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***Felix Austria, or: Modernism and the Success  
of the Austrian Presence at the 1904 World's Fair*<sup>1</sup>**

“Was Berlin von Wien auf den ersten Blick unterscheidet, ist die Beobachtung, daß man dort [in Berlin] eine täuschende Wirkung mit dem wertlosesten Material erzielt, während hier [in Wien] zum Kitsch nur echtes verwendet wird.”<sup>2</sup> This quotation from Karl Kraus does not explicitly address the World's Fair in St. Louis, but it does provide an interesting starting point for comparing the German and Austrian participation at the Fair. Without wanting to read too much into Kraus's claim, one can draw clear parallels. Germany had, in fact, created a “*täuschende Wirkung*” with its reconstruction of *Schloß Charlottenburg*, which was made of the worthless, temporary material developed specifically for the buildings on the exposition grounds. In doing this, Germany had followed a particularly conservative directive from the Emperor.<sup>3</sup> Austria pursued a much different plan of action in regard to its government's official contribution, focusing on contemporary, modernist style when designing its pavilion and assembling its cultural displays. The unofficial representation of the country at the Tyrolean Village, on the other hand, provided a stark contrast to this, emphasizing stereotypical images of rural and imperial life, in a decidedly unmodern depiction of the country. The three most significant cultural elements constituting the *königlich-kaiserliche* presence provide evidence of the approaches that formed this dichotomy and illustrate how Austria's representation succeeded by marrying the disparate levels at the Fair: the pavilion, the display items, and the German and Tyrolean Alps, which had formed an important part of the Pike.<sup>4</sup>

For the purposes of this analysis, modernism embodies a general principle, rather than a specific movement, such as Viennese Modernism, with which one could associate the idea of modernism in this context. Following the arguments of Matei Calinescu, modernism requires a belief in the linear progression of time coupled with development within that time. Two conflicting ideas of modernism emerge in Western culture, but both ideas share a belief in the possibility of progress, either in a material-technical or in an aesthetic sense.<sup>5</sup> The modernism discussed here implies both ideas. That is, that the organizers of the Austrian participation believed in technical progress, as displayed in the educational, railway, industrial goods, and technical exhibits. The organizing committee also felt strongly about the value of aesthetic progress, as evidenced by the stylistic choices of the pavilion and art exhibits. The inclusion of both types of modernism and progress allowed Austria to stand apart from other nations that emphasized tradition.

Before coming to the individual components of the Fair, an introduction to the history of Austria's participation will provide some useful background information. Unlike its neighbor to the north, Austria, still under the rule of Emperor Franz Joseph, only committed to participating in the Fair at the last minute, waiting until June 18, 1903,

to send a telegraph to the organizing committee in St. Louis confirming this, which made it one of the last European nations to do so.<sup>6</sup> As part of the efforts to convince Austria to participate in the Exposition, Francis also sent Charles W. Kohlsaatt, representative to the Scandinavian countries, to Vienna to speak on his behalf.<sup>7</sup> The country's delay had even caused the *World's Fair Bulletin* to conclude that Austria's "people seem loth [sic] to exhibit their products in America," which led it to state that "Russia and Austria seem to be the countries where it is advisable our most energetic efforts be put forth."<sup>8</sup> Since this statement did not appear in the *Bulletin* until the August 1903 issue, however, it would appear that some confusion on the part of the organizers or press department may have clouded the reporting on the matter. Chevalier Albert von Stibral, head of the government's post and telegraph department, served as the Commissioner-General, the person charged with directing the Austrian government's activities at the Fair.<sup>9</sup> Charles M. Rosenthal, of Vienna, served as the Executive Commissioner of the Commercial Commission, and a group of craftsmen, businessmen, and intellectuals from Vienna and Bohemia assisted him in his efforts.<sup>10</sup>

The documentation of the World's Fair does not specify why Austria hesitated, but the general atmosphere of *Ausstellungsmüdigkeit* and internal political turmoil could both have caused this.<sup>11</sup> The lack of interest in such exhibitions resulted from recent events in Paris, Chicago, Buffalo, and other cities. The political troubles resulted from leadership conflicts and the cornucopia of nationalities represented in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, "all of whom looked elsewhere for their future prospects." According to Eric Hobsbawm, the country was "held together only by the longevity of her ancient emperor [Franz] Joseph . . . and by being less undesirable than any alternative fate for a number of the national groups."<sup>12</sup> One can speculate endlessly on the relations between the national groups, of course, but concrete evidence of a split comes from the participation at the Fair, which presented Austria and select provinces, but not Hungary, which had its own representation.

The Austrian government provided \$220,000 (over 1,000,000 Austrian Kronen, or about 4.4 million US Dollars in today's equivalent figure) for construction and display costs, which also provided for a railway exhibit.<sup>13</sup> According to the *World's Fair Bulletin*, "a special attempt" was to be made "to show what the country can do in the way of interior decoration, and of art and the applied arts."<sup>14</sup> As it turned out,

[t]he preparation of Austria's exhibits was begun so late that the idea of a full representation of her arts and industries was abandoned, and the displays were confined to a few select lines of private enterprise and a few representative features of the Government's activities in the way of internal improvements, education, etc.<sup>15</sup>

The restricted scope of the display forced the organizers to concentrate on the most important cultural developments of the time, which they saw, among other things, in the Secessionist style of *moderne Kunst*, which the design of the national pavilion displays. In spite of the claim of the *Gartenlaube*, a bourgeois German journal of the time, that the Austrians "bieten wenig Neues, sondern so ziemlich das Nämliche, was sie in Chicago und Paris zur Schau gestellt hatten," the country offered many new developments, both in cultural and technological respects.<sup>16</sup>

The country's displays filled the Austrian pavilion and spread into other palaces,

as well. Ludwig Baumann served as Chief Architect of the Austrian Pavilion, which he designed and had manufactured in Austria. In January, 1904 the entire structure came by ship with Austrian Lloyd from Trieste across the Atlantic, arriving at the port in New Orleans and then coming via train to St. Louis. The same contractor who erected the French pavilion also assumed responsibility for the Austrian structure.<sup>17</sup> The building occupied the space just south of where Washington University's Whitaker Hall now stands, i.e., on the parking lot in front of Brookings Hall. The dedication of the building took place on June 2, 1904, in a ceremony attended by about 1,000 guests, including prominent citizens of St. Louis, representatives of the Austrian government, and Miss Alice Roosevelt, daughter of the American President, Theodore.<sup>18</sup>

The Pavilion itself by no means fits in with Kraus's claim about Viennese kitsch, although its *art nouveau* design was "not appreciated by all of the visitors [who were] more familiar with the classical architecture" of most other pavilions.<sup>19</sup> The style, also



Fig. 1. Austrian Pavilion

known as "*Moderne Kunst*," convinced many critics, and the architect won a gold medal for its design in spite of such reservations.<sup>20</sup> It also stood out among other pavilions for its style, and was described in a 1905 history of the Fair as: "a fine specimen of the new European architecture in the so-called secession style . . . wholly unlike any other structure on the grounds."<sup>21</sup> While the structure does not entirely follow the motto of the style of the day, as expressed by Baumann's fellow Viennese architect Otto Wagner, "*artis sola domina necessitas*," it generally emphasized clean lines and functional design.<sup>22</sup> The \$50,000 building had a "t-shape," consisting of a great hall and two other chambers with two broad wings. According to the official Austrian guide, the pavilion measured

60 by 35 meters, with a middle aisle of 24 meters width extending from the transepts to the building line.<sup>23</sup> The great hall, into which visitors entered, prominently displayed a marble bust of Emperor Franz Joseph, which a certain Professor Strasser<sup>24</sup> had designed and made. *The Greatest of Expositions* describes the pavilion as follows:

[t]he exterior decorations consist of bas relief ornament, statues, and fresco paintings . . . The wide front door opens into a reception hall . . . Opening off this hall are two beautifully furnished salons, the one a library and the other a drawing room. The next three rooms are filled with models, panoramic views and photographs showing the work of the Austrian Imperial Rail and Waterway Commission. The remaining six rooms are filled with works of art from the two *Kunstgewerbe* schools and the four art societies of Austria, Poland and Bohemia.<sup>25</sup>

The impression made on the individual guests varied greatly, of course. Upon touring the Austrian Pavilion, visitor Edmund Philibert commented that "some of the rooms had beautiful paneling and inlaying on the side walls." The lace collection impressed him much more, however, and he marvels at two different points in his diaries about the expensive handkerchiefs, which cost as much as \$175. He also praises the Austrian glassware displays, which included Bohemian works, at several points in his writings.<sup>26</sup> Other guests, such as the above-mentioned Frank Lloyd Wright, praised the pavilion's decorative and architectural style.

It should also be noted that the above-mentioned division of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into a Hungarian section and the remaining parts of the monarchy, including Bohemia and Poland, existed throughout the Fair and in other events, such as the Olympics, as well. One representative at the Arts and Science Congress, Count Albert Apponyi, a member of the Hungarian Parliament, spoke at length on this political and cultural division. His presentation, "The Juridical [*sic*] Nature of the Relations between Austria and Hungary," not surprisingly concluded that Hungary was "not subject to any other kingdom or nation." Apponyi delivered the presentation in a bizarre style of English, in which he also apologized for being unable to prepare adequately for the speech, because he had not learned that he would be giving a presentation in St. Louis until he had already left Hungary.<sup>27</sup>

Rooms in the pavilion featured a variety of themes. One section of the pavilion focused on the "instructive exhibit of models, designs, paintings, photographs and panoramas of railway and other engineering works." This area also featured information on the local waterways, such as the ice prevention measures on the Danube canal in Vienna. Civil engineers, in particular, came to view these displays, among them the Engineers' Club of St. Louis, which organized a visit for over 100 members on June 25. Other interesting rooms included a collection of photographs of mountains, villages and tourist resort scenery in rural Austria and an exhibit on the country's technical schools. Austria went to great lengths to publicize its schools, informing the visitors about the over 40 technical schools it maintained to further craftsmanship and industrial progress.<sup>28</sup> The pavilion fell to the wrecking ball after the fair, but a gate from it, albeit in a different style and form, still remains in St. Louis, decorating the Blessed Sacrament Chapel in the Cathedral Basilica of St. Louis on Lindell Boulevard.<sup>29</sup>

Because of space limitations in the Art Palace, which housed national exhibits from

the participating countries, Austria's art display took place in both the Art Palace and the Austrian Pavilion, a division which also affected other nations, such as Hungary.<sup>30</sup> The Austrian collection included 500 items, among them paintings, sculptures and assorted artisan crafts. This amounted to about 5 percent of the total of all countries, a slightly larger presence than Holland, but containing 142 fewer works than Germany's collection.<sup>31</sup> In the Art Palace itself, Austria displayed 154 paintings.<sup>32</sup> The two Austrian exhibition rooms in the Art Palace garnered strong praise in the Art Department's guide to the galleries. It claims,

In no section of the department is there greater harmony in the scheme of color in the decoration of the galleries than in Austria. The wall colors are delicate in tone, and vary from a strong straw color of a slightly grayish tone to a tender mauve. Broken purples and deep greys have also been used, the surfaces broken by figures woven in silk. The friezes are of a similar tone to the wall color . . . Students or others interested in household decoration could well devote time and study to the scheme of color and method of treatment followed in this series of galleries.<sup>33</sup>

This point regarding Austria's successful implementation of design and style gains further strength from Frank Lloyd Wright's praise of the country's pavilion. Wright had visited the Fair as a 37-year-old, who had never traveled outside the U.S., and observed that the Austrian structure exhibited particularly successful architectural conception. The Fair also displayed a building by Joseph Maria Olbrich, a Viennese architect who had designed the Secession Building, which had been built in Vienna in 1898. Olbrich had also participated in the developments of the *Secession*, and his "Summer House of an Art Connoisseur," constructed for the Palace of Varied Industries, demonstrated this quite well. As a result of the style at the Fair, among other things, many other structures in St. Louis later took on Secessionist characteristics, including homes in the city's Central West End neighborhood and the Wednesday Club.<sup>34</sup>

Some of the countries featured artists who had or have acquired international fame, such as Switzerland's Arnold Böcklin, whose *Sappho* was displayed in the Art Palace. Austria apparently did not have any artists of major significance or international fame represented in its collection, and artists such as Gustav Klimt, who had already established a name for himself in Austria and parts of Europe, did not exhibit their works in St. Louis.<sup>35</sup> The grand prize for painting and drawing did, however, go to Walter Hampel, a relatively minor member of the Hagenbund, also known as the Ha(a)gener Gesellschaft, a group of Viennese artists of the time. Hampel had been born in Vienna in 1867, where he established himself as a painter in a group at the beginning of the *Wiener Secession* movement.<sup>36</sup> He studied under Professor Hans Makart in Vienna and made several trips to Italy, France and Germany "for the purpose of artistic study." His award-winning painting, "The Dwarf and the Woman" is supposed to illustrate a scene from an Arabian Nights tale. The Art Department guide claims "the woman is beautifully drawn and the flesh-painting is superb."<sup>37</sup>

The sculpture section's grand prize went to Kaspar Ritter von Zumbusch, a Westfalian German who had been ennobled by the Emperor of Austria for his artistic achievements. Zumbusch had gained renown for his "Empress Theresa" sculpture in Vienna, as well as the Maximilian monument in Munich. In St. Louis he won with his

“Equestrian Statue of Field Marshal Radetsky [*sic*],” “a work of great dignity” which stood in front of the war office in Vienna.<sup>38</sup> This work of course takes on a much different significance today than one hundred years ago in light of subsequent work on Radetzky.

The Austrian presence at the Fair takes on a much different cast with respect to unofficial actions. The German and Tyrolean Alps exhibit on the Pike, which also featured a zoo exhibit by Carl Hagenbeck, a building with scenes from the afterlife, and many other extremely diverse offerings, provided a marked contrast to the refined official presentation of Austria and the professional commercial displays by its industrial representatives. Both of these groups sought to advertise the merits of Austrian culture and industry in their displays, as has already been discussed. In the German and Tyrolean Alps, on the other hand, the organizers’ efforts focused much more on showing German-American friendship, according to the *World’s Fair Bulletin*. The April 1904 edition stated, “The spirit of patriotic ardor and civic pride, which are the abiding principles of the German-American character, have prompted every expenditure. St. Louis wants the Tyrolean Alps to tell the story of the St. Louisian’s affection for the old country and faith in the new home.”<sup>39</sup> The Alps functioned as a hybrid exhibit both with regard to the host country as well as their place of origin, Germany and Austria. The content of German and Austrian folk traditions, such as the *Passionsspiel* in Oberammergau, or *Schuhplattler* dancing, respectively, attempted to utilize any means necessary to draw visitors.

The German and Tyrolean Alps complex, which was completed on April 25, ended up quite extravagant and large.<sup>40</sup> Hermann Knauer served as Chief Architect for the project, which constructed mountains, including the Zugspitze and the Ortler range, as its backdrop. On the main street of the town, dancers and other performers demonstrated



Fig. 2. German and Tyrolean Alps

typical Austrian customs. Underneath and around the mountains there was a model railway. A church, a town hall, a statue of Andreas Hofer and numerous murals rounded out the picture. The site occupied a 500 square foot area and subscriptions totaled nearly \$1,000,000, with the funds coming from American businessmen and the Austrian region of Tyrol, which hoped to boost its tourist industry.<sup>41</sup> Austrian artist Joseph Rummelspacher and a team of twelve men painted the panorama of the Alps over a three-year period and then sent them to St. Louis from Berlin. The customs fees for the paintings apparently came to more than the value of the works upon their entry to the U.S.<sup>42</sup> Hermann Feuerhahn sculpted the Alps in the exhibit, including the Ortler peak and the Zugspitze. These mountains do not lie next to each other, since the Zugspitze is on the border between Germany and Austria and the Ortler is in South Tyrol, but the planners nevertheless included both of them as part of their pan-alpine display, presumably because more visitors would recognize the names. People celebrating the *Richtfest* of the German Pavilion also toured the site of the German-Tyrolean Alps on December 10, 1903, and construction on the project ended before the beginning of the Fair, a deadline which many exhibits and structures did not meet.<sup>43</sup>

The structures remained standing until 1907, when their decay became too great and the entire complex was demolished by a crew of approximately 180 men.<sup>44</sup> The crew dismantled the structure, which had holes in the roof allowing snow to enter into the structures, by hand over a lengthy period of time. Two natives of Tyrol who had emigrated to the U.S. many years earlier worked among the demolition crew, George Snitzer and Frank Schiebe. They found the representation of the Tyrolean Alps quite accurate, in spite of its odd combination of disparate elements, and expressed sadness at its loss. Snitzer stated, "I hate to see it [one particular peak] go, although it means more money for me. It seems a shame that such a good imitation of the most wonderful mountains in the world should be torn down like any old warehouse."<sup>45</sup> Snitzer and the others completed their work as ordered, however, although Snitzer reportedly took time to show off for visitors by putting a 368-pound bar above his head six times.

The Alps complex attempted to showcase typical Austrian scenes by referring to a number of general motifs of Tyrolean life as well as specific cultural institutions found there. Rudolf Cronau mentions in the *Gartenlaube* that the exhibit features the *Goldenes Dachl* in Innsbruck and a church and cloister in Bozen (Bolzano), among other notable architectural references.<sup>46</sup> The *Dominikanerkirche* had stood in central Bozen since 1270 and featured frescoes by the Giotto school of painters, among them one of the triumph of death.<sup>47</sup> In addition to this, the buildings also featured "ancient Hanse council chambers" with Bacchus figures, which fit quite well with the activities in the main restaurant hall. Presumably, the *Globe Democrat* did not have its facts straight with the claim about the "Hanse" chamber, since the Hanseatic League did not extend into the various regions represented in the German-Tyrolean Alps.

The artwork in the Tyrolean Village concentrated on scenes of rural life, depicting them in a traditional, conservative manner. Joseph Rummelspacher created some of the most important works, as already mentioned. In addition, Austrian artists Franz von Defreger, Mathias Schmid and others contributed to the collection, which in part returned to Europe after being housed in the Tyrolean national society, a local club for emigrants from that region, for some time. Much of the artwork ended up being sold in St. Louis and around the U.S., however. The paintings had an estimated value of around \$200,000 at the time, which would translate to about \$3,800,000 at today's prices.<sup>48</sup>

Various summer gardens throughout the country were expected to buy them. The clock from the tower of the municipal building and the other arts and crafts from it found new owners within the city of St. Louis, functioning as decorations in the homes of many local citizens.<sup>49</sup>

Two attractions in particular drew visitors, one cultural and one culinary. The *Ober Ammergau Passion Play* produced the famous religious piece from the southern German town for those "millions and millions who have not had the opportunity, time or means to visit Ober Ammergau." Professor Emil Gobbers, of Düsseldorf, directed the production, as he had in 1900 in Oberammergau. The *World's Fair Bulletin* used reviews from German newspapers in Breslau, Danzig and Cologne to advertise the event. The other major attraction at the German and Tyrolean Alps was the Tyrolean Alps Restaurant, run by August Lüchow, of New York, and A. E. "Tony" Faust, of St. Louis. Lüchow had already proved his mettle at the 1901 exposition in Buffalo, and Faust added his excellent reputation in St. Louis to the mix.<sup>50</sup>

The massive facility offered seating for 8,000 people and could hold and feed up to 20,000 guests, including the outdoor and standing capacity. The largest wine cellars in America and numerous "Tyrolese" concerts also aimed to lure in guests. One of the great dining halls attempted to reconstruct the banquet hall in the castle of Ambras, a princely seat near Innsbruck. In the original hall, the Archduke Ferdinand wed the Augsburg patrician maiden Philippine Welser in 1581.<sup>51</sup> The restaurants catered to a wide variety of people, both notable celebrities and average people. David Francis, organizer of the Fair, took no chances when Alice Roosevelt visited, dining with her in the huge restaurant beneath the Alps. On the final day of the Fair, Francis, along with his wife Jane, Director of Works Isaac Taylor and others, had a long dinner at the Tyrolean Alps just before proceeding to address a crowd of over 100,000 people in the final act of the Fair.<sup>52</sup>

In addition to the fares of the restaurant, a number of other elements contributed to the Tyrolean atmosphere. These included a "grand orchestra of 80 men," which regularly played in musical contests at the Tyrolean Alps. St. Louis Symphony Orchestra Conductor and Vienna-native Alfred Ernst led the ensemble, with the exception of special concerts led by two "celebrated Vienna conductors of 'popular' music" who had also been engaged specifically for the Fair.<sup>53</sup> The Tyrolean Alps were on the whole of a very commercial nature, as evidenced by the remarks of frequent Exposition visitor Edmund Philibert, who has already been mentioned because of his diary entries about the expensive Austrian handkerchiefs. Philibert paid a visit to the German-Tyrolean Alps, as well, including the various events showcased in the facility. His commentary primarily addresses the cost of the multiple admission fees to different parts of the Alps. He had expected to receive entrance to all for one price, but, much to his chagrin, he had to pay extra for the *Passion Play* and the railway, among other things.<sup>54</sup>

The Austrian presence at the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis varied in several respects from Germany's. On an official level, the country succeeded quite well with its award-winning pavilion and cultural and industrial displays. It displayed the progress and many achievements of Austria's technology and especially its contemporary culture to great advantage. In regard to unofficial elements, the quality and vision changed significantly, portraying Austria in a much more broadly-based, popular-culture light. Unofficially Austria achieved great success with large numbers of visitors, who wanted to see the extremes of culture they had heard so much about but never experienced



themselves. Karl Kraus's view of Vienna certainly described the Tyrolean Alps well, and it also fit some parts of the official art exhibitions, but it by no means applied to the entire Austrian contribution. Through the combination of the cultural displays with the mass culture phenomenon of the Tyrolean Alps, Austria achieved a degree of respect and popular appeal beyond that which most visitors would have expected.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Since the submission of this article for publication, a volume of essays has appeared which refers in summary form to the findings of an earlier version of this work. See Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin, "Introduction," in Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin, eds., *German Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Reception, Adaptation, Transformation* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2005), xv and Paul Michael Lützeler, "The St. Louis World's Fair of 1904 as a Site of Cultural Transfer: German and German-American Participation" in the same volume, 66-67.

<sup>2</sup> Karl Kraus, *Pro Domo et Mundo* (Munich: Albert Langen, 1912), 124. The comparison comes up in the course of the chapter titled, "Von zwei Städten," a comparison of Vienna and Berlin with reference to a variety of characteristics.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Paret, "Art and the National Image: The Conflict over Germany's Participation in the St. Louis Exposition," *Central European History* 11, 2 (1978): 173-83.

<sup>4</sup> The Pike was an "avenue of amusements and attractions," an "enchanted street of private concessions stretching for nearly a mile along the northern edge of the [Fair] grounds." James Neal Primm, *Lion of the Valley: St. Louis, Missouri, 1764-1980*, 3rd ed. (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1998), 389. The Pike's location approximated the area of present-day St. Louis bounded by Lindell Boulevard on the south, Skinker Boulevard on the west, Forest Park Parkway on the north, and De Baliviere Avenue on the East. Elizabeth M. Armstrong, *Then and Now Map: The 1904 World's Fair* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> This is a greatly simplified version of the discussion of modernity in Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), 13-92.

<sup>6</sup> The Austrian Minister of Commerce sent the telegram. *World's Fair Bulletin* (St. Louis: World's Fair Publishing Co. July 1903), 12. See also Mark Bennett, ed., *History of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis: Universal Exposition Publishing Company, 1905), 237.

<sup>7</sup> David R. Francis, *A Tour of Europe in 19 Days. Report to the Board of Directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition on European Tour, Made in the Interest of the St. Louis World's Fair* (St. Louis: s.n., 1903)

<sup>8</sup> WFB, August 1903, 9. These statements are echoed in Francis 61.

<sup>9</sup> WFB, May 1904, 31.

<sup>10</sup> WFB, December 1903, 28.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Paret contends that Austria also exhibited the lack of enthusiasm for exhibitions found in Germany at the time in "Art and the National Image," 177. For a discussion of Austrian political and cultural conditions around 1900, see John W. Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power, 1897-1918* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 444-62, 448 in particular.

<sup>12</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 107-8.

<sup>13</sup> John J. McCusker, "Comparing the Purchasing Power of Money in the United States (or Colonies) from 1665 to Any Other Year Including the Present" Economic History Services, 2001, URL : <http://www.ch.net/hmit/ppowerus/>

<sup>14</sup> WFB, March 1904, 29.

<sup>15</sup> Bennett, 238.

<sup>16</sup> Rudolf Cronau provides a very strongly pro-Germany description of the Fair, which must be taken with a grain of salt, in his article, "Die Weltausstellung zu St. Louis," *Die Gartenlaube* (1904): 550.

<sup>17</sup> WFB, February 1904, 43.

<sup>18</sup> *History of LPE*, 238.

<sup>19</sup> Timothy J. Fox and Duane R. Sneddeker, *From the Palaces to the Pike: Visions of the 1904 World's Fair* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997), 175.

<sup>20</sup> *History of LPE*, 239.

<sup>21</sup> Cited from Frank Peters, "St. Louis' Legacy of Secession: Austrian *avant garde* at World's Fair impressed Frank Lloyd Wright," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* 13 Dec. 1987: 4E.

<sup>22</sup> Inge Lehne and Lonnie Johnson, *Vienna: The Past in the Present: A Historical Survey* (Riverside, CA: Ariadne Press, 1995), 91.

<sup>23</sup> "The Austrian Government Pavilion; Described by Order of the Imp. Royal Ministry of Commerce" (St. Louis, 1904), 5.

<sup>24</sup> Neither St. Louis University nor Washington University, the two local institutions in existence at the

time of the Fair, has a record of this particular professor. The works cited in this article also make no further mention of him.

<sup>25</sup> *The Greatest of Expositions Completely Illustrated: Official Publication / Illustrations Reproduced from Goerz Lens Photographs; Made by Official Photographic Company; William H. Rau, Director of Photography of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (St. Louis: Official Photographic Company, 1904), 92.

<sup>26</sup> Martha R. Clevenger, ed., "Indescribably Grand": *Diaries and Letters from the 1904 World's Fair* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1996), 83 and 111.

<sup>27</sup> Graf Albert Apponyi, "The Juridical Nature of the Relations between Austria and Hungary" (publisher and publication date not provided anywhere in the work), 1-24.

<sup>28</sup> Bennett, 238.

<sup>29</sup> *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 4E.

<sup>30</sup> Halsey L. Ives, *The Art Department Illustrated* (St. Louis: 1904), xix-xxi.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, x.

<sup>32</sup> Bennett, 238.

<sup>33</sup> *Art Department Illustrated*, xxiii-xxi.

<sup>34</sup> The house at 39 Hortense Place, on the corner of Kingshighway Boulevard, is a particularly good example of this style. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 4E.

<sup>35</sup> The Secessionists had suggested sending works by Klimt to St. Louis, but the Ministry for Education refused to include his works in the Fair exhibition. Catherine Dean, *Klimt* (London: Phaidron Press, 1996), 19. See also Otto Breicha, ed. *Gustav Klimt: Die Goldene Pforte* (Salzburg: Verlag Galerie Welz, 1978), 14.

<sup>36</sup> Waissenberger 28.

<sup>37</sup> *Art Department Illustrated*, 307-9.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 373-75.

<sup>39</sup> *WFB*, April 1904, 52.

<sup>40</sup> Hermann Knauer, *Deutschland am Mississippi* (Berlin: L. Oehmigke's Verlag, 1904), 66.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-3.

<sup>42</sup> *St. Louis Daily Globe Democrat* 20 Jan. 1907. Page number not available in Missouri Historical Society archives.

<sup>43</sup> *WFB*, January 1904, 31-32.

<sup>44</sup> *Globe Democrat*.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Cronau, 549.

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.bolzano-bozen.it/storia012-d.htm>.

<sup>48</sup> McCusker, see note 10.

<sup>49</sup> *Globe Democrat*.

<sup>50</sup> *WFB*, April 1904, 54-55.

<sup>51</sup> *Globe Democrat*.

<sup>52</sup> Harper Barnes, *Standing on a Volcano: The Life and Times of David Rowland Francis* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society in association with the Francis Press, 2001), 157-59.

<sup>53</sup> *WFB*, May 1904, 54.

<sup>54</sup> "Indescribably Grand," 29 and 79.