

Parables of Stone and Steel: Architectural Images of Progress and Nostalgia at the Columbian Exposition and Disneyland

Michael Steiner

During the last days of the 1900 Paris Exposition, an aging American returned time and again to the great Gallery of Machines. Like a moth to a candle, 62-year old Henry Adams was lured to the exhibit, mesmerized by the titanic power of its pulsating pistons. It was here that the historian experienced a shock of recognition, a dark epiphany that had been stewing in his soul. After spending his life searching for a sense of purpose in human affairs, Adams was stunned to realize as he stood beneath these implacable behemoths, that blind mechanical forces controlled history. Prostrate before the forty-foot dynamos as an early Christian “trembling before the Cross,” Adams recognized that he and others had become helpless “creatures of force, massed about central power-houses” and that modern science had unleashed uncontrollable forces of mass destruction.¹

Reminiscent of Mark Twain’s vision of science exterminating civilization in *A Connecticut Yankee* (1889) or E.M. Forster’s tale of technological servitude in “The Machine Stops” (1911), Adams’s turn-of-the-century autobiography is obsessed with the specter of machinery run amok and the “parricidal” possibilities unlocked by science. As early as 1862, he had predicted that “Some day science may have the existence of mankind in its power, and the human race commit suicide by blowing up the world,” and these omens were confirmed at the Paris Exposition.² Adams dreaded the dynamo at the same time that he was drawn to it. He was pulled between antithetical worlds, forced to crawl upon a

“knife’s edge” dividing “two kingdoms of force which had nothing in common but attraction.” The kingdom embodied by the Virgin and soaring Gothic cathedrals nurtured religion, beauty, sex, and the organic mysteries of the past; the realm ruled by the Dynamo spawned science, utility, mass production, and the mechanical regime of the present.³

Tensions similar to Adams’s conflict between the Virgin and the Dynamo—between faith and reason, nature and artifact, nostalgia and progress—infuse the history of many societies. As Raymond Williams and Leo Marx have argued, it is a cosmic concern that stretches back at least to Theocritus and Virgil lamenting the fall of Arcadia and the rise of Athens and Rome. The transformation of the garden continued to trouble poets as different as Oliver Goldsmith and William Blake reacting to enclosure movements and industrialization in England.⁴ Yet nowhere has this dialectic been as startling as in nineteenth-century America, where the Industrial Revolution ripped through a virgin land and where, as Leo Marx argued, “The sudden appearance of the Machine in the Garden deeply stirred an age already sensitive to the conflict between nature and civilization.”⁵ The electrifying shriek of steamboats and locomotives slicing through nature, startling glimpses of sooty factories, smoggy freeways, and circuit board cities besmirching the “fresh green breast of the New World”—such sights and sounds of machines in the garden have aroused generations of American writers and artists from the early-nineteenth century to the present.⁶

This tension between two kingdoms of force—contradictory devotion to nature and civilization, nostalgia and progress—underscores painful paradoxes in American culture that even Henry Adams only faintly recognized. As Perry Miller has stressed, Americans have long sensed a special bond between nature and their national identity. European immigrants, in particular, have felt that contact with American nature, with untrammelled forests and virgin lands, would free them from the taint of “the artificial, the urban, and the civilized.” Yet they have also been committed to progress through technology and the conquest of space, forces that inevitably transform nature. We are nature’s nation at the same time that we are devoted to transforming nature. Westward—yearning Americans have ravaged the very thing they most cherish, cutting down the wilderness as if it were a hateful presence and then mourning their victim once it is safely laid to rest. The errand into the wilderness has been, in many ways, a self-destructive mission. The suspicion that we are destroying the very source of our collective identity, that our machines are paving the garden, and that we are, in Miller’s words, “being carried along on some massive conveyor belt such as Cole’s ‘Course of Empire,’” has been a central theme in American intellectual history.⁷

This disturbing paradox is especially glaring in the westering frontier, the so-called “meeting point between savagery and civilization.” In the 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville observed that Americans “are insensible to the wonders of inanimate Nature, and they may be said not to perceive the mighty forests which surround them till they fall beneath the hatchet.” In 1914, Frederick Jackson

Turner brooded about the once “magnificent forest at the forks of the Ohio” where Pittsburgh now stands. “Where Braddock and his men, ‘carving a cross on the wilderness rim,’ were struck by the painted savages in the primeval woods,” he lamented, “huge furnaces belch forth perpetual fires and Huns and Bulgars, Poles and Sicilians struggle for a chance to earn their daily bread, and live a brutal and degraded life.” This process continues in many forms. “Something in the heart of the westerner,” Richard Rodriguez wrote in 1996, “must glory in the clamor of hammering, the squealing of saws, the rattle of marbles in aerosol cans. Something in the heart of the westerner must yearn for lost wilderness, once wilderness has been routed.”⁸

Such qualms about progress reverberate among intellectuals and academics. Yet how can we truly know how widely such doubts were embraced among the American people? A profound conflict between devotion to industrial progress and nostalgia for a fading agrarian past clearly tugged at the hearts of artists and intellectuals. But what, if anything, did the machine in the garden and the paradox of progress mean to ordinary, uncelebrated Americans? We have the luxury of reading Henry Adams’s thoughts and seeing Thomas Cole’s paintings, but we know precious little about the sensibilities of ordinary men and women from other class, ethnic, and regional backgrounds. Large numbers of Americans, including Huns and Bulgars in the Pittsburgh mills, may have seen the machine as a magic carpet rather than a juggernaut. Or they may have had reactions as complex and profound as any painter or historian.

Many American scholars, including Leo Marx, Perry Miller, Henry Nash Smith, Richard Hofstadter, Paul Shepard, and Barbara Novak have brilliantly traced the conflict between nature and civilization, nostalgia and progress, among American intellectuals, writers, artists, and public figures.⁹ But few have fully explored this theme among the mass of humanity; few have focused upon the thoughts of everyday folk who, though they rarely had their feelings published in print, can be heard through other types of equally eloquent artifacts.¹⁰

Architecture is such an artifact. Henry Glassie’s penetrating observation that “Few people write. Everyone makes things,” clearly applies to how people build things and make themselves at home in nature. Attitudes toward the machine and the garden have been traced in literature, painting, oratory, dime novels, advertising, and photography, but relatively few scholars have considered how this symbolic tableau has been reflected in architecture, the most immediate and all-encompassing art form. Understood as built environment—as the earthly imprint of human emotions and ideals—architecture is an indispensable cultural document. It is the all-pervasive setting and reflection of people’s lives, shaping and encapsulating their sense of experience. “The shell that we create for ourselves,” Lewis Mumford writes, “marks our spiritual development as plainly as that of a snail’s denotes its species.” In even grander terms, Ada Louise Huxtable believes that “We are what we build; stone and steel do not lie; this [is] real history, about real people and real places . . . [A]rchitecture is the most immediate, expressive, and lasting art to ever record the human condition.”¹¹

What, then, do stone and steel tell us about popular attitudes toward the machine in the garden? What constructed places capture and enshrine the widest range of feelings about this ubiquitous theme? A number of cultural critics have nominated world's fairs and theme parks as the pivotal architectures of the late-nineteenth and late-twentieth centuries. Separated by a century, each has functioned as a sacred place and point of pilgrimage where collective anxieties are momentarily resolved. Just as international expositions offered "explanatory blue prints" of modernization and nationalistic imperialism at the turn of the nineteenth century, theme parks provide soothing simulations of postmodern globalism today.¹²

For Americans swept up in modernization then and postmodern globalization now, the most compelling places of pilgrimage have been the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 and Disneyland since 1955. The Chicago Fair and the Anaheim park can be seen as "shock cities" embodying the hopes and fears of their times. "If the Columbian Exposition provides multiple interpretive paradigms for the *fin-de-siecle* metropolis," Timothy Gilfoyle has argued, "Mickey Mouse on Main Street . . . does the same a century later. 'All the world's a fair' is supplanted by 'All the world is Disneyland.'" ¹³ A torrent of scholarship has been devoted to these architectural extravaganzas beside Lake Michigan in Chicago and next to a freeway near Los Angeles, yet few if any scholars have traced the connections between them. A basic purpose of this essay is to compare these exemplary cities as emblems of public attitudes toward technological progress.

The most popular, architecturally cohesive, and visually stirring of all World's Fairs, the Chicago Exposition, with its boisterous Midway and imperial White City, bedazzled nearly 30 million visitors during its six-month existence. The 1893 Fair gave birth to postcards, hamburgers, carbonated soft drinks, people movers, the Ferris Wheel, and stucco as a building material; it was the venue for Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, William F. Cody's Wild West, and Scott Joplin's ragtime; it inspired L. Frank Baum's scathing portrait of the illusory Emerald City in *The Wizard of Oz*; it transformed the American landscape over the next forty years through its off-spring, the City Beautiful Movement (figure 1).

Sixty-two years after the Chicago Fair closed, another pleasure dome opened farther west among the orange groves of Anaheim. Since 1955, Disneyland has become America's key symbolic landscape and the best known and most copied place on earth, reinforcing, in Steven Watts's words, Disney's role as "the most influential American of the twentieth century."¹⁴ Spreading out from the Magic Kingdom beside the freeway, much of the earth has been themed and blanketed by the Disney empire. Even anti-American Islamic fundamentalists yearn to visit Disneyland; even New York's once tawdry Times Square is now sanitized with Disneyland's relentlessly cheerful stamp (figure 2).¹⁵

The master builders of these emulated lands had much in common. Daniel Hudson Burnham and Walter Elias Disney were midwestern idealists who etched

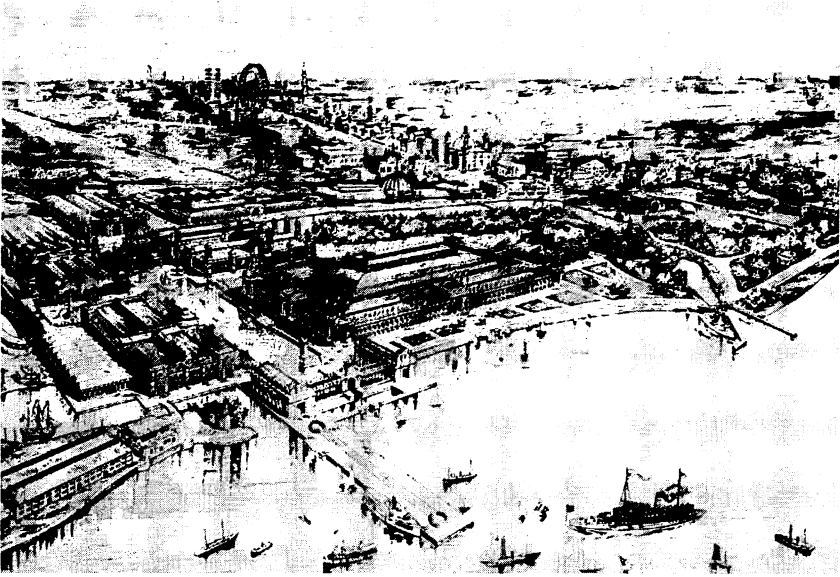


Figure 1: Bird's-eye view of the 1893 Columbian Exposition. *Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.*

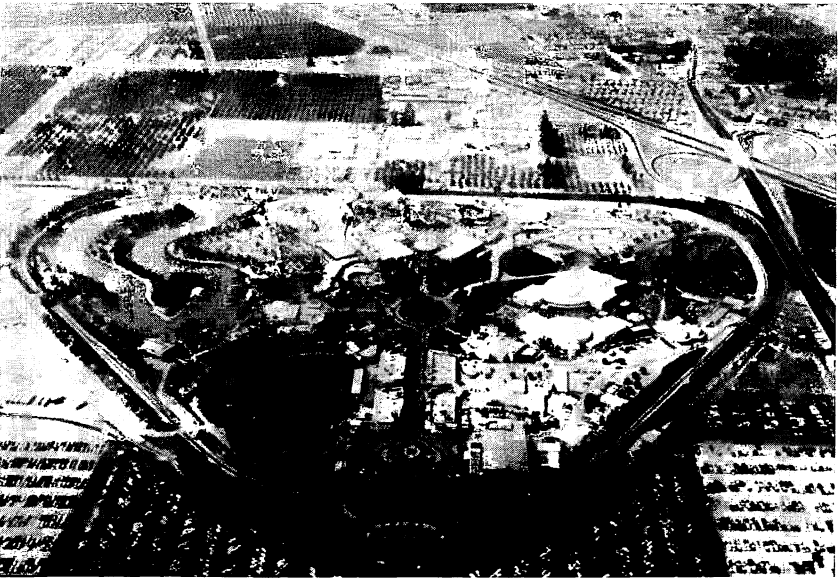


Figure 2: Aerial view of Disneyland Park under construction, circa 1955. © *Disney Enterprises Inc.*

deep signatures upon the land. Their utopian visions, bold plans, and deft orchestrations of other men's ideas have shaped much of the modern world. Burnham is known for his adage, "Make no little plans; they have no power to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realized." At the early stages of the Exposition's design he consulted with and followed P.T. Barnum's advice to "Make it bigger and better than any that have preceded it. Make it the greatest show on earth—greater even than my own Great Moral Show if you can (figure 3 and figure 4)."¹⁶

Equally imbued with grandiosity, Disney had an insatiable urge to reshape unruly nature and said that he chose the Anaheim site because it "had certain things that I felt I needed, such as flat land because I wanted to make my own hills." "Walt was used to controlling everything in a cartoon and wanted to do it in real life," an early assistant recalled. "So we created something here—we didn't have a word for it, but it's a new kind of reality."¹⁷ Philosopher Karl Popper and urbanist Jane Jacobs would undoubtedly condemn Burnham and Disney as ruthless "canvas cleaners" and reckless "wholesale social engineers," yet both builders were keenly sensitive to public tastes, and each had an uncanny ability to translate common desires into built environments.¹⁸

Born in 1846 and brought up with the Swedenborgian faith that "heaven in reality was a pristine earth with beautiful cities," Burnham studied neo-classical architecture at L' Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris in the 1860s and then devoted himself to translating these ideals to the realities of American life.¹⁹ Born in 1901 in Chicago and raised in rural Missouri, Disney had no academic training, yet he possessed even stronger utopian and populist sensibilities. What little architectural encouragement he may have received came, fittingly enough, from listening to his father's stories about working as a carpenter at the Chicago Fair eight years before Walt's birth. Described as having an almost "mystical bond" with the American psyche, Disney's untutored populist designs have been praised as being "nearer to what people want than anything architects have ever given them," and Disneyland has been extolled as "the best example of an urban environment where people are treated in a humane way."²⁰ Toward the end of his life Disney was convinced, as he told evangelist Billy Graham, that far from being a "nice fantasy," Disneyland gave people a higher, more satisfying reality than the messy illusions of everyday life.²¹

Burnham and Disney were skillful managers as well as master builders. Each had a remarkable ability to realize their audacious dreams by drawing upon the talents of others. As Director of Works for the Chicago Fair, Burnham called upon the nation's greatest architects, painters, sculptors, and landscape designers. When Frederick Law Olmsted, John LaFarge, Daniel Chester French, Stanford White, Richard Morris Hunt, William Le Baron Jenney, Louis Sullivan, Augustus St. Gaudens, and others gathered in Chicago in 1891, St. Gaudens whispered to Burnham: "Look here, old fellow, do you realize that this is the greatest meeting of artists since the fifteenth century?"²² A slight exaggeration,



Figure 3 and Figure 4: Master Builders Daniel Hudson Burnham, circa 1893, and Walter Elias Disney, circa 1955. *Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society and © Walt Disney Enterprises, Inc.*

perhaps, yet Burnham's greatest achievement was his ability to forge their ideas into a unified design (figure 5).

Disney's staff was less august though equally creative and certainly more obedient. As the idea for Disneyland was brewing, Disney assembled a cluster of young animators and artists who would respect his every whim. In the same manner that Louis XIV designed Versailles, Disney would toss out ideas for his "imagineers" to render into sketches and scale models that would eventually meet with their boss's approval until the master plan emerged for what would soon become the best known place on earth (figure 6).²³

What do these paradigmatic cities reveal about popular attitudes toward nostalgia and progress? About the struggle between two kingdoms of force that troubled so many artists and intellectuals? Is it possible to detect in these utopian cities a sense that, as Lawrence Levine puts it, "the ode to progress . . . was accompanied by a cry of longing for what had been. The compulsion to peer forward was paralleled by an urge to look backward to a more pristine, more comfortable, more familiar time"?²⁴ These are ambitious questions, yet glimpses of these archetypal cities at three points in time—the Columbian Exposition in 1893 and Disneyland in 1955 and 1998—provide some answers. The architectural designs of these urban utopias reveal a century-long shift in attitudes toward technological progress in which the garden has become more appealing than the machine, green memories of the past more beguiling than flashy promises of the future.

The Chicago Exposition seemed a shining monument to the urban-industrial city and a resounding paean to progress. As many as twenty-seven million people visited during its six-month run, and many were awed by the displays of technological prowess and white superiority. Visitors ranging from William Dean Howells to Hamlin Garland, the young Franklin Roosevelt to the Arch Duke Ferdinand were electrified by the show. But not that inveterate fairgoer, Henry Adams. Seven years before his dark epiphany in Paris, Adams had "lingered among the dynamos" in Chicago, contrasting his conflicting emotions to those of the people around him. Adams felt that these gawking masses who "had grown up in the habit of thinking a steam-engine or a dynamo as natural as the sun," were hoodwinked devotees of progress; he alone made a serious effort to understand the machine and concluded that "probably this was the first time since historians existed, that any of them had sat down helpless before a mechanical sequence."²⁵

Was Adams alone with his doubts in Chicago in 1893? A quick look at the fairgrounds complicates his elitist assumption. Let us imagine for a moment what it was like on a typical summer day, that sweltering day in the middle of July, for example, when Frederick Jackson Turner delivered his paper at the nearby Art Institute announcing the death of the frontier. Visitors had much on their minds beyond the immediate spectacle of the Fair. Chicago itself was a grimy, smoke-shrouded city of a million and a half people, many of them newly arrived immigrants who worked in steel mills and railroad yards. When the wind



Directors, artists, and sculptors of the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. Photograph probably taken in Winter, 1892.
From left to right: D. H. Burnham, Geo. B. Post, M. B. Pickett, Richard Van Buren, J. D. Miller, Matland Armstrong, Colonel Edmund Rice,
Augustus St. Gaudens, Henry Sargent Godwin, George D. Massey, Charles F. McKim, Ernest R. Cahalan, and Dion Caraballo. Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.

Figure 5: Daniel Burnham, far left, and some of the artists and sculptors of the Columbian Exposition, 1892. *Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.*



Figure 6: Walt Disney meeting with a group of animators, circa early 1940s. © *Disney Enterprises.*

blew from the south, it carried the stench of manure and decaying flesh from sprawling stockyards and slaughterhouses. There were some 900 brothels in this “shock city” of the Great West, and more than 600 people were accidentally killed each year by city trains. The Chicago papers were filled with images of gruesome mayhem on the city’s teeming streets and with news of a serial killer, H.H. Holmes, who preyed on young women visiting the Exposition.²⁶

Paralleling Chicago’s chaos, the nation was struggling through a grim financial panic. Labor wars were raging in the Coeur d’Alene region of Idaho and the Homestead steel works near Pittsburgh, while a full-scale range war was being fought in Johnson County, Wyoming. Stirring up memories of the recent bloody Haymarket Riot, angry railroad workers led by Eugene Debs were threatening a paralyzing strike in the nearby company town of Pullman, and Jacob Coxey’s “Army” of unemployed was gathering force in Massilon, Ohio, to march on Washington.²⁷

The Exposition was an orderly oasis amid this tumultuous city and troubled time. Like pilgrims to Disneyland 62 years later, visitors to the Exposition yearned to escape the fractious present and embrace the imagined wonders of the future and glories of the past. “As soon as you become a day-inhabitant of the White World,” a typical visitor gushed, “you are emancipated from the troubles of this earth.”²⁸ The words “wonderland,” “dreamland,” “fairylad,” poured from visitors’ lips (figure 7). In two and a half years under Burnham’s general direction, a resplendent city of some 400 glistening buildings along miles of dredged wa-



Figure 7: Rooftop view of the Grand Basin and Machinery Hall at the heart of the Burnham’s White City. *Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.*

terways had risen like a mirage from the marshy wastelands six miles south of The Loop. Maps and bird's eye views used by fairgoers reveal three distinct realms—an imposing city, a pastoral retreat, and a commercial strip—whose contrasts may have provided subliminal meanings to strolling fairgoers.²⁹

The official 633-acre grounds in Jackson Park were divided into two contrasting areas. The stately and symmetrical White City or Court of Honor, which was organized around the Grand Basin and Peristyle entrance to the south, loomed over the less flashy park-like northern section centered around the tree-lined coves of the Lagoon, Wooded Island, and North Pond. The sumptuous artificiality of the White City and the sylvan simplicity of the Lagoon district were juxtaposed to a third region: the commercial glitter of the Midway Plaisance. A mile long, 600-foot-wide strip stretching westward from the edge of the Exposition, the Midway was a jumble of side shows, eateries, thrill rides, and “villages” and “living museums” of exotic people from around the world. With its jostling internationalism and with Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show pitched two blocks away, this area became a carnival of consumption and commercial cosmopolitanism.

The White City, the Lagoon, and the Midway epitomized a host of contending forces in American life, and the principle planner of each land embodied these ideals. Although Burnham directed the general outlines of the entire operation, he lavished his attention on the grand Court of Honor and delegated most of the design of the northern half of the fairgrounds to 70-year-old landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted and the coordination of the Midway to 23-year-old impresario Sol Bloom. Burnham's Swedenborgian hope that the White City would inspire capitalists and artists to build a New Jerusalem on Earth conveniently reinforced the monetary schemes of Marshall Field, George Pullman, Philip Armour, Potter Palmer, and other industrial titans who financed the Fair. With its white-washed neo-classical temples devoted to Administration, Manufactures, Agriculture, Electricity, and Mines arrayed at a uniform cornice height about the statue-festooned Grand Basin, this ironic reminder of Rome before the Fall seemed a dazzling urban paradise to most visitors. Its ranks of Corinthian columns, lofty domes, majestic electric light shows, and theatrical water spectacles brazenly celebrated technological power, imperialistic order, and corporate control.

While Burnham's White City illuminated the orderly wonders of highbrow culture and large-scale organization, Bloom's Midway featured the anarchic ferment of lowbrow entertainment and small-scale enterprise. Originally planned as a semi-educational Street of All Nations and placed under the control of a Harvard anthropologist, Frederic Ward Putnam, the area quickly collapsed into a hodgepodge that required more practical leadership. Bloom was an eager entrepreneur whose visit to the Paris Exposition of 1889 sparked a life-long interest in international relations that would culminate in organizational work for the United Nations in the late 1940s. In 1892, while promoting the American tour of the Algerian Village, Bloom applied for a position at the Fair and was picked by

Burnham “to see that the Midway ran smoothly.” Plunging into the effort, Bloom turned it into an alluring combination of sideshow and city walk as well as a forerunner of Disney’s *It’s A Small World* and *Adventureland*. With hundreds of exhibits and concessions, visitors to this midwestern Mardi Gras could catch glimpses of exotic cultures and sample such newly-minted merchandise as soda pop, Aunt Jemima’s pancakes, Juicy Fruit gum, and Cracker Jacks (figure 8 and figure 9).³⁰

The Midway and the White City extolled commercial and corporate versions of the future; Olmsted’s more obscure lagoon district evoked images of a tranquil, pastoral past. With its grassy commons, curving shorelines, and casual arrangements of variously styled buildings, this corner of the fairgrounds became a bucolic haven from the Cecil B. De Mille-like stage set to the south and the Babel-like side show to the west. The regional and national designs of the state and foreign pavilions and the flowing organicism of Henry Ives Cobbs’s Fish and Fisheries Building and Louis Sullivan’s Transportation Building were a serene contrast to the pomposity and technocratic boosterism of much of the rest of the Fair. The lagoon district’s centerpiece was the 15-acre Wooded Island. Without buildings except for the elegant Japanese pavilion, the island’s winding footpaths, transplanted wild greenery, and scalloped shores with overhanging foliage offered, in Olmsted’s words, “a broad space in contrast with the artificial grandeur and sumptuousness of the other parts of the scenery.”³¹

The rest of the Fair touted a brave new urban-industrial order of corporate capitalism and mass consumption. Burnham’s replica of Rome beside Lake Michigan showcased the latest and largest technological wonders. Within this alabaster realm, encircled by the six-and-a-half-mile long Intraurban Railroad, powered by the world’s largest dynamo, visitors rode moving sidewalks, zippy elevated trains, and electric launches. They wandered through the maze-like interior of the Manufacturer’s Building, the world’s largest structure, and toured the Krupp’s Gun Works to marvel at the world’s largest cannon, a 57-foot long monster with a range of 16 miles. They watched the mighty strokes of the 3,000-horsepower Reynolds Corliss Engine in Machinery Hall and the Westinghouse Dynamo in the Electricity Building.

Growing weary of future wonders, visitors could step outside the park and pay to be entertained by Buffalo Bill’s tribute to past glories. Fresh from a triumphant European tour, Cody’s “Wild West” and new “Congress of Rough Riders of the World” reenacted the righteous triumph of white civilization over dark savagery in America and every corner of the earth. Playing before packed audiences in an 18,000-seat arena built just outside the Fairgrounds at the corner where the White City and the Midway met, Cody’s pageant was an overtly triumphant history lesson tinged with sorrow for the vanished frontier. Cody’s almost desperate nostalgia for the lost glories of a rugged past sent a mixed message to his urban audience. “The pioneers had disdained, in the Wild West program’s metaphor, to crowd into cities to live like worms,” Richard White has



Figure 8: View of Sol Bloom's Midway Plaisance with the gargantuan Ferris Wheel in the background. *Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.*



Figure 9: View of Frederic Law Olmsted's Wooded Island at the heart of the Lagoon District with glimpses of the Japanese pavilion or Ho-o-den Temple on the right and Henry Ives Cobbs's Fisheries Building near the center. *Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.*

written. “But with the West won, the free land gone, urban wormdom seemed the inevitable destiny of most Americans.”³²

The uneasy transition from savagery to civilization was equally vivid on the nearby Midway, where visitors could imagine an evolutionary allegory as they walked back to the White City. The “living museums” and concessions were arranged—with many exceptions—in a sketchy sequence from dark savagery to white civilization. From the Arab Wild East Show, the Dahomey Village, and Sitting Bull’s Log Cabin at the western end to the European villages, model Workingman’s House, and Adams Express Company at the eastern edge, the Plaisance could be read as parable of imperialism. In the center stood the Streets of Cairo, the Moorish Palace, and other venues for mysterious orientalism. With the 260-foot-tall Ferris Wheel looming overhead as a gargantuan token of technological mastery and the White City beckoning in the east as a bastion of purity, the Midway glorified Euro-American civilization yet also offered a brief escape from it. The wild animal shows, rumors of former cannibalism among the wild Dahomeans, glimpses of belly dancers in the Persian Place of Eros—these and other savage thrills gave white Americans both a smug sense of racial superiority and “a subliminal journey into the recesses of their own repressed desires.”³³

Such whispers of repressed desires from the Midway and wisps of nostalgia from the Wild West were reinforced by architectural tensions within the fairgrounds themselves. Although the Exposition was boldly displayed as an urban-industrial utopia, there were at least three troubling paradoxes in its basic design. The deepest ambiguity rested in Burnham’s decision to place this machine city behind an antique veneer, to house this monument of New World enterprise within Old World forms. His imperial city was an aesthetic sham and architectural oxymoron. Essentially a batch of machine sheds and warehouses covered with a melange of Roman, Renaissance, and Baroque motifs—transient stage sets of lath and stucco textured to look like marble, brick, granite, and travertine—Burnham’s White City rivaled Baum’s Emerald City and today’s Las Vegas as a utopian mirage.

Although fairgoers were outwardly dazzled by the imperial surfaces, the uncomfortable fit between classical form and technological content raised disconcerting questions. Why showcase American achievements in European structures? What is the connection between the machine age and Arcadian and Roman architecture? What, after all, happened to Athens and Rome? Why celebrate America’s proud future with flimsy lath and plaster? Henry Adams’s wry comment about the folly of imposing “classical standards on plastic Chicago” was echoed by a popular guidebook’s observation that the Mines and Mining Building’s “architecture is of the rigid classic, which prevailed before the downfall of the Roman Empire.”³⁴

The sculptures lining the terraces and lagoons were often as incongruous as the architecture. Commissioned to celebrate 400 years of Euro-American conquest, many of the more than 50 statues guarding the portals of progress ironi-

cally eulogized its victims. The White City and Lagoon District were adorned with colossal paired effigies of nearly extinct animals and dying ways of life. Sculpted by Edward Kemeys and Alexander Phimister Proctor, a marble herd of panthers, elk, moose, polar bears, grizzly bears, and buffalo lined the Grand Basin and guarded the bridges to the Wooded Island. Typical were a colossal bear and buffalo: “Old Ephraim,” and “A Prairie King,” described alternately as “a male grizzly guarding the approach to his lair” and “a bull buffalo walking around the outskirts of his herd, to guard against threatened danger.”³⁵

Civilization posed the threat, and in this icy citadel of the civilized future, urbanized visitors gazed longingly at pedestaled images of the frontier past. Proctor’s looming Cowboy and Indian were especially poignant. Mounted on horseback on the steps of the Transportation Building and facing toward the Wooded Island, these noble adversaries memorialized the wild frontier that progress had destroyed. Described as “not the eastern ideal, but the western reality, curbing his bucking bronco,” the Cowboy was tragically coupled with a noble Indian. Three short years after the massacre at Wounded Knee, white fairgoers peered wistfully at a stony figure which, modeled after “one of Buffalo Bill’s Indians—Red Cloud— . . . puts his hand over his eyes and intently gazes across the plains to the far horizon, seeking his foe (figure 10).”³⁶

These elegiac statues silently expressed the paradox of the frontier: the lurking anxiety that westering Americans had destroyed the primitive wellspring of

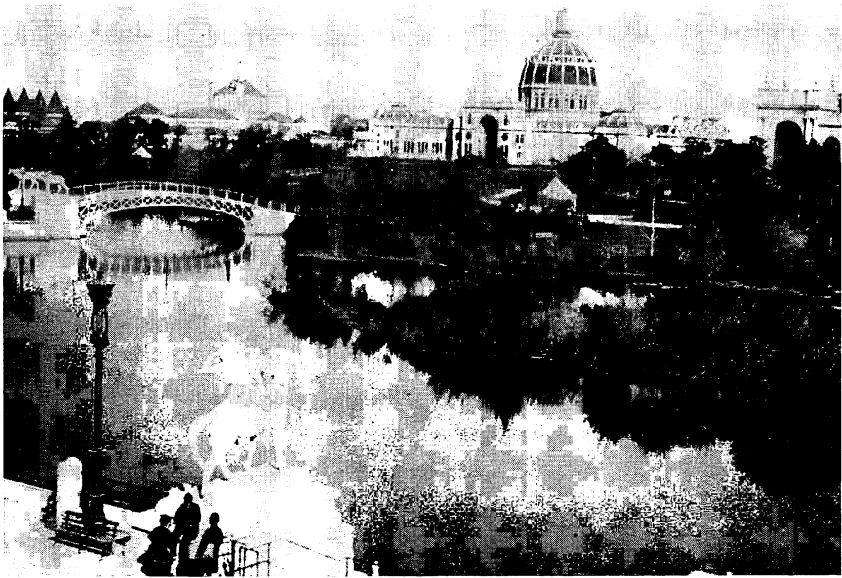


Figure 10: Alexander Phimister Proctor’s colossal “Indian” scanning the Wooded Island from the steps of Louis Sullivan’s Transportation Building. *Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.*

their collective identity, condemning them to lives of “urban wormdom.” This was the ironic message that Turner offered historians at the Art Institute and Cody enacted before large crowds on 63rd Street. Proctor’s statues, Turner’s narrative, and Cody’s pageant evoked complex and contradictory emotions that can be described as “imperialist nostalgia”: the guilt-ridden impulse to revere what we have obliterated, to idolize native cultures and natural landscapes after they have been bulldozed by progress. “A person kills somebody,” Renato Rosaldo writes, “and then mourns the victim. . . . People destroy their environment, and then they worship nature.”³⁷

A nagging sense of loss also cropped up near the Wooded Island where the Boone and Crockett Club, recently formed under the prodding of Theodore Roosevelt, set up a log cabin replica of frontier life. Built on a small island just south of Olmsted’s Wooded Island and across a narrow channel from the pulsating dynamos of the Electricity and Mines Buildings, the Hunter’s Cabin enshrined the pioneer past. This “museum and memorial in honor of Daniel Boone and Davy Crockett,” with its rough logs, rude fireplace, elk antlers, and grizzly skull was artfully furnished with rustic artifacts remindful of a Ralph Lauren interior. “Woolen blankets, skins, saddles, and lassos are strewn carelessly over rude tables, bunks, and chairs, field glasses and weapons lean against the rough walls.” To add further authenticity, Elwood Hofer, a buckskin-clad hunter on leave “from his task of capturing animals in the Yellowstone for the Smithsonian Institution,” lived in the cabin and guided visitors through his camp.³⁸ Wearing fringed buckskins and sporting long hair and a wide-brimmed felt hat, Hofer spun yarns, listened to frontier reminiscences from old “pioneers loving to recall the vanished days” and answered questions of “younger inquirers pleased to see before them . . . this chapter of their romances (figure 11 and figure 12).”³⁹

Hidden on a tiny island and overshadowed by shining emporiums of the industrial future, the rustic Hunter’s Cabin was an obscure attraction at the Exposition. Like other nostalgic features, this sliver of simulated wilderness paled before the wonders of the White City. Hofer’s “Old Geezer” tales of an earthier past were lost in the technological din of the nearby Mines, Electricity, Transportation, and Machinery Buildings where, in the awestruck words of a guidebook, “The whirl of wheels and the clamor of engines is almost deafening, and yet in the midst of all the noise and confusion, each machine works hour by hour as if with brains of steel too strong to be dazed or troubled.”⁴⁰ Despite the disturbing undertones of such an accolade, and despite further perplexities raised by Cody’s Wild West, Turner’s thesis, Proctor’s and Kenney’s statues, Burnham’s neo-classical architecture, and other backward-glancing artifacts and events, the urban-industrial future beckoned brightly at the Chicago World’s Fair.

While the roar of progress drowned out whispers of nostalgia at Burnham’s Exposition in 1893, the two forces were evenly balanced at Disney’s Magic Kingdom in 1955. By the mid-twentieth century, the secluded Wooded Island, Hunter’s Camp, and all that they symbolized would grow to become a major



Figure 11: The rustic, island-bound Hunter's Cabin, sponsored by Theodore Roosevelt and the Boone and Crockett Club, 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. *Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.*



Figure 12: Clangorous interior of Machinery Hall, 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. *Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.*

component of Disney's design. A full-blown Frontierland and intricate Tom Sawyer Island—Disney's most heartfelt contributions to his Magic Kingdom—would sprout from seeds planted 62 years earlier. As a child, Disney listened to his father's stories about helping build the Chicago Fair, and by middle age, Disney's promethean rage for order and urge to control nature shifted from films to architecture. By midlife, he sensed that architecture, more than any other medium, sharpens abstract concepts into lived experience: that while cartoons and movies project two-dimensional images, people *participate* in architecture to fully experience the world as an artist imagines it (figure 13).⁴¹

Beginning with his earliest thoughts about a small-scale theme park in 1948 and ending with his sweeping vision for EPCOT at his death in 1966, Disney became a master of architectural control far beyond Burnham's wildest ambitions. His amorphous ideas for an all-encompassing realm of his own coalesced in 1953. During a characteristically frenzied and sleepless weekend work session in September of that year, Disney and an assistant, Herb Ryman, developed a masterful cross-axial plan. With a turn-of-the-century American Main Street as the only entrance and exit and with a fairy-tale castle near the central hub with four lands radiating around it, the design was a model of urban planning and crowd control.⁴²

Remindful of the Intraurban Railroad that wound around Burnham's Exposition, a steam driven train on a 20-foot berm encircled Disneyland, separating it from the messy distractions of the present-day outside world. Whereas Burnham's electric trains represented the latest in transportation technology,

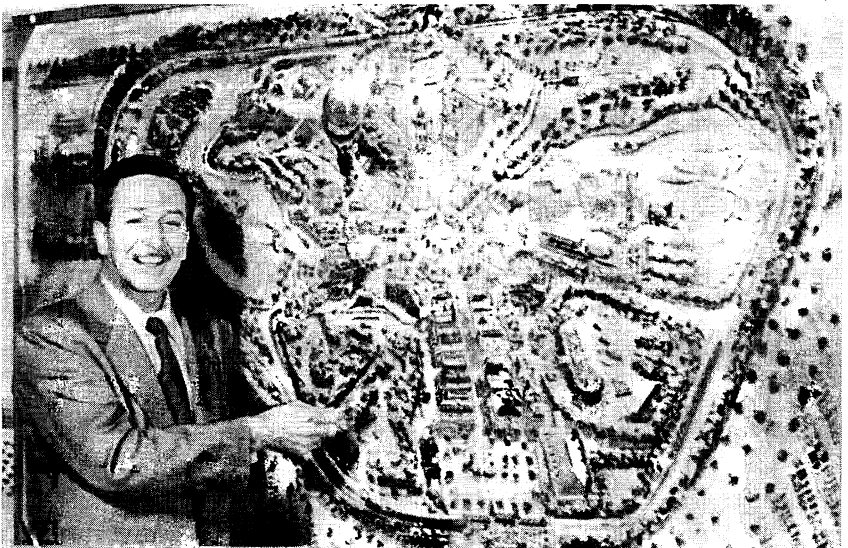


Figure 13: Walt Disney and early map of Disneyland. © *Walt Disney Enterprises, Inc.*

Disney's small-scale steam engine invoked a simpler past, and the Magic Kingdom itself offered a more even-handed view of urban-industrial progress. In Disney's ingenious plan, a series of bipolar ideals counterbalance each other: New World and the Old World Fantasylands in the southern and northern quadrants; past and future Frontierlands in the western and eastern regions. Mainstreet America is juxtaposed to Fairy Tale Europe, while yesterday's frontier of open land is balanced by tomorrow's frontier of adventure in outer space.⁴³

Disneyland would have fascinated Henry Adams, for it bursts at the seams with contending kingdoms of force. It is powered by a lively dialectic of counterbalancing ideals, and the most dynamic contrast is between equally important American frontiers, between nostalgia and progress. A lofty view above the central hub shows an east-west arrangement of two frontiers attracting and repelling each other like twin stars: Frontierland in the west balancing Tomorrowland in the east, the rough-hewn past contrasted with the gleaming future, nostalgia versus progress, nature versus civilization. The internal structure of each land is a complex story; my concern here is with the larger relationship between the two, which embodies a myriad of American hopes and fears during the last half of the twentieth century (figure 14 and figure 15).⁴⁴

With their log and concrete portals facing each other across the hub and with the *Mark Twain* and the *Moonliner* pulling people toward each gate, Frontierland and Tomorrowland represented a tug-of-war between the glorious past and the promising future. While the Columbian Exposition offered an uneven—indeed pitiful—contrast between a sea of machines and a secluded frontier camp, Disneyland celebrated both. As Thomas Hine has argued, past and future frontiers seemed equally powerful and perfectly compatible in the 1950s and early 1960s, the golden era of TV westerns and science fiction, when John Kennedy touted “a New Frontier” and Americans “embraced the rocket and the covered wagon with equal fervor.”⁴⁵ What had been quaint relics in Burnham's White City had become more viable options in Disney's world. Being in Disneyland's Hub was like standing in the vestibule of a 1950s ranch or Cape Cod house with its futuristic kitchen on one side and rustic living room on the other. Comfortable as Jetsons in the kitchen and early Americans in the living room, visitors were equally attracted to Tomorrowland and Frontierland as retreats from the uncertain present.

Eager for the future, nostalgic for the past, and anxious about the present with the cold war and the mushroom cloud hanging over their heads, Disneyland's early visitors could relish the plastic wonders of Monsanto's House of the Future as well as the rugged simplicity of Fort Wilderness. They could take a rocket to the moon or ride a stage coach across the Painted Desert, visit the Bathroom of Tomorrow or explore Injun Joe's Cave. They could take a spin in Autopia or a trek through Tom Sawyer Island, bask in the heroic presence of “Space Man” and “Space Girl” in the promised future or admire Zorro and Sheriff Lucky in the golden past. Whereas technological progress overwhelmed frontier nostalgia in the 1890s, they reinforced each other nicely in the 1950s and 1960s.⁴⁶

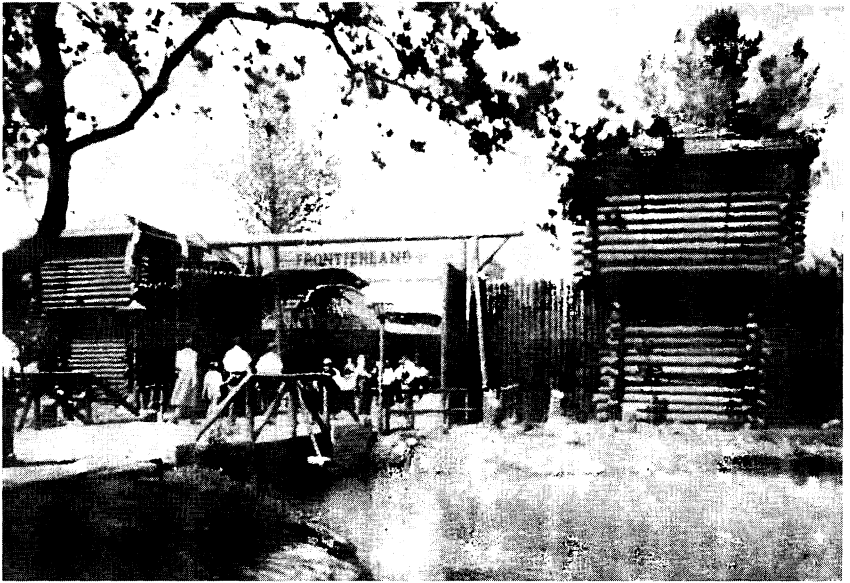


Figure 14: The rustic entrance to Frontierland, circa 1955. © *Walt Disney Enterprises, Inc.*

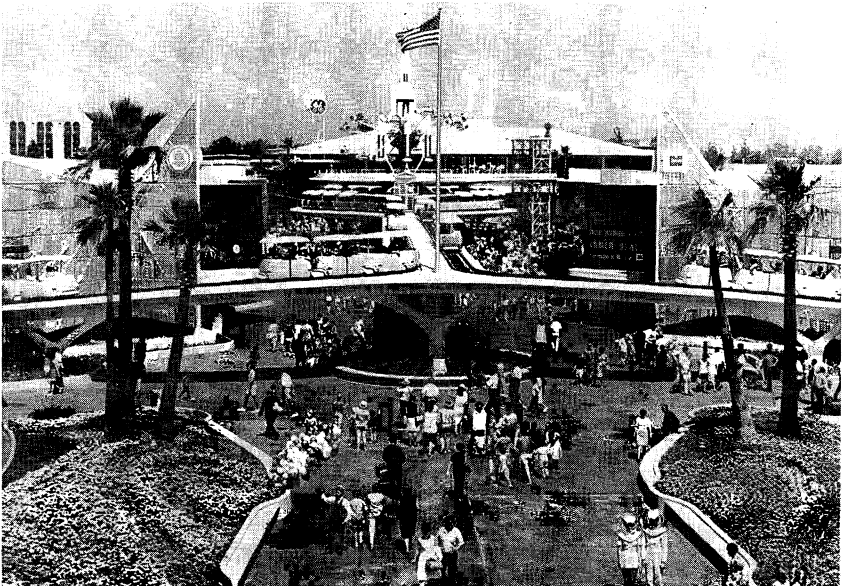


Figure 15: The gleaming space age entrance to Tomorrowland, circa 1955. Notice Space Man and Space Girl greeting visitors in the foreground. © *Walt Disney Enterprises, Inc. and courtesy of the Anaheim Public Library.*

This dynamic relationship has sagged ever since. In a curious reversal of fates, Frontierland flourishes while Tomorrowland fades. Predictably enough, Tomorrowland proved difficult to sustain. Burnham had the advantage of building a temporary Tomorrowland that was dismantled within a year; the Disney people have been stuck with increasingly archaic structures. Not only do images of the future age at a terrifying pace, but Americans have become increasingly skeptical of the urban future and wary of space-age wonders. In an ironic flip-flop, Tomorrowland, with its naive emblems of progress and cheesy remnants of more hopeful times, has become a locus of nostalgia and a monument of the past. Asking themselves “Wasn’t the future wonderful?” people are wistful about the antiquated Submarine Ride and the Adventure thru Inner Space, while they remain awed by the *Mark Twain* and the Big Thunder Mountain Railroad.

Aware of a hunger for the past, the Disney people now believe that the old frontier may be a model for the future. Urban visions of a “Great Big Beautiful Tomorrow” seem increasingly obsolete, while the Old West appears ever more viable. One day in 1989, while Disney’s chief designer, Tony Baxter, was finishing plans for “Tomorrowland, 2055,” Disney CEO Michael Eisner stopped by to check up on the project, and he was dismayed by the plan’s images of a gleaming mega-city. “This isn’t the future people want,” Disney’s heir told Baxter. “People no longer believe in dazzling visions of monorails and everyone wearing gold lame jump suits with zippers down the front,” Eisner continued. “It’s impossible to see anything but the ‘Blade Runner’ in these urban visions of the future. What can you tell people about the future when Montana is the future? Put a P.C. in the log cabin. Montana, Wyoming—they’re the places that represent a wonderful vision of tomorrow.” “You could put the sign ‘Tomorrowland’ in front of Frontierland,” he concluded, “And people would be happy.”⁴⁷

After Eisner’s lecture, images of “The Montana Future” with a computer in the cabin became guiding principles for the Disney people now seeking to tap a deep thirst for the open West among urban, mostly upscale Americans. Aware of the much discussed “New West” of Ted Turner and Jane Fonda, Robert Redford and Ralph Lauren, of cappuccino cowboys and FAX rangers in Jackson, Wyoming, or Taos, New Mexico, the Disney corporation now packages the dreams of frazzled baby boomers yearning for a simpler future out west.⁴⁸ In *Toy Story* (1995), Disney’s immensely popular animated fable of two frontiers, the Old West outduels the Space Age as ever-dependable Sheriff Woody proves more than a match for klutzy astronaut Buzz Lightyear. Nostalgia for the Old West flourishes at the Anaheim park where a new 55 acre, two billion dollar frontier land called “Disney’s California Adventure,” opened in February 2001. The largest addition to the Disneyland Resort and the first to break through the original berm, “Disney’s California Adventure” has an artificial mountain and white water rafting extravaganza, “Grizzly River Run,” at its core and replicas of redwood forests, the Napa Valley, Cannery Row, and Hollywood built about its edges.⁴⁹

Frontier nostalgia has not only spread beyond the berm; it has also captured and transformed Tomorrowland itself. The May 1998 unveiling of the fourth incarnation of Tomorrowland affirms that for Disney's Imagineers the future is the western frontier rather than the concrete metropolis. Their new Tomorrowland is a self-consciously nostalgic place that looks more like a dappled greensward than a gleaming city. The moment one steps through the simulated rock formations that have replaced the old space age gates to see swaths of greenery shrouding the old concrete, it is obvious that the earthy past is the desired future and that the garden has overgrown the machine (figure 16 and figure 17).

Although there are whimsical architectural allusions to Leonardo di Vinci, Jules Verne, and Flash Gordon scattered about as postmodern, tongue-in-cheek recreations of clunky technological tomorrows, a sincere faith in the bucolic Montana Future is the overriding theme. The proud stucco and steel future once enshrined in Burnham's White City has become a wry, retro joke, while the pastoral tranquility tucked away on the Wooded Island and Hunter's Camp is enthusiastically promoted. Earnest images of a verdant utopia are everywhere. With vines camouflaging the concrete infrastructure, and with its sedate earth-bound rides, clumps of fruit trees, and banks of sweet peppers, kiwis, strawberries, purple cabbage, and other edible plants, this sustainable tomorrow looks like a fusion of Earnest Callenbach's *Ecotopia* and Martha Stewart's backyard. According to Disney landscape architect Julie Bush, "Our concept of the future is that it's very positive and hopeful and our needs will be taken care of. It's like a Garden of Eden."⁵⁰ For another observer, it seems "less like Mission Control and more like Central Park, or even the Garden of Eden. Green. Green everywhere, and not a hint of Polyflex or Lytron."⁵¹

The Garden may be everywhere, but Mission Control still lurks behind the scenes. As always, the Disney people are masters of artful concealment. Just as Burnham's workers learned to make stucco on chicken wire look like ancient marble, Disney's folk have perfected the art of making a sprayed concrete compound, gunite, look like natural rock. Remindful of Frontierland's programmed journey through a contrived wilderness complete with Audio-Animatronic animals and Indians, the new Tomorrowland is a choreographed Eden with a high-tech earth-toned emporium, Innoventions, nestled amid patches of sunflowers and sweet corn.

Despite the paradox of fabricating nature and recreating Eden with gunite and a computer in the cabin, a green mythic west is Disney's template for the future. Tony Baxter believes that, "instead of living in densely packed glass-and-chrome high-rises," people want "to escape to the woods, get a cabin by a lake, telecommute, and go out and fish." "I just know that the future is not going to be stacks of concrete," Michael Eisner has recently declared, "but that there will be massive green spaces that will be the utopian areas of the new society."⁵² Just as Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* (1982) ends with deliverance from the technology-packed city to a lush big sky place in the West, the Disney people firmly

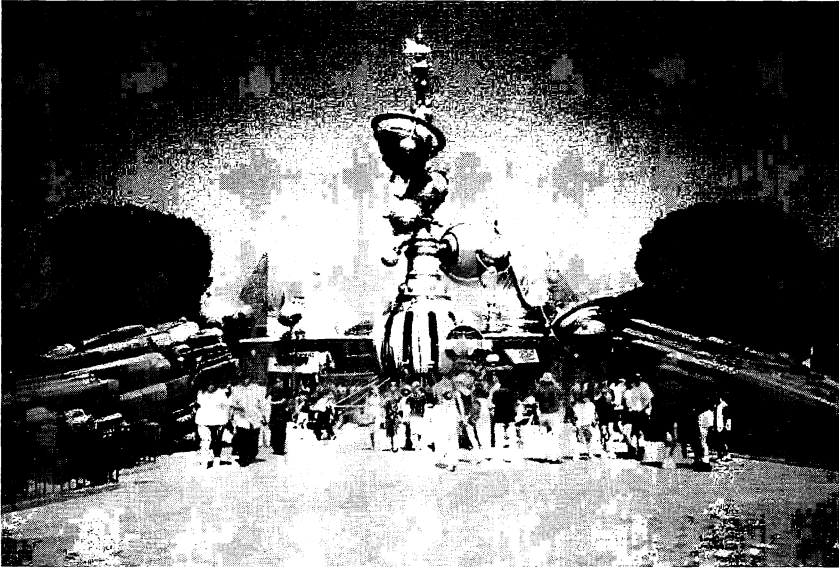


Figure 16: Entrance to the 1998 incarnation of Tomorrowland with simulated rock formations on either side and retro Astro-Orbitor in the central background. *Photographed by the author.*

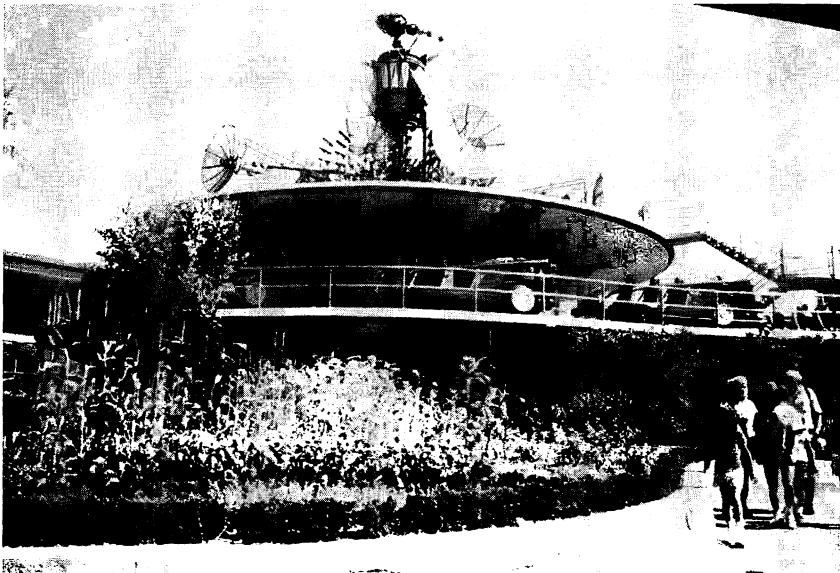


Figure 17: A green, sustainable tomorrow: 1998 Rocket Rods and Innoventions attractions nestled amid patches of sunflowers and sweet corn. *Photographed by the author.*

believe that the grassy, green frontier rather than the glass and steel technopolis is the great big beautiful tomorrow.

What, finally, do these popular architectures indicate about American attitudes toward progress and nostalgia and the tension between two kingdoms of force that troubled Henry Adams a century ago? A definitive answer is impossible, but a general pattern is unmistakable. As we move from the Chicago Exposition in 1893 to Disneyland in 1955 and 1998, it is clear that the garden has gradually overtaken the machine and that imagined images of the pastoral past have become a guiding framework for the future. In 1893, the machine dominated the garden; in 1955, they were equally powerful; today, the garden seems to loom over the machine, and nostalgic longing for a simpler past has challenged blind devotion to technological progress. Since the unabashed boosterism of 1893, many Americans have become apprehensive of urban-industrial visions of the future and increasingly drawn to imagined memories of a cozier, greener yesterday.

There are many deviations from this simple trajectory. For several generations after the 1893 Fair, Americans worshipped the machine-made future with ever-increasing zeal. Official faith in an urban-industrial utopia may have peaked symbolically in 1933 at the next Chicago World's Fair and again in another guise at the New York World's Fair 1939. Norman Bel Geddes's 1939 *Furturama*, with its image of gleaming cities laced with sleek freeways, has received much attention and may have signaled the emergence of more streamlined, organic technologies that continue to beguile Americans today.⁵³

The 1933 Chicago Fair, on the other hand, may have marked the apogee of unblinking devotion to more ponderous forms of industrial technology. Brashly celebrating a "Century of Progress" in the depths of the Great Depression, the 1933 Fair touted the wonders of science and heavy industry in guiding humanity toward perfection. An official guidebook featured the sequential subtitles: "Science Finds," "Industry Applies," and "Man Conforms," and a massive sculptural exhibit in the Hall of Science depicted "a man and a woman with hands outstretched as if in fear of ignorance; between them stood a huge angular robot nearly twice their size and bending low . . . with an angular metallic arm thrown reassuringly around each of them."⁵⁴

Since the last Chicago World's Fair, fewer and fewer people would willingly surrender to the machine, and few would see anything other than crude satire in such statues. Since World War II, according to Leo Marx, a spectacular string of mishaps has given birth to widespread "technological pessimism." The ghastly efficiency of Auschwitz and the devastation of Hiroshima in 1945 were swiftly followed by the arms race, Vietnam, Chernobyl, Three Mile Island, Bhopal, the Exxon oil spill, the Space Shuttle explosion, acid rain, global warming, and ozone depletion. Ironically enough, the American West, with its pock-marked, tear-stained terrain of testing sites and dumping grounds, remains a prime setting for technological ecocide. Such tragedies of science run amok have eroded the long-held hope that technology will create a perfect world,

though Marx wisely observes that the rise of “a new, dematerialized kind of power” through electronic technologies may keep more subtle forms of the progressive faith alive.⁵⁵

The Disney-built community of Celebration and the scores of other neotraditional small towns that have sprung up across the country as alternatives to sprawling cities and faceless suburbs epitomize this impulse. “It’s like taking a Norman Rockwell painting and blowing it up into a real town,” observed a taxi driver who works in Celebration. Commenting on this backward-glancing reflex, one of Disney’s Imagineers unconsciously echoed Leo Marx. Far from yearning to live in plastic houses where you “press a button and your food is delivered by robots,” Bran Ferren noted, people now want “the house with the lawn, real plants, a recycling plant down the road.” “Events like the explosion of the Challenger and the disasters at Chernobyl and Three Mile Island,” he concluded, “diffused the ideal vision of future as clockwork. We used to think that Tang was wonderful. But then there came the sense that Tang was all we got out of a multitrillion-dollar space program.”⁵⁶

The harsh lessons of the past half-century could easily be subverted, for many of today’s techno-skeptics and neo-traditionalists may simply be rejecting one form of gadgetry for another, replacing robots and rockets with palm pilots and fiber optics. The earth-toned, computer-friendly ambience of Tomorrowland is repeated in the plethora of nostalgia-laden, yet hardwired communities like Celebration and Seaside, Florida, and such places suggest that critics of hard technologies can become apostles of newer, less tangible forms of power, including the ever-expanding realms of biotechnology and genetic engineering. The emergence of an electronically-dispersed information-based economy since the 1980s may have made it easier for some Americans to face the future by looking toward the past. The “computer in the cabin” of the Montana Future is, after all, an effort to have both the machine and the garden, to blend newer forms of progress with nostalgia.

In 1929, Henry Ford published an essay, “Technology, The New Messiah,” in which he asserted that “Machinery is accomplishing in the world what man has failed to do by preaching, propaganda, and the written word” and confidently predicted that human labor would soon be replaced by tireless mechanical workers. Six years earlier, D.H. Lawrence observed that “All this Americanizing and mechanizing has been for the purpose of over throwing the past. And now look at America, tangled in her own barbed wire, and mastered by her own machines . . . [,] Shut up fast in her own ‘productive’ machines like millions of squirrels in millions of cages. It is just a farce.”⁵⁷ If the architectural images of progress and nostalgia at the Columbian Exposition and at Disneyland over the past century are an indication, many Americans now find comfort in the past and are willing to consider that blind faith in urban-industrial progress can be a tragedy as well as a farce.

Notes

1. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (1907; rpt. London, 1995), 361, 363, 400.
2. Adams, *Education*, 362; Henry Adams to Charles Francis Adams, Jr, cited in Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York, 1964), 350.
3. Adams, *Education*, 364-370. The quotation is on page 364.
4. Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York, 1973); Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 18-26.
5. Leo Marx, "The Machine in the Garden," *New England Quarterly* 29 (March 1956): 33.
6. See, for example, Marvin Fisher, *Workshops in the Wilderness*; and Susan Daly and Leo Marx, eds., *The Railroad in American Art: Representations of Technological Change* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).
7. Perry Miller, "Nature and the National Ego," in Miller, *Errand Into the Wilderness* (New York, 1964), 211, 216.
8. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Henry Reeve (New York, 1946), 343; Frederick Jackson Turner, "The West and American Ideals" (1914), in Ray Allen Billington, ed., *Frontier and Section: Selected Essays of Frederick Jackson Turner* (Englewood Cliff, N.J., 1961), 105-106; Richard Rodriguez, "True West: Relocating the Horizon of the American Frontier," *Harper's* (September 1996): 41. The classic and problematic definition of the frontier is Frederick Jackson Turner's.
9. In addition to the above work by Marx and Miller, see Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950); Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians* (New York, 1968); Paul Shepard, *Man in the Landscape* (New York: Knopf, 1967); Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875* (New York, 1980). Marx, Miller, and Smith find many insightful links between so-called "high" and "popular" culture, but creative literature, painting, and political expression are the foundations for their classic symbol-myth-image scholarship.
10. Two masterful models for such a popular and folk culture perspective on nostalgia and progress are: John William Ward, "The Meaning of Lindbergh's Flight," *American Quarterly* 10 (Spring 1958), 3-16, and Lawrence W. Levine, "Progress and Nostalgia: The Self Image of the Nineteen Twenties" (1971) in Levine, *The Unpredictable Past: Explorations in American Cultural History* (New York, 1993), 189-205.
11. Henry Glassie, "The Artifact's Place in American Studies," *Prospects* 3 (1977), 32; Lewis Mumford, *Sticks and Stones: A Study of American Architecture and Civilization* (New York, 1924), 69; Ada Louise Huxtable, *The Unreal America: Architecture and Illusion* (New York, 1997), 8.
12. Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago, 1984), 2 and throughout; Michael Sorkin, ed. *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (New York, 1992), xi-xv and throughout.
13. Timothy J. Gilfoyle, "White Cities, Linguistic Turns, and Disneyland: The New Paradigms of Urban History," *Review in American History* 26 (March 1998), 191.
14. Steven Watts, "Walt Disney: Art and Politics in the American Century," *Journal of American History*, 82 (June 1995), 84. For an insightful book-length treatment of Disney's uncanny rapport with American culture, see Steven Watts, *The Magic Kingdom: Walt Disney and the American Way of life* (Boston, 1997).
15. Carl Hiaasen, *Team Rodent: How Disney Devours the World* (New York, 1998).
16. Daniel Burnham, cited by Paul and Percival Goodman, *Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life* (New York, 1947), 227; P.T. Barnum, cited by Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universeilles, Great Exhibitions, and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester, 1988), 43.
17. Walt Disney, cited in Dave Smith, ed., *Walt Disney: Famous Quotes* (Lake Buena Vista, Florida, 1994), 41; John Hench, cited by Peter Carlson, "More Real than Reality," *Washington Post Magazine* May 15, 1994.
18. See Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London, 1945) as well as Jane Jacobs's classic critique of grandiose planning in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York, 1961).
19. Alvin Rosenbaum, "Opposing Views: Rediscovering America at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition," *Blueprints*, 11 (Winter 1993), 2.
20. Architects Robert Venturi and Bob Hart, cited in Paul Goldbergers, "Mickey Mouse Teaches the Architects" *New York Times* October 22, 1972, sec 6, pp. 41, 40. Richard Schickel, among Disney's most ardent critics, admits, for example, that "there was undeniably some almost mystical bond between himself and the moods and styles and attitudes of his people. He could not help but reflect and summarize these things in his almost every action," while Michael Real asserts that Disneyland is "a trip deep inside the American psyche," revealing the cultures ideals, myths,

and dreams." Schickel, *The Disney Version* (New York, 1968), 361; Real, *Mass Mediated Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1977), 52-53.

21. Disney's conversation with Graham is cited in John Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940* (Berkeley, 1992), 70.

22. St. Gaudens, cited by Thomas S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago* (New York, 1974), 90.

23. See Yi-Fu Tuan with Stephen Hoelscher, "Disneyland: Its Place in World Culture," in Karal Ann Marling, ed., *Designing Disney's Theme Parks: The Architecture of Reassurance* (New York, 1997), 194-95, and Michael Steiner, "Frontierland as Tomorrowland: Walt Disney and the Architectural Packaging of the Mythic West," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 48 (Spring 1998): 10-11 for further comparison between Disney and the Sun King.

24. Levine, "Progress and Nostalgia," 190.

25. Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, 325, 327.

26. William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991), 9-12, 354-56, 373-74. See Kenneth E. Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy* (Austin, Texas, 1997), 192-93, for a discussion of 1890s Chicago and H.H. Holmes, "America's first serial killer."

27. For further vivid detail on Chicago and 1890s America, see Ray Ginger, *Algeld's America: The Lincoln Ideal Versus Changing Realities* (Chicago, 1965), especially "White City in the Muck," 15-34; and Carl Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman* (Chicago, 1995).

28. Fairgoer Mary Hart Catherwood, cited by Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 209-10.

29. In addition to Levine's analysis in *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, my understanding of the Columbian Exposition is indebted to: Wim de Wit, "Building an Illusion: The Design of the World's Columbian Exposition," in Neil Harris, et al. eds., *Grand Illusions: Chicago's World's Fair of 1893* (Chicago, 1993), 43-98; James Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893* (Chicago, 1991); Barbara Rubin, "Aesthetic Ideology and Urban Design," in Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds. *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (Athens, Ga., 1986), 482-508; Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*; Richard Slotkin, "The White City and the Wild West," in his *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth Century America* (New York, 1993), 63-87; and Alan Trachtenberg, "White City," in his *The Incorporation of American: Culture & Society in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1982), 208-34.

30. Sol Bloom, *The Autobiography of Sol Bloom* (New York, 1948), 105-140. The quotation is on page 136. For an insightful analysis of the White City and Midway as seedbed of the struggle between elite and vernacular visions of commercial space, see Barbara Rubin's "Aesthetic Ideology and Urban Design." Regarding Aunt Jemima, who also appeared at Disneyland in 1955, see M.M. Manning, *Slave in a Box: The Strange Career of Aunt Jemima* (Charlottesville, Va., 1998).

31. Frederick Law Olmsted, "A Report Upon the Landscape Architecture of the Columbian Exposition to the American Institute of Architects" (1893) in S.B. Sutton, ed., *Civilizing American Cities: A Selection of Frederick Law Olmsted's Writings on City Landscapes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 194.

32. Richard White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," in James R. Grossman, ed., *The Frontier in American Culture* (Berkeley, 1994), 10. For further discussion of Cody's nostalgia for the departed frontier, see Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 66-79, and L.G. Moses, "Indians on the Midway: Wild West Shows and the Indian Bureau at World's Fairs, 1893-1904," *South Dakota History*, 21 (Summer 1991), 206-29. Also see L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque, 1996).

33. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 67. For thorough discussions of the Midway as a symbol of global imperialism and white racism see *All the World's a Fair*, 60-68, and Rydell, "A Cultural Frankenstein? The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893," in Harris, et al., *Grand Illusions*, 143-70. The sensual exoticism of the Near East in the minds of Europeans and Americans is brilliantly discussed in Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978). A highly detailed map of the Midway is reprinted in Gilbert's *Perfect Cities*, 122.

34. Adams, *Education*, 325. Caption, "Mines and Mining," in *Portfolio of Photographs of the World's Fair* (Chicago: The Werner Company, 1893), n.p.. The White City's visitors may have recalled Thomas Cole's immensely popular series of paintings, "The Course of Empire" (1836), whose classical buildings clustered around a body of water bear a striking resemblance to the Court of Honor. Yet far from being a parable of progress, Coles's sequence is a grim tableau of civilized decadence and destruction.

35. Col. George R. Davis, *The World's Columbian Exposition Chicago, 1893* (Charleston, S.C., 1893), 70-71.

36. Davis, 71; Halsey C. Ives, *The Dream City, A Portfolio of Photographic Views of the World's Columbian Exposition* (St. Louis, 1893), "Proctor's Indian" n.p. For further background, see Alexander Phimister Proctor, *Sculptor in Buckskin: An Autobiography*, edited by Hester Elizabeth Proctor (Norman, Okla., 1971).

37. Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston, 1989), 70. Also see Karal Ann Marling, "Anxiety, Nostalgia, and World's Fairs," in her *The Colossus of Roads: Myth and Symbol along the American Highway* (Minneapolis, 1984), 17-30, for a vivid, wide-ranging discussion.
38. Herbert Howe Bancroft, *Book of the Fair* (Chicago, 1895), 449-50.
39. Ives, *The Dream City*, caption, "The Hunter's Cabin," n.p.
40. Norman Bolotin and Christine Laine, eds., *The World's Columbian Exposition* (Washington, D.C., 1992), n.p. On the tradition of "Old Geezer" stories of the fading frontier, see Elliott West, *The Way to the West: Essays on the Central Plains* (Albuquerque, 1995), 141-66.
41. On Disney's ever-widening rage for order and urge to control nature, see Michael Harrington, "To the Disney Station: Corporate Socialism in the Magic Kingdom," *Harper's* 58 (January 1979), 35-44; Richard Schickel, *The Disney Version*, 295-337; Alexander Wilson, *The Culture of Nature: North American Landscapes From Disney to the Exxon Valdes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 160-90; and Stephen M. Fjellman, *Vinyl Leaves: Walt Disney's World and America* (Boulder, Colo., 1992).
42. Perhaps the most thorough of the many birth accounts of the Magic Kingdom is Karal Ann Marling, "Disneyland, 1955," *American Art* 5 (Spring 1991), 169-207, and Marling, "Imagining the Disney Theme Parks," in *Designing Disney's Theme Parks*, 29-176.
43. For a detailed discussion of this dialectical symbolism, see Louis Marin, "Disneyland: A Degenerate Utopia," *Glyph* 1 (1977), 50-66.
44. See Steiner, "Frontierland as Tomorrowland," for detailed discussion Frontierland's design and the relationship between the mythic west and the space age frontier. See Richard Francaviglia, "Walt Disney's Frontierland as an Allegorical Map of the American West," *Western Historical Quarterly* 30 (Summer 1999), 155-82, for further reflections.
45. Thomas Hine, *Populuxe* (New York, 1986), 8.
46. Bruce Gordon and David Mumford, *Disneyland: The Nickel Tour* (Santa Clarita, Calif., 1995), is an invaluable source for documenting the park's shifting imagery and attractions.
47. Michael Eisner's words were recalled by Tony Baxter, Senior Vice President, Walt Disney Imagineering, personal conversations with Michael Steiner, September 9 and October 20, 1995.
48. Regarding the "New West" of well-heeled refugees from either coast, see Michael L. Johnson, *New Westers: The West in Contemporary American Culture* (Lawrence, Kan., 1996); Richard Rodriguez, "Ralph Lauren's Teepee," in Sandra S. Phillips, et al., *Crossing the Frontier: Photographs of the Developing West, 1848 to the Present* (San Francisco, 1996), 51-53; and Patricia Nelson Limerick, "The Shadow of Heaven Itself," in William Riebsame, ed., *Atlas of the New West: Portrait of a Changing Region* (New York, 1997), 157-78.
49. "Imagination Becomes Reality: The New Anaheim Resort," Disney, The Disneyland Resort, 1999.
50. Carol Masciola and Daniel Chang, "Tomorrow Dawns in Disney Debut," *Orange County Register*, May 22, 1998.
51. David Rimmick, "The Next Magic Kingdom: Future Perfect," *New Yorker* (October 20, 1997), 220. Also see Daniel B. Wood, "Tomorrowland: It's a Slow World After All," *Christian Science Monitor* May 26, 1998; "No Longer a Popularizer of Technology, Tomorrowland Goes Retro," *New York Times* News Service (February 23, 1997).
52. Tony Baxter, cited in *Tomorrowland: Imagination and Beyond* (Anaheim, Disneyland Cast Communications, 1998), 11; Michael Eisner cited by Rimmick, 220.
53. For a thoughtful analysis of the streamlined neo-technological future of the 1939 Fair, see Christina Cogdell, "The Futurama Reconsidered: Norman Bel Geddes's Eugenic 'World of Tomorrow,'" *American Quarterly* 52 (June 2000), 193-245.
54. Cited by Rene Dubos, "The Despairing Optimist," *American Scholar* 40 (Summer 1971), 390.
55. Leo Marx, "The Idea of 'Technology' and Postmodern Pessimism," in Merritt Roe Smith and Leo Marx, eds. *Does Technology Drive History? The Dilemma of Technological Determinism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 238, 257. For further reflections on the subject see Leo Marx, "The Dominion of Nature and the Redefinition of Progress," in Leo Marx and Bruce Mazlish, eds. *Progress: Fact or Illusion?* (Ann Arbor, 1996), 201-18. Indictments of technological mayhem in the American West include: Mike Davis, "Dead West: Ecocide in Marlboro Country," in Valerie J. Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger, eds., *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West* (Berkeley, 1999), 339-69; and "The Ugly West," complete with detailed maps of "nuked" and "lethal" landscapes, in *Atlas of the New West*, 132-41.
56. The taxi driver's words are cited in "No Longer a Popularizer of Technology, Tomorrowland Goes Retro"; Bran Ferren is cited by Rimmick, 217. Insightful studies of Disney's Celebration and its nostalgic yet high tech appeal are: Douglas Frantz and Catherine Collins, *Celebration, U.S.A.: Living in Disney's Brave New Town* (New York, 1999); and Andrew Ross, *The Celebration Chronicles: Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Property Value in Disney's New Town* (New York, 1999).

57. Henry Ford, "Machinery, the New Messiah," in Ford, *My Philosophy of Industry* (New York, 1929), 18; D.H. Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1923; rpt. New York, 1964), 21.