

May 2020

## German-american Wpa Murals at the Milwaukee Public Museum and National Socialist Schultafeln: A Comparative Analysis

Katherine J. Santell  
*University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://dc.uwm.edu/etd>



Part of the [Archaeological Anthropology Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Santell, Katherine J., "German-american Wpa Murals at the Milwaukee Public Museum and National Socialist Schultafeln: A Comparative Analysis" (2020). *Theses and Dissertations*. 2418.  
<https://dc.uwm.edu/etd/2418>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by UWM Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of UWM Digital Commons. For more information, please contact [open-access@uwm.edu](mailto:open-access@uwm.edu).

GERMAN-AMERICAN WPA MURALS AT THE MILWAUKEE PUBLIC MUSEUM AND  
NATIONAL SOCIALIST SCHULTAFELN: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

by

Katherine J Santell

A Thesis Submitted in  
Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science  
in Anthropology

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

May 2020



## ABSTRACT

### GERMAN-AMERICAN WPA MURALS AT THE MILWAUKEE PUBLIC MUSEUM AND NATIONAL SOCIALIST SCHULTAFELN: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

by Katherine J Santell

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2020  
Under the Supervision of Bettina Arnold, Ph.D.

The goal of this thesis was to systematically examine and compare the themes and styles present in the Works Progress Administration (WPA) paintings housed in the Milwaukee Public Museum to a selection of National Socialist *Schultafeln* in Germany. The research conducted on the WPA paintings concentrated on pieces from the A.O. Tiemann collection and other works by painters who emigrated from Germany in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century or were of German descent. This was further narrowed to an in-depth analysis of pieces that depict lake dwelling sites of the European Neolithic and Bronze Ages in both US Museums and selected National Socialist *Schultafel* contexts. The lake dwelling scenes were categorized by type of depiction (such as domestic or hunting scenes), type of artifact depicted, the gender of depicted individuals and their respective numbers, their aesthetic representation and their staging within the image. A gender theory and historiographic approach was applied to this qualitative comparative analysis of the American and National Socialist representations. Patterns and tropes in 1930s representations of gender roles and race in the archaeological record were identified and discussed in light of additional textual evidence.

© Copyright by Katherine J Santell, 2020  
All Rights Reserved

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Abstract</b> .....	ii
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	vi
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	x
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	xii
<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
<b>Chapter One: Background</b> .....	3
Race and Gender in Historical Context .....	3
Race .....	3
Gender .....	6
Education and Pedagogy .....	8
Development of Prehistory, Archaeology, and Museums .....	11
Role of Philhellenism .....	15
State Sponsorship of Art and Archaeology in the US and Germany.....	17
The Effects of National Socialism on Art and Culture.....	19
Displaying Prehistory .....	21
History, Interpretation and Representation of the Lake Dwellings .....	23
Modern Lake Dwelling Research .....	28
Case Studies.....	29
Images.....	33
<b>Chapter Two: Literature Review</b> .....	38
Conceptualization of Race in the 1930s .....	38
Gender History .....	41
Gender and Archaeology .....	44
Portraying the Pfahlbauten .....	48
Archaeology under the Third Reich .....	51
<b>Chapter Three: Methods and Theoretical Framework</b> .....	55
Introduction .....	55
Theoretical Approach .....	57
Historiography .....	57
Race .....	58

Gender and Feminist Theory .....	58
Analytical Approach.....	60
The Artists .....	63
Description of the Data Set.....	66
Schultafeln .....	69
<b>Chapter Four: Analysis.....</b>	<b>73</b>
The Dataset: Lake Dwelling Depictions.....	73
Commissioning Art at the MPM .....	80
Commissioning Art in National Socialist Germany .....	82
Artist Connections .....	82
Race and Ethnicity in the WPA/US Paintings.....	84
Race and Ethnicity in the German Schultafeln.....	89
Discussion of Race .....	92
Gender .....	102
Gender in German American Paintings.....	103
Discussion of Gender in the National Socialist Images .....	109
Summary of Gender Patterns.....	114
Gender in the Archaeological Record .....	121
Additional Trends .....	122
Summary.....	124
Modern Viewpoints .....	127
<b>Chapter Five: Conclusion .....</b>	<b>128</b>
Summary.....	131
Recommendations and Future Research.....	134
<b>References Cited .....</b>	<b>136</b>
<b>Appendix.....</b>	<b>146</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 1.1</b> August 1936 issue of <i>Volk und Rasse</i> (German Propaganda Archive, Calvin University <a href="https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/volkrass.htm">https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/volkrass.htm</a> ) .....	6
<b>Figure 1.2</b> Racial instruction (Yad Vashem Shoah archive) .....	9
<b>Figure 1.3</b> Propaganda poster showing a family encircled by a National Socialist Eagle (Hoover Institution <a href="https://www.hoover.org/research/nazi-family-values">https://www.hoover.org/research/nazi-family-values</a> ).....	21
<b>Figure 1.4</b> “Idylle Lacustre” 1887 by Carl von Häberlin (1832 -1932) (Pfahlbaumuseum).....	26
<b>Figure 1.5</b> Hans Reinerth touring Open-Air Museum at Unteruhldingen with Alfred Rosenberg (Gunter Schöbel, Open Air Museum Unteruhldingen) .....	27
<b>Figure 1.6</b> John Warner Norton (Illinois Historical Art Project, unknown date) .....	31
<b>Figure 1.7</b> Albert Otto Tiemann “Swiss Lake Painting” (1940) .....	33
<b>Figure 1.8</b> Albert Otto Tiemann “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.” (1936) .	33
<b>Figure 1.9</b> J.B. Clemens “Swiss Lake Dwellers Mural” (installed 1965) .....	34
<b>Figure 1.10</b> J.W. Norton “The History of Mankind” (1924).....	34
<b>Figure 1.11</b> George Peter “Neolithic Age, 5000 B.C” (1920s) .....	35
<b>Figure 1.12</b> Wilhelm Petersen “In der Bronzezeit” (1930s).....	35
<b>Figure 1.13</b> Adolf Lehmann “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” (1930s).....	36
<b>Figure 1.14</b> Johannes Kügler “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” (1930s) .....	36
<b>Figure 2.1</b> Still from Silent Film <i>Natur und Liebe</i> (1927)(Schöbel 2019: 68).....	49
<b>Figure 2.2</b> “Die Pfahlbauerin” by Albert Anker (1873)(Kaeser 2016: 26) .....	50
<b>Figure 3.1</b> Wilhelm Petersen (Christiansen and Petersen 1993: 1) .....	56
<b>Figure 3.2</b> MPM “Swiss Lake Dwelling” by A.O. Tiemann.....	67
<b>Figure 3.3</b> MPM “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.” by A.O. Tiemann .....	67
<b>Figure 3.4</b> J.B. Clemens painting of a Swiss lake dwelling domestic scene (unknown) (Milwaukee Public Museum) .....	68

<b>Figure 3.5</b> J.W. Norton painting in the Logan Museum showing a lake dwelling trade scene (1924)(Logan Museum of Anthropology).....	68
<b>Figure 3.6</b> George Peter lunette depicting the Neolithic lake dwelling houses (1920s)(Milwaukee Public Museum).....	69
<b>Figure 3.7</b> W. Petersen depicting village life (1930s)(Saarländisches Schulmuseum) .....	71
<b>Figure 3.8</b> Adolf Lehmann’s retouched painting of “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” originally by Alfred Marxer (Westfälisches Museum).....	72
<b>Figure 3.9</b> National Socialist depiction of daily life in a lake dwelling culture by J. Kügler (1930s)(Westfälisches Schulmuseum) .....	72
<b>Figure 4.1</b> Composite of outward appearance (skin tone) and hair color for Tiemann’s “Swiss Lake Dwelling” .....	86
<b>Figure 4.2</b> Composite of outward appearance (skin tone) and hair color for Tiemann’s “Bartering Goods” .....	87
<b>Figure 4.3</b> Composite of outward appearance (skin tone) and hair color for Clemens’ “Swiss Lake Dwelling” .....	89
<b>Figure 4.4</b> Composite of outward appearance and hair color for Petersen’s “In der Bronzezeit” .....	90
<b>Figure 4.5</b> Composite of outward appearance and hair color for Lehmann’s “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” .....	91
<b>Figure 4.6</b> Composite of outward appearance and hair color for Kügler’s “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” .....	92
<b>Figure 4.7</b> Schulwandbild of racial types (Saarländisches Schulmuseum) .....	97
<b>Figure 4.8</b> Original artwork by Alfred Marxer “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” (Saarländisches Schulmuseum) .....	98
<b>Figure 4.9</b> Retouched “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung“ by A. Lehmann (Westfälisches Schulmuseum) .....	98
<b>Figure 4.10</b> Kügler’s “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit”(Westfälisches Schulmuseum).....	99
<b>Figure 4.11</b> Unnamed painter “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit”(Saarländisches Schulmuseum) .....	99

<b>Figure 4.12</b> “Das Osbergschiff – Ausfahrt der Wikinger” by Franz-Xavier Ilseheim (Saarländisches Schulmuseum) .....	101
<b>Figure 4.13</b> “Germanische Tracht der Bronzezeit” (1935) by Wilhelm Petersen .....	111
<b>Figure 4.14</b> Composite image of the number of men, women, and indeterminate figures .....	115
<b>Figure 4.15</b> Composite image of the number of adults vs. subadults.....	116
<b>Figure 4.16</b> The Stone Age Experiment: Life as it was 5000 Years ago (2018) (Pfahlbaumuseum/Gunter Schöbel).....	127
<b>Figure A.1</b> Tiemann “Swiss Lake Dwelling” (Milwaukee Public Museum) .....	147
<b>Figure A.2</b> Tiemann “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.” (Milwaukee Public Museum).....	148
<b>Figure A.3</b> Clemens “Swiss Lake Dwellers” (Milwaukee Public Museum).....	149
<b>Figure A.4</b> Norton “History of Mankind” (Logan Museum of Anthropology).....	150
<b>Figure A.5</b> Peter “Neolithic Age, Lake Dwellers 5000 BC” (Milwaukee Public Museum).....	151
<b>Figure A.6</b> Petersen “In der Bronzezeit” (Saarländisches Schulmuseum) .....	152
<b>Figure A.7</b> Lehmann “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” (Westfälisches Schulmuseum) .....	153
<b>Figure A.8</b> Kügler “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” (Westfälisches Schulmuseum).....	154
<b>Figure A.9</b> Tiemann “Swiss Lake Dwelling” altered to show figure gender and proximity (Milwaukee Public Museum) .....	155
<b>Figure A.10</b> Tiemann “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000. B.C.” altered to show figure gender and proximity (Milwaukee Public Museum) .....	155
<b>Figure A.11</b> Clemens “Swiss Lake Dwellers” altered to show figure gender and proximity (Milwaukee Public Museum) .....	156
<b>Figure A.12</b> Norton “The History of Man” altered to show figure gender and proximity (Logan Museum of Anthropology) .....	156
<b>Figure A.13</b> Peter “Neolithic Age, Lake Dwellers 5000 BC” altered to show figure gender and proximity (Milwaukee Public Museum).....	157
<b>Figure A.14</b> Petersen “In der Bronzezeit” altered to show figure gender and proximity (Saarländisches Schulmuseum) .....	157

<b>Figure A.15</b> Lehmann/Marxer “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” altered to show figure gender and proximity (Westfälisches Schulmuseum).....	158
<b>Figure A.16</b> Kügler “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” altered to show figure gender and proximity (Westfälisches Schulmuseum).....	158
<b>Figure A.17</b> Tiemann “Greek King Counting Money, IV Cent. BC” (1936) (Milwaukee Public Museum).....	159
<b>Figure A.18</b> Tiemann “Hay Stacks in a Sunlit Field” (1910) (Mutual Art) .....	159



## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 1.1</b> Images analyzed.....	37
<b>Table 4.1</b> Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Tiemann’s “Swiss Lake Painting” .....	73
<b>Table 4.2</b> Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Tiemann’s “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.”.....	74
<b>Table 4.3</b> Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Clemens’ “Swiss Lake Dwellers” .....	75
<b>Table 4.4</b> Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Norton’s “The History of Man” .....	76
<b>Table 4.5</b> Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Peter’s “Neolithic Age, 5000 BC” .....	77
<b>Table 4.6</b> Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Petersen’s “In der Bronzezeit” .....	78
<b>Table 4.7</b> Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Lehmann’s “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” .....	79
<b>Table 4.8</b> Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Kügler’s “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” .....	80
<b>Table 4.9.</b> Gender and physical appearance (skin tone) in Tiemann’s “Swiss Lake Painting” ....	85
<b>Table 4.10</b> Gender and hair color in Tiemann’s “Swiss Lake Painting” .....	86
<b>Table 4.11</b> Gender and physical appearance (skin tone) in Tiemann’s “Bartering Goods” .....	87
<b>Table 4.12</b> Gender and hair color in Tiemann’s “Bartering Goods” .....	87
<b>Table 4.13.</b> Gender and physical appearance (skin tone) in Clemens’ “Swiss Lake Dwellers” ...	88
<b>Table 4.14</b> Gender and hair color in Clemens’ “Swiss Lake Dwellers” .....	88
<b>Table 4.15.</b> Gender and physical appearance (skin tone) in Petersen’s “In der Bronzezeit” .....	89
<b>Table 4.16</b> Gender in relation to hair color in Petersen’s “In der Bronzezeit” .....	90
<b>Table 4.17</b> Gender and physical appearance (skin tone) in Lehmann’s “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” .....	90
<b>Table 4.18</b> Gender in relation to hair color in Lehmann’s “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” .....	91
<b>Table 4.19.</b> Gender and physical appearance (skin tone) in Kügler’s “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” .....	91

<b>Table 4.20</b> Gender in relation to hair color in Kügler’s “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” .....	92
<b>Table 4.21</b> WPA composite showing gender and outward appearance.....	95
<b>Table 4.22</b> WPA composite showing gender and hair color .....	95
<b>Table 4.23</b> National Socialist composite of gender compared to skin tone.....	102
<b>Table 4.24</b> National Socialist composite of gender compared to hair color and style.....	102
<b>Table 4.25</b> Gender compared to position in Tiemann’s “Lake Swiss Lake Painting” .....	104
<b>Table 4.26</b> Gender compared to age and activity in Tiemann’s “Swiss Lake Painting” .....	105
<b>Table 4.27</b> Gender compared to position in Tiemann’s “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.” .....	106
<b>Table 4.28</b> Gender compared to age and activity in Tiemann’s “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.” .....	107
<b>Table 4.29</b> Gender compared to position in Clemens’ “Swiss Lake Dwellers” .....	108
<b>Table 4.30</b> Gender compared to age and activity in Clemens’ “Swiss Lake Dwellers” .....	109
<b>Table 4.31</b> Gender compared to position in Petersen’s “In der Bronzezeit” .....	110
<b>Table 4.32</b> Gender compared to age and activity in Petersen’s “In der Bronzezeit” .....	110
<b>Table 4.33</b> Gender compared to position in Lehmann’s “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” .....	112
<b>Table 4.34</b> Gender compared to age and activity in Lehmann’s “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” .....	112
<b>Table 4.35</b> Gender compared to position in Kügler’s “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” .....	114
<b>Table 4.36</b> Gender compared to age and activity in Kügler’s “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” .....	114

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This research is dedicated to the incredible individuals who have supported me throughout my life and helped me accomplish my academic goals. I would like to begin by thanking my parents, Christine and Michael Santell. I am consistently humbled by the love and support they have given me. I appreciate that my parents have taught me to work hard, but to never forget the importance of dreaming.

I am extremely grateful for the guidance my advisor Dr. Bettina Arnold has given me throughout my academic career. In my undergraduate career, she inspired my interest in prehistory and the use of archaeology and provided me with support through readings drafts, letters of recommendation, and advice. I would also like to thank Dr. Patricia Richards and Dr. Derek Counts for serving on my thesis committee and providing valuable insights. Thanks also are due to the Milwaukee Public Museum's History Collections Manager Jackie Schweitzer, whose expertise in the WPA collections has been invaluable, and to Gunter Schöbel of the Pfahlbaumuseum in Unteruhldingen for providing publications about the Pfahlbauten and their display history. Last but not least, I am grateful for my friends, Kayla and Lauren, for the laughs, understanding, and care.

## Introduction

This thesis uses representations of lake dwelling sites produced during the 1930s in both America and Germany as a proxy for understanding how race and gender constructs informed interpretations of prehistory at this period and in these different contexts. The WPA images analyzed in this study were produced by German-American artists for the Milwaukee Public Museum and the Beloit Museum of Anthropology, while those in the German sample are *Schultafeln* or *Schulwandbilder* produced in National Socialist Germany. This project provides an initial baseline for categorizing the artistic portrayal of lake dwelling sites during the 1930s in both the US and Germany. One of the goals of this research was to develop a protocol for analyzing how depicting a subset of the past may reveal information about early interpretive biases with regard to gender, race and social roles. Also explored are the similarities and differences reflected in images produced by German-born artists living in America compared to those produced in Germany in the 1930s.

Comparing the presentation of race in the artwork produced by US based and National Socialist German artists provides a useful example of the importance of historiography and the investigation of cultural bias in the interpretation and representation of past societies. Viewing the lake dwelling contexts from the perspective of a twenty-first century understanding of race emphasizes uniformity at the expense of important differences, while uncovering the dominant perspectives of race and ethnicity in the past allows for a closer analysis of the original intent of the pieces.

The remainder of this chapter will provide an introduction to the socio-historical context during the 1930s with regard to attitudes toward gender, race, and the representation of

prehistoric cultures. The cross-cultural interpretation of the Pfahlbau/lake dwelling phenomenon in museological and artistic contexts will be discussed. The second chapter presents a literature review of interpretations of race and gender by scholars on both sides of the Atlantic for the period in question. It also discusses the development of gender theory, and the presentation of prehistory based on archaeological evidence in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The third chapter presents the methods used for recording and analyzing images, along with the theoretical orientation of this project. The fourth chapter presents the results of the analysis in the form of data tables comparing the images and their compositional themes. The fifth chapter presents conclusions and future directions for research on this topic.

## Chapter One: Background

This chapter addresses the dominant social ideologies of the 1930s in the US and National Socialist Germany with regard to race and gender. It also presents the state of education and pedagogy, and the history of prehistoric display. Artistic movements in the US and National Socialist Germany are described before specifically addressing the Pfahlbau phenomenon and its discovery/display. The case studies that will be presented in this thesis are then introduced.

### *Race and Gender in Historical Context*

#### Race

In the US, race, gender and class in the 1930s were central organizing forces, as they still are today. Racial inequality was present in America from its inception as evidenced by the genocide of indigenous peoples and the enslavement of Africans. Enslaved peoples were central to the nineteenth century American economy, whether in the form of chattel slavery in the South, or Asian immigrant laborers on the railways. Race was a way of identifying and discriminating against individuals and served as a gatekeeping mechanism restricting social mobility. After the Civil War during the Reconstruction era, despite *de facto* liberation, laws were passed to enforce segregation, separating people of color from individuals of European descent in public life (Urofsky 2019: 1). *Plessy vs. Ferguson* was passed in 1896, upholding Jim Crow Laws and the principle of “separate but equal” (Urofsky 2019: 1).

Racism was enabled by the commonly accepted perception that people of color were inferior. Attempts at a scientific organization and ranking by race were already being practiced in the eighteenth century. Carolus Linnaeus (1707 – 1778), in addition to developing the binomial system of biological nomenclature, also separated races of humans into *Americanus* (obstinate, merry, governed by law), *Asiaticus* (greedy, ruled by opinion), *Africanus* (indolent, shameless,

governed by caprice), and *Europaeus* (gentle, inventive, governed by law) (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 16). The study of racial typology became more prevalent in the nineteenth century, with scholars attempting to demonstrate the polygenesis of humanity's races (closely equating Africans and apes) (Nott and Giddon [1854] cited in Jackson and Weidman 2004: 46). Social Darwinism was applied to racial ranking, and the field of physical anthropology was used to substantiate claims of difference.

The attitude that some races were inferior to others directly impacted public life, health, and laws. The US had a "One-Drop" law stating that individuals who were 7/8ths Black should be classified as Black and barred from the privileges available to white Americans (with certain caveats, as immigrant groups from some areas of Europe were also viewed with suspicion and denied access to jobs). For example, the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 called for immigration quotas to reflect the 1880 census, encouraging northern European immigration and discouraging southern and eastern European immigration (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 117). In the early twentieth century, eugenics movements were seen as a solution to slums and poverty in the city (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 109). Poverty and crime were viewed as essentialist and hereditary. The attitude that the lives of people of color did not matter as much as those of white Europeans resulted in experimentation such as the Tuskegee syphilis scandal in which Black men and women with syphilis went untreated in order to study the progression of the disease (despite the availability of penicillin) (Center for Disease Control 2019).

In National Socialist Germany, the study of race was central to nationalist ideology and an understanding of one's place in the world. Eugenics was a state policy, inspired by the works of Francis Galton and American scientists such as Charles Davenport and Madison Grant. In 1933, the Office of Racial Policy was created as an agent of "social education" under the Third

Reich (Bernhard 2017). There was official recognition of racial categories such as the Aryan/Nordics, who were defined as *Übermenschen* and viewed as superior to races such as Romanians, Slavs, ethnic Poles, and Jews. The Nordic/Aryans were supposedly characterized by high foreheads, prominent chins, blue eyes, and light hair and skin, and were found throughout northern Europe. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler wrote that “all who are not of a good race are chaff.” Men were to be muscular warriors while women were the “hero incubators” of the Reich (Arnold 2006: 22).

In the strictest sense, Nordic groups were considered superior to the so-called Alpines, the population modern scholars associate with the Alpine lake dwelling cultures (Field 1977). For the National Socialists, constructed ideals of race were expressed through a plethora of media. For example, the magazine *Volk und Rasse* advertised a competition for photographs of the “most Aryan head”, publishing images of men and women who represented an idealized Aryan form. Some of these characteristics included elongated foreheads, straight noses, blond hair, blue eyes, and light skin. The journal also emphasized the importance of fitness, promoting the idea of the physical superiority of German individuals, with subscribers submitting their photos for the competition (Figure 1.1) (Arnold 2006: 16-17).

In 1935, the Nazis passed the Nuremberg laws in order to ensure that German blood would not be “polluted” by intermarriage with Jews (US Holocaust Memorial Museum 2019). “Jewishness” was legally defined in these articles as anyone who had three grandparents who were Jews (regardless of their current religious practice). Documented proof of racial purity was also required in order to marry. In addition to the Jews, the Roma (also referred to as Gypsies, traveling peoples who speak Romana) were considered an inferior group, and became targets of sterilization and extermination (along with homosexuals and individuals with disabilities).





Figure 1.1 August 1936 issue of *Volk und Rasse* (German Propaganda Archive, Calvin University).

### Gender

The gender ideology of the 1930s was complex; social roles were in flux in a conservative atmosphere. In the US in 1920 women were granted the right to vote with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment (however this did not include women of color, as segregation restricted voting until 1965) (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 207). In Germany, women received the right to vote in 1918. Suffragettes were part of the First Wave of Feminism, challenging the belief that women should have no role in the political process. Society did not uniformly embrace the change, with critics believing voting would tear families apart and that women were meant to submit to their husbands and should be relegated solely to the domestic sphere (Sanford 1911). These viewpoints pertained particularly to middle and upperclass women, as women in the lower classes had worked in factories since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and in the agricultural revolution before that. The service industry was considered an appropriate venue for women, with women entering the nursing, teaching, and secretarial fields (Women's Labor Bureau, US Department of Labor 2012).

The onset of the Great Depression in the US brought more American women into the workforce outside the home. Women's work in the service industry was less impacted by the Depression than that of men, who typically worked in factories (while teachers and nurses continued to be needed) (Trowbridge 2012). However, the US government maintained a conservative position, with the New Deal making it illegal for more than one individual per household to receive a federal service job. The Civilian Conservation Core was against the hiring of women, but allowed employment in housekeeping (Trowbridge 2012).

In the Third Reich, motherhood was viewed as the primary role for women. Proper gender characteristics included modesty and the willingness to bear a large number of children for the future of Germany (Chupta 1991: WS 40). In the League of German Girls (*Bund Deutscher Mädel*), femininity and preparation for motherhood were accorded the highest degree of importance. This structural organization echoed that of the boys' groups, with a *Jungmädel* group for girls 10 to 14 and entrance into the full League of German Girls from ages 14 to 18. There was also a Belief and Beauty society for young women aged 17 to 21 (Miller-Kipp 2001). League members were required to be German, have no diseases, and remain childless until marriage (*Der Jungmädeldienst* 1940). The League encouraged physical activity, such as gymnastics and hiking, and took members camping. Service was also promoted, and the Belief and Beauty society provided a modicum of job-training in approved fields such as art or housework (with emphasis on marriage as an ultimate goal) (Miller-Kipp 2001:56). Having children was considered the female equivalent of military service, with Hitler arguing that assigning the role of motherhood to women was not degrading. It was instead a woman's "greatest honor" (Chupta 1991: WS-40).

The Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls are examples of Nazi Germany's strictly prescriptive gender ideology. The Hitler Youth was compulsory for boys over the age of 10 and was initially designed as a pipeline to the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) and later *Schutzstaffel* (SS) and *Wehrmacht* (Kandel 1935: 161). Physical prowess and aggression were admired traits, with boys encouraged to wrestle and camp, along with actual military training (Evans 2005: 270). They were also taught that their sacrifice might be necessary and would be honorable if it meant that Germany would survive. Hitler Youth organizations were also hierarchical, in order to integrate members smoothly into the paramilitary or military arms of the Third Reich (grooming for party leaders occurred in these organizations as well) (Kandel 1935: 161). Nazi masculinity and violence were inextricably intertwined.

#### *Education and Pedagogy*

In the US, the educational system of the time reinforced the prevailing attitudes towards race and gender inequality. Schools were segregated under *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, with some states having *de facto* segregation laws. The American school system did not promote integration, with the absence of representation causing an "othering" of certain populations within the country. Schools for people of color had fewer teachers, larger class sizes, and fewer supplies. Students were given less opportunity to advance with age due to neglect, maintaining the cultural and economic inequality predetermined by race (Baughman 2017). With regard to gender, students in primary education typically had female teachers, with male representation increasing with student age. Women's college enrollment did increase, however, in the 1930s in comparison to previous decades, though the areas of study mainly involved teaching, nursing, and home economics (Parker 2015: 4).

The goal of Nazi education was not to further knowledge for knowledge's sake, but rather to create a state of obedient drones (US Holocaust Memorial Museum 2019; Kandel 1935). As with other occupations, Jewish people and those with dissenting political views were removed from teaching posts in 1933, and by 1936, 97% of public-school teachers were listed as party members due to compulsory enlistment (US Holocaust Memorial Museum). School classrooms received busts or portraits of Hitler to display, as allegiance was sworn directly to him by members of youth groups (McNab 2013: 27).

In National Socialist Germany, Schultafeln were intended to be used in indoctrination of children in pedagogical settings. These painted murals represented various periods of prehistory and early history in the form of educational scenes that were exhibited in classroom settings. Displaying Germanic prehistory was one way of instilling the importance of a racially pure heritage and German supremacy (Arnold 1990; 2006). Classrooms were also equipped with collections of portraits, much like the images that appear in *Volk und Rasse* as representative examples of race (Figure 1.2) (Arnold 2006: 17). Racial hygiene was a mandatory part of biology in which students were taught that Nordic/Aryans were superior to other races, and therefore should not interbreed (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 123).



Figure 1.2 Racial instruction in the classroom (Yad Vashem Shoah online archive).

Eugenic concepts were also incorporated into health and physical education classes. Intellectualism was de-emphasized as a part of education, as it had the potential to challenge Nazi control. Physical education was considered of the highest importance (for both boys and girls), with class time in this subject increasing relative to religion, which was correspondingly deemphasized. History classes also were promoted but were not objective. Hitler's Minister of the Interior, Wilhelm Frick, stated:

The purpose of history was to teach people that life was always dominated by struggle, that race and blood were central to everything that happened in the past, present and future, and that leadership determined the fate of peoples. Central themes in the new teaching including courage in battle, sacrifice for a greater cause, boundless admiration for the Leader and hatred of Germany's enemies, the Jews (Frick, quoted in Evans 2005: 263).

The themes in the National Socialist educational system were supplemented with various cultural and extracurricular activities. Games, children's books, and cartoons encouraged antisemitism and promoted the Aryan hero narrative. In the youth groups, outdoor education and fieldtrips were common. Troops went camping or hiking in the Bavarian or Swabian forests in order to foster a love of athleticism and the Fatherland, along with further indoctrination in a controlled and isolated environment.

Images and symbols were an essential component of the educational system in the Third Reich. Propagandists understood the importance of providing different venues, from the written word to games and pictures, in order to disseminate the ideology of the party. Children were taught that other races were inferior using posters and film aids. In the school classroom, the traditional Schultafeln were adapted to further the National Socialist agenda. As history was one

of the subjects on which great importance was placed, schoolroom murals were created to reflect the legacy of the German past and instill in children a belief in their own superiority.

### *Development of Prehistory, Archaeology, and Museums*

The development of interpretations of prehistory varied in European and American contexts. The practice of collecting in the West was first documented in ancient Rome, where individuals sought after materials deemed important to the country's past (or desirable in a home); however, this type of recovery was not systematic and was more closely tied to philosophical speculation (Trigger 1998: 31). In the medieval era, stone monoliths and tumuli were locations of curiosity (Schnapp 1993: 16 -17). Folktales were created in order to bring prehistoric monuments in line with the Christian worldview, and these locations were often the targets of looting by local elites who established private collections, some of which later became public (Trigger 1998: 31).

In the sixteenth century, "curiosity cabinets" were constructed to display the collections of high-status individuals. These "curiosity cabinets" or art cabinets (*Kunstkammer* or *Wunderkammer*) were boxes or rooms in which art/artifacts from ancient sites or objects from the natural world were placed on display (Alexander and Alexander 2008: 5). They gained popularity in the nineteenth century, continuing into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Alexander and Alexander 2008: 5). The curiosity cabinet was a phenomenon in the US as well as in Europe (Parrish 2006: 41).

However, as scholars began to access literature from antiquity, more emphasis began to be placed on obtaining artistic pieces and monuments from areas outside central Europe. In England, the use of the word "antiquarian" and the formation of the first antiquarian society occurred in the early sixteenth century (Kelley 2003: 34). In 1734, English gentlemen formed the

Society of Dilettanti, enthusiasts for classical art, literature, and archaeological studies (Trigger 1998: 38). Early classical studies provided the basis for the fields of Egyptology and Assyriology. The emphasis was still on monuments and objects, rather than context, subsistence, or daily life, and these early scholars relied heavily on textual support (Trigger 1998: 40). There was an attitude that prehistoric studies were inferior to Classical and Near Eastern (i.e. Biblical) archaeology (Trigger 1998: 40). Collecting practices in the New World also contributed to the subject of prehistory in Europe, even before intellectual consideration of the history of New World peoples. The plundering of New World sites began with the arrival of Christopher Columbus in 1492 and continued into the nineteenth century and beyond (Kelley 2003: 20). Items of cultural patrimony, along with tools and weapons, were put on display in the curiosity cabinets (Kelley 2003: 20). In the Renaissance, scholars drew connections between North American Indian groups and Tacitus' descriptions of ancient Germans (Kelley 2003: 20).

A concerted effort to study prehistory (as opposed to text-aided classicism) emerged in the nineteenth century. The term *Vorgeschichte* had been coined by historian August Ludwig Schloelzer (1735 – 1809) to describe the time period from the beginning of the world to the beginning of Rome (Eskildsen 2012: 28). In Denmark, Christian Thomsen (1788 – 1865) advocated for the study of objects separated from a reliance on text (Eskildsen 2012: 26). Thomsen, along with contemporary Niels Matthias Peterson (1791 – 1862), argued that for distant history, written reports were not appropriate for preserving the stories of the deep past and could be unreliable (Eskildsen 2012: 27). Thomsen considered the main problem to be a lack of information regarding the materials that had been collected by antiquarians. Inspired by Georges Cuvier's recognition of the importance of classification based on morphology, he applied that principle to artifact types (Eskildsen 2012: 39). Thomsen eventually developed the

Three Age System, first published in 1836 in *A Guide to Northern Antiquity*, which identified periods in prehistory based on the presence of stone, bronze, and iron, with the objects made of stone identified as older than objects of bronze or iron (Eskildsen 2012: 39). The publication was disseminated in antiquarian circles and ushered in a new way of organizing prehistoric European material from archaeological contexts.

Antiquarians pursued systematic examinations of various prehistoric sites in Europe. The lake dwelling sites (discovered in the mid-nineteenth century) were particularly desirable subjects of study due to the rarity of the artifact types and the preservation of organic material (Arnold 2013). Jens Worsaae (1821-1885) wrote about the progress of culture, and concentrated on antiquities from northern Europe rather than Greece and Rome (Kelley 2003: 25). He combined Thomsen's Three Age System with information drawn from geology and zoology. Worsaae's pioneering excavation of a kitchen midden placed deposits at a site in chronological order for the first time, demonstrating that prehistoric archaeologists could use material culture to determine relative temporal sequences without resorting to written sources (Schnapp 1993: 302).

In the New World, systematic examination of prehistory and ethnology did not begin until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Earlier attempts to reconcile prehistoric sites with a European worldview presented New World inhabitants as "uncivilized" snapshots of earlier, primitive stages of human development (Kelley 2003: 29). The rise of archaeology as a profession followed a similar trajectory as in Europe, with Philosophical societies like the Dilettantes being organized by Thomas Jefferson, who founded the American Academy of Arts and Sciences to promote research into the antiquities of America (Kelley 2003: 33). The American Antiquarian Society was established in 1812, with other societies forming throughout the nineteenth century centered on culture and naturalism. The Archaeological Institute of



America was established in 1879 and the *American Journal of Archaeology* in 1881 (Kelley 2003: 33). These early efforts were characterized by an effort to gather materials and antiquities from the past but lacked a “stable synthesis” (Kelley 2003: 34). Both the European and American traditions benefited from the work of V. Gordon Childe. In the *Dawn of Civilization* (1925), V. Gordon Childe demonstrated the use of archaeology as a way of understanding prehistory by integrating it with history as a continuation of a natural history of humankind (Kelley 2003: 36).

Related to the development of archaeological interpretation was the continuing evolution of the museum. The earlier curiosity cabinets, for which exclusivity had been paramount, became more accessible. The collections were arranged for aesthetic reasons in vaulted rooms where carefully selected guests could view them. In the seventeenth century, university museums were the first to become available to the public with their displays of botanical collections and natural objects (Alexander and Alexander 2008: 5). The eighteenth century saw increased public access to such material, with the founding of the British Museum in London and the Louvre in France (Alexander and Alexander 2008: 6-7). Public access increased the focus on collecting, conservation and research for the benefit of the institution and the community rather than the individual scholar (Alexander and Alexander 2008: 9). Collecting increased as knowledge of natural and human history expanded. In the nineteenth century, prehistoric collections became accessible to the public for the first time as well.

Nineteenth century US museums followed the European model and were organized into public galleries as part of larger institutions such as “dime museums” for entertainment (Pitman 1999: 5). P.T. Barnum was a major influence on the latter trend; to attract large audiences he purchased collections from several museums in order to appeal to a sense of wonder and emphasized the “other” in his displays (Pitman 1999: 5). The “blockbuster” exhibit/display was a

model followed by other institutions of the time (Pitman 1999: 5). Prehistoric collections in the Americas grew out of colonialism and a belief in preserving the “vanishing Indian” (Berry 1960: 51). Many US collections of natural history also included Old World antiquities, however, with some prehistoric pieces acquired because of the belief that larger collections were superior.

### *Role of Philhellenism*

Philhellenism, or the admiration of ancient Greek culture, had been a longstanding cultural obsession in German-speaking scholarship since the eighteenth century. It was viewed as a form of rebellion against baroque norms and Enlightenment intellectual “coldness” (Marchand 2003: 4). Johann Wincklemann (1717 – 1768) published his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* in 1764, which examined and discussed ancient art styles and structures (Trigger 1998: 38). Winckelmann’s work presented Greek art as unique and argued that all art was dependent on climate, geography and political culture (Marchand 2003: 10). Only certain races could have produced or served as subjects for this type of art, racializing the ancient world (Marchand 2003: 10). Friedrich August Wolf (1759 – 1824) was another classicist with pronounced racial ideals. His *Darstellung der Altertumswissenschaft* (1807) separated the ancient Greeks from the ancient Egyptians, Jews, and Persians. He ascribed higher cultural ability to the Egyptians and Jews but viewed these cultures as lesser civilizations than the ancient Greeks (Marchand 2003: 21). Many of these ideas informed National Socialist ideas about race and culture as well.

In the nineteenth century, Neohumanists argued that the ancient Greeks were the historical ancestors of culture, intelligence, and refinement. The movement was one which stressed that an individual’s capabilities were the result of a cultural background rather than class, a distinction that appeared to be egalitarian but was actually racially and ethnically exclusive (Marchand 2003: 25). Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767 – 1835) was a Graecophile who

became the head of the Interior Ministry for Education and Ecclesiastical affairs in 1808, part of Prussian reforms geared toward defeating Napoleon (Marchand 2003: 26). Von Humboldt institutionalized Greek language study in higher education and the civil service, requiring proficiency in Greek and Latin to pass the state exam, the *Abitur*, given to students attending classical education oriented secondary schools or *Gymnasien*.

The nineteenth century also spurred Nationalist movements linked to Greek independence. Some antiquarians held modern Greek peoples in low regard, viewing them as tainted by later ethnic incursions (Whitley 2001: 29). Europeans north of the Alps viewed themselves as the true heirs of the ancient Greeks rather than the modern population in Greece; however there were some academics who believed that the modern Greeks could achieve further advancement if given a classical education (Whitley 2001: 30).

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, a newly unified Germany saw Greek cultural remains as one way to obtain cultural prestige. In 1872, the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) was established and began funding excavations in the ancient world (Whitley 2001: 34). The DAI excavations at Olympia are a good example; artifacts and ancient art were exported to Germany for exhibition.

Philhellenism had an impact on individuals receiving humanistic or classical educations in German states including artists. It impacted the choices of museum educators regarding what should be put on display, as an impressive classic collection was akin to a cultural pedigree. In the US, such collections were sought after as well, and the Milwaukee Public Museum was no exception. As an institution founded in the latter half of the nineteenth century, obtaining collections from Antiquity was important to the MPM's early directors and curators; these objects served as models for exhibit displays and murals. The series on "Coinage in the Ancient

World,” commissioned by the MPM in the 1930s, continued the tradition of classical display, and painters such as Albert Otto Tiemann (1868 – 1948) produced work in line with the style.

*State Sponsorship of Art and Archaeology in the US and Germany*

During the 1930s in the US, art had a place in the mission of economic recovery. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office in 1933, implementing the “New Deal” as a stimulus package via various programs, welfare reforms, and public works. Employment and relief from the economic crisis caused by the stock market crash in 1929 were central promises of Roosevelt’s campaign, and led to the development of various policies. The New Deal not only employed laborers but also included intellectual and artistic pursuits.

The Public Works of Art Project (PWAP) was created in 1933 and employed nearly 4,000 artists (Adler 2009). These individuals worked in various media, from murals to print, and were paid on average \$75.59 per work (Adler 2009). The PWAP accorded equal importance to the work of artists and that of manual laborers; with this mindset, it was also thought that artists should be held to a high standard of production. Individuals were required to apply to public offices and prove their professionalism. Required testing resulted in Artist Level One, Two, or Three ranking, with salaries commensurate with skills (Adler 2009).

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) was signed into law by Roosevelt on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1935, as a part of the New Deal (specifically, Executive Order 7034). The program developed out of the framework of the Civil Works Administration that operated between 1933 and 1934 (Mattingly 2012). The project was headed by Harry Hopkins with an initial appropriation of \$4.9 billion (adjusted) (Smith 2006: 87).

As a part of the New Deal, the WPA’s mission was to employ Americans whose jobs were lost due to the Great Depression, with the increased spending money stimulating the

economy (Edmonds 2008: 19). Under this program, individuals who were to receive financial relief needed to be certified by a relief agency; however, there were some individuals (5%) employed through the WPA without relief monies (Mattingly 2012). The WPA employed both men and women, although only one individual per household was allowed to enroll and receive work. Individuals could work for a consecutive eighteen-month period, after which they would be terminated (though they could reapply after twenty days) in order to maximize the employment of different individuals (Mattingly 2012).

The WPA was diverse in the roles it offered to individuals. Like the Civilian Conversation Corps (CCC), the program offered work for a combination of skilled and unskilled labor. Individuals were employed in building projects, such as schools, hospitals, public buildings, entertainment locations, etc. In addition to construction, the WPA provided employment for seamstresses, gardeners, engineers, and book delivery persons (Mattingly 2012). A number of archaeological sites were also investigated under the auspices of the WPA, forming the basis for the Cultural Resource Management industry of today.

A subset of the WPA included Federal Project Number One. Headed by Holger Cahill, this entity was in charge of employing those in the entertainment industry, such as writers, singers, musicians, and actors (Federal Works Agency 1946). As a division of the WPA, Federal Project Number One was further subdivided into smaller organizations, including the Federal Writer's Project, Historical Records' Survey, Federal Music Project, and Federal Art Project (Federal Works Agency 1946). The latter project is the most pertinent to the creation of the lake dwelling paintings in US museum contexts, including the MPM, that are the focus of this thesis.

The Federal Art Project provided employment to a variety of artists working in different media, from photography to murals. Artists, designers, and artistic researchers were employed in

non-federal government buildings and spaces, receiving just over \$20 per week (Brenner 1938). In government-funded locations, individuals were compensated for materials as well as labor.

The effects of these federal aid art programs were felt in Milwaukee, Wisconsin as well. Because the Milwaukee Public Museum was not a federal building, it was eligible to receive funding through New Deal policies. The director at the time, Samuel A. Barrett, aggressively pursued such funding. The museum became a center for artists, with spaces designated for murals to complement the natural history halls (Milwaukee Public Museum Monthly Report: 1936: 115). In addition to two-dimensional art, individuals worked on producing models for the exhibits.

### *The Effects of National Socialism on Art and Culture*

As a multifaceted medium with the potential to reach a large audience, art (painting/sculpture, film, literature) was of great importance to the propaganda arm of the Third Reich. National Socialists saw shaping the art scene as an opportunity to mold a culture and reflect an idealized one. The *Volk* was a central organizing theme, referring to the German people and the Third Reich's interpretations of German ideals: obedience, honor, family, and racial purity (Adam 1992: 9). As Adolf Hitler concisely stated, "Art has at all times been the expression of an ideological and religious experience and at the same time the expression of a political will" (Adam 1992: 9).

National Socialism explicitly defined what could be considered art. In 1937, the Great German Art exhibition opened in Munich to showcase what were considered exemplary products of the Aryan imagination. These definitions were closely shaped by what Hitler considered art and were not necessarily reflective of uniformly held attitudes within the NSDAP. For example, prior to the condemnation of German expressionism that had been popular during the Weimar

Republic, Joseph Goebbels had been a patron of the contemporary art style because he felt it had the potential to represent a new Germany (Barnett 2001: 161). Hitler, on the other hand, preferred pieces inspired by Neoclassicism and Romanticism, which emphasized nature and Aryan ideals of physical beauty. In 1937, along with the Exhibition of Great German Art, the Third Reich also installed the Exhibition of Degenerate Art. Museums were cleared of modern art pieces that were then installed in this display. Pieces included works produced in a Dadaist or Cubist style, or that were produced by undesirable individuals, including Jewish artists. These works were considered offensive to the *Volk* worldview (Adam 1992: 121-137). However, despite the emphasis on Neoclassicism, Philhellenistic expression was altered from what it had been in the nineteenth century. The role of a *Gymnasium* education was deemphasized in favor of utilitarianism and militarism (Marchand 2003: 341). In 1938, study of the Greek language was restricted to fewer schools. Classicism was perpetuated with Hitler's interest in Greek and Roman art, drawing upon this aesthetic for architecture and Olympic athletes (Marchand 2003: 350). However, this classicist mindset was in competition with *Völkisch* art, promoted by Alfred Rosenberg, Hans Reinerth, and Heinrich Himmler. The Schultafeln displaying German prehistory was characterized by the latter artistic movement.

Common *Völkisch* tropes included symbols of National Socialism, Nordicism/historical fantasy, the countryside, and stereotypical gender roles. It was not uncommon for a painting to read as a propaganda poster, with a family encircled by the wings of a Germanic eagle (Figure 1.3). Scenes from Nordic/Germanic folklore were also present in the visual arts, with images such as Viking ships often shown on murals. In aural media, the works of Richard Wagner were celebrated, and were illustrated using images drawn from Pagan-Norse mythology (Adam 1992: 33). Rural areas were often the setting for portraiture and murals, depicting the National Socialist

preference for the outdoors and simplicity - along with the appeal of the image of the farmer/builder at the core of Germanic life. The latter was also often represented as a farmer/warrior in a society where men were viewed as responsible for propagation as well as defense. In murals, as well as sculpture, virility was emphasized if not required. Women were depicted dressed modestly, with hair pulled back into a bun and surrounded by children.



Figure 1.3 Propaganda Poster (Hoover Institution).

### *Displaying Prehistory*

Depicting prehistory and capturing the public's interest involved a complicated symbiotic relationship between the work of archaeologists, museums, and artists. It also illustrates the intimate relationship between archaeology and dominant social ideologies. In the nineteenth century, the portrayal of prehistory (defined as the period before the arrival of Roman incursions in Europe) was rare. Sketches of artifacts were made in antiquarian circles and sites were illustrated in their natural settings as schematic maps, but daily life was not depicted.



Cultural anthropology provided a crux and model for prehistoric renderings. In the US *National Geographic* was especially successful due to its use of images rather than long texts full of technical language (Gero and Root 1990: 21). In the 1903 edition of the magazine, foreign geography was linked to orientalism and the portrayal of women with fewer clothes than their western counterparts (Gero and Root 1990: 21). While some early twentieth century archaeologists attempted to humanize the past by referring to modern societies, descriptions of Peruvians as having a “prehistoric simplicity” and “primitive” nature reveal attitudes heavily saturated with colonialism, racism, and ethnocentrism (Hiram Bingham quoted in Gero and Root 1990: 28). Archaeological representations in *National Geographic* included descriptions of skeletons as “lovely” and Native peoples were often incorporated into excavation or monument photographs or paintings (Gero and Root: 1990: 28). These types of images represent attempts to bring “prehistory” to the public by using modern “primitive” (i.e. indigenous) peoples as a proxy for portraying ancient lifeways.

In addition to the use of magazines such as *National Geographic* as a source for prehistoric imagery, museums also utilized murals. The focus of this paper, WPA paintings and National Socialist Schultafeln, are examples of these early paintings. Murals were a part of the American art scene beginning in the nineteenth century with art on the walls of state buildings. These visual representations of scenes from history are often laced with symbolism. At the Logan Museum of Anthropology in Beloit, for example, murals were commissioned to complement exhibits and display materials in the collections showing daily life (Burwell 2019). In the 1930s, murals as a complement to exhibits and government buildings spread, as a result of the government’s New Deal work initiatives. In addition to murals, displaying contexts using dioramas was pioneered by Carl Akeley in the early nineteenth century, particularly exhibits of

natural history (Haraway 1984: 25). Exhibit installations, including the use of human models, followed with the expansion of the museum market in the early twentieth century. Like the paintings, installation of such displays increased with funding provided by the New Deal.

Photographs, murals, and installations made prehistory increasingly accessible to the public. Visual media were another far-reaching line of communication that made the past more accessible than print media. The larger murals and exhibits showing individuals from the past within their time frame was a way to familiarize the unfamiliar, but it depended heavily on the study of other cultures.

### *History, Interpretation and Representation of the Lake Dwellings*

Lake dwelling sites are found throughout the world wherever plentiful and diverse resources exist along the shores of open bodies of water. They are universally considered prime locations for human habitation (Menotti 2004; Menotti and O'Sullivan 2013). Archaeologically, the propensity for these sites to flood and become waterlogged means that organic materials that ordinarily would not be preserved are in excellent condition, providing insights into technologies such as wood working, basketry and textile production that are unknown from other contexts. This research project focuses on sites in central Europe, particularly Lake Constance (known in German as the *Bodensee*), located between southwest Germany, Switzerland, and Austria.

The first Pfahlbau or pile dwelling sites in central Europe were discovered in the winter of 1853 and 1854 in Switzerland, which was extremely cold and dry, resulting in a record drop in water levels. Farmers began to dredge areas around the shoreline of Obermeilen, uncovering wooden pilings, bones, stones, and deer antlers (Kaeser 2016: 22). Ferdinand Keller (1800 – 1881), the President of the Antiquarian Society in Zurich at the time, was called in to examine the site, and in 1854 released the first report on the lake dwelling material (Kaeser 2016: 23).

Additional lake dwelling sites were discovered in the Alpine region in the years that followed the initial Obermeilen investigations, with antiquarians discovering the existence of Neolithic and Bronze Age wetland settlements along Lake Neuchâtel in France and Switzerland in 1855 and the late Iron Age site of La Tène in 1857 (Egloff 1988).

The nineteenth century was characterized by a frenzy of lake dwelling collecting due to the diversity and unprecedented preservation of the artifacts recovered from these sites, which provided insights into the structure of buildings, trade, agriculture, hunting, fishing, and clothing (Kaeser 2016: 23). Textiles were of particular significance as they were extremely uncommon in the central European Neolithic and Bronze Age due to the soil conditions prevailing on typical land-based sites (Arnold 2013: 877). The discovery of the *Pfahlbauten* also required various fields to work together for the first time, including paleoethnobotany, archaeology, and metallurgy, and led to the creation of the field of experimental archaeology (Kaeser 2016: 23).

In the mid-nineteenth century obtaining collectable objects was the central motivation of lake dwelling excavations (Petrequin 2013: 253), which was unfortunate for the preservation of the actual sites and recording of site contexts and resulted in large-scale destruction of data (Petrequin 2013: 254). In addition, the educational backgrounds and motivations of collectors varied, with some individuals being closer to amateur antiquarians/treasure hunters than professional archaeologists (Arnold 2013: 876). Landowners would grant access to collectors to dig on their property, often destroying the delicate stratigraphy of a site and destroying material that was not deemed valuable.

The result of this Alpine lake dwelling collecting craze was a diaspora of thousands of artifacts to various parts of Europe and the US (Arnold 2013: 876). Museums and antiquarians competed for the acquisition of these materials, with faked artifacts produced in order to keep up

with demand. Individuals would loot or manufacture materials in order to sell them to the highest bidder (Arnold 2013: 878) and some artifacts were misattributed to better-known sites in order to increase their value. In the US, the craze for obtaining these materials ceased after the First World War, due to the general antipathy toward German-speaking areas of Europe and because of an increasing shift towards collecting practices involving New World ethnographic material (Arnold 2013: 886).

In addition to artifacts, lake dwelling sites provided the scenic backdrop for paintings from the mid-nineteenth to the twentieth century. These images are complementary to materials in museums and were produced in order to place artifacts in context or to enhance private collections. For this project, the emphasis is on paintings depicting central European or Swiss sites; however, in the US, murals were also created of lake dwelling Native American groups to accompany ethnographic collections. For example, John Warner Norton painted images of different tribes in the Americas in addition to lake dwelling scenes in Europe (Logan Museum of Anthropology Catalogue). Images from the later nineteenth century were influenced heavily by the Romantic movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An emphasis on scenery and nature was typical for the era, part of Romanticism's rejection of the cold rationality and urban focus that characterized the Enlightenment (Galitz 2004). Lake dwelling paintings were less likely to include human figures during this early stage, centering instead on the environment surrounding the sites. Images with figures were heavily stylized and romanticized, as the era was characterized by a nostalgia for the past (Figure 1.4). In the latter half of the nineteenth century, prehistory was perceived as a utopia by progressives who valued hard work, egalitarianism, and freedom. Pfahlbau paintings of this period portray disciplined and harmonious ancient peoples (Kaeser 2016: 25).



Figure 1.4 Idylle Lacustre (1887) by Carl von Häberlin (1832 – 1911).

The influence of Romanticism was also clearly in evidence in the 1930s in Germany. Nationalism was tied to Romanticism through its emphasis on Neoclassicism and the glorification of the nation's past. The nineteenth century was a turbulent time of widespread revolutions and clashing political ideologies. Unification of several European countries including Germany occurred in the latter half of the century, with many of these states seeking legitimation by explicitly referencing the past. This need to promote self-esteem and self-interest was also apparent in the 1930s, after Germany had lost the First World War, with both time periods complementing one another. The hero narrative, apparent in Romantic literature and art, was coopted as a metaphor for the state (Adam 1992: 32). In Germany, prehistoric scenes were used to illustrate continuity of a glorious past and present, with well-known lake dwelling sites and materials also being utilized. These became the basis for *Lebensbild* or “life picture” imagery, representing daily life in the past. In addition, Romantic era art was considered by Adolf Hitler to represent the ideal “Greater German Art” because of its emphasis on beautification, nature, and heroic/folkloric themes (Adam 1992: 10).

The Pfahlbauten also served as tourist attractions. Museums with Pfahlbau finds were created in Friedrichshafen in 1869 and in Überlingen in 1871 (Keefer 2016: 27). Museum culture shifted however, from modern buildings exhibiting finds to reproductions of the ancient stilt-houses themselves. In 1920, one such reproduced village, the Wasserburg Buchau, was created as a life-size model of a late Bronze Age lake dwelling on the shore of the Federsee in Bad Buchau, Germany. Another site, also excavated by Hans Reinerth, was reconstructed in 1922 on the shores of Lake Constance, in Unteruhldingen, Germany, in the form of a Pfahlbau museum village (Keefer 2016: 33). These open-air museums were constructed while Germany was still governed by the Weimar Republic, but their funding and visitation would increase in the next decade under the National Socialist government. Both of these open-air museums were associated with Hans Reinerth, who would become the Rosenberg Office's lead archaeologist (Figure 1.5).



Figure 1.5 Hans Reinerth and Alfred Rosenberg, Unteruhldingen (Gunter Schöbel, Open Air Museum Unteruhldingen).

### *Modern Lake Dwelling Research*

The number of lake dwelling sites has increased to close to a thousand (with many more likely in existence) indicating that the phenomenon was widespread (Petrequin 2013: 253). Chronology and cultural affiliations may have differed but the common denominator is the presence of pile dwellings and wetland locations (Petrequin 2013: 253). Near the Swiss lakes, occupation began around 4400 BCE (Cortailod period) and lasted until 3677 BCE. The material culture in this period was fashioned from stone, wood, and antlers and included personal adornment (Karg and Märkle 2002: 169). The Pfyn phase followed, from 3700 – 3000 BCE, and was similar to the Cortailod with increased presence of animal domesticates and the presence of crucibles indicating metalworking (Billamboz 2013: 626). The Horgen phase was a pan-Swiss culture dated to 3400 – 3000 BCE; it was characterized by increased textile finds, copper jewelry, and “poverty” of ceramics (Stickel and Garrison 1988: 80). Corded Ware followed from 2700 – 2400 BCE, with distinctive ceramics and increased metal items as well as small grave mounds (Billamboz 2013: 626).

It is unknown whether these settlements were permanently occupied by Neolithic farmers, as the pile dwellings may have been inhabited during dry spells to supply water to flocks and were subsequently abandoned when lake levels rose (Petrequin 2013: 255). This explanation may, however, not have been a universal occurrence as lake dwelling sites are absent during the Bell Beaker period near Lake Neuchâtel as well as in the Middle Bronze Age north of the Alps; longer periods of occupation can also be found in the earlier Bronze Age. The sites were often occupied from 10 – 20 years at a time (Petrequin 2013: 256).

The construction of lake dwelling sites likely involved different techniques. Post holes may have been dug, dug and stabilized, or piles driven directly into the ground (Menotti and

Pranckenaite 2008: 3). Village layouts often included rows of rectangular buildings parallel to the shore and a reinforced palisade facing land, with raised platforms and granaries. The sites varied in size, from small hamlets to larger villages (Petrequin 2013: 259). Animals were fed in the forest or pastures after the third millennium BCE (Petrequin 2013: 261). It must also be noted that there were houses located on banks or ground, with earthen floors, not necessarily over the lake. When the sizes of the houses are compared to ethnographic parallels, it is likely that there were 5-7 people living in structures.

The preservation of organic materials such as seeds and bone also allowed for diet to be discerned. Plants included grains such as einkorn, emmer, barley and millet. There were also legumes, stone fruit, berries, flax, nuts, and lentils, while animals included cattle, pig, sheep/goat, wild game, fish, and dog (Petrequin 2013: 260). Flax was spun to create clothing and netting but wool is a relatively late addition to the textile materials available.

Social organization of lake dwellers was based on the individual village. In larger locations with trading networks, such as on Lake Constance, there are indications of larger structures containing metal material goods (Schöbel 2019). Bronze Age grave goods include decorated swords and imported artifacts. Graves are rare and the most common mortuary tradition involved cremation or water burials (Schöbel 2019). Limited evidence for burials hinders the information available about the lives of individuals, however, some personal ornament has been recovered.

### *Case Studies*

Four of the paintings at the MPM and one at the Logan Museum serve as the basis for the analysis that follows. Two of the paintings were produced by Albert Otto Tiemann at the MPM. Albert Otto Tiemann (1868 – 1948) was employed in 1933 under the Public Works of Art



program through the Federal Project Number One. He continued to work for the MPM until the program was cancelled at the outbreak of the Second World War (Museum of Wisconsin Art 2007). Tiemann's pieces included images of Swiss lake dwelling sites that utilized artifacts in the MPM collections. The images analyzed in this thesis are Tiemann's "Swiss Lake Painting" (Figure 1.7) and "Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C." (Figure 1.8). According to Tiemann's MPM employment records, he worked under the direction of W.C. McKern, a North American archaeologist who headed the Anthropology Department at the MPM from 1925 to 1943 (Means 2013).

A mural by J.B. Clemens entitled "Swiss Lake Dwellers Mural" (painting installed in 1965), also produced for the MPM, was included in the comparative analysis as well (Figure 1.9). MPM records do not clearly indicate when the painting was produced, which is why the Clemens' work was included as an example of a post-WWII lake dwelling depiction. Finally, a work by John Warner Norton (1893 – 1854), an artist from Chicago who created images for the Beloit Museum of Anthropology, was included (Figure 1.6). Norton's murals depict life scenes from American prehistory as well as lake dwelling scenes from central Europe (Archives of American Art, Smithsonian, 2019). His painting, "The History of Mankind" (1924) was used as a pre-1930s example of lake dwelling depictions for comparison with the other WPA art discussed in Chapter 4 (Figure 1.10). Similarly, a lunette by Austrian painter George Peter (1859 – 1950), who was a supervisor at the Milwaukee Public Museum, was included as an example of a 1920s Swiss lake dwelling depiction (Figure 1.11).



Figure 1.6 John Warner Norton (Illinois Historical Art Project).

Various Schultafeln depicting lake dwellings make up the remaining case studies. One of the main artists responsible for prehistoric depictions in Germany in the 1930s was Wilhelm Petersen (1900 – 1987). “In der Bronzezeit” by Petersen (Figure 1.12) was included in the analysis, as well as “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung,” retouched by Adolf Lehmann for the Leipzig Schulwandbilderverlag F.E Wachsmuth using an earlier painting by Swiss Artist Alfred Marxer (Figure 1.13), and “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit,” by Johannes Kügler (Figure 1.14).

These lake dwelling images reflect an imagined prehistoric past, portraying individuals engaged in housing construction, subsistence, and trade. The domestic setting was used as an analogy for the state, with an explicit link made between children and their parents as a proxy for citizens and their rulers (Burgess 1992: 837). In the context of this project, it is argued that the images reflect social norms and attitudes regarding gender and race in 1930s America and Germany. It is expected that the images will portray some aspects of the subject matter, such as the types of artifacts that are present and the design of the houses, in similar ways but that other underlying assumptions about gender and race may vary based on cultural context.

Due to the historical context in which the WPA and National Socialist paintings were produced, gender portrayal should be similar in terms of roles and performance, along with setting. However, nationalism is expected to have had an impact on the portrayal of these scenes. Though the artists share German heritage, only Petersen's political tendencies are documented. The German-American artists are unlikely to have reproduced an explicitly Nordic-centered paradigm of the Pfahlbauten, whereas the National Socialist art is expected to reflect the indoctrination for which this medium was mainly exploited in 1930s Germany.

In order to systematically analyze these pieces, a careful review of 1930s sources is necessary. This involves a consideration of the subjects of nationalism, race, gender, and the history of museum displays. Comparison tables were produced to break down the visual elements of the paintings so the figures, their features, materials, and positions could be analyzed for race, gender, and other patterns. It is expected that New World and Old World samples will be similar with regard to the depiction of gender configurations but not necessarily with regard to the representation of racial characteristics. This is due to the prevalence of norms on both sides of the Atlantic regarding perceptions of female/male roles in society. The eugenics movements in both countries at the time had some elements in common but racial stereotyping is more likely to be explicit in the National Socialist art. The images should reveal similar approaches to representing structures and the physical setting of the Pfahlbauten due to the ubiquitous dissemination of Pfahlbau materials and display in open-air museums in Germany but varied depictions of tools and weaponry may differentiate the US from the German artists. The latter are expected to present more martial themes, due to the emphasis on hypermasculinity and glorification of the soldier under National Socialism.

*Images*



Figure 1.7 A.O. Tiemann "Swiss Lake Painting" (1940).



Figure 1.8 A.O. Tiemann "Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C." (1936).



Figure 1.9 J.B. Clemens “Swiss Lake Dwellers Mural” (? -- installed 1965).



Figure 1.10 J.W. Norton “The History of Mankind” (1924).





Figure 1.11 George Peter “Neolithic Age, 5000 BC” (1920s).



Figure. 1.12 Wilhelm Petersen “In der Bronzezeit” (1930s).



Figure. 1.13 Adolf Lehmann “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” (1930s).

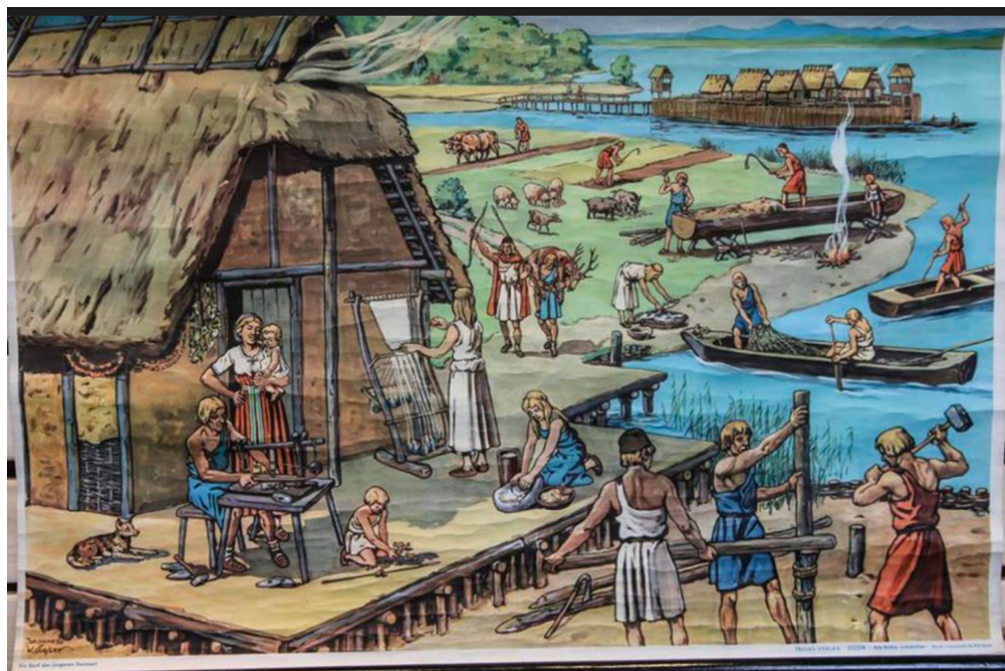


Figure 1.14 Johannes Kügler “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” (1930s).



Table 1.1 Images Analyzed

Painting Name	Artist	Source	Description	Disposition
Swiss Lake Dwelling	Albert Otto Tiemann	1936 MPM	A scene depicting 38 individuals on a lake during the Neolithic. Individuals are located on docks, engaging in conversation, building construction, and trade. Several adult males and children play in the water	MPM
Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.	Albert Otto Tiemann	1940 MPM	A scene depicting 16 individuals engaging in trade activities and conversation on lake dweller dock	MPM
Swiss Lake Dwellers	J.B Clemens	Unknown Date, likely 1965, MPM	A scene depicting 15 individuals engaged in activities such as rowing, house building, pottery, and conversation	MPM
The History of Man	John Warner Norton	1924, Logan Museum	A scene depicting 14 individuals engaging in trade, conversation, and animal care	Logan Museum
Neolithic Age, 5000 B.C	George Peter	1920s, MPM	A scene depicting 10 individuals, some rowing, some engaging in trade, animal care, and conversation	MPM
In der Bronzezeit	Wilhelm Petersen	1930s, Saarländisches Schulmuseum	A scene depicting 18 individuals, some engaging in conversation, one individual blacksmithing, some engaging in wagon repair, and others in subsistence activities	Saarländisches Schulmuseum/ Westfälisches Schulmuseum
Pfahlbau Ansiedlung	Adolf Lehmann/Alfred Marxer	1930s, Saarländisches Schulmuseum	A scene depicting 11 figures, with two returning from a hunt, some fishing, and some participating in food preparation and weaving	Saarländisches Schulmuseum/ Westfälisches Schulmuseum
Ein Dorf der Jüngerer Steinzeit	Johannes Kügler	1930s, Westfälisches Schulmuseum	A scene depicting 24 individuals, two returning from a hunt, some farming, some engaging in food preparation, some rowing, and some weaving, one tending to a child, and one creating tools	Westfälisches Schulmuseum



## Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter reviews attitudes toward race and gender in the 1930s in the US and Germany based on the work of social scientists concerned with researching these topics. A brief history of gender studies in archaeology and the development of engendered archaeological analyses is followed by a history of Pfahlbau displays and the use of archaeology in the Third Reich.

### *Conceptualization of Race in the 1930s*

In the US, the study of race as endorsed by the government in the 1920s and 30s included the field of eugenics, which was used to substantiate various biased policies and practices. The word eugenics means “wellborn.” It was coined by Sir Francis Galton who (inspired by Charles Darwin) believed that intelligence and capability were inherited (Norrgard 2008: 1). His work influenced Charles Davenport, a chicken breeder, who integrated a belief in the innateness of intelligence and skill with the rediscovery of Mendelian genetics. History of science scholar Karen Norrgard has noted that the consequences of this line of thinking involved widespread efforts to prevent “undesirable” individuals (criminals, epileptics, those with bipolar conditions, alcoholism, or other disabilities) from having children (Norrgard 2008:1). In 1910, Davenport founded the Eugenic Research Office in Cold Spring, New York, which engaged in forced sterilizations (Norrgard 2008: 1). Eugenics practices were disproportionately inflicted on people of color in the US (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 115).

The conception of race in European peoples in US scholarship was heavily influenced by the work of early twentieth century Harvard anthropologist Carleton S. Coon and his 1939 edition of *The Races of Europe*. This volume serves as the lens through which the US conceptualization of race is considered in the analysis of representations of Neolithic and Bronze

Age Europeans reviewed in this thesis. Coon expanded on the 1899 work of William Z. Ripley (original author of *The Races of Europe*) who identified Teutonic, Mediterranean, and Alpine races on the basis of cranial and complexion differences.

Unlike Coon, Madison Grant (1865 – 1937) and Harry H. Laughlin (1880 – 1943) applied moral and intellectual attributes to the “races” of Europe, favoring Nordic descent as superior to all others (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 112, 117). Their eugenics perspectives relied on tests administered to army recruits during WWI and they argued that the Nordic races were superior to other races. Grant’s *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) was referred to by Hitler in *Mein Kampf* and Laughlin received an honorary doctorate from the University of Heidelberg in 1936 based on National Socialist support for his *Eugenics Sterilization in the US* (1922) (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 111, 116 – 117). However, while these perspectives impacted immigration, they did not affect US marriage laws and fell out of favor by the time of the Great Depression. Social Darwinism (at least among individuals of European descent) was beginning to be rejected in the US by that time (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 117). Within academia, the hereditary-based conception of race was also controversial, as Franz Boas (1858 – 1942) found in 1912 that measurements of European groups in America were not consistent in second-generation individuals, and argued that variation within groups was greater than between them (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 133-134).

Artists like A.O. Tiemann were living in a time period in the US in which segregation was practiced and superiority was associated with Whiteness. Implicit social bias and attitudes about ethnicity may be both consciously and unconsciously reflected in art, as well as serving more overt agendas as in the case of the Third Reich. The racial viewpoints expressed by researchers in the US will be discussed in the analysis portion of this thesis, as depictions of the

individuals in the lake dwelling sites align with aspects of certain racial groups as defined under this paradigm.

Several individuals in the nineteenth century were the progenitors of the eugenics movement in Europe, including Germany. Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau (1816 – 1882) believed in the inequality of countries and races, arguing for the superiority of Nordic peoples (Arnold 2006: 9). Hans Günther (1891 – 1968) wrote *Rassenkunde des Deutschen Volkes* (Racial Studies of the German People) in 1922, and joined the National Socialists in 1932 (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 120 – 121). He believed that science had proven the supremacy of the German race, and his book *Rassenkunde des Deutschen Volkes* presented this as an impartial finding (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 120). Günther defined races as differences between human groups based on a “combination of bodily and mental characteristics.” He divided the European population into “Nordic, Phalic, Eastern, Western, Dinaric, and East Baltic” categories, with “Western” becoming associated with the Mediterranean and “Eastern” with the Alpine groups (World Heritage Encyclopedia 2019).

Günther’s work also inspired Alfred Rosenberg (1892 – 1946), the progenitor of the Nazi party worldview who published *The Myth of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* in 1931. Rosenberg outlined his understanding of racial categories and the Germanic origins of modern civilization. He believed that Jews needed to be removed from society, as they were “parasites”, while arguing that Jesus Christ was actually Aryan rather than Jewish (Rosenberg 1931: 391). Rosenberg also was in opposition to classical perspectives, promoting a Völkisch view (in common with Günther) that the great Mediterranean civilizations were comprised of Nordic ancestors who had spread from the North (Chapoutet and Nybakken 2016: 53).

## *Gender History*

In the 1930s, gender ideology was reflected in etiquette books, films, and state propaganda. Etiquette books provide insight into dominant social norms and ideology. The American, German, and Dutch etiquette books in the 1930s warned that social mixing, familiarity, and kissing (public) between sexes was “dangerous” and a sign of ill-breeding (Wouters 1995: 108). Undesirable social mixing was defined based on class, race, and gender (Wouters 1995: 108). Proper gender expression involved moderation and restraint, a mindset which had been in place since the Victorian era. Excessive emotion was considered a character flaw or form of mental illness; hysteria remained a diagnosable illness in medicine until 1980 (McVean 2017). Upper and middle-class women were to be well-mannered, subservient wives concentrating on the well-being of the home. Men were providers and leaders (of businesses and the family) in these classes. In films, women were often portrayed as intelligent but requiring a man’s guidance or action as a hero; the heroine would ultimately adopt a subservient role (Human 2000: 405). For example, in the 1932 movie *Blonde Venus*, Marlene Dietrich’s character wants to work to support her husband’s medical treatment, finds a job in the cabaret, has an affair and lives a life on the run before reconciling with her husband and reuniting their family.

Analysis of one of the most liberal parties in the 1930s, the Communist Party of the US, demonstrates how conservatively Americans still viewed gender roles despite economic hardship and increased representation of women within the workforce. *Working Woman*, the communist party’s magazine for female members, included recipes, household and beauty tips, while the *Sunday Worker* instructed women to dress well for protests (Foley 1990: 152). There was also an opposition to women being labeled feminist, due to the time away from the family and mixing with the middle and bourgeois class (Foley 1990: 153). Men were hypermasculinized in

portrayals of the proletariat classes, depicted as warriors fighting for liberation (Foley 1990: 153-154).

Various laws in the US codified accepted views of gender roles. In 1931, eleven states had laws in which men had control over their wives' wages, along with laws restricting the hours and jobs women could work (Moran 1988: 1). In 1932, anti-nepotism laws for government employees required that only one spouse could work; as a result, 75% of the expelled spouses were wives (Moran 1988: 1).

The attitude that women's roles were to be nurturing had direct parallels in National Socialist Germany. Hitler and other party leaders such as the Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, reiterated that women belonged solely in the home. In a 1934 speech to the *Frauenschaft*, Goebbels described women's proper sphere as the family: "there she is a sovereign queen" (Goebbels in Rupp 1977: 363). The roles of women were limited to their reproductive function, in order to produce more children for the proliferation of the Reich in their role as "hero incubators" (Arnold 2006: 22).

However, there was some disagreement regarding the position of women within the party. Irmgard Reichenau wrote an essay that was eventually sent to Hitler in which she argued that women were intelligent and that career women made excellent mothers (Rupp 1977: 366). During the Depression, service to the state was emphasized, with the party attracting conservative housewives and socially rebellious daughters (Rupp 1977: 369). While prolific mothers could be awarded an Honor cross, allowances were made for "womanly work." Women occupying roles in teaching and nursing were praised as nurturers in the public sphere (Mouton 2010: 948- 949). In 1936, laws were enacted prohibiting female judges or lawyers, and married female physicians were not compensated for seeing patients (Mouton 2010: 949). The National

Socialists also restricted access to higher education for fear of career-mindedness being favored over familial obligations, forcing girls to take classes emphasizing domesticity and reducing access to math and science (Mouton 2010: 949).

The attitudes towards gender roles evidenced by the literature and laws of the 1930s reveal similarities on both sides of the Atlantic. The economic depression exposed conflicting attitudes toward women in the work force. There was acknowledgement of the need for women to work, due to the need for labor. However, as women were employed at lower salaries than their male counterparts, there was concern that they would outcompete men for positions; thus, governments passed measures to prevent this. The ideological conceptualization of gender viewed men as providers whose sphere of activity was in the workforce and public life, while women were relegated to the private sphere. In National Socialist Germany, there was the added element of emphasis on childbearing (which appears to be missing in the US despite anti-birth control narratives at the time). Both countries restricted access to education for women, although women's bachelor's and associate degrees increased in the US during this time period, at least in domestic or "nurturing" fields, while Masters and doctoral graduation rates fell for women (Parker 2015: 4).

This thesis project contributes to the understanding of gender ideology and gender expression in the 1930s in Germany and the US and its reification through images of a prehistoric past in which gender roles were meant to conform to and model those of contemporary society. The laws and media imagery of the 1930s reflect conservative cultural values in a time of shifting public duties. This project's specific concentration on art in the museum and schoolroom setting opens another avenue of public discourse about the subtleties of gender socialization in pedagogical contexts.

## *Gender and Archaeology*

In the US, processual archaeology developed in the late 1950s and 1960s in the aftermath of the Second World War. Gordon Willey and Philip Phillips wrote *Method and Theory in American Archaeology* in 1958 with the “New Archaeology” being presented as a positivist processual approach to investigating the past. The scientific method rendered conclusions about the past with the goal of establishing an objective truth. That mindset drew heavy criticism in the 1980s from post-processualists such as Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley. They objected to what they perceived as an “object first” approach (Shanks and Tilley 1987). Similar paradigm shifts in sociocultural anthropology in the United Kingdom were an inspiration to archaeologists. Marxism was re-emphasized in academic circles; questions were formulated regarding the interactions of individuals and classes in the past. There was also greater emphasis placed on investigation of ideology and the thought-processes of ancient individuals.

Post-processual approaches allowed questions about gender relations in archaeological contexts to be asked. These inquiries cannot be divorced from the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1960s, historical archaeology benefitted from the Civil Rights movements as scholars began to consider the experiences of individuals who had traditionally been marginalized (Wilkie and Hayes 2006: 245). In both popular culture and academia, Second Wave feminists asked questions that challenged androcentric standards of practice. However, the influence of feminism on an engendered archaeology was not a linear progression. A focus on social history and the influence of individuals was emphasized throughout the 1970s and 1980s and some archaeologists such as Ian Hodder had considered questions of gender in their work since before the Second Wave (Wilkie and Hayes 2006: 245). The 1980s and 1990s saw a concerted approach to addressing the lack of scholarly inquiries regarding gender. In 1984,

Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector published “Archaeology and the Study of Gender.” The piece addressed the pervasiveness of androcentrism in the field of archaeology. At the time of its publication, Conkey and Spector noted that there were no comprehensive guides on conducting gender archaeology, unlike approaches to material analysis methods (Conkey and Spector 1984: 2). There was gender asymmetry in the field, with researchers subconsciously relying upon gendered stereotypes when making conclusions, upholding their own cultural biases and ideologies. Researchers tended to associate traits such as aggressiveness with maleness and passivity with femininity, focusing more attention on activities associated with perceived maleness, such as hunting (Conkey and Spector 1984). These types of interpretations were also influenced by presentist bias, and while they appeared objective, they in fact reflected social norms of modern society that may or may not have existed in the past (Conkey and Spector 1984: 5-6).

Scholars also began to account for practices outside the heteronormative/gendered dichotomies. Archaeological practice rooted in a gynocentric viewpoint may erase individuals in different parts of the gender spectrum (Geller 2009: 65). Sexuality in the past also began to be addressed by researchers. Biases of researchers in the scientific community have been shown to alter the types of questions asked and the conclusions reached. For the majority of archaeology’s history, sexuality was viewed through the lens of biological determinism and heterosexual monogamy (Subías and Meyer 2018: 3). There was also an argument that men were hardwired for promiscuity and competition, while women were aligned with monogamy and childcare. This sociobiographic perspective relied on cross-cultural analysis without taking into account context or variability across space and time (Gilchrist 2009: 8-9). These mindsets have colored earlier archaeological reports and representations of the past.



Critical evaluation of the past is necessary to avoid tokenizing women and marginalized groups in research. For example, applying the “add women and stir” approach to an archaeological investigation is not enough to thoughtfully incorporate a more complete history of the gendered past (Nelson 2006: 4). Researchers must think about the importance of framing their questions and how to borrow appropriately from gender theory. Engendered archaeological techniques are not static and continue to evolve concurrently with the discipline and with feminist thought (Conkey and Gero 1991: 6). For example, Third Wave feminism has influenced archaeological research by advising scholars to avoid essentialism. Difference of experience is emphasized, whether it is among genders, ethnicities, sexualities or social classes (Gilchrist 2009: 4).

How to utilize and engage with gender theory in a scholarly fashion has been a guiding principle of this project, which investigates gender representation in the 1930s WPA works and Schultafeln depicting lake dwelling life. Awareness of gender attribution, or the tendency to assign certain gendered traits to materials or activities, informed the analysis of how the 1930s artists chose to illustrate individuals in the past (Conkey and Gero 1991: 9). The artists did not exist within a vacuum and interacted with others who may have informed and directed their work, whether this was a curator at the MPM or an archaeologist in the Amt Rosenberg. This thesis contributes to scholarship arguing that gender archaeology should not be segregated in a specific niche to which it has often been relegated in the past (Bickle 2019: 1). Gender can be considered as a salient variable in WPA paintings as well as Schultafeln and can provide insight into the socio-political context in which that art was produced.

The visual portrayal of prehistory has been fraught with gendered assumptions from its inception. The classic example is the “Man the Hunter” image in hominin evolution, with

australopithecines portrayed as aggressors rather than prey (Conkey and Spector 1984). This extends beyond printed representations to three dimensional forms in museums. Demonstrations of gender ideology are especially prevalent in natural history displays, with curatorial designs manipulating the natural world in order to reflect patriarchal and Judeo-Christian values. For example, famed taxidermist Carl Akeley placed animals in nuclear familiar units rather than depicting what occurs in nature (Haraway 1984: 28-29). This challenges the notion that natural history and science exhibits are committed to accuracy and are free of implicit researcher bias.

*National Geographic* served as a sort of mobile, portable exhibit that brought faraway places closer to Westerners in the 1930s and earlier (Gero and Root 1990: 21). Ideas of humanism and exoticism are reflected in some of the earliest images published in *National Geographic* in 1903 showing Filipino women who were naked from the waist up. As Gero and Root mentioned, the magazine served as a way to interest “American male readers in the geography of foreign women” (Gero and Root 1990: 21). These depictions of women were intended for the male gaze (Conkey 2003: 873).

The Pfahlbauten, as subjects of artistic and open-air display in 1930s Germany and later, cannot be considered without taking the larger contexts of gender, art, and museology into consideration. The researchers mentioned in this thesis have discussed the history (or lack thereof) of gender analysis in archaeology. They have also advocated for the importance of considering an engendered past in archaeological investigations and publications. Many areas of archaeological research have undergone review in light of the 1980s and 1990s calls to action for more equitable approach to prehistory. However, as Arnold notes, the Pfahlbau diaspora materials in the US have been chronically understudied since WWI and II (Arnold 2013: 886). The materials that are in American museums, whether in the form of artifacts from the sites or

murals depicting lake dwelling contexts, require an engendered analysis if we are to understand these Neolithic and Bronze Age societies as well as the choices made by the individuals who portrayed them in artistic representations.

### *Portraying the Pfahlbauten*

Pfahlbau open-air museum exhibits such as Unteruhldingen or Bad Buchau included reenactors in the 1920s and 1930s. Films were used to present the lake dwellings to a wider audience, with actors performing the roles of prehistoric people. In the 1920s, Weimar archaeology utilized such reenactments as experimental archaeology; however, in the 1930s, National Socialist approaches to living prehistory utilized such depictions to disseminate their ideology of racial superiority (Schöbel 2019: 69) (Figure 2.1) These images borrowed heavily from ethnography, with the mindset of the time suggesting that hunter-gatherer and horticulturalist groups represented “snapshots” along a linear cultural progression. The portrayal of the Pfahlbau structures on stilts was inspired by ethnographic accounts of Polynesian societies, with houses located on platforms over the water (Leckie 2013: 216), for example.

The decision to represent the Pfahlbau populations by using live actors was made in order to humanize the past by providing living images of the people who had inhabited the reconstructed houses. The actors were styled with long unkempt hair, and both men and women had exposed chests. Actors were also barefoot and were accompanied by farm animals (Strobel 2016: 33 – 34). Social units were most often portrayed as nuclear families, consisting of two parents (mother and father), with children (Figure 2.1). These stilt house communities were designed to mirror modern German villages in terms of social organization (Röder 2016: 137). Boys would be seen learning from their fathers and girls from their mothers, with tasks separated by gender. For example, there was a perception that in the Neolithic, women were tasked with

ceramic making and men with lithic production. Skeletal analysis of Linearbandkeramik gravesites suggest gender-separated tasks were not strictly divided, however (Bickle 2019: 6).



Figure 2.1 Silent film *Natur und Liebe* (1927) (Schöbel 2019: 68; Pfahlbaumuseum Unteruhldingen).

Researchers have questioned whether these early 20<sup>th</sup> century gendered assumptions of the roles of men, women, and children in Neolithic/Bronze Age societies are accurate. Röder specifically criticizes the idea that these prehistoric populations would have had the same gender ideology as 20<sup>th</sup> century archaeologists (Röder 2016: 138). The choice to portray Pfahlbau society as consisting of nuclear families in paintings, open-air displays, and films stems from the 19<sup>th</sup> century ideals of the middle class (Röder 2016: 139). This is unlikely to have been accurate, as intergenerational housing for extended families can be found in many agricultural preindustrial societies. Individuals may have lived in these buildings with grandparents or aunts and uncles, as well as unrelated individuals. There may have been separation based on clan structure depending on the organization. There is also no definitive understanding as to whether the Pfahlbau societies were monogamous. The choice to portray a familiar structure to resonate

with certain audiences in European or American venues reflects researcher bias and chronocentrism rather than prehistoric reality. Röder's work is directly relevant to this thesis as it discusses the artist's and museum exhibit designer's motivations in portraying prehistoric scenes in a certain manner (Röder 2016). This project also contributes to an analysis of American historical murals as part of a global conversation about the illustration of the Pfahlbauten, with special attention to gender and race.

In addition to gender, the Pfahlbau depictions were also used to demonstrate other cultural and sociopolitical values. The stilt house museum sites inspired paintings and poems that exemplified the nineteenth century interest in "Man vs. Nature," with humanity attempting to master the elements (Leckie 2013: 222). This manifested itself in visual and literary media with lake dwelling homes depicted as the settings of either idyllic, tranquil domesticity or violent scenes raiders, storms, or fires (Figure 2.2). The peaceful setting of lake dwelling locations along the Swiss lakes was also tied to Swiss nationalism, specifically the liberal, democratic Swiss Confederation (Leckie 2013: 219).



Figure 2.2 "Die Pfahlbauerin" by Albert Anker (1873) (Kaeser 2016: 26).

Modern archaeological research has attempted to distance itself from such fantastical and romantic imagining of the prehistoric past. However, as Leckie notes, the lack of social archaeological analysis in European prehistory has resulted in few advances in our understanding of the symbolic elements of lake dwelling societies (Leckie 2013: 227).

### *Archaeology under the Third Reich*

The close relationship between archaeology and nationalism in central/southwestern Europe continued after the initial Pfahlbaumuseum designs and conceptions. As Philip L. Kohl notes, nationalism “requires the elaboration of a real or invented remote past” (Kohl 1998: 223). Politicians looking to legitimize their nations may choose to draw selectively from prehistory in order to substantiate land claims or unite an ethnic group, for example; political leaders attempt to draw a connection between a nascent state and society in the past. To create a national identity, nations often rely on the importance of origin stories or myths, with archaeology being used to develop these elements (Kohl 1998: 228).

The creation of a Germanic nationalist archaeology did not immediately appear with the formation of the German nation in 1871. In the initial years after unification, antiquarians and fledgling archaeologists were obsessed with the ancient Greek world (Kohl 1998: 229). Individuals participated in *Kulturpolitik*, in which Germany established its prestige by supporting scholarship abroad, resulting in the acquisition and display of antiquities mainly from the Mediterranean and the Near East in German museums (Kohl 1998: 229). Funding for Classical archaeology was only reduced in the 1930s with the National Socialists’ rise to power.

However, even though Classical archaeology was denigrated by individuals such as Heinrich Himmler and Alfred Rosenberg, the field did not disappear. Hitler’s enthusiasm for Neoclassical elements drew on his consideration of the ancient Greco-Roman world as an

exemplary civilization (Sauquet 2014: 3). National Socialist building designs featured domes and white marble columns, an ancient imagining of power and authority. These Neo-Classical architectural designs were used to dominate and impress individuals, making them feel small in official spaces. Research was still carried out in the Near East during the war, and the Near Eastern Studies Institute remained relatively unscathed in spite of the focus of the Amt Rosenberg and the SS Ahnenerbe on German heritage (Arnold 2006: 13).

Research in German prehistory represented an opportunity for the new regime in terms of racial propaganda. One early inspiration for nationalist archaeology was archaeologist Gustaf Kossinna (1858-1931). His *Kulturkreis* concept dictated that material culture assemblages could be used to identify ethnic groups (Arnold 1990: 464). He was also a hyperdiffusionist, believing that advanced cultures were responsible for spreading new ideas and technology. In his piece *Die Deutsche Vorgeschichte, eine hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft* (German prehistory, an outstanding national discipline) Kossinna argues that the metalwork of the Nordic Bronze Age demonstrated the accomplishments of ancient Germanic peoples (Härke 2012: 2). Kossinna died

in 1931, two years before the National Socialist government was created and began funding the study of prehistory. Though he was not a member of the National Socialist regime, he influenced archaeological research in the 1930s and beyond. The investment in archaeologists in the Third Reich, was as Bettina Arnold termed it, a “Faustian Bargain” (Arnold 1990; Arnold and Hassmann 1996). Joining a culture/prehistory organization and publishing work in line with party ideology provided archaeologists with access to state funding, a trade-off that many were willing to accept in order to continue their research after 1933.

The study of the German past was split between two rival factions in the NSDAP, the prehistory department of the Amt Rosenberg and the SS Ahnenerbe. The Amt Rosenberg office

was headed by Alfred Rosenberg and was charged with the ideological education of the population under the Third Reich (Härke 2012: 2). *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* is a testament to Rosenberg's interest in German prehistory. The Amt Rosenberg's archaeological branch was headed by Hans Reinerth (1900 –1990) who succeeded Kossinna at the University of Berlin (Härke 2012: 3).

The rival organization of the Amt Rosenberg was the SS Ahnenerbe. This group ultimately reported to Heinrich Himmler and was made up of various scientific and pseudoscientific research organizations (Härke 2012: 3). *Ahnenerbe* translates to ancestral heritage; Himmler used the archaeological arm of this organization to create his own version of the Germanic past. He believed that Germans needed to cleanse their history of the taint of the Judeo-Christian worldview which would be replaced by the glorification of a Pagan, warrior culture (Arnold 2006: 163-164). Himmler viewed himself as a reincarnation of the Saxon King Widukind, who had resisted conversion to Christianity, and wanted to create a state religion inspired by ancient Germanic practices and beliefs (Arnold 2006: 165) that would allow for even greater ideological control. The prehistoric past was both being re-made and utilized to shape a particular view of the present.

This thesis contributes to the literature on the relationship between prehistory and state ideology in the Third Reich. It specifically addresses the role of archaeology as a propaganda tool especially in children's education. The literature has concentrated on the role of archaeology as a means of substantiating nationalist claims as well as how that role was manifested in the National Socialist state. This thesis also discusses the role of nationalism in archaeology by analyzing lake dwelling sites that were the subject of museum displays and pedagogical murals in the 1930s. The project also applies anthropological theory to the history of archaeology,



exploring how race and gender were politically packaged and presented to children. The comparison of National Socialist and WPA art is a novel approach to the analysis of propaganda and pedagogy in the 1930s in both contexts.

### **Chapter Three: Methods and Theoretical Framework**

This chapter presents the theoretical focuses that have guided this project, including historiography, critical race theory, and gender/feminist archaeology. The analytical approach applied is discussed first, followed by descriptions of the artists and the artwork.

#### *Introduction*

This thesis presents a comparative analysis of depictions of lake dwelling scenes from the 1930s at two Wisconsin institutions, the Milwaukee Public Museum (MPM) and the Logan Museum of Anthropology (LMA) in Beloit, compared to several German works of art produced under the auspices of the NSDAP. A historiographic and gender theory approach is used to analyze representations of gender, appearance, and performance in a particular set of archaeologically attested contexts in prehistoric Europe that were produced at a time when such images were used not only to educate but also to foster particular political agendas. A.O. Tiemann's "Swiss Lake Painting" (Appendix A.1) and "Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C." (Appendix A.2) were created under the auspices of the WPA Federal Aid for Art. J.B. Clemens' (likely 1965) "Swiss Lake Dwellers Mural" (Appendix A.3) is also included in this discussion as an example of lake dwelling depictions at the MPM in the post-WWII period. The lack of provenance regarding the painting's origins places Clemens in a category more akin to John Warner Norton and George Peter. Tiemann and Clemens' contributions to the Milwaukee Public Museum have been on display or in the latter's collections since their creation.

At the Logan Museum in Beloit, John Warner Norton (1876 – 1934) painted "The History of Mankind," which was included as a control, since it was commissioned in 1925 for the museum as a means of placing objects on display in their prehistoric context (Appendix A.4).

“The History of Man” predates the WPA and National Socialist Art traditions and was produced by a painter who was not trained in the German tradition. A lunette (Appendix A.5) by Austrian-born George Peter (1859 – 1950) was included as a counterpart to the Norton image. It was also produced in the 1920s.

The German Schultafeln or Schulwandbilder analyzed for this thesis were compared to the German – American museum representations to determine whether the representation of lake dwelling culture differed based on ideological conceptions of race and gender in the two different contexts. Schultafeln were murals used to decorate school walls and teach children ancient German history in accordance with National Socialist ideology in the 1930s and 40s.

German artist Wilhelm Petersen, a prominent painter of prehistory (1900-1987) (Figure 3.1), produced and inspired numerous images of the Germanic past. The Schultafeln included in this analysis are entitled, “In der Bronzezeit,” (Appendix A.6 ), “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” by Adolf Lehmann, dates unknown, modifying the work of Alfred Marxer (Appendix A.7) and “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit,” by Johannes Kügler (Appendix A.8), dates unknown.



Figure 3.1 Wilhelm Petersen (Christiansen and Petersen 1993: 1).

Works by German-American artists and contemporary artists in Germany are compared to determine whether and how context and training may have influenced the choices made in the production of these images. The methods employed in this study inform the analysis of how gender, age, and race are represented in the paintings, what themes are identifiable and whether there are differences between the works of the German-American first generation immigrant painters working in the 1930s and those of their counterparts in Germany. The extent to which these representations reflect the actual daily life of the lake dwellers as documented in the archaeological evidence available at the time is considered by comparing the material culture and evidence for the built environment recovered in excavations to the images.

### *Theoretical Approach*

#### Historiography

This research project makes use of a historiographic and largely qualitative comparative approach to ascertain how certain groups of individuals in the 1930s perceived, interpreted and represented the appearance, practices and daily lives of lake dwellers in the Neolithic and Bronze Age of the Alpine region. Historiography has several definitions. As understood until the early twentieth century, it was conceived as a study of historical writing, including the contributions of individuals from antiquity such as Herodotus or Tacitus with a consideration of the intentions, viewpoints, and sources associated with each author (along with the clarity and utility of the works themselves) (Becker 1938).

The approach was further developed by Harry Elmer Barnes in *History of Historical Writing*, in which he argued for a characterization of intellectual periods with a demonstration of the dominant traits of the writing and connection of historians' process to the culture (Barnes 1937, cited in Becker 1938: 23). Barnes' approach to historiography is applied in this research

project because it is amenable to an anthropological perspective when engaging with the past. The approach also lends itself to being adapted to the study of archaeology as a discipline and the viewpoints of scholars, along with the paintings produced under their direction. At its core, culture is a shared system of beliefs, informed by and informing participants. In this study, the perspectives of artists, archaeological communities, and government/social attitudes of the time is used to analyze a selection of 1930s lake dwelling depictions to reveal the choices made by the artists and the institutions for which they were working at the time.

### Race

One of the foci of this research project was US and German attitudes toward an understanding of “race” in the 1930s and how these conceptualizations contributed to depictions of past peoples in historical renderings. Critical race theory (CRT) is a contributing component of the thesis, as it postulates that race is central to power relations and social control, with racial bias as a normative rather than an aberrant aspect of US society (Rollock and Gillborn 2011). As applied to the US, CRT holds that the contributions and presence of People of Color have been traditionally minimized in order to serve a White narrative. Although the theory was developed in the 1970s and centers on past and current activities in the US, it has been used by social scientists to analyze systematic inequality more generally. CRT theorists also analyze policies and practices that appear mundane in order to reveal the methods that institutions use to create and maintain racial inequality (Groves Price 2019).

### Gender and Feminist Theory

A key element of this research involves engendering anthropological and historiographic analysis. Gender theory, in this context, refers to a critical reexamination of the use of gendered stereotypes in archaeology in order to move away from androcentrism, which privileges the male

experience and presents viewpoints mainly or exclusively from a male perspective (Conkey and Spector 1984). This viewpoint has left a lacuna in the research into female, queer, and childhood-centered views of the past. This theoretical inclination also warns practitioners against employing a presentist bias when analyzing the past. For example, when examining 1930s representations of the European Neolithic and Bronze Age, it is important not to project the expectations and attitudes of the 20<sup>th</sup> century either onto the producers of the art or the subjects of the images themselves.

It is critical to understand the cultural norms related to gender ideology of the time periods in which the artworks analyzed in this project were produced. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, archaeology was largely a male-dominated field, encompassing biases placing males as primary actors in prehistory. Sources utilized here include Conkey and Spector, who examine the history of archaeological thought pertaining to gender theory (Conkey and Spector 1984; Díaz-Andreu and Sørensen 1988), while Arnold (2006) and Brashler (2015) provide frameworks for examining social norms in depictions found in art or in museum exhibitions. The art community in the 1930s and 40s was also largely male-dominated. Peter C. Merrill's definitive texts (1997a and 1997b) on the German-American artists included in this study describe only the lives of men and do not mention any women artists in the field who may have produced lake dwelling murals for the WPA (apart from Elsa Ulbricht, who worked with textiles). Acknowledging the presence of these possible biases informs the analysis and commentary on the depiction of prehistoric Germans in the Schultafeln presented here.

### *Analytical Approach*

Excel spreadsheets were generated for the paintings and attributes of the German-American and German artists in order to compare the two data sets to one another. The independent variables recorded were the paintings, with identifiers such as “setting,” “artist,” “style,” and “year.” The dependent variables were defined as “figure gender” (male/female/indeterminate), “figure age” (adult/subadult), “number of individuals,” “activity,” “physical appearance” (skin tone, eye color), “hair” (color, style) “clothing” (color, cut) “artifacts in association with figures,” “position,” (location on the vertical/horizontal plane and active/passive), “association with other figures,” (whether isolated or touching others) and “unassociated artifacts” and “animals.” For physical appearance, the designation “fair” refers to skin types 1 and 2 on the Fitzpatrick scales (developed in the 1970s to estimate sun exposure risk) (D’Orazio et. al 2013). Skin type 1 refers to very white skin (associated with albinos, redheads, and white-blond hair), while skin type 2 refers to light skin (blond, light brown, and red hair). “Tan” refers to skin type 3 on the Fitzpatrick scale, or the ability to tan and light medium tone (darker hair and eye color variants (D’Orazio et. al 2013). The artifacts depicted in association with figures were coded with a “W1” for weapon associated solely with war (sword), and “W2” for a weapon that may have served as a hunting implement (such as the bow and arrow). “T1” was used for a tool (such as an oar); “T2” was used for a tool that could also be used as a weapon (hammer); and “W/T” denotes dual purpose (such as an axe hanging at the side of a figure where the purpose could only be assigned based on the depiction of its use).

Paintings are listed on the y axis of the Excel spreadsheet, with the variables above the x axis. Gender was considered an organizing principle, descending parallel to the painting category as a classifying dependent variable. The presence of these variables are marked line by line per

painting, with a qualitative notation of what specific trait was present. Six paintings were analyzed (with the Norton piece and the MPM lunette used as controls and discussion points related to changes in representation through time) and represent a selective sample of such images produced during the 1930s in both the US and Germany.

A qualitative approach was used to identify possible associations within the data. As this thesis takes an anthropological view of the data, the analytical approach was designed to answer questions regarding depictions of gender and race in 1930s paintings of lake dwelling societies in two different cultural contexts. To comprehend a society's gender ideology, it is important to note more than the appearance of sexual traits of individuals. Performance, as demonstrated by tasks and the association with other figures and materials, must also be understood. Generating tables and graphs in Excel allows these traits to be considered together. The use of physical appearance as a variable revealed patterned conceptions of race and gender in the New World and Old World depictions.

The gender analysis element of this project included assigning "female", "male" and "indeterminate" categorizations to figures in the lake dwelling representations. The dominant social ideology in 1930s US and National Socialist Germany recognized a binary gender system, so "indeterminate" was used for figures lacking clear sex-specific features. This binary social construct is reflected in contemporary census documents in which the gender choices are restricted to male or female in both US and German contexts. Since all of the artwork analyzed in this project was produced under government direction, the gender identification coding is expected to conform to the prevailing gender ideology at the time.

The age groups in the analysis were determined based on physical characteristics based on Piaget's categories (Piaget 1965: 98). "Older adult" is identified by age markers like white



hair/beards and associated with the age category fifty or above. The additional categories are “adult” (post-pubescent, i.e. 20s), “adolescent” (age 12 to adult), “middle childhood” (7 - 11), “early childhood” (3 – 6), and “infant” (birth - 2). This probably diverges from how prehistoric European societies actually viewed adulthood, as pubescence was likely the age at which girls could marry and bear children, resulting in a transition to adulthood earlier than in most contemporary societies.

The position of figures in the paintings is significant as well, so whether individuals appeared in the foreground, midground, or background of the painting, was recorded and analyzed. The proximity of certain figures to others, such as women being grouped with children or men engaging in conversation, was also noted; gender and age were considered in the position analysis in order to identify possible trends in placement and grouping.

The tasks performed and the objects depicted were also recorded in order to reveal the artists’ social perceptions of gender performance. These representations of objects can be compared to actual artifacts from the lake dwelling sites. In the images painted in the US, illustrating artifacts in context was a primary goal, as they were produced for museums that were concerned with representing pieces displayed by the commissioning institutions (Arnold 2011). The Milwaukee Public Museum collected a large amount of material from lake dwelling sites in the early nineteenth century, with murals providing the public with a vivid demonstration of Neolithic and Bronze Age sites. In the Third Reich, demonstrating German heritage was the primary goal, as the paintings were on display in schools rather than museums. Both categories of institution served pedagogical functions in society, however, so in some ways their missions were aligned.

### *The Artists*

In order to inform the analysis of the images, the lives of the various artists are presented in the form of brief biographies, beginning with A.O. Tiemann. Albert Otto Tiemann (1868 – 1950) was supported by the Public Works of Art and the Federal Art Project during the 1930s and 40s (“Tiemann” Museum of Wisconsin Art 2007). He was born in Hamburg, Germany, and studied art before emigrating to the US in 1891 (Merrill 1997b: 129). The artistic movement in Europe from 1880-1890 period, when Tiemann was training as an artist, was in a state of flux. Neo-Impressionism, art nouveau, and symbolist art were in vogue, with art nouveau impacting the American poster art that dominated the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Floud 1952: 322).

Tiemann was employed as a lithographer initially, becoming the foreman of Alexander Müller’s (1872 – 1935) Milwaukee shop (as well as his student) (“Tiemann” Museum of Wisconsin Art 2007). Müller was the child of German immigrants to Wisconsin. Like Tiemann, Müller was a painter and became a leader in Milwaukee’s art scene. Müller traveled to Germany in 1894 to study under Max Thedy in Weimar, Germany, and later studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich under Carl von Marr before returning to Wisconsin and co-founding the Society of Milwaukee Artists (“Müller” Museum of Wisconsin Art 2007). Milwaukee in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century was a vibrant art scene for German artists, whether they were first or second generation immigrants. They produced murals, cycloramas, and dioramas in state buildings, churches, and school. Tiemann’s abilities lent themselves well to his position as a teacher in the Milwaukee Art Students League and the State Normal School. He also served as treasurer of the Milwaukee Painters and Sculptors and was an artist for the Mandel Engraving Company (Merrill 1997b: 129).

In the 1930s, Tiemann was employed through New Deal Initiatives. He began painting for the Federal Public works of Art Project in 1933-34, as well as for the WPA's Federal Art Project in 1936 ("Tiemann" Museum of Wisconsin Art). Tiemann's "Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C." depicted life in central Europe in the late Neolithic/early Bronze Age. As a painter supported by the Federal Public Works of Art Project, Tiemann was required to paint in the "American Scene" social-realist style, applying this to his mural work in the museum (Mattingly 2012). American Scene was characterized by naturalist rendering that emphasized movement and regionalism. Tiemann also was a contemporary of C. Keith Gebhardt (1899 – 1982), a Michigan born artist also of German descent. Gebhardt worked at the Milwaukee Public Museum during the 1930s producing models, exhibits, and dioramas in the Natural History department.

In Germany, Wilhelm Petersen also produced artistic renderings of prehistory. Information about this artist can be found in his biography, *Wilhelm Petersen: Der Maler des Nordens* by Uwe Christiansen and Hans-Christian Petersen (the latter is the son of the artist). Petersen was born August 10<sup>th</sup>, 1900 in the northern German city of Elmshorn. The family moved to Hamburg in 1912 and in 1917 he joined a regiment from the city to fight in WWI, which ended before he could be deployed. Petersen received art training in Hamburg and worked as an illustrator for various newspapers and print media outlets, including the *Berliner Morgenpost* and *Das Blatt der Hausfrau*. In 1930 he was introduced to Alfred Rosenberg, member of the NSDAP and eventual head of the Third Reich's culture ministry, the Rosenberg Office. Petersen's work, which concentrated on northern Germanic culture and history, was published throughout the 1930s; the party frequently featured his images in the press. Petersen's depictions of German prehistory were in demand and served as models for other painters. He was

later featured in the “Great German Art Exhibit” of 1937 as an example of Germanic artistic prowess and a foil to the “Degenerate Art” Installation. He also received instructions from members of the Amt Rosenberg about how to portray the past (subject matter and artifacts) and was in regular contact with archaeologist Hans Reinerth (Christiansen and Petersen 1993: 1-20).

During the war, Petersen enlisted as a gunner in the Waffen SS. He still created art, specifically of the battlefields, despite suffering a head injury leading to blindness in one eye. In 1944 he was sent to a British POW camp but was released after 1945 when charges relating to his involvement with the Nazi Party were dropped. Petersen continued to create art, working as an illustrator for children’s books, and passed away in 1987 (Christiansen and Petersen 1993: 20).

Swiss-born Alfred Marxer (1876 – 1945) produced the painting “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung.” He concentrated on landscape imagery as well as portraiture (Benezit Dictionary of Artists 2011). In 1896, Marxer was trained by Gabriel von Hackl and Steitz in the Akademie Munich (Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz, accessed 2020). In 1904, he attended the Wilhelm von Deschitz private school in Munich, and in 1914, he traveled to Paris for further instruction in Impressionism before moving to Kirchberg, Switzerland in 1915 (Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz, accessed 2020). Marxer was famous for creating murals in religious contexts such as churches as well as fantasy inspired pieces (especially during WWII).

Adolf Lehmann (birth and death dates uncertain) is the name of the artist whose signature is written in the lower left-hand corner of the newer version of the painting originally produced by Marxer. The exact date of the retouch is unknown, but Lehmann was a principal in Leipzig and a noted painter of Schulwandbilder, having produced work for the Leipzig Schulwandbilderverlag F.E Wachsmuth (Stach and Müller 1988: 189). He painted

“Kulturgeschichtliche Bilder III” in the 1930s, including images selected for use in National Socialist classrooms. The original Marxer image was also published for the Leipzig Schulwandbilderverlag F.E. Wachsmuth (Saarländisches Schulmuseum). Johannes Kügler painted the “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” image. No further information about the artist could be found.

### *Description of the Data Set*

The analysis of the artwork representing lake dwelling scenes from the 1930s and 40s carried out for this thesis was qualitative and comparative. Each painting was reviewed separately before noting patterns as a non-probability sampling. Per painting, the following variables were recorded in an Excel spreadsheet: the institution, name of the piece, artist, setting, style, artifacts present, number of individuals, gender and number of adults, gender and number of children, age, position of the women, men, and children, tasks per individual, and appearance of individuals.

The first image analyzed was “Swiss Lake Painting” by A.O. Tiemann (Figure 3.2). The painting was produced in the 1930s/1940s realist style, akin to *American Scene* (characterized by depictions of daily life) but with Neolithic/Bronze Age Europe as the subject matter (Chilvers and Graves-Smith 2009). Information about the piece was ascertained from the Registrar’s records at the MPM, transcribed by Dr. Bettina Arnold. The color photo of the painting was made in April 2015 by the MPM’s curator of history, Al Muchka (Arnold 2011). The dimensions of this image are 39.25” x 13.75” and it was painted in oil on canvas.

The second image is entitled “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.” (Figure 3.3), also created by A.O. Tiemann. It shares similarities with the first image in that it was created for the MPM as a part of the WPA and dates to 1936 (information recorded from the



Figure 3.2 MPM “Swiss Lake Dwelling” by A.O. Tiemann.

MPM by Dr. Bettina Arnold). The painting style is also similar to the American scene, but with greater art deco influences. The dimensions of this image are 120” x 72”; it was painted in oil on canvas (Arnold 2011).



Figure 3.3 MPM “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.” by A.O. Tiemann.

The third image is “Swiss Lake Dwellers” mural by J.B. Clemens (Figure 3.4), also housed at the MPM. The museum’s records are incomplete regarding the artist and the date of the piece. The piece was installed in the museum in 1965, but depicts a lake dwelling, domestic scene (Arnold 2011). The dimensions are 39.39” by 13.75”.



Figure 3.4 MPM J.B. Clemens painting of a Swiss lake dwelling domestic scene.

“The History of Man” (Figure 3.5) was painted by John Warner Norton and was commissioned by patrons of the Logan Museum of Anthropology for use as an instructional image of the past (Meister 2019). Norton’s piece dates from 1925, before the WPA, and is included in this project as an example of a lake dwelling museum representation by an artist not trained in Germany or of German descent. The materials are oil on canvas and the dimensions are 36” by 48.”



Figure 3.5 Logan Museum J.W. Norton painting of a lake dwelling trade scene.



As with the Norton painting, the 1920s lunette by George Peter (1859 – 1950) serves to complement the more in-depth analysis of the 1930s images (Figure 3.6). George Peter was born in Vienna Austria and immigrated in 1886 to the US (Arnold 2011). This image, entitled “Neolithic Age, Lake Dwellers 5000 BC”, was commissioned by the MPM in the 1920s, while Peter was serving as the art director for the museum. It was intended as an illustration for the European Hall of Man display in the original Milwaukee Public Museum building (Arnold 2011). It measures 10'x6' and was painted in oil on wood (Arnold 2011).



Figure 3.6 MPM George Peter lunette depicting Neolithic lake dwelling houses.

### *Schultafeln*

Schultafeln, or Schulwandbilder, were used in classroom settings in order to illustrate subjects such as history or botany, along with showcasing domestic and agricultural scenes. These early educational pictures first appeared in the seventeenth century as copper engravings and progressed to lithographs and children’s books in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Dröge 1994). Murals also appeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with a peak period of production occurring in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Uphoff 2002: 14). During the Third Reich, the images were propagandistic in nature, with Schultafeln used to illustrate racial concepts as well as the origins



of the German people and associated archaeological evidence, part of an initiative instituted by Hans Reinerth, the chief archaeologist in the Rosenberg Office (Schöbel 2008a: 183).

For this study images of Schultafeln of the appropriate period were obtained from the Westfälisches Schulmuseum website, as well as the Saarländisches Schulmuseum's "digicult" online catalogue. An article, "*So manipulierten die Nazis mit Schulwandbildern*" ("This is how the Nazis manipulated people using educational murals") was published in 2014 (Ruhr Nachrichten, Dortmund.de) featuring National Socialist Schultafeln that were later displayed in a limited exhibition under the direction of curator Rüdiger Wulf. The online catalogue of the Saarländisches Schulmuseum was the source of these pictures due to the better image quality of the representations on that site.

The current thesis project also makes use of the work of Ina Katharina Uphoff, whose PhD thesis was completed at Julius-Maximilians University in Würzburg in 2002 under the title "*Der künstlerische Schulwandschmuck im Spannungsfeld von Kunst und Pädagogik*" ("School room art at the intersection between art and pedagogy") (2002). Her work concentrates on Schulwandbilder in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The pieces are viewed as sociocultural commentary, additionally analyzed through a political and ideological lens. Her scope is broad, including images used at universities and in community spaces rather than primarily in classrooms. The current project differs from Uphoff's thesis and other Schultafel studies in that it is anthropological in nature and provides a trans-Atlantic perspective on the artistic conventions and racial tropes that informed representations in the US as well as Germany in the 1930s. Depictions of gender and race are centering questions. The project also specifically examines the Third Reich's portrayal of prehistory, with a focus on the lake dwelling phenomenon, rather than examining Schultafeln throughout German history as Uphoff's thesis does (2002).

The next painting to be included in the analysis is entitled, “In der Bronzezeit,” by or inspired by Wilhelm Petersen (Figure 3.7). It is a Schultafel that was created in the 1930s for German schoolchildren. This image was chosen based on the Westfälisches Schulmuseum’s online image collection but a better-quality version was obtained from the Saarländisches Schulmuseum website. The art in this piece is typical of 1930s National Socialist representations. Figures are painted in a social realist style, with an emphasis on portraying the subjects in an idealized manner. Information regarding Wilhelm Petersen was obtained from his biography, *Wilhelm Petersen Der Maler des Nordens* (Christiansen and Petersen 1993). Descriptions of artistic styles can be found in the piece, *Art of the Third Reich* (Adam 1992). The dimensions of this image are 35” x 17.” It is a print reproduction of a lithograph original.



Figure 3.7 W. Petersen depicting village life in the Bronze Age (Saarländisches Schulmuseum).

The next piece analyzed is entitled, “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung,” also sourced from the Westfälisches Schulmuseum in Dortmund Marten (Figure 3.8). The original piece was created by Alfred Marxer in 1900 (according to the Saarländisches Schulmuseum online catalogue.) The dimensions of this image are 25” x 33” and it is a print reproduction of an oil painting on canvas.



Figure 3.8 Adolf Lehmann's retouched painting of "Pfahlbau Ansiedlung", originally by Alfred Marxer.

The last image is a Schultafel/ by Johannes Kügler entitled, "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit," published by Tellus Verlag (Figure 3.9). This image was obtained from the website of the Westfälisches Schulmuseum in Dortmund. The piece is consistent with a social realist approach and depicts a lake dwelling settlement. Its dimensions are 34" x 22" and it is a print of an original watercolor on canvas. The paintings analyzed in this study represent a sample of archeology-informed art that was endorsed by the state and its institutions in the 1930s in the US and Germany. In the next chapter I will discuss the analysis of the anthropological implications of depictions of race and gender in these works.

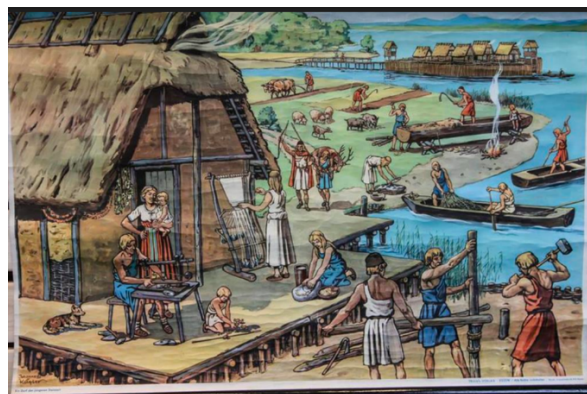


Figure 3.9 National Socialist depiction of daily life in a lake dwelling culture by J. Kügler.

## Chapter Four: Analysis

In this chapter, the figures in each lake dwelling image are identified and recorded based on indicators of gender and age, followed by a discussion of potential connections between the artists. The next section includes a discussion of race and the correlation between gender and outward appearance, followed by discussion of gender tasks and position within each image.

### *The Dataset: Lake Dwelling Depictions*

“Swiss Lake Painting” by A.O. Tiemann (Appendix A.1, Table 4.1). The image contains thirty-eight individuals, with men outnumbering women twenty-one to three. There are nineteen identifiably adult males, two male subadults, three adult females, and fourteen indeterminate gender figures (five of whom are children).

Table 4.1 Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Tiemann’s “Swiss Lake Painting”.

Age	Gender		Male (n)	Total (n)	%
	Female(n)	Indeterminate (n)			
Adolescent			1	1	2.6%
Adult	3	5	17	25	65.8%
Adult or adolescent		3	1	4	10.5%
Child		4	1	5	13.2%
Infant		1		1	2.6%
Older Adult			1	1	2.6%
Unknown		1		1	2.6%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

The painting is dynamic, with individuals represented on platforms above the water or near houses in addition to playing and rowing in the water. Humans are not the only subjects, as cattle and materials such as nets, animal skins, ceramic vessels, axes, hammers, canoes, and a loom are also depicted. All of the individuals are fair to tan-skinned, with blond to brown hair.

The piece illustrates the erasure of women from the past, as men dominate the picture, taking the foreground and center positions. The perception of men projected by the painting is that they are primary figures, performing the most actions, while women are largely stationary. The men are constructing a building, playing with water, carrying goods, driving cattle, and

carrying a ceramic vessel. Women stand on the dock, in one case carrying a basket.

Indeterminate figures stand or kneel on the dock as well. The children are playing in or overlooking the water near the male figures rather than near the females on the dock.

The second image is entitled “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.” (Appendix A.2, Table 4.2 ), also created by A.O. Tiemann as a part of the “Trade and Coinage in the Ancient World” series in 1936. The painting style is similar to the American scene but with greater art deco influences and a Philhellenistic style of depicting figures, hairstyles and clothing is consistent with other images depicting scenes from antiquity produced by Tiemann for the MPM (Appendix A.17). There are sixteen individual figures in the piece, with three definite females, eight males, and five indeterminate figures. There are also two children of indeterminate gender.

Table 4.2 Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Tiemann’s “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.”

Gender in Relation to Age					
Age	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Adult	3		7	10	62.5%
Child		2		2	12.5%
Infant		1		1	6.3%
Unknown, could be adolescent or adult		2		2	12.5%
Elder Adult			1	1	6.3%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

This scene takes place on a dock, and it depicts a range of activities. Men are again framed as the primary figures in this image, staged in the front, background, and midground of the picture, with an elderly man in the center. There are two children between 3 and 6 years of age, with a possible adolescent, twelve adults and one older adult. Men are again performing most of the actions in this image, including canoeing, transporting goods, engaging in discussion, and tending cattle. With the exception of a centrally positioned female holding a child, women

are placed in the midground and background, with one at the center, another with her back to the viewer, and a third in the midground with a basket. There are other goods in the image, including canoes, spears, armbands, back-basket, cages, and baskets.

This painting was part of the “Coinage in the Ancient World” series dedicated to depicting trade in European civilizations (Appendix A.17). The Ancient World series was commissioned under the direction of MPM Director Samuel Barrett and Anthropology Department head W.C. McKern and provided an opportunity to display artifacts in the MPM’s Old World archaeology collections. The art commissioned for this series draws heavily on ancient Greek imagery, including women dressed in chitons and a central elderly male figure who appears to have been based on figures of Zeus. The female figure holding a child in the front and center is reminiscent of a Madonna and child, perhaps invoking the lake dwellers as ancestor figures for the largely western European populations of Milwaukee at the time.

The third image is “Swiss Lake Dwellers” by J.B. Clemens (Appendix A.3, Table 4.3). There are fifteen figures, with eight definite males, one an adolescent, four females, two of which are children, and three indeterminate, one an adolescent/child.

Table 4.3 Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Clemens’ “Swiss Lake Dwellers”.

Gender in Relation to Age					
Age	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Adult	2	2	6	10	66.7%
Child	2			2	13.3%
Adolescent		1	1	2	13.3%
Older Adult			1	1	6.7%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

The artistic style of the piece is slightly more abstract than the two Tiemann paintings, without a clear reference point of movement or style. The focal point is represented by the adolescent male and female child talking in the center of the image. While diverges stylistically

from the other MPM images, as in the previously discussed paintings men are pictured more often and in a greater number of roles.

“The History of Man” (Appendix A.4, Table 4.4) by J.W. Norton was commissioned by patrons of the Logan Museum of Anthropology in Beloit (Burwell 2019). Norton’s piece dates from 1925, before the WPA, but serves as a marker of a different style of lake dwelling portrayal by an American not of German descent. The fourteen figures all have dark hair, and both women and men have uncovered or partially covered chests. Children are depicted as nude. There are three definite adult women, four definite males, and five indeterminate adult figures. The two children are between the ages of five and ten. One is likely female based on the stylization of the face similar to the other adult woman; however, this cannot be stated for certain. The gender of the other child cannot be determined. This painting differs from other depictions in that it is more egalitarian in its representation of male and female figures in terms of numbers and women are positioned in the foreground.

Table 4.4 Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Norton’s “The History of Man”.

Gender in Relation to Age		Gender				
Age		Female	Indeterminate	Male	Likely female but unable to declare for certain	Grand Total %
Adult		3	4	4	1	12 85.7%
Child					2	2 14.3%
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>14 100.0%</b>

The women are in the center of the image, with a focal point on one female figure who is standing near a loom outside a house. The other women gaze downward. Men stand in the lower foreground, as well as the background, and face the side. They engage in conversation (similar to the adult indeterminate figures). Two canoes, one net, three ceramic vessels, a loom, a basket, and a spear are also depicted in the piece, along with a sheep/goat and a dog.



The lunette entitled “Neolithic Age, 5000 BC” by George Peter (Appendix A.5, Table 4.5) concentrates more heavily on the landscape than on individual figures. There are ten human figures: four females, two males, and four indeterminate. This image differs from other pieces in the increased presence of female figures; however, they are poorly defined and positioned in the background of the image.

Table 4.5 Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Peter’s “Neolithic Age, 5000 BC”.

Gender in Relation to Age					
Age	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Adult	4	3	2	9	90.0%
Unknown		1		1	10.0%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

All of the figures appear to be adults with the exception of one whose position in the background makes details difficult to ascertain. The female figures occupy the sides of the images, while the indeterminate individuals are spread throughout. One male figure is in the midground, while another is in the foreground and facing the viewer. These figures have tan skin and darker hair.

The next painting analyzed is entitled, “In der Bronzezeit,” either created by, or heavily inspired by Wilhelm Petersen (Appendix A.6, Table 4.6). It is a Schultafel created in the 1930s for German schoolchildren. The text reads: “In der Bronzezeit schufen germanische Schmiede Waffen und Werkzeuge, wie sie kein Volk der Welt schöner hergestellt hat” (“In the Bronze Age, German blacksmiths created weapons and tools that no other people in the world made more beautifully”). This image is in the Saarland Schulmuseum’s collection. In this piece, there are eighteen individuals: four definite females, nine males (two of whom are children), and five indeterminate figures (all of whom are children).



Table 4.6 Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Petersen's "In der Bronzezeit".

Gender in Relation to Age					
Age	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Adult	4		7	11	61.1%
Infant		1		1	5.6%
Child		4	2	6	33.3%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

All of these individuals have light hair and skin. The art in this piece is typical of 1930s National Socialist representational imagery. Figures are painted in a social realist style, with the focus on portraying the subjects in an idealized manner. Material culture depicted in the painting includes a bow and arrow, canoe, buckets, chair, oven, wagon, hammer, sword, projectile, and sickle. These items and other jewelry, combs, and a horn are also shown in a border around the image, a means of depicting artifacts also seen in other Schultafeln.

Men are again dominant figures in the image, as they occupy different parts of the painting, conducting trade, working with materials, and herding animals. The children are stationary, even when depicted in association with materials such as a bow and arrow. Women are depicted modestly, wearing clothes which cover their breasts while the male figures appear without their chests covered or wearing a one-shouldered tunic. They are pictured engaged in domestic chores. One of the women is in the foreground between two men talking while the others are in the background pictured near children.

The next piece analyzed is entitled, "Pfahlbau Ansiedlung," and was retouched from an original painting produced in the early twentieth century to conform to the Schultafel aesthetic (Appendix A.7, Table 4.7). The original artist was Alfred Marxer, a Swiss national, but the version analyzed here was retouched by Adolf Lehmann, or at least formed part of the Lehmann Kulturgeschichte image series (according to the text on the bottom of the poster). The original Marxer piece was published by F.E. Wachsmuth in Leipzig as a part of the Kulturhistorische

Bilder series (also according to the text on the bottom of the image). The painting is in the social realist style. The piece depicts a lake dwelling settlement and includes materials such as a quiver, bow, arrows, canoes and oar, nets, spear, basket, pot, and loom. There are eleven figures in this piece, including five adult males, four adult females, and two individuals of indeterminate age/gender (due to distance).

Table 4.7 Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Lehmann's "Pfahlbau Ansiedlung".

Gender in Relation to Age					
Age	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Adult	4		5	9	81.8%
Unknown		2		2	18.2%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Men are again the main focus of the painting, dominating the foreground and performing the most varied actions. The males in the piece are shown holding a bow, carving, and engaging in other subsistence activities. They are scattered around the painting. Women are pictured next to a ceramic vessel and loom, and near one another. The women are positioned near a building in the piece, and as in the previous Schultafel, have their chests covered while males wear a single-shouldered tunic or are shirtless. All of the individuals are lighter haired and fair, and there are no elderly figures. This painting also depicts a dog.

The last image is a Schultafel painted by Johannes Kügler entitled, "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit" (Appendix A.8, Table 4.8) Little information was available about the painter's life or the exact creation date. It was included in the Westfälisches Schulmuseum's exhibition on National Socialist Schultafeln, but appears to have been re-published in 1965 by Tellus Verlag as well (Walter 2010: 82). There is another image that is similar in its setting, layout, figures, and activities also entitled "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit (see Figure 4.19). However, the records of the Saarländisches Museum do not indicate whether the other image

was also created by Kügler or by another artist. The second “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” appears to have been published later in the 1950s and 1960s by Tellus Verlag.

Table 4.8 Breakdown of figures by gender and age in Kügler’s “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit”.

Gender in Relation to Age					
Age	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Adult	4	4	13	21	87.5%
Infant		1		1	4.2%
Child		1		1	4.2%
Adolescent			1	1	4.2%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

The piece is consistent with a social realist approach and depicts a lake dwelling settlement. The materials portrayed in this painting include a loom, hammer, bow and arrow, grindstone, plow, boat, oars, nets, and adze. The gender ratio is skewed in favor of male figures, with fourteen of the twenty-four individuals in the piece representing men. Four are identifiable females and six are indeterminate figures. There is a male adolescent, perhaps thirteen years of age, one infant, and one child aged 6 – 10. There are also four individuals in the background with attributes that could not be determined.

The male figures in the image are engaged in construction or subsistence activities, while women are pictured with baskets, at looms, grinding grain, or holding infants. Men are the focus of the piece, in the front, middle, and background of the painting, while women are in the front, left and center. The women are also the closest to the dwellings. The infant is depicted in a woman’s arms, while an adolescent is depicted near an adult male’s feet.

#### *Commissioning at the MPM*

The Tiemann paintings at the MPM should be considered in the context of the individuals involved in commissioning such work at the time, MPM Director Barrett and Anthropology Department head McKern, an archaeologist. Samuel Barrett (1879 – 1965) studied with Franz

Boas, Adolph Bandelier, and Berthold Laufer, and Livingston Farrand at Columbia University and with Alfred Kroeber at Berkeley, where he received his PhD in 1908 (Peri and Wharton 1965: 4). Barrett was first appointed the MPM's Anthropology curator in 1909, holding the position until 1920 when he became the museum's Director (Peri and Wharton 1965: 4). Barrett strongly believed in the importance of visual media to convey anthropological concepts to the public and he collaborated with artist George Peter in order to bring mural design and dioramic display to the exhibit halls. Commissioning large murals to show the objects in use and the lifestyles of past individuals humanized the past, one of the main museum trends in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

W.C. McKern (1892 – 1989) is also central to the WPA pieces produced at the MPM. McKern was born in Medicine Lake, Washington, and received a bachelor's from Berkeley in 1917, also studying under A.L. Kroeber (Lyman and O'Brien 2003: 5). He became the MPM Anthropology Department curator in 1925 and Director in 1943 (Lyman and O'Brien 2003: 6). McKern was the founding editor of *American Antiquity* and was best known for developing the Midwestern taxonomic method. This technique was based upon the Linnaean classification system, highlighting the focus, aspect, phase, pattern and base unit (Lyman and O'Brien 2003: 10). The Midwestern taxonomic method was intended to convey cultural affinities (Lyman and O'Brien 2003: 11). Barrett and McKern's techniques were combined to make the visual display of MPM collections appealing to visitors. As Anthropology Curator, McKern was responsible for the Anthropology collections during the New Deal. On Tiemann's employment card, McKern is listed as having had a supervisor role.

The lake dwelling paintings produced at the MPM were commissioned by the Anthropology Department to accompany exhibits of premodern Old World materials donated by

early German MPM founders such as William Frankfurth and Carl Dörflinger, on display in Room 105 of the original museum building. After 1947, the Swiss materials were placed into a newer display in the Hall of Man, which was again updated in 1965 (Arnold 2011).

### *Commissioning in National Socialist Germany*

Adhering to nationalist ideas of displaying prehistoric cultures was important in the Third Reich. Wilhelm Petersen worked mainly under the direction of Hans Reinerth, principal archaeologist for the Amt Rosenberg (Christiansen and Petersen 2013: 40). Reinerth was born in Austria-Hungary and received his PhD from the Universität of Tübingen (Schöbel 2008b: 47), where he attended seminars led by Gustav Kossinna between 1919 and 1921, and also participated in the commissioning of open-air museums based on Scandinavian folklore in 1922 (Schöbel 2008b: 47). In the early 1920s, Reinerth's illustrations and museums were already demonstrating a Nordic bias that he clearly intended to replace the dominant emphasis on classicism (Schöbel 2008b: 50). In 1930, he was introduced to Alfred Rosenberg, and in 1931 he joined the NSDAP (Schöbel 2008b: 51). Reinerth and Rosenberg were proponents of Germanic-centric prehistory, with the former making a concerted effort to portray lake dwelling sites such as Unteruhldingen as an homage to the Nordic Warrior rather than “jolly” individuals from prehistory (Schöbel 2008b: 52). The need to portray the past in accordance with these Völkisch, Germanocentric ideals clearly influenced artists working for the regime at this time.

### *Artist Connections*

The two main artists responsible for the pieces selected for this study share a cultural origin point. Both A.O. Tiemann and Wilhelm Petersen spent the formative years of their lives in Hamburg in northern Germany, an urbanized industrial port town, but a generation apart. Tiemann received his education there and would have been exposed to the art movements of

naturalism and impressionism (Dodworth 2019: 1 -3). Petersen was born after Tiemann had left Germany, while Alfred Marxer, who was born in Switzerland, was a contemporary of Tiemann's. He received his training in Munich in the early nineteenth century and preferred an artistic style similar to the impressionists of France. Marxer returned to Switzerland to produce the majority of his paintings but was in Germany from 1896 – 1913 (Sikart Lexicon 2020). Adolf Lehmann was a contemporary of Marxer but his exact dates of birth and death could not be determined. Both Lehmann and Marxer produced work for the publisher F.E. Wachsmuth; Lehmann was specifically involved in the Kulturhistorische Series. His name is found on pieces in the series depicting landscapes as well as images of prehistoric life.

The artistic movement in Germany in 1918 invoked both realist and surrealist traditions, influenced by WWI. However, in 1930s Germany movements such as Dadaism, Cubism, Expressionism, and Modernism had been banned as degenerate, while Neoclassicism and Romanticism were re-emphasized. Tiemann's pieces appear to not have drawn on the avant garde art of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century but maintained a degree of concrete matter even though stylized art deco representations appear in both his and Petersen's Schultafeln in the glamorized physical features of their human subjects.

Most of the art included in this project includes detailed representations of objects as well as human subjects. As the WPA and Schultafel works were produced in order to showcase the prehistoric past, the archaeological materials were important features (especially organic elements such as fabric or clothing that highlighted the unique preservation of artifacts in the lake dwelling sites). Personal ornament (whether jewelry or the weapons males wear or carry) is also included in the images and the surrounding environment is emphasized. In Tiemann's pieces, the mountains in the background correspond to specific locations within the

Swiss/German lake region while the Schultafeln appear more generalized in their locations. The buildings in both groups look similar to reconstructions found in the Pfahlbau open air museums but it is not known whether any of the artists had visited sites like Unteruhldingen before producing their works. Founding members of the MPM such as Frankfurth and Dörflinger had visited Swiss lake dwelling sites, such as Robenhausen, and could have provided Tiemann with Alpine panoramas (Arnold pers. comm. 2020).

Tiemann's depictions of figures are more detailed in the sense that individuals have unique faces and varying appearances, while the National Socialist figures appear much more uniform. The latter give the impression that the figures are "blank" similar to the miniature models in museum case exhibits. Both are meant to appeal to a wide audience, but the depersonalization of the National Socialist images allows one to project ones' own feelings and thoughts upon the figures.

#### *Race and Ethnicity in the WPA/US Paintings*

In the paintings produced by Tiemann for the MPM, race is indicated by means of skin tone, from fair to tanned, in accordance with the Fitzpatrick scale definitions (D'Orazio et al. 2013). As discussed in Chapter 3, fair skin tones are light in appearance with little melanin, and are often accompanied by red, blond, or light brown hair. The ability to tan, as depicted in some of Tiemann's pieces, correspond to skin type 3, which is found in the Mediterranean. This would correspond to the Italian and French-speaking populations in Switzerland today, which reflect post-Roman conquest genetic contributions as well as Alemmanic tribal migrations into Switzerland in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE (Buhler et al. 2012).

Figures were counted and analyzed based on their skin tones. In the painting "Swiss Lake Dwellers" by Tiemann, thirty-eight individuals were recorded (Tables 4.9 and 4.10, Figure 4.1).

The three female figures were all fairer skinned than the adult males. This image detail is likely a projection of 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century ideals, where women (except in rural contexts) remained mostly indoors. The women all have brown hair (two lighter in color, one darker in color). There are fourteen indeterminate figures. There are three indeterminate adult figures veiled in shadow whose skin-tone and hair color could not be determined. Six of the ten indeterminate figures were fair while another was tan. One child of unknown age and one adult have blond hair, while the remaining figures have dark hair. There are twenty-five male figures. Eighteen of these male figures have fair skin, while five have blond hair, one white hair, ten dark hair, one auburn, and one unknown (all children are fair and two are blond). Seven males are tanned, three of which have dark hair while the remaining four are blond. Tanned and fair individuals occur throughout the painting, from the water, to the docks, and engaged in various tasks (with the exception of one individual, the male house-building team is fair). The piece represents a mixture of skin types and hair colors reflected in regional variations in modern Germany.

Table 4.9. Gender and physical appearance (skin tone) in Tiemann's "Swiss Lake Painting".

Gender in Relation to Outward Appearance					
Outward Appearance	Gender		Male (n)	Total (n)	%
	Female(n)	Indeterminate (n)			
Darker skin		1		1	2.6%
Fair skin	3	10	14	27	71.1%
Undefined		3	1	4	10.5%
Tan skin			6	6	15.8%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100.0%</b>



Table 4.10 Gender and hair color in Tiemann’s “Swiss Lake Painting”.

Gender in Relation to Hair Color					
Hair Color	Gender				
	Female(n)	Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Dark, bound	1			1	2.6%
Light-brown, unbound	2	1	1	4	10.5%
Blond, unbound		4	6	10	26.3%
Dark, unbound		4	10	14	36.8%
Undefined		3	1	4	10.5%
Brown		2		2	5.3%
Blond, bound			1	1	2.6%
White hair, unbound			1	1	2.6%
Auburn short			1	1	2.6%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

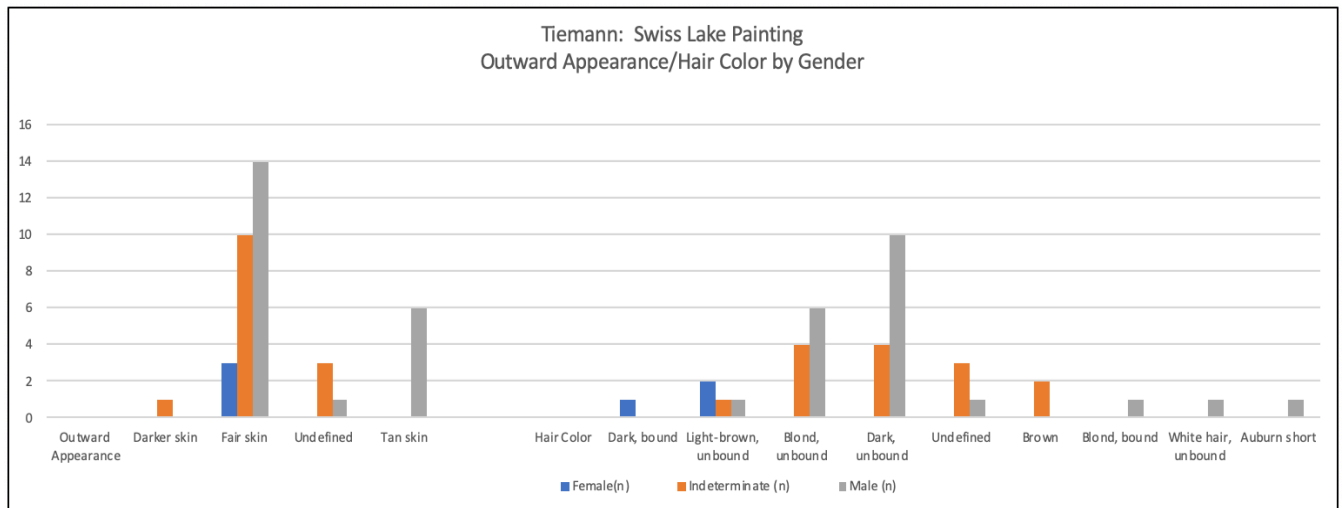


Figure 4.1 Composite of outward appearance (skin tone) and hair color in Tiemann’s “Swiss Lake Painting”.

In the painting, “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.,” there are sixteen individuals. The three female figures are all fair-skinned; one has blond hair, one light-brown, and one auburn hair. There are five indeterminate figures, all of whom have fair skin. Two children and the infant have blond hair, while the remaining two indeterminate figures have dark hair (they may be adolescents or adults). Four males have fair skin, two have light skin, and two have tan skin. One individual has white hair while the rest have brown hair (Tables 4.11, 4.12, and Figure 4.2).

Table 4.11. Gender and physical appearance (skin tone) in Tiemann’s “Bartering Goods”.

Gender in Relation to Outward Appearance					
Outward Appearance	Gender			Total (n)	%
	Female(n)	Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)		
Fair skin	3	5	4	12	75.0%
Light skin			2	2	12.5%
Tan skin			2	2	12.5%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 4.12 Gender and hair color in Tiemann’s “Bartering Goods”.

Gender in Relation to Hair Color					
Hair Color	Gender			Total (n)	%
	Female(n)	Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)		
Light-brown, unbound	1	1	6	8	50.0%
Blond, unbound	2	4		6	37.5%
White hair, unbound			1	1	6.3%
Brown chin-length hair			1	1	6.3%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>42.1%</b>

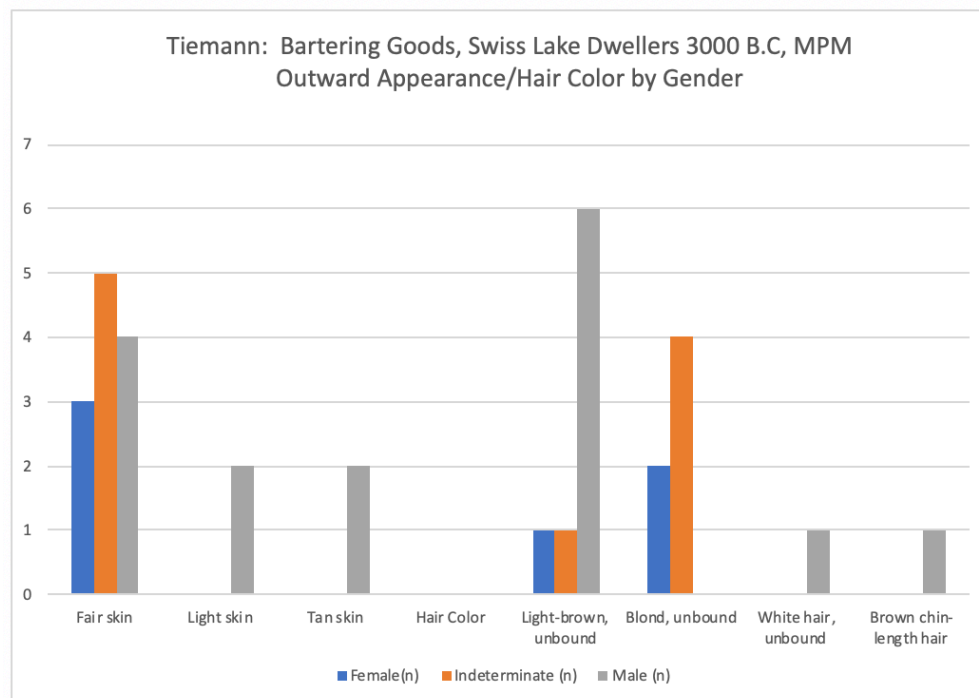


Figure 4.2 Composite of outward appearance (skin tone) and hair color for Tiemann “Bartering Goods”.

The Clemens piece differs in artistic style from Tiemann's works (Tables 4.13 and 4.14 and Figure 4.3). There are fifteen figures. The human figures are less detailed; however, the archaeological materials are clearly displayed. In this piece, there are four female figures, three of which have fair skin (two blond children and one dark-haired adult), while a fourth has tan skin and dark hair. There are three indeterminate figures, one of which is an adolescent, with fair skin. The other two indeterminate figures are tan-skinned adults, and all have dark hair. All of the eight male figures are tan, consistent with a lifestyle outdoors. There is an older adult with white hair, and one individual has blond hair. The remaining figures have dark hair. Clemens' piece is a stylistic departure from the work done by Tiemann, even further increasing representation of skin types two and three; his interpretation of the past is similar to the makeup of Switzerland's four ethnic groups.

Table 4.13 Gender and physical appearance (skin tone) in Clemens' "Swiss Lake Dwellers".

Gender in Relation to Outward Appearance					
Outward Appearance	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Fair	3	1	1	5	33.3%
Tan	1	2	7	10	66.7%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table. 4.14 Gender and hair color in Clemens' "Swiss Lake Dwellers".

Gender in Relation to Hair Color					
Hair Color	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Blond, unbound	2		1	3	20.0%
Dark, unbound	2	3	4	9	60.0%
White, unbound			1	1	6.7%
Light-brown, unbound			1	1	6.7%
Black, unbound			1	1	6.7%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

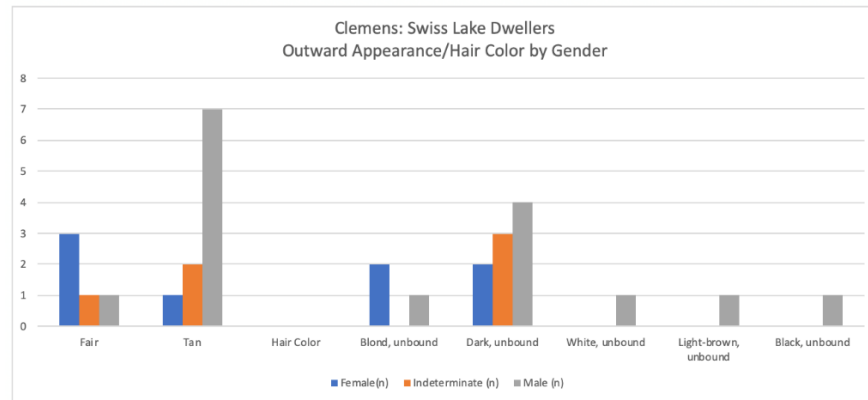


Figure 4.3 Composite of outward appearance (skin tone) and hair color for Clemens' "Swiss Lake Dwelling."

### *Race and Ethnicity in the German Schultafeln*

In the first German piece analyzed, "In der Bronzezeit," all eighteen individuals have fair skin and blond hair, with the possible exception of two indeterminate individuals and two female figures. The two indeterminate figures are in the shadows; one female is less detailed in execution while the other has a lighter background (Tables 4.15, 4.16 and Figure 4.4). The image is a grey-scale lithograph, making identification of the exact color of hair or features difficult. However, the shading and use of negative space denote lighter colors in skin and hair. Petersen's interpretation of is more consistent with what would be expected of a northern European lake dwelling image rather than the phenotypes actually found in the area of the Swiss lakes.

Table 4.15 Gender and physical appearance (skin tone) in Petersen's "In der Bronzezeit".

Gender in Relation to Outward Appearance					
Outward Appearance	Female(n)	Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Fair	4	5	9	18	100.0%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 4.16 Gender in relation to hair color in Petersen’s “In der Bronzezeit”.

Gender in Relation to Hair Color					
Hair Color	Female(n)	Gender		Total (n)	%
		Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)		
Blond, unbound		4	9	13	72.2%
Blond, bound	3			3	16.7%
Uncertain, bound	1			1	5.6%
Uncertain		1		1	5.6%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

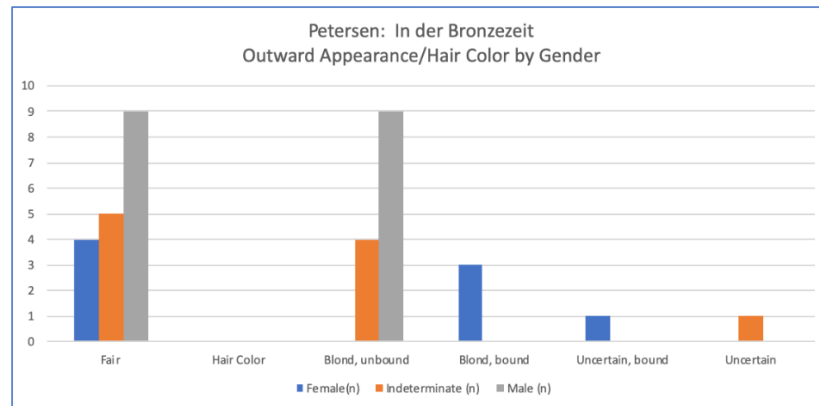


Figure 4.4 Composite of outward appearance and hair color for Petersen’s “In der Bronzezeit”.

The next image, “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung,” contains eleven individuals, four female individuals with dark hair and fair-skin and two indeterminate figures whose skin color is hidden, one of which has dark hair while the other’s hair color could not be determined. The male figures all have fair skin; two have blond and three dark hair. There are no children in this image (Table 4.17 and Table 4.18, and Figure 4.5). Lehmann’s piece emphasizes fair skin and lighter hair; the most colorfully dressed/high status individuals are more Nordic in appearance.

Table 4.17 Gender and physical appearance (skin tone) in Lehmann’s “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung”.

Gender in Relation to Outward Appearance					
Outward Appearance	Female(n)	Gender		Total (n)	%
		Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)		
Fair	4		5	9	81.8%
Unknown		2		2	18.2%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table. 4.18 Gender in relation to hair color in Lehmann’s “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung”.

Gender in Relation to Hair Color					
Hair Color	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Blond, unbound			2	2	18.2%
Unknown			1	1	9.1%
Dark, unbound	4		1	5	72.7%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

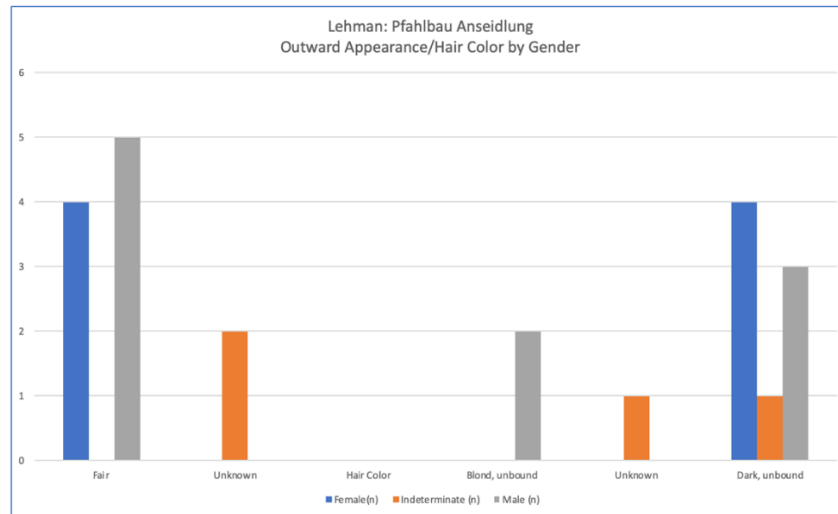


Figure 4.5 Composite of outward appearance and hair color for Lehmann’s “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung”.

In the last of the Schultafel images, “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit”, there are twenty-four individuals (Table 4.19 and Table 4.20, and Figure 4.6). The four female figures all have fair skin and blond hair; six indeterminate figures include two who are fair with blond hair (children), and four unknown due to a lack of detail. Of the fourteen male figures, all are fair with blond hair. This piece represents an imagined northern European community.

Table 4.19. Gender and physical appearance (skin tone) in Kügler’s “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit”.

Gender in Relation to Outward Appearance					
Outward Appearance	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Fair	4	2	14	20	83.3%
Unknown		4		4	16.7%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 4.20 Gender in relation to hair color in Kügler's "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit".

Gender in Relation to Hair Color					
Hair Color	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Blond, bound	1			1	4.2%
Blond, unbound	3		2	14	79.2%
Unknown			4	4	16.7%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>24 100.0%</b>

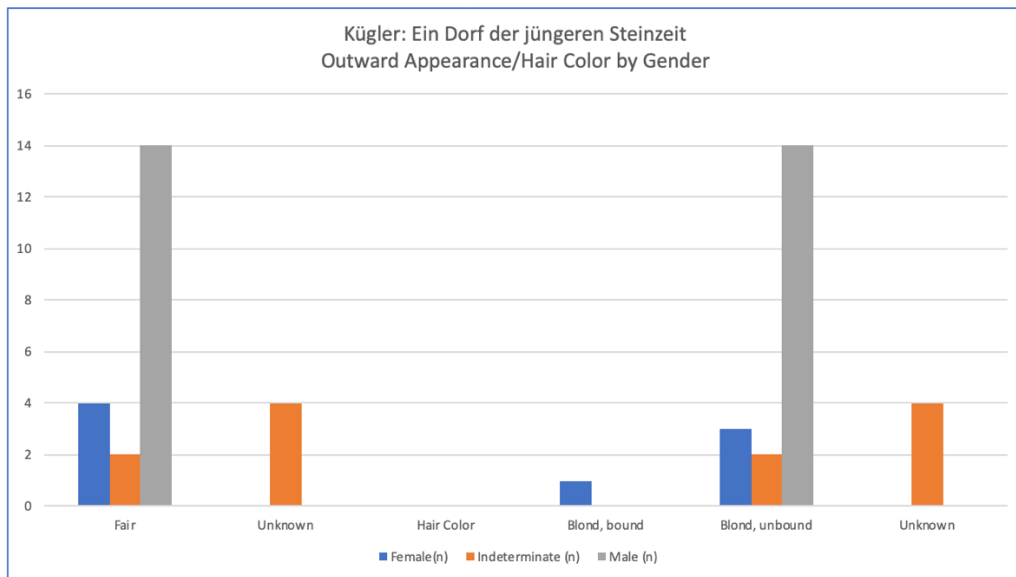


Figure 4.6 Composite of outward appearance and hair color for Kügler's "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit".

### *Discussion of Race*

The choices made in the depiction of skin tone and hair color in the images in the German-American and German contexts reveal some of the assumptions about race and gender that were present in the minds of the artists. Swiss ethnic groups are identified mainly based on language groups today, with different portions of the population speaking German, French, Italian, and Romansch. Swiss emigration to the US began in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with numbers increasing during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century near previous communities of migrants of the same ethnicity. German Swiss immigrants gravitated towards Midwestern states with large German-

speaking populations, including Wisconsin. Swiss Germans (and their language) share commonalities with southern German regions such as Swabia, both of which were settled by the Alemanni.

The resulting attitude in the US, including Wisconsin, was recognition of Swiss people as akin to the German immigrant population. In the US, there was awareness (through eugenics and racial studies) of distinct ethnic groups in Europe: Teutons/Germanics, Alpines, and Mediterranean peoples. However, in publications such as Carleton Coon's *The Races of Europe* (1939), moral or intelligence superiorities were not referenced, as Central Europeans, southern Germans, Austrians, and Swiss were all included in the Alpine group. In Wisconsin, including Milwaukee, there was a high proportion of these "Alpine" people with origin points in Swabia and Bavaria due to immigration from Germany in the mid-to-late 19<sup>th</sup> century amid socialist revolutions and opposition to Prussian aggression (Kamphoefner 2015). The lead artist at the MPM in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, George Peter, was Austrian, for example (MPM Monthly Reports 1936). The joint experience of Germans in America, particularly Milwaukee, may have acted as an additional unifying cultural force. The MPM was born out of the German-English Academy founded in 1851 by free thinkers and wealthy individuals who left Germany after the failed revolutions of 1848 (Efford 2016). These individuals included people such as Peter Engelmann (1823 – 1874) and William Frankfurth (1829 – 1891), who would also contribute to the formation of the MPM through donations of their collections of objects and antiquities. Milwaukee in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was known as America's "most German city" and faced particular trauma with the wave of anti-German sentiment that followed the outbreak of WWI (Arnold 2013: 886). It is unlikely that German-speaking immigrants and their descendants in Milwaukee would have thought of themselves as "Teutonic" or "Alpine;" rather



they identified as belonging to tribal-linguistic locations such as Franken, Schwaben, or Bayern, becoming “German” mainly in the face of competition with other immigrant groups such as the Italians, Poles, and Irish who also emigrated to the Milwaukee area in the early 1900s. Religious differences may have been more of a divisive factor, with northern German immigrants more likely to be Protestant and southern Germans Catholic.

From a social perspective, the German speaking immigrants were viewed as “White” and benefitted from that privilege in comparison to Irish or Italian immigrants (Efford 2016). However, speaking German, which had been encouraged until WWI, caused some communities to be viewed with suspicion. For example, a German-language production of a play about Swiss folk-hero William Tell was shut down at the Pabst Theatre in 1918 by “armed patriots” (Efford 2016). Language was therefore likely the key to defining ethnicity at this time.

Tiemann’s MPM paintings were produced in the context of this post-WWI German experience. His images include individuals who are fair or tanned (skin types 2 and 3), as would be expected in modern German and Swiss populations. Men, women, and children have light blond to lighter-brown hair, and are often depicted at a distance, obscuring eye color. These skin tones would have been seen in “Alpine” races, native to the Swiss lake region, the setting of the artwork. Fair skin is more common in the Tiemann pieces than tanned skin. The hair color distribution favors lighter brown hair, occurring more often among all skin types (Table 4.21 and Table 4.22).

Table 4.21 WPA composite showing gender and outward appearance.

Gender in Relation to Outward Appearance					
Outward Appear:	Female(n)	Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Darker skin		1		1	1.4%
Fair	9	16	19	44	63.8%
Light			2	2	2.9%
Tan	1	2	15	18	26.1%
Undefined		3	1	4	5.8%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 4.22 WPA composite showing gender and hair color.

Gender in Relation to Hair Color					
Hair Color	Female(n)	Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Auburn short			1	1	1.4%
Black, unbound			1	1	1.4%
Blond, bound			1	1	1.4%
Blond, unbound	4	8	7	19	27.5%
Brown, unbound		2	1	3	4.3%
Dark, bound	1			1	1.4%
Dark, unbound	2	7	14	23	33.3%
Light-brown, unbound	3	2	8	13	18.8%
Undefined		3	1	4	5.8%
White, unbound			3	3	4.3%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Skin tone choice and hair were subject to artistic license. In the WPA works, the skin tone variance would have been characteristic of the region and the artists were depicting individuals who were working outside (including women and children as well as men).

They were also depicting the Pfahlbau environments, from the lakes, to the mountains, to the docks, with individuals engaged in roles meant to illustrate trade and daily life in the past for museum visitors.

Norton's piece provides a contrast to the MPM paintings. In his image, all of the individuals have tan skin and dark hair. Norton was painting a lake dwelling scene, but his

primary subjects in other paintings produced for the Logan Museum of Anthropology were the indigenous peoples of North America. His lake dwelling painting includes figures very similar to those depicted in his North American ethnographic images. His choosing to portray individuals with tan skin invokes a past in which individuals in central Europe may have had more pigmented skin and darker hair. This is substantiated by recent DNA analysis of examples such as “Cheddar Man,” whose remains were found in a cave in Somerset, England. This individual lived 9kya, had dark skin and green/blue eyes (Beule 2020: 17). However, Norton could not have known his depictions would ultimately prove more accurate than Tiemann’s or National Socialist depictions and his choice of skin and hair color were likely due to convention and personal style. Peter’s piece depicts figures with light to medium tanned skin and darker hair. The figures are less defined than the Tiemann and Norton pieces, but have discernable tanned skin and dark hair.

In the images produced in the Third Reich, there are notable contrasts with the US/WPA paintings. The experiences of the artists living in the German totalitarian state were different than their US contemporaries. There was no sense of being an “ethnic minority” or facing competition with other groups such as Italians or Irish, as was the case in Milwaukee, although propaganda did underscore the idea of competition against the rest of Europe for *Lebensraum* or living space. However, this was not something encountered on a daily basis – the “other” was represented by ethnic undesirables. For individuals in the US, the German language was a vital connection to the homeland and an important part of shared experience in a country with a different dominant language. In Germany, on the other hand, regional differences were more like to be emphasized based dialect.

The separation of different types of “Germans” was a common denominator in the literature of the 1930s. Hans Günther’s work dividing several races of Europeans into “Nordic, Phalic, Eastern, Western, Dinaric, and East Baltic” groups inspired Hitler and Alfred Rosenberg’s ideas about regional morphological variability (Weikart 2013: 544). The Nordics were the most admired of these groups, being characterized with “superior” intelligence, light skin/eyes/hair, and physical might while it was theorized that darker hair and features resulted from intermarriage with non-Aryan or southern/eastern European types. Children were taught to distinguish between different racial types via the Schulwandbilder displayed in classrooms (Figure 4.7).



Figure 4.7. Schulwandbild showing racial types (Saarländisches Schulmuseum).

In the two Schultafeln “In der Bronzezeit” and the “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit”, blond hair is more common than darker hair. “In der Bronzezeit” depicts fourteen blond and four blond- to light brown-haired women/indeterminate figures (image in greyscale), while “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” depicts 24 blond individuals. The “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” piece originally

by Marxer (Figure 4.8) had the most dark-haired people, with eight compared to two definite blonds. The two blond men in the foreground were retouched from darker figures.



Figure 4.8 Original “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” by A. Marxer (Saarländisches Schulmuseum).



Figure 4.9 Retouched “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” by A. Lehmann (Westfälisches Schulmuseum).



There are parallels to the “Aufnorden” (Aryanizing) of the “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” pieces in the painting determined to be by Kügler (Figure 4.10), which is noticeably different with regard to racial cues from the other version of “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” (Figure 4.11).



Figure 4.10 Kügler’s “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” (Westfälisches Schulmuseum).



Figure 4.11 Unnamed painter, “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit” (Saarländisches Schulmuseum).

Kügler's image has a different style of hair for female and male figures. The woman holding the infant has her hair in a bun, while the other young women have their hair loose but tied with a headband. In the uncredited image, all of the women's hair is loose. Men have shorter, chin length hair in the Kügler piece, whereas in the uncredited image, they are either depicted with long blond hair or closely cropped dark hair. Kügler's image involves all blond, fair individuals while there are some tan and dark-eyed figures in Figure 4.11. In addition, the dog in Kügler's piece is definitely a German shepherd, while in the other paintings, it is grey and a generic hound/shepherd type. There are also figures who are crouched over an elk kill, while in Kügler's piece men carry their kill over their shoulders, clearly returning victoriously from a hunt. The roles and positions of the figures are identical in both images.

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler characterizes Aryans as "culture builders" (Hitler 1939: 238). These individuals were presumably of the Nordic/Aryan type, and "lightened the skin" of other "inferior" groups they came in contact with (Hitler 1939: 240). The retouching of the "Pfahlbau Ansiedlung" painting, originally produced by a Swiss artist, is particularly telling, as it is a literal "whitening" of the past to conform to an overarching narrative of Nordic/Aryan supremacy. As the pieces were produced for children, they were designed to convey the narrative of their ancestry's supremacy. The physical depictions of figures in these paintings of Alpine locations have more in common with propaganda showing Viking ancestry (Figure 4.12).



Figure 4.12 “Das Osbergschiff – Ausfahrt der Wikinger” by Franz-Xavier Ilseheim (1930s).

The Schultafeln as propaganda pieces are in line with design of the “Thousand Year Reich” exhibit, in which advertising marketed to adults depicted individuals with stereotypically “Nordic” Aryan features, and individuals from other “Aryan” groups with darker hair (Adam 1992). It would hardly have been politic for party leaders to assert that only blond-haired, blue eyed individuals could have children, or fight for the Reich, especially in light of the appearance of high-ranking National Socialists such as Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler, or Adolf Hitler himself, all of whom had dark hair. Targeting children for this specific type of propaganda, however, is another way of asserting a totalitarian and ideological control over choices. It reinforces notions of what is desirable and “good,” and who should be chosen as a future spouse, all while adhering to the mission of the Reich. The images analyzed for this study are evidence of the conceptualization and dissemination of an idealized “Nordic” past, which favored higher occurrences of fair skin and lighter hair (Table 4.23 and Table 4.24).



Table 4.23 National Socialist composite of gender compared to skin tone.

Gender in Relation to Outward Appearance					
Outward Appearance	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Fair	12	7	28	47	88.7%
Unknown		6		6	11.3%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 4.24 National Socialist composite of gender compared to hair color and style.

Gender in Relation to Hair Color					
Hair Color	Female(n)	Gender Indeterminate (n)	Male (n)	Total (n)	%
Blond, bound	4			4	7.5%
Blond, unbound	3	6	25	34	64.2%
Dark, unbound	4	1	3	8	15.1%
Uncertain		6		6	11.3%
Uncertain, bound	1			1	1.9%
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

### *Gender*

The analysis of gender representation in German-American and German lake dwelling paintings from the 1930s was carried out by counting the number of identifiable individuals as well as the tasks they are engaging in, their placement in the frame and portrayal detail. This involved more categories to analyze than race, which was established phenotypically with the aid of the Fitzpatrick scale. Gender was ascertained by based on the presence of secondary sexual characteristics or appearance, conforming to the binary system conflating sex and gender within the dominant ideology of 1930s American and German societies as well as the dominant culture in the US and Europe today. It must be noted as well that because gender is a performance as well as a physical category, the tasks that figures are portrayed carrying out help to illuminate the opinions within society about gender roles as projected back into the past by the artist.

Because secondary sexual characteristics were the primary means of assigning gender to figures, the gender of children was difficult to ascertain. Examination of adult figure portrayal can shed light on whether the artist wanted to represent a boy or a girl (for example, in Appendix

A.1, several younger figures have musculature similar to adult males). Tasks performed may also be an indication. Two figures were associated with a bow and arrow in “In der Bronzezeit,” where adult males are the only figures pictured with weapons or tools. However, painting a gender-neutral “child” could have been intentional in some cases so this was viewed as a separate category (non-gendered subadult).

### *Gender in German American Paintings*

In the “Swiss Lake Dwelling” (Appendix A.1) image by Tiemann, one of the first apparent patterns is the dominance of male figures. Twenty-one of the thirty-eight figures are male, fourteen are indeterminate figures (five are subadults) and three are females. Of the male figures, 71% were depicted nude from the waist up, while the remaining figures wear tunics. Of the indeterminate figures, 42% are nude/naked from the waist up, while all identifiably female figures have their chests and lower body covered (Appendix A.1). In this image, facial hair is not portrayed, so male musculature is an important component of gender identification. Chin to shoulder length hair is common for all figures, with the exception of two in the foreground, who appear to have shoulder length to mid-back length hair (one is male and the other indeterminate). The lack of detail in this painting prevents the assertion that women may have had their hair in a bun. Regarding positioning, women are seen in the midground and background, while male and indeterminate figures dominate the foreground, middle, and backgrounds (Table 4.25).

Table 4.25 Gender compared to position in Tiemann's "Lake Swiss Lake Painting".

Gender in Relation to Position in Painting		
Gender	Position	Viewer Placement
Female	Background	▪ Center, facing viewer
	Midground	▪ Center, facing viewer ▪ Viewer left, facing viewer
Indeterminate	Background	▪ Viewer left ▪ Viewer right, facing viewer
	Foreground	▪ Viewer left, facing away from viewer ▪ Viewer left, facing viewer ▪ Viewer left, side profile ▪ Viewer right, facing away from viewer
	Midground	▪ Center, facing away from viewer ▪ Center, facing viewer ▪ Center, side profile ▪ Viewer left, facing viewer
Male	Foreground	▪ Viewer left, facing viewer ▪ Viewer left, side profile ▪ Viewer right, facing away from viewer ▪ Viewer right, facing viewer ▪ Viewer right, side profile
	Midground	▪ Center, side profile ▪ Center/left, facing viewer ▪ Center right, facing viewer ▪ Viewer left, facing viewer ▪ Viewer left, side profile ▪ Viewer right, facing away from viewer ▪ Viewer right, facing viewer

The male and indeterminate child figures are shown in active roles, whether playing in the water, supervising oxen, building a house, or in conversation, while the female figures remain either passively standing or carrying a basket while standing (Table 4.26). Their activity and location place them as focal points within the image, highlighting the perceived importance and emphasis on male activities.

Table 4.26 Gender compared to age and activity in Tiemann's "Swiss Lake Painting".

Gender in Relation to Age/Activity		
Gender	Age	Activity
Female	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Holding a basket on dock</li> <li>▪ Static standing on dock</li> </ul>
Indeterminate	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Kneeling in boat or dock, perhaps on thatch</li> <li>▪ Sitting in house</li> <li>▪ Standing in doorway</li> <li>▪ Standing on dock</li> </ul>
	Adult or adolescent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Standing on dock</li> <li>▪ Weaving</li> </ul>
	Child	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Playing in water</li> </ul>
	Infant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Held by male figure</li> </ul>
	Unknown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Standing near house</li> </ul>
Male	Adolescent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Standing on dock watching group in water</li> </ul>
	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Building house</li> <li>▪ Carving a beam while housebuilding</li> <li>▪ Driving oxen</li> <li>▪ Holding a beam</li> <li>▪ Kneeling with hammer</li> <li>▪ Playing in water</li> <li>▪ Rowing in a boat</li> <li>▪ Standing on dock, conversing</li> <li>▪ Standing with beam, on thatch</li> <li>▪ Walking wooden beam on dock</li> </ul>
	Adult or adolescent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Playing in water</li> </ul>
	Child	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Standing on dock watching group in water</li> </ul>
	Older Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Sitting with ceramic</li> </ul>

As discussed in the Methods chapter, the weapons/tools were used to identify an emphasis on militaristic maleness. The artifacts associated with figures were further coded with a "W1" to denote an artifact defined solely as a weapon (sword), while "W2" denotes a weapon that may also be used to hunt (such as a bow and arrow). "T1" is the designation for a single-purpose tool while "T2" is used for a tool that could also have been used as a weapon (hammer). "W/T" denotes a dual purpose weapon or tool. With regard to the artifacts depicted, men carry hammers (T2), or wooden plans with which to build a boat (T1). There is a male figure with a ceramic vessel, and an indeterminate figure stands in front of a loom (Appendix A.1).

In the second Tiemann piece, "Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C." (Appendix A.2, Table 4.27) the figures are portrayed in much greater detail. A blond woman and infant are in the center foreground of the image, while the other two women occupy the

background and midground (facing the viewer). Indeterminate and male figures are found throughout the painting, and may face the viewer, face away from the viewer, or present a profile view to the audience.

Table 4.27 Gender compared to position in Tiemann's "Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C."

Gender in Relation to Position in Painting		
Gender	Position	Viewer Placement
Female	Background	▪ Viewer right, facing viewer
	Foreground	▪ Center, side profile
	Midground	▪ Viewer left, facing viewer
Indeterminate	Foreground	▪ Center, side profile
	Midground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer left, facing viewer</li> <li>▪ Viewer right, facing away from viewer</li> <li>▪ Viewer right, facing viewer</li> <li>▪ Viewer left, facing away from viewer</li> </ul>
Male	Midground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer right, facing viewer</li> <li>▪ Viewer left, side profile</li> <li>▪ Center, facing away from viewer</li> <li>▪ Viewer left, facing toward viewer</li> <li>▪ Center/viewer right, facing viewer</li> <li>▪ Center/viewer right, side profile</li> <li>▪ Viewer right, side profile</li> </ul>

There are three female figures, five indeterminate figures (two definite children, one infant, and two individuals whose age is difficult to ascertain) and eight adult males. The three female figures are wearing chiton-like dresses. The three children are nude and the other two indeterminate figures wear grey tunics. Five of the eight male figures wear tunics, while the remaining three are naked from the waist up. In this image, women have long or shoulder length hair. Six of the light-haired male figures have beards.

The artifacts play a central role in this image in identifying actions and tasks. Women appear with baskets, food, and bracelets while men and indeterminate figures carry, or are associated with, other artifacts, including toys, ceramic vessels, baskets, rope, oars, and axes

(W/T). These individuals are in conversation, or engaged in trade, rather than static. The children in this piece are positioned near both adult female and male figures (Table 4.28). The central female figure in this piece is holding a child, indicating a maternal role, while male figures carry subsistence materials and engage in conversation.

Table 4.28 Gender compared to age and activity in Tiemann's "Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C."

<b>Gender in Relation to Age/Activity</b>		
<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Activity</b>
<b>Female</b>	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Holding an infant</li> <li>▪ Holding a basket on dock</li> <li>▪ Standing</li> </ul>
	Child	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Playing with a toy</li> <li>▪ Standing on dock, watching boats</li> </ul>
<b>Indeterminate</b>	Infant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Held</li> </ul>
	Unknown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Talking with female figure</li> <li>▪ Ascending dock</li> </ul>
	Adolescent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Standing on dock watching group in water</li> </ul>
<b>Male</b>	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Supervising Oxen</li> <li>▪ In conversation</li> <li>▪ In conversation, trading fish</li> <li>▪ Holding basket</li> <li>▪ Docking boat</li> <li>▪ Rowing up towards dock</li> </ul>
	Older Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ In conversation</li> </ul>

In the Clemens "Swiss Lake Dwelling" painting (Appendix A.3), there is a departure from the detailed American scene characterizing other paintings. Four of the fifteen figures are female, two are adults and two are children. There are three indeterminate figures, two adult and one adolescent, and eight male figures, with one older adult, one adolescent, and the rest adults. In this image, the adult women are nude from the waist up, as are all of the male and indeterminate figures. The two subadult females are entirely nude. Female children are pictured with blond hair. The males are pictured in a dynamic fashion, located in the front, middle



ground, and background of the image. The adult female figure is in the midground/center of the image (Table 4.29). The children are identified by their smaller size; the adolescent male and a female child are in the middle of the painting while another male child is in the background with a dog. Another female child is kneeling near an indeterminate figure within a structure. The way women are portrayed is significantly different from the other US depictions apart from Norton. The women in this piece are also distributed more evenly throughout the painting.

Table 4.29 Gender compared to position in Clemens’ “Swiss Lake Dwellers”.

Gender in Relation to Position in Painting		
Gender	Position	Viewer Placement
Female	Foreground	▪ Viewer left, side profile
	Midground	▪ Viewer center-left, facing the viewer ▪ Viewer center-right, facing the viewer ▪ Viewer right, facing away from viewer
Indeterminate	Background	▪ Viewer left, facing viewer
	Midground	▪ Center, side profile ▪ Viewer right, side profile
Male	Foreground	▪ Viewer right, side profile ▪ Viewer left, side profile
	Midground	▪ Viewer right, facing away from viewer ▪ Mid-to-background, center, facing viewer ▪ Center, facing viewer ▪ Viewer right, front/side profile

Male, female, and indeterminate figures in the image are active but males are engaged in more jobs involving physical labor. The male figures are portrayed building a house and paddling a canoe. A female individual is carrying a basket, while another rows a boat. There are individuals of indeterminate gender kneeling near an animal skin and rowing (Table 4.30). This piece depicts subsistence activities as separated along gender lines even though both males and females are equally involved.

Table 4.30 Gender compared to age and activity in Clemens’ “Swiss Lake Dwellers”.

Gender in Relation to Age/Activity		
Gender	Age	Activity
Female	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Carrying a basket</li> <li>▪ Rowing a boat</li> </ul>
	Child	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Kneeling and receiving instruction</li> <li>▪ In conversation with another adolescent</li> </ul>
Indeterminate	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Sitting on the dock</li> <li>▪ Sitting in doorway instructing another figure</li> </ul>
	Adolescent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Running on dock</li> </ul>
Male	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Static standing in a doorway</li> <li>▪ Building a house</li> </ul>
	Adolescent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ In conversation with child</li> </ul>
	Older Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Rowing a boat</li> </ul>

### *Discussion of Gender in the National Socialist Images*

In the piece “In der Bronzezeit,” (Appendix A.6) the figures are portrayed in greyscale. There are four female figures, all adult. There are five indeterminate figures (four are children and one is an infant, and there are nine male figures. The female figures in these paintings wear a different style from Tiemann’s ancient Greek-style costume, consisting of a separate shirt or blouse together with a skirt, belt, and torc (a type of dress reminiscent of *Völkisch* German garb, such as a dirndl). This is not unexpected, as the Amt Rosenberg and the Ahnenerbe, which controlled the production of such images, had a direct interest in promoting *Völkisch* rather than Phillhellenist interpretations of prehistory.

The indeterminate figures appear fully clothed in tunic-like outfits. The men wear tunics, either chest height or one-shouldered, with one individual with weapons wearing a cloak. The hair on the female figures is pulled neatly into a bun, while men and children have chin-length hair. The women appear in the mid/background, with the exception of one female figure in the foreground near two other men. Men appear throughout the painting (Table 4.31)



Table 4.31 Gender compared to position in Petersen's "In der Bronzezeit".

Gender in Relation to Position in Painting		
Gender	Position	Viewer Placement
Female	Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer left, facing viewer</li> <li>▪ Viewer right, facing viewer</li> </ul>
	Foreground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer right, facing viewer</li> </ul>
	Midground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer left, facing viewer</li> </ul>
Indeterminate	Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer right, side profile</li> <li>▪ Viewer right, facing away from viewer</li> </ul>
	Midground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer left, facing viewer</li> </ul>
Male	Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer left, side profile</li> </ul>
	Foreground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer right, facing viewer</li> <li>▪ Center, side profile</li> <li>▪ Viewer right, side profile</li> </ul>
	Midground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer left, side profile</li> <li>▪ center/viewer right, side profile</li> </ul>

Both women and men are shown working, with women retrieving water or conversing with adults or children; men build a wagon, work a plow, converse or are engaged in construction. Women are most often depicted with children, while men are either working in a team or are alone (Table 4.32). One man is pictured with a sword (W1) and axe (W/T), another with a hammer (T2). The two male children are associated with a bow and arrow, with one individual holding the weapon (W2). Gendered activities and artifacts are clearly defined in this portrayal, in line with National Socialist values of motherhood and militarism.

Table 4.32 Gender compared to age and activity in Petersen's "In der Bronzezeit".

Gender in Relation to Age/Activity		
Gender	Age	Activity
Female	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Carrying water</li> <li>▪ Static standing in conversation</li> <li>▪ Retrieving water from well</li> <li>▪ Standing holding an infant</li> </ul>
Indeterminate	Infant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Being held</li> </ul>
	Child	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Static standing</li> </ul>
Male	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Static standing in conversation</li> <li>▪ Handling horses</li> <li>▪ Fixing a wheel</li> <li>▪ Tending a fire</li> <li>▪ Metalworking</li> </ul>
	Child	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Static standing</li> <li>▪ Static standing holding a bow</li> </ul>

The group of conversing people is an allusion to a famous Petersen work “Germanische Tracht der Bronzezeit”, in which there were three figures with identical dress, weapons, and personal adornment style (Figure 4.13).



Figure 4.13 “Germanische Tracht der Bronzezeit” by Wilhelm Petersen (1935).

The next piece analyzed is Lehmann’s “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” (Appendix A.7). In this image there are four adult female figures, two indeterminate figures, and five male figures. The four adult female figures are dressed in white chitons, with the exception of one figure in red. This is the same in the original Marxer piece and the Lehmann version, with the former influenced by a paradigm that stressed connections to antiquity. Retouching the male figures is in line with a Völkisch reimagining of the past that emphasizes the importance of men to the state.

The indeterminate figures’ style of dress is difficult to ascertain. The male figures are dressed in white; three of them are clothed from the waist down while one individual is wearing a one-shouldered tunic. One of the male individuals also has a green cape/cloak, and is in the foreground of the painting. The women are portrayed with dark shoulder to mid-back length hair that is loose. One of the indeterminate figures has dark hair while the other is unknown. Two of

the five male figures are blond and three have dark hair. Male and indeterminate figures are located throughout the image, while female figures occupy the center portion midground and are grouped together (Table 4.33).

Table 4.33 Gender compared to position in Lehmann’s “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung”.

Gender in Relation to Position in Painting		
Gender	Position	Viewer Placement
Female	Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer right, near house, facing viewer</li> <li>▪ Viewer right, near house, side profile</li> </ul>
Indeterminate	Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer right, unknown</li> <li>▪ Center, near house, side profile</li> </ul>
Male	Foreground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer left, frontal profile</li> <li>▪ Center, frontal profile</li> <li>▪ Center, facing away from viewer</li> </ul>
	Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Viewer left, side profile</li> <li>▪ Viewer right, side profile</li> </ul>

Female figures are portrayed with a loom, textiles, and ceramics, while the indeterminate individuals are shown with a boat or ceramic vessels. Males are portrayed with ceramic vessels, baskets, fishing pole, and bow, while the two blond males have a bow and quiver (W2) and an axe (T2) with which they are making a boat (Table 4.34). The strict dichotomy of “domestic” chores as gendered female and manual labor as male is in line with party ideology.

Table 4.34 Gender compared to age and activity in Lehmann’s “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung”.

Gender in Relation to Age/Activity		
Gender	Age	Activity
Female	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Static standing</li> <li>▪ Weaving</li> <li>▪ Washing</li> </ul>
Indeterminate	Unknown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Fishing</li> <li>▪ Cooking or creating ceramic</li> </ul>
Male	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Fishing</li> <li>▪ Holding bow</li> <li>▪ Boatbuilding</li> <li>▪ Conversing</li> </ul>

The original painting by Alfred Marxer did not have any blond male figures, unlike the revised mural. The two blonds were originally darker-haired, and lacked the cape and arrows which appear in the National Socialist work.

The final image analyzed is Kügler's "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit", which depicts four female figures, six indeterminate figures (two infants/children and four adults), and fourteen male figures (one an adolescent). The female figures are shown with variations in clothing. One female figure wears a white blouse, red skirt and green belt (her hair is also pulled back and she holds a child), while the others appear with drop-waist dresses like those seen in depictions of mothers in the National Socialist women's magazine *Frauenwarte* and loose locks. The female figure with hair pulled back and a different style of dress may be intended to be more mature than the others (or perhaps is shown to be married). The indeterminate figures and the two children are shown in white dress. The remaining four are too far in the background to determine dress. The male figures are dressed in one-shouldered tunics; one with a cape also has a bow and arrow (W2) and a dagger (W1) while others are depicted with hammers (T2), fish nets, oars, axes (T2), and a plow (T1). In The women in the picture are in the foreground and midground, and near other female figures or the fisherman. Men dominate the picture in the foreground, midground, and background (Table 4.35).

In this painting, women hold infants, weave, grind grain and salt/prepare fish. Five of the indeterminate figures are on a boat (with the infant being held by a female figure). The men work in teams with one another, building a structure, making a tool, working on a boat (whether building or fishing), working in a field, or returning from a hunt (Table 4.36).

Table 4.35 Gender compared to position in Kügler's "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit".

Gender in Relation to Position in Painting		
Gender	Position	Viewer Placement
Female	Foreground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Center, facing away from viewer</li> <li>Center, facing viewer</li> <li>Viewer left, facing viewer</li> </ul>
	Midground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Viewer left/central, side profile</li> </ul>
Indeterminate	Foreground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Viewer left facing viewer</li> </ul>
	Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Viewer right</li> <li>Viewer left</li> </ul>
	Midground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Viewer right, facing viewer</li> </ul>
Male	Foreground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Center, facing away from viewer</li> <li>Viewer left, facing viewer</li> <li>Center/viewer right, facing viewer</li> <li>Viewer right, facing away from viewer</li> </ul>
	Background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Center, facing away from viewer</li> <li>Center, facing toward viewer</li> </ul>
	Midground	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Viewer right, facing viewer</li> <li>Viewer right, side profile</li> <li>Center/left, facing viewer</li> </ul>

Table 4.36 Gender compared to age and activity in Kügler's "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit".

Gender in Relation to Age/Activity		
Gender	Age	Activity
Female	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Static standing, holding infant</li> <li>Weaving</li> <li>Grinding Grain</li> <li>Salting/preparing fish</li> </ul>
Indeterminate	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Standing on dock</li> <li>Sitting in boat</li> </ul>
	Child	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sitting in boat</li> </ul>
	Infant	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Being held</li> </ul>
Male	Adult	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sitting and making tool</li> <li>Building a structure</li> <li>Hauling fish</li> <li>Rowing</li> <li>Guiding boat</li> <li>Building boat</li> <li>Hoeing</li> <li>Driving Oxen</li> <li>Returning from hunt</li> </ul>
	Adolescent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sitting, holding tool</li> </ul>

### *Summary of Gender Patterns*

The images portraying gender produced in both WPA and National Socialist contexts depict males as primary actors and builders. In the domestic scenes on both sides of the Atlantic, women were outnumbered by men (even though in theory they should have been comprising half of the population or even more, if men were hunting or traveling farther from the settlements)

(Appendix A.1-8; Table 4.17). This gender imbalance is also seen in the Clemens piece, as well as the images by Peter and Norton. While identifiably female figures do outnumber males in the Peter image, they are in the background and are rendered in less detail than the two central male figures wearing headdresses. It is likely that the indeterminate figures in that image are male with their activities assigned as “male” based on the time period that the piece was produced; however, lack of detail makes it impossible to say for certain.

Taking the WPA murals and the Schultafeln at face value, it would appear that women were less present in the past (Figure 4.14). In Tiemann’s “Swiss Lake Painting”, as well as “In der Bronzezeit,” even children outnumber women. The “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” and “Neolithic Age, Lake Dwellers 5000 BC” featured no children, while most images included a mix of adults and subadults (Figure 4.15). This information is consistent with the viewpoints expressed by Conkey and Spector (1984), and other First Wave feminist scholars that women have traditionally been erased from prehistory. Even if all indeterminate figures in these images were intended to be female, male figures would still dominate.

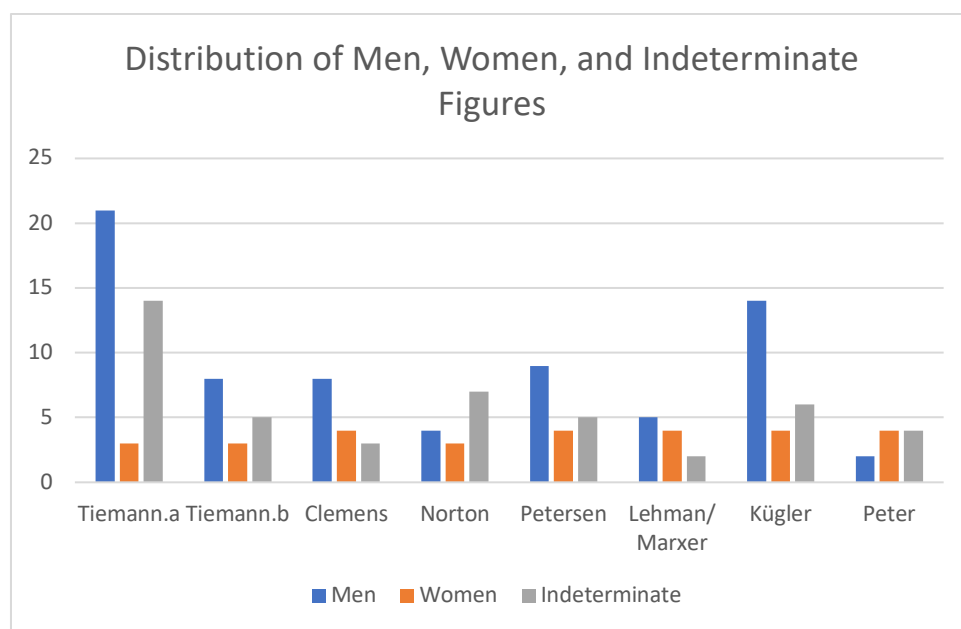


Figure 4.14 Composite image of the number of men, women, and indeterminate figures.



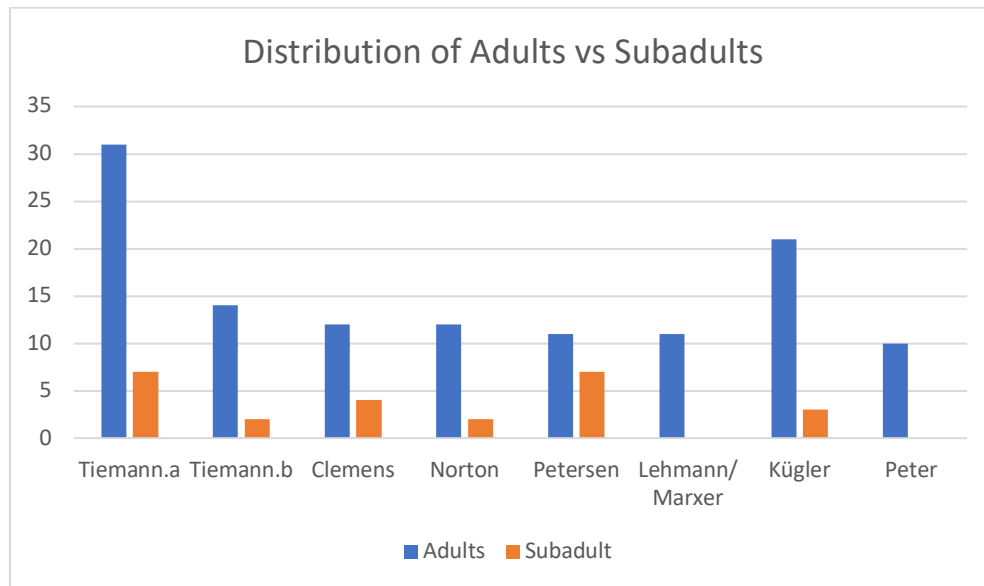


Figure 4.15 Composite image of the number of adults vs. subadults.

Figures 4.14 and 4.15 show that men outnumber women while adults outnumber subadults in all the images. Given the higher number of male archaeologists/curators informing the art staff (who were also male), this is in line with a pre-feminist archaeological world irrespective of other political considerations.

The Norton and Peter paintings provide an interesting comparison with the WPA and National Socialist images. Norton's painting for the Logan Museum appears to be an exception regarding male/female representation. He has a near equal divide between female/male/indeterminate adult figures, as well as children while Peter skews heavily in favor of male figures. Norton's piece gives the impression of having used unique models rather than imagined figures due to the differences in facial features. Norton has the smallest sample size of the paintings, however, which could affect the numbers.

The gendered task division in these images is also in line with the 1930s perceptions of women as "domestic caregivers" and "child-rearers" and men as "builders/hunters." Activities are clearly gendered. Because they are closely related to tasks, the artifacts and materials

associated with figures must also be considered here. In the WPA images, women performed duties such as carrying baskets and trade items (with the exception of Clemens, who portrayed a woman rowing). Women also stand statically on the docks, watching the action. In the National Socialist images, women assume several additional roles, mainly associated with food production (salting fish), weaving, carrying and gathering water, and tending children. The men in the paintings perform very similar tasks to those in the WPA images including constructing houses, fishing, creating pottery, rowing, conversing, and plowing in both contexts. Tiemann (Appendix A.1) departs from the norm in the sense that there are male figures playing in the water with children (Table 4.29).

The National Socialist paintings also portray individuals with bow and arrows, both preparing for and returning from a hunt. Women in the WPA contexts may be near children, but with the exception of a central female figure in Tiemann women are not portrayed holding them (whereas that is common in the Schultafeln, with the exception of the “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” image).

The Norton and Peter images represent the roles performed by individuals in a similar manner to the primary case studies. In the Norton image there are men and indeterminate figures rowing, conversing, and handling livestock while female figures appear to be receiving supplies or standing statically. In the Peters image, males and indeterminate figures provide all of the action, with female figures standing statically on the deck.

The appearance and personal adornment of the figures also differ in the images from the two sides of the Atlantic. The WPA images depict women with their hair bound or loose, without any apparent trend. In the images produced by the National Socialist regime, women have their hair in buns when near men or with children. This stylistic choice is similar to other forms of



National Socialist propaganda, in which married women wore their hair in a bun or covered to symbolize modesty and restraint. Longer hair was for younger individuals, symbolizing youth and sexual availability. Tiemann's portrayal of a woman with long locks holding an infant in the foreground of "Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C." is a departure from that attitude. The children in both contexts appear to have the fairest skin and hair as well. In addition, women wear more jewelry in the National Socialist images, with torcs, hairbands, and large belts, whereas only one of Tiemann's women wears an armband. Men do not wear jewelry in any of the images, indicating a modern imposition of social norms related to gender that is not supported by the evidence of the archaeological record. Torcs were indicative of high-status, and not worn solely by women; moreover, they are primarily an Iron Age rather than a Bronze Age item of adornment. Bracelets, beads and pins are also found in male as well as female graves in the Bronze and Iron Ages.

Female clothing also differs in the WPA depictions of women compared to the National Socialist images. In the WPA contexts, women wear chiton-styled clothing, possibly influenced by Philhellenism (especially in the 1936 Tiemann piece in the MPM's "Coinage in the Ancient World" series). The colors are red, white/cream, blue or greenish. Children are depicted nude or with waist/chest high wraps. In the National Socialist Schultafeln "In der Bronzezeit" and "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit", women wore dresses similar to a Bavarian dirndl, with a separate blouse/skirt (often connected by a belt). In "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit," younger women, as indicated by their flowing hair, wore drop waist/Frauenwarte-style clothing. In the "Pfahlbau Ansiedlung" piece, the women wear chiton-style clothing. A notable exception to the Tiemann and National Socialist pieces is Clemens' portrayal of women wearing waist high garments with nude torsos. This was similar to the Norton piece, in which the female and male figures were

uncovered from the waist up (whereas Peters' images involved women in chiton-like clothes). This is consistent with National Geographic-style "othering" that equates non-Western and prehistoric peoples via visual cues including complete or partial nudity. The National Socialist style of depicting women in garb similar to their modern, "folk/Bavarian" clothes model adheres to a choice to depict these ancient settings as part of a continuous lineage. Female adult modesty was apparent in both the WPA and National Socialist contexts; the singular exception is the female nudity in the 1920s film depicting re-enactors at an open-air Pfahlbau museum.

The depiction of male clothing is similar in both the WPA and National Socialist imagery. Men are depicted naked from the waist up, or wearing a one or two shouldered tunic. The colors are typically tans/whites, with fewer reds/blues (colors occurring more often in the National Socialist pieces). The major difference between the two groups is the presence of "caped" figures in the National Socialist paintings. These individuals were men located center/midground in the "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit" piece, center/foreground in the "Pfahlbau Ansiedlung" (specifically retouched/added to the existing image) and foreground viewer/right in the "In der Bronzezeit" painting. The men with the capes carry weapons and are presumably of higher status. For the "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit" and "Pfahlbau Ansiedlung," representations of bows and arrows (with one individual returning from a hunt) are included, while the individual in "In der Bronzezeit" carried an axe as well as a sword on his person. The sword is an example of a weapon meant solely for warfare, without a function as a tool (unlike axes, bows and arrows, or hammers). In the paintings, the men associated with hammers or axes are often depicted building structures or canoes.

Clothing varied as well in Peter's comparison imagery. He depicted two male figures with horned headdresses, akin to shaman imagery associated with Lascaux (a Magdalenian era

cave site in France dated 17,000kya). Other male figures appear to be wearing larger tunics. In Norton's images, males wear waist-high wraps, similar to female figures.

Positions of figures varied to a certain extent between the two groups. With the exception of Tiemann's "Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C." women do not appear as primary figures in the foreground. When they are in the foreground, they are off to the side rather than central. All of the figures appear throughout the fore, middle, and backgrounds. The large number of male figures poses a challenge when calculating which figures were more likely to appear in certain parts of the paintings, but males are more often central and facing the viewer in both the WPA and National Socialist images. Figures are also grouped, with men tending to be grouped together working on a specific task such as building a house or in conversation. In the WPA contexts, women are more often solitary or standing within another group (but not necessarily engaging), while the women in the National Socialist images are shown in or near other female figures, or with children. One exception is the woman standing with two other men while they converse in "In der Bronzezeit." The tendency to portray women with children, (ranging from two to three) is in line with NSDAP ideals in which a woman's primary role was as a mother (ideally to a large number of children).

Regarding the comparanda figures, Norton again represents a definite difference. His female figures are in the center of the frame, drawing the viewer's eye. Men and indeterminate figures also appear throughout the image. In Peter's painting, the male figures are the most prominent and clearly drawn, occupying all aspects of the space while women remain in the background.

The age of individuals is also of interest although the ratio of children to adults is similar on both sides of the Atlantic in that the majority of individuals portrayed were adults. Children

do appear (sometimes outnumbering the female individuals), but most were either male or indeterminate. The presence of children is significant, as they have been underrepresented in discussions about the prehistoric past (Conkey and Spector 1984; Werner 2019: 12). In these images, they are found throughout the paintings, providing a more organic sense of movement and differing tasks. Tiemann portrays children either playing or statically standing and watching the action of the domestic scenes. Clemens has children involved in conversation on docks or playing near the edge of the painting. In the National Socialist imagery, the children appear either in conjunction with a woman or in groups.

Older adults also appear in the American contexts but are always men. These individuals are indicated by the presence of white hair, or white hair and a beard. In Tiemann's images they are seated in the center at midground, while Clemens portrays an individual with white hair and a beard paddling a canoe. There are no older female figures in any of the paintings. This is not unexpected due to the general lack of female representation and is emblematic of the tendency to consider women, especially older women, as an afterthought in prehistoric reconstructions. In the comparanda images, there are no older adults. The lack of older male figures in the National Socialist Schultafeln is a theme in common with other forms of propaganda, which also contain fewer older figures.

### *Gender in the Archaeological Record*

As an integral part of the thesis is centered on an engendered archaeology, a discussion of gender-based tasks in the archaeological record compared to the images in this thesis project is presented below. Tasks in prehistory may have been organized by gender, but making assertions that an activity must be "male" or "female" without substantiated evidence reveals a presentist bias on the account of the researcher (for example, lithics as male, ceramics as female) (Conkey

and Spector 1984: 7). The Pfahlbauten paintings include depictions of stone or metal axes, which are very likely to preserve in the archaeological record due to their nature. Their users in the images are exclusively men, conforming to the notion that lithics and metallurgy were male activities. As Gero (1991) indicated, this is a bias on the part of the mainly male archaeological researchers who participate in flint knapping, as ethnographers have found Australian Aboriginal men and women both engaged in constructing stone tools (Gero 1991: 164).

Textile production was practiced by the lake dwelling societies as evidenced by the finds from many of these waterlogged sites. There is often a perception that textiles were female-centered activities due to the presence of spindle whorls in female graves (Gleba 2015: 106-7). However, even in Roman contexts where women conducted the majority of spinning, spindle whorls are found in male graves and weapons are found in female graves (Berseneva 2008: 142). Mortuary evidence for the Swiss lake dwelling sites is very limited, so grave goods and skeletal analysis that could indicate tasks (for example, wear on knees and arms in common with grinding actions associated with grains and female labor) are not available to test the assumptions about gendered tasks presented in the art.

#### *Additional Trends*

There were also some trends within the images that did not specifically connect to race or gender. Animals are present throughout the images. In the National Socialist paintings “In der Bronzezeit” and “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit”, German shepherd-like dogs were depicted sitting near groups of individuals (recognizable by their distinctive ears). There is also a dog in the “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung” painting, however the lack of detail hinders breed identification. In the WPA pieces, there is a dog in Clemens’ work, which also appears to be a German shepherd. The choice of this breed specifically is not surprising, as it was a preferred working dog in both

the military and on farms. There were additional animals in these paintings, including pigs, sheep/goats, and oxen, emphasizing the domestic and agricultural setting of the images.

In addition, the organic materials that make the lake dwellings unique are included in many of the images. More robust material like ceramics are depicted as well as net floats, canoes, oars, boats, axes, spears, and baskets. The charred apple halves that are one of the hallmarks of many lake dwelling sites are referenced by the basket of apples carried by the woman in Tiemann's "Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C." reflecting his efforts to include material culture in the MPM's collections. These organic materials (with the exception of the stone axe heads) were only preserved because this was a waterlogged site. The numerous poles/wooden/buildings, and thatch referenced in the paintings are also based on excavated materials. There is one notable difference between the WPA and National Socialist images: in the German pieces, figures are shown wearing shoes, which do not appear in the U.S. works.

In addition, the two Tiemann pieces differ stylistically from one another, likely due to the different commission focus. The "Swiss Lake Dwelling" image from 1940 is similar in style to Neo-Impressionist works, while the 1936 "Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C." appears to have been inspired by Neo-Classical and art deco influences. The 1936 piece, part of a series on Coinage in the Ancient World, was likely painted to conform to the other images that were part of this series, most of which drew heavily on the Greek, Egyptian and Etruscan pieces in the MPM collections. The figures in the piece, with their basketry, chiton-like dressing, and jewelry, are very similar in staging and style to Tiemann's "Greek King Counting Money" piece (Appendix A.17). The other piece, "Swiss Lake Dwelling," has brushstrokes and styling in common with the Neo-Impressionist style Tiemann adopted in his other works (Appendix A.18) and is consistent with the style he taught to his student Elsa Ulbricht. This piece was meant to

accompany a case on lake dwelling materials and was later reused in a 1960s MPM display. It is unclear whether there was direction allowing a change in artistic form, but it was a style known to have been employed by this versatile artist.

### *Summary*

This analysis of the WPA, National Socialist, and comparanda images revealed numerous similarities and differences regarding attitudes towards race and gender. Both groups of artists pictured the groups living in southwest Germany and Switzerland as white and male-dominated, and the influence of National Socialist ideology in 1930s Germany is apparent in those pieces. While Tiemann and Clemens portrayed individuals along a spectrum in terms of hair color and skin tone from fair to tan (with Norton portraying people with exclusively dark hair and tan skin), the National Socialist artists favored blond to light brown hair, and exclusively fair skin. This imagery in the latter group conforms to the National Socialist view of Nordic groups rather than with the Alpine peoples who would have actually inhabited these regions and is a characteristic feature of the propaganda of the period.

The comparison of differing cultural attitudes regarding gender relies on nuances of imagery and role performance. Both groups of artists (with the exception of Norton), included more male than female figures within their scenes. The men engage in active roles, such as building, smithing, or agricultural production, and occupy all portions of the frame. Men work both alone and in groups; the exception is Tiemann's "Swiss Lake Dwelling," which shows men and children playing in the water. There were fewer women and children in comparison to the men in the images in the study overall. Women were portrayed statically in the WPA paintings (with the exception of Clemens where female figures paddle a canoe), while in the National Socialist images they are engaged in domestic roles such as food production. With the exception

of Clemens and Norton, the female figures were modestly dressed, with chests and knees covered. This is a modern projection into the past, as it is unknown whether women wore that style of clothing in the Neolithic. Female figures in the Schultafeln were also in direct contact with children, highlighting their preferred role as mothers, while such proximity occurred more rarely in the WPA paintings. The children are shown at play rather than at work. This is another modern presupposition both sides share, as children likely had working roles in the villages (fishing, assisting with weaving, etc), as they did in most pre-industrial, prehistoric societies (Werner 2019: 81).

The lack of female figures also limited attempts to determine whether a particular form of family organization was preferred (monogamy, polygamy, extended families). Given the absence of older adults (with the exception of two figures) it is unlikely that the painters were envisioning a unit with multiple generations in a single home. The women that do appear do not appear with one another while watching a group of children, suggesting that one mother per group was viewed as the preferred social unit. Due to the social norms of the 1930s, it is likely that the painters conceived of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages as characterized by nuclear families.

Another subtle difference involved the artifacts carried, worn, or manipulated by the figures. In the WPA images, clothing was the main aspect of the figures' apparel. However, in the National Socialist contexts, women were depicted with jewelry/belts, while men wore or bore weapons. The presence of weapons with men (as opposed to being pictured with something that had a dual weapon/tool purpose), is symbolic of a "warrior" preference, also found in National Socialist propaganda themes. In fact, weapons are relatively rare in male burials in European prehistory and appear to have been status markers as well as functional items (Arnold 2016: 835).



The analysis of these images has shown that the influence of an agenda can be perceived within them, affecting choices of skin tone as well as personal adornment, type of activity and prevalence. These images show the importance of critical analysis of the social and ideological backgrounds of the contexts in which they are created. The greatest difference with regard to the depictions of in the WPA and National Socialist images is seen in their treatment of race. The WPA paintings show individuals with light to dark hair ranging from the fairest to the most tanned skin types. The National Socialists were more overt in their reimagining of the past as racially inflected in conformance with a particular value scale. Their figures are mainly blond to light blond and have fair skin, indicating a preference for “Nordic” individuals over Alpine or other ethnic groups. By contrast, both the WPA and the National Socialist paintings exhibit similar attitudes in their portrayals of gender. Women are less common overall and are depicted engaged mainly in household-based domestic roles. However, the National Socialist images emphasize the role of mother more frequently, showing women accompanied by infants and children. Men in both groups of images are depicted as “builders” and “providers,” shown building homes/boats and fishing or working with animals. The National Socialist images include more representations of weaponry, as men are shown wearing dual purpose weapons/tools (axes and bows and arrows) as well as swords/daggers. Male children are also portrayed in this manner.

The analysis of these images created during the 1930s demonstrates that such representations serve as historiographic indicators of the time period in which they were produced and contribute to our understanding of the history of archaeology and the interpretation of the prehistoric past. The WPA and National Socialist works are testaments to the importance of understanding the sociopolitical and cultural climates of an era in such studies.

### *Modern Viewpoints*

Modern experimental archaeology with people reenacting Pfahlbau life is a major aspect of programming at the Unteruhldingen and Bad Buchau open-air museums today. Unlike the past demonstrators whose mission was to show an imagined, idealized past, modern participants allow for testing of findings in scientific discourse and provide positive models for portrayals of life on the lake (Schöbel 2019: 70 and 71). Reenactors range in terms of hair and skin color from fair to light brown and social units are not limited to the nuclear family (Figure 4.16). Males may be associated with children, unlike the explicit militaristic message of the 1930s National Socialist pieces. Women hold ceramic vessels while boys hold some weapons/tools, which may demonstrate a division of labor. Clothing and hairstyles are largely uni-sex, which may somewhat conform to contemporary expectations of gender but at least doesn't limit any particular style to one gender or the other. The only thing missing here is older adults.



Figure 4.16 The Stone Age. The Experiment: Life as it was 5000 Years ago (2018, Pfahlbaumuseum/Gunter Schöbel).

## **Chapter Five: Conclusion**

A comparison of lake dwelling paintings produced under the auspices of the WPA for the Milwaukee Public Museum by German-American artists to Schultafeln commissioned by the NSDAP in Germany had not been conducted before this study was carried out. While the images appear superficially similar because the subject matter, artifacts, and settings were drawn from the same prehistoric contexts, a systematic examination of a selected sample of images reveals how presentist, racist and gender biases can affect the portrayal of the past irrespective of the explicit political agenda of the regime funding the final product. More specifically, the study revealed patterns in the portrayal of ancient central European lake dwelling prehistoric past in the US and European contexts against the backdrop of specific economic and nationalist agendas.

The results highlight the importance of viewing pieces within their specific historical context. In a superficial sense the WPA and National Socialist renderings of individual figures appear very similar, with fair to light/tan skin and blond to dark hair. However, when the images are compared more systematically, greater variations in skin and hair color appear in the German American contexts in contrast to the representations produced under the auspices of the National Socialist regime in Germany, which routinely used the lightest of tones in both hair and skin. This difference reveals how insidiously concepts of racial ranking had become when viewed in the context of the nationalist ideology of the time. Rather than modern ideas of “ethnicity” as defined by custom, language, shared history, and geographic origin in which Germans, Italians, and Slavic peoples were viewed as belonging to different groups, they are all considered “white”. This perspective would have differed significantly in the past (De Vos 1995: 16-17). Europe was, according to historians, sociologists and anthropologists such as Carleton Coon and Hans Günther, divided into either four or six different racial groups (Coon 1939; Günther 1922). The

latter ranked the racial groups favoring Nordic peoples as superior, while Coon refrained from commenting about relative ranking.

In Switzerland and southwest Germany, the lake dwelling inhabitants could be expected to be “Alpine” in appearance in artistic representations of this cultural context. In the WPA pieces, individuals exhibit variation in skin tone from fair to tan, with light to dark hair color, similar to individuals living in southwest Germany, Austria, and northern Switzerland today. All the US artists except for Norton belonged to this population themselves (Efford 2016). However, in the National Socialist pieces, the figures are fair and blond and more northern European in appearance despite the central European context of the culture being depicted. One of the most telling finds revealed by this project was the retouching in the 1930s of an image produced by Swiss painter Alfred Marxer around 1900 to change the hair color of the men in the foreground into blonds. Marxer’s pre-WWI image was the only one to include dark-haired figures. For the Nazis, creating an image of an idealized past inhabited by blond-haired, light-skinned, and blue-eyed ancestors was an important aspect of indoctrinating children with the ideas of racial superiority and an ancestral origin in the north (Hassmann 2002: 115).

The representation of gender ideology in the two groups of art works is, however, quite similar. Consistent with the norms of the time, a woman’s proper role was viewed as being limited to homemaking. When working outside the home, caretaking occupations (such as nursing, domestic science/home economics, or teaching) were considered acceptable activities for women in both the US and Germany (Rupp 1977; Arnold 2006; Mouton 2010). In these paintings, women are portrayed adhering to these early twentieth century stereotypical gender roles. In the American art works, they appear holding baskets, near houses, or standing and observing more active male figures. In the German artwork, somewhat more active domestic

roles are depicted, including food preparation. The National Socialist emphasis on the importance of motherhood is also clearly in evidence in the Schultafeln in the depiction of women in close proximity to children; in addition, women are more often depicted with more than one child, demonstrating the emphasis the National Socialist state placed on having numerous children (Mouton 2010: 949). Men in these representations are depicted with functional weapons as well as tools related to subsistence and construction. In the US images, men are more often depicted with functional tools and the emphasis is on trade and domestic construction (however, in one image there are men playing with children in the water). The portrayal of children is modern as well, as they are pictured at play or static, rather than working on tasks or engaged in chores.

The other telling similarity between the two sets of representations is the relatively small number of women in the images. Despite these being domestic scenes, women only account for a fourth of the total figures in the images; even if all of the indeterminate figures were intended to be women, they would still not make up a majority. This is consistent with the notion of men “making the past” and founding society, a viewpoint that was dominant before the first wave feminist archaeologists of the 1970s and 1980s began to challenge these ideas (Conkey and Spector 1984; Conkey and Gero 1991). One result of this dearth of female and child figures is that family structures are weakly conceptualized, a problem that extends to the general absence of elderly adults (only two elderly males and two females are represented in the artwork analyzed in this thesis). The artists may have made this choice due to the shorter life expectancy in the past but more likely the elderly were, like women and children, just another “forgotten” or demographic category that could safely be ignored in state-commissioned artwork.

The comparison between these sets of images highlights how nationalism can subvert viewpoints of the past in artistic representations. Images are a powerful propaganda tool, and the *Lebensbilder* produced during the National Socialist regime were clearly intended to be a medium for influencing a generation of children in the context of the schoolroom (Hassmann 2002: 115). The German artists were portraying a Nordic Aryan past rather than the people living in the Alpine lake dwelling areas during the Neolithic and Bronze Age. In addition, the National Socialist artists demonstrated a marked preference for warrior males and motherly females, while in the US, the interest in portraying trading scenes to accompany exhibits of daily life resulted in paintings rich with people engaged in commotion, object and animal exchanges, and conversation.

### *Summary*

The research goals of this project were generated through a review of the materials available regarding the development of attitudes toward race and gender in the portrayal of the past in the 1920s and 1930s in the US and Germany. The WPA collections at the Milwaukee Public Museum were created under the umbrella of New Deal Federal programs (Mattingly 2012). The artists' mission was to complement exhibit design under the direction of the museum staff who received Depression relief funds. This study focused on depictions of lake dwelling sites in the US as well as in National Socialist Germany, both regimes that viewed museums as valuable venues for pedagogical transmission of information about the past.

In the background portion of this study, historiographic sources were investigated in order to approach the questions of how prehistoric race and gender were depicted in art.

Coon (1939), Günther (1922), and Jackson and Weidman (2004) provided source material about the difference between US and German ideas of eugenic and racial hygiene (the latter developing twice as many categories for people of European descent). Racial policies in the US that encompassed anxieties about “inferior Whites” fell out of favor in the 1930s, because of increased anxiety about people of color and limited rejection of social Darwinism due to the widespread effects of the Great Depression (Jackson and Weidman 2004: 117). Understanding these biases is important when reconstructing the motivation behind the artists’ decisions in depictions for both the schoolroom and the museum. For example, in the museum, Haraway (1984) has argued that exhibits tend to reflect dominant ideologies and are therefore full of examples of patriarchal organization. This was also true for National Socialist schoolrooms in the 1930s, although more overtly.

Museum displays and the development of archaeology as a discipline were also investigated in order to discuss the presentation of the paintings. Museums began as curiosity cabinets for the wealthy in society, and only slowly became more available to the public. In tandem with this evolution, archaeology developed as an activity engaged in mainly by the wealthy and those with connections, with antiquarian rather than systematic investigation dominating the early stages of the development of the field (Kelley 2003: 34). These early founders of the field were concerned with Greek and Roman antiquity (especially text-aided research). The Worsaae-Thomsen Three Age system resulted in increased interest in the field of prehistory (at least in northern Europe), as it allowed material to be temporally contextualized in the absence of written documents (Eskildsen 2012: 26). Nineteen years after the development of the Three Age System in 1836, the earliest Pfahlbau sites were discovered in Switzerland, stimulating a collecting craze on both sides of the Atlantic (Kaeser 2016: 23). The fame of the

Pfahlbau material remains resulted in their portrayal in open-air museums, collections (public museums and private), and images in various media (Leckie 2013: 219) that were not politically neutral but were utilized for nationalist purposes (Leckie 2013: 227).

In the literature portion of this project, particular attention was paid to the racial theories that characterized the 1930s on both sides of the Atlantic, including Rosenberg's *Myth of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (1931), Carleton Coon's *The Races of Europe* (1939), Hans Günther's *Rassenkunde des Deutschen Volkes* (1922), and Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916). The development of gender archaeology, including the history of the field's development, was an important inflection point. As Conkey and Spector (1984), Conkey and Gero (1991), Milledge (2006), and Gilchrist (2008), have argued, women, children, and members of the LGBTQ+ community have traditionally been neglected in the analysis of the past. Feminist scholars have advocated against the "add women and stir" approach, influencing the theoretical approach of this project: questions of gender performance and portrayal were central to the research (Nelson 2006: 4).

The analysis of the images made use of historiography, critical race theory, and gender theory. The backgrounds of Tiemann, Petersen, and Marxer, all three of whom were educated or spent time in Germany at various points, were presented as potentially important in the artistic conventions they might have been trained to use, although it is not known whether their paths crossed (Merrill 1997; Christiansen and Christiansen-Petersen 1993; Benezit Dictionary of Artists 2011). To analyze the paintings, an Excel document with multiple categories was used to catalog different elements that contributed to the understanding of race and gender. In the analysis and discussion portion of the paper, images were described and compared to the earlier works of John Warner Norton and George Peter, who were of different backgrounds than the key



artists and were working in a pre-WWII context. They were less likely to be producing images directly affected by the overtly racist ideologies of the 1930s. John Warner Norton was Anglo-American, and worked primarily with the Logan Museum whereas George Peter was of Austrian descent and worked as a chief artist for the Milwaukee Public Museum (Logan Museum of Anthropology Catalogue; Arnold 2011). Information derived from the background and literature chapters was applied to analyze the depictions of race, which differed between the German-American and German artists while gender representations were quite similar, albeit with an increased emphasis on male militarism and female reproduction and fertility in the National Socialist German artwork. Portraying prehistory in art is a process that involves the conjunction of the attitudes of the painter, the commissioning organization and the prevailing ideology of the time. The overt gendered and racial attitudes of the 1930s were reflected in representations of the past, serving as an imagined reality and invented legitimization of a social norm.

#### *Recommendations and Future Research*

The history of archaeological thought and how ideas about prehistory are translated into images are important aspects to consider as the field continues to advance. The choices early antiquarians, archaeologists, artists, and museums made in terms of depicting the past inform present day biases in academia, as well as in the general public. The work of archaeologists may be interpreted by a specialist such as a curator for a “narrator” or illustrator who brings the past to life through various media. Various types of educators then present this information to the public (Dobie 2019: 3). Cultural contexts and theoretical frameworks affect the presentation of prehistory, and biases should be critically evaluated, whether the work was generated in 1935, or in the 21st century. More works should be analyzed through the lenses of critical race and gender theories. Not only does this provide an opportunity for individuals to comment on and discuss

the politics of display, but it is something that should be challenged in academia when presenting the past to the public.

There are many avenues of future research to pursue related to the topics explored in this thesis. A more comprehensive sample of images could be analyzed in both German-American and German contexts. These could be limited to the lake dwelling phenomenon or expanded to include different prehistoric eras or contexts. As the museum and pedagogical images were educational in nature (aside from serving other agendas such as propaganda), they could also be analyzed using a biographical perspective focused on the artist. For example, a comparison of Schultafeln by Petersen produced for the Great German Art Exhibit (1937) could be conducted to determine similarities and differences in the images produced for adult audiences compared to those intended for schools (Christiansen and Christiansen-Petersen 1993). In addition, the sample of artists could be expanded in order to determine whether and how nationality influenced depictions. This could be done across different countries (French lake dwelling paintings in comparison with German examples), or within a country with many different ethnic groups, such as the US. Thorough research about the life experiences of artists must also be conducted, as nationality alone does not explain artistic choices, or it may not be the main motivation of the creator. For example, John Warner Norton was of English descent, but painted scenes to accompany ethnographic collections at the Logan Museum where his subjects were mainly indigenous people. Modern experimental archaeology can also serve as an inspiration for future research. A comparison of the early 20th century Pfahlbau paintings could be contrasted with 21st century photographs or films to test whether or not the representations of the division of labor by gender or tool usage by labor have changed.

## References Cited

- Adam, P. (1992). *Art of the Third Reich*. H.N. New York, NY: Abrams.
- Adler, J. (2009). *1934: The Art of the New Deal*. Smithsonian Institution. Retrieved from: <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/1934-the-art-of-the-new-deal-132242698/>
- Albert Otto Tiemann. (2007a). Museum of Wisconsin Art. Retrieved from: <https://wisconsinart.org/archives/artist/albert-otto-tiemann/profile-174.aspx>
- Alexander, E.P. & Alexander, M. (2008). *Museums in Motion, Second Edition*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira.
- Alexander Mueller. (2007b). Museum of Wisconsin Art. Retrieved from: <https://wisconsinart.org/archives/artist/alexander-mueller/profile-108.aspx>
- Alfred Marxer. (2011). *Benezit Dictionary of Artists*. Obtained from: Oxford Index. Retrieved from: <https://oxfordindex.oup.com/view/10.1093/benz/9780199773787.article.B00118023>
- Amt für Kultur. (2020). Alfred Marxer. SIKART Lexikon zur Kunst in der Schweiz. Retrieved from: <http://www.sikart.ch/KuenstlerInnen.aspx?id=4022751>
- Arnold, B. (1990). The Past as Propaganda: Totalitarian Archaeology in Nazi Germany. *Antiquity* 64(244): 464-78.
- Arnold, B. (2006). 'Arierdämmerung': Race and Archaeology in Nazi Germany. *World Archaeology*, 38(1): 8-31.
- Arnold, B. (2011). MPM Swiss Neolithic Lake Murals. Document produced for the Milwaukee Public Museum.
- Arnold, B. (2013). The Lake Dwelling Diaspora and Natural History Museums: Identity, Collecting and Ethics. In F. Menotti & A. O'Sullivan (Eds.) *Oxford Handbook of Wetland Archaeology*, pp. 875-892. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Arnold, B. (2016). Belts vs. Blades: the Binary Bind in Iron Age Mortuary Contexts in Southwest Germany. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 23(3): 832-853.
- Arnold, B. & Hassmann, H. (1996). Archaeology in Nazi Germany: The Legacy of the Faustian Bargain. In P. Kohl & C. Fawcett (Eds.), *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology*, pp. 70-81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barnett, D. (2001). Joseph Goebbels: Expressionist Dramatist as Nazi Minister of Culture. *New Theatre Quarterly*, 17(2): 161-169.

- Baughman, J.S. (2017). The 1930s: Education: Overview. American Decades. In J.S. Baughman (Ed.), Vol. 4 (1930-1939). *U.S. History in Context*. New York, NY: Gale.
- Becker, C. (1938). The American Historical Review. *Oxford University Press on the Behalf of the American Historical Association* 44(1): 20-28.
- Bernhard, P. (2017). Colonial Crossovers: Nazi Germany and its Entanglements with other Empires. *Journal of Global History* 12(2): 206-227.
- Berry, B. (1960). The Myth of the Vanishing Indian. *Phylon* (1960) 21(1): 51-57.
- Berseneva, N. (2008). Women and Children in the Sargat Culture. In K. S. Robinson & K. Linduff (Eds.), *Are All Warriors Male? Gender Roles on the Ancient Eurasian Steppe*, pp. 131-151. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Beule, H. (2020). Cheddar Man a Y-Chromosomal Perspective in Relation to Haplogroups I2a-Y10705 and I2a-L38. Cheddar Man a Y-Chromosomal Perspective. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/41478224/Cheddar\\_Man\\_a\\_Y-Chromosomal\\_Perspective\\_In\\_Relation\\_to\\_Haplogroups\\_I2a-Y10705\\_and\\_I2a-L38](https://www.academia.edu/41478224/Cheddar_Man_a_Y-Chromosomal_Perspective_In_Relation_to_Haplogroups_I2a-Y10705_and_I2a-L38)
- Bickle, P. (2019). Thinking Gender Differently: New Approaches to Identify Difference in the Central European Neolithic. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 1-18. Retrieved from: [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/336701849\\_Thinking\\_Gender\\_Differently\\_New\\_Approaches\\_to\\_Identity\\_Difference\\_in\\_the\\_Central\\_European\\_Neolithic](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/336701849_Thinking_Gender_Differently_New_Approaches_to_Identity_Difference_in_the_Central_European_Neolithic)
- Billamboz, A. (2013). Dendrochronology in Wetland Archaeology. In F. Menotti and A. O'Sullivan (Eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Wetland Archaeology*, pp. 617-631. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brashler, K.L. (2015). Mothers for Germany: A Look at the Ideal Woman in Nazi Propaganda. *Graduate Theses and Dissertations*. 14354 Ames, IA: Iowa State University.
- Brenner, A. (April 10, 1938). America Creates American Murals. *The New York Times*.
- Buhler, S., Nunes, J., Nicoloso, G., Tiercy, J.M., & Sanchez-Mazas, A. (2012). The Heterogeneous HLA Genetic Makeup of the Swiss population. *PloS one* 7(7): 1-12.
- Burgess, G. (1992). The Divine Right of Kings Reconsidered. *The English Historical Review* 107(425): 837-861. Retrieved from [www.jstor.org/stable/574219](http://www.jstor.org/stable/574219)
- Burwell, F. (2019). Ongoing Exhibits. Logan Museum of Anthropology. Retrieved from: <https://www.beloit.edu/logan/exhibits/ongoing-exhibits/>

- Chapoutet, J. & Nybakken, R. (2016). A Nordic Mediterranean: Greece, Rome, and the North, between German Cousins. In *Greeks, Romans, Germans: How the Nazis Usurped Europe's Classical Past*, pp. 51-97. Oakland, California: University of California Press. Retrieved April 2, 2020, from [www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1f5g5m8.5](http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1f5g5m8.5)
- Chilvers, I. & Graves-Smith, J. (2009). American Scene Painting. *A Dictionary of Modern and Contemporary Art*. (2 ed.) 21. Oxford: Oxford Reference.
- Christiansen, U. & Petersen, H-C. (1993). *Wilhelm Petersen Der Maler des Nordens*. Tübingen: Grabert-Verlag.
- Chupta, C. (1991). Politics of Gender: Women in Nazi Germany. *Economic and Political Weekly* 26(7): 40-48. Retrieved from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4397988>
- Conkey, M. (2003). Has Feminism Changed Archaeology? *Signs* 28(3): 867-880.
- Conkey, M. & Gero, J. (1991). Tensions, Pluralities, and Engendering Archaeology: an Introduction to Women and Prehistory. In M. Conkey & J. Gero (Eds.), *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, pp. 3-30. Oxford: Wiley and Blackwell.
- Conkey, M. & Spector, J. (1984). Archaeology and the Study of Gender. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 7: 1-38. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20170176>
- Coon, C.S. (1939). *The Races of Europe*. Cambridge: The MacMillan Company. Retrieved from: <https://archive.org/details/racesofeurope031695mbp/page/n4> [July 2019]
- Der Jungmädeldienst*, published February 1940, Berlin.
- De Vos, G. A. (1995). Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation. In L. Romanucci-Ross, & G.A. De Vos (Eds.), *Ethnic Identity: Creation, Conflict, and Accommodation*, pp. 1-30. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Díaz-Andreu, M., & Stig Sørensen, M.L. (1988). Excavating Women: Towards an Engendered History of Archaeology. In T. Murray & C. Evans (Eds.), *Histories of Archaeology*, pp. 1-28. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dobie, J. (2019). *Illustrating the Past. Artists' Interpretations of Ancient Places*. London: Historic England.
- Dodworth, C. (2019). Impressions on the Evolution of Naturalism: Interiority, Exteriority, and the International/Interdisciplinary Nature of Naturalism. *Humanities* 8(128): 1-22.
- D'Orazio, J., Jarrett, S., Amaro-Ortiz, A., & Scott, T. (2013). UV Radiation and the Skin. *International Journal of Molecular Sciences* 14(6): 12222–12248.

- Dröge, K. (1994). *Landarbeit und Kinderwelt: das Agrarwesen in pädagogischer Literatur, 18. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, pp. 255–282. Cloppenburg, Germany: Museumsdorf Cloppenburg.
- Edmonds, R.B. (2008). Documenting the Depression: Wisconsin's WPA Art. *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* 91(3): 8-23.
- Efford, A. (2016). Germans. *Encyclopedia of Milwaukee*. [www.mke.uwm.edu](http://www.mke.uwm.edu) Retrieved from: <https://emke.uwm.edu/entry/germans/>
- Egloff, M. (1988, reprinted 2018). Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Lake Neuchatel, Switzerland: From the Paleolithic to the Middle Ages. In B. Purdy (Ed.), *Wet Site Archaeology*, pp. 102-111. London, England: Original CRC Press, 2018 Francis and Taylor.
- Eskildsen, K. (2012). The Language of Objects: Christian Jürgensen Thomsen's Science of the Past. *Isis* 103(1): 24-53.
- Evans, R.J. (2005). *Third Reich in Power*. London: Penguin Books.
- Field, G.G. (1977). Nordic Racism. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 38(4): 523–40.
- Final Report on the WPA Program, 1935-43. (1946.) Federal Works Agency, pp. 64-65. Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Floud, P. (1952). Art Nouveau. *The Burlington Magazine* 94(596): 322-325. Retrieved from: [www.jstor.org/stable/871001](http://www.jstor.org/stable/871001)
- Foley, B. (1990). Women and the Left. *American Literary History* 2(1): 150-169.
- Galitz, K.C. (2004). Romanticism. In *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Retrieved from: [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/roma/hd\\_roma.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/roma/hd_roma.htm) (October 2004)
- Geller, P. (2009). Identity and Difference: Complicating Gender in Archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* (38): 65–81.
- Gero, J. (1991). Genderlithics: Women's Roles in Tool Production. In M. Conkey, & J. Gero (Eds.), *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, pp. 163-193. Oxford: Wiley and Blackwell.
- Gero, J. & Root, D. (1990). Public Presentations and Private Concerns: Archaeology in the Pages of National Geographic. In P. Gathercole and D. Lowenthal (Eds.), *Politics of the Past*, pp.19-37. London: Unwin.

- Gilchrist, R. (2009). The Archaeology of Sex and Gender. In B. Cunliffe, C. Gosden and R. Joyce (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeology*, pp. 1029-1047. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gleba, M. (2015). Women and Textile Production in Early Iron Age Southern Italy. Early Iron Age Communities of Southern Italy. In G. Saltini Semerari and G.J. Burgers (Eds.), *Papers of the Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome*. (Vol. III): 102-117.
- Groves Price, P. (2019). *Critical Race Theory*. Oxford Research Encyclopedias.
- Günther, H. (1922). *Rassenkunde des Deutschen Volkes*. Munich: J.S. Lehmanns Verlag.
- Günther, H. (2019). World Heritage Encyclopedia. Retrieved from: [http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Hans\\_Friedrich\\_Karl\\_G%C3%BCnther#cite\\_note-1](http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Hans_Friedrich_Karl_G%C3%BCnther#cite_note-1)
- Haraway, D. (1984). Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden. *Social Text* (11): 20-64.
- Härke, H. (2012). Archaeology and Nationalism: A Warning from Prehistory. *Materials of the Humboldt Conference*, 32-42. Sinafer-Yalta: Humboldt College.
- Hassmann, H. (2002). Archäologie und Jugend im Dritten Reich. Ur-und-Frühgeschichte als Mittel der politischideologischen Indoktrination von Kindern und Jugendlichen. In A. Leube (Ed.), *Prähistorie und Nationalsozialismus: die mittel- und osteuropäische Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung in den Jahren 1933-1945*, pp. 107–137. Heidelberg: Synchron, Wiss.-Verl. der Autoren.
- Hitler, A. (1939). *Mein Kampf*. (James Vincent Murphy). London England: Hutchinson and Co. (1924). Munich: Ehler Verlag.
- Human, J. (2000). A Woman Rebels? Gender Roles in 1930s Motion Pictures. *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 98(4): 405-428.
- Indoctrinating Youth. (2019). US Holocaust Memorial Museum. Retrieved From: <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/indoctrinating-youth>
- Jackson, J.P & Weidman, N. (2004). *Race, Racism, and Science. Social Impact and Interaction*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- John Warner Norton and Norton Family Papers 1893-1954. (2019). Archives of American Art. Smithsonian Institution. Retrieved from: <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/john-warner-norton-and-norton-family-papers-10080>
- Kaeser, M. (2016). Gemeinsame Wurzeln. In S. Rau, D. Naumann, Ba. Heune-Großkopf, R. Robert. (Eds.), *4.000 Jahre Pfahlbauten*, pp. 22-26. Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke.

- Kamphoefner, W. (2015). The German Component to American Industrialization. German Historical Institute by Texas A&M. Retrieved from:  
<https://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=189>
- Kandel, I.L. (1935). Education in Nazi Germany. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (182):153-163. Retrieved from:  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1020438>
- Karg, S., & Märkle, T. (2002). Continuity and Changes in Plant Resources during the Neolithic Period in Western Switzerland. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 11(1-2): 169–176.
- Keefer, E. (2016). Das antiquarische Zeitalter. In S. Rau, D. Naumann, B. Theune-Großkopf, R. Rober (Eds.), *4.000 Jahre Pfahlbauten*, pp. 27-30. Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke.
- Kelley, D. R. (2003). The Rise of Prehistory. *Journal of World History* 14(1): 17-36.
- Kohl, P. L. (1998). National and Archaeology on the Constructions of Nationals and the Reconstructions of the Remote Past. *Annual Review. Anthropology* 1998, (27): 223-46.
- Leckie, K. (2013). Nature, Identity, and Disaster: Prehistoric Lake Dwelling in Central Europe. In M. Davies, & F. Nkirete M'mbogori. (Eds.), *Humans and the Environment: New Archaeological Perspectives for the Twenty-First Century*, pp. 2014-228. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lyman, R. & O'Brien, M. (2003). *W.C McKern and the Midwestern Taxonomic Method*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press.
- Marchand, S. L. (2003). *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750-1970*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Mattingly, A. (2012). Question 22: 1940 Census Provides a Glimpse of the Demographics of the New Deal. *National Archives*. Summer 2012 Vol. 44(22) Retrieved from:  
<https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2012/summer/question22.html>
- McNab, C. (2013). *Hitler's Elite*. London: Osprey Publishing.
- McVean, A. (2017). The History of Hysteria. *McGill University Newsletter Office for Science and Society*.
- Means, B.K. (2013) *Shovel Ready: Archaeology and Roosevelt's New Deal for America*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Meister, N. (n.d). Catalogue Guide. Logan Museum of Anthropology. Accessed August 2019.
- Menotti, F. (Ed.) (2004). *Living on the Lake in Prehistoric Europe: 150 Years of Lake Dwelling Research*. London & New York: Routledge.



- Menotti, F. & O'Sullivan, A. (Eds.) (2013). *Oxford Handbook of Wetland Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Menotti, F. & Prankenaitė, E. (2008). Lake-Dwelling Building Techniques in Prehistory: Driving Wooden Piles into Lacustrine Sediments." *euroREA*. 5/2008: 3 – 7.
- Merrill, P. (1997a). *German-American Painters in Wisconsin: Fifteen Biographical Essays* (Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien; Bd. 16). Stuttgart: Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz.
- Merrill, P. (1997b). *German-American Artists in early Milwaukee : A Biographical Dictionary* (Studies of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies). Madison, WI: Friends of the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies.
- Miller-Kipp, G. (2001). *Auch Du gehörst dem Führer: die Geschichte des Bundes Deutscher Mädel (BDM) in Quellen und Dokumenten*. Weinheim, Germany: Juventa.
- Milwaukee Public Museum Monthly Reports* 1936.
- Moran, M. (1988). 1930s, America – Feminist Void? The Status of the Equal Rights Movement during the Great Depression. *The Student Historical Journal* Vol 20: 1-9. New Orleans, LA: Loyola University Press.
- Mouton, M. (2010). From Adventure and Advancement to Derailment and Demotion: Effects of Nazi Gender Policy on Women's Careers and Lives. *Journal of Social History* 43(4): 945-971.
- Nelson, S.M. (2006). Introduction. *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*. In S.M Nelson (Ed.), pp. 1-24. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Norrgard, K. (2008). Human Testing, the Eugenics Movement, and IRBs. *Nature Education* 1(1): 170. Retrieved from: <https://www.nature.com/scitable/topicpage/human-testing-the-eugenics-movement-and-irbs-724/>
- Our Story, An Overview: 1920 – 2012 (2012). Women's Labor Bureau, U.S Department of Labor. Retrieved from: [https://www.dol.gov/wb/info\\_about\\_wb/interwb.htm](https://www.dol.gov/wb/info_about_wb/interwb.htm)
- Parker, P. (2015). The Historical Role of Women in Higher Education. *Administrative Issues Journal: Connecting Education, Practice, and Research* 5(1): 3-14. Retrieved from: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1062478.pdf>
- Parrish, S.S. (2006). *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial Atlantic British World*. Raleigh, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Peri, D. & Wharton, R. (1965). Samuel Alfred Barrett. Berkeley, CA: The University of California, Berkeley. 1-26.

- Piaget, J. (1965). The Stages of the Intellectual Development of the Child. *Educational Psychology in Context: Readings for Future Teachers* 63(4): 98-106.
- Petrequin, P. (2013). Lake-Dwellings in the Alpine Region. In F. Menotti and A. O'Sullivan (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Wetland Archaeology*, pp. 253-268. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pitman, B. (1999). Muses, Museums, and Memories. *America's Museums Daedalus* 128(3): 1-31. Retrieved from: <https://www-jstor-org.ezproxy.lib.uwm.edu/stable/pdf/20027565.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Aed26efff794e56b17687ceda1b0c77a1>
- Röder, B. (2016). Alles so schön vertraut hier: wer wohnte im Pfahlbau? In S. Rau., D. Naumann., B., Theune-Großkopf, & R. Rober (Eds), *4.000 Jahre Pfahlbauten*, pp. 137-142. Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke.
- Rollock, N. and Gillborn, D. (2011). Critical Race Theory (CRT), British Educational Research Association online resource. Retrieved from: <http://www.bera.ac.uk/files/2011/10/Critical-Race-Theory.pdf>
- Rosenberg, A. (1931). *Myth of the Twentieth Century*. Reproduced online: <https://archive.org/details/TheMythOfThe20thCentury/mode/2up>
- Rupp, L. (1977). Mother of the *Volk*: The Image of Women in Nazi Ideology. *Signs* 3(2): 362-379. Retrieved from: [https://www.jstor.org/stable/3173289?seq=1#metadata\\_info\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/3173289?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents)
- Sanford, J.B (1911). Argument against Women's Suffrage, 1911. Retrieved from: <https://sfpl.org/pdf/libraries/main/sfhistory/suffrageagainst.pdf>
- Sauquet, M. (2014). Propaganda Art in Nazi Germany: The Revival of Classicism. The First-Year Papers (2010 - present). Hartford, CT: Trinity College Digital Repository. Retrieved from: <http://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/fypapers/51>
- Schaper, O. (2014). So manipulierten die Nazis mit Schulwandbildern. *Ruhr Nachrichten*. Dortmund-Marten. Retrieved from: <https://www.ruhrnachrichten.de/dortmund/so-manulierten-die-nazis-mit-schulwandbildern-g47408.html>
- Schnapp, A. (1993). *The Discovery of the Past*. London: British Museum Press.
- Schöbel, G. (2008a). Hans Reinerth (1900 – 1990) – Karriere und Irrewege eines Siebenbürger Sachsen in der Wissenschaft während der Weimarer Zeit und des Totalitarismus in Mittel – und Osteuropa. *ACTA SICULICA* 36: 145-188.

- Schöbel, G. (2008b). Hans Reinerth: from Archaeologist to Reichsamtleiter (1918 – 1945). In J.-P. Legendre, L. Olivier and B. Schnitzler (Eds.). *L'archéologie nazie en Europe de l'Ouest*, pp. 45 – 59. Paris, France: Infolio. Retrieved from: [https://www.pfahlbauten.de/forschungsinstitut/documents/HansReinerthArchzumReichsamtsl\\_000.pdf](https://www.pfahlbauten.de/forschungsinstitut/documents/HansReinerthArchzumReichsamtsl_000.pdf)
- Schöbel, G. (2019). Experimental Archaeology. In V. Agnew, J. Lamb, & J. Tomman (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies*, pp. 67-73. London: Taylor Francis.
- Shanks, M. & Tilley, C. (1987). *Reconstructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*. Philadelphia, PA: Routledge.
- Smith, J.S. (2006). *Building New Deal Liberalism: The Political Economy of Public Works, 1933–1956*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stach, R. & Müller W. (1988). *Schulwandbilder als Spiegel des Zeitgeistes zwischen 1880 und 1980*. Opladen, Germany: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Stickel, E. & Garrison, E. (1988). New Applications of Remote Sensing: Geophysical Prospection for Underwater Archaeological Sites in Switzerland. In B. Purdy (Ed.), *Wet Site Archaeology*, 69-88. Caldwell, NJ: The Telford Press, Inc.
- Strobel, M. (2016). Die Pfahlbauforschung zwischen 1919 und 1945. In S. Rau., D. Naumann, B. Theune-Großkopf, R. Rober (Eds.), *4.000 Jahre Pfahlbauten*, pp. 31-34. Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke.
- Subías, S.M. & Meyer, W. (2018). Engendered Archaeologies. *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, 1 -11. New York, NY: Springer International Publishing.
- Trigger, Bruce. (1989). *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trowbridge, D. J. (2012). Last Hired First Fired: Women and Minorities in the Great Depression. *A History of the US*. Boston, MA: Flatworld. Retrieved from: [https://catalog.flatworldknowledge.com/catalog/editions/trowbridge2\\_1-0-a-history-of-the-united-states-volume-2-1-0](https://catalog.flatworldknowledge.com/catalog/editions/trowbridge2_1-0-a-history-of-the-united-states-volume-2-1-0)
- Uphoff, I.K. (2002). Der Künstlerliche Schulwandschmuck im Spannungsfeld von Kunst und der Pädagogik-- eine Rekonstruktion und kritische Analyse der Deutschen Bilderschmuckbewegung am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts. Würzburg: Universität Würzburg.
- Urofsky, M. (2019). Jim Crow Law. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Jim-Crow-law>

- Walter, Peter. 2010. Bohren im Museum: Forschungsgeschichte, Didaktik, Mathematik. *Experimentelle Archäologie in Europa: Bilanz 2010*. 71-84.
- Weikart, R. (2013). The Role of Darwinism in Nazi Racial Thought. *German Studies Review* 36(6): 537-556.
- Werner, N. (2019). *Minors in the Mines: Archaeological Indicators of Child Labor in Prehistoric Mining Contexts in Europe*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Milwaukee, WI: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.
- Whitley, J. (2001). *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilkie, L.A., & Howlett-Hayes, K. (2006). Engendered and Feminist Archaeologies of Recent and Documented Pasts. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 14(2): 243-264.
- Wouters, C. (1995). Etiquette Books and Emotion Management in the Twentieth Century Part One: Integration of the Social Classes. *Journal of Social History* 29(1): 107-124.
- U.S Public Health Service Syphilis Study at Tuskegee. (2015). *Center for Disease Control and Prevention*. Retrieved from: <https://www.cdc.gov/tuskegee/timeline.html>

## **Appendix**

### Image Appendix



Appendix A.1 Tiemann “Swiss Lake Dwelling”.





Appendix A.2 Tiemann “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.”



Appendix A.3 Clemens "Swiss Lake Dwellers".





Appendix A.4 Norton "History of Mankind".



Appendix A.5 Peter “Neolithic Age, Lake Dwellers 5000 BC”.

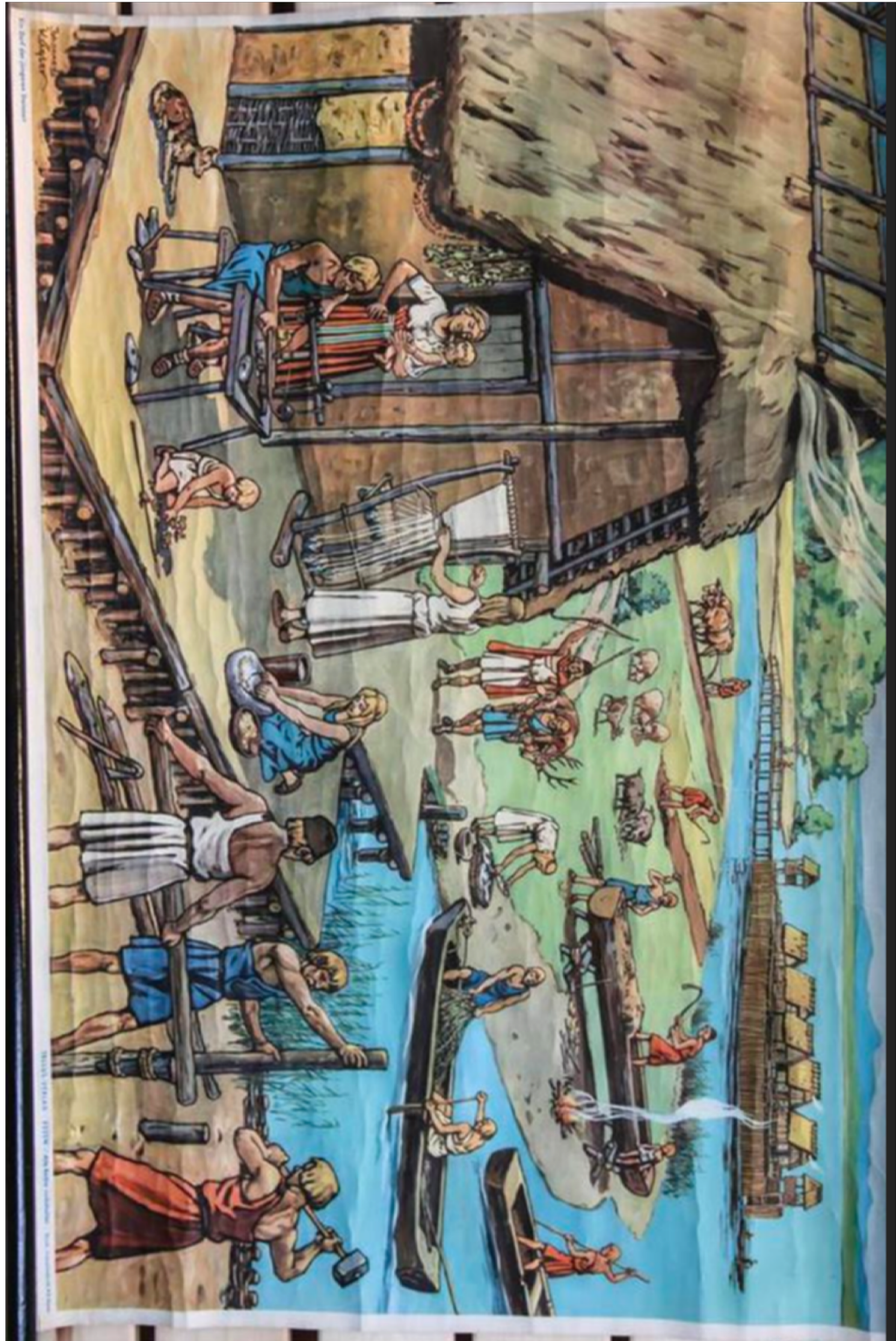






Appendix A.7 Lehmann “Pfahlbau Ansiedlung”.





Appendix A.8 Kügler “Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit”.



In the paintings below colored dots indicate male, female, and indeterminate figures.

Key: male: ● female: ● indeterminate: ●



Appendix A.9 Tiemann “Swiss Lake Dwelling” altered to show figure and gender proximity.



Appendix A.10 Tiemann “Bartering Goods, Swiss Lake Dwellers, 3000, B.C.” altered to show figure and gender proximity.



Appendix A.11 Clemens “Swiss Lake Dwellers” altered to show figure and gender proximity.



Appendix A.12 Norton “The History of Man” altered to show figure and gender proximity.









Appendix A.15 Lehmann/Marxer's "Pfahlbau Ansiedlung" altered to show figure and gender proximity.



Appendix A.16 Kügler "Ein Dorf der jüngeren Steinzeit" altered to show figure and gender proximity.

Additional Tiemann Images



Appendix A.17 Tiemann "Greek King Counting Money, IV Cent. BC" (1936).



Appendix A.18 Tiemann "Hay Stacks in a Sunlit Field" (1910).