

kaleidoscopes of the world

**international exhibitions
and the concept of
culture-place, 1851-1915**

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The boulevard [the Midway Plaisance] is brilliant with the colors of all nations. It is a kaleidoscope of the world, that furnishes a passing panorama of life in every zone.¹

John C. Eastman, 1893

John Eastman's remarks, written of the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, deftly express the spirit of an era captivated with the observation of other cultures and with the definition of these cultures in terms of "place." The great international exhibitions and world fairs of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries evidenced this fascination and its counterpart, a curious taxonomic shift which marked the last half of the nineteenth century. Prior to this time, most observers stressed the universality of human experience and discounted the roles of environment and climate, and hence of "place," in shaping culture. By the mid-nineteenth century, a taxonomic crisis occurred.² This crisis focused upon the definition of "culture," and was wrought, in the United States in part, by the dilemma which Americans faced in attempting to reconcile the "ethnic and regional diversity"³ of their nation with its presumed homogeneity as a "civilization" and as a political entity. Concurrently, Europeans like Charles Darwin faced similar dilemmas in attempting to unravel the mysteries of a physically-diverse world, composed of a heterogeneous mix of peoples, cultures, animals and plants. By the turn of the century, both

Americans and Europeans had resolved this crisis in such a way as to allow for the advancement of explanations aimed at solving the riddles of regional and ethnic diversity. That is, people began to identify “culture” with “place,” a solution which proved amenable to the concomitant development of “regionalism and pluralism [as well as evolutionism and geographic determinism] as strategies for resolving the dilemma of diversity.”⁴

Of course, this taxonomic shift did not occur overnight. Rumbblings of it were felt as early as 1850, and increased in both intensity and frequency throughout the rest of the century, reaching their peak as the century drew to a close. By about the time of the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and certainly by 1904, the year of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, the concept of culture as defined by place was fully solidified. In tracing the history of exhibitions from the 1851 Crystal Palace fair to the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition, the historian can detect a change—subtle at first and distinct at last—in the way people defined culture and in the way they slowly identified “culture” with “place.”

Mankind has held fairs and exhibitions for centuries, but not until the nineteenth century was there a widespread attempt to stage international exhibitions.⁵ In fact, the first such event was that of the Crystal Palace, held in London in 1851. Officially called the “Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations,” the Crystal Palace included exhibits from around the world. Like most of the early expositions which followed it, though, the Crystal Palace was essentially an industrial fair. Participating nations demonstrated their latest developments in machinery and manufacturing, and added “just a touch” of fine art to produce the proper “high-cultural flavor” demanded by Victorians.⁶ Prince Albert of Great Britain perhaps best expressed the character of this and other early expositions when he proposed that the exhibits at the 1851 Crystal Palace be divided into three categories—“the raw materials of industry, the manufactures made from them, and the art used to adorn them.”⁷ Although Prince Albert’s classification system was rejected in favor of a more complex one employing thirty subdivisions, his three categories remain useful in understanding the nature of these early enterprises. Generally, an acute sense of competition permeated these pioneer ventures, manifesting itself in the types and kinds of items displayed. Most exhibits focused on raw materials, horticulture, manufactures, machinery and fine art. Few attempted to deal with culture as anything more than “machinery” or “fine art”—both “people-oriented” definitions, since both were products of human labor. Some exhibits, of course, were culturally-thematic, but even these tended to express “culture” as a function of “time” or of “patriotism,” rather than of place. At the 1851 Crystal Palace, for example, a medieval exhibit clearly depicted “culture” in terms of “time,” and an American exhibit, which included “‘an intolerable deal of starred-and-striped banners and pasteboard effigies with outspread wings,’”⁸ loudly proclaimed patriotism as the agency of culture.

Following the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition, a great many imitative fairs were staged worldwide. The official titles of most of these reflected their avowed industrial purposes: the 1853 “Great Industrial Exhibition” in Dublin, Ireland; the 1853-54 “World’s Fair of the Works of Industry of All Nations” in New York City; the 1855 “*Exposition Universelle*” in Paris; the “International Exhibition of 1862” in London; and the 1865 “International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures” in Dublin.⁹

By about 1862 or so, the “exclusively-industrial” displays that had astounded and intrigued Victorians at the Crystal Palace slowly lost their appeal. After all, the displays at industrial expositions were largely antiseptic—replete with machinery, but devoid of any human element (see Fig. 1). A *New York Times* correspondent noticed this overall somberness at the 1862 International Exhibition in London, when he commented that “there are no side shows, no allurements for the eager stranger, no temptations to seduce him from the severe path of duty.”¹⁰ This same correspondent, undoubtedly bored by the industrial displays, devoted considerable attention to observing the manners and customs of other people in attendance. He noted, for instance, that

in 1851 [at the Crystal Palace], it will be remembered, the English discovered the French, especially those parts of the Gallic character which were symbolized in wide pantaloons, beards and diminutive hats. The recognition is now mutual. . . . The whole [British] nation is precisely alike. And so it is—or at least that part of the

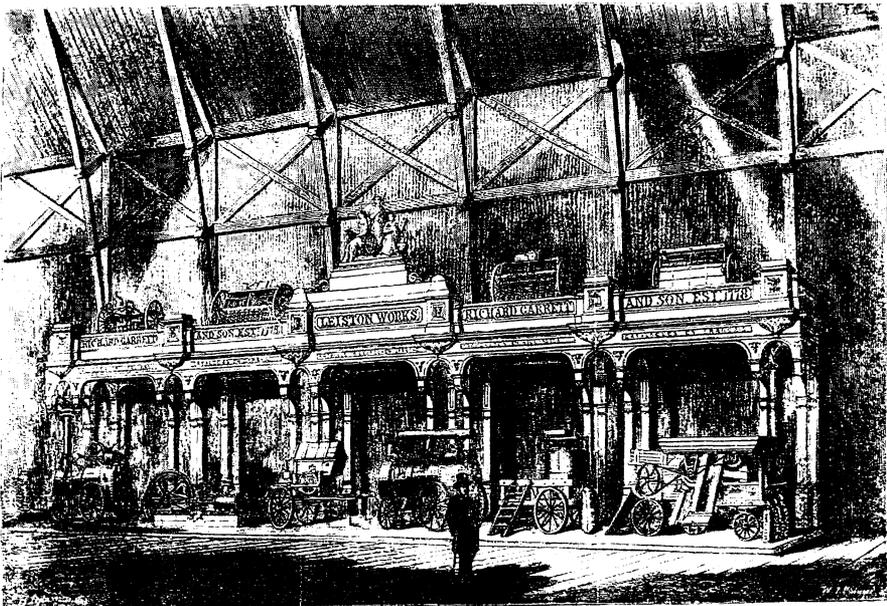
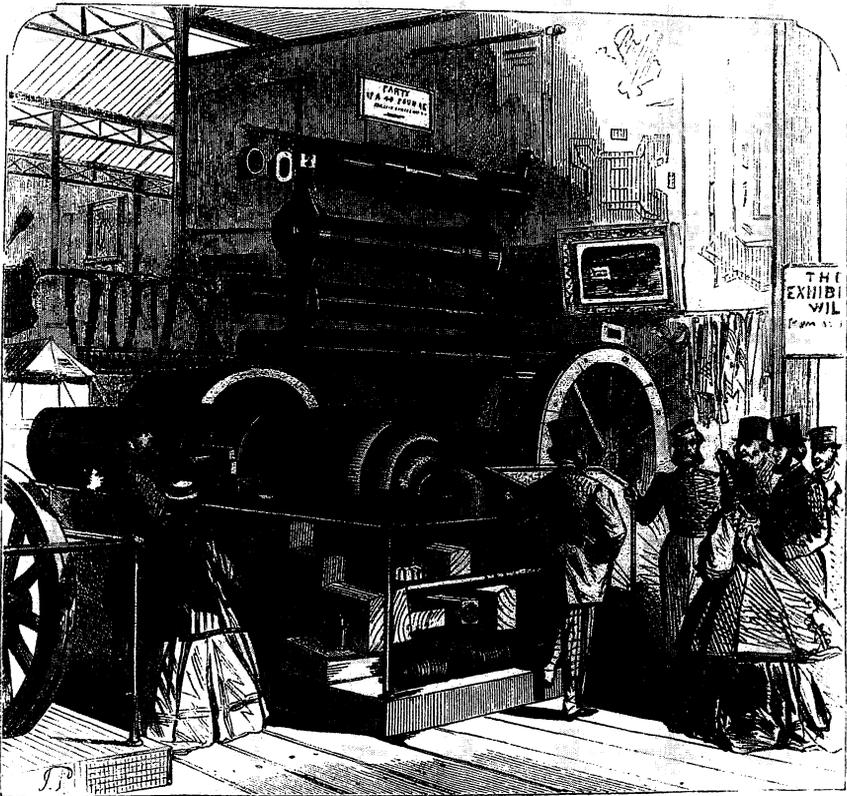


FIGURE ONE: “View in the Eastern Annexe” of the main exhibition building, International Exhibition of 1862, London. Early expositions stressed the mechanical. These agricultural implements were described as “beautiful machinery.” *Cassell’s Illustrated Exhibitor* (London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1862), 133.

whole nation which is represented visitorially in the Great Exhibition. All the men dress alike; shave the same spot alike; wear boots of exactly the same shape, hats of precisely the same weight . . . and are to be seen with an umbrella in one hand and an official catalogue in the other, stepping solemnly up to the muzzle of the big Armstrong gun, and peering into the murderous depths with a placid curiosity which I am sure would not be greatly disturbed if the piece were to go off (see Fig. 2).¹¹

FIGURE TWO: A *New York Times* correspondent commented that the bearing of placid British visitors "would not be greatly disturbed," if, while viewing the Armstrong Gun display, "the piece were to go off." "The Great Exhibition: Letter from Our Special Correspondent," *New York Times*, 2 June 1862, 2. The illustration is from Cassell's (see Figure One), 253.



THE ARMSTRONG GUN TROPHY.

Distressed by this lack of diversity, the same commentator maintained that the exhibition was, at least for the British, largely a commercial affair:

This oneness of character, whilst it explains much of the self-reliant greatness of the nation, is singularly cold and repellant to a stranger accustomed to Continental or American variety of types. Were it not for the English exhibitors who, in the way of business, think it necessary to speak to people and so break through the general

taciturnity of their countrymen, no one would suppose that the Exhibition was in Britain. The only social language one hears is French; the only people who seem to take any interest in the world around them are the French.¹²

The above quote furnishes a concrete expression of a related intellectual taxonomy that was beginning to take hold at that time. This component of the “culture-place” taxonomy regarded homogeneity as “boring” and heterogeneity as “interesting,” and in its acceptance of heterogeneity, paved the way for the growing identification of “culture” with “place” (for places were, in and of themselves, diverse and heterogeneous).

The *New York Times* correspondent quoted above mentioned that the French were the only ones who took an “interest in the world around them.” It is not surprising, then, that the French were the first people seriously to attempt an accommodation of this new taxonomy at an international exposition. Their opportunity arose at the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, that, according to John Allwood, “included many new features which today form an important part of any international exhibition—national pavilions and restaurants, an amusement park, special gardens and waterways, and perhaps most important of all, the beginnings of culturally-based thematic display techniques.”¹³ Allwood’s statement is somewhat imprecise. Culturally-based thematic displays, at least those depicting culture as a function of time or of patriotism, dated from the 1851 Crystal Palace. The problem is one of semantics. Allwood’s unstated but implied definition of “culture” corresponds with our own, in that it depends on “place.” In that sense, then, Allwood was correct in assuming that the 1867 Paris exposition was the first to approach our current definition of culture.

One of the highlights of the 1867 Paris exposition was a “History of Labour” exhibit which Allwood correctly claimed “was the first attempt at an international thematic display.”¹⁴ The “History of Labour” exhibit consisted of a series of national exhibits depicting the progress of man and his work throughout time. Descriptions of at least the French part of this exhibit, as given by Eugene Rimmel in his *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867*, would lead one to believe that it concentrated heavily on the technological history of mankind at the expense of the human elements. Nevertheless, it marked an important first step towards a partial, if not complete, “humanization” of international exhibitions.

In addition to its unique “History of Labour” exhibit, the 1867 Paris exposition proved pioneering in several additional ways. First, it introduced the “national pavilion” idea to world fairs. That is, nations having both the inclination and the financial resources constructed their own individual exhibition buildings (which usually reflected their country’s popular architectural styles). At the 1867 fair, these national pavilions proved immensely popular, for “there were a hundred and one small buildings, both educational and extraordinary, including mosques, Rus-

sian slobodas, Swiss Châteaux, Tunisian kiosks, Swedish cottages, English lighthouses, Egyptian palaces, [and] stables for dromedaries.”¹⁵ Second, the 1867 Paris exposition was less insular, in respect to ethnicity,¹⁶ than those that had preceded it. This greater cultural openness manifested itself in yet another “first” for the fair—ethnic restaurants and cafes.

Observers and commentators of the 1867 Paris exposition noticed all of these unique features and admired the fair for them. Among these observers was Eugene Rimmel, a British citizen, Assistant Commissioner of the 1867 exposition, and former Juror and Reporter for the 1862 London exhibition.¹⁷ Rimmel authored a book entitled, *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867*, in which he consistently lamented homogeneity and applauded heterogeneity. He praised, for instance, the ethnic restaurants and cafes of the 1867 Paris exposition, particularly those that attempted to preserve the integrity of national diet and dress. In this regard, he had nothing but acclaim for the French, Austrian, Russian, Tunisian and Swedish cafes, which maintained at least some measure of authenticity. He commended the Austrian restaurant for its “blue-eyed *mädchen* in national costume” who waited upon tables and contributed to “the *colour locale*.”¹⁸ Similarly, he complimented Tunis for its cafe that “alone kept its individuality, and offered us to the last its muddy coffee, and its strange musicians” (see Figs. 3 and 4).¹⁹ On the other hand, Rimmel expressed disappointment at the Prussian, Swiss, Spanish, Japanese and Chinese restaurants. He derided the Spanish restaurateur for merely painting “on his blinds smartly dressed señoras, which but poorly atoned for the absence of the living models.”²⁰ Of the Chinese and Japanese restaurants, Rimmel noted that he had anxiously awaited “the *tripangs*, swallow-nests, puppies stewed in castor oil, and other promised culinary delights of the far east,” but met with “disappointment, for the so-called Chinese restaurant in the Park boasted of nothing better than vulgar beef steaks and mutton chops.”²¹

Rimmel, of course, took a special interest in displays of native costumes, wares and trades. Of the Egyptian exhibit, for example, he noted that one of its most interesting sections was that of the *Okel* where



FIGURE THREE: National pavilions (that is Turkish), introduced at the 1867 Paris Exposition, exemplified the growing relationship between “culture” and “place.” Illustration from Frank H. Norton, ed., *Frank Leslie’s Historical Register of the United States Centennial Exposition, 1876* (New York: Frank Leslie’s Publishing House, 1977), 13.

“real natives [Rimmel’s emphasis], varying in shade from light brown to ebony black, work at several trades.” These included a turner, a jeweler and a barber who was seen “shaving his countrymen in true Oriental fashion.”²²

In addition to the ethnic cafes, another popular exhibit at the 1867 Paris exposition was a working model of the Suez Canal. This, in itself, was apropos, for among the many objects which the Victorians celebrated at their world fairs were some of the very things that contributed to the growing internationalism of their century. And it was this internationalism, in turn, which expressed itself in the staging of world fairs and in their widespread patronage.²³ New developments in transportation and communication, and a quickening expansion of earlier ones, linked nineteenth-century peoples and cultures closer than they had even been before.²⁴ That these ties had significant repercussions of the “mind” of nineteenth-century Victorians seems certain. The “shrinking world”²⁵ of the nineteenth century appears not only to have contributed to a “cultural diffusion” (as evidenced in the growing “Westernization” of the world), but also to a more ready acceptance of “cultural diversity” (as evidenced by the Victorians’ burgeoning interest in other, “peculiar” peoples and cultures).

In other words, the whole world became a “kaleidoscope” for the Victorians. Like a kaleidoscope, though, the images produced were not static or unchanging.²⁶ Rather, they provided a “passing panorama of the world,”²⁷ ordered and sometimes symmetrical, yet subject to change over time. Therefore, even when Victorians began to identify “culture” in reference to “place,” both the terms “place” and “culture” in their definitions were capable of change, particularly as “savage” cultures became “civilized.” And one of the stated purposes of exhibitions everywhere was to educate (i.e. “civilize”).

“Cultural diffusion” and “cultural diversity” were two overlapping, yet antithetical movements. They coalesced to produce culturally-schizophrenic Victorians—disciples of nationalism—who exhibited an interest in other cultures but remained, at heart, “cultural snobs.” In other words, Victorians savored the food, drink and enter-



FIGURE FOUR: “American Visitors Smoking Chibouques in the Turkish Bazaar”; The Turkish Bazaar or Coffee House at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia featured “two Constantinople citizens,” who directed “smoking and coffee-drinking in genuine Ottoman style, visitors being served by legitimate Turks in full costume.” Illustration from the *Historical Register* (See Figure Three), 108.

tainment of foreign cultures within the safe confines of a world's fair, or partook of such delights as travelers or colonizers abroad; however, they did so provided their own sense of cultural superiority was not threatened. And as long as foreign cultures were regarded as mere amusements—as kaleidoscopes—everything remained secure. Of course, some people regarded the study of foreign cultures in a more scholarly light, as evidenced by the growing popularity of ethnology and anthropology in the late-nineteenth century. Still others steered a middle course, incorporating Asian and exotic wares and furnishings in their Victorian parlors. For the majority, though, peculiar peoples and places furnished ready sources of amusement. Regardless, these entertainments revealed a great deal about the observing cultures, and provided insights into their definition of a diverse world beyond the confines of their own locality.

While the 1867 Paris exposition witnessed a growing acceptance of cultural heterogeneity, it did not necessarily succeed in converting everyone to its creed. Indeed, the 1860s, 1870s and the 1880s remained a transition period between the old, fading taxonomy of the early-nineteenth century, and the new, emerging one of the late-nineteenth century. That many people clung tenaciously to the old, and still identified culture and national achievement with something other than “place” was readily apparent. For instance, at the close of the small (i.e. not international) American Institute Fair (in New York City?) on November 21, 1875, a Mr. F. D. Curtis, Vice Chairman of its Board of Managers, delivered an address in which he stressed, according to a *New York Times* correspondent, that “the history of the Institute . . . was in many respects the history of the country; its records were the records of the development, the prosperity, and the greatness of America. The industry of the nation and the plans of the thousands of inventors owed their success to a great extent to the encouragement they received from the society, the period of whose existence has been the most eventful in the progress of science and the creation of genius.”²⁸ The essence of Curtis’ address harkened back to an old and dying mentality of the previous century, which Henry D. Shapiro viewed as persisting “through the first half of the nineteenth century.” This mentality regarded “human action as giving shape to a place, and . . . environment as furniture to be used.”²⁹ In other words, the earlier view subscribed to the universality of human experience and largely ignored the roles of climate and environment, and hence, of “place,” in shaping culture.

Mr. Curtis was not alone in his views. Indeed, there were other people who still could not accept the heterogeneity of the world, and were in a sense “frozen” in a past that idealized the “individual.” In the *Nation* of November 25, 1875, an article entitled, “The Arrangement of Great Exhibitions,” recounted the suggestions which a Dr. H. Schwarz (a professor of chemical technology at Gratz, in Styria) had made in reference to international exhibitions. According to the writers of the article, Schwarz argued that “subdividing space according to nationalities should be abandoned altogether. The progress has been hitherto from municipal

to provincial, from provincial to national, from national to international exhibitions. It is now time . . . to take one more step by instituting what he [Schwarz] calls an ‘anational’ exhibition—that is to say, such an exhibition as shall afford to the individual man an opportunity of perceiving what mankind at large, irrespective of territorial distinctions, has effected in utilizing the materials and forces of nature.”³⁰ The writers of the *Nation* article disagreed with Schwarz and, in a sense, represented the new taxonomy of the late-nineteenth century. In rebuttal, they stated that

it is not altogether evident to us that a grouping by nationalities is undesirable. . . . We do not believe that mankind is ready yet to be denationalized. Even if the several governments entering into an international exhibition could be led to waive their claims for separate representation, such a denationalization would be attended with assuredly one evil consequence. Each visitor brings with him a certain amount of national preferences and prejudices. If he does not succeed in shaking them off and learning to look at the efforts of other nations in a more liberal and enlightened spirit, he fails to learn the first and perhaps the only lesson that an international exhibition can give him. Yet he undoubtedly will fail to learn it unless it be made easy for him, unless he be enabled to take in at a glance the entirety of products exhibited by his own country and compare it with the entirety of some other country.³¹

At about the same time as Mr. Curtis and Mr. Schwarz were basking in the glory of a past which was quickly fading away, the New York Branch of the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society held a Japanese tea party at its Lady Washington Tea Chamber in New York City.³² Such small bazaars and fairs as this, which focused on singular cultural themes, seemed to proliferate in the late-nineteenth century. They were, in reality, “miniature international exhibitions”—their scope, of course, restricted by space, finances and purpose. Nevertheless, they evidenced the growing interest in cultural diversity, as well as the identification of culture with place.

One of the next major international expositions was that of the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, which commemorated the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of the United States. In terms of cultural displays, the 1876 Centennial Exhibition imitated the 1867 Paris exposition. It had its share of ethnic restaurants and national pavilions. There were two French restaurants, a “Grand American Restaurant,” a Southern restaurant specializing in dishes from the American South, a Vienna bakery, a German restaurant, a Turkish cafe, a Jewish restaurant, and a Brazilian cafe. Among the national pavilions, the Swedes built a log schoolhouse, the Germans a Renaissance-style building, the Moroccans an Oriental building, and the British a half-timbered structure. The Chinese and Japanese also sent their own workmen to construct national pavilions. Of the latter, a *New York Times* correspondent evidenced a bit of cultural conceit when he noted that they “do not wear the national costume, but are attired in the English style of garments, made in Japan. In this they are

ahead of the Chinese who are here, for they still cling to the costume of the mother country.”³³ Other than their western style of dress, though, the Japanese workmen and their construction methods were still regarded as “peculiar.” A *New York Times* correspondent, in January 1876, noticed one such peculiarity: “In sawing a board the feet perform the greater part of the operation, holding the board, while the hands keep the saw moving.” Such a spectacle proved curious to Americans, who, despite “the melting snows, and the horrible condition of the roads leading toward George’s Hill, thousands flock there every day and watch them [the Japanese] eagerly” (see Fig. 5).³⁴

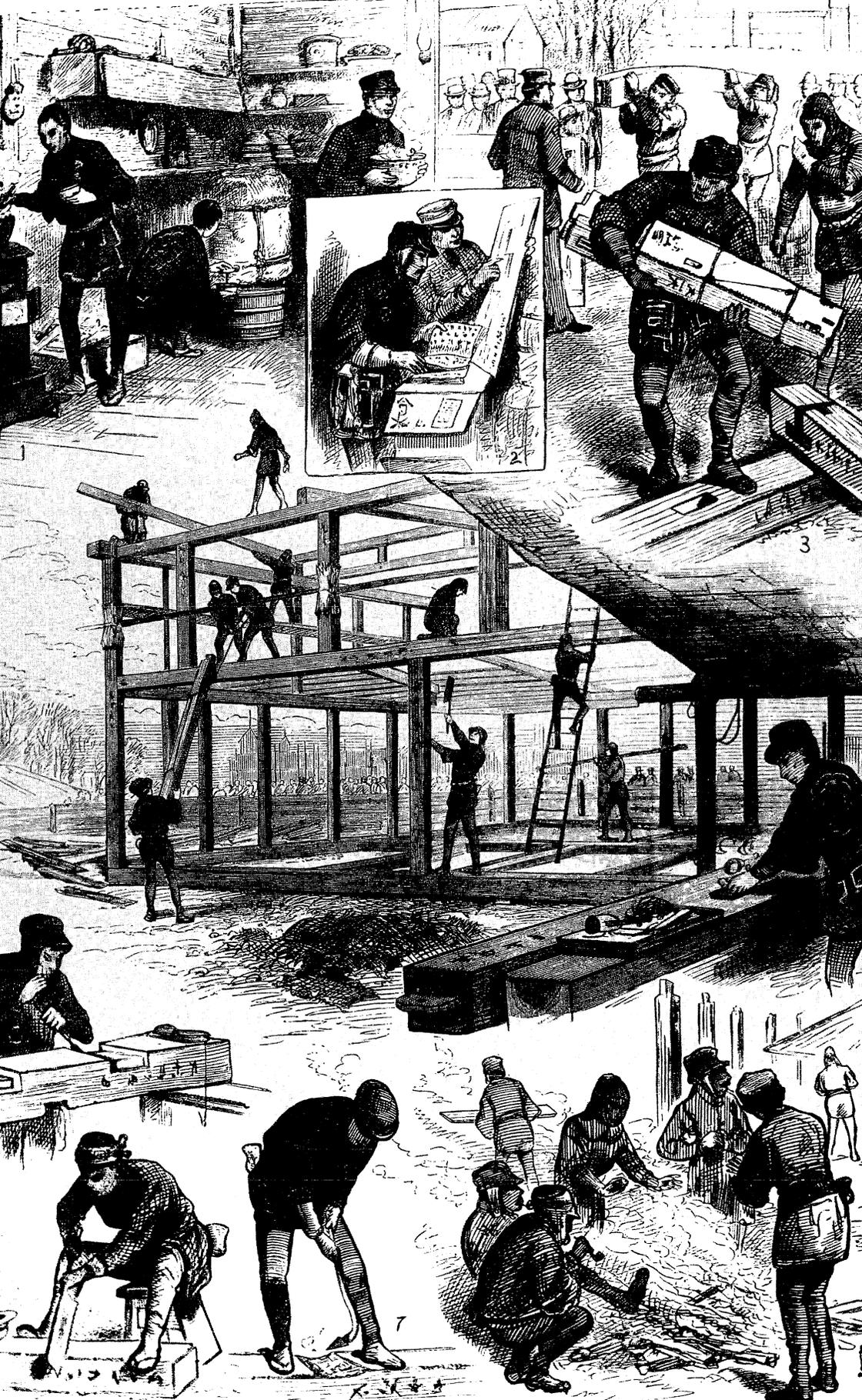
There were scholarly ethnological exhibits at the Centennial fair. The United States Government Exhibit, for instance, included glass photographs of native American Indians. Commenting on these, a correspondent for the *Nation* voiced two typical Victorian concerns—one relating to the organization and classification of exhibits to suit people’s intellectual taxonomy, and the other referring to the Victorians’ attempt to explain physiological differences between the races:

It were greatly to be wished that the present Exhibition, classified as it is primarily by nationalities and not by lines of production, might another year be shaken up as in a kaleidoscope, with the result of bringing together kindred objects now found scattered through half a dozen buildings. Thus, to these photographs of American aborigines would be added from Queensland several good-sized photographs of the Australian blacks; from Van Diemen’s Land, portraits of the last of the Tasmanians; from Spain, a number of Chinese character pieces; from India and Egypt, types of their numerous populations; and the specially labelled ethnological studies in the German section of the Photographic Annex. Such a gallery would furnish endless entertainment and much information concerning the races of mankind, besides throwing light upon the problem of their origin and order of differentiation.³⁵

If ethnological exhibits were not lacking at the Centennial Exhibition, foreign visitors in native dress were—at least at first. In May 1876, a *New York Times* correspondent complained of the relatively-small number of foreign visitors clad in ethnic costumes. The reporter attributed this to displays of ethnic harassment that occurred following the opening day ceremonies. Once outside the fairgrounds, a “large number of Turks, Japanese, Chinese, Spaniards, and Germans,” dressed in their native costumes,

were followed by large crowds of idle boys and men, who hooted and shouted at them as if they had been animals of a strange species instead of

FIGURE FIVE: (See opposite page): The “peculiar” tools and methods employed by Japanese workmen in building their nation’s pavilion at the 1876 Centennial Exposition proved fascinating to passersby and journalists. The original caption reads, 1. Japanese workmen preparing their meals. 2. The chief workman and his assistant consulting books and charts. 3. Bringing joists and timber from Machinery Hall. 4. Erecting the Japanese dwelling-house. 5. Mortising. [6. Sawing. 7. Adzing. 8. Workmen warming themselves over a fire.] [Captions for 6, 7 & 8 not legible.] From the *Historical Register* (See Figure Three), 65; illus., 42.



visitors who were entitled only to the most courteous attention. It is known that in at least one case the silken robes of a Chinese official were nearly torn from his back by some malicious person. Because of this kind of treatment all the Turkish, Chinese, Japanese and Egyptian Commissions and attendants have abandoned the striking dress of their native countries, and with but few exceptions have made themselves uncomfortable and unattractive by appearing in the conventional coat, vest, and trousers of “the great Yankee nation.”³⁶

Disappointed by the lack of foreign dress, the same *New York Times* correspondent observed the manners, customs and dress of the American visitors. He remarked that the Americans “come, as I have already stated, from all parts of the Union, and although they are clad in no national costumes, they bear the mark of their various sections of country stamped plainly upon their faces and in their manner. And still they are all Americans; they have all come hundreds, some of them thousands, of miles to be present at the nation’s Centennial, and though they live far apart and appear in coats whose cut and fashion differ as much as do Hungarian jackets from French blouses, they are all animated by one feeling—they all join in doing honor to the common country that they all love so well.”³⁷

If Americans bore the stamps of their “places” of origin, so much more so did foreigners. As a special consideration, though, American political relations with a foreign country often determined the manner in which certain nationalities were regarded or treated. Note, for instance, the intense anti-Mexican feeling which a *New York Times* correspondent harbored, a prejudice most likely engendered years before by the Mexican War and later exacerbated by Mexico’s political instability:

The Mexican Commissioners who are to exhibit the production of their native country at the Centennial Exhibition have reached this City, in company with 228 large packing-cases. Of course, it is idle to imagine what the contents of these cases may be. If 200 of them contain cigars for the use of the Commissioners, the remaining twenty-eight would still be sufficient to hold a quantity of interesting and valuable articles . . . their [Mexico’s and the other Latin American republics’] chief industries are, unfortunately, of a kind that cannot be adequately illustrated at any exhibition in a foreign and remote country. It is universally understood that the staple production of these republics is their frequent and regular political revolutions. To box up a revolution and send it to Philadelphia is impossible. Just at present, the Early Spring Revolution is in full bloom all over the Mexican plains, and before the exhibition closes, the regular Midsummer and Fall Revolutions will have reached maturity.³⁸

In addition to nationally-based prejudices, there was clear evidence that Anglo-American mores were imposed upon other cultures at the Centennial Exhibition. Dancing of a kind considered “immodest in character”³⁹ was prohibited by fair officials at a Turkish coffeehouse

operated by an individual proprietor, rather than by the Turkish government. Of perhaps equal or graver issue here was the fact that the coffeehouse's proprietor disobeyed the rules of the exhibition stating that there be "no extra charge for admission to any building on the grounds." The Turk's ingenious attempt to evade this rule by "selling tiny cups of coffee at twenty-five cents each and allowing nobody to remain inside who would not buy"⁴⁰ did not deceive the exhibition officials, who put an end to his antics, stopped the dancing, and opened the coffeehouse to paying and non-paying patrons alike.

By 1889, at the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris (made famous by its Eiffel Tower), there were "appeals for censorship" against similar exotic dances performed by Egyptian women. These, however, were not carried out, and the dancing was allowed to continue. Here, the Egyptian dancing took place in the amusement area known as the "Rue de Caire," or "Cairo Street." This section featured "bazaars selling souvenirs (made in Batig-

FIGURE SIX: The Algerian Theater at the 1893 Columbian Exposition featured traditional Algerian dancing, depicted here by a "comely girl, with fine features and big black eyes" . . . "arrayed in big blue trousers, dark hose and yellow slippers," and holding "two sikken handkerchiefs in her hand." *The World's Fair Portfolio* (Chicago?: World's Columbian Exposition? date?), 53.



nolles, many claimed), imported burnouse-clad Arabs, passive and unselfconscious before bubbling hookahs, and noisy, smelly donkeys.”⁴¹ In other words, it contained the usual array of sideshow amusements.

The 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus (but held one year late), contained its share of exotic dancing. This time, some complaints were leveled at the dances performed by Algerian women. Secretary Edmonds of the fair refused to intervene, though, claiming that they were “characteristic dances of Oriental nations, and as such they have figured at several international expositions” (see Fig. 6).⁴² The Persian theater at the Columbian Exposition also drew complaints for its programs featuring “immodest” dancing, as did the belly-dancing gyrations of Fahreda Mahzar—known to the world as “Little Egypt.” “Little Egypt” made her debut at the Columbian Exposition, where she was reputed to have been “the only attraction to pull in more money than the giant Ferris wheel.”⁴³ After the fair closed, she became a regular attraction in the “Streets of Cairo” section at Coney Island amusement park in New York City.

All of the ethnic dancing at the Columbian Exposition, as well as the usual array of amusements and sideshows, took place in the section known as the “Midway Plaisance.” Actually, the Midway Plaisance was a boulevard, nearly a mile in length, which linked Washington and Jackson Parks, the latter being the site of the exposition. According to John C. Eastman of the *Chautauquan*, the Midway was “the unofficial section of the fair . . . strictly commercial in its purposes.”⁴⁴ Fair commissioners established it as a source of income for poorer countries that might otherwise have been unable to finance exhibits at the exposition. Thus, Midway organizers looked for inspiration to the profitable carnivals and sideshows of their day. Indeed, this was the great era of private commercial enterprises like Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show, which came to Chicago in 1893 for a six-month engagement and attracted four million visitors to its ten-acre site near the Columbian Exposition. This extravaganza featured “two hundred Indians, of various tribes, and companies each of American, English, French, German, Mexican, Cossack and Arabian cavalry, besides cowboys, vaqueros, female riders, dancing dervishes, athletes, rifle experts, bucking ponies, a herd of buffaloes, and other attractions” (see Fig. 7).⁴⁵

John Eastman, of the *Chautauquan*, must have had such sideshows as this in mind, for he was quick to explain that the Columbian Exposition’s amusements

are of a more dignified character than the name would suggest. In a few cases these shows are under the patronage of powerful foreign governments, which accept the risk and annoyance of operating them rather than allow the customs of the country to be made ridiculous by adventurers. But in all cases the Exposition management gets a generous share of the money left by visitors along the boulevard. No additional charge is made for a peep into the

kaleidoscope or for a promenade through this section. Visitors will be allowed to walk through the villages, step into the booths, saunter through the palm groves of the Javanese colony, or linger in the Chinese towns without charge. It is only when they go into the theaters or halls where dancing girls and players give hourly performances that extra charge is made.⁴⁶

Disregarding its sideshow features, the Midway Plaisance was really a living ethnographic museum, a fact that even F. W. Putnam, Chief of the Department of Ethnology at the exposition, realized when he called the Midway a “mimic world” (see Fig. 13).⁴⁷ Three thousand people from around the world resided there in ethnic villages designed to illustrate the life of other cultures. There were German, Irish, Javanese (see Fig. 11), Lapland, American Indian and Eskimo villages among the many on the Midway. Of these, perhaps the most elaborate was the German village, which occupied an area of 17,000 square feet. Designed by prominent German architects, it was shipped to America in 65,000 pieces and

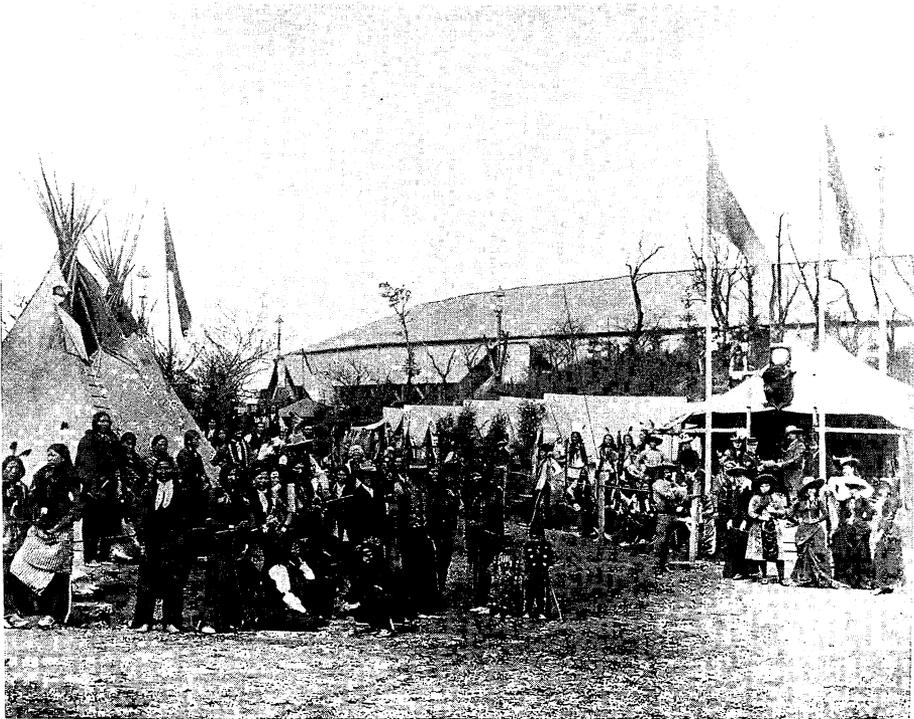


FIGURE SEVEN: “Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show,” near the Columbian Exposition, was private and 10 acres large. In six months it attracted four million visitors. It featured “two hundred Indians, of various tribes, and companies each of American, English, French, German, Mexican, Cossack and Arabian cavalry, besides cowboys, vaqueros, female riders, dancing dervishes, athletes, rifle experts, bucking ponies, a herd of buffaloes, and other attractions.” Pictured standing in front of the tent, under the buffalo head and on the right, is Colonel Cody (Buffalo Bill), and to his left, his manager, Frank Burke. J. W. Buel, *The Magic City: A Massive Portfolio of Original Photographic Views of the Great World’s Fair* (St. Louis: Historical Publishing Company, 1984), 232.

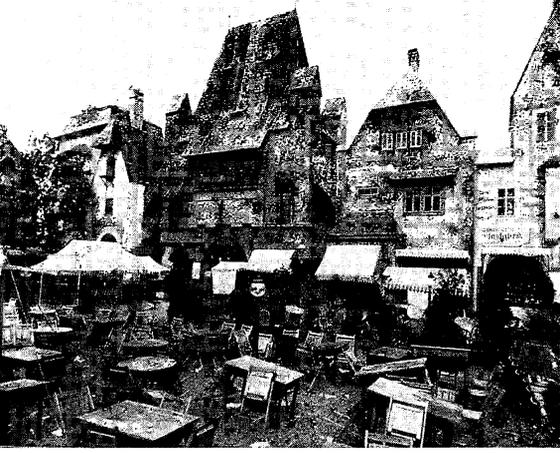


FIGURE EIGHT: (Above): The "Interior of 'Old Vienna'" at the Columbian Exposition, 1893; this courtyard, an actual reproduction of "Der Graben" square in Vienna, was surrounded by 36 Austrian buildings, including a City Hall (Rathaus) and a church. Illustration from *Portfolio* (see above Figure Six), 49.

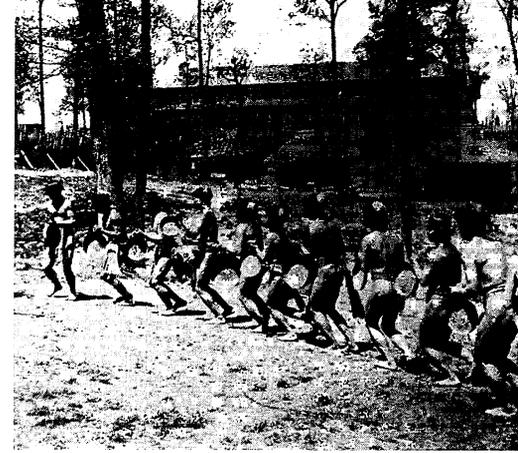


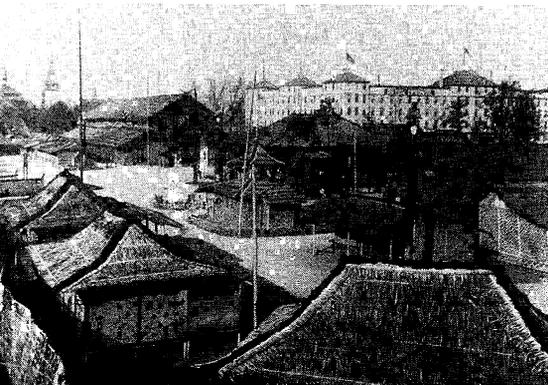
FIGURE ELEVEN: (Below left): The Javanese village at the 1893 Columbian Exposition was an authentic reproduction of a typical Javanese dessa or village, complete with mosque, bamboo enclosure, and homes surrounded by little bamboo fences. The village was described as "a constant centre of interest," where "visitors never cease admiring the cozy habitations, bazaars and theatre which have been contrived from such simple materials as palm leaves, grasses and split bamboo poles. The decorative effects produced by the weaving of different colors, striped and fringed mats, and other devices, are also quite attractive, and it is no longer matter for surprise that a Javanese considers himself rich who owns 'a piece of land, a bamboo hut and a buffalo and cart.'" Illustration from *Portfolio* (see above Figure Six), 166.

FIGURE NINE: (Top right): "Dance of the Igorrotes, Philippine Exhibit" at the 1904 Louisiana Exposition featured "a hundred spirit-worshipping barbarians," according to an official guidebook, which also noted that "with any more attire than they employ, the beauty of their supple limbs and of their transparent copper-brown skins would be hidden. The odd little hats on their heads are only for use as pockets in which to carry tobacco and other small personal belongings." *The Greatest of Expositions Completely Illustrated* (St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition co., 1904), 233.



FIGURE TEN: (Right): The Lapland Village at the 1893 Columbian Exposition featured twenty-four Laplanders, nine reindeer and "a number of dogs and sleds and all the requirements of a Laplander's outfit for hunting, fishing and home life." The family patriarch here, affectionately known as "King Bull," is at left, aboard a sled with Laplander children. Illustration from *Portfolio* (see above Figure Six), 99.

FIGURE TWELVE: (Below): The Irish Village at the 1893 Columbian Exposition, sponsored by Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Governor General of Canada, featured Irish peasant girls working at cottage industries, "such as lace making, embroidery, and hand loom weaving." To the left of the gate is part of a reproduction of Blarney Castle. Illustration from *Portfolio* (see above Figure Six), 186.



reassembled in Chicago. Once completed, it included a moated castle know as “Wasserburg,” a town hall, a market, a church, inns and houses—all designed to imitate sixteenth-century buildings. In addition to their village, the Germans sent 235 Bavarian peasants to Chicago to stage the world-famous Oberammergau Passion Play (these actors and actresses stayed in hotel accommodations, not in the German village).

Not to be outdone, the Irish had two villages at the Chicago fair (see Fig. 12). Both were philanthropic ventures, in which peasants from Ireland worked at cottage industries and sold the products of their hands. One of these villages, Donegal, was under the patronage of Mrs. Ernest Hart, the wife of a wealthy Irish doctor, and the other was underwritten by the Irish Countess of Aberdeen.

In addition to the German and Irish villages, other European attractions on the Midway included a Lapland village (see Figs. 8 and 10), an



FIGURE THIRTEEN: National pavilions in characteristic architectural styles at the 1893 Columbian Exposition: Norwegian, Swedish and German. Illustration from *Portfolio* (see above Figure Six), 80.

Austrian village, and a Vienna cafe. Not on the Midway itself, but nevertheless interesting, was a replica of a Viking ship, which Norway constructed and sailed to Chicago via the Hudson River, the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes.

Other countries of the world were equally well represented on the Midway. For the United States, there was an American Indian Village, an Eskimo village and a model of an Hawaiian volcano. The Middle Eastern, African and Asian countries were exhibited on the Midway by a Chinese

village and theater, a Chinese tea house, a “little Algeria and Tunis,” a Turkish village, a Dahomey village, a Japanese bazaar, a “Street of Cairo,” a Persian concession, a Javanese village and an Indian bazaar. It should be noted that the Chinese exhibits at Chicago were strictly private ventures. The Chinese governments boycotted the Columbian Exposition in protest of the United States’ anti-Chinese immigration laws. Feeling that China had to be represented in some way, Mr. Chau Pak Kwai, a wealthy Chinese importer and interpreter of Chicago, donated money for the construction of “a joss house, a tea house, a Chinese theater, and several Chinese stores” on the Midway. Of the joss house, a *New York Times* correspondent stated that “all the peculiar rites of the Chinese worship of idols will be observed. Mr. Kwai said . . . he would guarantee that the idols he would secure would be about as hideous as the Chinese can produce. Incense joss sticks will be burned daily and sacrificial offerings of doves, chickens, money, and wine will be made by the faithful.”⁴⁸

The Chinese exhibits were meager in comparison to the Oriental Hippodrome at the Columbian Exposition, which consisted of “274

FIGURE FOURTEEN: Statue grouping of nomadic American Plains Indians, Department of Ethnology exhibit, 1893 Columbian Exposition. Beneath this souvenir guidebook photo, a commentator wrote, “it is a sad truth that these poor aborigines are not much better off, if anything, since first the white man cast a greedy eye on their domain.” Illustration from *Portfolio* (see above Figure Six), 228.



Syrians, Arabs, and Turks, forty Arabian horses, eighteen dromedaries, and several camels . . . [and which featured] a realistic representation of an attack of Bedouins upon a caravan.”⁴⁹

The Columbian Exposition consisted of more than the amusements of the Midway Plaisance, though. It also featured anthropological and ethnological exhibits (see Fig. 14), exhibits on charities and social corrections, and world congresses on religion and on Africa. Professor F. H. Putnam of Harvard University was placed in charge of the Department of Ethnology, and oversaw the development of a professional exhibit on the cultures of mound-builders and ancient Peruvians.

In many ways, the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis paralleled that of the Chicago fair. Like the Columbian Exposition, the St. Louis exhibition was held one year after the anniversary that it commemorated, the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. Also, like the Chicago fair, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition included a host of amusements. The St. Louis exposition’s equivalent of the Midway Plaisance was “the Pike.” Here there were the usual ethnic villages and concessions, perhaps even more elaborate than those at Chicago. One concession alone, the eleven acre Jerusalem, contained 1000 natives. Two hundred American Indians resided in an encampment at the fair, and about 1100 Filipinos (see Figs. 9 and 15), representing five different tribes, lived in villages on the grounds. Not far away, enactments of the Boer War could be seen “‘twice daily at 3:30 and 8:30 with an extra matinee on Saturdays and Holidays.’”⁵⁰

Like the Chicago exposition, the St. Louis fair featured academic ventures, like the International Congress of Arts and Sciences, and the Hall of Anthropology (in which African pygmies, Patagonian giants and various aboriginal groups were displayed). For the most part, though, an overall sense of commercialism pervaded the fair. This was perhaps best illustrated by Dorothy Daniels Birk, who, in *The World Came to St. Louis: A Visit to the 1904 World’s Fair*, recounted a story which her father had told her: “[My father] wanted badly to photograph [a] native, but couldn’t communicate with him. Dad walked slowly toward the native, holding out the camera and going through the motions of taking a picture, until he thought he saw a glimmer of recognition on the native’s face. Then Dad dug into his pocket and held up a nickel, saying ‘If you let me take your picture, I will give you a nickel.’ There was silence for what seemed an interminable time. Finally, the native vigorously shook his head and in rising crescendos said, ‘No, no, no! Two nikkus, two nikkus!’”⁵¹

In many ways, the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition marked the beginning of the end of an era. This is not to claim that the amusements and sideshows common to fairs and circuses ended, or that people began to identify “culture” with something other than “place.” Rather, as the concept of “culture-place” took root and became commonplace, its novelty waned. Amusements and entertainments no longer needed to function as kaleidoscopes, that is, as symmetrical and ordered patterns of world diversity within the innocent context of “diversion.” The amusement areas of expositions had been, as one commentator stated of the



GIANT INDIANS FROM PATAGONIA.

FIGURE FIFTEEN: A family of Tehuelche Indians from Patagonia, Argentina, “Giant Indians from Patagonia.” Ethnology Exhibit, 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Known for their “powerful frames and commanding height,” the Patagonian Indians lived in a native hut in the exhibit area. Described in an official souvenir guidebook as a “peaceable people” with “many noble traits,” they were nevertheless regarded as one of the “primitive” tribes, “rapidly disappearing on account of the inroads of civilization.” From *The Greatest of Expositions* (See Figure Nine), 190.

Midway Plaisance at the Columbian Exposition, “side show[s] pure and simple. But side shows are interesting, and to many hundreds of thousands of people who have not been afforded the opportunity of seeing how other hundreds of thousands live, the Midway Plaisance is amusing, interesting and instructive.”⁵² Now, amusement areas of fairs were free to serve their own ends—entertainment and materialism. For instance, while one reporter deridingly referred to various business exhibits and amusements at the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco as a “shop window of civilization,” he nevertheless conceded that “the whole is greater than the sum of its parts . . . there are marginal aspects in which the Exposition becomes a disinterested educational spectacle. If it is, to repeat, the attempt to put up achievement in individual packages, the enterprise is frankly one of profit-sharing.”⁵³

From the start, the organizers of the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915 conceived of and designed a fair that radically departed from its predecessors. Unlike earlier exhibitions, the Panama-Pacific Exposition celebrated not an historic event, but a contemporary one—the opening of the Panama

Canal. This sense of presentism permeated the entire fair. The organizers even specifically directed that only exhibits “produced or originated since the St. Louis exposition” would be considered for competitive review by the International Jury of Awards.⁵⁴

A natural component of this presentism was a belief, among organizers and observers of the fair alike, that the past decade had witnessed greater progress “than the entire century that preceded it.”⁵⁵ Indeed, it was true that the airplane, the automobile and the motor truck, still in their infancy at the time of The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, had become viable instruments of change by 1915.⁵⁶ So too had long-distance telephone communication. On the opening day of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, “thousands of persons upon the grounds heard the voice of President Wilson as he spoke into a telephone in Washington. By the use of the ‘amplifier’ the President’s voice was sent in relays across the continent.”⁵⁷

Further, the organizers of the Panama-Pacific Exposition sought to dignify the overall character of world fairs, that is, to remove the more unsavory associations earlier exhibitions had earned as amusement centers. The general theme of the commissioners was “educational,” a fact reflected in the vast number of conferences and conventions held at the exhibition, some four hundred in all.⁵⁸ Even the amusements at the Panama-Pacific Exposition were “educational to a very high degree.” That organizers of the fair consciously endeavored to exclude crude or distasteful forms of entertainment was reflected in their high selectivity. Of some “6,000 applications by concessionaires from all over the world,” only about one hundred were accepted, each satisfying “a high standard of propriety, good taste and educational value, as well as effective fun-making and entertainment.”⁵⁹

The amusements in the sixty-five acre “Zone,” a \$10,000,000 entertainment complex employing 2,000 people, included many educational attractions. The principal allurements were a working model of the Panama Canal, occupying over five acres, and viewed via a twenty-three minute ride aboard theater chairs on a moving platform. The whole production was highly-sophisticated—“as spectators passed the various points of interest they could listen to a sound commentary on telephone handsets relayed from a bank of forty-five Edison Phonographs timed to coincide with the visual presentation.”⁶⁰ Meanwhile, tiny ships moved through the canal, powered by electric magnets beneath. The Zone also featured a \$350,000 miniature diorama of the Grand Canyon, viewed in a thirty minute ride aboard standard gauge Pullman cars, as well as re-creations of “Old Nuremberg” in Germany and of “The Dayton Flood.”⁶¹

As interesting and popular as these Zone attractions proved, reporters and commentators did not focus their attentions on them as they had done on the amusements of earlier fairs. Even when referring to the Zone, they often felt obligated to apologize for its entertainment value. Claimed one reporter, “on the zone we are all children, regardless of size or years. One who has reached the age of discretion desires to forget the fact; he borrows a boy or girl if he has none of his own, and indulges in a sort of progressive

circus.” The same commentator related, amusingly, how the Zone seemed to change the character of even the most educated. This reporter noted the childish enthusiasm shown by a rather somber, sedate professor when she encountered him in the Zone: “ ‘Come on,’ he cried, waving a bag of popcorn at me. ‘This is great! Have you ridden around the Panama Canal?’ ”⁶²

Just as a major component of the Zone amusements was motion, so many of the more academic exhibits of the Panama-Pacific Exposition highlighted the same. The “important thing,” Geddes Smith observed, “is to make something move. ‘See the scissors cut,’ shout the small boys who approach the booth with the hardware landscape. ‘Loog, baby, loog, the wader how it splazh,’ says the not-too-American mother who strolls by the loveliest little fountain on the grounds. ‘Really mahvellous,’ murmurs the lady from the East as she surveys the huge Hoe Press which is reeling out a San Francisco Sunday supplement right where everybody can see it. And they are all fascinated by the thing that goes.”⁶³ This was not surprising, for the Panama-Pacific was the first fair to make extensive use of motion pictures, enabling visitors “to see films showing the actual use of machines and views of scenery and people from different lands alongside the static exhibits.”⁶⁴ Between fifty-four and seventy motion picture shows were offered, in addition to numerous stereotographs, a type of automated slide show. The popularity of such moving pictures led the amusement zone operators “to specify nowadays that the *wonn-derful* attractions they offer you for your dime or quarter are *not* moving pictures.”⁶⁵

This obsession with “motion” pervaded the Panama-Pacific Exposition. It was evident that the fair was no longer a simple kaleidoscope. Instead, it prided itself in its ability to mimic natural phenomena by technological means. There were pyrotechnic displays that imitated lightning, and spectacular night illuminations that stimulated mists. Even buildings were drawn into the great charade. The Palace of Horticulture featured a 186-foot-high dome, “covered with wire netting glass” and lighted at night with “kaleidoscopic lights from within” that played “upon the glass, giving the giant sphere the effect of a huge iridescent soap bubble.”⁶⁶

While kaleidoscopic light effects seemed appropriate in this new world of technology, kaleidoscopic visions of other cultures did not. The often-crass curiosity which nineteenth-century Americans had exhibited towards other cultures, coupled with an inherent sense of superiority, no longer seemed relevant. As the World War escalated in Europe, reporters and observers increasingly underscored the need for world understanding and peace. Wrote one individual to the editor of *Current Opinion*: “Just now it happens that the war in Europe makes us long for peace and causes us to wonder how we can escape it with honor. We know that day by day distance is contracting, and that, whether we will or not, we shall soon be touching elbows with every race. How these races are to affect us and what we are to mean to them becomes of great moment to us, of supreme

moment to our children. . . . Knowledge is the one precipitant of racial and national prejudice. The Panama-Pacific Exposition affords the means of knowledge of the art, science and progress of the peoples of the world. It affords an opportunity to make an honest estimate of our neighbors. . . . This exposition is the first which combines the material and the altruistic. It is a new butterfly, a new orchid, a new machine, a new style, a new product.”⁶⁷

An era was passing away, and as a new one came into being, the concept of culture-place was there to usher it in, albeit in a new guise of pluralism. The kaleidoscopic captivation of nineteenth-century exhibitions with other cultures and other places proved the pupal state for this “new butterfly,” the acceptance of other civilizations as legitimate in their own right. And in honor of the exposition which saw the culmination of this development, poet Jessie Maude Wybro wrote:

Of all the world, for all the world, in all,
 They meet, all men, heavy-handed with their gifts;
 With trophies—not of war, nay! never that!—
 But gains of peace in bloodless conflict won
 By work of hands, and might of brain and will;
 The precious things that they have patient wrought,
 Or delved for, carven, welded, painted, hewn—
 All things that mean the onward, upward course
 From out of the Darkness to the Light beyond,
 Hither they bring, man’s offering to man.⁶⁸

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notes

1. John C. Eastman, “Eccentric Features of the World’s Fair,” *Chautauquan*, April 1893, 13; In an attempt to discern popular perceptions of international expositions of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, this paper focuses principally on contemporary newspaper and periodical accounts. Less attention is given to souvenir guidebooks and official reports, although these too prove insightful in understanding the ideas of their time.

2. Henry D. Shapiro, “The Concept of Place and the Emergence of American Ideas of Regionalism and Ethnicity,” paper presented for the American Studies Association, October 1981.

3. *Ibid.*, 2.

4. *Ibid.*, 2.

5. I am using the terms “exhibition,” “exposition” and “fair” interchangeably, although the word “exposition” was supposedly first used to denote an international exhibition at the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris. For a fuller explanation, see “The Era of Expositions,” *New York Times* (September 14, 1874), 4.

6. Throughout this paper, I use the term “Victorians” as a convenient, and somewhat less clumsy, equivalent of “nineteenth-century Europeans and Americans.” The references to “Victorian” here should not be misunderstood as implying prudery, narrow-mindedness or any other characteristics sometimes ascribed to people of that period.

7. John Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions* (London, 1977), 19.

8. *Ibid.*, 22.

9. A fairly complete list of international expositions, from 1851 to 1975, is given in John Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions*, 180-185.

10. “The Great Exhibition: Letter from Our Special Correspondent,” *New York Times* (June 2, 1862), 2.

11. *Ibid.*, 2.

12. *Ibid.*, 2.

13. Allwood, 42.

14. *Ibid.*, 43.

15. *Ibid.*, 47.

16. I subscribe largely to Milton Gordon's definition of ethnicity as that sense of "peopleness" which exists among a group that is sharing or has shared common geographical bounds, a common culture and quite often a common racial background. "Culture" denotes "the ways of acting and the ways of doing things which are passed down from one generation to the next, not through genetic inheritance but by formal and informal methods of teaching and demonstration." As such, culture includes "norms of conduct, beliefs, values, and skills" or "non-material culture," as well as "the artifacts created by these skills and values" or "material culture." Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York, 1964), 23, 32-33.

17. By occupation, Eugene Rimmel was a manufacturer, wholesaler and exporter of perfumes, with headquarters in London and branch offices in Cornhill, Paris, Neuilly and Nice. He was also "perfumer by Special Appointment to their majesties the emperor of the French, the Queen of Spain, the Queen of Netherlands, the Queen of the Belgians, and the King of Portugal, and to H.R.H. the Princess of Wales." (Eugene Rimmel, *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867* [Philadelphia, c. 1868], xiv, Advertising Sheet.) In addition, he sold "Rimmel's Patent Dinner Table Fountains," which were designed "to replace the rosewater salver or finger glasses." (Recollections, xv-xvi, Advertising Sheet.)

18. *Recollections*, 41.

19. *Ibid.*, 42.

20. *Ibid.*, 41.

21. *Ibid.*, 41.

22. *Ibid.*, 238.

23. The telephone was first exhibited at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia; the wireless, at the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo; the radio tube, at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis; and a scale model of the Panama Canal, at the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco, which celebrated the 1914 opening of the Panama Canal.

24. In 1866, the year before the Paris exposition, the first successful transatlantic telegraph was completed (an earlier one, finished in 1858, was severed a few weeks after transmitting its first message, and was never revived successfully). In 1867, the year of the Paris exposition, the United States' first transcontinental railroad was completed, and six years prior, in 1861, the first transcontinental telegraph service in the United States was opened. In general, the late-nineteenth century witnessed a rapid expansion of railroad and telegraph lines, so that, by 1900, "there were thirteen cables crossing the North Atlantic." (Alvin F. Harlow, *Old Wires and New Waves: The History of the Telegraph, Telephone, and Wireless* [New York, 1936], 303.) On land, telegraphs and railroads were often adjuncts, in that telegraphs were used in the dispatching of trains, and railroad right-of-ways were utilized in the stringing of telegraph wires. In regard to water transportation, the first regular steamship service crossing the Atlantic was started in 1838; the Suez Canal was opened in 1869; and the Panama Canal, in 1914. In the interim, numerous submarine telegraphs were laid: by 1860, one from Italy and France to Sardinia and Corsica and thence to Algeria; by 1865, one to Calcutta; and by 1871, one to Australia.

25. The "Shrinking World" was the title given to an article appearing in *The Times of London* on July 27, 1866. The article referred to the links which the soon-to-be-completed transatlantic cable would provide between America and Europe. (Colin Cherry, *World Communication: Threat or Promise? A Socio-technical Approach* [London, 1971], 103.)

26. A "kaleidoscope," as defined in *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, is: 1. a tubelike instrument containing loose bits of colored glass, plastic, etc. reflected by mirrors so that various symmetrical patterns appear when the tube is held to the eye and rotated. 2. anything that constantly changes, as in color and pattern. *Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language*, (1976).

27. Eastman, 13.

28. "Close of the Institute Fair," *New York Times* (November 21, 1875), 12.

29. Shapiro, 3.

30. "The Arrangement of Great Exhibitions," *Nation* (November 25, 1875), 336.

31. *Ibid.*, 337.

32. This function was held on December 1, 1875.

33. "The United States Centennial: Arrival of Japanese Goods at Philadelphia—An Interesting Exhibition—The Egyptian Department," *New York Times* (January 19, 1876), 2.

34. *Ibid.*, 2; "Centennial Buildings: Foreign Government Offices," *New York Times* (February 13, 1876), 7.

35. "The International Exhibition—No. XVIII. The United States Exhibit," *Nation* (October 19), 1876, 238. At first, this quote seems to parallel that of Schwarz', but in reality it is much more limited because it speaks only of "bringing together" ethnological exhibits.

36. "The Great Exhibition: Scenes in Fairmount Park," *New York Times* (May 23, 1876), 4.

37. *Ibid.*, 4.

38. "Mexico at the Centennial," *New York Times* (April 1, 1876), 6.

39. "An Immoral Coffee-House: The Entertainment Furnished by a Turkish Proprietor—A Police Raid on the Establishment," *New York Times* (June 15, 1876), 5.

40. *Ibid.*, 5.

41. Richard D. Mandell, *Paris 1900: The Great World's Fair* (Toronto, 1967), 21.

42. "Cannot Stop Those Immoral Dances," *New York Times* (August 2, 1893), 5.
43. Gary Kyriazi, *The Great American Amusement Parks: A Pictorial History* (Secaucus, 1976), 75.
75. The 1893 Columbian Exposition featured the first mechanical Ferris wheel in the world, designed by George Washington Gale Ferris.
44. Eastman, 13.
45. J. W. Buel, *The Magic City: A Massive Portfolio of Original Photographic Views of the Great World's Fair* (St. Louis, 1894), n.pag.
46. Eastman, 13.
47. F. W. Putnam, *Oriental and Occidental, Northern and Southern Portrait Types of the Midway Plaisance* (St. Louis, 1894), 2.
48. "Can't Attend New-York's Show: Chicago Fair Managers Have Work to Do at Home," *New York Times* (October 5, 1892), 10.
49. "A Living Oriental Exhibit: Syrians, Arabs, and Turks to Illustrate the Life of the Desert Tribes," *New York Times* (April 25, 1893), 8.
50. Allwood, 114.
51. Dorothy Daniels Birk, *The World Came to St. Louis: A Visit to the 1904 World's Fair* (St. Louis, 1979), 69.
52. *The World's Fair Portfolio* (Chicago? n.d.), 55.
53. Geddes Smith, "A Shop Window of Civilization," *Independent* (June 28, 1915), 534, 536.
54. Hamilton Wright, "Opening of the Panama-Pacific Exposition," *Overland Monthly* (March 1915), 204.
55. *Ibid.*, 204.
56. The advancements in airplane and motor boat transportation were celebrated at the Panama-Pacific Exposition by an around-the-world airplane race, with a \$150,000 prize, and a 6000-mile motor boat race from New York to San Francisco via the Panama Canal. Visitors to the fair could also view the complete assembly of an automobile every ten minutes. "Panama-Pacific Exposition Rising in Increasing Glory," *Overland Monthly* (June 1914), 615-17; Herman Whitaker, "A Great University—The Exposition," *Overland Monthly* (May 1915), 449.
57. Bently Palmer, "World's Advance Shown in Exhibits," *Overland Monthly* (August 1915), 108-09.
58. Hamilton Wright, "Opening of the Panama-Pacific Exposition," *Overland Monthly* (March 1915), 204; Dallas E. Wood, "Panama-Pacific Exposition: 'Most Beautiful of Dream Cities,'" *Overland Monthly* (April 1915), 365.
59. "New Light on an Exposition," *Overland Monthly* (April 1914), 386.
60. Allwood, 122; Palmer, 110.
61. Guy Richard Kingsley, "Progress of America's Great Panama Canal Celebration," *Overland Monthly* (October 1914), 412; Hamilton Wright, "The Panama-Pacific Exposition in Its Glorious Prime," *Overland Monthly* (October 1915), 297.
62. Edith K. Stellmann, "With the Crowd at the Panama-Pacific Exposition," *Overland Monthly* (June 1915), 519, 513.
63. Geddes Smith, "A Shop Window of Civilization," *The Independent* (June 28, 1915), 535.
64. Allwood, 122.
65. Whitaker, "A Great University", 446; Hamilton Wright, "Panama-Pacific Exposition: The Mecca of the Nation," *Overland Monthly* (September 1915), 244-45; Geddes Smith, "A Shop Window of Civilization," *The Independent* (28 June 1915), 535.
66. Hamilton Wright, "Installation of Displays," *Overland Monthly* (August 1914), 194-96.
67. Thomas R. Marshall, letter to the editor in "The European War and the Panama-Pacific Exposition—A Monumental Contrast," *Current Opinion* (May 1915), 316.
68. Jessie Maude Wybro, "The Court of the Universe (Panama-Pacific Exposition)," *Overland Monthly* (September 1915), 257.