“AMERICANS ALL?” – MESSAGES IN MINIATURE

Janna Merrill Bennett

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Master of Arts
in the Department of History,
Indiana University

July 2023

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty of Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Master's Thesis Committee

____

Nancy Marie Robertson, Ph.D., Chair

____

Jason M. Kelly, Ph.D.

____

Rebecca K. Shrum, Ph.D.

© 2023
Janna Merrill Bennett

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It's been a long journey and an interesting one. One I could not have accomplished without the unwavering support of my husband Fritz Bennett. This process was made easier with help from my parents Henry, who listened, offered helpful observations, and edited, and Colleen, who offered excellent food and drink! Thank you to Nancy Germano and Wendy Adams who kept me from running screaming from the building during many lunches and dinners by just listening and sharing your wisdom. To colleagues at The Children's Museum of Indianapolis including Andrea Hughes, Jennifer Noffze, Christy O'Grady, and Sheila Riley: thank you for sharing your knowledge of the mysteries of the collection at the Museum with me. This thesis is better for the thoughtful observations and edits of Dr. Jason Kelly and Dr. Rebecca Shrum. Nancy Robertson, thank you for your steadfast belief in me and your encouragement along this odyssey.

Janna Merrill Bennett

"AMERICANS ALL?" – MESSAGES IN MINIATURE

A small white-collar project of the Works Progress Administration project called the Museum Extension Project (MEP) operated in the latter half of the 1930s in at least twenty-four states including Indiana. A product of this visual aid program was the twelve-inch miniature figure dressed in clothing to reflect periods in US history or countries or cultures throughout the world. Museum and Indiana school educators used the MEP figures, as part of a broader intercultural learning agenda, to demonstrate or encourage ethnic appreciation and inclusion, while also fostering "otherness"–all in the safety of classrooms and informal educational settings. The figures simultaneously expanded the definition of membership in a majority white cultural group by adding and validating recent white immigrants while they continued to differentiate "the other"–Black and Native Americans as well as non-European immigrants through the cultural construct of race. These miniature figures allowed students to learn about the ethnic populations of their state and made the world available to all. At the same time, they prescribed the role of "other" to Indigenous Peoples throughout the world, the inhabitants of South and Central American countries, and those perceived as "non-white" peoples in places like Palestine and Egypt. This research examines educational philosophy in the first quarter of the twentieth century combined with the material culture analysis of these figures to demonstrate how three-dimensional objects were powerful educational tools.

Nancy Marie Robertson, Ph.D. Chair

Jason M. Kelly, Ph.D.

Rebecca K. Shrum, Ph.D.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures vii
List of Pictures viii
Introduction 1
The Figures 3
Object Origins at The Children's Museum of Indianapolis 14
Americans All? 21
Stories of Inclusion and Exclusion/Familiarity and Exoticism 35
Conclusion 51
Appendix A: Image Permissions 53
Bibliography 54
Curriculum Vitae

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Countries Represented by Extant Figures in 1946 7

LIST OF PICTURES

Picture 1: “Woman of Serbia, Yugoslavia” 5

Picture 2: “Woman of Serbia, Yugoslavia” Reverse 5

Picture 3: Detail of carved figure head 5

Picture 4: Unclothed figured displaying construction techniques 5

Picture 5: Photograph of Museum Extension Project figures in classroom 9

Picture 6: Photograph of *International Parade of Dolls* exhibit at The Children's Museum of Indianapolis. 29

Picture 7: Photograph of Museum Extension Project figure production process at The Children's Museum of Indianapolis. 32

Picture 8: “Girl of Germany” 38

Picture 9: “Woman of Germany” 38

Picture 10: “Woman of Hungary” 41

Picture 11: “Man of Hungary” 41

Picture 12: “Boy of Sweden” 47

Picture 13: “Child of Lapland” 47

Picture 14: “Boy of Alaska” 49

Picture 15: Photograph of Inuit clothing demonstration at The Children's Museum of Indianapolis. 49

INTRODUCTION

When I first encountered the figures, I was a curator at The Children's Museum of Indianapolis in 2005. They were stored in collections storage in the basement of the Museum with the doll collection–yet so different from the vivid array of popular culture icons. Their hand-painted features and the utilitarian mounts drew my attention and my imagination. I wondered why they were made. Who used them? Why were they tucked away in storage? Would they ever go on exhibit again?

My interest in the figures grew as I considered them as a topic for my thesis. I quickly learned they were a product of the Works Progress Administration (WPA). The stamp on the bottom of the figures' base indicated they was a part of the Museum Extension Project (MEP). What that meant exactly, took me longer to understand. Through my research, I discovered the figures had an interesting story to tell. It explored issues of identity and belonging, of inclusion and exclusion, and of familiarity and exoticism. This thesis places the figures at the center of its analysis. I studied the materials used to make the figures and the production process in addition to more traditional archival sources found in Indiana and at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland. Those sources included photographs, letters, personal papers, newspapers, Works Progress Administration project archives, and The Children's Museum of Indianapolis's institutional archive materials including registration cards and collections inventories. These sources are the supporting actors that provide context for the figures themselves.

My research into the Indiana MEP and educational philosophy in the first quarter of the twentieth century combined with the material culture analysis of these figures demonstrates how three-dimensional objects were powerful educational tools. I argue museum and school educators used the MEP figures, as part of a broader intercultural learning agenda, to demonstrate or encourage ethnic appreciation and inclusion, while also fostering "otherness"–all in the safety of classrooms and informal educational settings. The figures simultaneously expanded the definition of membership in a majority white cultural group by adding and validating recent white immigrants while continuing to differentiate "the other"–Black and Native Americans as well as non-European

immigrants–through the cultural construct of race. These miniature figures allowed students to learn about the ethnic populations of their state and made the world available to all. At the same time, they prescribed the role of "other" to Indigenous Peoples throughout the world and people from South and Central American countries, as well as peoples perceived as "non-white" in places like Palestine and Egypt.

A note on the use of the terms "immigrant" and "ethnic" in this thesis. I use the term ethnic or immigrant to describe people and communities who arrived in the United States after approximately 1870. In other words, recent immigrants and their children, who were born in the United States by the 1930s, were predominantly from southern, central, and eastern Europe. Today the term ethnic is problematic; and, in fact, the notion of ethnicity in the early twentieth century was undergoing rapid change. The challenge to the status quo and therefore white native-born society from the influx of new Americans stressed government, educational, and social systems. Against this backdrop, all Americans sought to find belonging in this country. These miniature figures were one approach used by progressive educators to assist in this process.

THE FIGURES

Two such educators, Grace Golden and Loreen Wingerd, featured the figures in their lesson plans and wrote an article that highlighted figures from The Children's Museum of Indianapolis collection, "Defeating the Headline Horrors," which appeared in *School Arts*.[1] The 1939 article described Indianapolis's effort to educate students on the common ground between ethnic Americans from central, eastern, and southern European nations and the majority white native-born Americans. Golden, executive secretary for The Children's Museum of Indianapolis, and Wingerd, art instructor for the Indianapolis Public Schools, urged the use of art to sympathetically study people and their traditions rather than their political history. They felt people from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia were particularly vulnerable to bias and sought to offset the legacy of World War I participation as well as current military actions by Germany.[2]

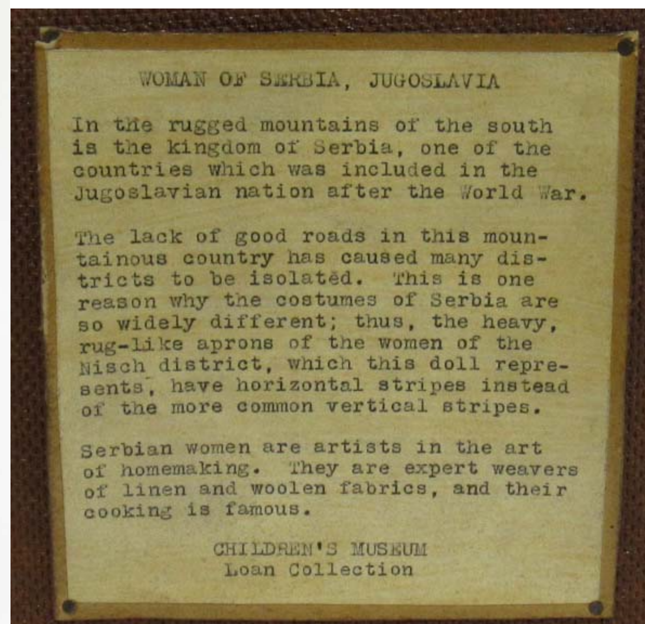
The lesson plan included viewing objects from the Museum's collection and the authors telling stories about Golden's recent visit to these countries. Then students were to choose a country to study and create art inspired by that country. The lesson had two objectives. First, they aimed to teach white native-born children "to appreciate the advantages of cultural diversity in America" and to respect cultures different from their own.[3] Second, they sought to help ethnic American children learn to appreciate their heritage to keep the "best aspects of the old-world cultures alive."[4] By 1930, most children in schools were American citizens by virtue of their birth in the United States. But they were identified culturally through the use of the terms "ethnics" or "immigrants" to denote communities of white ethnic groups as separate from or inferior to those of the western European descent majority.

To counteract such language, educators Golden and Wingerd used objects like the "Woman of Serbia, Yugoslavia" to help students learn "to regard with tolerance and

---

[1] Grace Golden and Loreen Wingerd, "Defeating the Headline Horrors," 111-113.
[2] In 1938, Germany had annexed Sudetenland, and Hungary had annexed other parts of Czechoslovakia.
[3] E. Vickery and Stewart G. Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools,* 62.
[4] E. Vickery and Stewart G. Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools,* 61.

affection" the children of other countries (picture 1).[5] This hand-made figure was simple in its construction with a carved plaster head attached to a cloth body of white cotton (pictures 3 and 4). "Woman of Serbia" was twelve inches tall before being affixed to the base by a wire rod to the figure at the waist. On the reverse of the arched Masonite back, a label introduced the country, the landscape, the clothing, and a role of a woman in society (picture 2). The label elided the politics of nationhood by indicating that the Kingdom of Serbia was now a part of Yugoslavia following World War I without discussing the causes for these changes. The figure represented women from the Nisch district, and the label explained the uniqueness of her clothing. Finally, the label asserted that Serbian women were "artists in the art of homemaking…expert weavers of linen and woolen fabrics, and their cooking is famous."[6] In just over 100 words, the figure's label addressed geography, clothing, and labor for a Serbian woman living in 1930s Yugoslavia.



WOMAN OF SERBIA, JUGOSLAVIA

In the rugged mountains of the south is the kingdom of Serbia, one of the countries which was included in the Jugoslavian nation after the World War.

The lack of good roads in this mountainous country has caused many districts to be isolated. This is one reason why the costumes of Serbia are so widely different; thus, the heavy, rug-like aprons of the women of the Nisch district, which this doll represents, have horizontal stripes instead of the more common vertical stripes.

Serbian women are artists in the art of homemaking. They are expert weavers of linen and woolen fabrics, and their cooking is famous.

CHILDREN'S MUSEUM
Loan Collection

---

[5] Jesse Newlon, "Schools as an Agent for World Peace," 8.
[6] Label, "Woman of Serbia."

Pictures 1 and 2: “Woman of Serbia, Yugoslavia,” and “Women of Serbia, Yugoslavia Reverse” The Children’s Museum of Indianapolis. Courtesy of The Children’s Museum of Indianapolis.

Pictures 3 and 4: Detail of carved figure head and unclothed figures displaying construction techniques, The Children’s Museum of Indianapolis. Courtesy of The Children’s Museum of Indianapolis.

“Woman from Serbia” was one of 190 extant figures in the collection of The Children’s Museum of Indianapolis when I began my survey in 2005. While the total number of figures created by the project is unknown, archival sources suggest there were at least 281 and possibly as many as 400. This discrepancy stems from the intended use of the majority of the figures. Most were used in lending kits checked out by teachers and tracked as a part of a kit, not individually.

The figures were cataloged into the collection of The Children’s Museum in 1946 during the Museum’s first systematic collections inventory. They represented male and female figures as children and adults. The original ratio of these categories in produced figures is unknown as the cataloging occurred approximately eight years following the production of the figures. For each of the extant figures, the labels addressed geography, clothing, and labor for a man, woman, or child living in the country or region of origin. The tone of each label was positive and underscored the resilience and industry of a representative nation. The figures represented seven different geographical regions and

31 countries.[7] When the figures were cataloged, ten northern and western European countries were represented which was 32 percent of the 190 extant figures. Central, eastern, and southern European countries were the second largest with six figures or 19 percent. Added together, the number of figures that did not represent northern and western Europe was 21 or 68 percent of the total figures in 1946. These non-northern and western European figures were almost triple the number of northern and western European countries represented. Since these numbers represent figures cataloged, it is impossible to know if this ratio was consistent with those produced in the 1930s. It is also important to note what is missing. There are no Black figures, either from the United States or representing another country. It is unknown if these figures were made and not available at the first inventory in 1946, or if they were not deemed important enough to be created in the late 1930s.

[7] Regions described circa 1938 geography. These regions were: northern and western Europe (France, Germany, Netherlands, Ireland, Norway, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Wales); central, eastern and southern Europe (Hungary, Yugoslavia–Croatia, Yugoslavia–Serbia, Poland, Romania, Greece and Italy), Asia (China and India); southern and central Americas (Mexico, Peru, Andean Indian, and Bahia woman); United States (colonial, pioneer, and Civil War era women); Middle East (Egypt, Bethlehem/Near East, and Palestine); and Indigenous Peoples (United States Plains Indian, Eskimo, and Lapp).

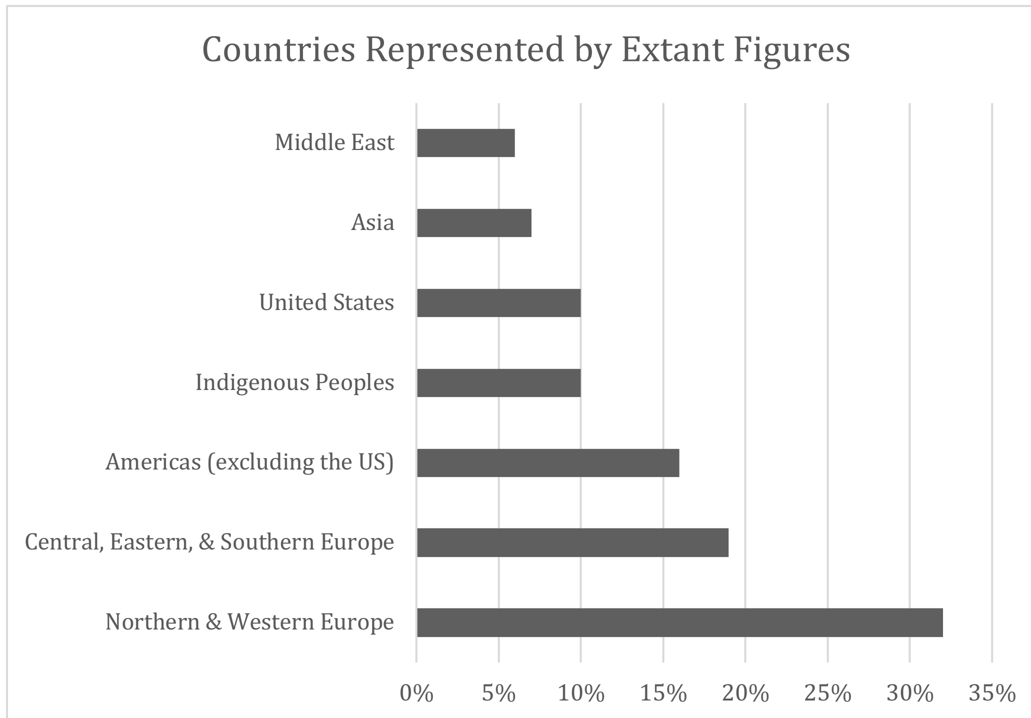


Figure 1: Countries Represented by Extant Figures in 1946.

Whatever country the figures represented, the MEP products were handmade. Frequently, the fabrics reflect the availability of fabric in the United States rather than homespun or woven fabric as discussed in the labels for the male and female figures from France and the Andean woman. In some cases, the figures demonstrated accurately reproduced textiles. The aprons of the figures from southern Italy and Poland from Lowicz region featured genuine patterns made by some of the workers "when it was found that some of the women were exceptionally talented in needlework."[8] This was the exception, rather than the rule. Construction of the figures and clothing were not created by expert stitchers, but by those who largely learned the techniques on the project.

It is impossible to know how the figures were received by students and adults. My experience giving tours in 2005 suggested that adults perceived the figures as strange or out of place. I wondered about the reception of the handmade figures of the MEP by its core audience; children since the 1920s had marked the shift from home-made dolls to mass-produced ones. These children of the 1930s likely had at least seen, if not owned, a

[8] Estell Bell, The Children's Museum of Indianapolis archives, 1975.

mass-produced doll. While I have no first-person testimony, educators Stanley Hall and Caswell Ellis, in the first academic research on dolls in 1897, had observed, "the rudest doll has the great advantage of stimulating the imagination by giving it more to do, than does the elaborately finished doll."[9] The handmade nature of the figures may have enhanced the figures' reception with children since they represented other countries. Hall and Ellis argued, "the educational value of dolls is enormous."[10] Perhaps these school children imagined playing with the figures. When doing so, did they imagine acting out scenes without considering nationality? Did they replay the stereotypical tropes of bias shared by family and friends?

Educators used the "Woman from Serbia" as well as toys, models, and clothing as visual aids in classrooms to enrich school education beyond textbooks. In doing so, they drew on the conclusions of Hall and Ellis who argued that dolls could be made that "represent heroes in history or fiction, [and] to have collections illustrating costumes of different countries."[11] They could teach "geography, history, and morals, nature, etc. in the most objective way possible."[12] Students and teachers used a variety of visual aids, for instance, in a lesson on China. Note the map and photographs in students' hands in addition to the boxed figures beside the teacher (picture 5). The ethnic figures in national dress were intended to promote intercultural appreciation from native-born adults and children as well as to encourage ethnic pride for members of minority populations. Prior to the Great Depression, larger school districts in New York, Chicago, and Indianapolis had founded centralized visual aid departments. In 1937, the MEP funded visual aid projects for schools in smaller cities and rural districts to establish their own collections.[13]

---

[9] Stanley Hall and Caswell Ellis, *A Study of Dolls,* 11.
[10] Stanley Hall and Caswell Ellis, *A Study of Dolls* 54.
[11] Stanley Hall and Caswell Ellis, *A Study of Dolls* 54.
[12] Stanley Hall and Caswell Ellis, *A Study of Dolls* 53.
[13] MEP was also known as the Museum and Visual Aid Project, Statewide Museum Extension Project, Visual Aids Craft Program, or Objective Teaching Materials Project are grouped under the term Museum Extension Project for this thesis. James A. Findlay and Lillian Perricone, *The WPA Museum Extension Project 1935-1942,* 6.

Picture 5: Photograph of Museum Extension Project figures in classroom, The Children's Museum of Indianapolis. Courtesy of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.

Recent scholarship on the MEP focuses on administrative program management or documenting the production of visual aids, but not on the role of the object as an educational tool in the classroom. James A. Findlay and Lillian Perricone documented the entire federal project with particular emphasis on the program's origination in Pennsylvania.[14] Alison Robinson's material culture thesis focused on the Milwaukee Wisconsin Handicraft project's creation of oversized dolls used to teach children to dress themselves.[15] This scholarship has been supplemented by museum literature which has documented progressive education practices and the use of objects as visual education instruments in museums.[16] Existing scholarship, however, does not explore how museum outreach and schools worked together at the local level. While Donna Selig examined the role of cultural pluralism and intercultural education during the 1930s, her analysis does not include efforts by WPA programs.[17] In the history of the WPA, the MEP was a very small part of the Women's and Professional Division of the Federal Art Project (FAP).

---

[14] James A. Findlay and Lillian Perricone, *The WPA Museum Extension Project.*
[15] Allison Robinson, "Upending Unskilled."
[16] An excellent introductory source is George E. Hein's *Progressive Museum Practice*.
[17] Donna Selig, *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement.*

And in the extensive scholarship of the FAP, the MEP is treated as a footnote–if at all. The same is true for its treatment in historiography of the WPA.

The lack of attention for the MEP in scholarly circles today parallels the lack of attention paid to the project by the public during the late 1930s. The MEP was not ignored, just not well-known because the project did not receive as much funding as construction projects. But schools and teachers were paying attention and using the Museum's Extension Service. In 1937, The Children's Museum director Arthur Carr reported the Museum was "circulating as much material in the schools as the Field Museum in Chicago in comparison of amount of material and number of schools."[18] Indianapolis and Indiana teachers were using the available kits frequently. In the 1937-1938 school year, the Museum loaned 2,992 kits and specimens to 71 public schools.[19] Director Carr urged teachers to use the Museum and its Extension Division so that children "will become saner citizens of tomorrow... develop a surer mental balance and more careful powers of observation and analysis."[20] In doing so, children would be better able to meet the challenges faced in adulthood.

The educational goals of the project reflected the values of intercultural education, a progressive education initiative that sought to encourage acceptance of the achievements of all ethnic groups in a way that stimulated an "atmosphere of friendliness and appreciation."[21] Educators adapted methodologies from the playground movement and community pageants. They used folk arts to foster cultural appreciation for all Americans.[22] In the 1930s, Indianapolis schools used ethnic figures in traditional dress from the MEP in classrooms and informal education settings to promote intercultural appreciation and provide positive reinforcement for ethnic minority populations.

Children were attending school amidst great economic upheaval. As unemployment reached a record twenty-five percent of the U.S. population in 1933, millions more were underemployed. Without guaranteed income, individuals and families

---

[18] The Children's of Indianapolis, Museum Board of Trustee Minutes, December 1937.
[19] Arthur Carr, *Director's Report 1938,* 2.
[20] Grace Golden, "The Children's Museum of Indianapolis" *Childhood Education,* 410.
[21] Rachel Davis-DuBois, "Introduction" to *Democracy's Children* by Ethel M. Duncan, xiv.
[22] David Glassburg, *American Historical Pageantry,* passim.

found themselves increasingly dependent upon traditional safety nets intended for the poor. The volume of need quickly overwhelmed private charities and government programs.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt proposed a sweeping work relief program in 1935 after several limited attempts by the federal government to address the crisis since the Great Depression started.[23] The WPA provided a security wage from 1935 to 1941 for eligible participants.[24] While often criticized as make-work projects, WPA projects employed certified individuals to provide, create, or produce a meaningful product.[25] The goal was to help the employee maintain and develop job skills in preparation for employment to avoid the much-stigmatized government unemployment funds known as "the dole."

The WPA employed men and women in skilled jobs, described as white-collar jobs, in addition to construction and road projects. Eligible individuals working in the arts could find employment in the Art, Music, Theatre, and Writer's projects. These projects addressed the needs for musicians, authors, architects, librarians, studio artists, and actors across the country despite the public's reluctance to provide financial support to artists, women, and minorities.[26] To the great benefit of historians today, the project surveyed historical records, recorded oral histories, and documented historic buildings. Additionally, WPA white-collar projects provided constructive educational and leisure activities to occupy millions of unemployed American men, women, and children. In the MEP, women served as educators, artists, administrators, and clerical workers, as well as cleaners and seamstresses. These projects produced educational programming or organized materials rather than creating murals or other arts displayed prominently in the public arena. As a result, the public generally did not know about the project. The lack of

---

[23] Smaller relief programs began under Civil Works Administration (CWA), Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA), and the U.S. Federal Treasury Department before the WPA.
[24] In 1939 government officials renamed the WPA to Work Projects Administration.
[25] Certification for work in the WPA required demonstration of need. In the Cultural projects, finding skilled workers who were eligible could be challenging depending on the project.
[26] George J. Mavigliano and Richard A. Lawson, *The Federal Art Project in Illinois,* xii; Louise R. Noun, *Iowa Women in the WPA*, 43.

visibility and controversy for the MEP meant the figures could promote cultural tolerance and ethnic pride at a time when immigrants or their descendants faced suspicion and discrimination.

Running from 1935 to the early 1940s, the MEP originated in Pennsylvania.[27] At least twenty-three additional states, including Indiana, subsequently founded statewide projects. Its goals included assisting tax-supported institutions to acquire visual education aids and to give aid to publicly owned museums in the state.[28] This thesis examines the role of visual aid products, particularly the figures (usually called dolls) of the Indiana project.[29]

Early WPA projects grew out of classroom teachers' needs for visual aids and for implementing museum standards throughout the country.[30] The MEP project allowed schools in midsized cities and rural communities to establish visual aid units and to borrow items from area museums or to purchase visual aids at a reduced cost from WPA producers.[31] Between 1937 and 1942, the Indiana Statewide Museum Extension Project employed as many as 226 individuals creating visual aids in thirty-nine units throughout the state.[32] The Indiana Historical Bureau and the state superintendent of public instruction sponsored the project on the state level.[33] Within the WPA structure, funding and supervision of the project came from the Women's and Professional Division.

---

[27] James A. Findlay and Lillian Perricone, *The WPA Museum Extension Project*, 6.
[28] Indiana Museum Extension Program, *Final Report,* 1. Other participating states were Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming. James Findlay and Lillian Perricone, *WPA Museum Extension Project,* 114-119.
[29] The second component of the MEP project, not examined in this thesis, was to support public museums and historical sites. The needs of individual museums varied greatly. In Indiana, there were two main goals of this latter component. First, to provide staffing to keep sites open for visitors. Secondly, to refurbish exhibits and collections to introduce or support current museum practices in exhibition and collections care and documentation.
[30] James A. Findlay and Lillian Perricone, *The WPA Museum Extension Project,* 6.
[31] James A. Findlay and Lillian Perricone, *The WPA Museum Extension Project,* 38.
[32] Indiana Final Report of the Museum Extension Program, 3.
[33] Indiana Final Report of the Museum Extension Program, 2.

The figures created during the MEP may be viewed from several perspectives. Works Progress Administration national leadership sought to ensure program monies paid wages to individuals in need by doing specific tasks as outlined in project proposals. State administrators of the WPA oversaw an entire portfolio of projects of which MEP was a very small part. Project advisors, in this case, Christopher Coleman, director of the Indiana Historical Bureau, and Floyd McMurray, the Indiana superintendent of public instruction, provided expertise and connections related to the project goals. Project sponsors like The Children's Museum of Indianapolis and John Herron Art Museum were interested in producing materials for use in their museums and in schools through lending programs.[34] For Sylvia Taflan, a project worker at The Children's Museum, creating these figures provided wages to care for herself and her daughter.[35] Finally, teachers and museum educators saw the figures as tools to teach students in formal and informal education settings.

---

[34] "Indiana Educational Directory," *Indiana Teacher*, 2.
[35] 1940 U.S. census.

Figures were visual aids and educational tools of modern educational practice. They reflected both the familiar and peoples of the world beyond Indiana. Ethnic students could see their grandparents reflected in the figure's face while other students might see the clothing of a country they had never heard of before. In her 1928 *Visual Instruction in the Public Schools,* educator Anna Dorris argued that figures could portray "a sympathetic appreciation of the peoples and nations of the globe" or strengthen existing prejudices.[36] Dressed figures, pictures, models, film strips, motion pictures, and dioramas joined maps and globes as standard classroom educational aids.

These new tools came from progressive educational theories that advocated experiential learning through age-appropriate exploration of the world around them. John Dewey, considered the founder of progressive education, argued experience was the best education for the learner.[37] Dewey's work led progressive educators to reimagine the school so that students did more than learn to read, recite, and write. He asserted the school must "get out of its isolation" and incorporate active learning or practice as well as teaching theory.[38] The Progressive Education Association would later define progressive education as a means of learning "the lessons of life naturally, under friendly guidance in an environment of freedom suited to the age of the learner."[39] Dewey's encouragement to seek the outdoors, libraries, and museums as educational opportunities for young learners energized many museums to introduce dynamic programming for school groups both at the museum and in the classroom through outreach programs.[40]

The idea of schools and their intimate connection to life came from John Dewey's theories of experiential learning. He envisioned the school and formal education combined with experience from life outside the school. Libraries and museums were

---

[36] Anna Verona Dorris, *Visual Instruction in the Public Schools,* 247.
[37] John Dewey, *Experience and Education*, 7.
[38] John Dewey, *The School and Society*, 79.
[39] Progressive Education Association. *The Progressive Education Association.*
[40] There is an extensive bibliography, both primary and secondary sources, on this topic. Two good primary source overviews are Grace (Fisher) Ramsey, *Educational Work in Museums of the United States*, and T.R. Adam, *Civic Value of Museums*. Secondary sources include George Hein, *Progressive Museum Practice*.

critical arenas to which "children bring the experiences, the problems, the questions, the particular facts they have found and discuss them so that new light may be thrown upon them."[41] Libraries were already a source for learning in the early twentieth century. As a source for newspapers, periodicals on a diverse array of subjects, and encyclopedias, the collections of libraries were critical to learning and entertainment during the Great Depression.[42] John Cotton Dana's work in Newark Public Library in Newark, New Jersey, took access to diverse materials one step further. In 1909, the library moved into a new building. Dana established a museum on the second floor. He realized the library and laboratory resources championed by John Dewey. By doing so, he brought his progressive library practices to the museum.[43] Louise Connolly, a general supervisor of grades two through eight for Newark Public Schools and later an educational advisor for the Newark Library, cultivated the connection between school education and the Library and Museum.[44] This partnership continued with the addition of WPA-produced visual aids available in the library.

Dewey's ideas also led to the creation of special museums for children. Some were created by students in their own school and others as independent children's museums. In Indianapolis, the movement to bring a child-centered learning experiences culminated in the founding of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis in 1925. Mary Stewart Carey had visited the Brooklyn Children's Museum the year before. Intrigued by that Museum's commitment to "delight and instruct the children who visit" while "making learning pure fun," Carey shared her observations with members of the Indianapolis Progressive Education Association.[45] The Association explored several avenues for replicating such an experience.[46] Ultimately, the nascent museum opened in in Garfield Park.[47]

---

[41] John Dewey, *School and Society*, 100.
[42] John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking, *Lessons without Limit*, 4.
[43] George H. Hein, *Progressive Museum Practice,* 75.
[44] George H. Hein, *Progressive Museum Practice*, 78.
[45] Edward P Alexander, "Anna Billings Gallup Popularizes the First Children's Museum," 191.
[46] Faye Henley, "The Story of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis."
[47] Nancy Kriplen, *Keep an Eye on that Mummy*, 3.

Progressive educators from the Orchard School, Indianapolis public schools, and the Indiana Historical Bureau joined forces to establish the museum. These advocates included philanthropist Mary Stewart Carey, Orchard School director Faye Henley, and Mary Carey Appel, a founder of Orchard School and Carey's daughter. Two Indianapolis public school advocates Florence Fitch, director of art instruction, and Murray Dalman, director of the reference and research department, also participated in the founding of the museum. Finally, Christopher Coleman of the Indiana Historical Bureau contributed his expertise to the board and would later co-sponsor the MEP project.[48]

For museum board of directors' chair, Mary Stewart Carey, educating children and adults had been a passion for some time. She supported the Orchard School when it had opened in 1922 based on an experimental "organic school model" for first grade students.[49] Fourteen years earlier, she had established the Christamore Aid Society to raise money for the settlement organization. Founded in 1905, the Christamore House worked with immigrant working-class clients in the Atlas and later Haughville neighborhoods through the 1950s when the participants became predominantly African American.[50] As a civic leader, Carey generously contributed time and funds to educational projects around Indianapolis.

Carey believed children should play a substantial role in the development of the museum. Students, including ethnic Americans, donated items from their parents or grandparents.[51] At the same time, wealthy donors brought items back from travel around the world.[52] These included dolls in traditional dress and examples of clothing created for the tourist market. Many early board members and docent volunteers were women and community leaders. Combining the tourist dolls into an educational program was not a new idea in the museum world. In this case, it was a logical choice since the Museum's collection was still very small ten years after the Museum's founding.

The educational community had widely accepted the need for visual aids by the early 1930s. The movement promoted the use of new methods as one way to address

---

[48] Nancy Kriplen, *Keep an Eye on that Mummy*,14.
[49] "Orchard Country Day School." *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis,* 1067.
[50] "Christamore House Family and Community Center," *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*.
[51] David Kenny, *Fifty Years Young*, 13.
[52] Harris, *A History Museum of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis*, 102.

inadequacies in traditional vocabulary practice. One critique of the traditional education model of reading, recitation, and writing was that it led children to learn vocabulary but be unable to explain the word's meaning. So, a child might know how to spell the word forest, but not be able to describe what a forest was or to identify one. The problem, known as "verbalism," could be rectified by incorporating visual supplements and connecting the vocabulary with context for the word itself.[53] To combat verbalism, the National Education Association recommended teachers ensure that children had ideas that corresponded to the vocabulary and that a closer connection between school and community would be helpful.[54] The use of visual aids were one strategy. In addition, teachers could foster student interest and creativity by assigning pageants or dramatizations, which resulted in students learning by "seeing and doing *plus* thinking."[55]

In 1927, the Report of Joint Committee on School-Museum Relations by the National Education Association and the American Association of Museums outlined the methods most suited to learning from museums; many (if not most) museums in metropolitan areas actively supported the recommendations. The article encouraged small museums to participate by providing visual aids and educational programming.[56] The report outlined best practices for experiential education including student visits to museums and the outdoors, as well as supplementing both experiences with museum objects and pictorial illustrations.[57] As school and museum publications promoted the use of visual aids, the Indianapolis schools worked with The Children's Museum and the Herron Museum of Art to augment lessons with these types of experiences.

The Indianapolis public school system had already begun a partnership with the Herron Museum of Art in 1912 when the schools paid a $7,500 stipend to provide unlimited visits for the Indianapolis schoolchildren.[58] The Museum provided classroom space for art lectures, created a dedicated Children's Room, and published Children's

---

[53] *The Object-Specimen-Model, Aids*, 5.
[54] Anna Verona Dorris, *Visual Instruction in the Public Schools,* 5.
[55] Anna Verona Dorris, *Visual Instruction in the Public Schools*, 6.
[56] Lawrence Vail Coleman, "Schools and Museums Working Jointly for Visual Education."
[57] Lawrence Vail Coleman, "Schools and Museums Working Jointly for Visual Education."
[58] John Herron Museum, *Annual Report 1913*, 11.

Editions of its *Bulletin* for use in reading lessons in the schools. In the first 6 months of the program, over 14,000 students visited the museum, leading Herron Museum of Art Director Frederick Whiting to comment "I see no work we are doing [that] is so full of hope for the future as this with the school children."[59] By 1925, school use of the clippings files and other resources in the Museum's library were in great demand locally and in other parts of the state.[60] The partnership continued to flourish with public funds totaling $20,000 from the Indianapolis public schools and the city of Indianapolis to support the Herron Museum's work in 1925.[61]

The two museums worked with the school system to provide visits and lectures and loaned materials for classrooms. Since its founding in 1925, The Children's Museum emphasized natural science specimens in addition to cultural materials like dolls or furniture–everything a child could wish to see. The Museum was dedicated to experiential learning; its exhibit offerings, programs, and activities used the principles of progressive education and visual learning. Paul C. Stetson, Indianapolis superintendent of schools, commented that visual aids available from The Children's Museum enriched student learning through school visits to the museum as well as "the framed exhibits sent to schools of which an interesting study may be made."[62] Both museums also installed exhibits in schools and branch libraries in addition to lending items for classroom instruction.[63] Assistant superintendent of public instruction, Grover Van Duyn, applauded The Children's Museum's displays at the State Fair in the summer of 1936 stating, "the value of visual education as a means of instruction is recognized by all leading educators."[64] Eugene T. Lies of the National Recreation Association commented the Museum's offerings were effective visual education because so many of the offerings were real and not merely pictures.[65] The combination of school visits to museums, loaned objects to schools, lectures especially for teachers, and Saturday activities for children

---

[59] John Herron Museum, *Annual Report 1913*, 13.
[60] John Herron Museum, *Annual Report 1925*, 16.
[61] John Herron Museum, *Annual Report 1925*, 10.
[62] Arthur Carr, Director's Annual Report October 1937.
[63] Arthur Carr, Director's Annual Report 1936; John Herron Art Museum, *Annual Report 1936*.
[64] Arthur Carr, Director's Annual Report, 1936.
[65] Golden B. Grace, "Children's Museum of Indianapolis," *Childhood Education*, 412.

and families were strategies museums across the country used to meet the increased interest in museum offerings as a result of unprecedented unemployment in the 1930s.[66] Local educators and school officials also commented on the value of The Children's Museum and Herron Art Museum visits as well as loaned materials.

Visual instruction methodology and the increasing availability of visual aids in addition to the textbook, maps, charts, illustrations, objects, radio programs, movies, and filmstrips led Anna Dorris to assert that "visual instruction [is] one of the strongest methods of promoting natural learning and the proper motivation of the pupil's efforts" which brings "vividness and concreteness to the child in his attempts to learn."[67] Significantly for museums providing visual aids, the 1927 School-Museum report called for schools to give aid by helping to select material, to care for them, and to use them in the classroom.[68] Indianapolis schools drew upon existing relationships with the Herron Art Museum and The Children's Museum to produce a variety of images as well as artifacts and specimens as supplemental teaching aids.[69]

The Indianapolis school and museum partnership was beneficial for all. The museums created materials for use in onsite classes as well as in school classrooms. The Indianapolis public school budget for 1937 included allotments to the Herron Art Museum and The Children's Museum of $8,421 and $5,000 respectively.[70] As school funding shrank and the Depression deepened, the school system budget fell. By 1937, the Herron Art Museum's funding from the school system dropped by $3,000; neither it nor The Children's Museum could afford any loss of income. The infusion of WPA funds would help to offset the loss of the school system monies for each museum.

When the MEP began in 1937, it expanded the school system's already established programs to acquire access to additional visual aids using WPA monies.

---

[66] Grace (Fisher) Ramsey, *Why Stop Learning?*
[67] Anna Verona Dorris, *Visual Instruction in the Public Schools,* V.
[68] Lawrence Vail Coleman. "Schools and Museums Working Jointly for Visual Education."
[69] John Harris, *A History of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis*, 97; John Herron Art Museum *Annual Report 1937*.
[70] "35% School Tax Rate Hike Feared," found in The Children's Museum Publicity clippings, volume 4, 1936. The Art Museum also received an additional $8,421 from the city of Indianapolis, Herron Art Museum, *Annual Report 1937*.

Libraries and museums, including The Children's Museum and the Art Museum, were natural sponsors of these activities since they already had information on popular topics, public meeting spaces, and knowledgeable staff or volunteers. In part, it was this close relationship and the museum's production of visual aids that encouraged schools to start school museum displays that made both museums a logical production shop for the Museum Extension Project. Mary Addington, an Indiana MEP project supervisor, assessing the production of visual aids for the Indianapolis public schools project operating in the basement of the public school administration building remarked that "this project [MEP] could go on indefinitely. The building of a visual library for a school system this size is a big undertaking."[71] A decade of shrinking education funding, the mainstream acceptance of visual aids as essential learning tools, and the increased demand for materials had outstripped the production capabilities of the Indianapolis project.

Teachers and museum educators recognized the need to collect and exhibit new objects to reflect a greater cross-section of Americans as well as to "bring a vision of the world to those who otherwise can never see it" in the words of American Museum of Natural History President Henry Osborn.[72] Museums collected readily available world materials like objects from the 1933 World's Fair exhibitions, natural history specimens, and cultural items from new ethnographic collecting trips conducted by anthropologists including Franz Boaz. In acquiring these objects, the museums anticipated the philosophy and agendas of the WPA project organizers and progressive education practitioners. The collecting practices dovetailed with the creation of objects for school visual aids and became an industry for museums with government funds.

---

[71] Mary Addington to Mildred Schmitt, April 27, 1939, Works Progress Administration, National Archives.

[72] Professor Henry Fairfield Osborn President of the American Museum of Natural History. Address delivered before special meeting of 1,600 Science Teachers, held in the American Museum of Natural History on Friday, July 7th, 1916. "The Museum as the New Force in Public School Development." Many early museum curators and educators came from the classroom. Some, like Anna Billings Gallup, left because she had more freedom to implement progressive reforms than in the school system. George Heine, *Progressive Museum Practice,* passim.

Immigration to the United States and the right to stay had changed throughout the country's history. Attempts to answer the question of who *could* be an American citizen had differed over time and had depended upon many often contradictory viewpoints. Economic opportunity and seemingly limitless resources drew immigrants to American shores. The United States had prioritized able-bodied men and women willing to work in labor-intensive jobs. It was no surprise that immigration and who had the right to earn citizenship in the United States had been contested throughout the early twentieth century. The sheer number of immigrants arriving with different customs and religions to the U.S. between 1890 and 1920 fueled fears of Americans, particularly following World War I. As a result, Congress passed the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act which severely restricted immigration particularly for central, eastern, and southern Europeans.[73] In addition to severe restrictions for some Europeans, the act eliminated Asian immigration altogether. The act effectively ended immigration; then the Great Depression and World War II kept any eligible influx to a trickle.

Immigration to Indianapolis was never as large as that to New York or Chicago. In the twentieth century, the 1910 census accounted for the highest percentage of foreign-born residents in Indiana at 5.9 percent.[74] Indianapolis had the largest foreign population in the 1920 census with 16,968 residents. Along with Indianapolis, Gary, East Chicago, South Bend, Hammond, and Fort Wayne were home to more than half of the state's foreign-born population of 150,868 in 1920. The same census showed that Indiana had the highest proportion of native-born white residents of any state in the country at 95 percent.[75] Despite this high number, concern voiced over immigrants to and in the United States fueled membership the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana. Given the relatively small foreign-born population in much of the state, however, it may have been easier for residents in small and rural communities to accept a small number of immigrants into their areas.

---

[73] John Bodnar, "Ethnic History in America and Indiana," in *Peopling Indiana,* 3.
[74] James H. Madison, *Indiana Through Tradition and Change,* 13.
[75] John Bodnar, "Ethnic History in America and Indiana," in *Peopling Indiana*, 5.

By the 1940 census, Indianapolis's foreign-born had dropped to 3.23 percent.[76] Their children, if born in the U.S. were citizens from birth and attended school with their peers from white Protestant families of Indiana. For them, the question was whether they felt they belonged, not whether they could become citizens. Even though their families were no longer aliens, but naturalized citizens, they and their parents still faced discrimination.

Not everyone welcomed immigrants. The Ku Klux Klan identified 100% Americans as native-born, white, Protestant, dues-paying men and women.[77] The Klan movement burst onto Indiana social and political life in the 1920s. Hoosiers were suspicious of immigrants particularly in northern Indiana steel mills and other manufacturing in East Chicago, Gary, and South Bend as well as in Indianapolis. White native-born Protestants flocked to the Klan in the 1920s and ensured that its influence was widespread.[78] Klan members found Black Americans, Catholics, and Jews threatening in addition to recent immigrants and communists.[79] The power of the Klan lay in its rank-and-file members who voted and in those in elected positions. Able to push through anti-Catholic and anti-immigration laws, the Klan's reforms extended throughout local and state government.[80] After Indiana Klan leader Grand Dragon D.C. Stephenson's conviction for second-degree murder in 1925 and the subsequent political uproar over then Governor Edward Jackson for refusing to pardon Stephenson in 1927, Klan membership plummeted.[81] Close on the heels of these events, the economic crisis of the Great Depression largely focused Indiana residents on employment and keeping their homes. In their 1937 *Middletown in Transition* follow-up to their groundbreaking study of Muncie, Indiana, described in 1925 *Middletown, a Study in Contemporary American Culture*, Helen Lynd and Robert Lynd found continuing continued racial and religious divisions, but not at the level of their initial study.[82] While the Klan seemed to die out by

---

[76] Appendix 2; *Peopling Indiana,* 651.
[77] James H. Madison, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland,* 2.
[78] James H. Madison's *The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland* eloquently demonstrates the powerful force of the 1920s Klan in Indiana.
[79] James H. Madison, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland*, 5.
[80] James H. Madison, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland, 6*.
[81] James H. Madison, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland*, 150.
[82] James H. Madison, *The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland*, 151.

the Great Depression, the specter of the Klan in Indiana politics arose again in the Republican nomination convention for United States Senator in 1938. Walter F. Bossert, a former local Klan leader, claimed strong Klan support would rise to see him win the nomination for senator.[83] After Bossert's lackluster performance in nomination voting, Raymond E. Willis won the nomination, and the Klan challenge for Indiana politics died.[84]

In contrast to the Klan, Progressive era reformers had worked for a wide array of government reforms, women's suffrage, reducing child labor, and expanding education.[85] One major area of concern was the Americanization of recent foreign-born immigrants especially those of whom were Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, or Jewish, those who seemingly threatened the nature of the country by bringing non-Anglo and different religions, customs, and habits to America.[86] The Americanization movement attempted to integrate and assimilate immigrants into American life. World War I had demonstrated the challenges of incorporating so many non-western Europeans into the United States. In his 1919 article "The Americanization Movement" in *The American Journal of Sociology*, Howard C. Hull outlined the public and private efforts of the Americanization movement. He noted differences in immigration after 1885 that led to an influx of central, eastern, and southern European arrivals. He observed over 22 million immigrants arrived between the 1890s and the mid-1920s. In this article, he cited data from a brief on a pending federal Americanization bill that noted there were thirteen million persons of foreign birth and thirty-three million of foreign origin living in the United States.[87] The remainder of the article detailed the efforts of agencies including settlement houses to ease the transition from immigrant to productive citizen throughout the country. In his final recommendations on immigrant education, he argued that a nationally standardized course of citizenship "embracing the fundamental political, economic, and social phases

---

[83] "Klan Raises Head Again in Indiana G.O.P.," Dispatch to *The Baltimore Sun* from *The Indianapolis Star*, 1.
[84] "Third Ballot Gives Editor Easy Victory," *The Indianapolis Star.*
[85] Arthur Link and Richard McCormick, *Progressivism*, 100.
[86] Howard C. Hull, "The Americanization Movement," 610.
[87] Howard C. Hull, "The Americanization Movement," 612.

of American life" should be created by a federal agency.[88] In the following years, the method of educating immigrants would shift to a subtler approach.

One example of this development was sociologist Dr. J. Stewart Burgess's 1937 speech to attendees at the National Institute of Immigrant Welfare to Americans. He urged Americans to respect immigrant cultures so that the newcomers may be "self-respecting and upstanding citizens whose cultures blend with those of American life."[89] He also argued against pressuring new residents to quickly adopt American values as the valuable talents and background of the immigrants would be lost.[90]

Advocates of the Americanization movement between the wars adapted their approach to incorporate immigrant "cultural gifts," promoting tolerance to the native-born American majority.[91] Historian Donna Selig's work, published in 2008, argued that the 1930s debate moved away from the political concerns such as whether to allow immigrants into the US to cultural considerations like acceptance at libraries and other institutions. She asserted the discussion moved beyond the assimilation priority of Americanization (the melting pot approach) and evolved into "cultural pluralism."[92] Pluralism focused not only on teaching tolerance to a white majority by helping them to see positive aspects of the immigrant's homeland and culture, but also on assisting the children or grandchildren of immigrants in developing pride for their own ethnic heritage.[93] Advocates for cultural pluralism argued minority groups had the right to be individuals and accepted as "live and let live sort of tolerance." [94]

By the end of the 1930s, the growing tensions engendered by World War II led some to advocate for cultural pluralism to focus on cultural and political unity. In 1943, William Vickery and Stewart Cole promoted a cultural democracy that "assumes that a certain degree of national unity is essential, and that a common base of social custom is necessary to national unity as is a common political allegiance." [95] Additionally, they

---

[88] Howard C. Hull, "The Americanization Movement," 642.
[89] "Immigrant Culture Need in U.S. Cited," *Indianapolis Star*.
[90] "Immigrant Culture Need in U.S. Cited," *Indianapolis Star*.
[91] Diana Selig, *Americans All,* 8.
[92] Horace Meyer Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States*.
[93] Diana Selig, *Americans All*, 6.
[94] *Intercultural Education in American Schools*, IX.
[95] *Intercultural Education in American Schools,* 31.

argued the majority was required not only "to accept or tolerate racial and cultural differences, but also to honor them."[96] The ideals of tolerance and acceptance of immigrant culture were celebrated through large spectacles like community pageants and folk festivals, and on a smaller scale through school and classroom activities.[97]

Obvious racism by the Nazi and Japanese governments prompted some Americans to endorse pluralism and tolerance as a part of an ideological conflict between democracy and fascism. At The Children's Museum of Indianapolis, the *Gallery Guide* for museum docents observed, "we instinctively recoil from the horror and brutality of the war which Japan is now waging in China…we are all too apt to forget that Japan is not only a militant nation; Japan is also the land of festivals and amusements."[98] The guide described the tradition of the doll festival and the Japanese Friendship Doll, Miss Shimane, given to the Museum in 1927. The messages of cultural pluralism and tolerance were successful, at least for one visitor. A Chinese American student visiting the Museum reflected upon seeing a Chinese objects, "she was my grandmother and for the first time in my life I was proud of my Chinese grandmother when you told about the fine, beautiful things the Chinese make."[99] For this child, the exhibit on Asian countries solicited the desired pride in his heritage.

It was through this approach, I argue, that the figures created by the MEP operated. Dolls and other representations of humanity can represent a named individual (Janna Bennett) or a group of people (French peasants or Egyptian boys). When miniaturizing a group of people into one example, the act allowed the figure to "stand for something larger and less tangible."[100] The ethnic figures represented people of different cultures in distant lands. The term doll was age-appropriate for some of the school audience who viewed them. The figures became toys and approachable by children as a doll was a familiar toy. The figures made by the Museum Extension Project were human

---

[96] *Intercultural Education in American Schools,* 35.
[97] Dorothy Gladys Spicer, *Folk Festivals and the Foreign Community*, 1. National Education Association of the United States, *Americans All Studies in Intercultural Education*, passim. David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry,* 245.
[98] The Children's Museum of Indianapolis, *Gallery Guide*, 1941.
[99] Faye Henley, *The Story of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis*, 15.
[100] Jack Davy, "Lars Haetta's Miniature World: Sami Prison Op-Art Autoethnography," 290.

figures, but were not a child's plaything. Like many other objects for children, these "dolls" were intended to educate. The figures functioned as the expression of people and culture. Like scientific models, they attempted to bridge the abstract and the tangible.[101] At the same time, they embodied properties of a miniature person–making them portable and manipulatable.[102] The figures could represent the exotic and faraway world for the child. At the same time, the child could hold and manipulate the figure and thus incorporate tactile learning of the figure and its clothing. The figure became a tool for imagination and play, and children, teachers, and staff could all bring their own experience to learning about the country the figure represented.[103]

Without interpretation, the figures represented a group of people, people who were from far away and foreign without additional information. Progressive educators argued teachers were essential in "providing experiences and developing attitudes based on sound knowledge. They could help to counteract intolerance, bogus racism, and self-righteousness, and to keep our democracy alive and functioning."[104] Lesson plans featured a variety of supplemental materials–including these figures, photographic essays, and maps. To aid the teacher, the figures had didactic text on the reverse of the figure. In late primary and early secondary classes, these were most often used in conjunction with geography texts. In addition, a teacher could use an approach that included elements such as folk tales, art, literature, or guest speakers from the community.

Grace Golden and Loreen Wingerd detailed their intercultural methods to combat ethnic bias in "Defeating the Headline Horrors" in *School Arts* published in December 1939. The authors related the methodology and content for the lesson plans as well as recounting students' observations. They began the article expressing concern for the "strange, distorted ideas" students had based on Germany's annexation of Sudetenland

---

[101] Nick Hopwood and Soraya de Chadarevian, *Models: The Third Dimension of Science,* 11.
[102] Susan Stewart, *On Longing,* 69.
[103] Susan Stewart, *On Longing,* 69.
[104] Lucy Sprague Mitchell, *The People of the USA,* 83.

and Hungary's annexation of parts of Czechoslovakia in 1938.[105] Their goal was for the students from "an upper strata community" to study a central European country to look beyond the political actions to see its citizens. In closing, they argued Europeans' increased interest in heritage appreciation including national dress, folk arts, music, and dance demonstrated the power of handicrafts to find a way to unite a country together "in a way in which little else binds them."[106]

Cultural pluralism advocates organized exhibits celebrating the arts and culture of immigrants beyond the classroom. Allen H. Easton, of the Russell Sage Foundation, praised the city-wide exhibit in Buffalo, New York, that celebrated the culture of immigrants in his 1932 *Immigrant Gifts to American Life: Some Experiments in Appreciation of the Contributions of Our Foreign-born Citizens to American Culture* published by the Russell Sage Foundation.[107] The immense popularity of the Buffalo exhibit and the interest of the Federal Art Project (FAP) in documenting and exhibiting folk art in the American Index of Design influenced the exhibits held yearly by the FAP in an exhibit known as National Art Week. The traveling exhibits showcased the products of WPA projects. One such exhibit visited in Indianapolis in May of 1939.

At the William H. Block Company's department store, the 1939 *American Hands in Action* exhibit featured national and Indiana projects. Running from May 29th to June 9th, 1939, it presented furniture from the Timberline Lodge in Oregon, a WPA Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and Federal Art Project collaboration, examples of other projects throughout the country as well as examples of Indiana recreation projects, braille books, and the MEP figures.[108] Newspaper publicity for the exhibit and the exhibit itself explained how WPA service projects were sponsor-driven and locally supervised. It also functioned as a publicly accessible report on the work of the division that was "not

[105] Grace Golden and Loreen Wingerd, "Defeating the Headline Horrors," 111. Despite its publication in December 1939, the article must have been written prior to the German and Soviet invasion of Poland that began in September 1939.
[106] Grace Golden and Loreen Wingerd, "Defeating the Headline Horrors," 113.
[107] Allen H. Easton, *Immigrant Gifts to American Life*, 65.
[108] "'American Hands in Action,' WPA exhibit, will be shown," *Indianapolis Star.*

generally understood by the citizens who should be most interested," stated Mildred Schmitt, the Indiana state director of WPA Professional and Service Projects.[109]

American Hands in Action celebrated the American work ethic consistent with other WPA programming of the era. The exhibit highlighted service projects that tended to be less well-known unless a project became controversial as the Federal Theatre Project did. In highlighting recreation projects that filled leisure time for the under or unemployed, it also acted as good public relations to counterbalance criticism of ineffective planning or make-work projects that occurred in construction projects commonly called "shovel leaning."

At the same time, a culmination of the MEP project debuted at The Children's Museum of Indianapolis. The Children's Museum *Bulletin* in the Spring 1939 announced the opening of the new doll gallery on the first floor of the museum. The gallery featured three hundred dolls in its "International Parade of Dolls…of every nation and race."[110] The reinstallation featured murals and artifact cases courtesy of the MEP.[111] The figures held pride of place in a case of their own amongst the rest of the collection. In the center of the room, surrounded by the dolls of the world, at eye-level for children sat an exhibit case titled "Americans All."[112] Here a diverse grouping of historical figures and contemporary examples of Americans included religious practitioners, "a dusky Hawaiian maiden," and "blanketed Indians of a score of tribes."[113] The case was a tangible demonstration of the intercultural movement supported by the Museum.

[109] "'America Hands in Action' Opens Tomorrow at Block's," *Indianapolis Star.*
[110] The Children's Museum of Indianapolis, "New Doll Gallery," 5.
[111] The Children's Museum of Indianapolis, "New Doll Gallery," 5.
[112] The Children's Museum of Indianapolis, "New Doll Gallery," 5.
[113] The Children's Museum of Indianapolis, "New Doll Gallery," 7.

Picture 6: Photograph of *International Parade of Dolls* exhibit at The Children's Museum of Indianapolis. Courtesy of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.

The gallery exemplified many of the goals the WPA Museum Education Project intended. The *International Parade of Dolls* exhibit presented museum objects in up-to-date cases as well as in an attractive and informative environment (picture 6). It showcased the products of WPA workers in addition to demonstrating exhibition standards as defined by the evolving museum profession. The exhibit reflected progressive education techniques and intercultural ideals by showing the diversity of peoples from around the world. Lowering the case display height made it accessible to its core audience–young visitors. The presentation of the exhibit provided some labels but did not assume the visitor was an expert. Six pages in the Museum Guidebook described the types of dolls in cases, identified stories about specific dolls or explained a bit about the doll's clothing.[114] The text regarding European dolls emphasized the "exact replicas of costumes which have been worn for many decades on feast days and are still worn for

[114] "First Floor Guide," The Children's Museum.

this purpose."[115] The WPA figures themselves occupied their own case titled "Museum Craft Dolls," and the guide described the figures as the only ones available for lending.

Understanding the importance of authentic ethnic dress for the figures requires a closer examination of the production process. The Children's Museum was just one MEP production site making figures in Indiana. State administrators chose to run its MEP project with decision making taking place at the local level while some states, including Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, operated with greater statewide control and production shops occurring throughout the state based on greatest need for employment.[116] By maintaining control locally, each Indiana site made choices to fit the needs of its educational community. During her tenure as the museum consultant to the Indiana Statewide MEP project in 1938, Grace Golden called on institutions throughout the state and assisted them in starting the project.[117] Dressed figures were among the first items new sites made, undoubtedly influenced by Golden's experience in The Children's Museum's project.

While the Museum's exhibit demonstrated the completion of the MEP objective for museum revitalization and production of visual education objects, the *American Hands in Action* exhibit provided a view of the production process for the figures. It displayed locally produced figures including an array of the MEP figures destined for Purdue University for use in clothing design and domestic arts. Another group of figures for the Indiana School for the Deaf featured events in Indiana history. The display included live demonstrations of the carving the wooden heads and a "designer and seamstress" who made authentic costumes of the iconic "Gibson girl" and other classic fashion periods.[118] Newspaper commentary highlighted figures of interest to a broad audience–fashion and history instead of the ethnic figures. While figures in ethnic dress may have been on display, their absence in the reporting is unsurprising. White figures displayed period fashions and historical moments like pioneer settlers or soldiers in Revolutionary or Civil War uniforms. The readers and advertisers in the *Indianapolis*

---

[115] "European Dolls," The Children's Museum.
[116] Allison Robinson, "Upending Unskilled."
[117] Grace Golden Papers, The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.
[118] "Block's Displays Costume Dolls," *Indianapolis Star*.

Star were predominantly white.[119] The newspaper reported on what it perceived was most interesting to its audience and excluded positive celebration of ethnic contributions to the *American Hands in Action* exhibit.

Despite the intercultural ideals their figures represented, WPA projects illustrated some of the tension educators sought to eliminate. The largest of the WPA projects for women was the Sewing Room project. Relief workers were considered the least skilled or "the dregs of all WPA groups" as Elsa Ulbricht described the workers for her Milwaukee Handicraft Project unit.[120] Even though those initially hired were white women, the project soon hired Black women. Ethnicity, race, or ability to speak English were not barriers in the Milwaukee project.[121] In the Ybor City sewing room of the WPA Sewing Room Project in Tampa, Florida, Anglo and Latin women struck citing dissatisfaction over reduction in workers as well as calling for an increase in pay in 1937.[122] The previous two years saw ninety-five WPA relief strikes in 1935 involving 41,000 workers nationwide.[123] In white-collar projects, women also criticized the pay structure that favored men.

The potential for tension between the skilled and unskilled workers or, in this case, supervisors and relief workers was not unexpected. Gary's relatively large working-class immigrant population threatened the homogeneity of the city. In the review of a potential supervisor for the Gary public schools project, Grace Golden noted the candidate had demonstrated success in "handling the foreign element." [124] The comment revealed the underlying cultural difference between existing white cultural norms and norms of immigrant communities. Since the project intended to make figures representing the sixty-three nationalities represented in the school and many of the project workers were ethnic Americans, Mrs. Frances Ewing's previous experience boded well for the success for the Gary school project. Ewing's second asset was her fifteen years living

---

[119] "The Indianapolis Star" *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*.
[120] Alison Robinson, "Upending Unskilled," 39.
[121] Alison Robinson, "Upending Unskilled," 34.
[122] Elna C. Green, "Relief from Relief," 1013.
[123] Elna C. Green, "Relief from Relief," 1028.
[124] Grace B. Golden, Consultant's Report, January 5, 1938. The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.

abroad. Presumably her understanding of the culture of different nationalities as well as her familiarity with ethnic fashion were beneficial.

Picture 7: Photograph of Museum Extension Project figure production process at The Children's Museum of Indianapolis. Courtesy of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.

Figures created at The Children's Museum were the product of several people. First, the artist Clarence Fischer carved the heads. A native of Shelbyville, Indiana, he carved the heads in his studio at home (picture 7). Then the heads came to Indianapolis to the Museum. Here the MEP workers sewed the cloth bodies and attached the heads. Finally, they sewed clothing expressly for each figure. In some cases, individuals sewed clothing based on *National Geographic* photographs and souvenir dolls donated to the Museum by patrons.[125] In other cases, the project drew on the experience of its workers. In an article about the figures in the *Indianapolis Times* August 3, 1937, Mrs. Sylvia

[125] John Harris, *A History Museum of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis*, 102.

Taflan stated she dressed the Romanian female figure of the couple in wedding attire.[126] The figure was dressed as was typical for a holiday costume in Romania in the village where she used to live.[127] Grace Golden provided oversight for the Museum and determined how many and what type of figures to make.

For the purposes of building a visual aid library for the Indianapolis schools, employees attached the figures to a base, backed them with a Masonite arch and placed typed didactic text on the reverse. Throughout contemporary published articles, project correspondence, and letters, these figures were called "dolls." While this could just be shorthand for small human figure, the choice of words is powerful here. It speaks to the mindset of those participating in the project. Employees and educators emphasized the work being done as educationally, but not artistically important. In the context of the Federal Art Project, they would have been called "figures."

The Children's Museum director, Arthur Carr, believed that the study of "costumes, habits, and customs of foreign peoples" would allow American students to better appreciate other nations as they grew to adulthood.[128] Along with local progressive educators, he believed "pictures in our mind" or stereotypes threatened students' ability to develop sympathetic attitudes toward others, particularly those who were different or foreign.[129] By 1939, The Children's Museum visual aid project had created more than 1,100 items.[130] The same year a *Childhood Education* article described the Museum and its project suggesting the interest of girls in dolls of other lands as a first step in world citizenship.[131] Schoolchildren saw these figures in their classroom and school exhibits as well as visits to The Children's Museum.

Since the program was not highly visible, the figures could promote cultural tolerance and ethnic pride without engendering the controversial headlines that the Federal One projects did.[132] These projects were known as the Federal Art, Theatre,

---

[126] "Dolls Fascinate Little Girls," *Indianapolis Times*.
[127] "Dolls Fascinate Little Girls," *Indianapolis Times*.
[128] Grace B. Golden, "Indianapolis Children's Museum," *Childhood Education*, 410.
[129] Rachel Davis-DuBois, "Our Enemy – The Stereotype" *Progressive Education*,147.
[130] Grace B. Golden. "Children's Museum of Indianapolis," *Childhood Education, 410*.
[131] Grace B. Golden. "Children's Museum of Indianapolis," *Childhood Education, 409*.
[132] Susan Platt, *Arts and Politics*, 189-192; Richard D. McKinzie, *The New Deal for Artists*, 149-171.

Music, and Writers' Projects. The Federal Theatre Project (FTP) generated great controversy and criticism. Facing complaints of unfair competition from theatre owners not involved with the FTP or accusations of being bastions of radicalism or communism, the project closed in 1939.[133] In Indiana, the FTP's director Lee Norvelle departed from national director Halle Flanagan's vision to "create a national theatre that would provide bold, high-quality productions."[134] Instead, his work presented a tradition of individualism and regional pride by producing local playwrights thus making the project more palatable to its audience by perpetuating the celebratory myths of Indiana nativism.[135] In contrast to the controversy attached to Federal One projects, the MEP garnered little to no attention other than from the museums, schools, Office of Civilian Defense, and the Indiana State Guard–the project's clients.[136] The *Final Report* noted citizens were pleased with the project and described it as "one of the worthwhile activities of the work program."[137]

---

[133] George T. Blakey, "Battling the Great Depression on the Stage," 4.
[134] George T. Blakey, "Battling the Great Depression on the Stage," 11.
[135] George T. Blakey, "Battling the Great Depression on the Stage," 24.
[136] Indiana MEP *Final Report*, 8. The Office of Civilian Defense and the Indiana State Guard both received war time visual aids for training purposes.
[137] Indiana MEP *Final Report,* 9.

STORIES OF INCLUSION AND EXCLUSION/FAMILIARITY AND EXOTICISM

Even though the MEP visual aid project was not well-known, the figures are a window on the intercultural education mission. A close study of the figures themselves and their didactic labels revealed similarities with photo essays and articles from *National Geographic*. Like photos in *National Geographic,* the figures demonstrate the power of the image to shape identity. In her investigation of *National Geographic* between 1888 and 1945, Tamar Rothenberg argued the articles reflected more about the American culture that created the article than they accurately presented the culture being discussed in the magazine. Rothenberg asserted the Society helped articulate an American identity that was "in opposition to both old Europe and primitive non-Western regions," but also "one of civic and technological superiority."[138] She focused her analysis on treatment of "the tropical other" in images and text. When Rothenberg included European perspectives, she did so by situating the European country as the colonizer. In contrast, I examined how the articles portrayed the European homelands of ethnic Americans.

German Americans formed the largest of the immigrant groups to arrive in Indiana during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[139] Immigration during the nineteenth century showed steady growth throughout the century before exploding during the 1870-1890 period.[140] By 1880, Marion County's ethnic German residents hailed from every region although the largest groups were from Prussia, Baden, Bavaria, and Wurttemberg.[141] From 1830 to 1890, Germans remained the largest immigrant group to

---

[138] Tamar Y. Rothenberg, *Presenting America's World,* 5.
[139] European political boundaries shifted throughout the nineteenth century. "German Americans" refers to a shared cultural background and defined by ethnicity, language, culture, history, and traditions as opposed to political boundaries. German-speaking Europe included parts of Austro-Hungarian Empire, areas in Russia, Bohemia and Romania and much of Switzerland, Liechtenstein, and Tyrol as well as western Rhine areas of Alsace, Lorraine, and Luxembourg. Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans," *Peopling Indiana,* 146.
[140] German immigration prior to the Civil War hailed from German speaking areas in southern and western communities including Alsace, Westphalia, and Wurttemberg. Migration through 1880 brought individuals from eastern German area like Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Silesia. Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans," *Peopling Indiana*, 148.
[141] Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans," *Peopling Indiana,* 150-151.

Indiana comprising 25 to 30 percent of the foreign population in the state.[142] The "Girl of Germany" and "Woman of Germany" figures represented German immigrants whose groups first arrived before the Civil War (pictures 8 and 9). By the 1930s, immigrants from these areas were well established in the state and no longer seen as new immigrants.

Intercultural advocates wrote in newspapers, magazines, and books to educate Americans about the contributions of immigrants to the country. Publications throughout the 1930s reflected the intercultural effort to celebrate the cultures of American immigrants. In the 1937 publication *Our Racial and National Minorities: Their History, Contributions, and Present Problems*, Cornell University German Professor Albert Barnhardt Faust celebrated the German influence in America stating "the blood of old immigrations is so diffused that English and German blood flows through over one half to three fourths of the American people."[143] Furthermore, he argued Germans not only embodied the humbler virtues which were the backbone of good citizenship, but also paid their debts on time, were dedicated to their work, and embodied positive qualities of genuineness, virility, and aspiration.[144] *America's World Backgrounds,* published in 1936, described progress in central and northern Europe due largely to German leadership, arts, and culture, thus another message of positive actions of the German immigrant contribution to the United States.[145] Both titles sought to situate German-Americans as Americans first despite their perceived connection to the German homeland and the violence of World War I in addition to the growing concerns over actions of the Nazi government in Germany throughout the 1930s. These texts represented work of intercultural advocates to simultaneously bolster immigrant pride and persuade mainstream America to accept foreign-born immigrants and their children.

The "Girl from Germany" figure's label described the traditional dress worn in the region as well as the distinctive hat called a Bollenhut (picture 8). The hat is endemic to the Gutach region of the Black Forest, Germany. The pom-pom color, red for unmarried girls or black for married women, underscored the importance of marital status

---

[142] Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans," *Peopling Indiana,* 162.
[143] Albert Bernhardt Faust, "German Americans" in *Our Racial and National Minorities*, 167.
[144] Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 475.
[145] George Freeland and James Truslow Adams, *America's World Backgrounds*, 443.

both in Germany and in the United States. The adoption of black pom-poms reflected a rite of passage between girl to woman, from child to adult with all the freedoms and responsibilities that entailed. The rest of the label continued the description of clothing worn in rural Germany as consisting of "full skirts, wide aprons of dark material, black velvet bodices, and white blouses with puffed sleeves." The figure's label focused on the martial status of women. A teacher could have paired the figure with an example from Faust's *Our Racial and National Minorities.* His work to celebrate German American women included describing the charitable works of wealthy women philanthropists in founding homes for the elderly, musicians contributing to American culture, as well as Anna Behr Ottendorfer who became the sole manager of the newspaper *New Yorker Staatszeitung* upon the death of her husband.[146] Even German American women worked to better the United States and had importance beyond their marriage to German American men.

[146] Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 448.

Pictures 8 and 9: "Girl of Germany" and "Woman of Germany," The Children's Museum of Indianapolis. Courtesy of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.

Dressed in her Sunday clothes of a shawl, apron, and cap and with wooden sabots on her feet, the elderly "Woman of Germany" figure, represented the Westphalia region (picture 9). She was one of four who were portrayed as elderly.[147] While there was no indication of why the figure's age is important, it's possible students with grandparents found the figure reflected the lives of their family as productive citizens and caring adults. There was no explicit discussion of religion, but American schoolchildren would have readily connected Sunday clothes and Protestant church services. Next, the figure embodied the industriousness of women as she was "never idle, even though farm wives most often help in the fields, as well as care for their families."[148] Despite these duties, the women created "exquisite needlework." Here was a reinforcement of femininity and middle-class ideals even though some women labored on the farm. Finally, the label

[147] The others being a fisherman from Normandy, France, and a male and female peasant from the Brittany region of France.
[148] Label, "Woman of Germany."

celebrated peoples from the Westphalia region as being "rugged, independent people who did not submit to the rule of feudal nobles, as much as did the other provinces of Germany."[149] This was celebration of the American values of rugged individualism and democracy. Further proof of their loyalty and courage was found in the percentage of German volunteers for the Revolutionary and Civil Wars where they "exceeded in proportion to that of natives and other foreign elements."[150]

These two figures celebrated traits Americans valued and were representative of German immigrants well established in Indianapolis and Indiana at large. Albert Faust detailed German contributions to American culture listed in *Our Racial and National Minorities* filled twelve pages that included feats of engineering, business, politics, education, religion, music, and the arts.[151] Faust argued children of German parentage exhibited traits recognized as typically American. In essence, these children were Americans. Messages supporting ethnic pride for Germans following World War I and rising Nazi rhetoric of the 1930s clashed with growing anti-German sentiment. In speaking of his childhood in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Kurt Vonnegut Jr. lamented the deliberate disconnection from his German heritage by his parents who "resolved to raise me without the literature, or the music, or the oral family stories which my ancestors loved…as proof of their patriotism."[152] Despite German presence in the U.S. since the 1680s, the specter of German foreign aggression during World War I and developing Nazi violence undercut interculturalists' desire to instill ethnic pride in all immigrants.

The culture of Hungary captivated "Defeating the Headline Horrors" author Grace Golden even though her ancestry did not include anyone of Hungarian heritage.[153] When describing the experience after her trip to central Europe, she reflected she had "never been the same since."[154] Not only did she teach schoolchildren about Hungary, but she also lectured frequently on the country and provided Hungarian refreshments.

---

[149] Label, "Woman of Germany."
[150] A.B. Faust, *Our Racial and National Minorities,* 174.
[151] Most of the nationalities described filled 2-3 pages at most. Albert Bernhardt Faust, *Our Racial and National Minorities,* 167.
[152] Giles R. Hoyt, "Germans," *Peopling Indiana,* 172.
[153] Based on United States Census results from 1880 to 1940.
[154] John Harris, *A History of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis,* 112.

In Indianapolis, the 1910 census reported immigrants from Hungary in a virtual three-way tie for third most numerous foreign-born residents. Approximately 1,260 people of each country–England, Russia, and Hungary–called Indianapolis home. Of the three countries, English immigrants would have been most easily perceived as Americans due to similarities in language and culture. Both Russia and Hungary would have faced significant language and cultural differences. The largest number of immigrants that year were from Germany (8,304). They joined a significant population already residing in the city and a community within the city to which to belong. Finally, Ireland's 3,383 immigrants shared white skin and the English language to ease their transition.

While Hungarians did not settle in Indiana in great numbers, early laborers in Indianapolis found work in railroad construction, packing companies, slaughterhouses, and the Malleable Castings Company.[155] Hungarian men frequently worked for a time before returning to Hungary. This cyclical migration so disgruntled Indianapolis native-born journalist John H. Holliday, he complained "these people who have no social advantages whatever, their only place of recreation being the saloon and coffee house" and they "live in the most densely populated districts of the cities."[156] The Hungarians who permanently settled and had families in Indianapolis did not have an extensive family network, unlike some immigration patterns where an entire family or village followed the original immigrants. Instead of family groups, Hungarian American children grew up in the multiethnic neighborhood of Haughville and attended city schools with other neighborhood students but were separated from children of long-established Indianapolis families.

Perhaps the figures reduced these negative perceptions and bolstered pride in their heritage. These two Hungarian figures represented the Boldog district (pictures 10 and 11). The classroom experience described in Golden's article "Defeating the Headline Horrors" focused on exploring the folk art of Hungary. In the article, one picture illustrated the distinctive full pants of the male figure as well as the female figure's

---

[155] The majority of Hungarian immigrants in Indiana worked in steel mills and foundries in St. Joseph County and South Bend. Linda Dégh, "Hungarians" in *Peopling Indiana*, 228.
[156] Linda Dégh, "Hungarians" in *Peopling Indiana*, 226.

handwoven skirts with its abundant pleats like the machine-made accordion pleats seen in some American clothing. The image and the paragraphs described the clothing of the Boldog district noted it was one of thirty-six districts in Hungary. Looking for a common Hungarian heritage in America was challenging due to the strength of regional differences in Hungary. Linda Dégh argues that the consolidation of national identity of a Hungarian American developed slowly due to this pattern of migration of Hungarians to the Indiana.[157]

Pictures 10 and 11: "Woman of Hungary" and "Man of Hungary," The Children's Museum of Indianapolis. Courtesy of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.

Hungarians accounted for the second largest group living in the Haughville neighborhood on Indianapolis's Near Westside. They joined Bulgarians, Serbians, Slovaks, Moravians, and Macedonians in the West Side Social and Outing Club. A March 16, 1930 newspaper article titled "Haughville Has Own 'League of Nations'"

---

[157] Linda Dégh, "Hungarians," *Peopling Indiana*, 232.

celebrated the one hundred fifteen-member club where naturalization was a requirement for membership.[158] The article celebrated members as "ardent boosters for Uncle Sam and the home community." Ironically the *Indianapolis Star* article emphasized the acculturation of club members as Americans even as it distanced these new Americans by reminding the reader that the club and its members were based in Haughville–the "Foreign District."[159]

These miniature figures allowed teachers and students to manipulate the cultural heritage of the countries under study. These figures representing Serbia, Germany, and Hungary validated the existence of each country and the experiences of a child's immigrant relations. By wearing regional or national dress, the figures were intended to connect the historic nations to the present. In doing so, the conflict of World War I was rendered silent and the viewer safe from the ideas that led to the war itself. Inanimate, the figures were also mute. The text on the back was the primary way to interrogate the meaning of the figure's clothing and, therefore, the country depicted. Without a label or by ignoring it, the viewer could emphasize the "cultural gifts" acceptable to themselves.

Cultural pluralism advocates and intercultural education practitioners sought to develop pride in ethnic Americans at the same time they cultivated appreciation for the ethnic traditions of immigrants in a predominantly white and native-born society. One advocate, Rachel Davis-Dubois founded the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education in 1934 in New York city. Through it, she developed antiprejudice education curriculum with the idea of cultural gifts by emphasizing some acceptable traits of ethnic American traditions. She believed less desirable behaviors would fade without positive reinforcement.[160] While new Americans could rely on memories from 'the old country,' educator Mark Vilchur cautioned that learning to fit into American life could also mean a loss of culture for the immigrant American in his 1931 article in the *Journal of Adult Education*.[161]

---

[158] "Haughville Has Own 'League of Nations,'" *Indianapolis Star*.
[159] "Americanization and Nativism," *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*
[160] Selig, *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement,* 85.
[161] Mark Vilchur, "Cherishing Cultural Heritages," *Journal of Adult Education*, 322. The ethnic ancestry of Vilchur isn't clear, the name Vilchur was associated with Russian Jews during the 1930s.

Locally, groups like the American Settlement House attempted to help ethnic American students develop pride in their heritage.[162] According to a 1929 article in the *Indianapolis Star*, one such program was the Comwolie Club.[163] The name represented companionship, work, and leisure. This club for teens formed in 1927 to help them learn about their native countries or their parents' homeland. The club addressed the "second-generation problem" first articulated in the early 1920s. Progressive reformers feared American-born children of immigrants, especially those from central, eastern, and southern European origins, felt shame and inferiority. Embarrassed by their family, their behavior manifested in wrongdoing and crime.[164] Thus, social workers and educators established programs intended to cultivate ethnic pride.

School educators developed plans with similar intended outcomes. Efforts occurred on the curriculum level as well as in lesson plans. In their 1934 Social Studies curriculum for Indiana, the Indiana commissioners listed tolerance as one of the thirteen values schools should deliberately foster citing the pivotal role social studies played in citizenship training.[165] By including tolerance as one of the core values of the curriculum, the committee reinforced ideas of acceptance for national differences "to produce a feeling of tolerance and respect for the customs and beliefs of distant people."[166] In its unit on European contributions for eighth grade Social Studies coursework, the curricula affirmed the "immeasurable contributions" to American life by Germans.[167]

Intercultural Education in American Schools by William E. Vickery and Stewart G. Cole in 1943 extrapolated curricula into actionable strategies and lesson plans. Methods included strategies for school-wide programming in addition to individual classroom plans. Broken down into grade groupings–Kindergarten through 3rd, Intermediate, Junior High, and Senior High programming, the techniques included

[162] "Immigrants' Aid Association," *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*.
[163] "Community House Melting Pot for Varied Population," *Indianapolis Star*.
[164] Donna Selig, *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement*, 183.
[165] Indianapolis Public Schools, Board of School Commissioners, *Course of Study in Social Studies for the Junior High School Division*, V.
[166] Indianapolis Public Schools, Board of School Commissioners, *Course of Study in Social Studies for the Junior High School Division*, 65.
[167] Indianapolis Public Schools, Board of School Commissioners, *Course of Study in Social Studies for the Junior High School Division*, 95.

exhibits of folk arts and handicrafts, field trips, festivals, guest speakers, pageants, and folk dancing.[168] Intercultural education joined national folk-art exhibits, pageants, and other non-school programming aimed at the American public. Cultural pluralism strategies reached a national audience with CBS's 1939 broadcast of an all-ages radio program titled *Americans All, Immigrants All* sponsored by the WPA's Federal Radio Project.[169] Feedback to the twenty-six half-hour broadcasts and the printed companion guide published by the US Department of Interior validated ethnic Americans' feeling of belonging and pride.[170]

Another nationally available publication, the influential *National Geographic Magazine* reached ethnic and non-ethnic readers alike. In editor Gilbert Grosvenor's vision of the publication, its readers were white middle- and upper-class Americans and the magazine went to "every community in the United States of fifty or more white persons…to every country, in fact, which has a postal system."[171] Beyond those readers were thousands of schoolchildren whose visual aid libraries held photograph essays bound by topic. In Indianapolis, those same children viewed the MEP figures designed based on articles in the magazine.

Constructing this vision of the world and what was in it for the armchair reader at home involved multiple steps. The author-explorer and perhaps a photographer visited the country. Then magazine staff wrote, edited, and selected photographs for the article. Finally, the finished publication became available for the reader's consumption. The reader's response to the articles was communicated back in letters to the editor, continued renewal, or in ending the subscription. Tamar Rothenberg detailed the political and intellectual vision building in *Presenting America's World: Strategies of Innocence in National Geographic 1888-1945*. She argues that the magazine portrayed "the US was modern and paternalistic, and Europe was cultured but quaint."[172] In the case of Sweden, for instance, *National Geographic* articles between 1920 and 1940 held titles like

[168] William E. Vickery and Stewart G. Cole, *Intercultural Education in American Schools*, 95-125.
[169] Jeffery Mirel, *Patriotic Pluralism*, 177.
[170] Nicholas V. Montalto, *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement*, 165-198.
[171] Tamar Rothenberg, *Presenting America's World*, 66.
[172] Tamar Rothenberg, *Presenting America's World*, 67.

"Country-House Life in Sweden," "Life's Flavor on a Swedish Farm," "Sweden, Land of White Birch and White Coal," and "Nomads of the Artic Lapland." The articles revealed the authors' and photographers' willingness to manipulate readers' perception of the countries in the magazine. The extent of that manipulation was dependent upon the reader's prior experience with the subject of the article. A Swedish American might have heard stories of the family homeland to draw upon. In other cases, the reader formed the entirety of their experience based on the article which was overwhelmingly rural and full of examples of outdated national dress.

National Geographic photographer Maynard Owen Williams shared these biases. He prioritized aesthetics above photojournalism saying, "I have been guilty of posing pictures, of bringing old costumes forth into the light."[173] By presenting an ahistorical collage of images of women dressed in different regional traditional dress juxtaposed with captions that discussed contemporary architecture, historic buildings, and modern exports, the magazine emphasized the long history of Sweden and visually portrayed an antiquated idea of the country. Not only were rural environments and small communities most often pictured, but people were almost exclusively photographed wearing traditional dress.[174] Seldom did an article explain these costumes were no longer worn except for special occasions like weddings.[175] Instead, captions discussed types of clothing and how each identified the wearer as being from a particular community.

The title of the 1928 *National Geographic* photograph essay, "Types and Costumes of Old Sweden," was the only indication that the clothing was not currently worn daily. Yet the article did not discuss whether the clothing was antique or why people of 1930s Sweden had traditional dress that currently fit them.[176] Instead, captions of the three pictures featuring clothing discussed how a costume originated from a region within the country. Scholarly treatments of costume plates were more nuanced. In the 1932 *The National Costumes of Holland*, American author Alma Oakes began the

---

[173] Tamar Rothenberg, *Presenting America's World,* 110.
[174] I searched for articles on each country represented in the figures and analyzed content of resulting *National Geographic* articles from 1920-1939.
[175] "Types and Costumes of Old Sweden," *National Geographic Magazine*.
[176] Costume is outdated terminology for clothing representing a particular group or nation state. I use the term traditional dress rather than costume.

introduction by declaring “national costume, the most interesting of all the features which differentiate the peoples of Europe, is disappearing by degrees.” Oakes further stated traditional dress might be seen in old marketplaces like Kampen and religious rites of marriage where they were reserved for Sundays “to the delight of the artist and the antiquary, and of all who love a sense of contact with the past.”[177] In *National Costumes Volume II French Costumes* with art by E. Lepage-Medvey and preface by Andre Varagnac of the National Museum of Folklore, Varagnac was more emphatic. In 1939, he ended the introduction with this admonishment to “foreign readers to whom the contemporary aspect of France is unfamiliar, must not think that a journey across our country would put them in the presence of traditional costumes.”[178] Gone were the days of traditional dress that stayed the same forever. In fact, he argued the twentieth-century fascination with nineteenth-century clothing was exactly because clothing styles changed rapidly with industrialization.[179]

Perhaps exposure to other countries accounted for the reluctance of young men of Sweden to wear traditional dress and to be “not as enthusiastic in preserving their peasant dress, as are the women and girls” according to the “Boy of Sweden” label (picture 12).[180] Looking at the images in *National Geographic* between 1920 and 1940, it was an easy assumption to make. Three men and one boy appear in 30 images in the “Types and Costumes of Old Sweden” essay.[181] Dressed as a youth from the Rattvik region, the “Boy of Sweden” wore a leather apron demonstrating the wardrobe men and boys wore when working in fields and lumber camps. In the same photographic essay, one plate titled “Daughters of an Ancient Race” celebrated close to 2 million people of “Swedish blood” who lived in the United States.[182] The magazine simultaneously emphasized the quaintness of the mother country while it celebrated Swedish immigrants living in the United States. The information provided to American

[177] Gratiane De Gardilanne and Elizabeth Whitney Moffatt, *The National Costumes of Holland,* 3.
[178] Andre Varagnac and E. Lepage-Medvey, *National Costumes: French Costumes*, 17.
[179] Andre Varagnac and E. Lepage-Medvey, *National Costumes: French Costumes*, 14.
[180] “Types and Costumes of Old Sweden” *National Geographic Magazine,* IX.
[181] “Types and Costumes of Old Sweden” *National Geographic Magazine,* IX.
[182] “Types and Costumes of Old Sweden” *National Geographic Magazine*, IX.

students by the label of the country on the back of the figure, represented an idealized notion of the European country. Clothing and souvenir dolls were one of the easiest ways for Americans to learn about the continent of Europe and its peoples. Europeans were also looking for ways to maintain nationality in the face of rapid change and had traditional dress available and were willing to wear it in photographs for an American magazine. Historian Donna Selig argued the cultural gifts approach in schools focused on portraying ethnic groups romantically and emphasizing high cultural ideals rather than peasant traditions.[183] Conversely, the *National Geographic* articles examined for this thesis show an emphasis on rural and peasant traditions. Ethnic Americans from Sweden could find both rural environs, peasant culture, and high cultural ideals schools from different sources.

Pictures 12 and 13: "Boy of Sweden" and "Child of Lapland," The Children's Museum of Indianapolis. Courtesy of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.

[183] Donna Selig, *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement*, 69.

The "Boy of Sweden" wore clothes an Indianapolis student would have recognized (picture 12). The other figure who lived in Sweden required a stretch in the imagination. A child and two adult figures representing the Lapland peoples, now known as the Sami peoples, survive from the MEP project at The Children's Museum of Indianapolis. The "Child of Lapland" was dressed in a winter fur suit. An adult man and a woman were dressed in blue wool. The "Child of Lapland" wore the clothing most alien to the Indiana student (picture 13). The didactic text on the reverse of the figure praised the mothers' skill for making warm winter clothes compared to the Indianapolis student's purchased clothing in a department store or hand me downs from a sibling. The inclusion of dried grass in the shoes with no stockings further distanced the child. Dressing the child, not the adults, in the most extreme weather clothing emphasized the difference between the classroom student and the distant native group that didn't conform to European culture. When combined with the label text of the two adults, one learns the men cared for the "all-important reindeer herds and fish during the summer." Further distance from Indianapolis children comes from learning the Sami peoples were nomadic, "wandering from pasture to pasture with their herds, dogs, and families." *National Geographic* articles also demonstrated the complex relationship between nationhood and nomadic Indigenous Peoples that served to accentuate the difference of the Sami from the homogeneous Swedish majority.[184] The same articles portrayed the paternalistic efforts of Norway, Sweden, and Finland to ensure schooling and other modern needs of the Sami children. Compared to the Sami family who "invaded" a town for shopping in the 1939 *Geographic News Bulletin*, the student's neighbor could easily have been the "Boy of Sweden."[185] Students also learned from the 1936 textbook *America's World Backgrounds* that Swedes were described as intelligent and well-educated as well as leaders due to traveling and trading with other nations.[186] While boys might not be enthusiastic about traditional dress, they were capable guardians of the Sami Peoples future.

---

[184] Alma Luise Olson. "Sweden, Land of White Birch and White Coal," 454.
[185] "Lapps, The Dwarfs of the Artic, Have Disregarded Boundaries," *Geographic News Bulletin*.
[186] George Earl Freeland and James Truslow Adams, *America's World Backgrounds,* 452.

The MEP figures tried to show commonalities among diverse people–everyone wore clothes for example. Most outfits were recognizable to Indianapolis children sitting in classroom seats–dresses, shirts, pants, shoes, and hats. In extreme climates like the Artic, however, this sense of community faltered. The "Boy of Alaska" wore fur and skin from head to toe (picture 14). The figure did not wear clothes a student could imagine. Did fingers itch to touch the fur? Did students wonder if the clothing was like a rabbit or a fox? Perhaps a bit of revulsion, why would someone want to wear the skin of a dead animal? The supplemental materials included a fur hood for students to try on with its Inuit figure and lesson plan. Here the student tried on the hood during a class demonstration standing next to a fully dressed doll (picture 15). By dressing the boy in the most extreme weather clothing, the figure emphasized the difference between the classroom student and the native peoples who didn't conform to American culture.

Pictures 14 and 15: "Boy of Alaska" and photograph of Inuit clothing demonstration at The Children's Museum of Indianapolis. Courtesy of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.

The figure underscored the messages of difference found in pictures and textbooks. The 1930 school geography text, *The Earth and its People* by Wallace W. Atwood and Helen Goss Thomas, highlighted the government assistance required for the Inuit to survive. Paragraphs described the native group living in the US territory and the government importing reindeer for the groups' survival.[187] The paternalistic US government selflessly cared for a disadvantaged population in its territory. A *Geographic News Bulletin*, a student publication by the National Geographical Society, in 1927 featured a photograph of a native man who was eating meat from a long sharp knife.[188] The caption read, "Table Manners in the Arctic." The native peoples of the Alaskan Territory might be under the protection of the United States, but they were definitively not American. Another textbook stated the Inuit had not played "an important part in the advancement of civilization."[189] White Europeans and American perceived the Inuit peoples as being a part of a hunting and gathering lifestyle and, therefore, connected to early man rather than contemporary life. Thus, they were not treated as individuals who happened to live in an American territory, instead they were viewed as other. Since labels for both the Inuit and Sami child figures depicted the figures as being cared for rather than having any agency, the student could have easily contrasted their own life to that of these children who lived without modern advantages.

[187] Wallace W. Atwood and Helen Goss Thomas, *The Earth and its People,* 369.
[188] "Table Manners in the Arctic," *Geographic News Bulletin,*1.
[189] George Freeland and James Truslow Adams, *America's World Backgrounds*, 50.

CONCLUSION

The late-nineteenth-century surge of immigration from central, southern, and eastern Europe brought different languages, religions, and unfamiliar traditions to the United States. Fear of the “new immigrant” overrode the perceived differences among western European descendants. Native-born white Americans saw recent immigration as a danger to the status quo in America. As a result of new legislation, the Johnson-Reed Act, immigration effectively ended in 1924. As the century continued, society wrestled with the idea of who ‘belongs’ in the majority white society.

By the 1930s, ethnic children were generally American citizens from birth. They and their foreign-born extended families still faced discrimination in schools and in the larger community. In Indianapolis, museum and school educators used ethnic figures in traditional dress in schools and informal educational settings to promote intercultural appreciation to both native-born adults and children as well as positive reinforcement for ethnic minority populations’ sense of self. The MEP figures allowed some ethnic minority students to see themselves as members of a white America to varying degrees. Even though progressive educators urged an American public to accept ethnic Americans as Americans first and foremost, there were people, like members of the Ku Klux Klan, who would or could not.

Figures representing non-white and Indigenous Peoples throughout the world emphasized their status as other. In images and stories of expeditions by governments, universities, museums, and private ventures like the National Geographic Society, representations of these cultures were exoticized. Depicted as outside of the American norm, non-white and Indigenous Peoples served as foils to ethnic European cultures more easily recognizable to Americans. In this moment, there were still cultures who were too different to be accepted into the view of the broader notion of Americans that educators hoped to instill in their students.

Additionally, the lack of Black figures produced by the MEP project illustrates a silence around racism in Indiana. In 1940, thirteen percent of Indianapolis’s 364,161 residents were African American, however, there is photographic evidence of only one

Black woman working at The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.[190] The ethnic or racial composition of the workforce at the museum is largely unknown. In Wisconsin, the Milwaukee Handicraft Project was a fully integrated workplace with as many as two hundred Black women registering a day when word spread of the willingness of the project administrator, Elsa Ulbricht, to employ *all* women.[191] In contrast to the percentage for Indianapolis, Milwaukee's African American population was less than two percent of the city's population of 570,249.[192] These two cities, their respective combination of native, foreign-born, and African American populations, and their WPA projects illustrate a possible avenue for further research. Amongst WPA projects, the interracial Milwaukee project was an anomaly. In work relief, as in work and other parts of life in America, Black Americans faced significant discrimination in the Depression-era programs.

MEP figures, along with other two- and three-dimensional visual aids, enabled the teacher to engage students in active learning by "seeing and doing *plus* thinking" about the world.[193] The educational community promoted cultural pluralism ideals in schools and informal educational settings without engendering significant controversy in the 1930s. Perhaps this acceptance was due to Indiana's small ethnic population, particularly in rural areas, and Indianapolis's slightly larger one. The experiences surely differed in cities with a significant ethnic population such as New York or Chicago or communities with large Black populations as in the South. Those histories have yet to be written.

---

[190] 1940 United States Census. The Children's Museum of Indianapolis WPA collection, photograph courtesy The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.
[191] Allison Robinson, "Upending Unskilled," 34.
[192] 1940 United States Census
[193] Anna Verona Dorris, *Visual Instruction in the Public Schools*, 6.

APPENDIX A

IMAGE PERMISSIONS

My sincerest thanks to Jennifer Noffze and The Children's Museum of Indianapolis for the image permission for this thesis.

Jennifer Noffze <JenN@childrensmuseum.org> Apr 4, 2022, 4:08 PM

Sure, I can do that.

Janna Bennett has permission to use the photographs for her thesis courtesy of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.

From: Janna Bennett <janna.m.bennett@gmail.com>
Sent: Monday, April 4, 2022 11:05 AM
To: Jennifer Noffze <JenN@childrensmuseum.org>
Subject: Re: Photographs and permissions for my thesis

Thanks for these, again!

What do I need to do for you to get permission to have this in my thesis? I need some sort of written acknowledgement, even if it is an email saying you approve (or someone, Chris? if not you). If this is the way to go, I'll send a separate email without all of the previous conversations. These days all thesis are uploaded into google scholar so it will be available to be printed by anyone who is interested.

Janna

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscript Collections

Addington, Mary. Mary Addington to Mildred Schmitt. April 27, 1939, Works Progress Administration, National Archives. Women's and Professional Division. Record Group 69.

The Children's Museum of Indianapolis
Carr, Arthur, Director's Annual Reports, 1930-1943.
Trustee Minutes, 1930-1943.
Gallery Guide
Collections Files

Golden, Grace B. Museum Extension Project Consultant's Papers, 1938. The Children's Museum of Indianapolis.

John Herron Art Institute, 1930-1939 Annual Reports.

United States. Census 1910, 1920, 1940.

United States. Works Projects Administration. The Final State Reports: Museum and Visual Arts Program. Archives of the Work Projects Administration and Predecessors, 1933-1943.

Figures

WPA Museum Extension Project, Collection of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis, Indianapolis, Indiana.

"Woman of Serbia, Yugoslavia"
"Girl of Germany"
"Woman of Germany"
"Woman of Hungary"
"Man of Hungary"
"Boy of Sweden"
"Child of Lapland"
"Boy of Alaska"

Published Materials

Adam, Thomas R. *The Civic Value of Museums*. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1937.

Adamic, Louis. *A Nation of Nations.* New York: Harper, 1945.

Adamic, Louis. “Thirty Million New Americans,” *Harper’s* 169 (November 1934): 648-693.

Atwood, Wallace W. and Helen Goss Thomas. *The Earth and its People*. Boston: Ginn, 1935.

Brown, Francis and Joseph Roucek, eds. *Our Racial and National Minorities: Their History, Contributions, and Present Problems*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937.

The Children’s Museum of Indianapolis. “New Doll Gallery,” *Bulletin* 2, no. 4 (1939): 5-7.

Coleman, Lawrence Vail. “Schools and Museums Working Jointly for Visual Education,” *School Life* 13, no.7 (March 1928): 124.

Davis-Dubois, Rachel. “Peace and Intercultural Education,” *The Journal of Educational Sociological Association* 12, no. 7 (March 1939): 418-424.

De Gardilanne, Gratiane and Elizabeth Whitney Moffatt. *The National Costumes of Holland: Fifty Studies Reproduced by Lithography in Full Colours from the Originals of Gratiane de Gardilanne and Elizabeth Whitney Moffatt, with an introduction by Alma Oakes.* London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1932.

Dewey, John. *Experience and Education*. New York: McMillian Co., 1938.

Dewey, John. “The Need of an Industrial Education in as Industrial Democracy,” *The Middle Works, 1899-1924*. Edited by Jo Ann Boydston, Vol.10 1916-1917. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980.

Dewey, John. *The School and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1915.

Dorris, Anna Verona. *Visual Instruction in the Public Schools.* Chicago: Ginn and Company, 1928.

Duncan, Ethel M. *Democracy’s Children*. With a foreword by Rachel David-DuBois. New York: Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge, Inc., 1945.

Easton, Allen H. *Immigrant Gifts to American Life: Some Experiments in Appreciation of the Contributions of our Foreign-born Citizens to American Culture*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1932.

Faust, Albert Bernhardt. “German Americans,” in *Our Racial and National Minorities: Their History, Contributions, and Present Problems*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937.

Faust, Albert Bernhardt. *The German Element in the United States*. New York: Steuben Society of America, 1927.

Freeland, George and James Truslow Adams. *America's World Backgrounds*. Chicago: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936.

Golden, Grace B. "Children's Museum of Indianapolis," *Childhood Education*, 15, no. 9 (May 1939): 408-412.

Golden, Grace B. and Loreen Wingerd. "Defeating the Headline Horrors." *School Arts* 39, no. 4 (1939): 111-113.

Hall, G. Stanley and A. Caswell Ellis. *A Study of Dolls.* New York: E.L. Kellogg & Co., 1897.

Henley, Faye. *The Story of The Children's Museum of Indianapolis*. Indianapolis: The Children's Museum of Indianapolis, 1940.

Hull, Howard C. "The Americanization Movement," *American Journal of Sociology* 24, no. 6 (1919): 609-642.

"Indiana Educational Directory," *Indiana Teacher* 81 (May 1937): 2.

Indianapolis Public Schools, Board of School Commissioners. *Course of Study in Social Studies for the Junior High School Division of the Secondary Schools.* Indianapolis: Indianapolis Public Schools, 1934.

"Lapps, The Dwarfs of the Artic, Have Disregarded Boundaries," *Geographic News Bulletin* 18, no. 9 (24 April 1939): 5.

McClusky, Frederick D. "The Administration of Visual Instruction in Public Schools." *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House* 5, no. 4 (December 1930): 207-214.

Mitchell, Lucy Sprague and Johanna Boetz. *The People of the USA: Their Place in the School Curriculum.* New York: Progressive Education Association, 1942.

National Education Association of the United States. *Americans All; Studies in Intercultural Education*. Washington D.C.: The Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction of the National Education Association, 1942.

Newlon, Jesse H. "Schools as an Agent for World Peace" *Indiana Teacher* 77, no. 3 (1932): 7-8.

Olson, Alma Luise. "Sweden, Land of White Birch and White Coal," *National Geographic Magazine* 54, no. 4 (October 1928): 441-484.

Osborn, Henry F. "The Museum as the New Force in Public School Development," Lecture delivered at American Museum of Natural History on Friday, July 7th, 1916.

Packard, Leonard O., and Charles P. Sinnott. *Nations as Neighbors*. 2d. ed. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1935.

Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction. *The Object-Specimen-Model as a Visual and Other Sensory Aids* 1, no. 8 Harrisburg: Department of Public Instruction, 1929.

Progressive Education Association. *The Progressive Education Association: What It Is, What It Believes, What It Does*. Washington: Progressive Education Association, [1926].

Ramsey, Grace (Fisher). *Educational Work in Museums of the United States*. New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1938.

Souders, D.A. *The Magyars in America.* New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922. Reprint, San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1969.

Spicer, Dorothy Gladys. *Folk Festivals and the Foreign Community*. New York: The Womans Press, 1923.

Swinder, Robert E. *Social Studies Instruction in the Secondary Schools*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1933.

"Table manners in the Artic" *Geographic News Bulletin* 6, no. 12 (16 May1927): 3.

Tobien, Wilhelm, et al. "Types and Costumes of Old Sweden," *National Geographic Magazine* 54, no. 4 (1928): I-XVI.

Varagnac, Andre and E. Lepage-Medvey Varagnac. *National Costumes of Austria, Hungary, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia. Vol. 1.* Translated by Mary Chamot. New York: The Hyperion Press, 1939.

Varagnac, Andre and E. Lepage-Medvey Varagnac. *National Costumes: French Costumes. Vol. 2.* Translated by Mary Chamot. New York: The Hyperion Press, 1939.

Vickery, William E. and Steward G. Cole. *Intercultural Education in American Schools Proposed Objectives and Methods.* New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1943.

Vilchur, Mark. "Cherishing Cultural Heritages." *Journal of Adult Education*, 3, no.3 (1931): 321-326.

Woodward, Ellen S. “WPA Museum Projects.” *Museum News* 15-16, no. 13. (1938): 7-8.

Newspapers

The Baltimore Sun

“Klan Raises Head Again in Indiana G.O.P.” Dispatch to *The Baltimore Sun*, 29 June 1938, 1.

The Indianapolis Star

“Third Ballot Gives Editor Easy Victory” 30 July 1938, 1.

“‘America Hands in Action’ WPA exhibit, will be shown,” 24 May 1939, 14.

“‘American Hands in Action’ Opens Tomorrow at Block’s,” 30 May 1939, 3.

“Block’s Displays Costume Dolls,” 14 June 1939, Section 2, 1.

“Community House Melting Pot for Varied Population,” 10 February 1939, 19.

“Haughville Has Own ‘League of Nations,’” 16 March 1930, 3.

“Immigrant Culture Need in U.S. Cited,” 24 May 1937, 6.

The Indianapolis Times

“Dolls Fascinate Little Girls,” 3 August 1937.

Scholarship

Alexander, Edward P. “Anna Billings Gallup Popularizes the First Children’s Museum” *Bridges to Understanding Children’s Museums*. Cleveland, OH: Mandel Center for Nonprofit Organizations, 1999.

Blakey, George T. “Battling the Great Depression of the Stage in Indiana,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 90 (March 1993): 1-25.

Blakey, George T. *Creating A Hoosier Self-Portrait: The Federal Writers’ Project in Indiana, 1935-1942*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005.

Bodnar, John. “Introduction: Ethnic History in America and Indiana.” In *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, edited by Robert M. Taylor, Jr. and Connie A. McBirney, 1-10. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996.

Cremin, Lawrence. *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957*. New York: Knopf, 1968.

Crunden, Robert M. *Ministers of Reform: The Progressives’ Achievement in American Civilization, 1889-1920*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984.

Davy, Jack. “Lars Haetta’s Miniature World: Sami Prison Op-Art Autoethnography,” *Journal of Material Culture* 23, no. 3 (2018): 280-294.

Dégh, Linda. “Hungarians.” In *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, edited by Robert M. Taylor, Jr. and Connie A. McBirney, 224-243. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996.

Falk, John H. and Lynn D. Dierking. *Lessons without Limit: How Free-Choice learning is Transforming Education*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002.

Findlay, James A. and Lillian Perricone. *The WPA Museum Extension Project 1935-1942: Government Created Visual Aids for Children from the Collections of the Bienes Museum of the Modern Book*. Fort Lauderdale, Florida: Broward County Libraries Divisions, 2009.

Glassburg, David. *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

Green, Elna C. “Relief from Relief: The Tampa Sewing-Room Strike of 1937 and the Right to Welfare,” *Journal of American History* 95, no.4 (2009): 1012-1037.

Hein, George. *Progressive Museum Practice: John Dewey and Democracy*. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 2012.

Hopwood, Nick and Soraya de Chadarevian. *Models: The Third Dimension of Science.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.

Hoyt, Giles R. “Germans” in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, edited by Robert M. Taylor, Jr. and Connie A. McBirney, 146-181. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996.

Kallen, Horace Meyer. *Culture and Democracy in the United States*. New York: Arno Press, 1970.

Kennedy, David M. *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Kenny, D.H. *Fifty Years Young: The Children’s Museum*. New York: the Newcomen Society of North America, 1975.

Kriplen, Nancy. *Keep an Eye on that Mummy: A History of The Children’s Museum of Indianapolis.* Indianapolis: The Children’s Museum of Indianapolis, 1982.

Kyvig, David E. *Daily Life in the United States, 1920-1940: How Americans Lived Through the “Roaring Twenties” and the Great Depression.* Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002.

La Belle, Thomas J, and Christopher R Ward. *Multiculturalism and Education: Diversity and Its Impact on Schools and Society*. Albany: State Univ. of New York Press, 1994.

Lal, Shafali. "1930s Multiculturalism," *Radical Teacher* 69 (2004): 18-22.

Link, Arthur S. and Richard L. McCormick. Progressivism. Arlington Heights, Ill: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 1983.

Madison, James H. *The Indiana Way.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

Madison, James H. *Indiana Through Tradition and Change: A History of the Hoosier Sate and its People 1920-1945*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1982.

Madison, James H. *The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020.

Mavigliano, George J. and Richard A. Lawson. *The Federal Art Project in Illinois, 1935-1943*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1990.

McKinzie, Richard D. *The New Deal for Artists.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.

Mirel, Jeffery. *Patriotic Pluralism*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Montalto, Nicholas V. *A History of the Intercultural Education Movement, 1924-1941*. New York: Garland Pub. Co, 1982.

Platt, Susan N. *Arts and Politics in the 1930s: Modernism, Marxism, Americanism: a History of Cultural Activism during the Depression Years*. New York: Midmarch Arts Press, 1999.

Robinson, Allison L.W. "Upending Unskilled: Making and Marketing the Milwaukee Handicraft Project Dolls, 1935-1943." Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 2018.

Rothenberg, Tamar Y. *Presenting America's World: Strategies of Innocence in National Geographic Magazine, 1888-1945*. Burlington, CT.: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007.

Sample, Bradford. "A Truly Midwestern City: Indianapolis on the Eve of the Great Depression," *Indiana Magazine of History* 97, no.2 (2001): 129-147.

Selig, Diana. *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Stewart, Susan. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Taylor, Robert and Connie McBirney, eds. *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996.

Vujovich, Natalie. "Serbs" in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, edited by Robert M. Taylor, Jr. and Connie A. McBirney, 556-567. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996.

Winquist, Alan H. "Scandinavians" in *Peopling Indiana: The Ethnic Experience*, edited by Robert M. Taylor, Jr. and Connie A. McBirney, 474-497. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1996.

Other Secondary Sources

Encyclopedia of Indianapolis. "Americanization and Nativism," accessed January 21, 2022, https://indyencyclopedia.org/americanization-and-nativism/

Encyclopedia of Indianapolis. "Christamore House," accessed January 21, 2022, https://indyencyclopedia.org/christamore-house-family-and-community-center/

Encyclopedia of Indianapolis. "Immigrants' Aid Association," accessed January 21, 2022, https://indyencyclopedia.org/immigrants-aid-association/

Encyclopedia of Indianapolis. "Indianapolis Star," accessed January 21, 2022, https://indyencyclopedia.org/indianapolis-star/

Encyclopedia of Indianapolis. "Orchard Country Day School," accessed January 21, 2022, https://indyencyclopedia.org/indianapolis-star/

CURRICULUM VITAE

Janna Merrill Bennett

EDUCATION

Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, Indianapolis, IN

Master of Arts in History, Public History Concentration, from Indiana University, July 2023

Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis, Indianapolis, IN

Bachelor of General Studies, Arts and Humanities, date 2000

Museum Studies Certificate, December 2000

AWARDS

General Studies IUPUI Chancellor's Scholar Award, 2000

Outstand Museum Studies Student Award, 2000

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Museum Curator, Carnegie Museum of Montgomery County, Crawfordsville, IN, 2022-Present

Library Assistant, Purdue University Libraries and School of Information Studies, Print Repository, Lafayette, IN 2017-2022

Library Aide, Charlotte Mecklenburg Public Library, Local History Room, Charlotte, NC 2016-2017

Curator, American Collections, The Children's Museum of Indianapolis, Indianapolis IN, 2004-2014

Indiana-Ohio Center for Traumatic Amputation Rehabilitation Research, Graduate Internship in Oral History, Indianapolis, IN 2007-2010

Collections Manager, Lake Forest-Lake Bluff Historical Society, Lake Forest, IL, 2001-2003

CONFERENCES and PUBLICATIONS

"The Museum Extension Project in Indiana" paper for Hoosier Women at Work Conference, April 2018

“Oral History as Sociology and Anthropology: The Public Stories of Amputee Vietnam Veterans.” Panel session for the National Council on Public History, Spring 2010

“The WPA and the Museum Extension Program” Indiana Association of Historians, Spring 2010

“The Object and the Not-Object: Exploring Differences in Viewing” panel session for American Association of State and Local History, Fall 2009

“The Museum Extension Project in Indiana” poster presentation for The National Council on Public History, Spring 2009

“Violating Sense of Place: Battles over the Annexation of Broad Ripple.” Presentation, Indiana Association of Historians, Spring 2007

“Violating Sense of Place: Battles over the Annexation of Broad Ripple.” Broad Ripple Historic Home Tour brochure, Summer 2006