Identity and universality
Identité et universalité

A commemoration of 150 years of Universal Expositions
Commémoration de 150 ans d'Expositions Universelles

Bureau International des Expositions
Identity and universality

Identité et universalité
Préface

L'année 2001 a été celle de la commémoration du 150ème anniversaire de la première Exposition Universelle de Londres 1851. Si chaque exposition se doit d'être l'inventaire des moyens dont s'est doté notre communauté humaine pour résoudre ses problèmes, 150 ans d'Histoire nous obligent à réfléchir sur ce que les Expositions Universelles ont représenté pour l'humanité, sur le message et la vision qu'elles nous ont apportés surtout autour des deux grands éléments qui définissent toute culture : l'identité et l'universalité, ce qui nous distingue et ce qui nous rassemble, qui nous unit.

Dans cette tâche, le Bureau s'est rapproché du secteur professionnel qui s'occupe d'étudier les phénomènes humains considérés dans la longue durée : la communauté des historiens. Le présent Bulletin est le fruit du rapprochement entre l'organisme chargé de promouvoir et faire connaître la valeur et le message des expositions et la collectivité des professionnels de l'Histoire en tant que science.

Le Bulletin 2001 est le résultat de ce travail de recherche original autour de deux problèmes centraux : l'identité et l'universalité dans les expositions.

Les 11 historiens qui ont contribué avec leurs articles à cette publication nous aident à enrichir notre vision du phénomène des expositions et, en explorant le passé, à mieux programmer l'avenir de ces grands événements de coopération internationale, de diversité et d'échanges culturels.

Je profite de cette occasion pour remercier les auteurs de leur contribution généreuse et de leur travail de haute qualité, et particulièrement M. Volker Barth qui fut le coordinateur de ce volume commémoratif de notre Bulletin.

Leurs points de vue exprimés dans ces articles reflètent exclusivement la pensée de leurs auteurs et nous offrent une perspective nouvelle sur les Expositions Universelles.

Le Bulletin 2001 devient ainsi un élément important dans le nouveau débat sur les Expositions Universelles.

LE SECRETAIRE GENERAL DU
BUREAU INTERNATIONAL DES EXPOSITIONS

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Showing it all: An Introduction

by Volker Barth
The idea is to show it all. The venue is the city. This is the concept of the Universal Exhibition as it was born 150 years ago. A concept that is as simple as successful. Right at the beginning of the second half of the 19th century, for the first time there seemed to be emerging the need to represent the planet we all live on by creating an exhibition. At the time, the medium of exposition itself was only about 50 years old. Born at the end of the 18th century in Paris, in the aftermath of the French Revolution, the exhibition has had a steadily growing success and public interest throughout the 19th century. Going hand in hand with technical progress and especially with new, revolutionary means of communications and transportation, Universal Exhibitions were in this way powerful symbols of a shrinking world with decreasing distances.

In comparison to the facilities we have nowadays to get in touch with people all over the globe, these distances were still enormous. But nevertheless there was a development which already allowed imagining the world as a unity. A unity where the very idea of isolation would be overcome by the existing commercial and cultural relations between all nations enhanced by a growing knowledge about the everyday life of people living thousands of kilometres away. The notion of a united world was certainly a result of that sort of natural curiosity of mankind which made people have a closer look on what had so far been considered as the other side of the frontier. Furthermore, a strong economic interest and the chance to enrich oneself by trading with other nations were reason enough to promote this unity. It should be borne in mind that the first Universal Exhibition in London in 1851 had been a private initiative by English businessmen. An initiative, of course, that from its very beginning was supported by the government which was well aware of the advantages such an enterprise would have.

However, the real question of a world as a possible unity was not an economic one. It was a question of control. Increasing proximity between different nations resulted in adapting to different manners but also in a rising consciousness of general differences concerning social and cultural habits. Therefore, a clear gap of power could be detected, that posed the question whose visions would serve as a master-discourse for the project of unifying the world. However, the question of leadership and the answer to it went hand in hand as Europe never put its legitimacy of staging the first Universal Exhibition. With England and France it were not only the two most important European powers of the mid-nineteenth century realizing the first exhibitions but above all the only world-empires of the era. It was real power over the world that created the need to represent it.

Representation, that's what it was and still is - all about. The world could not only be imagined as a unity under control. Under whose control it would one day be, was the question that resulted in the need of the aspirants for that control to transform this alleged world-unity into a model. Firstly, because in order to try to integrate the endless diversities of nations and peoples the person perceiving future world power had to be able to place himself in a certain way outside this model. He had to take on the position of the master superviser to overlook the world. Dissolving diversities inexorably meant transformation. Hence, a more or less utopian model was needed to indicate how this transformation had to be pursued. This model itself could not be part of the transformation process. Secondly, because in order to control the transformation and to make it happen the way it was expected the outcome of this transformation had to be clear from its very beginning. Then it could be sure that the superviser's interest in the process would be put into practice. Universal Exhibitions were intended to serve as a sort of guide line towards mankind's future in the upcoming decades. The very notion of this kind of exhibition was truly a utopian one.

Political and economic facts and more theoretical aspects of imagining a future world were obviously mingled. Yet, the idea of representing the world in order to have it under control entailed an assumption. Unfortunately it has not yet arisen the interest of many historians that exhibiting the world as a unity meant being able to imagine a united world. The prerequisite for that was not only a certain knowledge of the rest of the world but the feeling to belong together without being able to ignore or to deny that. In that respect Universal Exhibitions were not only the attempt to forge the unity of the world but at the same time the proof that this unity already existed even if it was only in the imagination of a limited number of exhibition organizers. The imagination of the world as a unity existed and from then on it was only a question of one's model of interpretation to argue for or against the reality of this unity.

However, the argument can as well be seen from another perspective. It can also be assumed that imagining the world as a unity in one's intellectual conception created the need of proving that concept. To prove that it was not merely a coherent intellectual argument but also that it entailed real, tangible, materializing objects. Proving it by showing it to everybody, proving it by exhibiting the world as a limited microcosm of classified objects. For what had to be proved was not only the intellectual concept of a united world itself but also the development of this unity in a certain and clearly defined direction. Here again theory and practice were coming together, as the intellectual concept demanded just as much control as the political and economic interests did. Classifying the exhibited objects along the lines of a supposed future world development meant defining these lines. Here, the Universal Exhibitions made a clear choice from the very beginning. The focal keywords were rationality, work and above all progress.

Throughout the exhibitions mankind was displayed as a rational species capable of analysing the present as a given situation and from thereon taking decisions to evolve in the direction of the desired future. Here again the very notion of controlling the world by exhibiting it to its inhabitants left no space for unforeseeable events outside of human being's control. Everything had to have a rational explanation and knowing this explanation was tantamount with controlling the events behind it. At least at the beginning of the Universal Exhibitions, there was little space for spiritem, esoterism or the idea of a divine power superior to man's action. When showing the world meant controlling it, it was always out of question that it was human being himself who exercised that control. This allowed him to move along the lines towards a better future because there was never any doubt that the nature of mankind was good and therefore the future better than the present. At least this was the case if everybody was deliberately participating in the transformation process. And the participation of all nations in the Universal Exhibitions proved this worldwide intention.

But the better future as the exhibits showed could not be taken for granted. It had to be put into practice every day by human action and the very idea of this action was nothing but work. Exhibitions showed that creating a better future for a unified world was certainly possible but required the work of all nations for this utopian goal. Work was largely understood as a contribution to improve in every sector of human action. This improvement could be measured by rational criteria. And above all, this work could nothing but lead to a better future. As a consequence, it was the visible sign of the development that all Universal Exhibitions tried to display: progress. A progress in every sector and in every field that meant the advancement of human capacities. Exhibitions therefore could nothing but show a disciplined ideal world of an imagined future world society of all people.
At the same time, exhibiting the world on a limited space and within a limited time frame was tantamount with creating a new world. Representing the planet or even the universe was a way of controlling it as long as the outcome of this world under progress was clear. In many ways the exhibitions were meant to be the reduced model of this outcome and hence they meant to be the world as it was and as would some day be at the same time. The Universal Exhibitions as the mirror of the real existing world already included the look on the other side of this mirror. In the absence of God man proclaimed himself to be powerful enough to create or recreate the world in a totally explainable new Genesis. The display of the world was a sign of the continuous invention of the world itself.

That is what so many scholars have been describing as the impossibility to distinguish between the world as exhibition and the world outside the exhibition; between the real world as a permanent exhibition and the exhibition of the world as the reality outside the exhibition. In this way Universal Exhibitions were never the exhibition of just one world but the together of possible worlds. The interaction between the world as exhibition and the world outside the exhibition created by itself an unlimited number of new ways of seeing and thinking the world by the exhibition visitors.

Throughout the history of Universal Exhibitions, the organizers seemed to become more and more aware of these problems. Especially in the second half of the 19th century, for many of them this interaction was considered as dangerous. It cast doubts on the proclaimed control over the real world. Control could only be gained by proving that the diversity of mankind was a specific one and not a general one. Surely, there were different forms of cultural and social habits which exhibitions did not deny. What they did deny was that these differences were strong enough to prevent from establishing a global form of action – from everybody of political and economic action – that was not only acceptable but also promising for everyone. The attempt to gain control through the display of a united world community did never made the appearance of an alternative model – whatever that could have been – possible within the exposition. The world as a unity was only conceivable if everybody agreed with this unity and that is what exhibitions tried to show. The consent was given in a symbolic form, which was intelligible for the visitor of the exposition, by the simple participation of every nation. A participation that – and this went without saying – implied the acceptance of the presupposed rules of the exhibition and the classification methods. In order to work, the Universal Exhibition had to show it all.

The concept of totality was there from the very beginning and even today Universal Exhibitions have problems overcoming this idea. Maybe this is in some way already inherent in the instrument of an exhibition. An instrument that tries to show and not to hide; and also that is able to formulate its message much better by the objects on show, and only quite hard through the absence of other objects which are not displayed. At least the early exhibitions never even admitted this absence. But this absence was a real one and the organization of the exhibitions were silently conscious of that fact. The notion of limited time and limited space inevitably led to the reduction of the real world in the form of this newly created model. The question what to show and what not to show implied choosing amongst the available objects. This choice would design the face of the world on show, and above all it would be the creation of a new small world in itself. A surely rational world of work and progress but which one exactly? A world as a unity progressing towards a better future for all its inhabitants but what future exactly? (Re-)Creating the world meant seeking an identity for it. An identity that in the case of the Universal Exhibitions was staged in a threefold way along the terms of the Own, the Other and the Universal.

The Own

What is the Own in terms of a Universal Exhibition? As many questions are asked on this subject, the answers are various and often contradictory. This is partly due to the impossibility to distinguish between the display of the real world and the display of a future ideal world. This impossibility is so fundamental that it has an enormous influence on many other exhibition topics. This is also true for the question of the Own, because by claiming the Own through the instrument of an exhibition, it created at the same time a new exhibitionary Own. The Own was necessary to stage an exhibition but at the same time the exhibition reshaped the Own. Nevertheless, there are answers to the question what is the Own inside the exhibition hall and at least one of them is obvious: it's the exhibitor.

The exhibitor who throughout the history of Universal Exhibitions was quite free to arrange the objects that shaped the face of any exhibition in the first place. There again dichotomy appears, as by trying to give them an identity, the teamwork of the thousands of exhibitors designed the entire identity of an exhibition. But this was not the primary exhibitor's concern. They seek to give them an entrepreneurial identity, an identity that is based on rather people than products. From the very beginning, Universal Expositions were much about labelling. The exhibitions then enforced this entrepreneurial identity by distributing medals to the best objects on display. These medals served as publicity outside the exhibition grounds and were so important that they found their way to the 21st century on cheese-boxes and beer-cans in supermarkets all over the world.

But as Martha Sear's opening article of this volume shows, there was not only the identity of a single exhibitor at stake. Exhibitors united themselves to defend their common interests. These interests were not necessarily economic ones and did not have to be linked to a single type of product neither. As the example of feminism - a strong topic of all early exhibitions – shows, the tool of a Universal Exhibition could also be a way to promote all kinds of exhibitor's unifying efforts. In this specific case, the unity of the group of exhibitors did not have much to do with the products on show. It was the sex of the exhibitor that formed the discourse of the exhibition section? A discourse that was once again a multiple one. The leading term of a women's exhibition was a hint to a national discourse. They were not only female exhibitors, they were also Australians.

In terms of identity the concept of the nation was no doubt much stronger than the simple notion of the exhibitor. The nation was the leading concept of every Universal Exhibition's classification. The objects were arranged according to nations, and nations were the official participants. Here again the question whether the nation shaped its exhibition or the exhibition its nation is the question about the chicken and the egg. As Kirstin Orr shows in her contribution to the present volume, Universal Exhibitions were powerful means of nation building. They were at least powerful enough to contribute to forming an independent Australian nation out of an English colony. In this way it seems as if the exhibition was contradictory in itself. Universal Exhibitions promulgated the glory of the English Empire. But at the same time they were helping to dissolve that very Empire.

As the exhibitions were means of displaying control over a unified world, they were not only primarily staged by Empires, and they served not only as publicity for these Empires but sometimes – as Chris Vaughan shows in his article – they informed the inhabitants of this Empire about its very existence. The Philippine exhibition during the 1904 St. Louis exhibition showed to the U.S. visitors a strange and apparently savage tribe which they discovered to be part of their
own nation. This is one of the many points that can be seen in almost every Universal Exhibition that make it difficult to define the presumed Own so firmly stated by every organizing country. Because right next to it there was a much hazier image emerging out of its shadow: the Other.

The Other

The Own can only be defined as not being the Other and vice versa. They are neither stable categories nor absolute qualities. They describe a relationship. To define them depends on one’s point of view. In the case of the Universal Exhibitions it seems to be reasonable to define these categories looking at the organizing country. Marta Penhos’ contribution to this volume deals with the Argentinian example. She shows how an Argentinian identity was shaped throughout the 1904 exhibition. The Argentinean Own was thereby a part of the Other from a U.S. perspective. But defining oneself opposed to another notion becomes complicated when this notion serves at the same time as an ideal. And that is exactly the moment when one discovers – just as some Argentinians did in 1904 – the Other inside the Own or in this case the disturbing indigenous elements inside a nation that wanted itself to be totally civilized.

There have always been many Others and many Owns. For a long time a major problem of Universal Exhibitions has been the incapability and the lack of interest in displaying the diversity of a existing culture. This is part of what Angus Lockyer argues in his contribution to the volume. The Exposition Universelle de 1867 in Paris had achieved to bring the first Japanese exhibition to Europe and to serve as a first-contact location for many Europeans to get in touch with a remote and largely unknown culture. But simultaneously this exhibition was not able – and not willing either – to diversify to the visitor the different aspects of Japan through the exposed objects. The early Universal Exhibitions were clearly not able to question their authenticity.

The Other appeared not only in form of the other nation as Beat Föllmi shows. Music performed by natives who were often part of their national exhibition sections, was another strong factor of otherness at the Universal Exhibitions. It surely was one of the most lasting impressions of the exhibitions as it was much more than a visible experience. The influence of oriental musical elements on important European composers such as Claude Debussy shows a characteristic which is still inherent in Universal Exhibitions: the adoption of the Other by the Own. And this is where the third and probably most telling aspect of the exhibitions emerges. An aspect which is not only a whole program in itself but so expressive that it gave its name to the whole exhibition movement: the Universal.

The Universal

The concept is to show it all; everybody and everything, exceptions are not welcome. The world as a unity is a world of total inclusion. And in order to include everybody into this world there need to be certain norms. These norms are setting limits to human actions and keep them under control. The only question is: under whose control? Talking about Universal Exhibitions the very notion of the Universal was a powerful tool beyond these struggles for control. This is where Universal Exhibitions gain their real importance and have their real potential. A potential that manifested itself from the very beginning of the exhibition movement in the countless conferences and congresses which had always been going hand in hand with the exhibitions. One of them – as Margit Seckelmair shows in her contribution – was the First International Patent Congress held during the Vienna exhibition of 1873. The exposition of all kinds of novelties, curiosities and inventions at the exhibitions linked with the mostly economic interest of the inventors made it necessary to define certain rules about the very nature of the product.

This is one example of the worldwide normative systems emerging out of the Universal Exhibitions. These systems often exceeded the exhibitions and started a successful and long lasting life of their own. The contribution of Walter Borgers to the volume tells the story of the maybe most powerful of these movements: the Olympic Games. In this case the exhibitions were not more than obstetricians for events that became an integral and much too frequent part of the exhibitions. The initial ideas were quite similar. The participation of everybody under the category of the nation. But soon the sisters choose different ways. As so often, commercial interests played their role in this separation.

These commercial interests are the subject of the last contribution. Here John Davis returns to the roots of Universal Exhibitions and maybe to the most powerful of all universal ideas: making money. The exhibitions started as a commercial movement and as the debates during the preparation of the last Universal Exposition in Hannover 2000 have shown the question of expenditure and profits is still crucial. As regards the history of the exhibitions, it can be said that the organisers never managed to earn much money with them. However, it should still be born in mind that they have always had a strong economic influence on the infrastructure of the host city and that much more than that, they brought together businessmen from all over the world. This gathering of people from different nations is – beside the clear economic input – certainly the most universal thing about Universal Exhibitions.

Bringing together people from all over the globe and making them work together was as well one of the leading ideas of this volume dedicated to the 150th anniversary of Universal Exhibitions and dealing with some early examples. People from four different continents have worked on this book and the fact that it was not possible to find African or Asian authors speaks for itself in the sense that no country from these continents – with the exception of Japan – has ever hosted a Universal Exhibition. The idea of universality has often been criticised and it is surely an ambiguous one. But it also has an enormous potential that can hardly be relegated to the sidelines. To find the equilibrium between this potential and the danger of a global monovision explicitly denying differences of all kinds will probably be the task of Universal Exhibition for the next 150 years.
Fair women's worlds: Feminism and World's Fairs 1876-1908
by Martha Sear
Vashiti's daughters: Women, feminism and exhibitions

Get up a side show for yourselves, pay for it yourselves, and be - happy.

Elizabeth Duane Gillespie, organizer of the Women's Pavilion at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition 1876

The male organizers of the great nineteenth century international exhibitions were fond of quoting a passage from the opening of the Old Testament's Book of Esther, describing a grand feast called by the mighty King Ahasuerus:

3 In the third year of his reign, he made a feast unto all his princes and his servants; the power of Persia and Media, the nobles and princes of the provinces, being before him.

4 When he showed the riches of his glorious kingdom and the honour of his excellent majesty many days, even an hundred and fourscore days.

5 And when these days were expired, the king made a feast unto all the people that were present in Shushan the palace, both unto great and small, seven days, in the court of the garden of the king's palace [...]

6 And the drinking was according to the law; none did compel: for so the king had appointed to all the officers of his house, that they should do according to every man's pleasure.

This, they claimed, was the first exhibition. To the feast at Shushan the new kings of industry and empire traced the genesis of their own palaces, cathedrals for a commercial age. The biblical reference sanctified the new temples, great aspiring spaces of iron and steel iced with plaster in classical shapes, monumental wading cakes celebrating the marriage of art and industry, civilization and progress. In bright bursts of epiphysical ecstasy, expositions embodied the consumption of commerce with spirituality, trade with tradition, and consumption with religion. But even more potently, they represented the union of middle class men, newly risen, with real economic and political power. Accordingly the biblical quotation climaxeds the glorification of "every man's pleasure". But the chapter does not end there. It continues:

9 Also Vashith the queen made a feast for the women in the royal house which belonged to king Ahasuerus.

On the seventh day of his feast, the king called Vashiti to "shew the people and the princes her beauty; for she was fair to look on". She refused. The king was incensed, and wise men of the kingdom noted with disapproval that if such behaviour was tolerated women generally would come to "despise their husbands", and be the cause of "much contempt and wrath", So a royal decree was issued, banning Vashiti, and commanding that "all the wives shall give to their husbands honour, both to great and small":

22 For he sent letters into all the king's provinces, into every province according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language, that every man should bear rule in his own house.

Vashiti's story is a symbolic one for the women involved with international exhibitions in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. From the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876 women established for themselves separate spaces within the great palaces of art and industry and showed their work in specialised women's buildings. Their efforts, like Queen Vashiti herself, were viewed as ornamental and decorative by exhibition men, secondary to the substantial achievement represented by the rest of the fair. As Elizabeth Cady Stanton said of the building at Philadelphia: "the Woman's Pavilion on the centennial grounds is an afterthought, as theologians claim woman herself to have been."

Like Vashiti, exhibition women refused to do the men's bidding, and simply be adornments. Exhibitions became sites for feminine assertion and feminist declarations. But still, the overarching law of men's rule in their own house held true. International exhibitions gave women only limited access to autonomy and authority. So, from the 1880s, women all over the world sought to be queens of their own kingdoms by creating a new type of display: the women's exhibition.

This article traces women's use of exhibitions and the connection between feminism and fairs in the period before 1900. World's Fairs helped to shape feminism. Through exhibits of women's work and gatherings of women workers, international expositions made women visible and vocal in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. At the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition women built their own pavilion with money raised at tea parties and balls, and Susan B. Anthony issued a Declaration of Rights for Women. The World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago brought together diverse collections of women's exhibits and hosted a major women's congress. At the Franco-British Exhibition, feminist groups were banned from the Women's Building. For the brief period between 1876 and 1908, women's work was shown separately to the work of men, and the resulting displays both challenged and bolstered a Victorian gender order, while uneasily straddling the public and private spheres.

The feminist use of exhibitions also extended beyond the grand international shows. World's Fairs spawned a new phenomenon: the women's exhibition. Thirty such exhibitions, devoted purely to the work of women, were held between 1880 and 1930, all over the world. In a colonial context especially, women's exhibitions played a significant role in the emergence of feminism: bringing women together, creating public debate, and giving women's work a public face.

Historical reflection on the relationship between fairs and feminism has largely focused on the connection between women's culture and claims for women's rights, and on what women said in an exposition context about their equality and difference in relation to men. This article shifts attention onto the ways in which women adopted and adapted the nineteenth-century language of display to represent themselves. It explores the experiences of women as exhibition organizers and exhibitors. It questions the gendered nature of the exhibition form, and focusing on Australian women's exhibition experiences makes explicit the connections between femininity, feminism and imperial and colonial identities.

Women and World's Fairs

What opportunities and difficulties did exhibitions present to women in the nineteenth-century? While exhibitions largely represented the masculine world, they also seemed to offer tremendous possibilities to women. The female form was featured as a symbol of abstract ideals and the embodiment of nations, in sculpture, allegorical painting, and medals. The culture of consumption that exhibitions helped to shape targeted the domestic market and offered women the illusion of power and agency through the purchase of commodities. The universality that exhibitions presented as their central defining feature meant women could not be overtly excluded as contributors. As exhibitors, women found a means of publicly displaying their creativity and skill. The exhibition world's idealism and utopianism made it a respectable place for women to show their work.
to visit and learn, as well as a potential vehicle for women's own visions of the future. The potential for self-education that a massive and ordered collection of objects and unique experiences offered to women, largely separated from other learning opportunities, was enormous.

Throughout the history of the international exhibition women were involved in many ways, as organisers, fund-raisers, exhibitors, workers and visitors. Each of these activities provided women with different positions from which to negotiate and ultimately critique aspects of femininity. As Paul Greenhalgh has argued, exhibitions offered "one of the first and most effective cultural arenas [...] to express [...] their misgivings with established patriarchy." 3

The origins of some of these opportunities lay in the figure of the female exhibition visitor. As visitors, women experienced personal feelings of freedom and enlightenment, as well as glimpses of the potential power of being both a target and an agent of consumption. But women visitors also took on a significant role in shaping the primary social functions: the refinement of the public. A "short sermon for sightseers", prepared for the Pan-American Exposition held in Buffalo in 1901, advised its readers: "please remember that when you get inside the gates you are a part of the show". Women of all classes were to become the vehicles of this learning, because their allotted ideological role involved the regulation of social behaviour.

The power allocated to women as agents of respectability at exhibitions was obviously a limited one, but nevertheless it created an ideal through which women might be able to use exhibitions for their own purposes. As Elsbeth Heaman notes, in her study of women's involvement in Canadian fairs, "women and exhibitions shared function as well as form: both exerted a refining influence". As Heaman puts it, exhibitions "provided women with a back door into the public sphere".

Before stepping through this "back door" themselves, women first put their work out for all to see. Visitors could always find examples of the work of women at international exhibitions. However between 1851 and 1900 a great change occurred in the way women's work was shown. At the Great Exhibition of 1851, for example, the ladies of Van Diemen's Land (later the Australian colony of Tasmanian) showed their preserved meats, woollen goods and collections of algae alongside the exhibits of their male counterparts. But from the late 1870s, the Tasmanian women's exhibits were separated from the rest of the colony's display and shown self-consciously as "women's work" in the women's buildings and ladies' courts at exhibitions at home and abroad.

The impetus for this innovation was a moment of national celebration. The Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition marked a century of American independence. It was to be a show of confidence and unity, but in 1873 there was little of either in evidence, and next to no public enthusiasm or financial support for the enterprise. The Centennial Board turned, as so many men had before them, to women to help raise the necessary funds. A Women's Centennial Committee was established to coordinate a national effort, headed by Elizabeth Duane Gillespie. In exchange for their exertions, the Women's Centennial Committee requested "a department in which woman's work will be alone exhibited" at the Exhibition.

The display was very instructive and suggestive. It is easy to see how many valuable hints will be given to those who examine this collection, which is intended to group the evidences of the skill and ingenuity of womankind." 4

Gillespie hoped that such an exhibit would provide encouragement and inspiration to women workers.

We desired to give to the mass of women, who were laboring by the needle and obtaining only a scanty subsistence, the opportunity to see what women were capable of obtaining under other higher branches of industry; and to do this effectually, we felt that these exhibits must find place in a special space set apart for them alone.5

The women organizers recognised that it was impossible to completely separate the work of men and women, and were supportive of women exhibitors who desired to show their work beside the work of men. Gillespie was quick to emphasize that women did not shrink from competition with the works of men, but eagerly grasped the opportunity for their work to be shown separately as the work of women.6

By June 1875 the women of America had gathered more than $125,000 for the Exhibition, and an enormous increased interest in the affair. In the same month they were informed by the Centennial Committee that there was no room in the main building for a women's exhibit. Gillespie would recall:

the utter necessity of those first moments, for the women of the whole country were working not only from patriotic motives, but with the hope that through this Exhibition their own abilities would be recognised and their own work carried beyond the needle and thread.7

The cost of financing a separate building was $30,000. It was raised within six months. The resulting Woman's Pavilion housed more than 600 exhibits, a library, an art gallery, a kindergarten, and a Baxter steam engine which powered two looms and the printing presses of the New Century for Woman newspaper.

But despite representing a symbolic triumph of female organisation over masculine authority, the Pavilion was not well-received by suffragists. Lucy Stone of the American Woman Suffrage Association wrote that when women "voluntarily give to work for the gratification of the very power which degrades them they are only subjects of contempt."8 Prominent women's rights campaigner Elizabeth Cady Stanton criticised the Woman's Pavilion as unrepresentative of the reality of women's lives. A true representation, she said, would have included evidence of women's oppression and struggles against injustice.9 The National Woman's Suffrage Association held "alternative" displays in downtown Philadelphia, showing discriminatory laws, tracts, and books, accompanied by meetings and protests, intended to show women's political degradation.10 As proof of this, on 4 July 1876 Susan B. Anthony and five other suffragists presented a Declaration of Rights for Women to the master of ceremonies at the Exhibition's Independence Day celebrations, a gathering to which they had officially been refused entry. Anthony then went outside and read the Declaration to a receptive crowd.

"While the nation is buoyant with patriotism, and all hearts are attuned to praise, it is with sorrow we come to strike the one discordant note", she said, claiming the women of 1876 had "greater cause for discontent, rebellion and revolution than had the men of 1776".11

Philadelphia's Women's Building set the trend for the exhibitions that followed. For a brief period between 1876 and 1908, women's exhibits worldwide were moved from the main exhibition halls into dedicated "women's spaces". Committees of women were formed to superintend the displays, and organise associated gatherings of prominent women and discussion of women's work and role (such as the women's conference held at the Paris exposition of 1889).
Debate over whether or not this separation of women's work at international exhibitions was a feminist strategy has preoccupied modern feminist historians. Connections between women's involvement in exhibitions and the burgeoning women's movements of the late nineteenth century were strong, but mixed. Overall, it might be said that exhibitions contained enormous potential as platforms for women to present the messages and values of feminism, but they could reinforce the old ways too.

The concentration of women's work in one space at international exhibitions created opportunities for comparison between women across a diverse range of activities, as well as for the judgement and estimation of women as a sex. It allowed for the creation of a universal ideal of "women's work", and opened "the work of women" as a subject for discussion. It was also intended by the women organisers of these displays to suggest women's contribution to society and culture. Yet separation was a strategy used both by feminists and by men and women who had no interest in redefining femininity or the women's entry into the public sphere. Separation could enhance feminist possibility but it could also reinforce gender roles, it could confirm commonly held beliefs about women as well as contest, adapt, or modify them. It could surprise or stabilise, challenge or reassure.

But the very creation of women's buildings and ladies' courts at international exhibitions also implied women's separation from the "real work of the world. Women's courts at international exhibitions inevitably raised questions about the relationship between women and "the world", "real work", "progress" and "human endeavour". At the same time the women involved in creating them had to work within a male-dominated organisational structure and make women's work fit into a masculine classification system. As the conflicts between many women exhibition organisers and their male counterparts showed, the palace of the Vashi story remained firmly the domain of the kings and princes.

For these reasons, a new way of showing women's endeavours emerged that took the separation of women's work at international exhibitions one step further: the women's exhibition, organised and shaped entirely by women to fully express "women's work". The smaller displays were the sisters of the numerous themed exhibitions held in the late nineteenth century: invention exhibitions, juvenile exhibitions, health exhibitions. Women's exhibitions stood entirely separate from international exhibitions, with their own woman-centred organisational structure and classification systems. Unlike Vashi's banishment, this total separation of women's exhibits was self-imposed. The organisers of women's exhibitions created women's worlds on their own and to their own design.

Women's exhibitions, exhibitions that incorporated only the work or interests of women, emerged internationally in the 1880s. Between 1885 and 1910 nearly twenty such exhibitions were held in locations as diverse as Bristol, Sydney, Copenhagen, Vienna, New York, London and Berlin. In 1927 Elizabeth Bass described the Woman's World's Fair she was helping to organise in Chicago:

Woven from the shimmering web of a dream – a woman's dream – into the enduring fabric of an exposition, planned by women, made and installed by women, for the benefit of all women everywhere, the Third Annual Woman's World's Fair opens its doors and bids you welcome.9

Under the general banner "women's exhibitions" there was much variation in form and content, but the majority fitted Bass's description. They were idealistic ventures initiated and controlled, at least to some extent, by female organisers intent on showing the work of women within the recognised and legitimising space of the exhibition.9 Bass's metaphor perfectly describes the character of their efforts and aspirations. Women's exhibitions represented a desire to make visible the gossamer threads of meaning and identity that tied together women's lives and the life of "the world", and to strengthen and immortalise them through their incorporation into the larger and more lasting matrix provided by the exhibition tradition.

Women the world over eagerly embraced the exhibition as a medium to represent their vision of womanhood. In each location, the vision of womanhood presented, and the relationship between the exhibitions and developing feminist movements, was different. In colonial New South Wales, Australia, exhibitions played a key role in the development of a women's movement that saw the remarkable achievement of womanhood suffrage within a decade of its formation. The story of Vashi's Australian daughters is the story of how Victorian feminism could emerge from a material and visual culture as well as from a written and polemical one.

Daughters of Empire: Australian women and exhibitions

The organisers of exhibitions of women's work in colonial Australia shared the dilemmas and opportunities of fair women the world over, but they were profoundly affected by particularly colonial concerns. The Australian experience of the latter part of the nineteenth century differed from the American and European one in several crucial ways. By the 1880s the colony of NSW was beginning to industrialise, but it had not experienced the enormous and rapid changes seen in those places. Nevertheless, while the factories and department stores did not yet dominate the urban environment, the anxieties that had fuelled in the wake of industrialisation and consumer culture had arrived, transmitted at speed by telegraph and steamship. Colonists shared in the fears of their fellow Victorians about change, at the same time as news of technological and industri-
al advancement made them worry about falling behind. Colonial women knew, by the same means, that the changing "position of women" was a subject of debate overseas, and that their sisters were organizing and debating women's future. The colony did not have an organized suffrage movement until 1891, but discussion of women's role and employment was a significant issue in the press from the 1870s. When they did emerge, colonial suffragists argued, with some success, for the enfranchisement of women on the grounds of their difference as well as their equality, from arguments about tradition as well as innovation.

Complicating and driving wider social debate was an emphasis on the problems of class fluidity and colonial identity. Women's roles were defined within a colonial context where the economy revolved around a cycle of boom and bust, class and status were fluid, and the colonists existed in a state of almost constant comparison with England. The embroidered cushions, Berlin woolwork slipppers, and guata-percha mantledrapes were found in a wide range of Australian homes were displayed as evidence of application and taste, leisure and morality as well as proof of the dominance of middle-class values. The "ladies" of the family were industriously employed making a house a "home", and in the process reconnecting the old world and the new with one continuous thread.

When colonial women showed their work at international exhibitions between 1851 and 1876, it appeared as evidence of colonial civilization and uniqueness, in combination with the other exhibits signifying Australia's richness in raw materials and appeal to the prospective immigrant. The first international exhibition of all, the Great Exhibition held in London in 1851, is a good example of the typical use of colonial women's exhibits at international exhibitions. Only the women of the Van Diemen's Land made a showing at the Great Exhibition, and the bulk of the women's work conveyed Australian motifs. Mrs. Burgers of Hobart Town showed two worsted work pictures "representing a group of indigenous flowers of Tasmania", incorporating Tasmanian birds, and fringed in Tasmanian myrtle. Mrs. McKenzie of Botchwill, and Mrs. Slentz of Killymoon, showed gloves and a shawl knitted from possum fur. Exhibits of Indigenous women's work were included as evidence of the supposed "civilising" influence of European civilization. This pattern of self-consciously incorporating Australian materials and motifs into women's work was to be repeated throughout colonial representations to overseas international exhibitions.

The exhibits described above appeared in colonial courts beside the work of men. The introduction of ladies' courts to international exhibitions after 1876 had profound implications for the status accorded women's work. It had little effect on the type of exhibits colonial women sent to displays. Embroideries of Australian flowers, or knitted possum fur gloves persisted. At colonial ladies' courts, such as those at the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879 and the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880/81, exhibits straddled the discourses of intercolonial and international display. Tradition and local and continental stood side by side. Embroideries of acorns were about evenly matched with embroideries of gum nuts. But it did mean that the work appeared as a concentrated statement about "womanhood in the colonies". Instead of enhancing or adding to a general impression of the colonies as integrated communities, as was the case if a visitor wandered through the NSW court at the London International Exhibition of 1862, from 1876 women's work was measured and assessed in relation to the work of other women from other lands. This made the stakes relative to skill and taste far higher. The role of women's work as a measure of refinement intensified, as colonial women competed against one another and then against women from other nations. It was no longer sufficient for a woman's work to simply be there beside the bales of wool and lumps of coal to show that home life had not deteriorated in the race to make money.

By the 1880s, the idea of frontier existence was being displaced in Australia by the dominance of a middle-class urban reality. It seemed obvious to the colonists that this should mean the colonies were socially more refined and that leisure was more common. At the same moment, women's work was given its own space at international exhibitions held in Sydney and Melbourne. The work of women, drawn together in a separate class, was judged against itself, not against the general exhibits. Ladies' courts gave the colonists an opportunity to measure and compare the colony's general refinement through the work of its women.

The first colonial ladies' court appeared at Australia's first international exhibition, the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879. Similar courts appeared at the exhibitions held in Melbourne in 1880/81 and 1888. Unlike their American counterparts, the Australian ladies' courts were not prompted by a desire on the part of women to assert their cultural authority. Nor were they offset by a significant debate from an organised feminist movement. Philadelphia had added the idea of a women's exhibit to the international exhibition, and the colonists followed suit. Male commissioners or committees of elite ladies were given the responsibility of finding exhibits, and the resulting display was intended to show that the civilisation of the colony and the gentility of the colonists could be measured, in part, by the products of its women. The courts were dominated by fancywork, needlework, and decorative arts, proof of domesticity and refinement.

Yet at international exhibitions, colonial women proved not only their skill and taste, but their ingenuity and adaption of older techniques to new subject matter, familiarising and domesticating the new environment. Women from all over Australasia usually sent examples of traditional women's work applied native materials: native currant jelly, a muff of parrot feathers, table ornaments made from seeds, wool dyed with seaweed. They also forwarded natural history specimens, further proof that their leisure time was spent in educational as well as artistic pursuits.

This combination of nascent "national" pride and feminine refinement seen in the exhibits women sent to international exhibitions would take on a new significance in the year the colony of New South Wales celebrated its hundredth birthday. Following and perhaps inspired by women's exhibitions in Brisbane in 1885 and Bright's in 1887, the Exhibition of Women's Industries and Centenary Fair (EWI) held in Sydney in 1888 represented a new way of showing women's work, and a fertile seeding ground for feminism to flower in the colony.

The EWI transformed Sydney's Old Exhibition Building into a women's world. The crowning event of the New South Wales centennial celebrations, it was a display of more than eight thousand exhibits from bookmaking to bread baking: "Women's Work" classified, ranked, and put on show. The highlight of the Exhibition Building in Prince Alfred Park became a giant refracting telescope for a kaleidoscope of feminine activity including prize-winning exhibits of lace, horticulture, embroidery, laundry work, photography, drawing, design, and invention; demonstrations of first aid, cigar-rolling, typewriting, and spinning; a loan exhibition of fine art and Hawaiian craft; lectures on temperance and education, and a women's orchestra playing the works of women composers. Pulling this all together, like a bright encircling ribbon, were the bustling stalls of the Centenary Fair which helped raise more than £6,000 for the newly-formed Queen's Jubilee Fund for Distressed Women. The display was organised by an all-female executive committee under the presidency of Lady Carrington, the wife of the Governor. It brought together professionals and amateurs, radicals and conservatives, working women and leisureed ladies in a new and sometimes turbulent alliance.
The public flocked to the show, while the press ridiculed and attacked it: not so much for its feminist potential but for the supposed snobishness, ineptitude and disorganisation of its genteel managers. This was manifested, it was argued, in the organisers' invention of their own "woman-centred" classification system and their decision to allow exhibitors to sell their work from the exhibition floor. The women organisers of the EWI realised that the woman exhibitor differed markedly from the (usually male) exhibitor at international exhibitions. These, men of manufacturing, agriculture, and trade with large numbers of employees showed the products of their businesses. They could absorb the cost of time and labour that went into producing the objects for display, for the ultimate benefit outweighed the comparatively small expense. Most women's industries were smaller and less lucrative. A needlewoman who spent a week on a beautifully embroidered tablecloth lost a week's earnings, at a cost to herself for materials. These women were usually self-employed or dependent on currying goods in the home and unable to show or advertise their skills by anything other than word of mouth. The Exhibition not only provided such workers (needlewomen, laundresses, ironers) with a chance to display and sell their work, but made their contribution to the colonial economy visible. Through this struggle to redefine the value and visibility of women's work, the EWI proved an important moment in the genesis of a colonial women's movement.

In Australia exhibitions of women's work played a unique role in the development of feminism. The EWI took place in the period which witnessed the colonial feminist movement's birth and first steps. When women's exhibitions first appeared in Europe in the 1880s, the feminist movement there was already in existence. It had its champions and its causes, its platforms and associations. As avid readers and connected colonists, Australian women in the 1880s shared in this intellectual context, but besides the Woman's Christian Temperance Union's organised feminist groups and campaigns did not emerge fully in NSW until the early 1890s. Thus the first women's exhibition held in Australia, which opened a mere three years after the first was held in Britain, sprang from a culture with the language to phrase the woman question, but without the vocal organs to ask it.

One contemporary commentator aptly described the Exhibition of Women's Industries of 1888 as an "unworded proclamation". This was as much to do with the fact that objects "spoke" for women, as with the way in which the exhibition's overall message was a statement of feminist possibility that had proved otherwise difficult to express. It seemed that only through an exhibition could these ideas be realised. As writer M. L. Manning put it in an article on the display, exhibitions provided on which women could perfect their "legitimate aspirations". As but as the example of organisers' efforts to encourage poor women exhibitors suggested, exhibitions as a form may not have been as gender-neutral as they appeared. The realisation amongst the exhibition's women organisers that apparently universal structures could actually reflect men's interests was significant. It added a new impetus to the EWI's other contributions to the creation of colonial feminisms: its role in the construction of women as a distinct group in colonial society, with their own interests, concerns and views; in bringing the "woman problem" into sharp focus at a defining cultural moment; and in establishing communication between women interested in changing Australian society and the lives of Australian women.

Like all exhibitions, the EWI was an ephemeral event. Instead, the lasting impact of the display lay in more intangible things: connections, camaraderie, optimism, learning and experience. For competitors and exhibitors the exhibition brought recognition and encouragement, and perhaps also work. For female visitors it offered real and imaginative opportunities: to be typists or inventors or nurses or factory workers. All the women involved were changed by the display, and they in turn went on to change their society: whether by taking up a new job, or seeking the suffrage. Some of those same women would go on to create another exhibition of women's work, the Woman's Work Exhibition of 1892. So proud were they of the EWI that the second exhibition would include a framed memorial to the "women's industries" of 1888, a tribute to the year that saw the "first crack in the eggshell from which the emancipated woman was to emerge".

The next Australian exhibition of women's work would be both a women's exhibition and a display in the women's building of an international exhibition. The impact of the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago on the public face of feminism throughout the world cannot be underestimated. Even in far-off Australia, it had long-lasting effects. Through this grand fair and the women's building and congresses that accompanied it, the women of NSW were connected with the women of the world in a vital new way.

Women's interest in the Fair had been gathering since it was first mooted in 1889. Susan B. Anthony, who had so opposed the women's display at the Philadelphia Exhibition, now sought to promote the official recognition of women from the earliest stages. Anthony feared however that "her own well-known radical views" might "hinder the progress of affairs", so she worked behind the scenes, pragmatically supporting more socially acceptable women who lobbied Congress to appoint a group of female organisers. Anthony believed that only an "orderly, well-disciplined, non-controversial campaign for the involvement of women in official leadership roles at the Exposition [...] would lead to long range success for the cause of woman".

In America the feminist movement was now decades old and the diversity of views held by publically prominent women was revealed in their different approaches to women's involvement in the Fair. For Anthony's strategy to succeed the voices of two separate groups vying for control of the women's department had to be first suppressed, and then reconciled once the official recognition was gained. The Queen Isabella Association, a coalition of suffragist professionals, demanded that women be allowed to exhibit on a position of complete equality with men. They advocated a permanent Women's Building which would become a clubhouse and meeting place for women, not an exhibition hall. The Chicago Women's Auxiliary, a less radical collection of philanthropies and clubwomen, argued for a special separate display of women's work. The officially-appointed Board of Lady Managers initially sought to combine the two groups under its Congress-sanctioned umbrella, but this led to significant factionalism and discord. Conflict peaked in 1891 when the board of Lady Managers sacked Isabella agitator and lawyer Phoebe Couzins from her post as secretary of the board, and the Isabelas ceased to have a significant voice in the Chicago Fair.

Despite this, these two distinct voices within the women's movement were formalised in the Woman's Building and World's Congress of Representative Women at the Fair. Chicago hosted a women's building the size and scope of which had never been seen before, designed, decorated and managed by women. It drew together exhibitions from Russia, Siams and Brazil. The Congress held in May provided every imaginable topic of interest to women from rational dress to factory work to the vote. The story of the Fair from an American viewpoint has already been deftly told by historians like Jeanne Madeleine Weinmann and Mary Cordato. The Australian perspective is illuminating but unknown.
Australia at the World's Columbian Exposition 1893

Despite economic depression and social unrest, the NSW Government under Sir Henry Parkes decided, late in 1891, that the colony would make a significant display at the Chicago World's Fair planned for 1893. The exhibition took "progress" as its theme, and the visible inclusion and official recognition of women was seen as a measure of that progress. In Chicago, a Board of Lady Managers was appointed to oversee the creation of a Woman's Building in the fairgrounds. In distant NSW, women for the first time took control of an exhibition of their work at an international exposition.\(^{26}\) Committee XII on Woman's Work were charged by the NSW Exposition Commission to show the progress of the young colony towards universal ideals of civilisation and refinement. But the women involved had more expansive, more political, and more nationalistic plans for the display, and the display of suffrage activist Mary Chisholm, gathered what they thought was an unmistakable Australian collection of exhibits which applied the traditional feminine arts ingeniously to products peculiar to the new continent.\(^{26}\) The results of their labours were shown first in Sydney and then in Chicago, to very different receptions.

Four years after the EWI, another women's exhibition laid claim to the city's new civic centrepiece. The Woman's Work Exhibition of 1892 filled the Sydney Town Hall with a thousand exhibits showing the skills of women applied to the products of Australia: knitted possum-fur gloves, native plum jelly, a platypus-silk rug, cabbage tree hats, and cushions embroidered with waratah and wattle. A clever woman taxidermist transformed a black swan skin into a stylish muff and a brolga into a firescreen. Imitation Roman mosaic made by factory girls appeared beside women's basketry. One stall was crowded with images taken by a professional woman photographer, capturing both the silk wings of social butterflies and the inky frock-coats of the recent Federal Convention. With its oilskins, water filters, patent mattresses, and electric corsets the Exhibition was a calculated demonstration of female ingenuity. Its showcases of lace, woolwork and watercolours were presented as material proof of the feminine origins of "civilisation" in the young colony.

Yet even as the Governor's wife Countess Jersey rose to open the display, the Exhibition's organising committee sat behind her on the platform, their spirits downcast. It had been planned that the best work from the Exhibition would be sent to Chicago to form the New South Wales display in the Woman's Building at the forthcoming World's Fair. The organisers' bright hopes for the exhibit had flickered and then dimmed into disappointment over the year they had been working. In the wake of economic depression, exhibitions' enthusiasm ebbed. Goulburn embroideresses and Surry Hills seamstresses feared for their fragile treasures, to be sent so far over the sea. The organisers themselves had struggled mightily, not only to obtain exhibits, but against the all-male New South Wales Exposition Commission over issues of autonomy and support, and amongst themselves over the feminist implications of the display, Mary Chisholm, President of both the Woman's Work Committee for the Chicago Fair and the newly-formed Womanhood Suffrage League of New South Wales, lamented that "[w]ith small exception, no patriotic zeal to show that refinement, art, industry and capability exists among the women of Australia, has inspired [the] interest in this great enterprise."\(^{26}\) This was all the more disheartening because, in her view, it was important that women "mark their appreciation of the first national undertaking in which the promoters had recognised women officially."\(^{26}\)

But once the New South Wales exhibits arrived in Chicago, everything changed. Colonial pride soared higher than the highest arc of Mr Ferris's new wheel, spinning above the fairgrounds. Against all expectation, New South Wales shone at the fair. The colony's exhibit in the Woman's Building took the best from the Town Hall and set it creditably amongst the best in the world. Although cramped and compressed in a narrow niche, and veeringly over-hung by the flag of the British exhibit next door, the New South Wales display expressed a self-confidence and assurance that belied its difficult birth and colonial origins. Highly praised and lavishly rewarded with medals and certificates, it was also popular with visitors. Its official custodian, 26-year-old Margaret Windley, strode about the fairgrounds like an Amazon queen. "Frank", "plucky" and "independent", Windley was the archetypal Australian girl. The only woman appointed to the Fair from a foreign country, she presented herself as living proof of the unique cultural unity and social progressiveness of a maturing colony reaching towards nationhood. An ardent federalist, Windley spoke at the Fair's World's Congress of Representative Women as agent for the "newest country", that country of "great actualities and greater possibilities, Australia". A committed feminist, she added Australia's "youthful" voice to a gathering conceived of as a women's parliament for a new world.

Windley's journey helped foster the internationalism which was already a fundamental part of Australian feminism. Her travels kept the Australian feminist community intimately in touch with "the movement" overseas. Personal contact with Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Julia Ward Howe, May Wright Sewall, Lady Aberdeen, the Fawcets, Mrs Warner Sewell, Carrie Chapman Catt and innumerable other women the world over, as well as the endless stream of pamphlets, newspapers, books and speeches she posted home, fed the eagerness and enthusiasm of Australian feminists.

At the Chicago Fair she experienced a powerful sisterly solidarity. In a letter home, published in 1894 in the feminist journal Dawn, she described the experience of suddenly feeling part of the history and the united world of women:

As I waited after presenting my letters, the beauty of the building rushed upon me. The great names above with the added lustre of combination, the golden letters were dimmed [sic] as one thought of the inspiring enrolling influence they would have upon numbers of women. [...] We had lovely music at Mrs Potter Palmer's reception in the assembly room on the Woman's Building. Imagine the Battle Hymn, a fine [sic] soprano singing in good voice, and then a thousand people standing and singing the chorus.\(^{26}\)

The Chicago Fair offered Margaret Windley a very real sensation of connection with other politically or socially active women, and with the full force of idealised femininity, connections otherwise occluded by distance and the derogatory associations of colonialism. At the Fair, colonial women could share in the "lustre of combination", and add their voice to an apparently immense new chorus hymning the "power of womanhood".

This was possible precisely because Windley was not in Australia. At the Exposition, Windley could escape the negative atmosphere of the colony and remake herself, her "country", her woman's movement, and her nation's future within a new set of images and ideals, and a new internationalist feminist framework. In America she was free from the constraints, both personal and cultural, of being in the colony, and of being a "colonist".

The involvement of Australian women in the Chicago Fair reveals the potential for nationalism to act as a springboard for colonial feminism, and then for a transcendent internationalism to merge both colonial and national identities into an ideal of universal womanhood. Expositions as a form scrabbled these powerful but apparently contradictory nineteenth-century ideals: uniqueness and uni-
Feminism and the fairs

So how can we assess the relationship between feminism and World's Fairs? Internationally, expositions presented women with remarkable opportunities to represent femininity in connection with nationhood. Fairs in countries with an established women's movement became potential platforms both for feminist rhetoric and the reassertion of traditional roles. In places like Australia, exhibitions presented different opportunities for women eager to champion women's cause in public. The exhibitions' significance as flagrants of feminism in a colonial context is especially great.

The history of feminism has almost entirely ignored the role of exhibitions in the development of the women's movement. Their invisibility may stem from the fact that historians of feminism have been largely indifferent to sources beyond the written word. Exhibitions of women's work are fundamentally about things rather than words. They represent efforts to present ideas about women through the display of objects, their classification and arrangement. Their feminism is a politics of revelation and exposure, of ideals and aspirations expressed through mute things. Ironically, their wordlessness has made their significance as realms of feminist possibility difficult to 'see'.

Exhibitions of women's work gave public expression to the idea that had all women, regardless of class, nationality or race, had much in common. The exhibitions' organisers not only universalised middle-class feminism, but their own particular frustrations about middle-class life. On a fundamental level, genteel women felt restricted by their sex from entering into the meaningful realm of real life, which they largely defined in terms of the public world of work, action and reward. Recognition of this fact created a constituency for feminism, women, those who were deprived a full existence on the basis of their gender. Mobilising women around ideas of invisibility, exclusion and work allowed the female organisers of exhibitions to invoke some of the fundamental preconditions for feminism: the constitution of women as a group, a critique of their condition of life, and a presentation of alternative visions. In practice, establishing universal sisterhood on such genteel terms would prove fraught and unsustainable.

But while the organisers of women's exhibitions made collective claims for women as a sex, and contained implicit criticism of women's position in society, they did so largely by letting objects speak for them. This was a step on from the inarticulate, individual resistance of women from earlier periods. But it was still one step removed from the direct speech that would characterise feminism in ensuing decades. In Australia, exhibitions gave material expression to a growing awareness amongst colonial genteel women of the paradoxes and inequalities of their social and political status, an awareness that had been intensified by rapid changes in colonial life, but raised by a much wider debate about 'the woman question' internationally. They would foster the rapid development of a vibrant, successful Australian feminist movement.

Exhibitions allow us to observe some of the processes that have been identified as central to the emergence of feminism, but they also prevent us from seeing that development as simple or inevitable. Women's exhibitions and ladies' courts presented a powerful argument for women to identify themselves as women, beyond class or even racial assumptions. They were a strong and unparalleled claim by women to public space, and a public voice through which women could promote their own interests. They were an assertion that women had a part to play in the creation, maintenance and celebration of colony and nation, at the same time as they helped form webs of association and support between women on an international level. They were a tangible representation of an Australian femininity that was creative and civilising, responsive and responsible in matters of social concern. They incorporated practical lessons about organisation, argument, image-making and alliances.

But the vast majority of women who were involved in them, as organisers, exhibitors or visitors, did not go on to become feminists. Some women were ignited with a passion to reform society, some were softened and rendered more open to feminist ideas, some remained unaltered. Women from a diverse range of backgrounds and experiences participated, and each took away what was useful or relevant to them. Seamstresses jumped at the chance to advertise their expertise, while other working women rebuffed competitions intended to "improve" their domestic skills. Some genteel women saw the displays as a chance to reinforce the moral authority of housework, others as ways of creating opportunities for women to enter into new fields of paid employment. Australian women's exhibitions at home and abroad were a complex mix of tradition and innovation, provocation and reassurance, reaction and inspiration. They both challenged and confirmed assumptions about women and their work.

While nineteenth-century exhibitions contained so much potential to the women's movement, by the turn of the century opportunities for feminists at World's Fairs were fading. As a form, the exhibition was shrinking and becoming more closely allied with manufacturing and marketing, while commercial and regional interests overtook a universal and national outlook. Women's buildings were soon reabsorbed into the general classification (as happened at St. Louis in 1904) or consciously handed to anti-feminist organisers (as was the case at the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908). Women's exhibitions, such as those held by the English suffragists, continued as useful vehicles for the women's movement, but the era of feminist fairs was over.

Exhibitions' powerful rhetoric and dynamic ideology offered women a unique forum to make material the invisible reality of women's work, and to articulate ideas of femininity. They created a space for women to proclaim their contribution to progress, and to imagine building a sisterhood beyond class, nation and race. But exhibitions were also display spaces that, fundamentally, worked to substantiate and sustain middle-class values, masculine endeavours, and imperial power. Women faced major challenges in their attempts to turn the exhibition to their own ends. Nonetheless, exhibitions played a significant role in the development, articulation and promotion of fin de siècle feminism, while fostering the internationalism that would define the women's movement into the next century. Vishni's daughters shared both her defiance and her journey out the palace gates and into the world.

2. From the Book of Esther in the King James Bible.


4. Ibid., ch. 1.


10. DARNEY (1923), 20-1.


12. Ibid., 47-8.


16. DARNEY (1923), 45-6.


20. A few were not. The Exhibition held in London in 1900, organized by a man, Irene Krebs, was described by the Englishwomen's Review as "exposing the women's movement to the sake of commercial speculation", Englishwomen's Review, 17, 4, 1900, 844.


26. Woman's Column, Sydney Morning Herald 29, 25.05.1898, 7.


28. Ibid.


31. Committee X in Woman's Work will hereafter be referred to as "Committee XII".

32. World's Columbian Exposition Chicago 1893, NSW Commission, Women's Work Department, Reports of Committee XII, 1891-1893, ML MSS 902 thereafter ("Reports of Committee XII") or Report from Committee XII on Woman's Work to W. Mclnnaugh Espy, President Woman's Columbia Exposition Chicago, presented to a meeting of the Commission 21 October 1894.


34. Davis, August 1893, 10.

A Force for Urbanism and National Identity: the evolution and impact of the nineteenth-century Australian international exhibitions

by Kirsten Orr
In 1888 Australians flocked to Melbourne for the magnificent Opening Ceremony of the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition, celebrating the centenary of European settlement in Australia. Like other international exhibitions in the nineteenth century, it was an awe-inspiring event to which almost everyone was invited: an event where visitors viewed the greatest achievements of mankind and participated enthusiastically in the festivities, pomp and ceremony.

The Australian international exhibitions sought to emulate the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations held in London in 1851, the most popular event of its age. From 1851, international exhibitions became far more than occasions for showcasing material progress and entertaining and educating the masses. They became enormous extravaganzas that brought together the nations of the world in a highly competitive atmosphere that encouraged and facilitated international comparison and recognition of national characteristics. The Great Exhibition was an event of national significance because the organisers involved people of all classes and interests and harnessed public enthusiasm for the event. Jeffrey Auerbach argues that it provided the opportunity for national identity to be redefined.

The Great Exhibition was, in essence, a cultural battlefield, in which proponents of different and at times competing visions of Britain fought for ascendancy in a struggle to define Britain's past, present, and future.¹

The same was true of the Australian exhibitions. In the nineteenth century, Australia was not yet a unified nation, but a series of self-governing British colonies. In terms of national identity, Australians were a long way behind the more established nations of the world. They sought to stage their own international exhibitions to advance their national and international status. This paper will examine the role of the Australian international exhibitions held in Sydney and Melbourne in the second half of the nineteenth century in relation to the formation of national identity. It focuses on the 1879 Sydney International Exhibition in the colony of New South Wales, the first international exhibition in the Southern Hemisphere, followed by the 1880 Melbourne International Exhibition and the 1888 Melbourne Centennial Exhibition in the colony of Victoria. These exhibitions dramatically raised colonial and national consciousness and revealed emerging political aspirations for the secure identity and proper recognition of the Australian colonies on the world stage.

I will argue that this was achieved by making them national events that invited the participation of all sectors of the population, including governments, power elites and ordinary men and women. Cultural values were transmitted through the magnificent exhibition buildings, their sites and layout, as well as the symbolic imagery used in the decoration of national courts and exhibits, poetry, art and music. The exhibitions contributed to the building of national unity and a shift in the colonial alliance with the British Empire. In conclusion I will argue that through the exhibitions the cities of Sydney and Melbourne assumed national significance and people began to identify them as the equivalents of major American and European cities.

Origins and Development of the Australian international exhibitions

In the wake of the Great Exhibition of 1851 a tradition of colonial exhibitions to invite commerce and display social and cultural progress sprang up in Australia, building upon earlier small-scale agricultural fairs and European national exhibitions.¹ In Victoria they were modelled on their famous international counterparts, closely following the conventions first established by London's Great Exhibition. A major attraction was the exhibits assembled for subsequent display at international exhibitions overseas. The colonial exhibitions became great national festivals with widespread appeal, and before long they were transformed into grand-scale intercolonial events.¹

Two such grand-scale events were the Sydney Metropolitan Intercolonial Exhibition, held in 1870 in commemoration of the first landing of Captain Cook in Australia, and the Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition in 1875. Both attracted exhibits from around Australia, as well as from New Zealand and abroad. The Sydney show was a huge popular success and eulogised thus: “It has been to this colony what the Great Exhibition of 1851 was to England.”² Similar sentiments were expressed by a speaker at the Exhibitors' Banquet during the Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition, who suggested that Victoria should hold an international exhibition in 1879, and that “steps should be immediately taken to secure a site for the erection of a building in which future exhibitions might be held.”³

The following table locates the Australian colonial, intercolonial and international exhibitions within the global continuum of international exhibitions:

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<th>Year</th>
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<td>Vienna Weltsausstellung</td>
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<td>Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition</td>
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<td>1878</td>
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The first proposals for international exhibitions in Sydney and Melbourne were promoted by private interest groups seeking commercial advantage: the Royal Agricultural Society in New South Wales, and the Manufacturers' and Exhibitors' Association in Victoria. However once their national and international significance was comprehended, the colonial governments and other influential people in the community took control. In Victoria, Premier Graham Berry became the main political sponsor of the Melbourne International Exhibition.³ He was a contemporary of the Crystal Palace and understood the potential benefits such an event offered Victoria. As a young man working in London, he had seen first-hand the festivities surrounding the Great Exhibition of 1851. Initially
Berry faced resistance, and when he introduced his Exhibitions Bill in late November 1877 it was rejected by the Legislative Council, ostensibly because the idea of an international exhibition, underpinned by a celebration of free trade, was considered hypocritical to the government's protectionist stance.

An editorial in the *Argus* newspaper suggested that the government should change its tactics and widen the proposal's appeal in order to make the thing "as successful as possible". The *Argus* suggested a truly "national" undertaking, with the commission comprising men of all political persuasions, and representatives from all of the Australian colonies. While neither of these conditions was taken up, the success of the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878 achieved similar ends. The Australian colonies exhibited advantage and the Australian newspaper reported that "Australia has a striking proof of its existence and progress". This experience widened the appeal of the proposal for a home-grown international exhibition and in 1878 Berry's Exhibitions Bill was passed.

Graham Berry's equivalent in the colony of New South Wales was politician Henry Parkes. Parkes had not experienced the Great Exhibition first-hand, as Berry had, but he had written about the "noble and admirable project" in 1851 in his revolutionary newspaper *The Empire*. Parkes, like Berry, regarded the Great Exhibition as the ultimate expression of a mature and culturally confident society, a society he dreamt of creating in Australia. In 1878, however, when the proposal for a Sydney International Exhibition was gaining momentum Henry Parkes was in an unstable political environment and initially distanced himself from the venture. Notice of the exhibition elicited startlingly positive responses from abroad, and amid speculation that the exhibition might have to be cancelled for lack of funds, the Parkes government finally agreed to support it financially.

The lengthy debate in parliament over whether to grant the money made it clear that the Sydney International Exhibition was regarded as a national undertaking. It offered the opportunity to increase trade, enhance the colony's international status, and celebrate the imperial attachment. Moreover, the fact that other countries were planning to send their national representatives showed that they, too, appreciated the national, and international, significance of the event. An editorial in *The Sydney Morning Herald* stated that:

> It is only under direct Government auspices that an exhibition on the scale that has now become necessary can be carried out. It has been intimated from America that the Government there will send a Commissioner; other countries will probably do the same, and such representatives should only be properly received by the Government itself.

The government control of the international exhibitions in Sydney and Melbourne in 1879, 1880 and 1888 was just one means by which these events assumed national significance. The cooperation between public and private sectors they entailed, the issues they raised and debates they facilitated, the participation by people of all walks of life they encouraged and the associated network of congresses and conferences they spawned, also contributed to their national significance. As such they provided the opportunity for the nation-colonies to construct and present images of themselves for audiences at home and abroad. At home, power elites promoted their visions for society, and ordinary people, participating in the events, were able to contribute to the shaping of collective national identities.

Pageants of cultural change: the role of the international exhibitions in building national identity

Nation-states emerged throughout Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. In France, after the crushing defeat in the Franco-Prussian war and social unrest at home, the Third Republic invented a series of public ceremonies as part of a wider program to consolidate the people into a unified nation. This included three of the biggest late nineteenth-century international exhibitions in Paris in 1878, 1889 and 1900. Eric Hobsbawm has shown that the French recognised the exhibitions as powerful tools for nation building, engendering pride in the progress of the country and its important place in the world:

> the occasional world expositions [...] gave the Republic the legitimacy of prosperity, technical progress – the Eiffel Tower – and the global colonial conquest they took care to emphasize.65

Germany did not stage any exhibitions at home, but nevertheless exploited the opportunities offered by the international exhibition movement to develop a language of national identity. At the first Great Exhibition of 1851, Germany was confronted with the problem of dealing with over 30 separate divisions, and until the 1870s struggled with portraying national unity using the conventional heraldry of banners and flags of the states of the German union. After the founding of the German Reich the representation of national cultural identity through the exhibitions became increasingly sophisticated, and included architecture (such as nationally representative houses), displays of popular culture (piano recitals etc.), and the ornamentation of trade and artistic produces and exhibition pieces with explicitly political references. From the Vienna Weltausstellung in 1873 the state actively promoted a unified German entry and the theme of national unity and strength became a priority in German displays at the world exhibitions.66 At the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 the German court included a "rare and beautiful display of porcelain" exhibited in a gilt and ebony case surmounted by Prussian eagles. In the case stood three massive vases, "the largest of these is the Germania vase, one side of which is decorated with a painting of 'Germania Cultivating the Arts and Sciences', the other with a painting of 'Borussia, the Shield and Protectress of the Empire'.67

The United States used the international exhibitions, particularly those staged on American soil, to show that the New World was equal to, if not better than, the Old World. Robert Rydell has argued that the huge exhibitions at American international exhibitions testified to their wide appeal because they "struck a responsive chord in the lives of many Americans".68 In the second half of the nineteenth century Americans were struggling to come to terms with the pace of industrialisation, periods of economic depression, and class and race conflicts. Rydell says that:

> To alleviate the intense and widespread anxiety that pervaded the United States, the directors of the expositions offered millions of fairgoers an opportunity to reaffirm their collective national identity in an updated synthesis of progress and white supremacy that suffused the blueprints of future perfection offered by the fairs.69

At the very first of these events, the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876, Americans sought to reinforce their identity as a freedom-loving people, who were resourceful, productive and progressive. In his address at the closing ceremony, Hon. John Welsh, President of the Board of Finance, proclaimed:
The patriotic impulses of the people have been quickened. Their love for their country has been strengthened. The Exhibition has concentrated here species of the varied products of the United States and made better known to us your vast resources. [...] It has exhibited the American people in their true character, respectful of each other's rights, considerate of each other's convenience, and desirous of allowing to others a full participation in their enjoyment.8

America went on stage a series of international exhibitions, each one bigger and more impressive than the last. The crowning point was the time Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 with its White City which provided a utopian classical vision for the city of the future.

The international exhibitions were also a force in the evolution of Australian national identity in the second half of the nineteenth century. At the Great Exhibition in 1851 the exhibits from the Australian colonies highlighted Australia's agricultural and mineral wealth. Great pride was taken in showing the development from penal settlements into an economically vital component of the empire.9 The colonies repeatedly conveyed an image of prosperity and progress through trophy style exhibits that featured towering stacks of primary products - wool, gold, wheat, woods, wines, and other mineral and agricultural specimens - that typified Australian agricultural and mining activity. Images of Australian national identity centered on the wealth of the land.

Between 1851 and the first Australian international exhibitions, the Australian colonies experienced a period of enormous growth and change. Telegraphic communications, postal services and steam shipping were bringing Australia closer to the rest of the civilised world than she had ever been. By the time Sydney and Melbourne staged their international exhibitions in 1879 and 1880 they received a continuous flow of telegrams and timetabled voyages from the other side of the world. Australia was also increasingly tied to world trade and finance. Sydney and Melbourne were home to robust consumer economies for machinery, luxuries and a range of everyday goods. In the late 1870s a substantial export bill continued to surpass each year's substantial export receipts. In finance, Australia's share of British overseas investment, which represented at least half the capital invested anywhere outside its country of origin, grew from one-fifth, in the second half of the 1870s to almost one-quarter in the first half of the 1880s.10 At home, the rail connection between Sydney and Melbourne was almost complete. The populations in New South Wales and Victoria had grown from 197,265 and 97,489 in 1851 to 777,025 and 873,965 in 1881, and those in positions of power and influence were taking the first steps towards implementing a public education system and establishing cultural institutions. The Australian exhibitions came when the time was ripe for them to foster national sentiment. The children of the free settlers of the gold rush period, the first large generation of native-born Australians, had reached maturity.

The power elites dominated the exhibition commissions. For example, of the thirty-six men appointed as New South Wales commissioners for the Sydney International Exhibition, at least nineteen were members of the Legislative Council or Legislative Assembly, four were prominent figures in local government, and others were government representatives and justices of the peace. The commissioners represented a wide range of interests in science, the arts, commerce, law, agriculture and industry, and various political persuasions. They were men who believed in progress and were interested in harnessing the exhibitions to achieve a better society.

The exhibitions brought together "most of the main 'high cultural' forms of Western civilisation, including science, technology, art and architecture". They were seen as vehicles for melodram, to enlighten the uneducated and potentially wayward masses and prepare them for their destiny of democratic nationhood. Included the primary purpose of the colony's existing cultural institutions, such as the Royal Society of New South Wales, Linnean Society and Academy of Art, and the mechanics' institute and technical college movement, appears to have been to 'civilise' a rapidly urbanising society, at the same time as promoting progress and industrialisation. The Australian international exhibitions were regarded in a similarly dualistic light, contributing both to the acculturation of colonial society and commercial development. In particular Paul Greenhalgh suggests that elites used the exhibitions to propagate nationalism.

The exhibitions had to do more than simply whip up general verbal enthusiasm, they also had to give physical form to pavilions and palaces and to penetrate higher levels of cultural production with nationalistic dogma. They had to cater for the educated as well as the ignorant, providing a formula and a rationale for national culture which was capable of being interpreted by a wide cross section of the population.11

The cultural values and nationalistic sentiment that the exhibitions promoted were transmitted to the general public by their participation in the actual event (whether as event workers, event consumers, exhibitors or spectators). The public came to be entertained but were also educated and imbued with feelings of cultural citizenship. The openings of the exhibitions in Sydney and Melbourne were declared public holidays. Crowds lined the footpaths to cheer giant parades that included bands, volunteer forces, fire brigades, friendly societies and trades unions, and associated trades. The festivities continued for the duration of the exhibitions, with regular organ recitals and choral performances, open to all. Brass bands gave picnic concerts, and exhibitors sponsored piano recitals. At the Sydney International Exhibition "the biggest day's attendance came on Foundation Day, 26 January 1880, when 27,900 visitors attended the birthday of the colony with a Temperance Holiday at the Exhibition. A choir of a thousand children clad in white sang temperance and patriotic songs, and had to encore 'Rule, Britannia' and 'Advance Australia Fair'. The ring events of the horse show then in progress culminated in a grand parade and everyone had a wonderful time."12

The ecclesiastical-inspired designs for the Sydney and Melbourne exhibition buildings, with their great domes, towers and long naves, were uplifting. So impressive was Sydney's exhibition building that the "Temple of Practical Wisdom" or "Australian Palace". It has been argued that nineteenth century exhibition structures gave form to societal and cultural aspirations, prompting the exciting recognition of a society's capacity. This was true in both New South Wales and Victoria where the exhibition buildings became powerful symbols of progress and cultural achievement. The dome of the Melbourne Exhibition Building took its place on the city skyline above the towers of the Post Office and Town Hall, and in close juxtaposition with the dome of the Houses of Parliament. A feeling of public ownership for the Melbourne Exhibition Building resulted from the competition for its design, which was accompanied by much fanfare in the local newspapers. These majestic buildings in their magnificent settings became new focal points for the cities of Sydney and Melbourne.

Sovereign views of the city of Sydney, which from the earliest days had been taken looking east over the Harbour towards the Heads, now turned around to gaze from Bradley's Head and Mrs Macquarie's Chair to the urban centre, with the Palace in prominent sight. The Illustrated Sydney News launched a new masti-
At the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition of 1888 a feature of the Victorian court was a model of old Melbourne which was "interesting, because the visitor, after seeing it, may go to the parapet of the dome and obtain a very good bird's-eye view of the Melbourne of today".²²

Whereas in 1851 national identity had been defined in terms of the wealth of the land, now the themes had evolved to place cultural achievement against the backdrop of the land. One of Sydney's distinguished poets, Henry Halloran, wrote a series of poems celebrating the Sydney International Exhibition. His poems described "the proud Harbour, and the winding bays" as the backdrop to a thriving seaport city. The epitome of the nation's cultural achievement was symbolised by the magnificent exhibition building, the 'Garden Palace', set in the botanical gardens beside the harbour:

And now the Dome and Turrets meet the sky,
Shining and crowned in their scope and height,
Illumin'd by the splendour of our Sun;
That, with bright flame and gold, makes exquisite
All that Man's ruling hand has swiftly done;
The effort has been made, the Victory has been won.

The progress and achievement embodied in the exhibition structures was made manifest by the central location of the courts of New South Wales and Victoria inside the building. It was traditional that the government occupied the centre surrounded by the other industrial powers, with colonies and other non-Western nations relegated to the peripheries. The layout of national courts signified world order and the power relations among the exhibiting countries.²³ It was a source of great pride to the visiting public to see New South Wales and Victoria at the centre as host nations, alongside the great nations of the world. This was a coming of age for the Australian colonies. In the Garden Palace, New South Wales was located under the dome flanked by Victoria and the other Australian colonies. In close relationship to New South Wales was Great Britain, diagonally opposite and occupying the largest area — an entire quadrant of the building. The longitudinal ceremonial axis divided the Old World from the New. America was located directly opposite to Great Britain as the equivalent power in the New World.²⁴ There was a similar layout for the Melbourne exhibition the following year, although this time with Victoria at the centre.²⁵ The longitudinal axis was dubbed the "avenue of all nations" and became the exhibition's main promenading area. To see and be seen in this cosmopolitan atmosphere built colonial confidence in Australia's place in the world.

Through their participation in the international exhibitions, the Australian colonies sought their own identity by comparing themselves to other emerging nations struggling with issues of unity and ethos, as well as by comparing themselves to established nations in the Old World:

The Exhibition serves as a useful landmark in the march of Australian progress. The exhibits contributed by other sections of the Empire, and by foreign countries, enable us to measure our industrial shortcomings, or, as the case may be, the extent of improvement which has been attained, both in the quality and quantity of the commodities produced in the country. An opportunity is afforded of comparing our mineral, agricultural, pastoral, manufacturing, and artistic development with that of older and more cultured communities in Europe, Asia, and America.²⁶

In particular, the statistical information included in official exhibition catalogues in introductory notes on the participating nations encouraged comparison of development and progress.²⁷ By 1888 a great sense of the progress of the Australian colonies was evident through statistical descriptions of population growth, increases in primary production, urban development and improvements in communications.

Participating nations employed allegory and other visual symbolism to portray themselves at the international exhibitions. For example in a contemporary account of the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition by James McCabe, summaries of the Italian, German and American courts began with descriptions of the nationalistic imagery employed. The United States displayed a solid silver "Century Vase" on a granite base by Tiffany & Co. The base depicted the story of American civilisation from the Indian and pioneer to the Revolution, while the vase depicted the growth of the nation. "The front panel of the vase represents genius, ready to inscribe on the tablet the progress made in literature, science, music, painting, sculpture and architecture. On the reverse panel, genius is ready to record the advancement in commerce, mining and manufactures."²⁸ At the entrance to the American group of courts America herself was represented by the allegorical figure of Columbia holding in her hand the staff surmounted by the Liberty Cap.

For Australia, the Sydney International Exhibition provided a forum for the first attempts at formulating a national imagery or symbolism. The Fine Arts exhibits from New South Wales included allegorical works by Lucien Henry, "Empire of the South," and sculptor Achille Simonetti, "Venus of the South," both of which received an "honourable mention". Inspired by the allegorical efforts of nations like America and Germany, and the efforts of Henry and Simonetti, there followed a flurry of experimentation in Australian allegory. Giovanni Fontana produced the marble statue "New South Wales", which was installed in 1884 in the Colonial Secretary's Office. Nicholas Francois Habbe painted several allegories with such titles as "Australian Centennial", "British culture on Australian ground" and "New South Wales"; and Lucien Henry produced a string of allegorical works including a stained glass window manufactured in 1889 for Sydney Town Hall entitled "New South Wales". James Barnet commissioned elaborate allegorical sculptural decoration for Sydney's two major public projects of the early 1880s. Australians were using the Old World language of allegory to define themselves as a nation among nations.

Native flora and fauna, exotic symbols of Australia's geographically distant position in the Southern Hemisphere, were used by Australians to set themselves apart from other nations. Art exhibits from New South Wales at the Sydney International Exhibition featured coloured lithographs of Australian orchids by R. D. Fitzgerald, a watercolour by Ellis Rowan titled "Australian Flowers", and some paintings of the local landscape by Arthur Collingridge and John Rae.²⁹ A large display of jewellery incorporated Australian motifs such as Aborigines, kangaroos and the Southern Cross.

This may seem to European eyes a strange style of art, yet it is undoubtedly in excellent taste for colonial artists to imitate the natural forms peculiar to this new continent.

Exposure to extensive loan collections of paintings from Britain and other European nations at the exhibitions, and new local art collections built with exhibition acquisitions³⁰ allowed comparisons to be made, local efforts evaluated, and highlighted differences in subject matter. In the confident aftermath of the
international exhibitions in Sydney and Melbourne, artists became increasingly concerned with “laying the foundation of a distinctly ‘Australian School of Art’” incorporating native flora and fauna and landscape. This movement was given added impetus by the large number of professional artists from abroad who had been attracted to Sydney and Melbourne by the exhibitions, and stayed on to play influential roles in the subsequent development of the arts. For example, new arrival Lucien Henry sought the formation of a school of Australian decorative arts incorporating native flora and fauna.65

By the 1880s a school of Australian landscape painting was developing. This was a strongly nationalistic movement that sought to reflect the meaning and the sentiment of Australian life and Australian scenery, underpinned by the belief that “a nation’s Art is its portrait”.66 The introduction in the catalogue to the Fine Arts Court at the Centennial Exhibition read:

The type of a nation’s religion is notably influenced by the character of the scenery amidst which the inhabitants live, and the application of a similar principle to the character of a country’s art is strikingly illustrated in the profession of painting as practised under an Italian or Spanish sky, contrasted with the somewhat sterner aspect which art presents in Holland and England; and it might naturally be supposed that the climate, topography, and products of a new land like Australia would not be without their effect in stamping distinctive features on Australian art, marking it off from the schools of Europe and America, as these from local causes all differ from each other.67

The International Exhibitions held in Sydney and Melbourne afforded a rare opportunity for works of art from all the Australian colonies to be exhibited together. The significance of this rare opportunity was not lost on contemporaries. By 1884 the fine arts exhibits at the Tasmanian International Exhibition (1894-95) were described as “the first step towards an intercolonial federation of art”.68

Intercolonial Co-operation: towards the building of a nation

Studies of nationalism and national identity have shown that every society forms an image of itself and of its citizens in order to maintain a coherent identity. In nineteenth-century Australia the boundaries of national belonging were open to interpretation and there was a range of possible identities that colonists could adopt. The nation could be viewed as individual colonies (New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia); or as Australia (all of these colonies combined); or as Australasia (encompassing Australia, New Zealand and neighbouring islands in the South Pacific). The international exhibitions significantly contributed to changing perceptions of where the national boundaries should lie and an increasing tendency to view the nation as the continent of ‘Australia’, girt by sea.

The international exhibitions from 1851 onwards provided the opportunity for each Australian colony to exhibit independently, but usually they were grouped together in an exhibition court and there was considerable confusion in the minds of other countries as to who the colonies were. Even Britain made little discrimination between them. At the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1855 the British commissioners reportedly said, “Oh, we understand none of your colonial distinctions here; we call it all South Australia.”66 This was a source of great frustration to the colonies, who perceived themselves as separate nation-states, with distinctive interests.

At the international exhibitions the advantages of being presented as a group were soon recognised. A combined Australian court was proposed for the Paris Exposition Universelle de 1867, underpinned by the belief that the colonies would be able to attract more attention as a group than as individuals. New South Wales rejected the concept fearing that it would end up shouldering the financial burden. Experience of the success of the later Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878, which “produced unity of action”, gave rise to a strong under-current of intercolonial cooperation between New South Wales and Victoria for the Australian exhibitions of 1879, 1880 and 1888. In a letter to the editor of the Sydney Morning Herald, Jules Joubert, an Australian entrepreneur of international exhibitions, set the tone, writing:

The success of both the Sydney and Melbourne Exhibitions, like that which characterised the Australian representation in Paris, depends on perfect unity of action and a firm determination to ‘help one another’.

Laying the foundation stone for the Melbourne Exhibition Building, the Governor of Victoria expressed his hope that the great displays planned for Sydney and Melbourne would foreshadow the even greater co-operative experiment of intercolonial federation.69 The Governor of New South Wales repaid the compliment in his opening address at the Sydney International Exhibition, in which he referred to the “aspiring sister colonies of Australasia” as being united “and forming a glorious purpose to achieve the highest walks of civilisation”.68

The colonies increasingly co-operated with one another, assisted by improved communications such as telegraph and rail, despite the rivalry arising from protective trade policies and competition for pre-eminence. Early in the preparations for the Sydney International Exhibition, the commissioners from New South Wales and Victoria agreed that they should confer on subjects of mutual benefit. The cooperation even extended to the exhibits themselves. In 1879 an imposing obelisk in front of the Garden Palace represented the total combined gold and coal production of Australia.
Co-operation between colonies was facilitated by networks developed between the various exhibition commissioners, a number of whom represented their colonies at consecutive international exhibitions and were men of considerable political influence. For example, Joseph Casey from Victoria and Henry Parkes from New South Wales were long time correspondents from the time of the Sydney intercolonial exhibition in 1871 onwards. The correspondence mainly concerned political and legal matters, but a friendship also formed. Such friendships and associations helped to bring the colonies together. Inter-personal networks between colonies were formalised at inter-colonial conferences, one of which was held in conjunction with the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1880. The conference was held in two parts - the first in Melbourne in November 1880, the second in Sydney January 1881.

The Centennial Exhibition, held in Melbourne in 1888, was pronounced to be a truly national undertaking. The idea of staging an international exhibition to celebrate the centenary of European settlement in Australia was first raised by New South Wales in 1885, inspired by the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 and plans for Paris in 1889. However, the idea was rejected on the basis of cost and the lack of venue - the Garden Palace having been destroyed by fire in 1882. Nevertheless there was a strong feeling among some that the celebration of Australia's centenary would be incomplete without an international exhibition showcasing the progress of the Australian colonies since their foundation, and late in November 1886 the subject was introduced in the Victorian parliament. The Premier of Victoria, Duncan Gillies, subsequently wrote to the Premier of New South Wales, Patrick Jennings, offering to stage an international exhibition on New South Wales' behalf:

It has struck us here that Victoria could aid you, and contribute to your success, may I not say joint success, for we too have an interest in the memorable event that you will celebrate, as it marked the beginning of our Australian history as well as yours. What at present you want we have - a grand exhibition building, to which could be sent all that was wanted to tell of the bounty of nature, and the skill and perseverance of men. We propose to take advantage of it, and when your fêtes are over, when your brilliant demonstrations in Sydney are brought to a close, your younger sister will invite your visitors to come and see the Australian "World's Fair" at our Exhibition, and have had the honour which belongs to you alone of inaugurating a memorable centenary, and we may well be permitted to help in the ceremony by bringing it to a not unworthy close.55

Jennings replied favourably by telegram the next day and the context for "the spectacle of Australian unity" was set. A gift obelisk resembling "Cleopatra's Needle," and representing the total quantity of gold raised in the Australian colonies from the first discovery, stood opposite the south entrance to the main exhibition building as a national symbol of their combined wealth. The Australian colonies also banded together in the south-western annexe to sell their wines. Inside the main building, New South Wales was given first choice of locations. Her court emphasised history, while Victoria emphasised progress. One of the chief attractions in the New South Wales court was a tableau depicting the landing of Captain Cook, complete with indigenous landscape and twenty-two life size figures modelled in wax. The Victorian court featured manufactured products and machinery. Most impressive was the attraction of having the entire exhibition lit by the largest installation of electric arc lighting in the world. By now the term 'nation' generally signified the federation of colonies and the nation felt justly proud of its progress.

Through their emphasis on technology and the mastery of nature and the highly competitive atmosphere they encouraged the international exhibitions contributed to the evolution of Australian national imagery. The period from the Sydney International Exhibition in 1879 to the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition in 1888 saw the coming of age of the Australian colonies. The staging of three consecutive international exhibitions at home contributed to the redefinition of imperial ties with Britain and a shift in the relationship that accommodated the independence of the self-governing colonies, while allowing them to benefit from the financial and strategic advantages afforded by the imperial alliance.

Under the Imperial Banner: the role of the international exhibitions in refining the British alliance

Until Australian Federation in 1901, the colonies were constitutionally dependent on Britain, and their governments could not act internationally or make treaties. In terms of organising international exhibitions, this meant that approval had to be sought from London, and a Royal Commission established, before the exhibitions were formally recognised by other nations. In addition to constitutional dependence, the colonies depended on Britain for telegraph and overseas postal communications and trade. Most importantly, colonial governments relied on British investment capital to fund major public works. The colonies participated on the international stage under the imperial banner and largely defined themselves by the role they played within the empire, but they also stood alone in the organization and administration of their exhibits. Their position within the empire was clearly articulated by the New South Wales commissioners to Paris in 1879 who reported back that:

It will [...] be gratifying to all who are interested in the fair fame of New South Wales, and are concerned to maintain her position as an integral portion of the British Empire, to be assured by the Royal President of the Imperial Commission of his appreciation of the value of her co-operation with the Mother country in the great industrial gathering of the nations which has recently taken place.56

Crucial to national identity was the development and articulation of new cultural institutions, icons and symbols which were aligned with the concept of the Old World. Within traditional hierarchies New South Wales and Victoria were at pains to show how like Britain they could be. The words of the Cantata for Sydney's International Exhibition rang:

Shining nations! let them see
How like England we can be,
Mighty nations! let them view
Sons of generous sires in you.57

Along similar lines, the lyrics accompanying the Cantata for the Melbourne International Exhibition defined nationhood in terms of the imperial connection:

Wave, wave your silken banners! Your silver trumpets blow! Sing, sing your loud hosannah! That all the world may know
This day is born a Nation, 'neath England's banner free,
That like a constellation, shines o'er the Southern Sea.58

It was not in words alone that New South Wales and Victoria articulated their imperial ties. For each of the Australian international exhibitions a Royal Commission was established in London, which imparted international credibility to the undertaking. The honour of opening the exhibitions fell to the Queen's
representatives, the governors of the respective colonies. Sydney's Garden Palace was located in the Inner Domain, part of the Governor's exclusive private park, and enjoyed the prestigious imperialistic connotations that went with it; while the Melbourne Exhibition Building was in close juxtaposition to the Victorian Houses of Parliament. Decorations further reinforced the imperial connection. For example at the Sydney International Exhibition, an imposing bronze statue of the Queen stood at the centre of the Garden Palace. The Diploma awarded to exhibitors was decorated with a medallion showing the slender figure of New South Wales standing by Britannia, holding her hand as an emblem of the affectionate connection between the two countries.  

In 1888 the medal for the Centennial Exhibition celebrated British origins and Australian nationalism. It featured the head of Queen Victoria on the obverse, while on the reverse was a wreath, composed of the leaves and acorns of the British oak on the right hand, and of the leaves and blossoms of the Australian wattle on the left, the two sides of the wreath being bound together at the stems by a true-lover's knot; symbolising the idea of unity and affection between the mother country and the colony. Inside was the motto "Arbitus dignis, honor insignis" (To the deserving arts distinguished honour), forming an oval, and within the oval were the five stars of the Southern Cross.  

The Australian colonies' stance, constructed with reference to imperial ties, was offset by a movement arguing for greater independence and international recognition as 'nations' in their own right. Comparison with other emerging nations such as the United States and Germany informed local ideas about future directions for Australia. In this Australian interests were not always easily reconciled with those of Britain, which feared its trade with Australia would suffer as a result of the growing links with other nations brought about by the exhibitions. Letourneau wrote to the Colonial Office, "A new era of trade appears to be dawning in which may be to the disadvantage of England and which is the outcome of the Exhibitions."  

At the exhibitions Australia looked up to the United States and Germany as role models. Both the United States and Germany were impressively represented at the Australian international exhibitions, probably because both were looking for business advantage in the Pacific region. In an era marked by expansion in the Pacific, the United States and Germany were eager to establish their presence there.  

Many influences flowed from the United States to Australia via the international exhibitions. New South Wales, in particular, felt some sentimentalities towards its "elder sister". This was not just a matter of endearment, but captured the real political and cultural relations in operation between the two nations at the time. The United States, former colonies of Britain, and by 1876 celebrating 100 years of independence at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, was of interest to Australia as a role model on questions of government and for guidance on future directions.

Were it not for the severance of the United States from England, and the necessity under which the Mother Country was thereby placed of securing other territory in its stead, Australia would probably have remained to this day in its primitive condition.  

The Australian colonies exhibited enthusiastically at Philadelphia, the first international exhibition in the New World. Philadelphia became a model for arrangements for Sydney's exhibition in 1879. It informed ideas about organisation and funding, and provided the framework for Sydney's classification system. Its magnificent edifices, such as 'Memorial Hall' constructed to house the fine arts exhibits and provide an enduring cultural legacy, provided a benchmark for the staging of exhibitions in the New World. The Fine Arts Committee in Sydney were inspired by 'Memorial Hall' to fight for their own purpose-built Fine Arts Annex, and later to push for the construction of a permanent National Art Gallery. Most importantly, from the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition came ideals of national unity. It was a watershed in the movement towards Australian Federation.

Germany's presence at the Australian international exhibitions and her lavish displays made the colonies feel important on the world stage. At the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition of 1888 Germany presented a splendid allegorical trophy of Germany offering her congratulations to Australia on the attainment of her centenary. It featured the figure of a woman in the fullness of youth and beauty, standing on the prow of a large pedestrian on the sea, with which a pair of golden eagles and a globe overshadowed by the Imperial banner. Her left arm rested upon the Imperial crown of Germany, while the right was outstretched in an attitude of greeting.  

Partly as a result of the international exhibitions, the Australian colonies were gaining confidence in themselves as economic and political entities of international significance. Ties with Britain remained strong, but the second half of the nineteenth century saw a shift in the relationship that accommodated the growing nationalism of the Australian colonies while allowing them to benefit from the financial and strategic advantages offered by an alliance with the empire. Beverley Kingston summarises the differences between Australian nationalism and the nationalistic revivals in Europe from which it took much of its inspiration. She says:

Australian nationalism had no slumbering tradition on which to draw, no folk memories or cast heroic virtues to reanimate. Though two histories, white and Aboriginal, were linked in their dependence on the land, their experience was in conflict.  

She claims that "the most flourishing sentiment was intercolonial rivalry. The Australian colonies were six separate entities with six different histories. The national spirit really only existed through their competition and in relationship to Britain and the Empire." However, I have demonstrated that intercolonial co-operation was strongly desired and that the Australian international exhibitions provided early opportunities for such co-operation. This was a very important factor in the development of a national identity that eventually culminated in federation in 1901. In 1888, argues Graeme Davison, "on one great question almost everyone was agreed: long before the bicentenary, Australia would have become a federated and independent nation."  

Australian aborigines were not seen by many white people as part of the future nation, and were even excluded from population statistics. The nineteenth century European concern for racial purity was shared by white Australians, who aspired to be as vigorous and progressive as the British. Every Australian sporting victory against the British was celebrated as evidence that Australia's convict past and semi-tropical climate had not tainted or degenerated her people. The colonies united to protect their racial purity and quality. In the 1850s they fought the threat of renewed convict transportation and by the 1870s combined to pursue a policy that excluded unwanted Chinese and Asian immigrants.

Australians still saw themselves as being basically British and sharing the ideals of British civilisation. They were predominantly of one Anglo-Saxon blood,
spoke the same English language, and shared Britain's cultural heritage and Westminster system of government. By the 1880s there was some interaction between the Australian colonial and British governments as the leading colonial politicians sought to influence Britain's defence and foreign policies. Possibly the best summary of the general sentiment of the time was given by Reverend H. T. Burgess of South Australia in 1888 in an essay that won a centennial essay contest on "The future position of Australia among the nations". He predicted greatness for Australia because not only did it have an extensive territory with an abundance of material resources, but its climate was suitable to the development of a "hardy and energetic race", and the people had inherited the nation-building characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon races, free political institutions and an intellectual culture favourable to "the highest forms of civilization".28

National and symbolic focus on the city: The international exhibitions in Sydney and Melbourne

At overseas international exhibitions, Australian commissioners and exhibitors sought to promote the Australian colonies as progressive, prosperous and civilised. Their selection of exhibits included photographs of the cities, accompanied by statistical information and maps explaining their geographical locations, as evidence of colonial economic, social and scientific development and the emergence of a civilised society similar to those found in the Old World. Visitors to the Australian courts were met with "photographs of rising cities, samples of gold, and manufactured goods".8 Images of the cities of Sydney and Melbourne made the unfamiliar, abstract and distant colonies visually comprehensible and tangible.

The official catalogue of the New South Wales court at the London Exhibition of 1862 compared the colony's demographic composition with that of England, highlighting the colony's urbanised population and suggesting that it offered similar conditions to those found in the urbanised Old World.28 At the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876 "Fine photographs of Sydney [sic], the capital, said to be the largest ever taken", formed a prominent part of the New South Wales exhibit and showed visitors to the court "what a stately city has grown up in the far-off country which but a generation back was almost unknown."29 At the Paris Universal Exposition of 1878 the Victorian court featured photographs that gave visitors "a perfect idea of the conditions under which the towns of Victoria were springing into existence, and the country being reclaimed from the wilderness of nature."28

To the cultural elites of Sydney and Melbourne involved in the exhibition movement abroad, these photographic images placed the cities of Sydney and Melbourne within the broad sweep of national culture and gave them a presence as part of the national identity. When the international exhibitions came to Australia in 1879, 1880 and 1888, not just the cultural elites but the broader population had the chance to appreciate the national significance of their cities and they identified with them enthusiastically.

Immediately prior to the exhibitions, inhabitants started to look critically at their cities. Anxious citizens wrote to The Sydney Morning Herald worried that their city might not be presented in the best light.30 Improvements to the cities and their infrastructure were made to attract, impress and accommodate visitors. In Sydney new works included the introduction of new asphalt pedestrian paths, a tram line linking the Garden Palace to the railway terminus, and the commencement of a number of magnificent public buildings constructed from Sydney's yellow-block sandstone. Hearts swelled with pride when Sydney was universally praised. One visitor from India discovered a city exceeding his expectations:

I am both amazed and delighted with Sydney, and was quite unprepared for a city combining so much beauty of landscape with so much commercial and political importance. I had always heard Sydney spoken of as a dull, second-rate English town, with narrow streets and an apathetic population, strongly leavened by the old taint of convictism [...] as a traveller who has seen most of the chief cities in Europe and India, I have no hesitation in saying that Sydney has advantages of situation, climate and scenery superior to them all.31

During the Melbourne International Exhibition of 1881, local boosters proclaimed Melbourne "the Metropolis of Australia". In fact, by 1888 the local population of Melbourne was so confident of its "marvellousness" of their city that they were becoming quite boastful.32

The exhibitions brought the cities of Sydney and Melbourne to life. Noisy streets overflowed with goods and people. On Sydney Harbour and the Yarra River, ships of war from all nations representing the flags of their respective countries were anchored. The Garden Palace and Melbourne Exhibition Building with flags waving dominated the skylines of their cities. The sight was exhilarating and local inhabitants could not help but be caught up in it all. Participating in these events, people appreciated their cities with new eyes, filled with pride at playing hosts to the great nations of the world. Eric Hobbsawm would argue that the exhibitions' involvement of ordinary people on a personal level was their most important function as far as the production of national identity was concerned.

National cannot be understood unless [...] analysed from below; that is in terms of the assumptions, hopes, needs, longings and interests of ordinary people, which are not necessarily national and still less nationalist.33

Participation in exhibition ceremonies; direct physical experiences such as climbing to the top of the Garden Palace or Melbourne Exhibition Building to see the city laid out below; and the purchase of souvenir views of the exhibition building against the backdrop of the city, made the city part of an accessible and comprehensive popular culture.34

The international exhibitions had powerful long-term impacts on the evolution and development of Sydney and Melbourne. Maurice Roche calls this cumulative impact "over time the "event horizon".35 The exhibitions constituted "temporal markers" that assisted social change, milestones in the development of the cities and the making of a nation. They stimulated foreign investment, trade, manufacturing, immigration and the introduction of new technologies. Sydney and Melbourne became part of the global economy, they were important seaports and their cities were developed to reflect their new economic status.

Sydney grew from a population of 317,079 in 1871 to 383,333 in 1891, Melbourne from 87,780 to 490,896,36 and there was a concentration of the labour force in the cities. Sean Glynn has shown that there was a trend to city consolidation as opposed to rural settlement which he calls "metropolisation".37 At the same time there was a development of the waterfront and seaport, and a rapid growth in overseas cargo trade. The Australian exhibitions focussed public funding and policy on the cities with subsidised transportation rates, reduced customs charges, and free use of telegraph and railways by exhibition commissioners. In the confident aftermath, more aware of their cities and imbued with nationalistic fervour, inhabitants consciously sought to develop
their cities further. As with international exhibitions generally, an important legacy was the wealth of exhibits to furnish new technological, ethnological, and art institutions. Nationalism, and the more cosmopolitan outlook engendered by the exhibitions, furnished the desire to construct such institutions.

The international exhibitions introduced new building products and technologies and an enlarged skilled workforce. For example the Sydney International Exhibition displayed the first passenger lift in Australia, allowing buildings to increase in height. Another example was the trend towards prefabrication and assembly in the 1880s that flowed from construction techniques used in the Garden Palace.49

In the collective memory, after the glory of the exhibitions had passed, the exhibition structures left an indelible mark on the collective psyche of the city.50 Henry Parkes recaptured the essence of Garden Palace (destroyed by fire in 1882) in his proposal for “a tower of art gallery in splendid isolation on the harbour foreshores, magnificently dominating and arresting to visitors who drive down in the colony by sea”.51 The dome motif of the Garden Palace and Melbourne Exhibition Building was incorporated in designs for new grand hotels that sprang up near the major railway stations in Sydney and Melbourne.52

National characteristics were recognised in urban terms as host cities were compared with other cities in the world. Fired up with nationalistic feelings, people aspired to belong to the kind of ‘ideal’ modern city promoted by the exhibition movement. The imagery engendered by the exhibitions contributed to the wealth and progress of the nation being identified with the material concentration of the city. Australians sought to endow their cities with cultural institutions and amenities that showed their civilised character, prosperity and democracy. Urbanism provided a shared language with the Old World, essential to the construction of an Australian national identity that was intimately linked to ties with mother England.
Trade was restricted between New South Wales and Victoria until Federation. New South Wales commissioners seeking exhibits for the Melbourne exhibition of 1880 blamed the lack of interest on trade restrictions between the two colonies. See New South Wales Legislative Assembly Votes & Proceedings (1891), vol. 3, 372-3.

47 The Sydney Morning Herald, 29.04.1879, 6.
48 DUNSTAN, D. 1996, 47.
50 Evidence in Pekoe Correspondence held in Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW.
53 Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne 1888-1889 (1890), 147.
54 DUNSTAN (1890), 202.
55 "The Centennial Exhibition", Centennial Magazine, 01.06.1889-31.06.1889, 61-2.
56 Dr on the Argus claimed cited in DUNSTAN (1890), 201.
57 New South Wales Legislative Assembly Votes & Proceedings 1879-80, vol. 4, 1003.
58 Views of Exhibition Campus in YOUNG (1893).
59 Went to the Exhibition Carhatt published in DUNSTAN (1890), 110.
60 YOUNG (1893), 46.
64 GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 1889, 70.
65 Ibid., xvi.
66 MOORE (1920), 106.
67 Official Record of the Centennial International Exhibition, Melbourne 1888-1889 (1890), 231.
68 TRANOR (1904), 1.
70 Ibid., 127.
75 Ibid., 145.
76 MCCSCDE (1978), 374.
78 The Sydney Morning Herald, 12.03.1879, 7, 09.04.1879, 5.
79 COFFIN, H. (1878), Under the Southern Cross, Melbourne, 214.
80 DAVISON (1978), 7.
82 HOFFENBERG (2001), 28.
83 ROCHÉ (1987), 6, 12-3.
88 CAMPBELL (1982), 125.
89 FREELAND, J. (1972), 171.
Savages in St. Louis: Imperial Identities at the 1904 World's Fair
by Chris Vaughan
Alongside the cascade of technological and material progress documented in the architecture, displays, and activities at the great succession of expositions and fairs staged throughout the last half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th, culture in all its diversity managed to reign supreme as the popular focus and commercial mainstay. Reflecting the obsession with marking out the boundaries of national and regional identity that motivated the staging of such events in the first place, displays of foreign cultures played a particularly important role in establishing the relationship of the host nation with the world. More complicated still was the staging of the "internal" relationships that were purposed to display the character of colonized lands and peoples ended up highlighting the psychological construction of imperial identity. For the United States, the "exhibitory complex" around the turn of the century revealed a distinct preoccupation with cultural difference, the more extreme and sensational the better, that found its focus at the very margins of the colonial empire the nation had so very recently acquired. At the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, held to mark the centennial of the nation's most extensive territorial acquisition, the event that would eclipse Chicago's Columbian Exposition of a decade before to become the largest World's Fair ended up featuring the still more extended reach of the nation across the broad Pacific, where the mysterious Philippines now represented Americans' global aspirations.1

Many an agenda was served—and undermined—by the interplay between producers and consumers of public culture that took place on the ever more extensive exposition grounds where identities were explicitly marked for all to see, hear, smell, and even feel. As governmental and commercial forces drew on deep-seated anxieties about the relationship between savagery and civilization to meet the difficult challenge of justifying the nation's new colonial domination over the Philippines, the stagings of expositions set in motion unintended consequences sometimes unforeseen but seldom forestalled. Promoters of an adapted imperial imaginary tapped into a hunger for an expanded field of national vision that had the potential to cloud public views of the subject in question, filling private pockets while imperiling progress toward a more realistic understanding of nascent colonial relationship. Yanking from obscurity to the center of the world's largest stage members of an amnesiac tribe that had resisted Western encroachment for centuries, exhibition planners exploited a mania for extreme cultural otherness that would for a long and crucial period alter both the course of Philippine-American relations and the American way of thinking about the world beyond its hitherto cloistered shores.

Responding to consumer demand for images simultaneously offering sharp contrasts and an aura of authenticity, image traders straddling the public and private sectors found in the Bontoc Igorots of the Philippine Gran Cordillera Central a perfect symbolic vehicle for the national policy of "benevolent assimilation". Richly adorned with cultural markers attesting to their pre-civilized status, the scantily clad, tattooed Igorots were visually suited to the rhetoric of uplift peddled by a U.S. government that had sought to divert attention from the grievances of the independence-seeking majority of lowland Filipinos. Offered up alongside a diverse group of Filipinos from across the archipelago, the highland minority was selected as a favorite attraction of a public encouraged by sensational journalism to see the contrast of civilizations in the widest possible terms.

In addition to the rhetoric of political leaders, newspaper and magazine articles, cartoons, advertisements, songs, plays, and stereoscopic slide shows all contributed to the development of ideas about American identity and the identities of the peoples American policies thrust before a public seeking to understand its place in the world, but no mode of presentation could match the scope or centrality of impact of the public displays featured in international expositions, which attracted voluminous press coverage, government support, and the patronage of huge crowds, including many who traveled extensively just to take part in the grand coming of age spectacles that united the emergence of regional centers with the expansion of national interests. In seeking to present the apotheosis of American civilization through extensive displays of scientific, commercial, and aesthetic achievement, planners of the St. Louis World's Fair were taken by surprise to learn that fair patrons' demonstrated preference was for displays highlighting the contrasts between the emerging modernity of American life and the enduring appeal of the primitive. Cultural difference proved a strong commercial force, but a poor prism for understanding of the emerging international order, posing a problem for officials seeking to manage public views of the nation's mission and an opportunity for others seeking to trade upon the taste of producers and consumers of images of otherness.2

Testing the boundaries between science and sensation

As part of a succession of cultural displays ranging from the "hootchie koochie" dances at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago to massive mock battles featuring defeated Indians at the 1901 Pan American Exposition in Buffalo, colonial tableaux at public, private, and hybrid-milieu presentations across the 20th century's first decade helped establish modes of presenting cultural difference that tested the boundaries between science and sensation. The legitimacy of science was a crucial element in establishing expositions as educational settings. Amid the myriad fakes, copies, caricatures and ever-changing images of the nation in its mediatic age of rising imperial representation, both political and economic grew an increasingly rare and thus sought-after commodity. Cultural entrepreneurs, taking their cues from European colonialist triumphalism, responded by putting before an ever more eager public corporate representatives of the new American empire. Like Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, which had commercialized the images of the subaltern, the new business of putting on display colonial subjects often involved considerable distortion. After all, communicating a defining sense of difference—the essential mission of any such display—required sharp contrasts not always evident in encounters unadorned by theatrical conditions.3

In the case of the largest enterprise undertaken amid the ambiguous U.S. imperial surge of the turn of the century, the colonization of the Philippines, the shaping of a distinct image of colonial otherness was hindered by several factors. The initial introduction of the Filipinos was clouded by the uncertainty surrounding events in the faraway archipelago. Few Americans had even heard of the islands. Even President William McKinley disingenuously pronounced himself initially unaware of their location. Before long, newspaper cartoons echoed the message of savagery run rampant in the new territories, commonly presenting Filipinos, alongside Cubans, Hawaiians, and Puerto Ricans as pickaninnies or savages, while frequently adding grass skirts, feathered headresses, spears and more specific, ill-fitting, cultural markers such as the curved Muslim sword, the kris, to the palette of identifying Filipino signifiers. Across the stages of discovery, conquest and colonization, the images would evolve, sometimes but not always taking on the more specific Malay racial characteristics of the colony's majority. Of all the distorted images of the Filipinos offered for public consumption during the first years of the United States' colonization of the islands, none proved more popular—or more difficult to manage—than that of the Bontoc Igorots.4

At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the mountain dwellers were presented in the context of the aptly dubbed Philippine Reservation, encompassing a diversity of ethnic groups from across the sprawling archipelago. Though the colorful
denizens of the Philippines' highest mountain range were featured prominently in advertisements and fair publications, it was public demand, not government promotion, which placed them at the head of the list of the huge fair's attractions. That demand was fed by newspaper reports and hounding public relations efforts which called prurient attention to the exhibit, where loincloth were the primary garb and dog stew, ordinarily a rarely consumed ceremonial meal, became a daily repast. Introduced corporeally to Americans under the auspices of the nascent field of anthropology, Igorots quickly achieved prominence far out of proportion to their minority status, drawing huge crowds to see the seemingly clad "dog-eaters" in the flesh. Their exotic religious rituals and reputation as fearsome headhunters fed a ravenous public hunger for displays of cultural difference affirming Americans' sense of remove from the spectre of "savagery." As misleading stand-ins for the Christianized majority of Filipinos, the Igorots exemplified the fluid symbiosis between the cultural project of anthropology and the freak-making machinery of exhibitionary commerce. Their renown reached its peak in St. Louis and was sustained in a series of publicly and privately managed displays at official expositions and carnival sideshows throughout the following decade. The government which had put them on stage lost control of the process it had initiated, and was forced to make extraordinary efforts, including the arrest of former colonial officials, in its attempts to undo the damage the distorting displays had done to relations with the Filipino majority and to public understanding of and support for the U.S. colonial project.

As an aesthetically arresting culture untouched by Spanish Catholicism and thus eligible for American-style transformation, the Igorots stood outside of the colonial power structure and thus posed no threat on the order of the lowland Filipinos who had contested American rule almost from the outset of the encounter. As representatives of the exotic, projected visions of a Philippines that a large portion of Americans imagined, however, they bore great symbolic power. Despite the prevalence of primitive images of Filipinos in editorial cartoons, Filipino leaders and high U.S. officials alike attributed the mistaken impression of the archipelago's diverse peoples that took hold during the first decade of the relationship to the sensational displays at St. Louis and their reprise at subsequent public expositions and less clearly sanctioned venues in the years that followed.

"Wild peoples" as the "real Filipinos"

The popular appeal of "wild peoples" at the turn of the century arose amid a discourse of American self-identification influenced by Darwinism, the closing of the continental frontier, concerns about the nation's fast-diversifying ethnic composition and a national longing for order exemplified in part by the rise of the science of anthropology and ethnology. In the case of the Philippines, the high profile of the "wild peoples" trope owed much to the influence of Dean C. Worcester, an ambitious junior zoology professor at the University of Michigan who had been quick to lay claim to the title of America's leading expert on the Philippines. In 1898, as American intentions toward the Philippines were being sorted out in the midst of the Spanish-American War, Worcester had converted photographs and field notes from two previous research trips into The Philippine Islands and Their People, which parlayed an extensive array of photographs of barely clad denizens of the islands' hinterlands with a stock of stories featuring the author as python-killing master of the wild to achieve both popularity and credibility based on "hard-won" knowledge. Propelled into a unique position of power as the only man to serve on the first and second incarnations of the Philippine Commission, Worcester enjoyed a long career as a top colonial administrator whose domain was the "wild" peoples. Worcester's scholarly focus on fauna and flora predisposed him to train both his camera's lens and his analysis on the natural realm, rather than the affairs of civilization. The son of a missionary and a man of keen commercial instincts, Worcester was to trade on images of wilderness throughout his long career as a colonial official and traveling Philippines expert. Worcester's consistent portrayal of the peoples of the mountainous hinterlands as the "real" Filipinos on one hand made Americans conscious of the multicultural mix they were to encounter, but on the other rendered foggy public understanding of the Tagalog-led resistance that would bog the United States down in years of bloody warfare. The success of The Philippine Islands and Their People, appears to have influenced the many authors suddenly laying claim to instant expertise on the Philippines to structure their reports in a remarkably consistent fashion, beginning with the nomadic Negritos and proceeding "upward" through the various "wild" tribes to the relatively Westernized Tagalog and Visayans. The organization of exposition displays in subsequent years would follow a similar approach, and it was Worcester who controlled access to the peoples he called the "real" Filipinos.

Worcester was certainly not alone in recognizing the appeal of the "savage" image. The simultaneous rise of photography and anthropology in the last years of the nineteenth century accounts for much of the interest shown in images of the primitive, but the visual emphasis on physical and cultural difference was widely expressed in popular media as well, often without regard for context. As an easily differentiated subgrouping of Filipinos whose garr and weaponry evoked classic American images of the indigenous Indians against whom European civilization had so long been contrasted, Igorots provided an image imbued with the extra power of photographic "reality". In 1898, New York Sun correspondent Oscar King Davis' popular eyewitness account of U.S. soldiers' first contact with the Philippines, Our Conquest in the Pacific, made no mention of such peoples, yet the slim selection of photographs accompanying the text were primarily devoted to loincloth-clad tribesmen holding spears or aiming
arrows. The Sears catalog for Fall 1900 boasts a drawing of Igorot spearmen in its advertisement for Stereoscopic slide packages. The phenomenon is widely repeated in a variety of media almost from the outset of the encounter.  

The distortion of the broader Philippine polity inherent in the focus on “savagery” initially served an official agenda: showing as extreme a contrast as possible between Filipinos and Americans bolstered the notion that “natives” were incapable of self-government and thus required American supervision. The civilized mission, a standard justification for establishing control over indigenous peoples, was the justification cited by McKinley when he declared U.S. intentions to retain the Philippines following the defeat of Spain. Paternalism remained the primary moral stance favoring the colonial project as it came under criticism from a broad coalition of anti-imperialists.

Despite clever public relations and rhetoric designed to appeal to the liberty-loving American people, few Filipino voices found sufficient amplification through popular media to counter the barrage of inaccurate stereotypes. The absence of a voice in the United States was all the more glaring for Filipino ethnic minorities. Aside from the sad, emblematic tale of the bow-and-arrow-shooting Igorots sent to their deaths in the first wave of battle against the Americans on February 4, 1899, the “wild tribes” remained a sideshow as long as a war raged on. After the U.S. unilaterally declared the conflict over in 1902, however, interest in marginal zones was revived. In 1903, National Geographic featured bare-breasted Tagubana and Negrito women alongside articles about the eradication of diseases and the discovery of a potential hill station for colonial bureaucrats. Such decontextualized images were not at all uncommon as editors adjusted the balance between scientific interest and popular appeal in favor of the latter category.

“Hootchie-Kootchie” dancers and the Midway of Pleasure

A similar blurring of education and entertainment had been taking place on another front. Growing popular demand for spectacle and display met government desires to commemorate progress in a series of fairs and expositions, each greater than the next as municipalities vied to assert themselves symbolically as fully grown world-class cities. Borrowing a page from international expositions in Paris at which Polynesians and Senegalese villages were re-created, Chicago's Columbian Exposition in 1893 introduced visitors to the world through national theme villages on the Midway of Pleasure. The commercial display of the alien Other may have reached its apogees in the shape of the French Pavilion, M. Joseph Aragon, a Syrian belly dancer billed as “Little Egypt, the Darling of the Nile”, whose performances created a “hootchy kootchy” belly dance craze foreshadowing the less overtly erotic appeal of the underdressed Igorots a decade later. American diplomat John Barrett, dispatched on a world tour in 1902 to organize displays for the impending St. Louis fair, was reported by the Overland Times of Ceylon as opposing “spectacular features, such as native dances that are suggestive of low moral tone”. The American representative “in this position [...] is cordially supported by the Asiatic monarchs and governments who are jealous of the good name of their peoples”, the newspaper's front-page editorial asserted.

Indeed, a Barcelona exhibit in which loinclothed Filipinos at “the lowest plane of savagery” represented the entire archipelago had offended the “pride of the real Filipino people [...] throughout the islands”, Jose de Olivares reported in one of the first accounts about the Philippines to reach American shores. Barrett, who as Consul in Bangkok had been the nation's youngest plenipotentiary, had been one of the first journalists to reach the Philippines following the victory at Manila Bay, and had even exploited his Vermont connections to gain access to Commodore George Dewey, but he had been bypassed in 1899 by the sensationalist Worcester in his bid for influence in the Philippines. His more conservative view of appropriate cross-cultural representation would likewise be submerged beneath the tide of enthusiasm for Igorots banging gongs with human jawbones. Initial attempts to present the human face of the new territory were muted.

Expressions of interest in displaying Filipinos emerged as early as the 1898 Omaha Exposition, where a few Filipinos made a brief appearance late in the fair's run. In 1899, once American intentions to take a Southeast Asian colony were established, France denied an application to include Filipinos in the U.S. display at the Paris Exposition, refusing to acknowledge Filipinos as Americans. In 1901, with guerrilla war still embarrassing the United States in the Philippines, the Solicitor of the Treasury denied permission for an extensive display of live Filipinos at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, resulting in a more limited representation that paled alongside the Buffalo fair's featured element, a much-touted mock Indian battle of unprecedented size. It also lacked the quietly promoted presence of a fair program studded with photographs of bare-breasted Indian maidens.

By 1904, U.S. control of the Philippines was established and plans were made for an extensive Philippine Exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis. Uniting Jefferson's vision of an expanded America with the still controversial embrace of overseas empire represented by the colonization of the Philippines, the exposition was a critical forum for the promulgation of a new imperial agenda; determined to eclipse the shining example of Chicago's White City a decade before, the organizers of the fair sought to stage the grandest event in history. Huge in scale and ambition, it incorporated everything from the Western Hemisphere's first Olympic Games to a Congress of Races. Contending for the attention of the fair's patrons were everything from re-creations of the Battles of Manila and Santiago Bay to extensive art and industry pavilions, foreign concessions from around the world, the rough and tumble of a commercial midway, the Pike, and a Department of Anthropology of unprecedented scope. By all accounts, however, the most popular attraction of the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair was the Igorot Village. Mounted to display the fruits of the United States' sudden embrace of colonial empire, the sprawling, 40-acre Philippine Reservation featured separate exhibits for tribes from throughout the archipelago's more than 7,000 islands. The "civilized" Visayans, despite offering hourly theatrical and orchestral performances — concluding with "The Star Spangled Banner" sung in English by the entire village — went relatively ignored in comparison to the Igorots, who captured the lion's share of fairgoers' attention and the entertainment dollars of fairgoers. Gate receipts at the Igorot concession nearly quadrupled the total for the Visayans and tripled that of the Moros, whose Islamic traditions and colorful regalia joined with a reputation for fierceness buttressed by ongoing conflict in their strongholds in the southern Philippines.

Dietary taboos and bodily display

The nomadic Negritos, who were held up as even more primitive than the Igorots — and generally said to be bound for extinction as a consequence — did not generate even a third of the revenue or attention paid to the natives of the Mountain Province, in large measure because the Igorots presented image traders with more sensational material. Cigar-smoking women, scantily clad, heavily tattooed, members of both sexes, vigorous dancing, the cooking of dogs — the violation of taboos surrounding diet and the display of the body can be seen as an extension of the hootchy-kootchy dances and cotton candy of the previous
decade, with enhanced verisimilitude strengthening the sensation of transgression in the post-Victorian milieu. Known for a tradition of head-hunting, the Igorots were unlikely to put their martial skills on display outside the context of battle, but the evocation of Indian "scalpings" extended the tradition of a racist, and culturally differentiated subsalern closely associated with violence and bodily transgression. Moreover, their public consumption of "man's best friend" may have raised taboo thoughts of cannibalism. Indeed, before they even arrived, newspaper articles heralded with vigor their unusual hankering for canine cuisine. The Igorots exacerbated the consternation of conservative readers with their unabashed joy at the prospect of consuming daily what was usually a delicacy reserved for special occasions. The St. Louis Humane Society, citing a local ordinance, condemned the practice, but was shouted down by a broad assortment of voices representing both producers and consumers of the most popular show in town. Included among the defenders of dog-eating was the St. Louis Dispatch, which wondered, in a tongue-in-cheek front page headline, whether it was "the beef trust, speaking through the humane society, that would rob the Igorote [sic] of his cherished dog meat?" The paper's clumsy foray into cultural relativism and tongue-in-cheek political reportage was undermined by the cartoon above the article, which depicted a bewildered, club-wielding Igorot, thick-lipped and earring-clad, being warned off a prospective meal of poached pocky by a bespectacled, top-hatted Humane Society killjoy. The delicious appeal of what was widely seen as savage dietary perversity helped to build the novelty value of the Igorots to the point where an average of 5,000 people a day were visiting the altitude-impaired recreation of a Bontoc Village early in the fair's run.

Fair publicity managers were not shy about promoting the dog-eater angle even as they purported to present a balanced picture of Filipino diversity:

About the time the World's Fair City is waking at early morning, one hundred bare-tumed Igorot often sacrifice and eat a dog on the Philippine reservation. At the same hour, scarcely two hundred yards away, a bugle sounds reveille, and four hundred well-trained soldiers in the blue of the United States Army fumble from their tents. These are the Philippine Scouts. The yells of the dog-dance have scarcely ceased before the blue line is formed for roll call, and the Philippine soldiers stand at attention beneath an American flag, while a Philippine band plays an American air. All of these people live on the same island in the Philippines. The Igorot represent the wildest race of savages, the scouts stand for the results of American rule - extremes of the social order in the islands.

The conscious presentation of extremes and the exaggeration of characteristics identified with extreme difference were common at St. Louis, where fair organizers' anxieties about besting the Chicago fair's commercial success tipped the ethical scales in favor of popular appeal. At the same time, national political leaders exerted pressure to present displays projecting what Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has identified as "a utopian national whole that harmoniously integrates regional diversity". Rhetorically linking Igorots and proto-American Philippine Scouts through geographical proximity served such ends, even if the public relations strategy was inconsistently pursued. Officials charged with presenting the Philippines in the best possible light deflected derogatory complaints of sensationalism onto consumers of the alien images. "The advertising departments have avoided official mention of [dog-eating] and have endeavored to call attention to the more worthy characteristics of the natives", went the disingenuous company line. "It is not true that the savages have been unduly exploited at the expense of the more dignified exhibits, but no amount of emphasis on the commercial exhibits, Constabulary drills and Scouts parades has distracted attention from the 'dog-eaters' and 'head-hunters'."

Generalized concerns about the balance between savagery and civilization in the Philippine Exhibition grew specific after complaints about abbreviated Igorot attire reached Washington. Fearing anti-imperialist Democrats would have a field day calling attention to images of half-naked Filipinos in a presidential election year, President Theodore Roosevelt's ordinarily keen sense of public relations failed him. On June 23, 1904, the War Department's man in charge of Philippine matters, Col. Clarence Edwards, received a telegram from the office of Secretary of War William Howard Taft, the former Governor of the Philippines, stating:

The President has heard severe criticism of the Igorotes and wild tribe exhibit on the ground that it verges toward the indecency. He believes either the Igorotes and wild tribes should be sent home or that they should be more fully clad. He thinks scouts and the constabulary should be given more prominence and that everything possible should be done to avoid any possible impression that the Philippine Government is seeking to make prominent the savagery and barbarism of the wild tribes either for show purposes or to depreciate the popular estimate of the general civilization of the Islands. I hope you will at once take steps to comply with the President's wishes. You should put more clothing on the Igorotes and wild tribes and at the gate put signs showing how small a part of the population the Igorotes and other wild tribes are."

The late-dawning concern of the government for proportionality and context gave rise to high-level hubbubtery before the day was out. "I think that short trunks would be enough for the man, but that for the Negrito women there ought to be shirts or chemises of some sort", Taft's next telegram suggested. The policy grew firmer the next day: "President still thinks that where the Igorote has a mere G string that it might be well to add a short trunk to cover the buttock, with a belt over the one on the Igorotes." Edwards passed the command to the Igorot Village manager, Dr. Truman K. Hunt, through Philippine Exposition Board member Gustavo Niedecken, adding that promoters should "allow no child to go naked. This will be the best compromise until we see how the matter works out, and fancy the G string can then be restored."

Prurience or hunger for authenticity?

Edwards' prediction that the cover-up would not be sustained was born out, but little could any of the officials have known the magnitude of the reaction the awkward trouser policy would bring. When word got out that the Igorots would soon be wearing western raiment, a flood of protest came from prospective fair patrons anxious to visit the exhibit before the change. Whether motivated by prurience or a hunger for authenticity, the voice of the people was loud and clear in favor of more skin. An editorial entitled "Dog-Eaters in Pants" took an aesthetic tack:

The putting on of pants on the Igorote imitates a decided want of culture to the War Department of this, our glorious Empire. It is doubtful art, to say the least. The Igorote was not half bad, or not much more than half, when we found him. But pants will make him a fright. Dropping Venus is as nothing to the crime of creating a scarecrow out of a beautiful live savage.

But there are other and greater considerations of propriety and justice against this thing. From the standpoint of our little brothers in freedom, benevolent assimilation would seem to be bad enough without putting pants ahead of the Constitutions. Think of being born into a republic one minute and thrust into trousers the next. Think of being kept outside the Constitution and forced into galluses."
Even a cigar-store Indian has more rights than a newly assimilated savage. The Igorrote might be heard to reproach us saying: ‘If you couldn’t stomach me in my native innocence, why did you assimilate me?’ Putting pants on the Igorrote is cruelly incising him in a capsule to render him less untamable.

The journal's concern for Igorrote dignity had its limits, however. In the next paragraph, the editors could not resist putting the mountain dwellers in their place with a bit of weak punning:

The very idea of a gentleman savage in pants being able to enjoy a dog! Leave the Igorrote to the other pants nearer his heart and dearer to his soul—the pants which are music to his ears, which are a sweet invitation to his stomach and a suggestion to his salivary glands. Suppose, after a feast of dogs, the Igorrote should imitate the boy who wips his greedy hands, for instance, on his new garments. What a commentary that would be on benevolent assimilation.19

The contradictory position of the government was evident to all. Courting public approval of the imperial venture through commercial ethnographic display, no matter how scientific the rubric, emblazoned releasing official control to the forces of the marketplace. St. Louis Post-Dispatch editor G. S. Johns put it bluntly: “What do we all go out to the World’s Fair for to see? The frank savagery of unaccommodated manhood or the symbol of shamefaced civilization?” In a letter to Philippine Exhibit publicity chief Herbert S. Stone, Johns twisted his argument to align science and propriety: “To put pants on them would change a very interesting ethnological exhibit which shocks the modesty of no one into a suggestive side-show, it would give the public that consciousness of immodesty which is the original sin.”

Johns' blithe suggestion that the government would be the promotor of prurience neatly deflected responsibility away from his newspaper, which profited from every controversy it could report or concord. Within days, under the glare of suddenly aroused national attention, the Post-Dispatch was gleefully making journalistic hay from the story. Under a large cartoon featuring Taft, trousers in hand, chasing a reluctant Igorrote, the top headline proclaimed, “Whoop! How the People Rush to See The Igorrotes Before They Put the Pants On.” Sub-headings quoted letters from the public—“Dear Governor, Please Write and Say What is the Last No-Pants-On Day”—and asserted that paid admissions at the Igorrote Village, spurred by just such concerns, had doubled from 5,000 to 10,000 within 24 hours. Writer Clark McAdams waxed poetic:

Blessings on thee, little man, Living on the Eden plan, In thy unaffected way, Drawing thousands every day. Wild as winds, and free as air, You’re a winner at the Fair. Ah, is that the monthly draft? No, it is a note from Taft. Of what pressing circumstance Does he write? The Igorrotes! They must wear pants! The Igorrotes must wear clothes! Impossible! Ten thousand No’s! Four billion nits! Twelve billion Can’ts! Great Czar! Anything but pants! An Igorrote painted would Die for shame! We never could

In seeking to control the Igorrote image, the government had run smack against the very impulse that had drawn crowds to walk past two miles of exhibits showing off the latest technological and artistic achievements. A public exposed to a quantum leap in mediated experience over the preceding decade had seized the opportunity to confront directly, in what seemed to most an unmediated encounter, the savage Other. Erecting a thin cloth barrier between admission-paying customers and the image they had come to see was a policy doomed to extinction. By July 14, a barrage of letters from the public—many orchestrated by local newspapers—helped convince Washington that federal interference in local standards of decency was a losing proposition. Citing a face-saving report of non-embarrassment from the fair's Board of Lady Managers, Edwards reported the president was willing to "abide by their judgment" and allow loin-cloths to prevail as standard Igorrote garb.

The Igorrote Village went on to become by all available accounts the most popular attraction of the largest fair the world had ever known. “The Philippine Reservation, though two miles from the Lindell entrance, was plainly the Mecca for a majority of the Sunday tourists,” one newspaper reported. “Great crowds were seen on the paths leading to the Walled City and the Court, and once the crowds reached the scene of Oriental interest they remained there.” Complaints from the less popular Philippine exhibits about the predominance of the Igorrotes were tempered by the knowledge that most of the crowds in their sector of the fairgrounds had likely come to witness the tattooed bodies and dog-eating of the Igorrotes, and that some might stay on for, say, a glimpse of the exotic Bagobo, or a tune from the refined Bagyana.

The Igorrotes were in competition not only with other Filipino displays, after all, but with the ethnographic exhibits staged by the Department of Anthropology—Patagonian “giants”, Japanese aboriginal Ainu, Central African Pygmies, and American Indians, including the captured chiefs Geronimo and Chief Joseph. They also vied for attention with the elaborate pavilion of ascendant Japan and the centrally located and well-promoted Pike, a street of amusements featuring Chinese and Irish villages, Cairo Street, re-enactments of battles from the Boer War and the ever-popular hootchy-kootchy dancers. To have prevailed as the public's favorite, the Igorrotes had to have presented something unique. Dog-eating certainly qualified, but it was the perceived overall authenticity of the Igorrote Village which elevated the exhibit above the rest. Here, fairgoers decided, was “true” savagery, with all the trimmings—Worcester’s “real” Filipinos, undiminished by Western accoutrements.

In situ and in context exhibition

Set apart from the showmanship of the Pike and the static ethnography of W. J. McGee's Anthropology Department, the Igorrotes Village was what Kirchenblatt-Gimblett calls an in situ exhibition, a site of detailed display in which the “realness” of the ethnographic object allows the observer an active interpretive role. Though accompanied by ample explanatory literature, a hallmark of the contrasting style Kirchenblatt-Gimblett terms in context exhibition, the visual, olfactory, and tactile aspects distinguishing the Igorrotes Village from other exhibits
overwhelmed formal elements privileging the perspective of professional presenters. Whether influenced directly by official Fair literature or not, however, fairgoers operated within an established frame of reference. The attire, diet and head-hunter image of the Igorot lent themselves perfectly to the trope of savagery. The village's remote location, near the farthest edge of the fairgrounds, may have contributed to the sense of distance from civilization. The backdrop, an "authentic" village in that it had been constructed by the Igorots themselves, played an important part in completing the mental picture of savagery for which fairgoers apparently sought affirmation.36

The St. Louis World's Fair was a self-consciously definitive event for the world's newest colonial power. The presentation of a clear contrast between American civilization and the savagery its new policies purported to eliminate was as crucial to the construction of a new American identity as the technological advances that had made possible the imperial advance. The Igorots occupied a space between the Negroes and the "civilized" groups whose Anglo-Saxon apogee was being established in the United States. Their freakish predilections, in American eyes, offered an appealing duality. Clearly possessed of dignity and a culture long predating any American traditions, the Igorots posited an alternative existence, even as their lack of material wealth and "degraded" diet and appearance offered security for fairgoers bent on defining themselves against a dialectical opposite. The Igorot image served to enhance self-identification with "advanced" society by confirming Americans' distance from "backwardness."38

Whereas the Louisiana Purchase Exposition represented a mixture of ideological and economic imperatives, the Igorot freak shows which emanated from it followed a decidedly commercial path reflecting consumer preference for dualistic extremes. Citing "the general desire on the part of the people of the United States who did not get to visit the St. Louis World's Fair to see the Igorotes", the renowned midway impresario Edmund A. Felder proposed a two-year tour which would send the musically inclined Visayans to the best vaudeville houses and the Igorots to Coney Island, state fairs, and the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland. While boasting to Edwards that he had ample capital to stage such an extended display, Felder proposed to divert some of the proceeds from the shows into trail-building and police functions in the Cordilleras. Where those diversions would come from was not left entirely to the imagination. "It is the generally expressed opinion", he wrote, "that the Igorot as an individual has no need of money."36

Entrepreneurial chicane and exploitation

Such was the operating principle cited by Hunt when he was charged by some Igorots with improperly withholding their wages. The former Lieutenant Governor of Lepanto-Bontoc disputed the charges and managed to retain control of much of the Village's considerable revenues until the end of the year, when Carson Taylor was appointed to take over as banker to the Filipinos. Asked to turn over the funds he was holding, Hunt said there were none. Despite Hunt's apparent financial chicane, he was allowed to continue promoting the Igorot phenomenon after the fair, in large measure due to the support of Worcester, who averred that "Dr. Hunt thoroughly understands the handling of such people" and should be allowed to import more of them.37

Though Edwards claimed to "rather deprecate the idea of taking these people to Coney Island and giving the people of the United States the idea that the majority of the people of the Philippines are similar to the Igorotes and Negroes", he adopted a hands-off policy as Felder, Hunt and anthropologist Samuel M. McGowan founded the International Anthropological Exhibit Company to stage a national exhibition tour of Filipinos. In the midst of the St. Louis fair, the company struck a deal with the planners of the 1903 Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland, Oregon, for a Philippine Exhibit consisting of Igorots, Visayans and Negritos displaying the trail, Portland's version of the entertainment-oriented Pike.38

In addition to foreshadowing the erosion of the barrier between education and entertainment that so tenaciously prevailed at St. Louis, the arrangement violated the War Department's plan to return the Filipinos to their homes following the World's Fair. That stricture was already unraveling in the face of strong popular demand for more Filipino shows and the willingness of most of the Filipinos to extend their exhibition work. The newly acclaimed Philippine Constabulary Band booked performances across the country. The Visayans accepted an invitation to the New York Art Exhibition at Madison Square Garden following their St. Louis stint. The Filipino midgets, Juan and Martina de la Cruz, parlayed their claimed status as the world's smallest adult humans from a reasonably successful place on the Pike to an extended stay in the United States as the stars of the traveling Filipino Midget Theater. The Igorots, however, remained the group most coveted by promoters, and Hunt had the inside track.39

In March 1905, Hunt contracted with 50 Igorots to come to the United States for one year, promising each a $15 monthly salary plus all expenses paid. When disputes arose within the partnership, Hunt left the company, offering the Lewis and Clark Centennial an Igorots-only exhibit to replace the initially proposed mix of Filipinos. Felder countered by lining up a new partner, Richard W. Schoenstein, who had been hired from his mail clerk job in Manila as Hunt's bid. Hunt, however, pulled out, instead signing a contract for a nationwide series of carnival appearances with the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks. Faced with the prospect of being unable to deliver the advertised Igorot Village, Portland officials appealed to Taft to relax his opposition to allowing a second Igorot troupe into the United States. Taft's approval -- a concession to another official body that would have been unlikely to be granted to a private concern -- was a boon to the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition. The Igorots arrived six weeks before the end of the fair, became a top draw on the Trail, and won several awards.40

Government participation in the Filipino display business fluctuated over the following decade, as financial irregularities with Hunt's renegade operation -- not to mention the deaths of Igorots traveling with his carnival-oriented show -- forced him into and out of the disbanding of his enterprise. Competing shows under private management appeared at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle in 1908 and at disparate venues across the United States and Europe. The Jamestown Tercentenary Exposition, staged as the first Philippine legislature was being seated in 1907, explicitly rejected the inclusion of Igorots. William A. Sutherland, president of the Philippine Exposition Company at Jamestown, decried the trend that had developed since St. Louis of neglecting "the civilized or Christianized races" amid stiff competition from "well-advertised" concessions where the "tom-toms" could be heard "at all hours, and which made much of the uncouth habits of certain of the tribes". Commercially, the Jamestown fair was a failure. Though the Igorots did not visit St. Louis or Portland, and Sutherland still could not please the Filipinos: In Manila, La Igualdad condemned the display of any Filipinos, Igorot or not.41
Saint Louis 1904. Argentina on stage
by Marta Penhos
The great exhibitions of the second half of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th may be seen as a series of stages where each country had a chance to play a part, picking those elements they thought would serve the image or images they wanted to build and project. As in every representation, the elements suitable to the exhibits stood for that which they represented: local concerns for each country, but they also represented themselves with certain characteristics and through certain devices that made them more or less efficient.

The series of World’s Fairs that would follow the one held in London in 1851 hints at a progressive chain of events where each link is intimately connected to the one before, but under the inescapable demand to surpass it. Each Fair competed with the preceding one in size, grandiosity and opulence. Each one displayed, through mobile and dynamic images, representations of the Western culture in a key turn of centuries. The idea of competition added meaning to the chain while reinforcing the demand on the nations to present and represent themselves to their peers’ judgement at the fairs.

One of the stages where the achievements of each nation were measured was, undoubtedly, the Fine Arts section which was missing at the Crystal Palace exhibit, but would grow ever more significant from the one in Paris 1855. The development of the “national schools” of art, the international prestige achieved by those countries that had one and the expansion of the market for those artists consecrated at the fairs were some of the factors that spurred that growth. Artistic production and industrial machinery turned out to be the privileged mirrors that reflected the achievements of the “order and progress” motto (orden y progreso). Both the countries that hosted the fairs as well as those who participated considered their artistic achievements as one of the indicators of the place they held in the international order, and they paid special care in showing them. The Fine Arts section of the catalog of the World’s Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893, for instance, displayed some features of the construction of a nation’s image in terms of art: “First it listed the American artworks, followed by those of France. Then there followed a long list of all the countries that were represented at the Palace of Fine Arts.”

Besides the fine arts pavilions, there were other areas that enchanted organizers and public alike, in particular those displaying technical advances – huge sophisticated pieces of machinery that the visitors could see in action. Scientists from different countries debated their latest discoveries at the congresses held within the exhibit’s framework. Competition and rivalry reigned during the sports events. And the Western taste for the exotic was catered at the Eastern, African and American pavilions that showed human types, clothing and customs housed in bizarre architectures.

This paper explores the different stages where the Argentine Republic presented herself in the Universal Exhibition held in the American city of Chicago in 1904, commemorating the centennial of the purchase of the Louisiana territory from France. In that occasion, the display of artworks, raw materials, machinery and industrial production, of archaeological pieces and living natives bore witness to the past and present of one of the most progressive nations in Latin America. A significant sample that was further enhanced by the organization of the display into different sections. Through the displays of the host country and many others that took part it is possible to clearly identify an intention linked to the nation’s image that rulers and economic groups wanted to project, while the sources relating to the Argentine items shipped to Saint Louis show a fragmented jigsaw where each and every actor interested in the international representation at the fair actually fail to surprise when taking into consideration the contemporary debates raging among the elites about the cultural identity of a nation that had staked everything upon modernity. At the beginning of the 20th century – after the financial crisis of 1890 – Argentina’s growth was taking off with the final expansion of grains and beef exports to Great Britain and other European countries, and investments in a budding industry based on processing of raw materials, an expanding railroad, gas, water and electricity services. While confidence in the agroexport model would continue to reign until the 1930s, the social and cultural changes caused by massive immigration forced both politicians and intellectuals to produce a variety of responses to the question of the profile of the country they were building, and what its place would be in the world of the new century. Modern and civilized, but in what way? Submitting to European dependence not only economically, but as well in a cultural way? Seeking roots in the ancient common Latin American heritage? Rivaling with the growing leadership of the USA in the region? —

Saint Louis 1904

The Louisiana Purchase Exhibition covered 496 hectares, while some of its predecessors – Chicago 1893 and Paris 1889 – had not occupied more than 255 and 134 hectares respectively. Besides the hundred and ten palaces that housed the products of the fifty nations on show, there were restaurants, theaters and stalls of every description. Pavilions of education, economy, fine arts, health and physical education, agriculture, horticulture, forestry, mining, electricity and multiple industries, machinery, liberal arts, transport and refrigeration interspersed those dedicated to individual nations. Towering over the whole, the Festival Hall rose at the center of the fair, perched on a hill. Among the most outstanding characters of the fair was the American pavilion – described as “huge spaces of the colossal auditoriums.” The competition for prestige, especially with the American precedent was evident: both the area it covered and the investment made for it doubled those of Chicago. “In spite of the scant support for the World’s Fair from the public in Chicago and New York (the former because they did not want any rivals and the latter because of long ingrained mistrust in the culture of Saint Louis), the exhibition has triumphed over hindrances and prejudices and offered itself to the admiration of foreign visitors, the only ones able of impartial judgement”, said the Argentine delegate at the arts section shortly before the closing of the fair. One of the most outstanding characteristics of the Saint Louis fair was the number and the quality of entertainment and shows daily offered to a public multiplied by millions. The display of technological novelties such as the transmission of messages through wireless telegraph were also part of the attractions. And to top it all, the Olympic Games gave fair the further brilliance and repercussion, though there were few national delegations participating. “The outcome has been undoubtedly full of elegance and splendor, touching the fantastic.”

The Argentine Republic came into this impressive surroundings with a multiple, articulate and confusing image that, as it appears, stood out discreetly from the striking array of countries on display. The first issue that one should consider is the tepid support the Argentine government given to the diverse objects sent to Saint Louis. The strained relations between the Executive – that accepted the invitation from the US government in 1902 – and the Senate – where the convenience of accepting the invitation was questioned followed by a heated debate on the beneficial effects of these sorts of events – hindered the organization to a extent that no general representative was appointed and the Argentine consul in the USA had to fulfill that difficult position. The tight budget assigned to cover the expenses of the attendance to Saint Louis and, consequently, the economic hardships faced by the delegates of the different sections to carry out their work
support the impression that the official commitment with the exhibition was limited.\(^{16}\)

What to show and how

Since 1902, several voices rang in Buenos Aires discussing the fair. During the debate in Congress, two opposed positions about the Argentine presence in Saint Louis were clearly defined. For some senators, the exhibition was a great opportunity to make their country known abroad:

If there’s a nation that needs to attend this kind of jousts, where the products of the moral and material capabilities of each people are judged, [...] that's our country, still ignored and unknown to most nations, especially concerning our capabilities as a productive and progressive land. And [there is] no better occasion or more effective publicity than that offered by the stages of the World's Fair.

This staunch support was based on the same ideas that, undoubtedly, inspired the organizers of these exhibitions: Saint Louis was going to be "a colossal show of the progress and advances of every sphere of human endeavor in every civilized nation of the Earth."\(^{16}\) The supporters of this position were placing their stakes on the Argentinian progress of the last years and the opening of the country to the world to measure them against other nations would prove the civilized status of the country and widen the international markets for its products. The showcase of the Universal Exhibitions was a superb space for Argentina to play a dignified role.

But not everybody agreed, though the arguments against Argentine participation have interesting nuances. At one end, absolute refusal based on the opinion that "these shows are completely useless" and that competition with the USA would be opposed to the interests of Argentina.\(^{18}\) In the sector of raw materials, the US were a far stronger producer who was already threatening the position of Argentina as supplier of several European countries. And as for industrial products "I don’t think anybody in his right mind may suggest that the Americans [...] will come and buy our manufactures, our saddles, our harness, our wool fabrics". Regarding art, "I don’t think that at present our art works may be shown as a foreign exhibition". Finally, "one attends a competition in order to excel, to show one’s supremacy [...] but nobody takes part in a contest for the pleasure of being humiliated or proving his inferiority."\(^{17}\) Underlying this mistrust in the local progress, there seems to lurk a cold shoulder to the USA as well as a clear alignment of Argentina with the European consumers of grains and beef:

Let me remind you that trade with the United States is clearly unfavorable to our country [...]. What good reason could we have to attend the United States when we didn’t want to attend France nor Belgium neither; [...] who not only consume our products and send their children to people our lands, but also send their capitals to improve our wealth?\(^{17}\)

This opposing positions sounds more moderate in the words of another senator who supported Argentine participation, although limited to just a few areas: "the Republic must attend only with the raw materials we produce, because anything else we show will ridicule us". Neither industrial manufactures nor art should be shown at the fair:

When I arrived at the Argentine Pavilion in the Paris Exhibition [...] I went into the industrial sector, then I saw the display of lasors, bridges, saddles and items manufactured by Cochius and other Indians and I had to turn away in shame. [...] Our artists, who have neither masters nor schools, nor a medium where they can get a formation, because art is the ultimate expression of a civilization that we haven’t yet achieved, and will not reach for a long time, presume to go to the great World Exhibitions to compete with the greatest artists of the world, and not only they presume to compete but to triumph. That is boldness of colossal proportions, but too much presumption.\(^{18}\)

To show Argentina through industrial products that were rather clumsily, crafted items, and works of art that were still at a primitive stage of evolution was either shameful or pretentious. Submission to an international division of work that reserved for the country the role of a supplier of raw materials found its expression in the motion of sending to Saint Louis only samples of agricultural products. The count of the votes to pass the bill reflects the balance of the opposing positions: a draw at the first count and finally a positive decision by one vote difference.

The invitation to the fair did not seem to get a very favorable echo on the press of Buenos Aires either. In 1902, La Nación, one of the most influential newspapers, editorialized against the participation with strictly political arguments:

We have heard of naval manœuvres preparing future expeditions to chastise the unruly South American countries, and US troops march on the streets of a South American republic with a mission that is far from being clear yet. [...] Absolutism never seemed more opportune and relevant.\(^{19}\)

However, and in spite of much reluctance and opposition, and of the widespread disorganization, at the opening of the exhibition on April 30, 1904, Argentina had a two-store pavilion with a façade reproducing that of the Casa Rosada (House of Government). This architectural choice may be due to the wish to evade exoticism by projecting the image of one of the republican powers. Unfortunately, the pavilion was unfinished and its modest dimensions dwarfed it amid so many palaces with grandiose porches and column rows. Such a dim opening might be blamed, as the press did, on the little interest on the part of the government to back up the exhibit.\(^{19}\)

Paintings, cookies and appetizers

The art display – quite criticized in the Congress – was in the hands of the painter and critic Eduardo Schiaffino, director of the National Museum of Fine Arts. With passionate determination Schiaffino worked and schemed to achieve what he considered "the first Argentine Fine Arts Exhibit abroad": he chose the paintings, demanded the space needed for his show and defended the quality of the "novel Argentine school" during the deliberations of the international jury. One of Schiaffino's greatest triumphs was the incorporation of the Argentine works to the Fine Arts Pavilion\(^{20}\), considering that in previous occasions, the paintings and sculptures had been displayed amid other products, or mixed in an "International Selection" that gathered all artists whose countries had no official
representative in the International Award Jury. The Jury in Saint Louis awarded a Grand Prize to the oil painting “No bread and no work” by Ernesto de la Cárcova, and another to the sculpture “The sinners” by Rogelio Iurria, together with four gold medals, six silver and four bronze. Schaffino himself won a gold medal for his work as curator of the section. This “triumph” or “victory” as it was seen by the representative and the participating artists was received with tepid interest by the press in Buenos Aires and with scorn by those artists who had not been selected to participate, who called the awards “signs of international courtesy.”

Schaffino agreed with the congressmen that art was the ultimate achievement of a civilized nation. He got involved in the senators’ debate through a letter that provided information about the situation of Argentine art that was used by the participation supporters to show the degree of commitment with the endeavor. He strove all the time to prove that Argentina had reached the rank of a civilized nation. Several claims speak of his intention to achieve a clear and eloquent representation. The strict selection was “limited to those of our artists who may play a dignified role at such an exhibition.” The well-organized organization of the display presented a large number of paintings that covered most of the walls in the same way the European salons did at the time, while the plaster sculptures with a bronze patina were displayed on large wooden stands. Schaffino also paid special attention to the general look of the display, personally taking care of the furniture and other decorative elements that graced the halls. The representative was well aware of the contrasting effect created at the World’s Fairs between “secular or recent culture of leading nations that are the glory of mankind and the backward works of other peoples crystalized in barbarism, or at best sensitized,” but he trusted the quality of Argentine art and its own qualifications as curator. He may have even tried to get space for the Argentine halls near those of the most important European countries, a real challenge at the time. Like most of those who played a part in the cultural scene of Buenos Aires at the turn of the 20th century, Schaffino supported the project of a specific Argentine modernity, also part of the civilized world, and the artistic selection for Saint Louis points in that direction. We may say that in the sketchy panorama of the Argentine selection, the art section was the most organic and coherent, due mostly to the clear notions of the curator. In the artistic arena, Argentina played the role of a progressive nation, with a European culture and a vocation for leadership in Latin America: “It has been a brilliant triumph, not only has [Argentina] placed herself at the head of the Latin American peoples, but she has also managed to find herself among the more progressive nations of Europe and America,” claimed Schaffino in his evaluation of the outcome of his work, and as a response to the senators who praised Argentina’s participation, he proposed “let’s not deprive ourselves, in favor of others, of the most powerful tool we may have in our hands: [ ...]: confidence in ourselves.”

If the Senate put in question the quality of the local art, the other pillar of the World’s Fairs, industrial production, did not do much better. In view of the arguments that linked the manufactures to rural crafts, we may wonder whether the legislators had a clear notion of the capabilities of Argentine industry, though the arguments may well have been just political rhetoric used to impugn the participation in Saint Louis. In those years, the growth of exports, in particular of items like wheat and cattle had triggered a diversification of investments – mostly British – in industries manufacturing raw materials (flour mills and meat freeze industry), in railroads and public services. On the other hand, the food industry was boosted by a local market that was expanding with the growing population concentrated mainly in and around Buenos Aires. As we shall see, the Argentine presence in the fair was mainly representative of this last sector.

In the beginning of 1902, before the government received the official invitation to Saint Louis, the Argentine Industrial Union (UA) had sent a favorable reply to a letter from the general commissioner of the exhibition asking for “your collaboration to encourage Argentine industrialists to participate with their products.” The UA was “willing to support the diffusion work of the commissioner to promote the participation of Argentine industrialists.” The magnitude of the publicity involved in the exhibition of products and the “favorable concept that the Argentine Republic has deserved” by being among the countries that have been invited were the reasons that led the UA to encourage to take part in the exhibition.

The invitation to the industrialists must have had considerable repercussion if we take into account the number and variety of products that were presented at the fair. Inside the Argentine Pavilion, industrial production rubbed elbows with grazing seeds, mineral samples, timber and leather, in a somewhat chaotic display probably due to the lack of a general commissioner and the fact that the representatives for each sector struggled to display their wares in the best locations as soon as the products arrived in Saint Louis. The work of engineer Luis A. Huergo, a well-known figure linked to public works and technical education in Buenos Aires, who had gone as representative for several public and private institutions may have prevented further disorder.

The pavilion also housed a number of books and periodicals, together with abstracts of scientific papers, blueprints, maps and photographs of relevant sites, scale models of public parks and gardens – part of the urbanistic improvement worked by French naturalist and architect Carlos Thays in Buenos Aires. A huge plan of the city showed its growth and progress since 1810.

Several of the displayed products received jury recognition. Two of them, in particular, are quite significant: cookies called “bizcochitos Canale” and the Hesperidina appertizet, that won gold medals. In the case of the cookies, the display included the finished product, photographs and a graphic of the modern manufacturing process, the increased production in the last years and a detail of the ingredients. The Canale family had come from Italy in 1880 with a bakery, and at the beginning of the 20th century was already one of the most important companies in the production of meaty foods. On the other hand, the Hesperidina appertizet, made of bitter oranges was displayed by panels that explained its therapeutic virtue. The M. S. Bagley company, founded by and Englishman in 1864, had bought the formula from a chemist’s that was selling it as a treatment for gout and high blood pressure. Bagley received another award for its cookies as well as another gold medal for the orange marmalade.

The Canale and Bagley production plants were located in a workers’ neighborhood of Buenos Aires and were well known for the use of modern technology in their production. At the beginning of the 20th century both were representative of a particularly dynamic sector of Argentine economy. Medias of the Argentine capital were involved in these achievements of the food industry, and some of them published daily articles on the performance of the products in Saint Louis. Other pavilions showed high quality textiles, padlocks and precision tools, winning medals and painting the picture of a modern Argentina. Naturally, the machines used to manufacture them was European and could not be displayed as part of the advances of the country. Though Argentina depended on European equipment, it had begun to produce some heavy machinery, transferring the dependence to the technology patents.

However, there was also machinery at the Argentine section. The machinery pavilion showed Alfa-Laval milk-skimmers, made in Sweden, but improved and sold in Buenos Aires, that received an important award, and the sector of elec-
tricity and sundry industries won a gold medal for an acetylene generator invented by an Argentinean.

The art display on one hand, and the machinery and manufactures display on the other showed - albeit certain limitations - an Argentina that by that time occupied an important place in the ranking of nations. But what was its own thing? How did they show what made it different from Canada or Australia?

Bits of the past

If the government had little to do with the art and industrial selection, whose success must be credited to Schiaffino and the industrialists' dedication, there were two other displays that were purely private initiatives including no state participation at all. And yet, at least one of them occupied the whole second floor of the Argentine Pavilion, was distinctive because of the contrast with the products exhibited on the ground level. The archaeological collection of the pre-Colombian period was shipped to St. Louis by Manuel Zavala, a private collector who had more than 4,000 pieces from the Northwest region. Zavala paid for the shipping costs, the insurance and the display and, though he himself was only an amateur, his collection attracted the interest of archaeologists and anthropologists who visited St. Louis. Pottery, tools and ornaments were displayed in glass cases together with human remains. Skulls showing evidence of bone drilling were particularly noticed and led to several interpretations of the funerary rites of diverse cultures.

It may be worth taking a closer look at this display. It was organized at a moment of great development concerning studies of ancient cultures that inhabited Argentine lands. On the background of the debates about national identity, several intellectuals turned their eyes to the interior looking for roots that might help to construct a distinctive profile. A vague spirit of Americanism pervades the research on popular literature and music, archaeology and ethnography. The convergence of the work of European archaeologists like Eric Romain and Max Uhle in Argentine territory, and the interest of local intellectuals, architects and artists lent impetus to the emerging field of anthropology and archaeology. The last decade of the 19th century saw the emergence of a new type of researcher, while the definition of the disciplines became the base of university careers and museums.

There were several reasons for the focus of attention on the northwest region. It was there that the foreign scholars were working and it was an area rich in archaeological sites. However, there was a weightier reason for this preference. Searching for their own history beyond and before 1492, several Latin American countries defined the value of the cultural legacy of the pre-Colombian peoples. The indigenous movement, relevant in Mexico and Peru, had no chance in countries like Argentina, who did not possess such illustrious ancestry. But the prestige of the ancient Peruvian culture spread to the periphery of the Inca Empire, reaching the northwestern provinces of the country. Although poor in comparison with the dazzling glitter of the Incas, the people of this region became the needed local ancestors. While some intellectuals carried out a sort of aesthetic rescue of the "Calchaqui" - a name that designates this peoples - the archaeologists provided support for this assessment, demonstrating the high material and spiritual level they had reached.

Zavala's collection showed the world an ancient Argentina that provided a worthy genealogy of its technological progress and its artistic achievements. The way these treasures were displayed, though, gave it an undefined character since the brief texts accompanying every piece contained hardly any information about their age and origin. Curiously enough, no archaeologist of the digging and publishing of those years took part in the exhibition. Did Zavala undertake his endeavor without telling the Argentine specialists? Did they get wind of this exhibit, but considered "unscientific" the occasion for the display of the pieces? So far these are still open questions as there is insufficient data to provide an answer.

Outside the Argentine Pavilion, in the area of the fair that lured the largest crowds, was another face of a wild Argentina: a group of Ona Indians from Tierra del Fuego, the southernmost tip of the country.

Pike Street was almost a mile long and gathered everything that fell outside the boundaries of the civilized world. Under the umbrella of the exotic, the fair had a space that defined and limited the reach of progress. The scientific achievements, the artworks and everything that set on stage the images of Western culture had their essential Others, like in a play where the characters are defined through opposition. A source of the time provides a keen description of the poly-morph universe of Pike Street: "Colorful onion domes in stark contrast, archways, Japanese roofs, Roman colonnades, Moorish towers, [...]", aligned on a varied and whimsical architectural succession, with glimpses of the circus tiers, the precise layout of the Japanese gardens, the Sevillian balconies, the Turkish bazaar, [...]." This quaint panorama, however, was not a very convincing representation for the Latin American chronicler: "It's a mosaic of oddities with a single visible purpose: introducing the most striking and weirdest features of different peoples, even if to do so means to ignore the geographical and social truth."

And so, with a few terse words, he set into clear view the distance between the representation and what was represented as well as the mythomimetic mechanisms that were used in this case to reflect something, throwing the rest in the dark. If an onion dome was the symbol of the Middle East, if a kimono meant Japan, what sort of realities were hidden behind so much plastered board?

Within this picture, the case of the Onas refers to the issue of the ethnographic presence in the Pike Street exhibits. One of the most significant among them was perhaps Iggor Village, a number of small huts where a group of Onas dwelled in plain sight of the curious visitors. This way, in a far from naive operation, entire peoples were frozen in images that, while shortening the spatial distance between East and West, underlined the temporal distance, placing them in an imprecise past. Anthropology was not free from this type of constructions. It is precisely the way a culture was viewed through graphs, drawings, photos and, we should add, exhibitions, that provided knowledge based on the play of opposites and on the static relation between the subject who knows and the object to be apprehended. Pike Street was not an invention of the organizers of Saint Louis 1904: the Rue des Nations in Paris 1855 and the Midway Plais in Chicago 1893 fulfilled the same function. Although closer to business and entertainment than to scholarly studies, they complemented the work of museums and academies in making the hidden face of the world more visible.

The Igorot Tribesmen were neither the first nor the only group of people at the fairs who played the part of being themselves. In fact, the Ona from Tierra del Fuego were presented at several European events and photography has left an impressive testimony of that.

The spearhead of these invasions was a private company with strong ties to the power elite of Buenos Aires. British landholders were interested in breeding sheep in Patagonia and cornered the tribes of the territory, who suddenly found
their environment dramatically changed. A paradigmatic example is Romanian adventurer Julius Popper, who left for Tierra del Fuego in 1886 looking for gold deposits with the permission of the Argentine government. The common practice of hunting down Indians has been recorded in a photograph that shows Popper and his armed men surrounded by corpses. But these early explorers were not always bent on killing natives and some of them captured living “specimens” to take them to Europe for exhibition at fairs and entertainment grounds, together with wild animals and freaks. The Onas were shown at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1889 and at the Columbian Exhibition in Genoa in 1892. A. M. Mâtre, who posed several times next to the group of natives, and a religious organization were responsible for taking them there. It seems significant that the religious people displayed the supposed progress made by the Tierra del Fuego mission as regards evangelization and education of the Onas within the framework of an event that celebrated the anniversary of the White arrival in America. Both the Mâtre natives as well as the Sales fathers’ images were shown on a scene of artificial rocks which stood for their natural environment. The photographs that have reached us repeat a teleology of men, women and children in a casual pose, wearing nothing but furs.

The Saint Louis Onas – six adults and a child – fit the same description. They were also taken to the World’s Fair by a private entrepreneur, Vicente Cané, who proudly claimed that he had brought them directly from their lands. They were also shown in a specially prepared set with all the elements necessary to create an illusion of actuality: rocks, arid vegetation, rough tools against a backdrop of painted mountains – all just tinsel, but effective. There is a photo published by a Buenos Aires paper that shows the Onas posing passively clustered together, wrapped in their furs, as eloquent bits of a past that was swiftly being left behind by progress.

There are clues pointing out that these natives, like others before, were used to being living exhibits, as a few years earlier they had been exhibited in Buenos Aires. The “entrepreneurs” who exploited them organized tours along different cities and towns. The very bad travelling conditions, illnesses and homesickness decimated these groups, but the hunting parties, mostly ignored by the Argentine state, guaranteed a constant supply.

The Saint Louis Onas, like other ‘freaks’ ambling along Pike Street, became quite popular by feeding tales that increased the public appetite and the interest of the press. Such was the case of “an elderly Tehuelche well known as the King of Patagonia to the public who frequents the Pike. All attempts to right this misunderstanding by our consul have been as useless as the information he has given to the New York and Saint Louis press about the living conditions of Patagonia”. It seems that the Onas competed with the other indigenous groups at the exhibition, and they won a medal, though one may wonder what were the parameters for this particular competition.

Whether the American public identified the Onas with the Argentine Republic amid the bustle and hustle of Pike Street is an open question. We know that for the people of the central countries, South America was, and unfortunately still is, an indifferenced set of backward but quaint countries. The imaginary tropics knew no borders and Patagonia, that land of ancient European legends and myths, was rarely identified with any country in particular. Anyway, the group of wild natives did not contradict the image of a progressive and modern nation that the American public attempted to project. These were remnants of the past, though with a less illustrous lineage than the producers of the archaeological pieces from the Northwest. And, unlike them, these would leave little trace after their looming extinction.
38. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, El Día, 1 de enero de 1905.
40. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, El Día, 3 de enero de 1905.
41. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, La Nación, 4 de enero de 1905.
42. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, El Día, 5 de enero de 1905.
43. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, La Nación, 6 de enero de 1905.
44. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, El Día, 7 de enero de 1905.
45. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, La Nación, 8 de enero de 1905.
47. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, La Nación, 10 de enero de 1905.
49. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, La Nación, 12 de enero de 1905.
52. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, El Día, 15 de enero de 1905.
55. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, La Nación, 18 de enero de 1905.
60. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, El Día, 23 de enero de 1905.
63. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, La Nación, 26 de enero de 1905.
64. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, El Día, 27 de enero de 1905.
69. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, La Nación, 1 de febrero de 1905.
70. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, El Día, 2 de febrero de 1905.
71. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, La Nación, 3 de febrero de 1905.
73. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, La Nación, 5 de febrero de 1905.
74. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, El Día, 6 de febrero de 1905.
75. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, La Nación, 7 de febrero de 1905.
76. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, El Día, 8 de febrero de 1905.
77. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, La Nación, 9 de febrero de 1905.
78. “La Exposición Universal de Saint Louis. La participación de los industriales argentinos”, El Día, 10 de febrero de 1905.
Japans in Paris, 1867

by Angus Lockyer
Introduction

"Japan" began appearing at international exhibitions soon after they were themselves invented, though not immediately of its own accord. In 1862, the organizers of the London International Exhibition prevailed upon Sir Rutherford Alcock, a British diplomat stationed in Yokohama, to lend his collection of Japonalia to the successor of the Great Exhibition of 1851, thereby adding to its distinctness from its immediate French precursor in 1855. The "Japanese Court" at South Kensington attracted the rapt attention of European aesthetes, hungry for an escape from the industrial present through the seemingly medieval virtues of Japanese crafts. The orientalist frippery was compounded by the coincidental arrival of a Japanese diplomatic delegation during the exhibition's opening ceremony. "Things Japanese" were hot in London that summer, and Japonisme soon became the flavor of the aesthetic month, a taste that was only enhanced five years later, in Paris, when "Japan" first made its own official appearance at these events.1

We need to be careful, however, in identifying the entity on display as what we now know to be Japan. Both at the time and in retrospect, it was unclear just who or what was being represented. By the beginning of the 19th century, a two-century long "great peace" within the Japanese archipelago had begun to come under a number of ecological, economic, and social strains, which served to encourage intellectual and political challenges to the authority of the Tokugawa bakufu, the effective national government, not least (although not in the first instance overtly) from its nominally subordinate but practically autonomous domains. The arrival of the newly industrialized West, conclusively in the person of Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853, catalyzed the emergence of such challenges into the open and inaugurated what historians now know as the jidai kaisetsu (end of the bakufu). Although the bakufu itself would not fall until the beginning of 1868, just after the conclusion of the Paris exhibition, the exhibition came at the end of a lengthy process of accelerating political fragmentation, and itself served to exacerbate and exhibit the fractures that had emerged.

The Western intrusion had served both to underline the Japanese need to understand the sources of Western power—and if possible to renegotiate the terms of a series of "unequal treaties" that the bakufu had therefore been forced to accept—as well as to reveal to the West the possibilities of its own political evolution. The latter marshaled its own exhibits, but also to understand prompted a series of missions to the West, officially on the part of the Bakufu, to provisionally by some of its rivals; the possibilities encouraged yet jockeying for diplomatic advantage within Japan between France and England (the United States was by now also engaged), while also encouraging commercial aspirations on the part of various European speculators. Attendance at the Paris exhibition thus came through the confluence of multiple interests and conflicts. The ascendancy of French influence within Tokugawa councils, together with the experience in 1862, convinced the Bakufu of the importance of attending the Paris exhibition. The latter marshaled its own exhibits, but also encouraged others to take advantage of the opportunity, an offer that was taken up by Hizen, a domain on the southwestern island of Kyushu, as well as an entrepreneurial Edom merchant. Meanwhile, a London-based group of students from the domain of Satsua (also on Kyushu, but by this time actively plotting against the bakufu and attracting covert British support) had come into contact with an entrepreneurial Belgian noble, the Comte Cantons de Montmblanc, who similarly convinced them that an exhibition would provide Satsua the perfect opportunity to advertise the fraudulent nature of the Bakufu’s claim to represent Japan. The resulting confusion at the exhibition produced a minor diplomatic incident and no little confusion in the European public. Quite literally, there was more than one "Japan" on display in Paris.

In the paper that follows, however, I want to focus not on the diplomatic confusion of the time, so much as the more general possibilities and dilemmas that the exhibition presented for "Japan". The experience in Paris not only reinforced the need for Japanese officials and others to learn from the West, and the effort that would be required to do so, but also suggested that exhibitions, both international and domestic, might play a central role in modernizing the country. This lesson was an immediate one, and many of those present in Paris, from both the Bakufu and Satsuma, subsequently formed the core of the Exhibition Bureau within the new Meiji government, responsible for planning domestic industrial exhibitions and Japanese participation in overseas fairs, beginning in Vienna in 1873. However, the fact that these officials could imagine a different place for "Japan", through the medium of exhibition, also suggests the inability of an exhibition or its authorities to regulate the lessons afforded by an exhibition. In other words, there were many "Japan"s in Paris not only because different parties sought to represent "Japan", but because the exhibition itself proliferated the representations of "Japan".

Exhibitionism

The diaries of those sent on missions to the West during the bakumatsu period are full of comments on the various institutions of spectatorship—expositions, museums, and the like—which littered the major cities of Europe and the United States. Fukuzawa Yūkichi, soon to become the theorist of "civilization and enlightenment", had been present on the 1862 mission to London, and introduced exhibitions to the Japanese public as bakurankata, literally, "meeting for surveying many things," in an encyclopedia of conditions in the West (Seiyō Jirui). For Fukuzawa, the need for exposition grew out of the pace of change. Although countries built museums in which they brought together objects from around the world, technical ingenuity, and so the stream of inventions, was unceasing. Thus what had been rare and precious only yesterday was commonplace today, what had once been a convenience was now a hindrance. Expositions served to make sense of and further encourage this parade of invention. While their immediate commercial benefits were obvious, they mainly served as a way of exchanging wisdom and invention, and beyond this, as a means of comparative analysis. By seeing the products of each country, one could observe the development of its customs (enkaku kizoku) and the intelligence of its people. Thus the foolish would be motivated, the intelligent kept on their toes, and civilization (bunme) furthered throughout the world. The ongoing flood of industrial development required an opportunity to see and compare the latest examples of technical ingenuity. Expositions provided this, thereby allowing countries to observe themselves comparatively, and so allowing progress itself to be recharged.

Fukuzawa’s analysis was not an exceptional one, and echoed many of the familiar themes found in the introductions and prefaces to the exhibitions’ own guides and reports. According to the official guide in Paris, for example, the exposition’s aims were:

to assemble in a practical fashion a balance sheet of material forces, as represented by machines, processes, or specimens of production; to record the advances achieved, and, by comparing them, to provide a point of departure for further improvements.2

The modern world was one of continuous improvement, but the pace of progress was bewildering, the direction of change unclear. Progress thus demanded a novel kind of accounting—a way of making sense of the changes occurring in
everyday life and relating them to the broader social formation. The exhibition provided the frame within which such stock-taking could occur—a device by which change itself might be accounted for, and so rendered accountable. By assembling the fruits of industry, it enabled the construction of a universal narrative of progress within which particular outcomes could be compared; and by comparing such outcomes, it allowed the visitor to identify possibilities for improvements in efficiency, productivity, and profit. Thus, by observing itself, the cycle of progress would be re-calibrated and motivated anew.

Exhibitions served as an accounting of progress, but progress in turn caused a problem for exhibitions. Given the universal claims, noted the official report, visitors demanded "above all that they be complete, that is, include all the nations of the world and all that is interesting to know about them". This would be a daunting proposition under any circumstances, but was exacerbated by the lessons which exhibitions were intended to illustrate. The mantra of progress meant not only that each exhibition had to include the most recent machines, inventions, and products, but that in its size, organization, and comprehensiveness it had to find some way by which to distinguish itself from its predecessors. The public has never been satisfied, it continued, when "one of these solemn occasions remained within the limits of those which had preceded it." While the 1862 exhibition in London was generally regarded as inferior to the 1851 exhibition, the inadequacies of the 1855 Paris exhibition when compared to the first Great British Exhibition had left the French eager to stage a bigger, better show.

By its own account, the 1867 exposition was all of this and more. While the site itself covered four times as much ground as any previous exposition, its proudest boast was the systematic way in which it realized the necessary goals of such events. At the heart of any exposition was classification. Exhibitions relied on classification both to impose order on the proliferating mass of industrial products, and to reveal the evolutionary principles that generated their production.

Great international competitions have as their principle object to put in relief the resources which industry can produce to satisfy man's needs; it is thus by grouping together the products which correspond to each of these needs that one can hope to draw a complete picture of human industry in the most true and compelling form. Such needs, which are common to all peoples, and which one finds at all times and places, can be defined as follows by considering physical and intellectual needs together: food; clothing; habitations; primary materials and their utilization, that is, labor most commonly understood; the liberal arts which increase the powers of the intellect and the body; and finally the fine arts.

But while such needs were universal, exhibitions also required inter-national comparisons. The genius of Paris, crowed the report, was to have developed a plan which allowed for "a double grouping of products, by kind of object and by nationality".

Expressed architecturally, this took the form of a massive oval building, with an open space at the center, and divided longitudinally into concentric galleries. Each concentric zone was devoted to objects within a particular class, while each nation would occupy a latitudinal section comprising all classes. All calculations as regards surface area, and the space given to each nation, had been generated through the statistical analysis of previous exhibitions, enlarging the space available along the lines suggested by previous expansion. The classification system, as embodied in the palace, not only accounted for national origin and class of object, but generated conveniently-sized rectangular spaces in which objects could be seen clearly, and which "could be adapted with the greatest flexibility to the demands of each exhibitor." The system aimed to allow a swift and easy examination of the various parts of the exhibition, thus increasing the interest which such an examination could provide for the savants, the practitioners, and the merely curious [...] By dedicating a circular gallery to each of these classes of objects, and investing one to the other, one saw the complete panorama of universal production unfold in succession.

Alternatively, one could concentrate one's attention on a particular detail of the production process, seeking the best possible practice out of the various national examples.
Thus the classification as materialized in Paris not only continued the work done by earlier exhibitions, but perfected it, again going beyond its predecessors. By placing objects in their proper classes, classification deprecated itself to reveal, and naturalize, the progressive human history of which they were the product. By its ingenious design, the 1867 exhibition allowed that history to be seen as a whole—a panorama, unfolding itself to the strolling viewer. As realized on site, this meant that Group One, the fine arts, occupied the innermost gallery. Moving outwards one passed in succession Groups Two through Six, “materials and their applications in the liberal arts”, “furniture and other objects used in dwellings”, “garments, tissues for clothing, and other articles of wearing apparel”, “products, wrought and unwrought, of extractive industries”, and finally, in the Galerie des Machines, “instruments and processes of common arts”. This outermost gallery also incorporated a platform from which the panorama of the whole was spread out before the viewer. And when the body was weary and the intellect fatigued, one could rest, either in a central garden, or by taking sustenance in the various national cafes and restaurants which ringed the outermost gallery, and served the “food, fresh or preserved” which constituted Group Seven.

But there was more. Each exhibition had to claim that its classification was not only more methodical than those that had gone before, but more comprehensive, that it brought more of the world within the purview of the exhibition’s analyst. The official report is therefore studded with mention of those objects and classes which had been excluded from earlier exhibitions, notably art and agriculture—the latter comprising, with horticulture, Groups Eight and Nine. Most importantly, where previous exhibitions had concentrated on industrial products, Paris extended its interest to include not only the social and national context in which the objects were produced, but even the very labor which had produced them. This addition of ethnography and the social sciences, claimed the official guide, was the novelty that truly set the exhibition apart from its predecessors. In addition to the nine groups of objects, the commissioners therefore sought to “complete the system of classification” by adding an unprecedented tenth, “objects exhibited with a special view to the amelioration of the moral and physical condition of the population”. Finally, the commission sought to bring together all its concerns in a special exhibition—the gallery of the history of labor—that occupied the innermost circle of the palace. Here, the universality of progress in human industry, the social context of the labor that generated such progress, and the national particularity that informed the practice of labor, were combined. Ancient and modern examples were to be placed in the part of the gallery corresponding to the sector occupied in the rest of the palace by the nation from which they came, and were to be arranged in such a way as to reveal the main “epochs of each people”.

The official rhetoric was all system and method. In practice, of course, the exhibition and its ceremonies served to place France, and particularly Napoleon III, at the center of a world putting itself on show. The exhibition’s principles, categories, and physical form were designed to give an account of global space and human history which situated France as the origin, model, and culmination of human progress. Imagined from this center, the world could be seen to arrange itself in Paris, around universal (French) truths, in decreasing degrees of likeness and comprehensibility; other nations could be measured as approximating or falling short of the ideal. As another nation, however, seeing this center, and the space it generated, it was often difficult to find oneself at home in its principles. In such a world, in other words, what place was there for Japan?

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A Place for Japan

Within the palace, it had to be said, not much, though not for lack of trying. The Bakufu had spent over two years collecting materials worthy of representing its pretensions, seeking to reveal in full the natural and industrial resources of Japan, from raw materials to technical ingenuity. The final tally amounted to some 189 boxes, made up of lacquerware, ceramics, goldwork, paintings and prints, Japanese paper, weapons, mining products, and timber. Satsuma’s contribution was even more extensive; more than 400 boxes included everything from lacquerwork and ceramics, through cloth and bamboo, to lumber, camphor, and sulfur. It also comprised the characteristic products of the Ryukyus—textiles, matting, and sugar—with which to substantiate its political claims. The two other Japanese exhibitors who had responded to the Bakufu invitation added to total. The drama of Hizen had taken the opportunity to display on its own account 520 boxes of its famous ceramics, long known to the European markets through the Dutch trade in Nagasaki, while an Edo merchant, Shimizu Ushaburo, sent a further 160 or so boxes, worth only slightly less than the Bakufu’s own contribution.

Thus the Japanese exhibits were numerous. Nor did Japanese efforts go unrewarded. Inasmuch as the exhibition offered up individual products for international comparison, it also worked to disaggregate national exhibits, isolating particular elements from their social contexts in order that they might be made available for visual comparison and industrial production. Here, the exhibition directed its audience’s attention to Japan’s resources. Japanese mineral deposits were already attracting a great deal of European interest, while the U.S. commissioners were one of their few explicit references to Japan in an extensive note on the historical exports of silver from that country. The international jury, meanwhile, noted the resistance of Japanese silkworms to the blight then infesting Europe. Beyond raw materials, moreover, Japan offered social resources to match. Japanese technical ingenuity and productivity was a continuous source of comment, and Japanese craftsmanship was cited for its “incomparable dexterity”, while Japanese silk provided evidence for the exquisite care taken in its production. Not surprisingly, given such comments, the jury showered Japanese exhibitors with prizes. The Bakufu (gravely designated as “Le Japon”) was awarded the grand prix for paper, “ordinary arts”, lacquerware, and sericulture; and Satsuma (“Gouvernement de Tsushiu de Satsouma”) fourors contests for its lacquerware. Perhaps more strikingly, press and jury comment suggested that Japan might even be described using the evolutionary rhetoric of the exposition itself, often by contrast with its continental neighbor. The evidence of silk suggested that whereas China “has lost its creative spirit”, in Japan “the movement of progress has not been halted”; the care lavished in production gave the latter’s products an artistic value which was not to be found, even in Europe, except in very occasional articles. Thus the country might even “take its place among the civilized nations.”

Thus in the French press, Japan’s could be hailed as “the most complete and brilliant exhibit of all the Asian states”. At the same time, in comparison to those of the European countries, Asian exhibits in general often seemed incomplete. Regardless of the occasional successes of particular products, the larger problem was the position that “Japan”, as represented by its exhibits, could occupy within the larger scheme of the exhibition and the attention of European observers. The official Bakufu diary was quick to note the basic divisions of the place. Given that France’s aim for the exposition was to demonstrate its central position in the global order of things, it occupied half of the total area, in comparison to the 1/38 given to England, 1/60 to Prussia and Belgium, 1/36 to the United States, and Switzerland, and 1/60 to Mexico and Spain, among others.
However, Japan had only been given /iso/, on the same order as Portugal, Greece, and Egypt, but which it then had to share with China and Siam. Given that Japanese exhibitors had so much to show, Japan took up almost half the available space, but this still only gave it /iso/ of the available area within the palace. The problem of cramped space was compounded by the inadequacy of the exhibit cases, which had been designed by a M. Chapron as a reasonable approximation of each particular indigenous style. With only verbal descriptions to go on, he had given Japan a pastiche of Moorish Chinese and Indian motifs. For the more discriminating European viewer, such arrangements were desirable, Japanese exhibits "badly housed up along an obscure corridor." Few viewers, however, were prepared to be as discriminating.

While aesthetes could distinguish themselves by hunting our Japanese treasures in dark corners, in the most public and visible parts of the exhibition Japan was more obvious for being either out of place or absent. In 32 out of 95 classes, Japan had literally nothing to show; in many of the others it could provide only one or two pieces. Above all, in Group Six, "Instruments and Processes of the Common Arts", Japan could provide no evidence of those machines that stood as the culminating evidence of the evolution of human industry. Thus in the imposing Gallery of Machines, in the midst of the technological sublime, the Japanese presence could only seem misplaced.

Why, in the Gallery of Machines, this motionless, terrible solitude? He is as curious to study as his presence is unexpected in the peaceful precincts of the Exposition? 18

Interrupting the vista of iron machinery was "Le Kiosque Japonais", a "happy pastiche of the elegant pavilions of rest which the Daimios construct in their huge gardens on the banks of the Okawa [sic]." In the middle of the pavilion stood some "magnificent porcelain sent by the Taicoun", while outside were the "ornaments (litters) of the all-powerful Taichou de Tazouna", around which stood his bodyguard, with a uniform "unchanged for centuries." Despite the incongruence of the ceramics and the iron and bronze bodyguard, the "kiosque" marked Japan as a place distinct from the industrial civilization embodied in the machines that surrounded it.

Just as the diplomatic stage had produced Japanese politics as an anomaly, so the exhibitionary frame displayed Japanese industry as backward. Japan did not lack for products; rather the exposition revealed Japan as deficient. The grounding assumption of industrial exhibitions was that things changed over time. Differentiated by class of object, such change could be measured and evaluated as progress; identified by locus of production, progress could be compared among nations. The proudest boast of the Paris exposition was the ease it afforded for this kind of evaluative comparison. It became clear, however, that some nations did not have the objects to satisfy the exhibition's categories, and in so doing, confounded its design. Inasmuch as Japan fell into this class, it became part of a more general category.

The Orient is represented at the Exposition, like all the other countries, but rather one should understand, from an ethnographic point of view than that of science and modern industry. It would be impossible to enumerate systematically all the rare and interesting objects gathered in this part of the Palace, from the Japanese prints, the Chinese vases, and the Egyptian costumes, to the white elephant of the King of Siam. 19

Unlike the developed nations of the west, whose particularity and historical achievement might be catalogued with the appropriate categories, Oriental coun-
tries—here meaning Egypt, China, Japan, Siam, Persia, Tunis, and Morocco—were best characterized by singular products and synecdoche. The inability of such countries to display change over time, at least within the categories of industrial development, placed them outside the evolutionary narrative; rather than the object of scientific comparison, they became the occasion of ethnographic curiosity. 20

Japan, among others, thus seemed largely at odds with the exposition. The passive East was constructed, in familiar Orientalist fashion, through the categories of a dynamic West, as without history and so without progress. This dichotomy, however, cut two ways. For official, comparative purposes, the Orient was beside the point. Precisely for this reason, however, although for different purposes, the East became not an irrelevance, but a focus of intense curiosity. Its resistance to the encyclopedic classification within the Palace suggested the East was mired in the past. But to the extent that Japan, among others, was out of place in the modern world, it also offered a place outside the modern world—not an echo of a world left behind, so much as a real world that the West had lost. The interest of countries like Japan—for the European observer at the exhibition—became not their inability to conform to the exhibition's classification, but the suggestion that this inability was evidence of a place where the universal laws of progress did not hold and where the visitor might escape the comprehensive accounting of the west. Such a view was of course an optical illusion. The fabulous nature of the Orient on display was of course only visible given its incommensurability with the systems of the exhibition. To believe in the fantasy required being blind to the frame which enabled it. But this did not make it any less compelling. And as such, the Orient could become an attraction in its own right as a site for nostalgic escape.

The design of the exposition itself had acknowledged the need to provide an escape from the formal galleries of the palace. The addition of agriculture and horticulture to the exhibition's categories strained the capacity of that building, and so these groups found their place on the edges of the larger park that surrounded the palace, together with other exhibits and the Inn and Inyards of the exhibition. To believe in the fantasy required being blind to the frame which enabled it. But this did not make it any less compelling. And as such, the Orient could become an attraction in its own right as a site for nostalgic escape.

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It was the park, therefore, which captured the imaginations of visitors and journalists. Where the design of the palace sought to render objects up for interna-
tional and historical comparison, the islands in the park seemed to offer the possibility of virtual tourism. Traveling to such islands, the visitors might imagine themselves elsewhere.

At every moment one meets groups of visitors who shout with happiness: Let's go to Japan! Let's go to China, visit Egypt, take a tour of Italy! [...] At the bend of a green path one suddenly finds oneself in front of a small state. What is it? What's the country? Say, it's the empire of the Mikado, let's cross the border of the Mikado! Isn't it charming?10

Crossing the border, one passed into a land where the pressure of time could be forgotten, and Oriental fantasy indulged. National and ethnic particularity became visible at the exposition to the extent to which it was enclosed and represented as if immune to contamination by the outside world, and so inaccessible to comparison.

The Japanese section in the park was split in two. The "Pavilion de Chasse et d'Arts de Princes Satsuma" drew admiring comments from the international jury for its delicate craftsmanship, albeit in the service of an "essentially stationary" architecture, but popular attention was drawn to what was most often designated a "Japanese farm".11 The "farm" was made up of two main buildings, the first "Appartement des femmes", here three geishas, "Miles O-Saito, O-Soumi, and O-Kane", brought to Paris by Shimizu, the Edo merchant, passed the time of day, "exactly as if they were alone in their house in Yedo". At times, however, they could also be found in the adjoining teahouse, "spinning tops or smoking a small pipe".12 According to the official Bakufu account:

They are very much the object of interest, since not only are they excitingly attired, but they are the first Oriental women who have ever come to Europe. The crowd, forbidden to enter the room, festered with one another and peered at them intently through spectacles.13

Equally compelling was a collection of mannequins in a small building in the corner of the garden. The dolls were exact figures, noted a French reporter. He could affirm this because two or three living, breathing Japanese worked on the farm, and "one truly did not know at first how to distinguish the man from the mannequin". He had been transported, rapturously, "Such is the spectacle", he notes. "Is this not truly a voyage to Japan?" The only things missing are the Japanese sun and the sky. "Let us hope that, thanks to prodigious progress, we will be able to exhibit them soon.14

Again, so far, so Orientalist, perhaps. It is tempting, given accounts like this, to think that the only place for Japan at the exhibition was indeed as an ethnographic curiosity – to suggest that the exhibition necessarily produced a feminized Orient, imposing on the east the status of the west's desired, unassimilable Other, from which there could be no escape. However, the evidence of a feminized Orient tells us more about the one doing the feminizing than about the object of its desire; gazing at an Other does not serve so much as to produce a subject. More importantly, for our purposes, discovering such evidence tells us little about the exhibition within which these effects were visible, or the experience of the Others on show. Thus seeing Japan in Paris as Other may have been required for French self-description – self-orientation, perhaps – but this does little to tell us about how the Japanese at the exhibition saw themselves, or about other ways it might have been possible to see Japan. What other possibilities, then, were left for Japan, both as the variable object of a variety of looks, and as a desiring subject of its own?

Lessons from the Exposition

The basic nature and general lessons of the exposition were clear enough. Where Fukuzawa had attributed the need for exhibition to technical ingenuity, the Bakufu diarist ascribed the ingenuity in turn to international competition.

The European countries compete in the delicacy of their craftsmanship and the novelty of their knowledge, struggling over who does something before the others. Thus, in the products displayed at the exposition they carry ingenuity to extremes and strive to outdo themselves in enhancing their reputation in the world.15

Fukuzawa's unceasing stream of inventions was thus the outcome of global rivalries, the products on display answering not to considerations of domestic use, but to the need for international representation. In order to take account of the change thus generated, however, the exposition sought to assign the source of invention to local circumstance and genius, tying internationalized production to national history.

Within this inventory of national productivity, Japan necessarily suffered by comparison. In 1862, seeing his country as represented by Alcock had provoked Takashima Yukichi, a doctor traveling with the mission, to fits of self-mortification. Although many of the exhibits were rarities that had never been seen before outside Japan, he had bemoaned the low quality of most of the objects. Particularly galling were the paper lanterns and umbrellas, wooden pillows, straw raincoats, and wooden and straw shoes – items made of materials that industrialization had left behind, and which therefore became visible at the exhibition as category mistakes.16 In 1867, the Bakufu diarist-underlined the particulars of inadequacy with a more general point about the category to which the exhibition had consigned Japan. Given both industrial transformation and comparative frame, the East was revealed as deficient, for Japanese observer just as it had been for Western commentators.

Looking at the differences between the exhibits of the countries, one can ascertain the customs of each country and the intelligence of its peoples even in clothing and utensils one can see the gap in ethics and temperament between East and West.17

Thus the exhibition could display both the "rough and remote" nature of countries such as Arabia and "the extent to which civilization has developed in a country like harmonious Norway", even "tucked away", as it was, "in the north-west of the world". Difference and deficiency could be directly "inferred from [their] products".18 There was a willing suspension of disbelief here. In fact, the self-evident nature of such characterizations was an artifact of the exposition. Classification had served to reorient the world around European norms, deviation from which became evidence of inadequacy. Faced by such evidence, however, it was all too easy to internalize the sense of inadequacy.

The source of European superiority was obvious enough. It was above all the productivity of the West that was responsible for the profusion of objects on display, and it was technology, most visibly industrial machinery, which underwrote that productivity. It was clear to Japanese observers that the machinery on display was the result of an "investigation of things"19 that is, of empirical observation and experimentation, and that both the investigation and the machinery opened up extraordinary possibilities. "There are many things which could be studied with profit."20 At the same time, however, there was a continuous lament that the precise principles on which the machinery operated were unclear.
The steam engine, for example, is a marvel of design and technical achievement. One should be able to grasp its working principles, but to my regret, I lacked sufficient knowledge and, uncomprehending, merely gazed at it as one might at a passing cloud or wisp of smoke [...]. I have neither the learning nor language to understand the principles behind the exhibits on display.*

If Japan were to overcome the gap between itself and the West, it would have to master such principles. Even before one disassembled the technology and replicated its manufacture, however, one needed to understand what it was and what it did.

The first order of business, therefore, was formulating a language with which to describe appearance and function. "Water thunder fire" (suitaikai), for example, involved attaching three cords to "something like a twenty gallon barrel made of steel" and attaching the cords to a stand on the ocean floor so that the barrel floated in the water. When a ship hit what would later become known as a mine (shokuhatsu suirai), the "gunpowder in it explodes and the ship breaks up".* "Something like" repeatedly signaled an attempt to assimilate foreign products and practices to Japanese understanding. Searchlights were "like an earthenware mortar", placed on a "high stand like a firetower". The surface was "like a mirror", the light "unlike that of a normal fire", but rather "like looking at the sun on a clear day". The continuous stream of analogies pointed to an order of things—a degree of power and potential foreign to the Japanese way of the world. At the same time, they suggested the desire and the possibility of making the knowledge on display productive in Japan, as well as the labor required to do so. "It is hard to understand them even if one looks at them for a long time, and they are surely even harder to understand written down like this."*\n
However, the exposition made it clear that Japan needed to do more than simply import Western technology into the pre-existing social and political order of things. Japan's own constitution needed to submit to international norms. At the exposition itself, this was perhaps most obvious in the small garden which occupied the innermost core of the circular galleries. At the center of the garden stood a small pavilion, which housed the section of the exhibition devoted to weights, measures, and coins. It was here that national value was made directly accountable to international exchange. Yet even here, Japan seemed somewhat at odds with international norms.

Our country's [various currencies] are also displayed. Amidst the round curren-
cies of the European state and all the other countries, it is the only one with a square shape. The weights and measures of all other countries are also on dis-
play. Again, it is especially noteworthy that our measures are square in the midst of all the round shapes.*

The motivation for the exhibit, however, was not merely to suggest, like the rest of the exposition, the need for comparison between and among different national currencies and systems of measurement, but to emphasize the advantages of one system of measurement in particular.* In the official Bakuho account, this metric possibility was taken up to suggest a commercial world in which even national currencies had been transcended.

Since currency is the basis of international trade, if each country's currency sys-
tem is different, it is an impediment to the good will of the global family. If one were to explain [this] to the mass of people, one could promote the idea that there were advantages to be gained from unifying the system. In order to pro-
mote a consensus in the global public discussion, one would appoint leaders, to regulate the discussion in each country.*

Given a system of international trade that transcended national borders, it surely made sense to designate national value through international agreement. By imagining a hierarchical global community, this vision could be sanguine about the extent to which Japan might participate in the international system and such a system could achieve consensus.

Conclusion

In Paris, then, Japan confronted a new world. Or rather, the world on display in Paris required a new Japan. The universal exposition was the characteristic stage for this world, and served to make its governing principles clear. Above all, and despite French imperial pretensions, it was a world without an ordering center. In the absence of the hierarchical authority that might order the world's affairs, uneasion competition had become the modus vivendi and the nation-state its required, replicable form. However, while the latter was required to harness social productivity and capitalize on the possibilities of international trade, its fortunes were determined not by national authority but by transnational developments. This subordination was made explicit at the exposition, where the nation became a denominator within a universal scheme, whose purpose was to be comparable, and so relative, to other similarly designated units. Within such a scheme, as noted above, it is tempting to imagine that there was no real role for Japan to be seen other than as an ethnographic curiosity. Architecture and classification provided a system into which Japan did not fit. But this account needs to be complicated.

First, as already suggested, there was no one "Japan" on display at the exhibition. Its multiple appearances were a function not only of the political "inherent-\nance" of the country—measured against the norms of European politics—but also of the double logic of the exposition itself. The latter's organizers assumed that the world could indeed be revealed in a single glance—national variety awared for in a single classification, historical differences subordinated to and visible as the working of the governing principle of evolutionary progress. Against the principle, "Japan" indeed appeared deficient. And seen in this light, attention drifted to where those places that the West might invest with nostalgia for the preindustrial. Even here, however, the fact that Japan could be seen to be unassimilable to the standardizing, "universal" norms of the West itself provided an opportunity to capitalize in the years to come on the supposed fact of Japanese uniqueness. Even in 1867, European aesthetics delighted in the Japanese crafts that allowed them to display their own refined sensibilities; the artisan avant-
garde could imagine that woodblock prints played a radically new way of seeing. And it was precisely the antiques and curios—the embodiment of Japanese curiosity— that became a primary export good at foreign exhibitions during the early years of Meiji.

More importantly, perhaps, within the official classification an exhibit's national-
ity was subordinate to its function; that is, the system of the exhibition worked to divorce particular objects from their national or ethnic context in order that they might be made available for visual comparison and industrial production. Here, "Japan" could appear otherwise, productive rather than passive, resource-
ful rather than a fit object of Orientalist fantasy, exhibiting the possibilities both for foreign capital in Japan, and for Japan in the world economy, Japan's mineral deposits, and the historical record of silver exports, both attracted comment in the official report—foreshadowing the flood of silver from the country which bedeviled fiscal policy during the early years of Meiji. The international jury, meanwhile, noted the resistance of Japanese silkworms to the blight then infecting Europe—pointing to a window of opportunity during which Japan might...
enjoy comparative advantage in at least one sector of industry. Finally, Japanese technical ingenuity and productivity was a continuous source of comment. Even the account of the Japanese farm, which begins with explicit fantasizing, ends on a more self-reflective, ambivalent note. The miraculous invocation of the Japanese sun and sky, suggests the reporter, would reveal a Japan of fertile fields, pushed to achieve miraculous progress by the hard work of the compact, industrious population. “We Occidentals still have some lessons to learn from many people whom we seem to despise.” While the general rhetoric was Orientalist, there was nonetheless a space, visible at the exhibition, for Japan at least to enter history.

Second, the exhibition not only sought to make Japanese resources available to the western view, but also promised to display western technology for global dissemination. That is, modern technology— including the technologies of display— could not be monopolized; the industrial progress that it enabled could not be denied to any other nation, although much effort would be spent on maintaining the mid-nineteenth-century hierarchies that it first produced. It is true that time and energy would be needed to understand the technology and assimilate the lessons of progress. In 1867, Japanese efforts were often frustrated. In 1873, these frustrations resulted in a substantial research party accompanying the official Bakufu delegation to Vienna, and a multi-volume report on their return. The report made it quite clear that if Japan were to escape permanent consignment to the native enclosure, it would have to transform itself using western industrial technologies and according to western structures of political and economic practice. Those technologies and practices, however, were premised on the universal applicability of their principles, and so their accessibility to all comers. And in the Vienna report, as in Fukuzawa’s encyclopedia, the exhibition took pride of place. At home they would encourage viewers to improve their own workmanship, and so contribute to national industrial development. Abroad they provided a convenient outlet for selling the products of the improving industries, and so acquiring the capital that would finance further modernization. Beyond this, they were an ideal medium for international public relations, demonstrating the progress that had thus been achieved, and so advancing the Japanese case for ending the unequal treaties and, in time, entering the ranks of the great powers.

Finally, we need to be careful before assuming that this or any exhibition in fact lived or ever could live up to its didactic, universalizing pretensions. Some accounts at the time were more skeptical than the official reports about the nature of the achievement. Sir Henry Cole, the British commissioner, noted how the architecture itself undermined the realization of the principles of which it was intended to be the material embodiment. Its effect, he suggested, “was to prevent any lengthened views”. The longed-for panorama of universal progress was always disappearing around the corner, perhaps, over the horizon. The problem was confounded by the irreducible singularity of the countries on display. Thus for the jurors, the official embodiment of systematic comparison, the arrangement itself made their work “labourious and uncertain”, however “specious and attractive” it may have been to the general visitor. Regardless of the obvious cross-channel biliousness, it is clear that the clarity of a two-dimensional architectural design was replaced in three-dimensional exhibiting and viewing practice to a chaos of individualized spaces. Within the exhibition there was no point of view from which to comprehend the significance of the whole. And in the absence of such a perspective, the exhibition could not but provide a jumble of impressions, in which viewers could choose what to make of the objects on show.

The experience and testimony of the Japanese observers in Paris thus suggests the paradoxical nature of the exhibition that confronted them. Even in 1867, Japan could therefore see a way out of the representational bind in which it found itself. Japan was neither incomprehensible – even if there was substantial diplomatic and intellectual capital to be made in the years to come on insisting that it was – nor was it excluded from the available opportunities, and likely ravages, of development. Following the experience in Paris, therefore, the exhibition became for Japan one of the key technologies driving such development, as well as a critical medium through which to gauge its progress. As in Paris, however, the exhibition proved an unruly servant. The didactic clarity of official intention and ordered space of architectural design gave way in practice to a multitude of conflicting interests, proliferating objects, and differentiated individual experiences. By the end of the Meiji period, in the first decade of the 20th century, the initial enthusiasm for exhibitions as a panacea had subsided. At home, initiative in planning domestic exhibitions passed from national bureaucrats to local governments and boosters, for whom an exhibition was an opportunity not so much to instruct a population as to attract the pork that might foster regional development. And while “Japan” never ceased to be an enthusiastic participant in exhibitions overseas, plans for an international exhibition in Japan were repeatedly put on hold, the possibilities for national display now subordinate to the practicalities, and fiscal imperatives, of imperial expansion.
The Japanese view the title of a best-selling dictionary to Japanese objects and customs, including dress, division of food, property, religion, art, and music. In the 19th century, it was written by Basho Hase, a non-Western artist who had been sent to Japan in 1837 to study for three years, becoming a leading figure in the development of Japanese Western-style art.

For a general narrative of the period, see TOTMAN, C. B. (1961). The Japanese: A People in Transition. In the 19th century, the Japanese were divided into two main groups: the samurai, who were warriors, and the commoners, who were farmers, artisans, and merchants.

For French diplomacy during this period, see MELK, M. (1971). French Policy in Japan during the Meiji Period. In the 1870s, the Japanese began to adopt Western-style government and institutions, and to adopt Western-style education and technology, and to adopt Western-style dress and language, and to adopt Western-style art and music. The adoption of Western-style government and institutions, and the adoption of Western-style education and technology, and the adoption of Western-style dress and language, and the adoption of Western-style art and music, were all part of the process of modernization in Japan, which began in the late 19th century and continued throughout the 20th century.

The French were not the only ones who noticed the Western influence on Japan. Some Western agents, such as the British, the French, and the Dutch, also noticed the Western influence on Japan. In contrast, the Japanese observers found nothing odd in wanting to look at things. During the Edo period, Japan had developed an urban culture in which space was used and occupied by a large number of people. The difference of the West by rather in the industrial nature of the urban landscape on display, and the ethnic ecological nature of the institution used to display them. See also: FUKUOKA, Y. (1958). "kiko-doro, kinen-shi, vol. 1, 27-8.


The mutual respect of the accounting underworld by the U.S. commissioners and exhibitions. Exhibitions were a comprehensive survey of "every industry, art, and science," with the object of being in view of all the fruits of the skill, industry, and inventiveness of every nation. In such a manner that the exact condition and the manner of the industrial development of each nation, and of each description of article or process could be set forth; the progress which such examination indicated, measured, and explained; and the highest standards of excellence be placed within the reach of all men of business. Guide Office of the Exposition Universelle de 1867 at Paris, P. 54. Report to the United States Commissioners of the Paris Universal Exposition, 1867, Vol. 1, Washington, 1868.

COMMISSION IMPERIALE 1867, Rapport sur l'Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris, P. 256, 1867-68, 1870. The report was not the official report of the exposition, but it was the official report of the exposition. The official report of the exposition was the official report of the exposition. In contrast, the Japanese observers found nothing odd in wanting to look at things. During the Edo period, Japan had developed an urban culture in which space was used and occupied by a large number of people. The difference of the West by rather in the industrial nature of the urban landscape on display, and the ethnic ecological nature of the institution used to display them. See also: FUKUOKA, Y. (1958). "kiko-doro, kinen-shi, vol. 1, 27-8.

INVISION OF THE EXHIBITION 1867, Paris, 1867-68. The report was not the official report of the exposition, but it was the official report of the exposition. The official report of the exposition was the official report of the exposition. In contrast, the Japanese observers found nothing odd in wanting to look at things. During the Edo period, Japan had developed an urban culture in which space was used and occupied by a large number of people. The difference of the West by rather in the industrial nature of the urban landscape on display, and the ethnic ecological nature of the institution used to display them. See also: FUKUOKA, Y. (1958). "kiko-doro, kinen-shi, vol. 1, 27-8.


The Other

Angel Lozner

and period in the various parts of the palace and gardens; and the similarity which most of them showed with the products of modern industry in the same place took away any possible interest in the exhibits for the young.

40. Including agricultural machinery, English and French musical instruments, and a mining exhibition, as well as various national knickknacks, statuettes, porcelain, armoires, and the police and fire services.

41. COMMISSION IMPERIALE (1867), 9: 117.

42. Guide Officier (1867), 111. Even the guides, however, had to propose what it acknowledged to be a somewhat "transformed" itinerary in order to make it work through the various sections of a reasonably economical fashion and without being too restricted. This being done, of course, the attractions such as those in the Park, which would be substantially developed into fully fledged entertainment zones, would work by removing the visitor from the predictability and visibility of didactically inclined exhibits and allowing them to lose track of time.


44. CDCS (1868), vol. 1, 323.


46. SETTN, 96; translation taken from CRAIG (1994), 163.

47. "Les costumes populaires," (1867), 364.

48. SETTN, 46.

49. TAKAHASHI, M. (1969), Bunyô Niren no Europa Hikeshu, Shimbunsha, Tokyo, 78.


51. SETTN, p. 82.

52. Ibid., p. 81.

53. This comes from the private diary of an attendant in the Baluari party, Hayashi, which is quoted in SAKAI (1894), 65-6.

54. Ibid., 81-2.

55. Ibid., 56.

56. Ibid., 56.

57. The universal pretensions and Francisco-Jane of the project were quintessentially obvious from the pavilion's design. It was a circular structure, surrounded by a dome, and divided into twenty sections, each country occupying the same position as it did in the exhibition as a whole. The first floor was devoted to weights, measures, and coinage, while the second displayed various paper guarantees of value - bank bills, paper money, postage stamps, and various other documents. The four faces of the pavilion were surrounded by four clock dials, inscribed with Roman, Turkish, Indian, and Chinese figures, while a die with Arabic figures was placed inside the cupola. Unlike other pavilion exhibits, which give the different times in various parts of the world, all the dials indicated Paris time. Finally, on the summit of the dome there was a globe, oriented so as to be parallel to the axis of the earth, which revolved once every twenty-four hours. Introduction, 98, and "Extracts from the Report of the International Committee on Weights, Measures, and Coins," 54, both in BLAKE (1872), vol. 1, 56.

58. SETTN, 84.

59. The 1867 exhibition provided the first opportunity for the advancement of the metric system to push its argument internationally. In the pavilion, the linear measures on the first floor were arranged vertically, supported by two walls of fixed, metallic hangers, making it easy to compare each measure with the metric system. In committee, much of the work of the sub-committee on weights and measures was taken up with a discussion of the advantages of the metric system. The U.S. commission, at least, was convinced by the virtues of a decimal system. "The metric system is perfectly fit to be universally adopted, on account of the scientific principles on which it is established, the homogeneity which exists in the relationship between all of its parts, and the simplicity and facility of its application in sciences and arts, industry and commerce." BLAKE (1872), "Extracts," vol. 1, 417.

60. SETTN, 84.


62. Cole further noted how the design "caused each nation to erect a number of courts and rooms without reference to any general effect; and the result in many cases was to render the exhibition of the objects sub-ordinate to the character in which they were arranged. This was especially the case with the Oriental countries, where the courts and divisions were so lavishly decorated as to quite obscure the objects shown." The rooms were further complicated by subdivision in the classification not being "carried far enough to enable sound judgment." In its "principle of the exhibition," the metric system was "a standard of excellence." The double principle of the exhibition seemed to be at war with itself. "Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition, 1867, Volume I, containing the Report by the Executive Commissioners, and Appendices (1868), London, ix, viii, 47.

62. Given such cracks, it is worth asking how one was meant to orient oneself to the exhibition. One possibility was a small hill, some distance from the Champ de Mars, whose summit had been lowered and profiled to look like the summit of a volcano, and a statue of a man and woman on top, with 200 cars and six locomotives - a commanding view of the exhibition site, and an inviting space for the learned. However, this did not necessarily ensure that viewers of the exhibition subscribed to any of the pedagogic principles it espoused. The exhibits were not all in the same hall. Rather, the distance from the exhibition provided a space in which the exhibition, and its principles, might be subject to ironic commentary, as indeed it was. In 1967, Moreau de Momper, President of the exposition, was the subject of a special exhibition, which was a commentary on that of 1867. The painting did not so much give a faithful rendition of the view from the hill, or a respectful representation of the exhibition below, but rather use the space provided by the exhibition to ridicule the Paris being transformed by Haussmann, and comment on the society that this transformation was producing. See CLARK, T. (1967), The Paintings of Modern Life: The Art of Manet and his Followers, New York, 1967.
Musiques exotiques aux Expositions Universelles de Paris en 1889 et 1900

par Bertr. A. Follini

La touloua des traiteurs algériens, 1889
Exotisme à Paris lors du XIXe siècle

La place importante réservée aux colonies, lors des Expositions Universelles à Paris de 1889 et de 1900, l'intérêt pour leur culture, leur art, leur artisanat et leurs coutumes, n'est pas le fruit du hasard. Déjà au cours des expositions précédentes de 1867 et de 1878, des expositions coloniales avaient été organisées, mais celles-ci n'avaient — et de loin — pas la même ampleur que les manifestations de 1889 et de 1900; le thème des colonies était désormais passé au premier rang.

Au cours de la première moitié du XIXe siècle, l'expansion coloniale de la France fut en plein essor, essentiellement en Afrique (en 1830, la France s'installa en Algérie, en 1881 en Tunisie, en plus de l'Égypte), plus tard en Indochine.

D'autres pays s'engageaient à l'époque dans la même voie, comme par exemple les États-Unis (on note l'entrée de l'États-Unis dans la baie de Tokyo en 1853, qui brisa l'isolement séculaire du Japon et ouvrit de nouveaux débouchés commerciaux).1

Lors des Expositions de 1889 et de 1900, les expositions des sections coloniales, éparpillées sur l'Esplanade des Invalides, devaient avant tout démontrer la présence des pays colonisateurs, en premier lieu de la France, et mettre en évidence la supériorité et la suprématie de la culture occidentale. L'indépendance des Occidentaux et les éthiques des pays extra-européens fut mise en évidence par la qualité des objets exposés, jugée inférieure. Cependant, il fut dressé comme une échelle de valeurs entre les différentes cultures: les hautes cultures comme celles de la Chine, du Japon ou de l'Inde furent beaucoup plus appréciées que celles des pays arabes voire des pays de l'Afrique noire.

Mais à côté de cette démonstration de la suprématie culturelle occidentale, il existait un autre indice permettant d'expliquer l'intérêt pour les expositions coloniales et en particulier l'enthousiasme des visiteurs européens à l'égard de l'Orient. C'est la curiosité vis-à-vis des pays lointains et inconnus, qui avait agité les grandes villes de l'Europe depuis plusieurs décennies déjà. Les expéditions coloniales qui se succéderont depuis l'époque de Napoléon facilitaient les voyages à destination des divers pays du Maghreb, tels que le Maroc, l'Algérie, la Tunisie, ou de l'Égypte, où objets d'art et d'artisanat affluaient vers la capitale française déjà bien avant les Expositions Universelles.

La diffusion de la musique par contre s'avéra beaucoup plus difficile que celle des bois laqués, des dessins à l'encre de chine ou des soies orientales. La connaissance d'un authentique répertoire musical — avant l'invention de l'enregistrement (le premier photographie d'Edison fut justement présenté à l'Exposition de 1889) demandait alors un contact direct avec des musiciens du pays. Parmi les objets importés à Paris au cours du XIXe siècle, il y avait également des instruments de musique, qui intégraient les collections des musées ou les collections privées, comme, par exemple, un ensemble presque complet d'instruments gamelan, offert à la France par le ministre de l'intérieur des Indes néerlandaises en 1887 et exposé au musée instrumental du Conservatoire de Paris (celui-ci se trouve aujourd'hui à la Cité de la Musique).2 Mais sans les musiciens sachant les faire résonner, la musique restait morte. Il fallait donc entreprendre des voyages dans les pays lointains, sillonner les villages et villes lointains et transcrire sur place les mélodies souvent difficiles à fixer dans notre système de notation occidental, d'autant plus que la discipline de l'éthnomusicologie n'existait pas encore. Parmi les musiciens français qui parcouraient l'Orient, il faut citer en premier lieu Félicien David (1810-1876). Celui-ci séjourna entre 1833 et 1835 en Égypte pour y préparer un voyage, David prit des notes des "Mélodies orientales", qu'il publia en 1836. Il doit son succès essentiellement à l'ouvrage symphonique Le Désert pour récitation, chœur, solistes et orchestre, créé en 1844 au Théâtre italien: ce sont des impressions sonores de ses voyages en Orient, plus évocatrices qu'authentiques, mais parfaitement au goût du public parisien. Le compositeur Ernest Reyer (1823-1909), qui vécut à Alger pendant huit ans, avait lui aussi des connaissances directes de l'Orient et de sa musique. Le fruit de sa collaboration artistique avec Reyer et Théophile Gautier, avec lequel il se lia d'amitié lors de son retour à Paris en 1848, est la "symphonie orientale" Le Sélim (créée en 1850). Comme le voyage était réservé à un petit nombre de personnes aînées, les contacts directs avec la musique orientale demeurèrent rares. A cet égard, les Expositions Universelles jouaient un rôle important, parce que de nombreuses traditions musicales y étaient présentes, ce qui les rendit directement accessibles à tout le monde, sans le moindre déplacement du visiteur de la foire: un véritable "tour du monde en huit minutes", comme l'exprima fort justement un journaliste.3

Cet article essaye de présenter la grande variété de musiques exotiques offerte à l'occasion des deux Expositions Universelles de Paris de 1889 et de 1900.4 Lors de la visite dans l'encontre des expositions coloniales sur l'Esplanade des Invalides, le visiteur fut confronté à un espace sonore complexe et varié. Pour mieux comprendre l'impact de ces musiques exotiques sur le grand public, mais également sur les musiciens, il faut systématiser les sonorités. Nous les avons rangées en trois catégories: les bruits de fond, les cérémonies ou rites et les concerts proprement dits.

Musique exotique comme "bruits de fond"

La première catégorie comprend tout utilisation de musique comme bruits de fond ou comme bruitage. Aux Expositions Universelles de 1889 et de 1900, de nombreux pays et colonies participaient en construisant des pavillons individuels, empruntant de couleurs, et dans l'encontre de chaque pavillon, on présentait des produits agricoles et artisanaux du pays, des objets d'art, l'architecture, la beauté des paysages et les mœurs locales. De nombreux aménagements furent réalisés à cet effet: reconstructions de sites ou de monuments, dioramas, habitats, intérieurs des pièces — le tout peuplé par des "indigènes", vétus de costumes traditionnels. Le village javanais à l'Exposition de 1889 par exemple fut construit par les villageois eux-mêmes, transféré à Paris en nombre (40 hommes et 20 femmes).

En 1889, la "Rue du Caire" fut fortement appréciée par le public; il s'agissait d'une étroite rue arabe, avec des boutiques, une mosquée, des maisons accolées les unes aux autres, les fenêtres protégées par les mouchababichis. Cette tendance de reconstruction "authentique" s'accrut encore lors de l'Exposition de 1900, où furent présentées de véritables ensembles, soit historiques, comme le Vieux Paris ou l'Andalousie au temps des Maures, soit ethnologiques, comme la forêt de Madagascar ou le Village suisse (ce dernier présentant pêle-mêle différents styles architectoniques suisses, le tout dans un décor de hautes montagnes, réalisé en bois et carton).

L'objectif consistait sans doute à dépayser les visiteurs de leur vie quotidienne et à les plonger dans un univers inconnu, étranger et féerique: les spectateurs "regardent, et, sur les ailes de l'imagination, franchissant les continents et les mers, ils entrent à leur gré dans un monde qu'ils ne verront peut-être jamais".5 La promenade à travers les différentes contrées des Expositions Universelles fut pour l'homme de la rue une sorte de succédané des longs voyages, réservés aux gens aînés.

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Pour renforcer l’"authenticité" de ces aménagements et recréer l’ambiance des pays lointains, une équipe mise en scène fut entièrement à tous les niveaux: architecture, costumes, animaux, parfums, sans oublier la musique; d’ailleurs, cette dernière est davantage perçue par le subconscient. Un journaliste décrivit, à quel point des diverses sonorités étaient présentes lors de l’Exposition en 1889; il y avait le "Gare de gascón" du coin annamite, le "Doudou doudou" du gong du village cochinchinois, le "Allah il Allah" du marabout (sic) du haut du minaret algérien, le "Tabet, tabet, talabaï" des Bayadrès de Mangoungouano et il ajouta que "le visiteur ébloui, hypnotisé, ahuri, ne sait auquel (sic) entendre ni à quoi se fixer."

Mais au-delà de ces impressions générales, chaque pays évaqua sa propre ambiance et son propre parfum sonore d’Orient. Dans le pavillon du Madagascar à l’Exposition de 1900, un grand diorama montrait une forêt malgache traversée par une rivière; sur les bords de cette rivière se tenait une longue file de chanteurs "qui murmuraient leurs plaintives mélodies", accompagnés d’un joueur de "Lokingo woatavo", une sorte de mandoline fabriquée à partir d’une couteau.

En entrant dans le village tonkinien, on entendit le forgeron frapper "des gongs sonores qui donnent toutes les notes de la gamme». Parmi les rares reconstructions du site cambodgien d’Angkor Vat, des femmes javanaïs dansèrent, accompagnées de joueurs de cymbales.

À l’Exposition de 1900, le promeneur put entendre deux carillons différents. L’un se trouvait dans le Village suisse et jouait, d’une manière plutôt rustique, des airs populaires. Il était actionné par un vrai carillonneur du pays, le dénommé Eugène Gonet, âgé de soixante ans et originaire de Champéry dans le Valais. L’autre carillon faisait partie du clocher de Notre-Dame des Vieux-Paris et résonnait à heures fixes. Son jouet fut un certain "Mérovak", un villageois de Fontenay-le-Comte en Vendée, déguisé en Quasimodo."Dans de nombreux pavillons, des instruments de musique furent exposés: par exemple lors de l’exposition japonaise de 1893; dans la pagode d’Angkor Vat la même année; ou à la sortie du Palais de Co-Loa, pavillon de l’Indochine, en 1900."

Une sorte de "tableau vivant" fut dressée en 1900 à l’intérieur du pavillon de la Bosnie-Herzégovine. On y arrangea des tapis, des meubles et des ouvrages de la vie quotidienne. "Mais, pour que le tableau soit complet, il faut que le personnel du pavillon soit en costume de gala, comme pour les jours de fête; que le majestueux portier se tienne à l’entrée avec son arsenal d’armes étincelantes à la ceinture et que l’orchestre bosniaque exécute ses mélodies indigènes, ajoutant la groserie de la musique à la magie des formes et des couleurs." "Une gravure nous montre l’intérieur du pavillon et le tableau vivant mentionné: divers travailleurs et artisans sont assis devant des tables basses, à droite, un orchestre, composé de sept hommes qui jouent des instruments à cordes et de deux femmes respectivement avec un triangle et un tambourin."


Ici se dressa la mosquée, avec son minaret d'où le muezzin appelait les fidèles à la prière; là, dans les bazars, grouillait un peuple de marchands en costume indigène, tandis que des musiciens arabes retinrent l’air du bruit de leurs instruments. Par les fenêtres entrouvertes du café marocain, des notes aigües, perçantes, vibrent, mêlant un bruit de frite africaine à la gaité contenue d’une odeur en belle humeur; plus loin, l’orchestre égyptien accompagnait en sourdine les danses des almées, et des chants monotones flottaient dans l’air.

A plusieurs reprises, ce chant du muezzin est mentionné. La mosquée faisait partie du Palais algérien, son minaret était haut de plus de 20 mètres, une fidèle reproduction de la Zaouia de Sidi-Abd-er-Rahman. C’est là que le muezzin "appelle les fidèles à la prière et hisse le drap drapeau qui annonce aux Musulmans le commencement du Ramadan." La musique que l’on pouvait entendre dans les rues venait des divers cafés, où l’on donnait de temps en temps des concerts, comme, par exemple, au Café marocain (situé dans le Pavillon du Maroc), où jouait une troupe de Noubi.

La musique dans le contexte des rites ou des cérémonies

Les gens qui peuplaient les habitats aménagés continuaient de suivre leur rythme habituel. La majorité d’entre eux ne semble pas avoir été trop impressionnée du spectacle que la capitale française leur offrait, comme plusieurs journalisées l’ont remarqué avec indignation. Les populations étrangères restaient entre elles et observaient leurs cérémonies et rites respectifs. Les visiteurs pouvaient y accéder, à quelques exceptions près, comme le montre l’exemple de l’exposition algérienne en 1889 où les visiteurs n’avaient pas le droit de s’approcher des pièces réservées aux femmes. Il s’y offrit donc à l’observateur une excellente source pour connaître la musique d’un groupe ethnique et son contexte de vie, source beaucoup plus authentique que la mise en scène intentionnelle de la Rue du Caire ou d’autres aménagements, conçus uniquement selon les expectatives et le goût du grand public. Néanmoins, cette authenticité de la vie quotidienne des "indigènes" exposés faisait partie de la mise en scène des organisateurs et il faut se poser chaque fois la question si la présence des visiteurs aux cérémonies était admise ou plutôt attendue.

Sans doute, le curieux spectacle que les Aissouaou de Fez offraient lors des Expositions de 1889 (dans le Pavillon du Maroc) et de 1900 (exposition "D’Audalouie au temps des Mauers") était-il tout spécialement destiné au public, bien qu’ils s’entraînent d’une cérémonie qui se déroulait traditionnellement dans un sanctuaire de Fez. Il s’agissait d’une sorte d’exercices en transe, avec des instruments et des animaux. Les Aissouaou se brûlèrent, ils percevaient leurs membres, ils avaient des scorpions, le tout sans manifeste de doute. Ce spectacle bouleversant fut accompagné de coups de tambours.

Avec une ardeur toute religieuse, ils frappent à coups redoublés sur d’énormes tambours de bois et sur des tambourins réenfantis, et la cérémonie va augmenter jusqu’au moment où ils supposent que le dieu a été écouté et que leurs sacrifices lui seront agréables."
Le journaliste était probablement convaincu d’assister à une véritable cérémonie religieuse; il est Toutefois plus probable que ce spectacle ait été une simple reproduction de la cérémonie, destinée à divertir le public.

Les Annamites avaient une pagode bouddhique, où se déroulaient régulièrement des cérémonies religieuses auxquelles le public n’avait pas accès, mais dont il pouvait contempler le déroulement de l’extérieur, car les baies du temple restaient ouvertes et les rideaux relevés: "le tam-tam résonne auquel répond un énorme gong de bois peint et doré; cette symphonie barbare forme un harmonieux charivari... je vous assure qu’elle ne mérite guère son nom, la pagode de la Grande Tranquillité; [...] les bonzes, assis de chaque côté de l’autel sur des bancs de bambou, chantent, sur un air monotone et lent, une mélodie en l’honneur des bouddhas spéciaux de la pagode." Une gravure montre les acteurs dans leur décor, quelques-uns portant des instruments. Une autre cérémonie religieuse, hindouiste cette fois, fut présentée en 1900 dans un temple de Vishnou; on aperçut des musiciens assis par terre et jouant de la sitar et d’autres instruments traditionnels.

A gauche: Fête de nuit à l’Esplanade des Invalides - La danse canaque, 1889
À droite: Les Gitans de Grenade, 1899

Lors de la même année, dans le site de l’Andalousie au temps de la Maures, le visiteur put assister à un mariage gitan et à des grands cortèges. Il est fort probable que ce n’était pas un véritable mariage, mais un spectacle que l’on donnait à plusieurs reprises, pour satisfaire la curiosité des visiteurs. En 1889 un journaliste visita la troupe des gitans hors des heures de spectacle dans leur demeure. Elle se composait du chef, un capitaine dénommé Pépe, de guitaristes, de danseuses et d’un danseur appelé Pigeri. Le journaliste observa les tâches de leur vie quotidiennne, leur manière de cuisiner, de discuter – et même de chanter: "L’une de ces filles, melancholiquement drapée dans sa mantille, les yeux perdus, l’air rêveur, chantait sur un air lent une chanson de là-bas, une vieille chanson du temps des Maures." La chanson commence par les paroles: "Si tu quiseses, Granada!"

On offre par ailleurs de nombreux spectacles à caractère militaire, en particulier des Noubas de divers pays nord-africains qui jouaient dans les cafés marocains ou algériens ou qui défilaient en faisant de la musique. Sur une gravure, on aperçoit le clairon des tirailleurs sénégalais, qui faisait certainement résonner leurs instruments de temps en temps pour bien marquer le "ton militaire".

Une véritable "procession" fut mise en scène presque tous les mardis pendant l’été 1889, sous le nom de "Fête de nuit coloniale": un cortège d’"indigènes" défila du camp janaïn de l’Esplanade des Invalides jusqu’au Palais du Trocadéro, où avaient lieu les concerts. Le cortège fut composé de différentes sections, une pour chaque pays. Une série de gravures montre ce cortège section par section, avec des costumes de toutes les couleurs, des lanternes allumées et des instruments de musique d’abord la Noubou algérienne, "la Musique javanaise" et "la Musique congolaise", puis les "Musiciens et guerriers sénégalais", les Annamites avec les tam-tams, le gong, les tambours et tambourins, les Tonkinois avec "Chef d’orchestre et musiciens". Le cortège partait du village javanais, d’où résonnait la musique: "Des sons aigrelets nasillards, qui paraissent soutenir dans le lointain par une sorte d’accompagnement étrange, frappent nos oreilles." Les participants se mirent en route, d’abord, les cavaliers arabes passèrent, puis ce furent les musiciens de la Noubou, "soulignant sans réserve dans leur clarinette criarde." Après suivirent les Javanais: "Les ang-klon javanais, ces instruments de bambou dont les sons se soudent en une douce mélodie, rythment la marche du cortège." Les gens du Gabon et du Congo chantèrent "une espèce de litanie." Les Tonkinois défilèrent avec leur dragon de trente mètres de long porté par plusieurs personnes cachées sous la carapace. La section suivit par des guerriers portant "leurs lances, leurs hallebare et leurs gongs".

Quand il fut passé, le cortège laissa derrière lui un sillage auditif qui aurait encore à l’aspect irréel du spectacle: "ces guitarras, appelsBizare en langue locale, frémissements de tam-tam, grondement des gongs... c’est féerie!"

Les concerts
Si le caractère de "mise en scène" des deux premières catégories n’était pas toujours évident, la dernière catégorie, celle des concerts proprement dits, ne présentait pas autre chose qu’un spectacle organisé et mis en scène. L’objectif des concerts consacrés aux musiques exotiques ne consistait pas, en premier lieu, à divertir les auditeurs, mais plutôt à les bouleverser par le caractère dégoûtant ou pénible de la musique des "sauvages", et ainsi à conforter le public dans son sentiment de supériorité sur la culture européenne (et notamment française).

Il faut savoir que la musique occupait en général une place de choix dans les Expositions Universelles. En 1889, plus de 108 séances musicales, regroupées en cinq sections, furent organisées. Ces concerts, qui avaient tous lieu au Trocadéro, étaient uniquement consacrés à la musique européenne, en majorité française – cette dernière fut représentée par quatorze des cinq sections. La cinquième section, destinée à la musique étrangère, se composait d’une douzaine de séances, où furent joués des concerts symphoniques ou des chorales, œuvres de compositeurs russes, espagnols et norvégiens.

Le 4 juillet 1889 furent organisés "les concours internationaux et auditins de musiques pittoresques, comprenant les instruments caractéristiques, tels que le tambourin, le galoufet, le binou, la cornemuse, la vielle, la mandoline, la guitare, etc. Ce concours doit, paraît-il, amener à Paris des instrumentistes de première force et sera certainement des plus curieux." Cet événement présenta des instruments et des musiques folkloriques, mais toujours européens.

Les concerts de musique extra-européenne furent donnés dans des circonstances particulières. Ces séances avaient lieu sur le site du pays d’origine, dans le pavillon ou dans l’enceinte de la section, mais presque dans des hôtels de concerts, réservés à la "musique artistique", donc occidentale. Il se présenta tout de même, lors des séances de musiques exotiques, une véritable situation de concert.
les musiciens étaient regroupés et formaient un ensemble, ils se trouvaient souvent sur un podium surélevé, et les auditeurs étaient tournés vers la scène, la plupart assis (sauf en plein-air). Parfois, on distribuait le programme des morceaux exécutés. Souvent, le spectacle comportait musique et danse; cette dernière, et en particulier la danse féminine, attira un nombre important de spectateurs.

En 1889, lors d'une promenade à travers l'Esplanade des Invalides, le visiteur pouvait assister à n'importe quelle manifestation, selon son goût. Une description, parue dans le Journal de l'Exposition, nous fait revivre une telle promenade:

*Chaque race danse, avec des instruments spéciaux, sur une mélodie monotone qui est plutôt un bruit rythmé qu'une mélodie nettement dessinée. L'orchestre des Mauresques se compose de la Rebale - sorte de petit violoncelle très court, - de la Kamandji - violon, - de la Koutina - guitare arabe, - du Tam - espèce de tambour de basque, et du Darbouka - cylindre en terre cuite percé des deux bouts et dont une extrémité est bouchée par une peau d'âne. Les Kabyles et les Ouled-Meïls dansent aux sons de la Guita - instrument qui ressemble au galanbet provençal, - et du tambourin - véritable tamis sur lequel on frappe avec la main.*

Quant aux noirs Soudanais, elles se contentent du Kakeb, sorte de grandes castagnettes en fer que le virtuose (?) agite avec force, et du Tam-tam sur lequel un instrumentiste épique tape alternativement avec une longue baguette et une crosse en bois. Cet effroyable charivari a le don d'exalter les négritou, qui se trémoussent sur place, en tournant sur elles-mêmes avec plus d'entrain que de grâce. Les autres ballerines excitent leurs pas avec beaucoup plus de calme. [...] C'est, en tout cas, un spectacle bien carieux, bien attachant qui, dans ce milieu coloré, procure des sensations nouvelles d'une impression particulière et un peu banale.*

Il est impossible de reconstruire toutes les manifestations de musique exotique organisées lors des Expositions de 1889 et de 1900. L'énumération suivante restera donc incomplète.

Veux des confins de l'Europe, on put admirer les ensembles roumain, hongrois, serbe, bulgare (la "crada de Tsiganes cuivrés") et russe.* Bien que le décor et les costumes de ces peuples fussent jugés exotiques, leur musique trouve grâce aux yeux du public français. Les pays des Balkans furent représentés par des troupes de tziganes, qui furent appréciés comme des véritables artistes (ce qui n'était vraisemblablement pas le cas des autres musiques extra-européennes). En particulier, la musique russe connut un grand succès, surtout parce que l'on jouait des pièces de Gluck ou de Tchaïkovski, des compositeurs faisant partie intégrante du répertoire européen. *Les giras espagnoles étaient présents en 1889, dans un café-dansant, où ils donnaient des spectacles de musique et de danse,* et en 1900, où l'on pouvait voir beaucoup de danses espagnoles dans le cadre de l'"Andalousie au temps des Maures".*

Une sorte d'exotisme fut également reconnue au Village suisse lors de l'Exposition de 1900. Dans un décor somptueux, un aperçu de l'architecture pittoresque des villes et des villages suisses sur fond de hauteurs montagneuses, des Suisse et des Suissees en costumes folkloriques blanc se promenaient et chantaient, sur les glaces et entre les chalets du village.* Lors de l'inauguration du village, des cortèges furent organisés jusqu'à onze heures le soir, précédés par des porte-bannières et des ensembles musicaux qui parcouraient le village, puis suivirent des danses chantées et des rondes.*

La musique arabe fut présentée dans toute sa variété. La Rue du Caire de 1889 avec ses pavillons annexes fut le théâtre de nombreux spectacles musicaux. A l'extérieur des pavillons, sur l'Esplanade des Invalides, la Nouba des tiraillers algériens attirait une grande foule.* Le spectacle de cette Nouba, composé d'une vingtaine de musiciens, se déroulait normalement à quatre heures de l'après-midi. Un journaliste décrit la musique comme "une sorte de mélodie d'une mélancolie navrante qui sort de leurs instruments. Les flûtes pliées, les darboukas grondent, les clarinettes se trémoussent, les mains scandent sur la peau tendue des tambourins un rythme assez rapide, et pourtant l'ensemble est triste, triste comme un chant d'incens et de rêverie.*" Il dit même indiquer les noms de quelques-unes des pièces jouées. Au prime abord, le journaliste se montre enchanté par le charme pittoresque de la scène les odeurs d'encens, les costumes des musiciens, les quelques promeneurs exotiques et le décor architectural.*

Dans les cafés arabes, on montrait des spectacles de type "cafés-concerts." Au "Café Maure" (dans l'enceinte du pavillon algérien), on put écouter une chapelle musicale. Sur une scène un peu élevée, sous un baldaquin, un groupe composé d'une douzaine d'hommes, jouant des instruments à cordes variés, des castagnettes et des tambourins. Une femme en costume algérien, mais non voilée, danseait, tandis que quatre autres femmes restèrent assises par terre et observèrent le spectacle. Le public parisien, buvant du café, était assis devant des tables basses, tous les regards braqués sur la scène. Le serveur du café était un Algérien en costume traditionnel.*

Au Café égyptien (situé Rue du Caire), on put admirer des Almées, exécutant une danse du ventre. Une gravure montre un décor fait de tapis et de riches étoffes, devant ce décor mais en arrière-plan joue un orchestre, composé de quatre musiciens (dont l’un ne joue pas). La danseuse, le ventre en haut, porte des crotale dans ses mains.* Il semble que ce spectacle aimait environner de succès auprès du public, dû vraisemblablement en premier lieu à l’ambiance érotique de la danse exécutée dans la pénombre.* L'élément érotique a dû être très fort, car un chroniqueur se plaignait même de ce "manque de pudor.*"

La danse du ventre fut également présente en 1900 dans le pavillon ottoman: une jeune femme dansa, accompagnée d’un orchestre de plusieurs musiciens. Mais cette fois, ni la musique, ni les mouvements de la danseuse ne connurent grand succès: "La soufflent, grattent, tapotent, avec une infâme conviction, des gailards vêtus de costumes pittoresques, pendant que devant eux se trémeuse une dansooue, qui se livre à une gymnastique plutôt fatigante [...] La musique sauvage de l’orchestre est accompagnée par le claquements de castagnettes métalliques, que les danseuses agitent, sortes de minuscules cymbales, dont l’origine remonte bien haut; ce sont les crotale antiques. Le maniement continu
de cette note métallique, aére et stridente, qui se mêle à l'éternel motif répété à satisfaction par l'orchestre, finit par déterminer une sorte d'hypnose, auquel s'ajoute le tournissement de la danseuse."  

Par contre, la danse indienne au programme en 1900 fut fortement appréciée: "D’abord ces bayaâhères devassadias (sic), qui appartiennent au plus beau type féminin du globe, sont toujours jolies, bien faites, gracieuses, souvent aussi blanches de teint que des Européennes."  On peut supposer que le teint presque européen des danseuses avait dû influencer le jugement du journaliste quant à la qualité de la danse et de la musique. De toute façon, les femmes indiennes intéressaient bien davantage le journaliste que la musique qui les accompagnait.

Quant à la musique de l'Afrique noire, le choix n'était guère varié. Comme on vient de le démonter plus haut, les chants ou les barrements de tambours des musiciens africains furent plutôt considérés comme des bruits de fond qui faisaient partie intégrale de l'habitant des "sauvages". Il y avait cependant une exception à cela: en 1900, un ensemble militaire malgache donnait des concerts en plein air chaque jour, sur la passerelle de Madagascar. Grâce à son répertoire européen (des marches et airs militaires et même la "Marseillaise"), la performance des musiciens fut bien accueillie. Pour pouvoir les ranger parmi les Européens, le journaliste insistait même en disant qu'ils n'étaient pas "noirs", mais seulement "au teint bronzé, très bronzé, si vous le voulez".

Par contre, un autre concert donné par deux malgaches noirs au même endroit ne trouva nullement grâce aux yeux du public. Il s'agissait d'un joueur de tambourin et d'un autre musicien, jouant d'une sorte de harpe, faite de bambou. Une grave mélodie sortait de cet instrument qu'il est impossible de jamais accorder."

Du concert des Soudanais, ce n'était ni la musique, ni la danse qui suscita l'intérêt du public, mais l'attitude inquiétante des musiciens. Le spectacle exerça une certaine fascination sur les auditeurs et excita leur curiosité, car les regards des musiciens, braqués sur le public, gênèrent ce dernier, et en particulier le public féminin: "Pendant qu'ils dansent au qu'ils jouent, les Soudanais considèrent le public qui est devant eux, surtout les femmes, qui ne paraissent pas très rassurées. Ils regardent avec beaucoup de curiosité et presque un peu d'effroi. Il y a pourtant moins de danger pour eux que pour elles, certainement."}
Parmi les rares concerts de musique exotique donnés dans une véritable salle de concert au cours de l'Exposition de 1889, on put admirer un autre orchestre de gamelan, composé de divers instruments de percussion et d'un instrument à archet. Contrairement aux autres spectacles de musique de type exotique, l'auditeur semble avoir été saisi par l'exotisme de la musique javanaise.

Les musiciens jouent sur des xylophones et des jeux de gongs de différentes dimensions; ils-modalisent une mélodie monotone et mélancolique qui ne manque ni de charme ni de poésie. [...] Il y a une nuance de séduction ajoutée dans ces danses bercées par le rythme pliable du kamelong que, peu à peu, l'on se sent gagné par une tristesse ambiante indéfinissable."

Un autre journaliste proposa même de rendre la palmarière des plus jolies danses et musiques aux Javanais: "pour ce qu'elles nous apportent de curieux, d'inédit, de non connu encore"."

Quant à l'Exposition de 1900, les reportages sur les concerts exotiques sont considérablement moins nombreux dans le Journal de l'Exposition. Il est probable que l'exotisme de ces musiques n'était, au début du XXe siècle, plus aussi fascinant qu'en 1889, pour avoir perdu l'attrait de la nouveauté. Un journaliste manifeste même une sorte de dégoût vis-à-vis de l'abondance des musiques exotiques: "Quant aux musiques orientales, nous les connaissions depuis 1889, elles se sont établies en permanence chez nous, ils sont gouttétiaux et boum-boum sur des tambourins sont parfaitement inconsiderables." Cependant, on put entendre, pour la première fois, un orchestre de musiciennes japonaises. D'ailleurs, une gravure de la même année nous montre l'orchestre cambodgien qui joue, dans l'enceinte de la pagode de Pnom-Penh, devant le Président de la République lui-même."

L'opinion du grand public sur les musiques exotiques

Le petit florilège de jugements portés sur les musiques exotiques lors de deux Expositions Universelles à Paris, que nous venons de présenter, exprime un dédain et une incompréhension générale. Néanmoins, il faut prendre en considération que les journalistes n'étaient, généralement, ni musiciens ni spécialistes dans ce domaine. Ils s'adressaient à un public aussi peu instruit sur ce point qu'eux-mêmes. Pour eux, l'unique point de référence était la culture européenne, voire française, et le degré de ressemblance des musiques exotiques par rapport à cette dernière déterminait leur qualité: plus elles sont européennes, et plus elles sont artistiques. En 1900, seule la musique javanaise (gamelan) réussit à fasciner à la fois le public et la presse.

Le mépris de la musique exotique est l'expression fidèle de l'idéologie coloniale, selon laquelle l'idée du sauvage illettré, gnostique et malhable devient se traduire par ses manifestations musicales, aussi grossières que malhabiles. Il fallait donc, selon un journaliste, du courage pour affronter la musique exotique qui est "plus déchirante et tout aussi harmonieuse que les motifs favoris de nos marchands de robes". On compare même la musique exotique à des bruits d'animaux, comme ce fut le cas de celle des Annamites: "ses chants sont des hurlements maladifs et parants assez semblables aux plaintes d'un chien qui aboie à la lune". Au moins, on accordait gracieusement au musicien indigène "une admirable et touchante conviction.""

Mais ce n'est pas seulement la foule mal instruite qui portait de tels jugements sur la musique exotique. Même l'homme de lettres que fut l'écrivain Jules Verne s'exprima dans des termes assez présumptueux dans son roman Les tribulations d'un Chinois en Chine (paru en 1879) au sujet d'une troupe de musiciens chinois: "Mais quelle musique et quelle méthode! Des miaulements, des grassements, sans mesure et sans tonalité, s'élevant en notes aiguës jusqu'aux dernières limites de perception du sens auditif.""

On peut facilement imaginer que, dans ces circonstances, une différenciation entre les divers styles d'un répertoire étranger n'était ni possible ni souhaitée par le grand public. Même avec de la bonne volonté, on se comptait dans des jugements assez sommaires, en constatant par exemple que "toutes les musiques orientales sont tristes: elles viennent du Japon ou de Java, de Turquie ou de Syrie, elles sont empruntées d'une sorte de mélodie bruyante qui n'est pas sans saveur: on croirait entendre un poème élysien chanter le déchirement de son âme sur le midi." La question de savoir ce que ces mélodies pouvaient signifier ou évoquer dans le milieu d'où elles provenaient, ne fut soulevée à aucun moment.

Le jugement de Verne, qui, en 1879, n'avait pas encore entouré de musique chinoise authentique, diffère de celui des journalistes, exprimé au cours des Expositions de 1889 et de 1900. Cela confirme bien que l'on n'entend que ce que l'on connaît. On ne se réveille donc pas qu'un observateur, qui se promenait en 1889 dans les coulisses arabes de la Rue du Caire, se soit rappelé, en entendant le chant du musicien, les Mélodies et la Prêtre du Muezzin de Félicien David. Il ne peut percevoir la musique arabe authentique, présente à l'Exposition, qu'à travers la réception d'un compositeur français, qui, à son tour, avait européenisé des impressions musicales, recueillies lors de ses voyages au Maghreb.

Les compositeurs français face aux musiques exotiques

Parmi les visiteurs des Expositions, il y avait aussi des professionnels de la musique, des musiciens et des compositeurs. Pour eux, la diversité des traditions musicales put être une importante source d'inspiration. Nous n'aborderons l'influence des Expositions Universelles sur les compositeurs français que très sommairement, car la question a déjà été traitée à plusieurs reprises. Deux exemples seront présentés à titre indicatif: le compositeur Claude Debussy, qui fit un usage artistique et créatif des impressions recueillies, et l'ethnomusicologue Julien Tiersot, qui y trouva un objet de recherche sérieux. Toutefois, tous les professionnels de la musique ne purent y trouver leur bonheur, loin s'en faut. Les commentaires de Camille Saint-Saëns sont assez clairs à ce titre:
Se peut-il rien voir de plus étrange que l'énorme succès du théâtre annamite de l'Exposition de 1889 [...] ? On n'entendait que des cris de bêtes égorgeées, des miaulements ressemblant tellement à ceux des chats qu'on se demandait avec inquiétude, après les avoir entendus, si les chants n'ont pas un langage, quant à la partition instrumentale, prenez une poule mal graissée, votre batterie de cuisine, un chien empoisonné et battez un tapis sur le tout, vous en aurez à peu près une idée.  

Le cas de Julien Tiersot (1837-1936) est particulièrement intéressant.  

Elève de J. Massenet et C. Franck, Tiersot s'orienta vers la recherche des mélodies populaire du monde entier (mélodies extra-européennes incluses). Il visita les deux Expositions de 1889 et de 1900 et étudia les musiques des diverses ethnies, afin de les publier dans le journal Le Ménestrel. Son jugement se distingue nettement de celui exprimé par les journalistes non-musiciens. Toutefois, Tiersot n'en restait pas moins un enfant de son époque. Il parla d'"agrégations de sons, essentiellement primitives, qui constituent la seule forme d'art des Canaques, Pahouins, Senégas, etc."  

Cependant, ces musiques étaient pour lui des objets scientifiques, et de ce point de vue, très intéressantes. Il souligna l'importance des Expositions Universelles pour les études éthnomusicologiques: "Grâce à l'Exposition, nous nous avons pu étudier sur nature, en quelque sorte, la musique des peuples de l'Extrême-Orient, des nègres de l'Afrique, des insulaires de l'Océanie, etc. Ce sont là des documents pour l'histoire générale de la musique nullement négligeables, et qui nous étaient inconnus jusqu'ici."  

Comment est-ce que Tiersot procédait lors de ses promenades aux Expositions? Il nous laissa des descriptions assez fiables sur bon nombre d'instruments inconnus, et il transcrivit les musiques entendues. La transcription des gammes non-européennes passait de nombreux problèmes, dus à notre théorie occidentale et à notre système de notation musicale. Tiersot essaya d'abord de noter les mélodies au vol, comme simple auditeur, par exemple lors des spectacles de musique javanaise. Mais il comprit rapidement que cette démarche était vouée à l'échec. Il prit donc les musiciens, aidé d'un interprète, de lui jouer, en dehors des heures de concert, pièce par pièce, mélodie après mélodie. La même procédure fut entretie en 1900 pour noter la musique japonaise. "Une musicienne [...] sachant s'arrêter à propos pour me permettre d'écrire, répétait les dessins difficiles autant de fois qu'il fallait, me rectifiant avec soin lorsqu'elle trouvait dans l'écriture quelque incertitude." Et il ajouta avec fierté: "Je suis le premier qui soit parvenu à noter ces musiques dans leur ensemble et totalité."  

Claude Debussy par contre n'avait pas l'intention de se livrer à des études scientifiques. Déjà lors de l'Exposition Universelle de 1878, âgé alors de 15 ans, il fut fasciné par les orchestres de tagaranes hongrois, les orchestres tunisiens et algériens. Onze ans plus tard, il visita l'Exposition de 1889 en compagnie d'autres compositeurs et amis, dont Paul Ducas, Raymond Bonheur et Robert Godey. Les concerts de musique russe, exécutés sous la direction de Rimski-Korsakov, l'impressionnèrent beaucoup: on y joua Glinka, Dargomizski, Borodin, Glazounov et surtout Moussorgski. D'ailleurs, il parcourut presque tous les jours les expositions coloniales pour entrer en contact avec des musiques exotiques. Il vit le théâtre annamite et la danse javanaise accompagnée de l'orchestre gamelan. Son ami Godey, qui entreprit un voyage à Java après avoir visité l'Exposition, nous rapporte que les visites du kampong javanais furent parmi les plus fécondes pour Debussy. Ce dernier fut impressionné par la sonorité de la musique gamelan autant que par la dramaturgie de l'action théâtrale annamite. L'impact des musiques annamites et javanaises se fait remarquer dans plusieurs œuvres de Debussy. Mais le reflet le plus pur de son contact avec ce répertoire, auparavant inconnu, apparaît dans Les Fugues, le premier morceau des Estampes pour piano, composé en 1903, 14 ans après l'Exposition Universelle.  

Dans cette œuvre, Debussy n'essaie pas de transcender la musique gamelan; il s'agit plutôt d'un développement créatif des impressions recueillies au cours des spectacles de l'Exposition.  

Les musiques exotiques des deux Expositions Universelles de 1889 et 1900 à Paris ont donc bien laissé des traces durables - moins auprès du grand public, pour lequel les sections coloniales constituaient une sorte de parc d'attractions composé de couleurs, d'indigènes, d'animaux, d'odeurs et de sonorités musicales, mais plutôt parmi les quelques musiciens français, qui, comme Tiersot, transcrirent ces étranges musiques en fondant ainsi la nouvelle discipline d'éthnomusicologie, et d'autres, qui, comme Debussy, s'en inspirèrent pour enrichir la tradition musicale occidentale.
Méthodes aux Expositions Universelles de Paris en 1889 et en 1900

1. Voir l'article d'Angue Lecot dans le même volume.
7. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
15. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
17. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
22. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
27. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
29. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
32. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
33. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
34. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
35. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
36. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
37. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
38. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
40. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
41. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
42. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
43. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
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46. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
47. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
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51. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
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64. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
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67. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
68. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
69. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
70. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
71. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
72. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
73. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
74. "Le village burmanais," EP, n° 11, 1.2.1890, 158.
“The indebtedness to the inventive genius”: Global Expositions and the Development of an International Patent Protection

by Margrit Seckelmann
In 1873, a congress was held within the conference program of the Global Exhibition in Vienna, which promised a radiant progress for the material interests of mankind, and thus for civilization. As one of its members, the British lawyer G. Haseltrine outlined:

To this Congress, however, will be accorded the honor of initiating the movement which many of us strive to see become fruitful in practical legislation among the leading nations' and I am confident, that in this generation, liberal patent systems, essentially alike, will become coextensive with civilization. – Much depends, I admit, upon the manner in which this initiative work which falls upon this congress is accomplished – but if wisely done, we shall have contributed more to the material interests of mankind than any Congress of modern times.

The congress took place with considerable public attention. Because – as Haseltrine further explained: “The attention of the world by the aid of the press, which is thus discharging its indebtedness to the inventive genius, has been secured and the object of our meeting has been every where discussed.”

Indeed, the harmonization of patent protection had been a highly controversial topic that was thoroughly connected with the emergence of global exhibitions. Since the Great Exhibition of 1851 promised to unify the industrial products of all civilized peoples of the earth for a comparative display, the visitor was meant to get a glimpse into a “new world” of progress, peace and harmony. But the promised land which the admirers of the exhibits seemed to enter did not keep its innocence for a long time. The “beehive commodity” (Walter Benjamin) did not only demand adoration, it also invoked manifest greed. The promised “peaceful competition of nations” did indeed show a certain nationalistic subtext. Therefore, the demonstration of new inventions attracted a great number of spectators.

The newly invented substances of the dyestuff industry, for instance, amazed the visitors of the Global Exhibition of Paris, 1867. These admired the “mighty, metallic glimmering block of the ‘Violet de Paris’ and, beside it, the new intermediate products of the dye stuff industry, the methylated and ethylated anilines”. The sight of the carefully arranged translucent blue and red artificial dyestuffs, at first sight better than nature, promised the final victory of mankind over nature: the old promise of Prometheus seemed to come true. But the sparkling champagne of the technological euphoria soon proved to have a sour aftertaste. As Heinrich Caro, leader of the BASF plant, put the psychological effects of the avalanche of new inventions in the dyestuff industries in the 1860s and 1870s in retrospection: “Everyone is an inventor. Everyone dreams of honor and treasures. The gold fever begins, and soon follows its sinister companion: the destroying fight.”

The new inventions proved to be extremely vulnerable. This resulted from the simplicity of the imitation and the difficulties to find out about such a deed. Furthermore, the vulnerability of the intellectual property rights was accompanied by a yet insufficient and inhomogenous protection of literary and industrial authorship by the states which displayed their products. This proved to be even worse when inventions of citizens of foreign states were afflicted. In the age of mercantilism, many states granted patents for the first importer of foreign inventions. Those so-called “import patents” could later even hinder the first inventor to sell his goods in the related country.

The weakness of the transnational possibilities of patent protection, moreover, coincided with a discussion about free trade which took place in England, France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Switzerland during the time of the Industrial Revolution. In the ‘liberal era’ of the 19th century, monopolies were worked against in all of these countries. This applied least to England, where, according to the Statute of Monopolies of 1624, such monopolies could be awarded for a limited time and were subject to the fulfilment of certain prerequisites. Nonetheless, in the middle of the 19th century, a royal investigation on the maintenance of the patent system was there carried out (1851-1852; 1862-1865 and 1869-1872).

The anti-patent tendency was motivated by the idea of an infinite scientific progress. According to the view of the leading free-trade economists, technological progress was a self-inductive progress and the role of the inventors and engineers consisted merely in picking the fruits of new techniques as soon as they were ripe. Patents, on the contrary, appeared to be the rotten fruits which only reduced the amount of the same harvest. Thus, a member of the German free-trade movement predicted in 1863: “The patents are ripe to fall and become more and more recognized as a foul fruit pending from the tree of human culture.” To their opponents, hence, patents, which excluded others from the commercial utilisation of an idea, appeared as a mere remainder of the old-fashioned viewpoint that the government should direct the economy.

According to the creed of the free trade supporters, free competition in open markets could promote technical and scientific progress much better than government warranties. Based on these considerations, the Netherland abolished their patent legislation in 1869 altogether. Within the German territories, a debate about the necessity of the existing patent regulations developed. This debate received support by the circumstance that all these patent regulations were indeed completely disparate. In Prussia for instance, the largest member state of the latter German Empire of 1871, only a very weak and arbitrary protection was in existence, poorly governed by a decree enacted in 1815. Yet the existence of different territorial economic legislations prevented the development of an internal market of the German Customs Union of 1833, since the patents entailed their owners to inhibit imports of patent-protected goods. Even though the Customs Union had reached a certain acknowledgement of patents of its member states in 1842, a strong movement for the abolition of all patent protection in Germany emerged. The radical struggle that German economists fought against the economic policy of absolutism peaked in the call for an elimination of patents altogether, which was issued by the German Economic Congress (VI. Kongreß des Vereins deutscher Volkswirte) of 1863.

But though powerfully aided by the leading economists, the anti-patent movement was, nevertheless, unsuccessful. Yet in the 1860s, a confrontational movement developed, too. A new group of professionals – the civil engineers – emerged, and they had a totally different attitude towards patent protection. Their interest was to secure the results of their research achievements. The German Association of Civil Engineers (Verein Deutscher Ingenieure), which was founded in 1865, made the demand for a unified, far-reaching patent protection the top issue of its agenda. Its members argued that only if the law attributed the outcomes of a long-term research effort to the related person, a sufficient incentive to invent could be set. After a period dominated by imitations of British, French and American inventions, investments in research became an increasingly important issue for the German industry. After previously having grown due to the cheap imitations of foreign inventions, the chemical industry began to set up factories that aimed at making research efforts of their own, due to the declining prices of already known chemical products. The same applies to the electrical industry. From the 1870s onwards, these sectors took the leading role that formerly was held by the steel industry. Not surprisingly, it were the professional associations of these sectors which asked for a unified German patent protection most
urgently. Inspired by liberal economists, the Prussian Chancellor Bismarck tried to urge the other German territories to abolish their patent system. As a consequence, a fierce intellectual dispute developed from which the patent supporters emerged victoriously.

Not only in the German territories but also in France and England the anti-patent movement received a severe defeat. Neither did England give up its patent legislation after the royal enquiry nor did France, which had moreover enacted a new Patents Act in 1844. Although this act reduced the intellectual property right (droit de propriété) of the inventor, which was enacted in the revolutionary Patents Act of 1791 to a mere exclusive right of exploitation (droit exclusif d’exploiter sous certaines conditions), the patent system itself remained undoubted.

But the anti-patent movement had, as a result, contributed to the formation of the international movement for the mutual acknowledgement of patents. It had given the new profession of civil engineers a common topic and, moreover, a possibility for this emerging group of experts to present themselves. As new as this elite was, as modern were its actions: It gathered in international congresses in order to find a common solution for the treatment of inventions. Hence, the discussion about international patent protection reached a new state: a discourse about the harmonization of national patents legislation took the place of that for the abandonment of all patent legislation.

The most important congress for "the material interests of mankind": The First International Patent Congress (Vienna, 1873)

The urge for an international agreement on the treatment of inventions increased when American firms threatened to boycott the Global Exposition of Vienna which was to be held in 1873. In September 1871, the program of the planned Global Exposition had been published, translated in all languages and distributed to all nations in 1871 together with the invitation of our august monarch to take part in this peaceful competition of all nations, as the curator of the Vienna exposition, Wilhelm Baron Schwarz-Senborn later described. But although those invitations were "answered in a kind way, nevertheless, fears were uttered that, if new exhibits should be displayed at the Global exposition, namely new inventions and products, which can demonstrate the whole progress since the last Global Exposition of 1867, as it had been our wish, the inventor and the exhibitor could be damaged in a twofold way by an unlicensed imitation, firstly by creating concurrence for himself and secondly by the danger that a poor and improper imitation could influence the esteem of his product in a negative way."

This fear was particularly uttered by the government of the United States which also declared that American inventors and enterprises would only display their inventions in a country where the exhibits were protected in accordance with American standards.

Hence, Baron Schwarz-Senborn suggested to the Austrian government to enact a regulation that promised every participant to protect the displayed inventions during the whole year of 1873, when the exposition was to be held. In addition, Schwarz-Senborn initiated an international patent congress which should set up an international and general code for the protection of exhibits during global expositions. This congress was intended to take place in the conference program of the exhibition, since Schwarz-Senborn and the exhibits preparatory committee had the idea to enhance the display of the scientific and artistic progress by several international scientific and economic congresses. The attempt was successful: Such a conference program formed a core part of global expositions ever since.

The preparatory committee, which consisted of two Americans, two Austrians and one German, then drafted a conference program. For this purpose, the congress opened the conference program and the development of an International Patent Protection

and one German, then drafted a conference program. For this purpose, it heard several international experts on the topic. Then, the Austrian government invited "delegates of governments, members of exhibition committees, delegates of trade or technical associations or of chambers of commerce from all nations, industrialists, traders, technicians, economists and everybody who feels, either as an inventor or exhibitor, a vocation to give a substantial support to the interest of the envisaged issue." The Congress was held in Vienna between August, the 4th and 8th, 1873.

The tableaus of the 158 participants allowed a glimpse into the whole industrialized world: the participants came from Denmark, France, the Netherlands, Italy, the German Empire, Great Britain, Greece, Romania, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States, or they even reported to Japan. Thus, the British civil engineer William Siemens, who was the younger, emigrated, brother of the German Engineer Werner Siemens, was elected president of the Congress. In his pompous opening speech he described the aim of the congress as the harmonization of patent laws of all "civilized and half-civilized countries." Although the congress was held in German, all statements were repeated in English and—upon request—also in French or Italian. Also, statements in these languages were allowed.

Soon a controversy arose whether a universal 'world patent' or at least common rules for all national patents should be aimed for or if the territoriality principle should be guarded. In other words: Should the national states still grant the patents, which were acknowledged by other states, or should a closer union grant its own patents regardless of the competence of the national states? The congress decided to follow a twofold strategy. Since the idea of 'world patent' seemed too far away, they still opted for the setting up of minimum requirements for 'reasonable' patent law, which all 'civilized nations' should enact. Secondly, they agreed to advise all these nations to form an international union which should guarantee any citizen of its member states an equal treatment with the inhabitants of any other member state.

To enforce its resolutions, the congress installed an executive committee. It consisted of the Vienna conference's preparatory committee and several international experts. It was instructed to hold a new congress on the matter whenever it seemed to be favorable. Moreover, the participants were invited to form national sections. From the German Section, for instance, developed the German Association for the Protection of Patents (Deutscher Patentschutz-Verein) which provided the decisive impetus for the enactment of a Federal German Patents Act of 1877 due to its modern and professional ways of "lobbying." The harmonization of Patent Protection: the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property (1883)

But the other sections also fulfilled their requirements. In the course of the preparations for the 1878 Global Exposition in Paris, a conference in the protection of the exhibits was made part of the conference program again. The second International Congress on the Protection of Industrial Property met in Paris from September 3rd to 17th, 1878 under the auspices of the French minister for agriculture and commerce, Teisserin De Bort. The assembly in the Trocadéro Palace unified 500 participants from states, professional associations, chambers of commerce and other organizations. This time, the congress members came from even more states than the participants of the Vienna conference did. Official delegates were sent from the German Empire, Hungary (which was not represented by Austria), Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and
the United States. Although France was not officially represented, its Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce presided the Conference. Other members came from Greece, Egypt or reported to South American states. The official language of the conference was French. Contributions in other languages were allowed but needed a French translation in order to become official.

After the opening section, the participants divided themselves into three sections: the section for the protection of patents, the section for the protection of designs and models and the section for trademarks and commercial names. The participants had to write down the legal regulation of their home country concerning the issue of their section. Then, the sections tried to extrapolate common principles from these regulations in order to formulate common minimum requirements for all national patent systems. This proposal was then discussed in a plenary session. Then, the Austrian counselor for finances (Minister), Dr. Franz von Rosas produced a proposal for a patent union which had been worked out by the association of the Vienna architects and civil engineers as well as by a number of other Austrian associations. This proposal was enhanced into an envisaged protection of all sections of industrial property. It was modeled after the Universal Postal Union (Union postale universelle, UPU) which had firstly been founded under the name General Postal Union in Berne in 1874 by 22 signatory states.

Following a proposition of the Italian conference member Romanelli, the congress installed a permanent commission which was vested with full power to induce negotiations with the national governments and to hold new conferences. As soon as the managing French section had drafted a proposal for an international section, it was discussed within the national sections. After fierce discussions, the national sections brought their modifications to the French section. After the alterations were worked into, the modified draft was submitted to all interested foreign governments in 1880. At the same time, the French government, represented through the member of the French Senate Bozéran invited these governments to a diplomatic conference, which was to be held in the same year.

At this diplomatic conference, which met in Paris in March 1883, the modified draft was discussed. It underwent again several alterations. Most importantly, a common patent law for all states finally proved to be impossible. However, a union was created which had to guarantee any citizen of its member states an equal treatment with the inhabitants of any other member state. It appeared problematic that at least two countries which were willing to join the union did not have an own patent law: the Netherlands and Switzerland. The Convention only stated a merely "moral" obligation to enact a patent law. Although this obligation was later combined with a considerable economic pressure from the other member states, it should take Switzerland several years until it enacted a patent law in 1888 and the Netherlands even longer until 1910. On March 20th, 1883, Belgium, Brazil, Spain, France, Guatemala, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Salvador, Serbia and the Swiss Federation finally signed a treaty which came into force after the ratification documents were exchanged on July 28th, 1884.

The most important article of the convention concerned the mutual acknowledgement of industrial property rights. Article 2 of the convention thus stated:

Les sujets ou citoyens de chacun des États contractant pourront, dans tous les autres États de l’Union en ce qui concerne les brevets d’invention, les dessins ou modèles industriels, les marques de fabrique ou de commerce et le nom commercial, des avantages que les lois respectives accordent ou accorderont par la suite aux nationaux. En conséquence, ils auront la même protection que ceux-ci et le même recours légal contre toute atteinte portée à leurs droits, sous réserve de l’accomplissement des formalités et des conditions imposées aux nationaux par la législation intérieure de chaque État.

The other important point concerned the priority right. In order to facilitate the application procedure, the inventor should be granted a certain period in which he could decide whether he wanted to apply for a patent for the same invention in any of the other member states. During this period, a valid patent could not be awarded to any other applicant. As it was stated in article 4 section 1 of the convention:

Celui qui aura régulièrement fait le dépôt d’une demande de brevet d’invention, d’un dessin ou modèle industriel, d’une marque de fabrique ou de commerce, dans l’un des États contractants, jouira, pour effectuer le dépôt dans les autres États, et sous réserve des droits de tiers, d’un droit de priorité pendant le délai déterminé ci-après.

Since the harmonization of patent legislation received its foremost initiative by the urge for a treatment of exhibits on global expositions, it dealt with this issue explicitly. Article 11 of the convention stated that the ratifying parts should guarantee inventions, designs and models as well as names or trademarks during official or officially acknowledged international exhibitions a temporary protection according to the laws of the organizing state. This regulation, however, was not directly applicable for the exhibitors during the international exhibitions, as further-reaching attempts had suggested. Instead, it constituted an international duty of all member states to guarantee such a protection. This duty was, although slowly, carried out through several national laws concerning the protection of exhibits during international trade fairs and exhibitions or facilitated the existing laws which concerned the matter.

The union furthermore installed its own law enforcement agency. An International Bureau for the Protection of Industrial Property was founded, according to section 13 subsection 1 of the Paris Convention. This bureau was set up in Berne, financed by the member states of the union and managed by the Swiss department for commerce and agriculture. The bureau collected data from the member states. In its periodical La Propriété Industrielle it informed about the latest developments concerning the protection of industrial property from 1885 onwards. Thus, it displayed patent statistics or informed about new nation-
al patent regulations. After the Agreement concerning the International Registration of Marks was signed in Madrid in 1891, the bureau was also mandated to register trademarks on an international basis. It thus published since 1892 the newly registered trademarks in its journal *Le Marques Internationales.* In 1893, the bureau merged with the agency of another convention. The Bern Convention for the Protection of Intellectual Property Rights of 1886 ensured the respect of literary authorship. As the Bern Convention also had set up an International Bureau in Berne in order to carry out administrative tasks, those bureaus were united in 1893 under the name United International Bureaux for the Protection of Intellectual Property (BIRPI).

The ratification of the Paris convention was an enormous success. Its contemporaries imagined a new world of universal trade, not hindered by national borders or restrictions. The professor of law at the university of Zurich, Friedrich Meili (1848-1914) celebrated the convention as the progress towards a new, better mankind. In a speech, he described his fellow citizens as "mobile cosmopolites" who could communicate in intellectual and economical terms with the whole world and who could even pick the legal system which they wanted to be applicable to their contracts. Thus, the invitation for other states to join the union, which was stated in article 16 of the convention, was soon accepted by many of them. The British government, which had to struggle over the ratification act with its opposition, declared its joining of the union in 1884, such as Ecuador and Salvador left the union already 1886, and Guatemala did so in 1894, the convention was soon ratified by Norway and Sweden (1885), the United States of America (1887), the Dutch part of India (1888), Suriname and Curaçao (1890) New Zealand and Queensland (1891), Denmark (1894) and Japan (1899). The Dominican Republic, however, joined the union in 1894, left it in 1899 and reentered it in 1899. Nonetheless, the German and the Austro-Hungarian empires did not join the union at first. Seemingly contradictory to the fact that German engineers had initially been among the strongest promoters of an international agreement, the German trade associations were ambiguous towards the entry into the union. This related to the circumstance that the inner structure of the union was modeled after the French patent system. Throughout the Paris conference, the German and Austrian sections of the association for the harmonization of intellectual property legislation which had initiated the Vienna conference on patent protection had lost their influence. Therefore, the German Federal Government opted counselled by leading industrialists for the classical way of mutual trade agreements with specific countries. But soon the policy of bilateral agreements proved to be insufficient. Severe differences between German and Swiss dyestuff producers, which mostly ended up in court, caused the representatives of the modern German industries, namely the chemical industry, change their view. Since 1886, a movement for the joining of the International Union began. After the United States had joined the International Union in 1887, the statutes of the latter were discussed a second time. They then were changed in two distinctive aspects in favor of the German patent system. Finally, Germany joined the union in 1903 and Austria and Hungary in 1909.

The transformation of the Paris Convention into a world intellectual property system

Since the Paris Convention did only install a mutual recognition of national patents but no common patent of its own, several initiatives were carried out for a further harmonization ("loa uniforme"). This view of a universal 'global patent' or a 'global trademark' found a preliminary end during the First World War. Nonetheless, after this war, all those attempts were taken up again. The Paris Convention was formally reinstated through Article 286 of the Versailles Treaty. Also, a diplomatic movement for an international convention on the organization of international exhibitions was carried out, which had been called for since 1907. Based on a non-ratified Convention of 1912, the delegates of 31 countries finally signed the Convention relating to International Exhibitions November 22, 1928. This convention created an international union of states which agreed upon rules for the selection of states and the rights and obligations of the exhibitors and the inviting governments and organizers. It thus aimed at a professionalization of the regulation of global exhibitions. This convention installed a bureau in Paris which took up its regular work in 1931. This bureau was modeled after the Berne BIRPI as the whole construction of the Convention relating to International Exhibitions had its model in the Paris Convention for the Protection of Intellectual Property. Nevertheless, the construction differed in some significant ways. While the BIRPI only had some administrative functions and could not exceed the rules stated in the Paris Convention and its amendments, the Bureau International des Expositions (B.I.E.) had "quasi-legislative" power in its ability to decide where the global exhibitions were to be held. Also, it had "judiciary" powers as it also had to arbitrate certain quarrels between its member states. Furthermore, the convention on exhibitions dealt with the issue of patent protection as well: In its Article 8, the convention demanded provisions for the protection of patents and intellectual property rights. Thus, the Convention again influenced other patent agreements. For instance, the European Patent Convention (EPC) of 1977 holds a priority right for new inventions which were exposed on international exhibitions which fulfill the requirement of the B.I.E. convention of 1928 (Art. 55).
of the Paris Convention. In its Article 2.1, the TRIPS Agreement, which came into force on January 1, 1995, obliged its member states to comply with the most important articles (Art. 1-12 and 19) of the Paris Convention. Nevertheless, it stated stronger minimum requirements for patent protection systems (duration of 20 years counted from the filing date (Art. 33 TRIPS Agreement)).

Patent harmonization and global exhibitions: a close connection

As one can see, the history of the internationalization of patent protection and the history of the global exhibitions were thoroughly connected. This was on one hand due to the fact that a secure patent protection was a necessary legal prerequisite for the holding of global exhibitions, as it could be seen as indispensable for the enormous growth during the Industrial Revolution altogether. As the mechanism took "command" on an international basis, rules for the international treatment of foreign inventions became more and more necessary. Vague legal situations hindered investments in the afflicted countries.

As this relates to the legal and economic aspects, another point concerns a more personal question. During the preparation of global exhibitions, early export networks emerged. Soon they developed international contacts. The issue of patent protection was thus a possibility for the new profession of civil engineers to present themselves. As many of the civil engineers who exposed their goods at the global exhibitions had a second income as patent consultants, the members of the movement for patent harmonization and the preparatory committees for global exhibitions were at least closely connected if not identical. Although some legal scholars were consulted, the strongest promoters of the international patent harmonization were civil engineers.

Today, the internationalization of patent protection still is a fiercely discussed subject. It might be even possible that such an epoche-making treaty as the Paris Convention could even be unthinkable today. The reason for that mainly has to do with the negotiations for the Paris Convention which was a struggle for the lower role of the French diplomacy raised. Yet it was not the language problem but rather the "French" structure of the agreement that caused the reluctance of Germany and Austria to join the union. But nevertheless, an agreement was finally reached which has thoroughly influenced the structure of the global economy ever since. Thus, the achievement of the patent congresses during the 19th century and their radiant visions of a "global patent" as well as their pragmatic way to agree upon the achievable cannot be overestimated.

1. The "Inhibitedness to the inventive genius": Global Exhibitions and the Development of an International Patent Protection

1.2. Ibid., 97.
1.5. AEPER (1973), 2.
1.7. CARO (1930), 49.
1.9. CARO (1930), 77.
1.11. The common mention of the year 1853 for the enactment of this statute is due to the fact that until the enforcement of George III the statutes were dated from the first day of the parliamentary session onwards. See: DAMMEN, F. (1927). Das Deutsche Patentrecht. Ein Handbuch für Praktiker und Studierende, 3.
34. Its current member states are: Denmark, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, the Netherlands, Austria, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain and the United Kingdom. See also ROSSWANG, O. (1999), "The Return of European Patent Law in the European Union. In celebration of Dr. Kurt Haehn's 88th birthday", International Review of Industrial Property and Copyright Law, vol. 27, no. 3.

35. Albania, Algeria, Andorra, Angola, Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia,sprite and

36. Benin, Botswana, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cambodia, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, China, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Côte d'Ivoire, Croatia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Estonia, Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Haiti, Holy See, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Kiribati, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Laos, Latvia, Lebanon, Liberia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Monaco, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Myanmar, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Peru, People's Republic of China, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Republic of Moldova, Romania, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Samoa, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Slovakia, Slovenia, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Thailand, Timor-Leste, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Togo, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tuvalu, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Uganda, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Venezuela, Viet Nam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

37. The TRIPS Agreement obliged the industrialized states to fulfill its requirements until 1995, the developing and transition countries until 2000 and the least developed states until 2005.


40. The European Patent Convention has, on the contrary, also been ratified by countries which do not belong to the European Community at the time of its inception. It has since been ratified by Belgium, Germany, Denmark, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, the Netherlands, Austria, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain and the United Kingdom.
From the Temple of Industry to the Olympic Arena – The Exhibition Tradition of the Olympic Games

by Walter Borgers
I. Introduction

World's Fairs or universal exhibitions have influenced the evolution of international sports from their start in 1851. Within the half century to 1900 the contests of the products of the industry of all nations were transformed at the beginning of the 20th century into a new form of concurrence that was disputed in the Olympic arenas. As Dietrich R. Quanz has pointed out in collaboration with the author, the early history and the development leading to the modern Olympic Games have been closely connected with the rise of 19th century World's Fairs and expositions. The pre-history of the modern Olympic Games included predecessors on a national level after the French Revolution of 1789 which were embedded in the national festivals of the 19th century, also reveal connections between national exhibitions and athletic contests developing simultaneously. With the Olympic Games the World's Fairs of the 19th century share the notion of a re-awakening of an ancient Greek festival. Like the modern Olympic Games the universal exhibitions are seen as re-enactments of the Panhellenic festivals of ancient Greece. Andrée pointed out in 1867 thus also in Greece during the Games in Olympia many merchants appeared to gather for a trade fair that was said to be founded by Iphitos, and also with the Ishman Games near Corinth an annual fair was connected where merchants and clients from Ionia, Sicily, Libya, all of Greece and from the Black Sea gathered. The Olympic trace of the antiquity in this interpretation is connected with the trade of the market that in 1900 was declared as the "truce of the exhibition". Resorting to the close connections of athletic festivals and trade fairs in Classical Antiquity and to the concept of the "Olympic truce" alongside with a safe conduct to and from such markets, the epithet "Olympic Games" in metaphoric use in the 19th century described the universal exhibitions as modern revivals of the athletic festivals of Greek antiquity. International World's Fairs for all nations such as in London in 1851, in Paris in 1867 and in 1859 felt obliged to a universality that wanted to demonstrate the "unity of mankind" as Albert Prince Consort (1819-1861) of Queen Victoria (1819-1901), had formulated in the year 1851. Besides the display of the products and the increasing display of the machines to produce them the universal approach included social change and progress in "engineering and the sciences, in education and the fine arts, in social politics and in international cooperation." International congresses, conferences, and associations joined in those optimistic mass festivals. The host cities transformed their own appearances in their architectural endeavours to meet the needs of the World's Fairs which were arranged as all-encompassing works of art (Gesamtkunstwerk) to reflect the modern cultural attainments of those days.

Sport and games including gymnastics have been systematically represented in World's Fairs since 1867 when Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882) exhibited the display of the achievements of social reform in a department under the heading: "objects spécialement exposés en vue d'améliorer la condition physique et morale de la population." Competitions in sports have been part of the programmes and by-programmes since 1851.

Standing in the French tradition of the World's Fairs Pierre de Coubertin (1863-1937) was acquainted with Frédéric Le Play the eminent social reformer. He was a member of the Unions de la Paix Sociale since 1883. To these Unions also belonged Jules Simon (1814-1896), who had supported Coubertin in the Comité pour la Propagation des Exercices Physiques, also called "Comité Jules Simon" and who presided over the Congrès International pour la Propagation des Exercices Physiques in 1889. It was in the footsteps of Le Play and Simon that Pierre de Coubertin was lead from the national reform of physical education to international surveys. Those were discussed during the Congress and that was the reason for his frequent journeys to England and America. The congress was a starting line for a re-formulation of his educational aims cumulating in his attempt to restore the Olympic Games in modern society. The combination of an international gymnastic festival and athletic competitions with the Paris fair of 1889 may be seen as a prototype for the linking of the Olympic Games with the World's Fairs of the years 1900, 1904, and 1908.

In this tradition the Olympic Games of the 20th century gradually gain independence by becoming detached from the all-encompassing panorama of modern industry, economy and cultural achievements on display. The universal exhibitions had to give up their pretensions of an overview of world culture and industry and transformed into an agglomeration of national pavilions and gradually losing part of their importance to trade fairs and special expositions, whereas the emerging Olympic Games made their way into the 20th century. The Olympic Games of today continue exerting the former influence of the World's Fairs on the environmental and architectural transformation of their host cities, and at the same time reach the whole world via intercontinental and satellite television programmes. As in the Universal Exhibitions the representation of the unity of mankind, internationalism, is achieved on the basis of national representation, though individuals and teams are the actual competitors.

Coubertin's merit is to have inaugurated this transformation as an all-encompassing work of art in the field of sport and to a mass festival by simultaneously linking it to and separating it from many constitutive elements of the World's Fairs. On the basis of his ideas the connotations of the Olympic metaphor, "athletics", seen as individual and national effort, internationalism, seen as civilized and peaceful concurrence, and of truce were transformed into the framework of the only true international festival that has survived the 20th century: The Olympic Games.

II. Forerunners - National Festivals and National Exhibitions

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1788) recommended the implementation of national festivals to the Polish government in 1772 in his Considerations sur le gouvernement de Pologne! He mentions the games that unified the citizens in ancient Greece and emphasizes the public character and their value for national education. In revolutionary France this suggestion was followed for the first time. In a utopian architectural project Etienne Louis Boullée (1728-1799), belonging to the first generation of modernism in architecture, has designed a national stadium that encompasses both aspects of the development discussed in this article: physical activities in public contests and the exhibition of works of art and industry. In addition, his plan can be interpreted as a step to a kind of Gesamtkunstwerk. The Colosseum designed as a national stadium for festivals and contests was to be situated at the border of the Champs Elysées. National education on the side of his companions and admiration abroad were the aims of Boullée's plan.

The plan for a stadium that I am presenting here, was designed with respect to political and moral aims [...]. What could be more charming than the aspect of this magnificent arena, filled with a brilliant youth that is struggling to excel in all kinds of athletic activity, for example showing all its agility in running matches and prove its ability to protect their nation in military exercises. In this arena [...] the prizes of the different academies could be distributed. Authors who have excelled with good works could be crowned. The hard working farmer would receive his due reward for his work and virtue there under public applause. This would be the place to present painting and the designs of monuments to be built to the public.
Boullée's utopian architectural fantasies inspired by antique models include a vision of modern mass society, for example, when he plans a stadium for 300,000 spectators and his plans have been interpreted as predecessors of the monumental (megalomaniac) architecture of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union under Stalin. On the other hand, it seems that within the Paris exhibitions from 1867 to 1889 his ideas, though possibly unknown, were secret models of the huge Galeries and the Tour Eiffel though these buildings relied on iron and steel and not on bricks and stone. "An optimism that takes the utopian for the attainable" can be stated in both, and the republican revival of 1889 is connected with humanitarian and social approaches that have their models in the revolutionary years. Similar to Boullée the architect Claude Nicolas Ledoux (1736-1806) with his plans for an ideal city is a precursor of the World's Fairs in respect to his utopian project to harmonize work and leisure, an approach that shows the same moral and humanitarian tendencies that led the dominant figures behind the international exhibitions.

It would be worth finding out whether Pierre de Coubertin was aware of Boullée's project, when one hundred years later he laid down his ideas for the revival of the Olympic Games that were also to include art contests in the fields of literature, painting, sculpture, architecture and music. The Advisory Conference Coubertin gathered in Paris 1906 with the aim to re- unite mind and muscle was called together to find out, "to what extent and in what form these arts and literature can participate in the celebration of the modern Olympiads".

Wrestling competition on the morning of Vendemiaire I, in the year VII (1798), copper plate

The national festivals were combinations of processions, exhibitions of agricultural and industrial products and sports contests. One can presume that with the centenary of 1889 and its频繁 retrospective exhibitions the knowledge of the early traditions of the revolutionary years was regained. For Pierre de Coubertin these early reminiscences of ancient Olympia on a national level were part of the surviving idea of the Olympic Games and he mentioned them in his writings. Public contests, sometimes named "Olympic" were a constitutional element of the many new national festivals spreading over Europe following the French example.

In the German countries public gymnastic games had been recommended by the hygienic pioneer Johann Peter Frank (1745-1821) as early as 1783. In Munich, Dessau, Carlsberg, Doberan (Mecklenburg) and other places the regional sovereigns adopted and adapted the republican custom, often under English or French influence. In Munich the Oktoberfest developed from a horse race on the occasion of the wedding of Crown Prince Ludwig, later King Ludwig I. (1786-1868) with Therese of Sachsen-Hildburghausen. The decision to repeat the festival in the following year was the beginning of a large-scale event including agricultural presentations and prize contests, athletic contests and horse races as well as public amusements that today are the main attraction.

Inspired by ancient Greek models the local sovereign Fürst Leopold Friedrich Franz von Anhalt-Dessau (1740-1817) who is known for his reformation concepts of (garden) architecture and philanthropist education founded the Drehberg-Festivals in 1776 commemorating the birthday of his wife on September 24. The programme consisted of horse races, running matches of boys and girls, shooting and dances connected with an agricultural show. Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths (1739-1839) mentions these festivals as "revived Olympic Games" in his book Gymnastik für die Jugend (Gymnastics for youth), the most influential European title on physical education in the decades after the French Revolution, published in 1793. The system of philanthropist gymnastics, based partly on ancient Greek models like the Pentathlon, included the socially levelling methods of measuring and competing and a system of written records. Inspired by the belief in the perfectability of man and in progress, typical for the age of enlightenment, the utilitarian approach of GutsMuths Gymnastik wants to create a citizen who is capable of using his mind and body. The background of this concept is the utopian motif of a new civil society.

The long and widespread tradition of national "Olympic Games" from the 17th to the 20th century, such as Robert Dovers (1882-1852) Cosworth Olympic Games or the Olympic Games of William Penny Brookes (1809-1895) in Shropshire, are only hinted here. The same applies for the Greek Olympic revivals promoted by Evangelis Zappas (1800-1865) that were planned as national exhibitions combined with athletic events and which took place in 1859, 1870, 1875 and 1888/89.

III. The Metaphoric Revival of the Olympic Games

After their prohibition by Theodosius I. (393 A.D.) the knowledge about ancient Olympia and the Olympic Games was handed down in written documents and this knowledge was broadened after the first English, French and German visitors had started to search for the land of the Greeks not only by means of their mind and heart but by first hand viewing in the 18th century. In the 19th century the excavations of Olympia brought to light not only the ruins of temples and buildings but also a more detailed knowledge of the Olympic Games in antiquity.
For example, visions of the Greek polis and also of Olympia inspired the leading German architect of the first half of the 19th century, Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841), to his famous painting titled Blick in Griechenlands Blüte (Vision of Greece in its Prime). The large picture was created by Schinkel in 1825 for the Magistrate of Berlin and was intended as a gift to Princess Luise of Prussia on the occasion of her betrothal. It is Schinkel’s major work in the field of easel-painting. The panoramic vision of a Greek polis gives an instructive lesson and an idealistic view at the same time. In Schinkel’s own words the essence of the painting is condensed: “Here one can live in the picture with this people and can study it in all its pure human and political circumstances.” The painter has borrowed motives from antique sources as Pausanias and the engravings of Stuart and Revett’s Antiquities of Athens (1787) and others and composed his views to a utopian vision of Hellas. The aesthetic clou of the painting, however, is that its foreground is dominated by a huge building site of a temple showing in detail the work in progress. Schinkel’s message is Build up a society that follows the principles of democracy, freedom and peace and that successfully integrates nature and culture. At his time it was the non-existing German nation and the rebirth of the Greek nation he was pointing at in a utopian approach. In Schinkel’s words, “acting historically is that which introduces the new and by means of which history is continued.” Though this Universal Man never set a foot on Greek soil, Schinkel’s aesthetic vision is the attempt to use the ancient Greek model for a reform of his own time and nation and this connects it with the great number of metaphorical representations of the Greek Olympic model that can be found within the solemn words spoken during international exhibitions or in their descriptions. Some examples may illustrate this fact:

1852

This Olympic game of industry, this tournament of commerce.

The tribes of the Greeks gathered at Delphi, Olympia and on the Isthmos to gain the victor’s crown, not only in every exercise of their body but also in arts and science. All nations are struggling (today) for the honour of victory and choose from their midst an Areopagus distributing the prizes, prices that do not promise treasures to the winner, but a little copper medal.

1867

The poets of antiquity praised the solemn games where the different nations of Greece congregated for the prize of the running match. What would they say today, when they participated in those Olympic Games of the whole world, where all nations in the struggle of intelligence hasten towards an ideal on the track of progress side by side, an ideal that they approach perpetually without being able to reach it.

1878

What the Olympic Games were to all the tribes of the Greeks, that are in the spirit of modern times the universal exhibitions to all tribes, all nations of the civilized world.

In accordance with the hellenocentric interpretation of the world in ancient Greece the Europeans and Americans of the 19th century tended to see themselves in the centre of the world. In their modern “exhibition-Olympia” that were full ritual and pseudo-religious elements they worshiped their modern gods: progress and liberty. The exhibitions also included a revival of the antique agonistic principle in modern capitalist societies, competition within the boundaries of defined classes of contests observed by an independent jury. In its formative years the Olympic Games of the modern era adopted from both, the antique Olympic festival and its modern industrial heirs.

IV. The Exhibition Tradition of International Sports Events

The international character of sport is manifested in rules and norms respected around the world and that is documented in international contests and in the all-sports event of the Olympic Games is closely connected in its genesis with parallel developments such as the formation of systems of international congresses in science, technology, trade as well as international conventions in the field of communication, patents and copy rights and last but not least the international peace movement. Many of these efforts have their origin or their first appearance on an international level within the programmes of the international exhibitions.

From 1851 onwards the national boundaries were transgressed by some sports during international exhibitions and from 1889 to the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908 World’s Fairs are an important financial and organizational background of the developing Olympic Games. Some examples may illustrate this growing importance of sport on the exhibition ground in the second half of the 19th century:

1852

The most prominent event in the sporting season of the exhibition year 1851 was an international sailing regatta at Cowes. The challenge for the race was the so-called 100 Guinea Cup which was bought from the stock of the London silversmith Robert Garrard (1793-1881) in 1848 by the Marquess of Anglesey and presented to the Royal Yacht Squadron as a racing trophy. In a race open to all nations this prize was disputed on August 22nd under the eyes of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. To the great consternation of the British the New York schooner America won the race. The New York Yacht Club offered the Cup as a permanent challenge and today the most important yachting event is still the America’s Cup. This defeat was a severe blow to Britannia ruling the waves. As “the beginning of significant international sporting competitions” the yacht regatta within the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations marks the beginning of a new era in sport.

1867

The Universal Exhibition of 1867 that in later years was remembered for its peaceful and warm atmosphere, its “relative freedom from political overtones”, was a diplomatic success for Napoléon III, who could welcome sovereigns from
many countries, among them Wilhelm I of Prussia (1797-1888) and Alexander II of Russia (1818-1881). The exhibition was mainly the work of the social reformer Frédéric Le Play, who designed the classification system according to an encyclopedic concept. The exhibition building consisting of seven rings was arranged to house the grid system that allowed national exhibitions in radial direction and systematic exhibitions following the rings. As a whole, it resembled a stadium and also reminded of the ideal city of Ledoux. The central exhibition building that consisted of seven rings was surrounded by a park of more than 50 national pavilions, restaurants, churches, mosques, colonial exhibits with native inhabitants and a variety of amusements. The systematic centre of the exhibition had in its nucleus a display of the national measuring systems of the world. Le Play described his exhibition as "a real city of its own" with an infrastructure of nutrition, communication, leisure and even hygienic and medical services. As in the ideal city of Ledoux, the centre was dedicated to work, the outer parts to leisure. Human work was a central theme of the exhibition, a special department Histoire du Travail was installed, delegations of workers had free lodging. Out of the visiting French delegates a first parliament of workers was established. As Yves Pierre Bouligne has pointed out, Le Play, who had already been commissioner general of the Universal Exhibition in 1855, was in "social matters the master of Coubertin's thinking" who had a "capital, determining and constant influence" on him. Through Le Play the Olympic founder is connected to the roots of Saint-Simonism and its belief "that moral progress constitutes the natural result of economic progress". Many of the great financial and industrial projects and especially the exhibitions of the Second Empire were inspired by followers of Claude Henri de Rouvroy Comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1823) and the first French Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1855 has been interpreted as "apotheosis of Saint-Simonism". In 1856 Le Play founded the Société d'Économie Sociale that was joined by Coubertin in 1866; also the Union de la paix sociale, founded in 1872, "a kind of propaganda arm of the society" had him on its member's list. Later the IOC was based on similar principles as those of the Union de la paix sociale.

For the first time in the history of the exhibitions physical exercise and education had a systematic place in an exhibition in 1867. The above mentioned Group X, for example, contained the Saxonian model of an academy of physical education (Turnlehranlehranstalt). A section gymnastic apparatus and works was included in the reports. A German rowing team from the Hamburg and Germania Rowing Club had its first international race in Paris in 1867. American, Dutch, English, Belgian, French and German teams started in the regattas from July 8th to 12th. Ernest and Pierre Michaux, whose velocipede was patented in 1862, showed their bicycles on the exhibition and from there "the triumph of the bicycle throughout the world" began.

In an interesting approach Richard Mandell has compared the role of Le Play the "impressario of the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867" with the leading figures behind the design concept of the Munich Olympic Games of 1972, Otl Aicher (1922-1991) and Willi Daume (1913-1996) and their "belief that good design inspires good living." 1889

In 1889 Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympic Games became acquainted with civilized nationalism and true internationalism on the grounds of the Paris exhibitions. These notions were to become the ingredients of his idea after 1889.

Though I grew up in the shadow of Sedan, I never felt as a subdued. The awakening of 1878 enlightened me and the magnificent turn of 1889 made me free, so that I got an idea of national capabilities and that I believed in a future different from the past but in no way of less dignity."

The international exhibition of 1889 was in many respects a republican festival of the centenary of the French Revolution. It seems to be the turning point in Coulbertin's efforts to "reh discovering France". Siegfried Giedion has described the exhibition of 1889 as a "culminating and final point of a long development." The Eiffel Tower (with its rolling brass band that enabled the visitors to watch the machines on the ground, many of them in action, from above, were striking experiences. For the last time industry itself caused admiration by its sheer presence. With the Eiffel Tower the peak seems to have been reached and the creative potential of the international exhibitions seems to be exhausted, the decline of these dominating international events began. It is an interesting fact that the idea of international Olympic Games starts its most successful way through the following century just at the moment when the idea of international exhibitions, the visualization of the industry of all nations was no longer suitable as a basic concept because of the simple reason that industry had become omnipresent and self-evident. The crisis of the international exhibitions was discussed in the decade of the Paris exhibition in many respects. In 1886, F. C. Huber compared the value of races for horse-breeding with that of exhibitions for the branches of industry. He describes the transformation of the exhibitions from a "promoter of industry" to "a show event for the masses" of the rapidly growing metropoles. "For the big cities it has almost become a kind of sports or visitor industry." Beginning with the display of the industry of all nations (1851) and a statistics of universal culture on the basis of producers, the exhibitions after 1867 (Paris) and 1873 (Vienna) include the display of ideas by means of congresses and new groups that allow the presentation of results of national and international statistics and surveys. At the beginning "industry" meant progress in production, whereas now social reform and education, the establishment of international peace and collaboration became the timely topics. The high costs of the exhibitions, however, tend to produce entertainment rather than instruction. The Janus-headed character of the exhibitions between "circumferences" and "monstra", between entertainment and festival on the one hand and instruction, education and moral progress on the other hand led to huge amusement parks and curiosity shows and by-programmes to a kind of pop-culture and entertainment-industry. Thorsten Lorenz has described this phenomenon in the field of music. Jacques Offenbachs (1819-1880) Bouffes Parisiens were one of the big attractions of the exhibition of 1867. The couplet of his opera buffo Die Großerzoge von Gerauheit was the hit of the season, Horstene Schneiders, who sang the Grande-Duchesse, was the absolute star of the exhibition." The composer himself with his cancan and Johann Strauss (1825-1899) and his waltzes were the dominating figures in the field of music. As it seems, infatuation and entertainment, the novelties of the marketing experts in recent years, have had their early models.

In some respect sports events also belonged to these popular attractions of the World's Fairs and the upcoming Olympic Games had to struggle against a circusiana image that tended to overshadow the educational aims and the nobility of the peaceful competition of the youth of the world, seen as a very serious that would lead to a better international understanding.
1889 – From L’Exposition athlétique to Olympic Athletes

“L’Exposition Athlétique” is the title of an article published by Pierre de Coubertin, dated May 6th 1890, exactly one year after the opening of the exhibition. The article recalls the triumphant moment of the opening in an unusual emotional style and describes how he assisted his friend Charles Haviland63 (*1893) in unpacking the porcelains of this famous company and disposing them on the four sides of the kiosk Maison Haviland et Compagnie de Limoges in the last moment before the arrival of the President of the Republic in the gallery. The Tour Eiffel in the evening, when for the first time it was illuminated by its crown of light, seems to him “an appearance of supernatural construction” and he remembers that the Marseillaise “had lost all its bellicose character, it was an anthem of joy, an ode of peace”. The atmosphere of Paris in those days reminds him of “that grand victory; the unanimous admiration created a type of union, of brotherhood that nations only know on the day after a great victory or when an irresistible stream of enthusiasm seizes them”.64 The moment of athleticism Coubertin discovers in the exhibition is identified in the enterprise of the exhibition itself and in the uncountable individual efforts that led to its success: “Never an enterprise has represented a similar sum of work, a similar ensemble of efforts.”

The athlete only gets strong and agile by regular and persevering training in which each of his members takes part, in the same way only daily uninterrupted work of each citizen can make a nation athletic.”65

This description of the great exhibition of 1889, which not only marks a turning point in the history of exhibitions but also in Coubertins educational strategies, seems to be the unveiling of a key experience of the founder of the modern Olympic Games. It contains the nucleus of the Olympic idea: persisting individual efforts, integrated in a civilized nationalism, displayed in an international festival that is controlled by an independent organization.

In June 1889 Coubertin was responsible for the organization of the first Congress on Physical Exercises and their Propagation at an international exhibition where results of studies carried out in the Anglo-Saxon counties were presented. The month after the congress he was sent to the United States by the Minister Armand Fallières to study the “organization and operation of the Athletic Associations founded there by the youth of those countries”.66 Marie Thérèse Eyquem has stated that on this journey Coubertin mentioned his plan to revive the Olympic Games for the first time.67 The sports program of the congress included equestrian sports, fencing, athletic sports, tennis (longue paume), Swedish gymnastics and swimming. At the end of the congress after a speech by Jules Simon it was Pierre de Coubertin who handed out the prizes, in most of the cases medals of vermeil, silver or bronze.68 Besides that an international gymnastic festival was held in Vincennes on June 5th and 10th. This Federal Festival included foreign participants from European countries, the German Turner however had stayed at home.

Dietrich R. Quanz has opened a new chapter of Olympic historiography in detecting the close connections between Pierre de Coubertin and the peace movement of the last two decades of the 19th century. The efforts of the founder of the Olympic Games to include members of this new movement into the list of patrons of the congress to revive the Olympic Games in 1894 are revealed. Quanz points out that more than one third of the list of patrons consists of members of the peace movement, including the whole leading body of the International Peace Bureau and the leading Intermariamarians.69 The relation to the peace movement dates back to the international exhibition of 1889, when within the month of June not only the Congress of Physical Exercises but also the first International Peace Congress and the first Interparliamentarian Conference took place in Paris (June 23rd to 27th and June 29th to 30th). The exhibition of 1889 marks the formative period at the beginning of the modern peace movement.61 Within the following twenty years up to the anniversary of the IOC in 1914 six Peace Nobel Prizes were presented to persons and institutions that were patronizing the congress of 1894. The close relations are also indicated by the fact that Jules Simon, who was president of the congress on physical exercises and gave the closing lecture there before Coubertin handed out the prizes, was also delivering the solemn opening speech at the Peace congress.

The steps of Coubertin on his way from “national athleticism” to “international Olympism”, the lectures and invitation letters on the way to revive the Olympic Games from 1889 to 1894, especially his Olympic Manifesto of 1892,70 that is traditionally seen as the first public announcement of the Olympic Games by Coubertin, have thoroughly been investigated in connection with centenary of the Olympic Movement in 1994 when the Congrès International de Paris pour la Rétablissement des Jeux Olympiques was commemorated. The famous sentences of this lecture on the occasion of the Jubilee of the French national sports association in 1892 enclosed here illustrate the shift in Coubertins idea of physical education:

Let us export rowers, runners and fencers; there is the free trade of the future, and on the day when it is introduced within the walls of old Europe the cause of peace will have received a new and mighty spur.”71
Commerce started a program commission for the Exposition Universelle de 1900 and in Article 14 of the respective document Pierre de Coubertin was named as Vice-President of the Comité Consultatif Spécial Jeux Athlétiques. Seventy-seven were planned and 50 of them were scheduled for Vincennes, the annex of the exhibition. In the course of time Coubertin lost most of his influence on the event. About 1,500 athletes took part however, most of them taking it for Olympic Games. Coming home many of them criticized the marginal role of the events. Though the founder of the Games was by far not content with its organization he later counted them in his Olympic calendar and Olympic historians followed him.

The greatest World’s Fairs ever the “Exposition du Siècle”, as it was called, with its 50,860,801 visitors, had a tremendous effect on international tourism. Its architecture was dominated by eclecticism and most of the national pavilions were built along the Rue des Nations. The number of 67,638 participants at the more than 130 congresses gives an impression of the incentive effect of this meeting of world culture. As in ancient Greece during the Olympic Games a truce (trève de l’exposition) was announced. The New York Sabbath Committee caused the move of the opening ceremony to April 14 instead of 15, later the time-table of the athletic events was troubled by the Americans with their “Sunday issue”.

The improvement of traffic and communication was one of the main topics of the exhibition. Métro, contrecol, roulant, the automobile and bicycle industry, wireless telegraphy, photography and cinematography and also sports were elements indicating the developments of the coming century. The marginal role of the so-called Olympic Games during the Paris exhibition has been interpreted as dangerous to the Olympic ideal being mingled with commerce and entertainment. Coubertin himself has lamented on the fact that the Games were “taken over by a big fair where their philosophical value vanished into the thin air” but he had to admit in respect to the relation to international exhibitions:

Unfortunately the alliance we had concluded was more indissoluble than we thought. On two other occasions, in 1904 and 1908, for budgetary reasons, we were unable to sever our relation with exhibitions. In fact the central part of Games was announced as Championnats Internationaux. Courses à pied, Concours Athlétiques for July 14th and 15th. In general the number of sports events of the exhibition of 1900 and their integration into the exploitation of the World’s Fairs gave a realistic view on the sports movement at the turn of the century. Only in Olympic hagiography it is a deviation from the way to the summit of Olympic success. The integration of the Olympic Games into the Universal Exhibitions was a necessary step to true internationalism for a movement that was used for national demonstrations from the start. The report on the sporting events of the Paris exhibition by Daniel Meillon which is a small part of the general report gives a detailed account and it was to become a model for later Official Reports of Olympic Games.

Congrès International de l’Éducation Physique

As one of the congresses of the Exposition Universelle with related to sports and physical education, the Congress of Physical Education took place in the Palais des Congrès from August 30th to September 6th 1900. As President of the International Olympic Committee, Pierre de Coubertin was one of the vice-presidents of the congress and of its organizing committee, the German IOC-member Willibald Gebhardt (1861-1921) was one of the foreign vice-presidents. General secretary was Georges Démény (1850-1917) who for many years had been the assistant of the leading French physiologist and pioneer of chronophotography, Etienne Jules Marey (1830-1904), the President of the congress. A strong American delegation of seven representatives including three women took part in the congress that indicated in its title the change to 1889 when Proposition des Exercices Physiques was the theme. Now, as physical education had spread to different countries, an inventory of its world status was tried to compile and the experts from all around the world gathered in Paris. The summary of the minutes of the congress given by Georges Démény shows the intensive discussions on the fifteen questions in five sections: philosophy, applied biology, techniques, pedagogy, propaganda. At the end of the congress an international journal, an international commission and the next congress to be held at Geneva in 1903 were planned. Though not “Olympic” the Physical Education Congress of the World’s fair had a close connection to the young Olympic movement. The photos and sculptures of athletes presented by Taillibert (1847-1930) showing the different aspects of effort, fatigue etc. were interesting visual aspects of the congress. During the Olympic track and field event the team of Marey carried out various radiographic, anthropometric and chronophotographic investigations. Like Marey’s work in general, they constitute the beginning of sport sciences within the Olympic Games.

From a German perspective it is interesting to mention that the Reichskommissar for the Paris and the following St. Louis exhibition later became president of the National Olympic Committee (Deutscher Reichsausschuss für Olympische Spiele). Knowing both fields from his continuous work, Theodor Lewald stated:

As it has been proved that the idea of international exhibitions cannot be accomplished, the Olympic Games are the only universal manifestation where representatives of all civilized nations gather for a competition under the eyes of the united public of the whole world to compare their abilities. As already stated by Coubertin, the integration of the Olympic Games into the international exhibitions could not be ended before the Games of the IV. Olympiad in Stockholm. In 1904 they were part of the programme of the St. Louis World’s Fairs and Coubertin did not even visit them. In 1908, within the Franco-British Exhibition 1908, the Games were a success, as it had been expected by the homeland of modern sport. A model athlete representing the traditional British all-round sportsmen, Lord Desborough (1855-1945), was heading the organizing committee. Up to 1912, the international sports movement had become a strong factor of public and also economic life. This is indicated by increasing numbers of national and international organisations and also sports exhibitions as well as a sports press of its own.

Conclusion

At an early stage of the projects for the Exposition du Siècle in 1900, a stadium was planned just in that area which Boullée had intended to cover with his huge Colosseum for national festivals in the years of the French Revolution. A group of well-known sportmen wanted to construct a covered building to house retooled gymnastic games (jeux gymniques). Perhaps this is the “cardboard stadium to replace that of Pericles” that Coubertin mentions and that – in his opinion – fortunately was not erected. Instead Coubertin’s idea of Olympic Games in changing places found its way into stadiums around the world.

Reflecting the more than two hundred years of national exhibitions developing into World’s Fairs and on the athletic festivals transforming into Olympic Games
From the Temple of Industry to the Olympic Arena – The Exhibition Tradition of the Olympic Games


8. The original painting was destroyed in 1944, a copy by Wilhelm Ahlborn (1836) has survived, VOGT, M., (1997), „Einrichtung“, in: WHIS, 1997, 12.
15. These words were spoken by Empereur Napoleon III on the occasion of the distribution of prizes at the Paris exhibition on July 1, 1857, Illustration Katalog der Pariser Industrie-Ausstellung von 1857 (1896), Leipzig.
17. See the article of Maximilian Straßmann in the present volume.

17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
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43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
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132. Ibid.
133. Ibid.
134. Ibid.
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147. Ibid.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid.
150. Ibid.
151. Ibid.
152. Ibid.
153. Ibid.
154. Ibid.
155. Ibid.
156. Ibid.
157. Ibid.
158. Ibid.
159. Ibid.
51 ibid. 8.
52 COUBERTIN, P. (1990). "L’Exposition Athlétique". Revue Athlétique. 25, 99-100. 259-64. The company Haviland & Co was founded in 1842 by the American David Haviland. His son Charles is a prominent figure in the history of French art pottery, who founded a famous atelier in Aubervilliers in 1873.
53 ibid. 282
54 ibid., 283-4.
Unfortunately she does not give the reference.
60 Coubertin lecture given at the Sotome in November 1892 was published in 1894 by Franco d’AMAT under this title. MÜLLER (2000), 287-97.
61 ibid. 287.
63 MANDILL (1948), 70-88.
65 MANDILL (1948), 69.
70 In Germany the first exhibition dedicated to sport was held in Berlin in 1882 and it was combined with aesthetic "meetings". GLASMOREP, G. (1890). Reglements für die Meetings der Sport-Ausstellung Berlin. Berlin.
74 ibid., 60.