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CLOSE ENCOUNTERS:

International Exhibitions and the Material Culture of the British Empire, c.1880-1940



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Submitted May 31, 2016

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ABSTRACT

Apparitions of empire and imperial ideologies were deeply embedded in the International Exhibition, a distinct exhibitionary paradigm that came to prominence in the mid-nineteenth century. Exhibitions were platforms for the display of objects, the movement of people, and the dissemination of ideas across and between regions of the British Empire, thereby facilitating contact between its different cultures and societies. This thesis aims to disrupt a dominant understanding of International Exhibitions, which forwards the notion that all exhibitions, irrespective of when or where they were staged, upheld a singular imperial discourse (i.e. Greenhalgh 1988, Rydell 1984). Rather, this thesis suggests International Exhibitions responded to and reflected the unique social, political and economic circumstances in which they took place, functioning as cultural environments in which pressing concerns of the day were worked through. Understood thus, the International Exhibition becomes a space for self-presentation, serving as a stage from which a multitude of interests and identities were constructed, performed and projected.

This thesis looks to the visual and material culture of the International Exhibition in order to uncover this more nuanced history, and foregrounds an analysis of the intersections between practices of exhibition-making and identity-making. The primary focus is a set of exhibitions held in Glasgow in the late-1880s and early-1900s, which extends the geographic and temporal boundaries of the existing scholarship. What is more, it looks at representations of Canada at these events, another party whose involvement in the International Exhibition tradition has gone largely unnoticed. Consequently, this thesis is a thematic investigation of the links between a municipality routinely deemed the 'Second City of the Empire' and a Dominion settler colony, two types of geographic setting rarely brought into dialogue. It analyses three key elements of the exhibition-making process, exploring how iconographies of 'quasi-nationhood' were expressed through an exhibition's planning and negotiation, its architecture and its displays. This original research framework deliberately cuts across strata that continue to define conceptions of the British Empire, and pushes beyond a conceptual model defined by metropole and colony. Through examining International Exhibitions held in Glasgow in the late-Victorian and Edwardian periods, and visions of Canada in evidence at these events, the goal is to offer a novel intervention into the existing literature concerning the cultural history of empire, one that emphasises fluidity rather than fixity and which muddles the boundaries between centre and periphery.

Keywords: International Exhibitions; material and visual culture of empire; identity and empire; practices of exhibition-making (modern and contemporary); contact zones; Canadian cultural history (19th century and 20th century); Scottish cultural history (19th century and 20th century).

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is with considerable gratitude that I recognise the many people who have helped, assisted and supported me over the course of my doctoral studies. In the first instance, I must acknowledge my two supervisors at the University of Glasgow, Dr Ian G. Anderson and Dr Sabine Wieber, whose contributions have proved invaluable to the development of my research project. I came to them with an unwieldy proposal and it has been largely due to their incisive, knowledgeable and consistent feedback and advice that I have been able to produce what I hope is an interesting, original and accessible piece of research. It has been an immense pleasure to work with them, both as individuals and as a supervisory team, and their guidance has been key over the course of these last three to four years. A very sincere thanks is also owed to Dr John Richards who first advocated I return to the University of Glasgow to pursue doctoral studies. Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the positive influence of previous professors, particularly Dr Andrea Fatona, Dr Adrienne Hood and Dr Caroline Seck Langill, who encouraged me to pursue doctoral work and whose fierce intelligence and insight in their respective fields has helped shape the conceptual and methodological contours of my project.

Numerous archivists, librarians, collections managers and curators were of assistance while conducting fieldwork and securing permissions to reproduce images from their collections. In Glasgow, this includes those working in the archives and special collections departments of the Mitchell Library and the University of Glasgow Library, as well as Tracey Hawkins, Assistant Curator of Collections at Glasgow Museums. In Canada, I spent time at the National Gallery of Canada, Library & Archives Canada, the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library and the Art Museum (both at the University of Toronto), the Archives of Ontario, the Toronto Public Library and the Arts & Letters Club. At all of these institutions, as well as others that I latterly corresponded with, my queries were met with helpfulness and congeniality, which helped alleviate much of the stress associated with conducting research in a tight time-frame.

I owe enormous thanks to my family and friends in the UK and Canada. My debt to many cannot sufficiently be conveyed in the present context and, in any respect, is more appropriately expressed over the brunches and dinners, afternoons in coffee shops and evenings in pubs that I plan to offer them in recognition of their unwavering enthusiasm and support. Indeed, it was sharing these things with them that helped maintain a sense of normalcy and perspective. That said, I must give especial thanks to Paul who has consistently championed my work and been an endless source of positivity and patience, not to mention practical help. It is also important to highlight my parents, Jane and Edward, individuals of many if not infinite interests, who through leading by example have encouraged ongoing learning and intellectual exploration in my sister and I. They share this trait with the family they live across the street from, who have similarly nurtured these impulses in their own children, one of whom I am lucky enough to call my closest friend. Bea and I started our PhDs shortly after one another and will finish them shortly after one another. In between, we threw a party to celebrate a friendship that has lasted for over thirty years, almost half of which has been spent living in separate countries, an accomplishment of much greater worth than completing a doctorate. When we were in the early stages of our PhDs, Bea's father, reflecting back on his own doctoral experience, said that for him it had been one of the happiest periods in his life. It represented a time of near luxury when he was fortunate enough to structure his days around reading, researching, thinking and writing about a subject he was passionate about. I have thought often of Michael's advice over these past years, and have seldom felt anything but wholehearted agreement.

Lastly, I dedicate this thesis to my grandparents Sylvia, Arthur, Anne and David whose lives criss-crossed spheres of empire and whose stories of doing so have inspired this work.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

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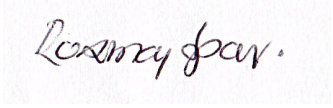

Date

May 31, 2016

1

INTRODUCTION

"All roads lead to the Exhibition"[1]

While reading the April 1938 issue of *The Canadian Magazine* one item in particular jumped out at Sarah McKenzie. What grabbed her attention was not a feature article – this national publication, established in 1893, covered a diversity of topics including current affairs, politics, art and literature for a growing Canadian audience – but rather an advertisement, one for the Empire Exhibition: Scotland due to open in Glasgow in just over a month. Her interest sufficiently piqued, McKenzie fired off a letter to the government's Department of Trade and Commerce in Ottawa, which oversaw the operations of the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission. Keen to know more about this upcoming event, McKenzie wrote directly to the Minister and Deputy Minister:

> Would you please kindly let me know the particulars … of how much it would cost to go there [Glasgow] on this trip and if I can stay or if I have to just go for a visit or not as outsiders have been telling me that I can't go to stay because I have been here so long but I can't see into that. My own Brother and Father are there and my Brother has been trying to see away [sic] to get me back home but by the way they say it is a terrible lot of money and neither of us has got the money to put up. … They said it would take £23 and £25 and now I am asking you to please let me know the right price and if I can stay on or not. Please write soon.[2]

Written by hand on plain paper with no institutional or corporate markers, and betraying a somewhat haphazard use of grammar and punctuation, McKenzie's letter is an anomaly. Indeed, these features make it stand out amongst the reams of documents filed alongside it, most of which pertain to rather mundane aspects of Canada's trade policy in the 1930s. Replying a few days later, the department's Secretary suggested McKenzie contact travel providers about the cost of passage and enclosed a brochure that detailed the attractions and points of interest of Canada's contribution to the Empire Exhibition: Scotland. While admitting officials were confused by her mention of limitations on her ability to travel, C.H. Payne assured McKenzie no complications should arise from the length or nature of her stay in Glasgow. "So far as we are aware" he wrote, "there are no restrictions upon visitors, particularly in the case of citizens of the British Empire."[3]

Like countless other Scots, McKenzie, who was born in Glasgow, immigrated to Canada likely in the hope of establishing a better life. She left Glasgow in the late-1890s, about a decade after the city hosted its first International Exhibition and only a few years before it would mount a second, events that were important precursors to the Empire Exhibition: Scotland of 1938. McKenzie may have

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[1] *The Exhibition Illustrated: A Pictorial Souvenir of the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901*, 18 May 1901 (Glasgow: The Scots Pictorial Publishing Co. Ltd., 1901), Mitchell Library Special Collections & Archives (hereafter ML), LK5.2505.
[2] Sarah McKenzie to W.D. Euler and James G. Parmelee, 26 March 1938, Library & Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), RG72: Canadian Government Exhibition Commission fonds, vol. 180, file 30955.
[3] C.H. Payne to McKenzie, 1 April 1938, LAC, RG72, vol. 180, file 30955.

sought to escape Glasgow's thick urban congestion since, as Irene Maver reminds us, Glasgow was the most densely populated city in Britain at this time with an average of 84 people living in an acre of space.[4] Perhaps she had left in the hopes of finding steady employment or securing land ownership. Indeed, by 1938 McKenzie was living in a small agricultural community in South Eastern Ontario, about halfway between Toronto and Ottawa. Then again, McKenzie may have been motivated by a desire to settle somewhere that shared many cultural similarities with Britain, but which did not lumber the individual with distinctions of class and status. All of these benefits were routinely promoted by the Canadian government through the displays it mounted at International Exhibitions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including those held in Glasgow which are the focus of this thesis. McKenzie had been in Canada for almost 39 years when she came across the notice for the Empire Exhibition: Scotland. Never having returned to Scotland at any point in the intervening period, despite close relatives still residing there, it was the occasion of an International Exhibition being staged in her native city that prompted McKenzie to consider making the voyage back. Thus, the subject and deeply personal tone of her letter make it a touching record of one person's experience of moving between spheres of empire. What is more, it is a material expression of the "intimate relations" between Canada and Scotland that were constructed, negotiated and re-defined through the form of the International Exhibition.[5]

Apparitions of empire and imperial ideologies were deeply embedded in the International Exhibition, a distinct exhibitionary paradigm that came to prominence in the mid-nineteenth century and remained a popular genre of public spectacle for roughly the next hundred years. As Paul Greenhalgh argues, International Exhibitions were the "extraordinary cultural spawn of industry and empire."[6] Sarah Britton echoes this assessment in her recent examination of opposition to exhibitions held in Britain between 1918 and 1939. For Britton, the existence of the British Empire precipitated the emergence of the International Exhibition in the nineteenth century, and remained a powerful influence on its tone and character. Because their development coincided with the territorial expansion of the British Empire and the popularisation of imperial ideas, International Exhibitions "came to reflect and even propagate the imperial theme."[7] However, is it accurate to surmise all individual exhibitions, irrespective of when or where they were staged, upheld a singular imperial discourse and replicated the same set of ideals as is often maintained? How does the Empire Exhibition: Scotland, which McKenzie was so eager to experience, compare to earlier iterations like the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901, let alone London's Colonial & Indian Exhibition of 1886 or the Great Exhibition of 1851, widely regarded as the event that catapulted large-scale public exhibitions into the realm of popular culture? This thesis aims to disrupt this dominant understanding of International Exhibitions by demonstrating imperial themes were interpreted differently on different

[4] Accurate in 1888, by 1912 this figure had decreased to 53 people/acre compared to Liverpool, the UK's second most densely populated city, which averaged 45 people/acre. Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 175.
[5] William Cunningham, Secretary of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, to Sir Charles Tupper, Canadian High Commissioner, 28 April 1887, LAC, RG17: Department of Agriculture fonds, vol. 541, file 60339.
[6] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 2.
[7] Sarah Britton, "'Come and See the Empire by the All Red Route!': Anti-Imperialism and Exhibitions in Interwar Britain," *History Workshop Journal* 69 (2010): 69.

occasions and by different localities. Such a hypothesis suggests these events responded to and reflected the unique social, political and economic circumstances in which they took place, functioning as cultural environments in which pressing concerns of the day were worked through. Understood thus, the International Exhibition becomes a space for self-presentation, serving as a stage from which a multitude of interests and identities were constructed, performed and projected.

To try and uncover a more nuanced history I am looking to the visual and material culture of the International Exhibition, a term used here to encompass a range of subtle variants including great exhibitions, national exhibitions, empire exhibitions, expositions universelles, world's fairs and expos.[8] All were multifaceted events that simultaneously demonstrated industrial and agricultural prowess, and functioned as purveyors of scientific, historical and artistic knowledge as much as popular entertainment. Perhaps more than any other exhibitionary medium, the International Exhibition functioned as a platform for the display of objects, the movement of people, and the dissemination of ideas across and between regions of the British Empire, thereby facilitating contact between its different cultures and societies. Rather than being "ideologically coherent … triumphs of hegemony" as Robert Rydell argues, however, I believe these events conveyed a mixture – often a very muddled one – of regional, national, colonial and imperial identities, and that it was through their visual and material culture that such interests were communicated.[9] Thus, this study takes a similar stance to Jeffrey Auerbach who, in his analysis of the Great Exhibition of 1851, conceives of it as a "cultural battlefield, in which proponents of different and at times competing visions of Britain fought for ascendency in a struggle to define Britain's past, present, and future."[10] And yet, Auerbach's work is emblematic of much extant research on the International Exhibition movement, which has tended to focus overwhelmingly on London's Great Exhibition and its impact on notions of a distinctly metropolitan sense of Britishness. This gives a skewed impression since hosting major, multi-national exhibitions developed into a global phenomenon relatively soon after the model arrived on the cultural scene in the 1850s.

Responding to this marked gap, the present study takes as its primary focus a set of exhibitions held in Glasgow in the late-1880s and early-1900s in order to extend the geographic and temporal boundaries set by the existing scholarship on International Exhibitions. What is more, it looks at representations of Canada at these events, another party whose involvement in the International Exhibition tradition has gone largely unnoticed. A number of studies address how International Exhibitions held in London disseminated understandings of India and Africa to metropolitan audiences, often reinforcing deleterious visions of indigenous cultures and societies. Interactions between Britain and other regions of the empire, however, remain scholarly blind spots. While I do not wholly abide by John Mackenzie's suggestion that the British Empire was made up of "four separate entities" – India, the Dominions, numerous dependent territories and various "staging posts" – I share

[8] In choosing to capitalise International Exhibition I emphasise the discursive and political nature of this distinct exhibitionary paradigm. Akin to discussions that frame the museum as a regimented and institutionalised public space, the capitalised version of this phrase most often appears in the singular form. Titles of specific events are also capitalised, as with the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 for instance.

[9] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's A Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 2-3.

[10] Jeffrey Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 5.

his view the empire was irrefutably diverse in character.[11] Operating in a variety of ways and effecting a plurality of meanings across its vast geography and over the course of its lengthy history, the British Empire was more heterogeneous than it was homogenous, thereby producing a need for micro-histories that address specificities of imperial encounters. In response, the discussion that follows is a thematic investigation of the connections between Canada, Scotland (specifically Glasgow), and the wider empire of which both were a part. Based on a layered analysis of a variety of material, visual and textual sources, it examines how agents in Glasgow and Canada conceived of the relationship between these localities, as well as their evolving respective positions within the British Empire and beyond. In discussing what he terms the "myth of Scotch Canada," Edward Cowan asserts that the existence of a "symbiotic relationship" between Scotland and Canada can scarcely be disputed.[12] This thesis therefore takes a cue from such existing research and is buoyed by commentary from the period that reveals an awareness of a special relationship between Canada and Scotland. However, the primary relationship being investigated here is not one between nations. Rather, the focus is on links shared by a municipality routinely deemed the 'Second City of the Empire' and an ostensibly self-governing settler colony, two types of geographic setting rarely brought into dialogue. This original research framework deliberately cuts across strata that continue to define conceptions of the British Empire. It signifies a response to Antoinette Burton's reproach that England remains "the fixed referent, the *a priori* body upon which empire is inscribed," and takes up her appeal to push beyond a conceptual model that defines imperialism as a "force with directional vectors" rather than a more open "spatialized terrain."[13] Through examining International Exhibitions held in Glasgow in the late-Victorian and Edwardian periods, and visions of Canada in evidence at these events, the goal is to offer a novel intervention into the existing literature concerning the cultural history of empire, one that emphasises fluidity rather than fixity. Furthermore, in attempting to muddle the boundaries that separate metropole and colony by demonstrating how Glasgow and Canada, which simultaneously existed on the empire's margins, negotiated a plurality of subjectivities, it joins those studies that advocate not only for a re-thinking of the bonds between centre and periphery, but of the historical accuracy and scholarly value in maintaining this vocabulary.

For Glasgow and Canada the stretch of time that hugs 1900, the final decades of what Eric Hobsbawm terms the "long nineteenth century," was a period of substantial social and economic flux, which as will be demonstrated found expression through the cultural form of the International Exhibition.[14] As Phillip Buckner explains, "Canadians entered the twentieth century increasingly self-confident about their nation's future and determined to play a more important part in world affairs."[15] To the sceptical researcher such a bold assessment begs the question of what this self-confidence looked like, how it behaved and through what media it was expressed. In response, the present study

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[11] John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 1.
[12] Edward T. Cowan, "The Scots' Imaging of Canada," in *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada*, eds. Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), 4.
[13] Antoinette Burton, "On the Inadequacy and Indispensability of the Nation," in *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking With and Through the Nation*, ed. Antoinette Burton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 5.
[14] Eric Hobsbawm, *On the Edge of the New Century* (New York: The New Press, 2001).
[15] Phillip Buckner, "The Creation of the Dominion of Canada, 1860-1901," in *Canada and the British Empire*, ed. Phillip Buckner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 67.

seeks to unpick such claims by investigating Canada's participation at Glasgow's early International Exhibitions, and examining how these events were used to bring about the ascent and increased repute desired by the Canadian government. The choice to focus on Glasgow in this period is driven by pronounced gaps across the two main areas of existing scholarship this study at once draws from and contributes to. There has been comparatively little critical engagement with the history of Glasgow's role as a producer of exhibitions, an omission that even extends to a new collection dedicated to moving scholarship beyond the "exhibitions canon" and directing attention to the "margins" of the International Exhibition movement.[16] Simultaneously, the present study addresses calls for greater examination of the imperial dimensions of the social and cultural history of Glasgow, a subject that constitutes an on-going "silence" especially as regards scholarship that bridges the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a time when Glasgow was habitually known as the 'Second City of the Empire'.[17] Indeed, as Mackenzie and Devine assert, the field of British imperial studies remains "severely metropolitan (and largely London-centred)," an imbalance that could be rectified by scholars re-focusing attention on the empire's constituent parts, including those elements that make up Great Britain.[18] Since the publication of *Scotland and the British Empire* in 2011 the need for revisions of this nature has only become more prescient in light of current debates and questioning of Scotland's historic, contemporary and future relationship with the United Kingdom.

The following chapters explore why iconographies of 'quasi-nationhood' in evidence at Glasgow's early International Exhibitions looked the way they did. This question betrays an obvious debt to Benedict Anderson's seminal work on understandings of nation-ness. Outlining an argument that has since become widely-accepted, in *Imagined Communities* Anderson posits that nationhood, nationality and national belonging are inherently pliable notions, and are thus "cultural artefacts" that are simultaneously responses to and reflections of the precise historical circumstances in which they come into being.[19] Here, the term quasi-nationhood is used to describe the visions of Canada and Glasgow that were devised and disseminated at the International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901, thereby drawing on the established understanding that nations are social and cultural constructions. At the same time, the term deliberately underlines the ambivalent nature of the position both Canada and Glasgow occupied relative to the imperial metropolitan centre. As a result, in the present context it is more accurate to speak of *centres*, since for Canada this position was occupied by Great Britain and for Glasgow it was London, two related but distinct entities. Consequently, although the concept of quasi-nationhood builds on existing discussions of the nation, crucially it also takes heed of more recent analyses that have come out of colonial and post-colonial studies, which advocate for greater fluidity and movement beyond the parameters of the nation, an area of scholarship addressed in due course.

The phrase quasi-nationhood is also utilised in order to denote social and political realities specific to the history of these two geographic regions in the late-nineteenth century. This is most straightforward in the case of Canada, which was not a national unit prior to 1867. The passage of the

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[16] Marta Filipová, "Introduction: The Margins of Exhibitions and Exhibition Studies," in *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940: Great Exhibitions on the Margins*, ed. Marta Filipová (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 1-20.
[17] John M. MacKenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire': Glasgow – Imperial Municipality," in *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*, eds. Felix Driver and David Gilbert (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 219.
[18] John M. MacKenzie and T.M. Devine, eds., *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 27.
[19] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 4.

first British North America Act in that year brought together the existing British colonies of the Province of Canada (now the provinces of Ontario and Québec), New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to create a new state called the Dominion of Canada. Although ostensibly self-governing, it would take another 115 years and 20 additional UK parliamentary acts for all legislative and constitutional powers to be transferred to Canadian authorities. Furthermore, the physical shape and social composition of Canada changed dramatically throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with ongoing territorial expansion and settlement resulting in the creation of additional provinces and territories, although often at the expense of First Nations societies that historically used and inhabited these lands.[20] Interestingly, these dynamics would seem to have found a parallel at the exhibitions being scrutinised here, since at neither did the Canadian government opt to display material and visual culture of indigenous groups. As will be discussed in chapter four, Canada's contributions to the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 focused overwhelmingly on the harnessing of natural resources, which were intended to convey the country's development as a settler society, thus rendering the lack of visibility of First Nations a pointed absence. So hazy is Canada's status as a nation that writing shortly after the centenary of Confederation in 1967 and looking back at the country's history, the cultural critic and theorist Northrop Frye deemed Canada "practically the only country left in the world which is a pure colony, colonial in psychology as well as in mercantile economics."[21] In Glasgow's case, there are arguably facets of the city's history and popular consciousness that point to it having something of an air of nationhood about it. Whether evidenced through frequent comparisons with Venice or the energetic nature of its municipal government, topics that will be discussed in the following chapters, nineteenth-century Glasgow was conceived as a kind of city-state and emitted a strong awareness of self not necessarily nested within either Scotland or Great Britain.[22] As Miles Glendinning and David Page assert, "here was a monumental industrial city fed directly by the pure water of the Highlands, energised by religious-capitalist zeal, and looking out across the ocean to America and the wider world."[23]

The present chapter outlines how different threads of scholarship have been pulled together to form the groundwork for a critical analysis of how the International Exhibition functioned as a mediator of identities formed under conditions of empire. It establishes the two intersecting strands that run throughout this thesis: practices of identity-making and practices of exhibition-making. Through these twin concerns we can consider how the International Exhibition offered opportunities for self-representation, and by extension how such material and imagined constructions evidenced interests, concerns and anxieties rooted in the geo-political sphere. The three core chapters that follow each centre on a different formal element of the exhibition-making process as regards the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901, and explore issues of planning and negotiation, functions

[20] Other stages include the establishment of the provinces of Manitoba (1870), the Northwest Territories (1870) and British Columbia (1871); the entrance of Prince Edward Island, a previously separate British colony, into the Dominion (1873); the creation of Yukon territory (1898); the establishment of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan out of land from the Northwest Territories (1905); the incorporation of the new province of Newfoundland and Labrador into the Dominion (1949); and the establishment of the territory of Nunavut (1999).
[21] Northrop Frye, *Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), iii.
[22] Mackenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire'," 221.
[23] Miles Glendinning and David Page, *Clone City: Crisis and Renewal in Contemporary Scottish Architecture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1999), 25.

of the built environment and themes of display. Although these two events are primary case studies, additional exhibitions feature at appropriate moments in the analysis. Reference is made for instance back to the Great Exhibition of 1851 and forward to the British Empire Exhibition of 1924-1925 and the Empire Exhibition: Scotland of 1938 in order to situate Glasgow's early exhibitions within a broader context, and insert them into a history of the International Exhibition movement, something lacking in existing studies. Preceding each substantive chapter is a brief object analysis that invites us to look in detail at a single item that constitutes a remaining physical trace of the International Exhibition. In some senses a rarity given the paradigm's fundamentally temporary character, but also rather quotidian – the three vignettes look at a building, a postcard and a memento – each item has been selected for the way it evokes the key themes explored in the anticipated chapter.

Anchored by themes of setting and staging, chapter two examines what was involved in bringing an International Exhibition to fruition, with a focus on concerns that motivated organisers to mount such an undertaking and what attracted exhibitors to participate. Concentrating on the early phases of the planning process, it will consider what proponents in Glasgow and Canada believed this particular type of public spectacle could offer. Much of the initial discussion will be driven by curiosity over why Glasgow entered the International Exhibition movement at the precise moment it did, arriving on the scene over 30 years after the staging of the Great Exhibition and later than other municipalities. Looking at these issues from a different perspective, the final section of the chapter turns to exploring if and why the prospect of Glasgow had particular traction among Canadian authorities. Having established this foundation, the two remaining substantive chapters explore the fabric of Glasgow's early International Exhibitions. Chapter three considers the built environment and architecture of these events, reflecting on how layout and design worked to persuade exhibition-goers that visiting was akin to an act of travel. This line of enquiry aims to analyse contemporary claims that much of the appeal of the International Exhibition stemmed from its unique ability to present spectators with a compressed but faithful version of global civilisation. A key subject of analysis is the relationship between narratives of exploration and escape, and the spatial dimensions of the International Exhibition, which evolved from a single monolithic structure epitomised by the Crystal Palace to a dispersed model that in some senses resembled an ideal city. As such, this chapter reflects on what local concerns lay beneath the ostentatious and otherworldly architectural forms that populated the built environment of Glasgow's early International Exhibitions. If this chapter is oriented primarily around Glasgow's presence at the exhibitions of 1888 and 1901, chapter four balances the scales through an examination of images of Canada conveyed through what was exhibited at these events. This final major chapter engages with Tony Bennett's writing on the exhibitionary complex, in particular his assessment that the International Exhibition was unparalleled in the way it facilitated the act of looking.[24] Examining three inter-linked processes that direct the presentation of materials in spaces of exhibition, the chapter pinpoints specific objects that were on display at the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901, principally a collection of artworks by Canadian artists, exhibits conceived by the Canadian government, and the crowds that would have seen both. The

[24] Tony Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex," in *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 59-88.

themes of assembly, projection and observation will be interrogated through an analysis of the these items, which will lead to an exploration of how inanimate and animate objects served as material expressions of varied civic, national, colonial and imperial identities. Following all of this is a comparatively brief conclusion. According to Peter Hoffenberg, International Exhibitions were "spectacles of tangible fantasy, in which participants forged nations and the Empire, both imaginary and material."[25] Sharing this view, the chapters outlined above allow us to examine with precision how the International Exhibition functioned in this way, whether through its logistical underpinnings, its architectural constructions or its displayed objects. The aim in exploring these three interpretive layers, which represent formal elements of the exhibition-making process, is to develop an understanding of how Canada and Glasgow constructed a sense of identity through these events, and in turn carved out how each of their quasi-national selves might fit within the British Empire.

Existing scholarship

Given its primary research questions, objects of study and analytical structure, this thesis at once draws from and contributes to the expansive field of research that explores cultural histories of empire, as well as critical studies of the International Exhibition movement. In the past International Exhibitions have been dismissed as too ephemeral and frivolous for serious historical inquiry. As Elsbeth Heaman notes in her comprehensive study of nineteenth-century exhibition culture in Canada, these events had previously been deemed "not the stuff of traditional historiography."[26] Debunked by the entrenchment of cultural studies, there is now a developed literature on International Exhibitions with a number of scholars focusing on this form of public spectacle in order to scrutinise the workings of the British Empire. As Alison Smith outlines in the catalogue for *Artist and Empire: Facing Britain's Imperial Past*, an exhibition recently mounted at Tate Britain, the more distant empires have become, "the more cultural they appear [with] their rise and fall evidenced by the objects that have survived the passage of time and shaped our visions of the past."[27] The present study sits most comfortably at the juncture between critical histories of exhibitions and cultural analyses of empire. Cross-disciplinary in nature, it draws on theories and methods of art history and colonial/post-colonial studies, while also engaging with secondary literatures drawn from Canadian studies, Scottish history, anthropology and human geography. Of these two main fields, the cultural history of the British Empire is infinitely more expansive which makes it more challenging to tackle in the confines of a literature review. As a result, texts discussed here are only those that have directly impacted the conceptual, methodological and analytical frameworks of my research, with specific arguments and texts considered in greater detail at appropriate moments in the chapters that follow. This thesis is aligned with a revisionist approach to the study of British Empire, which is typified by a commitment to interrogating the dichotomy between centre and periphery, metropole and colony, home and away. This relatively new branch of

[25] Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001), xv.
[26] Elsbeth A. Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace: Exhibitions in Canadian Society during the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 3.
[27] Alison Smith, "Introduction: The Museum of Empire," in *Artist and Empire: Facing Britain's Imperial Past*, eds. Alison Smith, David Blayney Brown and Caroline Jacobi (London: Tate Publishing, 2015), 10.

scholarship has its roots in earlier studies concerned with examining the interplay between these locales, and exploring the extent to which there existed a mutually constitutive relationship between Britain and its empire. In their work, Antoinette Burton, Frederick Cooper, Catherine Hall and Laura Ann Stoler for instance seek to break down what they regard as a long-standing imagined barrier between these spheres, which bred histories that routinely classified Britain and the empire as fundamentally separate and only ever considered each in isolation.[28] The aim of this wave of scholarship, which emerged in the 1990s, was to "treat metropole and colony in a single analytic field."[29] Cooper and Stoler for example argue power and knowledge did not consistently originate in the metropole, but rather flowed unevenly between and across imperial geographies, an assessment predicated on a belief that "what happened in one place had repercussions elsewhere."[30]

The approach to imperial studies that came to the fore in the 1990s and early-2000s examined cultural themes in aid of challenging the notion it was only the periphery that was affected by the presence of empire. This assessment overlooks the ways colonised peoples and societies acted upon metropolitan populations, thus denying these groups of agency. Although scholarship associated with the imperial turn reflects a different orientation than past studies, which dealt almost exclusively with the political and economic manifestations of empire, it nonetheless betrays a tendency to look at cultural issues through a metropolitan lens. By seeking to highlight how British culture and society were impacted by the existence of empire, in a roundabout way these texts reinforce the singular importance of the metropole. For Richard Price, thoughtfully musing on the state of affairs in 2006, this dynamic produced a gap whereby many studies were "far better at stating the proposition of a mutually constituted history between Britain and the empire than at executing it," meaning new imperial histories often failed to "track how empire-British connections worked in practice."[31] Highlighting how the empire existed at home had the adverse effect of reinforcing Britain's, and particularly London's, position as the dominant partner in imperial relations. Simultaneously there emerged criticism of the tendency of postcolonial theory to flatten the lived experiences of those who inhabited Britain's vast colonial empire, in a sense sanding away marks that evidenced a plurality of histories and leaving a uniformly hegemonic surface of prejudice, oppression and violence. While it is impossible to extricate systems of dominance and inequalities of power from imperial dealings – it cannot be disputed these were irreparable features of the British Empire – it is imperative that one not overlook concrete instances when these dynamics were questioned, troubled or challenged. The necessity of historicising cultures of empire is perhaps best expressed by Nicholas Thomas in his influential work *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*:

> While I consider the concept of "discourse" as a necessary element of any adequate way of interpreting colonial representations, I find that a great deal of writing on "colonial discourse"

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[28] Antoinette Burton, *At the Heart of Empire: Indians and the Colonial Encounter in Late-Victorian Britain* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); Frederick Cooper and Laura Ann Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Scholars critical of this approach include Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society and Culture in Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) and Simon J. Potter, "Empires, Cultures and Identities in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Britain," *History Compass* 5:1 (2007): 51-71.
[29] Stoler and Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony," in *Tensions of Empire*, 4.
[30] Ibid, 32.
[31] Richard Price, "One Big Thing: Britain, its Empire, and their Imperial Culture," *Journal of British Studies* 45:3 (2006): 603-604.

> fails to grasp this field's dispersed and conflicted character. … Particularly if our interest is in colonial culture, it is important to recognize a variety of colonial representations and encounters.[32]

To be sure, if an overarching aim of colonial and postcolonial studies is to further a more thoughtful and multifaceted understanding of how the British Empire functioned across space and time, surely it is important to address questions of difference, examining interactions between colonisers and colonised peoples in ways that are attuned to local conditions.

Responding to the imperial turn and the growth of post-colonial theory, recently scholars have sought to push the boundaries of this literature's core principles even further. The work of Thomas and others has encouraged the growth of a revisionist approach characterised by a continued interest in issues of culture that also emphasises the multifarious character of the British Empire through a research practice grounded in engaging with primary sources. The present discussion draws from and contributes to this area of contemporary scholarship, which is typified by a desire to more convincingly muddle the centre-periphery binary. Part of what makes this current approach so compelling is the breadth of subjects being explored as a result of an amplified emphasis on the multifarious nature of the British Empire. Additionally, a determination to "recast the traditional and often over determined relationship between metropolitan 'centre' and distant 'periphery'," to quote Longair and McAleer, has generated marked interest in issues of movement and exchange.[33] These themes push us to examine the cultural practices that facilitated the transfer of objects, commodities, people and knowledge across the British Empire, and the varied environments and settings in which such encounters took place.

Scholars have chosen to interrogate these issues through a variety of conceptual approaches, with many concentrating on interactions rooted in a specific geographic locale. In spite of almost half of the collected essays focusing on London, Felix Driver and David Gilbert's edited volume on imperial cities in Britain, but also Austria, France and Spain remains a notable contribution, with authors exploring manifestations of imperial narratives through diverse media ranging from architecture and men's fashion, to acts of commemoration and moments of anti-imperial agitation.[34] A monograph that successfully employs this approach is *Trading Identities* by Ruth Phillips, a scholar whose wider work has had a consistent, if not always direct, influence on my own thinking. In *Trading Identities* Phillips examines how a racial and cultural 'other' captured European imaginations. Centring on British expansion into northeastern North America in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Phillips considers how souvenirs and commodities produced by Aboriginal makers acted as a "channel for the dissemination of images of otherness."[35] Like Phillips, contributors to *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada* similarly explore how patterns of migration and settlement impacted cultural constructions of identity in a so-called colonial periphery. The aim of this collection is to evaluate whether Canada's nominally Scottish qualities are real or imagined, which is pursued through effecting meaningful connections between tangible experiences of immigration and popular imaginings

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[32] Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (London: Polity Press, 1994), 3 and 16.
[33] Sarah Longair and John McAleer, "Introduction," in *Curating Empire: Museums and the British Imperial Experience*, eds. Sarah Longair and John McAleer (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 7.
[34] Driver and Gilbert, eds., *Imperial Cities.*
[35] Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 10.

of Canada's Scottish roots.[36] Staying with the Canadian theme, Katie Pickles successfully demonstrates how more amorphous spaces like a conglomeration of branch offices, church halls, classrooms and kitchens could just as easily facilitate the exchange of ideas across spheres of empire.[37] Established in 1900, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) was a Canadian women's philanthropic organisation that was part of a larger network of similar initiatives like the Victoria League in Britain. Examining the IODE's efforts at fostering and spreading a collective identity, Pickles' work reveals how a section of Canadian women negotiated the fusion of nationalist thought and imperial ideology that prevailed in Canada in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.

Of particular relevance to the present discussion are studies that examine environments in which culture was presented for public inspection. A now well-developed area of scholarship concerns the bonds between the formalisation of public museums and heightened imperial expansion, two developments that took place side-by-side during the second half of the nineteenth century. Published in the same year as Thomas' seminal work, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* is another notable early example of a revisionist approach to imperial studies.[38] Here, Annie Coombes examines how displays of African artefacts shaped British perceptions of that continent, and influenced popular forms of knowledge regarding Britain's colonial possessions. Looking at a series of events stretching from the British incursion into Benin City and the removal of the now infamous bronzes in 1897 to the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908, Coombes interrogates the relationship between scientific knowledge and popular conceptions of African cultures and peoples. Through such case studies she examines the interplay between public narratives concerning Africa and early anthropological thinking, focusing on how ideas of racial difference were constructed through the exhibition of objects and people, activities that were made possible through Britain's mounting colonial presence in Sub-Saharan Africa. The depth of such connections are emphasised further still in *Colonialism and the Object*, which investigates the criss-crossing of artistic production and presentation between periphery and metropole. The book's central concern is with "the influence of colonialism, its ideologies and power relations, on the ways in which objects are understood."[39] Drawing on post-colonial, museum and material culture studies, the various contributions seek to understand how objects mediated interactions and reflected identities formed under conditions of empire, a combination of theoretical models and research questions that similarly drive this thesis.[40]

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[36] Rider and McNabb, eds., *A Kingdom of the Mind.*

[37] Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002). Pickles builds on Carl Berger's *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), often noted as one of the first studies to articulate the depth of connection between imperial experience and conceptions of Canadian nationalism and national identity.

[38] Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).

[39] Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, "Introduction," in *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, eds. Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (London: Routledge, 1998), 1.

[40] See also Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999). Published a year after *Colonialism and the Object*, this volume brings together studies spanning a range of temporal and geographic settings that all take material objects as their primary subjects, in order to consider how processes of production, consumption and collection were impacted by colonial and postcolonial engagements.

Of more recent scholarship a particularly notable work is Longair and McAleer's *Curating Empire*, which successfully gathers case studies from across the British Empire and, crucially, looks beyond London for examples of metropolitan institutions. Chapters on museums in Zanzibar and Sierra Leone for instance are interspersed with discussions of parallel organisations in Norfolk and Brighton, a structure that successfully creates a picture of the British Empire "in which multiple metropoles may be identified."[41] Additionally, where the goal of emphasising the mutually-constituted nature of the British Empire had previously not always come to fruition – recall the gap between aspirations of the imperial turn and actual findings of associated studies noted by Price – *Curating Empire* brings forth tangible links between and across spheres of empire. This is achieved through identifying and following the paths of specific characters whether material objects, as in the case of Qureshi's study of Tipu's Tiger, or curators who "led trans-imperial lives, taking their enthusiasm for culture, science and education with them."[42] A similar sense of precision, specificity and individual agency is one I hope comes through in the following chapters. Indeed, I have attempted wherever possible to draw on stories of real people and real objects, highlighting these in order to challenge existing notions regarding the all-encompassing hegemonic nature of the International Exhibition, which was habitually framed as a faithful, condensed version of the British Empire. This intention is most evident in the brief vignettes that precede each chapter, which offer a close reading of a single object that is a remaining material trace of these ephemeral events. That said, it also comes through in the core chapters which are peppered with discussions on individuals whose lives in various ways intersected with the history of International Exhibitions, the events that are the main focus of this thesis.

Although studies emblematic of a revisionist approach to cultural histories of empire are diverse in their content, they share an interest in exploring interactions of the "contact zone," a concept fleshed out by the linguist and literature scholar Mary Louise Pratt. In *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* Pratt maintains contact zones are "social spaces where disparate cultures melt, clash, and grapple with each other."[43] While Pratt focuses on the portrayal of such spaces in travel writing, examining how textual accounts produced varied imperial, colonial and post-colonial subjectivities, her concept is easily applicable to topics that share an interest in how cultures and societies negotiated one another within the framework of the British Empire. But do contact zones only ever materialise on the colonial frontier as Pratt suggests, an assessment that renders the two largely synonymous? If much European travel writing of the eighteenth and nineteenth century prompted a congruence between the two, repeatedly locating contact zones in far-off locales, other cultural forms of the period suggest otherwise. Replying to this question, this thesis interrogates Pratt's assessment through a critical analysis of the International Exhibition. Aimed at showcasing the world in miniature, this exhibitionary form intimates major imperial cities were just as capable of being sites of interaction as colonial peripheries. Furthermore, in the late-nineteenth century these immensely popular events sprung up in localities all over the world. Diverse and dynamic in their form and content, however, individual exhibitions rarely sought to replicate or mimic precisely what had come before, demonstrating cultural

[41] Longair and McAleer, "Introduction," in *Curating Empire*, 7.
[42] Ibid, 9.
[43] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 4.

practices initiated in the 'centre' were not exported wholesale, but instead were deliberately imported and adapted to suit the local ambitions of those on the empire's peripheries.

This thesis therefore positions the International Exhibition, specifically iterations held in Glasgow in 1888 and 1901, as a contact zone despite being embedded in the metropole. This analytical proposition is rooted in Burton's assessment that "the United Kingdom could be as much of a 'contact zone' as the colonies themselves."[44] As a result, this thesis joins the relatively small number of analyses that similarly gravitate towards exploring the International Exhibition because of its capacity to illuminate histories of trans-imperial encounters. Much of this literature focuses on ethnographic displays and the so-called 'native villages' that often featured at exhibitions, particularly ones held in Europe and the United States, from the late-nineteenth century onwards.[45] In her analysis of living ethnological exhibits at the Colonial & Indian Exhibition (1886) for example, Saloni Mathur recounts the story of "Native Sixteen," one of the exhibition's 'authentic' craftsmen.[46] Mathur recounts how Tulsi Ram travelled from India initially in the hopes of meeting with Queen Victoria to discuss a land dispute, only to somehow become embroiled in the exhibition. While Mathur has yet to find sources that explain the reasons for Ram's presence, it is known that in the lead-up to the event his status in Britain was being investigated by the India Office and the Home Office, which insinuates Ram may have been coerced into participating. Thus, Ram's story exemplifies how visions of otherness were constituted by dominant discourses. As Mathur notes, however, it also "challenges the assumption that natives lack cosmopolitan histories or that indigenous mobilities are exclusively local," illustrating the inter-connectedness between spheres of empire.[47]

If the work of Mathur and others examine how discourses on race were constructed at International Exhibitions, there is a handful of studies that address colonial identities not defined by this marker of difference and as such reference other political configurations that directed relations of power within the imperial rubric. Christine Boyanoski and Anne Clendinning for example explore themes of nation-building through an analysis of Canadian art shown at the British Empire Exhibition, which was held in London for two six-month seasons in 1924 and 1925.[48] Closely related is Andrew Horrall's article on a large exhibition entitled *A Century of Canadian Art*, mounted at the Tate Gallery in 1938, which similarly introduced work by the Group of Seven to British audiences.[49] While these studies go some way to addressing exercises of self-representation undertaken by Canadian authorities at major exhibitions held in Britain, they all examine the same genre of exhibited material, in this case

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[44] Burton, *At the Heart of Empire*, 1.

[45] Meg Armstrong, "'A Jumble of Foreignness': The Sublime Musayums of Nineteenth-Century Fairs and Expositions," *Cultural Critique* 21:3 (1992): 199-254; Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930," *Cultural Anthropology* 8:3 (1993): 338-369; Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representing 'Native' People and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999); Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Jonathan Woodham, "Images of Africa and Design at the British Empire Exhibitions Between the Wars," *Journal of Design History* 2:1 (1989): 16-33.

[46] Saloni Mathur, "Living Ethnological Exhibits: The Case of 1886," *Cultural Anthropology* 15 (2001): 492-524.

[47] Ibid, 517.

[48] Christine Boyanoski, "Selective Memory: The British Empire Exhibition and National Histories of Art," in *Rethinking Settler Colonialism History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa*, ed. Annie E. Coombes (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 156-170; Christine Boyanoski, "Decolonising Visual Cultures: Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa and the Imperial Exhibitions: 1919-1939," PhD thesis (London: Birkbeck College, University of London, 2002); Anne Clendinning, "Exhibiting a Nation: Canada at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924-1925," *Social History/Histoire Sociale*, Special issue on Culture and Canadian Nationalism 39:77 (2006): 79-108.

[49] Andrew Horrall, "'A Century of Canadian Art': The Tate Gallery Exhibition of 1938," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 272 (2014): 149-162.

artworks produced by a collection of painters who occupy a pivotal place in Canadian art history. Consequently, it is pertinent to expand this field of analysis beyond the time frame of these existing works. If an emerging Canadian national identity was assembled and communicated at the British Empire Exhibition and the Tate show as Boyanoski, Clendinning and Horrall suggest, this begs the question what visions of Canadian nationhood were in evidence at other moments of exhibition.

Thus far this chapter has moved through a summation of developments in the conception and narration of the history of the British Empire, highlighting texts and arguments that have a direct bearing on the present analysis. Of central importance is the concept of a mutually constituted relationship between Britain and its empire twinned with a recognition that neither was a single, uniform, consistently stable entity that occupied a fixed position relative to the other. In stressing the importance of a revisionist approach to cultural histories of the British Empire, the discussion conveyed the relevance of works that take as their main subject a particular contact zone. Whether a geographic location, a social organisation, a cultural institution or a more transient sight of exhibition, these studies engage with themes of movement and exchange, processes that took place between physical spheres, through temporal layers and across elusive imaginings of empire. This summary introduced scholarship that is closely aligned with the present discussion for the way it analyses struggles over representation within the cultural domain. As such we have engaged with existing literatures that pertain to one of the key strands that runs through the present discussion, that concerning practices of identity-making under conditions of empire. At this point therefore, it is appropriate to consider scholarship that illuminates the history of the International Exhibition and practices of exhibition-making, which constitutes the second major theme of this thesis.

The majority of the existing scholarship on International Exhibitions focuses on events held between 1851 and 1914, since it was during this period that they were staged with the greatest regularity. In reviewing this extant literature the intention is not to give an exhaustive survey, but rather offer a selective discussion of texts that have a bearing on the current investigation, which results in histories of the French and American traditions receiving only minimal attention. This summation of relevant secondary texts has been structured in such a way that it outlines a brief history of the International Exhibition movement as it evolved in Britain. Not only does this descriptive approach disclose how the parameters of the present work have been developed in direct response to gaps in existing studies of International Exhibitions, but it also helps foreground the suggestion that these events constitute a unique paradigm alongside a wider array of exhibitionary forms. Thus, another area of scholarship touched upon here is that concerning practices of exhibition-making. Being furthered primarily by those working in contemporary art, whether as academics, curators or artists, this area of inquiry displaces the discipline of art history's traditional focus on artworks, and re-orientates awareness to the physical and discursive environments in which art is most-often displayed and consumed. Drawn on at various points, but particularly in chapter four which explores themes of display, I situate my research within this emerging field of study in large part because the questions I hope to answer and the method employed to do so have applications beyond the study of International Exhibitions in the nineteenth century.

In their earliest iterations International Exhibitions centred on a single, monolithic structure. These purpose-built edifices were designed to enclose the entirety of human experience under one roof, conveying a sense of ingenuity and creative spirit through the display of a phenomenal range of goods and products. As will be discussed in chapter three, exhibitions latterly became a sprawl of pavilions and palaces, concert halls and bandstands, and fairground rides and amusements. Irrespective of this shift, when it opened in Hyde Park on May 1, 1851 the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations signified a new way of thinking about the purpose, function and appearance of public exhibitions, and introduced a mode of presentation that for the most part would be repeated and emulated by all International Exhibitions that followed, including those held in Glasgow. In addition to around 30 of the British Empire's dominions, colonies and territories, 34 independent countries accepted the invitation to participate issued by the exhibition's Royal Commission. These geo-political divisions were represented proportionately in the exhibition's lay-out which saw half of the display area devoted to Britain and its empire, and the remaining portion divided amongst independent countries such as France and Russia, along with their respective empires, as well as the United States and Japan. Rather than being laid out solely according to geography, however, national displays were grouped together according to the exhibition's four main subject groups of Manufactures, Machinery, Raw Materials and Fine Arts. In this way the Great Exhibition reflected the distinctly Victorian belief that "all resources, all knowledge, all culture could be categorized, labelled and enclosed in an orderly manner."[50] Although these categories would be sub-divided, expanded upon and added to at later exhibitions, in essence they reflect the principles of arrangement that remained at the centre of how subsequent exhibitions were arranged.

The ambition to distil all facets of human experience, culture and history would become one of the unique characteristics of the International Exhibition movement. Inside the Crystal Palace displays were laid-out in such a way that material breadth was crossed with geographic scope. This helped forward one of the exhibition's core aims of illustrating the progress and development of European society, since such an interpretive strategy allowed visitors to draw comparisons between the relative wealth of individual western countries. Thus, beneath the publicised aims of the Great Exhibition, which were to promote trade and encourage peace between nations through the display of locally produced objects to international audiences, was the belief that this ostensibly healthy sense of competition would in fact highlight the superiority of the host nation. In a number of ways then, the Great Exhibition was a rather paradoxical event. It was at once expansive and yet temporary, concerned with fostering amicable relations and yet encouraged competition, and was as much about educating visitors as amusing them through the display of objects and people drawn from across the British Empire and beyond. In addition to setting this particular tone or character, it established the precedent for International Exhibitions being brief but phenomenal bursts of activity. Yet, it is hard to know whether it was the deliberate enormity of these events that precluded them from ever becoming permanent fixtures, or whether it was because they were originally conceived as six-month happenings that meant they could be mounted on such a colossal scale. Regardless, over the relatively short period

[50] Perilla Kinchin and Juliet Kinchin, with a contribution from Neil Baxter, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions: 1888, 1901, 1911, 1938, 1988* (Edinburgh: White Cockade Publishing, 1988), 12.

in which they were a highly popular cultural form, International Exhibitions responded to and reflected the social, cultural and political realities of their day.

Given the specificity of the aims of the Great Exhibition and considering that many of its core features were taken up and applied to subsequent exhibitions one could be forgiven for thinking the model emerged full-formed in 1851. In actual fact, the International Exhibition developed out of a variety of older exhibitionary models and recreational activities. The European cultural landscape, or "entertainment matrix", of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century was a mottled one that catered to and reflected the interests of Europe's increasingly diverse and stratified populations.[51] Crucially, it was in this period that the display of objects moved from the private to the public sphere, finding a home in early semi-public museums and galleries such as the British Museum, which was founded in 1753, and the Louvre, which opened forty years later in 1793. Alongside these large national institutions was an array of other forms that merged intellectual enquiry with popular entertainment, creating a hybrid Stanworth terms mass "edutainment."[52] These included panorama displays, zoological gardens, county fairs and traveling shows like George Catlin's Indian Gallery.[53] As Peter Mandler recounts in his analysis of early-Victorian enthusiasm for historical tourism, the nineteenth century saw a pronounced increase in "representational technologies," a development that dramatically changed Britons' "visual world."[54]

The relationship between the International Exhibition and these earlier media, many of which remained popular throughout the International Exhibition's heyday, is a subject of contention. According to Findling, International Exhibitions, as a distinct exhibitionary model, "can claim only a rather short direct ancestry."[55] By contrast, Greenhalgh offers a detailed chronology of the development of the International Exhibition, devoting much of his discussion in *Ephemeral Vistas* to tracing its origins. According to Greenhalgh, the notion that exhibitions could be economic expedients and used to stimulate trade and industry dates to the 1790s when the new republican government in France staged two national public exhibitions to showcase industrial goods and crafts, one of which was held in the forecourt of the Louvre and the second in larger, specially constructed temporary premises on the outskirts of Paris. These French exhibitions, which had a pronounced instructive element, were chiefly organised in response to increased competition from British producers. They aimed to improve the quality of the nation's manufacturing by giving a public platform to goods that demonstrated the maker's interest in form as well as function, in the belief this would make for a

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[51] This phrase is borrowed from Vanessa Toulmin, who uses the concept of an "entertainment matrix" to describe the varied cultural landscape of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth Euro-North American society. For Toulmin, this dense network of leisure pursuits was made up of variety and music hall shows, circuses and freak shows, carnivals and fairs, and early cinema. Vanessa Toulmin, "Performing Wonders and Entertainment Culture in the Edwardian Period," public lecture, Britannia Panopticon, Glasgow, UK, 21 September 2013. See also Toulmin, "Cuckoo in the Nest: Edwardian Itinerant Exhibition Practices and the Transition to Cinema in the United Kingdom from 1901-1906," *Moving Image* 10:1 (2010): 52-79.

[52] Karen Stanworth, *Visibly Canadian: Imaging Collective Identities in the Canadas, 1820-1910* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 149 .

[53] Wilfrid Blunt, *The Ark in the Park: The Zoo in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd., 1976); Ralph Hyde, *Panoramania!: The Art and Entertainment of the 'All-Embracing' View* (London: Trefoil Publications/The Barbican Art Gallery, 1988); Denise Blake Oleksijczuk, *The First Panoramas: Visions of British Imperialism* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Stephanie Pratt and Joan Carpenter Troccoli, *George Catlin: American Indian Portraits* (London: The National Portrait Gallery, 2013).

[54] Peter Mandler, "'The World of Fancy': The Historical Imagination of the Victorian Tourist," in *Material Memories: Design and Evocation*, eds. Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward and Jeremy Aynsley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 135.

[55] John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, "Introduction," in *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press Ltd., 1990), xv-xix.

better-educated working class and thus propel the development of an advanced and cultivated industrial culture. For Greenhalgh, it was at these French exhibitions, which by the 1810s were holding juried competitions that awarded medals and titles, that the economic patriotism so prevalent in later International Exhibitions first found expression.[56]

In this same period academic societies in Britain began mounting small exhibitions that in some ways drew upon the early-modern *wunderkammer*. Originating in sixteenth and seventeenth Europe, these curiosity cabinets displayed and exhibited works of art, and a wide array of newly discovered objects accrued through overseas exploration. Seemingly disjointed, these collections were imbued with a sense of cohesion and purpose, precisely because of the disparate nature of the pieces on display. To the viewer, the objects in the *wunderkammer* would all appear unknown, undefined, and most importantly, new and exciting.[57] Like this forerunner, academic exhibitions of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century displayed a wide selection of materials including natural history specimens, ethnographic objects and works of art. Whereas the wonder cabinet aimed to generate curiosity and intellectual debate by presenting objects whose categorical boundaries had yet to be clearly delineated, these academic exhibitions, which were borne out of the intellectual climate of the Enlightenment, reflected a preference for order and classification. The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce for instance was established in 1754 (it was granted a royal charter and became the Royal Society of Arts in 1847), in order to create stronger links between the liberal arts, commerce and industry. From the 1760s the Society staged regular exhibitions of contemporary 'inventions', a broad term that encompassed paintings and sculptures as well as looms and farming equipment, with the aim of fostering a symbiosis between different branches of intellectual endeavour.

Accompanying the initiatives of the London-based academic societies were regional industrial exhibitions. Mounted by Mechanics Institutes, which drew their membership primarily from Britain's growing urban populations, these exhibitions were narrower in focus, showcasing primarily industrial goods and machinery. Whereas exhibitions put on by academic societies attracted largely middle-class audiences, exhibitions organised by Mechanics Institutes aimed to provide a 'civilised' form of leisure for those lower down Britain's social ladder, stimulating working-class consciousness and advancing industrial culture in the process. Mechanics Institutes remained active throughout the nineteenth century and their public exhibitions, the first of which was held in Manchester in 1837, became popular events in Britain's towns and cities. Greenhalgh identifies these exhibitions as important pre-cursors to International Exhibitions, and deems them "essentially a northern English phenomenon."[58] This attribution is inaccurate given the origins of the Mechanics Institutes can be traced to initiatives introduced by Dr George Birkbeck during the five-year period he taught at Glasgow's Andersonian Institution, the forerunner of Strathclyde University. Between 1799 and 1804 Birkbeck was a lecturer in Natural Philosophy and employed tradesmen to build much of his laboratory equipment. Noting

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[56] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 3-7.
[57] Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone Books, 2001); John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds., *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994); Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994); Susan Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1995).
[58] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 8.

how highly skilled these men were and responding to what he saw as a clear aptitude for education, Birkbeck began offering free evening courses on the natural sciences. These public lectures and classes continued after his departure for London, but a dispute with the college's administration prompted the 'mechanics class' to establish a new organisation based on providing educational resources to working-class men across the city. Thus, the Glasgow Mechanics Institution, incorporated in July 1823, became the first of its type in Britain and went on to host a number of exhibitions and displays.[59]

Greenhalgh's omission points to a wider pattern whereby scholars have overlooked events that took place outside London, let alone beyond England, failing to include them in discussions of how the International Exhibition movement developed in Britain. Two exceptions here are Bob Crampsey's *The Empire Exhibition of 1938: The Last Durbar* and Perilla Kinchin and Juliet Kinchin's *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*.[60] Both volumes were published in 1988, the year of the Glasgow Garden Festival, an event that borrowed heavily from the International Exhibition. Held a century after the first Glasgow International Exhibition and fifty years after the Empire Exhibition: Scotland, the Garden Festival looked to the successes of these past events. As Kinchin and Kinchin explain, it similarly attempted to "signify resurgence from a period of economic depression" and placed a great deal of emphasis on "a new start, and a new, more wholesome way of life."[61] Thus, all five events held in Glasgow were ostensibly mounted "in a characteristic fling of confidence and have left behind many happy memories."[62] This positive and optimistic tone is typical of both studies, which choose to survey Glasgow's International Exhibitions rather than critically examine these events and connect them to the wider movement. Kinchin and Kinchin's work for instance provides an expanded chronology, dedicating a chapter to each exhibition. The authors discuss the motivations that underlay each event, provide key statistical information pertaining to costs and visitor figures, and describe specific elements such as the lay-out of the sites, the architecture of exhibition buildings, key exhibitors and main attractions. Crampsey follows a similar approach in his work, dedicating an early chapter to Glasgow's previous exhibitions before narrating a history of the Empire Exhibition: Scotland, beginning with the initial planning stages and ending with a description of the exhibition's closing days. At times Crampsey's discussion tends towards the literary, particularly in the way he treats the rains and winds of late-September and early-October 1938, typically 'dreich' West of Scotland weather, as a foreshadowing of the outbreak of the Second World War. Running with this rhetorical strategy, he frames the exhibition's final weeks, which were indeed marked by inclement weather, as the closing of an imperial age. Betraying more than a hint of nostalgia, Crampsey writes of how "the smiling Gurkhas, the courteous impeccable Mounties, the strange giraffe-necked women from Africa went home, vanished as if they were wisps of a cloudy, insubstantial, imperial dream."[63] That Crampsey's

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[59] *The Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine; and Annals of Philosophy* (Glasgow: W.R. M'Phun, 1831), 215-216; Stuart Macdonald, *The History and Philosophy of Art Education* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 1970), 37.

[60] See also Britton, "'Come and See the Empire by the All Red Route!'," and Judith McKay, *Selling Queensland at World Expositions, 1862-1988* (Brisbane: Queensland Museum, 2004). Britton and McKay discuss specific aspects of exhibitions held in Glasgow with Britton considering the anti-imperial 'counter-exhibition' organised by the Glasgow Independent Labour Party in 1938, and McKay examining how Queensland was represented at International Exhibitions in Britain and the United States. Nevertheless, both studies are of only limited relevance here because neither addresses the specific history of Glasgow's role in the International Exhibition movement.

[61] Kinchin and Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 170.

[62] Ibid, 9.

[63] Bob Crampsey, *The Empire Exhibition of 1938: The Last Durbar* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1988), 154.

text has a distinct authorial voice is perhaps not surprising given he visited the Empire Exhibition: Scotland as a child, and draws on his own memories and local knowledge of Glasgow's history and culture to further his discussion. Although traditional descriptive accounts, Crampsey's and Kinchin and Kinchin's studies remain useful secondary materials. Crucially, they provide a basis on which to formulate a critical analysis of Glasgow's International Exhibitions, which in turn builds an expanded history of Britain's International Exhibition movement, one that takes important regional variations into consideration.

At present, the field of research on International Exhibitions does not accurately reflect the plurality of the movement, which quickly spread to localities outwith the upper-echelon of exhibition activity. Yet, an edited volume published in 2015 makes important inroads. *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940*: *Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, confronts this failure by alerting readers to exhibitions held in what are conceived as marginal locations. As Marta Filipová states in her introduction, the "exhibition network" was much larger and wider than is often acknowledged, and was enlivened by the efforts of smaller cities and towns that employed and adapted the model of the International Exhibition to express notions of "regional modernity."[64] As a result, the volume gathers together chapters on little-known exhibitions such as those held in Budapest, Ghent and Nancy, as well as Dunedin, Launceston (Tasmania) and Osaka. That said, case studies focusing on smaller European cities form the overwhelming majority, meaning there remains a need for more research to be done on events held in unexpected locations. Irrespective of this imbalance, *Cultures of International Exhibitions* is hopefully indicative of a shift into less familiar territory, a move this study similarly embarks on. In addition to addressing the relative academic neglect of Glasgow's exhibition history, the current discussion hopes to create a dialogue between global and local cultures of exhibition-making. The text aims to do this by referring back to the Great Exhibition and other well-known examples that ushered in changes to the form that were widely taken up. This is done in order to illustrate how Glasgow's International Exhibitions compared and contrasted to these archetypes, revealing that regional exhibitions did not always follow the mould and that such inconsistencies or fissures can be interpreted as reflections of specifically local concerns.

While diverse is their case studies, the chapters in *Cultures of International Exhibitions* are connected by an assertion that the era covering the second half of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century was a time of increasing awareness of regional distinctiveness. Indeed, the volume is based on the premise that between 1840 and 1940 local identities historically based on notions of shared language, dialect, religion and/or culture rooted in a geographic area were being challenged by improved transport and communication systems, greater migration within and across national borders, and the expansion of empires maintained by multiple European countries. Consequently, a key finding to emerge is that hosting an International Exhibition was a way for a regional centre to work through these shifts and express a local identity. Although this would appear to contradict the prevailing impression that the period was typified by the consolidation of the nation-state, it nevertheless chimes with the assessment, outlined by Hobsbawm for instance, that it was one

[64] Filipová, "Introduction: The Margins of Exhibitions and Exhibitions Studies," in *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840-1940*, 3.

of "profound and rapid social transformations."[65] As Hobsbawm argues, the fluctuations that marked the long nineteenth century produced a need for "new devices to ensure or express social cohesion and identity and to secure social relations."[66] The fundamental coping mechanism in Hobsbawm's estimation is the "invented tradition." In some respects the International Exhibition satisfies the key criteria of this concept, which has proved useful for understanding exercises and demonstrations of nationhood. Emerging in the mid-nineteenth century, the International Exhibition was indeed of a "ritual or symbolic nature," and sought to "inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition."[67] Furthermore, the International Exhibition movement, as well as individual events that formed part of it, responded to a rapid transformation of society that weakened existing social patterns, a reading that will be expanded upon in the following chapters.[68] The present discussion departs from Hobsbawm's analysis in key ways however. Not concerned with writing a history of the nation-state, it seeks to move away from regarding this entity as the primary subject affected by major shifts of the period, thereby displacing it as the sole referent for constructions of identity. Taking a cue from the analyses assembled by Filipová, the following chapters suggest the local was just as responsive to the changes Hobsbawm identifies. Furthermore, because it is situated within cultural histories of the British Empire, the present study is more closely aligned with the work of Antoinette Burton and others, which has been discussed above, who see a need to look within and beyond the nation. As a result, the present discussion positions the International Exhibition as a cultural form through which a variety of actors negotiated pressing concerns of the day. What is more, it looks at how these factors impacted the construction and projection of quasi-national identities at these events, an analytical mode that collapses spatial boundaries that persist in social and cultural histories of the period.

To situate the present examination of International Exhibitions within a wider historical context it is helpful to draw on works that re-examine the history of public museums.[69] International Exhibitions developed alongside this institution, which underwent a major period of expansion in the second half of the nineteenth century. In Britain the municipal museum movement was formally inaugurated by the passing of the Public Museums Act in 1845 (extended to Scotland in 1887), which gave local authorities the power to establish museums and libraries.[70] The two chief impetuses behind this movement were the mutually reinforcing tenets of philanthropy and financial gain. Believing there were strong links between cultural programs and social management, commentators like Thomas Greenwood and G.B. Goode suggested museums were particularly well equipped to cultivate a more civilised society because of their capacity to educate, a tenet taken up by proponents of the

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[65] Hobsbawm, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 263.
[66] Ibid, 263.
[67] Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, 1.
[68] Ibid, 4.
[69] Douglas Crimp, *On The Museum's Ruins* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1984); Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside the Public Art Museum* (London: Routledge, 1995); Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, ed., *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992); Helen Rees Leahy, *Museum Bodies: The Politics and Practices of Visiting and Viewing* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2013); Nick Merriman, *Beyond the Glass Case: The Past, the Heritage and the Public* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1991).
[70] For discussion of Glasgow's place within the municipal museum movement see for example Mark O'Neill, "Kelvingrove: Telling Stories in a Treasured Old/New Museum," *Curator* 50:4 (2007): 379-399; Rosemary Spooner, "A Heritage Institution Exploring its Own Ancestry: Glasgow's Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum," *International Journal of the Inclusive Museum* 6:2 (2013): 57-67.

International Exhibition.[71] Tony Bennett's analysis has proved particularly insightful since he employs a comparative approach to explore the growth of the modern public museum. Whereas other scholars focus on the inner workings of this institution, looking at changing practices of classification and display, Bennett stresses the necessity of viewing the museum's formation in relation to the forms and functions of an array of other cultural media. Drawing on Michel Foucault's understanding of the relationship between power and knowledge, Bennett's is a "politically focused genealogy" of the museum based on a proposition that the second half of the nineteenth century saw the confluence of political and cultural processes.[72] For Bennett, the museum ceased being a largely private space and was transformed into a public institution, but one utilised by the modern nation-state as an instrument of social conditioning. Fundamental to this account of the formation and development of the modern public museum is Bennett's concept of the exhibitionary complex. A discursive or rhetorical structure, as opposed to a physical one, the exhibitionary complex brought together a range of cultural forms into a single disciplinary system. As Bennett explains,

> The emergence of the art museum was closely related to that of a wider range of institutions – history and natural science museums, dioramas and panoramas, national and, later, international exhibitions, arcades and department stores – which served as linked sites for the development and circulation of new disciplines (history, biology, art history, anthropology), and their discursive formations (the past, evolution, aesthetics, man) as well as for the development of new technologies of vision.[73]

It is through the apparatus of the exhibitionary complex that Bennett brings the history of public museums into dialogue with the staging of International Exhibitions. Both models brought objects previously only seen in the private sphere out into the public domain, exhibiting them "in a manner calculated to embody and communicate specific cultural meanings and values."[74] Consequently, while these institutions performed the illusion of providing greater cultural accessibility, the newly enfranchised objects they displayed were actually shown in highly regimented environments. As Bennett sees it, the techniques of display that were formalised over the course of the first half of the nineteenth century conveyed a sense of order that was dependent upon the construction of difference and otherness, and it was through the cultural institutions that constituted the exhibitionary complex that these discourses found expression. As part of the exhibitionary complex, public museums and International Exhibitions similarly functioned as cultural technologies of power, and in the case of the latter, it was the Great Exhibition of 1851 that established this pattern since it simultaneously ordered objects for public inspection and ordered the public doing the inspecting.[75]

Bennett's concept of the exhibitionary complex is relevant to my own enquiries because it invites a comparison between cultural institutions prevalent in the nineteenth century, thus providing pertinent historical context. It also offers a theoretical framework for considering how objects are harnessed as tools to project political discourses, how spectators relate to these objects, and how the settings in which people and objects are brought into contact actively direct these engagements. A

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[71] G.B. Goode, "Museums and Good Citizenship," *Public Opinion* 17:31 (1894).
[72] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 5.
[73] Ibid, 59.
[74] Ibid, 6.
[75] Ibid, 61.

consequence of Bennett's particular approach, however, is that International Exhibitions become ideologically stable environments. As Britton explains, this is typical of much of the early research on International Exhibitions, which focuses on how this cultural form functioned as a technology of power used by political elites.[76] While I do not doubt International Exhibitions were didactic instruments, central to my analysis of them is the contention that they were not as cohesive as many scholars propose. I maintain that by examining specific aspects of the physical and rhetorical features of International Exhibitions, it is possible to identify instances when different, sometimes conflicting, ideologies butted up against each another, thereby fracturing the overarching discourses Bennett and others so keenly emphasise. It is important to remember that in practice International Exhibitions were multi-faceted events that relied on the involvement of a variety of actors. Officials from different levels of government, politicians, ambassadors and commissioners may have been responsible for carrying out these events, but builders, ground attendants, journalists, 'native' participants and visitors also contributed to the overall goings-on. When one then takes into account that International Exhibitions were mounted all over the world, often tied to larger geo-political and economic circumstances, the argument these were uniform affairs becomes increasingly unstable. Consequently, while my analysis of International Exhibitions takes a number of cues from Bennett's, it also seeks to move beyond his theorised and macroscopic interpretation.

Scholarship on museum histories provides relevant contextual information about the broader social and cultural landscape International Exhibitions operated within. In examining themes relating to politics of representation and display, this literature stresses museums are carefully constructed environments that produce and propagate forms of knowledge prevalent during whichever period is being scrutinised. It encourages us to think about the kinds of narratives at play, how these are composed through collecting policies and curatorial preferences for displaying certain objects versus others, and how the framework of the museum directs visitors' experiences. Out of critical museology, which is now a well-established discipline, emerged an interest in other sites of exhibition and practices of exhibition-making. Writing in 1996, Greenberg, Ferguson and Nairne prefaced their seminal collection of essays with the explanation that despite the ubiquitous nature of exhibitions, "their histories, their structures and their socio-political implications are only now beginning to be written about and theorized."[77] In the introduction to *Thinking About Exhibitions* they draw a parallel between large-scale gallery exhibitions and art historical anthologies, one that could fruitfully be applied to the comparable "mega form" of the International Exhibition:

> Objects and texts are always arranged according to an arbitrary schema intended to construct and convey meaning. … They lay claim to being exhaustive when they are always incomplete (and often only exhausting). Exhibitions and anthologies are, by definition, selective and exhaustive due to the biases of the organizers and the actual or perceived constraints of space,

[76] Britton, "'Come and See the Empire by the All Red Route!'," 68. For similar examples see Benedict Burton, "International Exhibitions and National Identity," *Anthropology Today* 7:3 (1991): 5-9; Robert W. Rydell and Nancy Gwinn, eds., *Fair Representations: World's Fairs and the Modern World* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1994); Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).
[77] Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne, "Introduction," in *Thinking About Exhibitions*, eds. Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson and Sandy Nairne (London: Routledge, 1996), 2. See also Bruce Altshuler, ed., *Salon to Biennial: Exhibitions that Made Art History, 1863-1959* (London: Phaidon Press, 2008); Bruce Altshuler, ed., *Biennials and Beyond: Exhibitions that Made Art History, 1962-2002* (London: Phaidon Press, 2013); Lucy Steeds, ed., *Exhibition* (London/Cambridge, MA: Whitechapel Gallery/MIT Press, 2014).

> finance and availability of works. The totality which many art exhibitions and anthologies seem to claim to embody is a fiction and even a fantasy.[78]

This assessment betrays the influence of earlier commentators like John Berger and Brian O'Doherty, as well as the work of the artist Andrea Fraser, all of whom draw our attention to the space in which artworks and museum objects are presented.[79] Their writings stress that exhibitions are not hermetic environments. Such a proposal encourages us to reflect on our encounters with the displayed object, and how such interactions are directed by the physical features of a site of exhibition and the broader socio-political context that surrounds every moment of presentation. Alerting us to the hidden ideologies of visual images and material objects, Berger for instance reminds us that "we never look at just one thing" but instead "are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves" when inside the museum, art gallery or exhibition.[80] Taking a cue from this area of art criticism, this thesis seeks to understand the explicit and implicit discourses that circulated through Glasgow's early International Exhibitions by examining how and why these literal and metaphorical meanings were communicated.

The specific literature on International Exhibitions, which has been discussed above, would benefit from the criticality employed by those exploring other sites of exhibition. For instance, while there exists a solid understanding of what constituted the dominant narratives at play within the International Exhibition, there is a need to examine the stated as well as tacit motivations for their creation. Additionally, it remains unclear what specific devices and strategies were harnessed to promote the exhibition's central discourses. I have chosen to respond to these gaps in the existing literature on International Exhibitions by drawing on recent scholarship on exhibition practices, which has led me to structure this thesis around three facets of the exhibition-making process: "Setting and Staging," "Built Environment and Architecture" and "Showing and Telling." While on this occasion this methodology, which examines in sequence an exhibition's logistical underpinnings, its architectural spaces and its displayed objects, is applied to the study of a specific set of International Exhibitions held in Glasgow around the turn of the twentieth century, it is an analytical tool that has wider applications. Influenced by historical accounts and critical theorisations in equal measure, it was developed in response to a variety of existing areas of scholarship all of which share a curiosity in cultures of exhibition-making. As a result, it is not restricted to either the study of International Exhibitions or cultural happenings of the nineteenth century. Rather, this mode of enquiry could be used to interrogate other large-scale temporary exhibitions, perhaps especially contemporary art biennials, a distinct exhibitionary form arguably descended from the International Exhibition that some suggest is fuelling a contemporary appetite for "art as experience" in much the same way International Exhibitions stimulated a fashion for edutainment as experience.[81]

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[78] Greenberg et al., *Thinking About Exhibitions*, 1.
[79] John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation/Penguin Books, 1972/2008 re-print); Andrea Fraser, *Museum Highlights: The Writings of Andrea Fraser* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005); Brian O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space*, Expanded Edition (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986).
[80] Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 9.
[81] Caroline A. Jones, "Biennial Culture: A Longer History," in *The Biennial Reader,* eds. Elena Filipovic, Marieke van Hal and Solveig Øvstedø (Bergen: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2010), 69.

International Exhibitions are a recurring presence in studies that critically analyse the history of museums and the development of exhibitionary practices. It is important to note, however, among studies that incorporate an examination of the relationship between museums and colonialism into these histories, very few extend this line of enquiry to International Exhibitions. For example, while many note the strength of the connection between International Exhibitions and imperial discourses, the questions being asked of museums are only rarely applied to this different exhibitionary environment. Foregrounding the notion that objects have historically played a vital role in mediating cross-cultural encounters, Phillips and Steiner for instance treat the Great Exhibition as a seminal moment in the development of western modes of categorising and ordering the material world. They credit this exhibition with effecting a "universalizing typology" that changed how objects were regarded and understood in the British Empire's metropole and peripheries.[82] However, after acknowledging the importance of this historical moment, the subject of International Exhibitions fades from view. This tendency to pick out only certain aspects of International Exhibitions to illustrate broader processes, along with a habitual use of the Great Exhibition, which is often treated as the definitive example of this exhibitionary form, speaks to a pattern of only limited engagement with fuller histories of the International Exhibition movement. This represents a marked gap when one considers that central to the literature on museums is the notion that objects collected and displayed in some of Britain's early public institutions played a vital role in communicating imperial narratives. By the same token, although scholars like Greenhalgh and Rydell link International Exhibitions and empire, they do not build on this premise by applying the kind of nuanced argumentation seen in the literature on museums to the analysis of International Exhibitions. If, as Barringer and Flynn maintain, the "biographies of objects … are deeply revealing of the contradictions of colonial culture," what can be gained from examining how, why and to what ends objects were presented at International Exhibitions?[83] Furthermore, what do the material traces of these events, such as photographs, descriptive catalogues, souvenirs, correspondence, newspaper clippings and the sites themselves, reveal about the context in which these objects were shown and the narratives communicated through them?

Having noted both the successes and gaps within a range of extant literatures, the subsequent chapters take on the task of analysing how practices of identity-making and exhibition-making intersected at the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901. Guiding the discussions that follow is a desire to impart the criticality evident in histories of museums and other types of large-scale public edutainment to the form of the International Exhibition. Thus, this text intervenes in the existing scholarship by illuminating the unique practices of exhibition-making in evidence at International Exhibitions, while simultaneously unpacking or nuancing the habitual claim such events were imbued with imperialist discourses by exploring how they functioned as contact zones. Led by these research aims, this thesis centres on a series of overlooked case studies. Departing from much of the existing scholarship on exhibitions, it looks not to the heart of the British Empire but to its so-called 'Second City' and furthermore focuses on how the presence of Canada, a recurring contributor, developed from one event to the next. These are measured choices made in aid of questioning the

[82] Phillips and Steiner, "Art, Authenticity and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter," in *Unpacking Culture*, 11-12.
[83] Barringer and Flynn, "Introduction," in *Colonialism and the Object*, 6.

perceived boundaries between metropole and periphery. Consequently, although the ensuing analysis employs familiar language of metropole and colony, centre and periphery, home and away, there is an underlying scepticism to their use.

Primarily centred on a relatively small window of time between the late-1880s and the early-1900s, the period under scrutiny has potential to offer revealing findings about constructions of both Canadian and Glaswegian identity since, in hindsight, it appears as a liminal moment. For Canada, the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 took place relatively soon after Confederation but before the First World War, an event widely regarded as a turning point for Canada's conception of self. This begs the question of what happened in between and whether there existed an emergent quasi-national identity, the signs of which were in evidence at Glasgow's International Exhibitions. For Glasgow, these events took place at a time when Britain remained a major industrial, commercial and imperial force, although amid increasing signs of instability. A city whose fortunes were deeply embroiled in these developments, such insecurities were felt with a particular acuteness in Glasgow. Drawing on Coombes' assertion that analyses of cultural institutions have the capacity to reveal struggles that took place under conditions of empire over representations of national histories and identities, the following chapters uncover not only how such struggles were manifested at Glasgow's Victorian and Edwardian exhibitions, but the wider historical circumstances that precipitated them.[84] Answers to these questions will be sought in the visual and material culture of International Exhibitions; in the entangled objects, images and physical traces that remain of these events, which help enliven distant and hazy pasts.

[84] Coombes, "Introduction," in *Rethinking Settler Colonialism*, 5.

OBJECT ANALYSIS

The Picton Crystal Palace



Figure 2.1. Exterior of the Crystal Palace at the Picton Fairgrounds, Picton, Ontario. Taken by the author.

"Not a World's Fair but Nearly So."[85] After buying their copy of the program for the 1893 season, this is what visitors could expect of a day – typically a hot and humid late-summer's day – spent at the Toronto Industrial Exhibition. Officially established as an annual exhibition in 1879, the roots of the Toronto Industrial go at least as far back as 1858 when a permanent building was needed for the provincial agricultural and industrial fair. The result, designed by Sandford Fleming and Collingwood Schreiber, was a local adaption of Paxton's already famous structure built with a higher proportion of iron supports to help it withstand the local climate.[86] The structure quickly became a major landmark in the city and was even dismantled and re-built when the fair moved to larger grounds on the Toronto lakefront in the 1870s. Toronto was left bereft of its Crystal Palace in 1906, however, when a large fire completely destroyed it, presaging the fate of its original predecessor. As Walden explains in his extensive study of the Toronto Industrial, which became the Canadian National Exhibition in 1912, the event "was never an international exposition, though it constantly aspired to be one."[87] Indeed, when the fair was established in the 1850s the population of Toronto was not a great deal more than 30,000, but nonetheless the small city hoped to join the increasingly global International Exhibition movement, building its own Crystal Palace as a clear symbol of these aims.[88]

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[85] Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, 13.
[86] Eric Arthur, *Toronto: No Mean City* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 211.
[87] Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, 13.
[88] Of these 30,000 residents, about 97% had been born in the United Kingdom. Donald Kerr and Jacob Spelt, *The Changing Face of Toronto – A Study in Urban Geography* (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1965), 54 and 113.

If it seems bold that Toronto should undertake such a construction, an even more unexpected example can be found a few hours down the road. Leaving 'Hog Town' and heading east, roughly following the northern shore of Lake Ontario, you come to the town of Picton, the largest in Prince Edward County. Settled primarily by United Empire Loyalists, individuals who migrated northwards during and immediately after the American War of Independence, Picton was and remains an agricultural community. In the later decades of the nineteenth century this town was inhabited by just 2,000-3,000 people, and yet here resides one of the world's few remaining Victorian interpretations of Paxton's model. Following a Greek cross plan, the building's most notable features are the two tiers of horizontal glass panelling that wrap around it. Nevertheless, if one was unaware of the building's history, there is little in its appearance that reflects its lineage. Although the structure has no internal walls or partitions, thereby giving unobstructed views of the exhibits within, a key tenet of Paxton's design, it is built almost entirely out of wood. Picton's monument may not be as light and airy, or convey the grandeur, technical innovation and magic of its namesake, but it has a distinct charm and handsomeness. Visit the day of the annual flower show for instance, and there is a buzz of activity. Crowds study specimens of orchids, alliums and irises – the prize-winners bearing coloured ribbons – and peruse stalls selling locally-made soaps and preserves, while also enjoying the "Victorian tea room" that serves its customers cakes and refreshments on chintz-patterned china.

Although Picton's Crystal Palace may not look a great deal like the archetype, its construction was motivated by a shared set of concerns. The county's annual agricultural fair was first held in 1836, which now makes it one of the oldest in Ontario. This event was part of a hierarchy of fairs, with local winners going on to show at the provincial agricultural exhibition (established in 1846), which travelled to different locations every year. In 1858, however, provincial organisers decided that henceforth the exhibition would only be held in municipalities that had permanent buildings and sizeable fairgrounds. This led to a flurry of construction with 'Crystal Palaces' popping up all over southern Ontario. Toronto's was also part of this wave. Picton's interpretation therefore stems from wanting to seize the opportunity to host this major event, as well as showcase its own local fair. The building is thus imbued with a desire to put the region on the map. In the late-nineteenth century the image of the Crystal Palace was a widely recognised symbol, interpreted as an expression of an advanced and civilised society and understood to indicate a community's aspirations to be a part of a wider movement.[89] It is these themes of ambition, motivation and mark-making, as well as the logistics of such operations, that the following chapter examines. What is more, the Crystal Palaces of Toronto and Picton, two localities that bore little resemblance to the metropolises most often associated with the International Exhibition movement, demonstrate the pervasive nature of this exhibitionary form, which at its height of popularity was a truly global tradition. Consequently, Picton's Crystal Palace is a rare remaining material trace of this exhibitionary paradigm, and speaks to the patterns of movement and exchange that this thesis seeks to uncover.



Figure 2.2. Toronto Industrial Exhibition Prize List, front cover, 1885. Courtesy of the Canadian National Exhibition Archives.

[89] Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, 217.

2

SETTING & STAGING

If you build it will they come?

The Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 was "easily the largest" exhibition mounted in Britain since the Great Exhibition.[90] Although slightly exaggerated in tone, there is truth to Crampsey's claim. The exhibition of 1888 attracted 5.7 million visitors over the six months it was open and generated a surplus of £41,000.[91] To put this into context, the Colonial & Indian Exhibition held in London two years earlier reached only 5.4 million visitors over the course of its run, and amassed a surplus of just £35,000.[92] Neither exhibition, however, surpassed the records set in 1851, which stood at just over 6 million visitors and a profit of £186,437.[93] The major exhibitions held in Glasgow which followed this first foray similarly attracted a high volume of visitors, and with the exception of the Empire Exhibition: Scotland held in 1938, all yielded significant financial gain. Although such statistics offer only a superficial picture of these complex events, they give an impression of their scale. This chapter is concerned with what was involved in executing this particular type of public event, and how International Exhibitions were used as ways to elevate reputations and define identities, whether those of the city doing the hosting or the exhibitors who chose to take up an invitation. As such it examines notions of conceptual and geographic setting in relation to the staging of this particular exhibitionary form.

Glasgow's role as an exhibition city and its place in the International Exhibition movement are topics that have received minimal attention from scholars, which is a surprising omission given that between 1888 and 1938 it was the site of some of the largest and best attended exhibitions ever mounted in Britain. But Glasgow's International Exhibitions provide a rich set of case studies through which to examine issues of setting and staging for reasons that go beyond the simple fact they represent a pronounced gap in the extant literature. Little time needs to be spent in Glasgow before one becomes familiar with the various phrases often used to evocatively describe the relationship between the city and its residents. Glasgow is at once memorialised as having been the 'workshop of the world' in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the Red Clydeside in the 1910s-1930s, a period when it was a hot-bed of political radicalism and industrial action; the municipality that rebranded itself as "Miles Better" during the 1980s; and the city that "belangs tae me," a perennial claim first voiced by the music hall entertainer Will Fyffe in 1920. What perhaps remains its most iconic mantle is that of being the 'Second City of the Empire', a title associated with Glasgow as early as 1825 and which in

[90] Crampsey, *The Empire Exhibition of 1938*, 27.
[91] Ken Carls, "Glasgow 1888: Glasgow International Exhibition," in *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs*, 104.
[92] Vladimir Steffel, "London 1886: Colonial and Indian Exhibition," in *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs*, 96.
[93] Jonathan Meyer, *Great Exhibitions: London - New York - Paris - Philadelphia, 1851-1900* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1988), 14.

many respects was an accurate, albeit hubristic, description of the city.[94] Given the status conferred by this claim, it is puzzling that Glasgow only came to host its first exhibition in 1888. Inaugurated over 30 years earlier and already taken on board by comparable provincial centres, by the time Glasgow caught up to speed there were indications the form had already begun to lose much of its appeal, and had deviated too far from its original intentions. Despite being decidedly late to jump on the exhibition bandwagon, Glasgow quickly established itself as a veritable host city and went on to mount four very successful events. In response to this curious aspect of Glasgow's exhibition history, this chapter focuses on the moment the city entered the International Exhibition movement and its late adoption of the form, in order to enrich understandings of the purpose, aims and motivations of these events. Undertaking a close analysis of a topic that does not fit comfortably within prevalent understandings of the character of Glasgow in the late-nineteenth century, and one that has received little attention in existing histories of the International Exhibition movement, produces a more nuanced appraisal of both subjects.

This chapter is oriented around an exploration of the early phases of Glasgow's involvement in the International Exhibition movement, and begins with an examination of the factors that led to the first Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, offering answers for why the city was relatively late in staging its first exhibition, and some of the ambitions that eventually pushed city officials to institute such an initiative. Seeking to explain the success of Glasgow's International Exhibitions requires one to consider not only what propelled campaigners, but what attracted visitors and exhibitors. The grand aspirations of an organising committee only went so far, with the appeal of an exhibition dictated much more by the quantity and diversity of sights, displays, activities and amusements that were on offer. Consequently, while the first part of this chapter looks at what motivated local organisers, the second part examines what made Glasgow's exhibitions attractive to potential exhibitors and to the Canadian government in particular. Because International Exhibitions were held with such frequency and were costly to participate in, potential contributors had to think carefully about whether it was worthwhile showing at any given exhibition. It is noteworthy then that Canada elected to mount official, national exhibits at all of Glasgow's International Exhibitions. The country was even represented at the decidedly introspective Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Industry of 1911, an event classified as a national exhibition rather than an international one, through a pavilion mounted by the Canadian Pacific Railway, not a Crown Corporation but a company closely tied to the federal government nonetheless.[95] Authorities in Glasgow and officials in Canada were driven by certain factors and held clear ideas of what they hoped to achieve at these exhibitions, but this is not to say these motivations and aspirations always overlapped. This chapter therefore examines the interplay between these two parties and their respective ambitions in the context of how Glasgow's International Exhibitions were staged. Examining the reasoning and rationale that underpinned these exhibitions from two distinct points of view promotes an understanding of the perceived importance

[94] T.M. Devine and Gordon Jackson, eds., *Glasgow, Volume I: Beginnings to 1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 10. See also Mackenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire'" for a fuller discussion of this moniker.
[95] In his analysis of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and particularly the completion of the trans-Canada line, Daniel Francis speaks of a "co-dependency" between CPR and the federal government. Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), 22.

of these events. Consequently, this chapter refutes the notion that the significance of International Exhibitions is "difficult to quantify," in spite of the magnificent prospect they present for studying the values, beliefs, symbols, identities and material culture of nineteenth-century societies as Heaman maintains.[96]

Britain's exhibition landscape, 1850s-1880s

Between the 1850s and the 1910s an exhibition featuring displays from at least 20 different nations was held somewhere in the world on average once every two years, and as a result they became highly competitive events. "The raison d'être" of many exhibitions according to Greenhalgh was not a love of other nations, an often publicised aim, but rather "a manic desire to out-do them."[97] A spirit of one-upmanship impacted the look and feel of exhibitions with national governments and private companies lobbying for space, negotiating for prime positions, and dreaming up increasingly elaborate displays to attract the attention of visitors, who were variously consumers, prospective investors and potential immigrants. Competition also drove the wider movement, with International Exhibitions soon becoming another medium through which existing and budding national rivalries were exercised. While exhibitions mounted in Britain, France and the United States attracted most of the attention – a pattern that is similarly reflected in much of the existing scholarship[98] – as early as the 1860s exhibitions were being launched in far less obvious settings. In part motivated by a fear of missing out, smaller municipalities in emerging or developing countries mounted their own exhibitions. As events popped up in places like Sydney (1879), Calcutta (1883) and Kingston, Jamaica (1891), the International Exhibition became an empire-wide, it not global, phenomenon. Because I am seeking to position Glasgow's exhibitions within the wider International Exhibition movement, and relative to events held in London in particular, it is important to convey an impression of the exhibition milieu as it looked when Glasgow finally made its entrance. How did the form change in the period between its initial flourishing at the Crystal Palace in 1851 and the first Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888? What is more, how were these changes perceived by different actors and stakeholders like exhibition organisers, enthusiasts and the visiting public? This background is an important element of the larger discussion that grounds this chapter, which concerns how organisers in Glasgow took stock of the successes and failures of these intervening decades when the time came to making their own mark on the shifting exhibition landscape.

Following the realisation of the Great Exhibition, promoters in France and the United States quickly adopted the form, organising a World's Fair in New York in 1853 and the first of many Exposition Universelles in Paris in 1855. In response, authorities in London began planning a second event. The London International Exhibition of 1862 was directed by the Society of Arts in conjunction with the Royal Commission, as had been the case the previous decade, and was funded through the

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[96] Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace*, 311.
[97] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 18.
[98] See for example Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*; Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*; and Rydell, *All the World's A Fair*. A notable adaptation of this model is McKay's *Selling Queensland at World Expositions,* which examines International Exhibitions held in Australia, as well as exhibits representing the Australian territories at fairs held in Europe.

profits from 1851 and contributions from sponsors, firms and private individuals.[99] Over nine thousand applications for space from interested exhibitors were received within weeks of the event's announcement, which gave the scheme financial security, but in spite of these early indicators the exhibition did not prove to be an overwhelming success. Commissioners had assumed the event would surpass the records set in 1851; however, expectations fell flat when it ended up attracting fewer than anticipated visitors and failed to make a profit.[100] In part this was due to the exhibition taking place amidst the sombre mood created by the sudden death of Prince Albert in December 1861, just six months before the exhibition opened, and growing concern over the civil war in the United States and its impact on trade and Britain's cotton industry. That said, these major events were not solely responsible for stifling public interest, and neither do they explain why the event was not well received by those who made the effort to visit. Writing at the exhibition's close the popular London publication *Saturday Review* noted,

> Somehow or other, even among those who visited it, the show has not been popular. This is undeniable. … We went, and saw, and approved and praised, and we were all dreadfully bored. We went and went again – everybody went again. But it was duty, task work, a thing to be done. It was a relief when it was all over.[101]

Such paltry enthusiasm can be attributed to the quality of the exhibits and their manner of arrangement. Indeed, a preview published in the same periodical six months earlier criticised the Society of Arts for not exercising sufficient discrimination. Exhibits were arranged in a confusing fashion, being "partly topographical and partly philosophical," which allowed each nation to arrange materials according to its own chosen categories and preferred manner of classification.[102] Additionally, in the opinion of the reviewer far too much was accepted, particularly when it came to common, everyday objects. "We do not want to go to Brompton [the area within South Kensington where the exhibition was held] for what we can see equally well in Fleet Street and the Edgeware Road," grumbled the author.[103] To the spectator, the exhibition was little more than a "succession of shop-fronts arranged in a complicated order."[104] This commentary exemplifies the perception that the London International Exhibition of 1862 placed too much emphasis on the sale of goods and commodities, and criticism that it had lost sight of the notion that the International Exhibition was, first and foremost, meant to be a powerful tool of public education and improvement. Concern the form had already begun to lose its novelty was compounded by recent exhibitions held in New York and Paris similarly failing to return a profit.

By the time London next hosted a fair the character of the International Exhibition appeared to have swung in the opposite direction. In 1868 Henry Cole, a prominent design reformer who had led

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[99] The Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 was established in 1850 by Queen Victoria for the purpose of organising the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations. The Royal Commission became a permanent body soon after the exhibition closed with Prince Albert as its President. In 1891 the Royal Commission moved away from its original mandate, and became a charitable trust focused on increasing "the means of industrial education and extend the influence of science and art upon productive industry" through the provision of scholarships, awards and fellowships. The Trust remains in existence today. http://www.royalcommission1851.org/about-us.
[100] Although attendance at the London International Exhibition (6,211,103) surpassed that of the Great Exhibition (6,039,195), the increase was not as substantial as had been hoped for. Meyer, *Great Exhibitions*, 109.
[101] "The Closing of the Exhibition," *Saturday Review* 14:336 (1862): 530.
[102] "The Exhibition Buildings," *Saturday Review* 13:339 (1862): 472.
[103] Ibid, 472.
[104] Ibid, 472.

the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851 alongside Prince Albert, devised a program of annual International Exhibitions.[105] Held in a collection of permanent buildings in South Kensington on the grounds that had been purchased with the profits of the 1851 exhibition, each iteration would be dedicated to a small number of specific disciplines or types of manufactures. The first exhibition held in 1871 for example specialised in the two somewhat incongruous areas of pottery and terracotta, and wool. According to Greenhalgh, London's exhibitions of the 1870s reflected growing concern that Britain's industrial and imperial supremacy was under threat from Germany and the United States, which accounted for them being "far less celebratory and ebullient, more studious and unpretentious."[106] In Cole's estimation an obvious way to combat this increased competition was to make Britain's labouring classes more attuned to quality of design and craftsmanship, and elevate popular taste and aesthetic sensibilities. Specialised exhibitions held on an annual basis could facilitate sustained engagement with the ideas Cole was a proponent of, thereby helping to improve British manufacturing.

The first of the specialised London exhibitions made a profit of over £17,000 and seemed to be a success. However, criticism was levelled against the Royal Commission's decision to showcase so few areas of manufacturing, and to display this smaller range of items according to type alone. An article published in a journal called *The Workshop* soon after the 1871 exhibition closed provides a number of insightful reflections on how this exhibition was received. The review was written by Jacob Falke (1825-1897), a curator and art historian who espoused that good design was predicated upon an object's form being reflective of its function, its materials and its mode of fabrication. In his summary of the 1871 exhibition Falke laments the fact that organisers had not chosen to follow the approach seen at the Paris Exposition Universelle four years earlier where there had been a "union of the objective with the national."[107] So successful was this manner of display, which allowed visitors to compare specific types of objects produced in different countries – Irish lace to Venetian lace; French to Indian to English pottery; Canadian to American to Russian to Baltic timber – that "every succeeding undertaking of the same nature [should] shrink from [following] any other system of arrangement."[108] The exhibition seems not to have been entirely without purpose or value however. As Falke writes, English taste in ceramics favoured "strong stimulants" which meant goods made in Britain suffered from "composition and outline [that] are frequently too wild, the colouring too glaring and hard."[109] With its displays of wares from France, Italy and India the exhibition could go some way to encouraging in Britain's producers and consumers a "degree of refinement and harmony," a benefit that fulfilled Cole's hopes for this series of regularly repeating exhibitions.[110] The fact remained, however, that "the produce is presented in too irregular a manner, the exhibition is too much broken up into parts and scattered for a complete view to be obtained."[111] According to Falke, "the fractional

[105] In 1868 Cole was Director of the new South Kensington Museum, the forerunner of the Victoria & Albert Museum, having been appointed to the role upon the museum's creation in 1857.
[106] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 32.
[107] Jacob Falke, "The International Exhibition in London 1871," *The Workshop: A Monthly Journal devoted to Progress of the Useful Arts* 4:11 (1871): 161.
[108] Ibid, 161.
[109] Ibid, 163.
[110] Ibid, 163.
[111] Ibid, 163.

character of the exhibition tended to awaken only a fractional interest" among exhibitors.[112] What interest there was swiftly declined as the costs required to send exhibits to London on an annual basis mounted up, a factor perhaps overlooked by the Royal Commission when developing the concept for these exhibitions. Additionally, in years when a conventional International Exhibition was staged elsewhere, as was the case in 1873 when a major world's fair was held in Vienna, many countries eschewed these specialised London fairs in favour of representing themselves at larger events. Despite attracting a decent number of visitors in the first year, attendance steadily declined, which suggests Falke's statement regarding the "fractional interest" of exhibitors applied equally to the reaction of the general public. Fewer countries sent goods to these annual events, and the initiative was eventually cancelled following the exhibition of 1874, which incurred a hefty loss.

The contemporary reflections discussed above indicate that by the 1870s audiences were less interested in exhibitions when they appeared to be organised primarily according to type. Even a visitor like Falke, who was a proponent of the industrial arts and believed in the ability of International Exhibitions to improve the quality of design and manufacturing, as well as direct popular taste in domestic goods, wanted to see objects arranged according to nation. Indeed the overall narrative composition of Falke's review reflects this predilection for national displays since in it he largely describes exhibited materials according to the content supplied by each nation. In a series of paragraphs that describe what is shown in the way of majolica and faience ware Falke does not structure his discussion according to form which would reflect the organisational logic of the exhibition – comparing how this particular manner of decorating pottery was applied to vases versus tea cups for example – but chooses instead to inform the reader of the characteristics that are typical of pottery produced in different countries. Although the exhibition failed to facilitate the comparison of goods produced by different nations, Falke's summary of the exhibition follows this framework. Equally well, early efforts at melding typology with geography resulted in events that were confusing and overwhelming for visitors. This was attempted at the London International Exhibition of 1862, where nations were given their own courts, and yet the Royal Commission failed to hold exhibitors to a consistent and logical way of grouping, arranging and labelling their individual displays. Returning to the *Saturday Review*, scorn was even directed at the English department, where apparently all the goods selected for display were arranged according to size. Making the helpful comparison that a library is always ordered firstly according to subject or discipline, and only latterly by a succession of other descriptive levels, the author reprimands the English contribution for being a collection of "abominable piles of incongruities, miscalled trophies, represent[ing] that high principle of arrangement known as the higgledy-piggledy."[113] These contemporary reactions to exhibitions mounted in London in the 1860s and 1870s can be taken as an indication not only of *what* the public was interested in seeing, but *how* they wished to see it presented.

Heaman suggests the short-lived nature of Cole's scheme demonstrates that by the mid-1870s "even the English had lost interest in this rational, elevating entertainment."[114] Whereas she reasons the

[112] Ibid, 162.
[113] "The Exhibition Buildings" (1862), 472.
[114] Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace*, 184.

slump that followed the excitement of 1851 was caused by dwindling public interest, Greenhalgh attributes it to the "haughty refusal" of British organisers to adapt and move in the direction of American and French fairs, which were beginning to offer far more in the way of amusements. Discussing the London International Exhibition of 1862, Greenhalgh explains how organisers felt "the worst possible fate for the whole enterprise was that it might be taken for a fair."[115] As a result, exhibitors who proposed showing anything that sounded as if it could be seen at a side-show were rejected, and no space within the grounds was allocated to popular amusements like rides and games. While insightful, both Heaman's and Greenhalgh's assessments need qualifying, not least through bringing them into dialogue with each other. One can look to what was happening in the museum for reasons behind this apparent decline, and particularly for an explanation as to why the sense of competition and drama that arose when national courts and pavilions were arranged side-by-side seemed to capture and hold the attention of the general public in a way that purely typological displays did not. In the second half of the nineteenth century this parallel exhibitionary form was in the midst of significant expansion and reconceptualisation. The museum building boom was driven by the notion that museums were particularly well equipped to cultivate a more civilised society because of their capacity to educate and by consequence socialise.[116] Key to this was displaying objects in a rational and ordered fashion in contrast to the more deliberately eclectic displays seen in previous centuries, exemplified by the *wunderkammer* and curiosity cabinets. With museums increasingly favouring modes of presentation that ordered collections by discipline or type it is easy to imagine that members of the public looked for something different from International Exhibitions. As Catherine Dibello explains, the "nongeographic arrangement" seen at the series of exhibitions held in London in the 1870s "obscured the international nature of the displays, deprived foreign countries of the chance to arrange their goods, and confused the general public with its scientific nature."[117]

Why should the International Exhibition, a temporary spectacle, replicate the manner of display seen in the permanent institution of the museum? If one takes a broader view and considers the decline that in some respects characterised International Exhibitions held in London in the 1860s and 1870s alongside developments that were taking place inside the museum, it begins to look unlikely this downturn reflected a wholesale shift away from entertainment that was elevating. Rather, it can be argued that as expectations grew visitors looked for more, both in terms of the amount that was on show and the variety of things that would be at their disposal upon entering through an exhibition's gates. If the initial burst of enthusiasm for International Exhibitions was largely a response to the sheer newness of the form, it is not surprising twenty years later visitors sought more in exchange for the cost of admission. As International Exhibitions became normalised, new sights and experiences had to be offered if an event was to attract the number of visitors needed to make it financially viable. This is not to say, however, that features regarded as original to the form were no longer part of the attraction. Rather, it indicates the general public sought different things from the various exhibitionary models

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[115] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 33.
[116] For a contemporary assessment of this relationship see G.B. Goode, "Principles of Museum Administration," *Smithsonian Institution Annual Report, Pt. II* (Washington, D.C.: United States National Museum, 1895). See also Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals*; and Merriman, *Beyond the Glass Case*.
[117] Catherine Dibello, "London 1871-1874: London International Exhibitions," in *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs*, 46.

that made up the rich and varied cultural landscape of the late-nineteenth century. As options proliferated, so demand for different kinds of experiences increased. Such an analysis implies there was a public perception International Exhibitions should have a look and feel all their own, and an expectation they should provide the visitor with experiences that differed from those of the museum and other public spaces that similarly melded education with entertainment through the medium of exhibition.

This calls into question Greenhalgh's suggestion exhibition organisers were united by an unwavering belief that the International Exhibition should be devoid of any elements of popular entertainment. Rather, the shift we see from the commercial feel of the London International Exhibition of 1862 to the studious nature of the exhibitions of the 1870s demonstrates a degree of uncertainty regarding what this specific exhibitionary medium was for. Because the emphasis remained on presenting objects and materials that served to illustrate advances in commerce, industry and manufacturing, the London exhibitions of the 1860s and 1870s did indeed fail to achieve the blending of high culture and popular amusement seen at concurrent exhibitions mounted in France and the United States. However, they were not necessarily expressions of the uniform unwillingness of British proponents to adapt as Greenhalgh purports. If anything, the divergent character of these exhibitions demonstrates a desire to include new features and test different approaches to ordering and arranging displays. The presence of many commonplace objects and the storefront feel of the London International Exhibition of 1862 can be interpreted as an attempt to bring elements of mass culture into the exhibition environment. On this occasion, appeals were made to the growing popularity of window-shopping and the experience of swanning through department stores and arcades. It would seem, however, that to many visitors, the commentator with the *Saturday Review* being among them, this effort was misjudged. This strengthens the argument that the general public was less enthusiastic when an International Exhibition appeared to behave like other exhibitionary mediums, whether it be the austere public museum or the commercialised high street. This is thus a more nuanced view of how International Exhibitions developed, demonstrating they were by no means a stable and unshakable exhibitionary form throughout the time they remained popular events. Additionally, such an analysis contributes to understandings of the wider exhibitionary landscape they were a part of, reinforcing how closely linked sites dedicated to displaying material culture – the International Exhibition, the museum and the department store, as well as the art gallery, the panorama and the fair – were in this period.

International Exhibitions held in Britain in the decades that immediately followed the Great Exhibition were not typified by a widespread muting of the public's interest or by the singular focus of exhibition organisers. Instead, their lacklustre performance can be attributed to the challenge of managing the idealised aspirations of exhibition-makers, the concerns of exhibitors and the wants of the general public. By the time of the first Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, where the discussion next takes us, this apparent tension between education and entertainment was part of the zeitgeist of International Exhibitions. Writing in a lavish souvenir publication the Secretary of the exhibition's Fine Art Committee, Robert Walker, admitted that "there can be hardly any doubt, although perhaps the bold statement of the truth may not be acceptable in every quarter, that the great

majority of those who visit an Exhibition go there to be amused, rather than instructed."[118] This contrast between International Exhibitions being conceived and promoted on the one hand as tools of instruction by organisers, and on the other as places of amusement and entertainment by the general public persisted throughout the period in which this genre of event remained a popular cultural form, rendering it a characteristic of this distinct exhibitionary paradigm. Walker's sharp observation encapsulates how International Exhibitions did not express the desires of a single group, but rather resulted from the interests of multiple actors and reflected different understandings of the purpose and significance of these spectacles.

A late entry to the game

The decision of campaigners in Glasgow to begin organising an exhibition in the late-1880s is a somewhat unexpected move given that by this time the form had become so well established it was showing signs of decline, as has been discussed above. A contemporary account of how the idea of an International Exhibition came to fruition in Glasgow stipulates that the city "with a population of 700,000 souls, industries of the most varied nature, and a wide-spread foreign connection, is naturally a most appropriate situation for an International Exhibition."[119] If Glasgow was indeed particularly well suited to hosting this type of event why did it take so long for one to get mounted? In the 1860s and 1870s the form of the International Exhibition was not only taken up in major international cities like London, which has been the focus of discussions thus far. Manchester was one of the first cities outside of the metropole to try its hand at organising this form of large-scale public exhibition. Shortly after receiving official designation as a city, a group of leading merchants and businessmen decided to hold a large exhibition in part to promote the municipality's new status. The result was the Art Treasures Exhibition, a huge display of fine art featuring around 16,000 works, which attracted around 1.3 million visitors between May and October 1857.[120] Thirty years later the city again played host when it mounted the Royal Jubilee Exhibition to mark the 50th anniversary of Queen Victoria's reign. Other examples of these regional interpretations include the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865, the International Exhibition of Navigation, Travelling, Commerce and Manufactures held in Liverpool in 1886, and the Liverpool Jubilee Exhibition staged the following year.

The question of why Glasgow came to the International Exhibition movement later than other cities in Britain, and indeed the empire, is a subject that has not been addressed in any existing study. Consequently, the ensuing discussion seeks to explore this apparent conundrum through an examination of the factors that led to the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888. The first event of its kind to be held in the city, the one that set the precedent for all those that followed, will be considered from two angles. There are the issues that directly motivated the exhibition's staging and

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[118] Robert Walker, *Pen-and-Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition: A Series of Illustrations by T. Raffles Davison, F.S.I.A. with an Account of the Exhibition by Robert Walker, Secretary to the Fine Art Section* (London: J.S. Virtue & Co. Ltd., 1888), 115.
[119] Ibid, xiii.
[120] Elizabeth A. Pergam, *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857: Entrepreneurs, Connoisseurs and the Public* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), 1-2. See also Amy M. von Lintel, "Art History as Spectacle: Blockbuster Exhibitions in 1850s England," in *Exhibiting Outside the Academy, Salon and Biennial, 1775-1999*, ed. Andrew Graciano (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015): 131-167.

the concerns that drove the project. An indication of these can be gleaned from a variety of archival materials. Minutes from meetings of the exhibition's Executive Committee and various sub-committees, correspondence between organisers and exhibitors, press comments and promotional material all speak to the official and unofficial impulses behind the series of exhibitions held in the city between 1888 and 1938. Conversely, there are the reasons why it took until the late-1880s for an exhibition to come to fruition when on the face of it Glasgow seemed an obvious location, and a city that would have displayed an early interest in this type of event in the way comparable provincial centres like Manchester and Liverpool did. This topic is more elusive, but is arguably of greater interest since it is specific to Glasgow's exhibition history, whereas the first set of concerns reflect the benefits that were repeatedly put forward to justify the mounting of an International Exhibition and which, as a result, have already received a great deal of attention from scholars. Believing this is an important and under-addressed line of enquiry, in what follows I posit answers to this complex question, before proceeding to analyse the aims and motivations of those who brought Glasgow's first International Exhibition to fruition. As such, the present section offers a layered explanation as to why Glasgow came to the International Exhibition movement at the precise historical juncture that it did.

To build an understanding for why the first Glasgow International Exhibition came about when it did I have drawn on existing histories of Glasgow, primarily those that look at the social, political and economic character of the city in this period, and brought this scholarship into dialogue with analyses of the International Exhibition movement. In looking to explain what sustained the movement many scholars have pointed to the use of International Exhibitions as instruments of social control and discipline. This mode of analysis, which owes a great deal to Foucault's theories on the relationship between knowledge and power, is articulated most clearly by Bennett who regards the International Exhibition as just one component within a network of discursive cultural institutions and happenings. According to Bennett, the International Exhibition, by virtue of being part of the exhibitionary complex, was a response to the problem of order. International Exhibitions were a public space where people from all levels of society came into contact with another. Through the inclusion of stalls animated by craftspeople and so-called 'native villages', which became popular features at exhibitions in the later decades of the nineteenth century, they were also sites where predominantly Euro-North American spectators gained exposure to supposedly less civilised cultures. Accordingly, Bennett regards the International Exhibition as a tool used by social and political elites to manage those elements in society that were perceived as a threat to the status quo, generally the working classes. The rationale was that the experience of taking in educational exhibits and displays while in the company of hundreds of strangers – feeling the social pressure of being watched – would create a "voluntarily self-regulating citizenry."[121]

Bennett's writing on the exhibitionary complex has deeply impacted my own understanding of the history of the International Exhibition, and his analysis is one I respond to throughout this thesis. While I largely agree with his interpretation, the totalising effect of his reading is something that can be further examined and unpicked. For example, while Bennett lays out a clear argument for how the

[121] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 63.

International Exhibition functioned as a regulating force, paying particular attention to the architecture of exhibition buildings and how objects, artworks and people were arranged within them in order to instil in visitors certain tastes, values and world-views, he does not assess whether these strategies were successful. Although much has already been said in this chapter about the reflections on the London International Exhibition of 1862 contained in the pieces published by the *Saturday Review*, it is worth returning to this source one final time to share what are perhaps its most illuminating passages, those that reveal a striking awareness of the discourses Bennett astutely re-articulates. Looking for another reason why the exhibition failed to attract the number of visitors that had been hoped for, the author suggests it might have been due to the involvement of the Society of Arts, an organisation widely perceived to be exclusive in character. "Once a body is suspected of *cliquerie*" the author notes, "even its good deeds are looked on with suspicion."[122] He or she is acutely aware that behind the Society's "extraordinary zeal for the public weal" lay opportunities for individual gain accessible only to those involved in organising the exhibition in the form of salaries, titles, patronage and influence.[123] The author closes their dissection of the exhibition with the following pointed remarks:

> Before it was opened, we were to be bullied into approval … and when it was open we were not to criticize the arrangements, the trophies, or the rubbish. We were to be harried and driven into a chorus of jubilation and admiration. … We do not like to be compelled to fall down and worship even a golden image. If all the newspapers, with one consent, had not raised such a universal shriek of glorification … people would not have lost their patience before the curtain rose. As it was, patience and temper were lost.[124]

This excerpt points to the gap between production and reception, or between those meanings intended by exhibition authorities and those taken away by individual visitors, that befalls many studies of International Exhibitions, including Bennett's. This source demonstrates that although difficult to access, sometimes the scholar can glimpse how these events were interpreted by members of the public. Furthermore, this commentary from the *Saturday Review* reveals not only contemporary opinion on the purpose of the International Exhibition, but a self-conscious awareness of being on the receiving end of the grand narratives many scholars agree were crucial to this exhibitionary model.

In his analysis of Glasgow's 'Second City' mantle, Mackenzie makes the argument that Glasgow in some ways differed from other British cities in the nineteenth century, one factor being it had a relatively stable social structure. Like many other municipalities, over the nineteenth century Glasgow became a densely populated, urban and increasingly industrial city; "a melting pot of peoples, with the grandest of architecture and the poorest of housing standards."[125] Largely because of migration from Ireland and northern Scotland, and to a lesser extent from continental Europe, the city's population increased ten-fold between 1801 and 1911. Although tensions between communities, both social and cultural, were inevitable Mackenzie asserts Glasgow had markedly low levels of serious crime and a relatively quiescent working-class labour force between the 1840s and 1910s. He points to the city's lay-out, design and architecture to explain this. Glasgow's grid system, which stretched north and south of the Clyde, was built up by row upon row of three and four story tenement buildings, which meant

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[122] "The Closing of the Exhibition" (1862), 531. Italics in original.
[123] Ibid, 531.
[124] Ibid, 531.
[125] Mackenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire'," 218.

classes often lived in closer proximity compared to how housing was distributed in other large cities. According to Mackenzie this "spatial banding offered the middle classes valuable opportunities to colonise the working classes," which they actively pursued through the creation of inner-city missions, temperance groups and philanthropic organisations like the Boys' Brigade, and women's associations like those connected to the Home Arts Movement.[126] Building on Mackenzie's study of this urban fabric, it can be reasoned that there were factors particular to Glasgow which meant the International Exhibition was not immediately suited to the needs of the city. If these various initiatives successfully managed the local population as Mackenzie argues, it follows that there might not have been a need for International Exhibitions in Glasgow, providing they were staged with the intent of managing and civilising the working classes as Bennett, Greenhalgh and others purport. Given relations between classes and cultural groups were relatively harmonious in Glasgow it may not have been necessary to turn to the International Exhibition as a tool for addressing the perceived tensions and concerns of the city's political and social elites.

In suggesting the conglomeration of charitable, philanthropic and educational organisations that were active in Glasgow in the latter part of the nineteenth century to some extent did the work of an International Exhibition, meaning there was less reason to undertake such a costly initiative, it is important to note that smaller-scale exhibitions often formed part of these organisations' activities. Events managed by Mechanics Institutes, which were briefly discussed in the previous chapter, were just some of the exhibitions dedicated to the display of industrial objects, machinery, manufactures, fine art and the decorative arts that were held in the city prior to 1888. Industrial exhibitions for



Figure 2.3. A satirical cartoon from *Glasgow Looking Glass* 1:10 (1825). By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll.Bh14-x8.

example were mounted in 1847, 1865 and 1886-87. These important forerunners to Glasgow's later fairs showcased Scottish industries and manufactures to local audiences, but also displayed the products of other cultures, as evidenced by the Indian street which featured at the exhibition of 1886-87. Often realised with the help of working men's clubs and other social associations, these exhibitions were primarily aimed at the city's working classes. In addition to these temporary exhibitions there were a number of permanent venues in Glasgow that similarly gave residents opportunities to examine

[126] Ibid, 220-221. For a discussion of the Home Arts Movement in Scotland see Annette Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).

and observe a plethora of material culture. Probably the oldest institution devoted to these principles was the museum attached to the University of Glasgow. Showcasing the holdings of Dr William Hunter, a prolific collector who had attended the university as an undergraduate student, The Hunterian became Scotland's first public museum when it opened in 1807. Hunter's collection was vast and varied. It encompassed shells and minerals, books and manuscripts, drawings and paintings, ethnographic materials and natural history specimens, not to mention Hunter's own medical instruments and anatomical preparations, which had been key to his research and practice as a physician. Hunter regarded his as a teaching collection and left it to the University of Glasgow in the hopes it would be used by future generations of students, and also be accessible to the general public.[127] In the mid-1850s Glasgow Town Council similarly acquired a major gift, the significant art collection of Archibald McLellan. A prosperous coach-builder and municipal magistrate, McLellan had built up a collection of notable European paintings and drawings. Believing "the study of what are called the 'Fine Arts' is eminently conducive to the elevation and refinement of all classes, as well as intimately connected with the manufacturing and mercantile prosperity of the community," McLellan had bequeathed his collection to the city on the condition that it be devoted to "public use and exhibition."[128] Along with taking possession of McLellan's art collection, the Town Council had purchased the custom designed galleries commissioned by McLellan not long before his death in 1854, which were located on Sauchiehall Street, one of Glasgow's busiest thoroughfares. In addition to the Corporation Art Galleries, the Town Council managed the Kelvingrove Museum, which had opened to the public in 1870 and housed the city's growing collection of industrial objects and natural history specimens.

Creating a municipal museum service anchored by the strength of the collections noted above, was just one element of the Town Council's wider development program. In the late-Victorian period municipal agencies undertook major demolition and construction campaigns to address slum housing, built a network of tramlines, improved gas and water supplies, and introduced a number of public health initiatives to ward against further outbreaks of cholera and typhus which had struck the city in the 1830s and 1840s. These civic projects are often credited to the prevailing influence of municipal socialism, a doctrine by no means unique to Glasgow, but which was arguably taken further than in Birmingham, Manchester and other cities that are most often associated with this ideology. Many historians have noted the extent to which municipal socialism has directed politics and governance in Glasgow since the 1850s, creating a situation whereby it came to underpin the city's spatial, social and cultural relations.[129] It was a particular brand of municipal socialism that evolved in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century,

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[127] Hunter's collection, as it was when it arrived in Glasgow following Hunter's death in 1783, is detailed in John C. Laskey, *A General Account of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow: Including Historical and Scientific Notices of the Various Objects of Art, Literature, Natural History, Anatomical Preparations, Antiquities &c. in that Celebrated Collection* (Glasgow: John Smith & Son, 1813). For a more recent study see Lawrence J. Keppie, *William Hunter and the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow, 1807-2007* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007).

[128] Archibald McLellan, "Deed of Bequest," in James Paton, *Catalogue Descriptive and Historical of the Pictures in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum Kelvingrove* (Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 1906), v-vi.

[129] Mackenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire'," 219. See also various chapters in *Glasgow, Volume II: 1830-1912*, eds. W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Gerry Mooney and Mike Danson, "Beyond 'Culture City': Glasgow as a 'Dual City'," in *Transforming Cities: Contested Governance and New Spatial Divisions*, eds. Nick Jewson



Figure 2.4. "Old Houses at Corner of George Street and High Street," *The Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow: Engraved by Annan from Photographs taken for the City of Glasgow Improvement Trust* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1900). By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. DouganAdd.56.

one that combined genuine concern for the collective well-being of residents with an equally strong commitment to making money, an ideology perhaps more appropriately recognised as a progressive, liberal paternalism. The extent to which this way of thinking penetrated the city offers a helpful explanation for why Glasgow was slow to embrace the form of the International Exhibition. The adoption of municipal socialism in Glasgow coincided with the first wave of International Exhibitions, with the tapping of Loch Katrine in 1859 being an often-cited benchmark. As a result, it can be argued that forces within the city were already working to effect the sorts of changes and improvements being attributed to the International Exhibition. Thus, whereas political and social elites in other parts of Britain may have looked to the International Exhibition as a new and captivating form of mass education and improvement in the 1850s and 1860s, their counterparts in Glasgow may not have wanted to commit to such an endeavour, requiring as it did a great deal of time, energy and financial resources, when programs designed to achieve similar ends were already underway in the city. At first glance this would seem to offer a plausible explanation for why the form was not readily taken up.

It is worthwhile looking at how the advent of municipal socialism might fit within Glasgow's exhibition history in another way however. Perhaps Glasgow did not host an International Exhibition until the late-1880s because prior to this time it had not been fit for purpose. It is interesting to consider whether it was the benefits that stemmed from this doctrine, which resulted in vast improvements to the city's infrastructure, appearance and quality of life, that enabled Glasgow to assume the position of host, and show itself off to national, British and international audiences.

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and Susanne MacGregor (London: Routledge, 1997), 73-86. For an analysis of contemporary resonances of this doctrine see Lawrence Fitzgerald, "Building on Victorian Ideas," in *Reshaping Museum Spaces: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions*, ed. Suzanne MacLeod (New York: Routledge, 2005), 133-145.



Figure 2.5. Frontispiece to *International Exhibition Glasgow, 1888: Official Catalogue* (Glasgow: T. & A. Constable, 1888). By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. Bh11-b4.

Mackenzie's theory that for much of its history Glasgow has sought to renew and reinvent itself both in a material and imaginative sense, often in relation to shifts within the imperial economy, provides useful insight here. At first dealing in sugar, tobacco and textiles, and latterly in goods and materials produced through heavy industries, since the early-eighteenth century Glasgow's stake in imperial markets had consistently increased. By the 1860s it was a prosperous municipality but one that also betrayed signs of striking social deprivation, endowing the 'Second City' with "a thoroughly unhealthy reputation, in which it yielded first place to none."[130] Set in this context then, the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 can be framed as an opportunity for city councillors, businessmen and philanthropists to show off the successes wrought by municipal socialism to Scottish, British and international spectators, reversing the city's negative image in the process. Indeed, materials designed to entice exhibitors, attract visitors over the course of its run and commemorate the exhibition after it closed all make much of the fact that Glasgow, by the late-1880s, had turned itself into a model municipality. Far from being an "accumulated mass of squalid wretchedness … unequalled in the British Dominions," a place teeming with "everything that is wretched, dissolute, loathsome and pestilential," as the city was described by a Chief Constable in the 1840s, Glasgow had become a city entirely capable of mounting a well-organised and profitable exhibition.[131] What is more, due to the enterprising and yet benevolent nature of its organisers the event would have a lasting, positive impact upon the city and its inhabitants, principally through the creation of a new museum, art gallery and art school which would be built with the accumulated surplus. Using the temporary spectacle of the International Exhibition to create a permanent public institution was a novel scheme that sets Glasgow's exhibitions apart from the norm. In light of how it was envisaged at the time, it is clear the exhibition was used as a platform from which to publicise the city's achievements, and also became a scheme of civic improvement in and of itself. In Glasgow's case

[130] Mackenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire'," 218.
[131] As quoted in Andor Gomme and David Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow*, 2nd edition (London: Lund Humphries, 1968), 103.

then, the act of hosting an International Exhibition was one aspect of a larger revitalisation project. Consequently, it marks an early example of city authorities looking to rejuvenate Glasgow's identity through cultural means, a strategy frequently associated with similar, but far more recent, attempts at addressing social issues stemming from post-industrial decline following the Second World War.

When the decision was eventually made to mount an International Exhibition in Glasgow the city was in the early stages of recovering from a stretch of economic malaise. Describing this period in his memoirs written some forty years after the fact, the political economist James Mavor (1852-1925) recounts how "the financial catastrophe of 1878 had staggered the people of Glasgow."[132] In spite of its "miscellaneity of industries," Glasgow was heavily impacted by declining prices and levels of production, and did not recover until the early 1890s. Mavor recollects how the years immediately before the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 "were years of great depression."[133] A friend of the ardent anarchist Peter Kropotkin and reputedly responsible for introducing William Morris to Francis Newbery, the notable director of the Glasgow School of Art, Mavor is a fascinating individual whose life seems to have repeatedly intersected with the goings on of International Exhibitions. In response, Mavor is a recurring character in the story of International Exhibitions I have chosen to tell here, cropping up at various points and especially in reference to a much-overlooked early presentation of Canadian art at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, which will be discussed in a later chapter. The downturn Mavor describes was one of the first to impact Glasgow since the phenomenon of the International Exhibition had taken hold of the popular imagination, an important factor to consider when speculating why an International Exhibition was not mounted in Glasgow until 1888. The period between the 1850s and 1880s was one of major growth and expansion in the city and surrounding areas. Immigration swelled its population, and a series of boundary extensions between 1846 and 1891 increased the city's geographic reach. This was also when Glasgow became an undisputed powerhouse of manufacturing, heavy industry and mining, as well as a commercial hub embedded within imperial and global trading networks. Glasgow had the unique benefit of being situated on a major river fed by smaller waterways, and was in close proximity to large coal and iron deposits. The mining of iron and coal fuelled the building of ships and locomotives that were kitted out with locally produced textiles and decorative iron work, which had been transported from industrial suburbs to Clydeside docks via the network of canals connecting these pockets of production. As a result, Glasgow supported an array of inter-woven industries that bolstered each other in periods of growth, but made the city sensitive to fluctuations and downturns.

If a common objective of International Exhibitions was to stimulate economic growth and increase trade, Glasgow's relative prosperity throughout the nineteenth century suggests there was little need for the city to host this kind of event. Up until the economic depression of the late-1870s efforts were perhaps so firmly focused on making money that little attention was paid to the frivolities of exhibitions. I therefore do not see it as a coincidence that the idea of hosting an International Exhibition in Glasgow was first tabled at a time when the city was in the midst of economic flux. This assessment further supports the notion that in spite of superficial extravagances and bold statements of

[132] James Mavor, *My Windows on the Street of the World, Volume I* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1923), 142.
[133] Ibid, 143.

wealth and prosperity setting the tone of the International Exhibition, individual events were often informed by economic and industrial insecurities. This analysis of Glasgow's first International Exhibition echoes Auerbach's reading of the Great Exhibition of 1851, in which he re-evaluates earlier scholarship that tended to present it as a coherent expression of unwavering confidence in Britain's economy and society at mid-century. By contrast, Auerbach interprets the picture presented at the Great Exhibition as "rather schizophrenic":

> There is no doubt that in 1851 Britain was the world's single Great Power, economically and militarily. But the Great Exhibition revealed, for the astute observer, signs of underlying weaknesses, the beginnings of the erosion of Britain's economic preeminence upon which its military and imperial strength rested. While British industries were increasing their output in absolute terms, their relative share of world production was steadily falling.[134]

In examining how the International Exhibition developed in the decades before the first Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, the above discussion has proposed these events were equally, if not more, tied to moments of instability than periods of prosperity. This dynamic was in evidence at the London International Exhibition of 1862 and the series of annual exhibitions held in the capital in the 1870s. Indeed, according to Auerbach a desire to combat or off-set fears of decline through the medium of the International Exhibition was present at its inception. A distinct pattern, this correlation can be regarded as a defining characteristic of this particular exhibitionary paradigm. Although International Exhibitions appeared to be wholly optimistic expressions, a strong case can be made for them stemming from a sense of anxiety, with the gleaming visions of prosperity they projected serving as distractions from their immediate social and economic contexts.

Looking forward to an examination of what directly motivated the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 then, perhaps the most important idea to take away from the discussion thus far is that Glasgow's late entry does not preclude it from being included in histories of the International Exhibition or detract from the significance of the city's events. In the late-nineteenth century, the International Exhibition tradition that initially emerged in large metropolises like London, Paris and New York developed in parallel to local programs that sought to improve the intellectual and material circumstances of Glasgow's residents, and by extension bolster the city's status as one of Britain's and the empire's foremost commercial and industrial centres. In Glasgow's case, this social doctrine initially found expression through a variety of cultural initiatives such as smaller-scale displays of fine art, industrial objects and manufactured goods before arguably morphing into a full-blown International Exhibition. The fact Glasgow's first event of this kind coincided with a deeply felt economic downturn implies its staging was propelled by a desire to improve the city's economy, bring increased business to its industries and boost public morale in the process, a key characteristic of previous exhibitions. This confluence of factors demonstrates it is more accurate to regard Glasgow's International Exhibitions as wholly emblematic of the ambitions and goals, both stated and unstated, that propelled the wider International Exhibition movement.

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[134] Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, 126.

Motivations and justifications

Having discussed potential reasons for why Glasgow was late to join the International Exhibition movement, we now focus on the other side of a key question that anchors this chapter and consider those factors that directly motivated a first attempt at mounting an exhibition in the city. Much of the existing scholarship on the International Exhibition movement seeks to understand the motivations and justifications for these events, which were extravagant, costly and required a great deal of man-power to bring to fruition. As Greenhalgh succinctly explains, "before vast sums could be lifted from public funds and charities for the construction of these epic cultural edifices, convincing criteria for their existence had to be provided."[135] How an organising committee framed an exhibition did more than justify its existence to local stakeholders, since it also played a crucial part in convincing potential exhibitors, private firms and national governments alike, to participate, which was essential if an exhibition was to be a success. Consequently, in order to position Glasgow within the wider International Exhibition movement, and by extension insert this history into the existing historiography, it is worth identifying the aims that were levied in support of these exhibitions, particularly the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 since it established a model for subsequent fairs.

By the late-nineteenth century, a set of motivations and ambitions were routinely put forward to justify the staging of an International Exhibition. Each event would encourage peace between nations, serve as a powerful tool of mass education, bolster trade, particularly within the British Empire but also globally, and be a catalyst for the general advance of civilisation. This matrix of inter-connected aspirations underpinned the Great Exhibition of 1851, as evidenced by early deliberations of a group of merchants and magistrates charged with the task of defining the parameters of the proposed event. Speaking in front of the assembled group in January 1850, one of the exhibition's treasurers William Cotton moved a first resolution:

> That the proposal of his Royal Highness the Prince Albert to open an exhibition of the works of industry of all nations, in the year 1851, in this metropolis, is a measure in harmony with the public feeling, and entitled to the general support of the community, and is eminently calculated to improve manufactures, and to aid in diffusing the principles of universal peace.[136]

Sentiments such as this were often repeated and reiterated in the lead-up to an exhibition. In an extended tract detailing the advantages to be gained from the Great Exhibition, the humanitarian, anti-slavery campaigner and author Louis Alexis Chamerovzow (1816–1875) wrote,

> [The exhibition] will, moreover, so palpably exhibit the more lasting glory and renown to be acquired by honourable emulation in the field of labour, that [nations] will find in these, the most cogent incentives to engage in a noble struggle to outvie one another in the cultivation of those sciences, and the perfecting of those arts, which, whilst they humanize and refine the individual, likewise exalt and dignify the nation.[137]

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[135] Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 16.
[136] As reported in "The Great Exhibition of Industry, 1851: Meeting at the Mansion-House," *Times* [London], 26 January 1850.
[137] Louis Alexis Chamerovzow, "The Industrial Exhibition of 1851: Being a Few Observations upon the General Advantages which May Be Expected to Arise from It" (1851), as reproduced in *The Great Exhibition: A Documentary History, Vol. II*, ed. Geoffrey Cantor (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013), 101.

These founding principles endured and were integral to the conceptual rationale of the International Exhibition throughout the hundred-or-so years it remained popular. Archival materials like official publications and press reports reveal the first Glasgow International Exhibition abided by these same aspirations. This is not surprising, neither does it reveal much that is distinct about this exhibition since by the late-1880s promoting an event in this way was simply *de rigueur*. So established was the tradition that language akin to that cited above formed the standard vocabulary used to describe and endorse an exhibition. Because a great deal has already been written about these prevailing justifications there is minimal value in demonstrating how the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 perpetuated them, and far more to be gained from examining how the universalist tendencies of the International Exhibition were uniquely applied in Glasgow. Uncovering how the occasion of an International Exhibition was used to forward more specific ends illustrates how conventional rhetoric was used to promote decidedly local concerns. The present aim therefore is to explore how this first major exhibition in Glasgow conformed to the accepted model of the International Exhibition, while simultaneously betraying a pronounced, uniquely local character, which in effect created a new mould that would be returned to at all exhibitions subsequently mounted in the city.

Perhaps it was Edinburgh hosting an International Exhibition in 1886, and by doing so garnering acclaim for being the first city in Scotland to stage an exhibition on this scale, that ultimately pushed public figures in Glasgow to begin organising their own. The idea was not unanimously supported however. "An Exhibition had succeeded in Edinburgh, but Edinburgh was different from Glasgow; the Jubilee Exhibition in Manchester was quite exceptional; Exhibitions had been overdone; Glasgow was a steady-going place, more given to church meetings than to frivolous amusements – and so on."[138] According to Robert Walker, these were just some of the arguments used against an exhibition being mounted in Glasgow. Although one does not want to make too much of the joked-about rivalry between Glasgow and Edinburgh, a report approved by the municipal government about a month before festivities in the east came to a close does suggest a sense of competition motivated campaigners in the west. While admitting the recent undertaking in Edinburgh meant "the idea of a great exhibition, as regards Scotland, has lost its novelty," the report maintained an exhibition in Glasgow would still be of greater significance. Due to its position as the country's largest city as well as its commercial centre Glasgow was better positioned to showcase Scottish industries and manufacturing. The strength of these "local sources" would therefore attract a higher number of visitors and more international attention.[139] While this statement is first and foremost evidence of a yearning to better Edinburgh's efforts, reading between the lines it also hints that organisers in Glasgow were simultaneously setting their sights that bit farther. An underlying message here is that although positioning an International Exhibition in a Scottish context had already been achieved by campaigners in Edinburgh, an exhibition that looked beyond Scotland had yet to be accomplished. Consequently, while it would nonetheless showcase local industries, the proposed Glasgow exhibition would be pitched on a different level in order to publicise Glasgow's economic and industrial strength to international audiences. Such a reading echoes Mackenzie's assessment that once it had become

[138] Walker, *Pen-and-Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition*, xii.
[139] Unpublished report approved by Glasgow Town Council, September 28, 1886, ML, G606.4 (1888).

rooted within imperial and global networks "Glasgow seemed to be in Scotland, but not wholly of Scotland."[140] From roughly the 1830s onwards, Glasgow routinely placed itself alongside cosmopolitan cities like Paris and New York, and even positioned itself as a successor to Venice, the ultimate mercantile city-state, but seldom in relation to other cities in Britain, let alone Scottish ones.

It is likely Glasgow and Edinburgh actually hit upon the notion of staging an International Exhibition at roughly the same time with the prospect first raised at a meeting of Glasgow's Town Council in late-1883. The general intention at this early stage was to "illustrate the extent and progress of our various industries and manufactures," a typical ambition but one that is also notable for the stated desire to focus on Scottish industries with a clear emphasis on Glasgow's capabilities.[141] The prospect was initially put on hold following the death of one of the local officials who had championed the idea, and then temporarily suspended as plans for a major fair to be held in Edinburgh got underway. Shortly after the Edinburgh International Exhibition opened in May 1886, proponents in Glasgow resumed their scheme, and an official statement of support was approved by the Town Council in late-September of that year. It was resolved that the exhibition, the planning of which could now begin in earnest, would definitely be more ambitious than previous events. Unlike the Industrial exhibitions of 1847 and 1865, and the one which would shortly open at the Burnbank Drill Hall, which was described by a contemporary source as a "place to spend a happy evening and as many coins as you could spare besides," the new venture would be more than simply a "sale-shop."[142] Officials erred against making a firm decision on whether the exhibition would be National or International in scale and character at this early stage, but regardless the priority was that the event be "distinctively Scottish, including as far as that might be possible, every characteristic element and feature of the Scottish Nation."[143] At the same time, however, organisers betrayed an awareness of how much an exhibition's appeal and success stemmed from a balance between local concerns and international content. While the exhibition would primarily testify to the strength of Scotland's industries and its unique character, organisers maintained there should not be "too rigid an exclusiveness in dealing with our commercial relations with other nations."[144]

The poor reception of recent exhibitions in London had proved that spectators were attracted to exhibitions when they provided the opportunity for comparative study and observation along national lines. In Glasgow's case, this strategy was also in the interests of exhibition organisers, most of whom were civic magistrates, social elites and prominent merchants and industrialists, since it could be used to emphasise the central role played by Glasgow in international markets, which many of these actors were invested in. International Exhibitions were commonly cited as opportunities to build trade relations and stimulate growth across the British Empire and beyond, but this perennial concern was arguably felt with a particular acuteness by campaigners in Glasgow. The city's finances were deeply connected to these commercial networks and Glasgow, like other centres of production in Britain, was

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[140] Mackenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire'," 221.
[141] Meeting of Glasgow Town Council, 6 December 1883, ML, GC 606.4 (1888).
[142] A.S. Boyd, *Glasgow Men and Women, Their children and Some Strangers Within their Gates: A Selection from the Sketches of Twym* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905), 153, University of Glasgow Library Special Collections (hereafter UGSC), Sp. Coll. Mu23-x.4.
[143] Unpublished report approved by Glasgow Town Council, September 28, 1886.
[144] Ibid.

still recovering from a period of depression. The ambition to focus on the industries and productions of Scotland, highlighting the centrality of Glasgow and locating both within the wider imperial world, directed the design and arrangement of the exhibition. Contained in this report from 1886 was the stipulation that materials "should be arranged in groups or classes more in accordance with their local distribution than on any technological system of classification."[145] Each region in Scotland "should be represented in proportion to its importance, having its characteristic industries shown with due prominence," resulting in the exhibition being the "epitome of the productive resources of Scotland."[146] This marks a departure from the organisational framework based firstly on type that had dominated early International Exhibitions, but which by the 1880s appeared to have lost the interest of visitors. Instead, the approach chosen by organisers in Glasgow facilitated comparison between nations, with Scotland presented as a distinct nation in and of itself, and also placed different regions within Scotland into a hierarchy of production. This form of arrangement put the focus firmly on Glasgow's industries and manufactures, as well as its history and culture, even portraying it as in some ways exceptional. By the late-1880s Glasgow had been the largest and most populated city in Scotland for some time, was a powerful economic and industrial force and, somewhat uniquely, was at once a centre of production and distribution. Glasgow was engaged in a two-part process of making and moving, whereby goods ranging from ships and locomotives in their tons to tea and beer in their gallons were made in the city and then shipped throughout the British Empire. Glasgow was therefore linked to a world beyond Scotland and indeed the UK, and the occasion of a major International Exhibition was a choice opportunity to emphasise these bonds, reinforcing their strength to local, regional, national and overseas visitors. Supporting Mackenzie's claim that Glasgow's International Exhibitions were "principally concerned with negotiating the identities of Glasgow, Scotland and the empire," this subject of Glasgow's self-image will be developed and added to at various points throughout the chapters that follow.[147]

Organisers of the first Glasgow International Exhibition were to a large extent motivated by a desire to emphasise the strength and diversity of Scotland's and particularly Glasgow's industries, with a view to consolidating trade links and aiding economic recovery in the process. The exhibition was also justified on the basis of its educational impact, a claim typical of International Exhibitions but one that is hard to quantify. The question of an exhibition's educational potential points to the gap between the aspirations of organisers and how an exhibition was received and interpreted by visitors, with evidence for an exhibition being intellectually stimulating proving elusive. A review of the Fine Arts Section of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 published in the *Scottish Art Review* – a new journal closely aligned with the Arts and Crafts movement and initiated by the "young turks of the Glasgow scene" including James Mavor who served as its editor for a time[148] – was critical of what was selected and how it was hung, thereby challenging the exhibition's educational claims. The walls of the galleries were crowded, which prevented the visitor from engaging with the pieces on display, but the real issue was the genre of work selected, which revealed a predilection for "popular pictures by the

145 Ibid.
146 Ibid.
147 Mackenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire'," 227.
148 Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland*, 51.

fashionable painters."[149] "Calculated to tickle the fancy of careless sightseers," these paintings had the opposite effect of what had been intended.[150] In the opinion of the reviewer, "these public exhibitions, avowedly organised to foster the public taste for art, are made to exert a powerful influence for the lowering of the very thing they exist primarily to conserve and elevate."[151]

All this being said the theme of education is worth highlighting when discussing Glasgow's exhibition history because this ambition did leave a lasting imprint on the city, although not necessarily because of what was displayed at the exhibition itself. Rather than being only a temporary stimulant to thought and learning for the six months of its existence, the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 left a permanent and tangible legacy in the form of the Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum, which was built partially on the ground that had been occupied by the Main Building of the 1888 exhibition. It was not an after-thought to construct a new civic institution with the profits generated by Glasgow's first International Exhibition, but instead was a founding goal. The report that launched the initiative stated the full revenue from the exhibition would be transferred to the Town Council's Parks & Galleries department for the express purpose of constructing a new museum and art school, although this second initiative did not come to fruition. The significance of the Executive Committee's decision to commit the profits of the 1888 exhibition, which ended up being just over £40,000, to such a project was not lost on contemporary observers. Concluding his report on the demolition of the exhibition and the restoration of the grounds of Kelvingrove Park, the City Architect John Carrick looked forward to this new addition:

> I cannot refrain from expressing the earnest hope that the result of the deliberations of the Parks Trustees may be such as will satisfy the requirements of our daily increasing community. One thing is certain, that the present marks an epoch in the history of our City as regards the policy to be adopted by its Municipal rulers in a matter that concerns not only the healthful recreation of the inhabitants, but provides a measure of Technical and Art Education essential to the proper development of the varied industries on which the prosperity of the City may be said to depend.[152]

The Town Council had for some time managed the Corporation Art Galleries and the Industrial Museum; however, by the later decades of the nineteenth century both premises suffered from lack of space and were becoming unsuitable. Consequently, municipal authorities were keen to re-house these collections in a single, landmark building. The Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum opened shortly after the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, an event held in part to mark the building's completion and raise funds for enlarging the civic collection. Looking back over the institution's history on the occasion of its recent major renovation and rehang, one present-day proponent deemed the Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum the "last and greatest achievement of [Britain's] Victorian municipal museum movement."[153] If this is indeed the case, surely the Kelvingrove also stands as a memorial to the spirit of the International Exhibition.

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[149] R.T. Hamilton Bruce, "Art at the Glasgow International Exhibition," *Scottish Art Review* 1:1 (June 1888): 4.
[150] Ibid, 4.
[151] Ibid, 4.
[152] John Carrick, "Report by the City Architect on the restoration and laying out for the future of the portion of Kelvingrove Park which has been occupied as a site for the International Exhibition," 22 January 1889, ML, GC 712.5 105573.
[153] O'Neill, "Kelvingrove," 379. O'Neill was head of Glasgow Museums over the course of the museum's recent major renovation, and is currently director of policy and research at Glasgow Life.

Thus far this chapter has examined Glasgow's entry onto the International Exhibition scene, identifying potential explanations for its relatively late arrival and considering the motivations, justifications and ambitions of local organisers. This discussion has revealed how when planning the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 organisers deliberately and self-consciously sought to insert the city into the wider International Exhibition movement, and engage with contemporary debates on the changing nature of this cultural form. A critical analysis of Glasgow's exhibition history demonstrates the ways in which the first Glasgow International Exhibition utilised a common language of exhibitions to showcase Scottish as opposed to British ingenuity, and emphasised Glasgow's place at the top of this hierarchy of production. An article published in the *Glasgow Herald* on the day of the exhibition's official opening for instance explained that in mounting such an event Glasgow "invites her neighbours from far and near to inspect the net product of Scottish brains and Scottish hands, the finished result of capital, labour, patience, skill, and 'canniness' in combination."[154] Proponents also took up another of the medium's key aspirations with particular vigour. Arguably displaying a more genuine commitment to the notion that the International Exhibition should function as a tool of mass education and enlightenment, one nonetheless coated in a shell of philanthropic paternalism, organisers went a step farther than most and used Glasgow's first International Exhibition to fund an entirely new public institution devoted to these aims. Here we see another example of Glasgow's aforementioned "canniness," since authorities seemingly observed the successes and failures of previous exhibitions, thus taking advantage of the city's late arrival on the International Exhibition circuit. As was previously outlined, events held in London in the 1860s and 1870s garnered mixed reviews and suffered from a lack of public interest due to being too commercial in some instances and overly instructive at others, while never quite incorporating the amusements audiences increasingly sought. Glasgow's first International Exhibition betrayed an awareness of these ongoing dynamics and debates, and appears to have found an equilibrium in managing a plurality of interests and goals. According to the *Glasgow Herald*, "a marvellous and varied bill of fare has indeed been provided by the administration of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, and it now remains for the lieges to do justice to it."[155] The content and arrangement of the exhibition reflected what visitors had come to expect of International Exhibitions by the late-1880s whereby "he, or she, want[ed] to be amused as well as instructed."[156] It was the provision of entertainments that made educational elements palatable; "they constitute the sauce which makes the more serious fare provided in other parts of the Exhibition go down."[157] In accepting that the International Exhibition needed to provide light-hearted distractions, Glasgow's initial foray became a clever tactic for raising the large amounts of money needed to create a brand-new museum, that most edifying of institutions. Consequently, while the event itself may have been slightly more frivolous than earlier iterations, thus appearing to deviate from the form's original idealistic aims, it would leave a permanent tool for bringing about the social change many deemed necessary to improve the wealth and health of Glasgow in the late-Victorian period.

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154 "The Prince and Princess of Wales left London Yesterday Morning on their Journey to Scotland," *Glasgow Herald*, 8 May 1888.
155 Ibid.
156 Ibid.
157 Ibid.

Needless to say, all these endeavours were undertaken with the intent of bolstering Glasgow's reputation and re-fashioning its image on an international, and not just Scottish or British, stage.

Attractions and intimate relations

This final section of the present chapter considers the history of Glasgow's early International Exhibitions from another viewpoint, that of an exhibitor for whom participating at these events required the careful consideration of a different yet related set of concerns. Having considered issues that directed Glasgow's entry into the International Exhibition movement, the focus now turns to an examination of those factors that spurred Canada's participation at Glasgow's International Exhibitions. To link these two subjects this section opens with a brief discussion of how the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 was promoted in order to entice prospective exhibitors to participate. Because exhibitions were held with such regularity in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, potential exhibitors had to think carefully about the feasibility of assembling, shipping and mounting an exhibit. Independent manufacturers would sometimes take on the responsibility of sending an exhibit to an overseas exhibition, as was the case with the handful of American firms that chose to show at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, despite the American government's decision to abstain. That said, gaining official government support was the chief aim for an exhibition's organising committee since this was likely to bring the diverse and more eye-catching displays that would attract the crowds of visitors needed to make the venture a financial success. What is more, the number of countries represented at an exhibition largely determined the level of appeal and prestige it was accorded, and dictated whether an event could maintain it was truly *international* in scale and character. However, countries with smaller economies like Canada often declined an invitation because of having spent funds on sending exhibits to a major exhibition mounted the previous year, or due to already confirming their participation at one being planned for a year's time. For a city like Glasgow then – a commercial and industrial hub, but one that admittedly lacked the magnetism of London and Paris – it was crucial to secure the participation of foreign and colonial governments. Consequently, after establishing how Glasgow's early International Exhibitions were pitched, the remainder of this chapter will consider what made them especially enticing to Canada. Organisers in Glasgow may have promoted and packaged their International Exhibitions in certain ways, but what was it Canadian officials saw in these events that made them attractive prospects?

While local supporters may have reckoned Glasgow more than measured up to other cities, the challenge lay in demonstrating this to potential exhibitors. Although this was the case with all exhibitions held in Glasgow, this concern was most acutely felt when it came to organising the first Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 since there was no immediate precedent for such a large event. Unable to point to an existing record of achievement, those on the Executive Committee needed to present the proposed exhibition as a worthwhile opportunity in order to secure the array of private firms, colonial representatives and foreign governments whose exhibits would constitute an exhibition's main attractions. Stressing the forthcoming exhibition would not suffer from lack of funds or poor management was a crucial first step in enticing exhibitors. At an early meeting, the Executive

Committee for the exhibition of 1888 resolved the General Council would be made up of all the "noblemen and gentlemen" who contributed at least £100 to the Exhibition Guarantee Fund, which would have to reach a minimum of £50,000 if the scheme was to go ahead.[158] At the time of the exhibition's opening in May 1888 the Guarantee Fund had far surpassed these initial hopes, climbing to £300,000. As a popular guide to the exhibition pointed out, this substantial figure was double what had been accrued in Manchester for the city's recent Jubilee Exhibition and eight times what had been raised for the Edinburgh International Exhibition of 1886.[159] This early approval from the general public was undoubtedly an encouraging sign. It suggested Glasgow's first International Exhibition would attract a high number of local visitors, which was reassuring to exhibitors who were keen to know their displays would gain good exposure, as well as to organisers for whom ticket sales was a key source of revenue.

It was the Royal seal of approval, however, which was extended quite early in the exhibition's planning stages that gave the scheme added clout. Recognising the value of this connection, an early goal of the Executive Committee was to secure the patronage of the Royal Family. Appeals made by the President of the Executive Committee, Sir Archibald Campbell of Blythswood, were successful and saw the Queen serve as official Patron, the Prince of Wales as Honorary President and seven other members of the Royal Family as Vice-Patrons. For potential exhibitors, that a proposed exhibition was deemed sufficiently important to merit official approval made an invitation to participate markedly more appealing. In the case of the Greater Britain Exhibition held in London in 1899 for instance, the Canadian government decided against participating in part because the event was a private endeavour with "no national or government status at all."[160] "The Earls Court Exhibitions are practically a big tea garden, where people go evenings for amusement," remarked Minister of Agriculture Sydney Fisher who warned against the Canadian government taking part.[161] The Royal validation bestowed upon the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, the status of members of its Executive Committee and General Council, and the size of the Guarantee Fund were all points that were emphasised in promotional material distributed to prospective contributors. The aim was to assure them the first Glasgow International Exhibition had all the makings of a highly successful event, and emphasise it would be a missed opportunity to decline the Executive's invitation. Such advantages were also reinforced in literature distributed during the exhibition itself, such as the official catalogue which opens with 11 pages that list each and every one of these stakeholders. That the event had Royal endorsement was similarly emphasised over the course of its six-month run, principally through the Prince of Wales officially opening the exhibition in May 1888, and subsequent visits from various members of the Royal Family including one by Queen Victoria herself in August 1888, a moment captured by the painter John Lavery. It took the artist two years to complete this commission which depicts the formal gathering that took place in the Grand Hall before Queen Victoria's tour of the grounds. While Lavery also completed a number of atmospheric and impressionistic views of the

[158] Meeting of the Exhibition Committee for the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, 12 November 1886, ML, G606.4 (1888).
[159] *Glasgow International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art 1888: Elliot's Popular Guide to Glasgow and the Exhibition with Excursion Notes* (Glasgow: A. & W. Elliot, 1888), 15, UGSC, Sp. Coll. MU2-i.39.
[160] Sydney Fisher to A.S. Hardy, Premier of Ontario, 29 October 1898, LAC, RG72, vol. 120, file 116087.
[161] Ibid.

exhibition (see figure 3.7), this large painting is noted for the way he captured the faces in the crowd in such a way that each is an accurate portrait of the 253 invited guests who were present on the day. As Lavery's painting attests, appearances by high-ranking members of society were major events that increased both the public profile of the exhibition and the level of prestige it was accorded. Indeed, Canada's High Commissioner who was in Glasgow visiting the exhibition recorded the Queen's visit to the Canadian Court in a telegram to the Minister of Agriculture back in Ottawa. Charles Tupper relayed to John Carling how the Queen made "careful examination" of displays that illustrated Canada's natural resources, and that among the various decorations chosen to animate the Canadian Court, it was a maple tree in particular that was "much admired by Her Majesty."[162]

Other reasons often put forward for why the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, and those that followed it, would be a success relate to what was promoted as being the enterprising nature of the city and its residents. "The International Exhibition of 1888 is an evidence, which all the world can read, of the enterprise and energy possessed by the people of Glasgow," claimed Walker.[163] According to this narrative, Glasgow's position as an exemplary municipality and the strength of its connections to a world beyond Scotland and indeed the UK, topics discussed earlier in this chapter, testified to this apparently unique disposition. Recent improvement projects led by the Town Council were cited as proof that there existed in Glasgow an ability to carry out major public initiatives with a great deal of success. This drive and ambition could also be seen in the way the city served as a magnet for trade, a role that had been cultivated since at least the mid-eighteenth century and which picked up steam, so to speak, following the dredging of the Clyde in the 1830s. This civic identity was summed up by the notion Glasgow was a kind of Venice of the North, an imperial city-state that funded an array of municipal improvements thanks to the vast amounts of wealth that came into the city from across the empire through the activities of its merchants and industrialists.[164] Claims to this inheritance were made through the architecture of prominent civic buildings dating from this period, most notably the new City Chambers. Completed in 1888, this imposing Beaux-arts building has a busy exterior of Italianate decorative details and an interior dominated by a riot of coloured marble and gold embellishments, obvious references to St Mark's Basilica. This palatial headquarters was conceived as a celebration of Glasgow's glory, assert Glendinning and Page, reminding onlookers of the city's global imperial mission through its symbolic sculpture and majestic modern classicism.[165] Such narratives were reiterated at Glasgow's International Exhibitions not only through extensive displays that illustrated the history of the city's shipping industry and the global reach this proffered, but through more whimsical means like the gondolas manned by boatmen from Venice that plied the narrow river that runs through Kelvingrove Park, a feature that proved so popular in 1888 that it was re-staged in 1901.

Reference to the landscape of Kelvingrove Park, the location for three of Glasgow's International Exhibitions – it was only the Empire Exhibition: Scotland held in 1938 that was mounted elsewhere – hints at a final element of what could be termed Glasgow's promotional package. Much was made of the notion that Kelvingrove Park was especially well-suited to the staging of an

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[162] Sir Charles Tupper to John Carling, 24 August 1888, LAC, RG 17: Department of Agriculture fonds, vol. 588, file 66443.
[163] Walker, *Pen-and-Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition*, xi.
[164] Mackenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire'," 225-229.
[165] Glendinning and Page, *Clone City*, 26.



Figure 2.6. The main entrance of the Main Building of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, designed by James Sellars, from a souvenir album titled *Views of Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888*. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. Bh11-a8.



Figure 2.7. The Industrial Hall of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, designed by James Miller, from a souvenir album titled *Views of Glasgow International Exhibition 1901*. Photographs taken by T. & R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. Bh11-x8.

International Exhibition. A large public park in an affluent middle-class suburb not far from the city centre, Kelvingrove was well supplied by train and tram links, which enabled the transportation of goods and people into the grounds. While these logistical issues would be important in practice, it was the picturesque character of Kelvingrove that was emphasised by proponents of the scheme. With

gentle sloping hills and the Kelvin River running its length, features of the park's landscape were consistently pointed to as something that made it a particularly apt location for an International Exhibition. In this way, promoters in Glasgow were following a pattern established by organisers of the Great Exhibition who similarly framed Hyde Park as a location almost destined to host this type of public event. Describing what led to the selection of Hyde Park, a popular guide to the Great Exhibition explained that "the approach to it, through the most attractive parts of the metropolis, and the noble park so inestimable to the people, predisposed the mind to agreeable anticipations."[166] Additionally, its central location meant it "admitted of equal good access to high and low, rich and poor."[167] Kelvingrove was similarly presented as being a natural choice. It was a pocket of idyllic green space within a heavily industrialised urban landscape, and so offered a place of respite for city-dwellers. What is more, it seemed pre-disposed to such an occasion, serving as an appropriate setting for the fantastical structures that would rise within its grounds, ideas that will be explored further in the following chapter which examines the built environment of International Exhibitions. Indeed, an unofficial guide to the exhibition of 1888 advised readers to prepare themselves for a sight that was "at once impressive and dazzling: For whereso'er we turn our ravished eyes, Gay gilded scenes and shining prospects rise."[168]

Despite this promotional campaign, Glasgow's International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 to some degree suffered because their timing conflicted with other exhibitions. In 1888 many territories of the British Empire chose not to participate because of having just expended considerable sums on presentations for the Colonial & Indian Exhibition held in London two years earlier. Just over a decade later on the occasion of Glasgow's second International Exhibition countless invitations were once again declined, although this time competition came from Paris and the enormous Exposition Universelle of 1900, an event that housed 83,000 exhibitors over its 500-acre site, and which attracted fifty million visitors over the six months it was open.[169] The Canadian government, however, not only chose to make a showing at both, but elected to mount substantial exhibits, particularly in 1901, a subject addressed in chapter four. The Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 was only the second major exhibition held in Britain that Canada participated in following Confederation in 1867. The government sent materials to the London fairs of 1873 and 1874, as well as the Liverpool Jubilee Exhibition of 1887. Nevertheless, all of these were comparatively smaller events, making the Colonial & Indian Exhibition the first major outing for the new Dominion. Glasgow's exhibition of 1888 also marked the first time Canada contributed to a Scottish exhibition, having decided against sending anything to the Edinburgh International Exhibition of 1886 despite its capital city status. Additionally, it is worth noting Canada was one of the few Dominion territories that opted to participate in both of Glasgow's early exhibitions. This is significant because there was a great deal of competition amongst this group, which also included the Australian provinces, New Zealand, Britain's South African possessions and Newfoundland. In the late-nineteenth century these territories were in direct

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166 *Tallis' History and Description of the Crystal Palace and the Exhibition of the World's Industry in 1851; Illustrated by Beautiful Steel Engravings from Original Drawings and Daguerreotypes by Beard, Mayall, Etc.* (London: John Tallis & Co., 1852), 7.
167 Prince Albert, as quoted in *Tallis' History and Description of the Crystal Palace*, 7.
168 *Elliot's Popular Guide to Glasgow and the Exhibition*, 31.
169 Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace*, 211.

competition for shares of the imperial export market, foreign investors and intending emigrants.[170] Often defining themselves in relation to and against one another, it was common for governments to put the feelers out and use diplomatic channels to ascertain who was thinking about participating at a proposed exhibition, and what each government was intending to display.

This all suggests the Canadian government saw benefit to having a strong presence in Glasgow, and may have been motivated by factors perceived as being unique to its relationship with the city and with Scotland in general. This sentiment seems to have been shared by those in Glasgow. In April 1887 the Secretary of the Executive Committee wrote to the High Commissioner in London in an effort to convince the Canadian government to send a delegation to Glasgow the following year. Addressing Charles Tupper, a former premier of Nova Scotia, and now a senior official in the federal government, William Cunningham wrote, "I venture to hope from the intimate relations, commercial and personal, subsisting between your colony and this part of the Empire, that … we may receive your hearty support and co-operation."[171] These feelings were also held by the Canadian government's emigration agent for Scotland, Thomas Grahame, who emerges as a strong character in government records now held at the national archives in Ottawa. Based in Glasgow, Grahame was in regular contact with members of the exhibition's Executive Committee, and took it upon himself to act as a liaison between them and the Canadian High Commissioner's office. As an emigration agent, Grahame was officially an employee of the Department of Agriculture. This ministry was responsible for a broad range of concerns that extended to issues associated with manufactures, industrial design and the arts; immigration, quarantine and public health; the census and statistics; and patents, copyrights and trademarks. Although the task of arranging and managing Canada's involvement at International Exhibitions fell to this department it was not expected that in his capacity as an emigration agent Grahame would take on the key role he did. But Grahame clearly felt the government would do well to participate and estimated there would be significant interest in the exhibition amongst Canadian manufacturers keen to exhibit in Glasgow, as well as the general public.



Figure 2.8. Illustration of William Cunningham in *Pen-and-Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition: A Series of Illustrations by T. Raffles Davison, F.S.I.A. with an Account of the Exhibition by Robert Walker, Secretary of the Fine Art Section* (London: J.S. Virtue & Co. Ltd., 1888). By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp. Coll. Mu23-x.8.

Grahame may have been led by his own personal experiences, in addition to his professional concerns, when it came to forming an assessment of whether there was benefit to Canada participating at an International Exhibition staged in Glasgow. Grahame was born in Canada to Scottish parents

[170] Boyanoski, "Decolonising Visual Cultures."
[171] William Cunningham to Tupper, 28 April 1887, LAC, RG17, vol. 541, file 60339.

and displayed an attachment to both countries. When providing testimony to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Condition of Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands (also known as the Napier Commission) in 1883, Grahame stated, "we are all British subjects. I am as much a British subject as any one born here" in response to the question of whether he regarded himself as Canadian or British.[172] "We want to make the interests as much identical as possible between the colonies and the mother country," he reiterated.[173] Grahame's reflections on his national status and identity betray a kind of imperial subjectivity rooted in the view that Canada's interests, those of a recently federated country in the midst of nation-building, were not necessarily at odds with those of the body it was becoming more politically independent from. Not only were the economic fortunes of Canada and Great Britain deeply intertwined rather than mutually exclusive, but there was a palpable fluidity of identity and belonging. In this respect Grahame's understanding of the relationship between Dominion and mother country corresponds with a specific theory regarding the nature of the British Empire that gained traction in the late-Victorian period, which was both a reaction to and product of shifting relationships between Britain and its diverse colonial territories.[174] In his series of lectures, which were first published in 1884 under the title *The Expansion of England*, J.R. Seeley argued for a re-working of the British Empire into a "world-state."[175] Seeley's vision of a "Greater Britain" was predicated upon instituting a system of federal political union between Great Britain and the Dominion territories. It was only through this re-configuration of relations between metropole and periphery, a process already underway in large part through colonial re-settlement of people from Britain, that the British Empire could secure its continued existence. Seeley was adamant, however, that the empire should not be maintained purely for the sake of it or "because the abandonment of it might seem to betray a want of spirit."[176] The collective imperial body should only exist for as long as it continued to benefit its members, meaning that if "the connexion [sic.] with the colonies or with India hampered both parties, if it did more harm than good" any attempt to sustain it would be to the detriment of all involved.[177] Grahame may have had the interests of the Dominion in mind when he looked at the proposed International Exhibition as an opportunity for Canadian producers to build trading connections with industrialists in Glasgow. Equally well, however, I believe he also saw it from the point of view of those suffering economic and social hardship, whether they were residing in Scotland's cities or rural regions, and who were looking to leave Scotland to improve their lot. This demonstrates how International Exhibitions were places where diverse interests converged, and were utilised by hosts and exhibitors alike to further their own aims, which in some cases brought about mutual benefit. What is more, the figure of Grahame encapsulates the notion of there being a uniquely close relationship between Scotland and Canada, even a fluidity. An employee of the Canadian federal government with Scottish roots, he arguably embodied a sense of common history and culture. Through the role he

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[172] Thomas Grahame, "Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Condition of Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands," 19 October 1883. Testimony digitised by Lochaber College, 2007. http://www.whc.uni.ac.uk/research/napiercommission%20, accessed 13 May 2015.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Great Britain: Empire and the Future World Order, 1860-1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).
[175] J.R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1884), 304.
[176] Ibid, 305.
[177] Ibid, 305.

carved out for himself during negotiations over Canada's involvement at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, not to mention his ordinary duties as an emigration agent, Grahame pursued what he saw as the shared interests of these two regions.

Grahame followed up on Cunningham's early letter to Charles Tupper, stating his belief that "a proper amount of space reserved … would be of great importance," and expressing his hope that the High Commissioner would put "his influence with the Government toward having a good display from Canada."[178] In this same letter Grahame informed Tupper's secretary he had taken the direct action of sending copies of the exhibition prospectus and application forms to "people in Canada whom I know would be likely to be interested."[179] Grahame continued to push for Canada's official involvement, sending numerous letters to Tupper's office, in which he updated the High Commissioner about the progress of his negotiations with exhibition organisers. In a letter from July 1887 for instance Grahame wrote, "I have frequently of late seen the Officials concerned with [the Glasgow exhibition] and they are most anxious that Canada should take a prominent part in it."[180] It was not Tupper who needed convincing however. When he had been Premier of Nova Scotia in the years immediately before Confederation Tupper had directed the organisation of elaborate provincial displays for the Dublin exhibition of 1865 and the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867. Following Confederation, Tupper became a leading member of the federal Conservative party and was even Prime Minister for a brief spell in 1896. He held numerous cabinet positions under the country's first Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, and served as Canadian High Commissioner from 1883 until 1895. Throughout this period Tupper remained an avid proponent of this distinctive form of promotion, and frequently lobbied for Canada's official involvement in overseas exhibitions. Additionally, he believed in the power of International Exhibitions to aid in the construction of a new national identity. In the post-Confederation period many public figures in Canada saw the need to, firstly, foster a sense of national cohesion, and secondly carve out a place for the newly-unified Dominion within the wider British imperial world, although not all of Tupper's peers and colleagues saw the medium of the International Exhibition as a resource for bringing about these shifts. While Tupper was "ever the exhibitionist," Macdonald for instance "was a political realist with no time for frills like exhibitions," and yet both, as Heaman notes in her study of nineteenth-century fairs, are now regarded as so-called 'Fathers of Confederation'.[181]

This is a logical point at which to briefly discuss the role of High Commissioner since many of those who held the office took an active part in managing Canada's presence at International Exhibitions, making them key players in this history. When the position was created in 1880 Canada became the first of the Dominions to have a permanent representative in London.[182] The post had been informally instituted shortly after Confederation when Sir John Rose was appointed personal representative of the Canadian Prime Minister to the British government. Given the High Commissioner was meant to be the PM's man on the ground, there is a degree of irony to Tupper's

[178] Grahame to J.G. Colmer, 26 May 1887, LAC, RG17, vol. 541, file 60339.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Grahame to Tupper, 23 July 1887, LAC, RG17, vol. 550, file 61553.
[181] Heaman, *The Inglorious Arts of Peace*, 179-180. Heaman provides an extensive discussion of contributions made by Britain's North American colonies to overseas exhibitions in the pre-Confederation period
[182] Buckner, "The Creation of the Dominion of Canada, 1860-1901," 71.

appointment following Rose's inaugural term, which came out of a major disagreement between Tupper and MacDonald that had pushed Tupper to request a speedy transferral to London. Regardless of personal clashes, the intention was that the High Commissioner would serve as the chief liaison between Canadian and UK governments, and was thus a diplomatic appointment. What is important to note here is that those looking to mount a major exhibition in Britain often directed invitations to participate to the Office of the High Commissioner since this was Canada's official representative body in Britain. Because the office was not attached to a foreign ministry (the Canadian Department of External Affairs was not created until 1921), the High Commissioner to some extent acted in isolation or at least at a distance from the policies of sitting governments. The liminal nature of this position, which existed on the fringes of one government while simultaneously embedded in the political circles of the imperial capital, meant successive High Commissioners played a key role in dealing with the matter of Canada's involvement at International Exhibitions, with decisions often reflecting each individual's own assessment of what Canada stood to gain by showing at one event versus another.

The focus of the ensuing discussion is how Tupper negotiated the matter of Canada's participation at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888. In this instance it was the Minister of Agriculture John Carling who needed the most convincing since the work of recruiting exhibitors, assembling materials and developing the content of a Canadian exhibit would largely fall to his Department and its agents in Canada. In September 1887, almost six months after exhibition organisers first contacted Canadian officials in London, the Privy Council in Ottawa ruled the Canadian Government would not take part in the proposed exhibition, a decision that reflected Carling's view on the matter. After consulting correspondence forwarded to him by Tupper, portions of which have been quoted above, Carling advised against Canada's official involvement. Although the report he submitted to the Privy Council does not give explicit reasons for this, it is likely they stemmed from the financial implications of such an undertaking. As has already been alluded to, participating in overseas exhibitions was costly and required considerable manpower with displays coming together in much the same way large-scale museum exhibitions are planned today. Whereas a curator might find much of her or his time is spent securing loans from other institutions and collectors, so exhibition commissioners were responsible for working with government departments and private companies to accrue a vast collection of material from which a comprehensive and representative exhibit could be formed. After deciding what would be displayed, it was necessary to arrange and pay for shipping, storage and installation, as well as employ attendants to man the space throughout an exhibition's typical six-month run. A successful brewery owner, railway director and ardent capitalist, Carling's political disposition was more akin to Macdonald's, a friend and close political ally, and it is probable the two took a similar stance on International Exhibitions: tolerant but not instinctively enthusiastic.[183]

In the end Grahame's efforts to secure a favourable deal for Canada did not go to waste however. A few months after Carling's initial decision, J.G. Colmer (Tupper's Secretary in London), received a succinct telegram from the minister's office stating, "Glasgow Exhibition authorized.

[183] "Sir John Carling," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/carling_john_14E.html, accessed 6 January 2015.

Particulars mailed."[184] What happened in the intervening period, between when the government first ruled on the question of Canada's participation and this later despatch? My speculation is that Carling's change of heart had a great deal to do with Tupper and his personal support for the initiative. The same day the Privy Council had moved against official participation, back in September 1887, Tupper had sent a second file of correspondence to Carling, which contained further details of the preliminary planning Grahame was undertaking in Glasgow. He had clearly been busy, writing to Tupper:

> I saw Mr Hedley, the General Manager of the Exhibition, on two occasions yesterday. … He said that a Court of 50 by 50 [feet], in a good position, could be obtained. … On seeing him late in the day, he informed me that the Lord Provost thought the [Executive] Committee might very well consider favourably the granting of space, without charge, to the Canadian Government, provided we make a good Exhibit.[185]

In addition to forwarding this new material to Carling, despite the Government already reaching a decision, Tupper may have sought to discuss the matter with him personally. Tupper spent most of the fall of 1887 in Ottawa rather than in London, attending to his duties as Minister of Finance, a position he held while simultaneously serving as Canadian High Commissioner. This would have allowed him to meet with Carling in person. Indeed, we know for certain the two discussed appointing a commissioner for the Canadian section at the Glasgow International Exhibition, as indicated by a letter Tupper sent to Colmer the same day he received the telegram highlighted above. Carling's secretary relays the details of this appointment, writing to Colmer, "I have to inform you that Sir Charles Tupper has had a consultation with the Minister of Agriculture at which it has been decided to have the Exhibition … at Glasgow under the charge of Capt. Clark."[186] Consequently, although documentation of private conversations between Carling and Tupper is scarce it remains likely Tupper used his time in Ottawa to persuade Carling to re-consider his original decision on the question of whether Canada should participate at the first Glasgow International Exhibition.

Colmer and Grahame subsequently re-opened negotiations with exhibition authorities in Glasgow immediately after receiving Carling's belated authorisation. In a long and detailed letter to Tupper, still in Ottawa, Colmer relayed his attempts to renew an initial offer of granting space for a Canadian Court free of charge, an incentive likely put forward by the Executive Committee in Glasgow in the hope of getting Canada on board at a much earlier date. "I pointed out that it was owing to the pressure brought to bear upon the Government that they had consented to take part in the Exhibition, and upon the express invitation made to them by the [exhibition] authorities," he wrote.[187] Six months before the exhibition's scheduled opening, however, space was now at a premium and the best Colmer could do was secure a spot at a discounted rate. The Executive Committee granted space to the Canadian government for £100 rather than £150, and assigned the Canadian Court a position on the Main Avenue of the Main Building. Next to Ceylon and across the way from India's three large courts, this was a favourable position but one smaller than hoped for and certainly more expensive.[188]

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[184] Colmer to Carling acknowledging receipt of his telegram sent on 15 November 1887, LAC, RG17, vol. 558, file 62753. Colmer's letter to Carling is dated 18 November 1887.
[185] Grahame to Tupper, 29 July 1887, LAC, RG17, vol. 550, file 61553.
[186] John Lowe to Colmer, 15 November 1887, LAC, RG17, vol. 561, file 63043. Lowe became Deputy Minister of Agriculture in July 1888 following Joseph-Charles Taché's retirement from the post.
[187] Colmer to Tupper, 8 December 1887, LAC, RG17, vol. 561, file 63043.
[188] Ibid.

Thinking about the objects, specimens, machinery and other materials Carling's agents would now be working to assemble and send over Colmer stressed, "we should endeavour to make the show attractive and interesting to Scotchmen, as the people north of the Tweed have played such a great part in Canada."[189] This brief quotation underlines the importance of this concern. A particularly strong motivating factor for Tupper and his team, the desire to speak specifically to Scottish audiences drove Canada's participation at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, and all exhibitions subsequently held in Glasgow that Canada participated in.

Whereas Carling may have seen the exhibition as a potential financial liability in the short term, Tupper took a longer view and saw it as an opportunity to entice prospective immigrants. Specifically, Tupper identified the exhibition as an occasion to attract the desirable sort of migrants the Canadian government hoped would help populate, settle and develop the enormous, recently federated country they were charged with running. In 1888 attracting emigrants and securing foreign investment were at the top of the federal government's agenda for reasons that go beyond the simple fact Canada was an emerging country at this time. Only three years earlier local opposition to the federal government's colonialist settlement program in what is now the Province of Saskatchewan had led to the Northwest Rebellion. Erupting in late-1885, this conflict between Métis and First Nations communities and federal authorities was just one moment of tension within a longer and controversial process of government-organised westward expansion facilitated by the construction of Canada's transcontinental railway. Although the rail line had been completed six months after the Northwest Rebellion had been put down, in 1888 the question of how to fund its further development remained a real and prescient one for Canada's political and industrial elite.[190] Such ambitions were made clear in a press release prepared by Canadian officials in advance of the opening of the Glasgow International Exhibition in May 1888. Skirting around the inter-governmental politics that had marked the preceding months, the media release stated, "recognising the importance of the opportunity offered in the International Exhibition at Glasgow, the Dominion Minister of Agriculture, in conjunction with Sir Charles Tupper, decided to secure space there for an exhibit representative of the natural resources, and illustrative of the cities and scenery of Canada, with the view of affording information to the emigrating classes, as well as to capitalists, investors, tourists, and the Scottish public generally."[191]

This promotional message was reiterated in the pages dedicated to describing the Canadian Court in the exhibition's official catalogue. "With an advantageous geographical position, with resources not widely dissimilar to those of Great Britain, institutions calculated to secure law and order, civil and religious liberty, and the best traditions of the mother country, Canada may, in no distant future, become the home of one of the most populous and powerful peoples of the earth."[192] This bold claim sums up what Canada hoped to get out of showing in Glasgow. The government chose to exhibit materials illustrative of the country's natural resources alongside photographs and

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[189] Ibid.
[190] For discussion of the development and history of Canada's transcontinental railway see for instance Francis' discussion in *National Dreams*, specifically the first chapter titled "Making Tracks: The Myth of the CPR" 15-28.
[191] LAC, RG17, vol. 577, file 65057.
[192] *International Exhibition Glasgow, 1888: Official Catalogue* (Glasgow: T. & A. Constable, 1888), 246, UGSC, Sp. Coll. Bh11-b4.

paintings of key cities and provincial capitals.[193] The intention behind these displays, which will be discussed in more detail in a later chapter, was to project the message Canada offered investment opportunities capable of generating major financial gain, and that contrary to popular opinion life in the Dominion was not unequivocally harsh, rudimentary and uncivilised (see figure 2.9). The Canadian government sought to capitalise on current economic conditions in Britain which were pushing many Scots to look elsewhere, by highlighting Canada could offer two things which were somewhat scarce in Britain: land and work. Although the Canadian Court may have primarily been aimed at those suffering from economic hardship, a second audience comprised wealthy industrialists of which there were many in Glasgow and surrounding areas. Just as the Canadian government sought to make itself attractive to intending emigrants, so it courted the attention of individuals on the lookout for new investment opportunities. This helps explain why organisers in Glasgow, many of whom were from

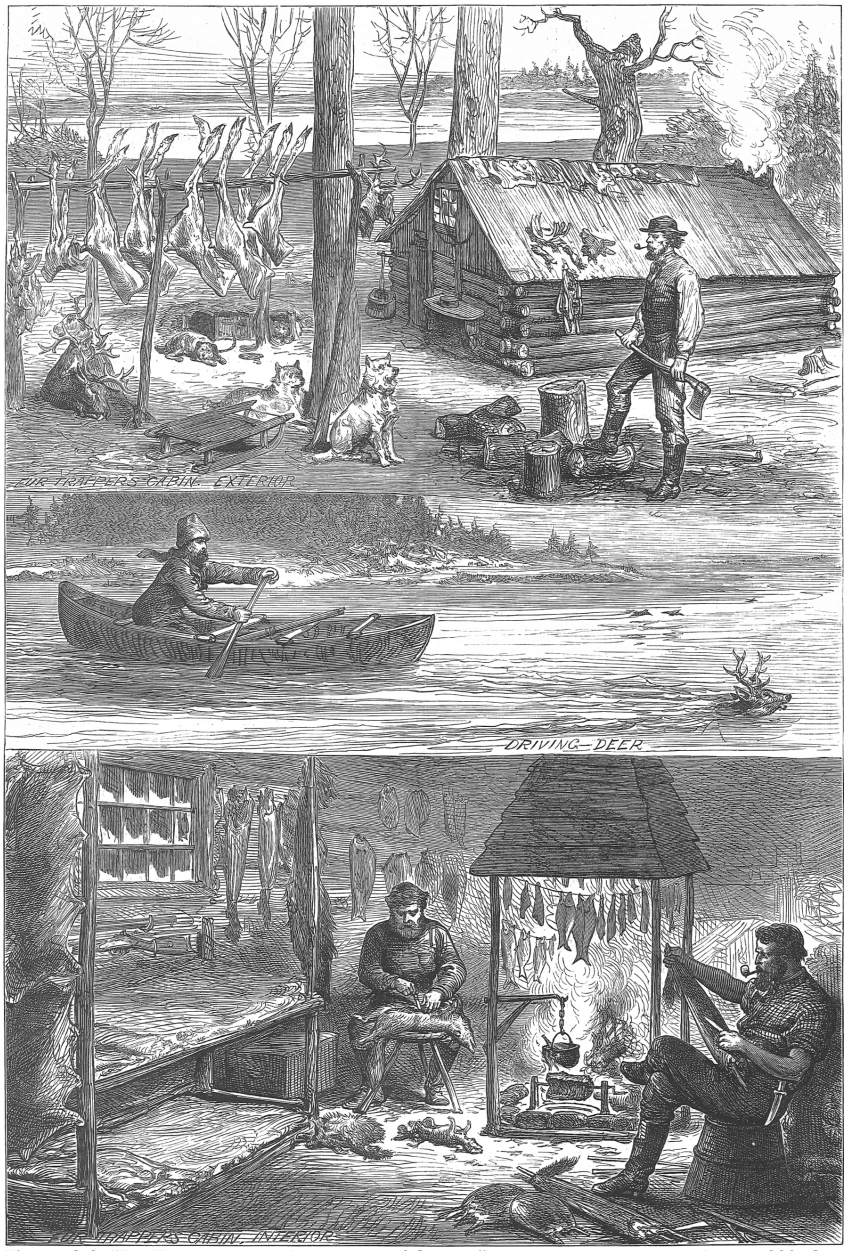

Figure 2.9. "Fur Trappers in the Backwoods of Canada," *Illustrated London News*, 15 May 1880. Collection of author.

[193] Ibid, 247.

this mercantile class, were so keen to secure the Canadian government's involvement in the city's first International Exhibition, and suggests their enthusiasm was rooted in more than just a perceived emotive connection.

This chapter has focused on issues related almost exclusively to the staging of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 in large part because it set a number of notable precedents. Firstly, although there existed a rich exhibitionary culture in Glasgow prior to the late-1880s, a topic discussed towards the beginning of this chapter, the exhibition of 1888 marked the first time Glasgow hosted this distinct type of large public spectacle, thus making it a formative moment in the city's exhibition history. Furthermore, it established a pattern for Canada's future involvement at these events. The Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 offered a platform for promoting the recently federated country with a view to attracting the attention of intending emigrants, prospective investors and potential importers of Canadian goods and materials, all in an effort to bolster the Dominion's development. While these motivations have been discussed largely in the context of this first exhibition, these became recurring concerns that impacted Canada's participation at all of Glasgow's subsequent exhibitions including the last iteration in 1938. The relative importance of these distinct, yet linked, concerns would fluctuate depending on the broader social, economic and geo-political context. There was an ebb and flow, with a certain issue being at the forefront of Canada's displays at one exhibition, only to recede into the background at the next. Although the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 was a timely opportunity to pursue these aims it was by no means one that was resoundingly seized upon, as evidenced by the initial scepticism of leading politicians in Canada like John Carling. That said, while some Canadian officials expressed hesitancy, characters like Sir Charles Tupper and Thomas Grahame pushed for Canada's involvement from the outset, and were eventually successful in gaining governmental support for the scheme.

Interestingly, the matter of Canada's participation at the next Glasgow International Exhibition, which was held in 1901, was more unanimously supported by key figures in both the federal government in Ottawa and the High Commissioner's office in London. Canadian authorities were quick to respond to the earliest rumblings that Glasgow was to host a second International Exhibition, which would be staged to mark the opening of the new Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum, the construction of which had precipitated the exhibition of 1888. As had been the case in the late-1880s, the Canadian Emigration Agent in Scotland, who was now a Mr H.M. Murray, was one of the first to get the wheels in motion. Murray contacted exhibition organisers in July 1898, almost three years before the stated opening date of the planned exhibition, declaring the Canadian government's interest and requesting a substantial amount of space be allocated to the Dominion. So early was this appeal that it was left unanswered for two months until the first meeting of the exhibition's Indian, Canadian and Colonial Committee. Eventually posting a reply in September, the exhibition's General Manager H.A. Hedley, returning to the role he had occupied in 1888, thanked Murray for his interest but admitted the Colonial Committee was "not at the moment in a position to definitely promise any exact area of space or the conditions upon which it would be allotted," but assured him the Committee would send "a more definite answer at an early date and will lose no time that can be avoided in doing

so."[194] At so early a date, the proposed Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 was still very much in embryonic form. The Guarantee Fund had been initiated and a General Manager had been appointed, but architectural submissions were still being received and invitations had not yet been extended to foreign and colonial governments. In short, there was little sense of what the future exhibition would be like. So advanced were Canada's plans, however, that exhibition organisers resolved it was unnecessary to create an individual sub-committee to manage the Dominion's contribution, as was being done for India, the colonies and other crown territories. In late-October 1898, Lord Strathcona, who had succeeded Tupper as Canadian High Commissioner in 1895, assured exhibition authorities the "Canadian Government were [sic] making the necessary arrangements for insuring a full display at the Exhibition," a topic examined in detail in chapter five.[195] This letter from Strathcona followed internal correspondence between the Ministry of Agriculture and the High Commissioner's office that made clear the government's commitment to producing a comprehensive display for the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. Earlier that month the Deputy Minister of Agriculture had written to Strathcona confirming it was the intention of his Minister to "proceed to make the necessary arrangements for an exhibit at this Exhibition as early as possible."[196]

At least some of this enthusiasm can be attributed to a more general increase in support within the government for Canada's involvement at overseas exhibitions. An election in 1896 had seen the Liberal party form a federal government under the direction of Wilfrid Laurier, which naturally led to changes in policy and ministerial positions. Key to the specific history being told here was the appointment of Sydney Fisher as Minister of Agriculture, who worked with the Prime Minister to establish a new branch of the federal government dedicated to coordinating Canada's contributions to International Exhibitions. The Canadian Government Exhibition Commission (CGEC) was formally established in 1901 as part of the Department of Agriculture, and was headed by a full-time and permanent Exhibition Commissioner who would oversee all of Canada's exhibition-related activities. Responsibility for the CGEC was transferred from one government department to another on multiple occasions, moving first to the new Department of Immigration and Colonization upon its creation in 1918, to the Department of Trade and Commerce in 1927, and eventually to the Department of Public Works in 1968. These shifts reflect the Canadian government's changing ideas on what it sought to get out of its continuing participation at International Exhibitions, and an evolution in the intended purpose of these events. To be sure, the creation of the CGEC at the beginning of the twentieth century, and the establishment of a London office charged explicitly with arranging exhibitions mounted in Britain and Europe, effected a marked change from the somewhat haphazard way things had previously been organised. This brief summary of the logistical background to Canada's participation at overseas exhibitions complements the first part of this chapter, which focused on how these events were organised by authorities in Glasgow. As a result, it rounds out the above discussion,

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[194] H.A. Hedley to H.M. Murray, 8 September 1898, LAC, RG72, vol. 195. Murray's letter of 11 July 1898 was discussed at the first meeting of the Indian, Canadian and Colonial Committee held on 7 September 1898. See ML, GC CD f606.4 (1901) 644809.
[195] Lord Strathcona to the Indian, Canadian and Colonial Committee of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, 26 October 1898, ML, GC CD f606.4 (1901) 644809.
[196] W.B. Scarth to Strathcona, 13 October 1898, LAC, RG72, vol. 195.

which has considered the organisational framework – the nuts and bolts – of the form of the International Exhibition.

Summing up the significance of the Canadian Court at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, the exhibition's official guide remarked that Canada was "above all, an integral portion of the British Empire."[197] This assertion could just as easily have been used to describe Glasgow's claim to its own imperial status. The above discussion has demonstrated how closely tied up the fortunes of these two localities were in the period under consideration, an assessment not lost on Thomas Grahame and others who negotiated the logistics of staging and participating in these events. Such an analysis thus argues International Exhibitions, ostensibly cultural spectacles, actually functioned as settings for the advancement of national or quasi-national ambitions. Although not a nation, Glasgow as the host city engaged in an equivalent process of image-making and reputation-building, which at times went so far as to frame Glasgow as a kind of city-state. For both organisers in Glasgow and officials in Canada, these events were not only a means of self-promotion, but were actively used to define a sense of locality, a sense of self. For Glasgow, it was hoped these occasions would increase the status and repute of the city, establishing it as a cosmopolitan, imperial centre, in the wake of a recent economic recession that had rattled many and produced a sense of instability that still lingered in the late-1880s. For Canada, these exhibitions were opportunities to present the country as a unified whole, conscious of its own growing national identity, but one in need of money and people to fuel growth and future development.

This chapter has laid the necessary groundwork for the two that follow, both of which explore the fabric of the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901. Having demonstrated that the International Exhibition was routinely used as an opportunity for nation-building in a material sense, this argument will be expanded upon through an exploration of how these events functioned as platforms for nation-building in an imagined sense. If the concerns outlined above stimulated the hosting of International Exhibitions and justified the participation of exhibitors, how did they find expression once the negotiating, letter writing and lobbying had largely been concluded? In what follows it will be asked how the individual and intertwined ambitions of Glasgow and Canada were conveyed through the form and content – the buildings, materials, objects and symbols – of the International Exhibition. The next chapter for instance seeks to uncover further connections between Glasgow's local culture of exhibition-making and the broader International Exhibition movement, a theme established above. Thus, it addresses the changing landscape of the International Exhibition, and creates a dialogue between broadly felt shifts and the specific architecture of Glasgow's early fairs. Consequently, it moves the discussion forward by studying how the motivations of various actors, which have been the subject of the present chapter, were translated onto an exhibition's physical appearance, thereby directing meanings embedded in the built environment of these events.

[197] *International Exhibition Glasgow, 1888: Official Catalogue*, 243.

OBJECT ANALYSIS

The evocative power of a picture postcard



Figure 3.1. Postcard from a series produced as souvenirs of the West African Village at the British Empire Exhibition, London, 1924-1925. London: Raphael Tuck & Sons, c.1924. Collection of the author.

Featuring a photograph as well as a personal written message, postcards are especially rich examples of printed ephemera. They are unique for the way they communicate two stories in a single item, while also revealing an interplay between the two. In choosing a particular postcard over any number of others, the individual has actively engaged with the postcard's cover image in as much as they have picked it off a shelf, looked at it, perhaps turned it over a few times and then settled on it being a suitable partner for their brief note – an image that in some way reflects, reinforces or strengthens the story they have in mind to write. In some cases the back of a postcard provides clues as to what the writer thought of the image they chose to send, and the circumstances surrounding its purchase. This is the gem seldom unearthed from the reams of sun-bleached postcards that have become staples of charity shops, car boot sales and flea markets. It is the needle in a haystack of dusty boxes stacked in the back of a wardrobe, or in tin trunks hidden away in musty attics.

Postcards have become archetypal souvenirs in large part because, as Ashley Jackson and David Tomkins remind us, they were "so frequently encountered in the quotidian experience of people of all classes."[198] Postcards were – and despite the ease and speed of contemporary communications remain – a popular way of marking an event and recording one's presence at it. Through a combination of text and

[198] Ashley Jackson and David Tomkins, *Illustrating Empire: A Visual History of British Imperialism* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2011), 2.

image, they capture an occasion, an event or a moment that is felt to be a one-off experience. Often connected to travel, they speak of being elsewhere and sending word back to family and friends. For many people, visiting an International Exhibition qualified as an occasion that merited being documented through a postcard. Indeed, this notion was impressed upon visitors through the recurring presence of souvenir kiosks run by Valentine's, Raphael Tuck & Sons and other leading postcard printers. What is more, the pop-up Post Office branches routinely erected at exhibitions allowed visitors to pay for postage on site. Purchasing the commemorative stamps so often produced for these events, a visitor could send their postcard on its way without having to leave the environment of the exhibition. The postcard reproduced here (figure 3.1), the object responsible for initially piquing my interest in International Exhibitions and one I have returned to many times over the course of my research, is a case in point. Sent by a woman named Amy and addressed to her father at the home they shared in a small town in Suffolk, the postcard was purchased and sent from the British Empire Exhibition held in London's Wembley Park in 1924 and 1925.

This aspect of the postcard's history is not immediately apparent from the correspondence on its reverse however. Beginning with the announcement "Am now visiting Natal," Amy proceeds to detail her travels, explaining to her father that her visit to South Africa followed a stay in the Gold Coast, the British colony which encompassed the region of Ashanti. It was while she was in West Africa that Amy saw the two people pictured on the front of the postcard who are identified as Prince Baa and her husband. When I first happened upon this postcard at my parents' home in Toronto, I inferred Amy had purchased, written and sent it from abroad in the midst of traveling from what is now Ghana to southern Africa. But this narrative did not seem to fit with what I knew of Amy, one of my grandfather's aunts. Born exactly one hundred years before me, Amy never married and lived the entirety of her adult life with her younger sister Edie, who also never married. I was introduced to Amy and Edie by a mixture of trinkets, jumbled together in a couple of old shoeboxes, that were presented to me one summer when I was about ten years' old. Consequently, my knowledge of the sisters has been formed largely through the symbolic associations of this collection of objects. The well-thumbed smaller-than-pocket-sized bible suggests they were active members of their local church; the tiny pencils, still sharp, and very worn stamp wallet made of crocodile skin points to them being prolific letter writers; the slim dark purple leather purse used for carrying sheet music reflects their hobby as amateur musicians. All together they demonstrate these two women had a fondness for stuff.

It was Amy's curious reference to a friend who was "playing in the Australian section" that pushed me to revise my initial assumptions about this postcard. Intrigued, I began researching it and found it was part of a set of postcards produced as mementos of the so-called West African Village installed at the British Empire Exhibition. The commemorative stamp seen on Amy's postcard, which could only be purchased at Wembley Park, recalls the regional stamps produced throughout the British Empire that announced the arrival of a letter or postcard from a faraway colonial setting (figure 3.2). This creates the impression that the pavilions, which postcards like this document, were intended to be like-for-like transplants of the colonial outposts they ostensibly represented. As a result, progressing through the exhibition was presented as being an experience akin to moving from one exotic locale to another. Amy was busy "rushing around to see as much as possible" and clearly felt it was necessary to document her travels by sending a postcard to her father, despite the fact she lived with him in a village not far outside London meaning she was likely to return from her travels before her postcard's arrival. For Amy, visiting the British Empire Exhibition in the summer of 1924 does seem to have offered a convincingly authentic experience of the Empire and constituted an exciting act of travel and exploration, themes which lie at the centre of the following chapter.



Figure 3.2. Stamps issued in the British colony of the Gold Coast (now Ghana), c. 1948. Collection of the author.

3

ARCHITECTURE

Crossing Boundaries and Traversing Thresholds

A feature that marked the International Exhibition as different from other nineteenth-century exhibitionary spaces was a determination to showcase the world in miniature. An often-made claim was that International Exhibitions assembled the entirety of human civilisation, presenting a condensed and static version of it for the brief six months they were open. Promoting itself as an exhibition of the works of industry of *all* nations, the Great Exhibition of 1851 established this convention, which remained a key characteristic of the International Exhibition throughout the period it was a popular cultural form. The standout feature of the Festival of Empire held 60 years later in Sydenham for instance was the "All Red Route," a railway that took visitors on a tour of the grounds and made stops at the numerous pavilions erected for the exhibition. This universalist discourse persisted right up until the tradition's final decline in the post-Second World War period, and was even in evidence at Montreal's Expo '67, one of the last International Exhibitions ever mounted, which brought together 62 countries under the theme of "Man and His World."[199] International Exhibitions were therefore places where successive generations of visitors observed, compared and arguably surveyed cultures and societies they were otherwise unlikely to have a direct encounter with. The postcard described above supports this interpretation, which frames the International Exhibition as a contact zone. Written not from a location in West Africa as the photograph and caption suggest, but



Figure 3.3. A replica of the Houses of Parliament in Ottawa, the official Canadian building at the Festival of Empire, was just one stop along the "All Red Route" that wound through the grounds of the Festival of Empire. *Official Photographic View Book: Festival of Empire & Pageant of London, 1911* (London: Campbell-Gray Ltd., 1911). Toronto Public Library, 907.4421.F26.191.

[199] Brian Edwards and Susan Fahy, "The British Pavilion at Expo '67: Art, Architecture and National Identity," *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 20:2 (2007): 249-74; Rhona Richman Kenneally and Johanne Sloane, *Expo 67 : Not Just a Souvenir* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

from an exhibition staged in suburban northwest London, the postcard depicts two individuals situated in a fabricated, purpose-built "native village." This striking image, which is rather disconcerting to present-day viewers, is accompanied by the reflections of someone who saw the pair, a spectator who was hurriedly taking in as much as possible of the exotic sights and attractions on offer to her. In addition to the common practice of exhibiting humans, the style of an exhibition's buildings, the items selected for display, the reams of promotional and interpretative material produced for these events, as well as various supplementary features like performances and pageants all routinely helped mould the visitor's experience into that of a voyage across continents and a journey through the ages. As a result, it can be argued that the visual and material culture of the International Exhibition promoted narratives of travel and escape to such an extent that these notions came to define a visitor's experience of these events.

One need only look to the titles of key studies of International Exhibitions, take Rydell's *All the World's a Fair* for example, to appreciate how central this theme of travel is to much of the existing scholarship. That said, the topic has often been treated as a kind of *fait accompli* with scholars considering this feature only in the service of furthering the more general argument that International Exhibitions were both tightly controlled and forcefully controlling environments. As a result, discussions concerning notions of travel and escape and the impact these imaginings had on visitors' experiences and understandings of the International Exhibition tend to be cursory in nature. What is more, minimal attention has been paid to considering the extent to which this ruse was actually convincing. Authorities may have organised exhibitions in ways that deliberately pushed certain readings, but this does not mean audiences acquiesced and relinquished their subjectivity within the real world upon crossing the ticket barrier. This gap in the existing scholarship suggests there is a need to examine with greater precision how the intended meanings of the International Exhibition were constructed, and build on the well-established understanding that exhibitions were highly discursive environments by considering what specific devices and strategies were used to promote the exhibition's central discourses. If all large-scale exhibitions are to some degree a fiction as Greenberg and others suggest, how did the International Exhibition in particular create a sense of suspended reality?[200]

This chapter responds to the aforementioned gap in the extant literature, as well as the implication of Greenberg's assessment, by examining the discursive nature of the layout and architectural forms of the International Exhibition. It therefore follows the conceptual vein established in the previous chapter, which considered the logistical complexities associated with mounting International Exhibitions through an overarching theme of setting and staging. Turning attention towards another layer of the exhibition's makeup, the focus here is on the built form of these events. This approach stems from a belief that the principal buildings of an International Exhibition were promoted as objects of fascination in their own right, and as deserving of a visitor's attention as the items they contained. Due to the precedent established by Paxton's Crystal Palace, a building that

[200] Greenberg et al., *Thinking about Exhibitions*, 1-2.

captured much public attention, architecture was an essential component of the International Exhibition. It can thus be argued that the appeal of an individual exhibition stemmed as much from the experience of moving through the grounds as it did from the variety and quantity of exhibits positioned within it. In spite of their scale and complexity, however, very little remains of the built environment of these events. Accordingly, this chapter seeks to reconstruct the look and feel of Glasgow's International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901. It details how the grounds were arranged and describes the appearance of each exhibition's key buildings, looking for architectural similarities and differences. Moreover, it draws out the meanings behind the varied architectural devices and languages in evidence at these events, focusing in particular on how they forwarded notions of travel, and speculates on how visitors might have interpreted each exhibition's principal structures and overall design. Lastly, the following discussion seeks to create a dialogue between the built environment of the exhibition and the urban landscape that surrounded it. The intention is thus to give an impression of these rich and stimulating environments, and also convey the experiential nature of the International Exhibition, a characteristic that accounted for much of its success and popularity.

Building on the existing premise that International Exhibitions aspired to present a compressed version of global civilisation, this chapter investigates how an exhibition's layout and architectural scheme helped persuade spectators that visiting was an act of travel. The focus is on how the architectural design and planning of the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 imaginatively transported visitors and engendered an experience akin to traversing a threshold or crossing a boundary into an imagined world. This premise will be examined in relation to the shift from the model established by the Great Exhibition in 1851 to the preference for a more distributed architectural arrangement, the first signs of which emerged as early as 1867. Whereas Paxton's Crystal Palace had aimed to present the total sum of human endeavour under a single roof, as time wore on the International Exhibition came to resemble a village or sprawling city, with a large Palace of Industry sitting at the centre of numerous ancillary buildings and amenities. Exploring the interplay between Glasgow's local culture of exhibition-making and the wider International Exhibition tradition, this transition will be traced through an analysis of the built form of Glasgow's early International Exhibitions. These two events serve as a revealing pair of case studies through which to examine this important physical and conceptual shift since both models were employed by successive groups of exhibition organisers and architects. While both types of spatial formation promoted the idea that a trip to the fair was an opportunity for travel and escape, it will be proposed that this illusion became more convincing as the International Exhibition became more stratified.

Glasgow's International Exhibitions consistently favoured otherworldly architectural forms, regardless of whether an exhibition's overall theme referenced an imagined orient (1888 and 1901), a romantic Scottish past (1911) or a decidedly modern future (1938). In Glasgow's case, not only did the built form of the city's early International Exhibitions construct a temporary world, but the exhibition starkly contrasted with the city that lay beyond its gates. Consequently, the key argument that will be developed over the course of this chapter is that for the six months they were open, the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 served as enclaves of green space populated by fantastical structures that differed from the city's urban landscape. This assessment adds another layer of

understanding to the existing argument that insecurities often underlay the effusive demonstrations of prosperity and wealth that were so typical of International Exhibitions. Here, it will be suggested that the built environment of Glasgow's early exhibitions in some ways reflected contemporary concerns over the impact of an increasingly urban and industrial lifestyle. Reminiscing on Glasgow's first exhibition and looking forward to its second, a local observer made clear for instance that the value of these events was their ability to give Glaswegians opportunities to become acquainted with the "gracious things in life, to which formerly they were strangers," allowing their lives to "blossom like roses in a desert."[201] Penned by James Hamilton Muir, a pseudonym adopted by Archibald Hamilton Charteris and the brothers James and Muirhead Bone, three young Glaswegian writers and artists, this quotation comes from a publication titled *Glasgow in 1901*, a fascinating textual and visual source that will be returned to over the course of this chapter. Consequently, in what follows it will be argued that the imagined worlds of the International Exhibition were reliant upon the medium of architecture for their existence, and that the built environment played an important role in forwarding this particular way of engaging with the exhibition. With their exaggerated architectural forms, manicured gardens and amusements, these popular cultural events were a kind of tonic to city life due to the way they juxtaposed the sights, smells and sounds of the city at large.

A rendezvous of the world

In Bennett's estimation International Exhibitions "in their heyday sought to make the whole world, past and present, metonymically available in the assemblages of objects and peoples they brought together."[202] This aspiration was as apparent in the mid-nineteenth century as it was a hundred years later when the tradition of the International Exhibition eventually lost its appeal. As an article published in the *Times* in February 1850 predicted, the Great Exhibition would "transform the metropolis of Britain [London] into the hospitable rendezvous of the world."[203] When the exhibition opened the following year the available display space housed inside the 19-acre footprint of the Crystal Palace was indeed divided almost equally between exhibitors from Britain and its colonial territories, and those outside the imperial world. Of the 14,000 exhibitors who elected to show at this first International Exhibition, 7,381 were from the British Empire and 6,556 from foreign, primarily European, countries. Altogether, this assorted collection of manufacturers, retailers and governments brought around 100,000 individual exhibits to London in the spring of 1851.[204] This same article from the *Times* credited Prince Albert for "having projected a festival in the appreciation of which all men and all nations can concur," and for securing widespread support for the scheme.[205] "Such unanimity of approval has never yet been gained for any object, however intrinsically laudable, however sincerely

[201] James Hamilton Muir, *Glasgow in 1901* (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company, 1901. Reprinted Oxford: White Cockade Publishing, 2001. All citations from 2001 edition), 229-30.
[202] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 66.
[203] "The Prince Consort Can Claim the Credit," *Times* [London], 23 February 1850, 4.
[204] Phillip T. Smith, "London 1851: The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations," in *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs*, 6-7.
[205] "The Prince Consort Can Claim the Credit," 4.

promoted, or however enthusiastically desired," the author claimed.[206] Albert himself affirmed this commitment to internationalism about a month later in a speech delivered at London's Mansion House, in which he advocated the Great Exhibition would place "the products of all quarters of the globe" at the disposal of visitors.[207] In doing so, this new kind of public exhibition would present "a living picture of the point of development at which the whole of mankind has arrived," and mark "a new starting-point from which all nations will be able to direct their future exertions."[208]

Enabling the presentation of products representative of foreign nations, the International Exhibition was deemed to provide a cosmopolitan experience, encouraging in exhibition-goers an awareness of other cultures and, crucially, of differences between them. Beneath effusive declarations of kinship among peers, epitomised by Prince Albert's Mansion House speech, however, lay a determination to emphasise the advanced nature of an exhibition's host. Reading between the lines, Paul Young interprets Albert's monologue as a coded assertion that it was in fact only England that was capable of leading the way towards the new world order he foresaw.[209] Echoing Young's interpretation, Message and Johnston explain that in spite of its inclusive appearance, "as host of the [Great] Exhibition Britain encompassed all these nations on show (even if they were not part of the empire) and was to be congratulated for the good taste associated with 'collecting' together the arts and industry of the world."[210] If public pronouncements did not always match the intended meanings of International Exhibitions how were these hidden messages communicated to audiences at the time? At the Great Exhibition a key medium through which England's superiority was emphasised was through the fabric of the exhibition itself. This set an important precedent whereby the structure of the International Exhibition was a vehicle for conveying meaning. In its size and proportions, architectural style and ornamentation, an exhibition's key buildings fulfilled a role that went beyond their immediate purpose of serving as cavernous empty spaces ready to be filled with the countless objects that were ostensibly the focus of these events. Utilised by successive waves of organisers and commissioners, exhibition architecture was an attraction in and of itself, and one that was deeply symbolic in nature. Captivating, fanciful and yet more often than not purely temporary, the built environment of the International Exhibition was far from benign.

In the case of the Great Exhibition, the event's main structure was a subject of national pride and rivalry before a decision had even been made regarding the shape it would take. According to *The Athenaeum*, a high-minded London-based literary magazine, the search for a suitable architectural plan was "the first act" in the competition between nations that the proposed exhibition would engender, and one which the host initially appeared destined to lose.[211] The author disparaged the fact that of the more than 200 proposals received by the Building Committee in the spring of 1850, only three of those selected for an Honorary Distinction were the work of English contributors, compared to the 15

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[206] Ibid, 4.
[207] Prince Albert quoted in *Tallis' History and Description of the Crystal Palace*, 13.
[208] Ibid, 13.
[209] Paul Young, "Mission Impossible: Globalization and the Great Exhibition," in *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*, eds. Jeffrey Auerbach and Peter H. Hoffenberg (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), 9.
[210] Kylie Message and Ewan Johnston, "The World Within the City: The Great Exhibition, Race, Class and Social Reform," in *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851*, 43.
[211] "The Building for the Great Industrial Exhibition of 1851," *The Athenaeum*, 22 June 1850, 663-664. As reproduced in *The Great Exhibition: A Documentary History, Volume 1*, ed. Geoffrey Cantor (London: Pickering & Chatto Limited, 2013), 299.

produced by foreign architects. This disparity was even more striking given that of the total number of plans submitted, 195 came from English contributors compared to just 38 foreigners. "Having here tried her strength against the architects of Europe," the author lamented, "the result has been most disastrous [with] England beaten – and shamefully beaten – in the first battle."[212] Perhaps because of this poor showing from the host country, the Building Committee for the Great Exhibition looked to its own membership and called on Isambard Kingdom Brunel to design a suitable structure. Brunel produced designs for a building four times the length of Westminster Abbey, with a dome larger that than of St Paul's cathedral and even St Peter's in Rome. However, his proposal received vociferous opposition largely because the stated building materials of brick and sheet metal meant the resulting structure would become a permanent fixture, which many believed would compromise the picturesque landscape of Hyde Park.[213] That one of London's "lungs" would be "choked up by the erection of a huge building" was just one of the reprimands voiced when the matter was debated in the House of Lords in March 1850.[214]

In the meantime, there were whispers that the landscape architect to the Duke of Devonshire was boasting he could design a superior building, one that would better meet the needs of organisers and address public concerns over the effects the scheme would have on Hyde Park. Joseph Paxton's original plan, which he submitted to the Building Committee in June 1850, was for a restrained Classically-informed structure, comprising three stepped storeys running the length of the building's front elevation. His decision to build entirely in glass and steel was a marked departure from existing designs, and transformed what would otherwise have been an enormous imposing mass into an airy chimerical structure. Supported entirely by columns and beams made of cast iron, the glass structure would be devoid of internal walls thus maximising display space, giving visitors unobstructed views of exhibits, and providing those inside with an opportunity to admire the vista out and across Hyde Park and central London. Crucially, Paxton's method of construction allowed for easy disassembly. Once the building had been taken apart at the close of the exhibition, materials could either be sold in order to offset costs or removed to a different location where it could be re-built. Before the Building Committee had reached a decision on the matter, a drawing of Paxton's proposed design was circulated in the *Illustrated London News* and attracted much acclaim. Published alongside the illustrations was a staunch written endorsement:

> A structure where the Industry of all Nations is intended to be exhibited should, it is presumed, present to parties from all nations a building for the exhibition of their art and manufactures, that, while it afforded ample accommodation and convenience for the purposes intended, would, of itself, be *the most singular and peculiar feature of the Exhibition*. It is hoped, with all deference to others, that the design in question will prove so. … Mr Paxton ventures to think that such a plan would meet with the almost universal approval of the British public, whilst it could be unrivalled in the world.[215]

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[212] Ibid, 299.
[213] Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, 42.
[214] As quoted in Cantor, ed. *The Great Exhibition: A Documentary History, Volume 1*, 152.
[215] "Design by Joseph Paxton, F.L.S., for a Building for The Great Exhibition of 1851," *Illustrated London News*, 6 July 1850. Author's italics.

Having captured the public's imagination, Paxton's design was officially approved by the Building Committee and the Royal Commission just over a week later, allowing planning of the exhibition to get pick up steam.[216]

Upon its completion, Paxton's Crystal Palace was deemed to embody a fusion of art and engineering, a fine balance of aesthetic refinement and industrial spirit. Tallis' guide made this clear to readers explaining, "the subordination of parts to the whole is complete, and an expression of order and exactitude reigns throughout, not unaptly typical of the progress which the mechanical sciences have made in this country."[217] The building had an immediate and profound impact on the form of the International Exhibition, introducing a new paradigm that would be emulated by exhibition planners the world over. A symbol that connected local shows to the broader exhibition tradition, the Crystal Palace became instantly popular and resulted in a glass and iron structure becoming a "requirement for any self-respecting fair in Europe and North America."[218] One need only remember the Crystal Palace built in the tiny community of Picton, Ontario, the story of which opened the preceding chapter, for evidence of this trend. Although the Crystal Palace – or rather images of it – may now be the quintessential symbol of the International Exhibition movement of the nineteenth century, the configuration it espoused in fact remained popular for only a relatively short stretch of time. As early as the 1860s, there were indications the physical form of the International Exhibition was no longer guided by a desire to showcase its full contents, and by extension bring together the entirety of human civilisation, within just the one building. While no less comprehensive with regards to its overall scope, the International Exhibition began to change in shape. Increasingly, different elements were syphoned off from the main building and dispersed throughout what became a growing exhibition district. The preference for a single colossal building that visitors moved through in a clear linear fashion, gave way to a more distributed architectural and conceptual arrangement. It can thus be argued that little over a decade after its much-heralded introduction, the distinct look of the Crystal Palace and the particular experience it engendered fell out of favour.

The International Exhibition's evolution from the monolithic to the manifold can be traced back to the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867, the first exhibition to erect standalone national pavilions surrounding a large central hall.[219] This new manner of giving physical form to a core tenet of the International Exhibition, which was that it should function as a condensed simulacrum of the world, was expanded upon at the World's Fair held in Philadelphia in 1876.[220] Occupying almost 300 acres of land, the Philadelphia exhibition was anchored by five, separate themed buildings: the Main Building, the Machinery Hall, the Agricultural Hall, the Horticultural Hall and the Memorial Hall, which housed the exhibition's fine art display. In addition to these five principal structures, numerous small pavilions were dotted throughout the grounds. The Philadelphia fair surpassed all previous exhibitions in its scale and size, and established a new schematic pattern that would become the

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[216] For a more detailed account of these proceedings see Auerbach, "Obstacles: Planning the Exhibition," *The Great Exhibition of 1851*, 32-53.
[217] *Tallis' History and Description of the Crystal Palace*, 19.
[218] Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, 219-220.
[219] Kinchin and Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 58.
[220] Alfred Heller, "Philadelphia 1876: Centennial International Exhibition," in *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs*, 55-62; Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, 220.

standard. Despite an 11-year gap the Paris and Philadelphia exhibitions for the most part followed directly on from each other, demonstrating what Bjarne Stoklund describes as a kind of "relay race, in which the ideas and innovations introduced at one exhibition, [were] resumed and elaborated upon at the next."[221] For Stoklund, this process typified the International Exhibition and distinguished it from other exhibitionary paradigms that were similarly emerging and developing in this period. It also created a distinct practice of exhibition-making that was defined by a clear set of rules and regulations of staging, which influenced the large, high-profile fairs much as it did smaller events held in less obvious settings. Although Stoklund's relay race metaphor is apt for the way it encapsulates both a sense of continuity and competition, the transition that occurred from a model epitomised by the Crystal Palace to a more distributed style of arrangement first attempted by organisers in Paris in 1867 was a decisive shift rather than a gradual evolution. Between just two major International Exhibitions the idea of containing the world under one roof was resoundingly displaced in favour of a sprawling, more amorphous scheme. First implemented by those in the upper tier of exhibition activity, it did not take long for this new mode to trickle down and be adopted by smaller localities, eventually becoming a collective standard.

Palaces to pavilions

Glasgow's International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 offer a fascinating window onto the changing nature of the built environment of exhibitions because they betray a number of similarities as well as pronounced differences in their layout. Consequently, having outlined how the form of the International Exhibition evolved in the decades following the Great Exhibition, we can now take a closer look at this general development, examining how it was manifested in the look and feel of Glasgow's early fairs. Despite what Walden construes as the almost universal reach of the Crystal Palace at no point did the widely recognised structure pop up in Glasgow. This quintessential marker of the International Exhibition, the foremost beacon of art and industry, culture and progress, was never erected in the city for the purpose of housing an exhibition. This is not to say the mid-Victorian penchant for iron and glass structures went unnoticed in Glasgow however. As early as April 1855 Glasgow gained its very own "commercial Crystal Palace," when the retailer Wylie & Lochhead opened its new 'warehouse' at 45 Buchannan Street in the commercial heart of the city.[222] A precursor to the department store and shopping mall, Wylie & Lochhead's warehouse was typical of this new breed of large shopping outlet. Built using glass and cast iron, just like its namesake, it consisted of three floors of galleries with a full height atrium at its centre.[223] The building's most prominent feature was a large glass cupola that extended the entire length of the building, which cast "a perfect flood of light, but at the same time [was] so well subdued and tempered as to fall softly all around, and exhibit with the best effect the elaborate decorations of the structure, and the goods of every kind and hue with which [the

[221] Bjarne Stoklund, "The Role of the International Exhibition in the Construction of National Cultures in the Nineteenth Century," *Ethnologia Europaea* 24:1 (1994): 38. The only notable exhibition held in between the Paris Exposition of 1867 and the Philadelphia World's Fair of 1876 was the Vienna exhibition of 1873, which diverted attention away from the decidedly lacklustre annual exhibitions staged in London between 1871 and 1874. See chapter 2 for a fuller discussion of this subject.
[222] "Opening of Messrs. Wylie & Lochhead's New Establishment," *Glasgow Herald*, 6 April 1855, 5.
[223] Gomme and Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow*, 107-22.



Figure 3.4. One of Glasgow's remaining commercial Crystal Palaces. Located at 36 Jamaica Street, this shopping warehouse was built by John Baird I in 1855-56 for the merchant A. Gardner & Son, and now operates as a pub. Photograph courtesy of Paul Twynam.

warehouse was] so abundantly stored."[224] Although Wylie & Lochhead's Crystal Palace was destroyed by a fire in 1883, nineteenth-century shopping warehouses built using the same materials and construction methods still remain in Glasgow. Not only used as the template for large commercial premises, this new architectural model also informed civic structures like the Kibble Palace, the centrepiece of Glasgow's main Botanical Gardens. A large green house built in 1873, the Kibble Palace remains a key landmark of the city's West End, an affluent residential suburb primarily laid-out in the 1870s and 1880s. Another notable example is the Winter Garden attached to the People's Palace, a municipal museum situated on Glasgow Green built with the profits of the East End Industrial Exhibition, which opened in 1898.

In spite of these local precedents a Crystal Palace was not the preferred architectural form when authorities began planning the first Glasgow International Exhibition. This absence is most easily explained by Glasgow's late entry to the International Exhibition movement, a topic explored in the preceding chapter. Although Paxton's Crystal Palace was an object of deep and widespread fascination when it was first built, by the time of Glasgow's first International Exhibition these events no longer appeared in the guise of a single, monolithic structure. The overall design or plan for the first of Glasgow's major exhibitions captures this moment of dispersal, or the breaking-up of an exhibition's various features, a process initiated by the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867. Erected in the southern portion of Kelvingrove Park, the exhibition of 1888 centred around a large edifice built by the Scottish architect James Sellars that was simply titled the Main Building. Made primarily out of wood, plaster and brick, it occupied a rectilinear plot of land that stretched from Gray Street in the east to the banks of the River Kelvin in the west. Measuring approximately 1,000 feet long and 365 feet wide, the Main Building dominated the ten-acre site of the event, dimensions that made it the largest exhibition held in Britain, in terms of size, since the London International Exhibition of 1862, a fact

[224] "Opening of Messrs. Wylie & Lochhead's New Establishment," *Glasgow Herald*, 5.

not lost on the exhibition's proponents.[225] From above the Main Building would have looked relatively similar to other large public buildings of the period particularly because of the ridge and furrow design of its roof, a style of glazed roof typical of Victorian and Edwardian train stations including Glasgow Central. Contemporary accounts boasted the overall barn-like shape of the Main Building created a simple and methodological internal plan that allowed visitors to see the array of exhibits contained within to the best advantage, "not chaos-like together crushed and bruis'd."[226] Reading between the lines, this assertion subtly echoes criticism levied against earlier London exhibitions, particularly the London International Exhibition of 1862, which was highlighted in the previous chapter.

Exhibits may not have appeared "crushed," however, one could say they were thrust together. Industrial exhibits, fine art galleries, foreign and colonial courts and machinery displays, as well as a performance hall and large restaurant all co-existed inside the exhibition's Main Building. Internally, Sellars' structure was divided into two areas: a westerly section dedicated to displays of large pieces of machinery, and the industrial hall which housed everything else across almost 50 galleries. Gaining admission through the gates on Gray Street for instance, the visitor would have entered directly into the Grand Hall, an open space used for musical performances. Immediately on the left stood the entrance to the Picture Galleries, and on the right three galleries dedicated to displays of women's industries, such as lace-making, weaving and needlework. Proceeding along the Main Avenue the visitor would have observed the displays of exclusively British producers, which were positioned at the centre of the Main Building in the galleries that flanked the Grand Central Dome. With all other attendant features spreading out radially from this spatial, symbolic and conceptual hub, the layout of Sellars' Main Building clearly communicated the message that the industrial exhibits, the majority of which represented the work of Glasgow-based firms, were the undisputed focus of the exhibition. Passing under the enormous dome sat over the point of intersection between the Main and Transverse Avenues (1,100 feet long by 60 feet wide, and 215 feet long by 60 feet wide, respectively), the visitor would have progressed into the western wing of the building. This housed the five courts dedicated to foreign goods and manufacturers, situated side-by-side, as well as the colonial courts of Canada, Ceylon and India which were clustered around the building's western end. Continuing along the Main Avenue the visitor would then have entered the Machinery Section. Thus, although Sellars' Main Building may not have looked like a Crystal Palace – its external appearance and internal décor will be considered in detail in due course – conceptually it functioned in much the same way by enclosing a variety of exhibits under one roof, exhibits that would become separate features by the time of Glasgow's second major fair. That said, as can be seen in figure 3.6 similar kinds of exhibits were grouped together inside the Main Building, a system of arrangement that hints at the shifting spatial order of exhibitions taking place at this time. This was reinforced in maps produced to guide visitors through the exhibition, which routinely demarcated these categories through the use of different colours, helping to emphasise their distinct functions and break down this enormous space into discreet segments.

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[225] *International Exhibition Glasgow, 1888: Official Guide* (Glasgow: T. & A. Constable, 1888), 27, UGSC, Sp.Coll. Bh11-b5.
[226] *Elliot's Popular Guide to Glasgow and the Exhibition*, 17.

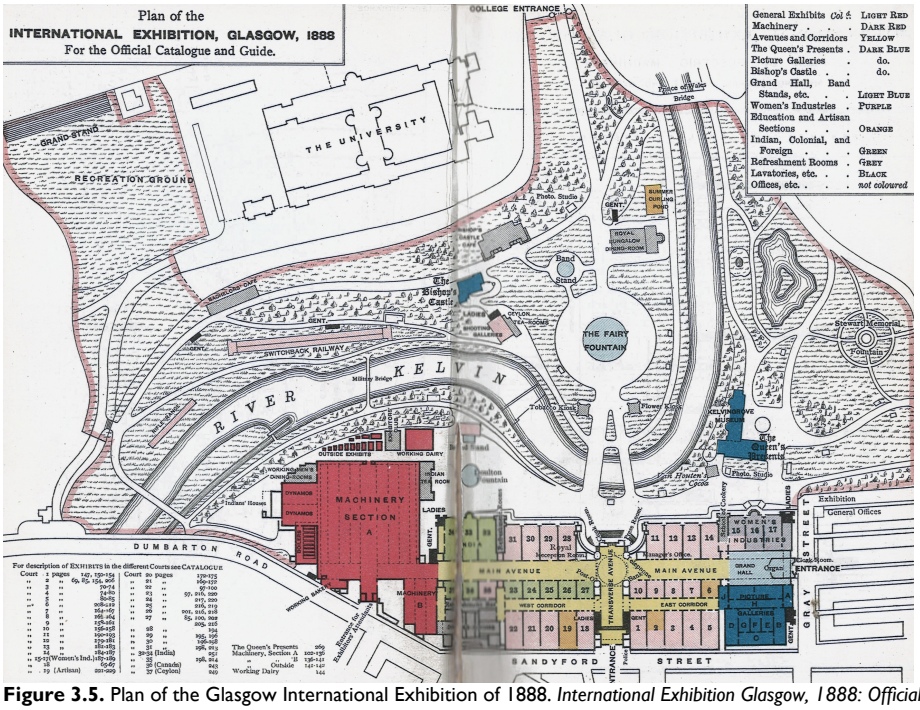

Figure 3.5. Plan of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888. *International Exhibition Glasgow, 1888: Official Catalogue* (Glasgow: T. & A. Constable, 1888). By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. Bh11-b4



Figure 3.6. A view down an avenue of the Main Building of the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888. *Views of Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888*, souvenir album. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. Bh11-a8.

The Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 largely replicated the Crystal Palace model. Nonetheless, it contained subtle signs of an increasingly distributed style of arrangement, which allows us to map the general changes occurring across the International Exhibition tradition onto this specific case study. Indeed, surrounding Sellars' Main Building was a smattering of outdoor attractions, the most notable being the Bishop's Palace and the Kelvingrove Mansion. A new temporary structure, the Bishop's Palace was a brick and plaster replica of the medieval castle that had sat opposite Glasgow Cathedral until its demolition in the late-eighteenth century, and was erected to house a collection of objects that evoked Scotland's past such as archaeological artefacts, portraits, medals, coins, books and

letters. Kelvingrove Mansion by contrast was an existing feature of the park. A handsome neo-classical building possibly made to designs by Robert Adam in the late-eighteenth century, the mansion had originally been the private residence of a wealthy merchant and since 1870 had been the city's main municipal museum. On the occasion of Glasgow's first International Exhibition the house was commandeered by exhibition organisers and used to display the collection of Queen Victoria's Jubilee presents.[227] There was also a working dairy, a switchback railway and two large fountains. The Fairy Fountain, which was designed by the Manchester-based iron founders W. & J. Galloway, had previously been exhibited at the Colonial & Indian Exhibition of 1886 and the Manchester Jubilee Exhibition of the following year. In Glasgow, it attracted a great deal of attention because of the coloured lights that illuminated its cascading waters. The subject of a dark, impressionist painting by Lavery (figure 3.7), the fountain's appeal was also captured in a light-hearted song composed by J. Rae, portions of which are quoted below:

> … The fairies trip out at the dark,
> A skipping about in the park;
> The fountain at play,
> Turns night into day,
> The fairy-land light, of the fairy font spray.
>
> Her laughing eyes to gain, one tries –
> The changing colours counting;
> I whisper'd "Dear, our lives appear
> To be a 'Fairy Fountain'."
>
> … She pulled me through, "Sir, that will do;
> No scene, please at the Fountain!"[228]

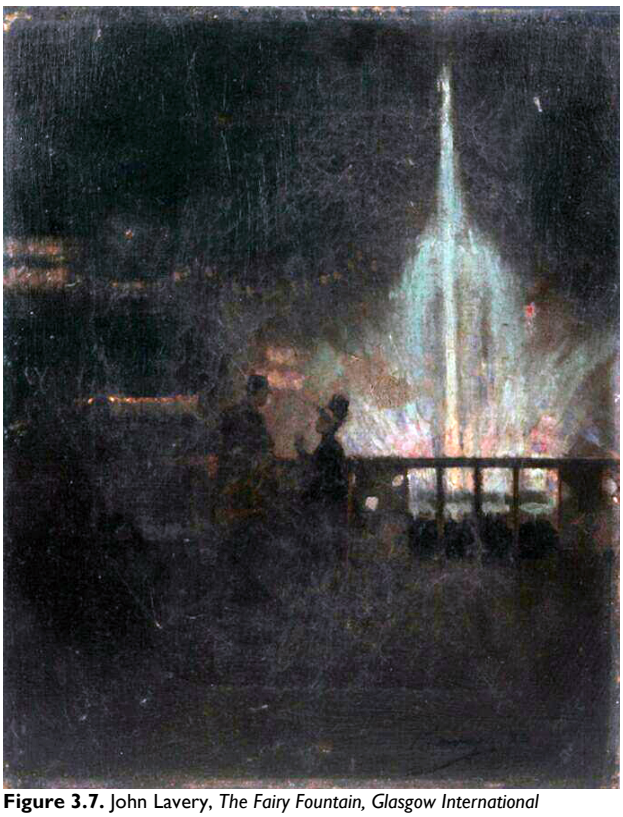

Figure 3.7. John Lavery, *The Fairy Fountain, Glasgow International Exhibition* (1888). Public Domain, Wikipedia Commons, http://www.wikiart.org/en/ john-lavery/the-fairy-fountain-glasgow-

The cast iron Fairy Fountain was accompanied by an impressive tiered terracotta one built by Doulton & Co., which was erected near the western end of the Main Building (see figure 4.9). This is one of the very few remaining material traces of Glasgow's first exhibition despite now residing in Glasgow Green where it was removed to in 1890. Although the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 offered visitors only a limited number of supporting attractions, it contained no fewer than nine refreshment rooms. In addition to the Royal Bungalow Dining Room and the restaurant inside the Main Building, which were the largest of these establishments, there were separate Indian and Ceylonese tea rooms and a

[227] Kelvingrove Mansion was replaced as Glasgow's main municipal museum by the Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum, which was built with the profits of the International Exhibition of 1888 and opened during the exhibition of 1901. The mansion was partially demolished in 1899 in order to clear land for the forthcoming exhibition, although portions of it were retained and re-fitted for use as the Japanese Pavilion, complete with a pagoda-like roof. The remnants of the mansion were finally cleared following the exhibition of 1901, however, the original location of the house is still visible and corresponds to the footprint of the skate park and children's playground now in Kelvingrove Park.

[228] J. Rae, "The Fairy Fountain," (Glasgow: W. Hicks, 1888). Reproduced in Stanley K. Hunter, *Kelvingrove and the 1888 Exhibition: International Exhibition of Industry, Science & Art, Glasgow 1888* (privately printed, 1990), 174.

"Bachelors' Café." As Walker explained, these "picturesque features" were useful "houses of call" for those who were "faint and weary," a common sight since "at the Glasgow Exhibition, just as at other Exhibitions, there is always a number of people who are faint and weary."[229] If Rae's lyrics and Lavery's painting evoke an enchanting land and a sense of carefree amusement, of sweet-nothings exchanged in colourful, almost-mythical surroundings, Walker's account similarly references a novel environment, although one that engendered as much exhaustion as it did excitement, feelings one associates with exploring somewhere new and unfamiliar. Consequently, while these observations are different in tone, all three descriptions are metaphors for travel to an otherworldly, at times even overwhelming, land.

The Bishop's Palace and the Kelvingrove Museum may have housed notable exhibits and features like the Fairy and Doulton fountains attracted much public interest; however, one cannot discount the fact that all of these structures were substantially smaller than Sellars' Main Building. This difference in scale emphasised the symbolic importance of the exhibition's principal structure and the significance of the materials housed inside it, the majority of which were goods that reflected the strength of Glasgow's industries. Despite adding to the exhibition's general appeal, the supplementary features described above were much lower down the exhibition's spatial hierarchy, and were physically and conceptually dwarfed by the undisputed focal point of the exhibition. Consequently, it can be argued that the built form of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 seemed to show an exhibition on the verge of fragmentation, one that straddled old and new models. Creeping out into the grounds of Kelvingrove Park, the exhibition offered visitors a handful of additional attractions, but the beating heart of the exhibition remained a single colossal structure. By contrast, Glasgow's next exhibition, held 13 years later, demonstrated a full transition to a distributed style of arrangement. The decision to plan the exhibition in this way had been a deliberate one. In a meeting of the Chairman's Committee that took place in May 1898, it was expressly stated that whereas Glasgow's first International Exhibition had been "one compact block," the exhibition being planned for 1901 would contain four categories of buildings: general (i.e. industrial) exhibits, fine art, machinery and entertainments and refreshment.[230] This intention was reiterated in the guidelines for the open competition to appoint an exhibition architect, which made clear the Executive Committee was seeking designs for an industrial hall, a machinery hall, a concert venue, restaurants and refreshment kiosks. The call for proposals stipulated that although they were to be separate features, all these buildings should reflect a single architectural vision that was "in harmony" with the new Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum, the completion of which would be celebrated through the prospective exhibition.[231]

Executed on a far bigger scale, built to larger proportions and unified through a clear design theme, the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 functioned as a far more immersive and experiential environment compared to its immediate predecessor. Indeed, when it opened in May it looked quite different from the spectacle mounted in Kelvingrove Park 13 years earlier. Elements that

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[229] Walker, *Pen-and-Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition*, 118.
[230] Meeting of the Chairman's Committee of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, 25 May 1898, ML, GC CDf606.4 (1901) 644809.
[231] Meeting of the Building, Grounds and Lighting Committee of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, 2 May 1898, ML, GC CDf606.4 (1901) 644809.

had been part of the Main Building in 1888 had been broken off and were now scattered throughout the park. What is more, they had increased in number and each had grown in size. Features like machinery exhibits, picture galleries, a performance hall and foreign and colonial courts had turned into ancillary buildings that complemented the content of the Industrial Hall, while also fulfilling their own specific functions. "Machinery of ponderous dimensions … that operate as if possessed of human intelligence," such as locomotives, trams and engines, were exhibited in a purpose-built



Figure 3.8. Plan of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, *Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901: Official Guide* (Glasgow: Charles P. Watson, 1901). By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. Mu25-a29.



Figure 3.9. The Machinery Hall of the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. *Views of Glasgow International Exhibition 1901*, souvenir album of photographs by T. & R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. Bh11-x8.

Machinery Hall located on the opposite side of the street and a short walk away from the Industrial Hall.[232] Chiefly the work of local manufacturers, these objects performed an important illustrative role and told a tale of Glasgow's industrial triumphs. Covering the Glasgow exhibition for *The Canadian Magazine*, Frank Yeigh relayed to Canadian readers how these hefty specimens "speak of Glasgow's lead in many lines of manufacture and tell the world that the industrial supremacy of the United Kingdom is not yet overthrown by foreign genius."[233] The Industrial and Machinery Halls were linked via the Grand Avenue, a long enclosed walkway parallel to Dumbarton Road, from which one could also access the Fine Art Section, which was housed within the brand-new Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum. Not yet turned over to municipal authorities, the Kelvingrove was used to exhibit a large loan collection of paintings, photographs, prints, etchings and sculpture assembled with the intention of "illustrating the progress of Art during the nineteenth century."[234] This was certainly a stark contrast to the exhibition's forerunner, which had set aside less than ten small galleries in the corner of the Main Building for the display of fine art and sculpture.

Although the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 was dominated by three large buildings in the shape of the Industrial Hall, Machinery Hall and Fine Art Section, visitors were offered far more than just what was contained within their walls. Spread over its 73-acre site, a significant increase on the size of the previous exhibition, were the national pavilions of Canada, France, Ireland, Japan and Russia. This was not the full extent of the exhibition's international presence, since in addition to these separate national pavilions the Industrial Hall contained displays from Ceylon, Denmark, India, Morocco, Persia Queensland, Rhodesia and Western Australia, as well as courts arranged by the Canadian, French and Russian governments. Although the Executive Committee sought a consistent visual identity for the exhibition's main buildings, there was architectural variety when it came to its stand-alone national pavilions. Indeed, it is worth addressing the markedly different appearances of the Irish, Russian and Canadian Pavilions, which were situated relatively close together in the eastern portion of Kelvingrove Park. Although the official guide indicated to readers that the Irish Pavilion was an accurate reflection of the energy of the country's emerging agricultural and industrial sectors, it somewhat curiously took the form of an enclave of quaint thatched cottages modelled on traditional Irish country houses (figure 3.10). The Russian Pavilion similarly appealed to a vernacular, even folkloric, architectural style (figure 3.11). Designed by the Russian architect Alexander Zelenko, the seven separate buildings were influenced by sixteenth-century Russian church architecture, employing exaggerated onion-like shapes and long slopping tented roofs, and drew inspiration from typical northern Russian domestic buildings in their external decoration and colour scheme. It was only the Canadian Pavilion that was not designed by a native architect. Rather, the Canadian government employed the Glasgow-based architectural practice of Walker & Ramsay to design its pavilion, a firm that would go on to design the buildings for the Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Industry held ten years later.

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[232] Frank Yeigh, "Canada at the Glasgow Exhibition," *The Canadian Magazine* 17:6 (1901): 532.
[233] Ibid, 532.
[234] *International Exhibition Glasgow, 1901: Official Catalogue of the Fine Art Section* (Glasgow: Charles P. Watson, 1901), vii, UGSC, Sp.Coll. Bh11-c36.



Figure 3.10. Thatched cottages of the Irish Pavilion at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. Photograph by T. & R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. DouganAdd.54.



Figure 3.11. The decorative Russian Pavilion inside Kelvingrove Park, Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. Photograph by T. & R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. DouganAdd.54.

Whereas the Irish and Russian Pavilions seemed to embody a sense of national identity in their design, the Canadian Pavilion by the government' own admission was erected in "a style of architecture in keeping with the other buildings of the exhibition."[235] As can be seen in figure 3.12, apart from the inclusion of "CANADA" over the building's entrance, there was nothing in its appearance that indicated to visitors the building's function or offered clues as to the country being represented. For this reason, I interpret the Canadian Pavilion differently from Kinchin and Kinchin who maintain that the "handsome white pavilion" emphasised Canada's autonomy from Britain.[236] That the Canadian government lobbied for additional space in the grounds undoubtedly indicates it was keen to assert its presence in Glasgow and control how the Dominion was represented. Furthermore, Canada's exhibits

[235] "Commissioner's Report Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901," *Sessional Paper No. 15* (Ottawa: 1903): 236, National Gallery of Canada (hereafter NGC), N4618 A1 C34.
[236] Kinchin and Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 80.

within the Canadian Pavilion and inside the Industrial Hall arguably projected a nascent sense of national identity, a topic that will be thoroughly explored in the following chapter. However, this cannot be said of the structure itself, which lacked a distinct visual identity. This disconnect between the external appearance and internal displays of the Canadian Pavilion derives not simply from the decision of authorities to delegate its design and construction to a local practice rather than a Canadian architect. Robert J. Walker and Thomas Ramsay had formed a partnership not long before the Canadian government reached out to them, immediately prior to which Walker had worked with James Miller, who had been appointed official architect of the exhibition in September 1898. Consequently, although Walker & Ramsay are named as the designers of the Canadian Pavilion in government records there is some uncertainty as to whether Walker & Ramsay were in fact employed by Canadian officials, or were working under the direction of Miller.[237] Had Walker left Miller's supervision by the time he began working on the Canadian Pavilion, he nonetheless would have been deeply familiar with Miller's architectural vision. Notable similarities between the Canadian Pavilion and the Industrial Hall suggest Walker may have brought this knowledge to bear upon the design he and Ramsay developed for the Canadian Pavilion. Evidence of this can be seen most clearly in the repetition of square towers inset with horizontal, multi-paned windows shaded



Figure 3.12. The Canadian Pavilion in the grounds of Kelvingrove Park at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. *Views of Glasgow International Exhibition 1901*, souvenir album of photographs by T. & R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. Bh11-x8.

beneath the deep eaves created by the towers' shallow, slopping roofs. Two of these structures flank the entrance to the Canadian Pavilion, and also form the corners of the large piazza seen on the front elevation of Miller's Industrial Hall (see figure 2.7). While these distinctive architectural forms to some extent resemble an Italian campanile, they also closely betray local influences, specifically Alexander

[237] The Dictionary of Scottish Architects states Walker worked for Miller, assisting specifically with the design of the Canadian Pavilion, and that it was only after completing this project that he entered into a partnership with Ramsay.

'Greek' Thomson's adaption of the Egyptian pylon motif, which was a characteristic element of his villa style.[238]

The Canadian correspondent Frank Yeigh offered an evocative description of the Canadian Pavilion, concluding that its "Grecian design" allowed it to stand out "prominently in front of the highly-coloured domes and minarets of the Czar's village."[239] Yeigh's assessment that the Canadian Pavilion in some ways channelled classical forms is rather erroneous. Consequently, it can perhaps be interpreted as Yeigh projecting ideals stemming from Canada's position as a relatively new democratic political entity onto a building that in reality betrayed very little in the way of national symbolism. Indeed, he was largely on his own in this estimation. Perhaps because it lacked a distinct visual identity compared to its neighbours, the Canadian Pavilion attracted a multitude of interpretations. Writing in the *Art Journal* Alexander McGibbon for instance pointed out the building's non-native origins remarking, "the fabric itself is in no way a product of the Dominion."[240] According to McGibbon the pavilion displayed influences of the Arts and Crafts movement, and in some of its details illustrated "the Glasgow School, that section of it at least whose energies are employed not in the fostering of a renaissance of national tradition in architectural style, but in timidly adapting … riotous unconventionalities."[241] In spite of this, McGibbon felt the structure remained "fairly orthodox," an assessment echoed by Andrew Mudie, writing in *The Magazine of Art*, who described it as "almost plain in appearance."[242] What is more, it received little coverage in unofficial publications like *The Exhibition Illustrated* or *Ogden's Penny Guide*, and the official guide to the exhibition offered only a rudimentary description, remarking Canada's building was "an attractive oblong edifice with a pavilion roof."[243]

Although the architecture of the Canadian Pavilion may not have elicited a great deal of excitement from commentators, the fact of its existence is the more important point to take away here. Three large separate buildings, all comparable in size, anchored the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. To these were added multiple national pavilions that emitted a unique character, albeit some more successfully than others, a large concert hall and multiple bandstands. The grounds of Kelvingrove Park were further enlivened through the provision of numerous small buildings erected by commercial firms such as Lever Brothers' Sunlight Cottages, Templeton's richly ornamented carpet kiosk, and Annan's photography studio. There were also several restaurants and cafés that catered to a variety of budgets – and social attitudes, as evidenced by the provision of temperance establishments at all of Glasgow's exhibitions – and separate kiosks that sold souvenirs, flowers and tobacco. Additionally, an Indian Theatre, a water chute, a miniature railway, Venetian gondolas, a shooting range and sports grounds were among the array of amusements that were on offer. Filling in the final gaps were seemingly arbitrary structures like ornamental fountains, a model farm, a lighthouse, a rockery and a searchlight. By taking up increased space within the grounds of Kelvingrove Park and

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[238] See for instance Greenbank House in Bothwell and Arran View in Airdrie for good examples of Thomson's adaption of the Egyptian pylon form.
[239] Yeigh, "Canada at the Glasgow Exhibition," 534.
[240] Alexander McGibbon, "The Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901," *Art Journal* (June 1901): 188. See also McGibbon, "The Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901," *Art Journal* (May 1901): 132.
[241] McGibbon, "The Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901" (June 1901): 188.
[242] Ibid, 188; Andrew Mudie, "Glasgow International Exhibition – Its Story: The Buildings," *The Magazine of Art* (June 1901): 414.
[243] *Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901: Official Guide* (Glasgow: Charles P. Watson, 1901), 30, UGSC, Sp.Coll. Bh11-c35.

offering the visitor more in the way of additional attractions, amenities and amusements the exhibition of 1901 was a thoroughly immersive environment. A logical extension of its predecessor in a spatial and conceptual sense, the built environment of Glasgow's second International Exhibition demonstrated a full transition to the distributed model of arrangement that was merely hinted at in 1888. Materials that had previously been found under one roof, such as paintings and art objects, heavy industrial machinery and the manufactures of different nations, were now housed within purpose-built art galleries, machinery halls and national pavilions. Accompanying these was a host of less didactic premises at which visitors could take a break from their wanderings. Glasgow's second International Exhibition was thus more amorphous, spreading out and filling the land organisers had been able to secure from civic authorities, a shift that corresponded to widespread changes that were affecting the look and feel of this exhibitionary medium. Consequently, by tracing the evolving character of the International Exhibition through a comparison of Glasgow's early fairs, the above discussion has created a dialogue between a macro history of the International Exhibition movement and a local culture of exhibition-making.

Before moving on, it is worth returning to a key concept introduced at the beginning of this chapter, which was that the International Exhibition should showcase a compressed version of global civilisation. So vital was this characteristic to the International Exhibition that it rendered this genre of cultural event an act of "virtual tourism."[244] I maintain that the shift towards a more amorphous scheme increased the International Exhibition's ability to take visitors on this whirlwind tour, rather than dilute it. The Crystal Palace may have brought together an impressive variety of objects, artefacts and materials under a single roof; however, in becoming more sprawling so the International Exhibition arguably became more immersive. At Glasgow's 1901 exhibition, buildings of varying styles and sizes, each of which fulfilled a designated purpose, were situated within a multi-faceted environment that presented the visitor with a very different experience compared to that effected by the earlier model epitomised by the Crystal Palace. As an entirely self-contained unit the International Exhibition had possessed clearly delineated physical boundaries and was defined by the one experience of moving through rows upon rows of exhibited goods. Although the Great Exhibition displayed materials from all across the world, and organised them according to geographic provenance, this event functioned almost exclusively as a space of display. As the International Exhibition became more amorphous, however, so it became a richer and more layered environment that offered different kinds of experiences and interactions within the one visit. Once inside the grounds of an exhibition, the spectator's body moved easily between spaces of education and amusement. At the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 visitors could leave the awe-inspiring technology of the Industrial Hall for the quaintness of the Irish cottages or the striking colours and shapes of the Russian Pavilion. After pausing for a cup of tea, they could peruse souvenir stands, take a ride on the railway and then enjoy an evening concert without ever leaving the exhibition environment. Thus, more than simply a day-out, a visit to the International Exhibition became an excursion or an act of travel; an experience that involved crossing boundaries and traversing thresholds into a different realm.

[244] Message and Johnston, "The World Within the City," 32.

This assessment of how the changing shape of the International Exhibition rendered narratives of travel more convincing is perhaps best captured in what, on the surface, appears to be an unremarkable object. Although smaller than pocket-sized, the season ticket is what gave spectators access to the global rendezvous that was the International Exhibition. Given the freedom of travel embodied in this object, it could not be more appropriate that the design used for all of Glasgow's exhibitions bore a strong resemblance to a passport, something that evokes notions of crossing borders.[245] Introduced first for the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, the season ticket took the shape of a small piece of card, folded in half and covered in a dark-coloured cloth, most often blue or red. With the title of the exhibition printed in gold lettering on its front, the inside of these objects contained the name, signature and address of the holder, and listed the rules and regulations that conditioned their use. Replicated at all subsequent exhibitions held in Glasgow – incidentally, the number of regulations increased from just three at the time of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 to ten for the Empire Exhibition: Scotland held fifty years later – the season ticket became a quintessential memento of one's trip to the exhibition. Facilitating entry into this other world, the season ticket is another element of the material culture of the International Exhibition that helped construct the illusion that a visit was akin to an act of travel. If the season ticket secured the visitor's passage, what did he or she encounter on the other side of the turnstiles, what environment did they find themselves immersed in? It is to formulating an answer to this question that we turn to next.



Figure 3.13. Season ticket for the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888. 8.3 x 5 x 0.2cm (folded); 10.1 x 8.3 x 0.1cm (open). Courtesy of Glasgow Museums. 38-96.a

Bagdad by the Kelvin

Transforming from a model epitomised by the Crystal Palace to a more open plan, the appearance of and by extension the experience of moving through the International Exhibition underwent a pronounced change beginning in the late-1860s. This chapter has thus far offered a detailed understanding of this general development through a focused analysis of the built form of the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901. Although the existence of this shift has been widely acknowledged in the existing literature, few scholars have sought to examine the reasons for it. A notable exception is Walden who, through an insightful discussion of the evolving spatial formations of exhibitions, illustrates how major trends of the International Exhibition movement were distilled and interpreted at the local level.[246] Additionally, he brings the history of this exhibitionary paradigm

[245] For an analysis of how the passport has functioned as a tool to construct and define the nation-state see Radhika Viyas Mongia, "Race, Nationality, Mobility: A History of the Passport," in *After the Imperial Turn*, 196-214.
[246] Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, 216-246.

into conversation with broader social and cultural developments of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Both of these approaches similarly anchor the present analysis. Key here is the way Walden looks to contemporary thinking about other public spaces to contextualise the changing face of the International Exhibition. He cites the Park and City Beautiful movements, which equated the beautification of urban space with increased social harmony, as key influences on the shifting look and feel of the International Exhibition. Both ideologies maintained that meticulous urban planning would help combat what were seen to be the negative effects of industrialisation, immigration and an attendant swelling among a city's working-class population. As this way of thinking about the city gained greater traction, so the International Exhibition began to more closely resemble an idealised environment in which new precepts of urban planning could be tested out. Creating a dichotomy between these physically connected and yet aesthetically and experientially very different spaces, Walden maintains that where the real city threatened to overwhelm human comprehension, the diminutive city of the exhibition allowed an understanding of all its discrete parts and their relationships to each other. As he explains, where "the real city was diseased, dissolute, and dark, the tiny one was salubrious, orderly, and light."[247] Vegas and Mileto reach a similar conclusion, remarking how the International Exhibition became "an autonomous meta-city" by virtue of contrasting the usual city while simultaneously employing a similar language of design and planning.[248] With its growing number of separate attractions, amusements and amenities the International Exhibition came to mimic the city, while also undermining it by offering an idyllic alternative. As such, the miniature, oasis-like city of the International Exhibition was finite and manageable, and thus had the power to elevate rather than degrade.

Bringing these threads of discussion together, in what follows it will be argued that as the International Exhibition in some ways came to approximate the city as a result of becoming more spread out, so it became more engrossing thereby bolstering notions of travel. Building on the argument established in the previous section of this chapter, where it was advocated that the shift towards an amorphous scheme increased the International Exhibition's ability to take visitors on a journey, we now examine how exhibition architecture rendered such narratives of travel and escape increasingly convincing. Glasgow's International Exhibitions took place inside a dense urban landscape and were organised for the express purpose of showcasing the manufactured fruits of this industrial land. However, in their architectural schemes the exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 bore little resemblance to their surroundings, routinely conjuring up foreign locales through form, colour and ornamentation. This created a pronounced, albeit imagined, separation between the space of the exhibition and the space of the city. That said, Glasgow's International Exhibitions took place during a construction boom, which dramatically changed the city's visual appearance. Although this period of growth is well-documented, the subject of exhibition architecture has received only cursory attention one presumes because of its temporary nature.[249] Consequently, in what follows it will be suggested that despite the

[247] Ibid, 233.
[248] Fernando Vegas and Camilla Mileto, "World's Fairs: Language, Interpretation, and Display," *Change Over Time* 3: 2 (2013): 178.
[249] Gomme and Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow*; James Desmond Compston, "Representing the City: Glasgow City of Architecture and Design 1999 in Context" (PhD, University of Glasgow, 2004). Gomme and Walker's key study is

over-the-top nature of Glasgow's exhibition architecture, there existed an aesthetic relationship between it and the city, one that merits greater attention. Through a close analysis of the architectural languages and structures of these two events, as well as visual representations of them, it will be argued that Glasgow's exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 functioned as highly-immersive environments that convinced visitors to take an imaginative leap into the alternative worlds laid out before them. However, if visiting an International Exhibition increasingly meant stepping outside the real-life city and setting foot inside an ideal metropolis how did this constructed dichotomy impact understandings of these two spaces? This begs further questions of what was at stake and what was to be gained from drawing this boundary.

Rather than appearing in the guise of a lone monolithic structure, the second generation of International Exhibitions began to more closely resemble a kind of temporary exhibition quarter inside the host city, often popping up in large parks and similarly open public spaces. Although its layout in fact revealed an event caught in between old and new models, in the case of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 this district was popularly known as "Bagdad by the Kelvin", due to the style of the exhibition's main building.[250] Before examining the key architectural elements of this structure it is worth introducing an important character in this narrative, the exhibition's architect James Sellars. This brief discussion will help place Sellars' design for the exhibition of 1888 in the context of his own practice and, wider still, within a history of Glasgow's architectural development in this period.[251] Sellars was a prolific architect, designing civic buildings (i.e. portions of the Victoria Infirmary), commercial premises (i.e. the City of Glasgow Bank, demolished in 1959), churches (i.e. Finnieston, now Kelvingrove, Parish Church) and public monuments (i.e. Kelvingrove Park's Stewart Memorial Fountain). Perhaps his most striking work is the St Andrew's Halls, one of Glasgow's preeminent concert and theatre venues upon its completion in 1877 (figure 3.14). The monumental façade of this building is dominated by a row of 12 hefty ionic columns that span the full width of the first



Figure 3.14. Destroyed by fire in 1962, the remaining portions of James Sellars' St Andrew's Halls form the western entrance to the Mitchell Library. Photograph of the author.

emblematic of the brevity often given to analysing the architecture of Glasgow's International Exhibitions. Although the fairs of 1888 and 1901 feature in *Architecture of Glasgow*, minimal attention is paid to considering the formal elements of the main structures of these events alongside contemporary building in the city at large. Similar to Kinchin and Kinchin, Compston (2004) analyses exhibition architecture only so as to highlight the relative absence of the Glasgow Style at these events.

[250] Walker, *Pen-and-Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition*, 8.

[251] Born in the Gorbals, a working-class district just south of the Clyde, in 1843, Sellars began his career at 13 years of age as an assistant to Hugh Barclay. After working in a number of practices, he joined the firm of Campbell Douglas and was made a partner two years later in 1872.

floor. Above this are two accented bays separated by a plain, slightly lower and slightly recessed parapet. Each bay contains four caryatids that support a large entablature, which disguises the gently pitched roof and gives the impression of a Greek-style temple. As Gomme and Walker state in their comprehensive study of architecture in Glasgow, the St Andrew's Halls is perhaps one of the most extreme examples of the "use of classical features on a grand scale to a distinctly anti-classical end," since with "none of the restfulness of the true classical," Sellars' building appears "tense rather than poised."[252] While some of Sellars' work betrays the influence of French Beaux-arts traditions, he is also regarded as a follower of Alexander Thomson, one of Glasgow's most original architects known for his predilection for combining classical elements in unexpected ways. Interestingly, much of Glasgow's nineteenth-century architecture is classical in feel, a characteristic that sets it apart from comparable cities like London, Liverpool and Manchester, which favoured a return to the Gothic style. It was a particular genre of classicism that was practised in Glasgow in this period however. As Schmiechen explains, the city may have clung to this style for longer than was generally fashionable, but it was "decidedly modern" in its approach, adapting the classical tradition into a "more highly functional form."[253] Shunning direct imitation, Glasgow's architects appealed to historical styles but refashioned them in bold ways that befitted the local context. Schmiechen argues this architectural inventiveness was largely a bi-product of Glasgow's image of itself as a recuperative, adaptive and ingenious society. "Its architecture consciously both reinforced and mirrored these habits of invention, innovation, growth, and the accompanying independence of spirit," he maintains.[254]

According to Gomme and Walker, Sellars was "an eclectic architect, open to any style that suggested itself or was suggested to him; but he seems temperamentally to have been a classicist."[255] Even taking this eclecticism into account, the building Sellars designed for the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 proved a marked departure from his existing body of work, briefly touched on above. Sellars was already an established architect in Glasgow when he was awarded the commission to design and build Glasgow's first International Exhibition in March 1887. Consequently, the exhibition may have signified a bold change in direction for Sellars, especially given that by the 1880s many believed classicism had little future in Glasgow following Thomson's death in 1875. Unfortunately this remains largely open to speculation since Sellars died only a few months after the exhibition had opened, due to blood poisoning allegedly caused by having stepped on a rusty nail while on site during the exhibition's construction. Needless to say, Sellars described his exhibition building as Oriental in character, although this proved to be a designation that was variously understood. The official guide for instance quotes Sellars' description, but then proceeds to remark that the building betrayed distinctly Moorish features.[256] Such a reading of the building was likely informed by the semi-circular design and decorative patterning of the arches of the exhibition's main gates, which betrayed a strong similarity to the double arches of the prayer hall inside Córdoba's Great Mosque-Cathedral (see figure 3.15). It could also be said, however, that the repeating horizontal stripes of light and dark paintwork

[252] Gomme and Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow*, 154.
[253] James Schmiechen, "Glasgow of the Imagination: Architecture, Townscape and Society," in *Glasgow, Volume II: 1830-1912*, 501.
[254] Ibid, 500-501.
[255] Gomme and Walker, *Architecture of Glasgow*, 153.
[256] *International Exhibition Glasgow, 1888: Official Guide*, 27.

which covered the building's exterior, adding considerably to its arresting look, reference the distinctive marble banding typical of some Italian Gothic buildings like the cathedrals of Siena and Orvieto. While specific architectural elements employed by Sellars can be traced to a variety of historical and cultural sources the building's overall aesthetic did indeed conform to popular imaginings of Oriental design (see figure 2.6). Its appearance was dominated by hefty square towers, the tallest of which reached 130 feet in the air, and numerous minarets, some ending with spires others with onion domes. These encircled a huge ribbed dome crowned by an elongated lantern not dissimilar to a windcatcher, a common feature of Islamic architecture. Additionally, large horseshoe- and arabesque-shaped windows

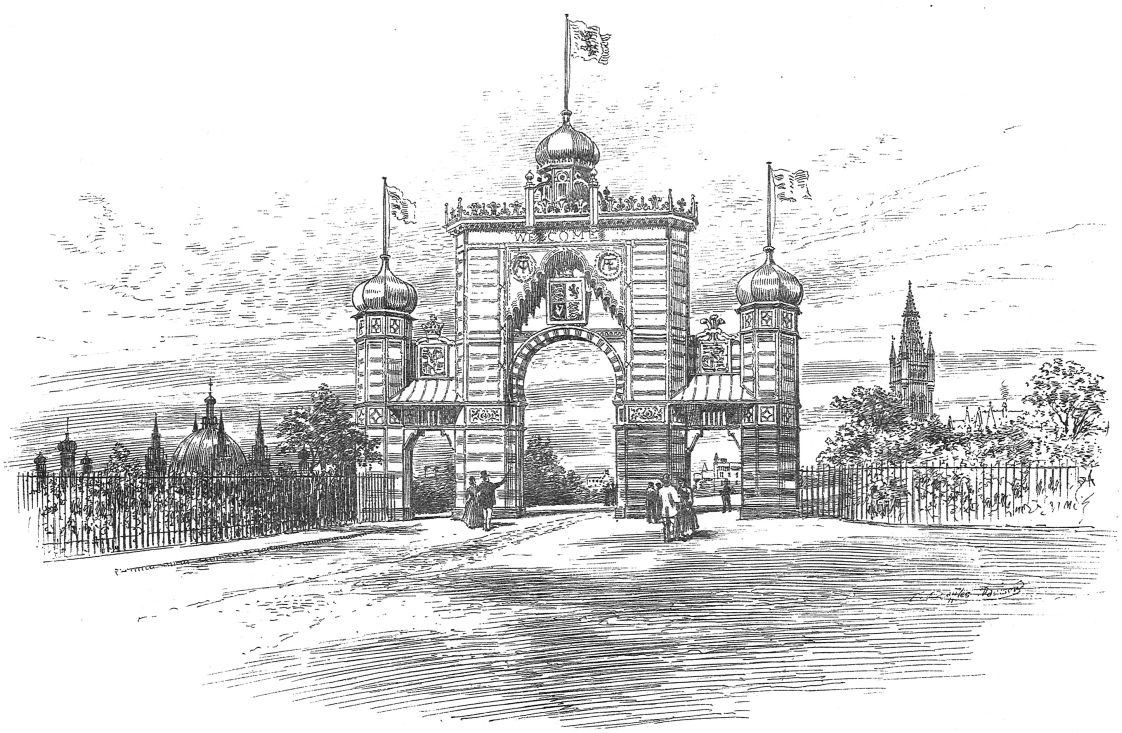

Figure 3.15. The Moorish style of the Prince of Wales' gates at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888. Illustration from *Pen-and-Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition.* By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. Mu23-x8.

ran the length of both sides of the Main Avenue, ornamental flourishes accentuated the towers and minarets, and flags flew from every available peak.

The *Scottish Art Review*, a progressive cultural journal closely tied to the Arts and Crafts movement, praised Sellars' design for the International Exhibition of 1888 for the way it gave "the Exhibition a marked character thoroughly in keeping with its purpose, and differentiating it from all previous efforts in the country."[257] Observations of this nature, which were not uncommon, forwarded the notion that the built environment of the exhibition was well-suited to its environs, even serving as a physical expression of Glasgow's ingenuity. Chief architectural elements of Sellars' Main Building were rendered even more striking by the bold palette of vivid primary colours applied to its interior and exterior surfaces. While some saw this as a positive and believed it added to the building's sensory delight, others were critical of this facet of the design. While largely encouraging of Sellars' architectural vision as the above comment shows, in the same article published in the *Scottish Art Review* Andrew Hall judged the architect's choice of colours a demerit, even suggesting it "to a large extent

[257] Andrew Hall, "Architecture of the Glasgow Exhibition Buildings," *Scottish Art Review* 1:3 (1888): 59.

proved its ruin."[258] As Hall saw it, the "exaggerated scheme of colour runs through nearly the whole building, and the distressing effect is largely increased by everything being 'picked out' to the last degree, so that kiosks and gables and towers, which once looked beautiful by reason of their graceful outlines and play of light and shade, are now commonplace and tawdry."[259] What is more, factors stemming from the context of the Main Building such as the quality of natural light and availability of certain materials meant Sellars' choice of colours looked very different to how Hall imagined they would in the building's traditional or natural setting.

> We have never yet seen chrome yellow and Prussian blue form the basis of an Eastern scheme of colour, without at least a large grounding of white. Moreover … colours such as these have a very different effect from what they produce when tattooed, in an uninteresting series of patterns, of huge scale, with ordinary oil paints, on dead dull boards, over a surface many hundred yards square.[260]

As can be seen, Hall's criticism stemmed not so much from a blanket aversion to colour, but rather from his belief it constituted an inaccurate representation of the Oriental forms Sellars was seeking to emulate.

In contrast to Hall's assessment, official interpretive sources encouraged visitors to read the built environment of the exhibition as a truthful vision of the Orient transposed to Glasgow, and to derive pleasure from the way it departed from the urban landscape they were accustomed to. After admitting Sellars' architectural treatment may seem "peculiar … to residents of northern climes," the official guide made clear it should not be regarded as disagreeable or distasteful.[261] Instead, Sellars' building was a novelty meant to be enjoyed. Walker offered a particularly expressive statement on the positive impact of the exhibition's Main Building, stressing that although it might appear "somewhat bizarre" at first sight, it was a foil to the supposed monotony of Glasgow's urban architecture:

> Mr. Sellars, by happy thought, has made the Exhibition building a vivid contrast to everything which Glasgow people have been accustomed to, architecturally. The effect he has secured, in both building and decoration, is one full of pleasant exhilaration for both eye and mind. … The whole appearance of the building is bright and cheerful. It seems to ally itself naturally with holiday-making, and to have power to charm away even the depressing influences of dull weather and bad times.[262]

Walker's enthusiastic response to Sellars' design is illustrative of a certain way of reading Glasgow's urban landscape that was prevalent in this period. A recurring concern among city planners, design advocates and architects was that Glasgow suffered from a visually severe urban profile, which was exacerbated by smoke, dirt, disease and overcrowding. In a lecture delivered in 1874, Thomson for instance warned that the city's residents, particularly those who were unable to escape to the green of suburban districts and the surrounding countryside, were being "shocked and choked" by "rude and crude" buildings.[263] While eye-catching structures existed in Glasgow, it is important to remember that within a relatively short stretch of time the city had been transformed from a small trading enclave to a major commercial, financial and industrial centre. This dramatic growth had resulted in tracts of land

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[258] Ibid, 60.
[259] Ibid, 61.
[260] Ibid, 60.
[261] *International Exhibition Glasgow, 1888: Official* Guide, 27.
[262] Walker, *Pen-and-Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition*, 6-7.
[263] Alexander Thomson quoted in Schmiechen, "Glasgow of the Imagination," 496.

being given over to factories, warehouses and shipyards, and to streets upon streets of somewhat repetitious tenement housing of varying standards.

Excluding the decade or so following the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878, the period between the 1860s and the 1910s was one of major construction and urban development. Responding to what they regarded as the harsh plainness of much of Glasgow's architecture, Thomson and others were determined to enliven the urban landscape through stylistic variety and embellishment. According to this discourse, architectural ornament served a social function and was capable of enlivening, uplifting and improving the lives of city residents.[264] Glasgow's early International Exhibitions coincided with this building boom, which generated noteworthy buildings like the new City Chambers and well-planned enclaves like the West End. In spite of these individual additions, on the whole Glasgow's streets and views across the city would have been dominated by industry and housing. Furthermore, it likely would not have taken long for all new structures to become stained by coal smoke, which would have dulled their appearance and made it difficult to discern and appreciate specific architectural details. Considered in this context, Walker's observation of Sellars' design takes on added meaning. For Walker, the main exhibition building was more than simply a temporary anomaly on Glasgow's urban vista. Rather, his interpretation points to a belief that the built form of the exhibition had a kind of material agency that was capable of taking visitors away from their normal surroundings, widely believed to be defined by architectural monotony, inclement weather and economic insecurity. This is a decidedly visceral way of engaging with the architecture of International Exhibitions. Conveying a sense of holidaymaking, the architecture and decoration of Sellars' building stimulated a feeling of pleasure, the kind of carefree pleasure one derives from being away from the routine sights, smells and sounds of home.

The notion the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 offered an opportunity for travel and escape relied upon visitors' having an existing awareness of the Orient. The ability of Sellars' design to transport visitors across geographic boundaries at the moment they passed through the exhibition's turnstiles was predicated upon spectators being able to read the architectural language he had chosen to employ. While Edward Said's theory of Orientalism has been discussed to such an extent that it now occupies an almost canonical position within imperial and postcolonial studies, it nevertheless offers a constructive approach to interpreting the narratives that were often at play at International Exhibitions. Said makes clear that Orientalism was a powerful discourse within European society particularly, though certainly not exclusively, in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, the era of so-called high imperialism.[265] While territorial expansion and other political and economic events played into the persistence of Orientalism, according to Said popular understandings of the Orient were predominantly constructed through cultural means. With respect to art and design, Orientalism propagated a style based on broadly speaking eastern forms and imagery such as intricate geometric ornamentation, the incorporation of reflective surfaces and the use of bright colours. But Orientalism

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[264] Schmiechen, "Glasgow of the Imagination," 494-99.

[265] For a discussion of this period see for instance Antoinette Burton, "Rules of Thumb: British History and 'Imperial Culture' in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Britain," *Women's History Review* 3:4 (1994): 483-501; David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992).

was more than an aesthetic penchant for non-European styling. Rather, Said argues for it being a deeper "cultural enterprise" that advanced a specific way of seeing, categorising and understanding the world.[266] While it defined a multifarious geographic area with boundaries that extended from India to southern Spain, taking in the middle East and North Africa along the way – what Said regards as the power of this discourse to distil broad swathes of land and the distinct societies within them into a single unit – Orientalism did more than designate territory. It was an epistemology predicated upon a strict distinction between East and West that came to dominate European perceptions of the non-western world.

Following an initial period of discovery in the eighteenth century, the history and culture of the Orient increasingly became the subject of appropriation and display. Over the course of the nineteenth century media coverage of colonial incursions was bolstered by a proliferation of cultural representations of this imagined Orient like those seen in illustrated travel accounts and popular fiction, as well as paintings, panoramas and exhibitions.[267] As a result, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards when something was described as being Oriental in character, like Sellars' exhibition building for example, a complex set of geographic, moral and cultural signifiers were placed onto the object in question, designating it as being wholly of another world.[268] Orientalism's pervasiveness, Said reminds us, can largely be attributed to a contemporary belief in the positive relationship between knowledge and power, whereby possessing knowledge of somewhere, someone or something equated to having control over it. Said's basic premise here is that an individual's knowledge of somewhere came to constitute the real-world setting it ostensibly referred to. In the British mind, Orientalist codifications came to be interpreted as "the *true* Orient" with its image becoming a truthful and accurate representation, thus displacing the original reality.[269] The implication here is that one does not have to set foot in the Orient in order to know it or have felt one has experienced it. Possessing an understanding of this place, which one has acquired through an engagement with cultural representations of it, such as reading a novel, studying a painting or as I argue here visiting an International Exhibition, leaves one with an absolute knowledge of it and therefore control over it.

Said's is a politicised reading, one betraying Foucauldian and Gramscian influences, of a prevalent nineteenth-century pedagogical model, which emphasised the importance of observation and equated seeing with knowing.[270] Indeed, it was this intellectual approach that underlay the International Exhibition movement, and directed how visitors were meant to interpret what they saw at these events. Although one does not want to conflate theory and practice or intended meanings with lived experience, given the primacy of this dialectic, which directed the school curriculum as much as public museums, it is reasonable to suppose many visitors would have engaged with International Exhibitions in this way. In the case of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, spectators may have come away from a visit feeling as though they had had an authentic experience of another world; of having

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266 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge, 1978), 4.
267 Sibel Bozdogan, "Orientalism and Architectural Culture," *Social Scientist* 14:7 (1986): 53-54. See also Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
268 Said, *Orientalism*, 31.
269 Ibid, 67, 31-39. Italics in original text.
270 Joost Cote, "'To See is to Know': The Pedagogy of the Colonial Exhibition, Semarang, 1914," *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 36:1 (2006): 341-343.

been immersed in an exotic Orient replete with golden domes, towering minarets and entrancing arabesques. Said's theory of Orientalism combined with an analysis of the popular dialectic of the day which linked seeing with knowing, strengthens the argument that International Exhibitions presented spectators with a reality that looked very different from their own, promoting a phenomenological engagement with such events. This concept was not lost on visitors as a short poem written about the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 suggests:

> The minarets of Kubla Khan,
> That brought an orient grace and glow
> It served its turn for bliss or ban –
> This bait to make home coffers grow,
> And elevate our brother man.[271]

Such a reading implies patrons may indeed have come away from their day's sojourn feeling they had crossed into another world the moment they had entered its grounds, much in the same way Amy Gall did when she visited the British Empire Exhibition, to recall the vignette that opened this chapter. In Glasgow's case then, not only did the International Exhibition contrast visitors' routine environs, but this divergence then stimulated a deeply-felt experience that further transported them away to an imagined locale.

The notion of being transported somewhere new and unknown but without necessarily traveling great physical distances to reach it was a feature of nineteenth-century popular culture. This is evident in the enthusiasm for historical tourism for instance, which was taken up by the urban working classes and lower middle classes from the 1830s onwards. Mandler concludes this penchant for visiting historic homes, aging palaces and ruined abbeys was not solely because of an interest in history and tradition, but rather was driven by the allure of gaining access to "otherwise foregone or forbidden thrills."[272] This further evidences a desire to temporarily escape from the drudgery of industrialised urban life, which was increasingly the norm for many in Britain, an analysis that chimes with Susan Stewart's understanding of an excursion. In opposition to a journey, which she deems an "allegorical notion" comprising a "series of correspondences that link lived experience to the natural world," the excursion comprises an "abstract and fictive notion":

> It emerges from the world of mechanized labor and mechanical reproduction. The excursion is a holiday from that labor, a deviation and superfluity of significance. While the journey encompasses a lived experience, the excursion evades it, stops outside and escapes it. The excursion is a carnival mode, but an alienated one; its sense of return is manufactured out of resignation and necessity.[273]

The relationship between the ideal environment of the exhibition and the deleterious one of the city, which Stewart alludes to will be further elaborated upon when considering the architectural space of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 in the final section of this chapter. Here, it is important to stress the point that through the architecture of its Main Building the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 deliberately conjured up a far-flung locale. What is more, it sought to effect in the

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[271] Martin Quern, "A Ballade of Kelvin Fair," *Scottish Art Review* 1:7 (1888): 181.
[272] Mandler, "'The World of Fancy'," 128.
[273] Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 60.

viewer the experience of leaving behind the grime and soot of Glasgow for the "grace and glow" of the Orient, a form of momentary fictional escape that was an established part of the Victorian imagination.

The experience engendered by the architecture of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 was wholly in line with that of previous exhibitions. As was established early in the chapter, the International Exhibition from its outset was envisaged as a platform on which all nations and cultures would be represented. Exhibition advocates initially believed a single monolithic building capable of bringing the world under one roof was the architectural form best suited to achieving this goal. At the Great Exhibition of 1851 visitors could study and observe the goods and manufactures of countless nations, undertaking a survey of human progress over the course of a single day's visit. However, the structure that enclosed these individual displays performed an equally, if not more important, role. Whereas the plethora of objects on display served to illustrate the essence of each nation, it was the visitor's material surroundings, the built environment they passed through, which functioned as the vessel that facilitated this imaginative leap. More often than not it was the Orient, an exotic locale typified by warm climes, bright colours and an insouciant attitude that the architecture of these early exhibitions routinely transported visitors to. Tallis' account, for instance, made clear how powerful the Crystal Palace was in this respect, deeming it to be "an Arabian Night's structure, full of light, and with a certain airy unsubstantial character about it, which belongs more to enchanted land than to this gross material world of ours."[274] This description could easily have been penned about Sellars' building for the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888. Indeed, it was often described as being Glasgow's own Oriental Palace, a building more suited to the banks of the Tigris than the Kelvin.

Glasgow may never have replicated the model of the Crystal Palace in the way many cities did in the wake of the Great Exhibition, however, the style of building chosen for the city's first major exhibition firmly placed it within the broader International Exhibition movement. Sellars' Main Building undoubtedly looked very different from Paxton's: built of wood, plaster and brick, it resembled a cross between a Tuscan cathedral and a Moorish castle, rather than an inflated greenhouse. However, by invoking an apparition of the Orient, a notion that carried a great deal of cultural currency in the late-nineteenth century, Sellars successfully aligned Glasgow's first International Exhibition with the existing tradition. He appealed to the model established by the Crystal Palace not necessarily in an aesthetic sense, but certainly in terms of the intended meaning of his building. Constructing a vision of the Orient through the use of an architectural language many visitors would have been able to read and decipher, Sellars' design aimed to conjure up a foreign land in the minds of exhibition-goers, thereby encouraging them to inhabit another world upon entering the exhibition, one that looked and felt very different from their everyday surroundings.

Sellars may also have been inspired by architectural precedents that were closer to home. Although the built environment of the exhibition stood out on Glasgow's urban landscape, diverging from the city's overall character through the application of a vibrant colour scheme and Moorish ornamentation, it can be argued Sellars' building reflected a local architectural tradition. As

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[274] *Tallis' History and Description of the Crystal Palace*, 19.

Glendinning, MacInnes and MacKechnie explain in their comprehensive survey of Scottish architecture, building design and decoration in the later decades of the nineteenth century was typified by "a rejection of codified styles and a continuing reliance on elements of broad typological eclecticism."[275] In Glasgow this predilection was epitomised by the work of Thomson, of whom Sellars was a follower, whose buildings fused a myriad of historical sources – often classical or classically-derived styles, but also Egyptian, Italianate, Baroque and Gothic – to break up the monotonous swathes of new residential and industrial buildings, thereby creating a purposefully varied visual identity for the city. This original approach was tied to Glasgow's self-image as an adaptive, creative and ingenious municipality, ideas that were similarly forwarded through the city's first International Exhibition. Analysing the architecture of this event alongside contemporary thinking on Glasgow's urban landscape, contributes another layer of meaning to existing discussions of the movement away from the form of the Crystal Palace. As has been demonstrated, Sellars' design should not simply be seen as an attempt to keep pace with the changing face of the International Exhibition, but instead can be understood as creative resistance to wholesale imitation of models devised elsewhere, a precept that underpinned local architectural practices.

The view from the exhibition

The architecture of Glasgow's first International Exhibition imaginatively transported visitors to a fantastical, Oriental setting. Interestingly, this excursion was facilitated by an approach to design not uncommon in Glasgow in the late-nineteenth century, one that produced richly-ornamented buildings betraying myriad influences. This final section further develops the theme that Glasgow's International Exhibitions promoted notions of travel through their architectural arrangements and styles, while at the same time betraying an awareness of local context. The Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 fully embraced the distributed style of arrangement that typified the International Exhibition by the final decades of the nineteenth century. It boasted larger and more exaggerated structures, stand-alone pavilions, manicured gardens, numerous amusements and varied amenities. In mimicking the city in some respects, Glasgow's second International Exhibition achieved a more pronounced separation between the exhibition and its urban surroundings, a tension that was typical of this next generation of exhibitions. As Walden explains, "the real life city beyond the grounds were excised, leaving a stronger impression that what existed within was unconnected to anything beyond."[276] This precept forms the basis of an analysis of how the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, like its predecessor, transported spectators elsewhere, an illusion rendered all the more convincing due to being a larger, more awe-inspiring and thus more immersive event. Looking in detail at Miller's scheme, the following discussion examines how Glasgow's second International Exhibition served as a restorative escape for residents, while simultaneously functioning as a means of changing popular impressions of Glasgow among outsiders.

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[275] Miles Glendinning, Ranald MacInnes and Aonghus MacKechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture: From the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 317.
[276] Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, 233.

Like Sellars before him, Miller was an established practitioner when he was awarded the title of exhibition architect in September 1898 for his submission "Winter Palace."[277] Conjuring up images of a large winter garden, something not dissimilar from Paxton's Crystal Palace in fact, or perhaps a Russian imperial palace, this title is rather incongruous given Miller's design reflected neither model. Visual representations of the exhibition grounds, particularly artistic renderings as opposed to photographs, reveal a gleaming white palace dotted with 21 gold domes. Scholars have expressed varying opinions on Miller's vision with Ken Carls describing it as a "sort of fin-de-siècle Disneyland."[278] In Kinchin and Kinchin's estimation, the exhibition's centrepiece was conservative relative to the work of Miller's contemporary Charles Rennie Mackintosh, thus rendering it little more than a symbol of a missed opportunity to showcase the emergent Glasgow Style to international audiences.[279] Interestingly, Mackintosh did in fact propose a design to the exhibition's Executive Committee and while it is amusing to imagine what would have resulted had he been selected to design a building on this grand a scale, Kinchin and Kinchin's assertion largely misses a fundamental objective of exhibition architecture, which was that it be captivating and whimsical. This tenet no doubt derived from the fact these buildings were more often than not conceived as purely temporary, which allowed architects to indulge in the experiment of designing something for an inherently light-hearted purpose that need bear little resemblance to the forms of daily life.

According to Miller himself, his "Winter Palace" was based on sixteenth-century Spanish architecture, presumably so it would harmonise with the new Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum in accordance with stipulations outlined by the Executive Committee. Miller's chosen style was similarly deemed particularly appropriate for the specific function and context of an International Exhibition. The "somewhat over luxurious ornament of the Spanish Renaissance suits very well with a structure confessedly designed for gaiety and festal display," remarked McGibbon in the *Art Journal*.[280] But Miller's design for the second Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 engendered a variety of readings, as had Sellars' Main Building in 1888. In the first edition of *The Exhibition Illustrated*, an affordable weekly broadsheet produced throughout the exhibition's run, the Industrial Hall was described as "an elongated Doge's Palace at Venice, with the Kelvin running straight along the front, like a Venetian canal."[281] With its prominent, centrally placed entry and five large domes, an image of St Mark's Basilica was more likely what the author had in mind. However, this inaccuracy does not detract from the overall point of the reference, which was to draw parallels between Glasgow and Venice, both industrious water-borne cities that derived much of their wealth from trade. An often-made comparison, this allusion was bolstered by the sight of gondolas plying the Kelvin, an attraction originally staged in 1888 and one that proved so popular it was re-staged at Glasgow's second exhibition (see figure 3.16). Yet another interpretation was offered by the official guide which enthused the building's "general feeling" was "Oriental in effect."[282] Rather than simply being a case of different

[277] Meeting of the Sub-Committee on Competitive Plans, Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901, 7 September 1898, ML, GC CDf606.4 (1901) 644809.
[278] Ken Carls, "Glasgow 1901: Glasgow International Exhibition," in *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs*, 172.
[279] Kinchin and Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 59.
[280] McGibbon, "The Glasgow International Exhibition" (May 1901): 131.
[281] *The Exhibition Illustrated*, 4 May 1901.
[282] *Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901: Official Guide*, 27.

commentators picking up on different elements of his scheme, I maintain this plurality of opinion is evidence of Miller's engagement with a distinctly Glaswegian style of architecture. Looking back on the architectural developments that took place in Glasgow between the 1860s and 1910s, design historians have come to refer to this period as that of the Glasgow Free Style. Emerging most clearly in the 1880s, this was a "highly eclectic, idiosyncratic, picturesque and individualistic" style that combined an existing interest in giving modern purpose to historical forms with a mannerist tendency for complex



Figure 3.16. A Venetian gondola plying the Kelvin River with the Industrial Hall of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 in the background. Photograph by T. & R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. DouganAdd.54.

and playful decoration.[283] It also ushered in a new sense of verticality, which resulted in visually segregating this new crop of buildings from much of what surrounded them. This suggests Miller's design corresponded with broader contemporary architectural practices, a conclusion that echoes the above analysis of Sellars' work. Thus, while Miller's Industrial Hall may not have been *avant-garde*, it can nevertheless be seen as *au courant*. This assessment challenges Kinchin and Kinchin's suggestion that Miller's design was conservative, and stresses the value of including exhibition buildings in discussions of Glasgow's architectural history in this period, an area of scholarship in which they are currently under-represented.

If the style of Miller's exhibition buildings reflected architectural trends specific to Glasgow, it can also be argued his design engaged directly with developments taking root in the wider International Exhibition movement. An often-noted feature of the built environment of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 was the brilliance of its white surfaces. The Great Dome of the Industrial Hall was painted to resemble beaten gold, and otherwise only the roofs of the Industrial Hall, Concert Hall and some of the smaller kiosks and restaurants carried colour, being picked out in either red, blue or green.

[283] Schmiechen, "Glasgow of the Imagination," 506.

Whereas Sellars had employed a vivid colour scheme, one that had attracted rather mixed reactions, Miller's buildings were overwhelmingly white both inside and out, which created an overall feeling of "lightness and grace."[284] This effect was achieved through Miller's use of fibre plaster covered in stucco rather than wood panelling, a method of construction that became popular following its successful application at the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893.[285] This event quickly entered into the public consciousness as the 'White City,' a nickname that referenced the colour of the exhibition's buildings as much it did the feelings of civility and cleanliness exuded by this ideal and model urban environment. Indeed, some scholars have cited the Columbian Exposition as the first large-scale elaboration of the tenets of the City Beautiful movement due to its grid layout and the uniform appearance of its structures, all of which were done in a French Beaux-arts style and built to the same height.[286] The look Miller achieved through using this building technique seems to have produced similarly positive results in Glasgow. In McGibbon's estimation this aspect of Miller's design was "more conspicuous and unique than any novelty in architectural treatment," and with it provided spectators with a picturesque view "too rare in our grey northern towns."[287] In adopting a relatively new genre of exhibition architecture associated with a major fair like that held in Chicago, Miller's design for the exhibition of 1901 created a direct visual link between Glasgow and more well-known centres of exhibition-making, thus situating the city within the evolving International Exhibition



Figure 3.17. The bright white exterior of Miller's Industrial Hall captured on a postcard of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. ©CSG CIC Glasgow Museums and Libraries Collection: The Mitchell Library, Archives, TD 1026.2.1.

[284] Mudie, "Glasgow International Exhibition," 412.
[285] McGibbon, "The Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901," (May 1901): 131.
[286] Much of Chicago was redeveloped in the early 1900s, largely following a plan that espoused the City Beautiful ethos, which had been devised by Edward H. Bennett and Daniel Hudson Burnham. A noted architect and urban designer, Burnham had previously been Director of Works for the 1893 Chicago fair. See Peter Hall, "The City of Monuments," in *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1996), 174-202.
[287] McGibbon, "The Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901," (June 1901): 187.

movement. At the same time, however, he was not purely imitating this trend since the general architectural style of his plan can be said to reference local conventions, in particular the Free Style of the late-nineteenth century.

The confluence drawn between Oriental and Moorish styles in accounts of Sellars' main exhibition building, a subject discussed above, was to some extent reasonable given both have roots in Islamic forms. Linking notions of the Oriental with the Spanish Baroque as was subsequently done with Miller's design, however, is more of a stretch. The reappearance of an Orientalist trope in contemporary descriptions of Miller's Industrial Hall reveals an important point about the built environment of the International Exhibition, since the implausibility of aesthetic comparisons between these two genres demonstrates the timeless nature of the appeal of the Orient. This meaning was conferred upon the exhibition through the official guide for instance. Setting the scene, it explained to readers that the landscape of Kelvingrove Park, normally bordered only by the University of Glasgow on one side and the large Western Infirmary on the other, "formed a grey setting, ready for the white Oriental gems of edifices that were to rise within."[288] Once the exhibition buildings had been completed, the site was transformed into an enclave that was at once embedded in the city and yet wholly apart from it. The all-encompassing nature of the exhibition enveloped the visitor who "on every hand," would see "the pomp and glory of Hispano-Oriental architecture … forming a scene at once picturesque and grand."[289] In this way the built environment of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 can be seen as a logical extension of its predecessor in a spatial, stylistic and conceptual sense. In terms of its physical presence, the exhibition of 1901 fully embraced the distributed model, which was only hinted at in 1888. Three separate buildings anchored the International Exhibition of 1901, and to these were added multiple national pavilions, numerous cafés, restaurants and kiosks, a concert hall and bandstands, all of which radiated with a bright, other-worldly glow. By taking up far more space within Kelvingrove Park and offering the visitor a greater number of additional attractions, amenities and amusements, the exhibition of 1901 was an intensely engaging environment. It can therefore be argued that as the exhibition grew in size and scale, expanding beyond the footprint of the exhibition of 1888, so this Oriental fantasy became more richly textured and enveloping. As a result, the notion that visiting the exhibition was an act of travel and an opportunity to escape from one's everyday surroundings would have been especially convincing.



Figure 3.18. An explorer approaches Kelvingrove Park in time to watch the sun set over the Great Dome. Burch and Shem, *St. Mungo and its 1901 Exhibition Illustrated and Written by Burch and Shem* (Glasgow: William Gorman & Co., 1901). ©CSG CIC Glasgow Museums and Libraries Collection: The Mitchell Library, Archives, PA11.1.

[288] *Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901: Official Guide*, 24.
[289] Ibid, 25.

Perhaps the object that best symbolises the sense of travel and adventure stimulated through Miller's architectural scheme, as well as the exhibition's overall feeling of splendour, was the Great Dome that surmounted the Industrial Hall. This feature was deemed to be "the pride and glory of the whole design" of the exhibition.[290] Its manner of construction and impressive size was often relayed in official literature, a tendency picked up on in some of the more light-hearted guides, one of which mocked this taste for statistics by stressing its aim was not to "reduce the reader to a state of mental paralysis with details of the height, style and cost."[291] Indeed, Miller's Great Dome was described at length in newspapers, was highlighted as a foremost attraction in guide books, was a popular subject of photographs and artistic renderings, and had its image reproduced on countless souvenirs. A large golden sphere that surpassed all other structures inside Kelvingrove Park, even drawing attention away from the university and the new Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum, Miller's dome dominated views of the exhibition grounds. Additionally, because one is never far away from an elevated vista in Glasgow thanks to its hilly topography, this gilded structure would have been a common sight and exerted a strong presence on the broader skyline of the city. It would therefore have served as a constant reminder of the exhibition and impressed upon Glaswegians the narratives it signified. The dome was also an important social space with the expanse underneath it serving as a meeting point where visitors would often congregate. What is more, it offered a convenient spot to take a break from one's wanderings and indulge in a moment's rest on one of the benches positioned around its base.

In short, the Great Dome reprised the role it had had in 1888. Through its incorporation, Miller utilised an architectural and decorative language rendered familiar through the success of Sellars' design. Like Sellars before him, Miller used the interior of the Great Dome as a medium for communicating the decidedly lofty aims of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. To quote the official guide, "its splendid proportions which convey the idea of vastness and grandeur are mingled with details of exquisite art."[292] The inside of the dome was decorated with paintings of allegorical figures representing Commerce, Science, Industry and Art, along with four scriptural texts:

> The Earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof.
> Except The Lord built the House they labour in vain that build it.
> They shall bring the Glory and Honour of the Nations into it.
> Peace be within thy Walls and prosperity be within thy Palaces.[293]

This was very similar to the scheme previously adopted by Sellars, which featured paintings of the same metaphorical constellation (although by 1901 Agriculture had been replaced by Commerce), accompanied by four different scriptural excerpts inscribed onto the semi-circular arches one passed under when proceeding onto the Main and Transverse Avenues. In both 1888 and 1901 the intention was clearly to create a devotional space in which visitors could not help but become engrossed in a meditation on the essential principles of the exhibition. Miller's Great Dome was an even more potent symbol of the exhibition's core aims due to the winged female figure representing Light positioned at its apex. Designed by the sculptor Albert H. Hodge, the figure appeared to hover just above the

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[290] Ibid, 28.
[291] Burch and Shem, *St. Mungo and its 1901 Exhibition Illustrated and Written by Burch and Shem* (Glasgow: William Gorman & Co., 1901), ML, PA11.1 vol. 1.
[292] *Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901: Official Guide*, 39.
[293] *The Complete Pictorial Guide to Britain's Great 1901 Exhibition*, ML, TD623.

lantern that crowned the dome, holding an electrical torch high above her head in her right hand, and carrying a palm leaf signifying triumph in her left. This reference to the power of light was an important one since organisers went to great lengths to ensure the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 was equipped with a powerful electrical supply, which remained a relatively new technology at the turn of the century. This was one of the exhibition's most magical attractions, revealing itself only at night when the entire exterior of the Industrial Hall would be lit up, the twinkling white lights



Figure 3.19. The Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 at night, with the Concert Hall (foreground, right) and Industrial Hall (background) lit by strands of electric lights. Photograph by T. & R. Annan & Sons. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. DouganAdd.54.

reflecting in the Kelvin and casting a soft electrical glow over the grounds. Given electricity had only started being rolled out in Britain 20 years earlier this was quite a feat and served to reinforce Glasgow's reputation as a model progressive municipality.

Both incarnations of the dome did more than just symbolise the notions of progress and advancement that underpinned the International Exhibition. Much in the same way Paxton's Crystal Palace was deemed to epitomise an enlightened fusion of art and engineering, the level of acclaim accorded to Sellars' and Miller's constructions stressed the capability of Glasgow's architects, engineers and builders. These structures can thus be interpreted as visual and material expressions of the belief that a comparable level of refinement could be achieved outside the metropole. If in 1851 the Crystal Palace occupied the exhibition's physical and imaginative centre, bolstered the learned ambitions of this new exhibition paradigm, and stressed the host's advanced and civilised nature, in Glasgow's case this set of discourses was invested in the object of the Great Dome. Adopted first by Sellars and then by Miller, the recurring presence of this feature and the similarities between both versions with regards to their central placement within each exhibition, their external appearances and their internal decorations helped endow Glasgow's exhibitions with a distinct look. Authorities in Glasgow evidently recognised the key role architecture played in constructing an enticing and discursive exhibition

environment, but looked to a different architectural language through which to pursue the exhibition's key tenets. The emergence of a home-grown archetype that nevertheless functioned as an emblem of a universal set of concerns speaks to the interplay between local cultures of exhibition-making and the wider International Exhibition movement. The centrality of the form of the Great Dome to Glasgow's early International Exhibitions illustrates a process whereby a core ethos was interpreted through a plurality of approaches, often specific to the local context.

If the Great Dome was a rhetorical device, to the extent that it was even used as a surface onto which dominant discourses of the International Exhibition were physically inscribed, what were some of its more opaque meanings? Furthermore, what does reflecting on this question reveal about the relationship between the space of the exhibition, which was contained by physical and imagined boundaries, and its wider urban context. Or put another way, what shadow did the exhibition cast over the city? As part of his thoughtful analysis of what he terms the practice of everyday life, Michel de Certeau reflects on the conceptual and physical experience of walking in the city. Taking the reader to the top of New York's World Trade Center towers, de Certeau suggests that at its summit one is "lifted out of the city's grasp," and that looking down on the urban environment from such a height changes not just what and how much we see of the city, but our comprehension of it.[294] The act of occupying this viewpoint, one very different from that we ordinarily inhabit, fundamentally alters our relationship to the city. As de Certeau explains,

> One's body is no longer clasped by the streets that turn and return it according to an anonymous law; nor is it possessed, whether as player or played, by the rumble of so many differences and by the nervousness of New York traffic. … His elevation transfigures him into a voyeur. It puts him at a distance. It transforms the bewitching world by which one was "possessed" into a text that lies before one's eyes.[295]

Applying de Certeau's argument to an analysis of the built environment of Glasgow's exhibitions allows one to engage with the sensorial qualities of the International Exhibition. More than housing an impressive array of objects within their walls, the main buildings of the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 provided visitors with panoramic views of the grounds. In both instances an elevated balcony that ran the circumference of the central dome served as this designated viewing area. Aware many visitors were unlikely to see everything on a single outing, guidebooks were clear that this feature of the exhibition should not be missed particularly if short on time, since it was an easy way to get a glimpse of the entire exhibition and survey the miniature city laid out below.

Visual representations of the exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 give us access to the view an exhibition-goer would have seen upon ascending to the heights of these Great Domes. Whether photographs, prints or paintings, such images were widely reproduced and as a result the particular vision of Glasgow they convey now constitutes the lasting impression we have of these spectacular and yet largely ephemeral happenings. Notably, a clear pictorial convention can be seen across these visual sources with the typical view being a panoramic sweep across the exhibition grounds. Most often positioning the viewer atop Park Circus, these images show a horizon line broken by the towers, spires

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[294] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), 92.
[295] Ibid, 92.

and of course the large central dome of each exhibition's main building. Depicting the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, figure 3.20 for instance is a lithograph of an original drawing by James Miller that seems to have been used as the basis for a number of similar illustrations. Here, the colossal Industrial Hall is the exhibition's undoubted hub of activity with people scurrying about its main entrance, and miniscule figures taking in the view from the balcony encircling the Great Dome. Crowds gather at the entrance to the Concert Hall and around the small pavilions grouped in front of the new Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum. Horse-drawn carriages toss up dust as they dash through the foreground, sharing paths with couples and families ambling through the gardens of Kelvingrove Park. Lastly, a collection of boats, including the aforementioned gondolas, meander up and down the Kelvin. The sense of activity, of general hustle and bustle, captured in this image is similarly palpable in



Figure 3.20. A panoramic view of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. Colour lithograph of an original drawing by James Miller, c1901. Courtesy of Glasgow Museums, TEMP.8407.

photographic representations of the exhibition, which were widely distributed through commemorative editions, souvenir albums and postcards. All together, these visual representations advance an evocative impression of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, with their panoramic compositions to a large extent replicating the all-embracing view visitors would have seen from the heights of the Great Dome. Analysed through de Certeau's theoretical framework, the consumer of these images becomes "the pedestrian who is for a moment transformed into a visionary," joining the exhibition-goer in casting a "totalizing eye" over the full expanse of the exhibition.[296]

There is one subject one would expect to see more of, however, something that is conspicuous by its absence from these visualisations. Although the landscape of the exhibition was routinely represented through a wide panoramic lens, this pictorial convention was marked by a tendency to betray only the faintest glimpse of anything beyond the perimeter of the exhibition. All the images reproduced here betray this propensity, which de-contextualises the exhibition from its surroundings. In figure 3.20, the landscape of the exhibition is portrayed using a vibrant colour palette: the white and gold of the Industrial Hall, the burnt orange-red sandstone façade of the Kelvingrove Art Gallery &

[296] Ibid, 92.

Museum, the luscious green foliage and the azure waterways of the park. By contrast, looking out beyond the roofline of the Industrial Hall all one can see is a hazy non-descript background. Practically the only feature that stands out in this murky landscape is the faint outline of a church tower sitting in the middle of the picture plane, which does little to alert the viewer to the precise geography of the fantastical sights illuminated in the foreground. Indeed, few details contained in the picture signal the actual location of this idyllic scene to the viewer. This contrast between how the exhibition and the city are represented is particularly apparent in the absolute edges of the picture where the outer walls of the exhibition buildings meet Sauchiehall Street, the busy thoroughfare immediately in behind. Zooming in on a similar illustration one sees how the colour and detail abruptly drop out, an element of the composition that makes clear to the viewer that the exhibition and the city occupied two very different realms (figure 3.21). As a result, this compositional trope effectively severs any links between the spectacle of the International Exhibition and the locality it ostensibly celebrated.



Figure 3.21. A stark contrast between the world of the exhibition and that of the city. Artist unknown, framed colour lithograph (detail), c.1901. Courtesy of Glasgow Museums, U.147.c.

The decidedly moot presence accorded to Glasgow in visual documentation of its exhibitions can be explained by the fact that the city did not seamlessly fit the narrative exhibition organisers and municipal authorities strove to tell. Although International Exhibitions were often used to promote a host's prestige and identity, this was a particularly pressing concern in Glasgow's case. As Kinchin and Kinchin explain, the city's exhibitions were acts of "aggressive self-promotion" aimed at "an outside world horrified by tales of the squalor of its slums, and snobbishly disdainful of the industrial associations of its cultural wealth."[297] Indeed, the need to effect change in the minds of others was widely felt, as evidenced by an article published in the *Scottish Art Review*, at the time of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888. The anonymous author highlighted to readers that "smoky Glasgow has other attractions, and that its citizens have other pursuits than money-making."[298] Considered in this expanded context, the images discussed above, which focus on the idyllic sights of the exhibition and pay little attention to the city beyond, typify the renewed image of Glasgow authorities sought to promote. It was through such visual means that many living outside Glasgow would learn about, see and consume its International Exhibitions, which were largely attended by local residents. Consequently, one can interpret the pictorial convention so evident in visual representations of the International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 as a strategy for disseminating an improved and rejuvenated understanding of Glasgow, one aimed primarily at those looking on these events from afar.

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[297] Kinchin and Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 13.
[298] "Art in the West of Scotland," *Scottish Art Review* 1:6 (1888), 146. Although the author of this article is not given, one may presume it was James Mavor who was editor of the *Scottish Art Review* at this time, since this issue leads with this article.

Changing popular opinions about Glasgow and overturning its reputation for being a dirty, over-crowded, industrial centre driven by commercial and mercantile interests was a challenging task however. The fabric of the city bore evidence of the traits authorities were keen to play down, making it difficult to avoid the visual cues that referenced this part of Glasgow's character and history. Perhaps there is no better way to explain this predicament than through an image that offers an alternative view of Glasgow's early International Exhibitions. Published in an illustrated London newspaper during the first week of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, this print (figure 3.22) defies how Glasgow's urban surroundings were often rendered when the city was in the midst of celebration. Accompanied by the caption "Glasgow, viewed from the Exhibition," it reverses the aforesaid imbalance and focuses exclusively on a subject that was routinely left out of other visualisations of Glasgow's exhibitions. Although it similarly portrays a panoramic scene, thus adhering to the pictorial convention espoused by the images presented thus far, this print divulges a dark landscape dotted not with shinning domes, towers and minarets, but with coal-stained chimneys, rooftops and church spires.



Figure 3.22. "Glasgow, viewed from the Exhibition," *Black and White Budget*, 11 May 1901. Collection of the author.

The depth of vision is packed with these repeating architectural features that evoke a densely populated and decidedly industrial city. This image more closely approximates the panorama visitors would have seen from the balcony beneath the Great Dome first erected by Sellars in 1888 and then reinterpreted by Miller in 1901. Looking out from these domes and extending one's line vision beyond the exhibition's perimeter, the visitor would have faced a strong reminder of the real-life centre of the allegorical empire that occupied the foreground of his or her gaze (see figure 3.23). With forms that defined Glasgow's urban vista of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century visible in every direction, from this elevation one could study the empire's second city in action. The view of Glasgow and its exhibition illustrated in the *Black and White Budget* therefore captures the sights visitors left behind the moment they stepped through the exhibition gates, and reflects the urban experience that the International Exhibition served as a refuge from.

Here, it is helpful to return to a contemporary account of Glasgow referenced at the beginning of this chapter, which captures the character of Scotland's largest city at the turn of the twentieth

century. The work of three young Glaswegians, it signals an attempt to see Glasgow through the eyes of a fictional visitor, recalling this person's first impressions:

> Where colour might be expected to show on the facades which the lamps illumine, he finds none; a universal greyness runs from the darkness into light, and back again into darkness. And into every impression there is something cast that is dark and sombre and northern. … [It is a] bleak, shrewd, kindly withal, place of all weathers that end in rain, home of all trades that end in furnace smoke and noise; for the old fanfare of the whistles as the boats cant in the river, the streets trembling with the vibration of machinery, the incessant clang of the riveters' hammers from the shipyards – all the work, strenuousness, noisiness, and grit that modern Glasgow means to her children.[299]

An evocative account of the urban context in which Glasgow's early exhibitions took place, this source reveals not simply how locals saw their immediate surroundings, but how they anticipated their city was perceived by outsiders. Returning to Stewart's analysis, it was an excursion away from the darkness and dirt, away from the world of work, that encapsulates the experience of visiting Glasgow's early International Exhibitions. As Muir makes clear in a later passage in *Glasgow in 1901*, the exhibition's greatest merit for local residents was the benefit it brought to one's inner self: "Machinery will teach them, foreign contrivances will teach them, and colonial produce will correct their ideas of climate. But the main lesson will be that their lives in other years lacked charm and grace."[300] Thus, in creating an environment that simultaneously referenced an exotic Oriental setting and presented an ideal version of the city through its architectural forms and layout, Glasgow's International Exhibitions promoted notions of escape and by extension stimulated feelings of respite in exhibition-goers.



Figure 3.23. Looking south over Kelvingrove Park and across the River Clyde, with the industrial lands of Finnieston and Govan in the middle ground. *Glasgow in Panorama: Eight Magnificent Photographs Taken from the Octagonal Spire of the University Tower on July 19th, 1905 / by Messrs. T. & R. Annan & Sons, Forming a Complete and Unique Bird's Eye View of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Gowans & Gray, 1905). By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. Mu Add-e.16.

[299] Muir, *Glasgow in 1901*, 7-9.
[300] Ibid, 230-31.

By way of bringing this chapter to a close it is worth highlighting the views of a genuine newcomer who travelled to Glasgow in the summer of 1901 and visited the city's International Exhibition. Frank Yeigh (1860-1935) was a civil servant in the Ontario provincial government and a journalist, who covered the exhibition for *The Canadian Magazine*, a popular periodical with a wide circulation. Before reporting on the exhibition itself, Yeigh set the scene for his readers by describing the city in which it took place:

> Approaching Glasgow at even-tide, a blood-red sun shone dully through a mask of cloud and a pall of smoke. From countless chimneys arose the columns of black incense to industry, outlined against the strangely coloured sky. … Once in the streets, the senses are distracted by the roar of traffic and the surging waves of men in this human warren.[301]

The environment Yeigh portrays starkly contrasts that of the exhibition, in which chimneys were replaced by minarets, smoke by clean air, the roar of traffic by the hum of conversation, and crowded streets by grand avenues and pedestrian paths. Echoing Muir's account, Yeigh's impression reflects how Glasgow was envisioned by those external to it, while also giving a glimpse of what it would have been like to go about one's daily business in the city in this period. The above excerpt encapsulates a dynamic that whilst not necessarily unique to Glasgow's exhibition history – events mounted in Manchester, Liverpool and other heavily industrialised provincial cities are comparable – was communicated with a particular urgency. By conjuring up notions of far-flung locales and, as the tradition wore on, offering a built environment that resembled an orderly and ideal city, the International Exhibition reflected local desires to address Glasgow's image problem and change popular conceptions of it. By the same token, this exhibitionary medium chimed with existing initiatives, particularly those stemming from notions of municipal socialism, that aimed to improve the life of residents, a subject outlined in chapter two. Consequently, the findings presented here strengthen the argument that Glasgow's early International Exhibitions revealed contemporary concerns over the city's increasingly urban and industrial profile, and the attendant impact on the perceptions of outsiders and the lifestyle of local residents. By appealing to a variety of historical styles and through the use of colour and form, the architects of Glasgow's International Exhibitions created engrossing environments that sought to imaginatively transport spectators away from that which surrounded them. In doing so, the International Exhibition functioned as a tonic to city life, which combatted, however momentarily, both local concerns and outside opinions. In this respect, the landscape and architecture of the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 were channels for the negotiation of self-identity, a theme that will be explored further still in what follows. Building on the above discussion, which has contemplated the physical structure and imagined geography of the International Exhibition, the subsequent chapter interrogates how visions of self-styled identity and external perceptions were expressed through what was on show at these events.

[301] Yeigh, "Canada at the Glasgow Exhibition," 530.

OBJECT ANALYSIS

A memento of a Mountie, a Mountie's memento

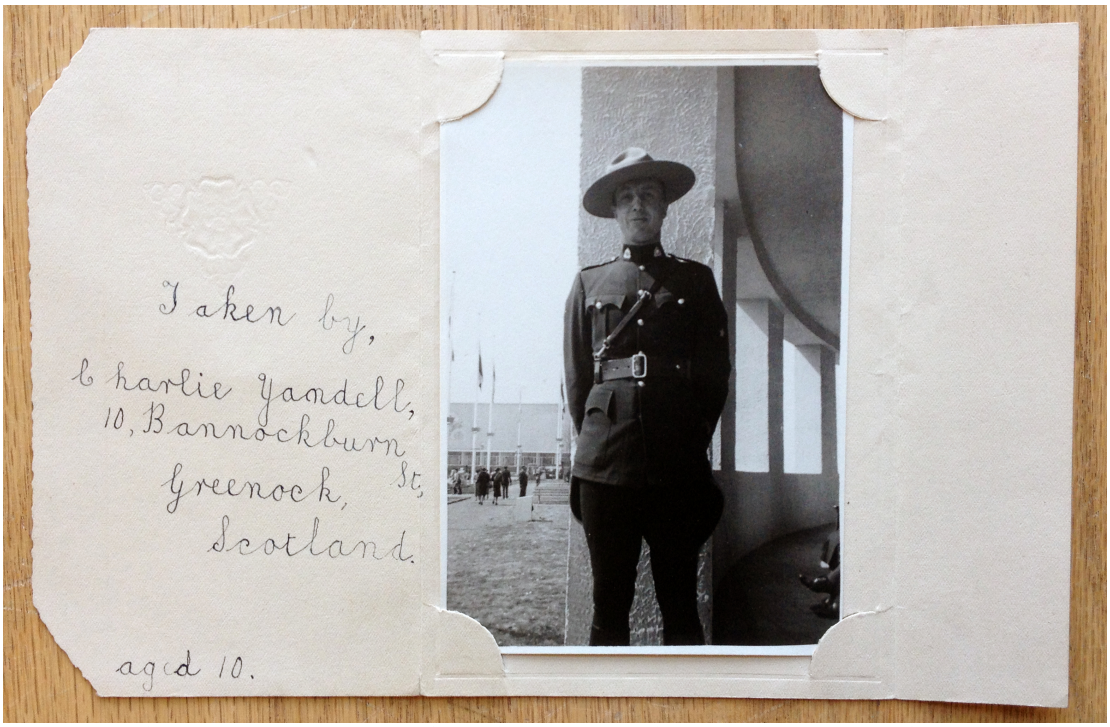

Figure 4.1. A photograph of Constable Richard D. Robertson taken in the entranceway to the Canadian Pavilion at the Empire Exhibition: Scotland, 1938. LAC, R11550: Richard D. Robertson fonds, vol. 1, file 2.

From May through to November 1938 Glasgow played host to the Empire. "Scotland Calling," "With the Empire in Scotland" and "the Empire speaks with a Scottish accent" were catchphrases of the day. The Empire Exhibition: Scotland offered an almost unprecedented assortment of attractions to spectators. Portraying the empire in miniature, it was the largest exhibition mounted in Britain for more than a decade, surpassed in size and attendance only by the British Empire Exhibition of 1924-25, and became the largest exhibition ever held in Scotland, receiving over 12 million visitors.[302] Everything was executed on an inflated scale. There was a Colonial Avenue and a Dominions Avenue; a Palace of Industry and a Palace of Engineering; separate pavilions dedicated to wool, coal and tea; a model of Victoria Falls and colourfully illuminated cascading water fountains; even a transposed Highland village. Presiding over all of this was the Tower of Empire, a colossal structure designed by Thomas Tait and built entirely out of locally-manufactured steel, which was the exhibition's focal point.

Of this array of features one seems to have been especially thrilling, particularly among younger exhibition-goers. Visiting Bellahouston Park with his primary school historian Bob Crampsey remembers how "in a pre-arranged order we 'did' the Dominions," but contrary to his classmates Crampsey felt one of the anticipated highlights did not quite meet his expectations. "They seemed shorter than those we had seen in films," he recollects.[303] But a young Andy MacMillan remembers being very taken with these same characters in their shinny leather boots, bright red coats and distinctive wide-brimmed hats.[304] Crampsey

[302] Kinchin and Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 166.
[303] Crampsey, *The Empire Exhibition of 1938*, 18.
[304] Andy MacMillan, "Empire Exhibition: Scotland, 1938: An Architectural Exploration, 75 Years on," public talk organised by the Glasgow City Heritage Trust, The Lighthouse, Glasgow, 4 December 2013, author's notes. MacMillan (1928-2014) was

and MacMillan's memories are of the officers from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) who were sent to the Empire Exhibition: Scotland to man the Canadian Pavilion for the length of the exhibition's run.

A non-descript white building on the outskirts of Glasgow houses two photographs that shed light on the human story behind the collective memory of the Empire Exhibition Mounties (figure 4.2). Gilded lettering impressed onto the leather cover that binds the album that holds these photos reads "Souvenir from Empire Exhibition Scotland 1938","British Made." This suggests the album was sold as an empty scrapbook intended to be filled by the purchaser with personal snaps and mementos of the exhibition. The majority of photographs in this album, however, are entirely unconnected to the Empire Exhibition, and instead document activities of the Glasgow branch of the British Legion of Frontiersmen. But tucked in amongst these events are two black and white photographs captioned "Arrival of the R.C.M.P. at Greenock, 1/5/38." These photographs capture the moment Sergeant J.E.S. Roberts and Constables Jules Arthur Couillard, Richard Dale Robertson and James Stuart Robinson disembarked to begin a six-month posting in Glasgow.



Figure 4.2. The small regiment of Royal Canadian Mounted Police assigned to the Empire Exhibition: Scotland disembark at Greenock where they were met by members of the Glasgow branch of the British Legion of Frontiersmen. Courtesy of Glasgow Museums, A.1977.11.n.1.

This small RCMP detachment left Montréal in late-April aboard the Duchess of Bedford, a Canadian Pacific steamer. For Constable Robertson, who was 28 years old at the time, the crossing was "uneventful." But "then came Greenock."

> The entire dockside was a mass of people. The Glasgow unit of the Legion of Frontiersmen came on board giving us at least the appearance of a semi-official welcome, but when we went ashore the crowd mobbed us. We could not get to Customs. We could not get anywhere. It was a thrilling experience to us to realize the high regard in which the Force was held even if some of the beliefs were a bit on the romantic side, at least as far as current service was concerned.[305]

The initial bout of public adulation Robertson remembers and the sense of excitement captured in the two Legion photographs were only the beginning. While the work required of the Mounties at the Empire Exhibition was "no hardship," they endured a great deal of attention over the coming months. "We were unduly idolized at all times," Robertson recalls, with requests for autographs often preceding appeals for photographs. "How many times we posed with children and sometimes with adults too, even an I.B.M. machine could not tabulate."[306]

The photograph reproduced here (figure 4.1) is a memento of Robertson's time in the limelight. Posing at the entrance to the Canadian Pavilion, Robertson stands at attention but seems at ease, smiling, as he looks into the camera being held by ten-year-old Charlie Yandell. Could Charlie have been in the crowd hoping to catch a glimpse of the detachment when they arrived at Greenock, and came to the exhibition expressly to get a second look? In a touching gesture, Charlie mounted the photo he took and sent it to Robertson in Canada, who some time later donated materials associated with his career in the RCMP to the national archives. This explains how this small photograph, which was taken in Glasgow, posted in Greenock and received in New Brunswick, eventually made its way to Ottawa.

Born in Liverpool in 1909, Robertson moved to Canada at 19 through a scheme that recruited British youth for work on Canadian farms. When he returned to Britain in 1938 he initially stayed with

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one of Scotland's most celebrated architects, known for his work with the Glasgow practice of Gillespie, Kidd & Coia (1954-1987) and for his years of teaching at the Glasgow School of Art.

[305] Richard D. Robertson, *25 Years, 311 Days*, unpublished original typed manuscript, LAC, R11550: Richard D. Robertson fonds, vol. 1, file 7.

[306] Ibid.

extended family just outside Glasgow, before finding accommodation in the city. Fortuitously, he ended up living near one of the Frontiersmen he had met on his first day in Scotland.

> I had become quite friendly with them [the officer and his wife]. I went around to their 'flat' if that is the right expression. Memory is vague now but I shall never forget climbing the scrubbed sandstone stairs in that ancient tenement type building or their bed which seemed to be set into the very walls of the room. Here was solidarity but I don't think I would have wanted to live in it.[307]

Robertson's fascinating snapshot of local life along with the other descriptions of his time in Glasgow, which are drawn from his unpublished memoirs, speak to processes of movement and exchange and in doing so position the International Exhibition as a contact zone. His memories of being the subject of major popular fascination point to another essential characteristic of this exhibitionary paradigm, that of a pronounced blurring of the lines between the object and the individual. Additionally, as representatives of a national institution that had entered public imaginations through an association with tales of adventure and heroism the four Mounties were symbols of a recognisable vision of Canada. This deeply personal source thus introduces key themes of the following chapter, which through examining issues of display considers how the International Exhibition functioned as a performative space in which collective and individual identities were routinely constructed, negotiated and re-worked.

[307] Ibid.

4

SHOWING & TELLING

Patterns of Moving and Practices of Looking

As Boisseau and Markwyn maintain, "world's fairs and expositions represent the most important international mass events of the modern era."[308] This was because they occasioned the first international gatherings of mass numbers of people, and thus served as incubators and transmitters of an increasingly globalised popular culture. The power and significance of these events was not lost on contemporary commentators. Take G.B. Goode's description of the World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 for instance. A museum administrator with the Smithsonian who helped plan displays for the Chicago fair, Goode hoped the exhibition would be a "house full of ideas."[309] Concentrating on the objects that were displayed in these spaces of enlightenment, this study engages with a growing, inter-disciplinary body of scholarship that is committed to investigating the multiple lives of objects and tracing their paths of movement through national, imperial and global networks.[310] International Exhibitions were large and multifarious events to the point of being almost unfathomable, so how does one get to grips with the volume of materials assembled within them, let alone pinpoint and examine specific pieces? While these events typically left behind a wealth of documentary sources including catalogues, guides and newspaper reports, the objects they contained are far more elusive chiefly due to the temporary and ephemeral nature of International Exhibitions.

A painting by the Canadian artist Andrew Dickson Patterson is a case where it has proved possible to trace the afterlife of an object displayed in the context of an International Exhibition. Lent by the artist to the Fine Art Committee of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, this loosely-worked portrait of Patterson's friend and fellow Canadian artist Homer Watson was one of 322 oil paintings in the section devoted to "Living British Artists (Oil)," a collection representing less than a quarter of the total number of paintings exhibited. The exhibition catalogue reveals this work was hung in a long rectangular gallery located in the northwest wing of the upper level of the Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum, which remains relatively similar in size, space and architectural detailing to how it would have looked in 1901. Completed three years before it was displayed in Glasgow, Patterson's painting likely retreated back into the artist's care following the close of the exhibition. In 1922, just at the point when Watson's tenure as President of the Royal Canadian Academy (RCA) was coming to an

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[308] T.J. Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn, eds., *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 2.

[309] G.B. Goode, "First Draft of a System of Classification for the World's Columbian Exposition," quoted in Rydell, *All the World's A Fair*, 45.

[310] This approach has been taken up particularly by scholars interested in the intersections between material culture and colonialism, and is deeply relevant to current debates on issues of repatriation, contested ownership and other legacies of colonialism. See for example Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden, and Ruth B. Phillips, eds., *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2006); Longair and McAleer, eds., *Curating Empire*; Laura Peers and Alison K. Brown, eds., *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003).

end, Patterson offered the portrait to the National Gallery of Canada. The gallery's Director Eric Brown declined Patterson's proposal, stating lack of funds, but given Brown was not an advocate of the older generation of Canadian painters Patterson and Watson represented one can imagine Brown's decision was also guided by personal preference.[311] Seven years later, however, the portrait entered the national collection as a gift from the RCA, which suggests the organisation had acquired the work from Patterson, who had been a full academician since 1885, in the intervening period.[312]

The uniqueness of Patterson's painting is what enables one to follow its steps and trace a path from the moment it was exhibited in Glasgow to the present-day. This characteristic was not one shared by the vast majority of materials showcased at International Exhibitions, which were directed by the overarching aim of being representative. Even though the Fine Art Section housed one-of-a-kind artworks, a number of which have since been acquired by prominent art institutions and thus become valued as museum pieces, when shown in the context of the International Exhibition they assumed a quite different meaning. These works were assembled on the basis that they would be subsumed within a newly-created collection that was unified in its representativeness. Once put on display each artwork in a sense relinquished its singularity and became part of a comprehensive collective entity. In the case of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 this rationale was made clear to visitors, or at least those who chose to purchase and read the lengthy official catalogue. As the Fine Art Committee explained in the catalogue's introduction, the process of selecting works was directed by the ambitious desire to "bring together within the walls of this new institution collections which will adequately represent the culture of the nineteenth century."[313]

The universalist impulse exemplified by the curatorial statement expressed by the Fine Art Committee noted above was to some extent undermined by a sentiment of exceptionalism that pervaded the International Exhibition. On the surface these events may have been dedicated to exhibiting materials that were broadly representative, but they were in fact riddled with expressions of superiority and had a pronounced competitive streak. This tension between notions of representativeness and singularity not only informed the content of exhibits and their intended meanings, but permeated the overall epistemological framework of the International Exhibition. This dichotomy is encapsulated in a brief quotation from *The Exhibition Illustrated*, which was produced on a weekly basis throughout the six months of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. In its first issue the popular periodical asserted that Glasgow's second major exhibition, held exactly 50 years after the Great Exhibition, was "the largest, most representative, and most interesting Exhibition ever organised in Great Britain."[314] While making clear the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 fulfilled the key criteria of this exhibitionary form in that it was highly representative, the addition of choice adjectives – "most," "largest" – also hints at the exhibition's exceptionalism, and by extension that of the society capable of pulling off such a feat. Easily overlooked for being little more than a dash of bravado, this statement reinforces how closely intertwined the two concepts of representativeness

311 For a discussion of Brown's activities as Director of the National Gallery of Canada see for example Ann Davis, "The Wembley Controversy in Canadian Art," *Canadian Historical Review* 56:1 (1973): 68-71.
312 Correspondence, Curatorial File 3707: Andrew Dickson Patterson, *Homer Watson* (1898), NGC.
313 *International Exhibition Glasgow, 1901: Official Catalogue of the Fine Art Section*, v.
314 *The Exhibition Illustrated*, 4 May 1901.

and exceptionalism were, and how central the tension between them was to the function and purpose of the International Exhibition. Recognising these rhetorics of display, whereby outward promotions of representativeness were often contradicted by implied projections of singularity, is essential to developing a nuanced understanding of how the International Exhibition functioned as a contact zone in which interests were consistently negotiated and identities re-envisioned.

Having begun with a discussion of the politics and logistics of staging, which gave way to an analysis of architectural and spatial construction, this final major chapter turns to an examination of the key preoccupations of the International Exhibition: exhibiting and display. Homing in on a few select items that were showcased at the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901, it explores the circumstances that presaged their presentation, the conditions of display and the meanings these materials conveyed when viewed in the specific discursive environment of the International Exhibition. Of particular interest is how this exhibitionary paradigm operated as a performative space in which objects became harbingers of social and cultural identities, a line of enquiry that positions objects as active agents in historical processes. Such an investigation is influenced by current debates over questions of materiality and the agency of things.[315] Jane Bennett for example forwards a concept of "thing-power," which she defines as the "curious ability of inanimate things to animate, to act, to produce effects dramatic and stable."[316] While I share Bennett's belief in the communicative capacities of objects, I am concerned with how they function as mediators of ideas and narratives between subjects. Although I sometimes imagine that the materials assembled within International Exhibitions had intrinsic powers, in all cases they were recipients of human agency, making them discursive symbols. This is not to say that their meanings were stable, rigid or final however. Rather, once released from the fleeting moments of exhibition examined here, these objects were once again ripe for re-invention and re-inscription. For this reason I more closely align with Appadurai's theory on the social life of things and his interest in the movement and trajectory of objects. While I do not share Appadurai's concern for systems of value and am not informed by Marxist readings of exchange, I do heed his reminder that "even though from a *theoretical* point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a *methodological* point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context."[317] Additionally, the following analysis takes an expanded view of what constitutes an object. Drawing on Tony Bennett's assessment that the International Exhibition was unparalleled in the way it facilitated the act of observation, it begins from the premise that an object could be anything or anyone since in this specific exhibitionary environment everything was a potential focus of collective study and a subject of spectatorship.[318] As an instrument of public education the International Exhibition emphasised seeing and watching to such an extent that it effectively blurred boundaries between the animate and the inanimate, and muddled distinctions between human and non-human subjects. As demonstrated by the story of the Empire Exhibition Mounties highlighted

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[315] See for instance Tony Bennett and Patrick Joyce, eds., *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn* (London: Routledge, 2010); Bill Brown, "Thing Theory," *Critical Inquiry* 28:1 (2001): 1-22; Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009).
[316] Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 6.
[317] Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 5. Italics in original.
[318] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 69.

above, the International Exhibition was a space of representation in which all was fair game when it came to the interest and attention of exhibition-goers.

Bennett makes a convincing argument for the centrality of observation to the International Exhibition, but he does not situate this gesture within a broader epistemological framework. Arguing that a hallmark of the Victorian period was an increased awareness of the communicative possibilities intrinsic to the practice of display, Walden for instance reminds us that observation was just one element of an interlinked set of processes that was fundamental to the discursive character of the International Exhibition. As Walden explains, "with the growing primacy of the eye came a corresponding emphasis on display, on the presentation of things in manner calculated not just to impress, but to elicit specific types of responses."[319] Addressing what I believe is a gap in Bennett's analysis, this chapter introduces the complimentary issues of assembly and dissemination, examining issues of display through these three lenses. The concept of assembly for instance, will be discussed through the story of how a handful of artworks from Canada found their way to Glasgow in the summer of 1901, an episode orchestrated by James Mavor (1854-1925), a character referenced in earlier discussions. Mavor bypassed official channels and corresponded directly with the exhibition's Fine Art Committee, thus intervening in the exhibition-making process. The subject of Canada's presence at Glasgow's International Exhibitions will be further explored through an analysis of its official displays and exhibits. Engaging with themes of projection and dissemination the second section looks at how government authorities used International Exhibitions to construct an image of the recently-formed Dominion. Hoping to change popular conceptions, the Canadian government mounted displays that contrasted how Canada was routinely typecast. It was not only Britons who were the intended recipients of this revised vision however. Rather, the Canadian government hoped that the image of Canada disseminated in Glasgow, which was that of a unified nation in the midst of growth and destined for future prosperity, would be projected back to Canada, which remained a deeply regional country in spite of the political cohesion effected by Confederation in 1867. It will therefore be suggested that British acceptance of a distinct Canadianness was a key ingredient in promoting feelings of belonging amongst Canadians themselves, an argument that betrays the influence of Berger's seminal analysis of Canadian imperialism and reinforces more recent work like that of Boyanoski and Horrall.[320] International Exhibitions also provided opportunities to feed a vision of a collective self back to Glaswegians. Exploring the notion of seeing and being seen, the final section will examine the crowd's place as an object of intrigue and source of spectacle. Consequently, this chapter concludes with a critical analysis of Bennett's assertion that the International Exhibition, perhaps more so than any other exhibitionary paradigm, stimulated the act of social observation. What "technologies of vision" encouraged exhibition-goers to examine their fellow spectators with the same precision meant to be applied to the material objects that were the stated focus of these events? Popular guides, souvenirs and humorous depictions of Glasgow's exhibitions provide compelling

[319] Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, 119.
[320] Berger, *The Sense of Power*; Boyanoski, "Selective Memory," 156-170; Horrall, "'A Century of Canadian Art'," 149-62.

evidence of Bennett's claim, and demonstrate that in being part of the spectacle exhibition-goers were simultaneously the subjects doing the seeing and the objects of observation.

The overarching contention of this chapter is that exploring the interlinked acts of assembly, dissemination and observation is essential to reaching a nuanced reading of the practice of exhibition-making. Through a close examination of both animate and inanimate objects that appeared at the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901, it will thus be demonstrated how this three-fold process was integral to the construction and communication of a plethora of meanings. Each of the sections outlined above engages with theoretical texts that in various ways address questions of agency and subjectivity in relation to the object and the space of exhibition. The ensuing discussion therefore positions objects as active agents in historical processes and in doing so examines the politics of display that were manifested at Glasgow's early International Exhibitions. The essential argument of this chapter is that through their capacity to enrapture visitors the objects assembled by the International Exhibition became potent communicators of ideas and symbols of identities. While this conceptual approach could easily be applied to any marker of identity and pegged to examinations of constructions of race, gender or social class, in the context of this discussion the obvious focus is on projections of quasi-nationhood, a concept outlined in the introductory chapter. Invested with a feeling of ambiguity, this phrase encapsulates the attempts of both Canada and Glasgow to assert a sense of themselves at the International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901.

Assembly
Mavor the taste-maker

Assembly is a much-discussed concept often associated with the writings of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, whose "assemblage theory" seeks to outline a way of understanding complex social formations.[321] Shunning an organismic view of collective entities, assemblage theory is based on the precept that associations among various parts within a whole, and in turn relations between these distinct parts and the whole itself, are conditional. This implies that the whole can continue functioning if one of its constituent parts happens to become detached, meaning the elements residing within any given social formation retain a degree of autonomy. Applied to the form of the International Exhibition this theory suggests that each element, ranging from individual objects, to a crowd of spectators, to exhibition buildings, to language and discourses – Deleuze and Guattari preclude nothing and maintain that assemblages encompass living and non-living things, physical structures, events and even speech acts or utterances – contributes to the overall function of the exhibition, but at the same time is not indivisible from it. The exhibition could therefore exist in the absence of any one of these components; however, its meaning would vary depending on the precise combination brought together at a given event. This chimes with my own understanding of International Exhibitions since it allows for a parallel belief in the distinctness of this specific exhibitionary paradigm, while also accounting for a plurality of approaches to exhibition-making. It therefore explains the persistence of

[321] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (London: The Athlone Press, 1988). See also Manuel DeLanda, *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* (London: Continuum, 2006).

the essential purpose of the form and the recurrence of certain characteristics, and yet also accommodates for the existence of local practices, competing interests and divergent identities.

While the general principal of Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage theory helps conceptualise the International Exhibition, their argumentation can be confusing and imprecise. However, a number of art historians and material culture specialists have taken up this concept and articulated more accessible and practicable interpretations of it. The contributions of Berger and O'Doherty for instance whose seminal texts predate the work of Deleuze and Guattari, examine the notion of assembly as it relates to issues of presentation.[322] Both envision the gallery space as a social formation composed not just of artworks selected for display, but of a whole host of other agents including curators, gallery attendants and viewers but also lighting systems, wall labels and exhibition catalogues. Berger for instance draws our attention to what precedes the moment of exhibition, particularly those decisions that will have directed how, where and in what combination artworks are arranged. Too often invisible to the viewer and yet far from neutral, these actions condition the experience of patrons and directly impact the knowledge they are likely to take away with them. For Berger and O'Doherty the gallery space is a discursive environment in which "the meaning of an image is changed according to what one sees immediately beside it or what comes immediately after it."[323] Understood thus, assembly becomes a purposeful, constructive and creative endeavour. Drawing on Latour's actor-network theory, Bennett echoes this interpretation and positions assembly as a practice through which "worlds are made and mobilised."[324] "Rendering the things it brings together readable, combinable and presentable with one another in new ways," the act of assembly according to Bennett "makes new realities thinkable and actionable."[325]

Having distilled various interpretations of the nebulous concept of assembly and outlined relevant precepts, we now turn to a specific episode that illustrates this process. While the character of James Mavor has attracted some attention from scholars, the specific story of how a handful of pieces by Canadian artists were shown at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, remains a markedly under-explored topic. In their separate discussions of the Arts and Craft movement in Canada, Panayotidis and Peppal for instance comment on Mavor's connections to key figures like William Morris, and his early friendships with Canadian artists like Homer Watson and George A. Reid, and latterly with members of the Group of Seven, particularly Arthur Lismer.[326] While both note Mavor's centrality within Canadian cultural circles of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, neither mention his involvement with the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 or recognise his efforts at arranging for the presentation of Canadian artists at this important event. This is a surprising omission since the Fine Art Section did not contain works from any other Dominion or colonial territory,

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322 Berger, *Ways of Seeing*; O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube*.
323 Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, 29.
324 Tony Bennett, "Making and Mobilising Worlds: Assembling and Governing the Other," in *Material Powers: Cultural Studies, History and the Material Turn*, 201.
325 Ibid, 201.
326 E. Lisa Panayotidis, "James Mavor: Cultural Ambassador and Aesthetic Educator to Toronto's Elite," *The Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* 6/7 (Fall 1997/Spring 1998): 161-73, and Rosalind Pepall, "Under the Spell of Morris: A Canadian Perspective," in *The Earthly Paradise: Arts and Crafts by William Morris and His Circle from Canadian Collections*, eds. Katharine A. Lochnan, Douglas E. Schoenherr and Carole Silver (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario/Key Porter Books, 1993), 19-35. See also Rachel Grover and Francis W. Mavor Moore, eds., *James Mavor and His World: An Exhibition of Books and Papers Selected from the James Mavor Collection* (Toronto: University of Toronto Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, 1975).

making the Canadian contingent a pronounced anomaly. The fact Mavor circumvented official procedures makes the affair all the more noteworthy. Additionally, the story testifies to the existence of a shared history between Canada and Scotland and can be interpreted as emblematic of Canada's position within the British Empire at the turn of the twentieth-century. Pulling these threads together, the following discussion recounts how a small collection of artworks from Canada came to be exhibited in Glasgow, and considers the historical, cultural and symbolic significance of this bold act of assembly.

Although born in the Scottish town of Stranraer, Mavor lived most of his life in Glasgow until he moved to Canada in October 1892 to take up the position of Professor of Political Economy at the University of Toronto. Before emigrating Mavor was involved in numerous pursuits through which he established lasting friendships and became acquainted with a wide circle of people. While teaching at the University of Edinburgh for instance he met the reputed biologist, social scientist and urban planner Geddes who would become a good friend. First meeting through their involvement with the Social Democratic Federation, Mavor and William Morris were intellectual allies and, despite a brief falling out in 1885 when Morris added Mavor's name to the Socialist Manifesto without the latter's permission, remained close until Morris' death in 1896. Mavor was also an active member of the Glasgow Socialist League and even stood as a parliamentary candidate for the Liberal party. In the years before his departure to Canada Mavor also became increasingly fascinated with artistic developments of the day. As one of his personal notebooks reveal, in around 1880 a "special interest in art" was aroused in him by William Craibe Angus, a noted Glasgow art dealer whose firm Craibe Angus & Sons regularly organised exhibitions of contemporary European art.[327] It was through this connection that he first became acquainted with the Barbizon school and the work of Rousseau, Millet and Corot in particular.[328] At this time he also became a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Art and regularly attended talks at the Glasgow School of Art. Through these events he met the school's new director, Francis Newbery, who would become another life-long friend. By the late-1880s Mavor had become so rooted in Glasgow art circles that he was appointed editor of the *Scottish Art Review*. This period in Mavor's life is perhaps best typified by a short comment that appears in one of his personal notebooks in which he summarises his activities for the year 1883 as filled with "much good literary conversation & intellectual stimulus."[329] As Patrick Geddes wrote in Mavor's obituary,

> [Mavor was] at home with all kinds of human activity, those of the industries and arts alike. … He was thus no mere versatile butterfly, hovering over innumerable fields, nor yet merely a voracious locust, devouring each by turns, but a full and many-sided man in love with life, and cultivating its fields on well-nigh every side, by turns and yet together.[330]

Mavor's private papers and published writings reveal an individual who was as opinionated as he was encouraging. As this brief character sketch illustrates, he cultivated many and diverse interests, not to

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[327] University of Toronto Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library (hereafter UTFL), MS119: James Mavor fonds, box 55a, file 1.
[328] Rousseau, Millet and Corot are highlighted in the set of notebooks Mavor kept specifically for brief jottings on individual artists, with Corot receiving a longer entry than most. See UTFL, MS119, box 56a, file 15.
[329] UTFL, MS 119, box 55a, file 1.
[330] Patrick Geddes, "A Full Life: James Mavor," *The M. & C. Apprentices' Magazine* 9:36 (1925): 133 and 139, UTFL, MS119, box 55b, file 23a.



Figure 4.3. Arthur Lismer, *Sketch of [Professor James] Mavor by Lismer*, n.d. [1924], pen and ink on paper, 36.83 x 31.75 cm. Part of the Group of Seven, Lismer was an active member of the Arts & Letters Club in Toronto, where he made this sketch. Lismer and Mavor (centre) likely met through the Club, which was a hub of lively conversation and intellectual debate. University College Collection, Art Museum at the University of Toronto, 290.

mention friendships and acquaintances, and demonstrated a deep engagement with his social, cultural and intellectual surroundings.

Mavor's involvement with the *Scottish Art Review* reveals a set of cues that presage the activities he pursued and the associations he struck up following his move to Canada, which are evident in the display he orchestrated for the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. The *Scottish Art Review* was a short-lived monthly journal set-up by a group of artists associated with the Glasgow School, a term that came into usage in the 1880s and which is now a loose expression that encompasses the Glasgow Boys who were influenced by early French realist painters, as well as proponents of the more modernist Glasgow Style associated with the work of Charles Rennie Mackintosh. Rather than describing a single mode of production, the phrase more accurately designates a period during which there was a pronounced creative flourishing in Glasgow, which found expression through a plethora of media including graphic design and illustration, textiles and the decorative arts,



Figure 4.4. Commissioned by Mavor, this illustration by Selwyn Image (1888) was originally a title page for the *Scottish Art Review*. It was latterly adapted by Image for Mavor's personal use as a bookplate. Translated from Latin, the banner reads "Rise up brothers & let us go to the city of light." Courtesy of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, MS 119, box 55a, file 6b.

painting and architecture. The *Scottish Art Review* was tied to a sub-group of artists and makers who combined an interest in the intellectual values of the Arts and Crafts movement with the artistic preoccupations of French Barbizon painters. It was this network of artists and craftspeople, populated by the likes of Thomas Millie Dow, George Henry, E.A. Hornel, John Lavery, Robert Macaulay Stevenson and E.A. Walton, that Mavor was most closely connected to in the years before he relocated to Canada. In his biography, *My Windows on the Street of the World*, Mavor maintains that the *Scottish Art Review* came into being because of a desire amongst this group of artists to "devise some means of explaining themselves to the public."[331] Keen to draw attention to Scotland's, particularly Glasgow's, thriving art scene but believing the journal was aimed at too narrow an audience, Mavor went about giving it a more "eclectic" tone and recruited contributors who "might not know so much about the art of painting as the painters, but who knew a great deal more about the art of writing."[332] As a result, the journal became a method of distributing all kinds of creative forms including poetry, music, painting, architecture, sculpture and the decorative arts. At the same time, it functioned as an interpretive tool through publishing critical essays and exhibition reviews. The first issue under Mavor's editorship for instance opened with an article by the illustrator Walter Crane, who was then President of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, titled "The Prospects of Art Under Socialism," and included a notable piece by Miss C.P. Anstruther about "Women's Work in Art Industries."[333]

Musing on the initial impetus for the *Scottish Art Review*, Mavor outlines that the journal was in part a response to what many felt was a deficiency when it came to intermediaries between artists and audiences. In his biography he argued that "interpreters are necessary," and yet "unfortunately they have very infrequently been forthcoming."[334] What is more, "those who essayed the rôle [sic] of interpreters were still more infrequently accepted either by the artists … on the one hand, or by the non-professional public on the other."[335] Mavor is an interesting example of an individual who was a passionate and committed advocate of the arts, in spite of not being an artist himself or even occupying an allied role such as a curator, arts educator, dealer or major collector. He was first and foremost an academic who specialised in Russian economic history. The brief observation cited above, however, reveals how Mavor positioned himself relative to the artists and thinkers who made up his social and intellectual community at first in Glasgow and subsequently in Toronto. It suggests he saw himself as an interpreter or intermediary who straddled aesthetic and public realms. His deep interest in the arts brought him into close contact with practitioners of the day, equipping him to reflect on their work and bring it to the attention of wider audiences. At the same time, however, he was not fully a part of the art world, which was often surrounded by an air of exclusivity.

As editor of the *Scottish Art Review* Mavor was a cultural arbiter, a position he similarly carved out for himself following his arrival in Toronto. He was a founding member of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art (est. 1897), through which he met the artist George A. Reid and the patron Edmund Walker, friendships that opened him to wider cultural circles. Alongside Reid and Walker he spearheaded the

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[331] Mavor, *My Windows on the Street of the World, Volume I*, 233. See also Carruthers, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in Scotland*, 50-52.
[332] Ibid, 234-35.
[333] *Scottish Art Review* 1:4 (1888). Mavor remained editor until the publication's demise in December 1889.
[334] Mavor, *My Windows on the Street of the World, Volume I*, 234.
[335] Ibid, 234.

campaign to establish the Art Museum of Toronto (est. 1900, renamed the Art Gallery of Ontario in 1966), was an early member of Toronto's Arts & Letters Club (est. 1908), the epicentre of the Canadian art world at the turn of the twentieth century, and sat on the Fine Art Committee for the Toronto Industrial Exhibition.[336] Interested in the artistic developments of his new surroundings, Mavor continued to write on art and produced essays for exhibition catalogues and articles for the *Year Book of Canadian Art* and *The Canadian Magazine*.[337] Mavor may never have been a patron of the arts in a financial sense, but he was a catalyst and helped generate cultural and educational institutions of lasting importance and value to the community in which he lived.[338] This ethos and approach was apparent to his contemporaries. A letter written by the artist Andrew Dickson Patterson to his friend and fellow painter Homer Watson shortly after Patterson's own relocation to Toronto, which was less than a year after Mavor's arrival in the city, contains a poignant observation:

> [I was] speaking of you the other day to Professor Mavor he has said he would like to have something of yours – of course he is not a man of much means, but he is richly appreciative of good [art] and I dare say may eventually have more influence. He would go $30. Have you something … you would like him to see, or would you prefer to send something fresh to my care? [339]

Mavor was an active proponent of those artists he held in high esteem and strove to support the presentation, distribution and interpretation of their output through his sheer enthusiasm if not his financial means. Seeing clear connections between Patterson and Watson's work and that of the school of painters he had championed in Glasgow, Mavor would become a major supporter of theirs and indeed both were among those represented at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901.

Mavor's espousal of the role of interpreter informed the activities and interests, acquaintances and friendships he developed in Glasgow and Toronto, two local centres of artistic production that came into contact at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. Somewhat surprisingly, Mavor makes no mention of this episode in his biography. Rather, it is buried in archival records that we find traces of his incursion into the exhibition-making process. A short entry in the minutes kept by the exhibition's Fine Art Committee indicates a letter from Mavor was discussed in September 1900, in which he suggested some representation of Canadian art be included in the fine art galleries.[340] Interestingly, the question of whether the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 should encompass works by colonial and foreign artists had been a subject of debate at an earlier stage of planning. At one of the first meetings of the Fine Art Committee it was agreed that the galleries would be laid out according to three categories: British pictorial art of the nineteenth century, which would comprise the majority of the collection; Scottish art, archaeology and historical objects of all periods; and a small

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336 For a general discussion of intellectual, artistic and institutional developments in the post-Confederation period see Laurier Lacroix, "The Pursuit of Art and the Flourishing of Aestheticism Amidst the Everyday Affairs of Mankind," in *Artists, Architects and Artisans: Canadian Art 1890-1918*, ed. Charles C. Hill (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 2013): 20-55. See also E. Lisa Panayotidis-Stortz, "Artist, Poet, and Socialist: Academic Deliberations on William Morris at the University of Toronto," *Journal of William Morris Studies* 12:4 (1998): 36-42.

337 James Mavor, *Notes on the Appreciation of Art and Art in Ontario with Remarks on the Ontario Society of Artists* (Toronto: George N. Morang, 1898); James Mavor, *Notes on the Objects of the Toronto Guild of Civic Art and on the Exhibition of Prints and Mural Paintings with Condensed Catalogue* (Toronto: Rowsell & Hutchison, 1898).

338 Grover and Mavor, *James Mavor and His World*, 5.

339 Andrew Dickson Patterson to Homer Watson, 8 November 1893, NGC, Homer Watson fonds, box 2, file 11.

340 Meeting of the Fine Arts Section of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, 26 September 1900, ML, GC CDf606.4 (1901) 644809.

selection of visual and material culture from foreign countries with no restriction on date of production.[341] This decision was subsequently challenged by Sir James D. Marwick, Honorary Secretary of the Executive Council of the exhibition, who maintained that restricting the first category to only British artists contravened the international nature of the exhibition. "I see no objection to the competency of the Association confining the Exhibition to art of the nineteenth century; but if that is agreed to it must be the nineteenth century of *all* nations, and I cannot help thinking that an important object of the Exhibition would be defeated if the art of all countries were not represented," he stipulated.[342] Wider in scope, Marwick's proposal would allow for comparison between national schools of painting, and in doing so "Art generally might be benefitted and stimulated."[343] On paper the committee took heed of Marwick's advice and lifted the restriction with respect to the exhibition's display of nineteenth-century art. When the exhibition opened, however, a sense of internationalism stemmed only from the inclusion of a proportionately small number of "foreign" oil paintings and watercolours. Drawn from the holdings of a handful of Glasgow collectors such as William Burrell and W.A. Coats, the foreign section swayed heavily towards French painters, with loans of works by Corot, Daubigny and Millet, as well as lesser names including Narcisse Diaz and A.J.T. Monticelli, dominating the galleries.

Evidently, Mavor's suggestion to have Canadian artists represented at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 was in accordance with the international aspirations of the event. Indeed, the Fine Art Committee replied to Mavor stating it was "in full sympathy with … the desire to represent Colonial art in the Exhibition," but stressed that "such works, if sent, should be of the very highest quality."[344] That said, Mavor's scheme was also an abnormality because it was an opportunity extended to no other Dominion or colonial territory. Interestingly, the matter seems to have been dealt with quite quickly and engendered minimal debate. The Fine Art Committee did not hesitate in making a decision, immediately resolving to accept "eight pictures of cabinet size, and two or three pieces of sculpture from Canadian artists."[345] Mavor liaised with the Fine Art Committee to make the necessary arrangements and at no point was the Canadian government brought into the discussion. As a result, this not insignificant presentation flew under the radar of government authorities. This was in spite of the fact Canada contacted exhibition planners at a very early stage – it was the first country to enquire about space allocations – and was decidedly keen to prepare a large and noteworthy presentation in Glasgow, a subject touched upon in an earlier chapter that will be further elaborated upon in due course. That an uncommon request, proffered by a member of the general public no less, was met with enthusiasm by exhibition officials suggests Mavor could not have been a complete stranger to those on the Fine Art Committee. One need only do a bit of digging to piece together personal and professional links that would have helped Mavor in his undertaking. For example, Mavor's good friend Francis

[341] Meeting of the Fine Arts Section of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, 17 May 1898, ML, GC CDf606.4 (1901) 644809.
[342] J.D. Marwick to Fine Arts Section of the Glasgow International Exhibition 1901, 9 June 1898, ML, GC CDf606.4 (1901) 644809, italics in original. Sir James David Marwick (1826-1908) was a notable political and intellectual figure in Glasgow at the turn of the twentieth century. Town Clerk from 1873-1903, he was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1888 during her visit to Glasgow for the International Exhibition of that year in recognition of his contribution to municipal affairs. He was also a prolific writer and noted historian, specialising in Scottish municipal history.
[343] Marwick to Fine Arts Section, 9 June 1898.
[344] James Paton to Mavor, 28 September 1900, UTFL, MS119, box 13, file 122.
[345] Meeting of the Fine Arts Section, 26 September 1900.

Newbery was one of the convenors of the Fine Art Committee, and so would have been in attendance at the meeting where Mavor's initial letter was addressed. What is more, his brother Henry Mavor and close friend Walter Crane were regular members of the committee, and it is likely additional acquaintances would have been among the ranks of its various sub-committees. It is highly probable that these friends and associates vouched for Mavor and attested to the soundness of his idea, expressing confidence in his ability to assemble a group of Canadian artists whose work was strong enough to warrant being shown in Glasgow.

After accepting Mavor's proposal the Fine Art Committee agreed to pay the insurance and transportation charges associated with shipping the selected artworks to Glasgow, and requested that Mavor supply a list of pieces he was intending to send.[346] Mavor's own files contain little to no information about how he went about arranging this display, but details of his dealings with artists surface in a handful of letters Mavor sent to Homer Watson. Highlighting the significance of the opportunity afforded by the Glasgow exhibition, Mavor stressed to Watson the importance of sending a painting that would best represent his work.

> I have advised the Glasgow people that you and the others are willing to exhibit, and I must trust to you to send the best representation of your work that you can. You are really more competent to judge in such a matter than anybody else. As you are aware, I think, it will be well worth your while to have yourself really well represented. It is, of course, a pity that only one work can be accepted, but this makes it all the more necessary that that work should be a good one.[347]

While Mavor orchestrated the display by making contact with the exhibition's Fine Art Committee and used his own discretion when deciding whom to approach, he left it up to the artists themselves to select what specific piece they would like shown in Glasgow. In all, nine pieces by nine artists were exhibited at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, seven of which were oil paintings and two sculptures. Patterson (1854-1930) was represented by his portrait of Homer Watson, and Watson (1855-1936) by a painting titled *The Ford*. The remaining oil paintings were the work of William Brymner (1855-1925) who showed *Early Moonrise, September (Lower Canada)* (figure 4.5), E. Wyly Grier (1862-1957) who exhibited his portrait of Mabel Cawthra, Robert Harris (1849-1919) with a group portrait titled *Mrs. Porteous and Children* (figure 4.6), Edmund M. Morris (1871-1913) who sent his painting *Coté de Beaupré, River St. Lawrence*, and George A. Reid (1860-1947) who showed a piece titled *Music* (figure 4.7). With the exception of the portraits by Grier and Harris, which came from the collections of the sitters, all works were lent by the artists. In addition to these seven oil paintings, a plaster bust of Sir George Burton (Chief Justice of Ontario, 1897-1900) (figure 4.8), and a statuette of an elephant were contributed by the sculptors William S. Allward (1876-1955) and John Lisby Banks (1850-1934), respectively.[348]

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[346] Paton to Mavor, 1 November 1900, UTFL, MS119, box 13, file 122.
[347] Mavor to Homer Watson, 5 February 1901, NGC, Homer Watson fonds, box 1, file 58.
[348] The titles of works given here are as they appear in the official catalogue of the Fine Art Section of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. It is worth noting a mistake in the publication, which lists the sculptor as "J. Lindsay Banks." The index, however, gives the artist's place of residence as Toronto, Ontario which confirms the artist in question was John Lisby Banks who, at the time, was an instructor at the Toronto Technical High School. See LAC, R8270: Lawrence Hayward fonds, vol. 1, file 6. Letters exchanged with Homer Watson in Aril 1901 suggest Mavor had also intended for a painting by Horatio Walker (1858-1938) to be included in the display, however, nothing by Walker is listed in the exhibition catalogue. See NGC, Homer Watson fonds, box 1, file 58.



Figure 4.5. William Brymner, *Early Moonrise in September*, 1899, oil on canvas, 74.2 x 102.1 cm. Accession number 42, purchased 1908, National Gallery of Canada. Photo © National Gallery of Canada.

It is no coincidence that the artists Mavor approached to show at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 were strongly influenced by the French Barbizon painters and the Arts and Crafts ethos. Drawn to both movements for aesthetic and intellectual reasons, Mavor sought out artists working in these milieus following his move to Toronto, thus transferring his interests from a group of artists exploring these ideas in Scotland to those pursuing similar ends in Canada. In the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century the supposedly idyllic quality and noble nature of rural life chimed with a number of Canadian artists. Brymner, Morris and Watson are among those best known for their depictions of landscapes, while Harris and Reid explored these same ideas through narrative and genre paintings. Brymner for example often worked directly from nature and rather than treating landscape as little more than an atmospheric backdrop to a point of action, turned rural views into the main subjects of his paintings. Brymner applied this approach, which was typical of late-nineteenth century French painters like Millet and Rousseau, to his immediate surroundings and drew inspiration from the landscape of rural Québec. Not only through his choice of subjects is Brymner's work reflective of a decidedly Canadian context. His paintings are also indicative of a broader

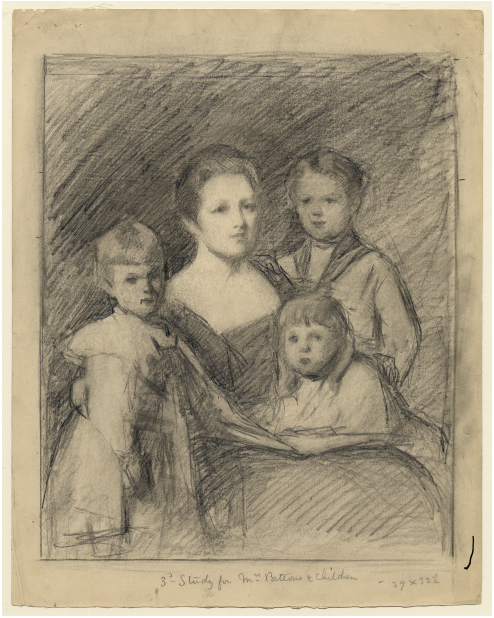

Figure 4.6. Robert Harris, *[Sketch for] Mrs. Porteous and Children*, undated. Confederation Centre Art Gallery, CAG H-485, gift of the Robert Harris Trust, 1965.

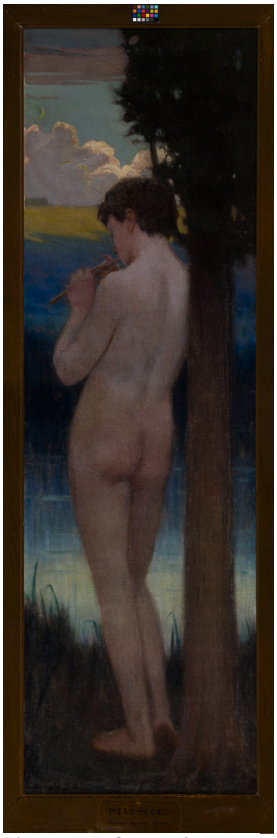

Figure 4.7. George A. Reid, *Music*. Government of Ontario Art Collection, Archives of Ontario, 658473.

interest in exploring Canada's history, culture and folklore, an intellectual current that gained traction in the later decades of the century. Partly a response to Confederation, this movement also correlated with mass immigration, industrial growth and expansion of infrastructure networks like the transcontinental railway, the effects of which were evident in the changing landscape and society of Canada. *Early Moonrise, September* represents a confluence of these external influences and domestic concerns. The general choice of subject, loose brushwork and atmospheric quality of the painting betrays Brymner's training in Europe. At the same time, however, the pastoral scene is devoid of human figures and illustrates an older way of agricultural life, the intimacy and quietude of which would have been a stark contrast to emerging realities.

Reid's *Music* can also be interpreted as a meditation on Canadian themes. A relatively simple composition, it portrays a young male nude leaning against a tree and looking out over a lake-filled landscape. Youth and childhood were common subjects among numerous artists of the period, who used it as an allegory for Canada's position as a young country full of potential and what Lacroix calls "the fresh charm of a developing nation."[349] Guided by the writings of William Morris, Reid championed an integrated view of the arts and was an advocate of design reform, pursuits Pepall suggests would have been strengthened through Reid's friendship with Mavor.[350] Both Reid and Brymner were close associates of Mavor's and all were active contributors to the Canadian art scene. This was a small community of artists, journalists, intellectuals and patrons who were linked through similar interests, which they shared through their involvement in institutions like the Royal Canadian Academy, the Ontario Society of Artists, the Arts & Letters Club and the Art Association of Montréal. As Hill reminds us, the same names crop up with remarkable regularity in exhibition catalogues, press reviews and meetings minutes, which gives one a sense of how closely intertwined these likeminded individuals were as well as the shared ideals of the various movements they promoted.[351] The works assembled by Mavor and shown at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 therefore encapsulate the subjects and

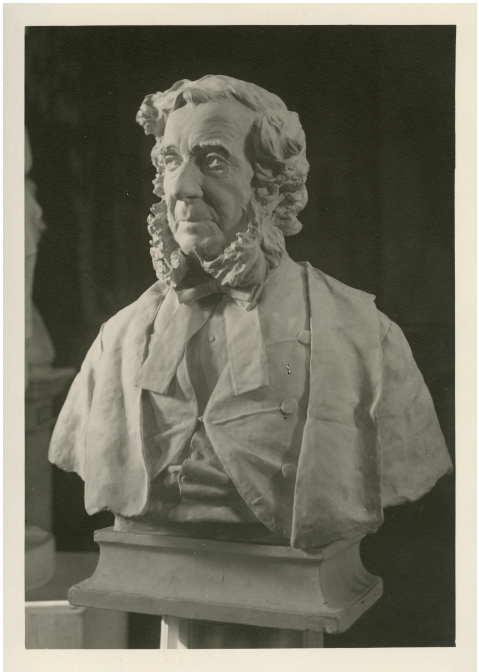

Figure 4.8. William Allward, *Bust of Sir George Burton*, c.1900, silver gelatin print attributed to Melvin Ormond Hammond, 1921. Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library, X 44-1.

[349] Lacroix, "The Pursuit of Art and the Flourishing of Aestheticism," 36.
[350] Pepall, "Under the Spell of Morris: A Canadian Perspective," 28.
[351] Charles C. Hill, "Introduction," in *Artists, Architects & Artisans*, 16.

styles, themes and techniques, not to mention personal relationships, that defined art-making in Canada at the turn of the twentieth century. A snapshot of a particular cultural moment it was a successful attempt to produce a collection that was representative of the kind of work being made in Canada at the time. The only Dominion or colonial territory to have a presence in the Fine Art Section it can also be recognised as exceptional in some ways. That said, after being shipped and received, unpacked and installed, the nine pieces by Canadian artists lost their unique provenance and melded into their surroundings. Dispersed throughout the galleries and lacking wall labels, nothing alerted visitors to the provenance of these works and as a result they were indistinguishable from the countless pieces by British artists they hung alongside. To a large extent they were invisible. This turn of events can be read as a metaphor for Canada's relationship to Great Britain and is indicative of its place within the wider British Empire. Framed as domestic or home artists, these pieces were physically and metaphorically embedded within British culture, which precluded any recognition of distinct artistic traditions being cultivated in Canada.

Through his personal and professional networks Mavor initiated a trans-Atlantic dialogue between creative circles in Glasgow and Toronto. Or, at least this is what motivated him, since in the end the handful of works by Canadian artists went largely unnoticed by British audiences. Perhaps this was less because there was a lack of interest in artwork from the Dominions, and more a result of the manner in which the pieces were presented to exhibition-goers, a case that demonstrates how the structure and rhetoric of the gallery space impacts a viewer's experience of the works displayed before them. Nonetheless, this episode calls into question certain tenets of Canadian art history. Commonly regarded as the first occasion at which Canadian art was shown to metropolitan audiences, the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 and 1925 has been written into the annals of Canada's cultural history as the genesis of a national school of painting through its dissemination of the work of the Group of Seven. Arguably because of the organisational rationale of this specific exhibition the paintings and sculptures from Canada exhibited in Glasgow in 1901 seem to have gone largely unnoticed in Britain, something that cannot be said for Wembley where Canadian art was praised in the British press.[352] The contrast between these two moments of exhibition whereby one remains obscure and the other occupies a pivotal place in a national art history, raises the issue of the role played by British opinion in the reception of Canadian art among domestic audiences and collectors. The above analysis has demonstrated that the presentation in Glasgow is an over-looked precedent, one that points to there being a longer and more layered story to be told when it comes to narrating a history of exhibiting Canadian art overseas. This assertion, which encourages a re-think of the prominence customarily assigned to Wembley and the Group of Seven, echoes Boyanoski's argument that "the perpetuation of these myths into the present, with the attendant neglect of other traditions, is no longer an appropriate model, and is in need of serious revision."[353] Regardless of the disconnect between Mavor's aspirations and how the works were interpreted, the occasion came about entirely because of the efforts of a

[352] The National Gallery of Canada published two volumes of press comments taken overwhelmingly from British periodicals, which undoubtedly fuelled the pre-eminence of the Wembley presentations and the artists who were represented. The Director of the National Gallery of Canada, Eric Brown, was a driving force here. Writing to his secretary H.O. McCurry from London Brown relayed, "everyone is certain we have made the one hit of the art show, the Australians admit that they have nothing comparable to the Canadian School." Letter, 12 May 1924, NGC, Eric Brown fonds, box 1, file 3.
[353] Boyanoski, "Selective Memory," 168. See also Ann Davis, "The Wembley Controversy in Canadian Art," 68-71.

Scottish-born expatriate who lived most of his adult life in Canada, a well-trodden pattern of movement in this period. Consequently, the micro-history shared here has wider resonances. It demonstrates how the International Exhibition operated as a contact zone and facilitated a degree of interaction, in this specific instance between cultures of art-making in Scotland and Canada. Analysed from this angle then, Mavor becomes both a contributor to and a symbol of a shared history between these two localities. By highlighting cultural, intellectual and artistic themes, the above analysis adds a valuable layer of understanding to existing studies of the historic connections between Scotland and Canada, which have largely focused on political, financial and social manifestations of this relationship.

Projection
Great grains and monolithic minerals

"Among the numerous colonies which together form the Great British Empire beyond the seas, none is of more interest to the average inhabitant of these isles than that of the Dominion of Canada."[354] In spite of this fervent interest, at the turn of the twentieth century British opinion was dominated by a misleading view of the country. "We have been accustomed to regard Canada too much as our 'Lady of the Snows,' with rivers frozen over for fully half the year and furs the most suitable garb for all and sundry," explained *The Exhibition Illustrated*.[355] The display organised by the Canadian government for the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 went some way to tackling these outmoded visions however. With a court in the Industrial Hall and a pavilion in the grounds of Kelvingrove Park, the Canadian government appeared to have spared "no pains or expense … to make the collection comprehensive and thoroughly representative of the industries and products of the country."[356] Whereas we have so far looked at an unofficial presentation of Canada in the form of a display of artworks, we now turn to the Canadian government's involvement with Glasgow's early International Exhibitions. Anchored by themes of projection and dissemination, the aim is to examine how Canadian authorities used these events not only to promote the recently formed Dominion of Canada in a material sense, but as opportunities to define an emerging national identity through the medium of display. Resuming an earlier discussion, which considered the political and economic motivations that preceded Canada's attendance at Glasgow's International Exhibitions, here the content of its displays will be explored in order to analyse the more emotive aspirations symbolised by what was exhibited, and, moreover, what visions of Canada it was hoped these materials would project. It will be suggested that Canadian authorities put their faith in spectators' powers of deduction, and set out to change popular conceptions of Canada among British, and particularly Scottish, audiences. Furthermore, it will be argued that the government's renewed image, one imbued with a sense of national unity, was intended to be fed back to Canada, which remained a deeply regional country in the years following Confederation in 1867.

As was relayed in chapter two, the Canadian government somewhat unusually elected to mount exhibits at both of Glasgow's early International Exhibitions. Indeed, Canada participated at all four of

354 *The Exhibition Illustrated*, 27 July 1901.
355 Ibid.
356 Ibid.

Glasgow's major shows. With the events leading up to the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 having already been considered in detail, it is only important to re-iterate the very different circumstances that precipitated Canada's attendance at these two events. As will be remembered, whether Canada ought to officially contribute to Glasgow's first exhibition was a contentious issue. Months of negotiations involving authorities in Glasgow and Ottawa, not to mention internal disputes between groups of Canadian officials, preceded the exhibition's opening. This was not the case when it came to Glasgow's second International Exhibition. The hesitation voiced in the late-1880s, characterised by the position of Minister of Agriculture John Carling, was replaced by strident support in advance of this later event. A shift in political fortunes at the federal level ushered in this change in tone, since in 1896 Laurier's Liberal party displaced the Conservatives who had been in power at the time of Glasgow's first exhibition. Where MacDonald and his followers were largely indifferent to International Exhibitions, the new Prime Minister espoused a different approach as evidenced by his decision to create a new federal agency dedicated to coordinating Canada's contributions to these events. Although a branch of the Department of Agriculture, the Canadian Government Exhibition Commission was based in London, which reflects the diplomatic nature of the bureau's responsibilities. Headed by a full-time and permanent Exhibition Commissioner, Colonel William Hutchison being its first (1902-1919), the CGEC oversaw all of Canada's exhibition-related programs, which helped regiment how these undertakings were organised.

But perhaps Canada pursued the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 with such fervour – in many ways the epitome of an eager beaver – for purely pragmatic reasons? Scheduled to open six months after the conclusion of the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900, the timing and location of the two events meant Canadian materials shown in Paris could easily be shipped to Glasgow. Having committed to participating at the Paris exposition some years earlier Canada could recycle its displays and make the time, effort and money expended on Paris stretch that bit farther. This likely motivated Canadian officials to push for as much space as possible from exhibition authorities. As a result, Canada took charge of a court inside the Industrial Hall and a purpose-built pavilion in the grounds of Kelvingrove Park, which amounted to almost 25,000 square feet of space. This figure accounted for 50% of the total amount allocated to India and the Dominions, and made Canada the third largest overall contributor after Russia and France.[357] With these provisions in place, Canadian representatives sought to coordinate an efficient move from Paris to Glasgow. As Canada's emigration agent for Scotland H.M. Murray, who was based in Glasgow, explained to the High Commissioner's office,

> The last Exhibition [in Glasgow] was a gigantic success and every effort is being put forth to make the forthcoming one even more successful. Perhaps in arranging for the Paris Exhibition the space obtained in Glasgow might be borne in mind, so that part of the fittings might be so arranged as to be suitable for both places.[358]

Indeed, as was reported back to parliament at the close of the exhibition, a large portion of the government's exhibits "were brought direct from the Paris Exhibition as were also the cases, furniture and decorations which had been used there, thus largely reducing the labour and cost of preparing for

[357] "Commissioner's Report Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901," 240.
[358] H.M. Murray to J.G. Colmer, 11 January 1899, LAC, RG 72, vol. 195.

the present exhibition."[359] The transferral even extended to personnel with W.D. Scott appointed Canada's Chief Commissioner for the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, a similar position to that he had held in connection with the Paris fair.

At the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900 all of Britain's colonial territories were housed inside a single composite pavilion, the division of which was dictated by British officials. Provided with far less space than envisioned and angered by the conditions put upon them, many colonies threatened to withdraw, including Canada. Although in the end the Canadian government decided to remain a contributor, its exhibition commissioners found themselves with a surplus of materials they were unable to show in Paris, including one very large, stand-out piece that would signify a major loss of time, money, effort and exposure were it to go unseen. The Minister of Agriculture Sydney Fisher relegated the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 to a position farther down the exhibition hierarchy, remarking it was "not nearly as large as a great International Exhibition," but he foresaw it would have a particular appeal among Canadians.[360] His assessment was supported by the High Commissioner Lord Strathcona, an early proponent of Canada's involvement in the scheme. The Scottish-born Strathcona was in turn buoyed by the efforts of Canada's man-on-the-ground in Glasgow H.M. Murray, an interesting repeat of the working relationship between High Commissioner and emigration agent established during the lead-up to the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, which was detailed in chapter two. Writing to Strathcona Fisher noted, "I have no hesitation in saying that Canada ought to be worthily represented there [in Glasgow]."[361] Thus, while admitting it did not rank in the upper echelons of the International Exhibition movement, Fisher also saw value in participating: "judging from what we have heard, exhibitors will in Canada generally think more of Glasgow than of Paris as an exhibiting opportunity."[362] Thus, while there was a pressing need for Canada to secure a good spot at any upcoming exhibition scheduled soon after the Paris Exposition, it would be all the better if Canada could showcase itself somewhere it had strong links with.

Before looking in detail at what the Canadian government exhibited at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, using this event as a platform on which to construct a renewed vision of Canada and hopefully change British and Canadian opinion in the process, it is worth addressing Canada's earlier presence in order to allow for a comparison between the two. In 1888 Canada was first and foremost represented by the displays inside Sellars' Main Building, deemed by the exhibition's official guide as "worthy of a leisurely inspection by visitors, more especially by those who contemplate becoming residents in the Dominion."[363] Organised by the Department of Agriculture, the Canadian Court featured displays grouped into four categories. Samples of cereals illustrating the main crops and different climates of the various provinces were shown in display cases decorated with the natural grasses of the northern prairies. Timber was exhibited through a "trophy" made up of 15 distinct varieties of coniferous and deciduous trees grown in New Brunswick and the other maritime provinces, with samples of logs, bark, boards and foliage arranged in an ornamental fashion. Deemed a

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359 "Commissioner's Report Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901," 237.
360 Fisher to Strathcona, 17 August 1899, LAC, RG72, vol. 195.
361 Ibid.
362 Ibid.
363 *International Exhibition Glasgow, 1888: Official Guide*, 55.

notable highlight by Canadian officials was a 45" cube of Douglas pine taken from a tree grown in Vancouver, the terminus of the new Canadian Pacific Railway, which was to be interpreted as a symbol of the country's industrial, economic and urban development. Canada's mineral resources were represented through samples of coal, iron and lead as well as displays of more precious metals like gold and silver. Lastly, there was an exhibit dedicated to the "Fur, Fin, and Feather" of Canada, which illustrated the country's natural history through an array of taxidermy animals and pelts. The three walls of the court were adorned with large paintings of the Dominion's bigger cities: seven provincial capitals (the North West Territories, the eighth province, was not represented despite its establishment in 1870) along with one of Ottawa, the federal capital, and one of Montréal, the country's commercial and financial centre. These paintings were accompanied by a set of views representing the entire route of the Canadian Pacific Railway, from Québec City to Vancouver, a major piece of infrastructure that had only been completed three years earlier, and an exhibit dedicated to the scenery of the Rocky Mountains. In spite of its variety and attempt at representativeness, the Canadian Court did not stimulate a great deal of excitement among audiences in 1888. All that a popular guide to the exhibition could say of Canada's contribution was that "court 36 is methodically and neatly arranged for the display of Canadian exhibits."[364] This sketch of the Canadian Court staged in 1888 paraphrases the description published in the exhibition's official catalogue, which also included a comparatively lengthy three-page history of the Dominion written by Canadian officials.[365] This narrative talks the reader through the constitutional changes brought about by the British North America Act (1867), explains the federal system of government, and details variation in climate and geography. Packed with dates and statistics it is a dry account. That said, it suggests the government had a great deal of control over how it appeared to British audiences, which renders the Canadian Court, its physical contents as well as associated interpretive material, an instance of self-representation.

Practical and pragmatic, this home-grown view of Canada was decidedly un-romantic. It was a stark contrast to images projected elsewhere at the exhibition, principally on the Doulton Fountain. A stand-alone exhibit representative of the work of Doulton & Co. and thus not dissimilar from other industrial goods shown at the exhibition (figure 4.9), the Doulton Fountain occupied a prime location in front of the Main Building. The fountain's size, elaborate decorations and sense of animation – it was a functioning fountain that erupted with jets of water – meant it was a captivating object that attracted much public attention, therefore encapsulating the fusion of study and spectacle that was characteristic of the International Exhibition. The Doulton Fountain contains four figurative groups representing Australia, Canada, India and South Africa all topped by a statue of Queen Victoria. It is a clear celebration of Britain's imperial achievements and introduces a particular iconography of Canada, one that signals how the new nation was popularly envisaged in Britain. The Canadian composition features a woman and a man, both sporting fur hats and her wrapped in a fur-lined hooded cape with him wearing leather leggings, a traditional piece of clothing among many First Nations cultures, and a long belted shirt similar to a tunic. Seated on a stack of logs, the woman cradles a bushel of wheat while her companion stands to the left, resting his weight on what looks to be a paddle or riffle, and

[364] *Elliot's Popular Guide to Glasgow and the Exhibition*, 67.
[365] LAC, RG17, vol. 570, file 64265.

gripping a moose's head while a collection of pelts hang down from the crook of his arm. An axe and a beaver sit at their feet.

This sculpture presents some dense imagery in need of unpicking. While the couple's warm clothing can initially be read as a simple reference to Canada's climate, popularly perceived as unwaveringly harsh, the inclusion of fur accessories and the male character's strong resemblance to a *voyageur* represent the fur trade, the industry that propelled British colonial incursions into North America.[366] Indeed, the Hudson's Bay Company was incorporated in 1670 making it the English (and then British) Empire's oldest royal chartered company. As a staple of the fur trade, the beaver reinforces this narrative by acting as a symbol of Canada's buoyant resources and by extension Britain's commercial wealth. If the fountain's allusions to the fur trade are made to a long-standing industry, the bushel of wheat cradled by the female character represents a new area of growth that stood to benefit the interlinked interests of Canada and Britain. It has already been outlined that the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 took place at a time when the Canadian government was trying to attract immigrants with a view to settling and developing the arable lands of Manitoba and the Northwest (what was latterly divided into the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta). The exporting of wheat had the potential to be a major generator of wealth for the Dominion and a significant source of this basic foodstuff, a requirement for supporting Britain's large population and that of the ever-growing empire.

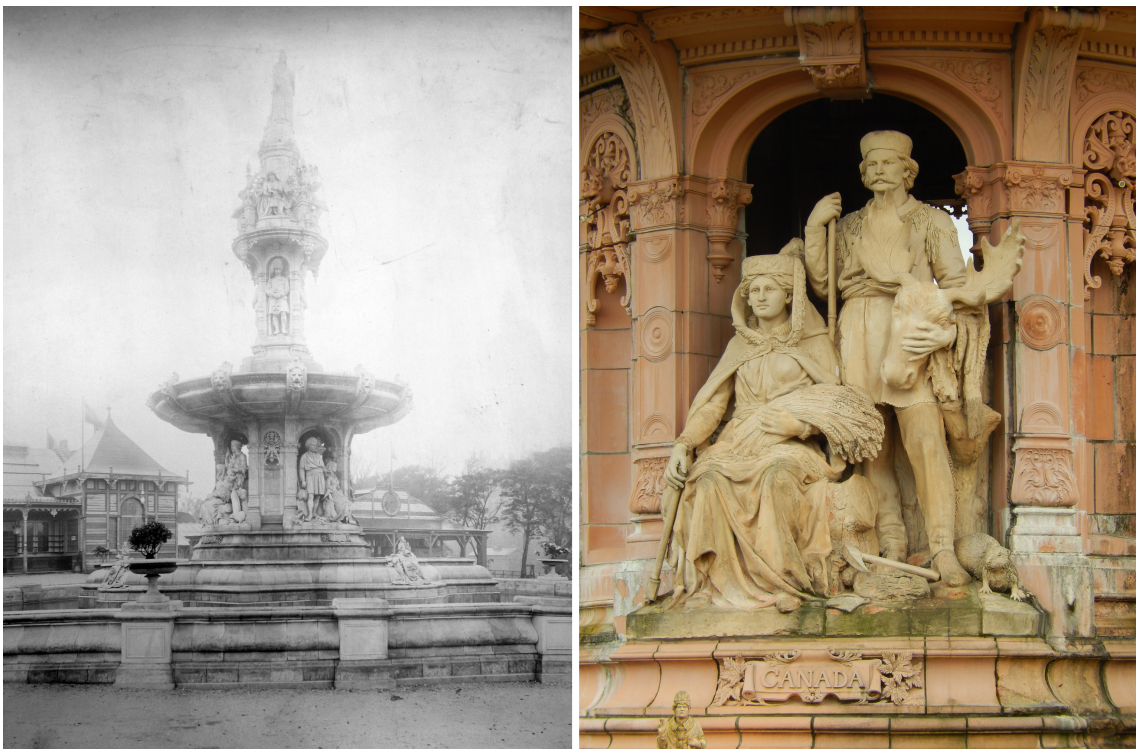

Figure 4.9. Left: the Doulton Fountain as it stood in front of the Main Building of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. PhotoB4. Right: the Canadian figurative group on the Doulton Fountain as seen today. Photograph courtesy of Paul Twynam.

[366] The *voyageur* was an indentured servant, often but not exclusively of French descent, who was engaged in the fur trade and travelled largely by canoe on routes that linked Québec, Hudson Bay and territories in the northwest. Popular subjects of colonial painters like Paul Kane and Frances Anne Hopkins, the *voyageur* is a mythic character in Canadian popular culture. See Phillips, *Trading Identities*.

The images on the Doulton Fountain correspond to an imagining of the Dominion that was prevalent in late-nineteenth century Britain. Vistas like Paul Kane's *Scene in the Northwest* (figure 4.10), a portrait of the colonial administrator and scientist John Henry Lefroy wearing dress typical of a *voyageur*, portrayed a territory that was at once rugged and quaint, harsh and charming. According to Brian Osborne, for artists like Kane and his contemporary Cornelius Kreighoff, two Europeans who travelled to and painted in North America, "a primitive and archaic Canada was appealingly picturesque."[367] This sentiment is similarly evoked by the Doulton Fountain. However, the perception Canada was a cold country populated by rugged trappers and explorers who shared their environs with moose and beaver, not to mention Indigenous peoples, was one Canadian officials were keen to dispel. As Osborne explains, "the environment in its raw, alien, undisciplined state was an embarrassment, an unacceptable image in an improving world and running counter to the metropolitan aspirations and boosterism so typical of late-nineteenth century Canada."[368] Showcasing an altogether different appearance at International Exhibitions was one way of changing these dominant understandings. Popular events that attracted an array of visitors, Glasgow's exhibitions were important platforms on which Canada could promote an alternative conception of itself, a national iconography constructed from within rather than imposed from afar. As such, the rich symbolism of the Doulton Fountain sets up an image of the country that many of its leaders wanted to move beyond. Canada's displays at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 only effected minimal change on this front, largely because its exhibits failed to engage visitors' imaginations. This was not the case when Canada next appeared in Glasgow, when the Canadian government got behind the endeavour at an early stage and seized the opportunity to mount a more impressive display. In the opinion of a journalist writing for *The Exhibition Illustrated*, the exhibits prepared for the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 banished the "time-honoured convention that associates Canada with the reindeer and the bear, and the heroic adventures of fur-hunters," an account that could almost be a direct reference to the vision epitomised by the figural group on the Doulton Fountain.[369]



Figure 4.10. Paul Kane, *Scene in the Northwest – Portrait*, c. 1845-1846, oil on canvas, 55.5 x 76cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, The Thomson Collection @ Art Gallery of Ontario, 2009/507.

Because International Exhibitions emphasised the representational qualities of objects a country's national interests were above all expressed through the medium of material culture. Stuart

[367] Brian Osborne, "The Iconography of Nationhood in Canadian Art," in *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past Environments*, eds. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 164.
[368] Ibid, 166.
[369] "Our Illustrated Interview: Mr. W.D. Scott, Commissioner-General of the Canadian Section," *The Exhibition Illustrated*, 27 July 1901.

Murray draws on this argument in his discussion of Canada's presence at the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1855. According to Murray, these early displays focused on land and its uses, and thus gave material expression to "one of the most pressing of all Canadian narratives, that of land, settlement and the creation of a civil society in the new colony."[370] Given what was selected for display in Glasgow it would seem this retreat from nature, reflected in a demonstration of man's control over it, was still a pressing concern at the turn of the century. Much of Canada's allocated space inside the Industrial Hall was devoted to displaying the country's mineral wealth, not a great departure from what was exhibited in 1888. Indeed, this was a well-trodden path. Following the successful presentation of mineral resources at the Great Exhibition fifty years earlier, where the displays organised and arranged by William Logan, the director of the recently formed Geological Survey of Canada, had attracted acclaim, this subject had become a staple feature of Canadian exhibits at International Exhibitions.[371] The collection shown in Glasgow in 1901 was almost identical to that which had been exhibited the previous year at the Paris Exposition Universelle. Saving on the cost of shipping such bulky materials, the Canadian government arranged for the collection to go into storage for a short period before it was re-presented in Glasgow. Benefitting from the fact that these exhibits had originally been conceived for the Paris Expo, a larger and more high profile exhibition, audiences in Glasgow were treated to an impressive collection of samples consisting of "alluvial gold, gold smelting ores, gold-silver-copper ores, silver ores, silver-



Figure 4.11. Mineral displays of the Canadian Court inside the Industrial Hall at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. Photograph published in *The Exhibition Illustrated*, 27 July, 1901. ©CSG CIC Glasgow Museums and Libraries Collection: The Mitchell Library, Archives, LK5.2505.

[370] Stuart Murray, "Canadian Participation and National Representation at the 1851 London Great Exhibition and the 1855 Paris Exposition Universelle," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 32:63 (1999): 2-3.
[371] The Province of Canada's mineral display was excluded from receiving awards because Logan was a member of the Jury for that class. However, it attracted much attention and was recognised by jurors to be "superior, so far as the mineral kingdom is concerned, to all countries that have forwarded their products to the Exhibition." *Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, 1851: Reports of the Juries on the Subjects in the Thirty Classes into Which the Exhibition Was Divided* (London: The Royal Commission, 1852), 2 and 15-17.

copper ores, nickel, iron ores of many kinds, anthracite and other coals, petroleum, apatite, asbestos, mica, graphite, corundum, and others too numerous to mention."[372] As the exhibition's official guide noted, "the recent prominence into which Canada has advanced as a country rich in minerals makes the display in this section of unusual interest."[373] The Canadian Court also featured processed foodstuffs including canned salmon, tinned fruits, honeys, cheeses, butter and flour, and a comparatively small selection of manufactured goods representing the Dominion's budding industries, such as showcases of leather goods and furs, exhibits of pianos and organs, and displays of wheels and carriages.

It was also anticipated the stand-alone Canadian Pavilion out in the grounds of Kelvingrove Park would be one of the exhibition's most notable features. As was explained to spectators,

> In consideration of the fact that so many Scottish emigrants, during the past century, found homes in the Dominion, and that prosperity reigns among the kinsfolk in that vast country of almost inexhaustible natural resources, the Canadian exhibits … will be viewed with peculiar interest by Scottish visitors.[374]

Almost equal in size to the Canadian Court, the Pavilion focused on illustrating the breadth and strength of the Dominion's agricultural produce. Long tables were covered with hundreds of glass jars containing a plethora of soft fruits such as apricots, peaches and plums, alongside more exotic varieties like Saskatoon berries and cranberries. Although rendered inedible through being preserved in alcohol, the fruit was said to have had a "wholesome" appeal and conveyed the abundance and variety of fresh fruit available in Canada, which it was hoped would combat myths concerning climate and lifestyle.[375] Successful on both fronts, the displays elicited a great deal of surprise among visitors who reputably gawped, exclaiming "it can't be possible that these were grown in Canada."[376] As the Canadian superintendent later recounted, the fruit exhibit "dispelled many false notions regarding its climate and capabilities, and has given birth to truer ideas. [Canada] has become a more attractive place to those seeking to make homes for themselves."[377] The fruit section was accompanied by exhibits of grain samples and agricultural machinery like that produced by Massey-Harris, as well as smaller displays of timber samples, natural history specimens and canoes. A synopsis published in *The Canadian Magazine* at the close of the exhibition detailed the Pavilion's successes to Canadian readers. For the author it was gratifying "to see the great proportion of visitors who find their way to our display with little delay. 'Where's Canada?' is one of the first questions heard after the turnstile is passed."[378] Canadian authorities reached the same conclusion with A.K. Stuart, organiser of the mineral section, reporting that "the interest taken in the exhibit by the general public … was unabated during the whole course of the exhibition." "So much was this the case," relayed Stuart "that on many days it was quite impossible to keep pace with inquiries made and attend to routine work."[379]

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372 *Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901: Official Guide*, 41.
373 Ibid, 41.
374 Ibid, 29-30.
375 "Commissioner's Report Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901," 250.
376 Ibid, 250.
377 Ibid, 252.
378 Yeigh, "Canada at the Glasgow Exhibition," 534.
379 "Commissioner's Report Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901," 246.

It is hard to imagine why raw materials, which dominated Canada's exhibits, attracted so much interest given they were displayed alongside objects that exemplified the latest technological advances being made in all areas of industry and manufacturing, not to mention an array of performances, rides and amusements. How could things as inert as grain samples, mineral specimens and preserved fruit engage the attention of visitors compared to these thrilling and dynamic features? Raw materials performed an important illustrative role at International Exhibitions, however, and were fundamental to communicating the perennial theme of advancement. Indeed, a popular souvenir of the Great Exhibition enthused that "raw materials, arranged side by side, just as they were picked from the lap of nature, are full of interest."[380] *Tallis' History* offers a clear explanation for how the sorts of objects routinely exhibited by the Canadian government fit within the larger rhetorical framework of the International Exhibition:

> It is most instructive to have under the same point of view, the manufactured article, and the stuff from which it was made – the cotton pod, and the calico and muslin, … the iron ore, and the Sheffield blade. … The distance between the raw material and the perfected work is the measure of the conquest of man over the external world – the record of that victory, which the Crystal Palace first celebrates for the whole human family.[381]

Consequently, while at first glance Canada's materials functioned to illustrate the Dominion's natural resources and material wealth, they also actively inserted Canada into the order of progress and imperial civilisation that International Exhibitions reinforced. As Kriegel reminds us, the Great Exhibition revealed a pervasive cultural logic which dictated that materials and commodities displayed in this exhibitionary context "represented their places of origin and so brought the world 'home' to metropolitan consumers."[382] Although Canada was not a heavily industrialised society and so would seem to occupy a minor place among the 'whole human family' *Tallis' History* described, by stressing its role as a chief supplier of raw materials to Britain and the wider empire, the Canadian government was seeking to elevate Canada's position in this hierarchy of nations, a particularly pressing task given it had only become a federal country less than 35 years earlier. Understood thus, the inanimate lumps of coal that were just one element of Canada's mineral exhibit transform into compelling material evidence of the hyperbolic claim that the Dominion could "provide for the wants of the world, if need be, for centuries."[383] Viewed through this lens then, Canada's exhaustive displays of raw materials, all meticulously labelled to indicate their different compositions, properties, uses and places of origin, take on imaginative qualities and become symbols of the country's inherent potential and future prosperity.

The vision of Canada presented at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, one constructed chiefly by the federal government, was not just of an expansive landscape ripe with promise, but rather was that of a country in possession of key markers of a nation-state. The establishment of major social and cultural institutions like government agencies, museums and universities played an important part in advancing this burgeoning civil society.[384] Consequently,

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[380] *Tallis' History and Description of the Crystal Palace*, 14.
[381] Ibid, 14.
[382] Laura Kriegel, "The Pudding and the Palace: Labor, Print Culture and Imperial Britain in 1851," in *After the Imperial Turn*, 231.
[383] *Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901: Official Catalogue* (Glasgow: Charles P. Watson, 1901), 177, ML, GC 606.4 (1901) 212114.
[384] Hill, "Introduction," in *Artists, Architects & Artisans*, 15.

Canada's natural resources were also used as emblems of the nation's maturity and as symbols of a coherent nation-ness, one that superseded existing and powerful regional ties. These various concerns were brought together in the focal point of the Canadian Pavilion, which simultaneously conveyed the abundance of the country's resources, promoted a sense of national unity, and portrayed an increasingly civilised Canadian society. The form used to symbolise this nexus of ideas was a so-called "agricultural trophy" modelled in the shape of the spire atop the parliamentary library in Ottawa (figure 4.12), Canada's still relatively new national capital.[385] Octagonal in shape, this edifice measured 35 feet high and 65 feet in circumference, and was made entirely out of agricultural produce drawn from across the country such as corn, oats, barley, wheat, rye and tobacco.[386] The work of designing, planning and building the trophy was fittingly carried out by W.H. Hay, accountant of the Department of Agriculture's Experimental Farms unit, who had also helped arrange displays for the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900. Hay had originally planned this centrepiece for that event, only to have his ambitions curtailed by lack of space. Although the substantially smaller exhibit Hay ended up arranging in Paris was much admired, his work in Glasgow was purportedly "an unusual triumph."[387] It is worth deferring to Hay's own account of the trophy, rather than paraphrasing, since not only is it evocative in its visual description but reveals the object's intended meaning:

> On the outside the lower part of the trophy was decorated with sheaves of grain and hundreds of bunches of grain and grasses. Higher up the grain was massed and arranged in gothic arches and in circles, and when completed the structure had the appearance of an immense temple of cereals. Coats of arms of the provinces were placed over each of the main arches, and some fine specimens of mounted "prairie chickens" were distributed among the sheaves of grain. In the centre of the trophy was a circular settee for the convenience of visitors who desired to rest. … A large number of electric lights were arranged in the arches and circles so as to illuminate the whole trophy, and it was thus made to appear very attractive at night. A number of excellent photographs were displayed in convenient places about the trophy which interested the visitors very much. … Good views were also shown of settlers' homes, giving the appearance of the farm when first located, and again a few years later under improved conditions. … The results of the installation of the agricultural exhibits at Glasgow were very satisfactory. No other display of the sort could be compared with it, and the material was all in place before the opening day. The agricultural trophy elicited the admiration of visitors on every hand for its colossal character, and for the great variety and high quality of the products of which it was constructed.[388]

Conceived for the purpose of representing the country as a whole, the agricultural trophy projected this message by materially stitching together a singular illustration of Canada. Both Scottish papers and the Canadian press praised this impressive display, which gave material expression to the government's vision of a cohesive national unit. A correspondent with *The Exhibition Illustrated* regarded it as a chief highlight stating, "not merely as a representation of the agricultural wealth of the colony, but as an artistic design, the trophy is by far the finest exhibition at Kelvingrove. And that is no mean praise."[389]

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[385] Ottawa was chosen as the capital of the Province of Canada in 1859, and became the capital of the Dominion at the time of Confederation. Construction on Parliament Hill took place in multiple stages beginning in 1859 and running until 1876. In 1916 the Centre Block was destroyed by fire, only reopening in 1920. The Library of Parliament is the only remaining portion of the original building.
[386] W.E Johnson and A.E. Smith, *Indian Head Experimental Farm, 1886-1986*, Agriculture Canada Historical Series, No. 26 (Regina, SK: Research Branch, Agriculture Canada, 1986), 14.
[387] William Saunders, "Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Agriculture: Experimental Farms Reports for 1901," S*essional Paper No. 16* (Ottawa, 1902), 78, records of the Semiarid Prairie Agricultural Research Centre.
[388] W.H. Hay quoted in "Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Agriculture," 78-79.
[389] *The Exhibition Illustrated*, 27 July 1901.

Reporting back to home readers on the government's successes, Yeigh recounted how "the total effect of this fine agricultural pyramid [was] universally admired."[390]



Figure 4.12. The Agricultural Trophy, the centre-piece of the Canadian Pavilion at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. Photograph published in *The Exhibition Illustrated*, 27 July, 1901. ©CSG CIC Glasgow Museums and Libraries Collection: The Mitchell Library, Archives, LK5.2505.

The Canadian government hoped that by mounting a large presentation at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 it would dispel dominant views of Canada held by British audiences, specifically the notion it was a rugged and inhospitable land with a disparate population. Commentary in the official guide to the exhibition suggests the government succeeded in its ambitions, stimulating a revised understanding of what Canada was like and changing attitudes prevalent in the imperial 'mother country'. As the guide noted, those "who have generally associated Canada with tobogganing, sleigh bells, and fur overcoats will no doubt be surprised at the immense variety of its fruits … [which] grow wild and luxuriantly."[391] *The Exhibition Illustrated* shared this sentiment, admitting that while "the popular mind exchanges old ideas for new but slowly," Canada's contribution carried "the force of a startling revelation."[392] The government intended to do more than just dislodge existing conceptions of Canada. Rather, here it is argued that its displays were intended to promote an understanding of what made Canada distinct, and thus forward a sense of national identity. According to Zeller there existed a conceptual relationship between science and nation-building in late-Victorian Canadian society, whereby scientific advances made it possible to create a collective nationality out of an assortment of

390 Yeigh, "Canada at the Glasgow Exhibition," 534.
391 *Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901: Official Guide*, 30-31.
392 "Our Illustrated Interview: Mr. W.D. Scott, Commissioner-General of the Canadian Section," *The Exhibition Illustrated*, 27 July 1901.

settlements.[393] All shown in considerable quantities, the objects the Canadian government chose to exhibit emphasised a growing ability to harness the landscape's abundant natural resources. Whether preserved fruits or processed foodstuffs, extracted minerals or harvested grains, Massey-Harris wheat binders or images of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the exhibits mounted at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 were material expressions of Canada's progress. This narrative aligns with the argument put forward by Zeller, Murray and others that the theme of cultivating or controlling an expansive wilderness was a fundamental component of a nascent Canadian identity that sought to bind regional populations together.

Integral to the process of constructing a collective Canadian identity was having the government's vision of the country accepted by those in the imperial centre. Consequently, the narratives communicated through the agricultural trophy and attendant displays were directed at Canadians and Britons alike. This assessment echoes recent scholarship by Boyanoski and Horrall who identify British acceptance of a distinct Canadianness as a key ingredient in promoting feelings of national identity among Canadians themselves.[394] Both examine this interplay through an analysis of exhibitions of Canadian art mounted in London, with Boyanoksi focusing on the aforementioned Canadian display at the British Empire Exhibition and Horrall on the Tate Gallery's exhibition *A Century of Canadian Art* of 1938. My analysis of Canada's displays at Glasgow's earlier International Exhibitions is similarly concerned with how exhibitions of Canadian visual and material culture were received by British audiences, and how such interpretations in turn impacted notions of Canadian identity. In the case of Glasgow's exhibitions, the Canadian government intended to demonstrate life in the Dominion was not typified by mere subsistence and survival in a constantly cold country, but that settlement could bring real material and cultural prosperity, thereby enticing emigrants and investors. Thus, Canada's displays at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 can be read as a concerted attempt to foster a sense of national identity by changing British opinion about the Dominion, and then feeding this vision of the country back to those in Canada. This loop reveals how deeply connected this budding sense of nationalism was to Canada's relationship with Britain and the British Empire. Indeed, Canadian distinctiveness was not promoted at the expense of the country's ties to Britain. Instead, the government marked out Canada's place within the British Empire, defining its role as a foremost supplier of raw materials, an emerging a producer of manufactured goods and a land open to British emigrants. As such, its displays expressed a fusion of national and imperial interests. This demonstrates that Canadian authorities used International Exhibitions as platforms from which to disseminate a symbiotic identity that married a belief in Canadian exceptionalism with an unwavering allegiance to the British Empire. This reinforces what Berger first referred to as the "interlocked" relationship between a sense of Canadian nationality and the ideal of imperial unity, a balance that dominated notions of Canadian identity in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.[395] Evidently Canadian officials understood that International Exhibitions were occasions for the mass measuring of progress. Particularly at Glasgow's second International Exhibition, the Dominion government

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[393] Suzanne Zeller, *Inventing Canada: Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 6-9.
[394] Boyanoski, "Selective Memory"; Horrall, "'A Century of Canadian Art'," 149-162.
[395] Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 49.

prepared elaborate exhibits that testified to the country's ongoing economic and industrial development with the hope of changing popular opinion about Canada. However, to the cultural historian looking back on these events they appear as measures of progress in an additional sense, since by exhibiting objects that projected a revised Canadian iconography they also speak to a social and cultural transition from colony to nation.

Observation
Amblers, chancers and close encounters

In spite of its spectacular sights and diverse offerings, the International Exhibition was conceived first and foremost as a place for the focused study of objects, although this is not to say individual events exclusively functioned as such. There was certainly plenty to distract visitors, especially as the model became more nebulous in its spatial dimensions and allowed for the construction of additional ancillary attractions, a subject examined in the previous chapter. In spite of the look and feel of the International Exhibition evolving as the tradition wore on, the stated purpose of these events changed very little. This can be seen in the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's introduction to the official guide for the Empire Exhibition: Scotland of 1938, which was arguably the last event of its kind held in Britain.[396] On this occasion Chamberlain wrote, "throughout the world exhibitions are an accepted medium for displaying in miniature the culture, life and industry of the countries in which they are held."[397] This statement on the core ethos of the International Exhibition could easily be mistaken for a description of Glasgow's first International Exhibition, held exactly 50 years earlier, or even the Great Exhibition of 1851. Clearly, as late as the 1930s the official remit of the International Exhibition remained in close alignment with its original intent. At the centre of this exhibitionary medium was the aim of orchestrating an expansive display of material culture that offered compelling illustrations of global progress in industry, commerce and the arts, and which grabbed visitors' attentions, caught their eyes and held their gaze. In practice, however, it was not only the inanimate that attracted the interests of exhibition-goers. As the story of the Empire Exhibition Mounties attests, acts of seeing, watching and observing were applied to people in much the same way they were to objects.

Organising relations between visitors and exhibits in innovative ways, the design of the Crystal Palace according to Bennett was such that "while everyone could see, there were also vantage points from which everyone could be seen, thus combining the functions of spectacle and surveillance."[398] This fusion created a breed of power that when exchanged and relayed in sites of exhibition traded in

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[396] While the Festival of Britain held in 1951 in some respects resembled an International Exhibition it was fundamentally domestic in focus. What is more, although it is often remembered as a singular exhibition mounted on London's South Bank, it was actually a national event made up of activities that took place across Britain throughout the summer of 1951, which signals a marked departure from the form of the International Exhibition. For further reading on the Festival of Britain see for instance Mary Banham and Bevis Hillier, eds., *A Tonic to the Nation: The Festival of Britain 1951* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976); Becky Conekin, *The Autobiography of a Nation: The 1951 Festival of Britain, Representing Britain in the Post-War World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003); Barry Turner, *Beacon For Change: How the 1951 Festival of Britain Helped to Shape a New Age* (London: Aurum, 2011).

[397] *Empire Exhibition: Scotland, 1938: Official Guide* (Glasgow: McCorquodale & Co. Ltd., 1938), 71, UGSC, Sp. Coll. Mu. Add. 118.

[398] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 65.

rhetoric rather than discipline and made individuals complicit rather than submissive. Thus, the architectural spaces of the institutions that comprised the exhibitionary complex tempered the behaviour of patrons through rendering "the multitude accessible to its own inspection."[399] In Bennett's estimation, the International Exhibition, perhaps more than any other exhibitionary paradigm, encouraged visitors to study those around them:

> To see and be seen, to survey yet always be under surveillance, the object of an unknown but controlling look: in these ways, as micro-worlds rendered constantly visible to themselves, expositions realized some of the ideals of panopticism in transforming the crowd into a constantly surveyed, self-watching, self-regulating, and, as the historical record suggests, consistently orderly public.[400]

Through its emphasis on observation, the International Exhibition in Bennett's estimation turned individuals assembled within its grounds into a society constantly watching over itself. Crucially, this implies that one's fellow spectators became a major source of fascination, and that the crowd was just as engaging as the objects that were carefully and deliberately displayed for one's intellectual benefit. While Bennett's contention that the International Exhibition was informed by an epistemology based on a correlation between seeing and knowing, a premise that foregrounded acts of observation and



Figure 4.13. Muirhead Bone, *The Garden Front* (1901) etching. An impressionistic rendering of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 that captures exhibition-goers leisurely ambling through the grounds of Kelvingrove Park. Devoid of any reference to the exhibition's stated focus – the objects, artworks and artefacts displayed in its main buildings – Bone's subject the crowd itself. *Exhibition Etchings: A Series of Ten Original Plates by Muirhead Bone* (Glasgow: T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1901). ©CSG CIC Glasgow Museums and Libraries Collection: The Mitchell Library, Special Collections, GC 643525.

[399] Ibid, 86.
[400] Ibid, 69.

study, is a sound one, his argument at points lacks a grounding in historical examples. One is left wondering, for instance, what specific devices enabled the surveillance and fostered the discipline he describes. In order to move beyond a largely theorised account of a complex set of relations it is necessary to delve a bit deeper into the issue of whether the International Exhibition succeeded in its aim of encouraging visitors to interact with one-another in the way Bennett maintains. Combining features of the Panopticon with aspects of the panorama, the technology of vision promoted by the exhibitionary complex rendered the crowd visible to itself. However, what historical materials reveal that exhibition-goers indulged in people-watching, studying their fellow spectators in as much detail as they did the objects exhibited for their enjoyment and education? Responding to this desire for a meatier engagement with primary accounts and relevant historical sources, this final section looks to Glasgow's early International Exhibitions for demonstrable evidence of Bennett's trenchant theoretical analysis. What is more, it draws out larger conclusions concerning how the interlinked practices of display and observation reinforced the International Exhibition's dominant discourses, particularly those regarding the relationship between the exhibition's constituent parts and its whole.

Contemporary sources, particularly popular guides, indicate the crowd was indeed a subject of intrigue at Glasgow's International Exhibitions. A particularly fascinating example is a short pamphlet titled *St. Mungo and its 1901 Exhibition*. A collection of brief narratives accompanied by cartoons and sketches, this curious pamphlet gently mocks the exhibition, its organisers, municipal figures of authority and the city of Glasgow as a whole. According to its authors the purpose of the pamphlet was to "warn the traveller of the numerous pit-falls in the streets under repair, to point the quickest route to the Exhibition, to show the humours of the street, and mildly to shake cap and bells at the city of St. Mungo."[401] While purportedly addressed to "the tourist" and "the stranger", the publication reads as a series of inside jokes, suggesting it was actually aimed at local audiences. The main narrative takes the reader on a tram journey from the city centre to Kelvingrove Park, highlighting sites along the route such as the City Chambers, the Corporation Galleries and the large shopping warehouses of Sauchiehall Street. This is supplemented by a collection of sketches that identify characters typical of Glasgow's street scenes that the traveller should observe while perched on the upper deck of the tram that moves them through the city (figure 4.14). Approaching the exhibition, visible from a distance with "the graceful minarets of the 1901 Groveries silhouetted against the sky," the journey eventually comes to a close.[402] The narrative concludes when one is about to pass through the turnstiles, with the final paragraph suggesting the reader blag their way into the exhibition and gain free entry by pretending to be a member of the press. In this way, the pamphlet emboldens those planning a trip to the exhibition to inhabit the role of the observer, to become a people-watcher, even before passing through the entrance gates. This transforms the reader, who was likely a resident of Glasgow, into an external spectator momentarily seeing the city and eventually its exhibition through fresh eyes.

The sights and sounds visible on one's approach to the exhibition were only the beginning, as evidenced by a similarly satirical publication. *1901 Glasgow Exhibition: Sketches Humorous and Otherwise* contains very little text, relying instead on images to convey the main attractions, key sights and general

401 Burch and Shem, *St. Mungo and its 1901 Exhibition.*
402 Ibid.

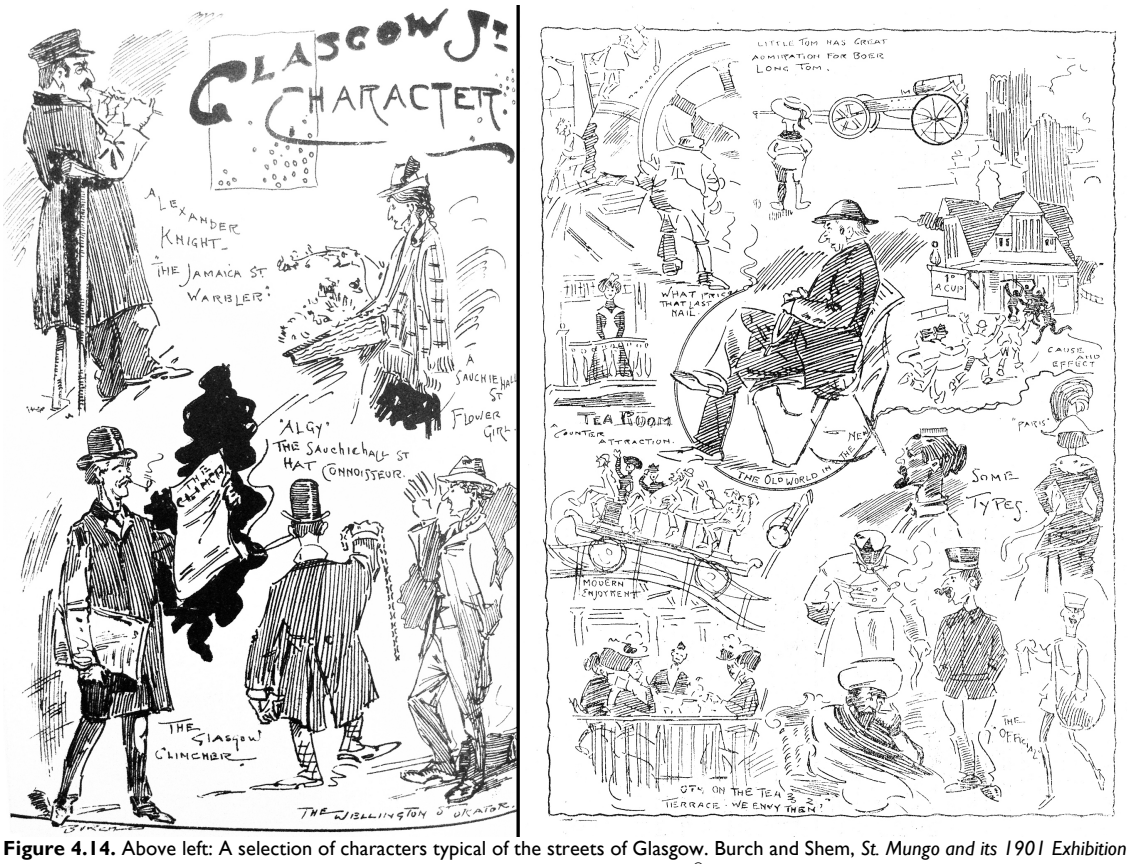

Figure 4.14. Above left: A selection of characters typical of the streets of Glasgow. Burch and Shem, *St. Mungo and its 1901 Exhibition Illustrated and Written by Burch and Shem* (Glasgow: William Gorman & Co., 1901). ©CSG CIC Glasgow Museums and Libraries Collection: The Mitchell Library, Archives, PA11.1, vol.1.

Figure 4.15. Above right: A selection of "types" on display at the exhibition. J. Burch, Wilson Beaton and John Hamilton McLure, *1901 Glasgow Exhibition: Sketches Humorous and Otherwise* (Glasgow: Frederick W. Wilson & Co., 1901). ©CSG CIC Glasgow Museums and Libraries Collection: The Mitchell Library, Special Collections, GC CD606.4 (1901) 212108.

activity that engulfed Kelvingrove Park in the summer and autumn of 1901.[403] Through evocative sketches and humorous cartoons it imparts a feeling of what it would have been like to experience the exhibition. In amongst simple illustrations of the exhibition's main buildings like the Industrial Hall and the Canadian, Irish and Russian Pavilions, are light-hearted caricatures of people you would likely rub shoulders with. One vignette titled "Kelvinsighed" pokes fun at a well-dressed woman whose narrow waist, prominent bust and bouffant hair pegs her as an archetypal Gibson Girl.[404] This fashionable woman boasts of visiting all the exhibition's restaurants to her male companion, who is also smartly dressed in a striped boater hat, cravat, waistcoat and jacket. But when asked her opinion on the menu prices, and mistaking mention of the "tariff" for a restaurant, the woman replies that her favourite is the Grosvenor, one of the exhibition's more upmarket establishments, which provokes her companion to scoff at her ill-informed opinion. Further into the pamphlet is a composite image containing numerous cartoons of different types of people all jumbled together on the one page (figure 4.15). There is a tableau of a group of well-dressed women taking tea, perhaps on the balcony of Miss Cranston's Tea House, that is captioned "On the tea terrace. We envy them." Another observation of class distinctions, but one portraying those farther down the social ladder, shows a crowd of men

[403] J. Burch, Wilson Beaton and John McLure Hamilton, *1901 Glasgow Exhibition: Sketches Humorous and Otherwise* (Glasgow: Frederick W. Wilson & Co., 1901), ML, GC CD606.4 (1901) 212108.
[404] The Gibson Girl was a notion of ideal femininity that began appearing in the 1890s associated with the satirical pen-and-ink illustrations of the American illustrator Charles Dana Gibson.

rushing towards a building outside of which hangs a sign advertising "1D A CUP." Done in a so-called Old English style and furnished exclusively with Chippendale furniture, this was the pavilion erected by the Dutch cocoa and chocolate producer Van Houten, which gave visitors a biscuit, a serviette and a cup of cocoa served in Royal Worcester porcelain all for just one penny.[405] These two humorous sketches chime with reports of visitors complaining that food and drink was too expensive at the exhibition's cafés and restaurants.[406]

In addition to highlighting these local characters, this same illustration identifies a number of more exotic 'types.' Recalling the Empire Exhibition Mounties it is easy to imagine the officers being subjects of caricature had a similar publication been produced in 1938: easily recognisable through their bright red uniforms, associated with stories of adventure and heroism and symbols of an otherness, they were objects of fascination that captured the public's imagination. Some thirty years earlier, characters of popular interest included a dark-skinned figure shown in profile who might be one of the performers from the Indian Theatre, and a moustachioed man dressed in a long military-style jacket smoking a pipe, whom one can presume was with the Russian delegation. It is worth drawing particular attention to the character at the centre of this sketch. Larger in scale than all other figures, it is a plain-looking middle-aged man, umbrella in hand, sitting by himself on a bench. Meant to represent an ordinary Glaswegian, this man is taking a moment's rest from the hustle and bustle that surrounds him. This is meant in a literal sense in terms of what surrounds this figure on the page, and in a metaphorical sense regarding the real-life setting of the exhibition that this composite image references. A quiet, contemplative scene described as the old world meeting the new, it uses the man to allegorise the core aims and aspirations of the International Exhibition. Alongside steam-powered drills, gas engines and power looms or, equally well, the latest women's fashions, upmarket domestic furniture and masterpieces by esteemed painters of the day, this unremarkable character becomes an object lesson in the story of progress and development that lay at the centre of this exhibitionary form. These humorous snapshots demonstrate that the International Exhibition was a place where social groups came into direct contact with each other, although this is not to say these events encouraged a mixing between classes. Rather, these sources reveal a fascinating self-consciousness whereby observers were acutely aware of social markers, and understood it was precisely these differences that made the commotion of exhibitions intriguing and captivating.

A final and particularly convincing source that confirms Bennett's theory that the crowd was a major source of interest at International Exhibitions can be found inside issues of *The Exhibition Illustrated*. Packed with photographs and illustrations, this weekly publication contained interviews with organisers, news and notes for the week, event listings and performance schedules. A compendium of all that was going on at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, *The Exhibition Illustrated* has the added value of giving the historian alternate views and interpretations of the event since it was not an official publication. A recurring section called The Kodak at Large printed photographs taken by members of the public, with a prize of one guinea awarded to the "best snap-shots of character or incident in the Exhibition Grounds." Images published in these pages diverge from those taken by T.

[405] *Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901: Official Guide*, 83-84.
[406] *The Exhibition Illustrated*, 11 May 1901.

& R. Annan & Sons, official photographer of the exhibition, whose photographs constitute the vast majority that remain available to researchers. Through creating a set of stock images that were reproduced in souvenir albums, newspaper reports and on postcards, Annan directed how the exhibition was documented and preserved. Where the Annan images offer a restricted or controlled view of the exhibition, those taken by *The Exhibition Illustrated*'s amateur, roaming shutterbugs are a stark contrast. Although oftentimes poorly composed and blurry, these images are nonetheless significant because they reveal what captured the attention of ordinary exhibition-goers. The first issue for instance contains six photographs that show the exhibition in its final stages of construction. The following week's edition unveils it completed: there is a glimpse of Princess Louise, still in mourning dress, opening the exhibition; crowds enjoying a turn on the Switchback Railway and the Venetian gondolas; and a man caught in the act of breaking one of the rules of the exhibition which forbade spectators from taking photographs with the aid of a tripod or stand. As the weeks go on there are photographs of café staff taking a moment's rest (18 May), spectators battling the rain (22 June), groups finding their way through the grounds (25 May), and throngs of people watching a parade of Scottish pipers (6 July) and a procession of Indian musicians (29 June).

The images that best demonstrate spectators' interest in the characteristics and behaviour of those around them is a set of photographs published in the edition from June 8th. Captioned "A Nap" and "The Awakening", the subject of both is a man dozing on a bench in front of the Industrial Hall (figure 4.16). In the first image it is just the photographer, identified as A. Clelland, who notices this individual. Sat on his own, the man seems to be in the midst of a deep sleep, slumped on the bench

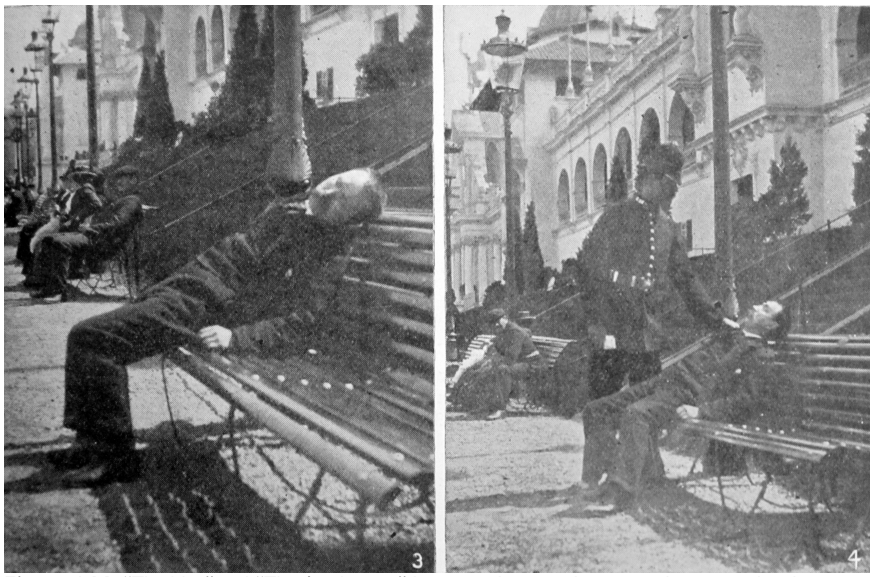

Figure 4.16. "The Nap" and "The Awakening." Just two photographs among the many taken by visitors to the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, and published in the weekly magazine *The Exhibition Illustrated* in the section titled The Kodak at Large. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. Bh12-a.26.

with his head drooping to one side. Its pair captures the moment he is awakened by a police officer who grips the man's shoulder and looks down, one imagines quite sternly, from underneath the brow of his helmet. The man has now been caught in the act of misbehaving in the public space of the exhibition and not just by the police officer, the obvious figure of authority, but by his fellow

exhibition-goers: just in behind we see a man sat on a neighbouring bench who leans forward to study the action, and of course there is the photographer who watched the entire scene unfold through his camera lens. Members of the public were encouraged to focus their attentions on fellow spectators through features like *The Exhibition Illustrated*'s Kodak at Large column. In publishing the resulting images and making them available to wider audiences, this publication revealed exhibition-goers to themselves. The humorous sketches and caricatures described above functioned in much the same way. Holding a mirror to Glaswegian society, the crowd is clearly an object of fascination and intrigue in these scenes.

Through performing a specular function the particular genre of visual representation of Glasgow's early International Exhibitions analysed above substantiate Bennett's argument regarding the discursive power of the exhibitionary complex. Betraying a pronounced fusion of a sense of spectacle with the act of surveillance, these images demonstrate Bennett's theory that the International Exhibition was predicated on a technology of vision that emphasised the act of observation. Popular publications like those highlighted here focused readers' attentions on the movements, behaviours, appearances and conversations of exhibition-goers and then fed these subjects back to the general populace. In some cases, they even captured moments of one spectator observing, studying and photographing another, which delivered a clear message to readers that a fundamental part of the experience of visiting the exhibition was undertaking precisely this activity. By reproducing pictures of exhibition-goers they in turn encouraged visitors to apply a rigorous way of seeing as much to the people they rubbed shoulders with, as to the material objects that were the declared focus of International Exhibitions. If a day spent at the exhibition was not complete without a careful inspection of all manner of goods or taking a turn around the grounds, one could also not miss out on the opportunity it presented for intense people-watching.

Popular publications like Burch and Shem's humorous pamphlets and *The Exhibition Illustrated*, which were specific to Glasgow's International Exhibitions and aimed primarily at local readers, offer compelling and original evidence of Bennett's assessment that the crowd was the "ultimate spectacle" at International Exhibitions.[407] The above investigation also enriches Niquette and Buxton's argument that International Exhibitions were "a great source of material for the depiction of people's inner thoughts about others."[408] However, it also supports an important intervention into this existing analysis, since these satirical images and amateur photographs reveal more than just visitors' perceptions of others. Rather, the manner through which they were consumed, printed and circulated in popular and affordable publications, points to the existence of a thirst for this type of material. As was candidly explained in the introduction to a book of humorous sketches, "our artist was afflicted by a brilliant, a colossal, a luminous thought. What the people want, he dogmatically asserted, is a book of Exhibition Sketches."[409] Consequently, these visual sources speak to a two-fold reflexivity at play in the International Exhibition. Illustrations and photographs that position the crowd as the main subject reveal how individuals within it perceived the habits and appearances of those around them, and at the

[407] Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, 68.
[408] Manon Niquette and William Buxton, "Meet Me at the Fair: Sociability and Reflexivity in Nineteenth-Century World Expositions," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 22:1 (1997).
[409] Burch et al., *1901 Glasgow Exhibition: Sketches Humorous and Otherwise*.

same time speak to a wider fascination with and desire to consume pointed social observations of this nature.

Key to Bennett's argument is his contention that visitors were made aware of the spectral gaze of their fellow patrons through "technologies of vision" embedded in the architectural forms of the International Exhibition, which engendered a constant compulsion to observe. Prominent viewing platforms were the structures most often used to create the sense of panopticism Bennett outlines. The monumental tower is perhaps the most obvious material expression of this concept, given it provided panoramic views of an entire exhibition thereby making visitors aware of the ever-present gaze of their fellow patrons. Well-known examples include the Eiffel Tower, which was built for the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1889, and Seattle's Space Needle, which anchored that city's 1962 World's Fair. Glasgow's most notable offering of this kind was the Tower of Empire, which was built for the Empire Exhibition: Scotland of 1938. Measuring 300 feet high and supporting three observation decks that could hold 300 spectators, the tower became the tallest enclosed structure ever built in Britain. Its mammoth foundation blocks may still be lodged in Bellahouston Hill, however, the tower itself no longer exists, but in spite of this it remains one of the exhibition's most enduring symbols, living on through illustrations, photographs and all manner of souvenirs imprinted with its likeness (figure 4.17). But it was not only large, formidable towers that encouraged the practices of observation Bennett argues were characteristic of the exhibitionary complex. International Exhibitions regularly contained a variety of structures that served the same ends. A noteworthy example seen in Glasgow was the aerial railway erected for the Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art & Industry, which swept visitors up and across the grounds and made for a thrilling futuristic attraction in contrast to the overall historicist tone of the event. Even something as unassuming as a bench erected by the side of a pedestrian path or facing an ornamental fountain could perform this function by encouraging the exhibition-goer to indulge in a moment of crowd-gazing, thus facilitating the viewing not of objects but of the crowds passing before them.



Figure 4.17. The Tower of Empire designed by Thomas Tait for the Empire Exhibition: Scotland, 1938. "6 Views in Art Colour, from original water colours by Brian Gerald," lettercard, London: Valentine & Sons, 1938. Courtesy of Glasgow Museums, PP. 1978.66.1.

International Exhibitions may have encouraged people-watching through the way they corralled large groups into clearly defined locations, however, this practice was not an uncommon one. Qureshi for example regards human exhibitions mounted in nineteenth-century London, a practice that straddled scientific investigation and popular entertainment, as part of a broader preoccupation with street-life. The early part of the century saw increased concern over the swelling of cities, which sparked an interest in observing the behaviour of Britain's growing number of urban dwellers. Out of

this developed an urban literature that framed the city as a stage full of weird, sometimes wonderful and sometimes worrisome characters. *Glasgow in 1901*, a source referred to a number of times already, falls into this category. Another pertinent text is *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs*, which was written by Shadow and published in 1858. Drawn from the author's real-life observations of Glasgow's urban environment, it was intended to be a "means of deepening the already deep interest felt in the subject of 'Life in the Streets, Wynds, and Dens of the City'."[410] As Qureshi explains, "urban spectatorship depended on viewing people as objects available for visual inspection and consumption."[411] Consequently, when the International Exhibition emerged in the mid-nineteenth century and reached its peak in the following decades, it joined this existing tradition of urban observation.

Arguably, the architectural feature that best demonstrates this concept of panopticism with respect to the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 is the Great Dome. In the previous chapter the domes designed by Sellars and Miller were examined for the purpose of interrogating the relationship between the exhibition and the city. Here, they are brought back into the discussion in aid of illuminating how architectural features of the International Exhibition, in this case defining visual elements of Glasgow's early fairs, encouraged specific patterns of behaviour in exhibition-goers and mediated their practices of observation. While different in appearance to a vertical tower, these structures performed the same symbolic and discursive role. Emphasising the significance of Sellars' spherical structure, the official guide to the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888 for instance described it as "undoubtedly the leading architectural feature" of the exhibition.[412] Of particular relevance is the fact that both Sellars and Miller opted to incorporate a balcony that functioned as an observation deck around the base of each dome, from which visitors could take in expansive views of the exhibition and survey the human activity sprawling below them. The balcony beneath Miller's dome for instance formed a promenade 400 feet in circumference and 25 feet wide.[413] Promotional literature strongly encouraged visitors to make the ascent, and stressed it was a must-see. "Visitors are not likely to leave the Exhibition without appearing on the balcony outside the great dome, from which a magnificent view of the grounds is obtained, the sight being at once impressive and dazzling," explained a popular guide to the 1888 exhibition.[414] What the guide does not say is that visitors were unlikely to leave the exhibition without being observed by those stood atop it, studying the view. In both 1888 and 1901 the grand entrances to the exhibitions' main buildings were located directly beneath these look-out points, meaning visitors had no choice but to pass under the watchful eyes of other patrons as they made their way in and out of these structures.

While the external character of the dome conforms to Bennett's understanding of panopticism – rising above the exhibition grounds and affording an elevated vantage point, it turns the crowd into an object of interest – it is equally as important to think about the technologies of vision at work inside these structures, something Bennett does not address. Being "under the dome" was a common subject in textual accounts and visual representations of the exhibitions of 1888 and 1901. Guides often

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[410] Shadow, *Midnight Scenes and Social Photographs: Being Sketches of Life in the Streets, Wynds, and Dens of the City* (Glasgow: Thomas Murray and Sons, 1858. Reprint, Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1976. Citations refer to the 1976 edition), v.
[411] Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 46.
[412] *International Exhibition Glasgow, 1888: Official Guide*, 49.
[413] "Commissioner's Report Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901," 233.
[414] *Elliot's Popular Guide to Glasgow and the Exhibition*, 31.

included chapters or sections dedicated expressly to this area of the exhibition and described what visitors would have seen when looking up into their lofty expanses. What is more, this sight proved particularly popular amongst artists and photographers who documented these events. This specific view was thus routinely captured and as a result souvenirs, photographs and publications frequently include representations of this subject (figure 4.18 and figure 4.19). Being underneath or inside these structures therefore constitutes a representational trope specific to Glasgow's early International Exhibitions, but one that is also in harmony with the wider tradition and the predilection for vertical structures that afforded panoramic views.

Whilst stood under the dome or beneath the tower one has the sensation of being watched from above or scrutinised by a higher power, feelings that signify an act of surveillance. The effect is different from the feeling of being observed when out in the grounds and within sight of patrons taking in the view from the elevated balconies that encircled the exhibitions' Great Domes. It is indirect in feel, more elusive, and thus closer to Bentham's original concept of the Panopticon, which was based on the presence of a central but simultaneously invisible figure of authority. Bentham believed this one-way system of observation, which enabled for power of mind over mind, would result in individuals regulating their own behaviour under the perceived pressure of being surveyed at all times by an omniscient inspector. The scriptural phrases and large allegorical figures that decorated the insides of the Great Domes erected for the exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 augmented this sensation. In the first instance these visual features were meant to inspire amazement, wonder and veneration. However, the scale of the cavernous spaces they adorned rendered the individual minute, perhaps shrinking them to such an extent that it engendered a more fearful sense of awe in spectators. At the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 this impression was reinforced through revealing the omniscient eye of power that the vast, hallowed space inside the Great Dome conjured up. I am referring here to the immense statue of Edward VII that stood immediately below the internal apex of Miller's dome. As can be seen in figure 4.19, the monarch cast a

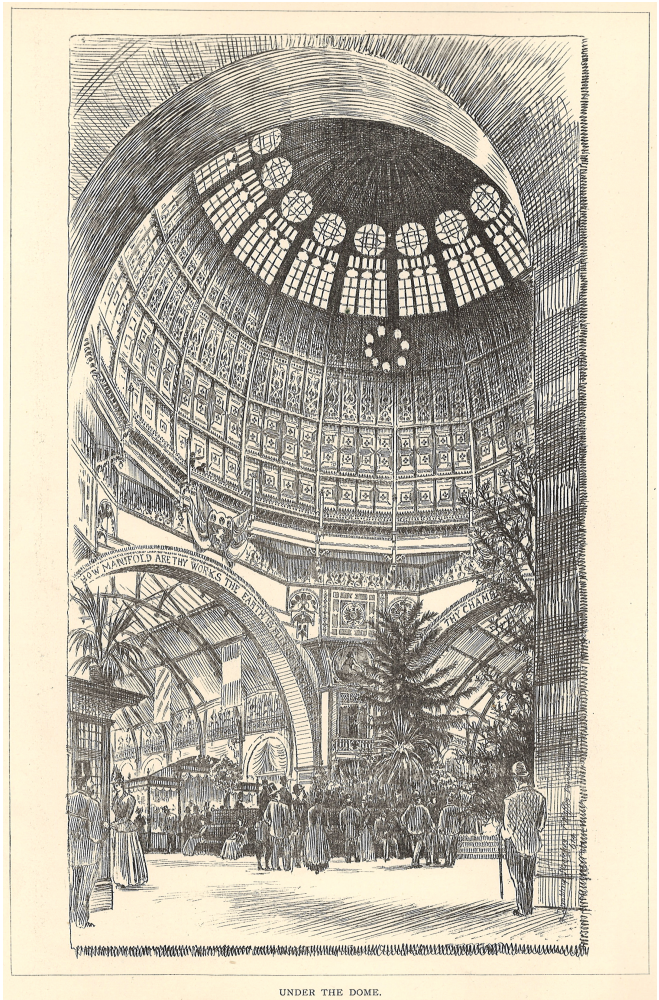

Figure 4.18. "Under the Dome" at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888. *Pen-and-Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition*. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. Mu23-x.8.

watchful eye over the activity below, and rose well above the heads of exhibition-goers who brushed by his feet, almost scurrying as they circulated among exhibits.

An exaggerated representation of the foremost symbol of the British state and its empire, this statue of Edward VII exemplifies Stewart's theory on the symbolic potential of the gigantic. Investing the oversized with power over all that it dwarfs, Stewart argues that objects like public monuments and memorials derive rhetorical clout from the way they are routinely above and over, which denies the viewer a transcendent position.[415] Interpreted thus, the colossal statue of Edward VII acted upon exhibition-goers and turned them into miniatures. As a result, they became "enveloped by the gigantic, surrounded by it, enclosed within its shadow," and so rendered "insignificant."[416] Fulfilling Stewart's description of "the town giant", the exhibition's larger-than-life representation of Edward VII memorialised the imposition of central authority.[417] It is worth noting, however, that the monarch's likeness was not impervious to criticism:

> The statue of King Edward, raised on a high circular pedestal, is a standing figure, in a field-marshal's uniform, of heroic size. This is its demerit, for there is little of interest in huge jack-boots, and these are chiefly in evidence to the spectator on the floor level. … [A] portrait bust supported by emblematic figures would have been much more interesting.[418]

According to the *Art Journal* then, the statue was an ill-conceived representation that added little to the general scheme of decoration inside Miller's dome. This reflection reveals that the rhetorics of power and surveillance commonly applied to these events by present-day scholars were by no means beyond the realm of debate at the time these events were mounted. The *Art Journal* did not have a wide readership meaning its reproach, while noteworthy, cannot necessarily be taken as a reflection of general opinion on the effect engendered by the imposing statue of Edward VII. Consequently, the figure's deeply symbolic function remains largely intact. Representing not simply the power vested in the British monarchy or the authority of the British state, the overriding message was that of Edward VII surveying his realm. This figure of supreme authority observed all that was laid out before him, taking in the empire in miniature assembled below. Articulating this interpretation through parlance typical of the time, this statue thus functioned as head of the 'imperial family' that was brought together at the International Exhibition, of which Britain was its 'mother country'.

Located in the middle of the Industrial Hall, which was the centre of the exhibition and stood immediately below the crown of Miller's dome, there was a strong visual relationship between the statue of Edward VII and the Great Dome. It can thus be argued that this architectural form was vested with the same discursive powers as the statue, meaning that a feeling of imperial belonging radiated out from the Great Dome, which rose above the grounds and was visible from every one of its corners. Consequently, it can be argued that the exhibition's constituent parts were rendered subservient to this central point of symbolic authority. Indeed, this set of relations permeates the three distinct subjects analysed above. Thinking back to the nine works by Canadian artists that were assembled by James Mavor and exhibited at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, these

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[415] Stewart, *On Longing*, 89.
[416] Ibid, 71.
[417] Ibid, 90.
[418] McGibbon, "The Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901," *Art Journal* (July 1901): 219.



Figure 4.19. Beneath the Great Dome of the Industrial Hall of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. Souvenir photo album of 20 images taken and printed by T. & R. Annan & Sons. By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections, Sp.Coll. DouganAdd.54.

pieces lost their intended meaning once hung in the gallery space. Subsumed by the organisational logic of the Fine Art Section, these works failed to generate the interest in Canadian art among metropolitan audiences Mavor had hoped for. When put on view the works became indistinguishable from those around them, and served not as unique illustrations of contemporary artistic practices in Canada, but as largely anonymous works ostensibly representative of nineteenth-century British art. By contrast, the displays organised by the Canadian government attracted considerable attention from exhibition-goers. Having negotiated with organisers to secure as much space as possible, Canada exerted a stronger and more defined presence than it had at Glasgow's first International Exhibition, a shift noted by many. The exhibits of mineral resources, agricultural products and manufactured goods seem to have successfully disseminated a revised vision of Canada, fulfilling the government's intended aim. Although an image of Canadian nationhood was promoted through the materials contributed to the exhibition's main classes, something that did not come to fruition in the Fine Art Section, these markers of identity were nonetheless projected through an imperial lens. The official image of Canada presented at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 may have been that of a country in the midst of economic, industrial and social development, processes that in turn were fostering an emerging national consciousness, however, these expressions of growth were made in the hope of carving out Canada's purpose and position within the British Empire. In short, Canadian distinctiveness was articulated through a vocabulary of imperial belonging.

British commentators may have responded positively to the Canadian government's message and accepted a renewed vision of the Dominion, however, the relationship between Britain and its colonial territories remained defined by a sense of paternalism. As one popular guide to the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 noted,

> During the past five decades our Colonial children have grown sturdy and strong – have, indeed, blossomed into manhood. We have ceased to write their history for them; they are commencing to make it for themselves, and their vast resources will stand them in good stead when they shall, at some future time, dispute the mother's claim to that commercial supremacy which at present she will relinquish to none.[419]

It was this ordered and ideal image of the British Empire that exhibition-goers surveyed when they ascended the heights of the Great Dome. Although the International Exhibition in some respects acted as a platform from which isolated expressions of individuality could be disseminated, the exhibition's chief aim was to reinforce the bonds of empire. In this way the International Exhibition bore qualities of both the miniature and the gigantic. Reemploying Stewart's treatise, these exaggerated modes of signification are linked through metaphors of containment, whereby the miniature is enclosed and the gigantic is the enclosure.[420] Consequently, through performing as a space in which the British Empire was displayed in miniature, the International Exhibition functioned as an arena inside of which individual expressions of uniqueness were subsumed by a larger rhetorical framework that reinforced an imagined sense of unity. This dichotomy echoes that between notions of exceptionalism and representativeness introduced at the beginning of this chapter. These recurring points of tension reveal that while the International Exhibition projected a seemingly stable image of the British Empire, underneath this surface lay a complex set of relations between the exhibition's myriad constituent parts. Vying for attention, each envisaged a distinct iconography of self, but one nonetheless informed by an imperial subjectivity.

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[419] *Ogden's Penny Guide to Glasgow and the International Exhibition of 1901* (Glasgow: Scottish Guide Co., 1901), 20, ML, GC 606.4 (1901) 249569.
[420] Stewart, *On Longing*, 71.

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CONCLUSION

Paths of Trajectory and Points of Intersection

If we cast our thoughts to an early chapter, it will be recalled how in around 1890 a small agricultural community in southern Ontario set about joining a global culture of exhibition-making, one typified by huge spectacles held in major metropolises like London and Paris that by the late-nineteenth century had spread to an assortment of lesser known localities. If we reflect still further back, we encounter someone who in all likelihood visited Picton's Crystal Palace, and may even have been well acquainted with this glazed wooden structure. When she wrote to the Department of Trade and Commerce in March 1938, enquiring about an upcoming International Exhibition being held in Glasgow, Sarah McKenzie was living in Picton, the largest one-street town in Prince Edward County. One gets a sense of Picton's size from the address at the top her letter, which simply reads "Mrs. Sarah McKenzie, Bridge Street, Picton, Ontario." A short stretch of road that now connects Loyalist Parkway to Picton Main Street, Bridge Street is no more than a 15-minute walk away from the Country Fairgrounds and its historic Crystal Palace. Picking up Mackenzie's story, which was introduced in the opening pages of this thesis, I do not know whether in the end she made the trip from Picton to visit the Empire Exhibition: Scotland in Glasgow. The hurried tone of her writing conveys an anxiety that is compounded by McKenzie's admission it would be difficult for her to afford passage from Canada to Scotland, even if she were to pool her resources with her relatives'. Did she get to see her father and brother after an almost forty-year separation? Did she experience what would come to be the city's largest but also its last International Exhibition, and indeed the final event of its kind held in Britain? Such questions may be unanswered, however, the historical processes symbolised by McKenzie's letter nonetheless imbue it with significance.

In the late-1930s Glasgow was struggling in the face of declining productivity and attendant economic insecurity. Mounting a major International Exhibition in the city was initially proposed by the Scottish Development Council, which saw it as a strategy for combatting industrial decline and growing unemployment through showing off Britain's resources, fostering trade within the empire and emphasising imperial strength and unity, all of which it was believed would help stimulate Scottish production. These concerns were alleviated less through any tangible benefits derived from the Empire Exhibition: Scotland and more as a result of the Second World War. This event temporarily boosted Glasgow's economy, but the sharp rise was followed by swift decline and de-industrialisation from the 1960s onwards, which led to increased unemployment, urban decay and high levels of emigration. Indeed, it was in this period that another wave of Scottish migrants settled in Canada. Happening upon



Figure 5.1. Front and back covers of a brochure produced by the Canadian government for the Empire Exhibition: Scotland, Glasgow, 1938. This is likely similar to the one Sarah McKenzie received from the Department of Trade and Commerce in response to her letter concerning travel arrangements to the exhibition. Library & Archives Canada, RG72: Canadian Government Exhibition Commission fonds, vol. 182, file 30955.

McKenzie's letter during a spell of fieldwork at the national archives in Ottawa, I lingered with it, struck by its sense of sadness. This sadness was evoked by what the letter appeared to reveal about its author who had left immediate family likely driven by a longing to improve her circumstances, and yet 40 years later seemed to be, at least financially, perhaps no better off than if she had remained in Glasgow. In a broader context, her letter hints at major shifts that impacted the two intersecting paradigms that have been the focus of this thesis. It was written just 18 months before the beginning of the Second World War, an event that hastened decolonisation and the formal end of the British Empire, and also marked the point at which the unique model of the International Exhibition faded from the cultural landscape. If the International Exhibition was a product of empire as many scholars maintain, perhaps it is not surprising the two declined in tandem. Among events staged in Britain it was a recurring maxim that International Exhibitions were opportunities to bring an imagined imperial family together in one location, hence leaving this exhibitionary paradigm bereft of one of its chief aims upon its break-up.

It is hoped that in having reached this point the reader will feel as though he or she has progressed through three clearly defined interpretive layers of the International Exhibition. Discussing the existing scholarship on these events, the introductory chapter outlined key themes, findings and arguments, and in doing so provided an abbreviated history of the tradition in order to foreground the specific events that are the clear focus of the present work. Each core chapter that followed examined Glasgow's culture of exhibition-making through three different lenses that magnified issues pertaining

to how such events were staged, what they looked like and what they contained. Consequently, shifting from one chapter to the next mirrors the act of delving progressively deeper through discrete strata of these events, uncovering different types of material along the way. The first core chapter ("Setting and Staging") for instance is grounded in an analysis of committee records, official accounts and correspondence sent between organisers in Glasgow and Canadian authorities. As the discussion progressed, however, we encountered schematic plans and photographs of vast palaces and ornate pavilions ("Architecture"), which then gave way to individual artworks, elaborate displays and first-hand accounts ("Showing and Telling"), materials that help capture what it would have been like to experience Glasgow's early International Exhibitions. The aim has thus been to position the reader as an omniscient figure who is able to watch these events unfold from initial planning stages, through their design and construction, until eventually reaching the point when these fantastical environments become populated by the objects, people and imaginings that enlivened them. In short, the preceding chapters have illustrated how the ambitions and expectations of various stakeholders, whether organisers, exhibitors or audiences, were translated onto the appearance and experience of these spectacles. Altogether then, the above discussion has explored the political and logistical framework of the International Exhibition, analysed the built form of these events, and examined the overt as well as implied meanings projected through objects that were on show.

The first substantive chapter centred on what was involved in bringing an International Exhibition to fruition, and how this particular type of public event was used strategically to elevate reputations and define identities of both organisers and exhibitors alike. Focusing on the preliminary history and early phases of Glasgow's adoption of the International Exhibition, it examined factors that directly and indirectly led to the mounting of Glasgow's first high-profile fair in 1888. As such, it addressed the complex reasons for why Glasgow entered the International Exhibition movement at the precise moment it did. Although wealth was by no means evenly distributed across its fast-growing population, Glasgow was one of Britain's most prosperous cities and had a progressive municipal government. Furthermore, it was a hub of ingenuity, a trait often linked to a savvy or canny attitude to the pursuit of commercial and industrial development, which supported claims Glasgow was the 'Second City of the Empire'. These factors make it surprising Glasgow was comparably late to take up this popular cultural form, which was said to encapsulate the spirit of the Victorian age.[421] International Exhibitions were, according to one contemporary source, "essentially nineteenth century institutions" and "the most characteristic modern method of publishing and recording, for the benefit of the rest of the world, what any particular community can do."[422] In seeking to understand this incongruity, this first chapter speculated on the reasons for this delayed response and examined the motivations that eventually pushed authorities to embrace such an initiative. Although Glasgow's first International Exhibition established it as a capable host city, the success of this event cannot solely be attributed to the aspirations of its planners. Rather, an exhibition's fame in part resulted from the willingness of exhibitors whose contributions accounted for the quantity and diversity of sights, displays, activities and amusements that were on offer, which is what attracted the hordes of visitors required to make

[421] *Tallis' History and Description of the Crystal Palace*, 26.
[422] "The Prince and Princess of Wales left London Yesterday Morning," *Glasgow Herald.*

any venture financially viable. Consequently, this chapter also examined what made Glasgow's exhibitions attractive to prospective participants in particular the Canadian government, which would go on to have a presence at all four of Glasgow's major fairs.

International Exhibitions were held with such regularity in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century that it became a competitive market, with exhibitors needing to feel confident their participation would bring some kind of gain in order to justify the cost of mounting an exhibit. As a result, the chapter on "Setting and Staging" demonstrated how International Exhibitions resulted from intricate and sometimes prolonged negotiations between actors, thus setting the scene for the two subsequent chapters that explored how this nexus of interests impacted the appearance and character of these events. What is more, it emphasised how intertwined the fortunes of Canada and Scotland were in this period. Illustrating how International Exhibitions, ostensibly cultural happenings, were utilised to promote specific interests that were reflective of contemporary concerns, it was suggested these events functioned as settings for nation-building in a material sense. This constitutes an important contribution to the existing scholarship on International Exhibitions, which seldom addresses why localities opted to host such events and precise reasons why exhibitors chose to participate. Although it is widely accepted International Exhibitions were fuelled by a routine set of ambitions that stemmed from decidedly idealistic wants – encouraging peace, educating the public and advancing civilisation being the most prominent –attempts to get beneath the surface of these claims and examine what exactly hung in the balance are scarce. Not only highlighting a set of case studies that have received comparatively little attention from scholars in spite of the significant contribution they made to Britain's exhibition landscape, this chapter therefore pushed beyond a generalised explanation for the occurrence of International Exhibitions. It pointed to concerns Canadian officials and organisers in Glasgow brought to bear upon the model of the International Exhibition, and outlined how these were pursued and negotiated at the planning stage. Consequently, it drew attention to the dynamic between universal and local cultures of exhibition-making, a novel theme that runs throughout this thesis.

Having considered the logistical complexities associated with mounting International Exhibitions through an overarching theme of setting and staging, the second major chapter focused on another layer of this exhibitionary paradigm and examined issues of layout, design and architecture. Predicated on the much-touted notion the International Exhibition presented a compressed version of global civilisation, this chapter investigated how an exhibition's built form helped persuade spectators that visiting was an act of travel and escape. It questioned how the architectural design and planning of the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 imaginatively transported visitors and engendered an experience akin to traversing a threshold or crossing a boundary into an imagined world. Consequently, it looked at the overall plan of each exhibition, paying particular attention to how Glasgow's fairs reflected a broadly-felt shift from a model epitomised by the Crystal Palace to a more distributed style of arrangement. Whereas Paxton's structure encapsulated all exhibits and displays under a single roof, as time wore on the International Exhibition came to resemble a sprawling city with multiple large pavilions complemented by smaller ancillary buildings, amenities and attractions. While both types of spatial formation promoted the idea that a trip to the fair was an opportunity for

travel and escape, it was argued this illusion became more convincing as the International Exhibition became more stratified.

From here, the discussion transitioned to examine what meanings were conveyed through the architectural styles employed by the architects of Glasgow's early exhibitions. Both Sellars and Miller envisioned rich and visually stimulating environments that appealed to popular imaginings of the Orient. For the six months they were open, the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 served as idyllic enclaves occupied by fantastical structures that contrasted the city's urban landscape. Through exaggerated architectural forms, manicured gardens and amusements, Glasgow's early exhibitions deliberately contrasted the sights, smells and sounds of the city at large. By simultaneously referencing a far-flung locale and presenting an ideal version of the city through its architectural forms and layout, these events fulfil Thomas' definition of an act of travel, which he identifies as "movement beyond one's customary assumptions."[423] Moreover, by promoting notions of escape, Glasgow's International Exhibitions aimed to stimulate feelings of respite in local exhibition-goers. However, the hope was that the built environment of Glasgow's fairs would communicate an equally important message to those looking upon these events from afar. If the contrast between the exhibition and the city held restorative properties for residents, it was intended to produce a revitalised vision of Glasgow in the minds of others. In Glasgow's case then, the International Exhibition was used as a tool to change popular opinions and combat notions it was a dirty, over-crowded and impoverished industrial city. These conclusions demonstrate that Glasgow's local culture of exhibition-making was typified by a determination to imaginatively transport spectators away from that which surrounded them, thus creating immersive environments that were a foil to city life. Glasgow's International Exhibitions, therefore, were not only covert reflections of contemporary worries over the wellbeing of local residents. Rather, they were the products of anxiety over how Glasgow's increasingly urban and industrial profile was directing the image of the city that occupied the minds of outsiders. This assessment adds another layer of understanding to the argument that insecurities often underlay the effusive demonstrations of prosperity and wealth that were so typical of the International Exhibition, and invites a more nuanced understanding of how and why notions of travel were constructed at these events.

Delving still deeper into the fabric of the International Exhibition the final chapter explored the theme of display. Faced with what felt like almost limitless choice when it came to sifting through an exhibition's content, I endeavoured to make sense of what was exhibited in a way that went beyond simply recounting what visitors would have seen. Revising Bennett's assessment that the International Exhibition was unparalleled in the way it facilitated the act of looking, the chosen approach was to examine three inter-linked processes I believe direct the presentation of objects in spaces of exhibition. How a small collection of artworks by a group of Canadian artists came to be exhibited at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, a story that revolved around the singular character of James Mavor, was used to develop the concept of assembly for instance. Although Mavor's attempt to bring British attention to a group of leading Canadian artists was largely unsuccessful, this was not the case with the

[423] Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture*, 6.

displays arranged by the Canadian government. Hinged upon an impressive display of Canada's agricultural wealth, the government's contribution to the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 constituted a deliberate attempt to project a self-image that contrasted dominant views of the Dominion. This strategy was partly a pragmatic one driven by a need to entice prospective emigrants, secure foreign investment and define Canada's role within the British Empire. However, these displays can also be read as symbolic gestures aimed at creating an image of nationhood. Changing British opinion about Canada and feeding a renewed understanding of the country back to Canadian audiences was a way of reinforcing the government's vision, a loop that reveals the depth of connection between Canada's budding national identity and its historic ties to Britain. Moving from the inanimate to the animate object, the final section interrogated the idea that the International Exhibition turned individuals assembled within its grounds into a society constantly watching over itself through employing technologies of vision that combined spectacle and surveillance. Chiefly a response to Bennett's theoretical consideration of the exhibitionary complex, this discussion looked to contemporary sources, particularly popular guides to Glasgow's exhibitions, for evidence of visitors studying their fellow spectators in as much detail as they did the objects assembled and displayed for their enjoyment and education. What is more, it examined how the interlinked practices of display and observation created a relationship between the exhibition's constituent parts and its whole that served as a metaphor for imperial cohesion. Through displaying the British Empire in miniature and presenting this to exhibition-goers, the International Exhibition subsumed individual expressions of uniqueness inside a rhetorical framework that reinforced an imagined sense of imperial unity.

A close examination of issues of display revealed that the three-fold process of assembly, projection and observation was integral to the construction and dissemination of meaning at International Exhibitions, an original conceptual structure introduced by this thesis. This approach addresses not only the content of an exhibition, but examines the trajectory that precipitates an object's arrival and questions how the environment in which an object is displayed directs our understanding of what has been offered up for our inspection. Influenced by the writings of Berger and O'Doherty, while also drawing on explorations of the social lives of objects and the growing literature regarding themes of materiality, this presents a method for analysing how exhibitions function as discursive spaces, and stresses how active these sites were, irrespective of their temporary nature. Consequently, although the above discussion employs the assembly-projection-observation rubric to International Exhibitions, it constitutes an innovative tool that could be easily applied to critical examinations of other varieties of exhibition such as displays of permanent collections, temporary gallery shows, biennials and art festivals, and even artists' interventions. All three chapters therefore address the question of how the International Exhibition aided the making and re-making of identities. Canada and Glasgow used the form of the International Exhibition to construct and in turn propagate collective self-images invested with qualities that at once established them as distinct and unique, setting each apart from others, but that also highlighted the central role both occupied in the British imperial system. This assessment demonstrates identity is not an innate or intrinsic concept, but rather that it is highly malleable and often evolves in response to, and therefore in turn reflects, contemporary needs and concerns. In his discussion of conflicting national identities that were in evidence at the Empire

Exhibition: Scotland, McArthur for instance reminds us that nationalism is "not an *essence* but a *process* constantly open to change and development according to the needs of the moment."[424] Consequently, the above analysis positions the International Exhibition as an environment in which this creative process repeatedly took place, an argument that imbues this exhibitionary paradigm with a level of significance that belies its outwardly ephemeral, even frivolous character.

Vestiges

Just as the chapters in this thesis maintain a consistent interest in questions of identity, the narrative that unfolds from one to the next is held together through an approach to telling these stories that places source material front and centre. Whether examining the procedural aspects of Glasgow's International Exhibitions, the spatial geography of these environments or an exhibition's content, at all points the discussion is rooted in what remains of these events. While a commitment to engaging with a plurality of primary sources has consistently informed the process behind this research, the materials that have come to direct the present analysis are different than originally anticipated. My initial presumption had been that there existed strong links between International Exhibitions and museums, what Rydell terms the "hand-in-glove relationship" between these two cultural institutions that developed in parallel during the nineteenth century.[425] Showcasing fine art, industrial goods, cutting-edge technical instruments, natural history specimens and ethnographic materials – in short bringing a wide array of things to one location – International Exhibitions were ripe with potential for institutions looking to enhance their collections. Such a connection seemed particularly fertile in Glasgow given the city's first International Exhibition intentionally raised funds for the construction of a prominent municipal museum and the second was held in aid of boosting the fledgling institution's acquisitions budget. This suggested that it might be possible to track down items that had been displayed at International Exhibitions and interrogate entanglements of empire through a close reading of these objects. However, this soon proved unfeasible. An exhibition's fine art galleries were largely made up of items loaned by private collectors, and goods and machinery were either sold off or packed up and returned to the factories, warehouses and shop-fronts they came from. In rare cases materials displayed in colonial and foreign courts were acquired. Glasgow's museum service for instance purchased objects from the Colonial & Indian Exhibition in 1886, and to a lesser extent the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, which became the bedrock of its collections from the Indian sub-continent.[426] The fundamental materiality of much of what the Canadian government displayed at International Exhibitions held prior to the First World War, however, precluded such a transferral even if it had been so desired by museum authorities in Glasgow. Grain samples, dairy products and bottled fruit

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424 Colin McArthur, "The Dialectic of National Identity: The Glasgow Empire Exhibition of 1938", in *Popular Culture and Social Relations*, eds. Tony Bennett, Colin Mercer and Janet Woollacott (London: Open University Press, 1986), 122. Italics in original.

425 Robert W. Rydell, "World Fairs and Museums," in *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 135.

426 For a contemporary description of these materials see T.N. Mukharji, *Art Manufacturers of India Specially Compiled for the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888* (Calcutta, 1888), ML, GC 606.4 (1888) 107774.

were not conducive to long-term preservation, no matter how imaginatively they had originally been displayed.

In her study of visual culture and its impact on the formation of collective identities in Canada, Karen Stanworth affirms John MacAloon's "theory of spectacle" and maintains that large public events of the nineteenth century were about "seeing, sight, and oversight."[427] Living and working not far from Kelvingrove Park, the location of all but one of Glasgow's exhibitions, and passing through it on an almost daily basis I became acutely aware of the historical weight of these events through their physical absence. Furthermore, while conducting fieldwork in cultural, heritage and archival institutions on both sides of the Atlantic, I encountered a range of materials reflective of the trans-empire encounters that took place through the International Exhibition, but these were not what I had expected. Given my interest in the relationship between Canada and Scotland, I had hoped to find portraits of political leaders displayed to evidence Canada's transformation into a nation-state following Confederation; items made by Aboriginal peoples that were exhibited as historical relics in order to emphasise the increasingly civil nature of Canadian society; photographs of Indian Residential Schools to show how this civility was wrought through the institution of federal education programs; and other items that speak loudly of Canada's history as a settler colony. In spite of an initial interest in exploring these more problematic issues, such concerns have not featured prominently in the above discussion. This apparent gap is in fact a direct reflection of what was – or rather was not – displayed at the exhibitions in question, a point flagged in the introductory chapter. Furthermore, it is an indicator of a lack of documentary and archival sources that could help explain this absence. I believe that such omissions represent an attempt by government agencies to sever any association between First Nations cultures and the consolidation of a Canadian national identity. It could perhaps be a demonstration of internal colonialism, whereby indigenous identities, histories and entitlements were deliberately left out of the narrative being constructed around this fledgling nation, not to mention projections for the future of the country. Although primary sources connected to the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 do not categorically confirm this speculation, these silences point to an area deserving of further research.

In place of the more charged items described above, I found exhibition guides, correspondence and meeting minutes, souvenirs and personal mementos, photographs and original artworks that capture the other-the-top nature of Glasgow's International Exhibitions. This unforeseen dichotomy proved fruitful, kindling a fascination with what the remaining traces of these events in fact reveal about the unique character of the International Exhibition and how they illustrate practices of exhibition-making. Consequently, I turned to those sources available to me, an assortment of photographs, etchings, paintings, satirical cartoons, catalogues, guides and architectural plans in an effort to re-constitute these events, building up a picture of their colour, form, shape and size and developing an appreciation of their textures, sounds and other sensorial qualities. Where textual documents do drive the analysis, such as in chapter two which addresses the logistical underpinnings

[427] Stanworth, *Visibly Canadian*, 148-9. See also John J. MacAloon, "Olympic Games and the Theory of Spectacle in Modern Societies," in *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals Toward a Theory of Cultural Performance*, ed. John J. MacAloon (Philadelphia, PA: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 241-280.

of Glasgow's International Exhibitions, this has been done in order to enrich our understanding of the physical sources, rather than the other way around. I repeatedly asked how the look and feel of an International Exhibition was impacted by the discussions and negotiations amongst and between organisers in Glasgow and Canada, evidence of which is primarily contained in letters, official correspondence and transcriptions of meetings. Additionally, printed primary sources like official and unofficial guides and catalogues have proved invaluable not just as texts that describe International Exhibitions, but for the way they encourage us to reflect on how spectators may have used such items. Do they betray signs of wear, indicate who might have purchased them, suggest how they directed the visitor's experience and reveal how they mediated spectators' understandings of what they were seeing? These are all questions that material objects pose to the researcher, and which allow one to bring forth the vestiges of International Exhibitions.

A principle that has guided the present research has been to engage with the physical remnants of those events staged in Glasgow in the late-Victorian and Edwardian periods in order to interrogate what was perceived as being the symbiotic relationship between Scotland and Canada. This involved re-tracing paths of movement and exchange between the two localities. The Canadian government's agricultural trophy, which was presented to spectators at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901, is a particularly good demonstration of how this methodology facilitated an exploration of these research questions. I first happened upon this object in Glasgow's Mitchell Library while consulting an issue of *The Exhibition Illustrated*, which featured a photograph of the trophy (recall figure 4.12) alongside an extended review of the Canadian section. While undertaking research in Ottawa a few months later I combed through files of the Department of Agriculture, keen to know more about the creation of this impressive (and admittedly quite humorous) structure. Expecting reams of correspondence and perhaps even sketches and designs, a mass of materials befitting an object that was the focal point of Canada's contribution, it was surprising to find little discussion among Canadian organisers. That said, it surfaced in a heated exchange between high-ranking officials in Canada and Britain – principally Minister of Agriculture Sidney Fisher and Canadian High Commissioner Lord Strathcona in correspondence with Joseph Chamberlain who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies – regarding disagreement over allocation of space at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900. This substantiated a passing comment made in *The Exhibition Illustrated* that the agricultural trophy had originally been destined for the Paris exposition but was "found to be unsuitable."[428] At this moment, an object that originally seemed to be little more than a wacky publicity tool transformed into a symbol of the jostling for power that typified International Exhibitions, thus revealing deep fissures over matters of self-representation that marred relations between Britain and its colonial possessions.

But this did not assuage my curiosity about the object itself. A hunt for more information about Canada's agricultural trophy eventually led to the Semiarid Prairie Research Centre (SPARC) in Swift Current, Saskatchewan, a government research agency that manages an Experimental Farm at Indian Head, Saskatchewan, which was established in February 1888. Within less than 24 hours of sending an email I predicted would be a dead end, I was delighted to hear a member of staff at Indian Head knew

[428] *The Exhibition Illustrated*, 27 July 1901.

about the trophy – a framed photograph of it used to adorn the walls of the research facility. Replying to my query Bruce McArthur, Associate Director of SPARC, wrote, "I'm certain that this was by far the most interesting task I requested of the staff today," and noted "such requests make life enjoyable."[429] Within another 24 hours I received scanned pages from an annual report published in 1902 that details why the trophy came to be, how the materials for it were amassed and identifies the individual responsible for designing and assembling it. As was suggested in chapter four, Canada's displays at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 communicated and embodied a burgeoning sense of nationhood. This argument was initially spurred on through an analysis of the singular object of the agricultural trophy and was latterly reinforced by accompanying textual evidence. This brief account demonstrates how the method of research that informs this thesis was directed by a commitment to unlocking the layers of meaning embedded in the material object, a genre of source that Hood reminds us "can lead to unique, often inspired, questions about the past."[430]

In methodically hunting for remaining fragments of Glasgow's early International Exhibitions the original boundaries of this research project wore away, and re-aligned to form something that was as concerned with what was displayed as *why* International Exhibitions looked and behaved the way they did. Driven by the content of the archive, this thesis became more about the institution of the International Exhibition and less focused on individual items that passed through it. Consequently, it has been explored how the International Exhibition functioned as a juncture or a point of contact between actors, and how the ambitions and interests of these parties were expressed in the visual and material culture of this exhibitionary paradigm. As Murray explains in his consideration of Canada's participation at London's Great Exhibition and the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1855, the International Exhibition emphasised the power of objects and, in particular, promoted "the idea of the thing functioning in terms of collective representation."[431] This is an extension of Thomas Schlereth's argument that objects either made or modified by humans "reflect the belief patterns of [the] individuals who made, commissioned, purchased, or used them, and by extension, the belief patterns of the larger society of which they are a part."[432] Rooted by this tenet of material culture studies, this thesis stems from an understanding that the International Exhibition deliberately underscored the representational qualities of material objects, the symbolic qualities of visual images and the communicative powers of both. Consequently, the present analysis intervenes in the existing literature by demonstrating that International Exhibitions were not only "visual encyclopaedias of knowledge about empire" as Mackenzie suggests, but were actually multi-sensory environments that bred a myriad of literal and metaphorical meanings.[433] What is more, by deliberately placing methodological concerns at the centre of this research, which led to a diligent search for sources and a rigorous engagement with those unearthed, it has been possible to overcome a tendency that exists in the field of colonial and post-colonial studies to overstate the illustrative powers of theory.

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[429] Bruce McArthur, e-mail message to author, 22 October 2015. The help of Henry de Gooijer, Coordinating Biologist at SPARC, must also be acknowledged since it was he who tracked down a report that detailed the trophy's construction.
[430] Adrienne Hood, "Material Culture: The Object," in *History Beyond the Text: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, eds. Sarah Barber and Corinna M. Peniston-Bird (London: Routledge, 2009), 176.
[431] Murray, "Canadian Participation and National Representation," 2.
[432] Thomas J. Schlereth, *Material Culture Studies in America* (Nashville, TN: Rowman Altamira, 1982), 3.
[433] John M. MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Cultures and Colonial Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 2.

This mode of inquiry has yielded a kind of inventory of what has been preserved of Glasgow's International Exhibitions, which were inherently ephemeral happenings. Although a worthwhile output on its own, the value of this approach lies more in what it can add to the extant scholarship, which is largely reliant on traditional sources, particularly mainstream press reports. Thus, MacAloon's assessment that a fundamental component of large public spectacles is the concept of "oversight" becomes a statement not just on what was omitted from International Exhibitions in the past, but a metaphor illustrative of gaps in scholarly discussions that have sought to document this history. My approach has been to take stock of the literature on International Exhibitions and address areas of oversight by looking at different levels of this cultural form, the compositions of which reflect the plurality of physical, visual and textual sources borne out of the archive. These correspond to the three interpretive layers outlined at the beginning of this chapter, which sequentially address logistics of setting and staging, composition of the built environment and architectural design, and issues of display linked through themes of showing and telling. While these three core chapters each focus on a separate facet of the International Exhibition all seek to answer the overarching research question that grounds this study, which asks how this exhibitionary paradigm functioned as a site where varying regional, national, colonial and imperial identities were constructed, performed and negotiated.

It is possible to conceptualise this methodology in a variety of ways, the most obvious being a mirror held up to the process of producing International Exhibitions. Tracing a fair's evolution from a preliminary idea through to its opening, the narrative structure of this thesis begins at the point when an initiative was launched, proceeds to a consideration of its physical construction, and comes to a close after having examined what objects filled its purpose-built structures and how visitors moved through this site of public spectacle once the gates had been flung open. A more dynamic explanation, however, comes from comparing this methodology to a geological dig. Here, the stages of planning and negotiation form the bedrock that supports an exhibition's growth and development from a prospective concept to an experienced reality. The two interpretive layers that rest on top are contingent upon this foundation and betray its original demarcations. The contours, crevices and spikes that resulted from contact between multiple elements – I am alluding to exhibition organisers in Glasgow and Canadian authorities here – come to define the lay of the land on top of which these events sprang forth. Thus, an exhibition's architecture and the objects it contained were contingent upon and reflective of the mix of ambitions, motivations and anxieties that helped define an exhibition at its earliest stages. Staying with this geological metaphor, it is only by drilling down to the core or foundations of an exhibition, pushing through its latter layers but keeping these in our peripheral vision, that we can read across the interpretive layers of the International Exhibition.

Trajectories

Conceived as a process akin to an excavation, the mode of inquiry outlined above allows one to address not just the what of International Exhibitions – what they looked like, what they contained and what narratives were disseminated – but deeper questions of why, which necessitates placing these cultural events in a geo-political context. A point developed over the course of this thesis is that

although the International Exhibition looked like a popular spectacle that coated mass education in a sugary shell of entertainment, individual events were actually directed by specific concerns of various contributors. Attuned to contemporary events of the political and economic sphere, each was the product of a unique time and place. Consequently, we can map a particular set of circumstances onto Glasgow's International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901. In the late-1880s Glasgow was emerging from a prolonged period of economic depression caused by a worldwide drop in prices that had begun in the early-1870s. Although widely felt, the effects were compounded in Glasgow by the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank in October 1878, which caused substantial losses of individuals' personal savings and forced the closure of many local businesses. Although a decade later there were signs of improvement, carrying out a large International Exhibition was a costly venture, making it a precarious undertaking. When the exhibition proved successful this was taken as further proof Glasgow was on the mend. As it was described in the *Glasgow Herald* on its opening day, the exhibition was an enterprise "of which the credit and honour of the city are in some sort concerned."[434] There is verity beneath this rhetoric since the exhibition was funded by public subscription, meaning the initiative could not have come to fruition without widespread belief in the city's capacity to carry off such a feat. This reveals a distinct feeling of optimism, although crucially not an unbounded one. Rather, it reflects a hopefulness about the immediate future, but one tempered by an awareness that recent events had abruptly put an end to a belief in Britain's capacity for perpetual growth. As Hobsbawm reminds us, the later decades of the long nineteenth century were marked by economic and social malaise, a general sense of weariness among the British populace in spite of the fact that in hindsight this period emerges as one of spectacular productive growth.[435]

Throughout the late-1880s and 1890s Canada was a society marred by a sense of pessimism. The confidence brought about by Confederation in 1867 turned into uncertainty provoked by economic depression, political scandal and ambiguity as to whether the country's political future lay in annexation by the United States, imperial rapprochement or a third way that would see the country set its own course, a future dependent upon the accumulation of capital and population.[436] Additionally, although the trans-Canada railway line was heralded as an instrument of national unification that linked the older and more developed provinces of eastern Canada to the expanding west upon its completion in 1885, strong regional divisions tied to language, religion and culture that pre-dated Confederation continued to persist. Indeed, Frye deemed "the tension between this political sense of unity and the imaginative sense of locality … the essence of whatever the word 'Canadian' means."[437] As has been argued, these concerns were evident in Canada's involvement at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, which was intended to attract the attention of Scottish investors and intending emigrants. Yet, prolonged disagreement among politicians as to whether the government should even participate and the banal nature of what it ended up displaying can be seen as indicative of these uncertainties. The indecision and hesitancy that typified Canada's involvement is emblematic of domestic debates over

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434 "The Prince and Princess of Wales left London Yesterday Morning." *Glasgow Herald.*
435 Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (London: Phoenix Press, 1987), 34-55.
436 Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 60-66; Buckner, "The Creation of the Dominion of Canada, 1860-1901," 67-69.
437 Frye, *The Bush Garden,* iii.

visions of what kind of country Canada was and where it fit within the hierarchy of the British Empire that was presented in microcosm at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888.

When Canada returned to Glasgow 13 years later, fortunes had shifted and a "boom mentality" had swept away earlier doubts.[438] Often linked to the change in government that saw Wilfrid Laurier elected Prime Minister in 1896 and attributed to an improved economic climate, this new self-confidence bred a belief that Canada's future was limitless. As an immigration pamphlet entitled *Canada: The Land of Opportunity* proclaimed, "[if] the 19th century was the century of the United States, the 20th century is the century of Canada."[439] Many foresaw a future as rosy as the apples so carefully packed, shipped and arranged for all to admire as they passed through the Canadian Pavilion at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 (figure 5.2). Indeed, the commissioner of the government's fruit displays reported that this particular exhibit did "more to place our country in a favourable light before the British public than any other part of the exhibition. … [Canada] has been deprived of all its terrors, and has become a place where a man may even end his days with pleasure and credit and honour."[440] As has been argued, Canada's presence at this exhibition was similarly driven by a desire for economic growth, industrial development and a larger population, key tools of an expanding nation-state. However, we also see efforts at overturning cultural notions prevalent in Britain regarding climate, quality of life and a general lack of civil society that had fuelled the discourse Canada was an immature colonial charge of its imperial governess. Through the medium of display the government articulated a revised vision that portrayed Canada as a country on the up, sometimes even using Britain as a foil, while reinforcing its position within the empire. In short, the image of Canada exhibition-goers saw in 1901 was one imbued with the confidence and optimism characteristic of the age. Consequently, examining how the Canadian government chose to represent the country on an international stage at Glasgow's exhibitions reveals attempts at translating Canada's still relatively newfound political unity into an imagined collective identity. Furthermore, the government's displays in 1901 are indicative of an ideology that dominated Canadian political and intellectual thought at the beginning of the twentieth century. This was a fusion of nationalist and imperialist sentiment that pegged Canada's continued development on the stability and prosperity of the empire, but did not necessarily position Britain at the vanguard of this future. Writing in 1906 the English economist J.A. Hobson noted, "the twentieth century belongs to her [Canada]. Now her population and her prosperity will swell until she becomes the corner-stone of the temple of the

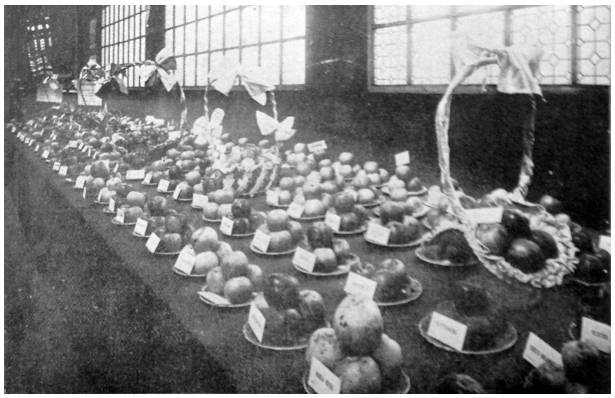

Figure 5.2. The much-praised apple display inside the Canadian Pavilion at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. Photograph published in *The Exhibition Illustrated*, 27 July 1901. ©CSG CIC Glasgow Museums and Libraries Collection: The Mitchell Library, Archives, LK5.2505.

[438] Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), 4.
[439] Quoted in Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*, 49.
[440] "Commissioner's Report Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901," 252.

British Empire."[441] Many in Canada echoed Hobson's judgement and believed that although the sun had not yet set on the empire, Britain's importance within it was diminishing.

The Great Exhibition of 1851 was conceived as a means of fostering peace and increased understanding between nations through serving as a platform for the exchange of ideas. By the time Glasgow hosted its first International Exhibition, however, this early idealism had been eroded by economic depression and armed conflicts of the intervening decades. An article from the *Glasgow Herald* captured this growing sense of dejection writing, "Exhibitions, like other things, have had to undergo the loss of illusions and the failure or disappointment of some high hopes which attached to them. … No one believes now-a-days that Exhibitions are capable of settling international quarrels or of transforming mankind."[442] Such insecurities were felt even more acutely at the time of the second Glasgow International Exhibition, which took place against the backdrop of the Boer War and increasing industrial competition from the United States and Germany. It has thus been demonstrated that by the early-twentieth century the import of International Exhibitions lay in serving as brief distractions from these increasingly worrisome realities. If we think back to Muir's account of Glasgow, we see a city tinged with melancholy. The overwhelming impression conveyed by *Glasgow in 1901* is of a dark, often grimy place populated by residents in need of a boost to morale that an International Exhibition could provide. That the International Exhibition could be a positive social force was a key tenet of the wider tradition, although in Glasgow this was interpreted in a way that betrayed a sensitivity to local conditions. As has been argued, the fantastical appearance of Glasgow's International Exhibitions created immersive environments capable of imaginatively transporting spectators away from that which surrounded them, and by doing so serve as a tonic to city life. Of equal concern to proponents of these schemes was using Glasgow's exhibitions to project a renewed vision of the city to a more widespread audience. This adds depth to Maver's suggestion that Glasgow's exhibitions had a distinct "practical rationale" and can be understood as attempts to "create an entirely different image from that of a damp, smoky and slum-ridden inner-city."[443] Much in the way the Canadian government recognised the International Exhibition offered opportunities to combat out-dated notions, authorities in Glasgow used this exhibitionary form to construct a self-image that masked its stereotypical bleakness and instead emphasised the city's industrial strength, enterprising nature and cosmopolitan character. The exhibition of 1901 in particular also suggests there was an awareness of shifting geo-political fortunes. The decision to accommodate such a strong Russian presence and the Executive Committee's strident attempts at securing official participation of the United States, in spite of this not coming to fruition, hints that Glasgow's political and commercial elites were keen to forge new connections. Organisers were undoubtedly showcasing Glasgow's importance, and were arguably projecting this message to audiences beyond Britain and its empire. This gives additional weight and meaning to Filipová's recent assessment that "smaller exhibitions

[441] J.A. Hobson, *Canada To-Day* (London, 1906), 6. Quoted in Brown and Cook, *Canada 1896-1921*, 50.
[442] "The Prince and Princess of Wales left London Yesterday Morning," *Glasgow Herald.*
[443] Maver, *Glasgow*, 180.

were driven by the ambition to step out beyond the geographical, cultural or political limitations of their location in order to put themselves on the international map."[444]

Intersections

The above discussion simultaneously reinforces and nuances the well-established notion that International Exhibitions were "exercises in the imagery of nationalism."[445] Revising the argument set forth by Benedict and others, it maintains that although the nation was often promoted as the base unit of representation, in fact a plurality of geographic, social and cultural identities were constructed and projected at International Exhibitions. Whether a contributor or a host, the ambition to define a sense of self and attain recognition through exhibition practices was not solely the pursuit of the nation-state. Consequently, this exhibitionary form facilitated dynamic interactions with contributors appealing to a mixture of imperial, colonial, national and regional markers. By comparing and contrasting multiple events held in the one location distinct trajectories of these identities begin to emerge. For example, it has been suggested that in the case of Canada, its displays at the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901, and the stories behind their creation, expose the formalisation of an iconography of nationhood and speak to a growing confidence about the country's place in the British Empire. By contrast, the celebratory tone of Glasgow's exhibitions only partially hid growing concern and uncertainty over the continued stability of the British economy and the viability of the empire, which Glasgow's prosperity was irrevocably bound up in. For a city on the margins of the movement, it is notable that Glasgow hosted two International Exhibitions in fairly quick succession. Understood thus, this exercise becomes a clear statement on the city's achievements and capabilities, and a strategic means of emphasising local belief it was equipped for a future that looked increasingly murky.

Tracing how the subjectivities of Canada and Glasgow evolved across multiple moments of exhibition reveals points of intersection between these trajectories. Moreover, proposing the International Exhibition was a location where differing identities and trajectories rubbed up against each other hastens a novel reassessment of Pratt's understanding of the contact zone. This in turn advances existing understandings of the shared history between Canada and Scotland, two themes that have guided my analysis of the inter-woven practices of exhibition-making and identity-making. A product of the colonial frontier, contact zones according to Pratt are "social spaces where disparate cultures melt, clash, and grapple with each other."[446] However, as each preceding chapter has evidenced, International Exhibitions fulfilled the key criteria of the contact zone in spite of being located in the imperial centre. Propelled by the aspiration of showcasing the world in miniature, these events facilitated the exchange of objects, ideas and knowledge. Furthermore, participants possessed a self-conscious awareness that these events functioned as gathering places, admittedly highly idealised ones, where varying subjectivities were negotiated. Consequently, in the contact zone of the

[444] Filipová, "The Margins of Exhibitions and Exhibition Studies," 9.
[445] Burton, "International Exhibitions and National Identity," 5.
[446] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.

International Exhibition it was not only cultures or societies that came into contact, but rather visual and material articulations of their respective historical trajectories and shifting geo-political realities. Thus, the re-configuring of collective identities that took place within the International Exhibition was an expression of the unique concerns of those involved. This constitutes an original conclusion brought forth by the above discussion.

This thesis has explored how practices of identity-making and exhibition-making intersected in the context of the International Exhibition, an analytical approach that has diverse applications. The questions that have been asked of International Exhibitions for example, could similarly be posed of the biennial art festival, an exhibitionary paradigm that is arguably an inheritor of this earlier tradition. Indeed, the history of these two related forms directly intersect with the Venice Biennale, established in 1895, which emerged out of the same cultural climate that supported the International Exhibition, and which every two years becomes a site at which national identities are actively constructed and projected, principally through its continued use of national pavilions. Glasgow again offers a pertinent case study through which to explore an expanded history of exhibitions, given it plays host to the Glasgow International Festival of Visual Art (GI). By fusing education and entertainment, study and spectacle, the International Exhibition bred a particular kind of highly-immersive cultural experience, one that parallels the "appetite for art as experience" that fuels the "biennial culture" GI is a part of.[447] Initiated in 2005, the event could be ascribed to the ongoing festivalisation of contemporary art, however, it can also be located within a markedly longer history of exhibition-making in Glasgow, one typified by a fusion of the local and the global.[448] Furthermore, through commandeering former, often derelict industrial buildings for the presentation of contemporary art, a gesture informed by processes of urban regeneration, the festival highlights an image of Glasgow authorities a century ago sought to suppress, mounting International Exhibitions that utilised otherworldly architectural styles to divert attention away from the soot and smog of the real-life city. Consequently, it is the case with both iterations that the physical and rhetorical structure of the exhibition not only mediates the visitor's experience and understanding of the items displayed before them, but of the wider urban environment that serves as the setting for these large-scale public exhibitions, which equally seek to offer renewed visions of Glasgow.

Another area of future research stemming from this thesis centres upon the visual and material culture of the British Empire. As hugely-popular events that facilitated the movement of objects, people and ideas, the International Exhibition was an instrument of mass communication and played a key role in the transferral of knowledge across spheres of empire. Beginning from the understanding that International Exhibitions routinely functioned as contact zones, irrespective of whether an event was held in London or Calcutta, Dublin or Dunedin, opens up numerous avenues of enquiry. I am particularly interested in exploring how the practices of art, design and visual culture that developed under conditions of empire, and which often found public audiences at International Exhibitions, functioned as vehicles for the articulation of notions of identity and belonging. Thus, how can art of the past be interpreted as creative responses to the experience of living within the British Empire, and

[447] Jones, "Biennial Culture," 69.
[448] For an early analysis of this development see Peter Schjeldahl, "Festivalism," *The New Yorker*, 5 July 1999: 85-86.

furthermore what do contemporary works reveal about the present-day reverberations of this history? With respect to Canada, I am keen to explore how shifting iconographies of nationhood might be traced through exhibitions of Canadian art in Britain. Such a study could encompass the small collection shown at the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 and the much larger affair organised for the British Empire Exhibition, and could draw on occasions that take us up to the present day such as exhibitions mounted at the Dulwich Picture Gallery of work by Tom Thomson and the Group of Seven (2011) and Emily Carr (2012). Considering moments of presentation in expanded geo-political contexts as has been done above, such a study would facilitate a dialogue about Canada's evolving relationship not only with Britain and its former empire, but with its own ostensibly post-colonial self.

The key argument developed over the course of this thesis is that International Exhibitions mediated social and cultural identities, thus making this exhibitionary form an agent in historical processes. Analysing a series of International Exhibitions that have received only minimal attention due being staged on the margins of the movement through a multi-dimensional collection of visual, material and textual primary sources enables one to move beyond meta-narratives that have dominated histories of this unique exhibitionary medium. Thus, although the present discussion reinforces the well-established assessment that the International Exhibition disseminated visions of an advanced civilisation, it also forwards a more fastidious argument that this progress and development looked quite different to an exhibition's various contributors, and that such visions fluctuated from one exhibition to the next. What is more, while the International Exhibition was regularly construed as evidence of a secure, prosperous and peaceful future, the preceding analysis suggests that its effusive displays in truth refracted contemporary anxieties. Lastly, Glasgow's International Exhibitions were not dissimilar from others held in Britain in the way they helped constitute popular knowledge of the British Empire. This was conveyed through individual objects, exhibition architecture and the rhetoric of these spectacles, which were repeatedly described to visitors as familial meetings between the 'mother country' and her 'colonial children'. Thus, a normalised imperialism was an intrinsic feature that permeated all layers of these events. This demonstrates that an imperial metropolis – and not just London, but provincial cities habitually seen as marginal spaces – were just as capable of being contact zones as colonial frontiers. Significantly, this finding helps deconstruct the artificial binary of metropole and colony that, despite well-founded critique, still tends to dominate the field of imperial studies.

Focusing on the very different but historically, socially and culturally linked locales of Glasgow and Canada occasions a further revaluation of how to conceptualise the British Empire. Both used the International Exhibition as a platform for the presentation of self, pursuing individual interests and staking a claim on their own centrality to this system, while also enacting gestures that challenged a dominant discourse predicated on deference to the metropole. Evidently neither authorities in Glasgow or Canada saw their individual localities as passive recipients of metropolitan benevolence, but rather as active and indispensable contributors to this imperial network. From their so-called peripheral settings, both Canada and Glasgow claimed to occupy a central position within an intangible but ever-present imperial regime, and yet neither was necessarily tethered to London nor even Great Britain. Canada's involvement at the Glasgow International Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901 reveals an

awareness of social, cultural and material ties to Scotland, links that were emphasised and promoted through the government's displays, and that this relationship helped substantiate Canada's place in the empire. By the same token, Glasgow's imperial identity, as articulated through these events, was less defined by its position within Great Britain and far more by its connections to a host of localities across the empire, Canada being one of particular significance. What emerges from this reading are multiple centres and multiple peripheries, none of which were forever fixed. As a result of examining how relations between Glasgow and Canada were articulated through the form of the International Exhibition the present study demonstrates the British Empire was made up of entangled spheres of empire. Here lies the particular value in examining International Exhibitions, and broader practices of exhibition-making. Snapshots of precise moments in space and time, exhibitions give us access to micro-histories that allow us to home in on specific patterns of engagement. This focused approach counters an earlier tendency within the scholarship to flatten experiences of empire, the product of a reliance on an analytical model built around just two entities – home and away, metropole and colony, centre and periphery – and instead emphasises specificity, plurality and homogeneity. In a recent conversation Annie Coombes, Paul Gilroy and Ruth Phillips agreed that such "poly-centric approaches" offer a new way of further interrogating the history and attendant legacies of the British Empire.[449] Taking local histories as starting points and stressing the multi-directional nature of interactions that took place under conditions of empire, the present analysis is rooted in this critical methodology that has the capacity to enrich the field of colonial and post-colonial studies.

International Exhibitions aided in the construction, dissemination and perpetuation of social and cultural identities, the most nefarious of which helped breed and reinforce racial, ethnic and gendered stereotypes that underpinned imperial-colonial relations. This research set out to examine how this exhibitionary paradigm functioned as a contact zone, and formed the conclusion that not only were these hugely popular events sites of interaction on all manner of levels (the personal, social, cultural and political), but that they illustrated differing trajectories. As a result, this discussion has illuminated a parallel set of intersections between processes of exhibition-making and identity-making under conditions of empire. As has been demonstrated, the pervasiveness of imperial ideologies was such that they directed constructions of both Canadian and Glaswegian identities during the period under consideration. These historical realities are at odds with present-day views that frame both as inherently progressive, socially-minded places. However, by examining the motives and methods that drove the production of International Exhibitions, one can peel back the layers on collective identities that have, over time, become normalised. What histories are overlooked by a seemingly simple utterance that Glasgow used to be the 'Second City of the Empire'? This identity was routinely promoted at all four of its International Exhibitions and remains a phrase that often rolls off the Glaswegian tongue in reference to a perceived golden age of industrial strength, ingenuity and dynamism. In Canada's case, what happens when its self-image as a country of vast expanses ripe with opportunity, the foundations of its meritocratic society, and of woods and wilderness that are as empty as they are alluring, is perpetuated at the expense of brutal histories of colonial settlement and

[449] Plenary discussion, "Artist & Empire: New Dynamics 1790 to the Present Day," Tate Britain, London, 24-26 November 2015.

displacement of First Nations societies? These are dense and deliberately loaded questions that I make no claim to have successfully answered in the above exploration. They are offered, however, because they speak to the interplay between geo-political affairs and cultural practices of exhibition-making which this thesis illuminates. To return to Frye a final time, identity betrays the influence of creative instinct and "is primarily a cultural and imaginative question."[450] Thus, by critically examining the International Exhibition, a cultural form that facilitated imaginings of quasi-nationhood, one can go some way to locating the roots of how and why these myths of collective identity were formulated and re-formulated. This in turn allows us to further understand contemporary resonances of the complex relations International Exhibitions routinely obfuscated, and yet did not render wholly invisible. It is by trying to put these ephemeral, almost chimerical events back together that we can unearth these difficult and partially hidden histories.

[450] Frye, *The Bush Garden*, i.

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Bone, Muirhead. *Exhibition Etchings: A Series of Ten Original Plates by Muirhead Bone*. Glasgow: T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1901. ML.

"British Empire Exhibition 1925." Album of photographs of exhibits inside the Canadian Pavilion, British Empire Exhibition, London. Marked as having belonged to J. Oscar Turcotte, Canadian Government Exhibition Commissioner, 1926-1941. LAC.

"British Empire Exhibition Commercial Section." 29 loose black and white photographs of the interior and exterior of the Canadian Pavilion, the British Empire Exhibition, London, 1924-1925. LAC.

"British Empire Exhibition Construction Work." Album of photographs documenting the construction of the Canadian Pavilion, British Empire Exhibition, London. Marked as having belonged to J. Oscar Turcotte, Canadian Government Exhibition Commissioner, 1926-1941. LAC.

Canadian Fine Arts Section of the British Empire Exhibition, London, 1924-1925. Collection of four photographs of members of the selection jury. LAC.

Canadian Government Exhibition Commission: Visual Material Collection, 1900-1967. Collection of 1599 photographs of exhibits, displays and pavilions organised by the Canadian government at national and international fairs and exhibitions. LAC.

Canadian Government Exhibition Commission: Visual Material Collection, 1925. 244 photographs from the British Empire Exhibition, London, 1925. LAC.

Canadian National Railways Pavilion at the Empire Exhibition: Scotland, 1938. Collection of three black and photographs. LAC.

Canadian Pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition, London, 1924-1925. Collection of c. 40 photographs of the construction of the pavilion, the completed interior and exterior and displays and exhibits. LAC.

Canadian Pavilions at International Exhibitions in Glasgow, Buenos Aires and New York, c.1920-1940. Collection of 126 photographs of interior and exterior views of exhibits. LAC.

Collection of six black and white photographs of the Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, and Industry, Glasgow, 1911. ML.

Exhibitors' Club (exterior) and the Agricultural Hall (exterior), Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901. Two glass negatives. ML.

Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888. 36 photographs contained in an untitled album. UGSC.

Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. Personal souvenir album containing amateur photographs. ML.

Industrial Section of the Canadian Pavilion. Four albums of black and photographs documenting exhibits and displays in the Canadian Pavilion, British Empire Exhibition, London, 1924-1925. LAC.

Information Canada, Expositions Branch Visual Material Collection, 1915-1970. Collection of c.200 photographs documentation the Canadian government's participation at exhibitions, including the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition (1915), New York World's Fair (1939), Brussels World's Fair (1958) and the Osaka World's Fair (1970). LAC.

Johnstone, William. Panoramic view of the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. Etching. Glasgow: Fullerton & Edgar Fine Art Publishers, c.1901. GMRC.

Lawson, J.M.. Black and white photograph of The Clachan Highland Village, Empire Exhibition: Scotland, Glasgow, 1938. GMRC.

Mackenzie, J. Hamilton. *Scottish National Exhibition: Six Etchings*. Glasgow: publisher unknown, 1911. ML.

Miller, James. Collection of original architectural plans for main buildings of the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. ML.

———. View of Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. Framed colour lithograph. Glasgow: Gilmour & Dean, 1901. GMRC.

———. View of Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. Framed original sketch. GMRC.

North Cascade. Original sketch, charcoal and pastel chalk on paper. Dated 6 August 1937. Prepared for the Empire Exhibition: Scotland, Glasgow, 1938. ML.

Palace of Industries Front Elevation. Original sketch, charcoal and pastel chalk on paper. 17 February 1937, 8 April 1937 (revised), 16 April 1937 (revised). Prepared for the Empire Exhibition: Scotland, Glasgow, 1938. ML.

Palace of Industries North Elevation. Original sketch charcoal and pastel chalk on paper. 17 February 1937, 8 April 1937 (revised), 16 April 1937 (revised). Prepared for the Empire Exhibition: Scotland, Glasgow, 1938. ML.

"Photographs – Souvenir from Empire Exhibition Scotland 1938 – British Made." Three souvenir albums containing black and white photographs documenting events of the Glasgow Troop of the British Legion of Frontiersmen, 1937-1938. GMRC.

Plan of Kelvingrove Park laid out for the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. Single sheet large format map of grounds indicating placement of the exhibition's main buildings. ML.

Poster for the Great Northern, North Eastern and North British Railways, advertising the Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. Lithograph. London: Love & Wyman Ltd., 1901. GMRC.

Ross, Launcelot H.. Nine architectural plans for the Palace of Art, dated 1937. Prepared for the Empire Exhibition: Scotland, Glasgow, 1938. GMRC.

Royal Scottish Automobile Club. Four loose black and white photographs taken at the Empire Exhibition: Scotland, Glasgow, 1938. GMRC.

View of Glasgow International Exhibition 1901. Framed colour print. Glasgow: Banks & Co., 1901. GMRC.

Objects

N.B. Arranged chronologically according to International Exhibition

Glasgow International Exhibition, 1901. Container and lid for a tobacco or biscuit jar depicting a view of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 and the Glasgow crest. Made of earthenware and lead glazed. Glasgow: Cochran & Fleming, Britannia Pottery Co. Ltd., 1901. GMRC.

———. Five adult season tickets. GMRC.

———. Five commemorative medals. GMRC.

———. Linen handkerchief. Printed with inscription "Souvenir of Glasgow International Exhibition 1901." GMRC.

———. Small glass tumbler. Engraving reads "A present from Glasgow International Exhibition 1901," "R G Smith." Glasgow: John Baird Ltd, 1901. GMRC.

———. Souvenir metal lapel badge made in Paris by A.L.F. & S. GMRC.

———. Stand depicting a view of the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1901 in coloured glaze. Made of Royal Ironstone China. Glasgow: Cochran & Fleming, Britannia Pottery Co. Ltd., 1901. GMRC.

———. Three children's season tickets. GMRC.

———. Three souvenir postcards. ML.

———. Thrown vase of black basalt, unglazed. Etched onto surface "Glasgow International Exhibition 1901." Impressed on base "P. Ipsen, Kyobenhavn." GMRC.

Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, and Industry, Glasgow, 1911. Certificate granted to Messrs Wm. Gowans & Co. Ltd. for loan of spinning and weaving appliances to the. GMRC.

———. Eight adult season tickets. GMRC.

———. Envelope containing 12 small paper seals showing views at the Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, and Industry, Glasgow, 1911. GMRC.

———. Etched glass 0.25 pint tumbler. Souvenir of the Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, and Industry, Glasgow, 1911. Inscribed to "Bessie." GMRC.

———. Exhibitor's pass for Stand No. 21 issued to George Kenning & Sons. GMRC.

———. Gold medallion. Inscription reads "Scottish Exhibition Glasgow 1911" and "J. Steele." Glasgow: E. & Co., c.1911. GMRC.

———. Hank unwinder made of wood exhibited at Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, and Industry, Glasgow, 1911. GMRC.

———. *The Holy Bible*, c. 1700. Displayed in the Palace of History and lent to the exhibition by William Burns, 125 Caledonia Road, Glasgow. GMRC.

———. Menu card for Miss Cranston's Red Lion Café designed by Frances MacDonald MacNair. Pencil and watercolour on vellum. GMRC.

———. Small glass tumbler. Etching reads "Edward," "A present from Scottish Exhibition Glasgow 1911." GMRC.

———. Souvenir enamel badge stamped "W. & R. S Kerr, 5." GMRC.

———. Souvenir octagonal dish. Tin, embossed with an image of the Palace of Industries with the caption "Souvenir of the Glasgow Exhibition 1911." GMRC.

———. Three commemorative medals. GMRC.

British Empire Exhibition, London, 1924-1925. "The Canadian West (southern portion)." Map prepared by the Canadian Government for the Canadian Pavilion. LAC.

———. Map of Canada illustrating Canadian National Railway and Canadian Pacific Railway lines. Prepared by the Government of Canada Department of the Interior for the Canadian Pavilion. LAC.

———. "Map of Southern Ontario and Quebec Showing Natural Resources and Roads." Map prepared by the Government of Canada Natural Resources Intelligence Service for the Canadian Pavilion. LAC.

———. "Mineral Map of the Dominion of Canada, British Empire Exhibition Edition 1925." Map prepared by the Canadian Government Department of the Interior for the Canadian Pavilion. LAC.

———. "Pictorial Map Indicating Canada's Resources in Agriculture, Forests, Minerals, Fisheries and Water Powers." Prepared by the Government of Canada Department of the Interior for the Canadian Pavilion. LAC.

Empire Exhibition: Scotland, Glasgow, 1938. 1 adult one-day ticket. GMRC.

———. 3 children's season tickets printed by McCorquodale, Glasgow. GMRC.

———. 3 postcards of The Clachan Highland Village. GMRC.

———. 4 adult season tickets printed by McCorquodale, Glasgow. GMRC.

———. 6 assorted pamphlets prepared by exhibitors. PP.1975.166, GMRC.

———. "6 Views in Art Colour, from original water colours by Brian Gerald." Lettercard. London: Valentine & Sons, 1938. GMRC.

———. 13 assorted pamphlets prepared by exhibitors. PP.1975.103, GMRC.

———. 73 assorted pamphlets prepared by exhibitors. PP.1988.131, GMRC.

———. Exhibition Flower Show Corporation of Glasgow Cup. Metal trophy and lid. GMRC.

———. "The Milestones Which Mark the Ascendency of British Shipbuilding a Tribute to British Workmen." Marquetry panel made by T.B. Fife depicting seven ships built in Scotland. Ebony, cypress and mother of pearl. GMRC.

———. Photomatic souvenir. Small framed photograph of man and woman taken at Empire Exhibition: Scotland, Glasgow, 1938. Produced by the International Mutoscope Reel Co. Ltd., New York City, NY. GMRC.

———. Small commemorative plate. Moulded glass. Image of the Tower of Empire with inscription "Souvenir Empire Exhibition Glasgow 1938." Maker unknown. GMRC.

———. Souvenir mug. Bone china. Printed on base "A perpetual souvenir in Paragon China to commemorate the Empire Exhibition Scotland held at Bellahouston Park Glasgow opened by their Majesties George VI and Queen Elizabeth." Stoke-on-Trent: Paragon China Company, c.1938. GMRC.

———. Souvenir pendant with lion rampant. Enamel. Inscription "Empire Exhibition Scotland 1938." GMRC.

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