder 1).
[208] SIA. RU 70, Box 70, Folder 3.
[209] In fact, some of these objects were also plaster casts, including models of Mayan temples.
[210] Part of this might be due to the fact that at the time, Otis Mason was organizing the Smithsonian Institution's materials according to Lewis Henry Morgan's evolutionary scheme of savagery, barbarianism, and civilization that was prevalent in practice (Meltzer 1983, 40).

However, instead of drawing comparisons between the different cultures presented by the plaster casts, as at August Gerber's exhibit, these casts evoke a comparison with a completely different set of objects-the indigenous works of the Americas. The plaster casts as a whole were divided from the Mesoamerican and North American artifacts by means of a narrow walkway (Fig. 18). Nevertheless, they were still purposefully connected to one another through their common inclusion of plaster. In fact, the classical plaster casts are incorporated with two pieces of indigenous pottery displayed on top of the screens dividing casts from the rest of the exhibit (Fig. 17). In addition to plaster casts of indigenous sculpture, there were also plaster architectural models that were especially commissioned for this exhibit.[211] These plaster casts and models were exhibited directly across from the plaster casts and would have been clearly visible from the classical plaster cast section. Therefore, despite the fact that the casts and indigenous artifacts were not intermingled, they were clearly intended to reference one another.

The plaster casts displayed by the USNM were acquired from major cast makers from around the world. The exhibit encompassed Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Greco-Roman plaster casts. The USNM was clearly going to renowned cast makers of prominent museums in Europe and the only one in the United States for their casts, thus ensuring high quality casts. For example, they went straight to museum cast makers such as Diego Brucciani of the British Museum and Eugene Arrondelle of the Louvre, thus ensuring "original casts." Also, the plaster casts of indigenous sculptures were also acquired from museum sources, namely the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, and thus

[211] This included models of the Temple Xochicalco, the Temple Hall of the Columns, the Temple of the Cross, the House of the Governor in Uxmal, and the Castillo. Like so many plaster casts, photographs also accompanied them. The photographs in addition to the models presented the most comprehensive display of Native American architecture seen in a public exhibition (SIA. RU 70, Box 70, Folder 1. Report on Exhibits of the Department of Anthropology and the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1905).

also illustrate high quality reproductions. [212] The fact that they obtained "original casts" directly from the museums and distinguished cast makers such as P.P. Caproni & Bro. suggested that they were high quality casts and thus made certain that they were authentic works of art.

The presentation of Greek sculpture was a comprehensive survey of celebrated sculpture. The casts were ordered from P.P. Caproni & Bro. who offered over 22,500 casts that represented the aesthetic heights of European culture.[213] Those selected by the USNM were familiar to middle class Americans. They included the Laokoön group that was the single most expensive cast ordered for the exhibit, coming in at $200, and is fitting that it was chosen considering its acclaim for realism and emotion.[214] The cast of the Two Fates from the Parthenon, now identified as goddesses, and the cast of Hermes of Andros were also familiar in notable collections and were representative of the height of artistic achievement. Also included in this section were two Greek reliefs that are both common amongst plaster cast collections and would have been displayed together along the screen opposite of the two reliefs shown in the photograph of the exhibit so as to be with the other Greek sculpture (Fig. 17).[215] It is likely that all of these discussed objects were displayed together, as attested by a photograph, because at the time they were all thought to be Greek works of art. Taken together these three casts demonstrated an interest in displaying highlights from different periods of Greek art.

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[212] SIA. RU 70, Box 79, Folder 1. Report of the Department of Anthropology, 1905 by Holmes.
[213] MSC. Accession Record no. 42437.
[214] In fact, full sized casts of the Laocoön, like the one in this display, were relatively rare due to the difficulty of cast production and transportation. More often casts of the single figure of Laocoön were purchased (Haskell and Penny 1981, 244).
[215] These reliefs are the Orpheus, Eurydice, and Hermes relief and the Eleusinian relief, which are displayed opposite of the Harpy Tomb reliefs. Perhaps all of these reliefs are exhibited because of their subject of cult scenes. The Harpy tomb depicts a man paying homage to a king, Hermes leads Orpheus and Eurydice out of the underworld, and the Eleusinian relief refers to the cult of the Eleusinian mysteries.

A cast of the head of the Lancelotti Diskobolos acquired from E. Arrondelle fils, the cast maker associated with the Musée de Louvre, would likely also have been part of this grouping of Greek sculptures and important in determining authenticity. It is not surprising that the Diskobolos would be chosen for this aesthetic exhibit, as it was extremely popular and canonical at the time.[216] The cast of the head of the Diskobolos was unique in this collection of plaster casts because its original label survives. The label described the work as, "cast of a marble copy in the Lancalotti Palace, Rome" which suggested that Adler was making the viewer aware of its reproduction and was not as concerned with its truth to material as was August Gerber. Since Adler sought to promote Native American art through its correlation to canonical works, only the casts' reference to the original was important. This then points to the acceptance of the piece as an artwork that can then in turn boost the status of the American artifacts displayed in conjunction.[217]

The fact that the Greek Sculpture section contained works from the Archaic, Classical, High Classical, and Hellenistic periods reflects this notion of comprehensiveness in plaster cast collections. The north and south reliefs from the Tomb of the Harpy in Asia Minor are significant in completing the survey of Greek art. These reliefs are executed in the Archaic style and were displayed with the previously discussed Greek sculptures, adding yet another stylistic period to the group creating a more

[216] Also, it is interesting that in 1875, Samuel Butler noted having seen a plaster copy of this statue in a storage room of the Museum of Natural History in Montreal attesting that other museums of natural history also had classical plaster casts within their collections (Haskell and Penny 1981, 200).

[217] Curiously, Holmes also listed the entire sculpture of the Lancelotti Diskobolos in addition to the one of the head in his final report (SIA. RU 70, Box 70, Folder 1). All of the casts from Arrondelle fils were obtained for a total of $46.88, which might suggest that the entire Diskobolos was not acquired, as it would have alone cost more than the total purchase. It is also possible that there simply was not enough room for the entire sculpture as the exhibit was limited in space to begin with. However, if the two were exhibited, this would be further evidence of the utmost importance of the canonical work. In his final report, Holmes bemoans the lack of space (SIA. RU 70, Box 70, Folder 1).

complete pantheon of Greek art present at the exhibit. This would have been especially important for this exhibit that was to display the achievements of humankind.

A reduced copy of the cast statue of Ceres is also representative of promoting the plaster casts as works of art (Fig. 19). This cast was present at this exhibition more because of its perceived status as a work of art with exemplary drapery.[218] Perhaps due to its smaller stature or because this work was believed to be Roman, Ceres was displayed in a case separate from the then believed to be Greek sculptures. Although difficult to distinguish, it appears also that a reduced copy of Michelangelo's Moses is displayed next to Ceres in the case. The plaster copy of the Moses by Michelangelo was anomalous since it was the only non-ancient work in the exhibit.[219] Regardless, the two works were both revered as artistic marvels that were representative of their respective periods. I would argue that their display together was indicative of the exhibit's greater purpose to celebrate great works of art that represented the heights of artistic excellence.

A series of Roman reliefs from the Arch of Trajan at Benevento symbolize the USNM's struggle to promote their objects in their exhibits as works of art and of empire. The casts were acquired from The American School of Classical Studies in Rome and were not originally slotted for the exhibit. When first investigating plaster casts, Langley wished to obtain a cast section of the Column of Trajan for the center of the Rotunda,

[218] Haskell and Penny 1981, 182.

[219] This not an ancient work of the Old World and is still puzzling as to why this is the only cast displayed at the exhibit outside of the world of antiquity in this particular context. Perhaps it indicated an interest in displaying the high art of the Renaissance and further worked as representing the peak of humanity's artistic achievements. Furthermore, this work continued to be associated with antiquity in a later 1922 exhibit of classical casts at the museum also directed by Casonowicz. It seems odd that the Moses and Ceres would be together since it is clear that the plaster casts were intentionally divided by culture. Perhaps they were placed side by side because they both had connections with Rome. However, this is not the only instance of this cast being displayed with casts of antique sculptures at the LPE as attested by Auguste Gerber's exhibit. His plaster casts at the Palace of Varied Industries displayed plaster copies in small sizes of noted sculpture, including the Moses by Michelangelo. What is so unusual about this grouping is that it was displayed with only classical sculptures.

adjacent to the department's exhibit. Not only was the column was symbolic of the height of ancient art in Rome, but it also spoke to the height of the Roman Empire and Roman imperial power. Additionally, it would also be an achievement to receive a cast of the entire column.[220] In a letter, Langley wrote, "…I want to have it in evidence that the Museum exists for art as well as for science, and such a thing as this column is a most suggestive reminder."[221] This statement not only conveyed Langley's reasoning behind the choice for the Column of Trajan but also why any classical art is present at all in the USNM exhibit. The Column of Trajan promoted the USNM as an art institution as well as a place of natural history and science. In addition, this statement demonstrated that while world fairs commonly used European art to show an evolution of humankind, this particular exhibit was more concerned with the idea of "art" than evolution.[222] The department contacted P.P. Caproni & Bro. regarding the column and they wrote back stating that they were unaware of any existing molds.[223] Since they were unable to acquire the piece, the Smithsonian Institution decided to commission a local plaster artist to make a Goddess of Liberty instead for the rotunda (Fig. 16).[224]

Nonetheless, by displaying another piece of architectural sculpture from the reign of the Trajan, the USNM promoted a comparison with the indigenous American objects in the exhibit and incidentally also highlights the tensions between the evolutionary

[220] To take a cast of and transport the column would have been an expensive and taxing process, indicating its extreme importance to the USNM exhibit.
[221] MSC. Accession record No. 42866.
[222] The Mesoamerican and Native American artifacts were united by a theme of mythological symbolism and were not sweepingly evolutionary as McGee might have intended (Parezo and Fowler 2007, 302).
[223] This is interesting because at the time the South Kensington Museum had been in possession of a plaster cast of the Column of Trajan since 1864 so clearly molds did exist. In fact, this is the only reproduction of the Column of Trajan in existence. The plaster cast was actually considered the white elephant of the South Kensington collection at the time and was highly criticized for its expense and size (Bilbey and Trusted 2010, 473-5).
[224] SIA. RU 70, Box 62, Folder 16. Holmes to True. Perhaps this allegorical symbol of American democracy is meant to evoke a comparison with the indigenous traditions of empire building.

model and the objects as works of art. This comparison was further facilitated by the fact that the relief panels spoke highly to empire, emphasized especially by the ways in which the plaster casts were divided into cultural empires. Several panels from the Arch of Trajan at Benevento were chosen from the twenty-something available for purchase in the catalogue of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. The fact that they chose another victory monument from the reign of Trajan signifies the USNM's interests in empire and displaying art with themes of conquest. Exposition records state that four reliefs were purchased for the amount of $316, the greatest amount the department spent on a single group of casts from the same monument indicating the enormous importance of the reliefs.[225]

The cast relief from the Arch of Trajan of the personification of Mesopotamia on bended knee before Trajan is particularly jarring since this scene of submission, in relation to the indigenous plaster casts displayed nearby, implies that the Department of Anthropology might have been making a direct comparison between the empire of the civilized, Roman, and the empire of the indigenous, American, populations. A 1901 textbook of sculpture even acknowledges the inferior status of Mesopotamia by comparing it with, "older civilizations."[226] However, this would be at odds with the aims of Holmes since he did wish to advance the art of Americas.[227]

So perhaps this relief from the Arch of Trajan simply speaks to empire building, which may indirectly relate to the empire building of the Mesoamerican cultures whose

[225] MSC. Accession record 42866, LPX Order #459. While catalogue records of three reliefs still exist, there is no evidence of a fourth relief- what they called the Institution of Law in Relation to Poor Children. This relief is also not mentioned in the final report of the Anthropology exhibit. The other reliefs were a river goddess and river god from the spandrels (SIA. RU 70, Box 79, Folder 1. Report of the Department of Anthropology, 1905 by Holmes).
[226] Marquand and Frothingham 1901, 110.
[227] SIA. RU 70, Box 71, Folder 1. Holmes to True, Dec. 16, 1902.

art was displayed nearby; thus drawing a comparison between the two. The plaster casts of deities from both the Mayan and Aztec cultures would recall the empire building cultures of which they were a part. While most of the casts are religious in nature, there are casts of Mayan rulers suggesting this notion of empire building.[228] If the cast of Mesopotamia was an allusion to empire building, the relief would then also resonate with the greater exposition at St. Louis itself, since it was in celebration of the acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase. In this way, it is entirely possible that this relief not only alluded to the empire building of the New World cultures, but also to the possibility of an American empire.

This tension between evolutionary models and the promotion of the indigenous works as art is representative of the struggles of the USNM. Despite the fact that they tried to advance indigenous art, the theme of the evolutionary model was a strong force at the fair. Perhaps the celebration of the Native American culture would help increase respect for contemporary American artists, just as classical sculpture set the stage for excellence in European art. It is in this vein that an additional comparison may be made between the classical plaster casts and casts of Native American art.

The Egyptian casts displayed at the Department of Anthropology exhibit are important not for the casts themselves necessarily, but rather, for the anomalous- and "original"- Roman portrait amongst them. The importance of cultural divisions can be attested from the label at the bottom of a photograph showing the exhibit that marked the section as, "Egyptian Sculpture" (Fig. 17). Unlike August Gerber, who made an effort to color the majority of his casts to increase authenticity, the Egyptian plaster casts at the USNM exhibit is the only section where casts were made to mimic the original material

[228] SIA. RU 70, Box 79, Folder 1. Report of the Department of Anthropology, 1905 by Holmes, 31.

are found. The cast of the Recumbent Lion from the Temple of Soleb in Nubia was painted to imitate the original pink granite from which it was constructed. This interest in original material does represent an interest in portraying sculptures that could be considered authentic. The tension between the original and the reproduction- or the lack of tension between- them is indicated by the original Roman portrait included in the Egyptian section. Although Adler wished to purchase two encaustic portraits from the collection of Franz Richter, he only purchased one.[229] It is this genuine Roman portrait that does not quite belong to its surrounding Egyptian plaster casts.

Adler pushed for the purchase of this portrait because according to a letter he wrote this was a sort of painting that was, "…not known to exist…until a few years ago, when a collection was found in Upper Egypt. This collection is the only one known and is probably 2000 years old. I was very anxious to have a specimen of this lost art in the exhibition, as being something rare and unique and illustrating one important phase in the history of the arts."[230] Although this piece stands out because it was the only non-plaster cast material exhibited, I would argue that its medium was acceptable because its value as a work of art far exceeded the need for it to be sculptural in form. As Adler stated, this was a recently discovered art form, at least to the Smithsonian in any case, and thus it placed the Department of Anthropology within the current developments of the art world, again emphasizing the importance of aesthetics.[231] Casanowicz interestingly dictated that

[229] There are even expense reports attesting to a purchase of $715 for the pair (SIA. RU 70, Box 71, Folder 4). However, in later documentation, Adler explained that the museum could only afford to purchase one portrait after all (MSC. Accession record no. 43048).
[230] SIA. RU 70, Box 61. Adler to Ravenel, Aug. 4, 1904.
[231] Encaustic portraits had been first discovered at Fayum by Flinders Petrie by the late 1880s and since they flooded the market, the interest in the objects decreased (Bierbrier 1997, 24). It is likely that it is this collection at Fayum that Adler referenced.

the proper location of the portrait was alongside the Egyptian plaster casts.[232] This placement reveals not only misconceptions concerning culture during this time, but also their notions regarding authenticity by placing this antique portrait amongst plaster copies of antique sculpture. I would suggest that the portrait, out of all the "real" classical artifacts the USNM was in possession of at this time, was purchased and displayed because of its status as a newly discovered art form, which likewise indicated that the plaster casts were also chosen for their artistic merit and educational functions. The plaster casts might also be regarded as genuine artistic works despite the fact that the encaustic portrait displayed alongside the reproductions blatantly questioned their authenticity. In this manner then, the plaster casts and encaustic portraits lent each other authenticity.

Plaster casts which were acquired, but not exhibited, are important for indicating that there was a degree of selectivity in what was exhibited in this exhibit, suggesting that the plaster casts needed to have a certain monumental presence (Table 7). All of these objects were acquired from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[233] It appears that one set of eleven casts of Arretine wares was given by the MFA as a gift.[234] All of these casts except for one are still present in the museum's collections; however, they do not appear to have been exhibited at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, as there are no records of these casts in any reports. It is extremely likely that these casts were sent back from St. Louis after they arrived. A letter from True to Holmes documents that some of the items

[232] SIA. RU 70, Box 61 Folder 23. Casanowicz to Lyon, July 29, 1904
[233] Another order from the MFA was also placed for the reliefs of the long sides of the Alexander sarcophagus for $60. This sarcophagus is not mentioned in any reports and is not listed under any of the accessions from the MFA in the files at the museum. Since this item has no record in the museum, it might have not been purchased at all. If it had been displayed; however, the sarcophagus would have fit in with the theme of conquest depicted by the panels of the Arch of Trajan.
[234] Catalogue card 229701-11. MSC. Accession no. 42371.

that Adler sent were not suitable for the screens in his exhibits.[235] In the expense reports of the exposition there is a charge of $6.04 for the return of ten plaster casts that proved unsuitable for exhibition.[236] Perhaps because of their fragmentary nature and small size they were not considered worthy enough to be displayed.

Precedence of the exhibition of plaster casts and indigenous artifacts demonstrates that the artifacts from the Americas present at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition were actually being presented as works of art rather than a strictly evolutionary progression. In fact, the way that the 1904 fair was set up made this evolutionary model difficult to avoid.[237] The Division of Anthropology at the fair presented exhibits, such as the Anthropology Villages, where Native peoples were put on display in order to promote the idea of evolutionary progression. Also the Pike at the fair, also called the "Street of Nations," provided more than entertainment. McGee, the director of the Division of Anthropology, used exhibits of Native peoples on the Pike to promote his evolutionary model. Indian exhibits included Cummin's Wild West Show and Indian Congress that showcased about 200 American Indian men, women, and children. The Pike also had a Cliff Dwellers exhibit displaying a model of the archaeological ruins and displays of ceremonial dancing in kivas, to which visitors were admitted for free. Another exhibit on the Pike included the Esquimaux Village, an artificial Arctic display complete with Inuits and a miniature lake. These exhibits, along with exhibits of African Americans and

[235] NAA. BAE Series 1 Correspondence, Letters Received, 1888-1906, Box 115.
[236] SIA. RU 70, Box 71, Folder 7. Voucher no. 804. Even though records state that there were 11 casts, the museum only has 10. Records state that the last cast was removed from the collection. However, there is no date or reason for this removal. Therefore, it may be possible that only 10 of these casts were shipped to St. Louis for exhibit at the fair.
[237] In some ways, the Department of Anthropology of the USNM alluded to an evolutionary model through their inclusion of plaster casts.

civilizations of the Orient, promoted an evolutionary progression as visitors to the Pike also encountered European exhibits such as those of France and Germany.[238]

The tenuous relationship between archaeology and anthropology existed openly outside of the USNM exhibit at the fair. Often, archaeological materials and ethnographical materials coexisted with the rationale that classical study was incomplete without including more medieval studies, and thus encouraging an evolutionary model.[239] The fact that ethnographic materials were real items that were displayed next to reproductions could call into question the authenticity of the plaster casts, although I would argue that this was not the case with the USNM exhibit at the world fair. In fact, it was necessary that the plaster casts be regarded as authentic in order to propel the Mesoamerican and North American artifacts as authentic artworks. While the exhibition of the Department of Anthropology at the USNM did not necessarily integrate the European and American collections, as was sometimes the case, they did arrange the exhibit to call attention to a comparison between the two.[240]

An interesting contemporary parallel to the exhibition of plaster casts at the USNM exhibit can be found in the plaster cast collection of the Auckland War Memorial Museum in New Zealand. Here a set of casts purchased from D. Brucciani & Co. were displayed in the Main Hall of the museum with natural history objects in glass cases along the perimeter and Maori objects interspersed amongst the casts at the gallery level. Like the USNM, the Auckland museum exhibited indigenous objects in direct relation to

[238] Parezo and Fowler 2007, 234-65
[239] Beard 1993, 4.
[240] This was a common practice and is noted in several museums, including the Fitzwilliam that at its beginnings displayed plaster casts and materials from Fiji side by side (Beard 1993, 5).

European plaster casts in order to invoke a comparison.[241] As the Auckland collections grew and natural history objects increasingly became interspersed amongst the casts, the museum opened a new structure for the casts in 1897.[242] However, in doing this, the visitor was now required to pass through the Ethnographical Hall full of Maori objects to get to the Statue Hall of casts. This resulted in placing the Maori objects in direct context with the casts perhaps inadvertently suggesting some sort of evolutionary model. Thus, even though the cultural items were now distinctly separated, like those at the USNM exhibit, visitors were still invited to draw comparisons. According to a 1913 guide, the guests were invited to not only learn about Maori culture, but were also to pay homage to the genius of the race whose carvings rivaled even those picture writings of Egypt.[243] The inclusion of plaster casts and the indigenous roots of New Zealand were reflective of and as important as these ancient cultures. This would suggest that the plaster casts actually worked to promote the status of the Maori objects as works of art.

The plaster casts present at the United States National Museum's exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition were utilized to represent the primary concern of the Department of Anthropology in displaying ideal ancient works of art, embodying some of the greatest civilizations of the past, in order to promote indigenous objects as valid works of art. This is further evidenced by the fact that at the following and smaller 1905 Lewis and Clark Centennial in Portland Holmes chose only to send the Mayan plaster model temples, which were considered the most striking objects from the exhibit.[244] This

[241] Casts could not work in isolation; rather Maori works were placed in between the works (Cooke 2010, 585).
[242] One interesting addition was that of a giraffe skeleton placed between the Apollo Belvedere and Diana a la Biche that actually called attention to the materiality of the plaster casts. Just as the skeleton stood in for the living giraffe, the plaster cast stood in for the original Apollo (Cooke 2010, 586-9).
[243] Cooke 2010, 590.
[244] SIA. RU 70, Box 65, Folder 10. SIA. RU 70, Box 70, Folder 3.

clearly demonstrated the department's primary interests. The long-validated standing of the classical casts displayed in this exhibit served to augment the status of the anthropological collections and place them also within the realm of acceptable art. In order for this to be accomplished, it was critical that the plaster casts were seen as genuine works of art themselves. It was within this specific context of indigenous art and artifacts that dictated that these casts be viewed as authentic. I would suggest that the organizers of the exhibit appealed to the very fact that these were casts of celebrated statues in order to validate their claim that they indeed represented the apex of the art world. By exhibiting these plaster casts at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the United States National Museum was appealing to the public for this change in the discourse of Mesoamerican and North American art.

Conclusion

The prominence of the plaster cast collections at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition marked the beginning of their decline in the United States. Tracing this rise and fall of the role of the plaster cast highlights the changing importance and meaning of "authenticity" in the art world. It is through this discussion of the fall of plaster casts and their removal from museums that I will address the fate of the three plaster cast collections that were present at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.[245]

The decline in plaster casts began with the increasing celebration of the artist's hand in the 1870s in Germany.[246] Eventually this displeasure with casts spread across Europe promoting the view that the value of art could only be attested by the authentic trace of a hand.[247] The distinctive marks and touches that an artist left on the work suggested this idea of the "artistic genius." This frame of mind coincided with the rise of connoisseurship as a professional practice in the 1880s.[248] Museums became more anxious to cater to the art connoisseur.[249] The museum experience also began to shift to a more aesthetic experience.[250] Part of this emphasis on the original grew out of the decline of traditional history painting. With the decline of history painting, which

[245] It should be noted that plaster casts were not only being removed from museums, but also other institutions. Art academies also encouraged their removal beginning after World War II. This was spurred by the thought that plaster casts were symbols of academicism and not of creative authenticity (Bury 1991, 123). Also art academies began to place a greater emphasis on life drawing and painting, over sculpture (Wallach 1998, 55).
[246] Here questions were being raised about the practice of building up comprehensive collections in museums. It was believed that reproductions had only so much use, and the large amounts of money being spent on them should instead be used to purchase originals (Bury 1991, 123).
[247] Bury 1991, 123.
[248] Wallach 1998, 50-5.
[249] Dyson 2010, 573.
[250] Van Rheeden 2001, 220.

celebrated the antique, the authority that antique and Renaissance sculpture had enjoyed also fell out of favor. Thus, as artists turned against the classical tradition, plaster casts began to lose favor.[251]

The idea of the "cult of the original" began taking root in the 1880s and 1890s and was a primary cause in the decline of casts.[252] Museums began to value themselves as a temple of the arts that only housed objects of high aesthetic taste. Consequently, even third-rate "original" objects took precedence over a reproduction of a canonical work. Casts began to be seen as objects that were merely mechanical reproductions and their very presence amongst authentic artworks was degrading to the originals. These originals were indisputably considered art, unlike plaster casts that occupied a precarious position in the art world.[253] Along with this idea, the increasing notion of "truth to materials" also contributed to the downfall of the casts.[254] Plaster was not considered a "truthful" material and was not able to transmit the same sort of awe that the original material would have.[255]

Another major contributing factor to the decline was the increased availability of originals through cheaper mass travel and reproductive techniques.[256] As teaching tools, photographs and lantern slides became more prominent because they were easily updated and stored.[257] With acquisitions of genuine art objects, there was no reason for plaster casts to be promoted as authentic works rivaling those in European collections.

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[251] Dyson 2010, 573.
[252] This idea of the "cult of the original", along with the increasing importance of connoisseurship, is a key element in the formation of Modern art in the early twentieth century.
[253] Wallach 1998, 50-6.
[254] Williamson 1996, 184.
[255] Allington 1997, 154.
[256] Frederiksen and Marchand 2010, 1.
[257] Dyson 2010, 573.

Therefore, museums began to shift as a receptacle of the canon of European art to an institution of high art which separated the original from the reproduction.[258]

The "Battle of the Casts" at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is an exemplary study of the decline of plaster casts in America. This battle was between Edward Robinson, the director and curator of ancient art at the MFA, and Matthew Prichard, the assistant director at the MFA. The MFA had a superb collection of plaster casts, largely acquired and collected by Edward Robinson. The battle began in the 1900s with a proposition to move the plaster casts into a new building away from the authentic art objects. Prichard saw only true aesthetic beauty in originals, while Robinson supported the plaster casts and their didactic uses. In the end, the plaster casts were moved to storage, Prichard lost his job, and Robinson resigned. A great deal of this debate ultimately came from the high culture that was developing in Boston and the elites who controlled the museums and dictated what was displayed.[259]

Importantly, the battle in Boston set the stage for the increased removal of casts from the museum interior. After the fall of plaster casts at the MFA came that of The Metropolitan Museum of Art with J.P. Morgan. When Morgan took control in 1904 he began to shape a museum that would only acquire works of a high degree, and this did not include reproductions. Prior to this, the Metropolitan had been resisting any efforts to increase the growth of their plaster cast collection.[260] The decline of casts at both the

[258] Baker 2010, 489.
[259] DiMaggio 1982, 36. Wallach 1998, 56.
[260] Wallach 1998, 51-4.

MFA and the Metropolitan can be attributed to rich collectors, the idea of artistic genius, and shifting functions of the museum.[261]

The collection of plaster casts at the Museum of Classical Archaeology at the University of Missouri-Columbia further exemplifies the gradual separation of casts and "original" art objects. The plaster casts remained on the third floor of Academic Hall, now called Jesse Hall, from its creation as a laboratory until 1940, when the plaster casts were pushed to one side of the room so that art students would have a space to hold class. In 1935, the Department of Classical Archaeology was split between the Department of Art and the Department of Classics. In 1960, when the Department of Classical Archaeology was reformed as the Department of Art History and Archaeology, the casts were brought into use once more. The Art Department was moved out and the plaster casts were cleaned and repainted. In 1975, the plaster casts were transferred, along with the department, to the newly renovated Pickard Hall, the old Chemistry building. The Museum of Art and Archaeology now occupies the second floor of Pickard Hall, but the plaster casts are exhibited on the ground floor in their own gallery (Table 8, Fig. 20). The plaster casts are now on permanent loan to the Museum of Art and Archaeology from the Department of Art History and Archaeology, and that does lend the plaster casts a certain amount of authenticity as objects as well as highlights their function as educational objects. However, the fact that the Museum of Classical Archaeology and the Gallery of Plaster Casts exist separately within the same building is indicative of the separation that is common in museums.

[261] This decline might also have begun in conjunction with the 1913 International Exhibition of Modern Art that pushed a new, more exclusive art works that favored experts rather than the general public (Mancini 1999, 840). Also the Armory Show's reaction against the academy, and their classical backgrounds, promoted innovation (Mancini 1999, 846).

In the context of the Cast Gallery and in the Department of Art History and Archaeology, the plaster casts of the University of Missouri collection take on different notions of authenticity. The plaster casts are didactic tools- to students of art and art history as well as to the general public who visit the museum and artists who sketch them. However, these are the casts that are contained within the gallery, exhibited according to chronological restraints and with explanatory labels. Regardless of their loose association with the Museum of Art and Archaeology, I would suggest, that this formal grouping does bestow a certain amount of authority upon the casts. Other parts of the collection are scattered throughout Pickard Hall. It seems as though the authenticity has to be dictated to the viewer, and this happens to some degree with the formal exhibition of the plaster casts with explanatory labels.[262]

The same situation of separation between originals and reproductive plaster casts is also noted with the plaster casts of August Gerber that ended up at Southeast Missouri State University. The casts remained in Academic Hall until 1959, when they were dispersed over campus to make room for additional classroom space. In 1958, the university formed a committee to determine the dispersal of the plaster casts and whose aim was to allow the works to continue to be tools of learning for the students, rather than being put into storage.[263] The committee attempted to place the plaster casts in

[262] Some museums literally do need to tell the viewer that the plaster cast is a work of art and should not be touched, such as the Royal Copenhagen Cast Collection or Missouri's own Museum of Art and Archaeology. Classification in reproduction is key to dictating the way in which it is seen (Gombrich 1965, 74). Without classification, these reproductions would be left entirely to the discretion of the interpretive wills of the viewers. It is through subtle hints that the plaster casts that have been discussed here have dictated their notions of authenticity of the viewer. "The form of a representation cannot be divorced from its purpose and the requirements of the society in which the given visual language gains currency." (Gombrich 1965, 90).

[263] Crow 1975.

departments or classrooms that would be relevant to the subject of the cast.[264] However, it was lamented that during this time all the labels from the plaster casts were no longer present. Without these labels, which gave value and meaning to the casts, the objects were further removed from being considered genuine or having educational value.[265]

In 1975, the casts were put in the public eye by an article published by Judith Ann Crow in the *Southeast Missourian* on the front page about the collection at Southeast State Missouri University. The article bemoaned the fate and destruction of some of the plaster casts. In response to this article, the president of the university, Robert Leestamper, wrote a letter to the editor in which he stated that the article was helpful in alerting the region as the educational values of the casts and that the preservation of local historical items is a top interest of the university and surrounding community.[266] This article then, encouraged action to be taken to collect and inventory the plaster casts scattered across the campus.

Perhaps, then it is not surprising that in 1976, the plaster casts were gathered, restored, and then transferred to the Southeast Missouri Regional Museum by the director at the time, James Parker. However, not all 58 casts that Houck originally purchased for the school still existed. It is likely that most of these were destroyed over the years.[267] The casts remained in the museum until it relocated to the new Rosemary Berkel and Harry L. Crisp II Southeast Missouri Regional Museum. According to the museum director Dr. Stanley Grand, the plaster casts were not included in this new museum since

[264] For example, there was a bust of Dante in the Language Arts Building (Crow 1975).
[265] Fact sheets and labels imbue value into plaster casts that might otherwise be considered not of value (Allington 1997, 155).
[266] SEMO Archives. President's Office Subject Files. Box 1335, File 11.
[267] One instance was recorded in which one cast in the Art Department was knocked over by a student, but the university did not want to spend money on repairs (Crow 1975).

the new museum would focus on the archaeology, history, and fine arts of the southeast Missouri region.[268] Again, the conscious decision to separate originals from reproductions was made. In 2007, The Class of 1957 raised $100,000 dollars in order to have the 38 remaining casts restored and moved to the new Aleen Vogel Wehking Alumni Center, formerly the First Baptist Church, where they now lining the walls of an auditorium area, called the Barbara Hope Kem Statuary Hall (Fig. 21).

The new exhibit of the plaster casts in the Alumni Center has interesting implications in terms of the authenticity of the objects. While no longer in an authoritative museum setting, the plaster casts are still promoted as authentic based on their display. The plaster casts are actually delimited by a velvet rope that serves as a boundary for visitors. The other interesting aspect of this exhibit is the position of the busts. All of the plaster busts that are part of this collection occupy the stage of this auditorium that was formerly the church sanctuary (Fig. 22). This effectively places the plaster casts in an authoritative role and position of prestige within the space. It is this position of primacy combined with the fact that the plaster casts are roped off that instill in them a sense of authenticity.

The ways in which context dictates authenticity is well illustrated by the fate of the casts from the exhibit of the United States National Museum, now called the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), at the 1904 world fair. The plaster casts have remained with the NMNH since their exhibition at the fair despite the break up of the USNM into different divisions of the Smithsonian Institution. Although the casts have remained in the collections, they appear to have only been exhibited again once more in 1922. In this exhibit, which concentrated mostly on Egyptian and Babylonian works, a

[268] Southeast State Missouri University 2007.

large number of plaster casts, which were specifically referred to as plaster casts, were displayed along with genuine artifacts.[269] In this instance, the plaster casts are more fully integrated with authentic artifacts than their display at the fair, signaling tensions in the relationship between the two types of art.

The life of the plaster casts after the fair at the NMNH illustrates how resilient and significant these plaster casts are to the institution. All of the plaster casts from the initial exhibition are still present; the only missing casts were destroyed due to damage beyond repair (Table 7).[270] From the records of some of the casts, it can be ascertained that the plaster casts were stored in two different locations. The first location was a storage site located in Alexandria, Virginia where facilities were not ideal and resulted in crates being stacked one on top of another.[271] However, the casts only remained here until 1972 when they were moved to their current facility in the Museum Support Center in Suitland, Maryland where the casts now are all now in top-of-the-line storage crates individually catered to the size and shape of the plaster casts.

The fact that the plaster casts were moved and continue to be stored and regarded with great care is representative of their significance to the National Museum of Natural History. It is perhaps unusual that a museum of natural history would even have such a

[269] See 1922, 445.

[270] There are several plaster casts, including the relief of Orpheus, Eurydice, and Hermes and Michelangelo's Moses, which are no longer present in the collections and have no records. It might be assumed that these were too destroyed because of irreparable damage. However, it is also a possibility that they never returned to Washington D.C. from St. Louis. Although it is impossible to prove, it is feasible that the casts were broken during transport back to Washington as was the case with a statue of an Aztec deity from the department's exhibit which was smashed during the return journey.[270] Casts that were intentionally destroyed include the Hermes of Andros, which was done in 1970. The panels from the Arch of Trajan at Benevento were destroyed earlier in 1937, most likely due to poor preservation. Therefore, it seems as though all casts were kept except for those that were damaged.

[271] It is possible that some of the damage sustained by the casts was due to these storage techniques.

large collection of plaster casts.[272] The fact that these casts not only survived, but also were transferred from storage place to storage place is indicative of their importance regardless of the fact that they have not been displayed for close to a century now.[273] The plaster casts are large items and take up a great amount of space in storage facilities, so it is intriguing that they still persist in a natural history museum with no curator in classical archaeology and very few formal connections to the field of art history.

I would suggest that the plaster casts remain in the NMNH, where they have not necessarily remained in other museum settings, because of their specific context in a museum of natural history that is more embracing of reproduction than an art museum. While there are also other artworks from the classical world in storage along with the plaster casts, only a few are on exhibit in the Western Cultures Hall. In the natural history museum, "real" objects and reproductions are regarded on a more equal level. Here, reproductions are not always viewed with the same stigma as might be in an art museum. I would suggest that this is because of the way in which the discipline of anthropology views reproductions.[274] A simple keyword search of "cast" in the NMNH artifact database comes back with about 2500 results. In addition to the Egyptian,

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[272] The museum has additional plaster casts of antique sculptures that were exhibited at the 1893 Columbian Exposition as well, bringing their collection to a total of around 150 casts.

[273] Only the cast of the Code of Hammurabi is on display as part of the Western Cultures Hall.

[274] In fact, taxidermy, an exhibition practice originating from public displays such as international expositions and regularly featured in museums of natural history, is a process of replication itself that is regarded as an artistic process (Wonders 1989, 131-2). It paralleled the plaster casts in many ways including how taxidermy entered the private home as a way of decoration and how the practice of taxidermy became a thriving business (Wonders 1989, 135-8). Most importantly, habitat groups, which gained popularity in the late nineteenth century and were composed of posed animals of taxidermy, echoed the function of plaster casts in that they stood for the experience of the authentic and were meant to be didactic (Wonders 1989, 141-2). These dioramas, which represented the apex of the art of the taxidermist, also encompassed, "a photographer's vision and a sculptor's vision" bringing together both the idea of the photographed and sculpted plaster cast (Haraway 1984-5, 24). In fact, dioramas involved making molds for vegetation and other elements present (Haraway 1984-5, 34). Like plaster casts, which embody different generations of social meanings, dioramas too are representative of social moments in time (Haraway 1984-5, 52). The USNM was one of the first museums of natural history to adopt this method of exhibit (Wonders 1989, 143).

Assyrian, Greek, and Roman plaster casts, the other casts from NMNH include Paleolithic items from Europe, North American objects from civilizations such as the Mississippian, Woodland, and Mimbres cultures, casts from the Maori in New Zealand, and the Incas in South America. The casts also encompass a wide variety of objects including of jewelry, beads, pipes, pottery, weapons and tools, statues and figures, altars, votives, and seals. Perhaps then, the plaster casts of antique subjects in the NMNH are valued as authentic objects within their context amongst other reproductions in a natural history museum and have thus been retained despite being primarily in storage.

In this thesis, the collections of plaster casts at the University of Missouri-Columbia, those of August Gerber, and those of the United States National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition were all similar since they promoted a didactic function and presented notions of authenticity. The University of Missouri hoped to highlight its excellence, the artist August Gerber wished to share and sell his artworks with and to North American educators, and the USNM strove to educate its visitors as to the artistic quality of its Mesoamerican and North American objects in order to create a lineage of purely "American" art. In these three very different contexts at the same fair, these exhibits all promoted their casts as authentic art objects. Tracing the entirety of the life histories of these plaster cast collections also reveals that authenticity is determined by context. Changing spaces, times, and environments directly determine the notions of authenticity surrounding plaster casts. Although the plaster casts physically remain static, it is their environments that shape the way in which the viewer receives them as either art objects or reproductions or some liminal space in between. Just as Michael Camille argued that the

constant replication of plaster casts allowed for plaster casts to take on new meanings, so I would argue that a single plaster cast is capable of communicating many truths, in essence representing a history of the flexible conceptions of authenticity fixed by its specific environment.[275]

Despite the fact that many collections faced storage and destruction, the fates of plaster casts were spared since a revival of the casts occurred in the 1980s and continues still today.[276] This revival began with Ian Jenkins' obituary of the Albacini casts in which he lamented their destruction. The resurgence really began to take shape after the publication of *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900* by Haskell and Penny in 1981 brought further attention to the rise in popularity of plaster casts beginning in the late fifteenth century.[277] Following this museums and universities began once more to utilize their cast collections.[278] Museums have embraced plaster casts in exhibitions for their ability to reside outside of the canonical ways of exhibition. The *Gods in Color: Painted Sculpture of Classical Antiquity* exhibit at Harvard University's Arthur M. Sackler Museum used plaster casts to demonstrate the original painted qualities of antique sculpture.[279] The plaster casts from the Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge were rearranged and dressed up to act in the play *Hippolytus* in 1992.[280] During the 1980s, plaster casts also began to be used by artists in their

[275] Camille 1996, 199.
[276] Stone 1987, 33.
[277] Nichols 2006, 119.
[278] The Horace Smith Collection of Plaster Casts at the George Walter Vincent Smith Art Museum in Springfield, Massachusetts was restored in 1978 after having been in storage for years (Haskell 2002, 16). One of the most prominent examples of cast revival during the 1980s was that of the Cast Courts at the Victoria & Albert Museum (Bury 1991, 124). A more recent example is the 2003 revival of plaster casts at University of California- Berkeley, some of which were present at the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition (Miller 205).
[279] See Brinkmann 2007 for further information.
[280] See Beard and Henderson 1997 for further information.

artworks. An example can be noted by the artist Giulio Paolini in his *L'Altra Figura* where a cast of Athena Lemnia appears yet again, this time in the form of a plaster bust that confronts another identical bust in order to demonstrate a self-reflecting conversation (Fig. 23).[281] This sort of use of plaster in art represents a revival of postmodernism where the artist is neither afraid of reproduction nor the question of authenticity. Therefore, plaster casts have once again made their way back into the public eye through the embrace by artists, museums, and universities for their didactic possibilities and opportunities to relay an authentic truth.

[281] Howard 1991, 208.

Table 1. Casts that Pickard Wished to Acquire.

Casts that Pickard Wished to Acquire (1895)	Casts Pickard Actually Purchased (1895 and 1902)
Tomb of Atreus	
Tomb of Orchomenos	
Reliefs- Temple at Assos	
Stele from Orchomenos	
Chares	
Agamemnon relief Samothrace	
Harpy Tomb Reliefs	
Nike of Achermos	
Nikandre figure from Delos	
Persian Artemis relief from Olympia	
Hera from Samos	
Ephesos Female Head	
Perseos metope from Selinus	
Grave relief from Sparta	
Statues from Aegina Temple	
Apollo of Tenea (Tenea kouros)	X
Strangford Apollo	
Colossal Hera head from Olympia	X
Archaic head from Cythera (Antikythera)	
Woman stepping into chariot- relief from Athens	
Aristion Stele	
Calf Bearer- Acropolis	
Relief – Birth of Erichthonius	
Bearded male head- Acropolis	
Harmodios and Aristogeiton	X (only Harmodios)
Head and torso of boy from Acropolis (Kritios Boy)	
One of the ? (not readable)	
Dresden Pallas	
Archaistic Athena Herculaneum	
Apollo, Zeus Temple sculptures- Olympia	X
Polykleitos Doryphoros	X
Polykleitos Diadumenos	
Farnese Hera	
Berlin Amazon	
Myron Diskobolos	X
Myron Marsyas	
Theseus Relief	

Penelope Vatican	
Theseion metope	
Nike of Paionios	X
Phigaleia frieze (Bassae frieze)	
Nike temple frieze	
Nike temple balustrade	X
Eleusinian deities, relief	
Venus Genetrix	X
Orpheus Relief	
Parthenon- Theseus	
Parthenon- Fates	X
Parthenon-Kephisos	
Parthenon- metopes	X
Parthenon- frieze	X
Shield of the Parthenos	
Athena from Velletri	X
(not readable) statuette	
Varvakeion statuette	
Dexileos Grave Stele	
Nereid Monument figure	
Nereid monument reliefs	
Eirene and Ploutos group	
Praxiteles Hermes	X
Praxiteles Knidus Aphrodite	
Praxiteles Marble Faun	
Praxiteles Marble Faun torso	
Skopas- fragments from Tegea	X
Apollo Musagetes- Vatican	
Niobe and Daughter group	
Lysippos- Apoxymenos	X
Ludovisi Ares	
Demeter of Knidos	X
Munich Athelete	
Bronze Boy Berlin	
Bronze Head Hypnos	
Seated Hermes- Naples Museum	
Meleager- Vatican	
Sophocles statue	X
Diana of Gabii	X
Mausoleion Frieze	X
Venus of Melos	X
Venus of Arles	
Venus of Capua	
Great Pergamon Altar	X

Dying Gladiator	
Dead Gauls	
Venus de Medici	X
Capitoline Venus	
Dying Alexander- Florence	
Nike of Samothrace	X
Antiochos	
Farnese Herakles	
Apollo Belvedere	X
Diana of Versailles	
Laokoon	X
Torso Belvedere	
Seated Menander	
Statue of Demosthenes	
Boy with a goose	
Three Graces- group	
Apotheosis of Homer	
Archaic Head Zeus- Olympia	
Zeus from Melos	
Female head- Munich	
Ludovisi Juno	X
Vulcan	
Head of Gaul- Pergamon Altar	
Female Head from Pergamon Altar	
Head of Boxer- Olympia	
Klytie	
Medusa Rondini	
Medusa Rondanini	
Otricoli Zeus	
Apollo Pourtales	
Steinhauser Apollo	
Hera from Vatican Statue	
Ajax- Vatican	
Athena colossal head- Munich	
Plato herm- Berlin	
Perikles British Museum	X
Alexander- Louvre	
Aesop- Villa Albani	
Homer- Naples	
Thucydides and Herodotus	
Julius Caesar- British Museum	
Statue of Augustus- Vatican	
Sitting Agrippina- Naples	
Statue of Antinous- Capitoline	

Stephanos Youth	
Orestes and Electra- Naples	
Theater chair- Athens	
Portland Vase	X
Capital from column of Propylaea	
Capital from column of Parthenon	
Capital from Aula Erectheion	
Capital from Choragic Monument	

Table 2. August Gerber's Exhibits in the Palace of Education.

University Exhibits	Southeast Missouri State
Portrait Busts	
Gutenberg	
Goethe	
Luther	X
Kant	
Alexander von Humboldt	X
Wilhelm von Humboldt	
Niebuhr	
Schoenlein	
Winkelmann	
Schleiermacher	

Technical Colleges	Southeast Missouri State
Medical Department	
Von Langenbeck	
G. Muller	
Gauss	
Helmholz	
Siemens	

Drawing and Artistic Wall- Decoration Exhibit	Southeast Missouri State
Boy Praying- Adorant	
Statuette of John the Baptist	
Man with the Geese	
Busts	
Homer	
Caesar	X
Cicero	X
Augustus	
Sophocles	
Demosthenes	
Euripides	
Ernst Moritz Arndt	
Amos Comenius	
Diesterweg	
Froebel	X
Herbart	
Herder	

Jahn	
Melanchthon	
Pestalozzi	X

Table 3. August Gerber's Exhibits in the Palace of Varied Industries.

Palace of Varied Industries	Southeast Missouri State
Ivory Carvings	
Reliquary of Otto I	
Reliquary of Emperor Henry	
Cup of Milano	
Wood Carvings	
Madonnas	
Small Antique Bronzes	
Jupiter of Paraytia	
Minerva of Naples	
Jupiter of Cologne	
Mercury	
Neptune of Cologne	
Syrene or Harpy	
Bacchus	
Busts	
Minerva	
Appolion Archaic	
Standing Ptah	
Osiris sitting	
Cat sitting	
Small busts	
Homer	
Plato	
Seneca	
Augustus	
Artistic Copies in Small Sizes of Noted Sculpture	
Dying Gladiator	
Venus crouching	
Girl raffling	
Boy Drawing Out a Thorn	
Mercury resting	
Moses by Michelangelo	
Ariadne on the lion	
Tanagra figurines	

Table 4. August Gerber's Exhibits at the Palace of Liberal Arts.

St. Louis: Palace of Liberal Arts	Southeast Missouri State
Full Scale Sculptures	
Boy Drawing out a Thorn (Spinario)	
Venus of Milo	X
Apoxyomenos	
Woman of Herculaneum	X
Diana of Gabii	X
Minerva Giustiniani	X
Busts	
Mercury from Petersburg	
Plato from Naples	
Charioteer from Delphi	X
Heads	
Venus from Berlin	
Homer from Naples, the Boxer	
Youth from Munich	
Youth of Tarent from Berlin	
Vestalin Tuccia	
Satyr from the Louvre	
Hermes from Berlin	
Reliefs	
Hercules and the Hore of Winter	X
Daedalus and Icarus	X
Death of Socrates	X
Jupiter, Juno, and Psyche	X
Medusa Rondanini	
Medusa Ludovisi	X
Parthenon frieze	X
Orpheus, Hermes, and Eurydice	X
Statue of men from the Louvre	
Statue of men from the Louvre	
Satyr with red background from Rome	
Parthenon frieze	X
Nike Untying her Sandal	

St. Louis: Palace of Liberal Arts- German Middle Ages	Southeast Missouri State
Full Scale Sculpture	
Synagogue of the Cathedral of Strausburg	X
Eckhard of the Cathedral of Nuremberg	
Sybelle of the Cathedral of Bamberg	
Madonna of Nuremberg	
St. John by Affinger	
Grieving Madonna	
Grieving St. John	
St. Helena, Church of St. Gereon	
St. Gereon, Church of St. Gereon	
Theodoric, Tomb of Maximilian	
St. Peter, Tomb of Sebaldus	
St. John, Tomb of Sebaldus	
Relief	
Tomb of Sebaldus by Peter Vischer	
Tomb of Sebaldus by Peter Vischer	
Holy Family by Albrecht Durer	
Miniature Sculpture	
St. John of Nuremberg	
Grieving Madonna	
Grieving St. John	
Two Brackets, Gothic	

St. Louis: Palace of Liberal Arts- Italian Middle Ages	Southeast Missouri State
Full Size Sculpture	
St. George by Donatello	X
David by Donatello	
Madonna with Child by Michelangelo	
Il Pensiero by Michelangelo	
Christ by Donatello	
Busts	
Princess of Urbino	X
Madonna by Donatello	
Mariette Strozzi by Dr. di Laurana	
Dante	
St. Lorenzo by Donatello	X
Bambino	X
Bambino	X
Boy Laughing	
St. John the Baptist	

Nicollo da Uzzana by Donatello	
Madonna with Child by Desiderio di Settignao	
Reliefs	
Singing Angels by Donatello	
St. Cecilia	
Madonna Adoring the Child by Lucca della Robbia	
Madonna with Child and Angels by Donatello	
Part of Ghiberti Door- Abraham Sacrificing Isaac	
Children Dancing by Lucca della Robbia	X
Boy Singing from a Book	X
Boys Singing from a Roll	X
Madonna with Child by Lucca della Robbia	
Madonna with Child, St. John the Baptist and St. Hieronymus	
Scourging of Christ by G. d. Bologna	
Madonna with Child by Desederio di Settignano	
Plate Battle of the Amazons	
Three Heads of Singing Angels	

St. Louis: Palace of Liberal Arts- Modern Art	Southeast Missouri State
Full Size Sculpture	
Hebe	X
Hospitality by Blaeser	
Bacchus by Canova	X
Bacchante by Canova	X
Schiller by Dannecker	
Busts	
Schiller by Dannecker	
Goethe by Tripel	
Beethoven by Prof. Zwerger	
Diana by Houdon	X
Jupiter, Cupid, and Psyche by Hoffmeister	
Demosthenes, copy of original	
Bust of Sophocles, copy of original	
Bust Richard Wagner by Tanner	
Bust of Beethoven by Tanner	
Reliefs	
Priests with Lions of frieze of Triumph of Alexander by Thorvaldsen	X

Table 5. August Gerber's Exhibits in the German State Building.

St. Louis: German State Building- Main Hall	Southeast Missouri State
Portrait Busts	
Great Elector	
Frederick the First	
Frederick William the First	
Frederick the Great	
Frederick William the Second	
Frederick William the Third	
Frederick William the Fourth	
Albert of Saxony	
Frederick the Third	
William the Great	
Luitpold of Bavaria	
Grand Duke of Baden	

St. Louis: German State Building- Reading Hall	Southeast Missouri State
Schiller	
Herder	
Wieland	
Fichte	
Arndt	
Koerner	
Jahn	
Science	
Gauss	
Humboldt	
Weber	
Kant	
Luther	
Gutenberg	
Ruckert	
Musicians	
Schubert	
Wagner	
Beethoven	
Mozart	
Reuter	
Lessing	

Goethe	

Table 6. Casts Purchased by Louis Houck for the State Normal School from August Gerber's exhibits at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

Plaster Casts By Louis Houck for State Normal School	Where Displayed at Fair	Southeast Missouri State
Apoxyomenos	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Woman of Herculaneum	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Diana of Gabii	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Minerva Giustiana	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Bust of Homer	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Head of Boxer with eyes	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Relief of Heracles and Hore	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Relief of Daedalus and Icarus	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Relief Death of Socrates	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Relief of Jupiter, Juno, and Psyche	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Relief of Medusa Ludovisi	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Relief- Parthenon Frieze	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Relief of Orpheus, Hermes and Eurydice	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Statue of Man in Relief	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Satyr (red ground) in Relief	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Relief of Nike Untying Sandal	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Bust of Hermes	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Bust of Caesar	Palace of Education	
Bust of Cicero	Palace of Education	X
St. George by Donatello	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Statue of Il Pensiero by Michelangelo	Palace of Liberal Arts	

Bust of Princess of Urbino	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Bust of Madonna by Donatello	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Bust of Dante	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Bust of St. Lorenzo by Donatello	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Bust of Bambino	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Bust of Bambino	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Relief of St. Cecile	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Bust of Madonna Adoring Child by Lucca della Robbia	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Bust of Madonna with Child and Angels by Donatello	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Bust of Abraham Sacrificing Isaac by Ghiberti	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Relief of Boys Singing from a Book	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Relief of Boys Singing from a Scroll	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Relief of Flagellation of Christ	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Plate of Battle of Amazons	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Statue from the Cathedral in Strausburg	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Eckhard of Cathedral of Nurnburg	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Theodoric at the Tomb of Maximilian by Peter Visher	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Relief on Tomb of Sebaldus by Peter Visher	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Relief of Holy Family by Albrecht Durer	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Hebe of Throwalsen	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Hospitality by Blaser	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Bacchus by Canova	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Bacchante by Canova	Palace of Liberal	X

	Arts	
Bust of Diana by Houdon	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Relief of Jupiter, Cupid, and Psyche	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Relief of Priests with Lions by Thorwaldsen	Palace of Liberal Arts	
Reproductions of slabs of Parthenon	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Reproductions of slabs of Parthenon	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Bust of Demosthenes	Palace of Liberal Arts	X
Bust of Froebel	Palace of Education	X
Bust of Pestalozzi	Palace of Education	X
Bust of Alexander von Humboldt	Palace of Education	X
Bust of Luther	Palace of Education	X
Venus de Milo	Purchased later	X
Apollo Belvedere	Purchased later	X

Table 7. Plaster Casts Associated with the United States National Museum and the National Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution.

Casts Acquired by USNM	Actually Purchased for LPE	Actually Displayed at LPE	Still in NMNH Collection
Recumbent Lion- Temple of Soleb	X	X	X
Cast Lid of Sarcophagus of Sasobek	X	X	X
Hapy	X	X	X
Eleusinian Relief	X	X	X
Hermes of Andros	X	X	
Head of Diskobolos	X	X	X
Relief of Orpheus, Eurydice, and Hermes	X	X	
Laocoön	X	X	X
Horus with Altar (King Tutankhamen presenting offerings)	X	X	X
Trajan Making Dacia a Province- Arch of Trajan	X	X	
Water Goddess- Arch of Trajan	X	X	
Institution of Law in Relation to Poor Children-Arch of Trajan	X	X	
River God-Arch of Trajan	X	X	
Ceres	X	X	X
Two Fates- Parthenon (Two Goddesses)	X	X	X
Moses- Michelangelo	X	X	
Tablet of Sun-God of Shamash	X	X	X
Cast of Cylindrical Altar- Tello	X	X	X
Code of Hammurabi	X	X	X
Assyrian Winged Priest	X	X	
Wounded Lioness	X	X	
Eagle Headed, Winged Sphinx	X	X	
North Side- Harpy Tomb, Xanthos	X	X	
South Side- Harpy Tomb, Xanthos	X	X	
Hunting Scene-Arretine	X		X
Lion Hunt-Arretine	X		X
Youth and Girl Playing Musical Instruments-Arretine	X		X

Cast Bowl-Arretine	X		X
Cast of Bowl-Arretine	X		X
Bowl-Arretine	X		X
Bowl-Arretine	X		X
Bowl-Arretine	X		X
Nereids on Sea-horses- Arretine	X		X
Siren Playing Double Flute-Arretine	X		X
Cast of Cup-Arretine	X		
Cast of the Lid of the Sarcophagus of Queen Ankhnesneferibre	X	X	X
Diskobolos	X	?	
Long sides of Alexander Sarcophagus	?		
Roman Encaustic Portrait	X	X	X

Table 8. Casts Displayed in the Cast Gallery of Pickard Hall at the University of Missouri- Columbia.

Alexander: The Azara Bust
Satyr Pouring Wine
Battle of Greeks and Amazons
Homer
Ludovisi Hera
Portrait of Sophokles
Athena Velletri
Head of a Matron
Artemis from Gabii
Borghese Warrior
Head of Euripides
Apollo Belvedere
Aphrodite of Melos (Venus de Milo)
Zeus Battling Giants
Laokoon and his Sons
Nike of Samothrace
Battle of Greeks and Amazons. Relief from the Frieze of the Temple of Apollo at Phigleia (Bassai)
Aprhodite (Venus Genetrix)
Woman from Herculaneum
Head of the Demeter of Knidos
Karyatid
Nike
Dancing Woman
Hermes and Dionysos
Charioteer
Sophokles
Head
The Ludovisi Throne
The Apoxyomenos
The Doryphoros
Torso of a Satyr
Centaur and Lapith

Medici Aphrodite (Venus de Medici)
Diskobolos or Discus Thrower
Nike
Harmodios the Tyrannicide
Head of Theseus
Head of Deidameia
Athena Lemnia
Two Goddesses. The Parthenon, East Pediment
Kouros from Tenea
Athena. Temple of Aphaia, Aegina, West Pediment
Apollo. Temple of Zeus at Olympia, West Pediment
Head of a Lapith Youth. Temple of Zeus at Olympia, West Pediment
Head of a Lapith Woman. Temple of Zeus at Olympia, West Pediment
Apples of The Hesperides. Temple of Zeus at Olympia, Metope
Panathenaic Procession; Rider. The Parthenon, West Frieze
Panathenaic Procession; Marshal. The Parthenon, East Frieze
Head of aYoung Girl.
Flagpole Base. By Alessandro Leopardi, Venetian
Panathenaic Procession, The Handing Over of the Peplos. The Parthenon, East Frieze
Boy Removing a Thorn From his Foot (Spinario)
Marble Head of aYoung Girl
Dionysus or Priapos
Head of Hygieia, Daughter of Asklepios and Goddess of Health
Sophokles
Bust Of Perikles
Tondo Relief of Madonna and Child. By Michelangelo.
Relief of Ceiling Coffer
Relief of Ceiling Coffer
Fragment of a Frieze
Cornice, Roman
Frieze Fragment
Corinthian Capital. Acanthus Mollis
Pilaster Column and Capital, from the Ara Pacis
Drummers By Luca Della Robbia
Singing Boys. By Luca Della Robbia

Paris and Helen
Relief Showing Dionysus and Cybele in Procession
St. George. By Donatello
Female Head. Marble Original Found at Pergamon
Head of aWoman. Found at The Heraion Near Argos
Head of a Goddess, Laborde (Weber) Head
Head from Tegea
Head of Dante
Roman Calendar or Alphabet Tablets (4 Sections)
Lenormant Athena
Julius Caesar
Lorenzo De' Medici, Duke of Urbino. By Michelangelo
Laughing Child. By Rosselino
Head of Hera (Hera Barberini)
Bust of Nefertiti
Head of a Satyr
Capital
Bust of a Bishop
Bust of a Satyr
Small Corinithian Capital
Mark Anthony's Daughter. American Hiram Powers/Randolph Rogers
Portland Vase
Aristophanes (?)
Narcissus
Head of Medusa Rondanini
Relief with Figure of a Woman
Pilaster with Corinthian Capital and Floral Decoration
Piece of Entablature with High Relief Floral Decoration
Temple of Athena Nike:
3 Stylobates (4 Stepped)
2 Bases
1 Column
Ionic Capital
2 Antae
3 Sections of Entablature

Front Geison (3 Sections, Egg And Dart)
Raking Geison (2 Sections)
Sima
Lysikrates Monument (Building F):
Stylobate (3 Sections)
Engaged Columns And Wall (3 Sections)
1 Corinthian Capital
Tripod Frieze (2 Sections)
Epistyle (2 Sections)
Carved Frieze (2 Sections)
Cornice (2 Sections)
The Parthenon (Building B):
Stylobate and Steps (3 Sections)
Columns and Capitals (3, 1 Broken)
Entablature (3 Sections)
Geison (3 Sections)
Raking Cornice (1 Section)
Column Fragments
Right Arm Holding Die From the Apoxyomenos
Arm to Charioteer
Part of a Colossal Right Hand (Constantine ?)
Left Hand Grasping a Rod
Piece of Hair or Drapery
Two Partial Fingers
Drapery Fragments from Apollo Belvedere
Small Oval Plaque with Head of Athena
Iconic Capital
Doric Capital
Three Sections of Gilded Ionic Capitals
Head of a God From The Pergamom Altar, from the Apollo Group
Head of Asklepios.

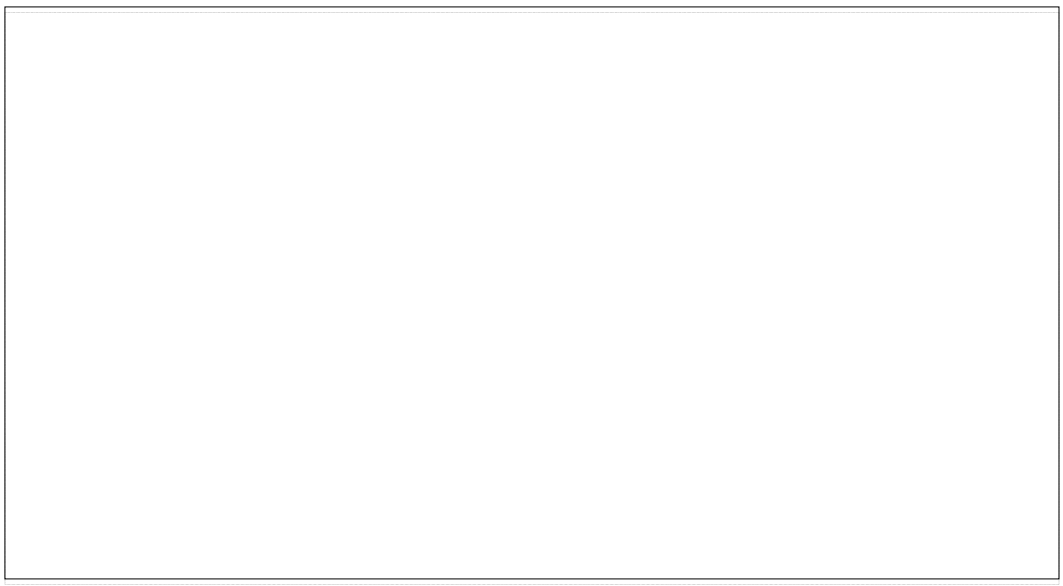

Figure 1 View of the Museum of Classical Archaeology in the west wing of the third floor of Academic Hall at the University of Missouri- Columbia (*Savitar* 1896, p. 130).

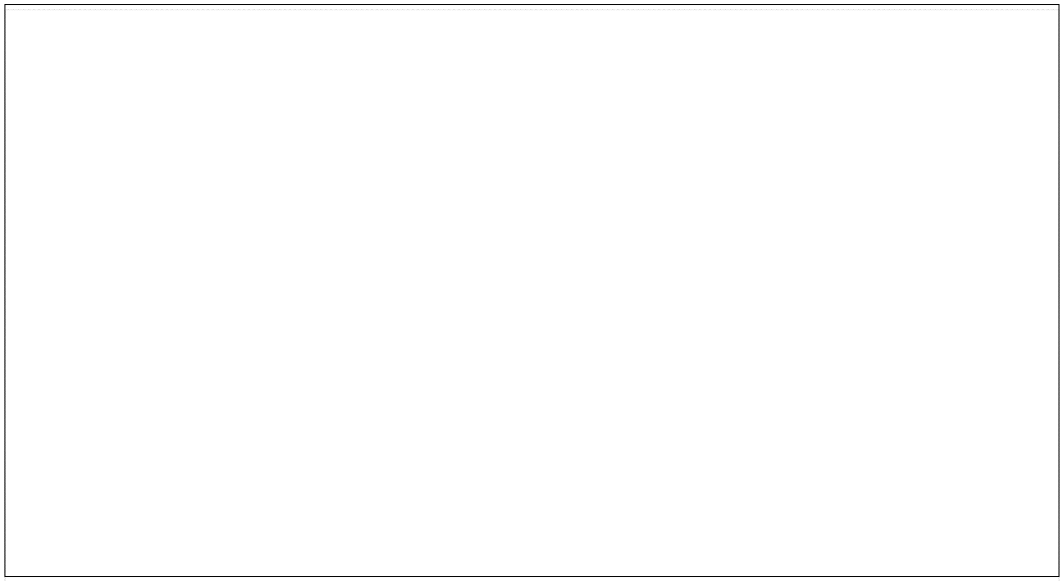

Figure 2 Plan of the Palace of Education. Despite the large exhibition space given to Germany, the United States still had the largest amount of space as all unnamed spaces were dedicated to the United States (1904. *Universal Exposition at Saint Louis, 1904 by its Division of Exhibits: Department of Education,* p.9).

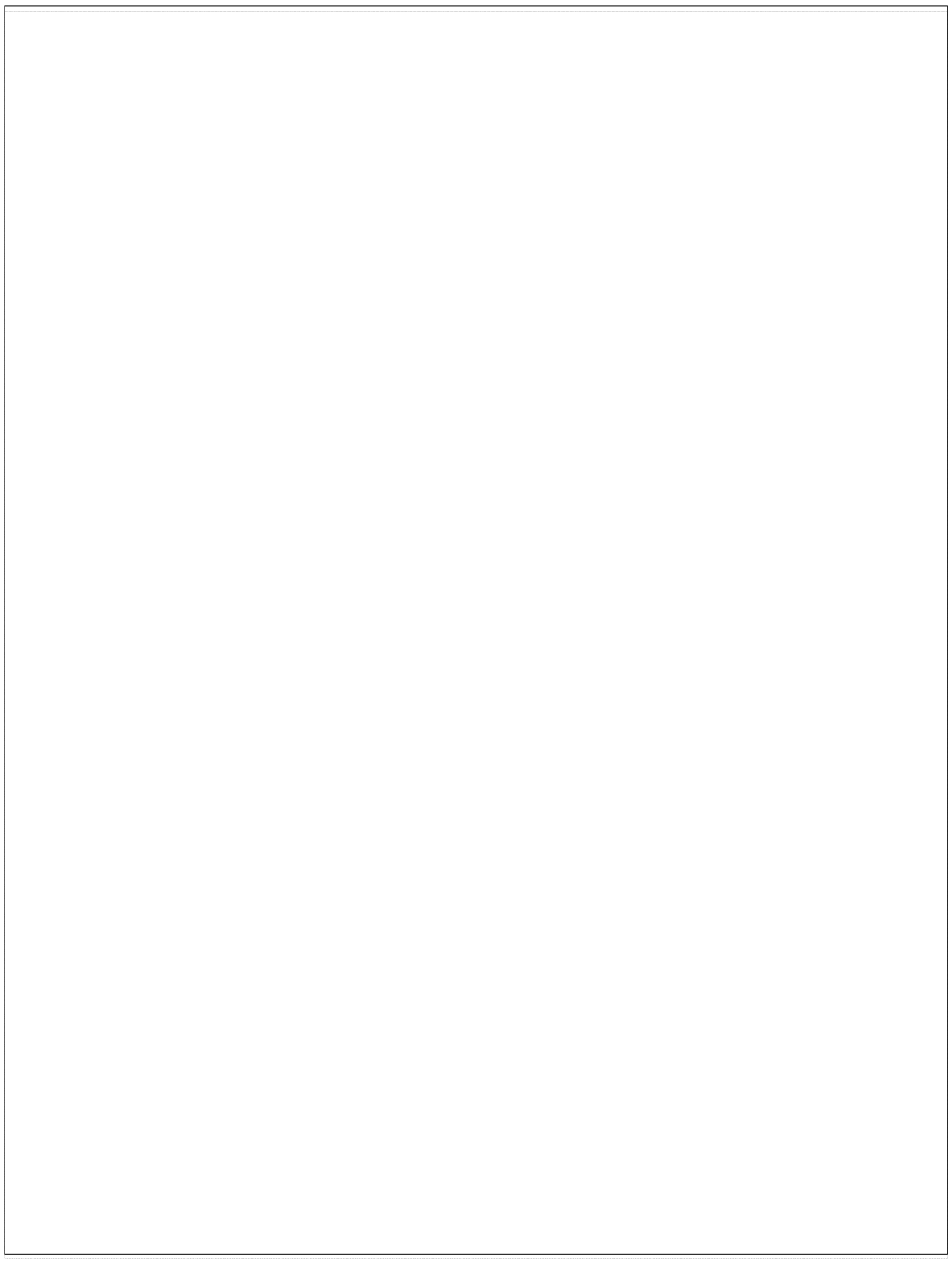

Figure 3 Plan of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition grounds. The areas shaded in black are the areas in which Germany had exhibits (Maberly-Oppler 1904).

Figure 4 The entrance to the main exhibit of Missouri at the Palace of Education (Bennitt 1905, p. 425).

Figure 5 August Gerber's plaster cast exhibits framed the entrance to the Reichsdruckerei and German Book Industry exhibits in the Palace of Liberal Arts (Bennitt 1905, p. 257).

Figure 6 August Gerber's plaster casts present in the German University exhibit in the Palace of Education. His cast of Athena Lemnia is at the center of the exhibit with busts of noted Germans around the perimeter (Gerber 1907, p. 118).

Figure 7 August Gerber's exhibit of Modern Art in the Palace of Liberal Arts (Gerber 1907, p. 122).

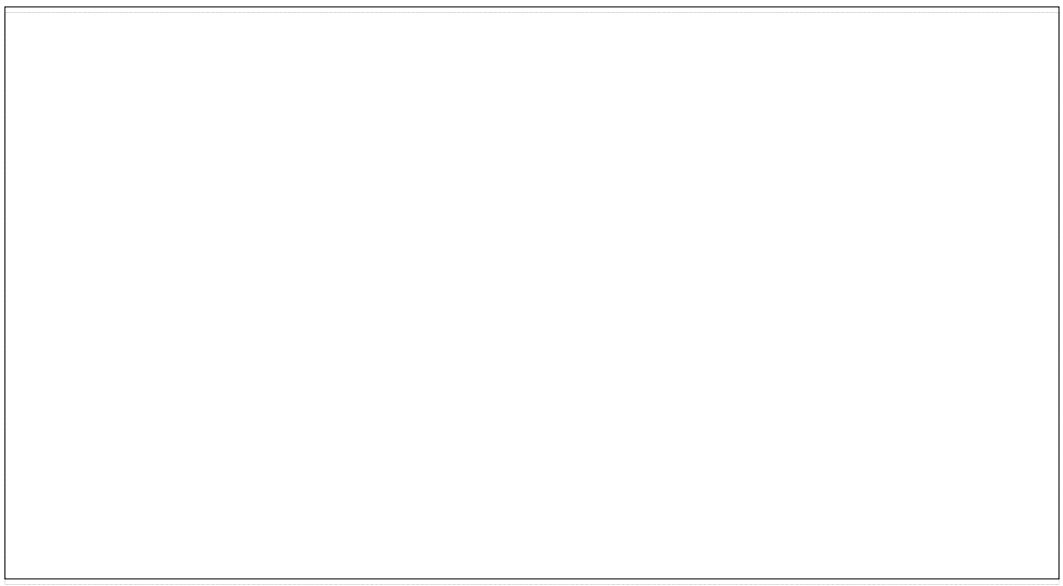

Figure 8 August Gerber's busts of Prussian leaders in the Main Hall of the German State Building (Gerber 1910, p.85).

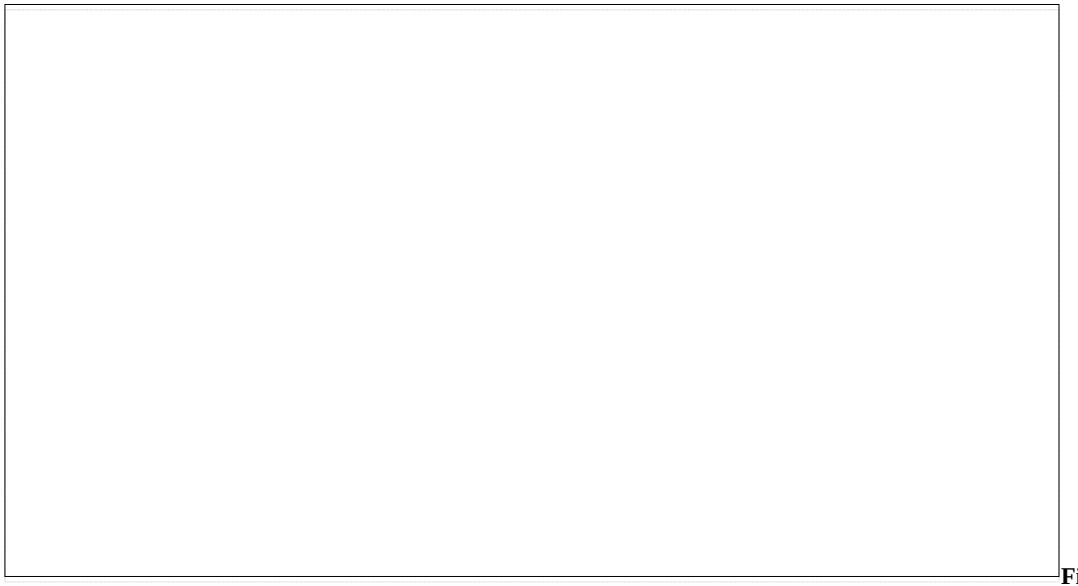

Figure Figure 9 August Gerber's busts of noted German individuals in the Reading Hall of the German State Building (Gerber 1907, p. 117).

Figure 10 August Gerber's plaster casts of Antique Art in the Palace of Liberal Arts. Note the plaster cast of the Apoxyomenos colored bronze next to the cast of Artemis of Gabii (Gerber 1907, p. 119).

Figure

Figure 11 August Gerber's plaster casts in the Middle-Age, Italian exhibit in the Palace of Liberal Arts (Gerber 1907, p. 120).

Figure 12 August Gerber's plaster casts in his Middle-Age, German exhibit in the Palace of Liberal Arts (Gerber 1910, p. 86).

Figure 13 Plan of the Palace of Liberal Arts. August Gerber's plaster casts were exhibited in the space numbered 23 (1904. *Universal Exposition at Saint Louis, 1904 by its Division of Exhibits: Department of Education,* p. 9).

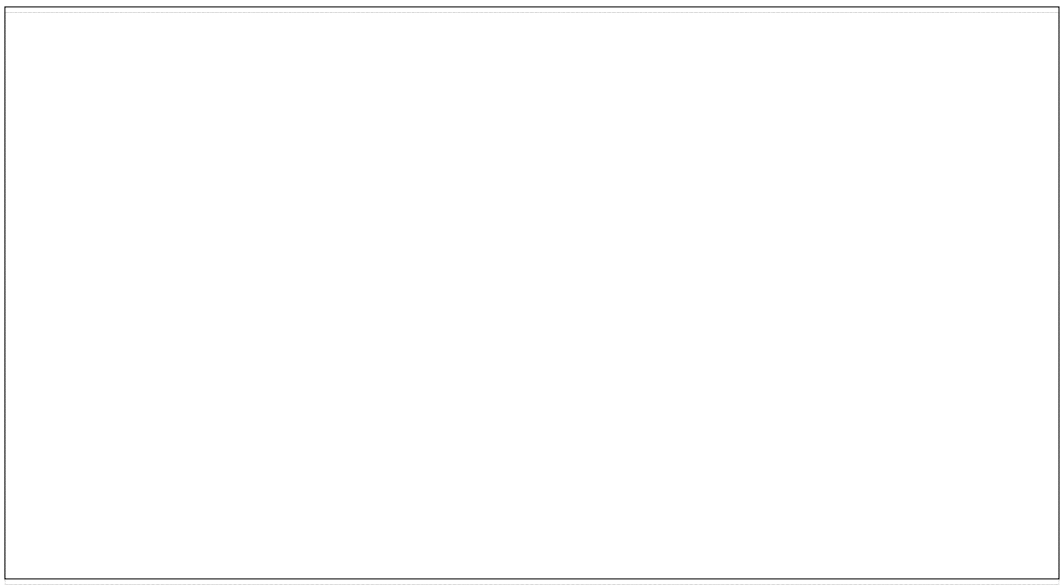

Figure 14 The plaster casts, purchased by Louis Houck, displayed in the Main Hall (Statuary Hall) of Academic Hall at the State Normal School in Cape Girardeau, Missouri (Mattingly 1979, p. 99).

Figure 15 Plan of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition as related to the exhibits of anthropology. The Division of Anthropology placed its exhibits in the Anthropology building, the Indian School, the Anthropology Villages, and the Philippine Exhibit. The Department of Anthropology of the United States National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution displayed its exhibit in the U.S. Government Building (Parezo and Fowler 2007, p. 18).

Figure 16 Plan of the U.S. Government Building marking the exhibit space of the Smithsonian Institution, including the United States National Museum. Although the Statue of Liberty (Goddess of Liberty) occupied the central space of the entire building, the space was originally to be occupied by the Column of Trajan (SIA. RU 70, Box 71).

Figure 17 Plaster casts exhibited as part of the Department of Anthropology display in the U.S. Government Building. The classical plaster casts are displayed by culture on the left. To the right, divided by a narrow walkway, are the plaster cast temples and sculptures of Mesoamerica and the Native Americans (SIA. RU 95, Box 62B, Folder 19, photograph 16451).

Figure 18 The Department of Anthropology display in the U.S. Government Building. To the left are the plaster cast temples and sculptures of Mesoamerica and the Native Americans. To the right are the classical plaster casts (SIA. RU 95, Box 62B, Folder 19, photograph 16447).

Figure 19 Close up of the Department of Anthropology exhibit in the U.S. Government Building. To the right are the casts of Ceres and Moses (SIA. RU 95, Box 62B, Folder 19, photograph 16447).

Figure 20 Cast Gallery in Pickard Hall at the University of Missouri-Columbia (Photo by author).

Figure 21 Plaster casts exhibited in the Barbara Hope Kem Statuary Hall of the Aleen Vogel Wehking Alumni Center at Southeast Missouri State University (Photo by author).

Figure 22 Busts displayed on the podium in the Barbara Hope Kem Statuary Hall of the Aleen Vogel Wehking Alumni Center at Southeast Missouri State University (Photo by author).

Figure 23 *L'Altra Figura.* Giulio Paolini (Howard 1991, p. 208).

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