

APPENDICES



Royal Exhibition Building and Carlton Gardens, October 2002, looking NW.

APPENDIX 1

International Exhibitions, 1851-1915

(Sources: Findling and Pelle 1990; Allwood 1977; Henry Madden Library, California State University world's fairs collection web page:

<http://lib.csufresno.edu/subjectresources/specialcollections/worldfairs/welcome.html>)

YEAR	VENUE	EVENT
1851	London (Crystal Palace), England	The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations
1853	Dublin, Ireland	The Great Industrial Exhibition
1853-54	New York, USA	World's Fair of the works of Industry of all Nations
1855	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle des Produits de l'Agriculture, de l'Industrie et des Beaux-Arts
1862	London, England	London International Exhibition on Industry and Art
1865	Dublin, Ireland	International Exhibition
1865-66	Porto, Portugal*	Exposition Internationale
1867	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle
1871-74	London, England	London Annual International Exhibitions
1873	Vienna, Austria	Welt-Ausstellung
1875-76	Santiago, Chile	Exposición Internacional
1876	Philadelphia, USA	Centennial Exhibition
1877	Cape Town, South Africa	South African International Exhibition
1878	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle
1879-80	Sydney, Australia	International Exhibition

YEAR	VENUE	EVENT
1880-81	Melbourne, Australia	International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and Agricultural and Industrial Products of all Nations
1881	Atlanta, USA	International Cotton Exposition
1882	Buenos Aires, Argentina*	Exposición Continental Sud-Americana
1882	Christchurch, New Zealand*	International Exhibition
1883	Amsterdam, Holland	Internationale, Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel-Tentoonstelling
1883	Louisville, USA*	Southern Exposition
1883-84	Boston, USA	American Exhibition of the Products, Arts, and Manufactures of Foreign Nations
1883-84	Calcutta, India	International Exhibition
1884-85	New Orleans, USA*	World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exhibition
1885	Antwerp, Belgium	Exposition Universelle
1886	Edinburgh, Scotland	International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art
1886	London, England	Colonial and Indian Exhibition
1887	Adelaide, Australia	Jubilee International Exhibition
1888	Barcelona, Spain	Exposición Universal de Barcelona
1888	Brussels, Belgium	Grand Concours International des Sciences et de l'Industrie
1888	Glasgow, Scotland	Glasgow International Exhibition 1888
1888-89	Melbourne, Australia	Centennial International Exhibition
1889	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle
1889-90	Dunedin, New Zealand*	International Exhibition
1890	Edinburgh, Scotland*	International Exhibition

YEAR	VENUE	EVENT
1891	Kingston, Jamaica	International Exhibition
1891–92	Launceston, Australia	Tasmania International Exhibition
1893	Chicago, USA	World's Columbian Exposition
1893	Kimberley, South Africa	South Africa and International Exhibition
1894	Antwerp, Belgium	Exposition Internationale
1894	San Francisco, USA	California Midwinter International Exposition
1894	Lyon, France*	Exposition Internationale et Coloniale
1894–95	Hobart, Australia	Tasmania International Exhibition
1895	Amsterdam, Holland*	International Exhibition
1895	Atlanta, USA	Cotton States and International Exposition
1896	Budapest, Hungary*	Exposition Internationale du Millénaire
1897	Brisbane, Queensland	Queensland International Exhibition
1897	Brussels, Belgium	Exposition Internationale de Bruxelles
1897	Guatemala City, Guatemala	Exposicion Centro Americana
1897	Nashville, USA	Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition
1897	Stockholm, Sweden	All Manna Konst-och Industriutställningen
1898	Omaha, USA*	Trans-Mississippi Exhibition
1900	Paris, France	Exposition Universelle et Internationale
1901	Buffalo, USA	Pan-American Exposition
1901	Glasgow, Scotland	Glasgow International Exhibition

YEAR	VENUE	EVENT
1902–03	Tonkin (Hanoi), Indo-China (Vietnam)	Indo China Exposition Francaise et Internationale
1902	Turin, Italy	Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte Decorativa Moderna
1904	St Louis, USA	Louisiana Purchase International Exhibition
1905	Portland, USA	Lewis & Clark Centennial Exposition
1905	Liege, Belgium	Exposition universelle et internationale
1906	Milan, Italy	Esposizione internazionale del Sempione
1906–07	Christchurch, New Zealand	International Exhibition
1907	Jamestown, USA	Jamestown Tercentennial Exhibition
1907	Dublin, Ireland	Irish International Exhibition
1909	Seattle, USA	Alaska-Yukon Pacific Exposition
1910	Brussels, Belgium	Brussels International
1911	Turin, Italy	Esposizione internazionale
1913	Ghent, Belgium	Exposition universelle et internationale
1915	San Francisco, USA	Panama-Pacific International Exposition
1915	San Diego, USA	Panama-California Exposition

* Inconclusive status as an international exhibition due to narrow focus or uncertain level of foreign representation.

APPENDIX 2

The Burra Charter

(The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance)

Preamble

Considering the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice 1964), and the Resolutions of the 5th General Assembly of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) (Moscow 1978), the Burra Charter was adopted by Australia ICOMOS (the Australian National Committee of ICOMOS) on 19 August 1979 at Burra, South Australia. Revisions were adopted on 23 February 1981, 23 April 1988 and 26 November 1999.

The Burra Charter provides guidance for the conservation and management of places of cultural significance (cultural heritage places), and is based on the knowledge and experience of Australia ICOMOS members.

Conservation is an integral part of the management of places of cultural significance and is an ongoing responsibility.

Who is the Charter for?

The Charter sets a standard of practice for those who provide advice, make decisions about, or undertake works to places of cultural significance, including owners, managers and custodians.

Using the Charter

The Charter should be read as a whole. Many articles are interdependent. Articles in the Conservation Principles section are often further developed in the Conservation Processes and Conservation Practice sections. Headings have been included for ease of reading but do not form part of the Charter.

The Charter is self-contained, but aspects of its use and application are further explained in the following Australia ICOMOS documents:

- Guidelines to the Burra Charter: Cultural Significance;
- Guidelines to the Burra Charter: Conservation Policy;
- Guidelines to the Burra Charter: Procedures for Undertaking Studies and Reports;
- Code on the Ethics of Coexistence in Conserving Significant Places.

What places does the Charter apply to?

The Charter can be applied to all types of places of cultural significance including natural, indigenous and historic places with cultural values.

The standards of other organisations may also be relevant. These include the Australian Natural Heritage Charter and the Draft Guidelines for the Protection, Management and Use of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural Heritage Places.

Why conserve?

Places of cultural significance enrich people's lives, often providing a deep and inspirational sense of connection to community and landscape, to the past and to lived experiences. They are historical records, that are important as tangible expressions of Australian identity and experience. Places of cultural significance reflect the diversity of our communities, telling us about who we are and the past that has formed us and the Australian landscape. They are irreplaceable and precious.

These places of cultural significance must be conserved for present and future generations.

The Burra Charter advocates a cautious approach to change: do as much as necessary to care for the place and to make it useable, but otherwise change it as little as possible so that its cultural significance is retained.

Articles

Article 1. Definitions

For the purposes of this Charter:

- 1.1** *Place* means site, area, land, landscape, building or other work, group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views.
- 1.2** *Cultural significance* means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations.
- Cultural significance is embodied in the *place* itself, its *fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects*.
- Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups.
- 1.3** *Fabric* means all the physical material of the *place* including components, fixtures, contents, and objects.
- 1.4** *Conservation* means all the processes of looking after a *place* so as to retain its *cultural significance*.
- 1.5** *Maintenance* means the continuous protective care of the *fabric and setting of a place*, and is to be distinguished from repair. Repair involves *restoration or reconstruction*.
- 1.6** *Preservation* means maintaining the *fabric of a place* in its existing state and retarding deterioration.
- 1.7** *Restoration* means returning the existing *fabric* of a *place* to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material.
- 1.8** *Reconstruction* means returning a *place* to a known earlier state and is distinguished from *restoration* by the introduction of new material into the *fabric*.
- 1.9** *Adaptation* means modifying a *place* to suit the existing *use* or a proposed use.
- 1.10** *Use* means the functions of a place, as well as the activities and practices that may occur at the place.
- 1.11** *Compatible use* means a *use* which respects the *cultural significance* of a *place*. Such a use involves no, or minimal, impact on cultural significance.
- 1.12** *Setting* means the area around a *place*, which may include the visual catchment.
- 1.13** *Related place* means a *place* that contributes to the *cultural significance* of another place.

Explanatory Notes

The concept of place should be broadly interpreted. The elements described in Article 1.1 may include memorials, trees, gardens, parks, places of historical events, urban areas, towns, industrial places, archaeological sites and spiritual and religious places.

The term cultural significance is synonymous with heritage significance and cultural heritage value.

Cultural significance may change as a result of the continuing history of the place.

Understanding of cultural significance may change as a result of new information.

Fabric includes building interiors and sub-surface remains, as well as excavated material.

Fabric may define spaces and these may be important elements of the significance of the place.

The distinctions referred to, for example in relation to roof gutters, are:

- maintenance — regular inspection and cleaning of gutters;
- repair involving restoration — returning of dislodged gutters;
- repair involving reconstruction — replacing decayed gutters.

It is recognised that all places and their components change over time at varying rates.

New material may include recycled material salvaged from other places. This should not be to the detriment of any place of cultural significance.

1.14 *Related object* means an object that contributes to the *cultural significance* of a *place* but is not at the place.

1.15 *Associations* mean the special connections that exist between people and a *place*.

1.16 *Meanings* denote what a *place* signifies, indicates, evokes or expresses.

1.17 *Interpretation* means all the ways of presenting the *cultural significance* of a *place*.

Conservation Principles

Article 2. Conservation and management

2.1 *Places of cultural significance* should be conserved.

2.2 The aim of *conservation* is to retain the *cultural significance* of a place.

2.3 *Conservation* is an integral part of good management of *places of cultural significance*.

2.4 *Places of cultural significance* should be safeguarded and not put at risk or left in a vulnerable state.

Article 3. Cautious approach

3.1 *Conservation* is based on a respect for the existing *fabric, use, associations* and *meanings*. It requires a cautious approach of changing as much as necessary but as little as possible.

3.2 Changes to a *place* should not distort the physical or other evidence it provides, nor be based on conjecture.

Article 4. Knowledge, skills and techniques

4.1 *Conservation* should make use of all the knowledge, skills and disciplines which can contribute to the study and care of the *place*.

4.2 Traditional techniques and materials are preferred for the *conservation* of significant *fabric*. In some circumstances modern techniques and materials which offer substantial conservation benefits may be appropriate.

Article 5. Values

5.1 Conservation of a place should identify and take into consideration all aspects of cultural and natural significance without unwarranted emphasis on any one value at the expense of others.

5.2 Relative degrees of *cultural significance* may lead to different *conservation* actions at a place.

Associations may include social or spiritual values and cultural responsibilities for a place.

Meanings generally relate to intangible aspects such as symbolic qualities and memories.

Interpretation may be a combination of the treatment of the fabric (e.g. maintenance, restoration, reconstruction); the use of and activities at the place; and the use of introduced explanatory material.

The traces of additions, alterations and earlier treatments to the fabric of a place are evidence of its history and uses which may be part of its significance. Conservation action should assist and not impede their understanding.

The use of modern materials and techniques must be supported by firm scientific evidence or by a body of experience.

Conservation of places with natural significance is explained in the Australian Natural Heritage Charter. This Charter defines natural significance to mean the importance of ecosystems, biological diversity and geodiversity for their existence value, or for present or future generations in terms of their scientific, social, aesthetic and life-support value.

A cautious approach is needed, as understanding of cultural significance may change. This article should not be used to justify actions which do not retain cultural significance.

Article 6. Burra Charter Process

- 6.1 The *cultural significance* of a *place* and other issues affecting its future are best understood by a sequence of collecting and analysing information before making decisions. Understanding cultural significance comes first, then development of policy and finally management of the place in accordance with the policy.
- 6.2 The policy for managing a *place* must be based on an understanding of its *cultural significance*.
- 6.3 Policy development should also include consideration of other factors affecting the future of a *place* such as the owner's needs, resources, external constraints and its physical condition.

Article 7. Use

- 7.1 Where the *use* of a *place* is of *cultural significance* it should be retained.
- 7.2 A *place* should have a *compatible use*.

Article 8. Setting

Conservation requires the retention of an appropriate visual *setting* and other relationships that contribute to the *cultural significance* of the *place*.

New construction, demolition, intrusions or other changes which would adversely affect the setting or relationships are not appropriate.

Article 9. Location

- 9.1 The physical location of a *place* is part of its *cultural significance*. A building, work or other component of a place should remain in its historical location. Relocation is generally unacceptable unless this is the sole practical means of ensuring its survival.
- 9.2 Some buildings, works or other components of *places* were designed to be readily removable or already have a history of relocation. Provided such buildings, works or other components do not have significant links with their present location, removal may be appropriate.
- 9.3 If any building, work or other component is moved, it should be moved to an appropriate location and given an appropriate *use*. Such action should not be to the detriment of any *place* of *cultural significance*.

Article 10. Contents

Contents, fixtures and objects which contribute to the *cultural significance* of a *place* should be retained at that place. Their removal is unacceptable unless it is: the sole means of ensuring their security and *preservation*; on a temporary basis for treatment or exhibition; for cultural reasons; for health and safety; or to protect the place. Such contents, fixtures and objects should be returned where circumstances permit and it is culturally appropriate.

The Burra Charter process, or sequence of investigations, decisions and actions, is illustrated in the accompanying flowchart.

The policy should identify a use or combination of uses or constraints on uses that retain the cultural significance of the place. New use of a place should involve minimal change, to significant fabric and use; should respect associations and meanings; and where appropriate should provide for continuation of practices which contribute to the cultural significance of the place.

Aspects of the visual setting may include use, siting, bulk, form, scale, character, colour, texture and materials.

Other relationships, such as historical connections, may contribute to interpretation, appreciation, enjoyment or experience of the place.

Article 11. Related places and objects

The contribution which *related places* and *related objects* make to the *cultural significance* of the *place* should be retained.

Article 12. Participation

Conservation, *interpretation* and management of a *place* should provide for the participation of people for whom the *place* has special *associations* and *meanings*, or who have social, spiritual or other cultural responsibilities for the *place*.

Article 13. Co-existence of cultural values

Co-existence of cultural values should be recognised, respected and encouraged, especially in cases where they conflict.

Conservation Processes

Article 14. Conservation processes

Conservation may, according to circumstance, include the processes of: retention or reintroduction of a *use*; retention of *associations* and *meanings*; *maintenance*, *preservation*, *restoration*, *reconstruction*, *adaptation* and *interpretation*; and will commonly include a combination of more than one of these.

Article 15. Change

15.1 Change may be necessary to retain *cultural significance*, but is undesirable where it reduces cultural significance.

The amount of change to a *place* should be guided by the *cultural significance* of the *place* and its appropriate *interpretation*.

15.2 Changes which reduce *cultural significance* should be reversible, and be reversed when circumstances permit.

15.3 Demolition of significant *fabric* of a *place* is generally not acceptable. However, in some cases minor demolition may be appropriate as part of *conservation*. Removed significant fabric should be reinstated when circumstances permit.

15.4 The contributions of all aspects of *cultural significance* of a *place* should be respected.

If a *place* includes *fabric*, *uses*, *associations* or *meanings* of different periods, or different aspects of cultural significance, emphasising or interpreting one period or aspect at the expense of another can only be justified when what is left out, removed or diminished is of slight cultural significance and that which is emphasised or interpreted is of much greater cultural significance.

Article 16. Maintenance

Maintenance is fundamental to *conservation* and should be undertaken where *fabric* is of *cultural significance* and its *maintenance* is necessary to retain that *cultural significance*.

For some places, conflicting cultural values may affect policy development and management decisions. In this article, the term cultural values refers to those beliefs which are important to a cultural group, including but not limited to political, religious, spiritual and moral beliefs. This is broader than values associated with cultural significance.

There may be circumstances where no action is required to achieve conservation.

When change is being considered, a range of options should be explored to seek the option which minimises the reduction of cultural significance.

Reversible changes should be considered temporary. Non-reversible change should only be used as a last resort and should not prevent future conservation action.

Article 17. Preservation

Preservation is appropriate where the existing *fabric* or its condition constitutes evidence of *cultural significance*, or where insufficient evidence is available to allow other *conservation* processes to be carried out.

Article 18. Restoration and reconstruction

Restoration and *reconstruction* should reveal culturally significant aspects of the *place*.

Article 19. Restoration

Restoration is appropriate only if there is sufficient evidence of an earlier state of the *fabric*.

Article 20. Reconstruction

20.1 *Reconstruction* is appropriate only where a *place* is incomplete through damage or alteration, and only where there is sufficient evidence to reproduce an earlier state of the *fabric*. In rare cases, reconstruction may also be appropriate as part of a use or practice that retains the *cultural significance* of the place.

20.2 *Reconstruction* should be identifiable on close inspection or through additional *interpretation*.

Article 21. Adaptation

21.1 *Adaptation* is acceptable only where the adaptation has minimal impact on the *cultural significance* of the *place*.

21.2 *Adaptation* should involve minimal change to significant fabric, achieved only after considering alternatives.

Article 22. New work

22.1 New work such as additions to the *place* may be acceptable where it does not distort or obscure the *cultural significance* of the place, or detract from its *interpretation* and appreciation.

22.2 New work should be readily identifiable as such.

Article 23. Conserving use

Continuing, modifying or reinstating a significant use may be appropriate and preferred forms of conservation.

Article 24. Retaining associations and meanings

24.1 Significant *associations* between people and a *place* should be respected, retained and not obscured. Opportunities for the *interpretation*, commemoration and celebration of these associations should be investigated and implemented.

24.2 Significant *meanings*, including spiritual values, of a *place* should be respected. Opportunities for the continuation or revival of these meanings should be investigated and implemented.

Preservation protects fabric without obscuring the evidence of its construction and use. The process should always be applied:

- where the evidence of the fabric is of such significance that it should not be altered;
- where insufficient investigation has been carried out to permit policy decisions to be taken in accord with Articles 26 to 28.

New work (e.g. stabilisation) may be carried out in association with preservation when its purpose is the physical protection of the fabric and when it is consistent with Article 22.

Adaptation may involve the introduction of new services, or a new use, or changes to safeguard the place.

New work may be sympathetic if its siting, bulk, form, scale, character, colour, texture and material are similar to the existing fabric, but imitation should be avoided.

These may require changes to significant fabric but they should be minimised. In some cases, continuing a significant use or practice may involve substantial new work.

For many places associations will be linked to use.

Article 25. Interpretation

The *cultural significance* of many *places* is not readily apparent, and should be explained by *interpretation*. Interpretation should enhance understanding and enjoyment, and be culturally appropriate.

Conservation Practice

Article 26. Applying the Burra Charter process

- 26.1** Work on a *place* should be preceded by studies to understand the place which should include analysis of physical, documentary, oral and other evidence, drawing on appropriate knowledge, skills and disciplines.
- 26.2** Written statements of *cultural significance* and policy for the *place* should be prepared, justified and accompanied by supporting evidence. The statements of significance and policy should be incorporated into a management plan for the place.
- 26.3** Groups and individuals with *associations* with a *place* as well as those involved in its management should be provided with opportunities to contribute to and participate in understanding the *cultural significance* of the place. Where appropriate they should also have opportunities to participate in its *conservation* and management.

Article 27. Managing change

- 27.1** The impact of proposed changes on the cultural significance of a place should be analysed with reference to the statement of significance and the policy for managing the place. It may be necessary to modify proposed changes following analysis to better retain cultural significance.
- 27.2** Existing *fabric*, *use*, *associations* and *meanings* should be adequately recorded before any changes are made to the *place*.

Article 28. Disturbance of fabric

- 28.1** Disturbance of significant *fabric* for study, or to obtain evidence, should be minimised. Study of a *place* by any disturbance of the fabric, including archaeological excavation, should only be undertaken to provide data essential for decisions on the *conservation* of the place, or to obtain important evidence about to be lost or made inaccessible.
- 28.2** Investigation of a *place* which requires disturbance of the *fabric*, apart from that necessary to make decisions, may be appropriate provided that it is consistent with the policy for the place. Such investigation should be based on important research questions which have potential to substantially add to knowledge, which cannot be answered in other ways and which minimises disturbance of significant fabric.

Article 29. Responsibility for decisions

The organisations and individuals responsible for management decisions should be named and specific responsibility taken for each such decision.

Article 30. Direction, supervision and implementation

Competent direction and supervision should be maintained at all stages, and any changes should be implemented by people with appropriate knowledge and skills.

The results of studies should be up to date, regularly reviewed and revised as necessary.

Statements of significance and policy should be kept up to date by regular review and revision as necessary. The management plan may deal with other matters related to the management of the place.

Article 31. Documenting evidence and decisions

A log of new evidence and additional decisions should be kept.

Article 32. Records

32.1 The records associated with the *conservation* of a *place* should be placed in a permanent archive and made publicly available, subject to requirements of security and privacy, and where this is culturally appropriate.

32.2 Records about the history of a *place* should be protected and made publicly available, subject to requirements of security and privacy, and where this is culturally appropriate.

Article 33. Removed fabric

Significant *fabric* which has been removed from a *place* including contents, fixtures and objects, should be catalogued, and protected in accordance with its *cultural significance*.

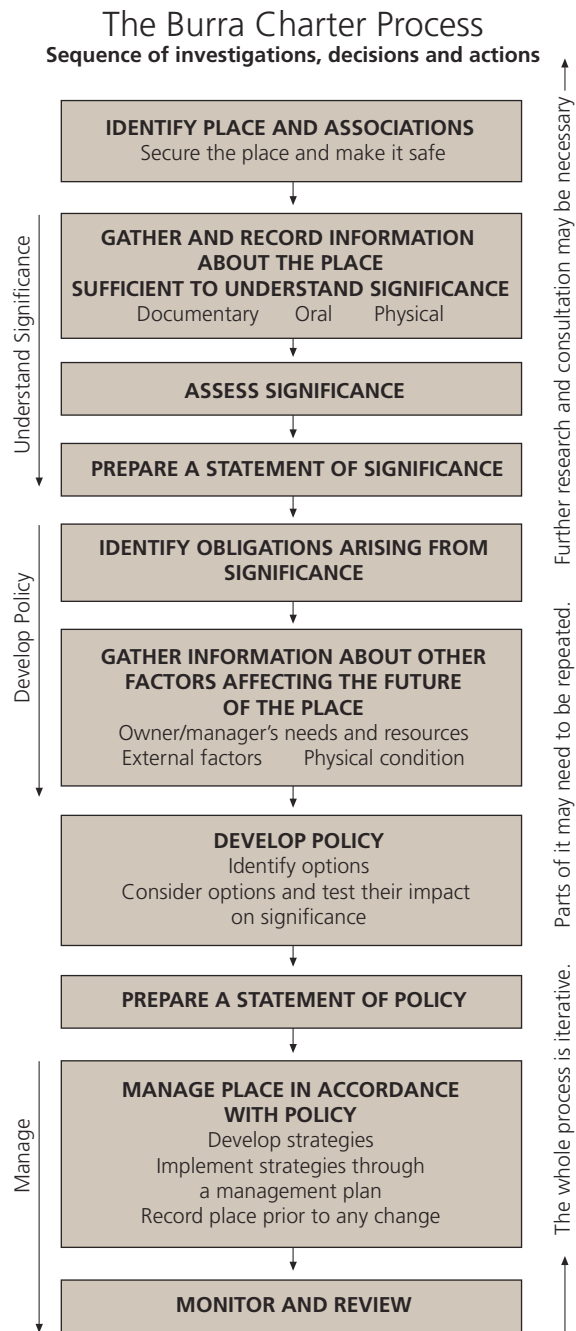
Where possible and culturally appropriate, removed significant fabric including contents, fixtures and objects, should be kept at the place.

Article 34. Resources

Adequate resources should be provided for conservation.

Words in italics are defined in Article 1.

The best conservation often involves the least work and can be inexpensive.



APPENDIX 3

The History of International Exhibitions

by Lord Asa Briggs

(Manuscript commissioned by the Commonwealth Department of the Environment and Heritage, 2002)

1. The beginnings of a sequence

There were many international exhibitions (or expositions) between 1851 and 1900, each with its own identity, all with features in common. They were landmark events in history both for countries and for families. Yet they were far more than events. With many links between them, they stand out in retrospect as part of a significant economic, social and cultural process. It is possible to identify an 'exhibition era', the time-unit usually applied to it. The adjective 'international', always given emphasis, helps to define it. The exhibitions set out to chart visually 'material and moral progress' within a world context.

The idea of holding exhibitions of objects had its origins in eighteenth-century Europe, but the Great Exhibition of 1851, held in an exciting new building, described by a journalist as the Crystal Palace, a name that has survived, is usually taken as the first event in an international sequence. The cast iron and glass structure, transported after the Exhibition from central London to the southern suburbs and destroyed in a spectacular fire in 1936, was described in *The Times* in 1851 as an 'Arabian Nights structure, full of light', which seemed to belong more to an 'enchanted land' than to 'this gross material world of ours'. Yet the objects collected inside the building and carefully classified, as they were to be in all subsequent international exhibitions, represented in retrospect what anthropologists and historians came to call 'material culture' or in this case and in most later cases material cultures.

There were old and new things-silks and shawls from India, a reaping machine and a sewing machine from the American Republic. Differences in origins were noted in the multitude of publications, official and unofficial, relating to the Exhibition, one of the avowed objectives

of which was 'to draw all the families of the civilised world together in bonds of amity, for their mutual benefit and enlightenment'. For contemporaries there was as much 'romance' in the objects as in the building.

As contemporaries grew older, many of them looked back to the Great Exhibition both as a formative experience for them and as a turning point in human history, 'casting all its predecessors into the shade'. This was because of what Prince Albert, inspirer of the 1851 Exhibition, called 'the peculiar features of our present era'. It was 'a period of most wonderful transition which tends rapidly to accomplish that great end, to which, indeed, all history points-the realisation of the unit of mankind'.

In the title of the 1851 Exhibition there was a specific reference to 'industry': the Exhibition was to display 'the industry of all nations'. The word 'industry' was a human quality, not only a (later term) a sector of the economy. The term 'industrial revolution' was not then in general use, but contemporaries were well aware that with the advent of steam power, which was being applied by then to locomotion as well as to production, the world had changed irrevocably. Machines were there to stay, but as old machines became obsolescent, new ones, incorporating invention, would take their place.

Both exhibition organisers and governments in the foreground-or more often in the background-were enthusiastic in displaying machines and in encouraging invention. The organisers of the 1851 Exhibition and of all later ones, wherever they were subsequently located-outside as well as inside Europe-saw it as their mission visually to register unprecedented change. For them change meant progress, often spelt with a capital P.

The language of 1851 had a religious more than a scientific flavour in new modes of work-the Crystal Palace building. Scriptural texts and classical symbols went together. 'The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof.' It was the particular message of 1851 not only to honour work, including new modes of work-the building itself took only six months to erect because of what later became known as 'standardisation' and 'prefabrication'-but to proclaim a gospel of peace. The name of Joseph

Paxton, who produced the design for the Crystal Palace, lent itself to play on the three letters 'Pax' in his surname. Paxton vobiscum. Paxton was a self-made man, not an architect but a gardener, who had risen in life to become a railway director. There was abundant symbolism in his own life. His sketch of the Crystal Palace was produced on a piece of blotting paper.

At this early point in the history of international exhibitions values were stressed more than ideas. Emphasis was placed above all on work, on ingenuity, on innovation, and on wedding 'science', particularly 'practical science', with 'art'. As the American Minister in London put it a transatlantic message, the materials on display in the Crystal Palace would present 'such a combination of Science and Art as will gratify the highest anticipation of that class of men who have been and will continue to be the creators of wealth, and through their inventions and labours the civilisers of mankind throughout the world'.

There would be no difficulty in assembling an impressive anthology of such messages, some in verse, some conveyed through music. The British novelist W P Thackeray, who delighted in the music, chose verse. Referring to the objects on display, 'the trophies of a bloodless war', he was impressed by their range as well as by their number, over 100 000 of them:

'Harvest-tool and husbandry,
Loom and wheel and engineering,
Secrets of the sullen mine,
Steel and gold, and corn and wine ...
All of beauty, all of use
That our fair planet can produce.'

Not everyone agreed about the beauty of the manufactured objects. Exhibitions always generated controversy, some of it productive when it referred to design. Not everyone believed in Progress when it was identified with industrialisation.

The disagreements are as interesting-and as revealing-in the long record of human history as the expressions of consensus or the proudly publicised statistics of scale,

which made the most of comparative lengths and heights and, above all, numbers of visitors. When the American entrepreneur of circus entertainment, P T Barnum, known throughout the world, was asked by the organisers of the great Chicago Columbian Exhibition to give advice in 1893, he replied 'Make it bigger and better than any that have preceded it. Make it the greatest show on earth'.

The official and non-official catalogues of the objects on display at all international exhibitions, along with the lists of awards exhibitors received, continued-and continue-to receive public attention long after the great show was over. They are far more than collectors' items. They are witness to a unique period in history, which was truly transitional. They reveal the curious and the serious. The sense of Progress was usually directly associated with industrialisation. There was a sense of 'brotherhood' too. The children of the long separated 'sons of Adam' were at last gathered together.

The sequence continues

In 1900 a great world exposition was held in Paris, the capital city of France where a national exhibition of industrial products had been staged as early as 1798. This was the great climax of the exhibition era, summing up as it did the technical and social achievements of a 'wonderful century', one of which, already present in 1851, was the electric telegraph, the other electric power, then barely applied. Yet there was continuity as well as contrast in 1900. The pioneering Scots sociologist Patrick Geddes, a biologist and botanist by training, who wrote a magazine article on the Exposition in the Contemporary Review expressing the view that international exhibitions not only strengthened 'existing economic connections' but 'encouraged further improvements', found it appropriate to employ similar language to that used in 1851. The idea of a 'World's Fair', an older term than 'Exhibition', he stated, was 'fresh and fascinating'. After the appearance of so many marvellous mechanical devices in the decades since 1851 the new Exposition-the word always used in France-was devised to bring them all together.

Geddes was something of a specialist on exhibitions as he was on cities, although his approach to both was

genuinely inter-disciplinary and he eventually designed exhibitions of his own. In an earlier piece of writing on exhibitions which appeared in Edinburgh in 1887 he had discerned 'the progress of well being' as the most important dimension of Progress, and in 1900 he claimed that Paris, 1900, offered the greatest opportunity that the working world had ever seen of combining business with pleasure, of having the 'very best of market-days and holidays in one'. 'For what is better for a man', Geddes asked in conclusion, 'than that he should enjoy the goal of all his labour.' The French President, living in a 'city of pleasure' looked to the future rather than the present or the past, declaring, as Prince Albert might have done, that 'soon, perhaps, we shall have completed an important stage in the slow evolution of work towards happiness and of man towards humanity'. In retrospect, the 'perhaps', which would not have intruded into such a statement by Prince Albert, now stands out.

Between the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the Paris Exposition of 1900 there had been at least 39 exhibitions, calling themselves 'international' that brought out the continuity in the exhibition sequence, among them three seeking explicitly to relate a great date in the national past to the world future. The first, the American Centennial Exposition of 1876, was held in Philadelphia where the Declaration of Independence had been signed a hundred years before. The second, the Paris Exposition of 1889, drew contrasts between the 1889 and 1789, the year of the fall of the Bastille and the beginnings of the French Revolution, a political and constitutional revolution with a strong social and economic dimension and a culture of its own. The third, the World's Columbian Exhibition was staged in Chicago in 1893, and there were more objects on display there than there had been in Philadelphia.

In what was an entirely new nineteenth-century city there was ample reference backwards as well as forwards, as there was at most of the international exhibitions of the nineteenth-century, a century when contemporaries were anxious to place themselves in human history. The large exhibition spaces were laid out to make visitors feel that they were present in 'the age of Pericles'. The 'Palace of Fine Arts', an exhibition feature not present in 1851, but

present in most subsequent exhibitions, beginning with Paris in 1855, was described as 'the greatest achievement since the Parthenon'.

The word 'Palace' persisted throughout the Exhibition era. New York had its own Crystal Palace in 1853. Paris had its Palace of Industry in the 1855 Exposition when the British government, which had provided no public money for the 1851 Exhibition, spent £50 000 to support a British section inside it. There was a touch of luxury in all the Paris expositions of the nineteenth century which constituted a sequence within a sequence. Within it Paris, 1878, was somewhat exceptional. The government planned it to demonstrate the recovery of France after the disasters of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-1, and it lost money.

By then international exhibitions, however financed and however financially successful or unsuccessful, had acquired a cluster of features. Building-or buildings-were set in planned spaces. Sites mattered, and they might include gardens. There were exhibition complexes as well as individual buildings. They had their own iconography, a part of history-domes, viewing platforms, national pavilions. There was no standard pattern, but the organisers of any exhibition learned from the iconography of previous ones.

A unique feature of Paris 1889, which still survives, was the Eiffel Tower, designed by Gaston Eiffel who had also designed the 1867 exhibition, laid out on a grid pattern, each nation having a wedge of the ellipse in an elliptical iron and glass building devised by Frédéric Le Play, an encyclopaedist of human behaviour. The Eiffel Tower was more controversial inside Paris itself than any feature in the British exhibition of 1862 which followed on in the wake of 1851. Eiffel maintained that 'only through scientific and engineering advances as well as progress in iron manufacture which characterise the end of our century can be overtake the preceding generations' but a group of shocked French writers, who included Alexandre Dumas and Guy de Maupassant, stated in public that they loathed the prospect of a 'dizzily ridiculous tower dominating Paris like a gigantic black factory chimney'.

The Eiffel Tower contained no objects, factory-made or otherwise, but from a travelling platform, also devised by Eiffel, it was possible to see all the 'transformed things' in a 'Machine Hall'. Within it voices and music could be heard too through a telephone and a phonograph, newest of nineteenth-century things, while electricity lit up the fountains at the Champs de Mars, creating almost as much of a sensation, this time with little controversy, as the Tower itself. At the beginning and end of each exposition day a cannon shot was fired from Eiffel's apartment.

There had been a unique feature too, a huge Ferris wheel, at a great Vienna exhibition in 1873, set out in a landscaped park, the Prater, a wooded area beside the Danube, where a rotunda and dome had been designed by John Scott Russell, Secretary to Britain's Royal Commissioners of 1851, and Francis Philip Cunliffe-Owen, who succeeded Sir Henry Cole, mentioned more fully below, as secretary of Britain's Science and Art Department, a legacy of the Great Exhibition. Scott Russell's elaborately decorated cast iron dome was 270 feet high and 320 feet across. The main building had a nave almost half-a-mile long, with the transepts, architectural terms borrowed significantly from cathedrals. The objects on display were set out geographically in accordance with a map of the world as shown on Mercator's projection. There was great ingenuity behind all this, but the Vienna Exhibition, planned to celebrate the jubilee of the Emperor, Francis Joseph, lost money.

The Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia of 1876 was set in 236 acres of parkland. There were 14 000 exhibitors, and the most spectacular exhibit was a great Corliss steam engine with a 56-ton flywheel which revolved without noise: the twenty steam boilers were in a separate building. The engine provided power for all the other machines on display. Less prominent was a liquid-fuelled Brayton internal combustion engine which used crude petroleum. That was an engine that pointed to the future, although it was a new Otto & Company engine, patented in 1876-and not ready in time to be displayed at Philadelphia-that for the first time placed internal

combustion on a soundly competitive footing with steam power. It was on display in Paris in 1878.

The social consequences of internal combustion were to become apparent only in the twentieth-century 'age of the automobile', a different era from that of the international exhibition. So, too, were the social consequences of new communications devices that were to culminate in broadcasting, radio and television. There were to be continuities both in rhetoric and in music after 1900, but the musical metaphors of 1876 did not survive the exhibition era. At Philadelphia music coming from a giant organ inspired a foreign commissioner to exclaim that the exhibits in the fifteen national exhibition halls 'harmonised like movements of a mighty fugue in which every voice intones the melody anew'. The orchestra was 'an industrial orchestra'. 'Never before (had) total effect been achieved so perfectly.' Once again Paris 1900 provided the climax. One of a series of sculptures on display there bore the memorable words 'Harmony destroying Discord'.

Rhetoric, like music, was never in short supply at nineteenth-century international exhibitions. Words, wafted from one exhibition to another, were as plentiful as objects or images. Yet unadorned facts have always to be taken into account in the international exhibition process. So, too, even in 1851, do photographs. Thus, there was a Photography Hall at Philadelphia, regularly visited by George Eastman, photographic entrepreneur who transformed the place of photography in daily life. The cinema was to continue the story. A Japanese presence at Philadelphia was recognised as more than symbolic: their building was pre-fabricated. At Paris in 1867 it had been Japanese art which had been shown on a large scale for the first time. Now Japan was turning to science also.

There was a special link too between Paris and Philadelphia in 1876. The giant hand of Bartholdi's 'Statue of Liberty' was on display to raise funds to complete the whole statue. The head was to be displayed two years later at the Paris Exposition of 1878 which placed in a topographically strategic position a new

Trocadero Palace, flamboyantly eclectic in style, which was to survive, with changes, until 1937, a year after London's Crystal Palace.

At the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 most of the buildings were Beaux Arts buildings, derived from French academic models of skyscrapers. Yet there was one important exception, the Transportation Building, the architect of which was Louis Sullivan, who disliked equally eclecticism and revivalism. Even more keenly aware of the possibilities of iron and glass than Paxton had been, he was one of the architects of the world's first true skyscraper. Sullivan was bold enough to state that 'the damage wrought by the World's Fair will last for half a century from its date, if not longer'.

It was fitting that it was the Transportation Building that Sullivan designed, for efficient transportation, still in its railway phase, was an important element at all international exhibitions. In Philadelphia two special railway lines were built before 1876, and in 159 days there were 66,467 special trains. In Chicago the city's elevated railway network was inaugurated in 1892, the first electric railway in the world, and along a new road artery, the Midway, named a 'plaisance', visitors could see in a separate 'Amusement Park', Algerian, Dahomey, Japanese and Lapland villages, an Irish market town, a Bedouin camp, a Persian harem and a whole street from Cairo. (There had been a Rue de Caire, always crowded, in Paris in 1889.)

There was one other feature both of Philadelphia and of Chicago which attracted considerable attention even from visitors. There were Women's Pavilions, the first of them, however, designed by a man. In 1876 the Centennial Exposition housed the fourth annual conference of the Association for the Advancement of Women, and at Chicago thirty-one sessions were devoted to a Congress on Women's Progress. 'We know the bringing together of men is more than the bringing together of things', one speaker put it. 'In these contacts are formed the circuits which constitute the currents of progress.' Chicago had been more ambitious than Philadelphia. The bringing together of women was more revolutionary. The architect

of its Women's Pavilion was a woman, and within it the steam engine had been operated by a woman engineer.

3. The Exhibition Network

To understand the dynamics of what can rightly be called the international exhibition movement it is necessary to explore more fully 'contacts' and 'circuits'. These were genuinely international, and they often survived exhibitions, continuing to carry forward not only the experience of each exhibition, but the ideas and values that it had expressed. There were always observers at each exhibition, who reported what was happening, sometimes officially, always in letters, and they identified particular points which they considered to be relevant to the planning and organisation of international exhibitions in their own countries. Thus, an official French observer, the Marquis de Chasseloup-Laubat, was present at Chicago, where the French contribution to the 1893 Exhibition was overshadowed by that of Germany, which held few exhibitions of its own, but which followed very carefully what was happening. (Before German unification in 1871 Bismarck and his Emperor had attended the Paris Exposition of 1867.) In 1900 it produced a handsome illustrated catalogue of its exhibits on display, complete with essays, in three languages, French, German and English. The Marquis reported back to Paris that the United States was already the richest nation in the world, a comment which had been made about Britain by foreign observers in 1851.

Chasseloup-Laubat, who reported back to Paris that the United States was already the richest nation in the world, a comment which had been made about Britain by foreign observers in 1851, was present in Chicago because a preparatory commission of fifty people was sitting already in Paris to prepare for what became the great Paris Exposition of 1900, an exhibition, which as Geddes noted was a unique centennial opportunity to undertake a stock-taking. It attracted not only large crowds, some of whom were attending an international exhibition for the first time, but large numbers of people who could by then describe themselves as seasoned exhibition experts. Both groups were especially delighted

with an elevated passageway, trottoir roulant or moving pavement which passed round almost the whole area of the Exposition.

Such forms of physical communication were to become commonplace in the twentieth century, as were lifts or elevators. Yet in investigating 'circuits' it is social communications which mattered most. Communication between commissions in different countries - or their envoys - was a basic ingredient in the exhibition era. There was a network which was more influential than the Press network which reported exhibitions to people who could not, for whatever reason, visit them. Yet, the Press network, which widened in the exhibition era, came to make the most of illustrations. Thus, in Paris L'illustration reported regularly on Chicago, 1893. The Illustrated London News, first launched in 1842, made the most, without the aid of photography, of exhibition pictures from every great exhibition in the world.

The 1840s was the decade when in Britain a voluntary body, the Royal Society of Arts, founded in 1754, a society for 'the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce', organised national exhibitions in Britain on the eve of the first international exhibition in 1851. The Society, with a varied membership, provided the core executive to work with Prince Albert in seeing through successfully the labours of the Great Exhibition. One member of the core group, already mentioned, Sir Henry Cole, 'a Prince Albert on a lowlier plane', continued to direct the executive. The apt motto on the title page of his biography was 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth do, do it with thy might'.

Commissioners, the term used at the Great Exhibition to describe the men who took over from the Royal Society the responsibility for planning and organising the exhibition, were expected to work as well as to talk. They included the Prime Minister and three other some-time Prime Ministers of different political complexions as well as representatives of the arts and sciences, including Sir Charles Eastlake, the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Charles Lyell, the geologist, Robert Stephenson, the railway pioneer, William Cubitt, an engineer, and Charles

Barry, an architect. Cubitt, who already moved in Prince Albert's circle before 1851, was told that he would be embarking on 'grander work' than he had done before: he was chairman of the Building Committee. The Commissioners carried out diplomatic as well as planning duties. They had to deal with French Special Commissioners, for instance, and once the Exhibition was well launched, they received an official invitation to Paris from Louis Napoleon, who was soon to declare himself Emperor Napoleon III.

Napoleon III took a personal interest in the French Exposition of 1855, when the number of exhibitors was greater than in 1851, and wrote a report on it which influenced the next great Paris Exposition in 1867. Between the two a second great international exhibition and the last was held in London in 1862. It originated from the Royal Society of Arts and not from the 1851 Commissioners who, differently constituted, survived the move of the Crystal Palace from Hyde Park. A smaller group of new Commissioners was now appointed, with Cole acting as 'consulting Officer' and watching its operations largely from outside.

Both in 1855 and in 1862 contacts were important. So, too, were comparisons across time as well as across space, as they were, particularly in 1867. Just because the 1862 exhibition in London, which was planned for 1861, was the second, many comparisons were drawn at the time between the two exhibitions. The death of Albert in 1861 was a blow to all the planning, but *The Times*, much read abroad as well as in Britain, could write eloquently about a new 'great picnic of art and science, a world's gathering ... with all the crowding, all the strangely miscellaneous character, all the mixture of the useful and the beautiful, the ingenious, the cheap and the gay that there was in Hyde Park'. Its reporter even liked the building which was designed by a military engineer, Captain Fowke, and which was to become the first home of what later became the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Work as well as imagination was always required from colonial Commissioners. One of them, South Australia's Sir Samuel Davenport, made the colony's Agent-General

work harder, in the Agent's own words, than he ever had done before to carry to success a Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886. The best Commissioners everywhere were usually more interested in practicalities than in stereotyping. They learned from the experience of one exhibition-what they learned from 1851 could be burdensome-how to plan for another. Their place within the state apparatus of their own countries varied, in some cases relationships could be difficult, but their countries came to depend on them as they established authority-individual, even collective-in their own sphere, which often included libraries, museums and art galleries as well as exhibitions.

Inevitably they were drawn through their stewardship into cultural controversy which might focus on the assembly, evaluation and physical transfer of national objects to international exhibitions overseas-agents in London helped in this-or on the appointment and qualifications of the jurymen selected to make awards there. (Opposition was expressed, particularly by the French, when in Chicago in 1893 juries were dispensed with and judges made the awards). In smaller countries single individuals could be in sole charge of the circuits that linked the network. Indeed, from 1851 onwards, there was resistance in many quarters to pricing objects on display, although in Britain Charles Babbage, economist as well as scientist and pioneer of the computer, was 'strongly' urging pricing in 1851 itself. In his opinion the absence of prices was 'injurious both to art and to artists', removing from 'the field of competition the best judges of real merit'.

At the time of the Chicago Columbian Exhibition of 1893 Walter H. Harris, a former sheriff of London and a British Commissioner serving on its Board, wrote to the Foreign Office in London suggesting the creation of a permanent, centralised and governmental exhibition committee on the lines of existing committees in France and Germany which assembled French and German exhibitions. He had concluded that the presence of a full-time British 'Commissioner-General' present in Chicago-with full power to act in concert with other foreign Commissioners-General-would have assisted Britain which had been 'signally outstripped by Germany'. It was not

until 1903, however, that the British Board of Trade created an Exhibitions Branch and set up a committee, convened three years later, to study 'the nature and extent of the benefit accruing to British Arts, Industries and Trade' from formal and official participation in international exhibitions. Its report was published in 1907, but the voluntary tradition in Britain remained strong into the twentieth century.

In France, where it was less strong, the Commissioner-General at the Paris Exposition of 1900, Alfred Picard, an engineer, who had written the official report on the Exposition of 1889, had extraordinary powers. Appointed by ministerial decree and theoretically subservient to the Minister of Commerce, he appointed his own assistants, a small advisory body, and the members of a number of sub-commissions, administering such Exposition features as catalogue publishing, assembling congresses, supervising architects, builders and engineers, and, not least, dealing on a routine basis with foreign Commissioners. Each of the 47 nations represented in Paris had to appoint Commissioners General. Any disputes were usually settled without Picard becoming involved. There was an effective decentralisation, therefore, within a centralised leadership.

Among the men who assisted Picard there were almost no provincials, no politicians, no businessmen, no free-lance specialists. The men who moulded the exposition were teachers in state schools of engineering and art, civil engineers, and a few army officers. Many of them had experience at earlier expositions. They were highly trained civil servants with a strong sense of *esprit de corps*.

There were no such groups in the countries of the British Empire where the voluntary sector was also less strong than it was in Britain. But there, where at first sight paradoxically nationalism could be strengthened at international exhibitions, there was a dependence on busy so-called 'exhibition wallahs', not usually full Commissioners, but men whose importance was recognised by governments anxious, if nothing else, to publicise their national products. They were professionals whose influence could be strong, not least in classifying

objects. Prominent among them was an Indian, T N Mukharji, the highest ranking Indian in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, where, with the humble rank of Class II assistant, he was assistant for exhibitions and assistant curator in the Art and Economics Section of the Indian Museum in Calcutta. One of his productions was a 'sort of Index to the manufactures and raw materials of the great continent of India'.

Mukharji had links with Australia as well as with Britain. The network was inter-colonial, as was demonstrated at a small so-called international exhibition in Calcutta in 1883/4. The number of colonial exhibitions, most of them exhibiting people as well as objects, increased during the 1880s and 1890s. A Colonial and Indian Exhibition, held in London in 1886 provided propaganda for empire, but at Paris 1900, where the French Empire figured prominently, there was a significant Indian exhibit with beautifully dressed Indians serving as exhibition attendants.

Mukharji's Australian counterparts are described below in Section 6. One of them, E P Ramsay, New South Wales Museum administrator and a visiting State Commissioner to India, profited from an 1883 International Fisheries Exhibition, one of a growing number of such specialised exhibitions, to advance scientific and social links with Indian colleagues which led to the Australian Museum acquiring over 750 specimens of Indian fish for permanent display in Sydney. There were similar colonial links in botany-Horticultural Halls were always popular and exhibition displays often made their way into permanent museum collections.

4. The Museum Experience

However important the Commissioners, 'wallahs' or 'experts' might be in making international exhibitions possible, the success of every exhibition depended on its power to attract visitors. Vienna failed to do so: Paris 1878 almost bankrupted the city. The Paris Exposition of 1900 was attended by over 50 million people, a smaller figure than had been hoped for (60 million), but nevertheless the largest attendance of any nineteenth-century exhibition. (The population of France at that time

was only 35 million.) It was a costly exposition that prided itself, as many late twentieth-century films were to do, on its special effects-glass, water cascades, mirrors and, above all, electric light. The Arabian Nights image, conjured up in 1851, returned. 'An opium smoker might have conceived this fairy palace after reading the Arabian Nights' was one response. In 1851 it had seemed a miracle when six million visitors had flocked to London. 'The Exhibition of 1851 did for this nation what foreign travel does for the individual Briton', wrote George Frederick Pardon, the author of a popular guidebook to the second great International Exhibition held in London in 1862. He might have said the same about what exhibitions did for other nations too. Public travel was becoming international, but mass tourism was a late-twentieth century phenomenon.

It was rightly taken as a sign of measurable success in 1851 that the largest weekly totals of visitors were achieved in the last two weeks of the Exhibition in October. Yet the first unforgettable day, May 1st, was open to season ticket holders as well as to privileged official guests, and 25 000 of them were admitted in the morning. In the intervening months, there were shilling days, and the largest number of people assembled on one day in the Crystal Palace building-with a floor area twice the size of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome-was 93,224.

When people travelled to exhibitions, often in large numbers, they were not mere observers. They were participants. Many of them came in families. They belonged to all sections of society. The children were particularly welcomed. All shared what can properly be described, like May 1st 1851, as 'a museum experience', often described as 'unforgettable'. Some people were visiting London or Paris or Philadelphia or Chicago for the first time so that their visit constituted a far more varied new experience than that of entering the exhibition precincts. They were being introduced to a city, and that rather than the exhibition itself was usually the bazaar where everything was on sale. Crowded cities were packed with strangers. Some visitors never got to the exhibition at all. In 1851 the British historian, T B Macaulay, who delighted in the magic of the Crystal

Palace and the objects inside it, nevertheless found it more interesting to watch people outside the Exhibition than to contemplate the objects inside it.

The nature of the entertainment to be found inside and outside the Exhibition space, not all of it 'respectable', sometimes shocked visitors, perhaps a majority of them, but entertainment contributed to the exhibition atmosphere during an exhibition even when there was no continuous flow of entertainment between exhibitions. This made the exhibition experience more intense. It also encouraged what later became called 'consumerism'. There were food and drinks never tasted before, souvenirs to purchase. Spending was encouraged at a time when thrift was being extolled as a complement to work.

Increasingly, however, although there were complaints concerning this side of international exhibitions, and more stress was laid by their organisers on education. It was thought proper that visitors had to be informed and educated as well as entertained. Already in 1851 there were artisans who treated the Exhibition as 'more of a school than of a show', and in 1862 there was an explicit educational purpose as there was in Paris in 1867 and Chicago in 1893. Just as there was only an irregular flow of entertainment before 1900, even in Paris and London, so there was no regular schooling for all in Britain in 1851. One of the sights of the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 was a display of school textbooks, examples of students' work, and school photographs.

Whatever the intentions of Commissioners or politicians-and clergymen-in the background and however voluminous the amount of information provided, it was not easy to save visitors from confusion in many exhibitions. This was particularly so in Paris 1900 where one enthusiast complained that 'no man has been actually able to see, much less is able to show this vast, indeed too vast, labyrinth of labyrinths, this enormous multitude of collections, this museum of museums'. 'All is too crowded, and twice the space would not have been too much.'

As he listened to the crowds at the Exposition, a German visitor, Friedrich Naumann, overheard Frenchmen saying 'we'll have no more expositions. This is the last.' Geddes gathered this impression too, acknowledging that in Britain, as in France, there was a widespread distrust of exhibitions at the end of the nineteenth century. 'Rainbow optimism' no longer swayed either Commissioners or visitors. There was no longer a confident belief in Progress. And there was an increasing awareness of the element of drudgery in most people's work and of the existence of poverty in the midst of plenty. The only place for an ambitious exposition after 1900 was a city in the United States, although in 1901 Glasgow held an international exhibition designed to compare 1851 and 1901. Glasgow, proclaiming Scots pride, considered itself as much of a world city as London.

Between 1901 and 1915 there were 41 exhibitions calling themselves international, most of them in the United States. The first of them, described as a Pan-American World Fair, was held in Buffalo in 1901 and the second, held in St. Louis in 1904, had first been projected ten years earlier. It covered more space than all previous American international exhibitions put together, but it lost money heavily. The number of visitors was 19 million, but only two-thirds of them paid for their admission, not many more than had paid for their tickets at Glasgow in a relatively small international exhibition held three years before. The St Louis Fair commemorated the centenary of the American purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon in 1804, but paid most attention not to exhibition era themes but to what was now often called 'American empire'.

The two most important international exhibitions of the twentieth century came after the First World War and the Great Depression which followed the financial crash on Wall Street in 1929, had opened a great divide between the exhibition era and 'modern times'. The Chicago Exposition of 1933 labelled itself the Century of Progress Exhibition in a year when progress was far more in doubt than it had been in 1893, and the New York World Fair of 1939, 'world fair of world fairs', organised as St Louis had

been not by Commissioners but by company directors, opened on 30 April 1939 a few months before the beginning of the Second World War.

5. Exhibition Legacies

Exhibitions came and went, but some of them left legacies behind, physical, financial or intellectual cultural. In London in 1851 the Royal Commissioners would have liked to keep the Crystal Palace in or near Hyde Park. Instead, the building was moved out to Sydenham where it began a new life, providing regular entertainment, including classical music. The financial surplus of the Great Exhibition was substantial enough for the Commissioners to purchase land in South Kensington which subsequently housed a cluster of buildings in close proximity to each other, in what was described by some contemporaries as a '*quartier Latin*'.

The complex included not only a College of Art but a Museum, a Science Museum, and a Natural History Museum, a Royal College of Music and an Albert Hall. There was also to be an imposing Albert Memorial, designed in 1862 and completed in 1876, synthesising allegory and symbolism with narrative and historical representation, and bearing texts and images familiar to all visitors to nineteenth century-exhibitions. The 1851 Commissioners survived as a body, paying increasing attention as the century went by, as active exhibitions did, to the provision of funds for education. The surplus continued to be put to good use.

No other exhibition left such a rich legacy, but Paris, 1900 left behind a number of buildings which changed the face of Paris as the Commissioners of 1851 had less directly changed the face of London. There were two new buildings, the Grand Palais and the Petit Palais, which are still used for exhibitions. For architectural critics they represented 'regressive tendencies' as Sullivan believed most of the buildings in Chicago, 1893, had done. 'What can one say about the Grand Palais, a sort of railway station where masses of stone have been piled up to support what?', one historian of art nouveau has asked, offering his own reply, 'A high, thin roof of glass.'

It is as if a giant were flexing his muscles, stiffening his arms and marking a tremendous effort to raise a simple head-dress of lace above his head.'

There were other kinds of legacy. Thus, the Prefect of Paris complained in 1900 immediately after the Exposition closed that it had left behind 'large numbers of individuals from every corner of France and Europe'. 'Now they have no livelihood. Some of these people are merely unlucky people ... but there are others ... bandits, and burglars and thieves or-what is even worse-those who live off them.'

6. The View from Melbourne: an International Perspective

That was not the view from Melbourne, despite its larrikins, contemptuous of all authority, nor from Australia, where different States had their own perspectives. Leaders of opinion in the Australian colonies had been interested in exhibitions from the time of the opening of the Crystal Palace onwards. From the distant periphery of empire Australian exhibits made their way to London then and in 1862, triumphing over distance as did the telegraphic cable which reached Melbourne in July 1872. Soon foreign exhibits made their way to exhibitions in Sydney and Melbourne.

As early as 1854 Melbourne erected its own first exhibition building which owed a debt, fully acknowledged, to the Crystal Palace. It had 200 ornamental windows and was lit by 306 gas lights. An exhibition, modest in scale-there were 428 exhibits-was held in that year. An Australian sequence of exhibitions followed, some of them instituted by Sir Redmond Barry, Chief Justice of Australia, founder and trustee of the Library, where some of the exhibitions were held, and Chancellor of Melbourne University.

The sequence culminated in impressive Melbourne international exhibitions in 1880 and 1888. These took place at a time when the city boomed. It was also a time when the Australian colonies were placing more emphasis, as indeed London then was, on empire and on imperial trade, and less on the gospel of free trade which

had been proclaimed with complete confidence in 1851. It never had been treated so confidently in Australia. Yet the timing of the 1880 Melbourne International Exhibition was related less to what was happening in London than to the timing of the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 and the Paris Exposition of 1878. It was sensibly thought that exhibits sent there might now make their way to Melbourne. This was a genuinely international preoccupation.

The second Melbourne International Exhibition of 1888 had more British and imperial resonance. When Queen Victoria, who had given her name to the colony of Victoria, celebrated her Golden Jubilee in 1887, Melbourne society celebrated it too. A vice-regal Jubilee ball in Government House was described in a local journal as 'a blaze of colour; a poem in tones; a glimpse of fairyland'.

There had been a note of pride ten years earlier, as there was in most exhibition cities, in a message sent from the Victorian Commissioners to the Commissioners of the 1878 Paris Exposition. Melbourne, they stated, was now 'the site of a populous and well-built city presenting all the evidences of wealth and civilisation, taking rank with the foremost cities of the world'. 'The rapid progress of Australasia' was 'one of the marvels of modern times'. The increase of wealth and the advance of civilisation were part of a single process.

The same note was struck in 1880 by Sir William Clarke, the chairman of the Commissioners who planned the 1880 Exhibition. The site on which a new building was erected 'only a generation ago was part of an unknown forest in an unknown land'. And the theme was taken up in a prize cantata, Victoria, with music by Leon Caron. Part I described the past, 'Victoria sleeping amidst the primeval solitudes and awakened by voices foretelling speedy discovery and development'. Part II described how Victoria, now Queen of the South, is discovered 'engaged in varioqus pursuits'-pastoral, agricultural and industrial- and is approached by a company of nymphs, 'representing the various nations of the earth'.

On the opening day of the 1880 Exhibition twenty thousand people were in the streets watching a great procession led by two brass bands. The building itself, designed by Joseph Reed, who had arrived in Melbourne from England in 1852, was of Beaux Arts inspiration, as Chicago, 1893, was to be, and there were 'aesthetic' sunflowers and lilies embellishing its dome and balconies. Of no major architectural significance, but placed in a garden in a new Victorian city with many imposing Victorian buildings, it was rightly held to be a triumph.

It survives as a representative exhibition building of the exhibition era, complete when it was opened with texts and symbols that caught the essence of the exhibition experience. It has been fully described and its history found in D Dunstan's Victorian Icon (1996).

The fact that it housed a second exhibition on a bigger scale in 1888 and that it survived both, though without the original décor, and that most other exhibition buildings elsewhere have not, places it firmly within a heritage. 'Victoria Welcomes All Nations.' 'All the Earth is Full of Thy Riches.' The adjective 'royal' attached to it only since 1980 adds to rather than diminishes its nineteenth-century significance as it does when attached to the present buildings in the Kensington complex in London, once nicknamed 'Albertopolis'.

The Second Exhibition, a centennial exhibition to celebrate a century of Australian history, attracted over two million people, but it was necessary for the Victorian government to spend £250 000 on it, ten times the amount estimated, a sum which seemed absurd after the economic boom had burst as it did in 1889. There was a greater emphasis on culture than in 1880, particularly on music and painting. A choir of five thousand sang music old and new, and half a million people attended symphony concerts. There were two landscape paintings on display, one by Frederic Leighton, and there was a life-size painting of Bismarck addressing the Reichstag by Anton von Werner.

Exhibitions which took place late in the exhibition era were less attached to the gospel of peace than their predecessors. A Krupps gun had been displayed in the

Crystal Palace in 1851 and an even bigger gun at the Paris Exposition of 1867. Now there were 'Armaments pavilions', labelled as such and said to be very popular with visitors. Few people, gazing into the future, had any intimation, however, of what the next war would be like, although it was plain long before it started that the exhibition era which began in 1851 was over. The passion systematically to relate past to present and present to future as a universal theme was burning itself out.

7. Evaluating a heritage

Most of the objects seen in international exhibitions were quickly dispersed, and many of the buildings were destined from the start to be pulled down quickly. Much of the printed material surrounding the exhibitions was by its very nature ephemeral. Disaster by fire was common: the Sydney International Exhibition building of 1879 was burnt down as early as 1882. What has survived, therefore, is precious, witness to an exhibition era distinctive in history. The history was economic, social, political even diplomatic, and always cultural. The exhibition era was an era when history counted. More has survived in Melbourne than in most places, throwing light on world history, colonial and imperial history, national history and, not least, Australian history, placing that history within a world frame before professional historians in Australia fully charted it.

The international dimension in the heritage is what gives the exhibition era contemporary as well as historical importance. The objects on display at all international exhibitions came from all parts of the world and from the start included raw materials as well as finished articles and traditional as well as manufactured products. The people on display too were part of the ethnography. The role of power-driven industry-and of transportation-was emphasised in 'Palaces of Industry' where huge crowds could see not only static objects but machines at work. The values behind the exhibitions were international too. Work was hailed: mankind was treated as one and the future of mankind was explored. There was unity in diversity. The language itself, which seldom incorporated

the word 'technology' and never incorporated the word 'global', is part of the heritage.

Because there was an international exhibition sequence it is possible to trace not only the changing use of raw materials (rubber, for example, or aluminium) and new modes of production, both transformed through science, but changing attitudes to the historic heritage and to the environment, to human relationships and, indeed, in language and values. The gospel of peace could ring hollow when there were popular pavilions devoted to war.

Because there were major changes in attitudes towards empire during the exhibition era, both at the centre and at the periphery, the imperial element in international exhibitions which became a more potent ingredient in them during the 1880s and 1890s is a feature to emphasise. Colonies developed their independent outlook and orientation, with Australia leading the way and after 1888 forging its own trade routes with European countries besides Britain and across the Pacific with Canada, where there was both a British and a French inheritance. Nationalism emerged within an international context, as international exhibitions in colonial countries demonstrated. There was a persistent looking to the future (the word 'utopian' is misleading). In the future was hope.

In Australia the international exhibitions, always matters of pride, were of importance in forging a sense of Australia within an imperial and what is now called a global context. They also helped to introduce the world to Australia. One of the most revealing accounts of the 1888 Exhibition was the official report on it by R Burdett Smith, New South Wales Executive Commissioner, covering all sections of the Exhibition, it stressed 'the moral effects of the event'. New South Wales had a 'fine spirit of Australian patriotism permeated all who had a responsible personal interest' in it, but it pointed towards 'harmonious relations with all parts of the civilised world'. It adds to the sense of heritage that when the Exhibition Hall ceased to be used for international exhibitions, it was given special importance when the first Federal Parliament met there in 1901. By then the exhibition era had virtually come to a close.

Criteria have been set for listing historic properties in a World Heritage list. As the Melbourne International Exhibition building (with inevitable changes) survives in its Carlton Gardens setting, with conservation rules applied to it, Buildings and Gardens are already a rich part of the international heritage in itself. More important, however, they bear witness to the spell of international exhibitions, a spell still not lost in a very different era, and still associated in new circumstances with hope as well as with memory. The values associated with international exhibitions are still relevant. How they were expressed is part of living history. Melbourne has a special place on the heritage map which calls for full international recognition.

