

ISIE's Inaugural Symposium
‘International Expositions: Looking to the Past, Seeing the Future’
24-25 March 2022
Abstracts

The 2022 symposium brought scholars and enthusiasts together to generate new ideas about the history and legacy of international expositions. The symposium sought to emphasize new and developing strategies for research, curation, and preservation to maximize outreach opportunities.

Day 1

10:00 Introduction and Introductory Keynote: Further Reflections on World’s Fair Scholarship
Robert Rydell, Department of History, Montana State University

The study of world’s fairs is nothing like it was in 1975 when I was beginning my doctoral work on international expositions. Today, it is safe to say that world’s fair studies are no longer ephemeral (to repurpose a key term once deployed by Paul Greenhalgh to describe world’s fairs themselves). Indeed, the study of these festivals of modernity has become a field in its own right and a core undertaking in many academic disciplines. Several scholars have taken stock of this work. I have done so in my “Books of the Fairs” (1992) and “New Directions for Scholarship about World Expos” (2008). And there is the monumental bibliography compiled by Alexander Geppert, Jean Coffey, and Tammy Lau (2006) as well as the essays in John Findling and Kimberly Pelle’s *Encyclopedia of World’s Fairs and Expositions* (2008). To my knowledge, there has not been a comprehensive overview of what scholars have accomplished over the last decade and I won’t attempt to provide one in my brief remarks for this symposium. But I do want to share some reflections about recent scholarship on international expositions and offer some thoughts about some possible future directions.

Bio: Robert Rydell is Emeritus Professor of History and American Studies at Montana State University. Beginning with *All the World’s A Fair* (1984), he has published extensively on the history of world fairs, especially about their centrality for embedding racism and imperialism into the political cultures of modern nation-states. Along with Rob Kroes, he organized a major research project at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study on the reception of American mass culture in Europe. He also served as guest curator for the exhibition *Designing Tomorrow: America’s World’s Fairs in the 1930s* and editor for the related book (Yale U. Press, 2010).

11:00 Keynote: Navigating Strange Spaces: Sri Lankan Performers in Colonial Exhibitions
Sudesh Mantillake, University of Peradeniya, Fine Arts, Faculty Member

Performers always navigate spaces. Focusing on Sri Lankan dancers and performers, this paper discusses how dancers had to navigate strange spaces when brought to colonial exhibitions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These spaces include more public spaces such as human zoos, menageries, circuses, world fairs. However, at the same time, they also had to navigate more intimate spaces such as dinner tables, bedrooms, boats, wagons, where they had strange encounters with their customs, traditions, identities, relationships, and aspirations. I traveled to Europe and the US as a Sri Lankan student and a dancer between 2006 and 2018. Based on my experiences, bodily knowledge, and critical reflections, I read and historicize the experiences of Sri Lankan performers brought to colonial exhibitions between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I mainly follow a story of an elephant trainer named Epi Vidane, who traveled for a colonial exhibition, ended up staying and making a family in Germany. Tracing Sri Lankan performers’ histories and personal stories, I demonstrate the complexities of various spaces that Sri Lankan performers

had to go through. On the one hand, bizarre, violent, and problematic animal-human exhibitions should be critiqued. On the other hand, some performers were adventurous to survive in strange spaces and challenged the notion that they were just victims of colonial exhibitions.

Bio: Sudesh Mantillake is a dancer, researcher, and an educator. He received his BA degree from the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, his MSc from the University of Lugano, Switzerland, and his PhD from the University of Maryland in the USA. He teaches in the Department of Fine Arts at the University of Peradeniya in Sri Lanka.

12:00 Session 1A: Expositions as Geopolitical Spaces
Session Chair: James Fortuna (University of St Andrews)

“From the Rue des Nations to the Rue des Legations: The pavilion and the diplomatic building as instruments in the Belgian Foreign Policy (1880’s-1914)”
Charlotte Rottiers (KU Leuven)

Exposition architecture and diplomatic architecture have often been named as two closely related typologies. Indeed, the similarities are striking: both aim to represent a country on the international stage by expressing and even exporting a form of national identity abroad. At the same time, they were commissioned for very different contexts and audiences. This presentation aims to explore how both typologies were instrumentalised by a country’s foreign policy and geopolitical ambitions.

This presentation will analyse Belgian diplomatic architecture and national pavilions constructed from the 1880s until WWI in the Neo-Flemish renaissance style, then propagated as the national Belgian building style; namely the Belgian Pavilion at the 1878 World Fair in Paris (Emile Janlet), the Degustation pavilion at the 1893 World Fair in Chicago (Jules Hofman) and the residence at the Belgian diplomatic compound in Beijing (1901-1907). Like the exposition ground, this walled-off diplomatic quarter became a mirror of the geopolitical situation. While expositions show a snapshot of the current geopolitical situation, the diplomatic quarter uncovers more gradual geopolitical shifts. This paper questions how these architectural productions in both the World Fair (Rue des Nations) as the diplomatic quarter in Beijing (Rue des Legations) can be regarded as two products and instruments of the economy-oriented policy, neo-imperial and colonial activities by Belgian King Leopold II.

By analysing the Belgian representation both on the level of the building (form, style, interior organisation, materiality, ...) as its location in the local network, it will unearth how the neo-Flemish renaissance style was employed to represent geopolitical space and ambition. These insights in the relation between style, national identity, diplomacy and geopolitical aspirations in national pavilions will add to the study of diplomatic architecture, and vice versa. It will use primary sources from the Belgian diplomatic archive, state archive and correspondence.

“Bosnia-Herzegovina at Paris 1900: Colonialism, Nationalism, and Pan-Slavism”
Emily Gunzburger Makas (University of North Carolina at Charlotte)

At the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris in 1900, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was officially represented by three buildings on the Street of Nations: the Austrian Pavilion, the Hungarian Pavilion, and nestled in between, the Pavilion of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This paper explores the overlapping and competing issues of colonialism, nationalism, and pan-Slavism as they are expressed in the architecture and exhibits of that pavilion.

Through this pavilion, Austro-Hungary participated in the colonial discourse of the time among the European great powers. Since 1878 the Hapsburgs had been administering the Ottoman province of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which it understood as a colonial enterprise and presented as such in Paris in 1900. The pavilion's exhibits were of two types: the first depicted Bosnia as an "oriental other" through displays of the region's traditional crafts, costumes, and architecture which emphasized the countries Islamic and Ottoman heritage. Other displays depicted the modernizing and civilizing projects sponsored by Austro-Hungary in this province.

Yet at the same time, the Bosnian Pavilion was not located in the Trocadéro Park with other colonies, but rather prominently sited on the Quay d'Orsay. Its very existence as a national pavilion reinforced Austria's active attempt to construct a Bosnian nation. Its style was reminiscent of traditional Bosnian architecture; however, reconfigured, reinterpreted, and "westernized". In addition, unlike other colonial pavilions, progress, and current commerce and industry were not excluded from the displays.

While primarily displaying Austro-Hungary's vision and version of Bosnia, the 1900 pavilion in many ways contradicted official policies. Because Czech and Moravian architects and painters were employed in its design, its decorative program exhibited an uneasy mix of pro-pan-Slavic elements. This was especially true of the murals painted by Alfons Mucha, which served as the backdrop for the imperialist display.

“Visualizing Alliances through Art & Architecture: The Pan American Exposition in Buffalo (1901)”
Constanza A. Robles Sepúlveda (Boston University)

The Pan American Exposition, held in Buffalo, New York in 1901, sought to shape relations between the American nations by constructing a shared identity in distinction with the rest of the world. The United States' organizing committee championed hemispheric cooperation or Pan Americanism as a strategy to enforce its imperialist dominance, as well as to undermine Spain's renewed efforts to solidify hegemony in Latin America through appeals to a common Hispanic heritage. The Buffalo exposition dovetailed with the Monroe Doctrine (1823), the Mexican American War (1848), the Spanish-American War (1898), and the creation of the Panama Canal (begun in 1904) in materializing U.S. imperial hemisphere aspirations. The fair's logo design, for instance, personified North and South America as two women holding hands on top of what corresponds to Central America and the Caribbean. They converge in newly acquired U.S. land – Panama - symbolizing a new American partnership and independence from European colonialism. This paper studies the visual culture of the fair, with a special focus on the Chilean pavilion and its fine arts exhibition. I consider the Chilean aesthetic program in relation to the organizer's objectives as well as those of other Latin American nations in order to unpack the visual strategies of soft power in a moment of intense competition between Spain and the United States.

I propose this presentation for session theme 3: Expositions as Geo-Political Spaces. I am deeply interested in questioning the hemispheric relations posited here with emphasis on the different visions of Pan Americanism put forth by the United States on one hand, and Latin America on the other. Pan Americanism functions as a Geo-Political concept that allows its post-colonial and neo-colonial aspects to be put in question.

“Artistic industries and yerba mate: the Argentine pavilion at the Paris Exposition of 1937”
Larisa Mantovani (Centro de Investigaciones en Arte y Patrimonio (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas - Universidad Nacional de San Martín))

The beginning of the 1930s marked a turning point in the world that brought a crisis of various dimensions: political, economic, social, and cultural. In Argentina in particular, that decade was inaugurated with a *coup d'État*, where through electoral fraud the conservatives retained power. In turn, the agro-export economic model, key in Argentina since the end of the 19th century, began to reconfigure itself, first as a result of the First World War - by directing the manufacturing sector towards the domestic market - and then due to the

economic crisis that began in 1929. A new economic stage took place thanks to the beginning of the Import Substitution Industrialization, which reduced the presence of imported products and promoted local manufacturing.

It was in this context that Argentina accepted the challenge of sending a Pavilion to the *Exposition internationale des arts et techniques appliquées à la vie moderne* of 1937 that would take place in Paris. The proposal of this work consists in analyzing the shipment made from Argentina in the light of its recent changes: if in the universal exhibitions in Paris in the mid-nineteenth century Argentina had presented minerals, primary products, and mannequins of “gauchos” on horseback, on this occasion there was a search to get away from that more picturesque image, once a characteristic of their national identity. For agro-exporting Argentina, participation in this exhibition was a great challenge since the guidelines for the exhibition did not include its most powerful industries: agriculture and livestock. However, its proposal was aimed at showing its products as a modern and renewed nation that could provide meat to the France in need of that moment and also show some proposals in the field of applied arts that were growing thanks to the recent inauguration of the National Museum of Decorative Art.

14:00 Session 1B: Expositions and Empire
Session Chair: Van Troi Tran (Université Laval)

“The 1937 Paris Expo: Was China There? Publishers, Governments, and Visual Culture on the Global Stage”

Emma Laube (The Ohio State University)

The 1937 Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne in Paris, France has attracted scholarly interest for the extreme dissonance of the ideological frameworks encoded in its visual culture. Existing scholarship has examined the politicized styles and symbolism of the national pavilion structures contributed by such participating countries as the Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, and Mussolini’s Italy. While the current body of literature prioritizes analysis of European contributions at a time of intensifying fascist sentiment, parallel developments, and consequences from the perspective of East Asia, where Japan had begun to engage China in the Second Sino-Japanese War, are understudied. Historians have observed that the national pavilion model cannot be assumed as a given characteristic of an international exposition. Although China did not contribute a pavilion in 1937, this paper unveils a nuanced picture of China’s relationship to the event by examining the role of Chinese publishing houses and their positioning as a representative industry for a global audience. Although the Chinese government declined to participate in the Paris Exposition, the Sino-French Friendship Association petitioned for, and funded, the attendance of independent Chinese exhibitors, including such publishing houses as Zhonghua Books, World Books, and the Commercial Press. By analyzing the Paris exposition’s representation in Chinese print culture, as well as the role of Chinese printing houses at the exposition, this paper engages the third symposium theme, “Expositions as Geo-political Spaces,” to examine the ways in which China’s subtler presence in the 1937 Paris exposition reflected contemporary geo-politics, and to consider how this participation both augmented and impeded the cultural policy of leaders in China’s Republican government. An examination of the role of China’s publishing houses in the 1937 Paris exposition will analyze the tensions between industry and nationhood as motivating factors in an international context.

“A Synecdoche of Empire: International Expositions and the Great Mosque of Djenné”

Peter Clericuzio (Edinburgh)

The current Great Mosque of Djenné, in southwestern Mali, is widely appreciated as an exemplar of the indigenous mud architecture of West Africa, but it was not widely known when completed in 1907 to plans of architect Ismaila Traoré. This paper examines the critical role of geopolitics and specifically twentieth-

century international expositions as the catalyst for the emergence of the Great Mosque of Djenné as one of the great monuments of African architecture.

Justification for French colonialism in West Africa rested on both their *mission civilisatrice* and a peculiar interest in documenting and preserving native architecture. As I show, during the Agadir Crisis of 1911, this came to the forefront when the French suddenly and publicly used the Great Mosque as an example of a “monument of native genius” that they “did not want to see perish in the sand” as proof of the supposed improvements they claimed to have brought to the region by funding the mosque’s construction. I trace the history of the Great Mosque of Djenné as the paradigm used by French architects for all West African pavilions at subsequent international exhibitions—including the 1931 Colonial Exposition in Paris—along with facilities serving West African soldiers at French military bases as token appreciation for colonial troops’ service in World War I.

As I argue, in focusing attention on native African architecture, these fairs thus unwittingly helped to dismantle the French colonialist enterprise by exposing its hypocritical and racist underpinnings. However, such attention also crucially laid the foundations for postcolonial nation-building by identifying key elements of regional cultural heritage. The latter process is enshrined in annual local efforts at maintenance through the Mosque’s replastering as well as the building’s continued service as a model for more than 500 other mud mosques throughout West Africa.

“The Danish West Indies at the 'World Expo' in Copenhagen 1888 and Beyond”
Rikke Lie Halberg (Lund University)

The Danish West Indies at the 'World Expo' in Copenhagen 1888 and beyond This paper will focus on the tradition of exhibiting The Danish West Indies in a Danish context. Taking its point of departure in the first West Indian exhibition at *Den Nordiske Industri-, Landbrugs- og Kunstudstilling i Kjøbenhavn*, which translates into The Nordic Industrial-, Agrarian- and Art Exposition in Copenhagen. As such, the exposition in Copenhagen was one of the many international exhibitions held around the world in 1888: Barcelona, Brussels, Glasgow, Lisabon and Melbourne. Although only Barcelona qualified as a Exposition universelle that year, the term *verdensudstilling*, or World Expo, has been widely used about the exhibition in Copenhagen. However, as the name suggests, the exposition's main focus was on the Nordic countries, exhibiting technological advances within the areas of Nordic farming, forestry, fishing and brewing that were in the process of becoming industrialized in those years. One of the few non Nordic contributions was an exhibition about The Danish West Indies¹ which received a lot of attention in the Danish media at the time. The exhibit was centered around various West Indian produce, crafts and goods, but the real attraction was Charles and Marie Louise Bundorph and their daughter, an African-Caribbean wicker crafting family from St. Croix. By looking at the 1888 exposition - and at the presence of the Bundorph family - as well as mapping and discussing later exhibitions, it is possible to shed new light on the traditions, continuity and of exhibiting the Danish West Indies. These findings may be valuable in a global, museological discussion of colonial exhibitions.

15:30 Session 1C: Expositions and Environment
Session Chair: Guido Cimadomo (University of Málaga)

“European International Expositions in the last decade of the Twentieth Century: The transition from classic Expo models to a new ecological and sustainable sensitivity”
Rafael Ortiz Martínez de Carnero (University of Seville)

In the European Universal and International Expositions held in the last decade of the twentieth century, we will find an important influence of themes related to ecology and sustainability, which will lead to the

development and establishment of objectives that will lay the foundations for the emergence of a new way to conceptualize and understand these types of events.

Motivated by this context, we will witness a redefinition of the parameters and values that World's Fairs represent with the arrival of the end of the century. Where the recovery and conservation of balance with the ecosystem will be part of the conceptual ideology of this type of international events. Thus, the Universal and International Exhibitions of this period will include, intrinsically or in some area of their development, strategies for the achievement of ecological or sustainable objectives on their agendas. In the case of this research, we would like to highlight strategies carried out at four World and International exhibitions of this period: Genoa 1992, Seville 1992, Lisbon 1998, and Hannover 2000. The relevance of the chosen examples lies in the demonstration of the transition from classic World's Fairs models to new models where a new sensitivity prevails. Characterized by the proposal of solutions for urban insertion at territorial and metropolitan scale, the development of environmental and landscape proposals for urban spaces, the generation of solutions of programmatic continuity post-Expo and the importance of sustainability in the governance of this type of event.

These strategies will be paradigmatic examples and will set guidelines for the development of future Universal and International Exhibitions not only in Europe but also in the World. They will also serve as a laboratory for the implementation of this type of urban and architectural interventions in non-related World's Fairs contexts.

Prolonging the Magic: From Ephemerality to Translatability”

Guido Cimadomo (Universidad de Málaga), Renzo Lecardane (Università di Palermo)

The discourse on sustainability related to exhibitions has multiple ramifications. Perhaps one of the most interesting is the one related to the permanent-ephemeral dichotomy, in its declination related to national pavilions. The commitment to the ephemeral, as a response to a desired sustainability, perhaps more economic and managerial than environmental, is present throughout the history of exhibitions. The line separating the two conditions is however weak, as history shows, leading ephemeral pavilions to become permanent, or permanent buildings to be prematurely demolished. Hannover 2000 is surely a turning point in the attention to environmental awareness, and to the need for a sustainable approach in all aspects related to the event. With regard to the design and construction of the national pavilions, the concept of recycling materials is moving forward, but the trend of translatability is raising attention, certainly not new, but increasingly understood as a resource with important social repercussions.

Based on the analysis of several historical examples, the proposal will delve into some aspects that directly affect the architectural conception of pavilions: the meaning for the history of exhibitions of pavilions that are translated and hence disappear from the place for which they were conceived, erased from the collective imaginary; the meaning of reconstruction in another place; the transformation of program and use and therefore the claim that the architecture is a challenge for its contents, once the site is modified, but maintaining structure and form; the paradigm shift between resistant pavilion and resilient pavilion.

(Some of the experiences we will focus on: German Pavilion 1929; Moukhina's Worker and Kolkhoz Woman monument 1937; Spanish Pavilion 1937; Finland Pavilion 1992; Japan Pavilion 1992; Portugal Pavilion 2000; UK Pavilion 2010; Chile Pavilion 2015; UK Pavilion 2015).

"From Utopian Vision to a Legacy of Action: How a World's Fair Can Accelerate Health Equity and Sustainability"

Deanna L. Nord (Nord Strategy Group)

Expos have legacies. The 1893 Chicago World's Fair, called "The Fair That Changed America", paved the way for cities to change from grimy, factory-polluted cities of the day to well-lit, beautiful clean spaces.

The U.S. is proposing to host the 2027 Expo with the chosen theme of "Healthy People, Healthy Planet." The 2027 Expo will emphasize how social transformation can improve the lives and health of future generations. U.S.A. Expo 2027, including its preceding and subsequent events, will be economic and social accelerators in medical and health care innovations, emphasizing best practices, research and technology, infrastructure, labor, training, and services in the Chicago to Mpls/St.Paul corridor, the Upper Midwest region, the U.S. and worldwide. The Expo will ignite demonstrable improvements in how we address health around the globe, the public's access to information and important treatments.

Expo "Central" in Minnesota and midwestern partners including Chicago, will share advancements in the sustainability, resilience, and equity of the health of our people and living environments with thousands of events. We will explore and showcase the accomplishments and aspirations of over 200 countries as well as numerous companies, city/state governments, and non-government organizations to create a healthier future.

Of the twelve million people will attend Expo 2027 from May through August – 75% from the United States and 25% from overseas, many will come through Chicago. Here we can demonstrate what the Midwest provides in health care, wellness, entertainment, intellectual pursuits, educational opportunities and more. In addition, people from around the planet will attend via social media and digital platforms like virtual and augmented reality. Special events and entertainment will allow widespread opportunities for engagement. In 2022, the Bureau of International Expositions (BIE) will choose the venue for the 2027 World's Fair.

17:00 Keynote: Classical Temple of Unhewn Logs: World's Fair in the Wilderness 1909

Sarah Moore, Professor of American Art History, University of Arizona

At the groundbreaking ceremony for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (AYP), the president of the Seattle Exposition declared: "We are a new country looking forward to the future with confidence and hope, and we contemplate great commercial results from the exploitation of the vast, underdeveloped resources of Alaska and the Yukon Territory."¹ Such buoyant rhetoric was shared by others who drew attention to the fairgrounds' proximity to vast tracks of wilderness. Another chronicler noted: "An international exposition will be held. . . with its back door opening upon the wildest and grandest portion that still remains of America's primeval forest."²

Of all the displays at the AYP, none more explicitly expressed the fair's colonialist agenda of the exploitation of the wilderness than the Forestry Building constructed entirely of western red cedar. Located at the eastern edge of the fairgrounds, with lush, forested land behind it, the building's classical façade faced west toward the main fairgrounds and paralleled the Beaux-Arts style of the principal palaces. Its back, by contrast, emerged out of the forest, as if its location served as a reminder of the recent memory of the logs, having only just been cut from their "natural" setting, to be transformed into the Forestry Building devoted to the management of such resources for human needs. This paper examines the so-called Temple of Timber through the lenses of colonialism and ecocriticism.

1 Frank L. Merrick, "The Northwest's Exposition," *Sunset Magazine*, September 1907, 420.

2 C. H. E. Asquith, "Seattle's Coming Exposition," *Sunset Magazine*, April 1909, 440.

Bio: Sarah J. Moore is Professor of American Art History at the University of Arizona. Questions regarding the shifting terrain of identities and geographies animate her work as a scholar and teacher of art in the United States. Her research areas intersect with the global interdisciplinary arena of world's fair studies, considering in particular pre-World War I fairs in the United States, and ecocriticism in visual culture. Recent publications include: "The Panama Canal as a Hybrid Zone: A Case Study," in *Ecocriticism and the Anthropocene in Nineteenth-Century Art and Visual Culture* (Routledge, 2020); "The Great American Desert is No More," in *Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition of 1898-99* (University of Nebraska Press, 2018); and "Mosquitoes, Malaria, and Cold Butter: Discourses of Health and Progress in the Panama Canal Zone, 1904-1915," *Panorama* (Fall 2017). She is the 2021-2022 Terra Foundation for American Art Visiting Professor at Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan.

18:00 ISIE Roundtable

Join us in helping to shape the future directions of ISIE and exposition scholarship

Day 2

10:00 Keynote: Passports, pins, plushies and peddlers: the material life of the Shanghai World Expo
Van Troi Tran, Lecturer in Ethnology at Laval University and Coordinator of the Laboratory for Ethnological and Multimedia Inquiry.

For the whole duration of the 2010 Expo the city of Shanghai was flooded with all sorts of branded Expo 2010 products, official or counterfeit, that were sold in Expo official stores or by street peddlers on the Bund, the Yu Garden, Nanjing Road, Huaihai Road or the People's Square. These souvenirs and collectibles at the effigy of the Expo account in a way for the development of a new urban consumer culture in contemporary China. But the uncontrolled overflow of counterfeit objects during the World Expo that lead to police crackdowns, also points to the complex and sometimes strained relationship that a market can develop with its own commodities. In this talk, I will examine this sprawling material culture of consumer goods during the Shanghai World Expo and show how these tensions played out during the event.

Bio: Van Troi Tran is Lecturer in Ethnology at Laval University and Coordinator of the Laboratory for Ethnological and Multimedia Inquiry. He has published *Manger et Boire aux Expositions universelles de Paris 1889, 1900* (Eating and Drinking at the Paris Universal Exhibitions: 1889, 1900) in 2012, and has been President of the Folklore Studies Association of Canada in 2015-16.

11:00 Session 2A: Expositions and Material Culture

Session Chair: Sarah Moore (University of Arizona)

"The 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition and San Francisco"
Christina Hellmich (de Young Museum)

The 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition in San Francisco, led to the founding of what would become the de Young Museum now part of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. Surplus funds from the Exposition were used to form a museum with a collection of "treasures and curios for the entertainment and instruction of the people of California." Michael de Young purchased items and encouraged others to do so as well. The new Memorial Museum—which the SF Chronicle newspaper referred to as the "Park Museum" for its location in the city's Golden Gate Park—opened on March 23, 1895. It was hoped that a lasting legacy of the Exposition in the form of a museum would also enhance the reputation of the city and invite tourism. As the Chronicle reported, "Hitherto San Francisco has been subjected to the reproach that though she is cordial in her invitations to people to visit her, she has little to

show them when they get here . . . this museum is intended to be something better than a spectacle. It has a distinct angle toward scientific and art education.” This paper surveys the permanent collections of the museum originating from the Exposition and delves into specific object histories of works from Africa, Oceania and the Americas. About 150 works of visual culture remain at the de Young that can be traced to the Exposition. Interrogating the history of visualities at the Exposition is useful for curatorial consideration of how these works are meaningful and relevant to artists, curators and audiences today.

“Glimpses of the colonial collections at the 1862 London Exhibition: The case of the Angolan ‘Objects’ at the Portuguese section”

Sara Albuquerque and Angela Salgueiro (University of Evora)

The 1862 London Exhibition ‘was a symbol of mid-Victorian aspiration’ with a clear image to the world of Britain’s ambition and its empire. These kind of exhibitions were opportunities for other empires, such as the Portuguese empire to assert and highlight the potential of its colonies. The case of the Portuguese representation during the 19th century in world exhibitions has been examined, however, the display of colonial products remains somehow less explored. This research examines the representation of Portugal and its colonies at the 1862 London Exhibition, in particular the case of the colonial objects of natural history collected what today is known as Angola. Several aspects of the exhibition were analysed, in particular: objects, spaces and actors involved in the preparation of the Portuguese section. Regarding the later, two main figures were crucial for the organisation of this representation: Friedrich Welwitsch (1806-1872) organised, contributed and suggested objects that should be collected from Angola and Júlio Máximo de Oliveira Pimentel (the viscount of Vila Maior, 1809-1884) the royal commissioner at the London Exhibition. In order to understand which objects were on display, Welwitsch’s publications: *Explanatory Synopsis of Samples of Timber and Medicinal Drugs* (1862) and *The Preliminary Notes on various objects from Angola* (1861) were crucial to this research. Although the Portuguese representation was severely criticised by the press, Welwitsch was awarded with four gold medals for the colonial objects presented.

“Valued Risks: Insuring Fine and Applied Art at International Exhibitions”

Avigail Moss (University of Southern California)

This paper explores how insurance served as an imperialist gatekeeper for international exhibitions from London’s Great Exhibition of 1851 to WWI. In this period, competitive and nationalizing display cultures thrust vast quantities of fine and applied art objects into circulation, creating new risks that challenged existing insurance models in scale and scope. Private marine and fire insurance companies underwrote works at exhibitions such as the Paris *Exposition Universelle* 1867, the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition, and loans to exhibitions orchestrated by London’s Victoria & Albert Museum. As I show, expositions served as catalysts for the development of the first dedicated art insurance companies, who partnering with art market agents to provide specialist services. These services became all the more desirable as exhibition organizers and municipal lenders faced prohibitive costs from insurance cartels like the British Fire Offices Committee, which enforced insurance rates across manufacturing and logistics, but struggled to tailor industrial conceptions of risk and value to idiosyncratic art objects and exhibitions. Further, insurers could prevent European collections from travelling to exhibitions held outside of Europe to sites like the Jamaica International Exhibition of 1891, underscoring how risk technologies were also hegemonic forms for imperialist control.

Drawing upon primary research in exhibition and insurance archives, I propose that we more seriously consider insurance as an agent in international exhibitions. Looking at the ways in which the financial service industry constituted a set of expressive activities embedded within contractual, legal, and legislative relations, this paper explores how hazard and economic security furthered, but also hampered art exhibitions. It expands our understanding of the transnational exhibition world’s financial networks and deepens our insight into value as a term applied to an aesthetic.

13:00 Session 2B: Re-evaluating the Exposition City
Session Chair: Lisa Schrenk (University of Arizona)

“Spaceframes: population and allegory in Expo ’70 Osaka”
David Roberts (University of Newcastle)

It is perhaps uncontroversial to suggest that the masterplan format of International Expositions permit an architecture of conflicting narratives that on the one hand champion the benefits of industrial development, international cooperation, and technology, while on the other granting free expression to a range of geopolitical rivalries. Put differently, by translating an increasingly integrated system of international relations at the scale of a village or town centre, the exposition gets around the difficulty of representing the individual visitor’s relation to the sheer abstraction of an emergent global capitalist reality. As one of the most popular Expositions ever (in terms of visitor numbers) and the first held in Asia, Expo ’70 Osaka is a uniquely prescient historical moment in which to explore how architecture gave symbolic expression to a range of official narratives and thematics at the level of the nation-state, as well as to a range of unsanctioned ideological messages, from the technocratic to the avant-garde and utopian.

This paper draws on Fredric Jameson’s work on allegory to argue in favour of an allegorical reading of the architecture of Expo ’70 Osaka that would provide a structure for interpreting the narratives and architectural forms of the Exposition in terms of a deeper contradiction at the level of the *collective* or multitude. Here, in sharp contrast to the symbolic value granted to technology, various architectural strategies that deal with the agency and power of the visiting public itself suggest the existence of an alternative, radical and oppositional historical subject concealed within the official narrative.

“The EAT Research Centre Collaboration in the 1970 Osaka World Exhibition”
Sofia Quiroga Fernandez (Xi’an Jiaotong-Liverpool University [XJTLU])

The creation of research centres such as the EAT (Experiments in Art and Technology, 1966) encouraged interdisciplinary collaboration between art and science. The involvement of technology companies like Siemens, HP, IBM, or Philips, provided technical and economic support for the development of new specialised optical, sound and data systems related to spatial and perceptive transformation. This collaboration was fundamental in exploring strategies between aesthetics and technology to handle multi-dimensional spaces, which led to experimental immersive spatial proposals performed in World Exhibitions pavilions.

The pavilions created for the Osaka World Exhibition (1970) illustrate the multidisciplinary nature of these collaborations. The interventions performed in the Fuji group, Pepsi Cola group, the US pavilion or the Theatre of total Movement of Jacques Polieri were characterised by technical solutions and multimedia presentations. The audience was located in the middle of the scene, and the dynamic arrangement of light and sound established a not linear spatial narrative conceived for the experience. The architecture was developed, facilitating the inclusion of audiovisual media. Art and technology generated spaces through mechanisms such as light, colour, movement, time, sound, optical devices, images, or the use of different materials, enhancing the spatial qualities to create a unified, interactive space in continuous transformation specially arranged for the observer. The overlapped effects between space and technology achieved an immersive experience, where the use of illusion created a sense of movement to the viewer. The pavilions were a space for perception where the audience could imagine the future and appreciate space in continuous transformation.

“Mapping the Unpredictable: An Atlas of Expanded Geographies. Pavilions of Power and Imagination at the Venice Biennale”

Stefania Portinari (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)

The Venice Biennale was created in a garden, and the novelist Goffredo Parise wrote that the fascination of the area itself was enough to lead to believe that every dream was possible: at 1948 edition, for example, one just could pass from Gauguin's painted jungles to true palm trees in that public park. Created in 1895 for a specific cultural policy, to develop an international luxury tourism and promote art market, perfectly reflects the geo-politics powers of every decade, and also displays them like in a cosmogony or a chess game, through the national Pavilions.

The main and earliest building was the Palace of the Exhibition, and for a long time it hosted not only Italian art, but also exhibitions of artists from other Nations and nowadays is the main spotlight of the curator. In 1897 it displayed groups of artists from - between the others - Japan, Belgium, Scotland, Spain, Russia, and Germany; and at the 3rd edition the art critic Vittorio Pica appreciated American and British painters “were collected there in the same room” for “ethnic and artistic affinity”. In 1922, during fascist regime, African art was hosted here for the first time in a Colonial Exhibition.

As soon as other Pavilions arose, they showed, as embassies, a peculiar national representations: some of them where "occupied" or refused to "testify" their art in war time, or exchanged their place to demonstrate peaceful intents, "became something else", as the place of a person or a movement, as in case of Peggy Guggenheim Collection or Impressionist Exhibition in 1948 edition.

This proposal aims to analyze peculiar stories in a hundred years of Venice Biennale, observing ideological narratives and imaginary geographies, strategies of political powers, mapping an atlas of privileges and astonishment, to verify the changes of the curatorial practices.

15:00 Session 2C: Open Session

Session Chair: Laura Hollengreen (University of Arizona)

“The Paris Universal Exhibition of 1878/79 seen by the Portuguese writer Ramalho Ortigão”

Alice Nogueira Alves (Universidade de Lisboa)

Ramalho Ortigão (1836-1915) was a prolific Portuguese writer whose work addressed multiple subjects, always with a strong educational character. His literary production includes several travel chronicles, where different societies and cultures are presented to the reader in an informative and educational way, always with a good mood, along with a brilliant writing capacity. In addition to his books, Ramalho worked as a correspondent for several newspapers, among which the *Gazeta de Notícias* published in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Later on many of these texts were republished as books, and still have new editions nowadays, which shows the importance of this writer in the Portuguese culture.

Because of the several trips he made throughout his life, debuting at the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1868, Ramalho became familiar with all the great novelties, by continuously visiting all these international exhibitions held in the French capital until 1900, among others. Through these texts, his various reactions over the years can be analyzed, as well as the differences between them.

This presentation aims to reflect upon his experience at the Universal Exhibition of 1878/79, which Ramalho described in the correspondence to his wife, as well as in several articles sent to the referred Brazilian newspaper, satisfying the curiosity of the Brazilian people regarding the great novelties which were presented there.

Starting from his astonishment when entering the precinct, due to the immensity and magnificence of the Champ de Mars, Ramalho continuously visited all the pavilions as well as the parallel exhibitions and reflected upon the major innovations of science that revealed the man's triumph over nature. He comments on lots of things, from the head of the Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty lighting the world, later offered to the USA, to the several conferences attended. Ramalho also refers to the exhibited art and the possibility of studying the authors' societies and cultures, without forgetting the reneged Impressionists. The evolutionary theories and the great emphasis on anthropology astonished him, and he often lost himself in descriptive correlations between different things.

Far from making a complete description of the exhibition, my interest is to perceive and enhance the things that were worthy of his attention, without losing his high spirits and critical thinking, considering the encounter of cultures found in this exhibition, present not only in the pavilions but also in its thousands of visitors from all over the world.

“Reversing the Gaze: Indians at Chicago’s Columbian Exposition” **Jyoti Mohan (University of Maryland)**

My presentation of the representation of India at Chicago’s Columbian Exposition combines the colonialist perspective provided by Britain and the United States (acting both as colonizer and civilizer) as well as native responses to the dominant narrative. By looking at the peculiar inclusion of the ‘carnavalesque’ at the Chicago Midway, a designated space for visitors to delight in ‘local fare and customs’, I analyze how the selection of specific performers to represent ‘India’ (like magicians and snake charmers) by American missionaries served to cement orientalist fantasies about India in the popular American press. Yet these performers, while playing to these Orientalist fantasies, also resisted the accompanying narrative of India as ‘uncivilized’ and ‘backwards’. Leaving behind erudite, witty, and self-deprecating descriptions of themselves reversing the gaze by recounting their experience of American and Americans, while also demonstrating a keen sense of entrepreneurship, Indians at Chicago’s Columbian Exposition left a legacy of India which was markedly different from the Imperial narrative of India.

“Amusement Identities on the Midway, Pike, Gayway and Beyond” **Bobby Schweizer, Rebecca Rouse (Texas Tech University)**

The development of amusement spaces that included game and play attractions at the American fairs between 1893 and 1939 reveals both the cultural status of playful recreation and how amusement fit into the identity of each fair. In particular, we have looked at the World's Columbian Exposition, Louisiana Purchase Exposition, Century of Progress, the 1939 New York World's Fair, and the Golden Gate International Exposition. Whereas the original Midway formalized the amusement spaces that had been common to regional fairs, there is no evidence that it held any games for its visitors. The Pike, the Gayway, and the second Chicago fair, meanwhile, drew on the popularity of the Midway as they marketed the identities of their own amusement zones as significant attractions. Research in this area has proven challenging, however, because within the category of games intended for play at fairs (as opposed to games on display or games sold as souvenirs), we find a marked absence of archival materials. Very few of the games themselves have persisted because objects of folk or popular culture were often deemed unimportant and not worthy of saving. Thus, the journey to search for these uncovers both the history of expositions and the changing role of games in culture. In this paper, examples of games from each of the American fairs identified above (1893-1939) are discussed within their amusement identity contexts, as a way of both broadening games history and bringing forward some of the more playful “ghosts” of fair history. Finally, we draw connections with games and game technologies’ identity-making impacts within the frame of amusement at contemporary fairs, such as the current Dubai Expo

"The Aquarium and the City" **Martina Motta (Politecnico di Torino)**

The contribution aims to highlight the crucial political role that International Expositions have played in defining the relationship between scientific institution, city, and global context. This argument is situated within a vision that science begins to assume from the 17th century scientific revolution onwards, with Nature that is invested with political-economic ambitions. If the case of the botanical garden, as an institution that generates information on the value of plants in close connection with the colonial expansion of Western countries, has been extensively studied, which role has played the aquarium within the International Expositions? Analyzing the most important expositions, most of them hosted an aquarium pavilion in the masterplan (the London Great Exhibition in 1851, the Wiener Weltausstellung in 1873; the Esposizione Universale di Milano in 1906, the Exposition Universelle de Paris from 1860 onwards), which was usually included in the main sections of communication, transport or military. In the ocean exploration era, the aquarium was conceived within the industry's great achievements in the field of abyssal fauna's discoveries. The interest in marine depth and biological observation were born from the need to facilitate western expansion overseas, to speed up communications (invention of telegraph), and to plumb new energy and mineral resources. Not surprisingly, the aquarium pavilion received independent funding (especially from private institutions) and it was designed in order to stay even after the event, unlike the other temporary structures. These different aspects show the institutional and political-economic importance that the scientific world has assumed in the XIX century, with the International Expositions working as a showcase not only for the general public, but especially for financiers and sponsors. Erroneously seen as a totally self-sufficient and self-sustaining architecture, the aquarium actually plays the complex role of "network"³ not only in the city in which it is located, but on an extra-urban and global scale.

17:00 Closing Keynote: Bringing the World Expo Movement Back to America

Mark Ritchie, Former Secretary of State of Minnesota and President of Global Minnesota. Co-chair of the Minnesota USA Expo 2027

Mr. Ritchie will speak on Minnesota's efforts to host an international exposition in 2027. This session will cover the historical context, including Minnesota's highly regarded participation in New York's Exhibition of the Products of Arts and Industry of All Nations in 1853, the second World Exposition. This session will explore the circumstances that led to the withdrawal of the United States from the Bureau of International Expositions in 2001 and the incredible political saga of how citizen diplomacy was mobilized to get the US government to rejoin the BIE. The impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic on current Expos, and expo candidacies, and speculation on how this era will shape the future of Expos will be covered as well.

Bio: Mark Ritchie is a former Secretary of State of Minnesota and President of Global Minnesota, a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization devoted to advancing international understanding and engagement. He currently a co-chair of the Minnesota USA Expo 2027 bid committee and was instrumental in the United States rejoining the Bureau of International Expositions in 2017. Mark is a co-founder of the World's Fair Bid Committee Educational Fund, a not-for-profit organization created to support the global expo movement within the United States and beyond through a USA Expo Fund and a Global Expo Fund.

18:00 Closing Remarks