

INTRODUCTION

# Filling in the Picture: Nineteenth-Century Museums in Spanish and Portuguese America

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This special issue comprising articles on Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, and Mexico is devoted to museums established over the long nineteenth century in Spanish and Portuguese America. It features a variety of museums: from national to provincial, from monumental to one-room shows, from general to those devoted to a single subject, from lost to still existing. A wide variety of institutions in North, Central, and South America are examined in a century that witnessed the last reforms of the Iberian empires, the impact of Napoleonic politics on the Atlantic world, the long processes inaugurated by the wars of Revolution and Independence, the establishment of the Brazilian empire, and the convoluted configuration of the new Latin American Republics.

The contributions cover a period that begins with the establishment of new general museums in Mexico (1825) and Bogotá (1823). Miruna Achim, in her article, calls this moment ‘the trial years’. A complete continental survey would also have included studies of museums founded in Rio de Janeiro (1818), Buenos Aires (1823), Santiago de Chile (1823), Lima (1826), and Charleston (in South Carolina), all of which faced the same difficulties. A number of the following articles remark, in fact, on the ephemeral character of those creations. Institutional accounts and current historiography have tended to make a connection with later, surviving establishments. From a historiographical point of view, however, one may ask whether it is legitimate to insist on these connections, which tend to canonize a notion of permanence attaching to present-day museums.

The period covered in this volume finishes with the establishment late in the nineteenth century of museums devoted to art, history, or natural history in São Paulo, Salvador in Bahia, Amazonas, La Plata, and Buenos Aires. By discussing all these institutions in one place, we want to address historiographical problems that

connect local stories with the common problems of current historiographical research. The museological literature in English has focused on developments in the English, French, and German ambit.<sup>1</sup> With the collection in this issue, we seek to point the compass in other directions. The geography of nineteenth-century museums is certainly much wider and more complex than a picture of the world painted in the triumphal colours of the principal nineteenth-century colonial powers.

### What is peculiar in Latin American museums?

Late in the 1980s, Susan Sheets-Pyenson pioneered the comparative approach of analysing non-European museums in an intercontinental perspective — largely that of the British Empire. It is generally not recognized that her examples, chosen without malice aforethought, turned out to substantiate a diffusionist model of museum activity, famously proposed by George Basalla.<sup>2</sup> In her *Cathedrals of Science*, the museums in Australia, Canada, and Argentina were inserted in a network of data, collections, publications, theories, and people, which made them comparable and visible.<sup>3</sup> Recent research has emphasized that some of these museums were also connected, and principally so, with international networks created by the Spanish and Portuguese eighteenth-century colonial administration.<sup>4</sup> Expeditions and instructions issued from the metropolis activated local agents and shaped local collecting cultures. Heirs of these initiatives saw themselves as intellectual associates, and the new museums formed throughout the nineteenth century in the republics of America and in the Brazilian Empire — inspired by the model of the Paris Museum of Natural History, as María Paola Rodríguez-Prada shows in this volume — intentionally inserted themselves in European networks, where they figured actively in the elaboration of new scientific specialties and fields of study.<sup>5</sup> Late in the nineteenth century, the agency of South and Central American museums is clear: in addition to partnering with institutions in the northern hemisphere, they established regional networks of exchange (publications, collections, duplicates). They were in every sense intentional actors in the common dynamics that shaped the museums on both sides of the Atlantic and, to use the vocabulary of the time, both above and below the Equator.<sup>6</sup>

In contrast to the US, most of the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century museums in Spanish and Portuguese America were state-run institutions, belonging to national universities or other government establishments. As examined elsewhere, the situation is unlike that found early in the nineteenth century, when privately owned museums received local and travelling visitors. The private institutions did not flourish beyond the life of their owners: some were absorbed into the public domain (see Diego Grola, et al., and Máximo Farro, this issue), while others disappeared following the death of their patrons.<sup>7</sup>

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Latin America had nothing comparable to a Carnegie, a Peabody, or a Field. These entrepreneurs of fabulous wealth and substantial *amour-propre* were a North American peculiarity, rather than a Latin American or European failure. In Argentina, men of fortune such as

Francisco P. Moreno (see Farro, this issue) donated his collections under the condition of being hired as perpetual museum director and having the state construct a monumental building for housing stuffed animals and bones. Even private museum associations (see Suely Ceravolo, this issue) survived thanks to the funds received from state or federal governments. This *modus vivendi* led to a peculiar pattern. Civil society came to count on state funds for their initiatives and museums were made dependent on public finances in a period characterized — with the exception of Brazil and Chile — by political turmoil and economic crisis. Instead of having a role defined by the employer (the State), museum functionaries had to justify what they did. Indeed, they had to justify the very existence of their museum. Museums were recurrently threatened by extinction, a menace that more than once turned into a reality.

The dynamic is similar to what Claude Schnitter described for the Paris Natural History Museum as ‘adapt or perish’.<sup>8</sup> As in Paris, the solution was to strengthen the position of museums as scientific teaching centres — in La Plata and Rio de Janeiro — or centres of public education. The directors of the surviving museums, having developed strategies to deal with such instability, became — as their colleagues became in England, Germany, and France<sup>9</sup> — very good lobbyists. Their agony was a matter of record in the popular press, which did not fail to observe that museum directors used their institution as their own property, as well as the space for the exclusive development of their own scientific careers and obsessions (Rodríguez-Prada, M. Margaret Lopes and Magali Sá, Farro, this issue).

## Chronologies

Historiography has treated the years around 1810–1820 and the growth of new Spanish and Portuguese America’s independent nations as the point of origin from which each Latin American nation began to construct its own identity and destiny. A less precipitous examination reveals a political, social, and economic panorama filled with ambiguity, contradictions, confusions, and ruptures, as well as continuities.

The establishment of museums and cabinets in the new nations of the Americas is linked not only to independence, but also to the expansion of the new scientific specialities — herpetology, malacology, comparative anatomy, palaeontology, and archaeology — that appeared almost at the same time. Within the span of a very few years, the new governments or collectors with the resources to do so began to establish museums. The dates indicate trends that cannot be explained by European attitudes, such as those promoted in the context of the late eighteenth century exploring expeditions and Spanish reforms. Many of these collections grew out of the mix between commercial culture, the worldly passion of the Enlightenment for science and nature, and the trade expectations of the new republics.

By the close of the nineteenth century, South and Central American museums, like the museums of Europe, Asia, Oceania, and elsewhere, served as research centres for ethnographic and natural sciences.<sup>10</sup> They vied with each other for authority and acted as complementary modular spaces in their respective areas of expertise. For

this reason, it is not stretching too long a bow to claim that Latin American institutions provide a paradigmatic model for understanding the local articulation of global scientific (and artistic) practices and disciplines.<sup>11</sup> The articles collected in this issue show that the peculiarities of the stories differed depending on private interests, geographical realities, availability of objects, financial resources, and the strategic vision of museum officials and governments.<sup>12</sup>

## Sources

David Murray (1842–1928), a Glasgow solicitor and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, published *Museums, Their History and Their Use*. Wrote in 1904, it then became the standard text in this field.<sup>13</sup> In this seminal work, Murray remarked: ‘the museums and collections referred to are those for which there are printed catalogues or descriptions. Museums for which there are no catalogues, or which are not described in other Works, therefore do not appear’.<sup>14</sup> Although he cited no documents from the two most prominent late nineteenth-century Argentinean museums (namely, the National History and Art Museums; see Laura Malosetti Costa, this volume), he included a reference on ‘Museo Bennati’, a travelling museum owned by an Italian charlatan.<sup>15</sup> This allows us to highlight a point crucial to all the papers published in the current issue of *Museum History Journal*: the question of reliability of the sources at the historian’s disposal.

Murray was faced with the problem of access to the sources, which continues to haunt scholars. Murray knew that Latin American countries — which he had never visited — should have more museums. But museums without catalogues, with neither publications nor exchanges with other institutions, were hard to spot in the cultural landscape. Most of the Latin American museums he found were implicated in a global network of exchanges of publications, debates, and international forums and conferences,<sup>16</sup> and were those devoted to natural history, archaeology, and school-service.<sup>17</sup>

Murray detected a tendency common to museums everywhere: curators and librarians treated catalogues, even in European institutions, as ephemeral objects, unworthy to be kept in the institutional repositories.<sup>18</sup> Murray was thus confronted with the paradox that museums, institutions intrinsically associated with archiving the past and the preservation of threatened species, ruins, or cultures, were incapable of preserving the vestiges of their own history. James Secord has underlined the importance of catalogues and inventories as agents of the circulation of knowledge.<sup>19</sup> This role is one of the main points made by Farro and Rodríguez-Prada, who question what kind of history could be envisioned if historians rely only on the words taken from printed materials and repeated ad nauseam. Catalogues, institutional memoirs, inventories, far from a description of a stable situation, were the result of clerical work inserted in institutional dynamics. They reflected — as librarians and curators knew well — ‘transitory’ situations. According to Rodríguez-Prada, the risk is that in our historiography those catalogues have become self-validating. In the example of Bennati’s inclusion in Murray’s bibliography, the

bound catalogue implies a solid existence for a museum that was permanently on the move. By the same token, published catalogues transform long-extinct museums into living ones, such as the Botanical Museum of Amazonas discussed here by Lopes and Sá. For historians, the catalogue acts as proxy testimony, in the manner of an elegy.<sup>20</sup>

Contributions to this issue discuss how distinct types of evidence can refine narratives resulting from self-validation. Ceravolo investigates the Museu do Instituto Geográfico e Histórico of Bahia, which survived with no inventory or staff, as one of many spaces forsaken by history. Achim points out strategies for collecting, exhibiting, and studying antiquities in the dim beginnings of the Mexico Museum, in this way providing nuance to the notion sometimes advanced that Latin American museums were above all machines for building a nation. Such a leitmotif is difficult to maintain after having studied the actual course of the museums under consideration here, which contended with changing political agendas as well as natural disasters, such as the almost complete destruction of the Guatemalan Museum discussed by Oswaldo Chinchilla Mazariegos. In the following pages we see museums never able to — or never hoping to — articulate a national mythology. As highlighted by Farro, museums play many and diverse roles in addition to serving ‘as pivotal institutions in the survey and exhibition of national territory’.

## Challenges

Most of the papers included in this special issue introduce new sources not yet available in English; they advance and analyse details and compare similar institutions. They reflect upon museums perceived at the time as a private laboratory for the exclusive use of their director — a one-man scientific enterprise for projecting ego, as was the case with Hermann Burmeister’s management in Buenos Aires and João Barbosa Rodrigues’s tenure in Brazilian Amazonia. They describe museums such as La Plata, a monumental building devoid of collections.

One of the questions that permeate the volume is how to avoid accounting for the history of the museums without placing the founders at the centre of the story. In her seminal work on scientific culture in early modern Italy, Paula Findlen stated that the appearance of museums reoriented the study of nature and also redefined the identity of the naturalist. In fact, early modern museums provided the material elements to construct the collector’s identity and the devices to publicize it. Findlen also points out the difference between those early museums and the institutions that emerged in the eighteenth century in the public and institutional domain:

The appearance of museums that defined a nation’s identity made it possible to imagine memory as a more institutionalized concept, the collective representation of a nation rather the portrait of an individual [...] They belonged to a disembodied state, which placed the museum alongside other institutions of culture that it regulated, maintained, and reshaped to fit its new image.<sup>21</sup>

The articles in this special issue suggest that nineteenth-century national museums were strongly connected, rhetorically at least, with the biographies of their directors

or promoters. Historiography has tended simply to accept these accounts making of the museum a rather ‘embodied institution’.<sup>22</sup>

Projecting the museum as a tool of the State would offer a solution, but the hard facts are against this proposition. The museums are creatures of personal relations contrived within the institutions themselves (and not only by the directors), contingencies of the natural and social events, and of Max Weber’s ‘demands of the day’.<sup>23</sup> Confronting another *monstre sacré*, Malosetti Costa questions the processes of ‘nation building’ in the literature of museums in the 1990s,<sup>24</sup> a notion with no clear referents. Her article, paying attention to the historical and artistic museums, reminds historians of the need to cross current scholarly boundaries. A museum of the nineteenth century challenged boundaries between disciplines and academic fields to the extent that, in Latin America, as everywhere, museums acted as one of the spaces where new specialist boundaries were forged. Malosetti Costa suggests comparing national and international settings in her reading of the historical and artistic museums of Buenos Aires. She urges us to reflect on the domestic objects chosen in the artistic museums, a question also raised about the historical and scientific museums analysed by Rodríguez-Prada.

Murray, when investigating South and Central American museums, relied on another source, which still deserves attention. Some museums came to his attention because they were mentioned in the yearly United States’ *Reports of the Commissioner of Education*. Why were the Latin American museums included in the official reports issued by the US Department of the Interior Bureau of Education? Why did the US Department of Interior spend time and pages describing the state of those museums? Without discounting the Baconian desire to construct comprehensive inventories of the world, the answer could be also related to the expansion of the American interests and the prevalence and influence the US was gaining over the commerce of South America:

These surveys already constitute a unique and valuable body of educational literature. The extension of our foreign commerce and particularly our closer commercial relations with Central and South American countries has brought a revival of interest in commercial education and in the study of the Spanish language.<sup>25</sup>

Museums were bridges for American commercial interests. As Grola, Carvalho, and Barbuy emphasize below, Latin American museums — as consumers and providers — were implicated in the global trade in natural-history specimens and equipment. In the nineteenth century, Latin American museums were mostly supplied by French and German collectors and enterprises, as discussed by Farro, Rodríguez-Prada, and Grola, et al. Following the commercial American expansion in the 1890s, American suppliers, such as Henry Augustus Ward (1834–1906) began their ventures in South America by selling preparations and furniture, and also sought access to new specimens and objects to trade.<sup>26</sup> This lucrative interest is connected with the Pan-American initiatives and pursuit of regional cooperation from the late 1880s. In 1889, the US — taking on the role of the oldest American republic — hosted the First International Conference of American States in Washington, DC, and led the creation of the International Union of American Republics, which was served

by a permanent secretariat called the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics.<sup>27</sup>

As part of the US desire to consolidate a leading role in the Americas after the First World War, in 1928, Laurence Vail Coleman (1893–1982), director of the American Association of Museums, obtained a grant from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to gather material on museums in the course of four months in fifteen South American cities (Mexico and Central America were not part of the itinerary). Following this journey and related enquiries made in Venezuela and Colombia, he published a directory listing of one hundred museums.<sup>28</sup> Nearly half of the listed institutions were classified as large or notably active. Two-thirds were located in the capital cities; sixty-seven were dedicated to a single object: twenty-two to natural history, seven to anthropology (archaeology or ethnology), eighteen to history, fourteen to arts, and six to commerce or agriculture. Of the remaining thirty-three, about half were for either natural history or history together with anthropology, ‘and the rest are more or less general museums, of which four are devoted exclusively to school-service’.<sup>29</sup> Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, Montevideo, and Lima had separate national venues for art, history, and natural history.<sup>30</sup> Coleman’s report exudes optimism: Compared with the beginning of the twentieth century, he reported the growing number of commercial, educational and agricultural museums that had been established all over the South Atlantic and the Pacific coasts and inland territories. But what Coleman saw could also disappear. Most of his museums are now lost or almost forgotten (see articles by Lopes and Sá and Cera-vo). Our view is shaped by success and survival, the ones left standing. We still have much to learn from the history of failure.

Coleman would have us believe that ‘There are no important omissions’ on his list, and he was probably right.<sup>31</sup> Compared to Coleman, Murray’s bibliography, reports, catalogues, and travel accounts come up short. Museums really had to be visited and inspected, taking into account local statistics, figures, and budgets. But although Murray’s bibliography was quite incomplete, it had the virtue of including South and Central American institutions in the broad museological panorama of his time. Coleman, by separating the South American museums from the North American museums, opened the way for the national and regional fragmentation of this history that is still visible today.

The articles collected in this special issue provide an extensive bibliography on the history of museums produced in a variety of linguistic and academic settings. The appearance of the collection celebrates a coming together of what local and national historiography has cut asunder. We trust that it shall be one of many more fruitful encounters.

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at the University of Toulouse-J. Jeaurès (Chaire Amérique Latine), institution to which she wants to express her gratitude. Margaret Lopes acknowledges the support of CNPq. We would like to dedicate this special issue to Pepe Pérez Gollán, in memoriam, who in 1997 made possible these first twenty years of friendship and intellectual cooperation.

## Notes

- 1 See, for instance, D. Murray, *Museums, their History and their Use: With a Bibliography and List of Museums in the United Kingdom*, 1 (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1904), for many years the standard text in this field, where Murray was able to gather just a couple of sheets in a work that encompassed a total of 1043 pages. He found references for twenty-two museums from the Latin American countries, six of which were located in Brazil (including Museu Paulista, Museu Nacional, Museu Botânico do Amazonas, and the Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia, all of them analysed in this current issue) and three in Buenos Aires (taking La Plata for Buenos Aires, see Farro in this volume). For a more recent analysis, see T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum. History, Theory, Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), which covers Europe and Anglophone countries only.
- 2 G. Basalla, 'The Spread of Western Science', *Science*, 156 (1967), 611–22.
- 3 S. Sheets-Pyenson, *Cathedrals of Science. The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums during the Late Nineteenth Century* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988).
- 4 M. M. Lopes, C. Luís, and M. C. Lourenço, *Natural History Collections in Portugal and Brazil. New Perspectives on Collecting, Institutions and Transfers* (Lisboa: Museu da Universidade de Lisboa, forthcoming, 2016).
- 5 M. M. Lopes and I. Podgorny, 'The Shaping of Latin American Museums of Natural History, 1850–1990', *Osiris*, 15 (2000), 108–18.
- 6 M. Achim and I. Podgorny, eds, *Museos al Detalle. Colecciones, Antigüedades e Historia Natural, 1790–1870* (Rosario: Prohistoria, 2013). M. M. Lopes, 'The Museums and the Construction of Natural Sciences in Brazil in the 19th Century', in *Cultures and Institutions of Natural History*, ed. by Michael T. Ghiselin and Alan E. Leviton (San Francisco: California Academy of Sciences, 2000), pp. 81–100.
- 7 See A. T. Sellen, 'Fraternal Curiosity: The Camacho Museum, Campeche', and S. Gaenger, 'The Many Natures of Antiquities: Ana María Centeno and her Cabinet of Curiosities, Peru, ca. 1832–1874', in *Nature and Antiquities. The Making of Archaeology in the Americas*, ed. by P. L. Kohl, I. Podgorny, and S. Gaenger (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2014), pp. 91–109 and 110–24. I. Podgorny, 'Fossil Dealers, the Practices of Comparative Anatomy, and British Diplomacy in Latin America, 1820–1840', *British Journal for the History of Science*, 46.4 (2013), 647–47.
- 8 C. Schnitter, 'Le développement du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle de Paris au cours de la seconde moitié du XIX siècle: se transformer ou périr', *Revue d'Histoire des sciences humaines*, 49.1 (1995), 53–98.
- 9 N. A. Rupke, *Richard Owen Victorian Naturalist* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).
- 10 Lopes, 'Museums and the Construction of Natural Sciences', p. 97.
- 11 L. Roberts, 'Situating Science in Global History: Local Exchanges and Networks of Circulation', *Itinerario*, 33 (2009), 9–30.
- 12 I. Podgorny and M. M. Lopes, *El Desierto en una Vitrina. Museos e Historia Natural en la Argentina, 1810–1890*, 2nd edn (Rosario: Prohistoria Ediciones, 2014).
- 13 Murray, *Museums*.
- 14 Murray, *Museums*, p. 11.
- 15 Murray, *Museums*, vol. 2, p. 108; see I. Podgorny, 'Travelling Museums and Itinerant Collections in Nineteenth Century Latin America', *Museum History Journal*, 6 (2013), 127–46, and 'A Charlatan's Album: cartes-de-visite from Bolivia, Argentina and Paraguay (1860–1880)', in *From Dust to Digital. Ten Years of the Endangered Programme*, ed. by Maja Kominko (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2015). Also see Farro, this issue.



- 16 M. M. Lopes, 'Cooperação científica na América Latina no final do século XIX: os intercâmbios dos museus de ciências naturais', *Interciencia*, 25 (2000), 228–33.
- 17 Buenos Aires: Museo Público, Museo de La Plata, Museo Benatti; Costa Rica: National Museum; Anastasio Alfaro, *Catalogue of Antiquities* (1892 and 1896); Manuel de Peralta and A. Alfaro, *Etnología Centro-Americana* (Madrid, 1893) (a catalogue of the collections at the Madrid Historic-American exhibition, 1892); Guadeloupe: catalogue of the Guesde Collection of antiquities in Pointe à-Pitre, 1899; Havannah: Museo Gundlach (in connection with the Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza de La Habana, containing a good collection of the fauna of Cuba); Lima (Perú): National Museum, Military Museum, and catalogue of José Macedós collectios of archaeological objects (1879); Brazil: Museo Botânico do Amazonas (Manaos), Museu Paraense de História Natural e Ethnographia (later called Goeldi Museum, Pará), National Museum (Rio de Janeiro), National Educational Museum (Rio de Janeiro), Museu Paulista (São Paulo); Mexico: National Museum, Montevideo: Museo Nacional and Pedagogical Museum; Morelia: Museo Michoacano; Santiago de Chile: Museo Nacional; Valparaíso (Chile): Natural History Museum. Another directory from 1908, probably inspired by Murray's, focused on educational museums and quoted again Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, and Santiago de Chile (B. R. Andrews, 'Museums of Education; their History and Use', *Teachers College Record*, 9.4 (1908), 195–291, New York).
- 18 This is precisely the time that saw the large-scale implementation of systematic cataloguing of libraries — Dewey, Cutter, and the Library of Congress and Harvard in the US, a development that fits with schemes to universalize knowledge. L. Pyenson and C. Verbruggen, 'Ego and the International: The Modernist Circle of George Sarton', *Isis*, 100 (2009), 60–78.
- 19 J. A. Secord, 'Knowledge in Transit', *Isis*, 95 (2004), 654–72.
- 20 M. J. Rudwick, 'Georges Cuvier's Paper Museum of Fossil Bones', *Archives of Natural History*, 27 (2000), 51–68.
- 21 P. Findlen, 'Possessing Nature', *Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 395–96.
- 22 I. Podgorny, 'Embodied Institutions — La Plata Museum as Francisco P. Moreno's Autobiography', in *Proceedings Volume 34th CIMUSET-International Committee for Museums and Collections of Science and Technology/ICOM, Interpretations and Activities to the Public*, Rio de Janeiro, September 2006, ed. by M. E. Valente (Rio de Janeiro: Museu de Astronomia e Ciências Afins), pp. 95–10.
- 23 I. Podgorny and M. M. Lopes, 'Trayectorias y desafíos de la historiografía de los museos de historia natural en América Del Sur', *Anais do Museu Paulista*, 21.1 (2013), 15–25 (p. 25), <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0101-47142013000100003>> [accessed 9 September 2015].
- 24 Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*.
- 25 *United States, Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1915*, 1 (1915), 19. On these questions, see R. Salvatore, et al., *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U. S.-Latin American Relations* (Duke: Duke University Press, 1998). On the commercial expansion of the US and the rivalry in the commercial scientific arena, see L. Pyenson, *Civilizing Mission: Exact Sciences and French Overseas Expansion, 1830–1940* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University, 1993), and *Cultural Imperialism and Exact Sciences: German Expansion Overseas, 1900–1930* (New York: P. Lang, 1985).
- 26 J. A. Pérez Gollán, 'Mr. Ward en Buenos Aires: Los museos y el proyecto de nación a fines del siglo XIX', *Ciencia Hoy*, 5.528 (1995), 52–58, and I. Podgorny, 'De razón a facultad Ideas acerca de las funciones del Museo de la Plata en el periodo 1890–1918', *Runa: Archivo para las Ciencias del Hombre*, 22 (1995), 89–104; *Florentino Ameghino & Hermanos. Empresa Argentina de Paleontología Ilimitada* (Buenos Aires: Emecé, 2016). See also *Nature and Antiquities*.
- 27 At the Fourth International Conference of American States (Buenos Aires, 1910), the name of the organization was changed to the Union of American Republics and the Bureau became the Pan American Union, whose building was constructed in 1910 in Washington, DC. Emblematic of these processes, the Latin American Scientific Congress changed its name to Pan-American Scientific Congress in its fourth

- meeting in December 1908 in Santiago, Chile, which for the first time had the participation of a delegation from the United States. R. Fernos, *Science Still Born. The Rise and Impact of the Pan American Scientific Congresses 1898–1916* (Lincoln: Universe Inc., 2003). See also Salvatore, *Close Encounters*.
- 28 L. V. Coleman, *Directory of Museums in South America* (Washington, DC: The American Association of Museums, 1929).
- 29 Coleman, *Directory*, p. 3.
- 30 See Appendix in Coleman, *Directory*, pp. 113–29.
- 31 L. V. Coleman, *The Museum in America. A Critical Study* (Washington, DC: The American Association of Museums, 1939). Even when Spanish America included plenty of small privately owned museums, at least in the 1920s, they did not qualify for being included on Coleman's list.