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"ITS FUTURE BEYOND PROPHECY...
THE CITY OF NEW JERSEY, WORTHY SISTER OF NEW YORK":
JOHN COTTON DANA'S VISION FOR THE NEWARK MUSEUM, 1909-1929

by

Genevieve Ruth Shiffrar

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF ART
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
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WITH A MAJOR IN ART HISTORY
In the Graduate College
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

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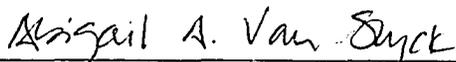
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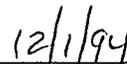
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ABSTRACT

A member of America's established cultural elite, John Cotton Dana (1856-1929) aimed to wrest cultural and economic authority from the nouveau riche through his role as the first director of the Newark Museum. In his favorite exhibition, "New Jersey Textiles," he encouraged local immigrant laborers to improve the design of goods that he simultaneously prompted middle-class women to purchase. He imagined that, as a result, Newark's manufacturing sector would blossom without nouveau-riche involvement; the region would soon rival its new-money neighbor, New York City. Under Dana's supervision, Jarvis Hunt (1859-1941) designed the 1926 Newark Museum building, employing the conventions of contemporary office architecture (predating a similar strategy at the Museum of Modern Art) to articulate this vision. The Metropolitan Museum of Art designed a series of exhibitions indebted to Dana's ideas. Ironically, the Metropolitan has received credit for innovations that Dana had designed to challenge New York's preeminence.

I. INTRODUCTION

The desires and intentions of those who founded museums, as well as other public cultural institutions in America, have played roles in determining the forms and functions of these establishments. In his book, Highbrow/Lowbrow. The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America, Lawrence Levine has argued that these desires may include the urge to advance or entrench one's position over others on the socioeconomic hierarchy. According to him, beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, the impulse to establish social superiority among many middle- and upper-class Americans over those below them played a large part in the formation and current form of many of our public institutions for cultural expression, including opera, theater, and museums. Specifically, Levine argued that members of the established culture elite, the nouveau riche, and the new urban professional middle class joined forces to shape institutions of cultural expression into highbrow establishments, places of "high culture" as opposed to "low culture" to distinguish these privileged people from the working classes.¹

Museums transformed from commercial ones like P.T. Barum's, from eclectic ones like Charles Wilson Peales' (which exhibited a wide variety of items, including

¹ Lawrence Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow. The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America. The William E. Massey Sr. Lectures in the History of American Civilization, 1986 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 132-146, 227.

scientific apparatus, agricultural innovations, geological specimens and the visual arts), and from the early objectives of later museums like the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, many of whose founding members aimed to exhibit plaster casts of classical sculpture for the purpose of art education. Beginning in the 1880s, the privileged segments of the population established a new breed of museum, a public, avowed non-commercial museum, housed in a monumental temple. This temple was devoted to the religious contemplation of original oil paintings and sculptures, art they believed representative of the highest artistic achievements in Western Civilization, art representative of true, "ideal" form, as executed by artistic genius. Simultaneously, museum administrators restricted working-class patronage of these institutions through dress policies, limited hours of operation, and behavioral codes.²

The establishment of such museums occurred within the unique context of post-Civil War America. Northern, native-born, Anglo-Saxon Americans saw their country transformed from an agrarian one which still upheld, to some extent, the Puritan convention of determining status by familial lineage. Their country became an increasing industrial and commercial world where the accumulation of capital determined one's status in society with increasing regularity, as evidenced by

² Ibid., 146-164.

the growing influence of the nouveau riche. The cultural elite, those whose ancestors had been leaders of their communities, could not attain social superiority as easily as their forefathers. In addition, an ever-widening array of foreigners, from German and Irish arrivals before the Civil War to the Eastern and Southern Europeans immigrants after the war, established themselves in America.

Levine saw two impulses driving Anglo-Americans who upheld the highbrow ideology. On one hand, they wanted to make sense of their rapidly changing world by structuring expressive culture into a comprehensible system and housing it in an architectural setting free of the chaos they saw emerging outside. Accordingly, they wanted to welcome the working class into the museums, introduce them to a supposedly orderly and calm world and assimilate them to Anglo-American society. On the other hand, Levine also likened the polarization of expressive culture to the efforts of ante-bellum slave holders, who characterized the African slaves as entirely different from them, as inhuman or animal-like, in order to justify their mistreatment. Similarly, the highbrow transformation imbued those who patronized the high arts, those who visited museums, with a sense of distinction to separate the haves from the have nots. The elite used this to reenforce their positions. Adopting the

elite's habits of distinction also secured the newly-acquired status of the recently-moneyed upper and middle classes.³

Levine's far-reaching study did not allow for an analysis of the relationship between the various factions of the upper and middle classes that worked together to forge fine art museums. Given the wide spectrum of privileged people that he included in his investigation-- privileged socially, economically, and/or educationally-- it should not be inferred from his book that the underlying agendas of these people mirrored each other, that they served the others' interests, or that the participants agreed on the form and function of the new museums easily.

In other words, the transformation into cultural bipolarity may have been the result of a series of struggles on a number of levels between these privileged classes. This paper examines the intentions of the acknowledged founder of the Newark (NJ) Museum, John Cotton Dana (1856-1929, fig. 1), as a case study for this hypothesis. It illuminates the complex, competitive, nature of the American social hierarchy in the early decades of the twentieth century, as demonstrated by Dana, an established cultural elite, and his relations to the nouveau riche, the middle class and the local, immigrant, working class.

³ Ibid., 171-177.



Figure 1. John Cotton Dana, circa 1924, courtesy of The Newark Public Library.

The changes in the social structure took on geographic ramifications. The working-class metropolis of Newark is located only eight miles away from New York City, home of many of the most powerful nouveau riche. Dana spoke of Newark (and the Newark Museum) and New York City (and the Metropolitan Museum of Art) in diametrical terms. While he emphasized Newark's past as a community of plain-living, hard-working Puritans, he associated New York with ostentation and laziness. He prophesied that through the adherence to his principle of hard work, Newark would soon grow into a powerful industrial center, capable of rivaling New York. In short, he sought to acquire a position of economic and cultural authority over the new-money upstarts.

Unlike most many museum professionals of his day, Dana actively encouraged working-class patronage. For this reason, he is known today as the "quintessential museum populist."⁴ Despite his reputation, no historian to date has examined his attitudes towards and intentions for the working class. Was the Newark Museum under Dana's tenure the shining historical example of a twentieth-century American museum which did not engage in class-related exclusionary practices?⁵

⁴ Karl Meyer, The Art Museum: Power, Money, Ethics. A Twentieth Century Fund Report. (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1979), 36.

⁵ A few who have identified Dana in this way are: Ibid.; Edward P. Alexander, Museums in Motion. An Introduction to the History and Function of Museums. 2nd ed. (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1982), 13-15; Daniel Cohen, "The place where Shangri-la and New Jersey meet," Smithsonian 22 (1991): 92.

This introduction will provide a discussion of the prominent social, economic or cultural themes, events, and institutions of his day and will give an historical overview of Dana's life and efforts before he turned his attention to the Newark Museum. The following chapter will explore his ideologies as revealed in his participation in the early years of the Newark Museum (from 1909 to 1914), in his 1914 treatise, American Art. How it can be Made to Flourish (He wrote three small books pertaining to art and museology and a number of articles reiterating the arguments of the books), and his most cherished exhibition, the 1916 show, "New Jersey Textiles." Through this show, he intended to convey specific and different ideas to two distinct audiences: working-class Newarkers and middle-class consumers. Dana hoped to challenge the nouveau riche by enlisting the help these two groups. The next chapter examines the Dana's intentions as expressed in the architectural program of the Newark Museum building (fig. 2), completed in 1926 and designed by Jarvis Hunt (1859-1941, fig. 3), a well-respected architect, albeit far less known than his uncle, Richard Morris Hunt, leading practitioner of American Renaissance architecture. The final chapter investigates Dana's antagonistic relationship to New York City and his possible influence in shaping two Manhattan art museums.



Figure 2. The Newark Museum, front facade, photo by author.



Figure 3. Jarvis Hunt, courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, BRITISH PRECEDENTS

Dana neither lived nor worked in a vacuum. A number of events, as well as persons reacting to these events, influenced his attitudes and behaviors while he worked at the Newark Museum. Whereas the industrial revolution occurred earlier in England than in the United States, many of the resulting changes in the British commercial arena, educational system, and the cultural sphere (as represented here in museums) became models which the Americans could emulate.

The first modern fair, England's 1851 Great Exposition, housed in the Crystal Palace, facilitated the revolution's mass production. The Expo introduced the concept of the mass consumer, one having unquenchable desire for things new. In other words, it developed a market for goods made not to order but made on speculation. It also aimed to improve the nation's taste among both producers and consumers, increasing both marketability and demand for English products.⁶

Toward these same ends, Henry Cole worked zealously to establish what would become the South Kensington Museum. He envisioned this museum as an educational institution dedicated to commerce that would allow both the consumer and the producer to improve their taste through the critical study of both poorly- and well-designed products, many of

⁶ Stephen Bayley, Commerce and Culture (London: Fourth Estate, Ltd., 1989), 61-63.

which had been exhibited at the Great Exhibition. To improve workers' design of products further, Cole also established an art school at the South Kensington, the curriculum of which stressed drawing skills.⁷

Englishmen John Ruskin and William Morris developed theories to cope with rapid industrialization. Ruskin believed the industrialized world to be unhealthy spiritually and physically, particularly for the working classes, who had not the means to escape the industrialized landscape. To alleviate the ills of industrialization, he advocated the study of Venetian Gothic architecture. To him, the beauty of such medieval buildings stemmed from the "honest" exposure of their physical structure, from which their ornament also derived.

William Morris incorporated Ruskin's ideas into a political context. Morris embraced Ruskin's belief that industrialization created a world in which workers were unhappy. He also believed that in their manufacturing jobs, they could no longer develop the pride that came with producing an object from the first to the final step. In an attempt to return to pre-industrial processes, Morris suggested that people design their own furniture and other house wares and he encouraged careful craftsmanship and knowledge of the history of these creative efforts. He

⁷ Ibid.

believed that when people met these goals, the capitalist supply-and-demand system, and therefore, the class system, would simply disappear.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, THE AMERICAN SITUATION

Middle-class Anglo-Americans looked to the writings of John Ruskin and William Morris to come to terms with social unrest and rapid industrialization in their own country. Although most considered Morris' antiquarianism quixotic, they creatively adapted his ideas to fit their own philosophies and needs. In the end, most of them diffused the socio-political change for which Morris hoped.⁸ The American Arts and Crafts Movement included an eclectic assortment of upper and middle-class groups. The most prominent of these groups, Arts and Crafts societies, sought to improve craftsmanship and teach the rough, simple, Arts and Craft aesthetic to the public. Some societies enjoyed economic success. The Boston Society of Arts and Crafts ran a profitable showroom displaying expensive, hand-crafted objets d'art, a capitalistic venture which with Morris would have never agreed.⁹ An overlapping phenomenon, craft guilds,

⁸ T. J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 64-80.

⁹ Eileen Boris, Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America. American Civilization Series. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 34-44.

associations where women could produce crafts for pleasure or profit, also developed. Oscar Lovell Triggs' orchestration of the Industrial Arts League in Chicago best represented Arts and Crafts-inspired industrial labor reform. From 1899 to 1905, Triggs enticed reform-minded wealthy businessmen to unite and transform factories into schools and studios, where work, freed from the wage system, would be conducted in supportive environments. Eventually, he became, in effect, an apologist for large corporate industries.¹⁰

In the cultural sphere, England's South Kensington Museum became an educational model widely adopted in the United States and it was adapted to accommodate the immigrant "problem" and spread Arts and Crafts ideas. Manual training in American public schools began as early as 1871, following the drawing curriculum as well as the purpose of the Royal School of Art at the South Kensington: the improvement of taste among the working class. In the 1880s, Charles Godfrey Leland, a member of the established cultural elite, advocated incorporating production techniques into the drawing curriculum of manual education to combat laziness among the supposedly idle rich and the supposedly unmotivated working class. He retained the original intention of improving national taste through the design of mass-produced material culture, arguing that only when producers of common objects

¹⁰ Ibid., 46-51.

develop taste can the state of American art improve.¹¹

Perhaps because of his status, Leland did not entrust very wealthy with the improvement of American art, although this group was considered the traditional arbiter of taste and force behind the development of any significant artistic movement.

Also in the 1880s, other educational reformers linked Ruskin's rhetoric of high purpose in artistic production with the accepted goals of bolstering both production and consumption within industrial capitalism. Isaac Edward Clarke promoted the idea that one could find happiness in hard work and artistic surroundings. Edith Merrill Kettelle, in the School Arts Book, a professional journal promoting art education in public schools, retained the early economic and aesthetic rationales of the South Kensington. She advocated viewing school children as future consumers and sought to educate them in form, color, and composition, so that they could encourage improved production by consuming with better taste.¹²

Art museums began to be founded at the same time as the establishment of manual education in public schools. The charter goals of all major American art museums established in the 1870s-- those in New York, Boston, Philadelphia,

¹¹ Ibid., 82-90.

¹² Ibid.

Cincinnati, and Washington, D.C.-- also followed the precepts of the South Kensington Museum. They expressed commitment towards improving the design of American products by displaying applied art and creating applied art schools for designers.¹³ Although problematic from the start, the South Kensington model and its adaptation by American art museums represented most clearly the intention to attract or serve the common, working-class person.

England also provided more tangible models for the improvement of urban, working-class life. Toynbee Hall in London, where Oxford University students lived among the urban working poor, inspired Jane Addams to found Hull House in the slums of Chicago. Addams and other settlement workers motivated by her served the needs of the less fortunate, providing for example, housing and child care, and facilitating labor unionizing.

Many middle-class Americans looked fearfully to the working class. Labor reform gained acceptance among the middle class, although it began earlier, immediately after the Civil War, when many skilled laborers sought to establish cooperative workshops, businesses where they could share profits and determine policies (These efforts sparked the

¹³ Jay E. Cantor, "Art and Industry: Reflections on the Role of the American Museum in Encouraging Innovation in the Decorative Arts," Technological Innovation and the Decorative Arts Eds. Ian M.G. Quimby and Polly Ann Earl (Winterthur, DE: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1974): 332.

development of labor unions).¹⁴ Many Anglo-Saxons hoped the responsibility inherent in cooperative ownership would prompt workers to take on the somber demeanor of the middle class and shed the rebellious impulses of socialism. Some also saw profit-sharing as a measure that would assist in the nostalgic recreation of a society without class conflict, but which would never challenge the hierarchical structure of industrial factory work.¹⁵

Massive immigration exacerbated the privileged classes' fear of those below them. Many Anglo-Americans found Charles Darwin's ideas relevant to the immigrant "problem." In Darwin's theory of natural selection, he argued that the genetic peculiarities of plant and animal species adapted some specimens to certain natural environments better than others. As the former flourished and the later died out, evolutionary change occurred. Darwin knew that his theory could explain some visible differences between the varieties of human ethnicities. For example, the dark skin pigment of many African peoples shields the bright equatorial sunshine while the pale skin of Northern Europeans allows absorption of as much Vitamin D as possible from the seldom-seen Arctic sun. Darwin's theory can serve as a powerful tool to further

¹⁴ Daniel T. Rogers, The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920 (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 40-45.

¹⁵ Ibid.

knowledge in many arenas; it can be used to combat disease as well as foster respect for ethnic differences.

Unfortunately, many Americans contorted Darwinism to imbue their prejudicial attitudes with scientific legitimacy. These social Darwinists argued that the economic success of the Anglo-Saxon middle class was proof positive of biological "superiority"; others' struggles to make ends meet indicated pre-determined genetic "inferiority." Darwin's theory does not support this claim. These racist arguments diverted attention away from other theories that would better explain poverty and they obscured the factors that could be changed to improve the quality of working-class life: lack of adequate housing, health care, education, political representation, and gainful employment.

Some considered social Darwinism too absolute a verdict and adhered to reform social Darwinism instead. This group upheld the social Darwinists' arrangement of ethnic groups onto a qualitative genetic hierarchy to explain environmentally-caused social problems. For example, reform social Darwinists also believed that Italian immigrants had a genetic predisposition that made them susceptible to poverty. But, unlike strict social Darwinists, this latter group claimed that Italians could rise above their genetic proscription given the opportunity.

Many reform social Darwinists wanted to give immigrants such opportunity. Believing an Anglo-American lifestyle

superior, many reform social Darwinists sought to Americanize immigrants, to assist them in shedding the "lesser" attributes of their traditional cultures and take on superior, "American," ways. Many historians correctly consider these attempts to Americanize immigrants self-serving measures that undermined pride in ethnicity, pride in immigrants' very identity. Nevertheless, immigrants incorporated "American" ways into their lifestyles to various degrees and for various reasons. In a world littered with social Darwinists, some immigrants rightly believed they needed to remove the trappings that marked them as different in order to be accepted into the wider society. Others resisted Americanization, but yet others wanted to become Americanized, albeit on their own terms, to celebrate proudly their new identities as citizens of a country founded on democratic freedom.

A few members of the middle class synthesized the writings of Ruskin, Morris, and Darwin. Some transformed Arts and Crafts ideology to apply to the immigrants and the wider working class. At Hull-House, Jane Addams established exhibition and workshop areas for a "Labor Museum" for the benefit of both middle-class visitors and local immigrant residents. Inspired by William Morris, Addams wanted to remind visitors of the pride to be had in a job well done. Also, Addams intended to combat racist attitudes both within and without the immigrant communities. Immigrant children

assimilated into mainstream society faster than their parents, whom they began to criticize for being backward. A reform social Darwinist, Addams arranged the exhibit to depict the "evolution" of textile production from outmoded crafts to industrial techniques. By arranging this "evolution," she intended to convey that America's leading role in industrial production depended upon earlier innovations visible in Greek or Russian traditional spinning or weaving. She hoped to convey respect for immigrants and the craft work of their cultures by impressing upon both native-born Americans and foreign children that all groups contributed to progress.¹⁶

In addition to the textile exhibit, the Labor Museum included a craft workshop. It allowed Hull House residents to practice traditional crafts like spinning and weaving in their leisure time. Addams hoped that the middle class and immigrants could work together in the workspace. Immigrants could teach native-born Americans craft skills, who in turn, could teach immigrants how to sew the "American" clothes that their children so strongly desired.¹⁷ Through these unique arrangements, Addams imagined Hull-House's Labor Museum to serve a number of purposes. She accommodated immigrants'

¹⁶ Jane Addams, "The Humanizing Tendency of Industrial Education," Chautauquan 39 (May, 1904): 266-272. See also, Harriet Katz, "Workers' Education or Education for the Worker?," Social Service Review 52 no. 2 (June 1978): 271-2.

¹⁷ Boris, 131-134.

desires to Americanize, while encouraging them to remain proud of their unique ethnic heritage. Simultaneously, she reminded all Americans of their mutual dependence.

In contrast to the limited opportunities of the working poor, the late nineteenth century proved very profitable for many native-born Americans. This affected the commercial and cultural spheres, most notably department stores and art museums. Marketing mass-produced items, department stores like Marshall Field's in Chicago and Wanamaker's in Philadelphia targeted middle-class women, many of whom had acquired purchasing power only recently, and eased them into the role of the mass consumer. Clearly-marked items reduced the possibility of social embarrassment. Fixed prices reassured customers that they would pay a reasonable price. Money-back guarantees goaded them to buy new products. Department stores employed hundreds of young women. They assisted the patrons at every step and gently encouraged patrons to buy. These innovations, combined with attractive displays and pointed advertising campaigns accounted for department stores' lead over museums in shaping public taste in the late 1910s and 1920s.¹⁸

¹⁸ Neil Harris, "Museums, Merchandising and Popular Taste: The Struggle for Influence," Material Culture and the Study of American Life. Ed. Ian M.G. Quimby. (New York: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthu Museum and W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1978). Harris credits department stores' more complex display techniques only and avoided the issue of commercialism. He may have circumvented this issue in order to avoid suggesting inadvertently that museums should become more commercial, read less-highbrow, if they are to become more influential

Department stores fueled the creation of the "new woman" archetype, one who embellished her body and home with studied taste.¹⁹ In the context of department stores' palatial surroundings (similar to art museums), the middle class, those less-skilled in the practice of commercial consumption, modeled the behaviors of those well-versed in consumerism, the wealthy.²⁰

At the same time that department stores embraced commercial airs, the fine art museums shunned them. By the 1890s, most American art museums had forsaken the South Kensington model. They no longer took active roles in contributing to the improvement of the design of commercial products or attracting the working class. The Metropolitan Museum of Art at the turn of the century moved their plaster casts, once considered essential educational tools for artists, to the basement and shut down its South Kensington-styled art school. They relegated these responsibilities to public education.²¹ American museums began instead to take on full-blown highbrow appearances as temples to exalt the

institutions. In other words, Harris probably wanted to uphold the highbrow formula for museums.

¹⁹ Rémy G. Saisselin, The Bourgeoisie and the Bibelot (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 37.

²⁰ Gunther Barth, City People. The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 128-137.

²¹ Cantor, 342.

abstract notion of the sacred, perfect ideal, as represented in original oil paintings and sculpture, and eschewed any hint of commercial intent or reproducibility. To some museum professionals, the mission of the past and the mission of the present were entirely incompatible. This group believed applied art education should not be included in the museum's agenda, for fear it would soil the perfection their institutions represented. In 1920, Frederic Allen Whiting, director of the Cleveland Museum of Art and former secretary of the Society of Arts and Crafts in Boston, argued this when he wrote,

... it is disconcerting to see a particularly lurid bit of modern "Jazz" textile design exhibited as designed after... a noble and beautiful original... I shudder to think of the remote responsibility which attaches to the museum for having the perpetrator of such a design access to its treasures.²²

This new type of museum experienced a boom in popularity, beginning with the influence of the World's Columbia Exposition in 1893 and lasting until the Great Depression. As head architect of the exposition, Richard Morris Hunt required monumental classicism for all buildings in the Court of Honor. After the exposition, architects designing museums followed suit. Eventually, museum

²² Frederic Allen Whiting, "The Museum and the Industrial Designer," Arts and Decoration (Dec. 1920): 176.

architects utilized a variety of classicisms; in the 1910s, they favored monumental derivations of the Greek temple.²³

Nearly all American art museum designs employed Beaux-Arts compositional schemes for plans. The architects for nearly all museums knowingly or not referred to J.-N.-L. Durand's Project for a Museum, 1803 (fig. 4), and Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin, 1823-1830 (fig. 5). Architects, like those for the Cleveland Museum of Art or Boston's Museum of Fine Art, modified these prototypes using Beaux-Arts planning strategies: whether favoring the entry or cross axis, they reinforced the axial alignment of the prototypes to make the axes the essential, orienting, feature of the building's composition.²⁴

Architects also compartmentalized the museum floor plans greatly. Beginning in 1902, the trustees of Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, sponsored extensive studies to determine the form of its second museum. Symptomatic of current thinking, these studies endorsed formal compartmentalization of exhibition floor space to classify objects displayed.

²³ Helen Searing, New American Art Museums (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, in association with the University of California Press, 1982), 36-40.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 15-19; 36.

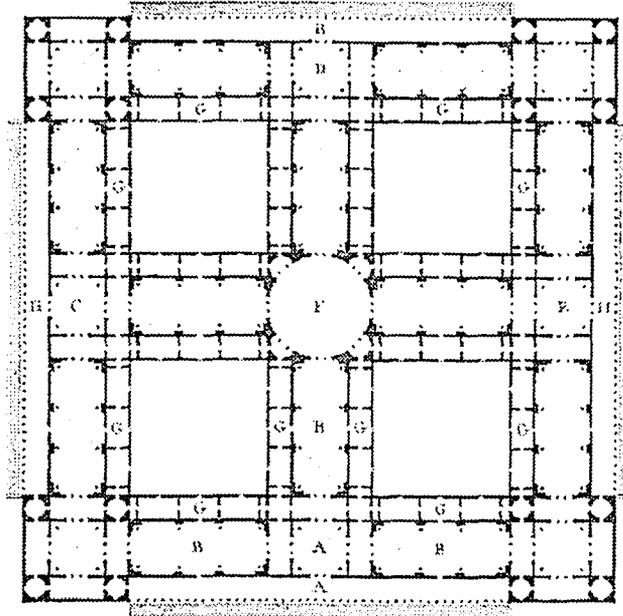


Figure 4. J.-N.-L. Durand's Project for a Museum, 1802.
Reprinted from J.-N.-L. Durand, Précis des leçons
d'architecture (Paris, 1802-5).

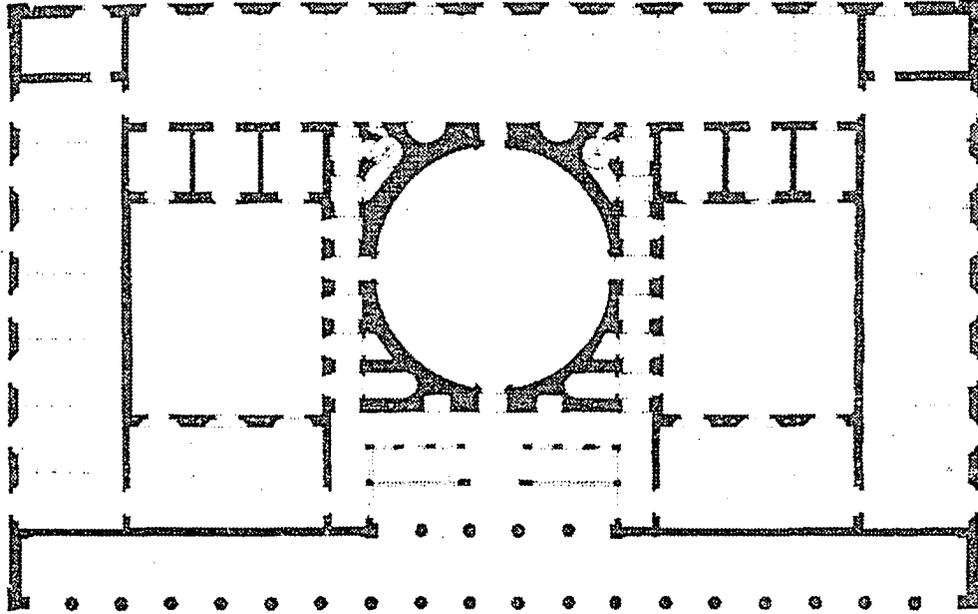


Figure 5. Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Altes Museum, upper floor plan, reprinted from Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe (Berlin, 1818-1843).

according to the culture from which they came.²⁵ The creation of numerous discreet units, allowing the separation of Japanese art from Korean, from Aleutian, ad infinitum, was similar to floor plans of other nineteenth-century building types.

In the nineteenth century, men mostly worked in office buildings. Rigidly compartmentalized office space permitted male workers to have their own, private, offices. More industrialized capitalistic production systems in the twentieth century opened the market for low-paying office positions that would tackle the onslaught of menial paperwork. Men did not want these jobs; they left the secretarial field, became managers, and hired women to take their places. The proliferation of saleswomen in department stores was a part of the larger introduction of women into the world of business. Office and department store managers hired women for many of the same reasons: they considered women friendly, acquiescent to authority, and inexpensive. These managers allowed women into the male sphere of business very cautiously, believing that they needed direct and constant supervision to be efficient.

This gender shift in the employee base sparked architectural changes in office design. In the twentieth century, the open floor plan replaced private offices with

²⁵ Ibid., 41-42.

open work space, allowing the new managers to oversee female secretaries. Frank Lloyd Wright's 1905 design for the Larkin Company, consisting of an open atrium workspace around which wrapped five stories of additional office and service areas, is considered the premier example of the open plan office block. Offices look down into the central space of the Larkin building, the atrium filled with women laboring at long desks.

DANA'S EARLY LIFE AND PREVIOUS CAREER

Now that a context of Dana's times has been described, an outline of his life within that context will follow and will rejoin with the themes above to elucidate his career as a librarian.

By all accounts, John Cotton Dana enjoyed an idyllic childhood as a store-keeper's son in the tightly-knit town of Woodstock, Vermont. Dana's father urged him to continue his Puritan family's long tradition of serving in the ministry, a lineage that included the Reverend John Cotton of the Massachusetts Bay Company.²⁶ Instead, Dana graduated from Dartmouth, became a lawyer, traveled around the country, and took a variety of odd jobs, until 1888 when he married Adine Rowena Waggener and soon thereafter landed the position of Librarian of the Denver Public Library. Dana transformed the

²⁶ Frank Kingdon, John Cotton Dana. A Life. (Boston: D.B. Updike, The Merrymount Press, 1940), 4.

Denver Public Library from a small auxiliary unit of the local high school to an impressive public library, one with the widest circulation of the Rocky Mountain Region. He quickly rose to prominence in the profession, his status reached its zenith in 1891, when voted president of the American Library Association.²⁷

After the city planned to cut library funding, Dana left Denver in 1897 and returned to the east to take the librarianship offered by the City Library Association of Springfield, Massachusetts. Three years later, a confrontation with the Springfield library board regarding his authority over the library's adjunct art and natural history museums led Dana to find employment elsewhere once again.²⁸ In 1902, he arrived in Newark to head the city library, where he worked until his death in 1929.

Dana entered the library profession at an important moment and played a central role in a debate regarding the nature of libraries and the role of librarians within their communities. His efforts placed him on the cusp between moralistic, nineteenth-century librarians and a new generation of library reformers in the twentieth century. The early librarians, like Justin Winsor and William Poole,

²⁷ Ibid.; Chalmers Hadley, John Cotton Dana. A Sketch Vol. 5 of American Library Pioneers. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1943), 10-12.

²⁸ Hadley, 48-49; Kingdon, 80.

saw their role as ministerial and sought to guide their communities' morality. With the hopes that readers would internalize moral messages, this first generation of librarians stocked their shelves with, and encouraged visitors to read, the literary classics. Yet, patrons requested not the classics, but fiction: contemporary, sometimes even tawdry, fiction.²⁹

At the turn of the century, librarians worried about issues independent of patrons' dubious reading preferences. Like other native-born Americans, many librarians felt threatened by the growing number of worker uprisings and the unprecedented number of immigrants. Taking a conservative stance, early librarians used their institutions to pacify the supposedly unruly working class by popularizing supposedly universal economic laws of nature, like "supply and demand." They thought that this would lead workers to believe that ones' wages were determined by demand rather than employers' whim and that their best interests would be fulfilled by congenial cooperation rather than revolt.³⁰

Dana differed significantly from moralistic librarians: he advocated forcefully that libraries should stock even the most popular fiction. In fact, library historian Dee

²⁹ Dee Garrison, Apostles of Culture. The Public Library and American Society, 1876-1920 (New York: The Free Press, 1979), 3-11.

³⁰ Ibid., 36-42.

Garrison has seen Dana's 1891 ALA presidency as the turning point in librarians relinquishing intentions to guide their communities morally and fulfill the public's desires instead.³¹

At the same time, Dana shared much in background and in outlook with this early group. Other library leaders also descended from a long line of Protestant ministers, enjoyed cultural and educational privilege, but battled physical illness and found their calling relatively late in life.³² Although Dana circulated popular fiction, he hoped that once enticed into using the library, patrons would eventually browse the non-fiction as well. This intention reveals Dana's moralistic kinship with his peers: he too desired to guide library users' morality. This tendency may be representative of the ministerial authority exercised by the cultural elite over their communities, communities not unlike Dana's hometown in Vermont.

As in his agenda of welcoming popular fiction through library doors, Dana took a position in regard to the working class that appeared liberal but which masked his conservative perspective. On one hand, Dana encouraged labor's reform. He reprinted at his own expense an eleven-point labor reform manifesto calling for organized labor and replacement of the

³¹ Ibid., 85-95.

³² Ibid., 16-22.

wage system by "cooperative control of industry and commerce" proposed originally by Victor Yarros, a writer for the *Chicago Daily News*.³³ Accordingly, although Dana appeared to counter the early librarians, he may have shared both their moralistic tendencies and desires to pacify the working class.

Despite an outlook that may have been similar to that of the early librarians, Dana identified himself as a member of the new generation of librarians. This new group consisted of two parts: the upper and lower ranks. Melvil Dewey, Dana, and other men in leadership positions espoused library efficiency over library morality. To implement this efficiency, they hired hard-working, college-educated women desiring professional careers. These men welcomed the reform-minded women into the profession, for they considered the later inexpensive, knowledgeable, friendly towards patrons, and acquiescent towards authority (as department store and other business owners viewed female employees).³⁴ Dana welcomed them too. In fact, a number of well-educated women devoted their life efforts to library and museum work under Dana. Three such women succeeded Dana as director of the Newark Museum: Beatrice Winsor (1929-1947), Alice Kendall (1947-1949), and Katherine Coffey (1949-1968). The new

³³ Yarros, Victor S. "Making Ready for the New Day," The Nation (Oct. 19, 1918). Reprinted by John Cotton Dana, Feb. 14, 1919.

³⁴ Garrison, 14.

generation of librarians took increasingly less moralistic stances and hoped to exert a more positive influence over society by making the institutions as relevant as possible to their communities. To those working in nearly every major American city with substantial immigrant or other working-class populations, this meant adopting and adapting the vanguard efforts of the settlement movement. Dana and his small army of second-generation librarians developed extensive programs for children, lent rooms for community group meetings and provided foreign-language publications for immigrant populations.³⁵

Dana found the settlement movement model particularly appropriate for Newark. When he arrived in Newark, he found himself in a landscape that other privileged persons had already fled. From the windows of the recently-constructed, resplendent four-story palazzo-styled library, complete with marble flooring and mosaic-tiled vaulting, Dana spied a vast industrial, working-class, metropolis. Seventy percent of Newarkers immigrated or had parents who had immigrated from Europe.³⁶ Germans and Irish had already moved to the city's edges when the Italians and Eastern Europeans settled in the city center.³⁷ They labored in leather industries, in

³⁵ Ibid., 204-5, 208-218.

³⁶ Cohen, 92.

³⁷ Gwendolyn Mikell, "Class and Ethnic Political Relations in Newark," Cities of the United States. Studies in Urban Anthropology Ed. Leith Mullings. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987): 77-78.

breweries (like Ballantine's), in jewelry making (Tiffany and Co. maintained a large silver working plant in Newark), and in numerous pottery and textile manufacturing companies. This rich environment, overshadowed by New York City but never without its own character, became the spawning ground on which Dana developed his unique brand of museology.

II. THE "NEW JERSEY TEXTILES" SHOW

The themes presented in the previous chapter, the influence of the South Kensington, the rise of the mass consumer, the popularity of the writings of Ruskin, Morris, and Darwin, as well as Dana's life as a librarian, recombine in the present chapter vis à vis Dana's cultural work at the Newark Museum. Below, a history of Dana's cultural endeavors will be given, examining first Dana's participation in the early years of the Newark Museum Association, from 1909 to 1914. A critique of his 1914 publication, American Art. How it Can be Made to Flourish,¹ will be followed by an analysis of his most prized exhibition at the Newark Museum, the 1916 show, "New Jersey Textiles." These analyses will investigate the ways in which he hoped to affect both middle- and working-class audiences.

DANA AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE NEWARK MUSEUM

Contrary to popular understanding, Dana did not found the Newark Museum. Twice, he had solicited city officials unsuccessfully for the establishment of South Kensington-like applied arts museums. In 1906, the Board of Trade declined his request to underwrite a "Museum of Local Industries" which would introduce Newarkers to the products and processes

¹ John Cotton Dana, American Art. How It Can Be Made to Flourish Vol. 1 of Hill-of-Corn series. (Woodstock, VT: The Elm Tree Press, 1914).

of Newark industries, targeting children in particular with portable exhibits for local high schools. In 1908, Dana lacked support again when he suggested to city officials that, instead of purchasing a bronze statue to commemorate a local religious leader, a "Museum of Industrial Art" should be founded in his honor.²

It was the efforts of other men that lead to the founding of the Newark Museum. Dana himself gave this credit to Dr. Archibald Mercer, James E. Howell, and Edward T. Ward, the Art and Science Committee of the Library. This group proposed that the city should donate \$10,000 for the purchase of the Rockwell Collection of Japanese Art. When city commissioners agreed to the donation in 1909, signifying their support of the establishment of an art and science museum, Dana joined the effort.³

The Newark Museum began to flourish, with Dana as secretary taking charge and organizing an eclectic variety of exhibitions on the fourth floor of the library. These early shows included exhibitions of pictorial photography, watercolors, Tibetan art and Japanese woodcuts. As secretary or subsequent director of the first museum to exhibit

² John Cotton Dana, "The New Relations of Museums and Industries," Seven Special Publications (Newark: The Newark Museum Association, 1919): 12-14.

³ John Cotton Dana, "Historical Note," The Newark Museum Association. Officers, Members, Charters, By-Laws and Historical Note (Newark: The Newark Museum Association, 1909): 19. See also, Dana, "The New Relations of Museums and Industries," 13-14.

American modern art, Dana provided unconditional support to many contemporary artists. The Newark Museum collected the work of and organized solo shows for Max Weber, Childe Hassam, John Marin and Stuart Davis, all before Modernism's introduction at the 1913 Armory Show in New York City.⁴

In 1912, Dana invited the Deutscher Werkbund to exhibit their work. The Werkbund developed from German Arts and Crafts societies. Progressive businessmen and artists formed it in 1907 to promote pride in labor, unite art and industrial production, and improve taste through expositions and museum exhibitions, consumer education and design reform. With members like AEG industrial designer, Peter Behrens, and modernist architect, Walter Gropius, the Werkbund looked to the future. Unlike Arts and Crafts societies, it embraced industry, the machine, and, in seeking to find buyers for members' work, commercialism. In fact, members hoped that in

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⁴ For more on Dana's patronage of American contemporary art, see "The Dana Influence: The Newark Museum Collections," The Newark Museum Quarterly 30, no. 4 (Fall 1979): 15-20 and Diane Hauserman, "John Cotton Dana: A Militant Minority of One." M.A. Thesis. New York University, Institute of Fine Art, 1967. Although most research on Dana's museum work has focused on this issue, it was not forefront in his mind. Dana patronized these artists neither because he understood nor appreciated Modernism but because he respected their hard work and dedicated enthusiasm. See his correspondences with Max Weber reprinted in Barbara Lipton, "John Cotton Dana and The Newark Museum," The Newark Museum Quarterly 30, no. 2/3 (Spring/Summer 1979): 19.

In addition, after Dana's death, his devoted mentor, Holger Cahill, designed and directed the WPA/FAP project during the Great Depression. Although this area deserves further investigation, Cahill surely looked to Dana's theories when sculpting the program. To begin such research, one should read, Belisario R. Contreras, Tradition and Innovation in New Deal Art (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1983).

sending their products to Newark, they would increase demand for German goods.⁵ Karl Osthaus, who maintained a museum in Germany to popularize Werkbund ideas, organized the Newark exhibition and traveled to Newark to install it as well.⁶ Dana arranged for the Werkbund exhibit to travel to the City Art Museum of St. Louis, The Art Institute of Chicago, the John Herron Art Institute of Indianapolis, the Cincinnati Museum, and the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh (The Metropolitan Museum of Art rejected the show for its seemingly overt commercialism). Dana embraced the Werkbund and its goals. In fact, he served as its American representative.⁷

Internal struggles plagued the early years of the Newark Museum Association. In 1914, Dr. Mercer, the person most responsible for founding the museum and the man who was then chairman of the Executive Committee, called a meeting of the committee to which Dana was not invited. Evidently, Dr. Mercer did not appreciate Dana's leading role in the museum. When Dana learned of the executive committee's secret meeting, he tabled an ultimatum: the Association must accept

⁵ Joan Campbell, The German Werkbund. The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978), 39.

⁶ "Modern German Applied Arts," The Newark Museum 2, no. 2 (March 1912): 9-11.

⁷ Campbell, footnote 34, p. 153.

either his leadership or his resignation.⁸ When the group selected the former, Dr. Mercer no longer participated as a member of the association.

The conflict involved not simply the issue of leadership, but also a debate regarding the nature and function of the Newark Museum. In Dana's words, at this meeting these men agreed the purpose of the Association to be "to collect objects of art, and to employ only such attendants as are necessary to keep these objects clean and uninjured."⁹ Although Dana's words probably do not describe the conclusions of this meeting with complete accuracy, it is reasonable to assume that the committee desired a museum of the highbrow type. The quote gives reference to a primary emphasis on amassing a fine art collection and staff responsibilities limited to the protection of these items. The word "uninjured" suggests that committee members imagined the museum to have a defensive posture in relation to the populace, perhaps fear that it would harm the objects forefront in their minds.

Mercer probably also proposed such a fine art museum when he approached city officials six years earlier. Mercer's vision must have appealed to the politicians as well because they were willing to underwrite it; they were not

⁸ Lipton, 28.

⁹ John Cotton Dana, June 8, 1914, John Cotton Dana Papers, Newark Public Library, Quoted in Lipton, 28.

willing to support Dana's suggestions. That Newark city officials and the museum's executive committee would both desire a highbrow art museum would not be surprising. Most belonged to the remaining stronghold of more privileged persons in Newark who had not yet moved to a more prestigious area. They may have desired to associate themselves with the fine arts in order to distinguish themselves from Newark's working-class majority.

Yet, Dana had no intention of creating the kind of museum for which Mercer found funding. He did not want "... the acquisition of rare and priceless objects with which to fill rows of cold and costly cases...".¹⁰ Dana may have appeared to some to be steamrolling Mercer's efforts and vision. He may have steamrolled the city as well, using city funding to establish a museum of the kind that officials had rejected previously. In addition, although the Newark Museum Association accepted Dana's leadership, its support must have been conditional, for Dana's accommodation of others' desires to have a conventional art museum, as well as his subversive tactics to circumvent them, remained a characteristic aspect of his work.

¹⁰ John Cotton Dana, The New Museum Vol. 1 of The New Museum Series. (Woodstock, VT: The Elm Tree Press, 1917), 14.

DANA'S PLAN TO UNDERMINE THE WEALTHY

Dana guided the development of the Newark Museum away from its birth as a highbrow art museum. An examination of Dana's intentions to assert his cultural superiority above the nouveau riche through the Newark Museum is possible only after an investigation of his book, American Art, How it Can be Made to Flourish, written in the year of the Mercer-Dana conflict. Imaging a female, middle-class audience, Dana wrote,

Our rich and learned, and especially the women of the rich and learned class, can spare time and strength for the opera, but hardly for discriminating study of music. They can find time for visits to an art museum when such visits are in the mode; but not for the development of their esthetic sense by the careful study of any of the thousands of classes of objects there displayed.¹¹

In addition to painting the wealthy as unworthy of emulation (lazy and having poor taste), Dana also suggested that they would not accept emulators to their ranks anyway: "Here today, the wealthy are impelled, first to distinguish themselves from the common, poorer people by conspicuous consumption and conspicuous waste...".¹² Like educational reformer Charles Godfrey Leland, Dana held the wealthy in low

¹¹ Dana, American Art, How It Can Be Made to Flourish, 9. In this book, Dana argued that the readers should appreciate the American-made objects surrounding them daily. That he chose tea cups as such objects for his readership indicates that he envisioned a female, middle-class, audience.

¹² Ibid., 13.

regard and believed the improvement of American art could not be entrusted to them.

He proposed an alternative method for the improvement of both readers' taste and American artistic production, a method indebted to Henry Cole's purpose for the South Kensington. Dana encouraged these consumer-readers to study seriously the "line, form, color and arrangement" of well-designed applied art, repeating the call to improve consumer taste by another educational reformer, Edith Merrill Kettelle, in the 1880s.¹³ Dana also envisioned a positive feedback system between consumers and producers. Potters could improve the design of their products by studying applied art. He suggested further that "... if even only a few of our citizens were to give time, thought, and modicum of money to the purchase and study of present day tea-cups, the designers in our potteries would know it and would be encouraged thereby."¹⁴ Consumers, after similar serious study, would purchase items having improved design and thereby provide potters with positive reinforcement. In other words, the messages that consumers' purchasing power would send would contribute to the design of American products.¹⁵

¹³ Ibid., 29.

¹⁴ Ibid., 30.

¹⁵ He reiterated this argument eight years later in slightly modified form in, John Cotton Dana, "The Use of Museums," The Nation (Oct. 11, 1922): 374-376.

Dana believed American art would develop from applied art production and its consumption by a hard-working, plain-living middle class. Realization of this alternative system for the improvement of taste could affect the nation's socioeconomic hierarchy. The wealthy would no longer enjoy high cultural status: the middle class would not look up to them nor would American art reflect elite sensibilities. If Dana could convince the middle class to work hard, to study their tea cups, to be serious consumers, and if he could discourage them from emulating the wealthy, then he could serve as their role model, the one to look to when making economic, cultural, and aesthetic decisions. In other words, as a member of the established cultural elite, he could regain status over the recently wealthy. That he used the Newark Museum to do this suggests that he understood museums as Lawrence Levine did: a forum through which social hierarchy is solidified. Dana must have understood that this would be an ideal arena to challenge the arrangement of the order.

"NEW JERSEY TEXTILES" AND THE MIDDLE-CLASS AUDIENCE

Popularization of a non-elite taste depended on consumer patronage of inexpensive, mass-produced items. While Dana developed this theory in his book, American Art, he simultaneously used the Newark Museum to bring these ideas to

fruition. In part, he envisioned the Newark Museum as a forum from which he, a member of the established cultural elite, could challenge the cultural authority of the upstart nouveau riche by discouraging middle-class women from emulating them.

Soon after the Mercer-Dana conflict, Dana began to organize a series of exhibitions of locally-produced applied art. Spanning the spectrum of Newark's manufacturing industries, these shows included "New Jersey Clay Products," which exhibited tea cups, (1915) "New Jersey Textiles" (1916), "Celluloid: A Newark Industry" (1922), "Varnish: A Newark Product" (1923), "Nothing Takes the Place of Leather" (1926), "American Printed Textiles" (1927), "American Decorative Arts" (1928), "Jewelry Made in Newark" (1929), "Modern American Design in Metal" (1929), "Modern Ceramic Arts" (1929), "Design in Wall Paper and Hardware" (1929), "Medals Made in Newark" (1930), and "Rugs and Floor Coverings" (1930).¹⁶

Dana cited "New Jersey Textiles" repeatedly as one of the premier efforts of the Newark Museum.¹⁷ One of the best

¹⁶ Russell Newcomb, The Newark Museum. A Chronicle of the Founding Years 1909-1934 (Newark, NJ: The Newark Museum, 1934), 28.

¹⁷ John Cotton Dana, "A Museum Of, For and By Newark," Survey 54 (March, 1926): 614; John Cotton Dana, "A Museum of Service," Survey (Feb. 1, 1923): 584; Dana, "Public Services at the Newark Museum, New Jersey," 186. For the clay exhibit, see John Cotton Dana, "An Industrial Exhibit in a Municipal Museum," American City 13 (1915): 20-22.

Although the textiles show set the tone for the format and content of the later shows, it and the clay exhibit belonged to a class of their

documented and most complex exhibits, the textile show included commercially-designed displays for most textile-related industries in the Newark area, including thread, tapestries, and Turkish towels. It displayed production techniques for many products (like the steps involved in hat making) and incorporated live demonstrations of people working on a variety of looms, as seen in figure 6.

During the exhibition of New Jersey Textiles, the Newark Library took on both a commercial and industrial atmosphere. For the Newark Sunday Call, Dana wrote an article entitled "Commercial Side of Remarkable Textile Show at the Library" to highlight its commercial atmosphere (fig. 7). He wrote,

... you owe it to yourself to see what the state is doing in the way of manufacturing textiles. At the Newark Free Public Library, you will find one of the finest educational and commercial exhibits in the country... Neither time nor funds have been spared. Each individual exhibit is as complete in detail as expert advise and personal supervision could make them. Many of the firms, in fact most of them, sent their special representatives to assist in the arrangements and offer their expert information...

On the third floor of the library building are arranged the exhibits of articles manufactured of textiles. If you are of the so-called weaker sex, you may linger a little longer in the vicinity of the lace and textiles exhibit...

own. After World War I, Dana approached the board with his proposal for subsequent shows. He pushed for a more commercial role, arguing that the products exhibited should also be available for purchase (See, Dana, "The New Relations of Museums and Industries," ?). Dana must have met resistance, for this idea never materialized during his lifetime. His applied art exhibitions after the war appeared much more sedate: few or no live demonstrations, no commercial overtones. Rather, a contemplative atmosphere for applied artists' serious study pervaded, perhaps similar to the South Kensington Museum.

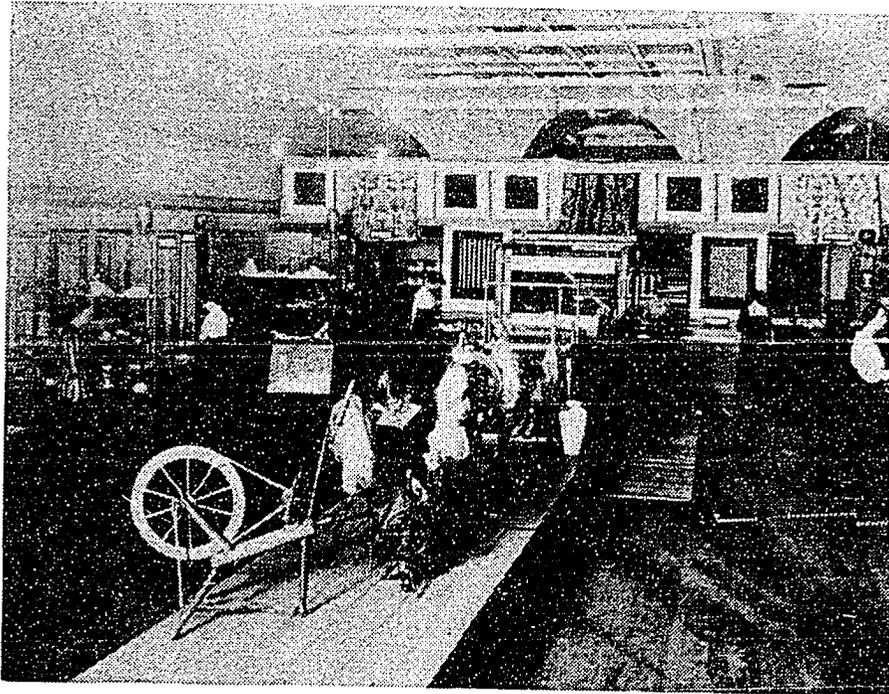


Figure 6. Installation view of the New Jersey textiles exhibit on the third floor of the library. Despite the spinning and weaving equipment in the photograph, this must have been a view of the third floor, not the fourth floor, given the arcade visible in the background. Reprinted, by permission of The Newark Public Library, from Dana, Children at the Textile Exhibit, 9.

On the fourth floor of the library building is the best part of the exhibit staged. Looms, from the large intricate kind used by the weaver of art tapestries to the small looms that can be run by the women in the home, are demonstrated by expert weavers. The products make one wish for the gift of Midas, so exquisitely beautiful are they in color and weave.¹⁸

In this excerpt, Dana makes many points clear. By noting that they may find the lace and textile exhibits interesting, Dana encouraged women to visit (despite his use of the terms "weaker" and "linger," both of which suggest passivity). Mention of "the small looms that can be run by the women in the home" related to the aspect of the Arts and Crafts Movement in which middle-class women produced crafts for pleasure and/or profit. This aspect of the exhibit may have reflected Dana's desire for women not to emulate the supposedly idle rich but to identify themselves as hard-working individuals. Dana's intention to create markets for items exhibited may have been the result of the influence of the Deutscher Werkbund.

The commercially successful department stores influenced his thinking to a limited extent. Dana's bold commercial-sounding advertisement in the Sunday paper informed readers

¹⁸ [John Cotton Dana], "Commercial Side of Remarkable Textile Show at the Library." The Sunday Call (February 27, 1916): Part IV, 3. Although no author is given credit for this article, the writing style strongly suggests Dana wrote it. Similar to his "A Museum Of, For and By Newark" or "A Jersey Pilgrimage" it begins by addressing Newark's characteristics (industrial development and mosquitoes) and later turns these images on their heads to be reasons for the development of the Newark Museum.

to conceive of the exhibit as if it were housed in a department store, not a library. He addressed this readership as customers with purchasing power, indicating he imagined them similar to the middle-class women that frequented department stores. Indeed, Dana regarded many aspects of department stores highly, suggesting elsewhere that department store innovations, specifically their helpful friendly saleswomen, comfortable rest areas, attractive displays, and pressure-free environments, be incorporated in museums.¹⁹ Dana had good reason to emulate department stores, given their lead in shaping public taste.

Despite his enthusiasm, Dana remained suspicious of department stores. In 1918, he "...protest[ed] against the almost universal practice of overdisplay in the decoration of rooms..." reminding middle-class female readers that homes are not "excerpts from department stores."²⁰ Perhaps department stores reminded Dana of fine art museums, both palatial exhibition areas used by the privileged classes to distinguish themselves from the working class.

Industrial expositions may have played a greater role in Dana's conceptualization of the textile exhibit. Newark

¹⁹ John Cotton Dana, The Gloom of the Museum Vol. 2 of The New Museum Series. 4 vols. (Woodstock, VT: The Elm Tree Press, 1917), 23; John Cotton Dana, "Is the Department Store a Museum?" The Museum II, no. 1 (July-August, 1928): 1.

²⁰ John Cotton Dana, Installation of a Speaker and Accompanying Exhibits No. 3 of The New Museum Series. (Woodstock, VT: Elm Tree Press, 1918): 23.

enjoyed a long history of hosting industrial expositions. To inspire pride and further knowledge of goods manufactured in Newark, prominent local citizens organized the 1872 Newark Industrial Exposition. Eminently successful, the Expo attracted over 136,000 visitors and was repeated yearly until 1876, when supplanted by Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition.²¹ Dana probably looked not to this expo, but to its progeny, a plethora of local industrial expositions held in 1912, 1913, and 1914. Organizers of the 1912 expo believed that the event would serve

To teach Newark to know itself; to teach the world to know Newark; to advance the general interests of the city; to show the variety, scope and importance of Newark industries; to bring benefits to the manufacturers, merchants and citizens in general; to offer the people of the city an entertainment of far greater magnitude and interest than has ever been held here; to stimulate civic pride and encourage our citizens to patronize home industries.²²

Two years later, the committee for the 1914 Newark Industrial Exposition, a week-long event held in the local armory building, also hoped to stimulate local commercial

²¹ John T. Cunningham, Newark 2nd ed. (Newark: The New Jersey Historical Society, 1988), 171-173.

²² "The Purposes of the Exposition" Exposition News "Published Daily at the Newark Industrial Exposition by the Master Printers of Newark" no. 1, (1912).

development. Specifically, they hoped that through it "Newark can- Newark will make the Dollar Dance."²³

Louis Bamberger, a local department store magnate and member of the Newark Museum's Committee on Purchases and Donations since its inception, also showed interest in industrial expos. Although L. Bamberger & Co. rivaled Wanamakers and Marshall Fields in the introduction of department store innovations (money-back guarantees, fixed pricing, and dedicated customer service), it also looked beyond department store practices, sponsoring its own Newark industrial exposition.²⁴ The ten-day "Made in Newark" industrial exposition celebrated the February 1913 completion of Bamberger's new department store building. A complementary Exposition Daily Recorder encouraged visitors to view the various displays and activities planned for each day, mentioning for example, knitting machines from Newark Knitting Works on the third floor, workers' "nimble fingers" constructing mesh bags at the booth of J. W. Rosenbauman & Co., and the machinists from Searl's Manufacturing creating bathroom fixtures in the basement.²⁵

²³ Newark Can- Newark Will. "Printed on the Occasion of the Newark Industrial Exposition. First Regiment Armory, September 12-26, 1914." (Newark: n.p., 1914).

²⁴ Frank Liveright, "One of America's Great Stores [L. Bamberger & Co.], n.d." TMs [photocopy], New Jersey Division, Newark Public Library.

²⁵ L. Bamberger & Co., Daily Exposition Recorder. In the Interests of the "Made in Newark Exposition" no. 7, (Feb., 1913).

The textile show at the Newark Museum mirrored the Newark industrial expositions in intention and method. The intentions listed by the organizers of the 1914 Expo closely paralleled Dana's hope that the improved production and consumption of local products, inspired by Newarkers' visits to his industrial art exhibits, would improve taste and further cultural and economic progress. Like expo organizers, Dana relied on company representatives to organize displays for the textile exhibit, as mentioned in the article, "Commercial Side." From Bamberger's expo, Dana may have also appropriated the idea of live demonstrations of workers practicing their trades.

Despite department stores' superior influence in shaping public taste, Dana probably used Newark's industrial fairs as models from which to design his own shows of local industrial products. These models were created by the rise of new money in the 1880s and 1890s, before intensive middle-class emulation of the elite, before department stores and fine art museums. Dana's early efforts to railroad the establishment of a highbrow art museum in Newark in favor of an applied art museum, a museum where the middle class would develop a taste with no hint of the sensibilities of the wealthy, as outlined in American Art and attempted through the New Jersey Textiles exhibit, indicated his intention to challenge the supposed dominance of the nouveau riche in matters cultural and economic.

"NEW JERSEY TEXTILES" AND THE WORKING-CLASS AUDIENCE

At the textile exhibit, Dana discouraged middle-class women from engaging in conspicuous consumption. In the battle to challenge the dominance of those above him, he enlisted the help of a second group below him, the local, immigrant, working class, which he considered his primary audience.²⁶ In general terms, his intentions for this group remained similar to those for the middle-class constituency: he also wanted Newark's laborers to improve their taste in order to contribute to economic and cultural "progress." He incorporated Morris' idea of proud craftsmanship, stating that if an "ancient chest" were to be donated to the museum, he would exhibit it so that it would "arouse such an interest in the skilful [sic] adornment of the common trunk as would have led to efforts to give it charm as well as strength and endurance."²⁷ In other words, Dana encouraged them to engage in serious, critical study of the applied art exhibits to improve production rather than to increase consumption. He treated the working class somewhat differently than the

²⁶ Dana, "Increasing the Usefulness of Museums," 86. Dana wrote, "All art, industry, and science schools use the museum and its collections just so far as falls short of interfering with their more democratic use by the city's laymen."

²⁷ John Cotton Dana, A Plan for a New Museum. The Kind of Museum it will Profit a City to Maintain Vol. 4 of The New Museum Series. (Woodstock, VT: The Elm Tree Press, 1920), 23.

middle class by lecturing them on the importance of the Protestant work ethic.

Dana gave particular attention to tailoring his exhibits to Newark's children, whom he considered to belong to the immigrant working class.²⁸ Dana's desire to target Newark's children with museum exhibits reached back before the establishment of the Newark Museum Association, to 1906, when he suggested to the Board of Trade that it fund a "Museum of Local Industries" to introduce Newarkers, particularly high schoolers, to the products and processes of Newark industries.²⁹ Dana realized his dream to create this museum when he organized the 1915 clay show and the 1916 textile exhibit. For the textile show, he printed a pamphlet, "Children at the Textile Exhibit," to describe the specific points that he believed children could learn at the show.³⁰

Although the exhibit included sumptuous commercial displays of local products, Dana pointed out to the children in particular live demonstrations of people working, from immigrant craft workers to modern tapestry weavers. As noted in the pamphlet, Dana clearly emphasized some exhibits over others to communicate the importance of the Protestant work

²⁸ Dana, "Public Service at the Newark Museum, New Jersey," 187.

²⁹ Dana, "The New Relations of Museums and Industries," 13-14.

³⁰ John Cotton Dana, The Children at the Show, Textiles of New Jersey: Old and New, open Feb. 1 to March 19, 1916 (Newark: The Newark Museum Association, 1916).

ethic.³¹ He also wrote that they were able to see "...the work of patients from Overbrook Hospital, and even one of the patients at her weaving; and so they learned about the modern treatment of the insane which encourages them to construct things of use and value."³² He communicated to children that work was an unequivocally essential activity, as important for one's health as good nutrition and exercise, beneficial even to those with mental illness, to those with otherwise little "use" to society.

Dana used the work ethic to guide the children's moral development. Like nineteenth-century librarians or his minister forefathers, Dana may have desired to lead those below him by promoting supposedly universal laws of nature, in this case, the Protestant work ethic. Worker uprisings may have also played a part in Dana's desire to guide the working class, given that silk workers in nearby Patterson organized a violent strike in 1913. As outlined in the introduction, his possible fear of these workers may have prompted his promotion of "cooperative control of industry and commerce," as well as universal laws of nature.³³

³¹ Ibid., 2, 3, 5, 13. Samples of text include, "They appreciated by what long and heavy labor our colonial forefathers manufactured. They saw with what skill they wrought; how much of human sentiment and feeling for beauty they put into their work, and how enduring was the product (p. 13-14).

³² Ibid., 3.

³³ He reprinted this quote from, Yarros, 1919.

Dana imagined much more than moral control over his community; rather, control with social, cultural, and economic ramifications as well. In the "Children at the Textile Exhibit" pamphlet, Dana wrote proudly that

One of the most gratifying features of the work with children was their appreciation of the principles of development as exemplified in the arrangement of the exhibition. They saw the development of the machine, from primitive loom of the savage to modern factory looms.³⁴

In this quote, Dana established a qualitative hierarchy that placed factory work above handwork. He later wrote in the pamphlet that "They watched also the grades of skill, and the steps in elaboration of design from the zigzags of the Indians to the delicately tinted scenes wrought by the tapestry weaver."³⁵ An accompanying photograph depicts a Caucasian man at work on a tapestry loom (fig. 8). Using the grammatical paradigm of "from X to Y," to indicate the qualitative "from worst to best," Dana built a hierarchical structure on which he gave qualitative values for both the types of technologies and those who used them, putting the "modern factory loom" of the local Anglo-American tapestry weaver in the best light, while situating "the loom of the savage" and Native American Indians in the worst.

³⁴ Dana, Children at the Textile Exhibit, 5.

³⁵Ibid., 15.



Figure 8. Mr. Gengoult at the New Jersey textiles show, working on a tapestry loom provided by the Edgewater Tapestry Co. in Edgewater, New Jersey. Reprinted, by permission of The Newark Public Library, from Dana, Children at the Textile Exhibit, 15.

He situated the work of a representative recent immigrant somewhere between these two extremes. Mrs. Vornazos, a Greek woman living in Newark, demonstrated spinning techniques with a "primitive distaff and spindle" during the exhibition (fig. 9).³⁶ In the pamphlet, Dana noted that "... they saw how the poorest immigrants from a distant land may have talents and ideals of art capable of transforming crude articles of daily use into things of beauty."³⁷ Dana situated Mrs. Vornazos in between the two qualitative extremes of Anglo-American and Native American because she produced "crude" items, but she had hidden talent, the operative words being "talents and ideals."

These quotes reveal much about Dana's attitudes regarding immigrants and his intentions in guiding their work habits. Repeated use of qualitative hierarchies in his discussions of technological differences and ethnicities indicates his social Darwinistic ideological perspective. He encouraged the children to believe that through their "talents and ideals," they could rise above their lot, above their culture, by entering into Newark's [superior] industrial textile life. Such Americanization efforts indicate that Dana adhered specifically to reform social

³⁶ Dana, "A Museum of Service," 584.

³⁷ Dana, Children at the Textile Exhibit, 11.

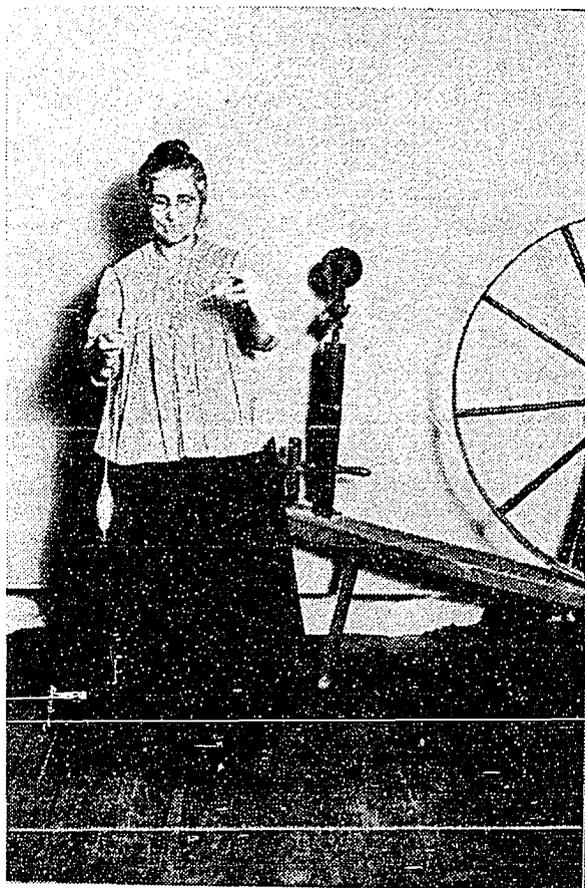


Figure 9. Mrs. Vornazos working with distaff and spindle at the show, "New Jersey Textiles." Reprinted, by permission of The Newark Public Library, from Dana, Children at the Textile Exhibit, 2.

Darwinism. He may have promoted the work ethic as beneficial universally to counteract immigrants' supposedly lazy nature and change the children before they internalized their parents habits fully. By placing the Anglo-American man and industrial technologies in the most glowing light, he encouraged immigrants to shed the "lesser" attributes of their traditional cultures and take on "American" ways.

He openly expressed this intention when writing about another exhibit. The Newark Museum created one of the first period rooms in an American art museum, an English colonial kitchen filled with spinning apparati and cooking utensils. In a 1921 speech to the Congrès d'Histoire de l'Art in Paris, Dana stated outright that he was proud to have introduced "that restrained, austere [artistic style] produced by the Puritan spirit" to the immigrant children of Newark.³⁸

Ironically, as an auxiliary exhibit to complement the textile show, Dana also exhibited handicrafts from immigrants' native lands. The Newark Museum organized a few exhibitions that celebrated Newark's ethnic diversity. Dana described the most successful of these as "...filling a dozen rooms in a huge school building, covering all the household

³⁸ Dana, "Public Service at the Newark Museum, New Jersey," 187. The full quote reads, " In our industrial city, where most of the school children are of foreign birth or parentage, the artistic value of this exhibit was not small. Our country's contribution to art has been chiefly, so far, of that restrained, austere type produced by the Puritan spirit, and called colonial. This we here found opportunity to emphasize." He also demonstrated Anglo-American ethnocentrism in Children at the Textile Exhibit, 13-14.

arts, and accompanied in the school's assembly hall by a series of plays, songs, and dances, given by the foreign peoples after their own ways.³⁹ Unlike Jane Addams intentions for the Labor Museum at Hull House, Dana did not showcase immigrant culture so that locals could maintain pride in their ethnicity (although the immigrants may have used them for this purpose). Rather, Dana exhibited immigrants' craftwork primarily for its potential to serve as sources for stylistic innovation in American textile production.⁴⁰

In conclusion, Dana's efforts to challenge museum convention by encouraging working-class patronage rather than shunning it must be applauded. Yet, his racial prejudices, as conceived under reform social Darwinism (namely his probable assumption of immigrants' predisposition towards profligacy) and realized as over-zealous attempts to indoctrinate immigrants with the Protestant work ethic, may have cast a dark shadow over the textile show. Accordingly, museum historians' label identifying Dana as the "quintessential museum populist" must be challenged, for Dana probably did not consider these patrons his equals.

³⁹ Dana, "Public Service at the Newark Museum, New Jersey," 187.

⁴⁰ Dana, Plan for a New Museum, 24.

III. THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE NEWARK MUSEUM BUILDING

The architecture of the 1926 Newark Museum building remains a rich source for the study of Dana's intentions. Some themes of the previous chapters-- Dana's efforts to circumvent middle-class Newarkers' intentions to create a conventional museum and his moralistic promotion of the work ethic among Newark's underprivileged-- these themes also find expression in the architecture.

A survey of Hunt's previous commissions and a discussion of the debates taking place in the architectural community when he received the Newark Museum commission follow. Then, the evolution of the exterior design of the building is analyzed as a series of negotiations between Dana and Hunt. Dana wanted Hunt to adhere to a list of somewhat impractical architectural requirements he scripted in 1916, the year of the textile exhibit. Hunt circumvented many of the design problems inherent in Dana's prerequisites. The final exterior design projected an image designed to express Dana's vision for the future of Newark. For the interior design of the building, Hunt synthesized Dana's programmatic needs with art museum design conventions to create an environment that Dana could also use to bolster the messages of his applied art exhibitions. The interior could function as a stage, an essential element of the orchestrated drama of the exhibits.

After the Mercer-Dana crisis and subsequent development of the commercially-oriented "New Jersey Clay Products" and

"New Jersey Textiles" exhibitions, department store magnate and Newark Museum trustee, Louis Bamberger, began to invest significant personal time and money to fulfill Dana's vision. In 1916, Bamberger began a long series of appointments as an officer of the association, serving as Treasurer and/or First Vice President, until 1935.¹ When the city agreed to donate the Marcus Ward estate, homestead of a long-standing Newark family, as a site for the museum in 1922, Bamberger donated over \$750,000 for the construction and hired Jarvis Hunt, the architect who had designed for him a new department store ten years earlier.

The site with which Hunt was given to work spanned approximately 75,000 square feet, three-quarters of a mile away from the city center, in a mixed-use, residential and business area, near Washington Park. One third of this plot faced Washington Street and the park and was sandwiched between a YWCA building to the south and an insurance company to the north, the east end of which included a late-Victorian mansion once belonging to the owners of Ballantine Brewery. Open lots or a side street abutted the remaining perimeter.²

¹ Louis Bamberger. Honorary President of the Newark Museum. A Tribute to his Memory by his Fellow Trustees (Newark: The Newark Museum, 1944), 13.

² The description of the lot is found in, E. T. Booth, Apprenticeship in the Museum (Newark: The Newark Museum, 1928), 6.

HUNT'S OEUVRE AND ARCHITECTURAL MILIEU IN THE 1920S

When Louis Bamberger called on Hunt to design the Newark Museum in 1923, the architect was 64. The museum became one of his last works of note in a long and successful career. When Richard Morris Hunt allowed his 34 year old nephew to design the Vermont State Building for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, Hunt's career began to blossom in earnest. Hunt supposedly modeled this pavilion "after a farmhouse of the Revolutionary period." He also incorporated a Beaux-Arts convention for public buildings, wide stairways abutted by pedestals. In this case, he placed ornate light fixtures atop the pedestals and repeated the convention in modified form by bracing each pedestal with a tall shaft topped with an allegorical figure of the industries of Vermont, agriculture or quarrying (fig. 10).³

Establishing his practice in Chicago after the exposition in the 1900s, Hunt began to receive commissions from wealthy patrons for their domestic and leisure needs. See, for example, fig. 11 and fig. 12, midwestern estates entitled Loramoor and Arbor Lodge respectively, and fig. 13

³ Henry Davenport Northrup, Pictorial History of the World's Columbia Exposition (Newark, OH: Allison Publishing Co., 1893), 410-411.

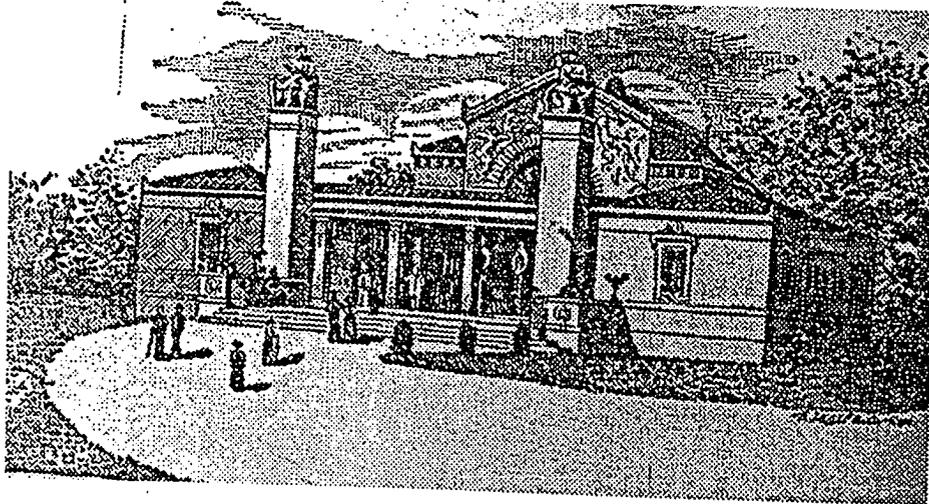


Figure 10. Hunt's Vermont State Building at the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, reprinted from Northrup, 410.

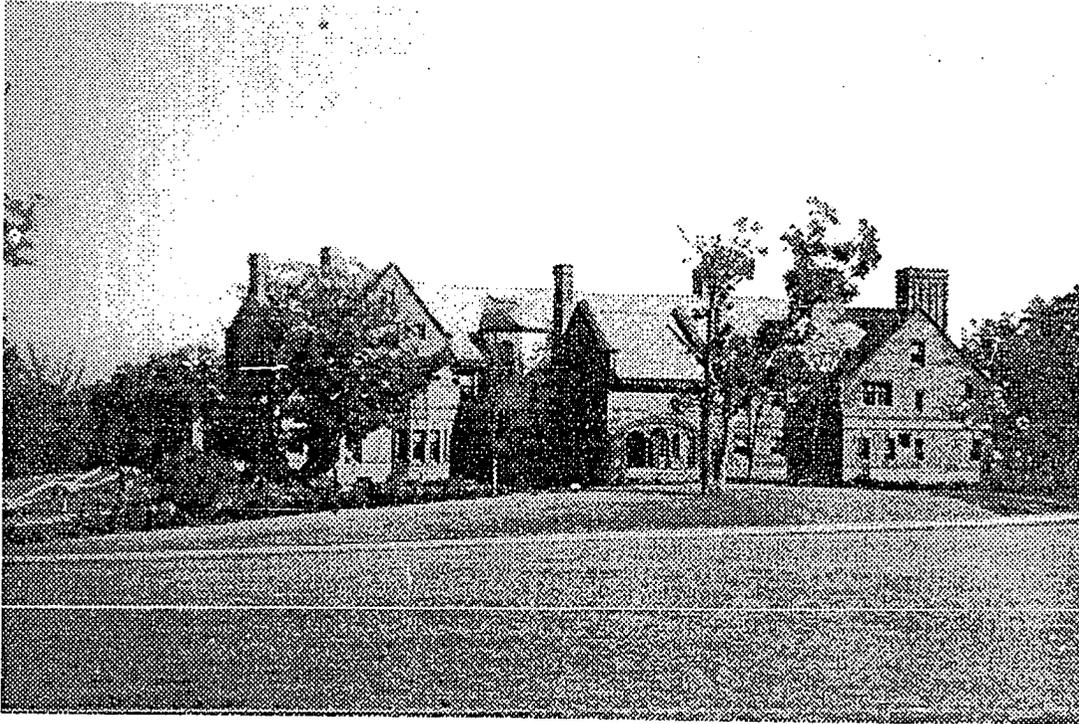


Figure 11. An example of Hunt's residential architectural designs, "Loramoor," for Jason Hobart Moore, circa 1904. Reprinted from Bohassek, "Loramoor," 260.

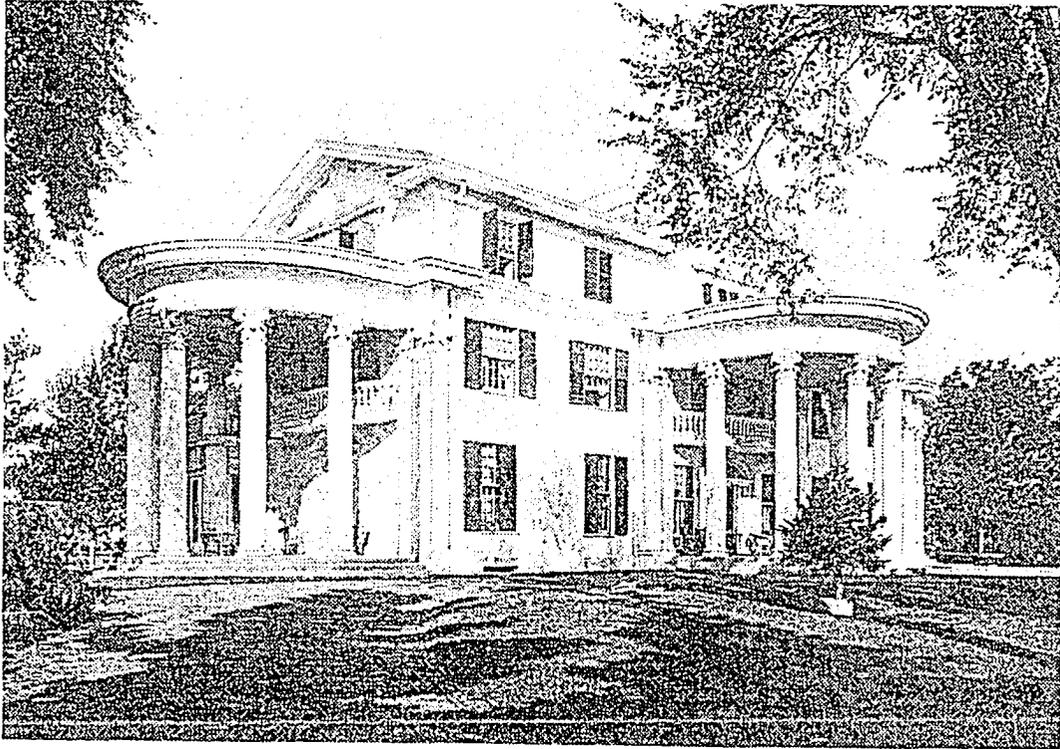


Figure 12. Hunt's Arbor Lodge, designed for the Morton family in Nebraska City, Nebraska, circa 1906. Reprinted from "Arbor Lodge, The Morton Family Estate," Architectural Record 19 (January 1906):38.

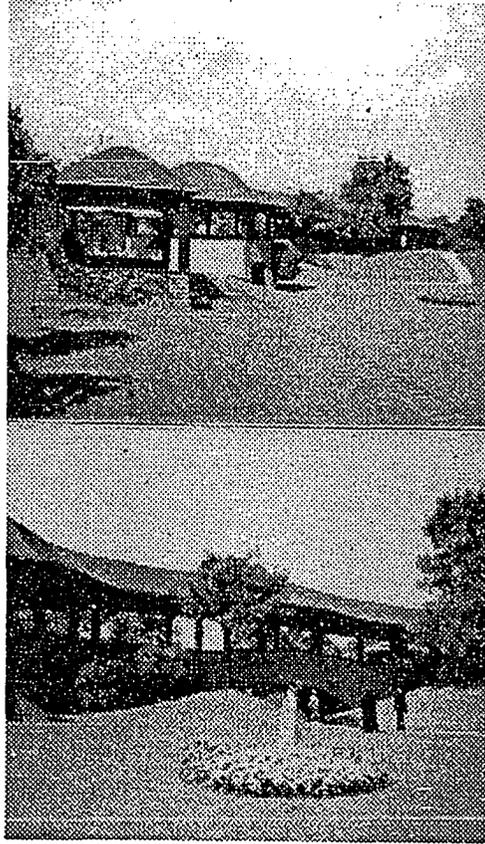


Figure 13. The Saddle and Cycle Club, designed by Hunt, circa 1905. Reprinted from "The Saddle and Cycle Club, Edgewater, Ill.," 487.

The Saddle and Cycle Club, in Chicago.⁴ For his commercial commissions, he designed medium-sized tall buildings and large warehouses, both of which critics loved for their wrap-around polychrome brickwork.⁵ For these early commercial buildings, see fig. 14 , The Rector Building, fig. 15 , Butler Brother' Warehouse, and fig. 16, The Kelley Maus Building, all in Chicago.

By the late 1900s, Hunt designed multi-use skyscrapers in downtown Chicago. Perhaps for the first time, Hunt incorporated attenuated arches for his American Trust and Savings Bank (figures 17 and 18).⁶ This ornate building, with sculptural crests placed below a heavy cornice and copper plate metalwork, may be indebted to his uncle's propensity for monumental Roman-styled classicism. Surely, he is indebted to Louis Sullivan, who utilized a tripartite organization of "base," "shaft," and "capital" for tall

⁴ Charles Bohassek, "'Loramoor,' Estate of Jas. Hobart Moore, Esq., Lake Geneva, Wisconsin," Architectural Record 15 (March 1904): 261-273; Charles Bohassek, "'Gordon Hall,' The House of Dan R. Hanna, Cleveland, Ohio," Architectural Record 15 (March 1904): 18-38; "Arbor Lodge, The Morton Family Estate," Architectural Record 19 (January 1906):37-47; "House of Mr. Stillwell, 5017 Greenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill." The American Architect and Building News 91, no. 1642 (June 15, 1907); "The Saddle and Cycle Club, Edgewater, Ill.," Architectural Record 18 (December 1905): 487-488.

⁵ "Party Walls in Chicago," Architectural Record 17 (February 1905): 156-157; Russell Sturgis, "Warehouse and Factory Architecture," Architectural Record 15 (January 1904; February 1904): 1-17, 131-33; Russell Sturgis, "A Warehouse in Jersey City," Architectural Record 17 (June 1905): 513-514.

⁶ "American Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago," Architectural Record 22 (September 1907): 239-242.

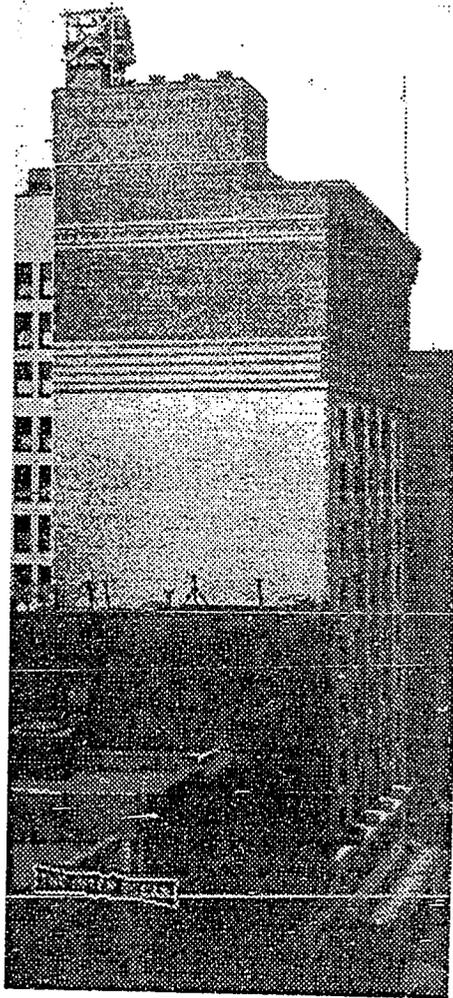


Figure 14. The Rector Building, Chicago, designed by Hunt around 1905. Reprinted from "Party Walls in Chicago," 157.

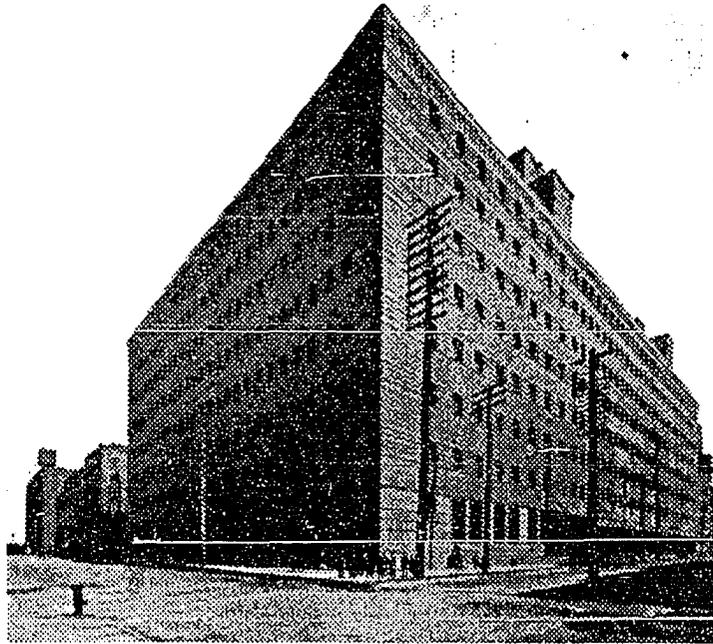


Figure 15. Hunt's circa 1905 Butler Brothers' Warehouse in Jersey City, New Jersey. Reprinted from Sturgis, "A Warehouse in Jersey City," 513.

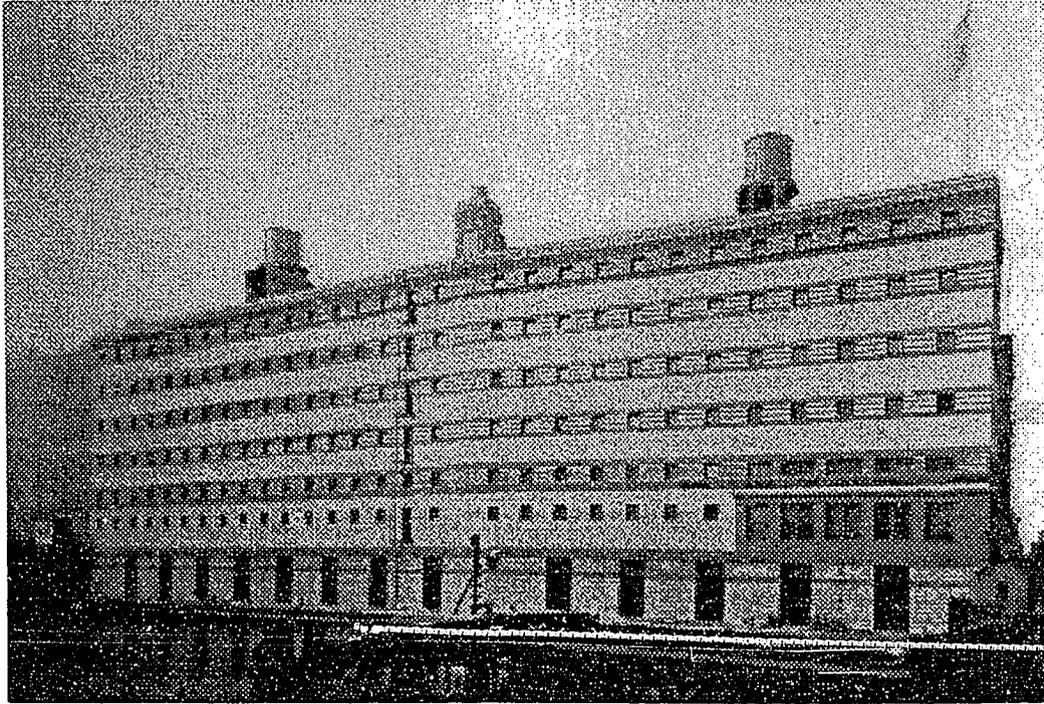


Figure 16. Hunt's Kelley Maus Building, Chicago, built around 1905. Reprinted from Sturgis, "Warehouse and Factory Architecture," 133.

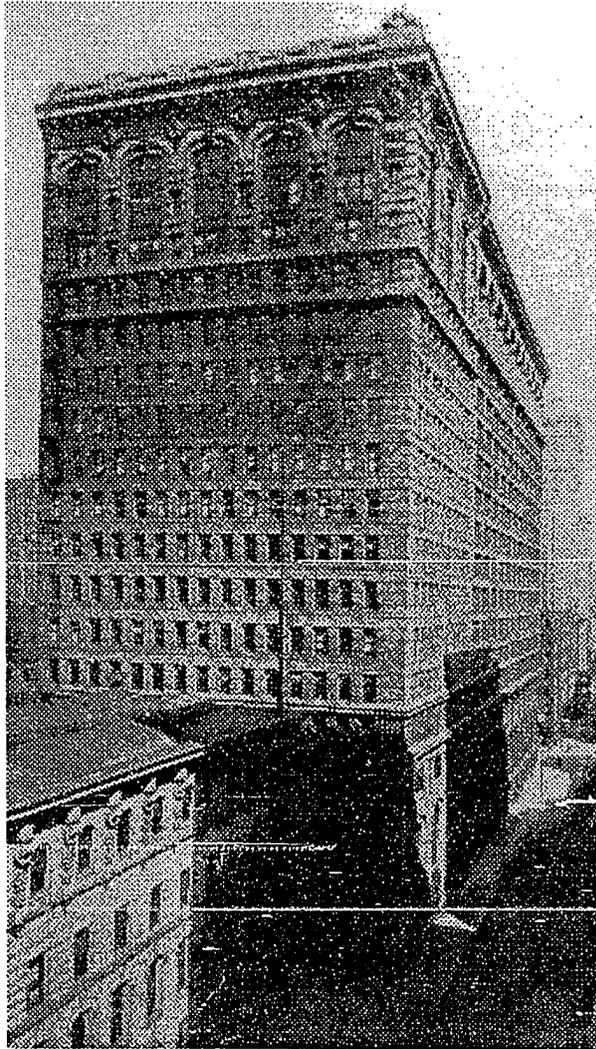


Figure 17. The American Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago, by Hunt circa 1907. Reprinted from "American Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago," 242.

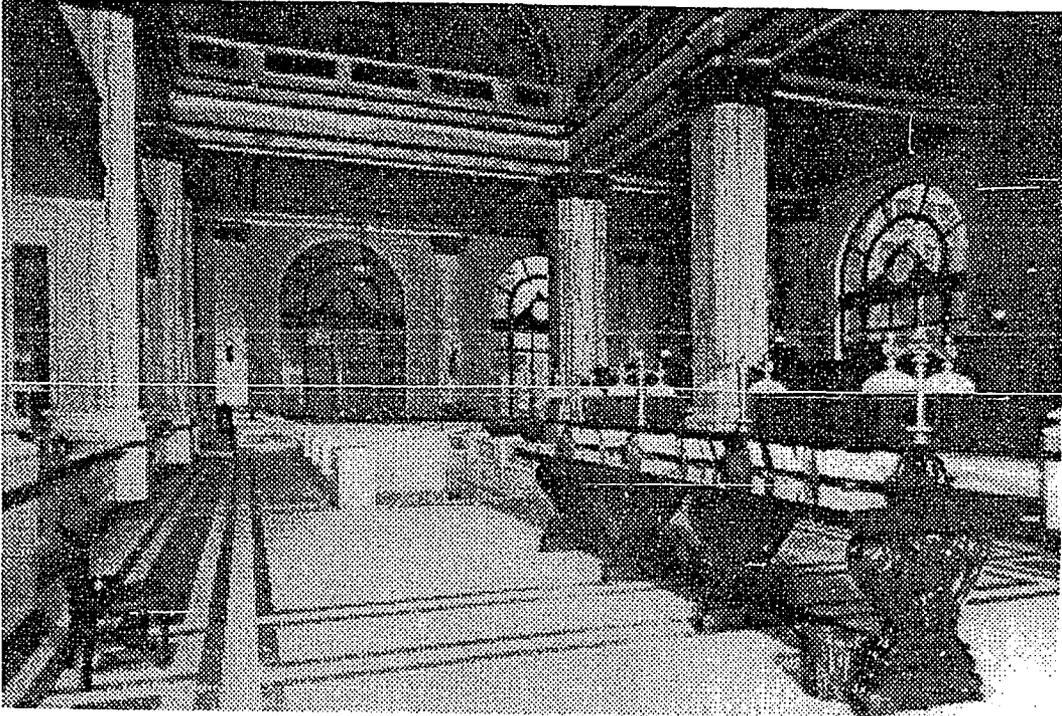


Figure 18. The banking room of the American Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago, designed by Hunt around 1907. Reprinted from "American Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago," 240.

buildings. Like Sullivan, Hunt marked the shaft with a grid of identical windows and incorporated into the capital sections prominent cornices to accentuate height. incorporated prominent cornices to accentuate the height of tall buildings.

In the 1910s and 1920s, Hunt employed series of attenuated arches as entryways for large public structures, like his 1914 design for the Kansas City Railroad Station (fig. 19) and his entry in a competition to design a stadium on the Chicago lakefront (figs. 20 and 21).⁷ In municipal buildings for special groups, Hunt combined his early preference for pedestals flanking wide stairways with the stilted arch. For the administration building of the Great Lakes Naval Training Station (in which he designed all 39 original buildings), Hunt replaced the repeated archways with one triumphal arch.⁸ In his 1923 municipal tuberculosis sanitarium, he returned to the wrap-around decorative

⁷Harold D. Eberlein, "Recent Railroad Stations in American Cities" Architectural Record 36 (August 1914): 112-119; "Competition for a Stadium on the Lake Front, Chicago," The American Architect 117, no. 2304 (February 18, 1920): 205-212; "Competition for a Stadium on the Lake Front, Chicago," The American Architect 117, no. 2305 (February 25, 1920): 246, 249-250; "Competition for a Stadium on the Lake Front, Chicago," The American Architect 117, no. 2306 (March 3, 1920).

⁸"Naval Training Station, North Chicago," The Brickbuilder 21 (1912):18-20.

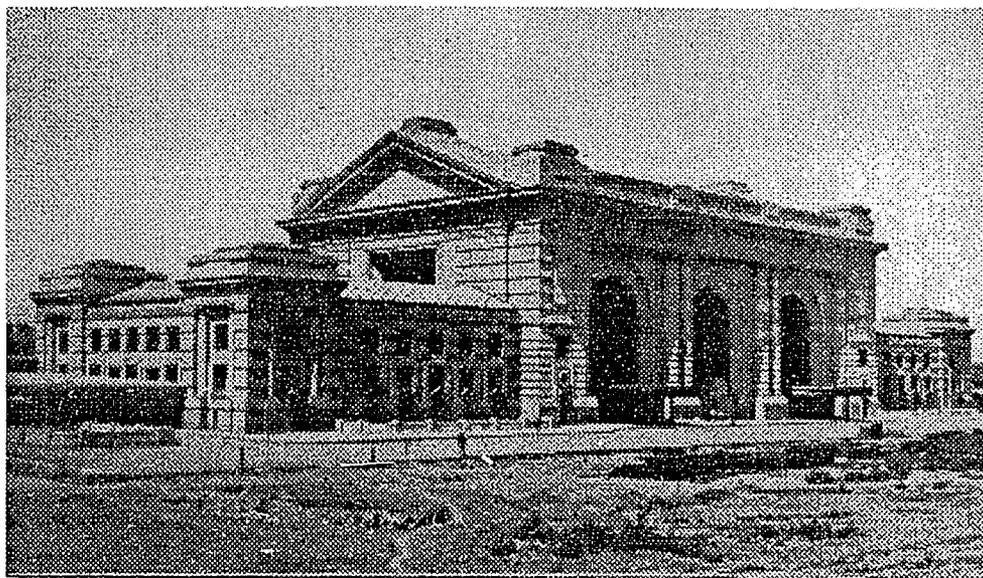


Figure 19. Hunt's 1914 Kansas City railroad station, reprinted from Eberlein, 112.

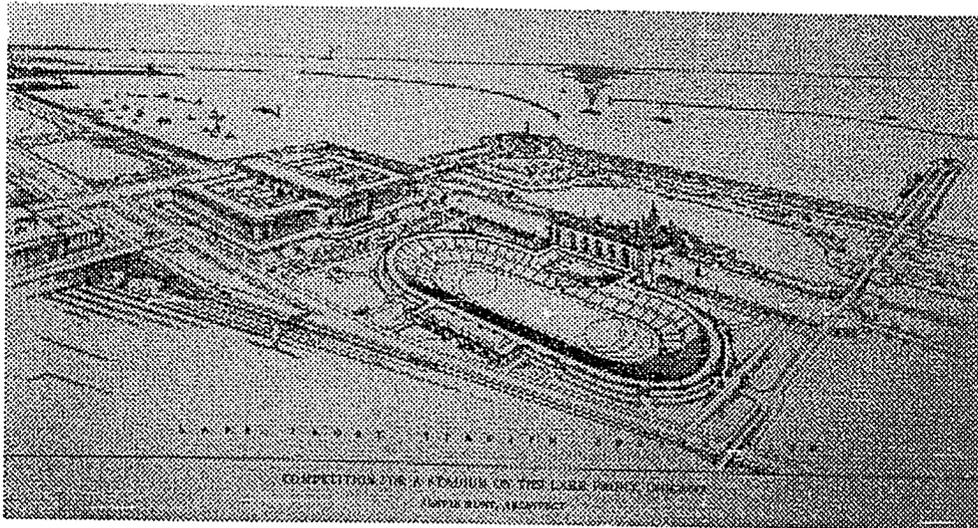


Figure 20. Bird's eye view, Hunt's entry for the Lake Front Stadium design competition in Chicago, 1920. American Architect, February, 1920, copyright 1920 by McGraw-Hill, Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.

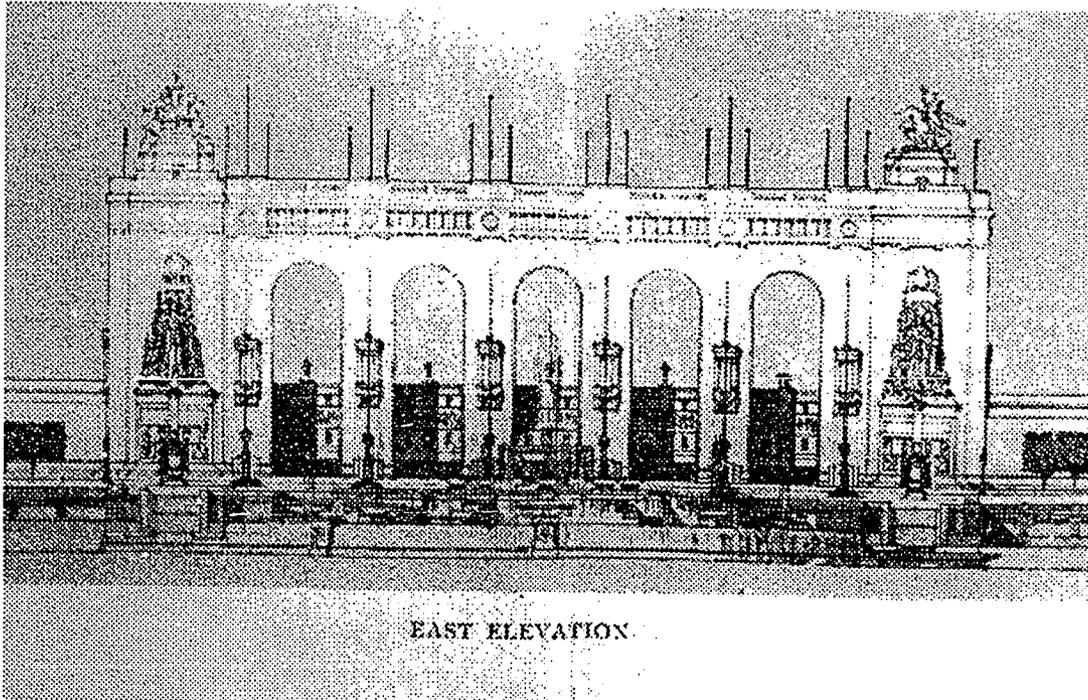


Figure 21. Main entrance, east elevation, Hunt's Lake Front Stadium proposal, 1920. *American Architect*, March, 1920, copyright 1920 by McGraw-Hill, Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.

brickwork, copper window lattices, and sculptural urns atop pedestals buttressing stairs (fig. 22).⁹

Hunt employed a variety of styles for his tall buildings, favoring Gothic, as seen in both The People's Trust and Savings Bank in Chicago, now known as simply 30 N. Michigan Ave., 1913-1914, and Newark's own L. Bamberger & Co. department store, 1913 (fig. 23).¹⁰ He used an Adamesque classicism for 900 N. Michigan Ave., figure 24, to complement pre-existing structures on this boulevard. Touted as Chicago's counterpart to New York City's Dakota apartments, the upper floors of this building contained luxury cooperative and rental apartments (in one of which he lived); unlike the Dakota, the ground floor was allocated for commercial space.¹¹

Hunt played a central role in the creation of North Michigan Avenue, Chicago's most prestigious commercial boulevard, and subsequent construction of buildings for The Chicago Tribune on that street. In the early 1900s, the Tribune suggested to the city council a plan to widen Michigan Avenue, construct a connecting bridge over the

⁹ "Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium," Architectural Record 54 (August, 1923): 153-55.

¹⁰ Pauline Saliga, The Sky's the Limit: A Century of Chicago Skyscrapers. (New York: Rizzoli Press, 1993), 137-138.

¹¹ "Home at the Top," Chicago History (Spring, 1985), 36-37; Stamper, 130-133; "Inlandscape: 900 North," Inland Architect 25 (March 1981): 2,3, 46-48.

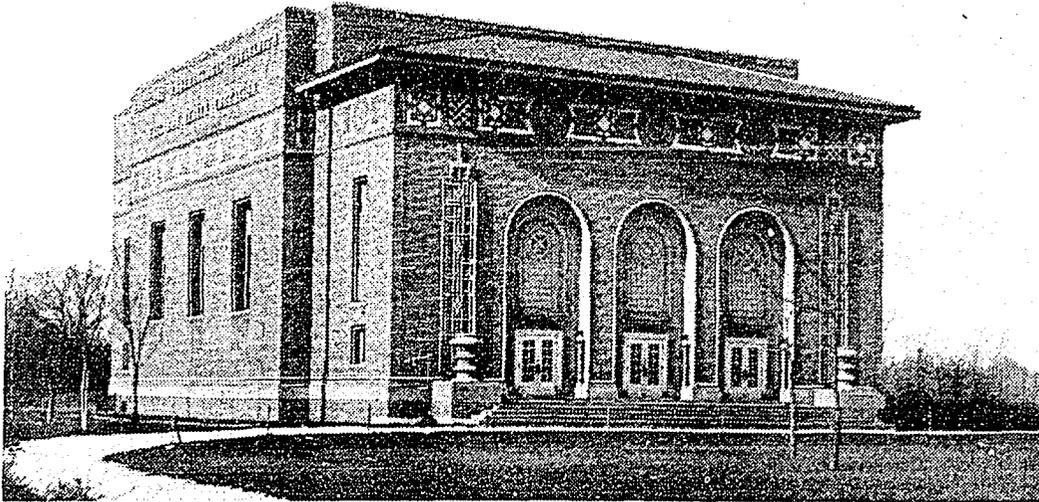


Figure 22. Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, Chicago, designed by Hunt in 1923. Architectural Record, August, 1923, copyright 1923 by McGraw-Hill, Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduced with permission of the publisher.

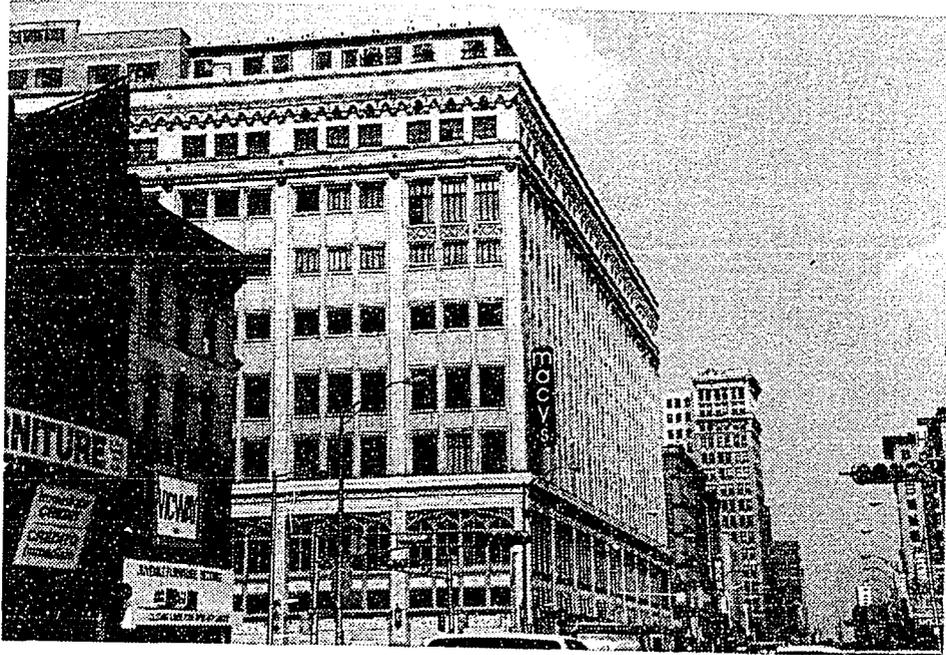


Figure 23. Hunt's 1913 L. Bamberger and Co. department store, Newark, New Jersey (photo by author).

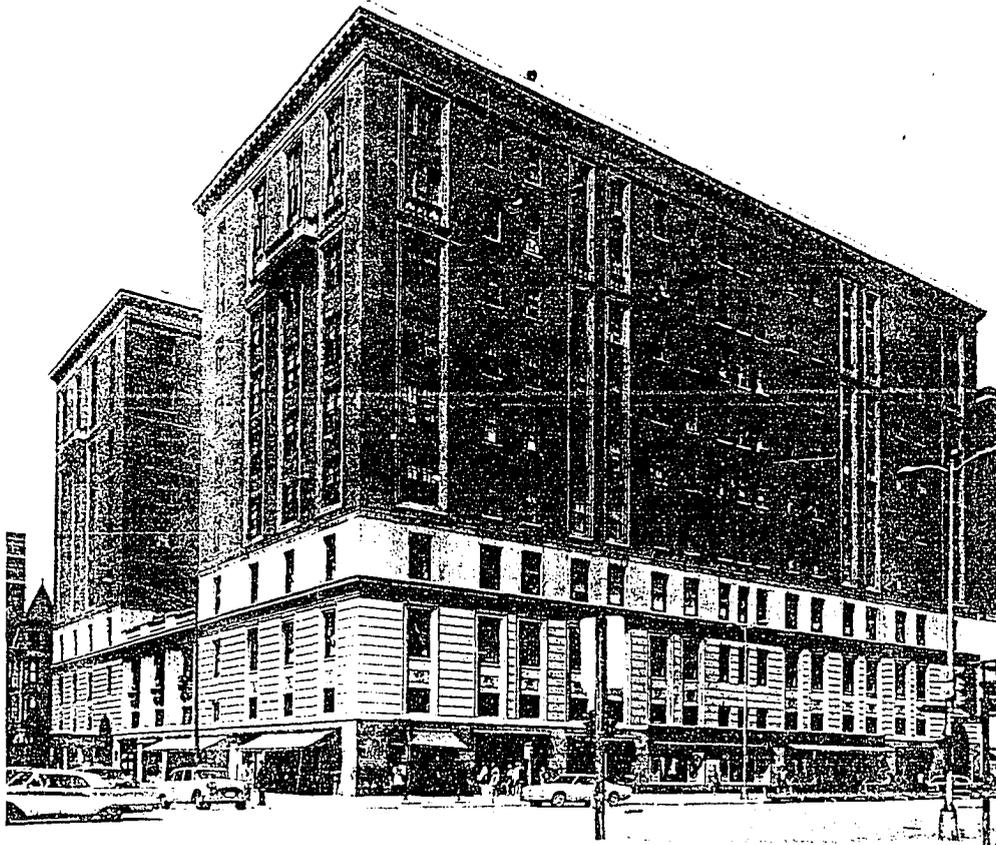


Figure 24. 900 N. Michigan Ave. apartment building, Chicago, designed by Hunt, 1925-1927. Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.

Chicago River, and retitle the thoroughfare North Michigan Avenue. Hunt served on the committee the city organized to study the proposal. Soon after the city approved the plans in 1905, the Tribune bought property near the bridge and hired Hunt in 1919 to design a printing plant. He designed what is now known as the Tribune Plant, an austere, unadorned factory building, situated on a railroad line (fig. 25).¹²

In 1922, the Tribune sponsored an international competition to design a skyscraper adjacent to the printing plant. The newspaper extended a special invitation to Hunt, along with the most notable architectural firms of the day, including Holabird & Roche, Daniel Burham & Co., John Mead Howells and Raymond Hood, and Bertram G. Goodhue. Although the panel selected Howell and Hood's High Gothic design, Hunt won an Honorable Mention for his entry (fig. 26), a cylindrical tower designed in an Italian Renaissance style and having two Tuscan Doric colonnaded porches, perhaps modeled from Bramante's Tempietto.¹³ His entry may have been one of the more conventional, more dated stylistically than the winning Gothic entry; it was certainly more antiquated

¹² John W. Stamper, Chicago's North Michigan Ave. Planning and Development, 1900-1930. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 63-66.

¹³ F.W. Fitzpatrick, "The Chicago Tribune Competition," The Architect and Engineer 32, no 8 (January, 1923): 101-102.

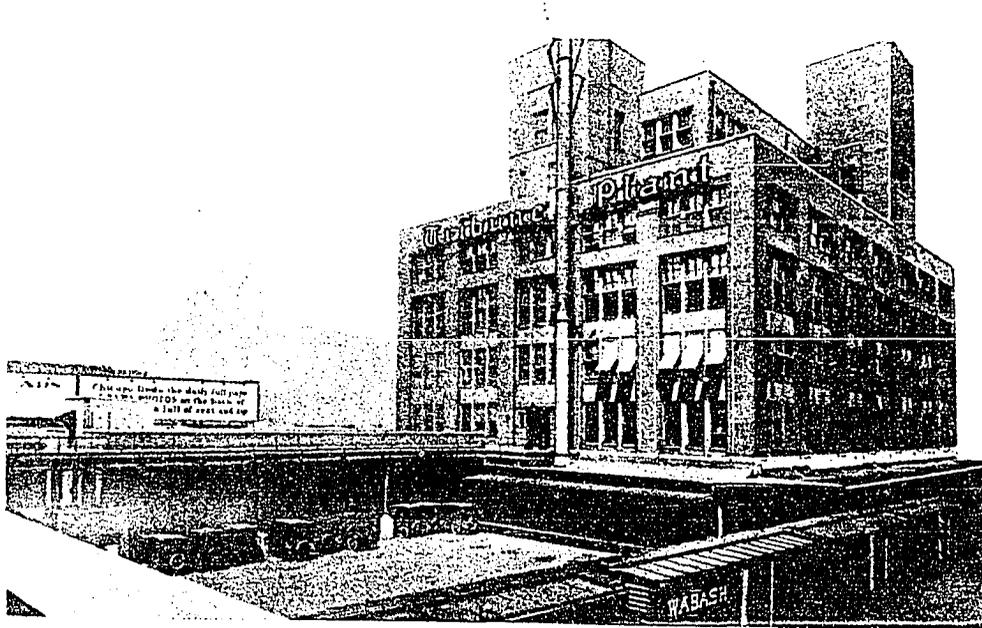


Figure 25. Chicago Tribune plant (435 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago) by Hunt, 1920-1921. Reprinted from The International Competition for a New Administration Building for the Chicago Tribune, MCMXXII; Containing all the Designs Submitted in Response to the Chicago Tribune's \$100,000 Offer Commemorating Its Seventy Fifth Anniversary, June 10, 1922. (Chicago: The Tribune Company), 1923. Copyrighted. Chicago Tribune Company. All rights reserved. Used with permission.

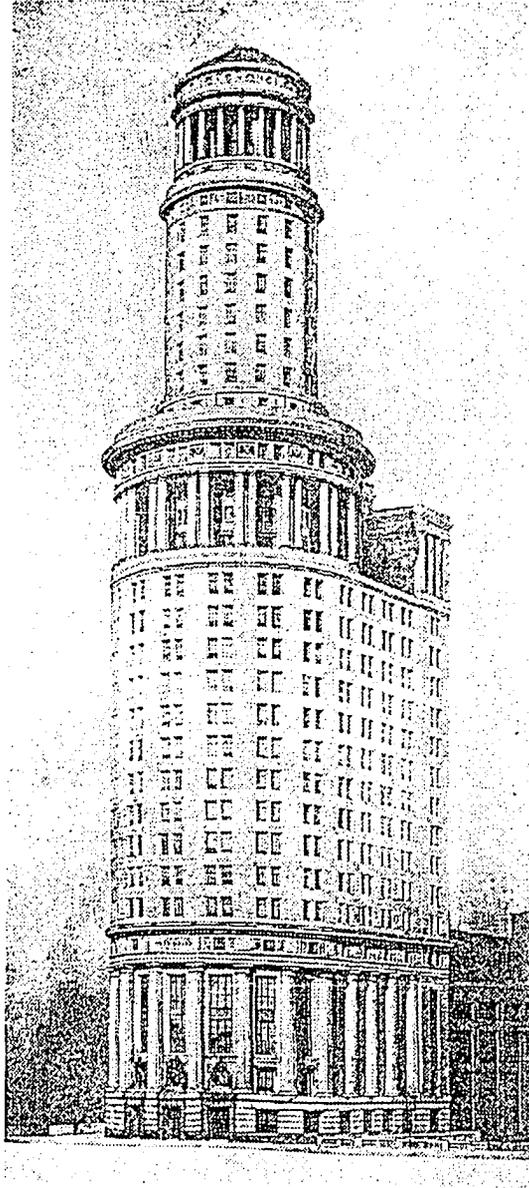


Figure 26. Hunt's entry for the Chicago Tribune Competition, 1922. Reprinted from The International Competition for a New Administration Building for the Chicago Tribune, MCMXXII: Containing all the Designs Submitted in Response to the Chicago Tribune's \$100,000 Offer Commemorating Its Seventy Fifth Anniversary, June 10, 1922. (Chicago: The Tribune Company), 1923. Copyrighted. Chicago Tribune Company. All rights reserved. Used with permission.

than the early Modernist works submitted by Eliel Saarinen and others.

The debates resulting from this now famous competition challenged architects' consensus regarding appropriate skyscraper design. One design criterion in the requirements of the Tribune competition proved catalytic for both the designs and ensuing debates: adherence to a groundbreaking zoning law for skyscrapers enacted by New York City in 1916 and adopted by Chicago in 1922. Responding to fearful claims that tall buildings would lower property values by blocking the sunlight and views of other buildings, New York City mandated that, above a certain height, buildings' additional floors must have a calculated amount of less square footage than those below to allow light and air to reach the street.¹⁴ As a result, architects "set back" upper stories of rectangular buildings, often creating series of smaller blocks. Such buildings received the appellation "wedding cake."

In the Tribune competition, architects began to understand not simply the functional aspects of this legislation, but also its stylistic ramifications. A stepped-back skyscraper could be seen from all sides more easily than the earlier block skyscrapers, on which

¹⁴ Marc A. Weiss, "Skyscraper Zoning. New York's Pioneering Role," Journal of the American Planning Association 58, no 2 (Spring 1992): 201-204.

architects lavished ornament on the highly-visible street-side facades.¹⁵ Many competitors understood that the increased visibility of all sides begged that a building's sculptural mass supplant applied ornament as the building's primary artistic expression. In other words, variations in massing, dependent on the set-back paradigm, became an aesthetic tool in itself. Architects took less interest in applied ornament, minimizing or streamlining decoration, and focused on massing instead.¹⁶

These ramifications spawned a stylistic progeny, Art Moderne. Although also developing out of America's interest in France's Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes in 1925, Art Moderne incorporated the stylistic innovations that resulted from favoring mass over applied ornament. Art Moderne is characterized by flat, smooth surfaces, lightly embellished. These embellishments are carved back from the surface, reductions in mass like the setbacks from which they were inspired. Architects incorporated set-back massing and the Art Moderne style into skyscraper design so regularly that these elements began to become associated with skyscrapers' urban flair. Many architects viewed the set-back style as a visionary, utopian

¹⁵ Carol Willis, "Zoning and *Zeitgeist*: The Skyscraper City in the 1920s," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians XLV (March 1986), 53.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 57.

language with which to articulate fully modern, urban, landscapes.¹⁷

CONDITIONS WITH WHICH HUNT WAS GIVEN TO WORK

Hunt's oeuvre, impressive in number and variety of building types and styles, revealed his propensity to adhere to stylistic and formal conventions. Dana challenged Hunt. Not only was Dana predisposed to dislike architects, he demanded that Hunt disregard the stylistic and formal conventions for museum design and follow his preconceived ideas instead.

Bamberger required Hunt to consider Dana his patron, for he allowed Dana "to be largely responsible for the character of the building,"¹⁸ This required Hunt to design a building that accommodated Dana's desires. Hunt met with neither the Association nor the Executive Board to understand the museum's programmatic needs. Hunt met with Dana. The Association out of earshot, Dana told Hunt his intentions, without reservation, to create an applied art museum. Hunt reiterated clearly Dana's programmatic needs in an architectural journal:

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ These are Dana's words, in a letter written by him to the Dartmouth Tidings (alumni newsletter), June 14, 1923, published in the 1923-1924 Tidings and quoted in Lipton, 47.

...the principle endeavors of the Museum might well be along the lines of explaining and familiarizing... manufacturing industries of Newark... The efforts of the Museum may well be termed as directed towards the creation of higher standards of art in manufacture.¹⁹

Although Hunt understood the basic program, Dana and he did not work together easily. The nature of their working relationship was predestined problematic. Had Bamberger allowed him to design the museum without Dana's input, Hunt probably would have adhered to conventional design criteria for the building type, as he had done so often for other commissions. Hunt probably would have designed a classical temple for the highbrow type of museum that Dr. Mercer once desired. Dana, of course, did not want this kind of museum. In addition, Dana probably did not cooperate constructively with Hunt, for he looked negatively upon all architects for having designed museums without using what he considered "good architectural taste." Long before Dana and Hunt met, Dana believed that,

... it would be idle to attempt to persuade architects and trustees and a public, bound to accept the architectural conventions of their time, that when they use the outward presentations of one-story buildings, designed for housing gods in a perpetual twilight...they show a certain magnificent courage, but not good

¹⁹ "The Newark Museum, Newark, N.J.," Architecture and Building 58 (October, 1926): 116. Hunt or someone informed by him must have wrote this article.

architectural taste, not originality and not common sense.²⁰

Not surprisingly, Hunt and Dana fought during the design process. In a letter written during the negotiation process to the alumni newsletter of Dartmouth College, Dana boasted about his superior architectural wisdom:

I have had a fight with the architect already, told him he was a dub, that he lacked originality, that he could not see anything new unless it was hammered into his head with a sledge-hammer, etc., etc. I have not convinced him of the error of his ways, nor of the excellence of my wisdom; but I have convinced an assistant of his, and on the 19th I am to meet the architect, thus convinced by way of his assistant, to discuss the third set of plans that he has made for the building;...²¹

Although conventional, Hunt was neither clumsy nor unskilled: he was not a dub. Nevertheless, with Bamberger behind Dana, Hunt needed to work with Dana's conditions regarding how the building should not appear (described above) as well as how it should appear (described below). Hunt needed to be well-versed in Dana's design criteria before he could conceptualize the building.

Three sources will be examined to understand Dana's conditions for the museum's design with which Hunt was probably given to work: an anonymous drawing of a proposed

²⁰ Dana, The Gloom of the Museum, 16.

²¹Letter from Dana to the Dartmouth Tidings, June 14, 1923, published in the 1923-4 Tidings, quoted in Lipton, 47.

museum (reproduced in a booklet published on the occasion of the 1914 Newark Industrial Exhibition), Dana's 1916 address to the American Association of Museums describing his architectural requirements for a new museum building, and a 1920 statement describing the interior of his proposed museum.²²

The anonymous artist of the 1914 drawing, figure 27, situated the fairly austere museum building next to the library, repeating the later's palazzo form, carrying over its string courses and cornice dentils, although replacing the piano nobile arcade with pedimented windows. Dana may have drawn this; more likely, someone sympathetic to his objections to monumentality executed it.²³

A more radical departure from museum design conventions is evident in Dana's writings two years later. In 1916, and again in slightly modified form in 1920, Dana outlined the architectural features of a Newark Museum building:

The museum project I present is in one of our large, ugly, industrious, and rich American cities of mixed population.

Its museum is near the center of the daily movement of its citizens. The narrow and modestly decorated entrance fronts on a side street just off the main artery of travel. The building itself is sixteen

²² Newark Can- Newark Will; Dana, "Increasing the Usefulness of Museums," 83. Dana described this slightly differently in A Plan for a New Museum, 13-14. The last source for Dana's architectural agenda is also in A Plan for a New Museum, 13-14.

²³ Newark Can- Newark Will.

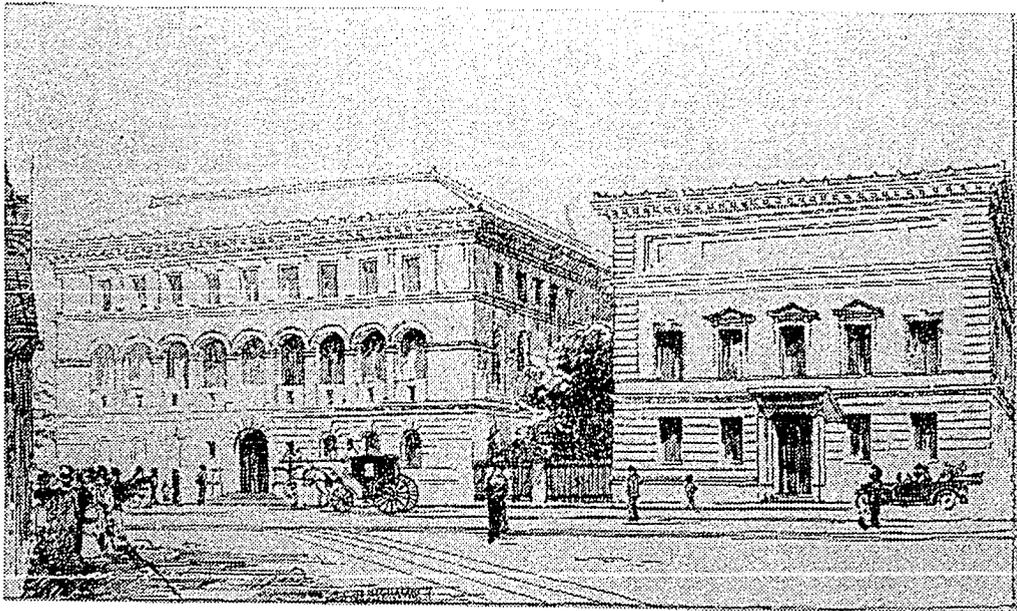


Figure 27. Newark Public Library (to the left) and proposed museum building (on the right), drawn anonymously, circa 1914. Reprinted from, Newark can- Newark will.

stories high, with an area of about 10,000 square feet on each floor, giving a total of 160,000 above the basement. It is built in the ordinary modern, fireproof, brick-steel-and-concrete, loft-building manner, at 25 cents per cubic foot, and costs, with the land, complete with decorations, furniture, and cases, about one million dollars.

The main structure is a parallelogram, about 60 x 160 feet. The lighting problem is solved with electricity, though windows are abundant, especially in workrooms.²⁴

Dana made many points in this quote. His only statement regarding what the building could have as decoration, as opposed to what it could not (the detailed monumental classicism of conventional art museums), is in relation to the entrance: that it be adorned, but only modestly so. Also, in describing a "brick-steel-concrete loft building," Dana suggested indirectly that business structures would serve as models for his museum. Earlier, he had advocated this for libraries as well. In 1897, he wrote simply, "The workshop, the factory, the office building, the modern business structure of almost any kind, these...supply the examples in general accordance with which the modern book laboratory should be constructed."²⁵

Of all the criteria listed in the 1916 quote, Dana valued the city-center location most highly. It determined other architectural features: a tight urban site required a

²⁴ Dana, "Increasing the Usefulness of Museums," 83.

²⁵ John Cotton Dana, "The Public and its Public Library," Appleton's Popular Science Monthly 51 (1897): 247.

tall, narrow, building. Dana desired this locale for other cultural institutions in Newark as well. In the same year, he suggested the city center as the location for Newark's 250th anniversary celebration and fair. When other members of the organizing committee desired a park setting, Dana caused an uproar, polarizing the committee to such an extent, that they curtailed plans for the celebration severely.²⁶

By attempting to fit the museum into Newark's business and commercial district, rather than imagining it as a counterpoint to industrial development, Dana also implicitly rejected the City Beautiful ideal of a distinct cultural district, an ideal which planners and architects attempted to realize through the wide-spread use of monumental classicism.

Dana's comments about the museum's interior constitute the last major source to understand his intentions for the Newark Museum building. In 1920, he wrote that the proper museum should,

... contain a few oil paintings, sculptures and curios such that every museum of art is supposed to possess; If these were not on view in a convenient place and near the entrance, they would be earnestly and persistently sought for by all visitors until they were found. By putting them near the entrance, and giving the entrance just a touch of grandeur, all visitors who have the conventional museum expectancy enjoy at once the agreeable reactions they look for, and are fit to proceed further in a quiet and receptive mind...²⁷

²⁶ Cunningham, 210.

²⁷ Dana, A Plan for a New Museum, 13-14.

In other words, Dana imagined that the area near the entrance would appear and serve as a conventional fine art gallery. He also suggested that after experiencing this area, they could focus their attention on something else further inside the museum.

THE INTERIOR ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

The building suggests that Hunt paid attention to Dana's radical requirements. After visitors passed through the vestibule, they could enter a gallery to the northeast, stop by the information center to the southeast, or enjoy the sculptures and paintings surrounding them in the front gallery (See the preliminary floor plans published in 1924, figure 28, and installation photographs taken in the year of the building's completion, figs. 29 and 30). Yet, the centerpiece of the museum interior was the square, centralized, skylighted sunken atrium surrounded by the balustraded arcades of the large, undivided galleries or workspaces around it.²⁸ The diffuse, bright, illumination of the skylight above the atrium directed visitors' attention to

²⁸ The Newark Museum Association, Newark's Museum Building. (Newark: The Newark Museum Association, 1924).

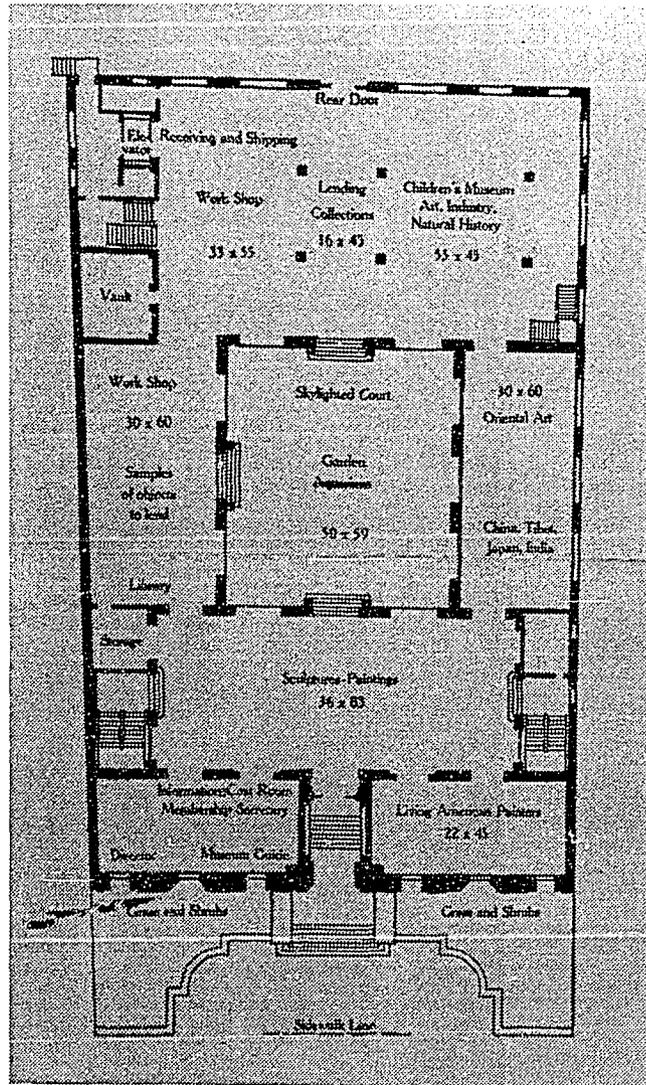


Figure 28. Preliminary ground floor plan of the Newark Museum building, 1924. Reprinted from, The Newark Museum Association, Newark's Museum Building. Courtesy of The Newark Museum.



Figure 29. Courtyard of the Newark Museum building, 1926.
Courtesy of The Newark Public Library.

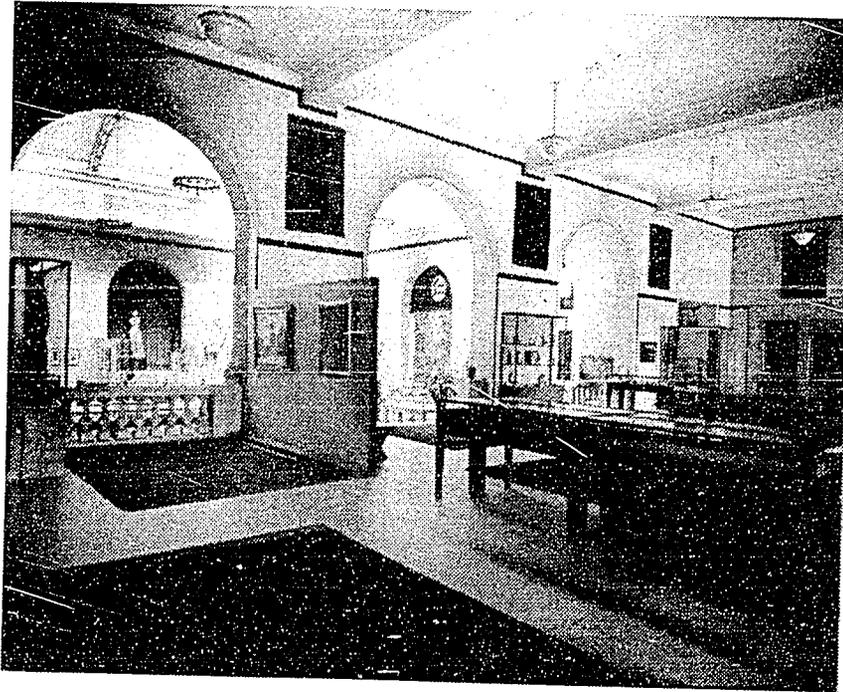


Figure 30. Front gallery and courtyard of the Newark Museum building, 1926. Courtesy of The Newark Public Library.

it. The arcades facilitated this attention by framing their views.

The plan incorporated elements of conventional museum planning. In the preliminary plans, the front gallery was designed to display fine art, albeit for the purpose Dana described in 1920: to exorcise "conventional museum expectancy." Also in the preliminary plans, the courtyard space is identified as a "garden aquarium," a formal, decorative function in tune with the aristocratic feeling of conventional art museums. Indeed, the interior design is actually based on the palazzo form, a type architects agreed an appropriate model from which to design fine art museums.²⁹ Ironically, Dana criticized previously the "15th century Italian palace," as an inappropriate model.³⁰ Perhaps, the interior floor plan may have appeared similar to conventional art museums to placate board members.

The plan also differed significantly from convention. Unlike Beaux-Arts tradition, no axial alignment dissected this floor plan. Also, no highly compartmentalized plan was constructed to articulate minute cultural distinctions between the objects exhibited. This created no centrifugal force common in fine art museums, pulling visitors to the sides and corners of the buildings, into the numerous

²⁹ Searing, 36.

³⁰ Dana, The Gloom of the Museum, 19.

galleries. Rather, these elements created a centripetal force, pulling visitors inward, into the central courtyard. As seen in figure 30, Dana reinforced this dynamic by placing viewing tables across the width of the front gallery, which created a walkway from the entrance to the courtyard.

Contrary to the designation in the plans, Dana used the atrium to showcase exhibitions of industrial art, as evidenced in figure 29. As the courtyard functioned as center stage, the applied art exhibits held in it enjoyed the spotlight. For these exhibitions, Dana legitimized industrial art as worthy of display in a municipal museum by framing a plaster cast of the Venus de Milo with an archway. From the elevated position, she bestowed her blessing on the lesser art form in the courtyard.

Given the museum's open, airy, easily-supervised interior, the plan was indebted not exclusively to museum architecture, but to the "modern business structure," as Dana envisioned for libraries in 1897. When he met with Hunt, Dana made an effort to design special work spaces (namely areas for the workshops, the library, and the lending collection) for the female museum workers in the open areas to the left and behind the courtyard. This permitted visitors an unusual peek at otherwise behind-the-scenes museum work.³¹ To design the interior specifically so that

³¹ The Newark Museum Association, Newark's Museum Building; Dana also explained this idea in "Increasing the Usefulness of Museums," 86.

the women museum workers would be on view was similar, again, to contemporary office design suited for supervision of female secretaries. Dana did not extend the open plan design concept to his own workspace: he assured his own privacy by locating the director's office in a secluded southeast corner of the enclosed business office.

The interior design of the new building worked in conjunction with the applied art exhibits to convey the Protestant work ethic. The applied art exhibitions held in the new museum building never acquired the dynamism of the textile exhibit held in the library.³² One must imagine the 1916 textile exhibit as if it had been installed in the 1926 museum building to appreciate Dana's total design scheme. Imagine the live demonstrations of people working, weaving baskets and working on looms, both large and small. Imagine the hard-working female staff members on view, providing physical models of enthusiasm and dedication to one's professional work. Placed in an environment akin to modern

³² Perhaps as a result of pressure by the board, exhibitions after the textile show rarely featured live demonstrations and never took on a commercial air in Dana's lifetime. Accordingly, little can be said of Dana's intentions to use the architectural layout to discourage the middle class from emulating the wealthy through consumerism (For further information, see footnotes in chapter two, section three). Yet, Dana continued to emphasize commercialism, albeit in different form. He staged exhibitions elsewhere, namely in department stores (like "The Heritage of 3000 Years of Art in Modern Rugs" at Bamberger's department store in 1929) and limited overtly commercially-oriented applied art exhibits inside the museum to single case displays, primarily those entitled "Beauty has no relation to Age, Rarity, or Price" (subtitled "No article in this case costs more than fifty cents"), held in 1928 and 1929.

business space, they became further animated examples of the work ethic, as found in display cases of industrial products and expressed through weaving demonstrations. Visitors may have also participated in the orchestrated drama of the work ethic, for Dana encouraged them to engage in serious, critical, study of the exhibits. In order to facilitate study and mitigate the phenomenon of museum fatigue, Dana designed a "museum fatigue stool." Notices posted in the museum notified visitors that they could carry these lightweight wooden stools with them through the museum. If they began to tire or if they desired to study a particular exhibit in depth, this portable seat would provide immediate assistance.³³

In short, Dana created a fully articulated plan where the architecture of the museum, its employees, its exhibitions, and perhaps its visitors could work together to reenforce the importance of the work ethic to local immigrants.

THE EXTERIOR ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

Dana designed the textile exhibit as well as the interior architecture of the new museum building to recreate a society based, in part, on the Puritan value of hard work so that Newark could become a national leader in

³³ "A Convenient Gallery Stool," The Museum (Nov. 1931).

manufacturing, a power great enough to rival New York's. Hunt designed for Dana an exterior that expressed the pre-eminent success of this social system. In this section, the evolution of the Newark Museum facade will be seen in conjunction with Dana's architectural requirements, the site, and Hunt's own architectural propensities. Three sources will be examined to discuss Hunt's exterior design process. These include a 1924 drawing of the front facade by Newark resident, James Munro (fig. 31). Munro probably based it on Hunt's fourth set of plans (The Newark Museum made public preliminary plans, including this first Munro drawing, in 1924, after Dana rejected the third set of plans, as he explained in his letter to Dartmouth alumni).³⁴ A later Munro drawing is virtually indistinguishable from the first (fig. 32).³⁵ Except for some details, they both represent well the constructed version of the Newark Museum building, also a source for study.

Many of Hunt's favorite design conventions can be seen in the first preliminary drawing of the facade and are carried through to the completed building (See fig. 2). He complemented copper window latticework this time with heavy, copper-plated doors. He designed decorative brickwork, this

³⁴ Frontispiece in, The Newark Museum Association, Newark's Museum Building.

³⁵ Found as frontispiece of Russell Newcomb's The Newark Museum.

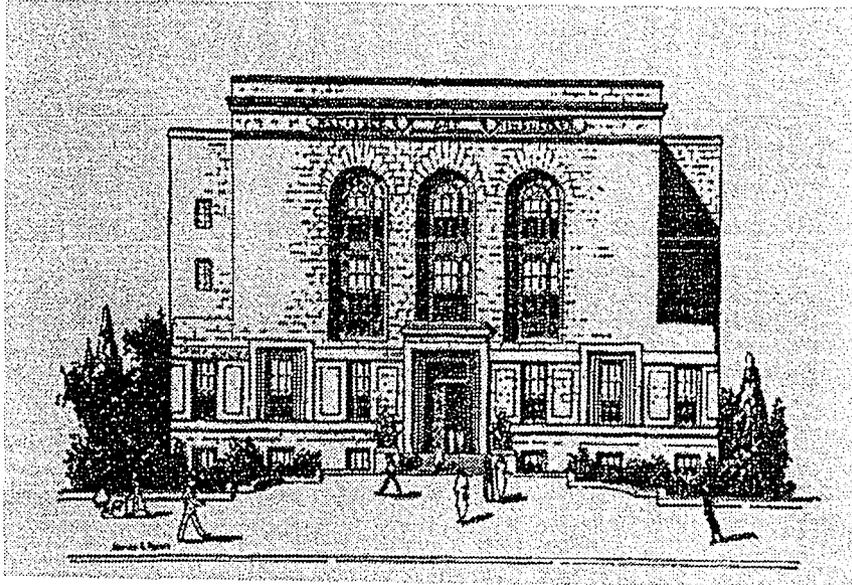


Figure 31. A preliminary drawing of the front facade of the Newark Museum building by James Munro, 1924. Reprinted from, The Newark Museum Association, Newark's Museum Building. Photograph courtesy of The Newark Museum.



Figure 32. Probably the final drawing of the Newark Museum building by James Munro. Reprinted, courtesy of The Newark Museum, from Newcomb, frontispiece.

time in a keystone pattern over the arches in the limestone facing (This element is later de-emphasized and hardly visible in the constructed version). As seen in figure 31, he used heavy pedestals to buttress a stairway and topped them with decorative sculpture (although the Rodinesque figurines in the drawings never materialized). He made prominent attenuated arches. In previous commissions, the arcades always served as entryways. Hunt probably placed them above the ground floor and into a less-functional, piano nobile motif to accommodate Dana's requirement for a single doorway, which he "modestly decorated," as Dana desired, by covering it in marble.

In addition to relying on his own preferences to design the museum, Hunt accommodated Dana's requirements. The city donated not a tight urban site but a plot in a mixed-use, residential and business area near a park (fig. 33). To Hunt, Dana's sixteen-story, 60 foot wide museum building probably would have appeared out of place on the Washington Park site, where two thirds of the circumference of the site adjoined open space.

To create Dana's image of downtown urbanism where there was none, Hunt did the next best thing outside of relocating to the city center: he situated the building in the tight, street-front section of the lot between the YWCA and the

Ballantine mansion to give the impression of urban density.³⁶ To enhance the dense, urban, image, Hunt designed a museum that looked like a skyscraper. The prominent attenuated arches emphasized verticality, which Hunt reinforced by placing the words, science, art and, industry over each one. Given his well-honed inclination to blend in sympathetically with pre-existing buildings, Hunt decided not to rise above the height line already established by the YWCA building (fig. 34).³⁷ But, to emphasize verticality further, he incorporated a refined, Louis Sullivan-inspired cornice that rose above the museum's actual roof line while matching that of the YWCA.

If the museum was to remain on the street-side section of the lot, it would block the windows of the YWCA. To circumvent this problem, Hunt applied the architectural principles currently developing out of the recent Chicago

³⁶Beginning in 1932, the city began to donate to the Newark Museum these surrounding buildings, as well as a later, rear addition, to the insurance building. In 1989, the museum celebrated the completion of its (mostly) interior redesign by noted post-modern architect, Michael Graves, whose plan synthesized these eclectic spaces to a more comprehensible whole. Graves also decided against alteration of the original building's front facade but transferred the main entrance area to the south side of the YWCA building.

³⁷ This propensity may have even lead him to adapt the YWCA's own attenuated arcade for the Newark Museum facade as well, befitting the palazzo form. In this regard, the Italian palazzo could have easily been Hunt's first inclinations for the building's parti. Such indebtedness to the YWCA's design would be ironic, given that the city would later donate this building to the Newark Museum.



Figure 34. The YWCA building and the Newark Museum building (photo by author).

Tribune competition: he stepped back the lateral sides of the second and third stories from the ground floor. He used set backs for their original intention, to allow light and air to adjacent (YWCA) windows.

Hunt also incorporated Art Moderne's stylistic elements, including the flat smooth surface of the facade and mouldings cut out of the surface as a series of receding fasciae, as seen around the middle windows in figure 35. In the Munro drawings, these cut-out mouldings wrap around the middle windows of the ground floor, frame the entryway, and articulate the bar-like cornice above it. This style reinforced the set backs' image of skyscraper-like optimistic modern urbanism. Given a site incompatible with Dana's skyscraper design requirements, Hunt supplied Dana with the most up-to-date style for the expression of civic urbanism nevertheless, creating a skyscraper-look for a building that would both fulfill Dana's vision and fit into its environment.

A comparison between the first drawing, the second one, and the constructed version reveals the complicated nature of Hunt and Dana's interactions. Described above, the first version (fig. 31) best represented Hunt's solutions to Dana's design criteria. The later versions incorporated small changes that Dana probably demanded. The second drawing, figure 32, differed from the first in its depiction of the

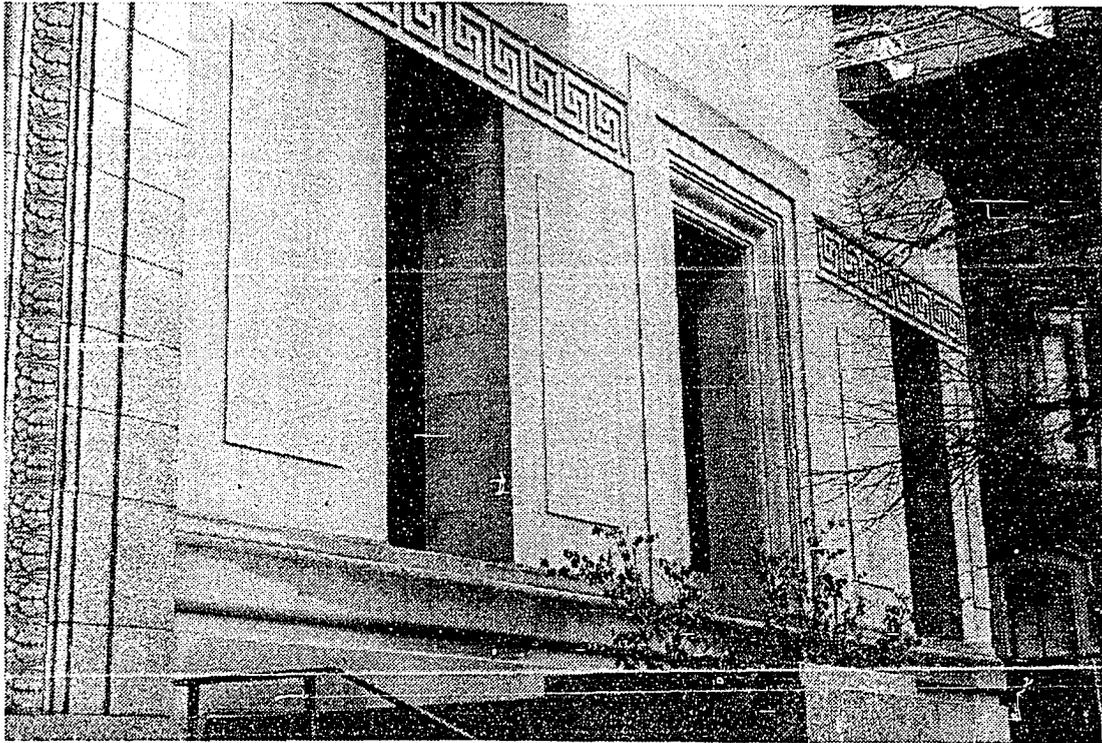


Figure 35. Cut-out Art Moderne detailing in window mould of the Newark Museum (photo by author).

surroundings. Munro added automobiles, de-emphasized foliage, removed the woman with a baby carriage, and penciled in the adjoining YWCA building. All these modifications probably addressed Dana's desire that the building be understood as a completely urban institution.

Changes between the second drawing and the constructed version indicate that Dana demanded the architectural conditions he scripted ten years earlier. As seen in figure 36, around the doorway, Hunt replaced many stream-lined Art Moderne elements with more intricate ornament. The constructed version retained the Art Moderne fasciae only around the middle windows. Oak leaf-patterned moulding replaced the entryway fasciae. Ovolo moulding, traditionally associated with Corinthian entablature, replaced those of the door's cornice. These late changes added a retardataire quality to the building but accommodated Dana's desire for subtle decorative effects focused on the entry area. Ironically, the addition of the applied ornament instead of Art Moderne accents undercut the image of futuristic urbanism that Dana himself desired.

No wonder Hunt returned to the drawing board repeatedly and he and his patron fought considerably. First, Hunt set aside his inclination to design within traditional conventions, eschewing the classical model for museums. Instead, he designed a museum that articulated Dana's vision

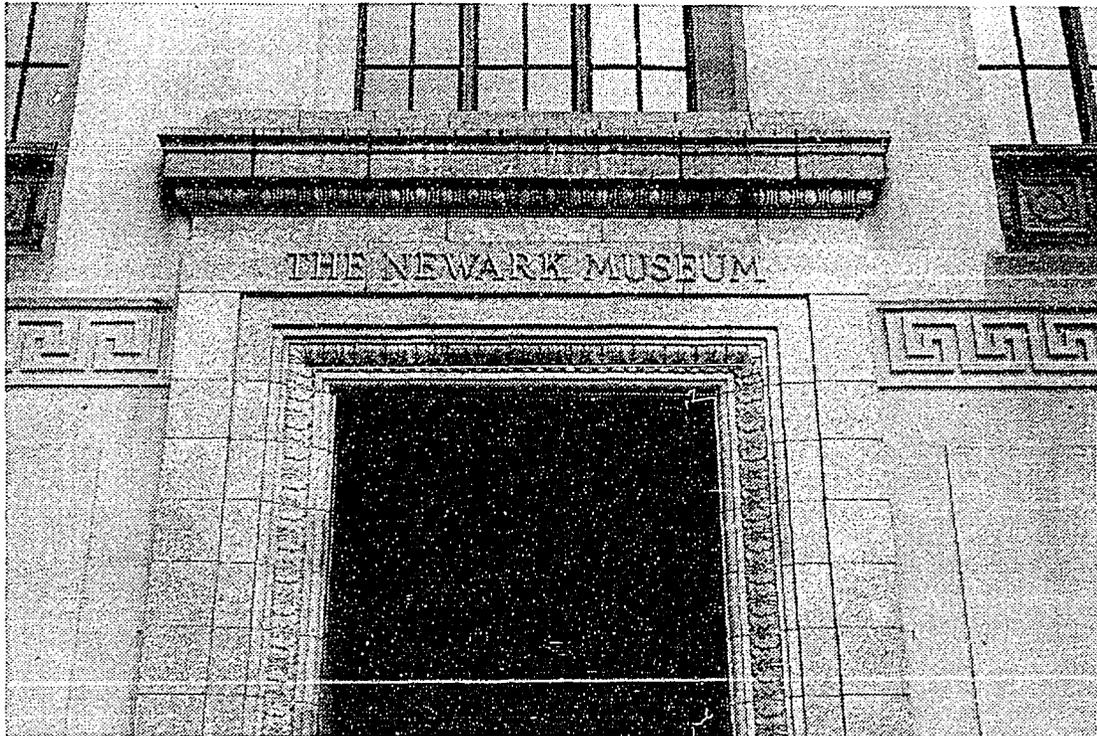


Figure 36. Retardataire decorative effects of the main entrance of the Newark Museum: marble oak leaf-patterned moulding around door and ovolo moulding below the door's cornice (photo by author).

of a civic, urban building. Accommodating Dana's quixotic high-rise image given the Washington Park lot must have been a difficult design task. When Hunt found the solution, using a vanguard architectural language to articulate Dana's vision of the future, he pushed Dana's perception for urban expression further than Dana could visualize it and was required to return to the more antiquated convention of architectural ornament.

IV. DANA'S INFLUENCE IN NEW YORK CITY

A review of the issues outlined in the previous chapters is presented below. This is followed by an examination of the geographic dimension of Dana's thinking and influence. He probably played a role in the exhibition history of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art and may have been an influence in the conceptualization and design of the Museum of Modern Art.

Exerting moral control as a reform social Darwinist, Dana promoted the Protestant work ethic to combat perceived laziness among the immigrants. He worked to Anglo-Americanize them and he presented the local factory work as fulfilling activities worthy of respect. He sought to sculpt Newark through middle-class consumerism and Americanized, working-class production. If successful, these efforts would have had the unique effect of creating a society very similar to that in America before the industrial revolution, a society more closely connected to its Puritan roots and devoid of the authority of nouveau riche. All would value highly the work ethic, the aesthetic of the "Puritan spirit," and his leadership as the representative cultural elite.

For a tourist pamphlet, Dana described the resultant Newark area optimistically. An excerpt from an extended caption below a map of the region reads:

Well nigh a quarter of this area is still in salt water marshes, once the breeding place of the most famous of

mosquitoes, now drained to their destruction. In a few years they will be filled and occupied-- a changed which has been going on more rapidly each year since Newark was founded in 1666. This metropolis will, as marshes are filled giving space for homes and factories, become one of the great cities of the country. From Eagle Rock, a ridge west of Newark, you see homes and workshops of two million people in New Jersey; eastern terminals of great railroads; water transport facilities of Newark Bay and Passaic and Hackensack rivers, and, just across the Hudson, New York. Here is one of the world's most moving sights. Its future is beyond prophecy, but that here is swiftly coming into being The City of New Jersey, worthy sister of New York, is beyond question.¹

Dana described the Newark area using quasi-visionary language to hint of its assured economic success: it would soon equal New York City. The two metropolises would become such rival siblings that this Garden State region would become New Jersey, New Jersey, echoing New York, New York.

In Dana's mind's eye, his skyscraper museum would be tall enough to serve as a citadel. Perhaps he imagined that from it, the view would have been reminiscent of that from Eagle Rock, the panorama encompassing both the Newark and New York areas. Although Dana's 16-story skyscraper was never realized, Hunt's Art Moderne styling and set-back massing expressed the futuristic vision of Newark's eminent economic success resulting from close adherence to hard work and plain living. Unfortunately, with the Great Depression around the

¹ John Cotton Dana, "A Jersey Pilgrimage," American Review of Reviews 73 (May, 1926): 498-502.

corner, Newark would need more than the Protestant work ethic to realize Dana's dream.

Dana's habit of pitting of New York against Newark, became influential not for economic issues but for cultural ones. Long before he climbed to the top of Eagle Rock, he pitted his intentions for the Newark Museum against those which he saw embodied in the Metropolitan: "To set up in Newark a poor imitation of [the Metropolitan], a mere ostentatious product of a foolish desire to add the facade of a marble palace to the city's insignia of culture,-- to do these things seemed to us [sic] foolish and wasteful and unproductive of good results."² He published these critical statements of his neighbors openly in a series of letters to the New York Times in 1913 and 1914.³

An examination of the history of the Metropolitan in the 1910s and 1920s suggests that Dana's caustic words may have influenced its development. During World War I, the Metropolitan stepped outside conventional wisdom and began to reconsider its responsibility for the improvement of the nation's products, initiating a series of contemporary exhibitions of industrial art that continued until the Second

² Dana, The New Museum, 11-12. Dana mentioned his desire not to duplicate collections in New York City in: John Cotton Dana, "Public Service at the Newark Museum, New Jersey," Museums Journal 21 (March, 1922): 184.

³ These letters became the basis for Dana's 1917 book, The Gloom of the Museum.

World War. Although there is no direct evidence that Dana played a role in the conception and development of these shows, significant circumstantial evidence is visible in the following chronology of events.

After the Metropolitan rejected Dana's traveling exhibition of the Deutscher Werkbund in 1912, after his letters to the Times, after the well-publicized "New Jersey Clay Products" and "New Jersey Textiles" exhibits, after his 1916 American Association of Museums presentation, "Increasing the Usefulness of Museums," after all these events, Henry Watson Kent, then secretary of the Metropolitan, worked with President Robert W. de Forest to create "The Designer and The Museum," a 1917 exhibit of objects that had been inspired by the museum's collection.⁴

Dana discussed this show with Metropolitan employee Richard F. Bach. In a letter obviously a response to Dana's criticisms to the show, Bach expressed misgivings about its highbrow nature. He agreed that it exhibited only luxury items and that it ought to have been more accessible to the consumer public- two points about which Dana was most adamant.⁵ The next year, the Metropolitan created the

⁴ Christine Wallace Laidlaw, "The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Modern Design: 1917-1929," Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts 8 (Spring, 1988): 88.

⁵ Jay E. Cantor, "Art and Industry: Reflections on the Role of the American Museum in Encouraging Innovation in the Decorative Arts," Technological Innovation and the Decorative Arts. Eds. Ian M.G. Quimby and Polly Ann Earl. (Winterthur, DE: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1974), 345.

position Associate in Industrial Relations for Bach, who then took over the responsibility of organizing these exhibitions.

1922 was a crucial year for Dana's possible influence at the Metropolitan. In that year, he organized a conference concerning American industrial art, through which he hoped to drum up enthusiasm for the establishment of an organization dedicated to promoting appreciation of American factory products.⁶ Dana probably envisioned this organization as an American version of the Deutscher Werkbund, the products of which were currently enjoying their second exhibition at the Newark Museum. It is probable that many of the Metropolitan personnel mentioned above attended this conference, conversed with Dana, and viewed the Werkbund exhibition. This would have been an opportune moment to reevaluate the Metropolitan's previous dismissal of Werkbund products as too commercial for museum exhibition.

Also in 1922, The Nation published an article by Dana in which he criticized Bach for upholding the format of the Metropolitan's shows. He argued that if Bach's aim was to contribute to cultural and economic progress, then he should target exhibits to the consumer as much as to the producer, for the former also contributes to the shape of American products.⁷ Dana also criticized Bach for requiring designers

⁶ Hauserman, 53.

⁷ Dana, "The Use of Museums," 374.

to have been inspired by an object in the Metropolitan's collections:

[Richard Bach] seems to hold that the only real, true, and holy art is found in the objects it has gathered; that it is conferring a blessing on manufacturers in permitting their designers to visit the Metropolitan and there draw from its treasurers and that it is this studying and copying and adapting of designs found in its objects by agents from a few of our tens of thousands of factories that is leading to improvement in our applied arts products.⁸

In this same year, key Metropolitan personnel contemplated modifying their policy for these exhibitions, and the changes were implemented in the eighth exhibit in 1924: no longer did designers have to look to the museum's collection for inspiration. The submissions now needed only to be designed and constructed in America and belong to manufacturing companies' standard stock.⁹ This policy change allowed designers more flexibility and encouraged greater innovation, and led to the success of the Metropolitan's influential 1929 "The Architect and the Industrial Arts" exhibition, in which architects like Raymond Hood and Eliel Saarinen designed trend-setting furnishings for individual rooms.¹⁰

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Laidlaw, 93-99.

¹⁰ Ibid., 103; Cantor, 345-350; Amy Baker Sandback, "Industrious Art," *Artforum* 29 (December, 1990): 106.

The evolution of the Metropolitan applied art exhibitions can be seen as a series of responses to counter Dana's criticisms, attempts to participate actively in the improvement of American products but continue to uphold highbrow principles simultaneously. The early shows' requirement that entries be modeled on an item in the museum's collection reenforced the hierarchical arrangement of material culture (placing expensive, original, pieces in the museum above mass-produced and inexpensive items) and its institutional containers (understanding museums as the home of ideal, superior beauty, rather than other public or commercial establishments). After the policy change that removed this requirement, a number of highbrow principles remained. The items exhibited were still out of reach for most consumers and the exhibits never acquired a commercial sensibility, geared more towards producers' improving their taste than consumers' theirs (as Dana noted). This upheld the notion of the art museum as a sphere separate from the everyday modern world. The 1929 "Architect and the Industrial Arts" show was completely devoid of the low-brow sensibilities generally associated with material culture. It spotlighted furniture designed by famous architects, expensive original pieces far outside most budgets. By focusing on the work of famous architects, the Metropolitan also bolstered the myth of the individual genius artist. This is another highbrow treatment, one usually reserved for

the Old Masters but implemented rarely when exhibiting the applied arts, which are designed predominantly by anonymous workers.

The Metropolitan managers responded to Dana's slurs that their museum was without useful function by taking on a responsibility to improve design of American products. Yet, they also circumvented Dana's more poignant criticisms by retaining the distinctive marks of a fine art museum. This interpretation contrasts on many levels with those of other historians examining the Metropolitan's industrial art shows.

Christine Wallace Laidlaw has denied that Dana played a role in the change of policy. She believed the change to be instead a function of Kent and de Forest's interest in applied art, manufacturers' demands, and the influence of recent purchases of European decorative art that made the American collection look retardataire.¹¹ While these may have been factors, it is not fair to dispute Dana's influence without investigating it. Dana's scathing attack on Bach in the crucial year of the policy's change makes the idea of autonomous development in the management's thinking unlikely. At least she mentioned the possibility; Amy Baker Sandback outlined the Metropolitan's shows without mentioning Dana's name.¹²

¹¹ Laidlaw, 92.

¹² Sandback, 104-107.

Other historians have given credit to Kent, de Forest, and Bach for the development of the shows' innovative aspects, changes that Dana not only spearheaded at the Newark Museum but introduced to the Metropolitan personnel. One gave a title to Bach that Dana rightly deserves: Stephen Bayley wrote "Bach made the Metropolitan the first museum to take twentieth century industrial design seriously."¹³ Jay Cantor knew of Dana through Bach's correspondences in the Metropolitan's archives, but Cantor's phrasing leads the reader to believe that Bach, not Dana, reintroduced commercial intent into museums. Cantor suggested subtly and incorrectly that Bach's timing in addressing a museum audience as a consumer audience occurred before Dana, pointing first to Bach's "Art in Trade" exposition held in Macy's in 1927 and then to Dana's 1928 "Inexpensive Items of Good Design."¹⁴ Yet, Dana's efforts to target consumers through museum exhibitions occurred as early as 1914.

The course of history has been ironic. Historians have given the Metropolitan's personnel credit for innovations which were only timid, diluted, versions of that which Dana organized a decade earlier in Newark. That the

¹³ Stephen Bayley, Commerce and Culture. (London: Fourth Estate, Ltd., 1989), 67. One exception must be noted. Karen Davies very hesitantly suggested that Dana's 1912 Deutscher Werkbund exhibit may have encouraged the Metropolitan's policy change. Karen Davies, At Home in Manhattan. Modern Decorative Arts 1925 to the Depression. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Art Gallery, 1983), 88.

¹⁴ Cantor, 344-345.

quintessential highbrow museum has received credit for these non-highbrow innovations is testament to the lasting reign of the cultural paradigm described by Lawrence Levine.

Dana's innovative ideas and acrimonious attitude may have also influenced the conceptualization of a second New York cultural institution, the Museum of Modern Art. Although space does not permit a full investigation of this possibility, the intentions of Alfred H. Barr, MOMA's first director, resonate loudly with Dana's innovations. Like Dana, Barr launched his museum's success by exhibiting photography and industrial art. Similar to Dana's Deutscher Werkbund exhibition, he organized inexpensive traveling shows of trend-setting art.¹⁵

The issue of influence aside, the Newark Museum foreshadowed MOMA's innovations in the architectural realm. Philip Goodwin and Edward Durrell Stone, architects of the 1932 MOMA building, have been given credit for introducing the design innovations Hunt and Dana implemented six years earlier: the open floor plan, urban siting, and the absence of formal axes and compartmentalized gallery space.¹⁶

¹⁵ Searing, 49-50.

¹⁶ Ibid.

V. CONCLUSION

Dana sought to create in Newark a modern, industrialized version of the hard-working Puritan community in which he was raised. To achieve such harmony, he envisioned the Newark Museum as an urban meeting house, where he, as pastor, would remove the corruptive influences of the very wealthy and would indoctrinate all in the goodness of the Protestant work ethic. The righteousness of his own belief systems would be realized in the form of improved quality of life and standard of living for all participants; Newarkers would no longer live under New York's shadow.

Dana's actions and beliefs proved more dynamic than this utopian dream. On the negative side, while he encouraged producers and consumers to develop their own taste, he sought to control it, showcasing the Puritan aesthetic and lambasting any bourgeois "overdisplay." Although he considered himself a man of the people, he veiled his racism under the cloak of education. On the positive side, while he antagonized New York City and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, he enriched them with his innovative exhibition and architectural ideas.

A unique figure in the history of American museums, Dana did not represent the average museum director. Nevertheless, some conclusions regarding American museums as an institutional type may be drawn from this

study. While historian Lawrence Levine suggested that the various privileged groups banded together to forge America's art museums, this study illustrates that this very union was so fraught with conflict that the struggle for dominance between these groups may have played as great a role in shaping our art museums as the joint effort to distinguish the privileged from the underprivileged. One of Levine's larger points, that American art museums in the twentieth century function as sites for the establishment of sociocultural superiority, is given further credit here.

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