

The World's Columbian Exposition: Idea, Experience, Aftermath

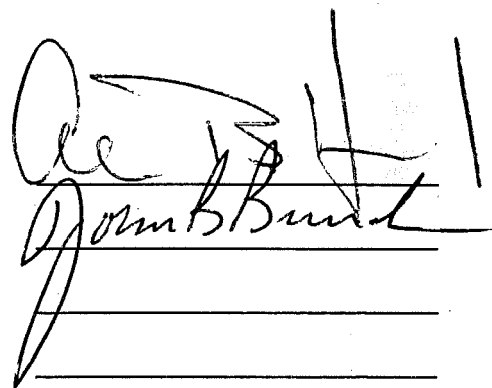
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A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Julie Rose', is written over four horizontal lines. The signature is positioned in the lower right quadrant of the page.

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COLOPHON AND DEDICATION

This thesis was conceived and produced as a hypertextual project; this print version exists solely to complete the request and requirements of department of Graduate Arts and Sciences.

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Many thanks to John Bunch for his time and patience while I created this hypertextual thesis, and to my advisor Alan Howard for his great suggestions, support, and faith. I've truly enjoyed this year-long adventure!

I'd like to dedicate this thesis, and my work throughout my Master's Program in English/American Studies at the University of Virginia to my husband, Craig. Without his love, support, encouragement, and partnership, this thesis and degree could not have been possible.

INTRODUCTION

The World's Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago in 1893, was the last and the greatest of the nineteenth century's World's Fairs. Nominally a celebration of Columbus' voyages 400 years prior, the Exposition was in actuality a reflection and celebration of American culture and society--for fun, edification, and profit--and a blueprint for life in modern and postmodern America.

The Fair was immensely popular, drawing over 27 million visitors, including Frederick Douglass, Jane Addams, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Henry Blake Fuller, Scott Joplin, Walter Wyckoff, Edward Muybridge, Henry Adams, W.D. Howells, and Hamlin Garland. It was widely publicized both nationally and internationally, and people traveled from all over the world to see the spectacle. Travelers came from the East by "Exposition Flyers" -- Pullman coaches traveling at the amazing speed of 80 m.p.h -- which gave "many Americans their first look at the country beyond the Alleghenies..." (Donald Miller, 74) People left their factories, their farms, and their city businesses to participate in what was touted as the greatest cultural and entertainment event in the history of the world.

The goals of the management and the reactions of the public to this massive event reveal a great deal about the state of America at the close of the Gilded Age. The early 1890s were a time of considerable turmoil in America, and the conflicting interests and ideas found full play in the presentation and reception of the Fair. It was an age of increasing fragmentation and confusion, of self-conscious searching for an identity on a personal and on a

national level. The industrial, and increasingly electrical, revolutions were transforming America; the American way of life was no longer based on agriculture, but on factories and urban centers, and the end of the Gilded Age signified the advent of what Alan Trachtenberg has called the "incorporation of America," the shift of social control from the people and government to big business. The accompanying shift from a producer to a consumer society and the incredible growth of these corporations led to financial instability. Recessions and the devastating Depression of 1893, the violent Homestead and Pullman labor strikes, and widespread unemployment and homelessness plagued the early years of the decade. The frontier was closing, immigration, technological advances, and the railroads had changed the face of the country, and suddenly "Americanness" was more and more difficult to define. Americans were at once confused, excited, and overwhelmed.

* The World's Columbian Exposition was the perfect vehicle to explore these immense changes while at the same time celebrating the kind of society America had become. World's Fairs, by the end of the century, were an established cultural and entertainment form with immense international influence. From the first major nineteenth century exposition, the 1851 "Crystal Palace" fair in London to Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial Exhibition to Paris' Exposition Universelle of 1889, hundreds of millions of people around the world visited over 50 international fairs in the last half of the century, finding in them not only entertainment, but cultural enlightenment, commercial opportunity, and a reflection of their age.

Even as cultural producers and consumers of the time understood the importance of the Fair as a form, so modern scholars understand that as "cities within cities and cultures within civilizations, they both reflect and

idealize the historical moments when they appear." (Gilbert, 13) We are able to learn a great deal about the culture and issues of the late nineteenth century by studying fairs as important social indicators. Robert Rydell has observed that

Fairs, in short, helped to craft the modern world. They were arenas where manufacturers sought to promote products, where states and provinces competed for new residents and new investments, where urban spaces were organized into shimmering utopian cities, and where people from all social classes went to be alternately amused, instructed, and diverted from more pressing concerns. Memorialized in songs, books, buildings, public statuary, city parks, urban designs, and photographs, fairs were intended to frame the world view not only of the hundreds of millions who attended these spectacles, but also the countless millions who encountered the fairs secondhand.

The Columbian Exposition was very much a part of this tradition. It attempted to redefine America for itself and the world, and in doing so introduced many themes and artifacts still prevalent in American life: the connection between technology and progress; the predominance of corporations and the professional class in the power structure of the country; the triumph of the consumer culture; and the equation of European forms with "high culture", as well as the more pedestrian legacy of Juicy Fruit Gum, Pabst Blue Ribbon beer, ragtime music, and Quaker Oats. H.W. Brands, in his fascinating work on the 1890s, *The Reckless Decade*, points to the importance of studying this Fair and the age it informs and reflects.

For Americans living in the 1990s, the events of the 1890s would be worth exploring even if they imparted no insight into the present. Life on the edge frequently evokes the best and worst in people and societies. It did so during the 1890s, when the United States produced more than its normal quota of demagogues and dedicated reformers, scoundrels and paragons of goodwill, when the American people lived up to their better selves and down to their worse....

Yet the story of the 1890s also possesses significance beyond its inherent color and drama. How America survived the last decade of the nineteenth century--how it pursued its hopes, occasionally confronted and frequently fled its fears, wrestled its angels and demons--reveals much about the American people. What it reveals can be of use to a later generation of those people, situated similarly on the cusp between an old century and a new one.

(Brands, 5)

This project will focus on the message of this overwhelmingly popular Fair and its implications for contemporary and modern society. First, we will take a virtual tour of the Fair, pointing out its high and low points, and what they meant in the Official Fair's vocabulary, followed by a discussion of reactions to the Fair by its visitors--how, and how well, were the Fair's messages received? Finally, the focus shifts to the legacy of the Fair: the text and clues inferred by its spatial and ideological landscape, the messages that emerge with over a century of perspective, and the ramifications of its successes and failures.

So, take a step back in time, to an era when bicycles were a novelty, telephones a rarity, and phonographs an absolute revelation. To a time when the hustle and bustle of a consumer society, the immigration problem, economic instability, and feelings of cultural inferiority were foremost in Americans' minds. Does it sound familiar? Perhaps, in our investigation of this watershed event in American history--this celebration of early modernity--we can find ourselves in and learn from the messages of, and reactions to, the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.

TOUR THE FAIR

The World's Columbian Exposition is an infinitely rich and fascinating cultural event. It is also overwhelmingly large and incredibly layered, and both the history of the Fair and its physical layout must be given appropriate attention to do justice to the whole. The history of the Fair serves as an excellent guidebook for the virtual tour, while the tour contextualizes the history. The history and the tour are both compelling in and of themselves, but also serve as the basis for our later explorations of reactions to the Fair and its legacy.

The History of the Fair

Sell the cookstove if necessary and come.
You *must* see the fair.

--Author Hamlin Garland in a letter to his parents, 1893

The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 was an event of immense cultural importance to an America nearing the turn of the century. From May 1 to October 31, 1893, Chicago and the Exposition were host to 27 million visitors--nearly one quarter of the country's population at the time. Fairs were an incredibly popular event in the nineteenth century; the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia drew over 10 million visitors in 1876 and Paris' extremely popular Exposition Universelles drew over 28 million to the city of lights. Fairs encompassed the spectrum of experience and interest of the 1800s--from sport to entertainment to high culture. To understand their

importance and draw in modern terms, they could be seen as a combination of the Olympics, DisneyWorld, the Superbowl, and the National Gallery--an international entertainment and cultural event with lasting social importance.

Fairs were also money-making ventures. While not always necessarily profitable in and of themselves, they allowed their host cities to take the spotlight--and the tourist dollar. When the idea of celebrating the 400th anniversary of Columbus' voyages to the New World surfaced in the 1880s, cities began to scramble for the opportunity to host the Fair.

Chicago's City Council began their campaign to host the Fair on July 22, 1889, when it directed Mayor De Witt C. Cregier to appoint a committee of 100 citizens to carry out the project. Bank president Lyman Gage, publisher Andrew McNally, railroad tycoon George Pullman, and J.P. Morgan assistant Charles Schwab were among the business leaders who helped raise five million dollars in stock (500,000 shares at \$10 each) to establish Chicago's determination that they would have the Fair. The House of Representatives took up the issue in late 1889 and considered petitions from Chicago, St. Louis, New York, and Washington, D.C. After months of consideration and conflict, the House gave the victory to Chicago on February 24, 1890--but with a catch. The city was required to raise an additional \$5 million.

However, the makeup of Chicago's Fair supporters was decidedly capitalistic and the task was by no means insurmountable. With a list of contributors and fundraisers which included G.B. Shaw, President of the American Loan & Trust Company; W.E. Hale, President of the Hale Elevator Company; W.J. Huiskamp of the *Chicago Times*; O.W. Potter, President of the Illinois Steel Company; Potter Palmer, real estate tycoon and owner of the

Palmer House Hotel; and Stuyvesant Fish, President of the Illinois Central Railroad Company, the fundraising was soon accomplished. A Presidential Proclamation recognizing Chicago's compliance with fundraising restrictions was issued on December 24, 1890, and the Fair officially belonged to Chicago.

Chicago lost no time in beginning its preparations, starting with a governing body to oversee the World's Columbian Exposition. Although a corporation had already been established in Chicago to raise the funds, the Congress determined that a national board of oversight, consisting of two representatives from each state and territory, as well as eight at large members, would also be required. The national organization came to be known as the Commission and the local group was the Directory; the two bodies were directed by one man, Col. George Davis, a former soldier and senator who helped plead Chicago's case in Congress. With this political/corporate body in place, the work of planning the Exposition began in 1890.

The construction of buildings and the choice of a site were the first items on the agenda. Burnham & Root, a successful Chicago architectural firm whose work included many of the major skyscrapers which had arisen after the devastating 1871 fire, was chosen as the lead firm. John Wellborn Root was the creative genius of the partnership, while Daniel H. Burnham had the organizational and personal flair to make the venture a success. When Root died of pneumonia early in the planning process, Burnham took sole control of the architectural planning of the Fair. Burnham had great leeway in the choices he made: the site for the Fair, the architects he tapped to design and build the exhibition halls, the sculptors he hired to decorate the grounds, even the color scheme to be employed. Burnham and Frederick

Law Olmsted, the venerable landscape architect who had designed New York's Central Park, had chosen prime Lake Front space for the Exhibition buildings. Wealthy Michigan Avenue residents, including Potter Palmer, were not amused by the Lake Front plan and pushed for little-used and marshy Jackson Park as the site for the Fair.

By 1891, over 40,000 skilled laborers and workers were employed in the construction of the fair--at Jackson Park. Burnham headed the Board of Architects who conceived the general design of the Fair's buildings and the Court of Honor, as well as the architects who would carry out the design and construction of the 200 additional buildings. Olmsted, Burnham, and the Board of Architects -- a group of Eastern architects generally trained at the Academie des Beaux-Arts in Paris -- decided on an unusual Fair plan. Utilizing the natural landscape of Jackson Park, Olmsted created a system of lagoons and waterways fed by Lake Michigan. These bodies of water served as decorative reflecting pools, waterways for transportation, and provided a place of respite necessary for weary summer visitors--the shady Wooded Island. The 14 main buildings surrounding the waterways were in the Beaux-Arts style, with its emphasis on logic, harmony, and uniformity. The Court of Honor buildings-- surrounding the Grand Basin with its massive gilded statue of the Republic--were covered with "staff," or stucco, giving the main buildings a magnificent whiteness and dazzling visitors who arrived at the rail terminal just outside the Fair's gates.

The interest surrounding the construction of the Fair became so great-- in large part due to the competition and controversy that went into the selection process--that Burnham decided to allow spectators into the Fair compound. Paying a fee of 25 cents to watch the progress of construction,

over 3000 people visited per week. Burnham and the Directory had plenty of opportunity to make this pre-Fair interest a profitable venture. With a total area of 633 acres (including 80 acres for the Midway Plaisance, an entertainment strip), 75 million board feet of lumber, 18,000 tons of iron and steel, 120,000 incandescent lights, 30,000 tons of staff, 14 main buildings with total floor space of 63 million square feet, the construction process was slow. In fact, the enormity of the task at hand forced Burnham and the commission to push the opening day back from late 1892 to May, 1893.

The change of opening date only served to increase public anticipation regarding the Fair. Moses Handy's Department of Publicity and Promotion did the rest. In operation since 1890, Handy's department was the source for information and news about the progress of the Fair for many national and international newspapers and journals. The scope of the effort to promote the Fair was immense. Working out of the Rand McNally building in downtown Chicago, Handy and his staff sent out information and watercolor sketches all over the world; in fact, Handy claims that "scarcely a day passed on which less than 2,000 to 3,000 mail packages...were not distributed from this department." (Hales, 5) Handy's focus was on the promotion of Chicago and the commercial opportunities of the Fair, and was the basis for a number of guidebooks, often representing themselves as the "Official Guidebook of the Columbian Exposition." Julian Ralph was one of the first guidebook authors, penning *Harper's Chicago and the World's Fair* in 1891, two years before the Fair opened, an indication of the advance interest and publicity this event inspired.

After three years of preparation and \$28 million, the fair opened to great fanfare on May 1, 1893. One hundred thousand people crowded the

Court of Honor to watch President Cleveland touch a golden lever, electrically sending the dynamo engines into motion; the Fair, after years of preparation, was finally underway. Visitors over the six months of the Fair's operation were excited, entertained, and overwhelmed. The Fair was calculated to be awe-inspiring, and in large part achieved its goal. Visitors were greeted with 633 total acres of Fairgrounds, 65,000 exhibits, and restaurant seating for 7,000. They were amazed by the clean and safe elevated railway and the electric launches plying the canals and lagoons. Guests, on the way to the entertainment and the spectacle of the Midway felt quite safe with the hundreds of Columbian Guards and plainclothes detectives on the grounds. Hundreds of concessionaires, selling everything from souvenir paperweights to popcorn and the newly invented carbonated soda, crowded the walkways, and nearly every day had a special theme for visitors to celebrate. The World's Congress Auxiliary held daily presentations and lectures, 5,978 in all, covering subjects including ethics, authors, economics, labor, and the mammoth week-long Congress of Religions. The event was massive, and its popularity was sustained: Chicago Day, held in the last month of the Fair, drew over 700,000 visitors.

Attendance figures vary, but it is generally agreed that a total of over 27.5 million people visited the fair (21.5 million paid admissions, 6 million free). Figures for the number of American visitors is not available, nor is the percentage of those admissions that were repeat visits. However, it can be safely assumed that approximately 25% of the United States' population visited the Fair, and the majority of the rest of the country experienced it through newspaper accounts, photographic guidebooks, and the pictures and stories of friends and family who visited it themselves.

The Fair was incredibly popular until it closed on October 31, 1893. The World's Columbian Exposition paid off all of its operating expenses, even returning \$1 million to its 30,000 subscribers, a portion of their initial investments. It had a great influence on turn of the century American society, as well as social, economic, cultural, and political legacies to modern America. The Fair presented itself to the country and the world as a celebration of the advance of American civilization; but how was it received, and what has been its lasting legacies? The first step to contextualizing its reception is to understand the ideological landscape and physical dimensions in the Official Tour.

The Official Tour

Welcome to the great World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. Millions of American and foreign visitors packed the Fairgrounds from May to October, braving rain and mud, blistering heat, and the occasional pickpocket. They covered the 633 acres of Jackson Park in two to four days, some staying for a week or even more. The Fair was so vast and complex that an excellent starting point to understanding its messages, meanings, and legacy is a "virtual tour" of its physical landscape.

In general, guests arrived on the Fairgrounds in one of three ways: through the street entrance on the Midway (now the University of Chicago), on the Lake Michigan pier to the east, or the huge railroad terminus to the southwest. While many took the scenic route by steamship from downtown Chicago and landed on the pier, most arrived by train. After paying their 50 cent admission fee for the day, visitors were greeted with an overwhelming

cacophony of voices, music, and crowds. The first view Fairgoers experienced once inside the grounds was equally overwhelming--the Administration building. The 55,000 square foot domed building was designed by Richard M. Hunt of New York, and served as the headquarters for the chief officers of the Exposition. It also served as the chief introduction to the main architectural theme of the 14 "great" buildings of the Fair--the Beaux-Arts style. Daniel Burnham and the Board of Architects sought a uniform architectural style for the main showpieces of the Fair, and utilized their Beaux-Arts training to this end. All of the main buildings were of a uniform cornice height, geometrically logical, and covered in the same white staff (stucco), producing a homogenous yet somehow magnificent grouping of buildings.

Visitors inevitably wandered past the Administration Building to the Court of Honor proper. The centerpiece of the Court was the Grand Basin, a large reflecting pool containing the elaborate MacMonnies Fountain and the immense gilded statue of the Republic. These sculptural elements were framed to the east by the Peristyle, an arch placed to balance the grouping of exhibition buildings to the north and south of the basin, and as an entrance point for visitors arriving from the pier. As the sound of the Columbian Chorus or Orchestra drifted in from the lakefront, the guests attempted to ignore the very Chicago smell of the Fair's stock pavilions nearby and make their foray into the first of 200 buildings on the grounds: the Machinery Building.

Machinery Hall, designed by the Boston firm Peabody & Stearns at a cost of \$1.2 million, was the first introduction to a strange dichotomy of the Fair--the classic and uniform facades of the main buildings gave way to an

interior reminiscent of a combination of Marshall Field's department store and an airplane hangar. The interiors were generally one large room (in this case, 435,500 square feet) with high ceilings, crammed to the walls with exhibits. The Machinery Building not only contained exhibits such as Whitney's cotton gin, sewing machines, and the world's largest conveyor belt, but also the Fair's power plant, with 43 steam engines and 127 dynamos providing electricity for the Fair.

Once visitors were introduced to the physical dimension of the Fair and its contents through the Grand Basin and the Machinery Building, they were ready for some serious sightseeing. The Agricultural Building, a 400,000 square foot product of New York's McKim, Mead & White, was the epitome of the excess of exhibits. Not only were there weather stations and farm building models on display, there were animals, machines, tools, and 100 discrete tobacco exhibits. Ostriches from the Cape Colony were found near a map of the United States made entirely of pickles and not one but two Liberty Bell models--one in wheat, oats, and rye, and one entirely in oranges. The Schlitz Brewery had a very popular booth, and Canada's "Monster Cheese" (22,000 pounds) vied for attention with the Egyptian cigarette booth.

By this point, undoubtedly, visitors were exhausted not only by the size of the exhibit spaces, but by the sheer number of exhibits presented. As they walked back out into the glare of the Court of Honor, their next thought was: lunch. Concessionaires selling boxed lunches, hamburgers, and the newly introduced carbonated soda were scattered throughout the Fairgrounds, as were scores of sit-down restaurants--including the New England Clam Bake restaurant near the Lake Front, serving clam chowder, baked beans, and

pumpkin pie. Revived by the lunch and the brisk lake wind, visitors pressed on northward.

Obviously, visitors thought they had seen it all--the range and number of exhibits was amazing. But, as they were soon to discover, they were in for a surprise. Passing before the Peristyle as they headed north, Fairgoers were greeted by the enormous expanse of the Manufactures and Liberal Arts building. Covering over 11 acres of exhibition space, the George Post-designed building brought together exhibitors from all around the world. There was a dual purpose to this building, as its name implies. Manufactured goods were displayed, with price tags for comparative shopping, next to exhibits which could roughly be categorized as being part of the humanities. Remington typewriters and Tiffany & Co. stained glass were under the same exhibition roof with the University of Chicago's 70-ton Yerkes telescope and Bach's clavichord. Goods pavilions, which contained everything from clothes to phonographs, were erected within the building by America, Germany, Austria, China, Japan, France, Russia, and England. Furniture from the palace of the King of Bavaria was displayed, as was the manuscript of Lincoln's Inaugural address and Mozart's spinet. This was the most eclectic of exhibits, combining goods for sale with items of historical and artistic interest.

The Court of Honor gave way on the north to the U.S. Government building, a small structure containing displays by the departments of War, State, Treasury, Interior, Justice, Agriculture, and Post Office. Exhibits on George Washington, carrier pigeons, international currency, and a huge California redwood tree were the highlights of this building, often ignored by visitors on their way to the Fisheries Building. Designed by Henry Ives Cobb

of Chicago, the Fisheries' two acres of exhibition space was well balanced with the Olmsted-designed lagoon to the west and Lake Michigan to the east. The highlight of the display was widely agreed to be the double row of floor-to-ceiling aquaria, filled with hundreds of species of fresh and salt water fish. The building was also noteworthy by its departure from the Beaux-Arts form of the Court of Honor, focusing instead on walls of delicate glass and multicolored flags.

Once guests emerged into the late afternoon sun on their first day, many decided to take a break and return for more sightseeing the next morning. Taking the elevated railway from the Lake Front to the railroad station, visitors left the Exposition, often to see Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show just outside the fairgrounds, and prepare for the next day's amusement.

When the gates opened at eight o'clock in the morning, visitors had already lined up to get an early start and make the most of their day's sightseeing. Visitors recalled the huge distances of the Fair from their first day of sightseeing, and returned via electric launches on the waterways to the north end of the grounds. They often resumed their tour by examining the thousands of artworks found in the Palace of Fine Arts. Charles Atwood's 140-room structure, which now houses Chicago's Museum of Science and Industry, contained many of the world's artistic masterpieces. Countries from all over the world contributed, and awards were given for artistic accomplishment in, among other fields, painting, sculpture, decorative arts, and drawing and etching. The United States contributed over 600 works, including paintings by John Singer Sergeant, Thomas Eakins, and Winslow Homer, as well as a private collection of European art with works by Renoir, Cassatt, and Pissarro. The building, which housed over 8,000 exhibits, sat on

the north bank of the North Pond, and was surrounded by the scores of foreign and state buildings erected at the northern edge of the fairgrounds.

Forty-three states and territories contributed buildings, as did 23 foreign countries. These buildings often offered a respite from the heat and constant shuffling from exhibit to exhibit, with wide shady porches and cool reception halls. Although the Palace of Fine Arts was quite far from the Court of Honor physically, it echoed the Beaux-Arts strains in its white columns and large dome. The state and foreign buildings held themselves to no such form, however. Each state or foreign committee was responsible not only for the appropriation of funds for their building and exhibits, but for the design of the building as well. Florida's reproduction of Ft. Marion was not far from Massachusetts' reproduction of John Hancock's house and Virginia's of Mt. Vernon. California's Spanish-style stucco rubbed shoulders with Vermont's reproduction of Pompeii and Wisconsin's Queen Anne Victorian. The exhibits were as unique and widely varied as the structures that contained them. California presented a 127 year-old palm and a fountain of red wine; Louisiana boasted a Creole restaurant and entertainment; Massachusetts displayed copies of charters signed by King Charles and a book brought on the Mayflower; and Pennsylvania provided the actual Liberty Bell (not made of fruit or grain this time), as well as Pocohontas' necklace and John Quincy Adams' baby clothes.

After being bombarded with such a wide variety of displays, Fairgoers often turned south from the state and foreign buildings to take a few moments of peace--and a bit of lunch--on the Wooded Island. Although the island did house two exhibit buildings--the Japanese Ho-o-Den, a compound of buildings exhibiting 12th, 16th, and 18th century Japanese architectural

styles, and the Hunter's Cabin, a monument to Davy Crockett and Daniel Boone--the focus was on relaxation. The island was crisscrossed with trails and dotted with park benches, providing shady escapes from the press of the crowd and the constant invitation to view more exhibits.

But the call of the exhibit was strong, and after a brief respite on the Wooded Island, Fairgoers pressed on. The Woman's Building was not far, just west of the Wooded Island at the entrance to the Midway Plaisance. The 80,000 square foot building designed by Sophia G. Hayden of Boston served as the headquarters for the Board of Lady Managers, as well as the repository for special exhibits of women's work. The Board of Lady Managers was established as a parallel governing body to the national Commission, overseeing the exhibition of women's work throughout the Exposition. Many women chose to have their work exhibited alongside those produced by men, in the appropriate departments (i.e., Agriculture, Fine Arts), but some displays were deemed to have "rare merit and value, [which] the exhibitors would prefer to have placed under the special care and custody of the ladies..." (Johnson, 201) The Italian Renaissance-style building housed a manuscript of *Jane Eyre* in Bronte's handwriting, costumes from around the world, murals by Mary Cassatt, and a copy of the 1879 law allowing women to plead cases before the Supreme Court. The goal of the exhibits was explicitly educational; the Midway Plaisance, at which the Woman's Building stood at the head, was an education of a decidedly different sort.

The sound of tambourines, German bands, Midway "fakes" (later sideshow shills and carnies), scores of foreign tongues, and the screams of fear and delight from passengers on the Ice Railway could be heard in the distance as Fairgoers exited the Woman's Building toward the west. The focus of the

Midway was entertainment, despite the Directory's early protestations that it was to be educational. Julian Ralph, an early guidebook author, quickly saw the entertainment and profit motive:

The Columbian Exposition is to have what the irreverent architects call a "church fair" annex. They call it so because whereas the Exposition proper is designed to show a visitor "the earth for fifty cents," this addendum will be filled with things calculated to draw a visitor's last nickel, and to leave his pocket-book looking as if one of Chicago's 20-story buildings had fallen upon it. I refer to the Midway Plaisance. (Ralph, 206)

The Midway was filled with every kind of amusement imaginable:

Hagenbeck's Zoo, models of both the Eiffel Tower and St. Peter's Basilica, a captive balloon ride, a diorama of the Kilauea volcano, a "world's congress of 40 beauties," reproductions of Blarney Castle, a German and a Javanese village, a street in Cairo, Old Vienna, and of course the introduction of the Ferris Wheel--50 cents for 2 revolutions, double the entry price for the Fair itself. Souvenir stands dotted the mile-long strip, a Natatorium was provided for public swimming, and the Moorish Palace, complete with funhouse mirrors and a wax museum, was incredibly popular.

Visitors were entranced by the Midway--whether it was due to its entertainment value, shock at its freedoms (including Little Egypt, the "hootchy-kootchy" belly dancer who scandalized many guests), or the opportunity to observe fellow Fairgoers being amused and being conned. Contemporary writers often put forth the idea that the Fair was like America's lawn party--a chance to come together and have a good time. The Midway provided ample and unadulterated opportunity to do just that.

However, Fairgoers were also given the opportunity to be educated and edified, in a more traditional manner. The World's Congresses, over the course of the six months of the Fair, presented 5,978 addresses, which were delivered to audiences of more than 700,000. (Bolotin, 20) Meetings on Education, Architecture, Science, Religion, Authors, Music, Temperance, Moral and Social Reform, Medicine, and Commerce and Finance were held; the Labor Congress of August 28-30 drew 25,000 people, and Congress lecturers included such luminaries as William Jennings Bryan, John Dewey, George Washington Cable, Henry George, Samuel Gompers, and Woodrow Wilson. The World's Congress of Religion held three sections per day for over a week, and drew religious leaders from all over the world. The World's Congress of Authors beginning July 13 included meetings chaired by Oliver Wendell Holmes (authors), Charles Dudley Warner (criticism), and Walter Besant (English). Presentations at the author's meeting included Cable's "The Uses and Methods of Fiction" and Hamlin Garland's "Local Color in Fiction". In the History meeting, Frederick Jackson Turner presented his seminal study based on the 1890 Census' proclamation of the closing of the American frontier, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." A lecture was available on nearly every day the Exposition was in operation, and sufficiently illuminated, guests returned to the Fair proper to continue their sightseeing.

Returning to the Fairgrounds through the Midway to the Woman's Building, visitors turned south, back toward the Court of Honor. On their right, next to the Woman's Building, stood the Horticultural Building. Eight greenhouses and a 180 foot dome comprised the Horticultural Building, covering over 4 acres of Fairground space. Chicago's Jenney & Mundie

designed the edifice, which contained the usual eclectic collection of exhibits. Entire environments were recreated, including a Mexican desert and a Japanese garden. Individual states and countries contributed their best: Illinois sent bay laurel and strawberries; Austria provided tree ferns; Oregon exhibited and sold quite a few jars of their preserves; Germany sent an extensive wine cellar. Over 16,000 varieties of orchids were exhibited, and Southern California contributed a 35-foot tower of oranges. The Horticultural Department also oversaw ten of the 16 acres on the Wooded Island, planting 500,000 pansies and 100,000 roses.

The explosion of color found inside the Horticultural Building was echoed in the exterior of Adler & Sullivan's Transportation Building. The main hall of Louis Sullivan's work covered over five acres, and true to his innovative style, bucked the plan of classicality found in the rest of the 14 "great buildings." Allegorical figures and a polychromatic paint scheme covered the exterior, in sharp contrast to the cool whiteness of the Court of Honor just yards to the west. Sullivan, along with a junior member of his firm, Frank Lloyd Wright, delighted Fairgoers with their "golden doorway," the grand gilded and arched entrance with high-relief friezes on a transportation theme. For a public fascinated with new forms of transportation, the building was quite popular inside as well. Railroad relics, including "John Bull," the first locomotive in the United States, were displayed next to models of English warships, a full-scale reproduction of an ocean liner, bicycle companies with the latest models for sale, and a chariot from the Etruscan museum in Florence.

Heading east, back toward the Court of Honor, visitors encountered S.S. Beman's Mines and Mining Building. Its white facade and Beaux-Arts

styling announced that visitors had in fact returned to the Grand Basin. Although the exterior was quite staid, the interior contained some of the more unusual exhibits, including presentations by the Kimberley Diamond Mining Company, a statue of actress Ada Rehan made entirely of silver, and a model of the Statue of Liberty made entirely of salt.

Exiting the Mines and Mining Building and turning left, Fairgoers found themselves face to face with the most beautiful sight imaginable: the very last building. And according to most accounts, they had saved the best for last. The Electricity Building, a product of Van Brunt & Howe of Kansas City, was not necessarily the most aesthetically pleasing six acres on the Fairgrounds. It was, however, the most popular exhibit hall at the Exposition. Electricity was a familiar yet relatively new phenomenon for most Americans, and exhibits demonstrating its practical and entertainment value were incredibly popular. Among the official guidebooks, the fascination with electricity at the Fair was universal. Some of the very best things to be seen at the Fair, according to these books, included the interior illuminations of the buildings, illumination of the grounds, electric search lights, the intramural railway, the reynolds-corriss engine, phonographs, and the teleautograph. Guidebook author Julian Ralph was particularly fascinated with the moveable sidewalk, electric and steam launches, but particularly with the exhibits within the Electricity Building itself. "A telephone will employ a fine orchestra to play in New York, and will conduct the sound of the music all the way to the Electricity Building, in which a great horn will throw out the melody for the benefit of all who care to visit the section." (Ralph, 197)

Another fascinating exhibit was "a large and complete villa or dwelling fitted with all the household electrical appliances of the period. There will be no

occasion for lighting a match in it for any purpose whatsoever." (Ralph, 195) This exhibit included electric lamps, elevators, fans, sewing machines, burglar alarms, stoves, laundry machines and irons. And of course, the unusual had a place in this exhibit hall as well--the world's first telegraph message was on display, as was the first seismograph, Edison's kinoscope (individual motion picture viewing stations), and Edison's 82 foot Tower of Light, displaying over 18,000 bulbs.

Thus the Fairgoer made their circuit of all 633 acres of the World's Columbian Exposition. As the sun dropped below the western horizon, visitors prepared for the final exhibits of the Fair. They gathered to watch the water and music show of the "colored fountains," wait for the electrical illumination of the Fairgrounds, particularly the thousands of electric lights adorning the gilded dome of the Administration Building, or take in the nightly fireworks display over Lake Michigan. Over the course of six months, over 27 million visitors walked the Midway and exhibition halls. What was their reaction? The next section explores the experience of visitors to the Fair and its varied physical and ideological landscape.

REACTIONS TO THE FAIR

I am puzzled to understand the final impression left on the average mind...as to the inward meaning of this dream of beauty. Of course, I don't understand it, but then I don't understand anything...

--Henry Adams, in a letter to Lucy Baxter, October 18, 1893

The World's Columbian Exposition was an extremely popular and influential social and cultural event. The Directory (to simplify, we will use this term to mean both the local Directory and the national Commission) of the Fair had, if not a specific agenda, a set of goals and ideals it wished to promote through its architecture, approved guidebooks, and spatial arrangement. The very immensity of the World's Columbian Exposition would seem to preclude a unified message from being presented or received. Hundreds of accounts, thousands of exhibits, and millions of visitors would produce very different conclusions. How was the message of the official Fair--the dreams of unity, the assertion of culture and education, and most importantly the valorization of American technology and commerce--actually received? As we will see, the ideals of the Directory and its vision of America was well received, but not without comment or concern. The reactions of visitors to the Exposition and its message is a useful way to gauge America's psyche in the midst of a decade of vast changes, but also to garner insight from their reactions for our own decade of vast changes.

After reflecting on the progress of America in the 400 years since Columbus, the Directory sought to present a positive redefinition of America, one in which the country stood as a cultural, commercial, and technological

leader. This positive posturing is not unusual in the history of the country, but the 1890s, as historian Harold U. Faulkner has described them, were a restless decade--the upbeat spin was a positive face on the frightening social changes at the end of the nineteenth century. The 1890s was a time when Americans were undergoing the sometimes painful shift from an agricultural to an industrial society, bombarded with images and the reality of technology, progress, and consumption. The Fair's official ideology was an attempt, in large part, to assert a sense of American unity as a bulwark against the fear of change through pride in the country's accomplishments. It was asserted, in the Exposition's architecture, that America had reached cultural parity with Europe, through its appropriation of the European Beaux-Arts form, and through its emphasis on education throughout the Fairgrounds. The two areas in which America was already considered an international leader, commerce and technology, were celebrated extensively in the thousands of exhibits and the placement of the Electricity Building and the Manufactures and Liberal Arts building directly on the Grand Basin, counterparts to the former bedrocks of American society, the Agriculture and Machinery Buildings.

Yet while many Fairgoers were thankful for this positive vision of America, others could not forget the troubles just outside the gates, and this knowledge informed their reactions to the Fair. There are literally thousands of wonderful and fascinating quotes exemplifying visitors' reactions to the Exposition; unfortunately there is not enough room to include them all here. We will instead concentrate on the most characteristic of the reactions in this discussion.

Unity and Utopia

The vision of unity so important to a fractured America found its first and most obvious expression in the pristine whiteness and logical construction of the 14 "great buildings" of the Fair, particularly the Court of Honor. The very rhythm of the grouping and their beauty were somehow soothing to visitors weary from the rigors of early modern America. Robert Herrick observed years later that the "people who could dream this vision and make it real, those people...would press on to greater victories than this triumph of beauty--victories greater than the world had yet witnessed." (*Memoirs of an American Citizen*, 1905) The visceral response to this visual representation of beauty and unity was widespread; visitors were ready to receive this message.

The population of urban dwellers, and the rural citizens who had access to the growing power of mass media, were faced with significant changes. Corruption in local government, both petty and significant, was an accepted reality of urban life. Filthy streets and poor sanitation pervaded the cities, even in the wealthiest sections of town. Jacob Riis' 1890 *How the Other Half Lives* details the poverty in the city center, as the wealthy escaped the growing urban blight using improved mass transit to live in their pseudo-rural suburbs, while the poor suffered with open sewage trenches and frequent TB epidemics. Crime steadily increased with continuing economic problems, and ethnic and racial tension increased daily, as black refugees from the ruins of Reconstruction and foreign nationals immigrated to what they themselves perceived as a utopia. In fact, between 1890 and 1900, the United

States population increased by over 13 million people, from 62.9 to 76.2 million citizens.

Over and over again, journals, letters, reminiscences all celebrated the beauty and serenity of the World's Columbian Exposition. The well-managed and seemingly uncorrupt Fair had unbelievably clean streets, well-behaved crowds, the most advanced sanitary and transportation systems, and most of all, it was beautiful--so unlike the gray and dusty cities many of the visitors had come from. In many respects, the Fair in fact was a utopia. According to the security department report, only 954 arrests were made over the six months of operation, 10 attempts were made to pass counterfeit coins, 408 people were able to get over the fence into the grounds, and only 33 attempts were made to gain admission on fraudulent passes.

While visitors flocked to the Fair's physical representation of unity, and in some sense utopia, reality had a terrible way of sneaking in. There were constant reminders of the growing economic problems of the country, which deepened into a four-year depression in the summer of 1893. Many conservatives believed the depression was caused by the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which they claimed undermined business confidence in the Gold Standard. Others found the genesis of the downturn in the weakness of the banking system, the growing economic interdependence in the country, but most of all the rapid expansion of the railroad industry, which had grown beyond demand due to competition. (Faulkner, 143) As railroads began to fail, the fortunes of industries allied with the railroads began to take a downturn as well--especially a number of prominent banks. Over the course of the four-year depression, 15,000 businesses failed, 600 banks closed, 50

railroads became insolvent, and at least 2.5 million Americans were unemployed.

It was out of this atmosphere that the reactions to the Fair's vision of beauty and unity emerged. Most visitors were thankful for the respite from the growing Depression outside the Fair's gates, and many saw in its beauty and unity a vision of the future. *Harper's* declared,

It is very much to be deplored that during the best part of the time since its opening the business crisis sweeping over the country should have filled the minds of many of our people with harassing cares as to exclude all thoughts of enjoyment... it is to be hoped they will remember that the genius of the country has created a work of surpassing grandeur which should not be permitted to pass away without having exerted to the widest extent its enlightening and elevating influences upon the living generation.

(#1917, September 16)

That these visions of beauty were only architectural models, temporary Beaux-Arts facades, was not of concern. "White City represented itself *as* a representation, an admitted sham. Yet that sham, it insisted, held a truer vision of the real than did the troubled world sprawling beyond its gates." (Trachtenberg, 231) This was the America that the Directory and the visitors hoped they could achieve. And the route to this new America was through a sense of pride and unity in the country's accomplishments--beginning with a sense of cultural parity with Europe.

Cultural Parity

With the upheaval of the close of the nineteenth came a sense of instability and inferiority; was America going to constantly experience growing pains? When was it going mature into the social and cultural confidence of Europe? The Fair's answer was: right now. Despite all of

America's problems, its youth, its association with the frontier, the Fair's management proclaimed: [we have achieved cultural parity with Europe.] Through the emphasis on architecture and education, the Fair was making a statement about America's cultural inheritance and future.

The use of the Beaux-Arts idiom was an emphatic statement to America and the world: we are refined and are heir to the cultural traditions of Europe. Some observers were quick to make the connection:

The first impression which takes possession of the beholder [of the White City], for if he is at all susceptible to these emotions which are excited by creations of art, he will be so overcome with astonishment and admiration as to make it a difficult effort for him to tear himself away from the contemplation of the exterior of the wonderful assemblage of palaces in order to enter one of them...The head of one of the foremost art institutes in Europe recently wrote from Chicago to his home newspaper that the aspect of the White City called up in his mind some of Claude Lorrain's landscapes...

(Harper's #1917, September 16)

The dreamy, utopian vision of Lorrain seemed a perfect comparison for those who were enamored of the feeling of high culture that the Grand Court displayed. Nearly every account gives praise to the beauty of this collection of buildings; the monumental Court of Honor was the most publicized aspect of the Fair. The Exposition came to be known as the White City in homage to this vision of European culture transplanted on the shores of Lake Michigan. This was the Fair's (and Daniel Burnham's) unequivocal stance: we may appropriate European forms to our ends in this celebration of America's progress--and the reflected glory will give America the sheen of high culture.

Yet while many welcomed the classical European facades of the Court of Honor, others were not so sure. A significant minority of visitors believed

that a sense of pride in America would not come from aping European forms, but in celebrating an American spirit, feeling confidence in the vernacular culture that had grown in the New World. Journalist Lillie West Buck was shocked that the Fair celebrated nothing of "our daring originality, vigor and unique emphasis indicative of our own history," instead displaying the "eternal procession of the tiresomely perfect gods and goddesses, allegories, revered freaks, and European celebrities..." (17) She suggested that in "place of gilded Dianas and huge Ajaxes...how infinitely more surprising and dramatic would have been a group of ungovernable prairie horses, startling western riders, and Daniel Boone, Kit Carson, old Jim Bridger or Wild Bill." (20)

But Buck's opinion was in the minority. The emphasis in the publicity, and many of the accounts, was on the Court of Honor, while a few hundred yards away was a collection of state buildings, built with individual state appropriations and honoring the native style and culture of each state. Outside the gates of the Exposition stood many of the tallest skyscrapers in the world, some designed, ironically enough, by Daniel Burnham's own company. The delicate and unusual Transportation Building designed by Louis Sullivan was mentioned by visitors as an oddity, its polychromatic facade, immense gilded and arched entrance, and energy so different from the staid Grand Court. What could explain this dichotomy?

The majority of the Fair's directors were born in Antebellum America, remembering the days before mechanization, technology, and urban life had taken over America. Their aesthetic was based on the European inheritance, and they sought to recreate that image as a way to shore up American confidence against the immense and disorienting changes taking place.

Sullivan, however, was of a new generation of American thinkers and artists. Having been born in the early 1870s (along with Theodore Dreiser and Stephen Crane), Sullivan had known only the rapid acceleration of life, the fragmentation the directors were trying so hard to bring under control. He believed in celebrating America for its very acceleration, for its youth and brashness and innovation. Sullivan, in his autobiography years later, asserted that the Fair's emphasis on the European Beaux-Arts form set back American architectural thought for the next 40 years.

He was not alone in this sentiment. *The Nation* remarked that, "It is not unreasonable to fear lest the Court of Honor mark the beginning of an outbreak of white classicality over the land, which will make the vagaries of Queen Anne and colonial style appear the height of good sense and taste." (#1469, August 24) The very Europeans the directors were attempting to honor and imitate weren't impressed, either. "Convinced already of American commercial and technical superiority, they had come to Chicago to learn how this modern spirit was to embody itself in form, and they found, instead, uninteresting imitations of the ruins of the Old World." (Ziff, 20) Ultimately, however, American visitors were pleased with the vision of unity and culture, and the ideology it connoted, displayed at the Exposition.

The spatial and ideological layout of the Fair--the juxtaposition of the European-style Court of Honor with the vernacular state and foreign buildings, as well as the eclectic Midway--encourages discussion about the tension between popular and "high" culture in America. These tensions--European versus American aesthetics, imitation versus authenticity, popular versus high culture-- have been explored profitably by others, particularly Alan Trachtenberg and Miles Orvell. The important fact to remember,

however, is that while there was a strain between opposing cultural forces, the emphasis in official publicity and in many visitor's reminiscences was on the White City and its comforting vision of stable European culture.

Education

Europe was the standard to which the Directory felt the United States had to aspire--and to whom the country must prove itself. Appropriating and valorizing European architectural forms was the most obvious of these attempts; the emphasis on education throughout the Exposition was another. America could be proud of how far it had come in 400 years--it was no longer brash and youthful, but cultured and educated. Or so the Directory hoped to convey.

In all accounts, visitors found some form of education on the grounds of the Fair (we will discuss Henry Adams' life-changing education at the Fair in a moment); however, some lessons were not necessarily intended by the management. The idea that the Fair was a great University, a place for learning and enrichment, was taken in wholeheartedly by the public. Americans in the Gilded Age, particularly near the turn of the century, were avid improvers--of themselves and others. "Improvement" was a favorite Victorian word, and it encompassed not only the Progressive reform movement, but the American desire for learning expressed in the popularity of the Chautauqua lecture movement and the growing network of American universities. Americans were ready to learn, so it was believed, and the Fair was presented as a unique opportunity to do so. Official accounts and personal reactions alike found in nearly every aspect of the Fair some kind of "object-lesson" (another favorite phrase) by which Americans could

become more knowledgeable and cultured. *The Cosmopolitan*, a literary journal in the main, was the most emphatic of the top journals on the subject of education at the Fair. Walter Besant proclaimed in its pages, "The World's Fair, in short, is another edition, the latest and most complete, and by far the best illustrated, of an Ecumenical Encyclopedia, published in one enormous volume." (#5, September 1893) and a fellow columnist added, "It is safe to estimate that our civilization and advance in the cerebral arts will be moved forward by a quarter of a century as the result of this marvelous Exposition." (#5, September 1893)

Even advertisements of the time proclaimed the educational value of the Fair. "The World's Fair has proven a great, big school, where people come like children to learn, to see with eyes, and to hear with ears anointed, all the glory that God has put into the mind of man to bring about." (Advertisement for the Family Dormitory Hotel, Chicago, 1893) Children's writer Frances Burnett Hodgson believed that "there won't be anything you can't see by going through 'em. It'll be good as a college course to spend a week there." (Burnett, 11). The educational message was based on the belief that witnessing such an overwhelming grouping of items, peoples, and cultures together in one place would be more than enough education. Helen Keller was enlightened by the experience:

I took in the glories of the Fair with my fingers. It was a sort of tangible kaleidoscope, this White City of the West...all these experiences added a great many new terms to my vocabulary, and in the three weeks I spent at the Fair I took a long leap from the little child's interest in fairy tales and toys to the appreciation of the real and earnest in the workaday world.

(qtd. in Rydell, 8)

While the official guidebooks and publicity, and many visitors as well, emphasized the educational potential of simply being at the Fair, the one element designed specifically to educate was less than well received. The World's Congresses were largely ignored by the main of the Fairgoing public. With attendance of 700,000, journals would presumably be quite interested in the proceedings of the meetings. Yet 700,000 was less than one percent of the total admissions to the Exposition. The *Dial* gave space to the Congress of Authors, and all of the journals covered the behemoth Parliament of Religions--"The sessions of the 'Parliament of Religions' at Chicago last week have undoubtedly seemed a great object-lesson in toleration..." (*The Nation* #1473, September 21) and which "outranks all others in its importance and uniqueness." (*Harper's* #1913, August 19) yet the focus of education in the minds of the journals and the public remained in the variety of display found on the Fairgrounds.

The less than enthusiastic response to the intellectual messages of the Congress was echoed in the response to the Woman's Building, an admitted attempt to instruct men as to the work and importance of women. *The Cosmopolitan* had a positive response to the undertaking, "To compare the exhibit of Women's work with that of previous expositions is to realize that a revolution has been effected, not alone in woman's position, but in modern civilization." (#5, September 1893) yet the average male visitor was less than enthralled. "The Woman's Building would more especially interest the ladies...the American ladies are very proud of the fact that a lady was its architect, and all must admit how well she has succeeded." (Naylor, 150) yet, for example, Rev. R.B. Eggleston of Richmond was not impressed: "If you are a woman, go to 'The Woman's Building,' and spend hours looking at hats and dresses and cloaks, embroidery, lacework, and the like,

thus obtaining topics for almost an endless conversation; but if you are a man, spend only a few minutes, which are enough to satisfy a man's curiosity about woman's work." (Eggleston, 46)

The ambivalent reactions to the educational messages of the Congresses and the Woman's Building, however, were child's play compared to the public's reaction to the Midway Plaisance. Originally conceived as part of the Department of Anthropology, "...the fair's management had effectively given up--under financial pressure--all expectations of a 'dignified and decorous' ethnological display under the control of Professor [F.W.] Putnam." (Badger, 107) The board replaced Putnam with Sol Bloom, a protégé of P.T. Barnum, who observed that putting Putnam in charge of the Midway "was like making Albert Einstein manager of Barnum & Bailey's Circus." (qtd. in Donald Miller, 84) Under Bloom, the Midway provided a different kind of education than what the official Fair had envisioned.

Early on, *Harper's* was still attempting to justify the Midway as educational,

Visitors will be able to see things within the Midway Plaisance which, were they not exhibited there, they would have to take a journey to the ends of the earth to inspect...It would have been better, of course, if all the sights and entertainments of the Midway Plaisance had been within the grounds of the World's Fair proper, and that they had been a part of the great university to which all can go for an admission fee of 50 cents...

(#1899, May 13)

but visitors knew better. In fact, *Harper's*, after the Fair had taken its course, adjusted their point of view: "One of the most comic things connected with the Midway is that theoretically it is also a place for scientific investigation. In the catalogue it is set down as part of the department of 'anthropology'..."

(#1921, October 14) An area originally slated for inclusion in the program of education became, thanks to the commission's bottom line, an area for entertainment. *The Dial*, a voice for the education and intellectual advancement available at the Exposition, made their position on the newly acknowledged mission for the Midway perfectly clear:

It is unpleasant now...to be forced to chronicle a melancholy derogation from the high motives which controlled the inception and early history of their work. The commercial motive has forced its way to the surface, and has become the controlling influence in their action. The object of the Fair is now frankly proclaimed to be that of making as much money for its stockholders as possible. Amusement, of cheap and even vulgar sorts, is being substituted for education, because most people prefer being amused to being instructed.

(#173, September 1).

The Midway, after the first early and uptight months of the Exposition, came to rival the White City in the public's view of the Fair, and in the stories and drawings about it in the country's journals. The Midway brought in over \$4 million in revenue; officials could not argue with that kind of success. They tended to downplay the importance of the Midway in favor of the White City, but visitors did not. Some observers attempted to explain the Midway away as a mere trifle, a short break from the real work of the Fair. Most Americans will go to the Exposition "with some serious purpose before them...

Nevertheless, not all Americans have minds which are eager for new knowledge. There must be many who do not intend to visit Chicago because of any profit they may gain. They are going because they hope to amuse themselves. They, too, will have their reward." (*The Century* #1, May 1893)

Nathaniel Hawthorne's son, Julian, had a similar reaction, "The Midway Plaisance could not take the place of the Fair, but the Fair would not be half as delightful as it is without the Plaisance. There is more of the human here

than elsewhere; and the study of mankind is not only, as Pope says, the proper study of man, but it is likewise incomparably the most entertaining." (*The Cosmopolitan* #5, September 1893)

Of course, it was the entertainment aspect of the Midway which was the most popular, despite the early spin the Directory put on it. Robert Bogdan observes,

The Midway Plaisance had the aura of the amusement world, together with its hype and humbug. The women in the World Congress of Beauty were not from '140 nations.' Many of the Egyptian 'hootchy-kootchy' dancers were likely locals, and one, the famed Fatima, is alleged to have been a female impersonator...As one New York Times reporter put it, 'The late P.T. Barnum should have lived to see this day.' (50)

The visitors seemed to revel in the outlandishness, the foreignness, and even the fakery of the Midway. "In connection with this so-called 'Congress of Beauty,' the management have made one true statement- i.e., 'Admission 25 cents.'" (Naylor, 111) *The Century* boasted, "In the Midway Plaisance is probably the greatest collection of 'fakes' the world has ever seen...Whenever I grew tired of formal sight-seeing I would stroll down to the Plaisance to the Egyptian temple. Here was the greatest fakir of them all. I am proud to say that he was an American." (#5, September 1893)

Of course, these reactions were offered tongue-in-cheek, but the visitors' forays to the Midway seemed a welcome change from the unrelenting "high culture" and education of the White City. The enjoyment of the pure amusement of it all was not a foreign concept to Americans of the time. Vaudevilles, comic operas, dime novels, and amateur and professional spectator sports were quite popular, as was the great Wild West Show--which

characteristically took advantage of the captive audience of the Fair, offering nightly shows just outside the Exposition's gates.

Despite this American desire to be amused, there were notes of disdain with regard to the Midway. Rev. Eggleston noted that upon entering the Midway, you hear "the strange music of a foreign tambourine, and the hideous yelling (music, so-called) of non-American girls." (25) and though the belly dancers drew a large crowd, "to those possessing the sense of propriety, these bodily contortions were unrefined and even repulsive." (26) He seems to have been neither educated nor entertained by his excursion to the Midway.

The program of education succeeded for the Exposition's management, but not entirely in ways they had projected. The potential for instruction of large numbers of Americans in the intellectual life of the Congresses, women's new place in society, and the lives of foreign peoples was to a large degree ignored or lost. The real educational message received by the Exposition's visitors was that high culture represented stability, even utopia, while popular culture was a vernacular expression of contemporary America—exciting, flashy (even tacky), confusing, and based on making money. And yet despite this dichotomy, visitors seemed to enjoy both aspects equally well. The Directory presented a view of America they hoped all citizens could be proud of: cultured and educated in the European style. The visitors found a more accurate vision of their country in the Midway, yet sought to believe in both. Ironically, the Directory turned its back on European standards when it presented the next elements in its display of American pride: consumerism and technology.

Commodity and Commerce

The message of commodity and commerce found so prevalently in the Midway was an important message of the Exposition as a whole as well. The business leaders who were a large part of the Exposition Directory had honorable goals, but personal well-being was not far from their minds. The importance of promoting a consumer society, and encouraging American confidence in business and its products was also a goal of the Fair. Pride in American goods and business, they felt, would be part of the overall plan of encouraging pride in America--and as we will see later, would inspire confidence in the new group of corporate leaders who would shape America in the twentieth century.

America's place in the economic world had to be measured, and for both the management and the visitors, American commerce was not found lacking. The focus on commerce is most significant in the popular *Harper's*, which devoted a significant number of its over 130 feature stories, drawings, or poems to the goods displayed in the Manufacturer's and Liberal Arts building. The United States in 1893 was already well on its way to completing the transition from a producer to a consumer society (dramatized forcefully in Dreiser's *Sister Carrie*), so the relative lack of comment on the message of commerce and consumption could be ascribed to the fact that it was a message Americans already believed.

The largest and most magnificent building on the grounds was the Manufactures and Liberal Arts building. It was no accident that these two aspects of American life were brought together under one roof. The intermingling of art and manufactured goods was an excellent symbiotic and

ideological relationship for the directors: the arts gave cultural cache to the consumption of goods, their producers, and their consumers, while the presence of manufacturing lent credence to the idea that art, increasingly like the rest of American life, could be consumed. American business, according to the Manufactures and Liberal Arts building, was not low-class, but a necessary component of high culture. Two goals were accomplished: cultural parity with Europe was alluded to, and international business dominance asserted, in the exhibits of the Manufactures building.

Of course, this focus on commerce was not unique to the World's Columbian Exposition; trade and commerce fairs had been European staples since the Middle Ages, and even the preceding World's Fairs of the nineteenth century had commercial aspects. The "theme of Trade was at the theoretical core of exhibitions, perhaps because it was at the heart of European and American society." (Greenhalgh, 22)

The commercial aspect of the Fair, which was not limited to the Midway but included concessionaires, souvenirs, and the goods for sale in the Manufacturer's and Liberal Arts building, was however quite distasteful to a number of observers. Leo Tolstoy, who didn't personally attend but read about the Exposition in Russian papers found that the "Chicago exhibition, like all exhibitions, is a striking example of imprudence and hypocrisy: everything is done for profit and amusement--from boredom--but noble aims of the people are ascribed to it. Orgies are better." (qtd. in Rydell, 8) while ironically Edward Bellamy, the very well-respected man whose utopian ideas were gestured to in the White City, believed that the "underlying motive of the whole exhibition, under a sham pretense of patriotism is business, advertising with a view to individual money-making." (qtd. in Trachtenberg,

215) While the profit motive was in fact an unspoken message of the Directory, the nature of their patriotism is a matter for debate. Unquestionably, however, the message of commerce was a strong one that has had lasting impact in modern America.

Technology

One theme--so important to the coming face of commerce--was quite well received by visitors: technology, especially electricity. Their fascination with the exhibits of the Electricity Building, the electric moving sidewalk, launches, elevated trains, and thousands upon thousands of incandescent lights was undeniable. "Perhaps the portion of the World's Exposition which America is far ahead of all in competition is the Palace of Electricity; here she is seen in her natural splendour, eclipsing by her dazzling light every other nation." (Naylor, 149) Electricity had been something vaguely mysterious and even a bit frightening to many Fairgoers; for the majority, the displays of the Fair changed their minds and left them open to new advances. The introduction of the telephone to a wide audience, the phonograph, even an early motion picture, was an education, and for some, even a form of amusement.

"It is the intention of the management to make the World's Fair site and the buildings one grand exemplification of the progress that has been made in electricity." (*Artistic Guide*, 313) Electricity was to be the basis for America's technological and commercial advances into the twentieth century, and the Fair celebrated it throughout the grounds. This celebration served a number of purposes: it introduced Americans to the technology, and attempted to remove the element of fear associated with electricity (and

technology), replacing it with fascination and amusement; it showed Americans that their transition from an agricultural to a technological society was not frightening, but was in fact progress (along with "improvement," a favorite theme of Gilded Age America); and finally, along with the celebration of commerce, it put a positive face on the changes in American society.

For the most part, the reaction was quite positive to progress as defined by technology. In Clara Burnham's fictional *Sweet Clover*, set in the White City, an elderly aunt hears, over the telephone, an orchestra playing in New York City. "...I've capped the climax o' my life. I don't calc'late to ever call anything wonderful again." (Burnham, 208) Richmond's Rev. Eggleston summed up the majority view, which must have been most gratifying to the management: "Those who saw this [nighttime illumination] declared that the nineteenth century is indeed the century of progress and enlightenment." (Eggleston, 42)

Henry Adams, while fascinated, was not altogether comfortable with the displays of technological change at the Exposition. Adams was the type of doubting and confused visitor the Directory was trying to reach with its message of patriotism and progress through commerce and technology. The changes in America seemed to have left Adams and his class--well-born gentlemen who dabbled in politics and diplomacy--without a place. He ascribed these changes to technology, and Adams found that he was of a group "who knew nothing whatever--who had never run a steam-engine, the simplest of forces--who had never put their hands on a lever--had never touched an electric battery--never talked through a telephone, and had not the shadow of a notion what amount of force was meant by a *watt* or an

ampere or an *erg*..." (*Education*, 342) His ignorance of the new ways of the world left him feeling helpless. "Some millions of other people felt the same helplessness, but few of them were seeking education, and to them helplessness seemed natural and normal, for they had grown up in the habit of thinking a steam-engine or dynamo as natural as the sun, and expected to understand one as little as the other." (*Education*, 341) As he sat at the foot of a giant dynamo engine in Machinery Hall, Adams saw that the accelerating rate of technological change would directly influence the accelerating rate of societal and cultural change in the United States--and his way of life would quickly become obsolete. His lament for a lost age was not unusual, and in hindsight was quite prophetic, but was not shared by the majority of the Exposition's visitors and Directors. While the visitors were being swept along on the wave of change that according to Adams threatened to envelop them, the Exposition's managers sought to harness the power of that wave.

In Conclusion

The Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition sought to create for their visitors a vision of America at once immune to the vast changes of the turn of the century while at the same time celebrating them. Henry Adams observed that, "Chicago asked in 1893 for the first time the question whether the American people knew where they were driving." (*Education*, 343) The Exposition had an emphatic answer: onward and upward. The answer of the Fair's visitors to this question was equivocal, as is found in the varied reactions to the Fair's message of American strength through pride in its culture, education, commerce, and technology.

As we have seen, visitors to the Exposition were mixed in their reactions to the messages of Culture and Education at the Exposition. They seemed to respect the beauty of the European forms of architecture, yet felt infinitely more comfortable amongst the vernacular forms of the state buildings. Visitors sought enlightenment in the thousands of exhibits in the Exposition proper, but struck a blow for popular culture when they admitted their preference for the Midway. However, in the long run, the Fair was reflective of, rather than an influence on, the debates on culture and education in the 1890s. In fact, the tension between European and vernacular forms, entertainment and amusement, has not been resolved as we move into the twenty-first century.

The Exposition was quite influential in its position on commerce and technology--during the 1890s and into the 1990s. The celebration of a system based on commerce, and the equation of technology with progress, was not unusual at the time. However, to valorize these thoroughly modern ideas at an immense social and cultural event was unusual. Millions of Americans visited the Fair, and millions more experienced its messages through guide- and viewbooks, and the mass valorization of commerce and technology arguably coopted popular feeling while at the same time encouraging it. The psychological stage was set for associating progress with technology and commerce. As we will see, this association has formed American culture in the twentieth century, and will influence it into the twenty-first.

THE LEGACY OF THE FAIR

The World's Columbian Exposition was financially immensely successful. By October, attendance had reached over 6.8 million paid visitors--doubling August's 3.5 million. Chicago Day (October 9) alone saw 716,881 Fairgoers entering the White City. The concession stands brought in over \$4 million, the Ferris Wheel turned a profit, and when all the calculations were complete, the Exposition itself more than broke even, with a \$1 million surplus to be returned to its 30,000 stockholders. No exposition in the nineteenth century could boast such success, and the World's Columbian Exposition became the standard by which all future fairs were measured. The 1901 St. Louis fair modeled itself on the Exposition, in both its profit-making and cultural aspects, as did the 1915 Pan-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco. The official goals of the Fair, to provide stability in the face of great change, to encourage American unity, to celebrate technology and commerce, and to encourage popular education have their echoes in the fairs of Chicago and New York in the 1930s, and those most permanent of American fairs, Disneyland and DisneyWorld.

The influence of the Exposition extended beyond the confines of the World's Fairs. Trends which originated in Chicago in 1893 and many of the ideas advanced there have shaped the very landscape of modern America. Its legacy is wide-ranging, from movements in popular and high culture to changes in the nation's power structure and the lasting influence of commerce and technology.

A number of additional elements of the Fair seem eerily familiar to late-twentieth century observers. The fear of, and disdain for, the casualties of the Depression--the homeless and unemployed -- is not unfamiliar (Schwantes' *Coxey's Army* investigates this aspect of the Fair to advantage). Racism, pervasive throughout the White City and the Midway (a theme which has been extensively explored in Robert Rydell's works on the Exposition), is still a significant problem in America. Yet these aspects of the Exposition, often not discussed by contemporary observers and totally ignored by the official Fair, were not proactive influencers, but examples of the changes and problems in turn of the century America. However, new entertainment and popular culture forms were innovations, and the valorization of commerce, corporation, and technology, was planned and proactive. While these introductions and ideologies were reacting to American society, they were not simply reflective. They were the messengers of a paradigm shift, influential not only in the message, but in the unprecedented audience for the message. As we move into the postmodern twenty-first century, legacies of the World's Columbian Exposition still shape our world.

Culture

The cultural and entertainment impact of the Fair was pervasive in 1893--from stories and jokes to songs and cartoons, the Exposition was everywhere. The cultural legacy of the Fair is not quite as obvious, but still as pervasive, today, coloring every aspect of daily modern life--from museums to the Pledge of Allegiance to hamburgers and Disney World.

The Columbian Exposition was the venue for the debut of consumer products which are so familiar today--including Cream of Wheat, Shredded Wheat, Pabst Beer, Aunt Jemima syrup, and Juicy Fruit gum. The Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building was a showcase for American products, and showed them to advantage. To debut at the Fair, and possibly win a Columbian medal in product competitions, was a perfect way to win product recognition and a boon for the advertising department--advertisements in the months following the Fair prominently displayed ribbons and proudly pointed out, for example that this product was, "1st place, Bicycle Division." The Fair also introduced picture postcards to the American public, as well as two staples of the late-twentieth century diet--carbonated soda and hamburgers.

But it was not merely the Fair's product introductions which have had an impact on the face of modern America. The Exposition provided the United States with a new holiday, Columbus Day, and a new method of inculcating patriotism in schoolchildren-- the Pledge of Allegiance. Yet nothing "says more about the power of the White City than that it inspired the Emerald City. Children's writer L. Frank Baum never forgot the fair and transmuted it into Oz." (Patton, 38) Other artists and writers, as we have seen, were heavily influenced by the Exposition. Popular novels, such as Burnham's *Sweet Clover* and Burnett's *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* took the Fair as their backdrop and theme, while sections of W.D. Howells' *Letters from an Altrurian Traveler* and Henry Adams' *Education* focused on the meaning of the huge cultural event they had just experienced.

The Fair positioned itself as a cultural event, and included music as an important element in that scheme. John Phillip Sousa's work was frequently

performed by the many marching bands on the Fairgrounds, Dvorak composed the *New World Symphony* in honor of the Exposition, and a young piano player named Scott Joplin was quietly developing a new sound in music while working at the Fair--ragtime.

While Joplin was creating a new musical sound, the "entrepreneurs" of the Midway were creating a whole new entertainment form. The overwhelming popularity of the Midway, whether perceived as a guilty pleasure or not, has also been a huge influence on popular culture in the twentieth century. Not only did "...displays of 'native villages' on the Midway of Chicago's 1893 Columbian Exposition inspired circuses to enlarge their own displays of tribal people." (Bogdan, 185), but "in the area around Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. . . the idea for a collective amusement company was first discussed and the carnival as we know it was born." (Bogdan, 59) Bringing fakes, rides, food, music, and theatrical entertainment into one complex was an idea heartily approved by the entertainers and theater managers who peopled the Midway and the Wild West Show. By the turn of the century, the first permanent iteration of the concept of the Midway was established at Coney Island, New York, and has been followed by scores of permanent amusement and theme parks throughout the country--including Disneyland and DisneyWorld.

It was not only popular culture that was influenced by the Fair, however. Thanks to the emphasis on exhibits and education at the Exposition, public science and art museums can be found in every population center in the country. Of course, many of these museums were built in the monumental Beaux-Arts style; civic architecture has utilized the style almost exclusively in the century since the Exposition closed.

Consumption and Corporate Power

The advent of the consumer-based society in America received its first major expression and celebration at the World's Columbian Exposition. Not only was the Fair a "dry run for the mass marketing, packaging, and advertising of the twentieth century." (Patton, 43), it was also important in inculcating the urge to consume in Fair visitors--from the scores of concessionaires, to the "consumption" of foreign cultures on the Midway, to the price tags for comparison shopping on many of the so-called "educational" exhibits (particularly in the Manufacturer's and Agriculture Buildings). This urge to consume was nascent in American consciousness--witness the popularity of Marshall Field's department store and the critique of this mindset in Dreiser's *Sister Carrie*. The urge was not created by the World's Columbian Exposition, yet its inescapable messages of commodity and its equation with the enjoyment of the Fair had a lasting impact on American consciousness. Enjoying oneself became inextricably tied to purchasing goods or simply the act of spending money.

This association of fun with consumption was an unintended but pleasant consequence for the Fair's management. They originally intended to increase American pride during times of trouble by celebrating American goods--which would, in turn, increase Americans' confidence in the business system. However, this drive to consume entertainment, while not unique in America, was unusual in its large scale. The Columbian Exposition, in its valorization of consumption on many levels, aided in the transition from a producer to consumer society--and pointed the way into the twentieth century.

The Exposition produced another innovation which would shape the coming century: corporate control on a national level. The Directory and Commission were made up of both politicians and business leaders--U.S. Senators, presidents of railroads, banks, and department stores, and heads of real estate empires. They were also professional men, architects and professors, who sought to have a stake in the scope of the Fair's message. As a result of the Fair, these men came to be considered more than leaders in business. The cultural and entertainment messages of the Fair gave social cache to these businessmen. Alan Trachtenberg has suggested that the emergence of corporations and their wealthy leaders as cultural gatekeepers was one of the most important messages of the Fair. America would survive its current troubles and prosper in the future "through a corporate alliance of business, culture, and the state." (217) As with consumerism, corporate control of national culture--and some might say society--did not end with the Columbian Exposition.

The obvious legacy of the Columbian Exposition's influence on consumerism and corporate control in the twentieth century is Walt Disney World's EPCOT Center. Initially envisioned as a utopian experiment (Experimental Prototype Community Of Tomorrow), the corporate vision prevailed. EPCOT is packaged as utopian and educational, with corporations as the explicit gatekeepers of technology, culture, and history. The Manufacturer's, Machinery, and Electricity Buildings of the Columbian Exposition have been concentrated into the Pavilions of such corporate giants as GE and AT&T, taking up the message of progress and technology so prevalent at the Fair. The Midway is recreated as well, with Pavilions for foreign countries, providing "the world for 50 cents," or, in this case, \$25. The

amazing accomplishment of Handy's Department of Publicity and Promotion pales in comparison to the Disney Marketing Department and its ability to make the corporate messages of Disney so familiar, and somehow so natural, to parents and children alike. The linking of business and technology found throughout EPCOT is a significant legacy of the Columbian Exposition; Disney's fascination with technology and progress is another.

Technology and Progress

The World's Columbian Exposition not only guided America toward the twentieth century through its valorization of consumerism and a new business elite. It also showed the way to modern America through its emphasis on technology, specifically electricity.

Electricity would become an increasingly significant aspect of business and consumption, and it had to be given a new identity. No longer was technology to be the frightening or overpowering symbol of the shift from an agrarian to an industrial nation, but the harbinger of a new age of American progress. In the early 1890s, the icon for technological advance was electricity. It can be argued that "...most of all, the Columbian Exposition was a spectacle for the emerging technology that would power and transform the coming new century--electricity." (Judith Adams, 47), and it was certainly a large focus of the director's efforts. Electricity was the latest in the marriage of science and progress, and its display throughout the grounds indicated the extent to which the management wished to promote its use and the underlying message of progress it connoted. Drawing on a widely held belief about progress, in which America was constantly moving forward and upward, the directors gave a new focus to the concept. Rather than considering political or

moral innovation the epitome of progress, the Fair successfully turned the focus to technology.

The Fair helped change Americans' reactions to technology. It became the vehicle for the hopes and dreams of Americans, as they saw in it a reflection of their own progressive nature and bright future. "The medium of the fair clearly held grand potential for rendering America's civil religion of progress an international faith." (Rydell, 70) The equation of electricity with progress in the Fair's vocabulary showed visitors that technology was not a force to be feared. Visitors were meant to see that one of the most potent agents of change in their society--electricity--was not to be feared, but celebrated. In conjunction with the consumer and corporate symbolism of the Fair, the celebration of technology at the World's Columbian Exposition set Americans on the path toward modernity in the twentieth century.

In Conclusion

The World's Columbian Exposition was only nominally a celebration of Christopher Columbus and his voyages to the New World. Rather, it was a cultural statement, an argument for power, a societal influencer, and above all, a reflection of the confusions, fragmentations, and hopes of a transitional age. The Columbian Exposition, in its official, unofficial, and received form, was an expression of the convergence of forces which eventually shaped modern America. Harvard President Charles Eliot Norton, himself a member of the officiating Directory, said of the Exposition,

The great Fair was indeed a superb and appropriate symbol of our great nation, in its noble general design and in the inequalities of its execution; in its unexampled display of industrial energy and practical capacity; in the absence of the higher works of creative imagination; in its incongruities, its mingling of noble realities and ignoble pretenses, in its refinements cheek-by-jowl with vulgarities, in its order and its confusion--in its heterogenousness and in its unity.

The World's Columbian Exposition was "a kind of tract, an argument for the superiority of our civilization...The fair measured American progress and found it highly satisfactory, as well as inevitable; it saw itself as American destiny made manifest." (Patton, 40) It was an incredibly popular and influential event, arguing in its architecture, guidebooks and spatial arrangements for America's stability and leadership in the face of incredible change.

Modern America would not have been the same had the World's Columbian Exposition not existed. A bold claim, to be sure, but the influence of the Fair's ideas reached millions upon millions of Americans, reinforcing their beliefs, encouraging pride in their country, suggesting new paradigms which would be more easily accepted in a time of crisis. The huge audience for the Columbian Exposition is the key to its definition as a watershed event in American history, influencing millions through visits, guidebooks, journal accounts, and photographic viewbooks. The reactions of visitors to the Fair's messages of stability--cultural parity with Europe through appropriation of European forms, and the official emphasis on education rather than entertainment--were mixed. Yet the messages of consumption and technology were either received without comment or with outright enthusiasm.

It is this--the acceptance and even celebration of consumption and technology--which has had the most significant and lasting impact on American society. The dialogue between popular and "high" culture, and education and entertainment, at the World's Columbian Exposition was a continuation of a running conversation which has not been resolved in postmodern America--they were reflections of their time, rather than influencers. The messages of consumption (as well as the many goods introduced at the Fair), the rise of a business elite to national power, and the valorization of technology as positive progress have had the most significant and lasting effects on American society. In the great World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, we find the blueprint for modern America.

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Further Reading and Study Suggestions

The World's Columbian Exposition is a fascinating and infinitely rich subject for study, which this thesis has only begun to explore. Further subjects for more intensive study might include:

- *The politics of the selection of the architects for the Fair
- *The celebration of "special days" at the Fair (e.g., Chicago Day)
- *The exhibits and struggle to fund and staff state and foreign buildings
- *The fight to host the Fair
- *Generational tension amongst the Fair's architects
- *Music at the Exposition
- *The "Grey City": Chicago during the Columbian Exposition
- *Alternative Amusement: Buffalo Bill and brothels outside the Fair's gates
- *Nationalism vs. Regionalism at the Fair

The study of the Fair has produced fascinating articles, books, and conclusions. In particular, I'd like to point out the following as excellent sources of information and interesting reading:

Stanley Applebaum, *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893: A Photographic Record*

Reid Badger, *The Great American Fair: The World's Columbian Exposition and American Culture*

H.W. Brands, *The Reckless Decade: America in the 1890s*

Stephen Fjellman, *Vinyl Leaves: Walt Disney World and America*

Rossiter Johnson, *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition Held in Chicago in 1893, Volume I*

Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940*

Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age.*

In addition, there are a number of online investigations which touch on subjects closely related to the World's Columbian Exposition.

Chicago Architecture Foundation
<http://www.architecture.org>

Chicago Historical Society
<http://www.chicagohs.org>

Chicago's Museum of Science and Industry
<http://www.msichicago.org>

Theodore Dreiser, *Sister Carrie*
[gopher://eng.hss.cmu.edu/00ftp/english.server/fiction:Dreiser-Sister Carrie](gopher://eng.hss.cmu.edu/00ftp/english.server/fiction:Dreiser-Sister%20Carrie)

Tuomi J. Forrest, *Clean, Green, Machine: Philadelphia's Fairmount Water Works, 1800-1860*
<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~MA96/>

The Internet 1996 World Exposition: A World's Fair for the Information Age
<http://park.org/main.html>

Joshua S. Johns, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show*
<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/HNS/BuffaloBill/home.html>

Jacob Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*
<http://www.cis.yale.edu/amstud/inforev/riis/title.html>

Julie K. Rose, *City Beautiful: The 1901 Plan for Washington D.C.*
<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~CAP/CITYBEAUTIFUL/dchome.html>

The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 and Victorian America: A Humanities Time Capsule

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