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"SEE THE NATIVES": INDIGENOUS VISUAL CULTURE AT THE 1894 CALIFORNIA MIDWINTER INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY in VISUAL STUDIES

By

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ABSTRACT

"SEE THE NATIVES": INDIGENOUS VISUAL CULTURE AT THE 1894 CALIFORNIA MIDWINTER INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

Christina Hellmich

Though the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition (or CMIE) in San Francisco is often considered a minor regional exposition and is typically omitted from scholarly consideration of world's fairs, it was significant for raising the profile of the city as Western expansion came to a close, serving to promote the colonialist interests of settlers in the West. This study investigates the exhibition of Indigenous culture at CMIE, as configured through villages complete with "Natives" (Indigenous people from inside and outside US borders), putatively depicting their ways of life. The villages shaped and reinforced understandings of race and national identity and made a case for regional and global imperialism.

Through the legacy of the Expo's photographic and textual archive, we can explore some of the strategies and counterstrategies deployed at the CMIE and their resulting meanings. Like theatrical sets, the villages were conceived by their organizers as performance spaces to represent cultures—merging the authentic, the adapted, and the fabricated—to create an encounter for visitors with the desired message and financial remuneration. Examples drawn from the Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander, Fon, and Native American villages illustrate how the imaging and

spectacle of Indigenous participants were powerful tools demarcating difference and enabling the United States and European nations to define their national identities against the racial and cultural stereotypes that they created of Indigenous people. These, in turn, played a larger role in national debates about US expansion and economic imperialism.

While it can be shown that performances at the CMIE were staged in hopes of cementing ideas about settler colonialism and White supremacy put forward by village managers and organizers, the displays were nonetheless subject to unanticipated mutability and expansion of viewpoints promulgated by the Indigenous participants. Through their biographies, it is possible to move beyond the generalizations and stereotypes applied to Midwinter Fair participants to reveal how they were responding to financial and political instability in their homelands and larger cultural debates to assert power over their bodies, identities, and representation at the fair.

Land Acknowledgment

The land on which we gather is the unceded territory of the Awaswas-speaking Uypi tribe. The Amah Mutsun Tribal Band, comprising the descendants of Indigenous people taken to the missions of Santa Cruz and San Juan Bautista during the Spanish colonization of the Central Coast, is today working hard to restore traditional stewardship practices on these lands and heal from historical trauma.

Additionally, as a staff person of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, I respectfully acknowledge the Ramaytush Ohlone, the original inhabitants of what is now the San Francisco Peninsula, and further acknowledge that the greater Bay Area is the ancestral territory of other Ohlone peoples as well as the Miwok, Yokuts, and Patwin. Over thousands of generations, Indigenous nations and communities have lived here and continue to do so today. We recognize and honor Indigenous ancestors, descendants, elders, and communities. We respect the enduring relationship that exists between Indigenous peoples and their homelands. It is important to understand the history of the San Francisco Peninsula and the dynamics of settler colonialism in the region to create a broader awareness of their impact today. We work in ongoing partnership with, and in gratitude to, Native communities and Indigenous scholars who generously share their knowledge, art, and culture with our museum and its visitors.

Dedication

This study pays homage to the Indigenous participants at the California Midwinter International Exposition in 1894. Experiences of Midwinter Fair participants were widely varied. There was joy and wonder at the fair. However, some participants were subjected to dehumanizing and neglectful treatment. At least five died, and others experienced the loss of those children or family or troupe members while in San Francisco. Stories of their experiences are remarkable and sometimes painful to learn about today. Through this research reclaiming their stories, I hope to acknowledge their lived experiences and the impact of those experiences on subsequent generations.

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Christina Moretta, photo curator, San Francisco History Center; and the many other librarians and archivists who provided assistance during my research.

"SEE THE NATIVES": INDIGENOUS VISUAL CULTURE AT THE 1894 CALIFORNIA MIDWINTER INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

Figure 1: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Entrance to the Hawaiian Village, Cal. Mid. Inter. Exp.,S.F.*, 1894. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Midwinter International Exposition through M. H. de Young, 2525.dup2.

INTRODUCTION

A photographic image of the entrance to the Hawaiian Village at the California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894 was taken from a high vantage point and shows a large crowd waiting to enter (fig. 1). There are so many people that they extend beyond the frame of the photographer's view. Signboards, including a very large one on the right with the words "See the Native Hula Hula Dancers," promote the extraordinary manifestation visitors will experience when they pass beyond the high fences concealing the grounds, buildings, visual culture, and people on exhibition.

More than thirty-five world's fairs were mounted around the globe in the 1890s, highlighting international trade, technological innovations, and the art and culture of participating states and countries. The California Midwinter International Exposition (CMIE), known as the "Midwinter Fair," in San Francisco, the first world's fair to be held west of Chicago, opened on January 27, 1894.[1] The moment was an important one for California and the city. The city had grown to be the biggest on the West Coast, and its power brokers and business leaders aspired that it become a metropolis. As noted by historians Barbara Bergland and William Lipsky, San Francisco boasted "the largest proportion of foreign-born residents in the United States" and had established itself as the "commercial, financial, and social capital of the West."[2] It was within this context that the idea for an international exposition in San Francisco was conceived. One of the city's prominent citizens, Michael Henry de Young (1849–1925), would champion the fair's organization to serve his own interests in the city's development as well as for the public good.[3] Exhibitions at the

[1] William Lipsky, *San Francisco's Midwinter Exposition* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 10; and Barbara Berglund, *Making San Francisco American: Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West, 1846–1906* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 172. The Exposition opened informally on January 1, 1894. "The Dedicatory Exercises and Permanent Opening" took place on January 27, 1894. The closing date of the CMIE was June 30, 1894.

[2] Lipsky, *San Francisco's Midwinter Exposition*, 10; Berglund, *Making San Francisco American*, 190.

[3] Gray A. Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin: With a New Preface* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 181.

CMIE were designed to highlight California's natural resources and attractions and, as in other fairs, to enhance the commercial position of the city and the nation.[4]

But more broadly, the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition was created as a "world exposition" and provided a platform for San Francisco and California to establish their pivotal roles in the American West, the nation, and the world.[5] It was impressively sited on several hundred acres (fig. 2), with grand views of the burgeoning city and its surrounding bay and ocean from Bonet's Electric Tower, the tallest structure at the fair, and from one of the most popular attractions, the J. K. Firth wheel, which offered panoramic views 120 feet up from the ground.

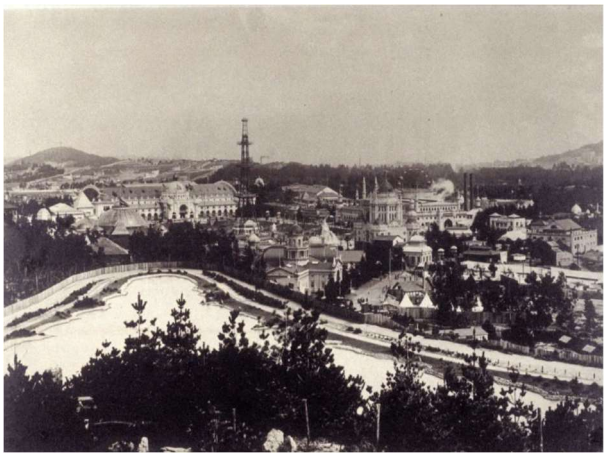

Figure 2: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *General View of the Midwinter Fair from Strawberry Hill*, 1894. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Midwinter International Exposition through M. H. de Young, 2463.

[4] "The Park Museum," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 6, 1897; "Memorial Museum," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 24, 1895; and Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: America's International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1984). p.70.

[5] California Midwinter International Exposition (CMIE), *Official Guide to the California Midwinter Exposition in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, California: Commencing January 27th, and Closing June 30th, 1894* (San Francisco: George Spaulding & Co., 1894), 147. See Berglund, *Making San Francisco American*, 208: "The [financial panic of 1893's] impact in San Francisco signaled the city's ties to the national economy."

Though the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition (or "Expo") in San Francisco is often considered a minor regional exposition and is typically omitted from scholarly consideration of world's fairs, it was significant for raising the profile of the city as Western expansion came to a close, serving to promote the colonialist interests of settlers in the West. *"See the Natives": Indigenous Visual Culture at the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition* investigates the exhibition of Indigenous culture at CMIE, as configured through villages complete with "Natives" (Indigenous people from inside and outside US borders as delineated in 1894), putatively depicting their ways of life. The villages shaped and reinforced understandings of race and national identity and made a case for regional and global imperialism.

The formation of racial and cultural typologies and stereotypes in the colonial context surrounding the Expo and the multiple perspectives of manager, participant, and spectator are central to the discussion. This project examines how meaning was produced for visitors by what they saw and experienced at the Expo. Analysis of modes of representation demonstrates how cultural and racial difference was constructed in the "villages." A particular goal of this project is also to show how the formation of meaning was affected by the relationships between individuals on both sides of the exhibition boundaries and the nature of these relationships within the larger geopolitical and economic milieu. For example, while the denigrating racial stereotypes of the Fon "warriors" (known as the "Dahomey" at the fair because they were brought from the Danhomé [Dahomey] kingdom) and the "dusky" Samoan

"maidens" had profound implications, the actions of individual participants, spectators, and organizers reveal how the cultural meaning of the Exposition displays was constantly shifting and how Indigenous resistance and agency took many forms.[6]

This story is revealed through the fragments of personal and public histories in printed materials and through the remnants of visual culture—the ephemera and the spectacle of the CMIE—accessible in the visual record. They include images taken by Isaiah West Taber, the official photographer at the CMIE, and objects of visual culture in the collections of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, parent institution of the de Young Museum. After the run of the Exposition, surplus funds were used to form a museum on the Expo site with aspirations for national importance, which opened on March 23, 1895. A photograph taken at the dedication (fig. 3) shows a large crowd packed in front of a dais with five American flags flying behind it.[7]

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[6] *Midwinter Exposition Guide and Souvenir* (San Francisco: Whitcher, Allen & Boldeman, 1894), 147, located at the San Francisco Public Library; and "From the South Seas," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 9, 1894.

[7] Meichel (Michael) Harry de Young, *The Life of M. H. de Young: Sept. 30, 1849–Feb. 15, 1925* (San Francisco: San Francisco Chronicle, approximately 1925), 9. "The Egyptian building of the Midwinter Exposition in Golden Gate Park was dedicated as a Memorial Museum on March 23, 1895. This picture was taken at the dedication."

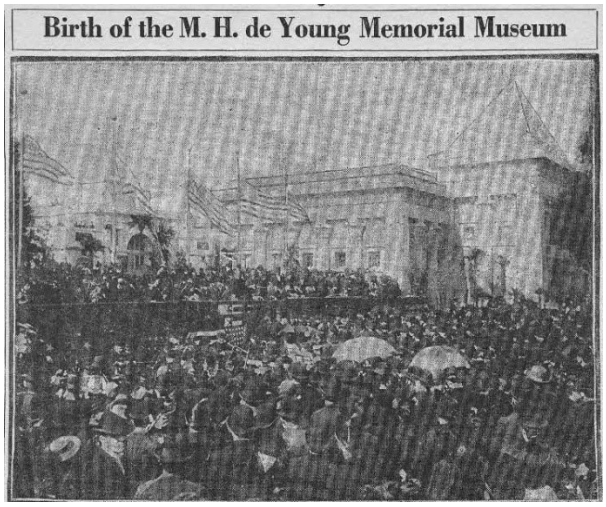

Figure 3: "The Egyptian building of the Midwinter Exposition in Golden Gate Park was dedicated as a Memorial Museum on March 23, 1895. This picture was taken at the dedication." In Meichel (Michael) Harry de Young, *The Life of M. H. de Young: Sept. 30, 1849–Feb. 15, 1925* (San Francisco: San Francisco Chronicle, approximately 1925),9.

A grand expression of civic pride, this "Memorial Museum," later the de Young Museum, was founded with a collection drawn from the Exposition of "treasures and curios for the entertainment and instruction of the people of California."[8] *"See the Natives"* also constitutes the first institutional analysis of these founding collections of art, material culture, and photography in the context of the Indigenous villages of the Exposition.

A World's Fair for San Francisco

As recorded in his newspaper, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Michael H. de Young was so inspired by Chicago's Columbian Exposition, celebrating the four-hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in the Americas, that he returned to

[8] "Park Museum," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

San Francisco and opened his exposition just a year later, attracting more than two million visitors.[9] De Young settled on the name of the "California Midwinter International Exposition" and assigned its first tagline, "The Land of Sunshine, Fruit and Flowers."[10] A testament to the enthusiasm and ambition of de Young, who served as its director-general, the San Francisco Exposition was prepared in record time and opened just three months after the closing of the Chicago fair, with many of those exhibitions moved by rail to the West Coast. As a correspondent for the *Otago Witness* reported, "Probably nothing could better illustrate the goaheadness of the American people than this fair. . . . Today there are five splendid buildings. . . . One of these—the art gallery—will be a permanent structure. . . . The money has been subscribed largely by the ordinary run of people."[11]

Michael de Young served as a national commissioner of California exhibits for the 1893 Exposition in Chicago, with other leaders in business, politics, and entertainment drawn from around the United States and appointed by President Benjamin Harrison.[12] It is estimated that about 40 percent of the citizens of the United States visited the vast spectacle of attractions and pavilions at the Chicago

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[9] "Park Museum"; "The Site Chosen," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 10, 1893; and M. H. de Young, "California Midwinter International Exposition, Official Communication No. 5," Department of Publicity and Promotion, undated [1894?], 1.

[10] De Young, *Life of M. H. de Young*, 7.

[11] "Our American Letter (From Our Own Correspondent). San Francisco, November 16. Politicians and the People," *Otago Witness*, January 4, 1894. The *Otago Witness* was a weekly illustrated newspaper in New Zealand published from 1851 to 1920.

[12] De Young, *Life of M. H. de Young*, 7; and Moses P. Handy, ed., *The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition, May 1st to October 30th, 1893: A Reference Book of Exhibitors and Exhibits*, 74.

Exposition, replete with exhibitions presented by more than forty nations as well as US states, societies, and companies.[13] More than twenty-five million tickets were sold.

With his own city experiencing the financial "panic" that gripped the nation in 1893 and that would become a depression lasting almost four years, and experiencing the impact of social issues from its explosive growth into the largest city on the West Coast, de Young saw an unparalleled opportunity to organize an exposition for San Francisco that would bring economic stimulus and jobs and raise the profile of the city nationally and beyond.[14] With its mild winter climate, San Francisco could organize a "midwinter" fair and draw visitors from across the country during its run from January 27 through July 4, 1894. He recounted, "The Midwinter Exposition turned out to be the savior of San Francisco. . . . The men who were put out of work in San Francisco were employed in the building of the exposition. The exhibits and the people it brought to San Francisco and the advertising given by the exposition increased the income of all the merchants here and San Francisco got a wave of prosperity and never lost it afterwards."[15] As its champion and organizer, de Young

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[13] The figure of 40 percent is based on the US population of 63 million and the fair attendance of more than 25 million. See, for example, US Census Bureau, "Pop Culture: 1890" (retrieved March 20, 2022) and "US Census Bureau History: 1893 Chicago World's Fair," May 2018, https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1890_fast_facts.html and https://www.census.gov/history/www/homepage_archive/2018/may_2018.html.

[14] Berglund, *Making San Francisco American*, 171, 208; David Whitten, "Depression of 1893," EH.Net Encyclopedia, ed. Robert Whaples. August 14, 2001, http://eh.net/encyclopedia/the-depression-of-1893; and Christina Hellmich, "San Francisco's de Young Museum and Gauguin's Encounter with Maori Art," in *Gauguin: A Spiritual Journey* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 2018), 18.

[15] De Young, *Life of M. H. de Young*, 7.

touted all its successes in his life story published by his newspaper in 1925. Not surprisingly, absent from his accounting is the fact that the prosperity was not enjoyed by all due to societal racism reinforced through the development of the fair and in the exhibitions detailed in this study. As for de Young himself, he was invested in land near Golden Gate Park and could personally benefit from development of the surrounding area.[16]

Project Focus and Research Methodology

One of the outcomes of the CMIE was the preservation of objects of visual culture for permanent public viewing and access. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco's founding holdings of art were purchased for the Memorial (later de Young) Museum by the city of San Francisco through the efforts of Michael H. de Young. About 150 works remain at the de Young that can be traced to the CMIE. Some that appear to be connected to the Indigenous villages are discussed in this study, and a focused selection of Exposition pieces is also addressed in Appendix B. Interrogating the history of CMIE visualities is useful for curatorial consideration of how these works and photographs are meaningful and relevant to artists, curators, and audiences today.[17] This project represents the first institutional research focusing on these collections and related photographs of the period in the context of the Exposition and

[16] Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco*, 181, 187.

[17] One study is Nicholas Thomas, *Possessions: Indigenous Art / Colonial Culture / Decolonization* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1999).

the first to approach the collections with a visual studies methodology. It considers the multifaceted racial, political, and social factors that shaped Indigenous visual culture at the CMIE and the broader cultural implications in 1894 and into the present.

There is a dearth of scholarship dedicated to the CMIE, and it can be argued that the story of the fair has yet to be told in its entirety. Monographs currently include just a few studies.[18] They are largely pictorial, lack in-text citations, and include data and accounts from the official reports, which hew to dominant narratives. There is little international context provided for discussion of the fair's displays. A more recent history of San Francisco, *Making San Francisco American: Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West, 1846–1906* (2007), by Barbara Berglund has enriched the discussion regarding the impact of the fair on the social order of the city, and Gray Brechin's revealing history, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin* (2006), first published two decades ago, exposes the principal pursuits of the city's powerful families during the nineteenth century.

By expanding our understanding of the milieu in which its visual culture was experienced and circulated, a more nuanced, dialogical approach to the Midwinter Fair is realized that considers multiple points of view and frames of reference. This

[18] Monographs currently include the following: Lipsky, *San Francisco's Midwinter Exposition*; Arthur Chandler and Marvin Nathan, *The Fantastic Fair: The Story of the California Midwinter International Exposition, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, 1894* (St. Paul, MN: Pogo Press, 1993); San Francisco History Association, *Centennial Journey 1894–1994: California Midwinter International Exposition, 1894, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco* (San Francisco: San Francisco History Association, 1994); and Mae Silver, *1894 California Midwinter Fair Women Artists: An Appreciation* (n.p., 1994).

study offers a deeper dialogue about the Indigenous villages and their participants compared to past commentaries. Through cross-disciplinary analysis of images, objects, and networks, we can understand some of the strategies and counterstrategies deployed by the various parties at the CMIE and their resulting meanings.

International expositions during the colonial period and the encyclopedic museums that they often initiated were commercial and imperial stages for colonial powers to shape public opinions about national identity, race, and culture. They contributed to what Nicholas Mirzoeff terms a "modality of visuality": "the classification of people from other places and the 'scientific' evidence of their primitive cultures—illustrated by the performance, spatial and documentary 'evidence' that validated the imperial goals and claims."[19] Examples drawn from the Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander, Fon, and Native American villages illustrate how the imaging and spectacle of Indigenous participants were powerful tools demarcating difference and enabling the United States and European nations to define their national identities against the racial and cultural stereotypes that they created of Indigenous people. These, in turn, played a larger role in national debates about US expansion and economic imperialism.

With regard to Indigenous participants, histories of world expositions often focus on the power wielded by the organizers to show Indigenous peoples in ways that reinforced prevailing racial and cultural hierarchies. Scholars including Nicholas

[19] Nicholas Mirzoeff, "The Right to Look," *Critical Inquiry* 37, no. 3 (Spring 2011): 476.

Thomas, Charles Forsdick, Nicholas B. Dirks, Christopher Herbert, James Clifford, Martin Berger, and Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper have convincingly argued that the identities and cultures of imperial powers were built around the construction of difference in expositions and museum displays.[20] As Edward Said has explicated, "The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them."[21]

The construction and picturing of difference between cultures on view at the fair served to show San Francisco, and California as a whole, as a modern, progressive place ready to welcome European-American settlers to its abundant lands. This object consequently resulted in the othering of Indigenous people. The official fair photographer, Isaiah West Taber, was San Francisco's most prominent photographer of the 1880s and 1890s, and his documentation of the Midwinter Fair is extensive, including thousands of images. The extant images in the corpus highlight the success of the fair from the perspective of the organizers, showing its many impressive buildings, its well-designed and -landscaped site, its modern services

[20] See, respectively, Thomas, *Possessions*; Charles Forsdick, "Postface: Situating Human Zoos," in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Eric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, and Charles Forsdick (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 377–92; Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992); Christopher Herbert, *Culture and Anomie: Ethnographic Imagination in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography Literature and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Martin A. Berger *Sight Unseen: Whiteness and American Visual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); and Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

[21] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), xiii.

(including a hospital), its specialized and uniformed Expo staff, its stimulating attractions and educational exhibitions, and its well-attended "fêtes and festivals" and cultural days.[22] There are many photographs representing large crowds who fill the avenues and venues, to validate the high visitation and demonstrate the favorable climate of the city promoted by fair organizers. Importantly for the messaging about the fair—and by extension San Francisco—despite the large crowds, the images show an organized and orderly Midwinter fair city. Taber's photographs circulated in real time as souvenirs and in the press, helping to promote the Exposition as the organizers strategically wished it to be viewed, with all its positive attributes and social advancements.

With one exception—the Samoan Village/South Sea Islander Exhibition, as discussed later in this study—Taber included images of all the Indigenous villages in his photography program for the fair.[23] The resulting pictures, purportedly showing Indigenous lifeways in the villages, acted to place the Indigenous participants in the premodern past and outside the boundaries (including physically at the fair site) of dominant society, shaping public opinion concerning colonialist intervention and occupation that was occurring in the places represented by the villages at the time of the fair. As shown in chapter 4, visual analysis of Taber's photographs reveals the

[22] California Midwinter International Exposition (CMIE), *Official History of the California Midwinter International Exposition. A Descriptive Record of the Origin, Development and Success of the Great Industrial Expositional Enterprise, Held in San Francisco from January to July, 1894* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker Company, 1894), 3.

[23] I. W. Taber, *Souvenir of the California Midwinter International Exposition*, 1894, retrieved from the Online Archive of California, http://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf6f59p63d/?&brand=calisphere.

representation strategies of village managers and the resulting presentations of Indigenous participants. The photographs also offer a generative starting point for reclaiming participant biographies, a significant outcome of this project. This project is opportune, because CMIE photographs in the de Young Museum continue to be disseminated in the public milieu and objects are exhibited in the museum's galleries and included on its website—thus, meanings continue to be made from them. They continue to influence the way we think about other cultures. Certain contemporary artists and scholars critique this visual culture through a postcolonial lens, focusing on issues of representation, race, and gender. For example, A. Marata Tamaira has stated that "the visual arts have operated as a vehicle by which the 'dusky maiden' motif has been faithfully transported through history to the current day."[24] The lasting impact of these museum collections and a lack of focused scholarship on the CMIE make this project, *"See the Natives,"* timely and important to the field of visual studies.

Archival Sources

Given the lack of scholarship about the fair, primary sources—including ephemera; printed materials such as guides, magazine articles, and fair reports; and the photographs and newspapers discussed in depth in other sections of this study—are important to understanding the goals and narratives of M. H. de Young and the fair

[24] A. Marata Tamaira, "From Full Dusk to Full Tusk: Reimagining the 'Dusky Maiden' through the Visual Arts," *The Contemporary Pacific* 22, no. 1 (2010): 1.

organizers, government officials, supporters, and advertisers. While these principal perspectives provide significant data and context, coverage of the Indigenous villages, their managers, and the participants is general, most often brief, and in some cases absent any discussion. For example, all the participants in the Dahomey Village are referred to as simply "Dahomeyans," with no individuals identified by name.[25] The Indigenous villages were concessions and were covered with less official note along with other private attractions such as Boone's Wild Animal Arena, the Mining Camp of '49, and the Vienna Prater—the largest of all the concessions.[26] However, the archival sources for the CMIE still provide a context for the presentation of the Indigenous villages in the Exposition, as well as specific details and observations that form the basis of deeper research about them.

The *Official Guide to the California Midwinter Exposition in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, California: Commencing January 27th, and Closing June 30th, 1894* was certified by the fair's director general, M. H. de Young, in a letter dated October 1893 in its beginning pages. In advance of the opening, the guide compiled all the available materials promising "full information for visitors in condensed form . . . beautifully illustrated with maps, diagrams and floor plans of buildings."[27] The concessions, including the Indigenous villages, were included after chapters

[25] Photo caption, "Dahomeyans at the Midwinter Fair." in *The "Monarch" Souvenir of Sunset City and Sunset Scenes: Being Views of California Midwinter Fair and Famous Scenes in the Golden State. San Francisco: H.S. Crocker Co., 1894,* n.p.

[26] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 135.

[27] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 1.

concerning the "Decorations of the Grand Court" and "The Main Exposition Buildings," which were considered the highlights and core substance of the fair.[28] Given its advance publication, the *Official Guide* made liberal use of illustrations, along with some photographs, and incorporated more than one hundred advertisements in its 208 pages—including one for the Cyclorama of Kilauea in the Hawaiian village (see chapter 2).[29]

During the fair, writers for San Francisco's *Overland Monthly* magazine provided pithy articles with commentary about many aspects of the fair, including several that focus on the Midway and its Indigenous villages and participants. The monthly magazine included literary and art features and sociocultural essays, each by a different contributor, accompanied by both photographs and illustrations. It promised to "reflect[] what is permanent and lasting in California life and story" and "strive to keep abreast with [Californians] in whatever is for the welfare and best interest of the entire Pacific Coast."[30] Two of the *Overland Monthly* articles from April 1894—with several articles dedicated to the fair—provide descriptions of dances in the Arizona Indian Village and Samoan Village/South Sea Islanders Exhibition not found elsewhere in the record of the fair.[31]

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[28] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 7.

[29] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 206.

[30] Rounsevelle Wildman, "As Talked in the Sanctum," *Overland Monthly* 23 (Second Series), no. 136 (April 1894): 337–41.

[31] Ninetta Eames, "The Wild and Woolly at the Fair," *Overland Monthly* 23 (Second Series), no. 136 (April 1894): 356–70; and Elizabeth S. Bates, "Some Breadwinners of the Fair," *Overland Monthly* 23 (Second Series), no. 136 (April 1894), 374–84.

At the time of the fair, interested subscribers to *The Examiner* newspaper of San Francisco could purchase an exclusive portfolio series that provided Taber's images in a large format (10-¼ in. x 14 in.) with descriptions. *The "Monarch" Souvenir of the Sunset City and Sunset Scenes Being Views of California Midwinter Fair and Famous Scenes in the Golden State* was a weekly subscription series available for $24 per year—a significant sum at that time. The images of the Indigenous villages included here—though not many—have very descriptive captions that mention physical features of the villages and the distinct materials used In their construction, such as "native woods and bark" and "bamboo" in the Hawaiian Village.[32] Also mentioned are objects of visual culture, including "wonderful woven baskets" in the Arizona Indian Village, and general information about participants such as "the native swimmer, diver and shark hunter" in the Hawaiian Village, though no names of participants in the photographs are provided.[33] One image of the "Esquimaux" Village mentions Francisca Examiner Deer, a child born at the fair, by name, though she is not imaged (see Appendix A: George Deer).[34] The *"Monarch" Souvenir* was published by H. S. Crocker Company, which also produced the *Official History*, and it is an example of the important connection of newspaper promotion to coverage of the fair and the potential revenues for all parties involved.

[32] Photo caption, "Entrance to the Hawaiian Village," in *"Monarch" Souvenir*, n.p.

[33] Respectively, photo captions, "Arizona Indian Village" and "Interior of the Hawaiian Village," in *"Monarch" Souvenir*, n.p.

[34] Photo caption, "Esquimaux Village," in *"Monarch" Souvenir*, n.p.

Important to any world's fair, in addition to official promotional materials, was a record of its impact for municipal officials, private supporters, the organizers, and, of course, posterity. For the CMIE, this took the form of a voluminous and oversized hardbound official history of more than 250 pages, the *Official History of the California Midwinter International Exposition. A Descriptive Record of the Origin, Development and Success of the Great Industrial Expositional Enterprise, Held in San Francisco from January to July, 1894.* The "object of [the] publication" was to "call[] up pleasant memories" of the Expo and to show the "advantages of California and the enterprise of Californians."[35] Engravings and/or Taber's photographs are included on every page, with some images taking up half the page; it is elaborately illustrated. However, while included with brief identifying titles, the images correspond to the chapter topics but not necessarily the page text. So they are not specifically discussed or referenced in the text. Some photographs of the Indigenous participants, for example, are included as decorative elements, such as a page header showing three women from the Samoan Village/South Sea Islanders Exhibition seated in a pyramid formation.[36]

The archival record of the fair cleaves to the official narrative, messaging, and presentation of the CMIE and leaves out other stories such as the identities and experiences of Indigenous participants; yet information about the concessions and their managers and participants can be extracted from these materials and serve as a

[35] CMIE, *Official History,* 7.

[36] CMIE, *Official History,* 145.

basis for further investigation. For this project, questioning the veracity of the official record and accounts of the fair lead to consideration of the newspapers as an alternative source of information about the Indigenous villages.

The Morning Call.

VOLUME LXXV—NO. 59. SAN FRANCISCO, SUNDAY MORNING, JANUARY 28, 1894. PRICE FIVE CENTS.

OPENING of the California Midwinter INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

THE STREET PAGEANT.

THE CEREMONIES.

Figure 4: *Morning Call* [San Francisco], January 28, 1894.

Newspapers as a Core Research Source

This project makes extensive use of period newspapers as a core research source especially the San Francisco dailies—such as the *Morning Call*, whose front page seen here heralds the opening of the CMIE (fig. 4). Given the limited scope of archival materials pertaining to the Midwinter Fair and the small number of existing monographs and histories, newspapers are important sources of data and information. Albeit shaped by their editors and owners, newspapers reveal discussions across

segments of society—as they occurred—allowing us to gauge public responses to events and issues by various stakeholders. These voices, contemporary and local, offer a snapshot of San Francisco in the late nineteenth century and its commercial, social, and cultural facets as the Midwinter Fair was planned and executed. The newspapers are also a valuable record of M. H. de Young's motivations and interests, given the lack of archives related to the nineteenth-century and pre-1906 earthquake period of his business and philanthropic pursuits.[37]

As a research resource, historic newspapers are now available as never before and form part of the exploding "information ecologies" reshaping humanities scholarship.[38] In 2003, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Library of Congress launched the National Digital Newspaper Program and the Chronicling America website, building on earlier efforts of the United States Newspaper Program to develop an "internet-based, searchable database of US newspapers."[39] The outcome has been an exponentially increasing level of access to a digital archive of more than 150,000 serial titles of historic newspapers from 1690 to the present,

[37] The de Young family business papers are held by the Bancroft Library, University of California–Berkeley. However, most all date from the twentieth century. As Gray Brechin details in his "Notes on Sources" for *Imperial San Francisco*, magazine and newspaper articles are key sources for information and also "for the feel of the time" (Gray A. Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin: With a New Preface* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006], 359).

[38] Trevor Owens and Thomas Padilla, "Digital Sources and Digital Archives: Historical Evidence in the Digital Age," *International Journal of Digital Humanities* (2020), https://doi.org/10.1007/s42803-020-00028-7.

[39] "About the Program," National Digital Newspaper Program, Library of Congress, last updated March 14, 2019, https://www.loc.gov/ndnp/about.html.

dramatically strengthening newspapers as a research tool.[40] In turn, this has opened new paths for understanding historical events such as the Midwinter Fair within a regional and national context. For example, in chapter 1 it is possible to plot, through the press, connections over time of prominent San Francisco residents to the debate about the proposed US annexation of the Hawaiian Islands.

At the cusp of this national effort to digitize newspapers in the United States, Benedict Anderson, in his study *Imagined Communities*, elucidated their important role in the growth of nationalism.[41] Important to this present study, *"See the Natives,"* are a number of San Francisco newspapers, including the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Examiner* (San Francisco), and the *San Francisco Call*, that illustrate the importance of the press in forging public opinion and nationalist agendas. Owned and managed by some of the city's most prominent families, the papers served as important, public-facing means to their political and financial ends. Battles in the San Francisco press between the families during the late nineteenth century expose a

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[40] See "Frequently Asked Questions," Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, accessed December 15, 2020, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/help/#faq.

[41] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York and London: Verso, 2006). While I am highlighting the exciting growth of the newspaper archive, a future study might focus on the issue of what is being left out of the archive as it develops. Scholars responded to Benedict Anderson's work with supporting case studies on a global scale. Pertinent to this project is M. Puakea Nogelmeier's groundbreaking book about Hawaiian-language newspapers and primary sources, which calls out the power structures that privilege English-language newspapers as sources when more than 100 different Hawaiian-language newspapers were in circulation between 1834 to 1948. (Puakea Nogelmeier, *Mai pa'a i ka leo, Historical Voice in Hawaiian Primary Materials: Looking Forward and Listening Back* [Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2010), xii). The Chronicling America website includes twenty-three English-language newspapers from Hawaii between 1690 and 1963, but zero page counts in the Hawaiian language. The digital archive of historic paper-based primary sources includes only what archivists have intentionally digitized. So, while the expansion of newspaper sources in general is exciting and generative, inherent bias and other factors have to date limited its scope, including the exclusion of Indigenous-language newspapers.

citizenry steeped in Manifest Destiny ideals and nationalist policy, with its most powerful men manipulating information in the newspapers to fuel political-party agendas, private investment, business and real estate expansion, and individual commendation.

Michael H. de Young and his brother, Charles, founded the *Daily Dramatic Chronicle* in 1865, highlighting theater in the city. By the 1890s, it was known as the *San Francisco Chronicle*—a successful daily paper featuring Bay Area, national, and international news, political reports, and also salacious stories designed to tarnish the reputations of politicians and others who drew the ire of the de Young brothers. As Gray Brechin relays in his detailed history of de Young and his rivals, "Despite its founding promise to be 'independent in all things' and to 'support no party,' Michael [de Young] made the *Chronicle* the Republican Party's chief voice in the Far West" as he sought unsuccessfully to further his own political ambitions to become a US senator.[42] Brechin points to the relationship between the views promoted in the *Chronicle* and the real estate and other investments pursued by de Young and his brother, including land speculation around Golden Gate Park.[43] Similarly, attacks on politicians and their fellow citizens were strategic and designed to increase the de Youngs' own political prominence.[44] Michael de Young would not succeed in politics as he hoped, due to citywide concerns about his business practices and an accusation

[42] Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco*, 174–75 and 181–183.

[43] Brechin, 181.

[44] Brechin, 174.

published in the *San Francisco Call* daily morning newspaper concerning his financially negligent care of his brother, Gustavus, whom Michael had confined to an asylum. [45] Finally, he focused his energies on creating a legacy after the success of the Midwinter Fair through the public institution of the museum that would later bear his name. Given de Young's personal investment in the fair, the *Chronicle* provided laudatory coverage and blacked out news, as deemed necessary, to present the Midwinter Exposition in the most favorable light possible.[46]

At the time of the Midwinter Fair, William Randolph Hearst ran *The Examiner* (later the *San Francisco Examiner*). It had been acquired in 1880 by his father, George Hearst, a powerful Democrat who used the paper to promote his political agenda, and who would become a US senator in 1886. Under William's management, the paper's circulation would grow to surpass that of de Young's *Chronicle*, and it further popularized the CMIE's offerings with positive press.[47] As power seekers and rivals, de Young and Hearst occupied particular roles in the cultural and political landscape of San Francisco, and their newspapers reflected their personal stratagems for achieving social dominance. Although antagonists, they agreed on a need for local and regional growth, and the CMIE, heralded by articles and illustrations they featured in their respective daily newspapers, in addition to special editions, provided

[45] Brechin, 183–84. The *San Francisco Call* reported that Gustavus died of Bright's disease, but Brechin chronicles that Michael was accused of committing his brother to an asylum to "get him out of the way." See "Gustavus De Young Dead," *San Francisco Call*, October 13, 1906; and Brechin, 342n20.

[46] Brechin, 181.

[47] Brechin, 210–11.

a national stage for their aspirations. For example, the Sunday of the fair opening, *The Examiner* printed one hundred thousand copies of its illustrated seventy-page special "Souvenir Paper," with thousands of copies sent to newspaper agents around the country.[48] While William Randolph Hearst funded attacks on Michael de Young in other outlets as the fair commenced, his own newspaper, *The Examiner,* lauded the "Great Fair."[49]

These local papers reported about the plethora of events, programs, spectacles, and controversies in arresting detail throughout the Fair, and many of their articles were picked up and featured by newspapers across the nation. As reported in the *Official History of the California Midwinter International Exposition*, "The press of the City of San Francisco made the Exposition the news item of the day and advertised it with utmost liberality. At one time there were 2,462 publications in the United States, in Canada, in Europe and in Asia, publishing Exposition news matter, so that it is not an extravagant figure of speech to say that the name of California and her wonderful Midwinter Exposition were indeed the topic of the times in every nation and upon every tongue."[50] No funds were expended for paid advertisements—a point of pride reported in the *Official History*—and the newspaper coverage as a key marketing tool was integral to the CMIE's success.[51] A full-page article in *The*

[48] "The Fair Souvenir Paper," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), January 29, 1894.

[49] See "Fair Souvenir Paper."

[50] CMIE, *Official History,* 36.

[51] CMIE, *Official History*, 36.

Examiner, "By Wire from Washington, What the United States Thinks of Our Fair," simultaneously informed readers of the fair's success and proclaimed the key role of "the California press, headed by the great San Francisco dailies" in generating public interest in visiting the fair and making it a triumph.[52] The successful and broad distribution of news about the fair, originating in San Francisco, through newspapers around the world enabled its organizers to shape the narrative and positioning of the Expo in the United States and abroad.

Chapter Summaries

Chapters in this study are shaped by the defining components of the Midwinter Fair: the site and built environment of the exposition (chapter 1); the managers, participants, and performers who activated the spaces and the visual culture presented both at the Expo (chapters 2–3) and in photographs by the official CMIE photographer (chapter 4). Visitor experience began at the entrance gates, and chapter 1 examines the overall site and features. It illustrates how the fair location was developed and how the resulting "city" served the expansion and development of San Francisco and imperialist pursuits beyond its shores. Concessions and exhibitions on and off the Midway are introduced that become the focus and case studies for the project as a whole. These include the Hawaiian Village and the Midway concession villages with Samoans and other Pacific Islanders, Fon, and Native Americans. The

[52] "By Wire from Washington, What the United States Thinks of Our Fair," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), January 28, 1894.

distinct aspects of these presentations are examined in detail in chapters 2 and 3 to reveal how Indigenous visual culture was manifest in them and how racial and social hierarchies were constructed and presented to visitors.

Research concerning these exhibitions selected as case studies reveals their distinctive and complex histories and examines how these exhibitions comprised of Indigenous people from inside and outside US borders (as delineated in 1894) contributed individually and collectively to the hegemonic messaging of the Expo as a whole. Introductions to the concession managers and organizers of the exhibitions shows that they were often promoting personal and geopolitical interests concurrently. Lorrin Thurston, Harry Jay Moors, Charles Philander Jordan, Miner Wait Bruce, Xavier Pené—change agents in the Hawaiian Islands, the Samoan Islands, the American West, the District of Alaska, and, the Kingdom of Dahomey, respectively—and others exemplified the zeitgeist of their time, advancing White settler power and ventures. Financial profit from the exposition was at stake, but the outcomes had broader impact for them and their constituents as well, whether profit at home, annexation, tourism, or foreign investment. Expositions offered the potential for mass marketing of ideas, *causes célèbres*, and business enterprises.

The formulation and impact of the visuality of the Midwinter Fair is the core concern of inquiry in chapter 4. Consideration is given to the photographic images of Isaiah West Taber, the official photographer of the CMIE, to illuminate how Taber's photographic images, the visual culture at the CMIE, captured the colonial constructs of indigeneity of the period to shape understandings about culture.

In chapter 5 the focus shifts to the participants and employees—including John Tevi in the Dahomey Village and Emalia Kaihumua and Mary Piilani Cook, who worked in the Hawaiian Village and contributed to the cultural experience created for visitors through performance, music, and the display of visual culture—illustrating their more localized spheres of influence but also the impact of their personal politics on the Expo presentations. While a number of participants in the "Esquimaux" Village were known by their names and “Sweet Emailia” Kaihumua became well-known for a song she composed during her time in San Francisco, this is the first study of the Midwinter Fair to name many of these participants or retrieve their full names, provide biographical information, and probe their motivations for participation as well as to examine the complexity and nuances of their interactions with their managers and the public (see Appendix A).

John Tevi recruited his own immediate family members to travel and perform with him.[53] Most of the fair villages included families with children. Children were active participants, and, in several instances, their roles were more prominent than those of their parents in garnering publicity for the village. Additionally, some children and young people did not have parents present at the Expo, so managers were in complete control of their lives and welfare. Recovering their names and the specific ways they were managed and exploited highlights additional issues about the

[53] Robert W. Rydell, “Into the Heart of Whiteness: The Transnational Saga of John Tevi,” in *Straddling Borders: The American Resonance in Transnational Identities*, ed. Rob Kroes (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2004), 27.

autonomy of the participants at the fair and brings attention to their hardships and, in some cases, their deaths.

Thus far, interest in the CMIE has focused on the official accounts and products of the exposition, privileging the messaging of its organizers and a hegemonic Western historical framework that promotes the narratives of White settlers over Indigenous peoples on the home front and the histories of US government imperialism abroad. But the collective personal and professional stories of the Indigenous participants and managers at the Expo and the backdrop of their participation have not been revealed. Drawing on existing theory and scholarship as well as new research and decolonizing methodologies, a deeper consideration of the archive reveals a counternarrative centered on the actions and responses of the Indigenous participants as agents of meaning. It uncovers how the participants destabilized the goals of their managers and exposition organizers by disrupting public notions about race, gender, and identity and acting independently. Each exhibition was a microcosm formed of individual and collective relationships—each a part of the Expo but also operating independently on the public experience.

While it can be shown that performances at the CMIE were staged in hopes of cementing a secure identity and place of importance for San Francisco and California as the US continental expansion came to a close, the displays were nonetheless subject to unanticipated instability and expansion of ideas promulgated by the Indigenous participants, which underscored the place of individual agency within the framework of states and nations themselves. Case studies illustrate how identity was

constructed in the village settings, performances, and photography and was also subject to this unpredictability. Indigenous performers and participants activated the ulterior histories and messages of the exhibitions that this project seeks to recover.

CHAPTER 1

IMPERIAL CITY BY THE WESTERN SEA

Figure 5: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Opening Day*, 1894. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. California Midwinter International Exposition through M.H. de Young, 2482.

As the Midwinter Fair was announced and as anticipation grew in the months before it opened (fig. 5), Taliesin Evans, a writer for the *Oakland Tribune* and the *San Francisco Chronicle*, published *All About the Midwinter Fair, San Francisco, and Interesting Facts Concerning California*, declaring San Francisco "The Imperial City by the Western Sea":

> Whoever would visit the California Midwinter Fair must first enter the gates of the Imperial City by the western sea which, like ancient Rome, sits supremely on a throne of hills. Barely forty-five years old, San Francisco now has a population of over three hundred thousand inhabitants and, in addition to being the commercial metropolis of the Pacific Coast, stands in the front rank of the great cities of the nation as the eighth on the list. It occupies the extremity of a peninsula, covering twelve square miles, and is

> flanked by one of the finest bays in the world on the one side and by the waters of the Pacific Ocean on the other.[54]

Within this young, lauded, and developing urban center, another city in the form of a world's fair was constructed. Integral to the intended messaging of grand fairs such as San Francisco's was the manipulation of physical spaces to shape visitor experience—the creation of site boundaries, landscapes, buildings, and experiential exhibitions contained on the site, and the associated naming. As shown in this study, representation experienced through the physical manifestations of "The Imperial City by the Western Sea," or "The Sunset City"—as the CMIE was called by its director-general, Michael de Young—served to assert the rights of settlers in the West and their new "American" way and made a case for global imperialism.[55]

Just a few years before, the frontier was declared closed by the US Census Bureau as the movement of settlers westward obfuscated the line demarcating the "unsettled area."[56] During the late nineteenth century, the population of the western half of the United States grew and dispersed throughout the region to continually move the frontier line further west, until there was nowhere left for it to go: in 1890, the US government deemed that a discernable frontier no longer existed. With its

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[54] Taliesin Evans, *All About the Midwinter Fair, San Francisco, and Interesting Facts Concerning California* (San Francisco: W.B. Bancroft & Co., 1894), 24–25.

[55] See Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1893* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1894), 197–227; CMIE, *Official Guide*, 25; and "Opening of the Midwinter International Exposition," *Morning Call*, January 28, 1894 (see "Mr. Phelan's Address" for reference to "Sunset City.")

[56] Turner, "Significance of the Frontier."

dissolution, Americans would look beyond continental borders to continue their imperial pursuits; countering commercial and military campaigns by European countries in the Pacific was a specific concern. The United States was already pursuing annexation prospects beyond its shores on the Pacific Ocean, looking to the Pacific Islands, including the Hawaiian Islands and the Samoan Islands. Situated on the Pacific Rim, San Francisco played an important role in national expansionism as a large, diverse city with an internationally strategic location and numerous economic ties to the Pacific.

Accordingly, news from San Francisco was reported across the Pacific, including in New Zealand. In January 1894, the "Our American Letter" correspondent for the *Otago Witness* newspaper in New Zealand reported from the city about the anticipated opening of the California Midwinter International Exposition in Golden Gate Park on January 27:

> Probably few great expositions, if any, were ever attempted under such seemingly disadvantageous circumstances and carried out with such promptness and celerity. Six months ago the matter had not been mooted—to-day 160 acres are covered with a city of palaces, and a dreary waste of sand dunes and scrub-covered gullies have been transformed into the temporary abiding place of nearly every nationality under heaven.[57]

Numerous nations as well as five US states, the District of Alaska, and the territory of Arizona, thirty-six California counties, and numerous societies and

[57] "Our American Letter (From Our Own Correspondent.) San Francisco, January 13. Theatrical," *Otago Witness*, March 1, 1894.

companies exhibited.[58] An international city within a city, as imagined by Michael de Young and his supporters, the Midwinter Fair would pave the way for regional economic recovery, enable public embrace of historical revisionism, and promote imperialism on regional and global fronts. They touted its financial success as a fair that made a profit.

Figure 6: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *The Site before Breaking Ground*. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. California Midwinter International Exposition through M.H. de Young, 2462

"A City Has Arisen in Golden Gate Park"

When Michael de Young made his case to the commissioners of Golden Gate Park for the "sixty acres of ground" he wished to have for his "international exposition," he was emphatic that "the unsightly, weed-grown and uncultivated area will become a

[58] In Taliesin Evans, *All About the Midwinter Fair*, 73: "Foreign Exhibitors" included "Austro-Hungary, Belgium, Canada, Ceylon, France, Germany, Great Britain and East Indies, Italy, Japan, Oriental Concessions, Russia, Spain, and Switzerland." Chandler and Nathan state that there were "18 exhibiting foreign countries" (Chandler and Nathan. *Fantastic Fair*, 77).

splendid park."[59] Before trees were felled and the ground leveled, Isaiah Taber captured an image of the Exposition site in July 1893, with Strawberry Hill in the distance, "The Site before Breaking Ground" (fig. 6). Among the benefits to the city would be "the settlement of our lands. . . . It will bring to us new life, new people, new money and new energy."[60] The *Los Angeles Herald* proclaimed that "A City Has Arisen in Golden Gate Park" and that the rise of de Young's "Sunset City" facilitated the march of settlement from the dense heart of the city, at the edge of the Bay, west toward the Pacific Ocean, where farms dotted the rural landscape.[61] The transformation of land procured for the exposition was symbolic of what occurred throughout the country, and the language used to describe it reinforced European-American settler views that were dominant at the time and their corresponding geographies.[62] Indigenous Americans were removed from their homelands across the United States by the government with the support of the military.

Around the globe, colonial schemes were profoundly impacting the lived environments of Indigenous people. For example, as Nicholas Mirzoeff has explicated, colonial perspectives in the Victorian period essentialized land in Africa as "blank spaces" or "blank slates" awaiting transformation by Europeans according to their own visions.[63] African tribal and sovereign lands were perceived as empty,

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[59] "The Site Chosen," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

[60] M. H. de Young, "Five Months Taken to Complete Task," in *Life of M. H. de Young*, 7.

[61] "Midwinter Fair," *Los Angeles Herald*, January 1, 1894.

[62] "European-American" is Martin Berger's term; see Berger, *Sight Unseen,* 8.

[63] Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 1999), 132, 135.

"blank," and "untouched," characterized as wild and primitive spaces awaiting development.[64] In the British colonies of what is now known as Australia, the invasion of Aboriginal lands and the genocide that followed were rationalized with a European perspective that the Aboriginals had "forfeited their rights to the land because they failed to make productive use of it."[65] At the time of the CMIE, these ideas were disseminated in magazines and in the press. The *Overland Monthly* in California included social and political commentary about many of the faraway places represented in the exposition during its run. In the April issue, Egyptologist Jeremiah Lynch asserted, "Fifty years hence, Africa will not have one half the present aboriginal population, and the void will be filled by offshoots from the myriads of Europe and America."[66] There was not only a perceived "void" in Africa but also a supposed right for others to settle within it. In the United States, these notions prevailed as well. Martin Berger's research about racialized vision details White entitlement that designated Native Americans as racially "other," paving the way for seizure of their lands defined by Whites as "unenclosed," unsettled, or unimproved.[67] Racially biased perspectives about land and Native American sovereignty were part and parcel of Western expansion in the United States. Native people were displayed

[64] Mirzoeff, 132–33.

[65] Roslyn Poignant, *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* (New Haven and London: University of New South Wales Press, 2004), 57.

[66] Jeremiah Lynch, "Egypt Today," *Overland Monthly* 23 (Second Series), no. 136 (April 1894): 453.

[67] Berger, *Sight Unseen*, 27–28.

at the fair and performed in their new status as vanquished warriors or needy dependents of the nation—dispossessed of their lands.

Indigenous perspectives about land ownership, stewardship, and Manifest Destiny—diametrically opposed to those of the US government and settlers—were asserted by individual Midway performers and participants at the CMIE and other fairs, as this chapter as well as chapters 2 and 3 explicate. However, they were absent as formal presentations. An exception, on "Chicago Day" at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, was a speech by Simon Pokagon who would later appear at the Midwinter Fair in San Francisco in one of the Midway villages.[68] He was leader of the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi. Pokagon, whose father deeded the land where the city of Chicago was established, was an activist and writer. His book *The Red Man's Rebuke* chronicled the invasion of "pale-faced strangers" and the "cyclone of civilization [that] rolled westward."[69] Pokagon printed this booklet, and his other writings, on white birch bark as a political statement to honor what he called a "most remarkable tree" that provided essential materials for daily life and, at the time of his speech, was "like the red man . . . vanishing from our forests."[70] Speaking before a crowd of thousands, Pokagon stated:

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[68] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 124.

[69] Simon Pokagon, *The Red Man's Rebuke* (Hartford, MI: C. H. Engle, 1893), 4, https://doi.org/10.5479/sil.484162.39088007997927.

[70] Pokagon, *Red Man's Rebuke*: see "By the Author"; and Blaire Topash-Caldwell, "The Birch-Bark Booklets of Simon Pokagon." *Michigan History Magazine* 102, no. 4 (July/August 2018): 50–54.

> [On] behalf of my people, the American Indians, I hereby declare to you, the pale-faced race that has usurped our lands and homes, that we have no spirit to celebrate with you the great Columbian Fair now being held in this Chicago city, the wonder of the world. No; sooner would we hold high joy-day over the graves of our departed fathers, than to celebrate our own funeral, the discovery of America.[71]

Pokagon thus offered a stark rebuttal to the premise of historian Frederick Jackson Turner's influential presentation at the Exposition a few months before. In "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Turner said, "The most significant thing about the American frontier is, that it lies at the hither edge of free land." He chronicled the triumph of modernity from "savage conditions" across the United States and the growth of the "nation."[72] For Turner, Native American occupation of land—and the very survival of Native Americans—was discounted as these spaces were reimagined for White settlers and the "forces of civilization."[73] In San Francisco, on January 27, 1894, the opening day of the CMIE, one of its major funders, civic leader James Duval Phelan, echoed this belief in the apogee of "human progress" across the "unbroken . . . unexplored and unknown . . . wilderness" in hearty celebration that "the American people have reached the Pacific Ocean."[74]

For twenty-five cents, the same price as admission to one of the Midway attractions, prospective visitors to the CMIE could purchase the pocket-size

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[71] Pokagon, *Red Man's Rebuke*, 1.

[72] Presented at a meeting of the American Historical Association, July 12, 1893; see Turner, "Significance of the Frontier."

[73] Turner, 200, 210, and 209, respectively.

[74] CMIE, *Official History*, 74–75.

handbook, *All About the Midwinter Fair, San Francisco, and Interesting Facts Concerning California* by Taliesin Evans. A brief history of California, "The Land of the Golden Sunset," and San Francisco, "The Imperial City by the Western Sea," occupied half its pages, followed by lists and information about the Exposition attractions. In it, Evans describes Golden Gate Park:

> The Park is an oblong tract of land fronting on the ocean beach for a distance of one half mile, and reaching eastward into the heart of the city at Stanyan Street—a distance of three miles. It embraces 1013 acres of land reserved by legislative enactment from the Pueblo lands of the city for park purposes, and it is under the control of a special Board of Park Commissioners, appointed by the Governor of the State. . . . Originally the entire tract was a cheerless, desolate waste of shifting sand-dunes, the surface of which was kept in constant motion by the sea breezes, and consequently was devoid of vegetation. Every foot of it had to be reclaimed.[75]

With the city of San Francisco growing rapidly in the mid-1800s, plans for a large city park on its outskirts began in the 1860s. However, it was not until 1870 that the "state legislature set the park's boundaries and proclaimed the inception of Golden Gate Park."[76] Superintendent William Hammond Hall and horticulturist John Hays McLaren, who began his tenure with Golden Gate Park in 1890 and served as landscape engineer for the Expo, spearheaded "reclaiming" the physical landscape

[75] Evans, *All About the Midwinter Fair*, 57. "Reclaimed" also appears in Edwards Roberts, "Some Architectural Effects," *Overland Monthly* 23 (Second Series), no. 136 (April 1894): 844.

[76] Christopher Pollock, "Golden Gate Park," Encyclopedia of San Francisco, San Francisco Historical Society, n.d., accessed February 17, 2020, http://www.sfhistoryencyclopedia.com/articles/g/goldenGate-park.html.

with plantings and features.[77] Many people in the city were highly skeptical about the proposed transformation of the sprawling dunes into a lush park. However, by the time of the CMIE the extensive conversion of the space with new roads and plantings was well under way, and this more recent history dominated public memory of the space. As Kent Lightfoot details in his studies of the legacy of the region's colonial history on the Native peoples of coastal California, and as Evans's text alludes to, previous "reclamation" involved more than sand dunes.[78]

The appropriation of the land that now includes Golden Gate Park began in the mid-eighteenth century with the forced eviction, missionization, and enslavement of the Ohlone population residing in what is now considered San Francisco County. Lands in the region with fertile habitats and abundant wildlife were home to thousands of Ohlone when the Spanish arrived. The Yelamu, an independent tribe speaking Ramaytush Ohlone dialect, were the original people of what is now San Francisco County. They resided in seasonal villages, where they harvested shellfish, hunted birds and marine mammals, and made salt in the marshlands of the bay. After the establishment of Mission San Francisco de Asís, now known as Mission Dolores, in 1776, the Yelamu people were baptized into the mission.[79]

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[77] See section on William Hammond Hall (1846–1934) and John Hays McLaren (1846–1943) in Pollock, "Golden Gate Park."

[78] Kent G. Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 210.

[79] Damon B. Akins and William J. Bauer Jr., *We Are the Land: A History of Native California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2022), 66.

In less than a century, their territory was occupied, transformed, and stripped of resources by Spanish, Mexican, and American settlers, and further disenfranchisement from their lands was facilitated by the California Act for the Government and Protection of Indians of 1850. At the time of the fair, Taliesin Evans reported that:

> the civilizing influences thus brought to bear upon the Indians of California had, however, much the same effect upon them as such influences have had on the native races elsewhere on this continent, for their decline has been coincident with the decay of the churches erected for their benefit, and only a few of them are now to be found at any of the missions.[80]

Many Native people died in the Alta California missions before these expansive complexes began their decline after passage of the 1833 Mexican Secularization Act, which shifted the control and ownership of the California missions to Mexico. Of the estimated thirty-seven thousand Native Californians released from missionary rule during secularization, only about three thousand of their descendants were living by 1900, representing only thirty-seven of the original San Francisco Peninsula tribes—just about five families from a population that was once in the tens of thousands.[81] The Yelamu community was decimated, and there are no known living descendants of the Yelamu.[82]

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[80] Evans, *All About the Midwinter Fair*, 3.

[81] Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*, 74–77, 191–92, 214; personal communication with Jonathan Cordero, November 21, 2022.

[82] Randall Milliken, Laurence H. Shoup, and Beverly R. Ortiz, "Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and their Neighbors, Yesterday and Today," prepared by Archaeological and Historical Consultants, Oakland, California, for the National Park Service, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, in response to Solicitation No. Q8158020405, June 2009, 195, 239,

Confiscating and remapping land, marking new boundaries, and dropping Indigenous names made way for settlers to lay claim and privilege their own histories. *The Official Guide to the California Midwinter Exposition* begins with the story of "California's Discovery"—the landings of European explorers Hernán Cortez, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, and Sir Francis Drake—rather than the story of the Ohlone or their more ancient forebears, who are referred to as "savages."[83] The "earliest days of California" are featured with the landing of Junípero Serra as the marker in time.[84]

As the CMIE site was procured, prepared, and described, past Yelamu Ohlone occupation and stewardship of the land was not mentioned.[85] The description of the park as "Pueblo lands," lands seized and occupied by the Spanish Crown in the late eighteenth century, was an erasure of any mention of the Indigenous population thriving when Junípero Serra founded the first mission in Alta California in 1769.

Three exhibitions of Indigenous North Americans, "Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village," the "Arizona Indian Village," and the "Esquimaux" Village were included in the CMIE.[86] Also, Taber photographs capture images of a

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https://digitalcommons.csumb.edu/hornbeck_ind_1/6; and Association of Ramaytush Ohlone, "The Ramaytush Ohlone," n.d., accessed March 20, 2022, https://www.ramaytush.org/ramaytush-ohlone.html. Only descendants of the Ramaytush Ohlone have ancestors who were born in what is now San Francisco County—just one family. That family's descendants today constitute the Ramaytush Ohlone people.

[83] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 14.

[84] De Young, Official Communication No. 5, 1.

[85] Jonathan Cordero, "Who Are the Original Peoples of San Francisco and of the San Francisco Peninsula?" Ramaytush Ohlone, n.d., accessed March 20, 2022 https://www.ramaytush.org/original-peoples.html.

[86] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 124.

daily playlet in the exhibit, "The '49 Mining Camp," also referred to as "Mining Camp of '49," which featured "Pawnee Jack" and "six red injuns," described in *the San Francisco Call* as "Piutes [sic] from the Wadsworth reservation near Hot Springs, Nevada."[87] Indigenous Americans were presented here as people from cultures defeated in land wars with the US government and White settlers and now pacified through military interventions.[88] While other Native American tribes were represented in San Francisco's exposition, including the "Sioux" (Lakota, Dakota, Nakota), "Yaqui" (Yoeme), and "Esquimaux" (Alaska Native, Inuit), there were no California Indians represented in the CMIE. Any possible concerns about California's treatment of its Indigenous population were circumvented through their absence from the Exposition presentations or exhibitions. Their lack of representation advanced the notions of San Francisco's power brokers, such as Michael de Young, that White settlers' development of the state and full exploitation of California's natural landscapes and resources was the way forward and was uncontested by other claims to them. As proclaimed in a popular magazine of the time promoting the CMIE:

> It has been a revelation to our people and has brought them for the first time, in contact with the world. . . . But we should not overlook the effect which the Fair will have on others. Will it not turn their eyes toward California? It certainly will. But do we want their attention? We certainly do. California languishes for the lack of people. Our lands are awaiting thrifty settlers.[89]

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[87] "Six Red Injuns," *San Francisco Call*, May 26, 1893.

[88] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 122–25.

[89] James D. Phelan, "Is the Midwinter Fair a Benefit?" *Overland Monthly* 23 (Second Series), no. 136 (January–June, 1894): 390.

As Barbara Berglund has argued in her history of nineteenth-century San Francisco, in the absence of a history that included its Indigenous people, exhibitions at the CMIE, particularly the Mining Camp of ’49, provided a retelling of California history that subordinated or excluded Ohlone, Mexican, and Chinese populations to assert the legacy and position of White American pioneers in contemporary society.[90]

Figure 7: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *General View Court of Honor*, 1894. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Midwinter International Exposition through M.H. de Young, 2470.

At the Fair: Taking in the Sights

Promoted as both edification and entertainment, this “Imperial City by the Western Sea” welcomed visitors to see the world through the lens of American nationalism and expansionism and European colonialism. Scholars including Martin Berger, Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, and Timothy Mitchell have shown how ordered and shaped physical spaces in the nineteenth century, such as the grounds of world’s

[90] Berglund, *Making San Francisco American*, 190, 259n23.

fairs and public buildings, functioned as extensions of empire.[91] The CMIE, with its "machinery of representation," was no exception.[92] Cultural difference was visualized and made manifest to influence public opinion about what was "foreign" and what was "American."[93] Visitor understanding of dichotomies between non-White and White, primitive and modern, civilized and uncivilized were absorbed through experiential learning and scenes designed to produce visceral and emotional responses. The fabricated villages, buildings, and landscapes were essential to forming ideas about otherness among Exposition visitors and shaping knowledge about these faraway places and people. The CMIE displays lacked the overall anthropological and archaeological underpinnings of the Columbian Exposition in Chicago provided by Harvard anthropologist Frederick Ward Putnam. However, many of the Chicago exhibitions, especially the most popular and financially successful, were sent west to San Francisco to supplement locally developed exhibitions.[94] The confluence of displays and shows at the CMIE brought the region into contact with global conversations about empire, race, and commerce.

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[91] In addition to Berger, *Sight Unseen*, see Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Cooper and Stoler, *Tensions of Empire,* 1–56; and Timothy Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order," in *The Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Nicholas Mirzoeff, 2nd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 495–505.

[92] Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Order," 500.

[93] Roberts, "Some Architectural Effects," 344, 346, 347; and Mirzoeff, *Introduction to Visual Culture*, 130.

[94] Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair* (Chicago and San Francisco: The Bancroft Company, 1893).

From downtown San Francisco, visitors could reach the Expo by one of the "street railroads" of cable cars that originated at Market Street.[95] Upon arriving, they encountered buildings reflecting distinctive designs from around the globe—executed by local architects—in addition to California styles.[96] Grand buildings featuring agricultural, horticultural, and mechanical products, manufacturing, and fine art encircled the Grand Court and formed the center of the "Sunset City" (fig. 7). While the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago had a unifying architectural theme of the "Great White City," based on European styles and designed by a single architect, the organizers of the CMIE endorsed "strict avoidance of classical models." Five different styles were applied to the main structures—"Moorish, Indian, Egyptian, Romanesque and Oriental"—and were based on "Oriental" influences and the contributions of four different architects as seen in figure 7.[97] They asserted California's westward-facing position on the rim of the Pacific basin with its strategic and commercial advantages. The unusual, culturally hybridized buildings, featuring domes, towers, arches, minarets, and other spectacular elements in different architectural styles and including a great number of flags and banners, were painted in an array of colors inspired by evening sunsets over the Pacific.[98] Distinctive regional styles of architecture, including Mission and Spanish designs, were reflected in

[95] Evans, *All About the Midwinter Fair*, 53–55.

[96] "Originality in design was one of the requirements of the architects competing for the Midwinter Fair work." Roberts, "Some Architectural Effects," 341–51.

[97] CMIE, *Official History*; see table of contents.

[98] Chandler and Nathan. *Fantastic Fair*, 7

buildings representing nine California cities and regions and more than thirty-five counties in the state.

On the periphery, the Midway included the "Oriental Village," the "Japanese Tea Gardens," the "Esquimaux Village," the "Arizona Indian Village," "Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village," and the "Dahomey Village," along with other concessions. As one reporter described it, "On entering through either of the three main gates, one finds himself in the center of activity that in one district is purely foreign, and in another is American to the very heart."[99] The North Entrance brought visitors directly to the Grand Court, flanked by the Manufactures & Liberal Arts Building, the Fine Arts Building, and the Horticulture and Agriculture buildings, while the South and East Entrance Gates led visitors to the Midway and South Drive beside the Chinese and Oriental Villages, respectively. Spatially, with the exception of the Hawaiian Village, the village concessions sat on the periphery—along the Midway—positioned behind the grand fair buildings with exhibitions that celebrated societal and industrial progress.

At the time of the fair, a vast geographic region of distinct sovereign countries and empires in the Middle East and other parts of the continents of Asia and Africa had been designated by the British, French, and Americans, or people in "Western" countries, as the "Orient," setting up an oppositional relationship of Occident and Orient, West and East.[100] This single term that subverted and essentialized

[99] Roberts, "Some Architectural Effects," 346.

[100] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books. 1979), 5.

geographies, cultures, and people was embraced and reinforced at the Midwinter Fair. The notion of the "Orient" as imagined by Europeans and, subsequently, Americans was realized in the largest compound among the concessions, the "Oriental Village" on the Midway. Proclaimed to be "one of the greatest successes of the [Chicago] Exposition," the official guide to the CMIE explains, "It is a composite picture, full of rich coloring, such as Gerome used to paint; or, if you please, it is a succession of scenes from the 'Thousand and One Nights.'" "Cairo Street or Rue du Caire," featuring more than sixty shops and restaurants, two theaters, and full-scale buildings and facades representing mosques, palaces, and homes from "Turkey, Persia and Egypt" brought scenes similar to those in nineteenth-century Orientalist paintings by Jean-Léon Gérôme and Ludwig Deutsch to life with the expected exoticism and transcultural scenes of daily life and celebrations.[101]

At a particular "Oriental celebration" at the exposition honoring Sultan Abdulhamid II's rule, Michael de Young "spoke about the glories of the Ottoman Empire, which he said had been written in gold and blood" and engendered an image of people and places not yet in the political sphere of the United States.[102] The United States would not establish formal diplomatic relations with Egypt, Turkey, or Iran until after the turn of the century. However, the Orient as an "invention" or "semi-mythical construct"—as Edward Said has described it—was manifested at the CMIE

[101] Quoted from CMIE, *Official Guide*, 113.

[102] "Turks Celebrate a National Anniversary," *San Francisco Call*, June 1, 1894.

for visitors.[103] The Oriental Village had its origins at the Paris Exposition in 1889 before its very successful showing in Chicago and San Francisco. Like other experiences such as the Dahomey Village, European visions of faraway places were presented to American audiences through the lens of cultural hegemony. In this case, presentations of "Oriental Countries" were essentialized according to an Occidental ideology.[104]

The focus on "Oriental"-influenced architecture for the official Exposition buildings was envisioned as a reflection of the international composition of the city and its location on the Pacific Coast, facing Asia. Most important to the organizers were "individuality and unconventionality"—expressions of the architecture but also the character of the state that uniquely positioned its citizens for empire-building pursuits beyonds its shores.[105] Though not official buildings, included in this scheme were the Chinese Building and Japanese Village (Tea Garden). The architecture, grounds, and respective programmatic elements of these displays framed the lifeways of these Asian cultures in a suspended historical past, which served the aspirations of this "Imperial City" on the Pacific rim that hoped to shape perceptions while sidestepping the bitter disputes about Chinese immigration to the United States.

At the time of the CMIE, the Chinese community was subject to long-standing and vicious racism in San Francisco and, more broadly, California. The Geary Act of

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[103] Said, *Orientalism*, xviii, 4.

[104] CMIE, *Official Guide,* 64, 146.

[105] CMIE. *Official History*, 47.

1892, sponsored by US representative from California Thomas J. Geary when the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was set to expire, excluded Chinese laborers for another decade and set penalties for illegal immigration. The governments of China and Japan refused to organize official pavilions at the CMIE in protest of immigration policies. So, the Chinese exhibition was managed by San Franciscan Leong Lam, owner "of a well known bazaar . . . on Market street . . . constantly importing large invoices of Chinese wares."[106] An Australian real estate developer in San Francisco, George Turner Marsh, organized and ran the Japanese Tea Gardens.[107] Constructed realities helped avoid discussion about actual political complexities. Marsh's plan to employ Japanese for pulling jinrikisha he imported from Japan was met with intense consternation. The local Japanese community launched the "anti-Jinrikisha Society" and Marsh was forced to hire Americans and Germans, who wore makeup and clothing to appear Japanese, rather than Japanese, to pull the jinrikishas.[108] Subsequently, the Japanese community, led by acting consul M. (probably Matsunosuke) Odagiri "filed a vigorous protest" against Marsh for flying two Japanese flags from the entrance of the village, believing that they gave the appearance that it was an official Japanese exhibition.[109]

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[106] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 102; and Chandler and Nathan, *Fantastic Fair*, 46. In de Young, Official Communication No. 5, it is stated that "the Chinese Six Companies have spent more than $10,000 in the erection of a Chinese Village" (1).

[107] Chandler and Nathan, *Fantastic Fair*, 42.

[108] "Japanese and Jinrikishas, Mad Little Men from the Land of the Rising Sun. They Want Marsh's Blood," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), March 14, 1894; Lipsky, *San Francisco's Midwinter Exposition*, 70; Chandler and Nathan, *Fantastic Fair*, 66.

[109] "Japanese and Jinrikishas."

On and Beyond the Midway

The Midway, a broad boulevard on the fair site, segmented a large portion of land on the southern side and was flanked by more than twenty-five concessions. Boone's Wild Animal Arena was at one end and the Dahomey Village at the other end.[110] A diverse array of exhibitions lined the path, including experiential amusements such as the Haunted Swing and Electric Theater, along with the "villages." The *Overland Monthly* declared that "the Midway is an educator in its way. It presents its varied pictures of life with their pleasing, merry side to the beholder; it affords peeps into lands and customs that have hitherto been myths as far away and impalpable as the man-in-the-moon."[111] "Foreign" territories and sites of colonial expansion were made visible in the "villages."

As a supposed microcosm of the world at a time when the United States was concluding its continental westward expansion and looking at opportunities abroad including in the Pacific Islands, the setting and built environment of the CMIE was designed to instruct visitors about their position in society at large and also illustrate hierarchies of race. Alterity was made evident in the planned city, where villages and exhibitions featuring cultures racialized as non-White were located on the periphery, on the Midway. The "rude villages and houses" of these concessions were presented outside the mainstream of "civilized" society and in marked contrast to the buildings

[110] CMIE, *Official Guide,* 115, and "The Concessions," *San Francisco Chronicle,* July 4, 1894.

[111] Cecil Hammerton, "More Rambles on the Midway," *Overland Monthly* 23, no. 137 (May 1894): 527.

at the center of the CMIE city, which were "modern examples of architecture."[112] Differences in architectural scale, materials, and refinement were marked for visitors, reinforcing connections between race and modernity.

The physical location of certain exhibitions along the back side of the Midway reflected ideas about racial heirarchy in San Francisco, just as it did in Chicago, where the site placement of the Dahomey Village "succeeded in reinforcing dominant white supremacist attitudes about blacks," for example.[113] As visitors entered the Midway lane, they first encountered the Japanese Tea Gardens and then the Native American villages. The Dahomey Village was located next to the outer boundary of the exposition enclosure—"the extreme end of the south drive"—the farthest point from the Grand Court that formed the hub of the fair site, surrounded by all the major exhibition buildings.[114] As Robert Rydell describes in his work on American international expositions of the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, the Midway was a "racial blueprint for building a utopia" with a scientific basis.[115]

While organized as "concession enterprises" with commercial goals rather than as "exhibits" with strictly educational aims, these revenue-driven experiences were

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[112] Roberts, "Some Architectural Effects," 351.

[113] Berglund, *Making San Francisco American*, 9–10; Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 66; and Robert W. Rydell, "Africans in America: African Villages at America's World's Fairs (1893–1901)," in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, ed. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boetsch, Eric Deroo, and Sandrine Lemaire (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 289.

[114] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 115.

[115] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 40. and Mia Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2010), 161.

some of the most impressive to visitors, and they shaped notions about the necessity of colonialism and American expansionism to bring people around the globe considered racially inferior into the modern era.[116] The aims of performative exhibitions of the villages were reinforced in the press. For example, *The Examiner* reported:

> The [Dahomey] Amazons, who fought in some of [King Béhanzin's] fiercest battles, who are now prisoners of the French Government, will be brought here and give exhibitions of their method of fighting. . . . One object for bringing these savages to America is to convince them of the power of the whites and the futility of continuing their campaign against the French, who have killed as many as 15,000 of them in a single battle.[117]

In *Photography on the Color Line: W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture*, Shawn Michelle Smith states:

> The native village exhibits situated peoples of color outside of history, placing them back in time in a permanent prehistory of the white Western world, and they suggested that the path to the present was paved with subordination and service to what W. E. B Du Bois called the "white masters of the world."[118]

Under the management of a White colonialist, Xavier Pené, the Fon participants who comprised the troupe of African warriors posed with weapons and postured with violent gestures and acts for visitors and in official fair photographs. Authentic African warriors were professionals only in a performative role at the fair. For

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[116] CMIE. *Official History*, 163.

[117] "Mr. Everyone of Everywhere," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), October 7, 1893.

[118] Shawn Michelle Smith, *Photography on the Color Line: W. E. B. Du Bois, Race, and Visual Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 15.

visitors, their presence demonstrated European dominance in Africa showing subjugation of the "savages" by the French rendering them as warriors for show.[119]

"Features of savage life" found in the Dahomey Village, the "Esquimaux" Village, and other exhibitions—such as a lack of clothing or of tailored clothing, Indigenous foods and a lack of eating utensils and stoves for some of the participants, and interiors of dwellings that lacked furniture and lighting—reinforced national discussions about race and progress in America's District of Alaska and other locales in the United States.[120] These cultures were considered outside the norms of European-American society due to their perceived lack of technology (especially modern technology), their foodways and lifeways, and their unique traditions and relationship to the natural world. For example, in *The Atlantic*, John Keatley, a judge and government official in Alaska, asked how "the race problem" for Native Alaskans "differ[ed] from that of the North American Indian?" He suggested that "the Alaskan native is still uncivilized, because the effort to transform him was begun so recently that little actual change has been made."[121] The village exhibitions of the CMIE Midway promoted the "civilizing" activities of the United States and Europe that subverted Indigenous lifeways for commercial and political gains.

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[119] "Mr. Everyone of Everywhere," *The Examiner*.

[120] "Features of savage life" is from the description of the "Eskimo" Village in CMIE, *Official Guide*, 124.

[121] John H. Keatley, "A New Race Problem," *The Atlantic* 66, no. 394 (August 1890): 207–11, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1890/08/a-new-race-problem/523650.

Additionally, many performers and participants in the villages and Midway shows were survivors of colonial invasion, violence, displacement, and resulting societal breakdown. In fact, recruitment of participants for the Midway concessions was often made possible due to volatile social and political events around the globe, such as the Franco-Dahomenian wars of the 1890s; the westward expansion in the United States, which resulted in years of the Sioux Wars with the US government to retain their tribal lands; and the subjugation of Inuit peoples in the United States' District of Alaska. Closer to home in California and San Francisco, articulating political unrest in the Pacific, the exhibitions of Pacific Islanders from the Hawaiian Islands and Sāmoa also reflected the nation's "recent imperial ambitions that necessitated the evaluation of the inhabitants of the Pacific as potential colonial subjects."[122]

The CMIE declared itself the "Imperial City by the Western Sea"—an international fair with its globally inspired architecture and wide-ranging exhibitions. While previously little scholarly attention has been devoted to the villages and concessions of the CMIE with Samoans and other Pacific Islanders, Fon, and Native Americans, this study focuses on these culture-based presentations, revealing the historically significant experiences of individuals entangled with larger imperialist pursuits of the United States as well as with the impacts of colonial conflicts happening around the world. Like theatrical sets, the villages were conceived by their

[122] Berglund, *Making San Francisco American*, 178.

organizers as performance spaces to represent cultures—merging the authentic, the adapted, and the fabricated—to create the desired effect and narrative. To create a cultural encounter for visitors, the organizers and managers of the Hawaiian Village and the Midway concession villages positioned Indigenous people in pseudo-domestic spaces that were simultaneously performance arenas emphasizing their alterity, exoticism, and "primitive" lifeways—as relics of cultures consigned to the past in a modern world. The contrived villages were integral to shaping public views about the village participants. At the heart of the enterprise for organizers and managers were both politics and profits.

CHAPTER 2

POLITICS AND PROFITS IN THE PACIFIC VILLAGES

Figure 8: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Opening Day on Midway*, 1894. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Midwinter International Exposition through M. H. de Young, 2485.

Indigenous villages of the CMIE, similar to other concessions, especially along the Midway (fig. 8), were largely independent ventures. Organizers were often the managers as well—shaping the physical space they rented by the foot and supervising the participants and performers through the run of the exposition. The motivations of Lorrin Thurston, Harry Jay Moors, Dr. White Cloud, Miner Wait Bruce, and Xavier Pené, for staging the "Hawaiian Village," the "Samoan Village," "Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village," the "Esquimaux Village," and the "Dahomey Village," respectively, reveal exceptional historical events that preceded these personal enterprises. The managers focused on profits and marketing the entertainment value for visitors. For some, their manifestations of the villages also demonstrated imperial

visions for social and political change in the places represented by their concessions: the Hawaiian Islands, the Samoan Islands, the District of Alaska, the Kingdom of Dahomey, and the American West. Core information about the personal connections of CMIE managers to the participants they managed and their homelands, collated here, shows the intersection of their private aims with greater geopolitical ambitions. The prominent public personas of some managers also garnered publicity that further extended the messaging or profitability of their concessions.

Visitation and corresponding gate receipts were the primary goal for concessions. But two of these, the Hawaiian Village and the Samoan Village, the focus of this chapter, also brought national discussions and debates about US extraterritorial expansion in the Pacific to the fore. They did so in differing ways that reflected the independent organization of the concessions. Both were organized by managers who were residents of the Pacific islands they were representing—one was born in the Hawaiian Islands and one had a Samoan spouse and family. They were political players, and both men were directly involved in the political turmoil in Hawai‘i and Sāmoa happening at the time of the fair. Lorrin Thurston of the Hawaiian Village was firmly pro-annexation, while Harry Jay Moors of the Samoan Village actively advocated both for US political influence over Germany and Great Britain in Sāmoa and for fair elections to resolve contested Indigenous leadership.[123] Thurston was a member of the Provisional Government in Hawai‘i, while Moors

[123] H. J. Moors, *Some Recollections of Early Samoa* (Apia, Sāmoa: Western Samoa Historical and Cultural Trust, 1986), 108.

provided political and material support to Indigenous leaders in Sāmoa. Thurston's staunch political views against Indigenous sovereignty were made visible in an exhibition of "relics" of the monarchy in the Hawaiian Village; the political turmoil in Sāmoa was not made evident in Moors's South Seas Islanders exhibition dance shows, though the constitution of his troupe was determined by the political situation in Sāmoa. Though their personal alliances and motivations were different, the exhibitions and presentation within these villages would serve to support a position of US overseas expansion into the Pacific region: the annexation of Hawai'i and US domination in Sāmoa. Thurston and Moors hoped to demonstrate potential for American business opportunities in the islands and foster tourism.

Figure 9: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Interior of Hawaiian Village. Cal. Midwinter Fair,* 1894. *Official History of the California Midwinter International Exposition. A Descriptive Record of the Origin, Development and Success of the Great Industrial Expositional Enterprise, Held in San Francisco from January to July, 1894*. (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker Company, 1894), 35.

The Hawaiian Village ("Hale Hoikeike Hawaii. Kapalakiko")

The Hawaiian Village (fig. 9) secured an important, centrally located site at the Expo. In October 1893, as plans were proposed for the formation of the Hawaiian Exhibition Company to fund the Hawaiian exhibition at the CMIE, organized by Lorrin A. Thurston, a site was selected on the main avenue near the "terminus of the numerous street railways" and in physical proximity to the other state buildings to symbolically frame the Hawaiian Islands as an eventual part of the United States.[124] As noted in the *Hawaiian Star* as plans coalesced, it would be the only concession with "frontage on the Grand Court" and was the first concession "granted and located, and had the first choice of a site."[125] The physical location associated the Hawaiian Village with the Grand Court and "principal" buildings that highlighted and celebrated international advances in manufacturing, agriculture, technology, and arts, and aligned Hawai'i with the continental United States rather than with the "villages" on the Midway Plaisance.[126]

In comparison to overt manifestations about race in the Midway exhibits, the presentation of racial difference was downplayed at the Hawaiian Village, while commercial and political messages were emphasized by the organizers—members of the business interests that had overthrown Hawai'i's Indigenous monarchy a year prior to the opening of the Expo. The Hawaiian Islands were portrayed as poised and

[124] "What Will Hawaii Do: Her Interests at the Coming Fair," *Hawaiian Star*, October 14, 1893.

[125] "What Will Hawaii Do."

[126] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 25.

ready to move toward American financial and political interests and away from Indigenous leadership—a shift and intervention considered essential to members of the Provisional Government and its supporters, who refused to be subjects of Queen Lili‘uokalani’s government and the majority Kānaka Maoli/‘Ōiwi (Native Hawaiian) populace.[127]

Just prior to the exposition, Hawai‘i’s monarch, Queen Lili‘uokalani, had been deposed by a group of thirteen men known as the Committee of Safety—Americans, Europeans, and Hawaiian subjects with American parents or grandparents who represented the interests of “sugar planters, descendants of missionaries and financiers.”[128] Backed and aided by heavily armed US forces, the Provisional Government usurped the queen on January 17, 1893.

Lorrin A. Thurston, who spearheaded the organization of the Hawaiian Village, was a key figure in the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and was a fervent supporter of US annexation. He was a Hawaiian-born descendant of missionaries, fluent in Hawaiian and educated in Hawai‘i, who was an ardent opponent of Native Hawaiian sovereignty.[129] He supported White-owned agricultural industries and business ventures and passionately promoted the financial potential of tourism.[130] He

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[127] “The Razed Throne,” *The Examiner* (San Francisco), January 29, 1893.

[128] Joint Resolution, Pub. L. No. 103-150, 107 Stat. 1510 (1993), https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-107/pdf/STATUTE-107-Pg1510.pdf.

[129] In *The Hawaiian Kingdom* by Ralph S. Kuykendall (3 vols.; Honolulu, University of Hawaii, 1957), 3:634, he indicates that, Thurston “argued that Hawaiians would make better citizens than the Mexicans in the territories of Arizona and New Mexico.”

[115] Incidentally, during the CMIE, the press announced that Thurston had become engaged to Miss Harriet W. Potter, “a cashier for the cyclorama in Chicago who was retained as an employee for the

was supported in his organization of the concession by Charles T. Wilder, consul general in San Francisco of the Provisional Government, appointed June 1893.[131] William F. Sesser, former manager of the Cyclorama of Kilauea at the World's Fair in Chicago, would serve as the exhibit's manager in San Francisco, including planning the daily musical program.[132]

The question of annexation was a compelling one for San Franciscans. It received significant coverage in local newspapers, and strong opinions were expressed in public forums. Diplomatic ties between the Hawaiian Islands and San Francisco were strong, reflecting regional experiences within the context of national debate about expansionism. For decades, members of the royal family had visited San Francisco, where they were warmly welcomed, before going east across the United States and on to Europe during their global travels. King Kalākaua stopped in San Francisco at the start of his trip to the United States in 1874 as the first reigning monarch to visit the country, when the *Chronicle* newspaper reported that his arrival "is looked forward to with considerable interest by all classes."[133] Newspapers including the *Los Angeles Herald* reported the arrival in 1887 of Queen Kapiʻolani and then princess Liliʻuokalani on the steamer *Australia* in San Francisco, where they

San Francisco Fair." It was noted, "He (Thurston) was a widower of 5 years at the time of the CMIE." ("Thurston to Marry," *Hawaiian Star*, March 24, 1894).

[131] Evans, *All About the Midwinter Fair*, 88. Wilder's family owned the Wilder Steamship Company, a lumber firm, Wilder & Co., and Kahului Railroad Company (see "Hon. Charles T. Wilder" in *Midwinter Exposition Guide and Souvenir*).

[132] "What Will Hawaii Do?" *Hawaiian Star*; and *Midwinter Exposition Guide and Souvenir*, 147.

[133] "The Royal Visitor," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 28, 1874. Kalākaua also traveled to San Francisco in 1881 on a world tour when he was the first monarch to circumnavigate the globe.

were formally welcomed by the United States with a royal salute and a reception with local officials.[134] They visited nearby San Mateo to see the queen's three nephews, who were studying at St. Matthew College, before departing for Washington, DC, to visit with President Cleveland. They continued to New York and then London, where they participated in the celebration of Queen Victoria's Jubilee.[135] Press coverage of these visits presented a favorable view of the monarchy and detailed its official recognition with appropriate protocol, meetings, and events. In 1891, after being received "with honors in San Francisco," King Kalākaua died of kidney disease at the Palace Hotel and was offered "all the honor that San Francisco could pay," with "enormous crowds" attending funeral services and military ceremonies.[136]

Prominent residents of the city such as Claus Spreckels, who established a sugar refinery in Hawai'i in the 1860s and subsequently dominated its sugar industry—and was therefore often called the "Sugar King" in the press —had significant financial interests and political power in the islands.[137] A commercial reciprocity treaty with the United States established in the 1870s allowed Spreckels to import sugar grown in Hawai'i into California for refinement duty free.[138] He

[134] "A Queen," *Los Angeles Herald*, April 21, 1887.

[135] "A Queen"; and "Her Hawaiian Majesty," *Daily Alta California*, April 21, 1887.

[136] "To His Island Tomb," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), January 23, 1891.

[137] Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 2:147, 3:29. Kuykendall notes (2:147), "Ultimately, Spreckels obtained a virtual monopoly of the sugar refining industry on the Pacific Coast." Claus Spreckels gifted the "Spreckels Temple of Music" built on the site of the music concourse of the 1894 CMIE.

[138] Donald Marquand Dozer, "The Opposition to Hawaiian Reciprocity, 1876–1888," *Pacific Historical Review* 14, no. 2 (June 1945): 158.

established a personal relationship with King Kalākaua and had numerous business ventures in the Hawaiian Islands through the 1890s. Steamships, including the *Australia*, owned by Spreckels and others were regularly scheduled between San Francisco, Australia, and New Zealand beginning in the 1880s, and they would play an important part in the exposition by carrying participants and exhibits across the Pacific.[139] Commercial development and tourism were paired; steamships carried both cargo and passengers. A full-page advertisement from J. D. Spreckels & Bros. Co. Oceanic Steamship Company in the CMIE *Official Guide* illustrates these intertwined endeavors, connecting the two places that played an integral role in the messaging associated with the Hawaiian Village:

> Visitors to California during the Midwinter Fair should avail themselves of their nearness to Hawaii, and make the run over there. The round trip journey can be made in three weeks, but four weeks would allow sufficient time to visit the volcano of Kilauea, the islands of Maui, and sugar plantations.[140]

Given the long-established links between Hawaiians and Californians, views in San Francisco and California about Hawaiian monarchy and the issue of annexation at the time of the CMIE could be informed by relationships and experiences such as travel to the islands—rather than by a mere visit to the Hawaiian Village, as it might be for CMIE visitors coming from farther afield, or by reading articles in the press or magazines.

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[139] Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 3:61.

[140] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 137.

Such links between commercial and political interests in Hawai‘i and the presentation at the fair were furthered by CMIE materials such as the *Midwinter Exposition Guide and Souvenir*, which referred to the debate over annexation as the "Hawaiian imbroglio" and presented the pro-annexation position of the Hawaiian concession organizers.[141] "National interest in the Hawaiian Islands and their proximity to the Pacific Coast" were touted as reasons for the prominence of annexation as a subject of the exposition.[142] While Spreckels did not back annexation, strong support came from other members of the business sector of the city, other parts of the country, and later from President William McKinley, who was elected in March 1897, succeeding Grover Cleveland, who opposed annexation and sought to restore Queen Lili‘uokalani to power.

Many voices lobbying for annexation cited the strategic importance of the Hawaiian Islands for future United States military and commercial operations and argued that the United States should "allow no foreign influence to equal our own."[143] There was concern about attempts by France and Great Britain "to take possession of these islands."[144] The matter was presented in detail in newspapers across the nation. Many articles were critical of Queen Lili‘uokalani and, in some cases, were supplemented by cartoons including racist caricatures of the Indigenous Kānaka

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[141] *Midwinter Exposition Guide and Souvenir*.

[142] "Hawaiian Village," in *California, Her Industries, Attractions and Builders Illustrated* no. 5, ed. W. E. Gray (San Francisco: J. C. Hoag, 1896); and *Midwinter Exposition Guide and Souvenir*.

[143] "Importance of Hawaii," *Inter Ocean* (Chicago), January 29, 1893.

[144] "Agreed with the Senators," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), January 26, 1894.

Maoli/ʻŌiwi people of the Hawaiian Islands. Headlines—such as "Hawaii's Throne Crumbles in Ruin . . . Kanaka Domination in the Sandwich Islands Ends Forever," accompanying an article stating that foreigners were "determined never again to suffer Kanaka domination"—were part of a campaign to frame annexation as a necessity for minority Whites and foreigners to protect their property and investments.[145] Lorrin Thurston, who was serving as a commissioner to the United States from the Provisional Government at the time, is quoted in *The Examiner* in late January 1893 as saying, "It is the rising of the civilized, property-owning portion of the population against wasteful misrule and semi-barbarous tyranny." He indicated that Liliʻuokalani's rule and proposed constitution "would have placed the whites and their property at the mercy of the natives."[146] Anti–Native Hawaiian sentiment, framed as civilizing, was an underpinning of the political changes promulgated by the Provisional Government and, correspondingly, Thurston's Hawaiian Village.

Although Kānaka Maoli/ʻŌiwi in Hawaiʻi protested and resisted the overthrow, and President Cleveland, after a special investigation, ordered the restoration of the Hawaiian monarchy in December 1893, the Provisional Government refused to return power to Queen Liliʻuokalani. On January 25, 1894, just days before the grand opening celebration of the CMIE, the first Congress, or free public lecture, of the exposition took place on the subject of "The Hawaiian Debate" at the Grand Opera

[145] "Hawaii's Throne Crumbles in Ruin," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 29, 1893.

[146] "Razed Throne," *The Examiner*.

House in San Francisco, with over one thousand people in attendance.[147] It was one year after the January 17, 1893, overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, and the Provisional Government was pressing the US government to annex the islands.

The program would kick off a series of presentations on the annexation issue in conjunction with the CMIE. [148] As described in an article about "The Midwinter Fair Congresses" in the *Overland Monthly*, "The whole nation was becoming dreadfully muddled over this subject, and . . . a debate on the resolution that the Hawaiian Islands should be annexed to the United States" was arranged to "enlighten the American people" and "raise money to meet the expenses of the Midwinter Fair Congresses."[149] Historian Robert Rydell has documented the impact of the Congresses to the Columbian Exposition the year before in Chicago: close to six thousand lectures were offered during the six-month run of that exposition, expanding the reach of many of the ideas, including racial determinism, that were visualized in the ethnological displays of the Midway.[150] The San Francisco lectures followed a similar pattern, reinforcing the concepts and biases on view at the fair. Speakers in San Francisco included former US president Benjamin Harrison and writers on subjects such as economics, politics, education, literature, religion, and other topics of

[147] Bernard Moses, "The Midwinter Fair Congresses," *Overland Monthly* 23 (Second Series), no. 136 (January–June 1894): 373; and "Agreed with the Senators," *The Examiner*.

[148] Moses, "Midwinter Fair Congresses."

[149] Moses.

[150] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 41, 68.

the day.[151] A separate Woman's Congress also featured prominent women—"Names Familiar to All the Union"—including suffragist Helen Gardener and author Helen Campbell.[152]

In this important first Congress of the CMIE, on Hawaiian annexation, it was reported that John P. Irish, a writer, editor, and politician, made a passionate case against annexation and prevailed in his argument "not based upon the merits of the case" but with his skilled oration.[153] It was reported that the majority of the audience favored annexation and greeted the verdict with "uncertain approval."[154] Irish was very public with his views. He was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* earlier in January as saying:

> Being nearer to Hawaii than any other portion of the country, and more closely connected with the affairs of the islands, we [Californians] think we know just about the truth as to the trouble there, and we are anti-annexationists. We know the revolution there was simply a job, largely by those who robbed themselves rich in this country, and are trying to do the same thing there, and hence we have no sympathy with them.[155]

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[151] "Our American Letter: The Midwinter Fair," *Otago Witness*, March 29, 1894; and Moses, "Midwinter Fair Congresses." In announcing the Congress at the San Francisco Opera House, the *Otago Witness* reported that "Samuel Parker, the Queen's late Premier, has given to the world a letter showing his side of the question. . . . He defended his Queen . . . and sought to show the hollowness of the annexation cry and the rottenness of the parties advocating it. . . . In fact, I think, reason, if not numbers, is upon the side of the anti-annexationists."

[152] "Many Noted Women," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 1, 1894.

[153] Moses, "The Midwinter Fair Congresses"; and "Agreed with the Senators," *The Examiner*.

[154] "Agreed with the Senators."

[155] "John P. Irish," *Los Angeles Times*, January 8, 1894.

Claus Spreckels, despite having the same extensive business interests in Hawai‘i that compelled others favoring annexation, argued against it. He sought to maintain the political relationships with the Hawaiian Kingdom that had benefited him financially. He was also passionate about "American values" that assured citizens "liberty."[156] In September 1893, he argued that "the people of Hawaii want to be free to manage their own affairs in their own way."[157]

Figures 10a and 10b: Details—left and right "Entrance to Hawaiian Village," *Official History of the California Midwinter International Exposition. A Descriptive Record of the Origin, Development and Success of the Great Industrial Expositional Enterprise, Held in San Francisco from January to July, 1894*. San Francisco: H. S. Crocker Company, 1894) p.149.

At the CMIE, the underlying politics of the Hawaiian Village display were not mentioned in the *Guide*, but they were referenced on the signboards next to the large

[156] Uwe Spiekermann. "Claus Spreckels: A Biographical Case Study of Nineteenth-Century American Immigrant Entrepreneurship," *Business and Economic History On-Line* 8 (2010), 18, http://www.thebhc.org/publications/BEHonline/2010/spiekermann.pdf.

[157] "Hawaiian Would Fight," *Washington Post*, September 18, 1893, cited in Spiekermann, "Claus Spreckels," 18.

gateway (figs. 10a and 10b) that served as an entrance and advertised the exhibits within:

> *IN THE EXHIBIT HALL the Grandest Collection of RARE and CURIOUS Exhibits Ever Brought to America. The ROYAL FEATHER CLOAK of Almost Priceless Value. The IDOLS of the Ancient Hawaiians.*
>
> *The ONLY ROYAL THRONE EVER IN THE United States. Native Grass HUTS and CANOES. Native Dancers. A Complete HAWAIIAN EXHIBITION.*[158]

They would become apparent when visitors encountered the cloak and thrones exhibited as "Relics of Hawaiian Royalty" in the exhibition hall building in the Hawaiian Village.

After the overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani, members of the Provisional Government commandeered her 'Iolani Palace, which served as its headquarters, as well as royal thrones and treasures, which were sent to San Francisco for display in the CMIE.[159] The San Francisco *Morning Call* of January 22, 1894, reported:

> A large contingent of exhibits came over on the *Monowai* from Honolulu last Friday. About some of the pieces of cargo much secrecy was observed. These packages were transferred to the Exposition grounds without unpacking and were kept there out of sight as far as possible until after the sailing of Saturday's steamer for the islands. The object of this precaution was to defer as long as possible the publication at Honolulu of the fact that the ex-Queen is throneless. . . . The palace has been stripped of its most

[158] The signs are visible in a photograph by Isaiah West Taber, ["Hawaiian Village" at the Midwinter Fair in Golden Gate Park], 1894, San Francisco Public Library, Photo ID #AA-8087, http://sflib1.sfpl.org:82/record=b1003180.

[159] "The Throne of the Hawaiian Islands," *Morning Call* [San Francisco], January 22, 1894.

valuable possessions and curiosities for the entertainment and instruction of visitors to the Hawaiian village.[160]

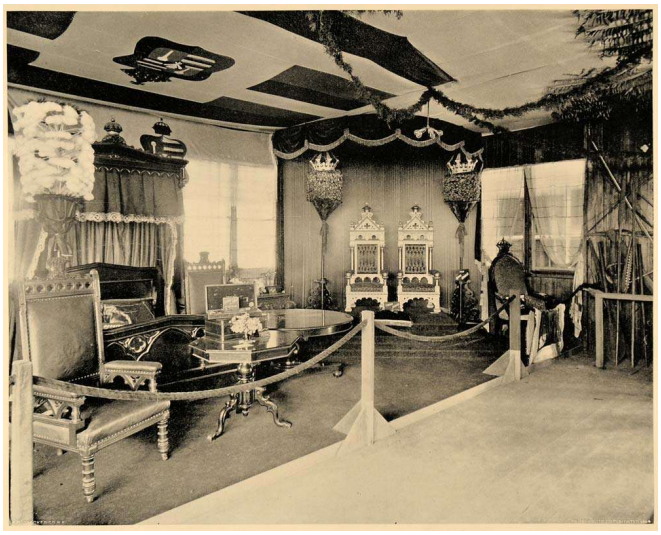

Figure 11: Isaiah W. Taber (1830–1912), *Relics of Hawaiian Royalty* ("The Thrones of Hawaii, royal furnishings, the royal feather cloak, kāhili and royal standards, along with other items being displayed in the Hawaiian Village at the California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894, in San Francisco.") Library of Congress. Public domain.

This exhibition in the village especially displayed the power of the Provisional Government and was intended to play a key role in shaping public opinion about the question of annexation. "Relics of Hawaiian Royalty" by Isaiah W. Taber (fig. 11) is a partial view of a room with the following description: "There are two empty 'throne' chairs in the Hawaiian Village at Sunset City that formerly were owned by Kamehameha and Kalākaua, and that a little over a year ago were wrested from the possession of Liliuokalani by the Provisional Government of Honolulu." [161]

[160] "Throne of the Hawaiian Islands."

[161] Other views from the Hawaiian Village are located in museum and library collections in the continental United States. However, a single photographic image of this exhibit with just two extant prints (one at the Library of Congress and the other in a private collection) appear to survive.

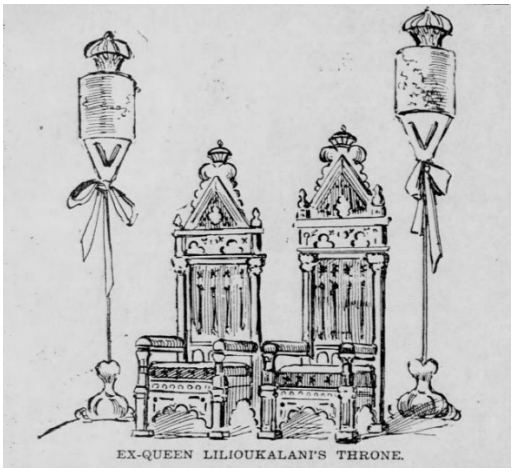

Figure 12: "Ex-Queen Lilioukalani's Throne," in "The Throne of the Hawaiian Islands," *Morning Call* [San Francisco], January 22, 1894.

The *Morning Call* announced that if Liliʻuokalani were restored as ruler during the run of the exposition, she would have "no throne to sit upon."[162] Taber's view of the room shows these important items from ʻIolani Palace, including three thrones: one commissioned by King Kamehameha III in 1847 and used by Kamehameha IV and V and King Lunalilo, and the two thrones of King Kalākaua and Queen Kapiʻolani, flanked by the crown *kāhili* standards (fig. 12). Covering the ceiling is a royal flag with a design originating during the Kamehameha dynasty that indicated the physical presence of the monarch. While the thrones of Kalākaua and Kapiʻolani with the *kāhili* are elevated on a dais, as they would have been positioned at the palace, other furniture, including Queen Kapiʻolani's bed and several tables, are crowded together, with the effect more like a storage space than an exhibition.

[162] "Throne of the Hawaiian Islands," *Morning Call*.

Advertised in the *Official Guide* and on the signage at the entrance of the Hawaiian Village and included in the *Official History* (but not included in the one photographic image that exists of the display), the inclusion of the *'ahu'ula* (featherwork cloak) of Kamehameha I, made with yellow feathers from rare endemic birds, in addition to the other pieces, impressed many fairgoers: "Royal robes, which had adorned the person of Kamehameha I, and arms which he had carried, were displayed upon the throne whence his edicts had once been promulgated."[163] One reporter remarked, "Even were they [tourists] to visit the Hawaiian Islands they could not view the relics around which so much reverence and awe circle."[164] As well documented in Hawaiian oral and written histories, featherwork is imbued with the history of its wearer and subsequent owners and is valued for its ability to tell the stories of Hawai'i's chiefs and the islands. The removal of such an important cloak from Hawai'i and its display by the Provisional Government had great symbolic significance. Many of the items at the CMIE were personal belongings of the royal family.

By showing the contents of the palace and signifiers of rank as "relics of by-gone days," the Provisional Government aimed to establish that the queen was redundant and the monarchy defunct.[165] Taber's caption for his photograph of the

[163] See CMIE, *Official Guide*, 134; and CMIE, *Official History*, 149

[164] "Crowds at the Fair," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 22, 1894. It was also mentioned in Eames, "Wild and Woolly."

[165] Bancroft, *Book of the Fair*; see chapter 28 on the Midwinter Fair, 989, http://columbus.iit.edu/bookfair/ch28.html.

"Relics" room stated, "In permitting the transportation of these idle baubles of a deposed dynasty to a foreign land, the new rulers of the Sandwich Islands [Hawai'i] evidently intended to give notice that these things would never again be needed at home." While the political, social, and religious upheaval was not overtly referenced in the display, such objects were powerful signifiers.

The Hawaiian Village was one of the first CMIE exhibitions to open. The *Los Angeles Herald* reported, "In this space the era of progress in the Hawaiian Islands and other islands of the southern seas will be exemplified to the fullest extent."[166] Emalia Kaihumua, one of the best-known performers to fairgoers in San Francisco and to Hawaiians at home, gave it the name "Hale Hoikeike Hawaii. Kapalakiko," which translates as "Hawaii fair house. San Francisco."[167] However, it was referred to as simply the Hawaiian Village, without its Indigenous name, by its non–Native Hawaiian organizers and in all of the CMIE promotional materials. The exhibits within the Hawaiian Village, including the Hawaiian restaurant and the Cyclorama of Kilauea, were the "largest and most extensive on the Expo grounds."[168] They included a house and a small pond with outrigger canoes (fig. 9) where performers "Lukia" and "J. Opu, the famous diver, swimmer and shark hunter" gave daily

[166] "Midwinter Fair," *Los Angeles Herald*, January 1, 1894.

[167] This name appears with Emalia Kaihumua's signature published beneath song lyrics in a newspaper. The newspaper is unidentified, but the clipping can be seen at https://nupepa.files.wordpress.com/2013/05/leookalahui_4_27_1894_3.png (accessed May 30, 2021).

[168] "Midwinter Exposition Guide and Souvenir," in *California, Her Industries, Attractions and Builders Illustrated* no. 5, ed. W. E. Gray (San Francisco: J. C. Hoag, 1896), 147.

demonstrations. Dancers performed "*hula hula*" for visitors.[169] Multiple shipments were sent from Hawai'i to create the village and the accompanying exhibitions. Materials and participants were still arriving in early February as reported by Honolulu's *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*: "The Hawaiian Exposition Company sends today by the S.S. Australia to the Midwinter Fair about 200 cocoanut [*sic*] leaves for decorating the native huts, 160 pictures of public men, private residences and Hawaiian views . . . Six natives will go up to join the other fifteen already at the fair."[170]

Agricultural products from Hawai'i were displayed in an exhibition hall. Also on view in glass aquariums were over 150 varieties of fish and sharks, constituting the "first exhibit of live fish ever sent away from the islands."[171] The village was marketed as "picturesque," "amusing," and "instructive"—"a thorough exposition of life in Hawaii."[172] Thurston strived to create an "authentic" village attractive to potential tourists while relegating Native Hawaiians to primitivism. Exhibit buildings, houses, and the small pond surrounded the cyclorama.[173] It was reported, "There are small circular huts in the village, made of plaited grass and tree ferns, after the

[169] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 134.

[170] "For the Fair," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), February 3, 1894.

[171] Respectively: "For the Midwinter Fair," *Hawaiian Star*, December 23, 1893; and "Departing Friends: The S. S. Australia Carries the Hawaiian Exhibit, January 6, 1894," *Daily Bulletin* (Honolulu), retrieved from Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress. https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016412/1894-01-06/ed-1/seq-1.

[172] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 134.

[173] CMIE, *Official Guide*; see foldout map at front of guide.

manner of primitive house building in Hawaii"; and, "In the houses the natives can live, pursuing the even tenor of their way just as they do at home."[174]

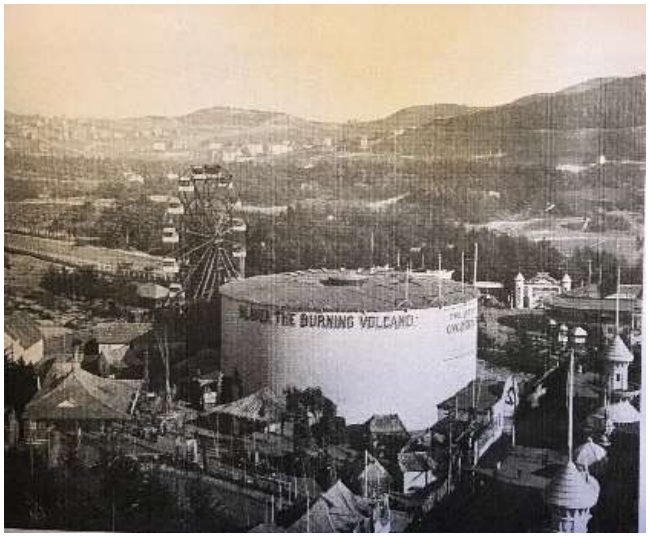

Figure 13: "View East from Electric Tower," *Midwinter Exposition Guide and Souvenir*, 1894. San Francisco Public Library.

An aerial photograph (fig. 13) shows "the Cyclorama of the burning crater of Kilauea," described in the *Official Guide* as the "masterpiece of the Midwinter Fair."[175] The guide describes the immersive spectacle, two hundred feet in diameter with an enormous landscape painting of Kīlauea surrounding the viewers, where "a Hawaiian priest stands on the edge of the lake of fire and chants his weird incantation to Pele, the Goddess of Fire."[176] In his *History of the Hawaiian Kingdom*, Ralph S.

[174] Respectively, Eames, "Wild and Woolly"; and "Hawaii at the Fair," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 9, 1893.

[175] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 134

[176] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 135; and Lipsky, *San Francisco's Midwinter Exposition*, 76.

Kuykendall states, "The thing of greatest interest that Hawai'i had to show to tourists—with a strong appeal also to local residents—was the volcano of Kīlauea."[177] Kuykendall points to the arduousness in the 1880s of the thirty-mile journey, partly on horseback, to the edge of the crater. Thurston, who among his multiple government roles served as minister of the interior, had overseen the completion of a carriage road in 1894 from Hilo to the Volcano House, a lodge that he operated for visitors to the crater of Kīlauea volcano, making the journey faster and more pleasant for tourists.[178]

A reporter who had made the challenging but rewarding trip to the actual volcano and "was desirous of seeing, what, if any was the similarity between them [the cyclorama and Kīlauea]" while visiting the CMIE, stated that "the realism of the scene is truly remarkable."[179] The hyperrealistic moonlit scene of Kīlauea's crater of molten lava (fig. 14) was a very popular entertainment attraction at the CMIE.[180] The site of Kīlauea, sacred for Native Hawaiians—a personification of the goddess Pele and her powers—was reframed by Thurston and others as a natural wonder for tourists.

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[177] Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 3:114.

[178] Kuykendall, 3:114.

[179] "Our Cyclorama," *Hawaiian Gazette*, February 13, 1894.

[180] On January 15, 1894, Manager Sesser reported to the *San Francisco Call* that "San Francisco had beaten Chicago in regard to the cyclorama of Kilauea, the burning mountain. . . . The receipts here have beaten those in Chicago in the same proportion." ("The Days of Old." *San Francisco Call,* January 15, 1894.)

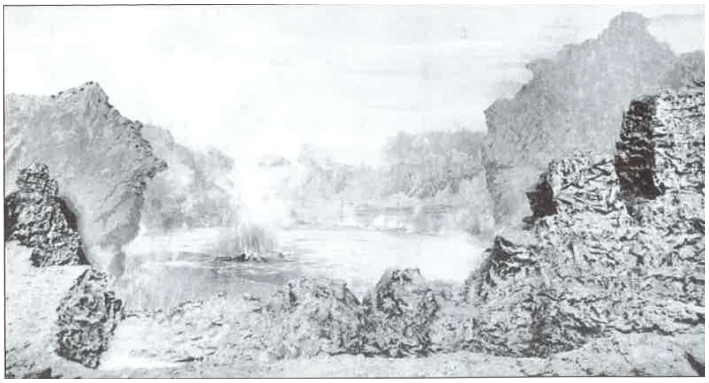

Figure 14: "The Crater of Kilauea Reproduced in the Hawaiian Cyclorama," *Official History of the California Midwinter International Exposition. A Descriptive Record of the Origin, Development and Success of the Great Industrial Expositional Enterprise, Held in San Francisco from January to July, 1894* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker Company, 1894), 141.

While chants in Hawaiian were part of the cyclorama performance, they were not translated, and there was no mention of Kīlauea's sacred importance or why the "incantations," described in the *Guide* as "barbaric," were offered to Pele.[181] One newspaper reported that after the "Hawaiian Priest" chants, "a quartette of Hawaiians come out in the same place and sing some song, accompanying themselves with guitars; this being done to show the progress the islanders have made in civilization."[182] The adoption of instruments with introduced musical styles to supplant Native Hawaiian *mele*, or chants, was considered as cultural advancement.

The representation of Kīlauea was a further cultural extension of the appropriation of Native Hawaiian land and sacred spaces by non–Native Hawaiians for commercial exploits. Taking this level of appropriation to its natural commercial conclusion given Lorrin Thurston's financial interests in Kīlauea, the "scene" inside

[181] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 135

[182] "A Weird Scene," *Visalia* (CA) *Times-Delta*, April 7, 1894.

the cyclorama included what appeared to be "a literal lake of fire" and "in the distance and on the rim of the crater . . . [Thurston's] Volcano House."[183] After experiencing the cyclorama at the CMIE, visitors could see Kīlauea in person and stay in the Volcano House, owned by Lorrin A. Thurston.[184]

Figure 15: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Grass House, Hawaiian Village*, 1894. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. California Midwinter International Exposition through M. H. de Young, 2522.dup2.

A parallel goal of Thurston's presentation of "life in Hawaii" was intended to transport visitors to a mythic ancient Hawai'i, with its "Hale Pili" (a house or dwelling thatched with pili grass [*Heterogpogon contortus*]) (fig. 15) representing traditional Hawaiian shelter and Kānaka Maoli/'Ōiwi performing hula, playing drums, canoeing, and making poi. The idea of an authentic Hawaiian culture that was

[183] "Our Cyclorama," *Hawaiian Gazette*.

[184] Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 3:114.

locked in time belied the dynamic realities of Hawaiian life in the late nineteenth century.

The international connections of Hawai‘i and its citizens and the sophistication of the royal family and *ali‘i*—a chiefly class of family that sent its children abroad for higher education and had engaged foreign potentates for as long as the government of the United States had done so—were not highlighted in the Hawaiian Village. King Kalākaua (r. 1874–91) forged transcultural relationships in the Pacific, initiated cultural revival in his own nation, and pursued technological advancement. ‘Iolani Palace had electric lighting in 1886, five years before the US White House.[185] House styles of the kingdom’s citizens reflected contemporary architectural styles and elements. However, at the CMIE Thurston featured a “Hawaiian style of architecture” from a century before, with “huts in the village, made of plaited grass and tree ferns, after the manner of primitive house building in Hawaii.”[186] The thrones formerly prominent in the largest room in the Palace were displayed as relics. Hawaiian culture was framed within the past rather than the present. Village participants were identified as “semi barbarians,” “natives,” and “savages” rather than as citizens of a

[185] “Birthday Ball,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 26, 1886; and Betty C. Monkman, “The White House Gets Electric Lighting, 1891,” White House Historical Association, https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-white-house-gets-electric-lighting.

[186] The “Hawaiian style” of architecture is referred to in “Hawaii on the Coast,” *Hawaiian Star*, September 6, 1893. The description of “primitive huts” derives from Eames, “Wild and Woolly.”

sovereign nation.[187] The objective was to display the racial inferiority of Native Hawaiians through the exhibition of technologies and lifeways perceived as primitive.

It was simultaneously advantageous to show the suitability of Native Hawaiians as future citizens of the United States through their performances as entertainers for potential tourists to Hawaii. The village setting, including *hale pili*, made this constructed reality visible with "bits of the life and surroundings of the people who inhabit the far-away tropical islands in the midst of the Pacific Ocean."[188] In a Midwinter Fair feature, "Strange Sports of Strange People," *The Examiner* newspaper reported, "The Sandwich island people can no longer be considered among the barbarians. Their sports are the sports of other South Sea islanders, duly tempered by admixture with European and American athletics. The Kanakas [Kānaka Maoli/ʻŌiwi] even ride the bicycle now, and almost the only relic of purely aboriginal sport is their racing in their outrigger canoes."[189] Specialized athletic or artistic skills showed a level of expertise and professionalism that could be applied to traits and modern lifeways desired of US citizens. The deportment of participants involved with performances requiring these specialized skills were also less exoticized than those found in other villages. There were no mock battles, for instance, and no nudity of participants. In the extant photography of village participants, all wore clothing of the period, and even during performances, fiber skirts for dancing were worn over other

[187] "Topics of the Day," *Hawaii Holomua-Progress* (Honolulu), October 16, 1893; "Mr. Everyone of Everywhere," *The Examiner*; and "Natives with Guns," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 16, 1894.

[188] Photo caption, "In the Hawaiian Village," in *"Monarch" Souvenir,* n.p.

[189] "Strange Sports of Strange People," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), June 9, 1894.

clothing. Participants were never imaged nude or partially nude. This was in contrast to participants of the Dahomey Village, for example.

Thurston's presentation received scrutiny that did not derail his goals for the exhibition or its success. However, skepticism on the part of some Hawai'i residents and objections to his manipulation of public opinion through the medium of representation in the exposition were called out in the press. "Topics of the Day" in Honolulu's English-language *Hawaii Holomua-Progress*, a pro-monarchy newspaper, stated:

> The fact is that Hawaii has very little to exhibit which will attract much attention at any exposition. There is no longer any original features in Hawaii, or in the mode of living of the Hawaiians. . . . The Hawaiians live very much like other people now-a days. The grass huts have disappeared and the usual neat cottages of the farming classes in other tropical countries have taken their places. Mr. Thurston is well aware that any attempt to present the Hawaiians as semi-barbarians and as a half-civilized nation is a fraud—which will be recognized and commented on by the thousands of Californians who have visited these islands.[190]

The article in its entirety questioned whether the tourists that Thurston sought for Hawai'i would come in numbers large enough to be a benefit of mounting the CMIE exhibit.[191] But for Thurston, this manipulation of perceptions about Hawaii had the potential to pave the way for increased tourism and associated profits along with White settlement from the continental United States.

[190] "Topics of the Day," *Hawaii Holomua-Progress*.

[191] "Topics of the Day."

Considering that more than two million people visited the CMIE, the Hawaiian Village proved an effective platform to reach the American public with its pro-annexation message. Steps toward annexation continued throughout the CMIE, and on July 4, 1894, the day the Expo closed, a leader of the overthrow, Sanford B. Dole, declared the advent of the Republic of Hawaii, with a new constitution drafted by Lorrin Thurston because they could not achieve annexation.

At the close of the Exposition, *The Examiner* announced that Adolph Sutro, who ran for mayor of San Francisco in 1894 and was elected the following year as the twenty-fourth mayor of the city, acquired the Hawaiian Village for his estate "with the exception of the volcano of Kilauea, which is to be taken to Chicago or New York." The buildings, houses of "matting and bamboo," and plants including palms, the collection of ferns "said to be the finest ever exported from the Sandwich Islands," and "the thousand or more Pulu ferns" were taken to his Sutro Heights Park overlooking the Pacific Ocean.[192] It was noted that "none of the curiosities are taken by Mr. Sutro, as the greater part of the collection is owned by the Hawaiian government and will be sent back home on the next steamer."[193] Props in a theatrical production and political captives, the thrones and cultural heritage of the Hawaiian people and symbols of royalty, under the control of the Provisional Government, were conveyed back to the newly formed political entity of the Republic of Hawaii.

[192] "Sutro Buys a Village," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), July 15, 1894.

[193] "Sutro Buys a Village."

Four years later, as the Spanish American War began in 1898 and demanded the political attention of the United States government, and despite a petition against annexation signed by more than half of the Kānaka Maoli/ʻŌiwi population, the US Congress passed a joint resolution to annex the Hawaiian Islands. In 1993, President Bill Clinton signed Public Law 103-150, a joint resolution to "acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii."[194]

The Hawaiian Village, and other displays like it at the CMIE and in other nineteenth-century expositions, used "bits of life and surroundings" to present a "complete" or "whole" picture of peoples and their cultures.[195] Visitors could see homes, food, tools, and arts of the "natives . . . the smiling dusky young men and maidens." The organizers promised that "the exhibit . . . is in character so representative that it requires but a small amount of imagination to convince anyone that they have seen the Hawaiian Islands in miniature."[196] But, as Christopher Herbert points out in *Culture and Anomie*, the "whole" created by ethnographers and exhibitors of the time was something entirely new.[197] The Hawaiian Village was not a

[194] S.J. Res 19, 103rd Cong. (1993), https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-107/pdf/STATUTE-107-Pg1510.pdf.

[195] Photo caption, "In the Hawaiian Village" in *"Monarch" Souvenir*, n.p.; and CMIE, *Official History*, 146.

[196] CMIE, *Map and guide*, 147.

[197] Herbert, *Culture and Anomie,* 4–5.

true reflection of Hawaiian life or "culture." Rather, it presented Hawai'i as Thurston and his associates wanted Hawai'i to be seen and understood. The exposition exhibits were developed to relay and reinforce notions about culture and society in the Hawaiian Islands and other places that served very particular economic and hegemonic goals of Thurston and others seeking to make money and promote US expansion in the Pacific. The success of the Hawaiian village was extolled by Bill Kanealii, in a rare first-person account by one of the village participants, in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Makaainana*, "The Hawaii display is the best of all. There are two days that the proceeds are the highest, that being Saturdays and Sundays, where $1,000 or more is the most and $500 or more is the least."[198] Visitors paid 25 cents to visit the village. Thurston created a financially successful concession deploying participants as entertainers and strategically presenting Hawaiian visual culture to shape public perceptions about Hawaii's "deposed dynasty" and the essential role of US involvement in the Hawaiian Islands. [199]

[198] "More on the California Midwinter International Exposition from Bila Kanealii, 1894," *Makaainana*, April 2, 1894, reproduced in *Nupepa* (blog), posted May 11, 2013, http://nupepa-hawaii.com/tag/san-francisco.

[199] Photo caption, "Relics of Hawaiian Royalty" in *"Monarch" Souvenir*, n.p.

Figure 16: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *South Sea Islanders in War Clothes*, 1894. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. California Midwinter International Exposition through M. H. de Young, 2521.

The Samoan Village, or South Sea Islanders Exhibition

The Hawaiian Village encapsulated the conflicts playing out across the Pacific among Indigenous people, settlers, and powerful governments seeking to expand their global influence. Just as national and regional interest concerning the "Hawaiian Debate" and the "Hawaiian imbroglio" were manifest at the CMIE in the Hawaiian Village, so too were years of US involvement in the Samoan Islands, called "the Samoa affair" and the "Samoan Tangle." A political struggle between Samoan chiefs Mata'afa Iosefo and Malietoa Laupepa was fueled by Germany, Britain, and the United States, each of whom sought control of the islands for strategic and economic reasons. The ensuing social upheaval and violence were the backdrop for the organization of a "Samoan Village," also referred to as the "South Sea Islanders" exhibition that included performances (fig. 16), for the Chicago and San Francisco expositions by Harry Jay Moors, a successful American businessman who made his home in Sāmoa.

As a resident of Sāmoa with a Samoan wife and children, he was embedded in local affairs, but his politics were sometimes at odds with Samoan and international shifts of power. In his mentions of the fairs in published writings, Moors does not reveal a specific motivation but states his goal of creating a concession that would interest "sightseers" at the fair. Moors seized the opportunity for a profitable cultural venture in the continental United States—a business opportunity that would help to mitigate possible business losses given the political instability in Sāmoa—and also provide a personal and professional reprieve from the violence and turmoil at home. [200]

Moors was born in Michigan, and by 1875, at twenty-one years old, he was employed by the Hawaiian government as an immigration agent in Sāmoa.[201] He would go on to work on a plantation, overseeing immigrant workers, before establishing himself in business. He had a successful trade store in Apia and produced copra (dried coconut kernel, used for oil) for the export market.[202] He would eventually employ a large number of Chinese indentured laborers in his operation.[203] He unsuccessfully experimented growing cacao in Sāmoa.[204] Moors married

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[200] H. J. Moors, *Some Recollections*; "Inaugural Congress," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 26, 1894; *Midwinter Exposition Guide and Souvenir*; Alfred Thayer Mahan, "The United States Looking Outward," *The Atlantic* (December 1890): 816–24, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1890/12/the-united-states-looking-outward/306348; and [Toeolesulusulu] Damon Salesa, "Misimoa: An American on the Beach," *Commonplace* 5.2 (January 2005), accessed August 1, 2020, http://commonplace.online/article/misimoa-an-american-on-the-beach.

[201] S. Doc. Nos. 1–20, 98th Cong., 1st Sess. (1983).

[202] Salesa, "Misimoa."

[203] Salesa.

[204] Moors, *Some Recollections,* 97–98.

Fa‘animonimo (Nimo) Asiono, of the village Tanugamanono, near Apia, in 1883, and they had six children. Moors registered his marriage and the births of all eight of his children (including two others born previously to other women) with the United States Consular Court at Apia, assuring their US citizenship.[205] The right of US citizenship for Moors's children and the naturalization of his wife enabled them to lay claim to family and inherited land in the islands under the US laws and treaties that governed relations with the Pacific Islands.[206] As an American citizen, Moors advocated in Sāmoa and the continental United States for American interests in the islands and his own business ventures and family concerns.

He had the assistance of his friend the Scottish author Robert Louis Stevenson, then living in Sāmoa, with his material, financial, and political support of Chief Mata‘afa.[207] Moors reported that, during his absence in Chicago and San Francisco, Stevenson would counsel Mata‘afa to quell hostilities between the chiefs and that Stevenson was "on familiar terms with both Malietoa and Mataafa [*sic*]."[208] Moors asserted that he and Stevenson supported Mata‘afa as king of Sāmoa, along with "nearly eighty percent of the native population," as a more "reliable" leader than the opposition.[209] In his book, *Some Recollections of Early Samoa*, Moors relates that

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[205] S. Doc. Nos. 1–20.

[206] United States Senate, Pacific Island Treaties, Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, 97th Cong., 1st Sess., December 1, 1981. https://www.google.com/books/edition/Pacific_Island_Treaties/th-kht1kaSsC?hl=en&gbpv=0.

[207] Salesa, "Misimoa"; and S. Doc. Nos. 1–20.

[208] Moors, *Some Recollections*, 106–07.

[209] Harry Jay Moors, *With Stevenson in Samoa* (Macnutt Press, 2016), 128.

their stance was counter to German, British, and American support of Malietoa Laupepa, who succeeded in rising to power after the death of Malietoa Talavou in 1880, and includes his personal perspectives and biases about a very complex political situation.[210] Moors stated, "As an American citizen I was greatly annoyed by the acts of the German Consul, in endeavoring to change the local dynasty."[211] Moors spoke up for the "inhabitants of the land who had been subjected to the harsh treatment and so many indignities by the foreign powers [the United States, Britain, and Germany]."[212] By his own accounts, Moors worked to keep the peace for the Samoan people and also protect "American interests" during the tumultuous political period from the mid-1880s to 1894 that he referred to as "troublous times."[213]

Moors's commercial and political interest in a stable government in Sāmoa extended to other parts of the Pacific. An article in the *Chicago Tribune* on June 7, 1894, reported, "Mr. Moors is the owner of two islands, Nassau and Sophia atoll [Niulakita], besides large interests in Samoa, consequently he is deeply interested in the Hawaiian question. He has just been to Washington trying to get some information on the subject."[214] Moors is quoted saying, "As the bulk of my property is in Samoa, I am vitally interested in having things arranged. I went to the [US] State

[210] Moors, *Some Recollections*, 109; Moors, *With Stevenson*, 128.

[211] Moors, *Some Recollections*, 58.

[212] Moors, *With Stevenson*, 24.

[213] Moors, *Some Recollections*, 107; Moors, *With Stevenson*, 24; and "Eli Likes His Trip," *Chicago Tribune*, June 7, 1894.

[214] "Eli Likes His Trip."

Department, where I was told not to be afraid this government would allow Germany or any other power to annex the Hawaiian Islands; that all interests of the United States in the islands were to be fully maintained."[215] Foreign aggression and US expansionism in Sāmoa were reported and framed in the Expo press by outsiders like Moors who sought stability for their own island enterprises amid global political instabilities.

In advance of the Chicago World's Fair, the US consul in Sāmoa, William Blacklock, asked the Samoan government to participate. When they did not follow through, Moors seized the chance to organize something privately for the Midway.[216] Moors had numerous business ventures in Sāmoa and an entrepreneurial spirit to plan an ambitious presentation of "Samoan life," as he wanted outsiders to see it.[217] In *Some Recollections* of *Early Samoa*, Moors states that, "In 1893 the writer [Moors] contracted with a company formed in Chicago and owning valuable concessions on the 'Midway Plaisance' to organize and lead to the 'World's Fair' a company of South Sea Islanders."[218] Toeolesulusulu Damon Salesa writes in his essay "Misimoa: An American on the Beach," that Moors, known as "Misimoa" to Samoans, set about to organize the South Sea Islanders exhibition at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair "to

[215] "Eli Likes His Trip."

[216] Mandy Treagus, "Yuki Kihara's *Culture for Sale* and the History of Pacific Cultural Performance," chapter 10 in *Touring Pacific Cultures*, ed. Kalissa Alexeyeff and John Taylor (Canberra: ANU Press, 2016), 141–66.

[217] Salesa, "Misimoa."

[218] Moors, *Some Recollections*, 106.

present . . . a perfect picture of Samoan life under favorable circumstances. Shewing [*sic*] all that is good and attractive and leaving out all that is bad."[219] In *With Stevenson*, Moors states that "[Misimoa is] my Samoan name, as placed in front of my various trading stations throughout the Samoan group of islands."[220] He further states, "I had taken over a South Sea Island exhibit for the World's Fair. Samoan houses were erected on the Midway Plaisance, and while there I was in charge of the twenty-five islanders and various exhibits."[221] He considered it a "decided financial and artistic success."[222] Moors's Chicago village would pave the way for a performing troupe in San Francisco and his foray managing Samoan and Pacific Islander cultural performers.

Due to Moors's political alliance with Chief Mata'afa, King Malietoa forbade any Samoans from traveling with him to Chicago. Salesa writes, "In the end, Moors's 'Samoan' village made for a strange display. It was made up mostly of half-castes (people of mixed Samoan and *Papalagi* [foreign or European] descent) and other Pacific Islanders, with only a few full Samoans who had been spirited away."[223] Moors stated that, "By some oversight two Samoan girls were allowed to sign on and those were the only Samoans in this first party of 25 who went away to America and

[219] Salesa; see also "They Will Have Only Mataafa," *Chicago Tribune*, August 6, 1893.

[220] Moors, *With Stevenson*, 24.

[221] Moors, 17.

[222] Moors, *Some Recollections*, 109.

[223] Salesa, "Misimoa"; see also Moors, *Some Recollections*, 106.

became very popular."[224] Moors's wife, Fa'animonimo, and their daughter accompanied him to Chicago, according to press reports.[225] Although his troupe represented a culturally diverse group of Pacific Islanders, their appearance in exposition presentations was unified visually for the public through group performances, including dances in formation, and similarly styled performance attire. The frequent titling of the concession as a "South Sea Islander" exhibition more accurately reflected this troupe's diversity that resulted from restrictions placed on Moors's recruitment of participants due to his political alliances in Sāmoa.

Moors had brought with him to Chicago "all the materials necessary to erect several Samoan houses, together with a collection of canoes, and fishing devices and other exhibits, that would interest sightseers."[226] Watercraft included a seventy-foot canoe (a *taumualua*), "a *vaaalo* [fishing canoe] and numerous well-built smaller craft."[227] Moors recounted that "we did present a very attractive exhibit, and the results of our gate takings were highly satisfactory and justified the expenditure of the $30,000 we had outlayed [*sic*] before we opened for business."[228] While in Chicago, Moors pursued arrangements to return to the continental United States in 1894 with a larger troupe for the Buffalo Bill Company, the Ferris Wheel Company, and

[224] Moors, *Some Recollections*, 106.

[225] "King of the Cannibal Islands," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, January 14, 1894.

[226] Moors, *Some Recollections*, 106. Moors notes that there was "thatch for three large Samoan houses."

[227] Moors, 106–7.

[228] Moors, 109.

Hagenbeck's Trained Animals—all traveling concessions that included cultural shows.[229]

After achieving financial and popular success with his exhibition in Chicago, Moors returned to Sāmoa in December 1893 to a volatile political milieu following civil war. In July 1893, Mata'afa Iosefo—whom Moors had supported—surrendered and was exiled to the Marshall Islands, and Malietoa Laupepa was again king of Sāmoa.[230] Perhaps because of the challenging political situation, which also impacted the economy of Sāmoa, Moors readily planned another exhibition, this time for the Midwinter Fair in San Francisco. A press account states, "The Natives who were at the Chicago Fair were so well pleased with their visit to America that all the Samoans wanted to come to California and see wonderful sights."[231] The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported:

> H. J. Moors and his troupe of South Sea Islanders returned to Samoa on the 6th of January from the Chicago Exposition. The Glowing accounts they brought of the sights they saw in the States and the way they spoke of their treatment by Moors rendered the task of obtaining another crowd comparatively easy, and the Vine left Samoa on January 18th with about twenty-four natives on board, many who were Samoans. She was to call on several islands reaching San Francisco in time to open at the Midwinter Fair about March 1st. Moors is of the opinion that his present company, far surpasses the first one he took to the States.[232]

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[229] Moors, 109

[230] Moors, 109.

[231] "Samoans Here for the Fair," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), April 9, 1894.

[232] "Natives with Guns," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

For Moors and the participants—including his wife and one or more of his six children—travel to the States was also an escape from the societal upheaval in Sāmoa at that time.

On January 18, 1894, Moors departed on the *Vine* (which he described as the "largest 3-masted schooner on the Pacific Coast") "with twenty-four natives on board, many of whom were Samoans" for travel to other Pacific Islands, where additional participants would join the troupe for the return trip to the United States.[233] In April, *The Examiner* announced:

> Arrival of the Vine With a village . . . brought up from the South Seas by King Moors. . . . There are forty-three Samoans in the company . . . [including] Chief Laulu. With him two other chiefs and forty other men and women. They represent five nations of South Sea Islanders, as follows: Ten from Sāmoa, seven from Tonga, five from Fortuna, ten from Uvea, one from Fiji, and eight from the Gilbert Islands.[234]

Similar to Moors's Chicago presentation, this troupe was diverse but performed under the umbrella identifying term of "South Sea Islanders" rather than as individuals from distinct island nations and cultures. Newspaper reports about the arrival of Harry Jay Moors and his troupe in San Francisco mention the men (there were possibly women

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[233] Moors, *Some Recollections*, 110; "Natives with Guns." According to press reports, the *Vine* departed on January 18, 1894, and arrived in San Francisco on April 13, 1894. ("From the South Seas," *San Francisco Chronicle*; "Natives with Guns").

[234] "More Illusions," *The Examiner*, April 14, 1894. The *San Francisco Chronicle* ("From the South Seas") reported, "There are forty-two [South Sea natives] in all including six girls from Samoa. The men are from Jamod, Wallis, Fortuna, Fiji and the Gilbert Group." A second article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* also mentions the number of performers: "The forty-two people chosen by Mr. Moors are about equally divided between the Samoan, Gilbert and Fiji islands, and they are representative of six distinct types of people. Among them are ten women" ("All Wanted to Come," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 9, 1894). In *Some Recollections of Early Samoa,* Moors indicates that there were "42 Islanders" (110).

as well) hailing from the Gilbert Islands. [235] One photograph by Isaiah West Taber, *South Sea Islanders in Native Dance. Cal. Mid. Inter. Exp. 1894*, shows three participants with very long shark tooth spears (possibly *teunun*), distinctive of the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati) (See Appendix B).[236] In a photograph, *South Sea Islanders in their Performance,* the spears also appear placed at the sides of the stage as decorative elements (fig. 17). The de Young Museum collection from the CMIE includes a *Te tanga* (cuirass with a neck guard)—a piece of armor from Kiribati made from coconut fiber and worn during hand-to-hand combat (see Appendix B). However, no Kiribati armor of coconut fiber is visible in any official CMIE photographs of the group.

It does not appear that Moors shipped anything from Chicago to San Francisco for the second "village." At the close of the Chicago Exposition, he sold major pieces such as canoes—several are still in the collections of Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History and the Brooklyn Museum.[237] Moors states that he "had brought the original party of South Sea Islanders home, and a new company was now engaged and new supplies of all kinds had to be engaged and shipped."[238] So, before departure for San Francisco, "material was collected for the construction of a Samoan

[235] "More Illusions"; "From the South Seas"; "All Wanted to Come."

[236] G. M. Murdoch, "Gilbert Islands Weapons and Armour," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 32, no. 127 (September 1923): 174–75.

[237] Moors, *Some Recollections*, 7; and Mandy Treagus, "The South Seas Exhibit at the Chicago World's Fair, 1893," in *Oceania and the Victorian Imagination: Where All Things Are Possible*, ed. Richard D. Fulton and Peter H. Hoffenberg, 45–57 (Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2013), retrieved January 30, 2023, via ProQuest Ebook Central.

[238] Moors, *Some Recollections*, 110.

Village."[239] Upon arrival in San Francisco, it was noted that "among the effects brought up are canoes, clubs and other implements of war and everything that is required to make up a village."[240] A small number of Sāmoan clubs of different types, including two *fa'alautalinga* (ear-shaped clubs), that remain in the museum's collection were purchased by M. H. de Young from the CMIE, perhaps from Moors and his troupe.

Figure 17: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *South Sea Islanders in their Performance. Cal. Mid. Inter. Exp.* 1894. San Francisco Public Library, Marilyn Blaisdell Collection, Album #49.

There are no extant Isaiah West Taber images of the Samoan-style houses (*fale*) or village structures that might have been constructed in San Francisco, if they were at all. The only images show performances in a theater (fig. 17) and the

[239] "From the South Seas," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

[240] "From the South Seas."

performers on an outdoor stage and parading through the fairgrounds. On the stage, rows of dancers perform and a drummer sits to the side. Women are seated and dancing in formation. Men are standing, most with weapons raised upward—the "implements of war"—that Moors referenced. [241] All the participants are wearing bark cloth or fiber attire unifying their appearance. The clothing also provides the primary decorative element for the performance as the stage has no apparent set, but there are small log houses at the sides and trees and plants at the rear of the stage behind the dancers—probably intended to provide a tropical ambiance. Theater staging of Hawaiian "hula-hula" and the South Sea Islander dance performances was exceptional in the indigenous villages based on extant photographs by Taber. Cultural performances and demonstrations for other troupes, such as the Dahomey, appeared to be outside on village grounds rather than in a theater setting.

Press reports suggest a possible reason for the absence of scenes of life in the "South Sea Islanders village" that are captured by Taber of other concession villages such as the Hawaiian Village, for example. In detailing "Hawaii at the Fair" in September of 1893, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* newspaper reported, "Side by side and in contrast to the Hawaiian Village there will be a typical South Sea Island Village. It, too, will be inhabited by natives dwelling in huts of their own construction."[242] Lorrin Thurston and W. F. Sesser planned for "a South Sea village" as part of the Hawaiian concession, and it appears that Moors's "South Sea Islanders"

[241] "From the South Seas."

[242] "San Francisco Letter," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 19, 1893.

village was originally contracted in an arrangement with them as the managers of the Hawaiian exhibition.[243] On opening day of the midwinter fair, the *Los Angeles Herald* reported that the "South Sea Island commissioners are uniting with [the government of Hawaii commissioners] in preparing an exhibit."[244] However, as soon as "King Moors" (as he was referred to in the press) arrived in San Francisco, it was reported that his company occupied an alternative location on the fairgrounds and that Moors might shorten a six-week stay to two weeks.[245] It was stated that "this may possibly bring a legal war between Moors and Manager Lesser [*sic*] [Sesser] of the Hawaiian Village. Lesser [*sic*] [Sesser] claims that Moors was under contract with him to furnish the Samoans for a village that was to be built next to the Hawaiian concession."[246]

The *Official History* confirms that Moors's troupe occupied existing rather than custom-built spaces, and there is no mention of a village or of any Samoan-style structures. One reporter indicated that the Samoan presence at the fair began "at a little village on one of the side streets in the Midway."[247] Neither the particular structures of the village nor any description of the site was included in the CMIE's

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[243] "Inaugural Congress," *San Francisco Chronicle*; *Midwinter Exposition Guide and Souvenir*; "More Illusions," *The Examiner*; "The Cyclorama People," *Hawaiian Star*, September 6, 1893; "What Will Hawaii Do?" *Hawaiian Star*; Mahan, "United States Looking Outward"; "He Was a Cannibal King," *Alton* (IL) *Telegraph*, March 8, 1894; and Salesa, "Misimoa."

[244] "Midwinter Fair," *Los Angeles Herald*, January 1, 1894.

[245] "More Illusions," *The Examiner*.

[246] "More Illusions."

[247] "Far from Sunny Samoa," *Ottawa Journal*, July 25, 1894.

Official History. Newspaper reports in addition to the two volumes of Moors's writings—*With Stevenson in Samoa* (1910) and *Some Recollections of Early Samoa* (1986)—are key sources for understanding what Moors presented at the fairs. Moors wrote only briefly about his organization of exhibitions for Chicago and San Francisco in his articles in the *Samoa Times* between 1924 and 1926, focusing on the size of his troupe and the objects and materials he shipped, such as canoes and thatch for the houses.[248] However, he provided no names of the participants, description of the village, or details about the performances.

With the success of the presentation in Chicago and the experience Moors gained with that venture, perhaps he strategically sought the most profitable scheduling for his troupe, resulting in a modified plan for its appearance at the Midwinter Fair. They performed at the CMIE and then traveled on to perform in New York, London, and Paris."[249] When Moors and his wife, Fa'animonimo (Nimo) Asiono, traveled to Minneapolis with their "South Sea Islander" troupe, it was reported that "Col. H. J. Moors, in charge of the company, married a native princess some years ago, and she has charge of the female part of the company."[250] While Moors is most associated with the concession, it appears that Fa'animonimo (Nimo) Asiono was involved in the visual culture performances offered visitors in San Francisco and subsequent shows.

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[248] Moors, *Some Recollections*, 106, 109, 110.

[249] "Lost Near Amoy," *San Francisco Call*, April 10, 1894; "Eli Likes His Trip," *Chicago Tribune*; "More Illusions," *The Examiner*.

[250] "Samoans Caught On," *Minneapolis Daily Times*, August 19, 1894.

Despite the efforts of Moors and his allies to assert US interests in the Pacific Islands, the Berlin Act of 1899 divided the Samoan Islands in two. German Sāmoa, consisting of the islands of Upolu and Savai‘i, was a colony until 1914, later becoming independent Sāmoa; and American Sāmoa, including the islands of Manu‘a and Tutuila, remained under US rule as an unincorporated territory, which it remains today.

H. J. Moors and Lorrin Thurston were cultural insiders in the Pacific Islands, and both sought to present idealized visions of their respective Pacific Island homes during turbulent political times in order to shape their islands' future leadership, based on their personally held views. Both advocated for their own interests but with different ideologies about the Indigenous peoples of Sāmoa and the Hawaiian Islands. Neither was a professional showman. They speculated that their entertainment ventures in US expositions would help further their aims by presenting the islands worthy of and in need of US intervention. Both found the resultant profits worth their investment of time and money.

CHAPTER 3

NATIVE FRONTIERS IN THE VILLAGES

The Midwinter Fair organizers and city officials publicly heralded the CMIE's momentous period in history, when the wave of Manifest Destiny had reached its shores with the closing of the western frontier.[251] The fair celebrated American nationalism, predicated on the subjugation of Native American sovereign nations and tribes across the country and re-envisioning the land for settlers. The United States now considered the Pacific Islands and Alaska for territorial expansion as part of its interest in global imperialism. Simultaneously, the San Francisco press kept its citizens abreast of the success of other countries in their own imperialist pursuits of frontiers abroad. Such aims were manifested at the fair through three additional Indigenous villages located on the Midway boulevard: Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village, the "Esquimaux" Village, and the Dahomey Village, whose participants hailed, respectively, from the frontier zones of the American West, the District of Alaska, and West Africa under French colonial conquest. The concessions were independent enterprises with no connection to one another and very different circumstances surrounding their organization. However, they shared a representational strategy that relied on racial and cultural stereotypes advanced through photographs, bodily presentation, demonstrations, and performances to make a profit. These private concessions were organized by managers hoping to entice

[251] CMIE, *Official History*, 74–75.

visitors to see—and interact with—Indigenous people framed as "savage," "primitive," and of the past in the modern world of 1894 as experienced at the fair. The success for managers and the experience for participants was arbitrated by a public that paid to see the heroic, vanquished, and exotic "Natives." While money-making ventures for the managers, these fair villages also visualized racial difference for visitors with the prospect of shaping public opinion at a time when debates were taking place about where "others" such as these people fit into the social order of the United States.

Figure 18: "Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village," California Midwinter International Exposition, *Official Guide to the California Midwinter Exposition in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, California: Commencing January 27th, and Closing June 30th, 1894* (San Francisco: George Spaulding & Co., 1894), 123.

Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village

A long, single-story building festooned with American flags and with large lettering across its entirety announced "Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village" (fig. 18). It housed a highly anticipated gathering organized by "Dr. White Cloud" in

cooperation with "Colonel" Charles Philander Jordan, also called "white chief of the Sioux."[252] Dr. White Cloud's Village embodied the important coupling of imaginaries of places and people of the American West in late-nineteenth-century world's fairs. The story of the concession starts to emerge from tracing the involvement of several men who sought to garner profits with Native Americans contracted as participants. In this large commercial venture on the Midway, exhibitions and performances harkened back to lifeways of Native Americans before US government removals and assimilation and glorified a White settler narrative. Participants, and by association their tribes, were presented as former savages, now pacified, confined to reservations and controlled by the US government and its agents such as Jordan. The reality for Native people at the time of the fair was devastating loss of sovereignty and homelands, and these actualities were subverted for entertainment manifestations in the village.

In May 1894, The *San Francisco Call* reported that the CMIE Fair "executive comm [executive committee] gave Dr. White Cloud an exclusive concession for his Indians last fall."[253] As the fair opened in January, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that "Dr. White Cloud returned from an extended trip among the different tribes, bringing with him the largest band of Indians ever exhibited together in this country . . . the greatest exhibition of Indian life, both domestic and savage, that has

[252] "Sioux White Chief," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 24, 1894; "Personal Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 31, 1894; and CMIE, *Official Guide*, 122–24.

[253] "White Cloud Off," *San Francisco Call*, May 8, 1894.

ever been witnessed."[254] While the aggrandizing comments are open to critique, the assembly at the CMIE was purported to include Native American chief Maȟpíya Lúta Red Cloud, a leader of the Oglala Lakota, whom Jordan knew for many years, and other notable individuals, including Crazy Horse, Apache George, and "three full-blooded Sioux Indians two of whom were followers of Sitting Bull."[255] They were known to the public by name, and their images were widely circulated in photographs of the period.

As public figures, Native American chiefs and leaders became central to the US government's mythologizing of the American West with the "Winning of the West" and the recent closure of the frontier—a status announced by the Census Bureau in 1890 indicating that no apparent tracts of land without settlers existed in the West.[256] During westward expansion, Native land rights were overthrown and ignored by the US government. Jordan, a White trader and trading agent, and his Native American "red wards" embodied the new structure of power governing the lives of Native Americans in the United States.[257] Visitors to the fair could see, according to this mythology, the vanquished leaders of Native nations and meet a frontier "hero" who helped American forces supplant Native Americans.

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[254] "Fruits and Flowers. California Scenes and Displays in Midwinter," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 27, 1894.

[255] "One of the Big Days," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 22, 1894.

[256] See, for example, the title and subject of Theodore Roosevelt's multivolume work, *Winning of the West* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889).

[257] "Sioux White Chief," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

While the exhibit itself comprised Native Americans, "Dr. White Cloud" was declared the "most picturesque figure" in the village for his remarkable life story.[258] The *Official Guide* details that he was "stolen by Indians" as a small child (see Appendix A).[259] The *Guide* explicates that Dr. White Cloud "is not an Indian, as might be supposed, but was born of white parents, on the Red River, Texas. When less than three years of age he was stolen by Indians and carried out of the country. His parents sought him in vain, and for nearly thirty years he was held captive."[260] He only "gained his release" during the Battle of the Little Bighorn.[261] The *Guide* further notes, "He is a graduate of three medical colleges, is a linguist, has traveled a great deal and adds to his other accomplishments that of marvelous marksmanship."[262] Along with participants, he performed in the village. It was reported that "White Cloud will repeat the marvelous shooting, which made him champion of the world at the international tournament in Chicago."[263]

A few weeks before the opening of the CMIE, the *San Francisco Call* reported that Charles Philander Jordan "may conclude to go in with White Cloud in the management of the Indian Village at the Midwinter Fair, and in case he concludes to

[258] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 124.

[259] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 124.

[260] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 124.

[261] CMIE, *Official Guide*. 124.

[262] CMIE, *Official Guide*; "Will Please Young Folks," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 31, 1894.

[263] "Will Please Young Folks," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

do so he will bring out a band of Sioux from the agency [Rosebud Sioux]."[264] Jordan arrived on the frontier as a young man, working for over a decade at US government installations—first at Camp Robinson as a quartermaster clerk and later as a post trader at Rosebud Agency.[265] In his obituary, Jordan was remembered as "intensely patriotic," an advocate of US government interests who engaged in treaty negotiations while still closely connected to members of the "Sioux" (Oglala Lakota) communities.[266] After the San Francisco Exposition, Jordan moved to the state of Georgia, "taking with him a number of the Indians from . . . [the Rosebud Indian] reservation" for the "American Indian Village" at the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition (1895).[267]

Jordan's Oglala Lakota wife, Winyan-hoaka, also known as Julia Walks First, was a niece of Chief Maȟpíya Lúta Red Cloud and a cousin of Spotted Tail (see Appendix A).[268] Various sources state they were married in 1878 or 1879 and had nine or ten children.[269] Her obituary notes her devotion as a mother and member of

[264] "Around the Corridors," *San Francisco Call*, January 19, 1894.

[265] "Noted Frontiersman Passed Away Sunday," *Valentine Newspaper* (Valentine, NE), January 18, 1924; and Charles Philander Jordan obituary, *Mellette County Pioneer* (Wood, SD), January 11, 1924; see also "Charles Philander Jordan, 1856-1924 [RG2095.AM]" (background note), *History Nebraska*, last updated October 29, 2022, https://history.nebraska.gov/collections/charles-philander-jordan-1856-1924-rg2095am.

[266] "Noted Frontiersman," *Valentine Newspaper.*

[267] Jordan obituary, *Mellette County Pioneer*.

[268] Thomas Powers, *The Killing of Crazy Horse* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 166n474.

[269] "Mrs. C. P. Jordan Dead," *Mellette County Pioneer* (Wood, SD), January 10, 1913; and "Noted Frontiersman," *Valentine Newspaper.*

the Episcopal church.[270] Winyan-hoaka traveled with her husband to the 1893 Chicago world's fair and made beadwork and other items to be exhibited at Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show.[271] Thus far, there is no record of her presence at CMIE, but it is possible she attended based on her involvement with other fairs and shows.

As with other concession managers on the Midway in San Francisco, Charles Philander Jordan's financial, cultural, and marital ties influenced who was present and performed. Relationships forged over years working at US military installations most likely facilitated contracts with the Native Americans who joined the village and performances. *The Examiner* announced that the village "has Indians there galore—Indians that whoop and ride horseback and do exciting things generally as proper Indians should."[272]

[270] "Mrs. C.P. Jordan Dead."

[271] Greene and Thornton, *The Year the Stars Fell*, 65.

[272] "The Indian and the Ostrich," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), January 28, 1894.

Figure 19: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *"The Rescue": Pawnee Jack and the Modoc Indians*, 1894. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Midwinter International Exposition through M. H. de Young, 2520.

In May 1894 it was reported that "Pony Jack [John Marks (Pony Jack/Pawnee Jack); see Appendix A], who has a reputation in Wyoming as a frontiersman and scout, has purchased rights to the White Cloud Indian Village, and is giving an entertainment daily with assistance of Apache George, the champion lasso-thrower, and a crowd of Modoc Indians from the lava beds."[273] The "entertainment" included a drama, *"The Rescue": Pawnee Jack and the Modoc Indians,* that had previously been featured in the Mining Camp of '49 (see fig. 19). In the playlet, a White woman is saved by Pawnee Jack from Native Americans in roles as attackers. Seven Native American men at the rear of the scene have arrows drawn and weapons raised. One White man appears dead or injured, with his hat laying askew on the ground beside him, and another subdued White man is at his side. Pawnee Jack has grasped the hand of the White woman kneeling in front of him. The image captures the key dramatic moment of the confrontation as Pawnee Jack points his gun at the attackers. The audience would already know the outcome of the successful rescue, as the title suggests. But this moment of representation portends the uncertainty of violence that marked the period of White settlement in the West. As part of a concession that hoped to attract visitors willing to pay an entrance fee, this live drama of the past

[273] "Pony Jack," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 28, 1894.

perpetuated stereotypes of Native Americans as a primitive race of threatening savages in order to shock and enthrall visitors.

Native Americans in the popular press and entertainment venues such as world's fairs were often presented as caricatures and essentialized as "warriors" countered or dominated by White settlers.[274] In Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village, the most esteemed among the participants were portrayed as historical figures rather than active leaders of their people. They were glorified as exceptional individuals admired for their bravery and command in past battles but now subdued—at once sophisticated leaders but also savage and childlike. As described by a reporter for *The Examiner* at the opening of the fair, the "Indians" of Dr. White Cloud "aspire to shine in a histrionic rather than in an industrious and domestic line."[275] The *Official Guide* positioned these participants as "men famous in their nation for their cunning and blood-thirstiness" and "for years . . . bitterly hated and feared by the white settlers," though now seen in "peaceful conditions."[276] While advertised as authentic leaders and warriors and "not professional" in the CMIE *Guide*, they were now entertainers.[277] The duality of the constructed "heroic," yet defeated, "savage" played out in the village in hourly shows.

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[274] "One of the Big Days," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

[275] "The Indian and the Ostrich," *The Examiner*.

[276] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 123.

[277] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 123.

Figure 20: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Arizona Indian Village*, 1894. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Midwinter International Exposition through M. H. de Young, 2508.

Dr. White Cloud's Village had a sub-concession, the Arizona Indian Village (fig. 20) run by Frank Dobs.[278] At the time, Arizona was a territory of the United States. Ninetta Eames for the *Overland Monthly* reported, "There are thirty Indians, young and old, who make up the population of the little village, the majority belonging to the Yaqui and Papago tribes of southern Arizona and Mexico. They speak no English, but are quite familiar with the Spanish tongue."[279] The *Guide* announced that the village was an "excellent reproduction" showing the daily life of "wandering tribes, whose history is but a long narrative of warfare against the whites."[280] In fact, the Yaquis were subjected to enslavement, military actions, and dispossession of their homelands by the Mexican government throughout the nineteenth century, although

[278] "White Cloud Off," *San Francisco Call*, May 8, 1894.

[279] Eames, "Wild and Woolly."

[280] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 133.

this was not a part of the narrative for the Arizona Indian Village. The concession manager hoped that visitors would be curious to learn about a tribe from the "rude frontier" that was lesser known than tribes of the Plains and others who appeared in fairs, Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show, and other attractions of the time that included Native Americans.[281]

In the photo, an American flag prominently flies from a pole almost as tall as the building itself. Large pottery jars line the entire roof edge, presumably featuring a preview of examples that visitors could see in the village. A mural extends across the entire building facade above the windows. Though the accompanying caption of the mural is obscured in the photograph and only the date of "1690" is visible, it appears to represent a moment offering a visual history lesson as visitors enter the concession. Visible at the right of the entry building to the village are several large cacti that were prominent attractions in the village. These impressive and "curious" botanical specimens included one over thirty-six feet high and over four and a half tons in weight, as reported in the *Official Guide*, which remarked: "The Indians are noted for their surprising skill in manufacturing baskets from native grasses, exceedingly odd and pretty in color and design and so closely woven as to hold water. They also make blankets on the most primitive of looms, which are rich in color and endure the wear and tear of generations."[282] Their "wonderful woven baskets" were also praised in a

[281] Photo caption, "Arizona Indian Village." in *"Monarch" Souvenir*, n.p.

[282] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 133.

caption for a souvenir album photograph of the village, though none are pictured. [283] Two participants identified by name, Mud-in-the-Face and Sparrow Legs, performed a "Deer-and Rabbit" dance for visitors.[284] The *Overland Monthly* reported that Mud-in-the-Face "belongs to the Mayo tribe in Mexico" and his partner in the dance was a Yaqui called Sparrow Legs.[285] There are numerous images of the dancers by Taber and a detailed description of the dance included in the *Overland Monthly*.[286]

Another feature of Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village was a display of Native American visual culture. *The Examiner* reported, "Within the inclosure [*sic*] of White Cloud's camp is the little cabin where Captain Chittenden displays his relics from the caves of the cliff-dwellers."[287] Captain Newton H. Chittenden was "the famous North American explorer" reported by the *Overland Monthly* as having displayed his ethnological collection shown at the Chicago World's Fair that "includes articles of every imaginable kind used by native Western tribes, [including] [w]eapons of warfare, ornaments, skeletons, and innumerable other relics of American antiquity."[288] Chittenden's collection was designed to instruct and

[283] Photo caption, "Arizona Indian Village." in *"Monarch" Souvenir*, n.p.

[284] Eames, "Wild and Woolly."

[285] Eames, "Wild and Woolly."

[286] Eames, "Wild and Woolly."

[287] "The Indian and the Ostrich," *The Examiner*.

[288] Eames, "Wild and Woolly."

educate—providing an object study in contrasts between Native lifeways and modern American life on display at the fair.

The success of Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village as a commercial venture is difficult to ascertain based on press accounts. Financial and other controversies surrounding the concession included a financial dispute between Dr. White Cloud and Frank Dobs, accusations against White Cloud for lack of payments to participants that culminated in his arrest in March 1894, and the death of an infant and a Yaqui woman.[289] Dr. White Cloud left San Francisco before the end of the fair but later insisted he made a profit.[290] Jordan's period of engagement is not clear, and he was involved with another commercial venture outside the CMIE grounds, Buck Taylor's Wild West, that opened in April 1894.[291] More research is needed to understand how participants negotiated their own representation—who was actually resident in the village and for what periods and how shifts in management impacted participants and their roles in the concession. The village, like many popular exhibitions and shows during the period, relied on dramatic convergence of "authentic" Indians and men of the frontier to perpetuate a tale of the West won by

[289] "Francesca Dying," *San Francisco Call*, March 29, 1894; "Why It Failed," *The Richmond Item*, July 30, 1894; "A Death at the Fair," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 13, 1894; and G. Huntington, Redding, MD, "At the Sign of the Red Cross," *Overland Monthly* 23 (Second Series), no. 138 (June 1894): 612–16.

[290] "White Cloud Off," *San Francisco Call*, May 8, 1894; "Dr. White Cloud," *Richmond* (IN) *Item*, April 26, 1894.

[291] "Buck Taylor's Show," *San Francisco Call*, April 22, 1894.

settlers. Native people had a role as entertainers in this romanticized version of the West but not as US citizens in their own homelands.

Figure 21: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Lake in Esquimaux Village, 1894*, 1894. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Midwinter International Exposition through M. H. de Young, 2535.

The "Esquimaux" Village

From the perspective of visitors, extreme exoticism was manifest in the "Esquimaux" village (fig. 21), which featured six structures built to resemble igloos (*igluit* in the Inukitut language, meaning "snow houses").[292] The village was meant to display the premodern Indigenous lifeways of its residents, Indigenous people from the Arctic. They were presented as "Esquimaux," a word applied by outsiders that came to

[292] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 124.

identify a perceived monoculture of the north in a vast region of territory deemed open to Western exploration and development.[293] At a time when US military agents, missionaries, and private profiteers were expanding exploration and speculation in the Arctic region as part of extraterritorial expansion, the "Esquimaux" village of the CMIE—like those in other world's fairs at the time—presented the perceived primitive and exotic aspects of Arctic life for public edification and entertainment.

The "Esquimaux" village in San Francisco would feature two different groups of participants from disparate places in the Artic—one from Labrador and one from the District of Alaska—managed by different promoters and presented as living exhibitions. As this section will show, the village reflected the managers' intent of demonstrating racial inferiority and justifying settler control of Arctic peoples and their homelands in order to derive benefit personally and financially. As evidenced by public response and the trajectory of the managers' and participants' careers, the village proved to be a very popular and successful attraction supporting the cause of managers' economic interests in the Arctic and subverting Indigenous rights.

The story of the "Esquimaux Village" in San Francisco is directly connected to a village organized for the Chicago World's Fair that set the stage for what would be presented in San Francisco. In advance of the opening of the fair in Chicago on May 1, 1893, almost sixty Inuit from Rigolet, Davis Inlet, Hamilton Inlet, and other parts of Labrador were contracted by three men—Lyle Vincent, W. D. Vincent, and Ralph

[293] Lawrence Kaplan, "Inuit or Eskimo: Which Name to Use?" Alaska Native Language Center, University of Alaska Fairbanks, n.d., accessed January 16, 2022, https://www.uaf.edu/anlc/resources/inuit_or_eskimo.php.

Gorham Taber—and brought on board the schooner *Evelena* to Boston.[294] From there they traveled to Chicago and spent the months in advance of the fair building and occupying an Eskimo Village on five acres, with a goal to "give to the civilized world practical knowledge of their customs."[295]

The village promised to be a "complete representation."[296] It included houses, shelters, and a water feature for demonstrations of watercraft. It was an ethnological-style exhibition designed for a public that wanted to "see" Native people living in a manner considered primitive in the present.[297] While the *Boston Globe* newspaper reported that "almost all these people speak English, eat various kinds of foods, as

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[294] "At the Theater," *Boston Globe*, October 16, 1892. Press reports offer differing numbers of people arriving on the *Evelena*. The *Boston Evening Transcript* of October 14, 1892, reported fifty-seven men, women, and children in twelve families ("Boston's Strange Visitors"). In *Early Arctic Films of Nancy Columbia and Esther Eneutseak*, Kenn Harper and Russell Potter indicate that W. D. Vincent and Ralph Taber were subcontractors: "In March of 1892 The World's Columbian Exposition had entered into a contract with J. W. Skiles & Company of Spokane, Washington, to present an Eskimo Village and Labrador Trading Post at the exposition. . . . The contract contemplated that Skiles would form a second company to which he would assign his rights under the original contract. This second company was duly formed with Mr. M. Daniels as its president, W. D. Vincent its secretary, and Ralph Taber its treasurer. Ralph Taber and Lyle Vincent travelled north on the chartered *Evelena* in June of 1892. They recruited Inuit in Rigolet and Davis Inlet, and then on the rugged coast north of Hamilton Inlet." Taber is described as a "28 year old promoter and showman." *NIMROD: The Journal of the Ernest Shackleton Autumn School* 10 (October 2016), https://w3.ric.edu/faculty/rpotter/temp/Harper_Potter_Nimrod.pdf. Jim Zwick indicates that Taber was from Spokane, Washington, and further details that ten families were recruited from settlements near Moravian missions and Hudson Bay Company outposts, and two additional families were recruited from farther north, near Cape Chidley and the shore of Ungava Bay. See Zwick, *Inuit Entertainers in the United States: From the Chicago World's Fair through the Birth of Hollywood* (West Conshohocken, PA: Infinity Publishing, 2006), 12.

[295] "Strange People," *Boston Globe*, October 15, 1892; "Boston's Strange Visitors," *Boston Evening Transcript*.

[296] "Strange People," *Boston Globe*.

[297] "To see is to know," a slogan of the anthropological exhibitions at the Chicago World's Fair, is attributed to G. Brown Goode, assistant secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, charged with developing a classification system for the fair, Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 44–45.

Americans do, and have a general idea of the world," they were also described as "strange people," a "primitive race."[298]

Figure 22: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *All the Esquimaux Families in the Village. Cal. Mid. Inter. Exp*., 1894. San Francisco Public Library, Marilyn Blaisdell Collection, Album #49.

After the Chicago World's Fair and the completion of their two-year contracts, most of the performers were returned to Labrador as intended by the village managers.[299] A number of them, however, continued on to San Francisco (see fig. 22). The CMIE *Official Guide* reports:

> This party of Eskimos was obtained in Labrador, where they are rapidly becoming extinct, disease and starvation having reduced the natives of that inhospitable land from three thousand to fifteen hundred in the last few years.

[298] "Strange People," *Boston Globe*.

[299] Ralph Taber continued to manage Inuit entertainers from Labrador at later fairs, and for many years he worked with Esther Eneutseak, who stayed in the United States after the Chicago World's Fair, though she did not join the group in San Francisco. Eneutseak established an extraordinary career as a professional entertainer, along with her daughter, Nancy Helena Columbia Palmer, born at the Chicago World's Fair.

> They were brought to this country by Mr. W. D. Vincent, the present manager of the village, at great expense, four months being occupied by the journey and a great deal of hardship incurred in cruising along the rocky coasts in search of families willing to undertake the adventure.[300]

The physical appearance of the "Esquimaux" village, with its unique igloos (*igluit*), was designed to capture public imagination about Arctic life, and the structures and clothing of its residents became an enduring visual signifier for the Arctic in popular culture, though not all people of the Artic used them. The participants, dressed in their distinctive clothing made from animal skins and fur, were meant to appear as "typical of the ancient race they represent and . . . unsullied by the touch of civilization."[301] A white wall to give the impression of ice and snow surrounding the village was constructed using lime and mortar.[302]

The *Official Guide* offered a detailed description to prospective visitors:

> A high fence encloses the three acres of ground which is devoted to this exhibition of life within the Arctic Circle. Passing through the entrance the visitor first beholds a row of six of those queer snow-huts made so familiar to our childish eyes by the pictures in our primary geographies. These particular huts are reproductions of the houses used by this tribe of Indians in their northern homes, with the exception of doors and windows, which in this case are made of glass. Inside these artificial snow-houses the Eskimo household furniture is found in its primitive simplicity. . . . In addition to these (stone lamp, eating utensils, sleeping furs) interesting features of savage life there is

[300] CMIE, *Official Guide,* 124. Thomas G. Scott states in *History of the Esquimau Race* (cited in Zwick, *Inuit Entertainers*, 30) that "thirty have gone to California for the Mid Winter [*sic*] Fair; and are to be returned to their own country, and landed in their villages by the end of August, according to the contract." Press accounts include mention of a contract "by which the concessionaries agreed with the English Government officials at Labrador for the safe return of the Esquimaux to their ice-bound haunts in the far north at the close of the present season." See "An Esquimaux Couple Who Have Eloped," *San Francisco Call*, May 9, 1894.

[301] "Strange People," *Boston Globe*.

[302] "The Midwinter," *Weekly Gazette and Stockman* (Reno, NV), June 14, 1894.

> an exhibition by the Indian men and boys of their skill in handling the kayak or canoe on the water. . . . A team of reindeer, so useful to the inhabitants of icy regions for transportation and food, is also on exhibition.[303]

Press accounts detail visitor experiences in the village such as watching kayak races, riding in a sleigh pulled by the dog team, or purchasing small items (including "wallets and boots") made by women of marine mammal skin.[304] Numerous reporters detailed, as one described it, "the great game at the Esquima [*sic*] village of Whip the Nickel" that displayed the skill of men accurately handling their long hide whips to extricate a five-cent coin stamped into the ground by spectators.[305] Whips were easy to transport, and this skill, unlike hunting and other activities requiring fauna of the Arctic, was transferrable to the site-specific conditions at the Expo outside in the village. From the organizers' perspective, the activity offered good entertainment value and created the atmosphere of a show.[306] Special events in the village included "*Examiner* Day" (sponsored by the San Francisco newspaper) for schoolchildren, which featured advertising that "the Esquimau [*sic*] hunters will show the children how they spear walrus, and how they manage their tippy little boats of skin."[307] Several of Taber's posed photographs of the village include men in kayaks on the

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[303] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 125.

[304] "The Midwinter," *Weekly Gazette and Stockman.*

[305] "Strange Sports of Strange People," *The Examiner.*

[306] Demonstration of whips took place at the Chicago World's fair as well. There is an image, "Esquimaux Snapping Whips," in F. D. Todd, *World's Fair through a Camera: Snap Shots by an Artist* (St. Louis: Woodward and Tiernan, 1893).

[307] "Just What the Children Will See on 'Examiner' Day," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), February 9, 1894.

small pond in the village (fig. 21) and also men holding whips conspicuously (fig. 21 and fig. 22).

Americans attending attractions, fairs, and expositions were most likely to encounter Inuit from Labrador, but while the Midwinter Fair in San Francisco was already under way, a group of Alaska Natives arrived. A different manager was identified in the press, Miner Wait Bruce, who had contracted the group of eleven Alaska Natives from Port Clarence, near the Bering Strait, in 1893 to travel with him to Chicago, Washington, DC, and New York before returning to San Francisco for a month of performance and residence in the CMIE "Esquimaux" Village.[308] It was a moment of increased US involvement in the Alaska region, and Bruce sought both personal gain and promotion of national schemes.

Miner Wait Bruce first ventured to Alaska in 1889.[309] He became a prominent figure in the District of Alaska in the 1890s, serving as the first superintendent of the US government's Teller Reindeer Station in western Alaska beginning in 1892.[310] He was a former journalist and authored the 1890 "Report about Eskimos" for the US Bureau of Education and three books about Alaska in 1893, 1895, and 1899.[311] He is described in one press account as the man "who it will be remembered, is making an

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[308] "Our Friends from Alaska," *Evening Mail* (Stockton, CA), October 21, 1893.

[309] Miner W. Bruce, *Alaska, Its History and Resources, Gold Fields, Routes and Scenery* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons), 1899, http://online.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.14411; see preface.

[310] "A Wedding in Sunset City," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), July 2, 1894; and "A Little Girl Lost." *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 27, 1894.

[311] James W. VanStone, *The Bruce Collection of Eskimo Material Culture from Port Clarence, Alaska* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1976), 4.

effort, with Sheldon Jackson, to have reindeer introduced into Alaska by the government. Mr. Bruce says that there is a good prospect that his reindeer scheme will be successful."[312]

The history of the homelands of Alaska Natives is key to understanding how land use and the prospects for land profits informed the motivations of Miner Wait Bruce, who convinced or coerced people to leave their homes to join his cultural troupes. The Alaska Natives would also be used as human specimens during his in-person appeals to the US government for financial project support and physical and biological anthropological studies.

US expansionism in the Pacific in the second half of the nineteenth century included the northern reaches of the western United States, with a goal of expanding power, influence, and global market opportunities in the region. In 1867, the United States purchased the "Russian Possessions in North America," a territory including what we now call Alaska, from the Emperor of Russia, Tsar Alexander II.[313] For the century after explorer Vitus Bering sighted Alaska in 1741, Russians explored and expanded business ventures in the area but struggled to make them profitable. For Alaska Natives—Unangax^, Alutiiq (Sugpiaq), Athabascan, Iñupiat and St. Lawrence Island Yup'ik (Yupiget), Yup'ik and Cup'ik, Tlingit, Haida, Eyak, and Tsimshian—Russian occupation brought disease, loss of sovereignty, subjugation, enslavement,

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[312] "Esquimaux Going Home," *Victoria* (BC) *Daily Colonist*, July 19, 1894, https://archive.org/details/dailycolonist18940719uvic/page/n5/mode/2up.

[313] See "Treaty Concerning the Cession of the Russian Possessions in North America," US-Russia, March 30, 1867, located at Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=015/llsl015.db&recNum=572.

forced assimilation, and genocide, resulting in the death of tens of thousands of Indigenous people by the time of the US purchase.[314]

In the *Daily Alta California* newspaper article "Acquisition of Alaska," on the day of the formal transfer at Sitka Harbor, it was reported in one section, under the header "The Aboriginal Element," that the Alaska Natives "were disposed to regard it unfavorably. Their acquaintance with American whale-ships has not prepossessed them in our favor."[315] Like that of the Russians before them, American fishing and hunting of marine mammals depleted these essential resources for Alaska Natives. It was uncertain what, if any, benefit Alaska Natives would receive with the transfer of power, and the reporter of the day conveyed indifference from the "Indian [Native] portion of the town [Sitka].[316] The US government initially assigned a US Army military commander to its new territory and managed it as a military department until 1884, when it became the District of Alaska, with a civilian government.

By the time of the San Francisco exposition, Sheldon Jackson, an influential US missionary and the first US general agent of education in Alaska, and Captain Michael Healy of the US Revenue Cutter Service, the precursor to the Coast Guard, were shaping public policy, educational programs, and government initiatives in the district, including a plan to introduce reindeer from Siberia to Alaska. Jackson and others seeking government support for the reindeer program argued that

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[314] See the writings of William L. Iġġiaġruk Hensley, including *Fifty Miles from Tomorrow: A Memoir of Alaska and the Real People* (New York: Picador, 2010).

[315] "Acquisition of Alaska," *Daily Alta California*, November 19, 1867.

[316] "Acquisition of Alaska."

"Eskimos [were] rapidly becoming extinct" due to disease and starvation.[317] Reindeer were seen as a suitable replacement for the declining populations of marine mammals caused by unrestricted hunting by outsiders. Reindeer would "afford the Esquimaux a new source of food and clothing" and the potential of cash income through the selling of meat and skins.[318] Healy, born into slavery and the first man of African American descent to command a US government vessel, spent over two decades of service in Alaska and conceived of the idea. Various individuals were shaping the future for Alaska Natives and the background of Healy's involvement illustrates how Native people were caught in the middle of government agents and individuals who were working with a lack of US oversight and administrative control in the District of Alaska.

In its reporting on the CMIE, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that "Captain Bruce came to this country with a party of Esquimaux from Alaska and took the natives of the cold north land to Washington with the purpose of strengthening his appeal for an appropriation for a reindeer station."[319] It was further reported:

> [Bruce] regards his trip to Washington City, where he spent several months, as having been very successful. He got a bill through congress appropriating $2,500 for use this year in the experiment of introducing the reindeer, and says that the house committee has favorably reported a bill extending the operations of the agricultural college act to Alaska and appropriating $15,000

[317] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 124; and Roxanne Willis, "A New Game in the North: Alaska Native Reindeer Herding, 1890–1940," *Western Historical Quarterly* 37 (Autumn 2006): 277–301.

[318] "A Little Girl Lost," *San Francisco Chronicle*; and VanStone, *Bruce Collection*, 4.

[319] "Little Girl Lost."

> per anum for the maintenance of three experiment stations there. The passage of the bill, Mr. Bruce thinks, will mean a great deal for Alaska.[320]

Bruce stated that Alaska Natives "were intelligent and good natured people and . . . the Government should do something to keep them from starving to death."[321] The appearances and performances of the Alaska Natives were central to Bruce's lobbying and presentations to government officials, including President Cleveland, but he had not cleared the involvement of Alaska Natives with Captain Michael Healy, who was outraged about Bruce's removal of the Alaska Natives to Washington and concerned about the welfare of the group. Along with Bruce, Healy had been championing the introduction of reindeer to the District of Alaska, but he worried that their staged performances and exhibition might reflect poorly on the reindeer project.[322] He wrote to Sheldon Jackson on July 30, 1893:

> Had I been in Port Clarence when [Bruce] left there I never would have allowed him to take those natives away, and I hope someone will be thoughtful enough to make him file a bond for their keep while away and return them to their homes. To have the reindeer project become the father of a Dime Museum is to me a cause of mortification.[323]

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[320] "Esquimaux Going Home," *Victoria Daily Colonist*.

[321] "Little Girl Lost," *San Francisco Chronicle.*

[322] Dorothy Jean Ray, *The Eskimos of Bering Strait, 1650–1898* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), 223.

[323] Ray, 223.

Figure 23: "Eskimo group of 11 men, women, and children dressed in fur, Port Clarence, Alaska." Back row, third from left: Iserkyner/Iser-Kynor. Front row, second and third from left: Zakseriner (Riner) and Kerlungner (Ker-Lung-Ner). Photographed by William Dinwiddie, 1894. National Archives Identifier: 523820, Local Identifier: 106-IN-3106B, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/523820.

A photograph by William Dinwiddie of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian shows the group from Port Clarence (fig. 23). The identities of several participants included in the photo can be known, including a child, Zakseriner (Riner), and two young adults: Iserkyner/Iser-Kynor and Kerlungner (Ker-Lung-Ner), and it has been possible to recover stories about their time at the fair (see Appendix A). The remaining troupe members in the photo are yet unidentified though Xomiksener and Se-Ku-Uk (see Appendix A) can be presumed present.

Miner W. Bruce brought Kerlungner to the United States from Port Clarence without her parents. She was about sixteen years old at the time, based on press reports. In February 1894, while the group was in Washington, DC, with Bruce, he was quoted as saying, "Iserkyner, a young man, and Kerlinger, a girl, have fallen madly in love since we started [the trip from Port Clarence] and will be married

soon."[324] In June, *The San Francisco Call* reported that Kerlungner was wearing a new coat from Iserkyner "as a token of her consent and readiness to become initiated in the intricacies of Arctic wedded life."[325] The public marriage took place on July 29, 1894, at the Midwinter Fair in San Francisco and was reported by *The Examiner.* The press accounts suggest the marriage was consensual and a binding marriage in their culture. However, celebrations were popular with the public and, nevertheless, it might have been staged in public as part of Bruce's promotion of village events to bring in paying visitors. Kerlungner returned to Port Clarence in 1896.[326] When her mother died in 1897, Kerlungner was described as "the Alaskan Princess who has traveled with Mr. Miner Bruce's Eskimo troupe through the States for two winters."[327]

While in Seattle the following year, Bruce's troupe, including Kerlungner, performed at a "Harvest Festival": "At 11, 3 and 8 o'clock the Eskimos will eat raw seal meat and fish with seal oil. Mr. Bruce has arranged for a special athletic performance. High kicking by Princess Kerlungner, and high jumping by Isertyner and Kyoquassi, the young men."[328] These cultural presentations provided revenue opportunities for Bruce. The public was likely to interpret aspects as "primitive"—

[324] "Equimaux Go to Washington," *Chicago Tribune*, March 1, 1894.

[325] "Around the Grounds," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), June 29, 1894.

[326] "From Far Siberia," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 14, 1896.

[327] United States Bureau of Education, 1898, "Teller Reindeer Station Log Book. 1896–1897"; *Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer Into Alaska*," US Government Printing Office, 112.

[328] "A Great Closing Dance," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, October 5, 1895.

eating raw seal meat—and "exotic"—a young woman displaying athletic prowess in the traditional Alaskan high-kicking that was connected to whale hunting in Alaska Native communities. At a time when women in American cities wore long dresses and skirts, the "trousers" of women in the "Esquimaux" village were also noted by the press as one of their "peculiar customs."[329]

It does not appear that the reindeer project was negatively impacted by the "Esquimaux" Village or other public presentations by Bruce's group of Alaska Native participants. However, as the biographies show, based on Bruce's treatment and abandonment of the participants (as detailed in the account of Zakseriner's [Riner]'s experience in Appendix A), Healy was right to be concerned about the Alaska Natives. Bruce would not return to the Teller station or his role as superintendent, but he would continue to derive income from exploiting and managing Alaska Natives for years to come. During the 1890s, Bruce collected many significant cultural objects and everyday items contemporary to his time in the area, which he sold to the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago in 1896–97. He also provided "Ethnological specimens from Port Clarence, Alaska" to the American Museum of Natural History in New York in 1899.[330]

The US government and its agents such as Healy and Bruce framed the future for Alaska Natives through a path of adaption or extinction. They were not permitted to maintain their lifeways, and they were dispossessed of their homelands. The very

[329] "Strange People," *Boston Globe*.

[330] VanStone, *Bruce Collection*, 56.

aspects of their life and culture highlighted in the village were under assault in their home communities. "Uncivilized" Alaska Natives were forced into employment and into Western-style dwellings, schools, and missionary stations as part of a coordinated effort to control the population, since it was deemed too difficult to create reservations in Alaska in the same way they were created for Native Americans in the contiguous US states and territories.[331] Before their arrival at the CMIE, while they performed in Boston, it was reported that "these people are from Alaska and are just as much wards of the nation as the Indians."[332] Like the Native Americans across the American West, Indigenous people of the Arctic were perceived as not making productive use of the land and as unable to adapt to a drastically natural changing environment and modern world of commerce.

The distinctive "Esquimaux" Village mise-en-scène at the Midwinter Fair reinforced entrenched cultural stereotypes, othering and racializing Alaska Natives as locked in the past—a "primitive race"—making a case for continued US government suppression of their sovereignty and human rights.[333] Public interest in the Arctic grew with the Klondike Gold Rush of 1896 and attempts by Western explorers to reach the North Pole. Jim Zwick's research on Inuit entertainers has revealed that "Inuit from Labrador appeared at every world's fair and most other major expositions

[331] Keatley, "A New Race Problem."

[332] "Eskimo Receptions," *Boston Globe*, April 8, 1894.

[333] "Strange People," *Boston Globe*.

held in the United States and Europe through 1915."[334] These attractions and venues would cleave to the aesthetic and elements established in the first US fair villages in Chicago and San Francisco, with cultural entertainment at their core. Igloos (*igluit*) were standard features, and large pavilions made to look like buildings made of ice and snow were added to an ongoing essentialized presentation of Inuit culture. Miner Wait Bruce, who started as an employee of a government initiative, spent his career benefiting from the racial and social hierarches that made it possible for him to exploit Indigenous people and cultural resources for his financial remuneration as a career.

The Dahomey Village

More than one hundred Fon individuals from the West African kingdom of the Dahomey (Danhomé) kingdom (now Benin) were present at the world's fair in Chicago and, as visible in extant Isaiah Taber images, at least thirty adults and several children traveled to San Francisco to reside and perform in the village at the CMIE.[335] The exposition's *Official* Guide states that the village contained "sixty male and female warriors of the Dahomeyan tribe."[336] In 1894, after four years of war with the

[334] Zwick, *Inuit Entertainers*, 1.

[335] There are varying accounts of the Dahomey group in San Francisco. Joanna Dee Das states, "A different group of Dahomean dancers resurfaced at the California Midwinter International Exposition (the Midwinter Fair) in 1894 in San Francisco and toured with the Barnum & Bailey Circus." See "Dancing Dahomey at the World's Fair: Revising the Archive of African Dance," in *Futures of Dance Studies*, ed. Susan Mannin, Janice Ross, and Rebecca Schneider (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2020), 56–73. The CMIE *Official Guide* states, "The village contains sixty male and female warriors of the Dahomeyan tribe" (115).

[336] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 115.

Fon, the marauding French finally prevailed over the forces of King Béhanzin—including the women warriors known as the Dahomey Amazons—establishing colonial rule and subjugating one of the last African kingdoms to fall to European domination. Just months later, a troupe from Dahomey was brought first to Paris, then on to Brussels and Chicago to be exhibited and take on new roles as performers for the public.[337] In San Francisco, they were contracted and managed by a Frenchman, Xavier Pené, a plantation owner in Dahomey and a professional labor contractor as well as an amateur geographer.[338] Pené was assisted by John Tevi, "Dahomey Chief from West Coast of Africa," as described in the press.[339] As with Harry Jay Moors and his Samoan exhibit, Pené was considering his personal business interests in the presentation of the Dahomey Village and generating income from the concession. For visitors, French imperialism was also on display.

While not organized by the French government, the Dahomey Village appeared in contrast to the official and very large French national exhibition in the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building, thus presenting a visual dichotomy of French and Dahomey political and economic power.[340] Juxtaposed, the exhibitions exemplified the "interplay" between colonialism and culture described by Nicholas B.

[337] Stanley B. Alpern, *Amazons of Black Sparta: The Women Warriors of Dahomey* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 208.

[338] Rydell, "Africans in America," 289.

[339] "The Man from Dahomey," *Detroit Free Press*, December 4, 1898.

[340] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 62–66.

Dirks.[341] Dirks explains how the international expositions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including the CMIE, were venues in which imperial and political agendas were advanced through the exhibition of cultures—through the display of bodies and visual art—in discrete "villages" at the peripheries of global cities. As Dirks points out, "The colonial world was shaped through cartography, and at the expositions, native peoples represented faraway places now within the grasp of European and American domination."[342] In the Dahomey Village, there was even a demonstration of weaving "by an old man and which followed exactly the same course as in the large weaving machine in the Mechanical Building, only in an extremely crude state" emphasizing the march of modernity that did not include the people represented in the Dahomey Village.[343] Their status as defunct warriors illustrated French domination in Africa to fair visitors. After experiencing years of extremely violent political turmoil in their homeland, Dahomey who appeared at the CMIE assumed new professions as traveling performers in Pené's concession.

It is documented that in Chicago, Pené sought to present a "'faithful' representation of a Dahomean Village with at least 60 inhabitants, including a 'king or chief,' who would perform religious ceremonies and military exercises on a daily basis."[344] In San Francisco, the press reported that, "There are forty in the band, the

[341] Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture,* 4.

[342] Dirks, 6.

[343] "The Midwinter," *Weekly Gazette and Stockman,* June 14, 1894.

[344] Rydell, "Africans in America," 289.

majority being young people, and some not out of their teens. About half of them are women. They are all from the same tribe and nearly all are relatives."[345] He received assistance with the organization and management of the group from the West African John Tevi. Robert Rydell has pieced together details about their relationship:

> First, Péne and Tevi traveled together to Abomey, the capital of the Kingdom of Dahomey. Tevi served as Péne's interpreter when Péne had an audience before the King. Although the details of their meeting are sketchy now, it is likely that Péne was seeking permission for the Dahomeyans, especially a group of Amazons, female warriors and retainers of the king, to travel to the United States. From this time on, Tevi called himself "John Tevi, Chief" indicating his role as an organizer in performing shows. The Dahomeyans sailed from Africa to New Orleans in 1894 and went by train to San Francisco, where they performed for four months at the Midwinter Exposition.[346]

Figure 24: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Xavier Pene and his Dahomeyan Amazons, Cal. Midwinter Exposition*, 1894. University of California–San Diego, Mms: 991004640509706535, https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb2056330k.

[345] "The Midwinter," *Weekly Gazette and Stockman,* June 14, 1894.

[346] Rydell, "Into the Heart of Whiteness," 25.

In a group photograph taken by Isaiah Taber at the Exposition in 1894, which he titled *Xavier Pene and his Dahomeyan Amazons, Cal Midwinter Exposition*, Pené appears in the center of a group of nineteen Fon men (fig. 24). With the exception of two men in their group who have shirts, the Dahomeans are bare chested, as they are seen in other Taber photographs around the village. Pené is standing and dressed in a suit and a white sun helmet (known as a "sugar loaf"), of a type typically worn by White colonists in the African colonies at the time.

John Tevi is assumed to be present in the group photo of the men (fig. 24), but perhaps because he is Black he was not identified by Taber in the caption despite his role working with Pené to organize the village. Tevi had traveled to England before bringing his family to the United States so he could work for Pené as a translator and performer. He would later write a pamphlet, *A Tour around the World and the Adventures of a Dahomey Village*, in 1912 and spearhead his own groups of traveling performers from Africa.[347]

[347] Rydell, "Africans in America," 292.

Figure 25: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *"Dahomians in Their Village," 1894*, 1894. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Midwinter International Exposition through M. H. de Young, 2519.dup2.

While Tevi was a world traveler and some of the men and women in the Dahomey Village were highly trained former royal guards and warriors, they were presented as primitive savages in the press. This alterity was reinforced in the exhibition space, where their mode of dress and deportment was prescribed to look stereotypically "African." They were often partially nude in the village, wearing only pieces of cloth wrapped around their bodies without any attached fasteners (see fig. 25). Nudity of both men and women in the village was an appeal for visitors.[348] They were described as "dusky" and "ebony-colored"—"genuine Africans with broad noses, thick lips and heavy wool."[349] During open hours, they were physically

[348] Suzanne Preston Blier, "Meeting the Amazons," in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empire*, ed. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boetsch, Eric Deroo, and Sandrine Lemaire, 159–64 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 163.

[349] "Pictures in Powder," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 2, 1894; and "Mr. Everyone of Everywhere," *The Examiner*.

separated from visitors behind fences enclosing the "village" with buildings "modeled after the prevailing styles of Dahomey," further emphasizing their appearance as warriors from a defunct kingdom culturally locked in the colonial present.[350]

Figure 26: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Dahomeyan Women, Dahomey Village*, *Cal Midwinter Exposition*.1894. University of California–San Diego, Mms: 991004640509706535, https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb2056330k

Isaiah Taber's photograph of "Dahomeyan Women" includes twelve women and young girls—all bare chested—and one infant (fig. 26). Two of the women wear necklaces with pendants and hold umbrellas at their sides, perhaps indicators of rank or status, as they were in Dahomey. All the women, except the mother holding a baby, are holding weapons, Fon *récade* (ceremonial club/axe), or objects resembling them, which rest on their shoulders. In Dahomey, *récade* and some umbrellas were carried by warriors as emblems conferred by the king for their service.[351]

[350] "Mr. Everyone of Everywhere," *The Examiner*.

[351] Alpern, *Amazons of Black Sparta*, 123–25.

Figure 27: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Dahomey Princes and Princesses, Dahomey Village*, *Cal Midwinter Ex*. 1894. University of California–San Diego, Mms: 991004640509706535, https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb2056330k.

Though lacking any identification of the sitters, Taber's photographs of Dahomey participants provide possible clues about their identities. In *Dahomey Princes and Princesses* (fig. 27), the dress of the Fon man standing second from the left has a distinctive vertically striped tunic that is similar to the uniform worn by women warriors of Dahomey photographed in the 1890s.[352] Both female and male warriors at Dahomey wore tunics as part of their uniform.[353] However, he is the only member of the CMIE Dahomey village to wear the striped tunic in Taber's images. Men are wearing cloth shorts, and women and men wrap themselves in lengths of dark cloth. This participant also wears a large ceremonial metal gong around his neck

[352] See "Engraving of Amazons," ca. 1893, in Alpern, *Amazons of Black Sparta*, 195, and photograph, *Dahomey Amazons*, Wikipedia.com, updated January 8, 2020, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dahomey_amazon2.jpg.

[353] Alpern, *Amazons of Black Sparta*, 54–55.

and metal cuffs on both forearms. In another Taber image, he walks ahead of another participant on the street who carriers a large umbrella with banners, a type reserved for royalty in Akan-speaking cultures in Africa, signifying his importance. The *Weekly Gazette* reported, "The chief of the tribe…sits in a royal state under an umbrella-like canopy of blue and white stripes."[354] Perhaps he is John Tevi or the "chief" or "king" reported in the press. [355] But the identity of the man wearing the striped tunic is not yet known. A number of women in Taber photographs have cowrie shell–embellished belts with embossed pouches, also worn by several men in the village. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that, "women and men both wore metal cuff adornments on their arms and ornaments around their necks and carried weapons."[356]

Taber's photographs show Dahomey participants with adornments, musical instruments, weapons, and other items that were signifiers of prestige and rank in Dahomey culture and for the participants themselves. However, visitors might understand them differently. For example, the use of an umbrella as a symbol of honor would not necessarily register in that context by American visitors to the Dahomey Village. In the village, the meaning of cultural signifiers could be changed or shifted from norms of perception with only the managers and Dahomey participants experiencing these changes. On the other side of the fence, visitors might

[354] "The Midwinter," *Weekly Gazette and Stockman,* June 14, 1894.

[355] Rydell, "Africans in America," 289.

[356] "Pictures in Powder," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

question the authenticity of Dahomey cultural representation that shows cultural mobility and adaption, in this case the use of European-style umbrellas.

The Dahomey participants were viewed by the press and visitors with curiosity, scorn, and amusement.[357] After the closure of the fair, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported on the success of the French in "subduing the African tribes" including the Dahomey.[358] It remarked, "France comes to stay and engraft European civilization on the sturdy stock of African barbarism."[359] Participants of the Dahomey Village in their roles as warriors and dancers fulfilled necessary stereotypes of imperialist crusades.

Private Dahomey village ventures at the San Francisco fair, like those in Chicago and others that would follow, had an impact on Communities of Color living within the continental United States. Without the backdrop of the villages, visitors might not experience the narrative of cultural difference that was integral to the mission of the concession managers. The cultural stereotypes they perpetuated were predicated on socially constructed dichotomies of White versus Other and civilized versus savage. A reporter visiting the Dahomey Village remarked that "the majority of them could not be distinguished from those we see daily on our streets."[360] As a result, Black Americans who visited the CMIE or learned about the Dahomey Village

[357] "Pictures in Powder," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

[358] "The French in Africa," *San Francisco Chronicle*. August 30, 1894.

[359] "The French in Africa," August 30, 1894.

[360] "The Midwinter," *Weekly Gazette and Stockman,* June 14, 1894.

exhibition were confronted with the racist and demeaning presentation of the Fon. The Dahomey were also present at the Chicago World's Fair in a village on the Midway Plaisance, also managed by Xavier Pené. During a speech at Chicago's controversial "Colored People's Day," Frederick Douglass addressed the adverse racism experienced by Blacks at the Fair and in the United States as a whole and said, "We have come out of Dahomey into this."[361] The presence of Dahomeans at fairs in the United States forced African Americans to navigate reinforced perceptions about Africans and African culture that negatively impacted their own participation in expositions.

The CMIE opened during a period of strained social and labor relations in California following the financial "panic" of 1893.[362] While development in the West led to the birth of many multicultural and multiracial communities during the early 1890s, Jim Crow laws and racial prejudices pervaded these communities as they grew. William Lipsky has estimated the Black population of San Francisco at the time of the CMIE to be around twenty-seven thousand; 90 percent of the city's population of three hundred thousand was White.[363] As with the "White City" of the Chicago Expo, at the CMIE, Black Americans by and large did not participate in the performative aspects, whether through lectures or dedicated exhibitions. The official guide lists the celebration of "Colored Americans Day" on May 2, 1894, a singular

[361] Quoted in Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 53.

[362] Whitten, "Depression of 1893"; and *100 Years in Golden Gate Park: A Pictorial History of the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco,1995), 5.

[363] Lipsky, *San Francisco's Midwinter Exposition*, 10.

event during the Expo for Black community involvement. One positive outcome of that event was an Afro-American Congress in San Francisco a year later.[364]

Local historian Mae Silver notes, however, in her essay, "Racism at Golden Gate Park's 1894 Midwinter Fair," that "some black city dwellers [of San Francisco] took exception to this 'needless drawing of the colored line.'"[365] Silver and other historians also point out that only union workers were hired for the construction of the Expo exhibition grounds, and the unions hired White men exclusively, so no women, African Americans, or Asians worked on any of the building projects.[366] During the fair, the *San Francisco Chronicle* quoted Reverend Obadiah Summers of Oakland as saying: "If the mechanics' unions and other industrial organizations were open to us we might have had a building here which would be a credit to us and to the Fair."[367]

Prominent African Americans, including Ida B. Wells and others, spoke out against racist representation in the milieu of expositions.[368] Like most of the fairs and expos of the late nineteenth century, the physical space of the CMIE was deliberately exclusionary and perpetuated racist representation that informed current and future social norms. In January, during the fair, the *Otago Daily Times* correspondent from

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[364] "Afro-American Congress," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), August 2, 1895; and Chandler and Nathan, *Fantastic Fair*, 73.

[365] Mae Silver, "Racism at Golden Gate Park's 1894 Midwinter Fair," *FoundSF*, n.d., accessed January 1, 2021, https://www.foundsf.org/index.php?title=Racism_at_Golden_Gate_Park%27s_1894_Midwinter_Fair.

[366] Silver, "Racism"; and Lipsky, *San Francisco's Midwinter Exposition*, 17.

[367] "Plenty of Pleasure," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 6, 1894.

[368] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 40; and Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely,* 161.

New Zealand reported on the racial prejudice and exclusion experienced by Blacks in San Francisco at that time:

> Only this week in cosmopolitan San Francisco, the white performers in a popular house of entertainment drew the colour line and refused to play until every negro, male and female, was discharged. Nor have there been any protests from press or public at this action; it is accepted as, perhaps, a desirable consummation.[369]

This pattern of discrimination would continue after the Expo, when Blacks continued to be excluded from other entertainment venues in the city, such as Adolph Sutro's extensive pool complex at Land's End that opened to the public in February 1896.[370] The *San Francisco Call* reported that the Whites-only policy there was "of business necessity" because "white people would refuse to use [the Sutro Baths] if the negroes were allowed equal privileges in that way."[371] Although the Dahomey (Danhomé) kingdom was a continent away, the complex issue of how racial affinities between Black Africans and Black Americans were perceived by visitors to the CMIE is one example of how representation at the fair villages shaped larger societal conversations about race. Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village, the "Esquimaux" Village, and the Dahomey Village presented participants in invented tableaux that classified them as racially and culturally inferior to Euro-Americans,

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[369] "Our American Letter," *Otago* (New Zealand) *Daily Times*, January 16, 1894.

[370] "Sutro Baths Opening," *San Francisco Call*, March 14, 1896; and "Negroes Claim Civil Rights," *San Francisco Call*, August 2, 1897.

[371] "Negroes Claim Civil Rights."

thereby justifying past and present power wielded over their political, cultural, and bodily autonomy.

CHAPTER 4

BEING SEEN: FAIR PHOTOGRAPHY BY ISAIAH WEST TABER

Figure 28: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Taber's Studio*, 1894. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California Midwinter International Exposition through M. H. de Young, 2508.

Being "Native" in the CMIE villages was at its most essential about being seen, observed, and importantly, imaged. The fair granted the photographic concession to Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), who had worked in San Francisco as a professional photographer for over two decades, specializing in Western views and portraiture. His obituary stated that his name "was in practically every San Francisco family portrait album before the fire" that occurred after the 1906 San Francisco earthquake.[372] Capturing the official images of the CMIE was one of the most significant projects of his career. He had a large building at the fair (see fig. 28) for display and sales so that

[372] "Isaiah W. Taber Dies Across the Bay," *Oakland* (CA) *Tribune*, February 23, 1912.

fairgoers could take home photographs as souvenirs.[373] Taber's fair images were important promotional and documentary tools for the organizers to share broadly in hopes of promoting business in San Francisco and California and encouraging visitation and migration to the state. The photos supported official accounts of a successful exposition within an impressive Midwinter fair city to delight and educate visitors. Images featured the site, key buildings and exhibitions, and legions of visitors—all pointing to a highly organized and lucrative event. Interrogating the ways Indigenous participants at the CMIE were presented in these images shows how the Indigenous villages were distinct in their modes of representation and how the power structures of colonialism and racial difference was made visible to viewers. Native Americans, Pacific Islanders, and Fon were photographed while performing, parading, or at home in the villages, and possibly in Taber's studio as well. Taber's inclusion of the Indigenous villages and their participants in the imaging of the fair as a whole—recording them along with other CMIE exhibitions and attractions—provides valuable historic documentation revealing the contrived spaces and spectacles manifested in the concessions. Important to the archive of Taber's images are the portraits of participants and their respective troupes.

A challenge for any Midwinter Fair project is the limited number of existing images from the fair. Taber's entire collection of glass plates and negatives was destroyed in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. So just prints remain for the CMIE

[373] Additional research is required to determine if any managers or participants profited from the sales of Taber's photographs.

photographs. Taber did caption and number the Expo images, so it is possible to know that he took thousands of different images and views of the fair. But most public and private collections holding these photographs have a small number, usually mounted images. Complete "souvenir" albums of the CMIE that Taber produced are scarce. Benjamin West Kilburn (1827–1909) produced stereo-views of fair images as well, which can be found in collections, such as an image of "the enormous ox, 'apalahama'" in the Hawaiian Village (fig. 29).[374] This animal, also referred to as a "bullock" in the newspapers and ship's manifest, is mentioned by name in association with the village exhibitions and its participants, receiving more recognition than many participants. The inclusion of the "bullock" or "saddle ox" with a rider in the village was to demonstrate what animal preceded the horse in Hawaii "for all purposes."[375]

[374] Eames, "Wild and Woolly."

[375] Photo caption, "Entrance to the Hawaiian Village." in *"Monarch" Souvenir*, n.p.

Figure 29: Benjamin West Kilburn (1827–1909), The *Sacred Ox, California Midwinter Exposition*. 1894. San Francisco Public Library, Marilyn Blaisdell Collection.

These images of the fair that Kilburn considered marketable and appealing to the public offered buyers the experiential quality of a stereograph in contrast to Taber's mounted prints and albums. Amateur photography was allowed at the fair for personal use and remains largely unstudied in private collections. The *Examiner* newspaper sponsored a photography contest and an image of a child in the Hawaiian Village, Mileka Moki, won third prize (see Appendix A). [376]

In his role as the Exposition's official photographer, Taber controlled the content and composition of his photographs and applied certain conventions to his images, especially in the studio. However, the exhibition settings, props, and clothing and the deportment of the participants conveyed distinct messaging dictated by the individual concession managers and organizers. Taber's resulting photographs of Indigenous participants fixed in place the stereotypes produced by the contrived

[376] Photo caption, "Psyche of the South Seas," in *"Monarch" Souvenir*, n.p.

environments and narratives of the villages. The photographs depicted life in the villages as managers and fair organizers wanted it to be seen.

At the CMIE, some managers mandated that participants appear partially nude during public hours or in Indigenous dress inappropriate for the weather and wear contemporary clothing only after visitor hours.[377] Participants were photographed in choreographed poses in their designated attire or coverings. This is just one example of how managers of the Indigenous villages created misleading personas of the participants and their cultures who appeared primitive or exotic to visitors who were naive to the fact that life in the villages was performative.

Figure 30: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Group of Dahomeys Cal. Mid. Inter. Exp.*, 1894. San Francisco Public Library, Marilyn Blaisdell Collection, Album #49.

[377] See "Are against Furs in Hot Weather," *Chicago Times*, April 1, 1893; and "Night in the Palm City—Life among the Permanent Residents," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 11, 1894.

A seemingly single extant image of Isaiah West Taber at work with Dahomey Village participants, moving the arm of a woman as he composes the picture of a small group of women and children (fig. 30), is a conduit to how we might view the Taber images of the Indigenous fair participants. Questions about Indigenous agency and bodily autonomy are evident. In the photograph, the woman Taber is holding by the arm looks away from him. Others in the photo look straight ahead while he is positioning her—though the baby looks away. Perhaps he is moving her to capture a desired pose and subsequent composition for the photograph. We don't know the circumstances of the photo or the targets of direct gazes of the other sitters; we can't see outside the frame to understand if John Tevi or Xavier Pené is standing beside the camera directing Taber or if someone is there at all. Perhaps the image was composed specifically to show Taber at work in his role as photographer.

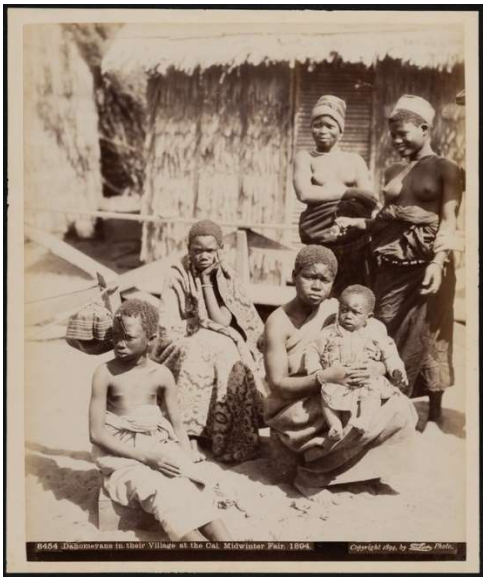

Figure 31: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), *Dahomeyans in Their Village* at *Cal Midwinter Fair*, 1894. University of California–San Diego, Mms: 991004640509706535, https://library.ucsd.edu/dc/object/bb2056330k.

A corresponding photograph without Taber shows a final image of an expanded group though Taber's hand is still visible at the right side of the photograph (fig. 31). The appearance of Taber's hand—the evident presence of a White person composing the scene—did not prevent the image from being titled, numbered, and mounted as an official photograph. None of the women and children are named in the caption. Taber rarely included participant names in the captions. Samoans Olonga and Polonga from the Samoan Village/South Sea Islanders Exhibition are exceptions, and we know nothing more than their names at this time (see Appendix A). The only person named in captions of any of the extant photographs of the Dahomey Village participants is Xavier Pené (see fig. 24). The two images of Dahomey participants (fig. 30 and fig. 31) considered together provide a behind-the-scenes view of Taber's work. Most of the images of Indigenous subjects appear staged and these images provide insight to his practice and his relationship with his subjects—a relationship mediated by managers. Additionally, they reveal the instability of images as reflections of cultural identities meant to look authentic but actually capturing a moment of performative culture. Exceptionally, two girls are smiling in one image (fig. 31). Participants in Taber images of the South Seas Islanders Village and the Dahomey village troupes and groups have neutral facial expressions or looks of contempt. We can assume that participants had little autonomy to choose an expression in these highly composed scenes.

Tropes of Indigenous representation of the period such as the "dusky maiden" were visualized in Taber's images: "Beautiful Girls and Big Cannibals, Stalwart

Warriors and Shapely Dancers," as the press would have it.[378] There are group photos from the South Seas Islanders Village, the "Esquimaux" Village, the Dahomey village, and Dr. White Cloud's Indian Village, and Taber took many photographs in the sub-concession of the Arizona Indian Village. Taber photographs also capture images of the daily playlet in the Mining Camp that featured "Pawnee Jack" and "six red injuns."[379] The "rescue" of a White woman from the "injuns" fulfilled all the stereotypes of the "pioneer" narrative.[380] Taber took photographs in the Hawaiian Village but no posed group photograph that captures all the participants. This could point to the fact that it was not a cohesive group, though they were all contracted by the village management. Also, Native Hawaiians were not framed in a "savage" manner while in the village. So, perhaps Taber did not take a group photo in an ethnographic style meant to highlight racial difference as he did in other villages. The reasons for these differences of imaging by Taber are not documented. However, they illustrate how participants were deployed in the villages and seen in their performances for visitors. As souvenirs for the public, the images were powerful social tools that shaped public understanding and, at the same time, misunderstanding of Indigenous participants.

Images of Hawaiian "hula-hula" dancers show that under the management of Lorrin Thurston, participants were conservatively attired, even considering that some

[378] "From the South Seas," *San Francisco Chronicle*; Tamaira, "From Full Dusk to Full Tusk," 1.

[379] "Six Red Injuns," *San Francisco Call*.

[380] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 106–7.

clothing was worn for warmth. For performances, all the dancers have long-sleeved tops and skirts that were worn over pants. The *Overland Monthly* reported, "Here and there about the plaza groups of islanders in white flannel suits and caps, and girls in gay petticoats laugh and chatter joyously."[381] Outside of their village, the Native Hawaiian participants would not be distinguishable by their mode of dress. They wore everyday clothes and were not in costumes or uniforms in the village. In contrast to the Hawaiian contingent, the Fon women and men are shown in formal group images partially nude. In other images of life in the Dahomey village, they cover their bodies with wraps or blankets around their bodies and shoulders (see fig. 25). Samoan participants performed in specialized dress that included bark cloth (*siapo*) garments including dresses and had coverings made from the material. Men were partially nude in photographs of performances. Taber's photos of crowds of visitors at the fair show a uniformity of style and dress for men and women of the time that make it evident that the daily dress of participants that he captured in the villages (especially nude or semi-nude or wearing unfamiliar materials such as bark cloth rather than wool or cotton) would appear exotic. These images of the "exotic" in mounted photos and albums were commercial products available for purchase.

[381] Eames, "Wild and Woolly."

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Figure 32: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912). *Dahomeyan Girls with War Hatchets and Knives*; *Dahomeyan Women, Dahomeyan Village, Cal. Midwinter Exposition*; *Dahomeyan Amazons, Dahomeyan Village, Cal. Midwinter Exposition*; *Xavier Pene and his Dahomeyan Amazons, Cal. Midwinter Exposition*; and *Dahomeyan Girls, Dahomeyan Village, Cal. Midwinter Exposition*, 1894. San Francisco Public Library, Marilyn Blaisdell Collection, Album #49.

Taber's Dahomey Village group photos appear in the style of ethnographic images of racial typologies, with pyramids of figures and neat arrangements of bodies simply described as "Dahomeyans" (see fig. 32). Images taken in the Dahomey Village also show highly staged groups holding weapons in poses that can be interpreted as provocations: appearing threatening and defiant in their role as "warriors." In this case, the "prince" is seated and the "princess" is standing in front of her chair to place her hand on the head of a seated woman. The existence of a second view of this scene shows that the image was cropped in the *Official History* (see fig. 33). A stool and additional participant has been omitted who appears seated and second from the left in *Dahomey Princes and Princesses* (fig. 27). The cropping

of photographs to manipulate the compositions, along with Taber's staging of the scenes, merits additional research.

Figure 33: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912). *Dahomeyan Men and Women*, 1894, in *Official History of the California Midwinter International Exposition. A Descriptive Record of the Origin, Development and Success of the Great Industrial Expositional Enterprise, Held in San Francisco from January to July, 1894* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker Company, 1894).

A series of images of participants in the South Seas Islander village includes a woman and man as single subjects photographed from the rear. The man is nude with a piece of bark cloth draped over his left shoulder. He has a *fa'alautalinga* (ear-shaped club) in his left hand that rests on the floor. The woman wears a very short bark cloth and fiber skirt. Both images were composed to highlight their *tatau* (tattoos) on their legs. While common and imbued with cultural meaning in Sāmoa, it is possible that fair visitors from the continental United States and Europe would find them exotic.

Two Samoan women, Olonga and Polonga, are identified by name in several Taber photographs, presumably shot in his studio or a studio-like setting in the village

(fig. 34). In the images, Olonga is partially nude, reclining with her head on a neck rest and a weapon beside her; in a second image, she is shown with Polonga, who is also partially nude and sitting behind a *kava* bowl. In the context of a commercial image, Olonga's reclined and partially nude pose, as she is photographed individually, draped in bark cloth and surrounded by cultural items, might have served long-held notions about the perceived sexual availability of women from the South Seas.

Figure 34: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912). *Samoan Warrior*; *Samoan Girls Polonga and Olonga*; *Olonga Native Girl of Samoa*; *Tattooed Samoa Girl*; and *Samoan Belles*, 1894, San Francisco Public Library, Marilyn Blaisdell Collection, Album #49.

These images probe the impact of this representation strategy for the Pacific Islanders in Moors's village compared to strategies employed for the Hawaiians and other Indigenous participants at the Expo. They are the most provocative and sexualized based on the standards of the time. Perhaps the staging of the images and their poses reflect Moors's dictates and/or those of his wife, Fa'animonimo (Nimo), if she was in charge of the women in San Francisco, as press reports of later performances in Minneapolis indicate.[382] If so, further research may yield another layer to the interpretative meaning of Moors's presentation of Sāmoa at the CMIE—one informed by a Samoan woman from a prestigious family, presumably with her own political and financial interests. Taber included the photographs in souvenir albums, so they were circulated along with other pictures of the villages and participants. It is possible that these images were accepted by the public because Olonga and Polonga were seen as "dusky maidens" and "savages." For European-American women these would be considered outside perceived social norms. They seem especially surprising as Midwinter Fair images given other public controversies surrounding women's dress, nudity, and performances that were perceived as sexually lewd or suggestive. There was considerable consternation about the short (ankle-length) skirts worn by the Fair's Gum Girls (who sold chewing gum to visitors) as part of their uniform and the criticism launched at both the hula-hula and the dances in the Oriental Village that they were indecent.[383]

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[382] "Samoans Caught On," *Minneapolis Daily Times*, August 19, 1894.

[383] "Indecency on the Midway," *The Examiner*, July 9, 1894.

At the fair, Taber's photographs were purchased and viewed as souvenirs. In the present, as shown in this study, the photographs make the participants visible and provide visual clues for research to reclaim their identities and share their stories in the larger milieu of their concessions. Though commercial, the images provide recognition to participants and their experiences.

CHAPTER 5

BEING “NATIVE” IN THE VILLAGES

Figure 35: *Little “Barkers” From Labrador*, from California Midwinter International Exposition, *Official History of the California Midwinter International Exposition. A Descriptive Record of the Origin, Development and Success of the Great Industrial Expositional Enterprise, Held in San Francisco from January to July, 1894* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker Company, 1894), 150.

The experience of being Indigenous, or “Native,” for CMIE participants was shaped by managers of the concessions who designed the villages and the performance spaces and instructed them as residents and performers for the public. There was no singular experience. Within the contrived places that purportedly represented authentic cultures in experiential space and time, participants navigated their daily lives and performative roles in the public eye, and this applied to children and adults alike. In a photo of the ticket booth for the “Esquimaux” village included in the *Official History*, children compared to seals as little “barkers” wear their

required indigenous dress while engaging with a visitor (see fig. 35). The public observed participants, and they returned the gaze while engaged in everyday activities, such as Dahomey eating breakfast outside in their village, and during highly personal moments, such as Maggie Dear residing in her igloo just four days after the birth of her daughter (see Appendix A). The paying public exercised its right to see the “Natives,” but it is not clear the “Natives” had a right not to be seen—even in the privacy of their lodgings. Some could interact with visitors, participants in other villages, CMIE staff, and the press and some could not, due to physical, language, and other barriers or restrictions. Fruitful, interesting, and novel experiences of village participants were recorded by managers, the press, and, rarely, by participants themselves (see, for example, Appendix A: Bill Kanealii). However, Midwinter Fair participants also endured racism, neglect, mistreatment, hardships, and tragedy. Some participants died. By recovering the identities of village participants and highlighting their experiences as individuals, it is possible to see the ways in which they asserted their own agency behind the scenes or in highly public interventions.

Participants were integral to the village concessions that played a central role in the public’s experience and impressions. However—with the exception of accounts of the village managers—promotional literature and historical studies about the California Midwinter International Exposition make only brief mention of named Indigenous participants, when they are mentioned at all. While pages of photos and

names of Fair organizers and officials are included in the *Official History*, no such list exists for the concession participants.[384]

Scholars of world's fairs, including Robert W. Rydell, have advocated for more research about Indigenous participants and performers for two decades. Rydell's sustained research on John Tevi has brought us closer to an understanding of Tevi as a "transnational" performer and organizer associated with several Dahomey Village concessions, including the one at the CMIE in San Francisco.[385] Roslyn Poignant's groundbreaking research in *Professional Savages: Captive Lives and Western Spectacle* relates the experiences of two groups of North Queensland Australia Aborigines recruited by Robert A. Cunningham in 1883 and 1892 for P. T. Barnum's exhibitions of "uncivilized races."[386] Her "exploration of a particular encounter across cultures" chronicles these participants' personal transformations "into accomplished show people and professional savages."[387] Poignant is particularly concerned with recovering the details of the lives of the performers to counter their portrayal as anonymous "savages" in the exhibitions.[388] She "attempts to reconstruct more than a fragmentary account of what actually happened to them" and how their "recovered histories reshape the present" in the communities from which they

[384] See, for example, "Foreign Commissioners" in CMIE, *Official History*, 66.

[385] Rydell, "Into the Heart of Whiteness," 24, 29.

[386] Poignant, *Professional Savages*; see especially 8–12.

[387] Poignant, 8–12.

[388] Poignant, 9.

came.[389] In one extraordinary case, the embalmed body of a performer who died while on tour in 1883, Tambo, is repatriated from the United States to his family and community in Australia.[390] The international collaboration *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires* includes the work of Poignant and more than thirty-five other scholars working to reclaim the "voices and experiences of the exhibited" that "remain elusive."[391] In *Inuit Entertainers in the United States*, Jim Zwick also asserts the "scholarly importance . . . in learning more about [the Indigenous entertainers]."[392] These projects seek to recover histories and help bring the personal experiences of the performers and their historical context into the larger conversations about the fairs and expos, a shared goal of this project.

Appendix A of this study includes biographies for selected named CMIE village managers and participants. Reclaiming the identities and names of participants provides context for those of the managers, officials, and attendees mentioned in the press and official histories of the CMIE, providing a more complete story of the exhibitions as experienced by individuals on both sides of the barriers. Personal stories gathered from archival sources enable us to see the participants beyond the intended framing of the exhibitions, along with larger narratives about the management of fair concessions with Indigenous participants. For example, the

[389] Poignant, 9, 110

[390] Poignant, 9, 241–54.

[391] Forsdick, "Postface," 389.

[392] Zwick, *Inuit Entertainers*, x.

bicultural marriages of Harry Jay Moors and Charles P. Jordan and the participation of their respective spouses, Fa'animonimo (Nimo) Asiono and Winyan-hoaka, also known as Julia Walks First, in the cultural presentations they organized bring complexity to our understanding of the relationship of manager and Indigenous participants in the villages. The same is true for the work of African John Tevi, who included his family members in the presentation of Dahomey cultural villages and shows. The involvement of Indigenous managers or manager spouses challenges the assumption that concessions were operated by Whites who subjugated Indigenous participants. Recovering the identities of managers and participants is fundamental to better understanding the dynamics of life in the villages.

This project collates identities associated with particular villages, but the paucity of historical and visual data is a challenge. John Tevi's unpublished and privately held pamphlet, *A Tour Around the World and the Adventures of a Dahomey Village*, written in 1912, is an exception.[393] In most cases, scholars have not yet sourced letters, writing, and direct quotes of participants, a fact which exposes a stark absence of their voices and direct experiences. There is a danger of perpetuating dominant and outsider-culture interpretation, subverting the lived experiences of indigenous fair participants. The experience of participants at the Midwinter Fair is still mostly understood through the interpretation of outsiders who held sway over their representation—often reporters and others who covered fair events and

[393] Rydell, "Into the Heart of Whiteness," 25.

chronicled participant responses, as well as Isaiah West Taber, who took their photographs. Still, known biographies help to counter caricatures and stereotyping of participants found throughout the archive and the enduring "anonymous" savage role that Poignant points out is still present in the "discourse" about Indigenous fair participants and international performers.[394]

As this study demonstrates, newspapers are a valuable source for world's fair research, and digitization of US newspapers has significantly expanded the possibilities for inquiries concerning Indigenous entertainers and fair participants. For example, such access has made it possible to answer a research question that Jim Zwick posed in his 2006 book, *Inuit Entertainers in the United States*, about whether fair participant Zaksriner survived her illness after being abandoned in New York City by Miner W. Bruce.[395] At the time he was writing, Zwick concluded, "It is not known if she survived."[396] Now, over a decade later and with many more newspapers digitized, a search in newspapers for the period after Bruce left Zaksriner and her sister in New York yields results. We now know that she did survive and was adopted (see Appendix A: Zaksriner [Riner]). We also learn that fellow participants in the village were attentive about her preparation for life as an Alaska Native. The fair press reported that adults in the CMIE "Esquimaux" village were concerned that Bruce planned to keep her in the United States and advocated for her to receive a

[394] Poignant, *Professional Savages,* 8.

[395] Zwick, *Inuit Entertainers*, 52.

[396] Zwick, 52.

culturally appropriate facial tattoo, though Bruce forbade it (see Appendix A).[397] Hopefully, future research will reveal more about her life after the age of nine and if, at any point, she was reunited with her mother or returned to her homeland. With this knowledge in hand, outreach is a next step and future goal in connecting the reclaimed histories of participants to their communities of origin.

Comparative research utilizing illustrations in digitized newspapers and Midwinter Fair photographs yields the names of three children not identified in fair photographs: Zaksriner (Riner) and Mileka Mokia, as well as Iserkyner (see Appendix A). Numerous members of the Hawaiian Village were chronicled in Hawai'i-based newspapers such as Honolulu's *Hawaiian Gazette,* which provide additional perspectives to coverage by US newspapers.[398] However, given that newspapers were not apolitical, newspapers also reveal strategic campaigns of misinformation and racist reports and cartoons to sway public opinion.

Official fair photographs by Isaiah Taber constitute another primary source of information for this study about Midwinter Fair participants. As detailed in Appendix A, photographs of the "Esquimaux" Village show five igloos (*igluit*) labeled on the exterior with black lettering identifying the men who resided inside, either alone or with his family: "George Deer," "Simon Manak," "Jonas Palliser," "Tom Palliser," and "Zacharias." Official fair materials do not mention village residents by name, but press reports do include the names of parents in association with the deaths of their

[397] "Fair Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 4, 1894.

[398] "More Exhibits," *Hawaiian Gazette*, January 5, 1894.

children, which were reported in detail by several newspapers.[399] The photographs provide clues for further archival search about these men and their families and their experiences as fair participants. For example, knowing the name of Tom (Thomas) Palliser identifies him as a participant in the Chicago fair's "Esquimaux" Village as well as the person who brought suit against the village managers for mistreatment in an important act of indigenous autonomy (see Appendix A: Tom/Thomas Palliser).

At the Chicago World's Fair, numerous participants in the Dahomey Village were identified in the press. As Christopher Robert Reed details in his study, "African and African American Participation at the World's Columbian Exposition," the participants "managed to become real, living persons as they were personalized by the very use of their names in the newspapers. All of a sudden, Chicagoans were introduced on a personal level to Butagalon, Sosolangago, lpoke, Umbibi, and Adajemus, rather than the impersonal, the *Dahomeans*."[400] This is not the case for the Dahomey Village in San Francisco. There are no participant names apparent in the archive beyond those of Xavier Pené and John Tevi. As a result, it is not possible to explore the experiences of CMIE Indigenous village participants to the same depth

[399] See, for example, "Francesca Dying," *San Francisco Call*, March 29, 1894; and "The Esquimau Baby Is Dead," *The Examiner*, March 29, 1894.

[400] Christopher Robert Reed, "The Black Presence at 'White City': African and African American Participation at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, May 1, 1893–October 31, 1893," World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Paul V. Galvin Library Digital History Collection (updated March 8, 1999), http://columbus.iit.edu/reed2.html.

across the fair. For some, stories are taking shape while others remain unknown at present.

An additional challenge for this fair is that, due to the very short period of its organization, shifts occurred as the fair was set up and also after it opened that are not well documented in official guides or reports. For example, the Samoan Village/South Seas Islanders Exhibition shifted locations and did not occupy its planned village site. Two different troupes originating from very different places—Labrador and Alaska—and under different management occupied the "Esquimaux" Village. Based on extant images, Taber took many photographs in some villages such as The Arizona Village sub-concession and few in others such as the Samoan Village/South Seas Islanders Exhibition, and the same is true for photographs of participants. It is not always possible to answer even basic questions about the villages and participants using the existing archive.

Yet some participants were well-known individuals in their homelands, and the press followed their successes and unfortunate experiences in great detail. For example, Mrs. Mary Ann Ka'aumokulani Kino'ole Pitman Ailau's participation in the fair was announced in early January 1894 before the opening (see Appendix A). *The Daily Bulletin* stated, "Mrs. J. K. Ailau will make a first-class exhibition of Hawaiian curios at the fair in connection with the Hawaiian exhibit. She has taken with her four young ladies to act as saleswomen."[401] In the press she was described as "Mrs. Marry

[401] "Departing Friends," *Daily Bulletin*.

Ailau, the well-known dealer and connoisseur in Hawaiian relics."[402] *The Hawaiian Gazette* reported, "The Hawaiian Exposition Company will send another large shipment of exhibits to the Midwinter Fair by the *Australia* next Saturday. . . . Mr. and Mrs. J. Ailau will take with them ten native women, who will make leis, fans and hats at the Fair."[403] Mary Ailau arrived in San Francisco on January 27, 1894, on the *Australia*.[404] Then, shockingly, in June the *Morning Call* reported that she had been arrested for shoplifting, with the headline, "A Kanaka Thief: Mary Ailau Caught While Shoplifting: She has Two Booths in the Hawaiian Village at the Fair—Charged with Petty Larceny."[405] The article details the incident that led to her arrest and further accusations of prior shoplifting of silk fabric from the dry-goods store J. J. O'Brien & Co.[406] The *Hawaiian Gazette* published the news on July 6 with a headline, "Is it True? Mary Ailau Said to Have Been Arrested for Shoplifting."[407] The *Gazette* reported, "It is said that she was fined, and her fine was paid by C. R. Bishop, on the condition that she return to Honolulu as soon as possible. No account of this

[402] "Ancient Relics Were Destroyed," *Evening Bulletin* (Honolulu), October 15, 1901.

[403] "More Exhibits," *Hawaiian Gazette*. In an 1890 directory of Honolulu and Island of Oahu, she is listed as "Ailau Mary Mrs, island curiosities, 102 Fort, res Fort nr Kuikui," Mokuna 3, *Directory of Honolulu and Island of Oahu* (Ka Aoʻao 129 [p. 129]), http://www.ulukau.org/elib/cgi-bin/library?e=d-0polk1890-000Sec--11haw-50-20-frameset-book--1-010escapewin&p=frameset&toc=0&d=D0.5.

[404] "Dead," *Hawaii Holomua-Progress*, January 27, 1894; "Died of Heart Disease," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 18, 1894; "Ancient Relics," *Evening Bulletin*.

[405] "A Kanaka Thief," *Morning Call*, June 20, 1894.

[406] "A Kanaka Thief."

[407] "Is it True?" *Hawaiian Gazette*, July 6, 1894.

transaction, however, appears in the San Francisco newspapers."[408] Charles Reed Bishop was the husband of high chief Bernice Pauahi, great-granddaughter of King Kamehameha the Great. Bishop was living in San Francisco at the time of the fair.[409] No further mention of the incident is evident in the San Francisco press to provide context for this turn of events.

The experiences of participants varied greatly. For some, documentation points to a professionally or personally beneficial experience. Others experienced great hardship and even death. Additionally, whether in positions of power as recruiters, organizers, and supervisors or working as performers, Indigenous participants were subject to racial and social prejudices. For example, John Tevi might have fielded criticism not targeted toward White managers: accusations of exploitation of Dahomey participants by Tevi at the 1896 Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta were lodged and publicized. The complaints were subsequently investigated by African American journalist Susie Cayton, who grew to respect him and his work to tour the Dahomey.[410]

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[408] "Is it True?"

[409] Wm. T. Brigham, "Charles Reed Bishop, 1822–1915," in *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1916*, comp. and ed. Thos. G. Thrum (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, 1915), 63–71. Brigham writes, "While approving annexation as the only way of protecting the group from Oriental capture, he thought it wiser to remove to San Francisco where he had important interests, and he never revisited his island home" (69).

[410] Reed, "Black Presence at 'White City.'"

Figure 36: "The Friday Night Cotillon on the Midway," in "Night in the Palm City," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 11, 1894.

If little is known about the participants themselves, we know even less about the interactions and relationships between participants of different villages during the fair. Hopefully, more research will illuminate these compelling cross-cultural relationships that developed in the fair space. One reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle* during the CMIE reported on "Night in the Palm City—Life among the Permanent Residents" (fig. 36):

> Night life behind the scenes in the Palm City is one feature of the great Exposition of which few day visitors have any idea. They do not know that a cosmopolitan population of nearly 1,000 persons inhabit the city night and day. It is their home for the time being and they have no other abiding place.. . . It is not until the business cares of the day have ended and the grounds are deserted by visitors that the permanent dwellers may be seen attending to their home and social duties.[411]

The article details meals, evening visits, music, dancing, and entertainment shared across the Midway villages between "the friendly Sioux," the "Turks" in the

[411] "Night in the Palm City," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

"Oriental Village" (with "Abdul Aboo Ben Hassen, who curries the camels"); "Yaqui Indians," and the "Esquimaux boys and girls [who] go out evenings and visit the Indians. As soon as business is over for the day they shed their furs, put on store clothes and take a stroll about the grounds."[412] There is also mention of restrictions placed on certain participants such as the "inhabitants of the Esquimaux village [who] are not allowed to keep open house after hours, though well prepared to do so."[413]

Professional exchanges in the form of competitive challenges included international canoe races mounted in both the Chicago and the San Francisco fairs, including some participants who were present at both, including Simon Manak and J. Opu. Participants could earn cash prizes and other items as they drew large crowds of spectators.[414] An article in the *Chicago Tribune* detailing a competition in the Dahomey Village between a husband and wife, Soslongago and Sergt. Ipoke Umbibi, intended to be a humorous commentary about the relationships of participants, also confirms the identity of Ipoke as a member of the royal guard:

> Ipoke and Mr. Umbibi, née Sosolongago, the husband of Sergt. Umbibi of his Majesty Behanzen II.'s royal body guard, came out in newly-oiled maussongs. They grasped their tacklesongs at the word "Go" and started paddling. The 2,000 yard course was ended by Ipoke in four minutes and twenty-nine seconds, Sosolongago coming in one-fifth of a second behind. Sosolongago went to bed supperless and he will have to stay home tonight

[412] "Night in the Palm City."

[413] "Night in the Palm City."

[414] "Ipoke Wins the Dahomey Pull," *Chicago Tribune*, August 16, 1893.

> and mind the baby while Sergt. Umbibi sports her new shark tooth anklets at the international ball.[415]

This example shows how King Béhanzen's armed guards and women warriors offered a stark juxtaposition to professions and gender norms for women in American society. In "Meeting the Amazons" concerning Dahomey Amazon performances in Europe and the United States between 1890 and 1895, Suzanne Preston Blier highlights that the Dahomey women with their physical prowess and status simultaneously offered evidence to support the women's suffrage movement and also "a counter-exemplar, cautioning society against empowering women to vote, enter the job market, or hold community positions."[416]

As stories are reclaimed, the experience of being "Native" in the villages at the CMIE as a performer and "living exhibition" is shown to be a highly individual experience and overwhelmingly dependent on the actions and ethics of the managers. Some participants were seasoned performers with experience at the Chicago fair or with other traveling entertainment shows, while others were away from home and in a public role for the first time, and perhaps reluctantly. Understanding more about their identities also helps us to understand how they arrived in the role as participants.

[415] "Ipoke Wins the Dahomey Pull."

[416] Blier, "Meeting the Amazons," 164.

Going / Deciding to Go

Biographies can provide insight about fair participation and underlying motivations. Some CMIE participants, such as troupe members with Harry Jay Moors, made informed decisions to go. Others, including some participants in the "Esquimaux" Village, were coerced, or possibly conscripted without their permission. Children, who had no say in their involvement, participated with their parents, and several Alaska Native children were without their parents and therefore wards of Miner Wait Bruce. For example, the marriage of Kerlungner and Iserkyner (see Appendix A: Kerlungner and Iserkyner/Iser-Kynor), took place on July 29, 1894, at the Midwinter Fair, and *The Examiner* reported:

> Ker-lung-ner is a good-looking girl of seventeen Alaskan summers. On account of her attractiveness she was seized from among the Alaskan maidens to go to Washington and act as an object lesson in support of Captain Minor [*sic*] Bruce's argument that the Alaskan Esquimaux were worthy of enough congressional attention to be supplied with reindeer to keep them from becoming extinct.[417]

Kerlungner was returned home by Bruce in 1896 (see Appendix A). The word "seized" is suggestive, but the original conditions of her participation in the CMIE and subsequent travels with Bruce as a performer have not been revealed.

Many participants hailed from places thrust into political and military conflict in the year or years before the Fair, including the Hawaiian Islands, the Samoan Islands, and the Kingdom of Dahomey. Such conditions created a social instability

[417] "Wedding in Sunset City," *The Examiner*.

that would possibly make fair participation a timely opportunity to achieve financial stability, professional aims, and personal safety during an uncertain period at home. An extensive accounting of plans for the Dahomey Village in San Francisco in the *San Francisco Examiner* in 1893 reported that "Dahomey is still in a state of war. King Behanzin, whom the French have tried to exterminate, is waging a guerilla warfare against all invaders."[418]

A number of participants in the Dahomey Village and the "Esquimaux" Village began their work at the Chicago World's Fair and moved with their managers west to San Francisco for the Midwinter Fair. Labor contracts were signed with many participants. However, given legal action taken by participants of several concessions in Chicago and San Francisco, it appears that they were not always honored. Moors seems to be an exception. Toeolesulusulu Damon Salesa writes in his essay, "Misimoa: An American on the Beach," that the Samoans who went with Moors agreed to rigid terms—strict limits on behavior and dress, and work on Sundays—all for $12 a month. But Samoans seemed eager to accept those terms for a chance to *tafao* (wander about) overseas. The Samoans who went with him to San Francisco, Moors promised, "will return to Samoa happy with the strange things they have seen in distant lands, and the things they have brought with them."[419] Moors was known and trusted by many Samoans as a businessman in Sāmoa and also for his political alliance with Chief Mata'afa. Moors's wife was Samoan. The fact that his home was

[418] "Mr. Everyone of Everywhere," *The Examiner*.

[419] Salesa, "Misimoa."

in Sāmoa would certainly have incentivized him to treat the participants well; they would all be returning home together.

Rydell has posited that Native American participants at fairs could make more money performing than working on a reservation.[420] In 1893, journalist William Howell offered this observation about the Midway Plaisance at the Chicago World's Fair:

> One could spend many days in the Plaisance, always entertainingly, whether profitably or unprofitably, but whether one visited the Samoan or Dahomeyan in his hut, the Bedouin and the Lap in their camps; the delicate Javanese in his bamboo cottage, or the American Indian in his tepee, one must be aware that the citizens of the Plaisance are not there for their health, as the American quaintly say, but for the money there is in it. [421]

Participants, with some exceptions given the very specific situations of each village, saw financial opportunity in the fair. The decision to go to San Francisco, if they made it themselves, was to improve their lives financially and materially. For some, the excitement and interest in travel to see faraway places was a major draw. But the compensation mattered, and that is evident in the complaints and charges brought against managers for withholding pay agreed upon in contracts or other wage disputes, such as those brought against Dr. White Cloud concerning nonpayment of wages (see Appendix A).[422] While most did receive compensation, it was often not

[420] Rydell, "Africans in America," 288.

[421] William D. Howells, *Letters of an Altrurian Traveller* (1893–94; repr., Gainesville, FL: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1961), 24–25, accessed via Internet Archive November 1, 2022, https://archive.org/stream/lettersofaltruri00howe/lettersofaltruri00howe_djvu.txt.

[422] "Dr. White Cloud Arrested," *Los Angeles Herald*, March 29, 1894.

equitable pay considering the profits of the concessions. Additionally, pay for women and men was not equal. For example, in the "Esquimaux" Village it was reported that men received $50 a month while women received $10 a month.[423] Most participants had limited resources beyond their wages. They were not free to leave at will and were dependent upon the managers to pay for their travel home and make any travel arrangements. Some participants took legal actions against managers.[424] Striking was an option to create an independent attraction or join another one. In April, the participants in the "Esquimaux" Village threatened to strike for higher pay but ultimately remained in the Village and without a pay increase.[425] It seems completing their contracts was the norm. Xomiksener of the "Eskimaux" Village was quoted as saying, "It is very nice here but we are glad that we are going home next Friday."[426]

Countering, Resisting, Suffering

Indigenous fair participants faced many challenges regarding their representation, and they often countered public expectations about the identities they should enact as Native people. At times they resisted what managers demanded of them as performers. Each village was distinct, and the participants acted both individually and collectively to exercise their autonomy in unique ways as detailed in prior chapters. In

[423] "Field of Roses," *The San Francisco Call*, April 29, 1894.

[424] "Dr. White Cloud Arrested," *Los Angeles Herald*, March 29, 1894.

[425] "Field of Roses," *The San Francisco Call*, April 29, 1894.

[426] "Wedding in Sunset City," *The Examiner*.

their role as participants, they worked to entertain and engage a public deciding between many possible things to see and do at the fair—especially on the Midway. Surcharges applied to Midway concessions, and attendance determined the financial return for managers. Meanwhile, participants could earn additional money from paid demonstrations and sales of items they made. Most saliently, some participants—including Mary Piilani Cook (see Appendix A)—responded to the political underpinnings of their respective villages in the face of blatant racism and prejudice by members of the public.

One example of racism faced by participants is an account of "Whip the Nickel" in the "Esquimaux" village, a demonstration that earned participants five cents in exchange for their display of skill with long hide whips of the type visible in Taber's photograph, *All the Esquimaux Families in the Village. Cal. Mid. Inter. Exp.* (fig. 22):

> In the Esquimau [sic] village the imagination supplies a background of snow and ice; but the spectacle of a fur-clad perspiring native, snapping his fifteen feet of whip, and shouting "Put down five cent!" which when he gets, he buries and whips out of the ground, yelling, "Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay!" brings one back to the streets of home with a jerk like that which he gives his whip. The savage who braves the far ice fields of the north to keep the larder of his snow hut supplied with blubber, has been metamorphosed into a street fakir. At least, he adheres rigidly to his native dress, which is more than can be said of some. We demand that our foreigners shall be simon pure, as we demand that our coffee shall be hot and strong; and prefer cold water to a lukewarm mixture of the two. The combination of the Japanese kimono, American shoes, and a derby hat, is not pleasing.[427]

[427] Bates, "Some Breadwinners of the Fair."

Before their visit to the fair, Exposition visitors developed particular expectations about what they would see based on racial constructs of the period, newspaper articles, and Exposition marketing materials. The Midway was promoted as instructive as well as entertaining. But public accounts like this one show how the public resisted the idea that Native people participated in a dynamic, contemporary culture or that they were entitled to join White society. Visitors such as Elizabeth Bates, who wrote the above account for the *Overland Monthly*, expected Native participants to display cultural authenticity, not adaption. Despite the commodification of culture, visitors wanted to see what they believed to be authentic "Natives." The village managers sought to present cultures "locked in time" with their characteristic lifeways, to serve their own political and financial goals for the concessions. Members of the public preferred to see them in this way as well, to guard the racial and social divisions between themselves and the Indigenous participants. Yet, in response to racial discrimination she faced, Mileka Moki's mother in the Hawaiian Village was quoted as saying proudly, "Hawaiian babies just like yours, no difference at all."[428]

In the Hawaiian Village, Native Hawaiian Kānaka Maoli/ʻŌiwi participants responded to the concession's pro-annexation political display in different ways. It was reported that some CMIE participants were unaware that the thrones from ʻIolani Palace and other items belonging to Queen Liliʻuokalani and other royals of the

[428] "Barbaric Babies," *Morning Call*. April 22, 1894.

kingdom were lent by the Provisional Government for exhibition in San Francisco. The shipments were kept secret to avoid the public in Honolulu from finding out, and participants were uninformed as well, until they saw the items in San Francisco:

> All of the Kanakas at the Hawaiian village had seen the throne in the palace at Honolulu. They had no knowledge of its daring transportation hither, however, and when the royal seats were unpacked their presence caused no small commotion in the little tropical settlement. Everyone talked very fast and loud and first viewed the relics of the dethroned royalty with reverence and awe. This feeling wore off, however, after they had been some hours in the same room with the imperial furniture. Finally one pretty Kanaka girl walked over to the throne, seated herself comfortably on the right-hand chair and asked, with a simper, "How would I look as a queen?" [429]

It is not known whether the reporter hoped to highlight a citizenry—or an individual participant—that no longer privileged the Hawaiian monarchy in the same way as before the overthrow. On-the-ground realities and the nuances of intentions are unknown. While this "Kanaka girl" appears impertinent, we know from a caption from a Taber photograph that other participants, such as Mary Piilani Cook (see below and Appendix A), came to the fair with a particular intention to advocate for their queen. The "Relics" room of the Hawaiian Village's main exhibition hall is shown in Taber's *Souvenir* album (see fig. 11). The photograph's caption states that "native islanders who serve as attendants in the Hawaiian Village at the Midwinter Exposition hold to a different view [about the overthrow]. They look hopefully to the time when their queen will be re-enthroned."

[429] "Throne of the Hawaiian Islands," *Morning Call*.

Mary Piilani Cook's story tells how, in the face of the violence perpetrated against their queen, the Hawaiians "carefully guarded" the "treasures" they were compelled to present until their return to Hawaii.[430] Cook was a childhood friend of Queen Lili'uokalani and a stalwart supporter of the deposed ruler.[431] Given the public debate about annexation in the San Francisco press, she also fielded offensive comments and sought to counter the narrative of the display. The *Overland Monthly* provides an account of Cook's exchange with a visitor in the exhibition building:

> The main building of the Hawaiian village is under the superintendence of Mrs. Mary Piilani Cook, an educated, refined woman, who is part American on her father's side, and whose husband was a descendant of the famous Captain Cook. Mrs. Cook is a personal friend of the unhappy Liliuokalani, and your interest in the royal equipments of the court and palace here on exhibition is greatly increased by her soft-spoken words of explanation. You look upon the throne, furniture, and uniform of the late King, his yellow mantle of oo feathers, and embroidered saddle trappings, and feel a distinct shock when a richly dressed lady at your side, viewing the royal habiliments through gold-mounted eyeglasses, says coarsely, 'Why in the world didn't you have the Queen here too?' Mrs. Cook flushes, but answers with dignity, 'Because, madam, our Queen is not on exhibition.'"[432]

As has previously been described, through the press and even official Exposition souvenirs, participants countered the political, economic, and racist propaganda of their surroundings. Contributing to the overall narrative, the framing of the thrones, the precious featherwork cloak, and other items from 'Iolani Palace as "relics" of the

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[430] Photo caption, "Relics of Hawaiian Royalty" in *"Monarch" Souvenir*, n.p.

[431] "Kamaaina Celebrates Her Seventy-Seventh Anniversary of Birth Today," *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 21, 1916.

[432] Eames, "Wild and Woolly."

past served the larger goal of the annexation of Hawaii and the personal and political interests of provisional government members, a view not shared by all the Hawaiian village participants.

The political situation in Hawaii might be referenced in an enduring *mele*, or song, "He Aloha Moku o Keawe," written by Emily/Emalia Kaihumua, or "Sweet Emalia," as she was known (see Appendix A), while in San Francisco performing at the CMIE.[433] As detailed by Kīhei de Silva in his research about the song, Kaihumua was one of King David Kalākaua's court dancers, and her famous song expressing homesickness and love for her homeland might speak to the larger impact of the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom on its citizens.[434] An expression of longing for home, it also serves as a reminder about the difficult human costs for Indigenous participants. Some like Emily/Emalia returned to irrevocably changed countries and homelands. Other participants never made it home.

The *Official History* of the fair includes a report from the CMIE emergency hospital reporting three deaths in total, two from the Indigenous villages: "One death was that of an Esquimau child, from hereditary syphillus [*sic*], and the other was a case of pneumonia in a South Sea Islander, who was brought to the hospital in a dying condition."[435] Other participant deaths that occurred inside the villages or

[433] Kaʻiwakīloumoku, digital collection, https://kaiwakiloumoku.ksbe.edu/article/mele-moku-o-keawe, accessed May 15, 2022.

[434] Kaʻiwakīloumoku, digital collection; "Probably the earliest known version of a song well known today, 1894," reproduced in *Nupepa* (blog), posted May 9, 2013, https://nupepa-hawaii.com/2013/05/09/probably-the-earliest-version-of-a-song-well-known-today-1894.

[435] CMIE, *Official History*, 71.

outside the fair boundaries were not included in official Expo accounts. The actual number of village participant deaths appears to total five. Given the lack of official information, newspaper and serial accounts provide additional insight into the suffering and deaths of participants while also reflecting public perceptions about Indigenous culture and beliefs.

For example, the *Overland Monthly* provides insight into biased and racialized perspectives of the public about Indigenous participants at the Fair and details the death of an infant in Dr. White Cloud’s American Indian Village and a woman in the Arizona Indian Village:

> Filled as these people are with the deepest ignorance and most weird and mythical superstitions, yet they have in all a sense of gratitude for the attention shown them at the hospital. The number of cases treated averages twelve a day,—a good showing compared with seventy treated daily at the Columbian Exposition. In the treatment of the peculiar people from afar, those in charge of the hospital have had many opportunities to study the habits and queer customs of the different nations, and no doubt they have picked up information not usually given to our public. For instance, when a call came from the Indian village for a doctor, word was given that a death was expected there of a baby, as the photographer had been there a few days before, and the Indian superstition has it that the life of some Indian leaves this world for the spirit land whenever the camera shows its deadly eye. The child died a few days later from pneumonia. Then there was the case of the Yaqui woman who had lived her four score years, and then died of consumption. Her family, realizing her condition as the end neared, placed her in the open air upon the damp sand, with her head raised upon some stones, the ankles and wrists crossed and tied. What the doctor could suggest for her relief was received with negative grunts and groans by the relatives, and thus the woman passed into another existence without the comforts usually granted to the pale face in time of stress. The climate of San Francisco has been especially trying to the representatives of the tropics, and many a call has come from the Hawaiians and the South Sea Islanders for medicine for coughs and colds, the latter people having been supplied with cough mixtures by the gallon. . . . The little boy, Christopher Columbus, born

> at Chicago last summer of Esquimau parents, was a patient at the hospital, and passed out of existence from malnutrition, closely watched by his parents. Thus passed away a wee stranger who, at his birth, had focused the attention of the entire country.[436]

Referring to Indigenous participants by their tribe or culture, such as "Yaqui woman," rather than by name was common at the CMIE, stripping them of their identity as individuals and defined them as Other and a cultural type. A reflection of the time, classification and naming of Indigenous people was an important colonial project to instruct the public about racial, social, and cultural differences in the context of European-American culture. In the present, it blocks or slows research to reclaim identities.

Neither the identity nor gender of the South Seas Islander who died was reported. But the *Ottawa Journal* in Canada included an account in a detailed article about the village and its participants:

> The San Franciscan will tell you that it is the most disagreeable spring and summer he has known in twenty years, and he is not far wrong. The result has been that three children of the tropics have had a sorry time. They started at a little village on one of the side streets in the Midway, and the first few days they gave their dances stripped to the waist. The cold made them look blue; and soon, when the curtain fell after a dance, the coughing that set in made one think he was in the consumptive ward of a hospital. The manager then provided heavy blue flannel shirts and woolen drawers, and made the natives wear them. They kicked at this unaccustomed costume, but when one of their number fell ill and died within three days from the effects of a terrible cold in the lungs they grew tractable and consented to wear the hated

[436] G. Huntington, Redding, MD, "At the Sign of the Red Cross," *Overland Monthly* 23 (Second Series), no. 138 (June 1894): 612–16.

> garments. They also donned blankets, which gave them a striking resemblance to the Native North American.[437]

Moors's insistence on warm clothing for San Francisco, showing his attention to the issue after the death of the troupe member, was also detailed in a caption for the souvenir photograph, *Samoans at the Fair*, stating, ". . . camp rules was for each man to wear two shirts , and for each woman to be clothed in at least two garments. . . ."[438]

The *San Francisco Chronicle* also reported the death of the infant in Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village:

> One of the Indian papooses in the White Cloud Indian village at the Midwinter Fair died yesterday afternoon and the coroner was notified. Last night the somber Morgue wagon went to the Fair grounds and removed the babe's body to the Dunbar-alley dead-house. The squaws at the village were far from mournful. They laughed and capered about the wagon with much glee. The body was found in a blanket laid in a tepee, solitary and unwatched. None of the Indians could inform the Coroner's deputies what occasioned the child's death. From one source, however, it was ascertained that the little copper-colored native had been ailing, and Indianlike [*sic*], was not treated with proper, if any, medicines.[439]

The birth of George and Margaret Deer's daughter Francesca/Francisca Examiner Deer on February 5 or 12, 1894, based on press reports of her death on March 28, 1894, was announced in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "a girl, and until it is named the natives will call it 'Nootarak.' The children of San Francisco will name

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[437] "Far from Sunny Samoa," *Ottawa Journal*.

[438] Photo caption, "Samoans at the Fair." in *"Monarch" Souvenir*, n.p.

[439] "A Death at the Fair," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 13, 1894.

it."[440] The naming of children born at world fairs had a precedent with the birth of Nancy Helena Columbia Palmer (see Appendix A) at Chicago's World Columbian Exposition in 1893. At least one image of Margaret (Maggie) with the infant Francesca/Francisca was taken just four days after the birth. Upon her death, *The Examiner* reported, "The Little Brown Infant at the Midwinter Fair That Was Named by the school children on 'Examiner' Day Died of Malnutrition Last Evening After One Short Week of Illness."[441] Publicity about her birth was matched by the press in reporting her death, certainly bringing attention to the Alaska Native participants and the Expo concession.

Simon and Sarah Manak (see Appendix A) also lost a child during the Midwinter Fair who was born as the Manaks traveled from Chicago to San Francisco. The *San Francisco Call* reported, "There is a tiny grave in Golden Gate Park, placed there in defiance of the law. It is also said that the manner of the interment was not in accordance with the accepted idea of how human beings should be treated after death. . . . The child was . . . the offspring of Mr. and Mrs. Simon Manak, two Esquimaux who were part of the village contingent."[442] Perhaps their experience with the death of their daughter, Columbia Susan Manak, at the fair in Chicago made them decide to handle the interment of their child in their own manner in San Francisco. There appears to be no further mention of the burial, the location, or their act of "defiance."

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[440] "Another Villager Arrives," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 14, 1894.

[441] "The Esquimau Baby Is Dead," *The Examiner*, March 29,1894.

[442] "A Baby's Grave," *San Francisco Call*, July 27, 1894.

In April 1894, the *Morning Call* in San Francisco reported about the death toll of “Esquimaux” village children at the fairs in Chicago and San Francisco, stating euphemistically that “six little Esquimaux born in this country have gone to Labrador, their mothers say. They say, too, that an abundant sacrifice of dogs would have kept them here.”[443] Customs deemed as primitive by managers or fair officials, such as the sacrifice of dogs to ward off sickness, were disallowed. The Manaks’ decision to bury their child in Golden Gate Park perhaps provided them autonomy over the interment that they could not affect during the unnamed child’s illness and death.

[443] “Barbaric Babies,” *Morning Call*.

CONCLUSION

RESEARCH OUTCOMES AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

A curatorial encounter with Māori wood carvings and Oceanic works in the de Young Museum collection that were notable and compelling but not well studied was the starting point for this investigation (see Appendix B). The de Young Museum, now joined with the Legion of Honor to form the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, is a lasting legacy championed by M. H. de Young and now among the most visited art museums in the United States. Its broad-ranging collections have their origins with the Midwinter Fair and include photographs by the official photographer Isaiah West Taber and objects of visual culture. Interestingly, the role of visual culture at the fair and the resulting collection had not been the subject of in-depth institutional research before this study. Additionally, among world's fairs, the California Midwinter International Exposition has generally been perceived as an event of regional rather than national importance and has received little scholarly consideration. Probing these object histories and the significance of the San Francisco fair—the first world's fair west of Chicago—became this study's objective.

As the stories of the CMIE began to emerge from extant archival sources, this research project shifted and homed in on the presentation of Indigenous visual culture at the CMIE—a significant yet untold story of the fair. This opportune project explores how the exhibition of Indigenous culture at the fair, in fabricated villages complete with "Natives"—Indigenous people from the United States and other

territories and nations—was manifest. While previously little scholarly attention has been devoted to the village concessions of the Expo and the Indigenous participants, this study focuses on these culture-based presentations, revealing the experiences of individuals entangled with imperialist pursuits of the United States and colonial conflicts happening in other parts of the world. It examines how participants were racialized and stereotyped and how their representation buttressed understandings about race, US national identity, and extraterritorial expansionism in 1894. One result of this project specific to the CMIE, as well as world's fair studies at large, is the successful reclaiming of the identities of many participants, along with concession managers, and sharing their experiences (see Appendix A). It reveals the identities, relationships, and cultural agency of Indigenous people in the concession villages.

Chapters in this study are dedicated to the site and built environment of the exposition, the managers in charge and the participants who resided and performed in the spaces, and the visual culture presented both at the Expo and in photographs. The opening chapter establishes the impetus for the Midwinter Expo and details the development of the land and fair site as an "Imperial City" within the city of San Francisco. It explicates how the successful mounting of a profitable and well-attended fair provided a stage for California to establish its future importance to the nation on numerous fronts—financial, political, and culturally. Locally, it served the economic outlook of San Francisco by bringing national attention to the city and more than two million fair visitors. Chapters 2 and 3 focus on five village concessions and reveal the key concerns and interests of the managers who organized the troupes and governed

their performances and performative habitation in the village. Collated and analyzed information about the personal connections of managers to the participants they managed and to their homelands shows the intersection of their private aims with greater geopolitical concerns. One very interesting discovery during this research was that two of the managers had Indigenous spouses. One of these, Harry Jay Moors's wife, was Samoan, and while Moors is most associated with the concession, it appears that his wife was involved in the visual culture performances offered to visitors in San Francisco and subsequent shows. Her participation brings complexity to our understanding of the relationships between managers and participants in the villages.

The official fair photography by Isaiah West Taber is discussed in chapter 4, which describes how the images functioned for multiple parties to garner revenue as souvenir prints and albums and also to promote the CMIE in newspapers and magazines. The photography further reveals different representation strategies employed by different managers that could influence public opinion about the participants and their place in modern society, as well as the lands they represented during a period of larger imperialist enterprise.

The study concludes with chapter 5, "Being 'Native' in the Villages," which describes the experiences of Indigenous participants in their personal participation in the fair as citizens and civilians, though such participation did not necessarily contribute to a dramatic change in public opinion or associated shifts in geopolitical issues, as some might have hoped. Nonetheless, it is possible to move beyond the

generalizations and stereotypes often applied to Midwinter Fair participants to reveal how individuals were responding to financial and political instability in their homelands and larger cultural debates to assert power over their own bodies, identities, and representation at the fair. Reclaiming the identities of the participants and their extraordinary and diverse stories begins to answer the question of how the "Natives" saw themselves as agents of their visual culture in the Indigenous villages of the California Midwinter International Exposition.

Next steps for this research endeavor will utilize these participants' known biographies (see Appendix A) as generative resource to expand the body of knowledge about these individuals and add to the list of known participants by conducting additional outreach to communities of origin and Indigenous scholars in the field. Concurrently, deeper research about the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco collection works that originated with the fair, including cross-cultural cataloguing, will enrich their historical importance and meaning in the present. The intention of this project can be further expanded in an edited volume featuring scholars across disciplines offering a multi-vocal story of the fair that takes into account these overlooked histories of the Indigenous participants and offers a new fair history that includes this omitted narrative.

APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHIES OF SELECTED PARTICIPANTS IN THE CMIE VILLAGES

Participants are listed in alphabetical order by last name (or only single name given) within each concession: the Hawaiian Village ("Hale Hoikeike Hawaii. Kapalakiko"); the Samoan Village/ South Sea Islanders Exhibition; the "Esquimaux" Village; the Dahomey Village; and Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village.

THE HAWAIIAN VILLAGE ("HALE HOIKEIKE HAWAII. KAPALAKIKO")

Mrs. Mary Ann Ka'aumokulani Kino'ole Pitman Ailau (1838/41–1905)

Mary Ailau's participation in the fair was announced in early January 1894 before the opening. *The Daily Bulletin* stated, "Mrs. J. K. Ailau will make a first-class exhibition of Hawaiian curios at the fair in connection with the Hawaiian exhibit. She has taken with her four young ladies to act as saleswomen."[444] In the press she was described as "Mrs. Marry Ailau, the well-known dealer and connoisseur in Hawaiian relics."[445]

The Hawaiian Gazette reported, "The Hawaiian Exposition Company will send another large shipment of exhibits to the Midwinter Fair by the *Australia* next

[444] "Departing Friends: The S. S. Australia Carries the Hawaiian Exhibit, January 6, 1894," *Daily Bulletin* (Honolulu), retrieved from Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82016412/1894-01-06/ed-1/seq-1.

[445] "Ancient Relics Were Destroyed," *Evening Bulletin* (Honolulu), October 15, 1901.

Saturday. . . . Mr. and Mrs. J. Ailau will take with them ten native women, who will make leis, fans and hats at the Fair."[446] Her husband was John Keakaokalani Ailau (1860–94), known as Jack Ailau, a musician, singer, and compositor. His death is recorded in San Francisco on January 17, 1894. Mary Ailau arrived in San Francisco on January 27, 1894, on the *Australia*.[447]

In June, the *San Francisco Morning Call* reported that Mary Ailau had been arrested for shoplifting with the headline, "A Kanaka Thief: Mary Ailau Caught While Shoplifting: She has two Booths in the Hawaiian Village at the Fair-Charged with Petty Larceny."[448] The article details the incident that led to her arrest and further accusations of prior shoplifting of silk fabric from the dry-goods store J. J. O'Brien & Co.[449] The *Hawaiian Gazette* published the news on July 6 with a headline, "Is it True? Mary Ailau Said to Have Been Arrested for Shoplifting."[450] The *Gazette* reported, "It is said that she was fined, and her fine was paid by C. R. Bishop, on the condition that she return to Honolulu as soon as possible. No account of this transaction, however, appears in the San Francisco newspapers."[451] Charles Reed

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[446] "More Exhibits," *Hawaiian Gazette*, January 5, 1894. In an 1890 directory of Honolulu and Island of Oahu, she is listed as "Ailau Mary Mrs, island curiosities, 102 Fort, res Fort nr Kuikui," Mokuna 3, *Directory of Honolulu and Island of Oahu* (Ka Aoʻao 129 [p. 129]), http://www.ulukau.org/elib/cgi-bin/library?e=d-0polk1890-000Sec--11haw-50-20-frameset-book--1-010escapewin&p=frameset&toc=0&d=D0.5.

[447] "Dead," *Hawaii Holomua-Progress*, January 27, 1894; "Died of Heart Disease," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 18, 1894; "Ancient Relics," *Evening Bulletin.*

[448] "A Kanaka Thief," *Morning Call*, June 20, 1894.

[449] "A Kanaka Thief."

[450] "Is It True?" *Hawaiian Gazette*, July 6, 1894.

[451] "Is It True?"

Bishop was the husband of high chief Bernice Pauahi, great-granddaughter of King Kamehameha the Great. Bishop was living in San Francisco at the time of the fair.[452]

Mary Ailau's death was recorded in an obituary in the *Hawaiian Star*:

> In Hilo, Hawaii. February 11, 1905. Mrs. Mary Ann Kaaumokulani Kinoole Pitman Ailau, daughter of the High Chiefess Kinoole and the late Benjamin Pitman, and widow of John Keakaokalani Ailau, aged 67 years. . . .
>
> After her father's death she returned to Hawaii and married J. K. Ailau, a compositor and a singer. He died in San Francisco during the Midwinter Fair in 1904 [a date error]. She leaves one adopted daughter.[453]

Mrs. Mary Piilani Cook (May 21, 1839–?)

Mary Piilani Cook was a childhood friend of Queen Lili'uokalani and a stalwart supporter of the deposed ruler, as evidenced by her role in the CMIE Hawaiian Village.[454] The *Overland Monthly* provides an account of Mrs. Mary Piilani Cook's exchange with a visitor in the exhibition building showing the royal thrones, furniture, standards, and accoutrements:

> The main building of the Hawaiian village is under the superintendence of Mrs. Mary Piilani Cook, an educated, refined woman, who is part American

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[452] Wm. T. Brigham, "Charles Reed Bishop, 1822–1915," in *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1916*, comp. and ed. Thos. G. Thrum (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, 1915), 63–71. Brigham writes, "While approving annexation as the only way of protecting the group from Oriental capture, he thought it wiser to remove to San Francisco where he had important interests, and he never revisited his island home" (69).

[453] "Died," *Hawaiian Star*, February 14, 1905. Her death was also reported in the *Hilo Tribune*, "Death of an Old Kamaaina," February 14, 1905. See also: "Miss Mary Ann Pittman (the late Mrs. Ailau)" in "Court Beauties of Fifty Years Ago," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), June 12, 1910, retrieved from Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85047084/1910-06-12/ed-1/seq-13.

[454] "Kamaaina Celebrates Her Seventy-Seventh Anniversary of Birth Today," *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 21, 1916.

> on her father's side, and whose husband was a descendant of the famous Captain Cook. Mrs. Cook is a personal friend of the unhappy Liliuokalani, and your interest in the royal equipments of the court and palace here on exhibition is greatly increased by her soft-spoken words of explanation. You look upon the throne, furniture, and uniform of the late King, his yellow mantle of oo feathers, and embroidered saddle trappings, and feel a distinct shock when a richly dressed lady at your side, viewing the royal habiliments through gold-mounted eyeglasses, says coarsely, "Why in the world didn't you have the Queen here too?" Mrs. Cook flushes, but answers with dignity, "Because, madam, our Queen is not on exhibition."[455]

Mrs. Luka (Mary Ann Paau) Edwards

Mrs. Luka (Mary Ann Paau) Edwards, twenty-one years old, arrived in San Francisco on the *Australia* on January 13, 1894. The ship manifest records that her passage was paid by the Hawaiian concession and that she was joining her husband. It does not state that she herself was contracted as a participant.[456]

A subsequent press report details an altercation with Hawaiian Village participant J. Opu in April 1894: "Opu broke a calabash belonging to Mrs. Paau and alleged to be a royal heirloom. . . . The destroyer of the priceless gourd refused to pay the sum to the owner whereupon she lifted up her voice for the sole purpose of praying Opu to death."[457] The conflict escalated over a period of days and,

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[455] Ninetta Eames, "The Wild and Woolly at the Fair," *Overland Monthly* 23 (Second Series), no. 136 (April 1894): 356–70.

[456] Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, "SS Australia: Honolulu to San Francisco. February 10, 1894. District of San Francisco - Port of San Francisco. List or Manifest of Alien Immigrants for the Commissioner of Immigration," National Archives and Records Administration, Film M1410, Reel 1, 2:25, transcribed April 7, 2000, http://www.immigrantships.net/v3/1800v3/australia18940210.html.

[457] "Opu the Shark Fighter Tries to Kill a Native Woman," *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 13, 1894.

subsequently, it was reported that Opu attacked her with an ax and injured her.[458] The article closes with the news that "the management concluded to send her home" to Honolulu.[459]

In the same paper and on the same page, a conflicting story intends to correct news coming from San Francisco about "a native woman being struck on the head with an ax" being Mary Ailau. It reports that "a woman named Luka Paau . . . was assaulted by John Edwards, a
half-caste, who claims to be her husband. He is employed as a musician at the cyclorama."[460]

David Kaahanu/Kaahanui

Arriving on the *Australia* on January 13, 1894, and contracted to work at the fair, David Kaahanu is listed as thirty-three years old and a photographer.[461] When the steamship *Australia* departed with Lorrin A. Thurston, the manager, Kaahanu/Kaahanui, and other participants, as well as containers of exhibition materials and live plants and animals including "two monster bullocks in stalls lashed near the stern," the *Daily Bulletin* reported that among the passengers were "three

[458] "Opu the Shark Fighter."

[459] "Opu the Shark Fighter."

[460] "Not Mary Ailau," *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 13, 1894.

[461] Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, "SS Australia."

hula girls . . . under the management of D. Kaahanui [who] will dance a mild hula-kui."[462]

Emily/Emalia Kaihumua

Emily/Emalia Kaihumua, or "Sweet Emalia," as she was known, arrived on the steamship *Australia* on February 10, 1894. Her passage was paid by the "Hawaiian Exhibition," and the manifest records that she was twenty-two years old, a widow of Hawaiian nationality who could read and write.[463] The Fine Arts Museums collection includes an unattributed and untitled hand-colored albumen print of the same group of performers (Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, S263.2.47. Gift of Miss Emily Friedlander).[464]

She is still remembered today for a *mele*, or song, "He Aloha Moku o Keawe," that she composed while in San Francisco performing at the CMIE.[465] As detailed by Kīhei de Silva in his research about the song, Kaihumua was one of King David Kalākaua's court dancers, and her famous song expressing homesickness and love for her homeland might speak to the larger impact of the overthrow of the Hawaiian

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[462] "Departing Friends," *Daily Bulletin*.

[463] Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, "SS Australia."

[464] Emily Friedlander, of San Francisco, was the sister of Otto Friedlander, an enlarger (and possibly a photographer as well) who had a portrait studio in Honolulu in the late nineteenth century.

[465] "Moku O Keawe," Ka'iwakīloumoku, digital collection, https://kaiwakiloumoku.ksbe.edu/article/mele-moku-o-keawe, accessed May 15, 2022. See also: Leo o ka Lahui, April 27, 1894, 3 (Ka Leo o ka Lahui, Buke II, Helu 929, Aoao 3. Aperila 27, 1894) in, "Probably the Earliest Known Version of a Song Well Known Today, 1894," *Nupepa* (blog), posted May 9, 2013, https://nupepa-hawaii.com/2013/05/09/probably-the-earliest-version-of-a-song-well-known-today-1894.

kingdom on its citizens.[466] A translation of the song (*mele*) is by Hawaiian scholar and cultural expert Mary Kawena Pūkuʻi (1895–1986).[467]

Two others with the surname Kaihumua arrived the same day on the *Australia*, possibly her relations, maybe brothers. They are listed in the manifest as follows:[468]

> Arthur Kaihumua 17y, Male, Single, Cowboy, Able to Read/Write, Nationality: Hawaiian, Last Res.: Honolulu, Destination: San Francisco. . . . Passage paid by: Haw'n Exhibito [*sic*], money is blank, In US before: No, Join Relative or friend: No, is under contract to labor.

> Luther Kaihumua 19y, Male, Single, Cowboy, Able to Read/Write, Nationality: Hawaiian, Last Res.: Honolulu, Destination: San Francisco. . . . Passage paid by Haw'n Exhibito*[sic]*, money is blank, In US before: No, Join relative or friend: No, is under contract to labor.

Bill Kanealii

First person accounts by participants in the press are extremely rare. In April, the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Makaainana* reported:

> J. S. Keawe, one of our officers in the uplands of Kalihi writes that he received the news below about the Winter Exposition being held, from a letter of March 17th by Bill Kanealii from San Francisco: From amongst the new things at the Fair to be seen by the visitors, there is a huge wheel that is 180 feet tall with 18 boxes all around, with each box holding 10 people. Another is the tower with a very tall steeple 300 feet high. The lake is another thing of high esteem; it is stocked with all sorts of fish, with 100 pipes feeding water into the lake with all kinds of water, so many that the visitor would not be able to count them all. The merry-go-round [melekolauna] (a thing that spins), is a quarter mile long travelling around

[466] "Moku O Keawe"; "Probably the Earliest Known Version."

[467] Bishop Museum, Roberts Collection, MS SC 5.4:136b-137a. Bishop Museum Archives (blog), https://blog.bishopmuseum.org/welo-hou/he-aloha-moku-o-keawe, accessed September 1, 2022.

[468] Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, "SS Australia."

> until reaching the place where it starts from. The Hawaii display is the best of all. There are two days that the proceeds are the highest, that being Saturdays and Sundays, where $1,000 or more is the most and $500 or more is the least."[469]

It is likely that Kanealii is "Bill Kaneal (surname is Kanealu or Kanealii), a 61 year old farmer" who is listed on the ship manifest as arriving on the *Australia* on February 3, 1894.[470]

Kapahee

Kapahee along with his wife and son are mentioned in the press, "Kapahee, the famous surf rider, with his board. . . . Kapahee will give exhibitions in surf riding near the Cliff House, and if the water is clear he will dive and kill fish with a spear he has taken with him. He will also ride the bullocks. "[471]

Kohana Maka

Kohana Maka garnered attention in the press with one headline reading, "An Hawaiian Swimmer, One of the Chief Attractions at the Big Fair."[472] There are several detailed descriptions of his knowledge and skill at shark hunting: "One of the sensations of the Exposition will be the famous diver, Kohana Maka, whose record as

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[469] "More on the California Midwinter International Exposition from Bila Kanealii, 1894," *Makaainana*, April 2, 1894, reproduced in *Nupepa* (blog), posted May 11, 2013, http://nupepa-hawaii.com/tag/san-francisco.

[470] Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, "SS Australia."

[471] "Departing Friends," *Daily Bulletin*.

[472] "An Hawaiian Swimmer," *Hawaiian Star*, January 23, 1894.

a long-distance swimmer, deep diver and shark hunter surpasses that of all the aquatic wonders of the great Pacific. It is Kohana Maka who has kept alive the old shark-hunting custom of the early kings of Hawaii."[473] The method described used the bodies of enemies as bait to attract "man-eating" sharks hunted by the kings.[474] The *San Francisco Call* reported:

> As an additional attraction, the village has secured the services of Kohana Maka, the champion long-distance diver of the Hawaiian Islands. . . . His record is something over four minutes. The ancestors of Kawailani, Kalakaua and Kamehameha were fond of shark hunting and Maka is said to be an expert at that business. When there was no revolution in Hawaii or Provisional Government to spoil the ruler's appetite for poi. . . . there will be a number of these expert swimmers here, who will disport themselves in the lake now being constructed in the village. Four women and three men, all experts, form the little company of swimmers, headed by Kohana Maka.[475]

Mileka Moki

One of the children in the Hawaiian Village was Mileka Moki, who is identified by name in an article, "Barbaric Babies," in the *Morning Call* in April 1894: "Safe it is to say . . . that such an assortment of barbaric babies will never be seen again, for race characteristics are disappearing rapidly and the customs of many strange tribes will be broken by innovations learned at Chicago and San Francisco. Mileka Moki's mother already says proudly, 'Hawaiian babies just like yours, no difference at all.'"[476] The

[473] "An Hawaiian Swimmer."

[474] "An Hawaiian Swimmer."

[475] "Paid Admissions," *San Francisco Call*, December 28, 1893.

[476] "Barbaric Babies," *Morning Call*, April 22, 1894.

quote is followed by the reporter's examples of how "a little Kanaka is brought up" differently, eating raw foods, learning to swim very young, and dancing "a fair hula-hula, though she is but a two-year-old."[477]

Mileka Moki appears in a number of photographs taken by Taber in the village and also in an image taken by a visitor on amateur photo day. One of these photos, *Psyche of the South Seas*, is captioned:

> The amateur photographer who won the third prize in the *Examiner*'s [newspaper] competition for the best California scenes and subjects is Miss Eula P. Bixby. . . . Miss Bixby chose for her subject the little girl in the Hawaiian Village. The child is sitting before one of the big abalone shells, and behind her are spread the great shells, like butterfly's wings. . . . Miss Bixby's picture is a character study with the Fair background.[478]

J. Opu

On January 6, 1894, the thirty-two-year-old fisherman "Opu" is listed with arrivals on the Australia manifest arriving for the first time in the continental United States to work at the fair.[479] The *Official Guide* indicates that "in [the Hawaiian] Village may be seen . . . J. Opu, the famous diver, swimmer and shark hunter, who will give daily exhibitions in the village lake."[480]

The *Hawaiian Gazette* reported:

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[477] "Barbaric Babies."

[478] Photo caption, "Psyche of the South Seas," in *"Monarch" Souvenir,* n.p.

[479] Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, "SS Australia."

[480] California Midwinter International Exposition (CMIE), *Official Guide to the California Midwinter Exposition in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, California: Commencing January 27th, and Closing June 30th, 1894* (San Francisco: George Spaulding & Co., 1894), 134.

> The Hawaiian Exposition Company will send another large shipment of exhibits to the Midwinter Fair by the Australia next Saturday. Among the things to be sent are native mats and tapa, poi boards and pounders, surf-boards, etc. Apu [Opu], the expert surf-rider from Niihau, will be among the twenty-five natives who will go up on the Australia. Mr. and Mrs. J. Ailau [See **Mrs. Mary Ann Ka‘aumokulani Kino‘ole Pitman Ailau**, above] will take with them ten native women, who will make leis, fans and hats at the Fair.[481]

In April 1894, *The Examiner* reported:

> Some time ago the Esquimau champion paddler, Simaan Manak [see **Simon Manak, “Esquimaux” Village**] answered a challenge to a water contest issued by Opu, the Hawaiian canoe paddler. Manak accepted Opu’s challenge, but he was not taken up, so now declares himself the champion of the Fair in the following announcement:
>
> To Everybody: i say long time ago i would *sokanikasantijok* (race) Opu, the Kanaka paddler, any time. i have not hear from him yet and I think he is not good enough, for he did not want to *banktok* (paddle) with me, so now i say i am the best *banktok* (paddle) man in the midwinter fair. I want to say now, if there is anything the Kanakas do we would be glad to please them. their six men in this village that can pull a rope very hard and we can beat the Kanakas in a *gok ug dak* (tug-of-war). SIMAAN MANAK[482]

Port of San Francisco Ship Manifest Lists Including some of the Hawaiian Village participants

Not all participants in the Hawaiian Village were mentioned in the press or in other sources, but they are listed among the steamship arrivals into the port of San Francisco. The two lists below include a number of key participants and provide insight into the identities of others.

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[481] “More Exhibits,” *Hawaiian Gazette*.

[482] “Fair All Around,” *The Examiner* (San Francisco), April 7, 1894.

The manifest records include basic information, including list number, name, age, sex, marital status, occupation, literacy, nationality, last place of residence, final destination in the United States and whether they have a ticket to their final destination, by whom was passage paid, if they have any money, if they have visited the United States in the past, whether going to join relative or friend, and finally, if they are contracted to work in the United States.[483]

> LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN IMMIGRANTS FOR THE COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION.
>
> Steamship *Australia*, sailing from Honolulu, Jany 6, 1894 arriving at Port of San Francisco, Jany 13, 1894.
>
> 8* Kunu, 18y, sex is blank, S, Bullock boy, reads and writes, Hawaiian, Honolulu, S.F California, has ticket to final destination, passage paid by Haw Exhto, more, has not been to US, not joining anyone, is under contract to labor
>
> 9* David Kaahanu, 33y, M, M, Photographer, reads and writes, Hawaiian, Honolulu, S.F., California, has ticket to final destination, passage paid by Haw Exhto, more, has not been to US, not joining anyone, is under contract to labor
>
> 10*Mary Haliilehua, 25y, sex and marital status blank, no occupation, read and write blank, Hawaiian, Honolulu, S.F., California, has ticket to final destination, passage paid by Haw Exhto, more, has not been to US, not joining anyone, is not under contract to labor
>
> 11*Rebecca Napuwai, 22y, F, Not is written for marital status, Dancer, reads and writes, Hawaiian, Honolulu, S.F., California, has ticket to final

[483] The following lists derive from Immigrant Ships Transcribers Guild, "SS Australia."

destination, passage paid Haw Exhto, more, has not been to US, not joining anyone, is under contract to labor

12*Anekila, 29y, F, M, Dancer, reads and writes, Hawaiian, Honolulu, S.F., California, has ticket to final destination, passage paid by Haw Exhto, more, has not been to US, not joining anyone, is under contract to labor

13*Opu, 32y, M, M, Fisherman, reads and writes, Hawaiian, Honolulu, S.F., California has ticket to final destination, passage paid by Haw Exhto, more, has not been to US, not joining anyone, is under contract to labor

14*Mrs Luka Edwards, 21y, F, M, occupation blank, reads and writes, Hawaiian, Honolulu, S.F., California, has ticket to final destination, passage paid by Haw Exhto, money is, yes, has not been to US, to join Husband, is not under contract to labor

LIST OR MANIFEST OF ALIEN IMMIGRANTS FOR THE COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION.

Steamship *Australia*, sailing from Honolulu, Feby 3, 1894 arriving at Port of San Francisco, Feby 10, 1894.

1* Bill Kaneal?, surname is Kanealu or Kanealii. 61y, Male, Married, Farmer, Able to Read/Write, Nationality: Hawaiian, Last Res.: Honolulu, Destination: San Francisco, Has ticket to destination, Passage paid by Haw'n Exhibito, money is blank, has been to SF 1864, Join relative or friend: No, is under contract to labor

2 Sam Kolikoli, 18y, Male, Single, Cowboy, Able to Read/Write, Nationality: Hawaiian, Last Res.: Honolulu, Destination: San Francisco, Has ticket to destination, Passage paid by Haw'n Exhibito, money is blank, has been to SF 1886, Join relative or friend: No, is under contract to labor

3 Luther Kaihumua, 19y, Male, Single, Cowboy, Able to Read/Write, Nationality: Hawaiian, Last Res.: Honolulu, Destination: San Francisco, Has ticket destination, Passage paid by Haw'n Exhibito, money is blank, In US before: No, Join relative or friend: No, is under contract to labor

4 Arthur Kaihumua, 17y, Male, Single, Cowboy, Able to Read/Write, Nationality: Hawaiian, Last Res.: Honolulu, Destination: San Francisco, Has

ticket to destination, Passage paid by: Haw'n Exhibito, money is blank, In US before: No, Join Relative or friend: No, is under contract to labor

5 Emily Kaihumua, 22y, Female, Widow, Able to Read/Write, Nationality: Hawaiian, Last Res.: Honolulu, Destination: San Francisco, Has ticket to destination, Passage paid by: Haw'n Exhibito, money is blank, In US before: No, Join relative or friend: No, is under contract to labor

6 James Shaw, 28y, Male, Married, Painter, Able to Read/Write, Nationality: Hawaiian, Last Res.: Honolulu, Destination: San Francisco, Has ticket to destination, Passage paid by: Haw'n Exhibito, money is blank, In US before: No, Join relative or friend: No, is under contract to labor

THE SAMOAN VILLAGE/ THE SOUTH SEAS ISLANDER EXHIBITION

Fa'animonimo (Nimo) Asiono [Moors] (circa 1863, Tanugamanono, Apia, island of Upolu, Sāmoa –1932, Apia, Sāmoa)

H. J. Moors married Fa'animonimo (Nimo) Asiono, of the village Tanugamanono, near Apia, in 1883. They had six children. The presence of two of the children at the Chicago World's Fair was mentioned in the *Samoa Weekly Herald*.[484]

Damon Salesa details Moors's business ventures in his essay "Misimoa: An American on the Beach" and offers insight about his wife, Nimo, and their relationship:

> Soon after first settling in Samoa, Moors married a Samoan woman from a prominent family, Fa'animonimo (Nimo). She was to remain an essential element in Moors's success, and was known as an extremely smart and capable woman. . . . Nimo toured the U.S. with Moors several times, countering suspicions that Moors was only luring her there to divorce her. 'If

[484] "Honolulu Weekly Bulletin, April 11, 1893," in *Samoan Weekly Herald*, May 20, 1893, cited in Mandy Treagus, "The South Seas Exhibit at the Chicago World's Fair, 1893," in *Oceania and the Victorian Imagination: Where All Things Are Possible*, ed. Richard D. Fulton and Peter H. Hoffenberg (Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2013), 45–57.

> she comes back again still married to Moors,' [author Robert Louis] Stevenson had written in 1893, 'I shall think a lot of her savvy.' Moors's marriage to Nimo had apparently upset his family. His mother did not approve of her son's marriage to a nonwhite—one of those pork-eaters and cannibals, she is reported to have said. But the marriage between Nimo and Harry ultimately proved a lasting one.[485]

When Moors and Nimo traveled to Minneapolis with their "South Sea Islander" troupe, it was reported that "Col. H. J. Moors, in charge of the company, married a native princess some years ago, and she has charge of the female part of the company."[486]

Her death "at her late residence at Ululoloa. Apia, Samoa" was recorded in the *New Zealand Herald* in 1932.[487] (See also **Harry Jay Moors**.)

Chief Lau Ulu/Laulu and His Wife

In April 1894, *The Examiner* announced the "Arrival of the Vine With a village . . . brought up from the South Seas by King Moors. . . . There are forty-three Samoans in the company . . . [including] Chief Laulu [/Lau Ulu]."[488]

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[485] [Toeolesulusulu] Damon Salesa, "Misimoa: An American on the Beach," *Commonplace* 5, no. 2 (January 2005), http://commonplace.online/article/misimoa-an-american-on-the-beach.

[486] "Samoans Caught On," *Minneapolis Daily Times*, August 19, 1894.

[487] "Deaths," *New Zealand Herald*, October 28, 1932. The notice reads: "Death Notice MOORS (Mrs. Nimo). — On October 25, at her late residence at Ululoloa. Apia, Samoa, wife of the late H. J. Moors, deeply mourned by her surviving daughters and son (Mesdames Miranda Hetherington, Rosabel Nelson, Sophia Hellesoe, Priscilla Muench and Mr. Harry W. Moors) and 19 grandchildren: in her 70th year of life."

[488] "More Illusions," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), April 14, 1894. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported, "There are forty-two [South Sea natives] in all including six girls from Samoa. The men are from Jamod, Wallis, Fortuna, Fiji and the Gilbert Group." See "From the South Seas," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 9, 1894. A second article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* also mentions forty-two performers, "The forty-two people chosen by Mr. Moors are about equally divided between the

Harry Jay Moors (June 20, 1854, Detroit, Michigan–March 13, 1926)

Harry Jay Moors was a successful American businessman who lived in Sāmoa and organized the South Seas exhibitions at the Chicago and San Francisco expositions.[489] He was born in Michigan, and by 1875, at twenty-one years old, he was employed by the Hawaiian government as an immigration agent in Sāmoa.[490] He would go on to work on a plantation, overseeing immigrant workers, before establishing himself in business. He had a successful trade store in Apia and produced copra (dried coconut kernel, used for oil) for the export market.[491] He would eventually employ a large number of Chinese indentured laborers in his operation.[492] Moors registered his marriage to Fa‘animonimo (Nimo) Asiono and the births of all eight of his children (including two others born previously to other women) with the United States Consular Court at Apia, assuring their US citizenship.[493] Moors’s commercial and political interests in Sāmoa extended to other parts of the Pacific. An article in the *Chicago Tribune* on June 7, 1894, reported, “Mr. Moors is the owner of two islands,

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Samoan, Gilbert and Fiji islands, and they are representative of six distinct type of people. Among them are ten women.” See “All Wanted to Come,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 9, 1894.

[489] H. J. Moors, *Some Recollections of Early Samoa* (Apia, Samoa: Western Samoa Historical and Cultural Trust, 1986), 106–7 and 109–10; “Inaugural Congress,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 26, 1894; *Midwinter Exposition Guide and Souvenir* (San Francisco: Whitcher, Allen & Boldeman, 1894); Alfred Thayer Mahan, “The United States Looking Outward,” *The Atlantic*, December 1890: 816–24, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1890/12/the-united-states-looking-outward/306348; Salesa, “Misimoa.”

[490] S. Doc. Nos. 1–20, 98th Cong., 1st Sess. (1983).

[491] Salesa, “Misimoa.”

[492] Salesa.

[493] S. Doc. Nos. 1–20.

Nassau and Sophia atoll [Niulakita]."[494] Moors authored several books that detail his life in Sāmoa and also his close relationship with his friend, Scottish author Robert Louis Stevenson, then living in Sāmoa: *Some Recollections of Early Samoa* and *With Stevenson in Samoa*, respectively.

A biography prepared by the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations provides additional details about his personal life:

> Harry Jay Moors was born in Detroit, Michigan in 1854. His family moved to San Francisco where he graduated from high school in 1870. In 1875 he visited Samoa and went to work for the Hawaiian Government as an agent of the Hawaiian Board of Immigration (H.B.I. Overseas agents had extraterritorial powers in the independent atolls of Oceanica [*sic*] to enforce the anti-Blackbirding laws of Kingdom of Hawaii), in the Gilbert and Wallis Islands. In Wallis he had an affair with the king's daughter which begot a son named Kane. Early in the 1880's Moors moved to Apia and had an affair with Epenesa Enari and sired his second son called Mark. On 10 July 1883, Harry Moors married Fa'animonimo (Nimo) Asiono, of Tanugamanono, before the United States Consular Court at Apia (a court of Record of the United States). Moors had six children with 'Nimo' (Daniel Walker [died as infant in 1887], Ramona [Mirada], Rosabel [Nelson], Sophia [Hellesol], Priscilla [Cathuthers-Hetherington], and Harry Jr. [Afoafouvale Misimoa]). Harry Moors recorded all eight of his children's births with the U.S. Consulate at Apia and sent them to the United States for their education (this protected his grandchildren's rights to United States citizenship). Moors passed on 13 March 1926. His wife 'Nimo' died in 1932.[495]

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[494] "Eli Likes His Trip," *Chicago Tribune*, June 7, 1894.

[495] Pacific Island Treaties, Hearing Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate, 97th Congress, First Session on Ex. A, 96-2, Treaty of Friendship with the Republic of Kiribati, Ex. W., 96-1, Treaty of Friendship with Tuvalu, Ex. P, 96-2, Treaty with the Cook Islands on Friendship and Delimitation of the Maritime Boundary, and Treaty Doc. 97-5, Treaty with New Zealand on the Delimitation of the Maritime Boundary Between the United States and Tokelau, December 1, 1981, 24, https://www.google.com/books/edition/Pacific_Island_Treaties/th-kht1kaSsC?hl=en&gbpv=0].

Olonga

Olonga is identified by name in two of Taber's photographs with the differing titles "Olonga, native girl of Samoa" and "A South Sea Siesta in a Midwinter Concession," in the CMIE *Official History.*[496]

Seumanutafa Pogai, Matai (High Chief) of Apia (?– September 3, 1898)

Chief Seumanutafa Pogai is mentioned in two conflicting press reports about his participation at the CMIE. In July 1894, the *Ottawa Journal* reported, "Among the men is one native who excites a great deal of interest. This is Seumanu Tafa, the big chief of Apia, who did so much to save the lives of the American sailors on the Vandalia and the Trenton in the great hurricane."[497] However, in September 1894 the *San Francisco Chronicle* countered that "Lenmanatafa [*sic*], chief of Apia, who will be reimbursed on account of his brave conduct at the time of the wreck of the Trenton and Vandalia, is greatly hurt at the statements made in the American papers that he is among H. J. Moors South Sea Island troupe. Leumanatafa has been engaged in

[496] California Midwinter International Exposition (CMIE). *Official History of the California Midwinter International Exposition. A Descriptive Record of the Origin, Development and Success of the Great Industrial Expositional Enterprise, Held in San Francisco from January to July, 1894* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker Company, 1894). 164.

[497] "Far from Sunny Samoa," *Ottawa Journal*, July 25, 1894. See also: "Seumanutafa Pogai, Matai (High Chief) of Apia, Sāmoa," photograph by Thomas Andrew, 1890–1910. Museum of New Zealand / Te Papa Tongawera C.001409, https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/112248.

supporting his King, Malietoa, and has no thought of going to war at present nor into show business."[498]

Polonga

Identified by name in two of Taber's photographs and the photograph is titled differently: "Samoan girls Polonga and Olonga" and "Onlonga and Polonga Two Women of Samoa."

"ESQUIMAUX" VILLAGE

George Deer (Inuit, Labrador)

Igloos (*igluit*) in the Midwinter Fair "Esquimaux" Village were labeled on the exterior with black lettering identifying the men who resided inside, either alone or with their families.[499] One of the five was "George Deer." His wife was Margaret/Maggie. George and Maggie Deer's son Peter Deer was born in Labrador and died April 18, 1893, in Chicago from "the ravages of a bad cold and climate."[500] It was reported that Joe Lucy and Simon Manak (see **Simon Manak,** below) built the

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[498] "Bowed to Malietoa," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 30, 1894; "Special correspondence of the Chronicle, Samoa," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 12, 1894.

[499] See "Esquimaux village—reindeer and dog team," ca. 1894, illustration in viewbook: *Photo-gravures of the California Midwinter International Exposition* (New York: Albertype Co., ca. 1894). Copyright by A. Wittemann, New York, Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/90712005. This photograph of the "Esquimaux Village" shows the five igloos (*igluit*) labeled on the exterior with black lettering identifying the man who resided inside, either alone or with his family: "George Deer, Simon Manak, Jonas Palliser, Tom Palliser and Zacharias." (See biographies for each of these individuals in this section.)

[500] "Another Esquimau Baby Dies," *Chicago Tribune*, April 19, 1893.

coffin and the child was buried at Oak Woods Cemetery in Chicago.[501] Another daughter identified in the press is named Ringlet.[502]

The birth of George and Margaret's daughter Francesca/Francisca Examiner Deer (February 5 or 12, 1894, based on press reports of her death on March 28, 1894) was announced in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "a girl, and until it is named the natives will call it 'Nootarak.' The children of San Francisco will name it."[503] The naming of children born at world fairs had a precedent with the birth of Nancy Helena Columbia Palmer (see **Nancy Helena Columbia Palmer** below) at Chicago's World Columbian Exposition in 1893. Her impending death at the end of March 1894 was reported in the *San Francisco Call*:

> Francesca Tehama Deer is dying. She is gasping her life away at the Emergency Hospital, and her woes will soon be over. Every one is sorry for the 'Daughter of the Exposition,' as she is called, because she was the first child born at Sunset City. The forty-four days of her existence have been very unhappy. Perhaps the care she received was not in strict accordance with the more enlightened recipe for the treatment of infants. At any rate her life has been one continuous round of misery. She only 3 ½ pounds at her birth, and her weight has not increased greatly during the succession of ailments with which she has been afflicted. Ladies invariably noticed the tiny Esqimaux baby and commented on her prettiness. She was a remarkably attractive child, and evidently inherited her beauty from some remote ancestor. Her mother has tried all the remedies, pagan and Christian, which have been recommended, and little Francesca has been doctored to death. At least that is the opinion of the physician at the hospital. George Deer, the father, was very low spirited yesterday, and early in the day commenced drowning his sorrow in preservative liquid. So frequent were his potations

[501] Jim Zwick, *Inuit Entertainers in the United States: From the Chicago World's Fair through the Birth of Hollywood* (West Conshohocken, PA: Infinity Publishing, 2006), 17–18.

[502] "The Esquimau Baby Is Dead," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), March 29,1894.

[503] "Another Villager Arrives," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 14, 1894.

> that by noon he was able to reply to inquiries as to the baby's condition only by a wobble of his head. For the last two days every one in the Esquimaux village has been preparing for the obsequies."[504]

The Examiner reported, "The Little Brown Infant at the Midwinter Fair That Was Named by the school children on 'Examiner' Day Died of Malnutrition Last Evening After One Short Week of Illness."[505] Margaret Deer purportedly stated: "Me go home now soon. No like here. No bab here; all die and go back."[506]

Iserkyner/Iser-Kynor (Alaska Native, "[Kinugumiut] Eskimo tribe" circa 1874–November 23, 1895)[507]

See **Kerlungner** (below) for an account of Iserkyner's marriage ceremony to Kerlungner at the Midwinter Fair in July 1894 as reported in *The Examiner*.[508] Iserkyner died of pneumonia in Atlanta while on tour with Miner W. Bruce in 1895 and was buried in Westview Cemetery there.[509]

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[504] "Francesca Dying," *San Francisco Call*, March 29, 1894.

[505] "The Esquimau Baby Is Dead," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), March 29,1894.

[506] "The Esquimau Baby Is Dead," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), March 29,1894.

[507] Identification as "[Kinugumiut] Eskimo tribe" is based on Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution photograph; birthdate based on press accounts of marriage and caption in photograph by William Dinwiddie. See "A Wedding in Sunset City," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), July 2, 1894; "A Dead Eskimo," *Atlanta Constitution*, November 25, 1895.

[508] "Wedding in Sunset City."

[509] "A Dead Eskimo," *Atlanta Constitution*.

Kerlungner (Ker-Lung-Ner) (Alaska Native, "[Kinugumiut] Eskimo tribe," Port Clarence, Alaska, circa 1877–?)[510]

Miner W. Bruce brought Kerlungner to the United States from Port Clarence without her parents. She was about sixteen years old at the time, based on press reports. In February 1894, while the group was in Washington, DC, with Bruce, he was quoted as saying, "Iserkyner, a young man, and Kerlinger, a girl, have fallen madly in love since we started [the trip from Port Clarence] and will be married soon." [511] The marriage took place on July 29, 1894, at the Midwinter Fair in San Francisco and was reported by *The Examiner*:

> Xomiksener [see **Xomiksener** below] is the oldest of the Alaskan Esquimaux who are at the Exposition, and that is why he was chosen to officiate the marriage of the fair Ker-lung-ner to brave Iser-Kynor. The wedding was yesterday's feature of the Midway. Ker-lung-ner is a good-looking girl of seventeen Alaskan summers. On account of her attractiveness she was seized from among the Alaskan maidens to go to Washington and act as an object lesson in support of Captain Minor [*sic*] Bruce's argument that the Alaskan Esquimaux were worthy of enough congressional attention to be supplied with reindeer to keep them from becoming extinct. The man that she married is three years her senior, and in his own country he belongs to the best society. The gossips in that far Alaska region will have something to talk about when they learn of the marriage, for Ker-lung-ner did not wait for approval from her parents and the young man was already engaged to one or two young ladies who didn't come to the Fair. No marriage license was considered necessary by the Alaskans, and not even a certificate from the chief was asked for when the ceremony was performed. At 5:30 o'clock all the Esquimaux in the camp emerged from a sealskin tent and took their places on a platform in full view of the 500 spectators that were gathered around the fish pond. Little "Riner" [see **Zakseriner** below] was the maid of

[510] Identification as "[Kinugumiut] Eskimo tribe" is based on Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution photograph; birthdate based on press accounts of marriage. See "Wedding in Sunset City," *The Examiner*.

[511] "Equimaux Go to Washington," *Chicago Tribune*, March 1, 1894.

> honor, dressed especially for the occasion in more fur than usual. Xomiksener began the ceremony with an address in Esquimau . . . a record of the Esquimau speech was kept by an interpreter, and the literal translation of what Xomiksener said is as follows:
>
> "Friends and fellow countrymen: It is a very long trip from Alaska, mostly by water. It is very nice here but we are glad that we are going back home next Friday. On our ship we will have one flag above another to tell the people when they see us coming that everything is all right. My wife, who is Ungerkleekluh, is also glad we are going back soon. I will tell my father when I see him that all the people here are good. We like the White people very much. . . .The bride and groom sand [*sic*] a joyous song, they kissed in the Inuit fashion, and then they were man and wife. 'The Sweet By and By,' taught to them by Captain Bruce, was sung by all the Esquimaux and the festivities were ended. Captain Bruce, who is a United States army officer, declares that he tried to dissuade the young Alaskans from marrying before they returned to Alaska but they insisted on the wedding."[512]

While in Seattle the following year, Bruce's troupe that included Kerlungner performed at a "Harvest Festival": "At 11, 3 and 8 o'clock the Eskimos will eat raw seal meat and fish with seal oil. Mr. Bruce has arranged for a special athletic performance. High kicking by Princess Kerlungner, and high jumping by Isertyner and Kyoquassi, the young men."[513] Kerlungner returned to Port Clarence in 1896.[514] When her mother died in 1897, Kerlungner was described as "the Alaskan Princess

[512] "Wedding in Sunset City," *The Examiner.* The translator of Xomiksener's speech could have been Robert Ford, who is reported as an interpreter for the group when they were in Chicago for the world's fair and there was a dispute between Zacharias and Robert Ford.

[513] "A Great Closing Dance," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, October 5, 1895.

[514] "From Far Siberia," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 14, 1896.

who has traveled with Mr. Miner Bruce's Eskimo troupe through the States for two winters."[515]

Simon Manak (Inuit, Labrador)

Igloos (*igluit*) in the Midwinter Fair "Esquimaux" Village were labelled on the exterior with black lettering identifying the man who resided inside, either alone or with his family. One of the five was "Simon Manak." Simon and Sarah Manak had a daughter, Columbia Susan Manak, who was born on October 31, 1892, at the Chicago's world's fair and died after a week from "sore throat."[516] She was the "First Esquimau Baby Ever Born in the United States."[517] Columbia was buried at Oak Woods cemetery in Chicago.[518]

The Manaks had another child who was born while they were traveling from Chicago to San Francisco and who died in San Francisco. They buried the child without telling fair officials on the site or disclosing the location of the burial. The *San Francisco Call* reported:

> There is a tiny grave in Golden Gate Park, placed there in defiance of the law. It is also said that the manner of the interment was not in accordance with the accepted idea of how human beings should be treated after death. . . . The child was born on the train en route to this city, and was the

[515] United States Bureau of Education, 1898, "Teller Reindeer Station Log Book. 1896–1897"; *Annual Report on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer Into Alaska*," US Government Printing Office, 112.

[516] "Died of Sore Throat," *Reno Weekly Gazette and Stockman*, November 11, 1892.

[517] Zwick, *Inuit Entertainers*, 16.

[518] "Lived but a Week," *Chicago Tribune*, November 8, 1892.

> offspring of Mr. and Mrs. Simon Manak, two Esquimaux who were part of the village contingent.[519]

Jonas/Tuktoosina (Tooktoosina) Palliser (Inuit, Labrador)

Igloos (*igluit*) in the Midwinter Fair "Esquimaux" Village were labelled on the exterior with black lettering identifying the man who resided inside, either alone or with his family. One of the five was "Jonas Palliser." In an article, "Barbaric Babies" of the Midwinter Fair, it was reported, "Besides his sealskin suit a Labrador baby has a fine warm skin sleeping-bag and one of the Deers or Pelasteers will assure you that with these comforts an Esquimau in his native land never has a cold."[520]

Jonas/Tuktoosina and his wife had a son, Christopher Columbus Tuktoosina (Tooktoosina) Palliser (November 1893–April 10, 1894), born at the Chicago world's fair. He died April 10, 1894, in San Francisco at the CMIE Red Cross Hospital: "The Little Boy, Christopher Columbus, born at Chicago last summer of Esquimau parents, was a patient at the hospital, and passed out of existence from malnutrition, closely watched by his parents."[521]

Tom/Thomas Palliser (Inuit, Labrador)

Igloos (*igluit*) in the Midwinter Fair "Esquimaux" Village were labelled on the exterior with black lettering identifying the man who resided inside, either alone or

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[519] "A Baby's Grave," *San Francisco Call*, July 27, 1894.

[520] "Barbaric Babies," *Morning Call*.

[521] G. Huntington Redding, MD, "At the Sign of the Cross," *Overland Monthly* 23 (Second Series). no. 138 (June 1894): 612–16.

with his family. One of the five was "Tom Palliser." While in Chicago participating in the "Esquimaux" village at the world's fair, Palliser was party to a Chicago Circuit Court suit asking for damages against the village managers for their poor treatment of the Inuit participants: confining them, requiring them to wear fur clothing in hot weather, and not providing enough food.[522] The Court supported the participants, ruling against confinement.[523]

Nancy Helena Columbia Palmer (January 16, 1893, Chicago, Illinois–August 16, 1959, Los Angeles, California)[524]

Columbia Palmer, born at the Chicago world's fair, is a focus of Jim Zwick's book *Inuit Entertainers in the United States*. Zwick chronicles her decades-long career in entertainment as the first Inuit actress to star in a Hollywood film.[525] Zwick asserts that Columbia and her mother, Esther, overcame "insurmountable obstacles to develop long and ultimately very successful careers that spanned an important formative period in the history of mass entertainment."[526] Kenn Harper and Russell Potter note, "A family business card produced many years later claims that they were in attendance at the California Midwinter exposition in San Francisco, a show that ran

[522] "Are against Furs in Hot Weather," *Chicago Times*, April 1, 1893; "He Says They Are Compelled to Stay," *Chicago Times*, March 31, 1893.

[523] "Esquimaux Win Habeas Corpus Cases," *Chicago Times*, April 4, 1893.

[524] Mother: Esther (born April 18, 1877). Esther's parents were Abile (born January 5, 1848) and Helena Jeremias (formerly Itorsuak, born November 22, 1853). Nancy Palmer's godmother was Bertha Honore Palmer (Mrs. Potter Palmer), president of the Chicago fair's Board of Lady Managers.

[525] Zwick, *Inuit Entertainers*, 2.

[526] Zwick, *Inuit Entertainers*, 9.

from January 27 to June 30. If, in fact, they attended this event at all, it was not for its entire duration."[527] In support of this supposition, the press reported that in early January they were in Boston, and the New York *Sun* in mid-March mentions Columbia Palmer in an "Esquimau Village."[528] There is no apparent mention of Columbia or her parents in the San Francisco press.

Se-Ku-Uk

A press report reads, "At Midwinter Fair Se-Ku-Uk showed his agility by kicking a tambourine with both feet at once when held several inches above his head. Mr. Bruce has an instantaneous photograph of the feat and a very curious looking thing the Esquimau appears in it."[529]

Xomiksener (Alaska Native, Port Clarence, Alaska)

When he officiated at the wedding of Kerlungner and Iserkyner, Xomiksener was reported as "the oldest of the Alaskan Esquimaux who are at the Exposition, and that is why he was chosen to officiate the marriage of the fair Ker-lung-ner to brave Iser-Kynor."[530] He identified his wife, Ungerkleekluh, in his speech.[531]

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[527] Kenn Harper and Russell Potter, "Early Arctic Films of Nancy Columbia and Esther Eneutseak," reprinted from *NIMROD : The Journal of the Ernest Shackleton Autumn School* 10 (October 2016). https://w3.ric.edu/faculty/rpotter/temp/Harper_Potter_Nimrod.pdf.

[528] "The Week at the Theaters," *Sun* (New York), March 11, 1894.

[529] "Esquimaux Going Home," *Victoria* (BC) *Daily Colonist*, July 19, 1894.

[530] "Wedding in Sunset City," *The Examiner*.

[531] "Wedding in Sunset City."

Zacharias (Inuit, Labrador)

Igloos (*igluit*) in the Midwinter Fair "Esquimaux" Village were labelled on the exterior with black lettering identifying the men who resided inside, either alone or with his family. One of the five was "Zacharias," who is identified by first name only here and in the press.

Zakseriner/Zaksriner (Riner) (Alaska Native, Port Clarence, Alaska)

Among the group that Miner Wait Bruce brought to Washington in 1894 (when he lobbied for President Cleveland's support of the reindeer project described in chapter 3) was a three-year-old girl, Zakseriner (Riner). The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported:

> The little girl was given to Captain Bruce by her parents. She was fed on milk and crackers after he received her from her mother, and she accompanied him on trips that he took in Alaska behind the dogs that draw sleds there. The Captain said Riner has developed musical talent and he believes that she will become a bright woman. Riner and the other members of the party that went to Washington belong to a different part of the north country [Alaska] than that in which lived the Esquimaux who have been at the Fair since the opening [Labrador].

The paper also reports that Bruce shortened her name to "Riner."[532]

The only apparent account of the "adoption" of Zakseriner and the subsequent adoption of her sister, Artmarhoke, is from Bruce and recorded by the *Boston Globe* in 1896, suggesting that the mother voluntarily surrendered her daughters to him with

[532] "A Little Girl Lost," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 27, 1894.

assurances that they would be cared for and educated.[533] An article in the *Globe* a year later repeats this account and adds, "The [government] official took them at the urgent request of their mother, who could not care for them in the long winter. And had a large family to look after. It is the purpose of the guardian of the children to educate them here, and send them back among their people as missionaries."[534]

While they were in Washington, DC, it was reported, "Mrs. Cleveland gave the Esquimaux a reception. . . . They appeared before the House and Senate committees, and Riner was one of the most observed in the group."[535]

The *Chronicle* article also relates an account of Zakseriner's experience as a "ward" of Bruce and how she became known to the public in San Francisco even before her arrival at the fair. After the stop in Washington, DC, Zakseriner was "left in charge of Orin Bruce, a brother of the Captain [Bruce] at Creighton, Neb. [Nebraska]" with the intention that she would stay a year.[536] However, while he was in San Francisco at the CMIE, Bruce decided to send for her. So, she was "put aboard the cars at Omaha with a tag that consigned her to Captain Bruce at the Midwinter Fair."[537] In Oakland, upon arrival, the conductor lost track of her, and she was missing when Bruce came to meet her. Evidently, a fellow passenger found her and,

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[533] "Eskimo Tots," *Boston Globe*, December 13, 1896.

[534] "Bright Little Nuggets," *Boston Globe*, October 3, 1897.

[535] "Esquimaus Were Her Guests," *New York Times*, March 4, 1894; "Esquimaux Going Home," *Victoria Daily Colonist.*

[536] "Little Girl Lost," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

[537] "Little Girl Lost."

seeing the tag on her clothing, took her on the boat to San Francisco and eventually to the fair that evening where she was "restored to Captain Bruce."[538]

In July, it was reported:

> Little Riner, the girl who was lost whist [*sic*] coming here alone last week has been saved from tattooing by Captain Bruce, manager of the village. Riner, who is not 4 years old yet, is to remain in this country. The other Esquimaux are to be taken back to Alaska. It is customary among the Esquimaux to tattoo the chins of the females when they reach the age of maturity. The Esquimaux here felt that Riner would never have a chance to get tattooed after they left for home, and they decided to perform the operation on her chin in advance of the usual time. Captain Bruce would not permit this to be done, and there was trouble yesterday at the village, but the Esquimaux finally yielded.[539]

In September 1895, Bruce brought Zakseriner's twin sister, Artmarhoke, to Seattle where Zakseriner was living, and they were reunited, "Little Amtmarhok was taken by Mr. Bruce, early in the morning, to the residence of Miss Swan, where her twin sister, Zaksriner lives. . . . Little Riner has forgotten her native language and her sister cannot speak English."[540] After the Midwinter Fair, Zakseriner remained a ward of Bruce, and some travel and performances are recorded. For example, she toured public schools in Atlanta with Artmarhoke in 1895 and they performed at the Boston Zoo in 1897, featured as "Six-Year Old Eskimo Twin Sisters from Klondike."[541]

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[538] "Little Girl Lost."

[539] "Fair Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 4, 1894.

[540] "All Eager to See the Eskimo," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, September 21, 1895.

[541] Zwick, *Inuit Entertainers*, 165.

In June 1899 it was reported, "Little Zaksriner, the twin sister of Artmarhoke, the eight-year old Esquimau child who died in Mount Vernon last week, is now in St. Luke's Hospital for treatment. The two little Esquimau children were brought to this city by Minor [*sic*] Bruce, an Alaskan fur trader, as subjects for study by the department of anthropology of the Museum of Natural History."[542] Plaster casts were made of their bodies at the American Museum of Natural History, and they were subjects of scientific study by museum anthropologists.[543]

Franz Boas, a professor of physical anthropology at Columbia University and curator of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History, purchased Artmarhoke's skeleton for $15 for the museum.[544] Boas indicated that Bruce consigned the bodies of both girls to scientific study before leaving New York.[545] There was considerable debate in the press about the handling of her remains, but the transfer to the museum proceeded in the "interest of science." For example, the *Western Star* in Lebanon, Ohio reported:

> Little Aitmarhoke, the Eskimo girl, who smiled, bowed, danced and said "Aliana mik" instead of "good by," so prettily at lectures in the public schools at New York last winter, died at Mount. Vernon on Saturday. Men of science are to make a mummy of her. She died of the heat and of consumption. She was in Dr. Walton's sanitarium. The physicians there say that she was a free patient in the interest of science. She was brought into this

[542] "Esquimau Girl at St. Lukes," *New-York Tribune*, June 23, 1899.

[543] "Casts of Esquimaux," *Iowa State Press*, March 27, 1899.

[544] Harper Kenn, *Give Me My Father's Body: The Life of Minik the New York Eskimo* (South Royalton, VT: Steerforth Press, 2000), 95–96.

[545] "Doctor Had Coroner's Sanction," *Sun* (New York), June 17, 1899; Harper, *Give Me My Father's Body,* 95–96.

> country in 1895 by Miner W. Bruce, to meet her twin sister, Zacksriner, who had been in the west for three years. The father and mother of the twins were dead. Columbia university [*sic*] is to have the body of Aitmarhoke. The men of science there are to send her to the Museum of Natural History, to be exhibited mummified, as are the Pharaohs. It is an opportunity to show that we know how to make mummies. Miner W. Bruce is in Seattle, Wash. Zacksriner is in charge of a friend of Bruce here.[546]

After being abandoned by Bruce in New York, as detailed in the press, Zakseriner was adopted by Miss M. T. Meagher, an artist who made clay models at the American Museum of Natural History and who completed one of Zaksriner.[547] The paper reports:

> The little Eskimo girl, Zaksriner, is only 9 years old. Her name means "one of two," and it has a pathetic significance when taken in connection with the fact that her twin sister, Artamahoke ("Little Fish") who was brought with her from Southern Alaska by a scientific explorer two years ago, died soon after reaching New York. Zaksriner has been taken in hand by Miss. Meagher.

The article concludes, "Zaks is a pupil in a private school and one of her accomplishments is drawing."[548]

Zakseriner and Miss Meagher are shown in a photo with Minik/Mene (Inughuit, Greenland, circa 1891–1918). He was the sole survivor of his family, brought for scientific study to the American Museum of Natural History in New York from Greenland by North Pole explorer Robert Peary. He was subsequently adopted

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[546] "To Mummify Her Body," *Western Star* (Lebanon, OH), July 20, 1899.

[547] "Two Eskimo Children Adopted by Americans," *St. Louis Republic*, November 25, 1900; "Esquimau Girl at St. Lukes," *New-York Tribune.*

[548] "Two Eskimo Children Adopted," *St. Louis Republic.*

by Superintendent William Wallace of the American Museum of Natural History and his wife.[549]

DAHOMEY VILLAGE

Xavier Pené

Frenchman Xavier Pené was a plantation owner in Dahomey and a professional labor contractor as well as an amateur geographer who organized the Dahomey Village at the CMIE.[550]

John Tevi

John Tevi assisted Xavier Pené with the organization and management of the group from West Africa. Robert Rydell has pieced together details about their relationship:

> First, Péne and Tevi traveled together to Abomey, the capital of the Kingdom of Dahomey. Tevi served as Péne's interpreter when Péne had an audience before the King. Although the details of their meeting are sketchy now, it is likely that Péne was seeking permission for the Dahomeyans, especially a group of Amazons, female warriors and retainers of the king, to travel to the United States. From this time on, Tevi called himself "John Tevi, Chief" indicating his role as an organizer in performing shows. The Dahomeyans sailed from Africa to New Orleans in 1894 and went by train to San

[549] "Mene and Zaksriner with their American foster-mothers," caption in "Esquimau Children," *New-York Tribune*, November 18, 1900.

[550] Robert W. Rydell, "Africans in America: African Villages at America's World's Fairs (1893–1901)," in *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empire*, ed. Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, Gilles Boetsch, Eric Deroo, and Sandrine Lemaire, 286–93 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 289.

> Francisco, where they performed for four months at the Midwinter Exposition.[551]

Tevi had traveled to England before bringing his family to the United States so he could work for Pené as a translator and performer. He would later write a pamphlet, *A Tour around the World and the Adventures of a Dahomey Village*, in 1912 and spearhead his own groups of traveling performers from Africa.[552]

DR. WHITE CLOUD'S AMERICAN INDIAN VILLAGE

Apache George

In March 1894, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported:

> A good-looking young man, who wears a sombrero and long black hair, and who is known by the soubriquet of Apache George, has been practicing a new act with the lariat, which he will perform in public for the first time to-morrow, Apache George's sinuous rope is forty-five feet long and he can throw it with unerring aim. . . . Apache George, whose lariat darts like a snake, is the champion lassoer of the world, on foot or on horseback. White Cloud says that George has been an inveterate duelist.[553]

A conflict between Apache George and Bull Head (see **Bull Head** below) and subsequently involving Crazy Horse (see **Crazy Horse** below) in the village was reported in detail in *The Examiner*[554]: multiple shots were fired in the fight between Bull Head and Apache George following a purported night of drinking by Bull Head,

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[551] Robert W. Rydell, "Into the Heart of Whiteness," 25.

[552] Rydell, "Africans in America," 292.

[553] "Will Please Young Folks," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 31, 1894.

[554] "He Shot at Cowboy," *The Examiner*, March 6, 1894.

and it was reported that the Exposition guards hesitated to intervene and did not enter the village.[555]

Later that spring, the *Chronicle* reported, "Apache George gives a display of his remarkable skill with the riata on the Midway every afternoon. He and Pony Jack belonged to Bill Cody's Wild West Show. They wear their hair long, and are picturesquely attired. They march with the Indians over the Fair grounds daily."[556] (See also **John Marks [Pony Jack/ Pawnee Jack]** below).

Bull Head

Bull Head is identified by Isaiah West Taber in a CMIE photograph.

Crazy Horse

The CMIE *Official Guide* indicates that Crazy Horse was a part of Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village: "Crazy Horse, whose name was constantly in the newspapers during the Sioux campaign, [is] . . . among the company."[557]

Grey Eagle

Grey Eagle is identified by Isaiah West Taber in a CMIE photograph.

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[555] "He Shot at Cowboy."

[556] "Pony Jack," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 28, 1894.

[557] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 123–24.

"Colonel" Charles Philander Jordan (1856–1924)

Based on press reports of his death and his obituary, Jordan was born in Ohio and arrived on the frontier as a young man, working for over a decade at US government installations—first at Camp Robinson as a quartermaster clerk and later as a post trader at Rosebud Agency.[558] In his obituary, Jordan is remembered as "intensely patriotic," an advocate of US government interests who engaged in treaty negotiations while still closely connected to members of the "Sioux" (Oglala Lakota) communities.[559] Jordan was referred to in the press as the "white chief of the Sioux."[560] In an article titled "Sioux White Chief," the *San Francisco Chronicle* stated:

> At the age of 21 years, in the fall of 1872, he came to South Dakota, being appointed to the position of quartermaster clerk at the mouth of Cedar Creek, south of old Fort George, in which capacity he served his country faithfully and well. In the spring of 1873 he was transferred to Camp Robinson at the Pine Ridge Reservation and he remained there until the summer of 1879, when he was transferred to the mouth of Landing Creek at the Spotted Tail warehouses, where he was chief issue clerk until the year 1882 when he was appointed Post Trader at Rosebud Agency. For a number of years he conducted a very successful trading post, and owned and operated a large store at the Agency, and also at Butte Creek, now Wood. . . . On this and all other occasions he did what he could to smooth out the complications

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[558] "Noted Frontiersman Passed Away Sunday," *Valentine* (NE) *Newspaper*, January 18, 1924; Obituary, *Mellette County Pioneer* (Wood, SD), January 11, 1924; Charles Philander Jordan, 1856–1924, Nebraska State Historical Society, https://history.nebraska.gov/collections/charles-philander-jordan-1856-1924-rg2095. See also Candace S. Greene and Russell Thornton, eds., *The Year the Stars Fell: Lakota Winter Counts at the Smithsonian* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 65.

[559] "Noted Frontiersman Passed Away."

[560] "Sioux White Chief," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 24, 1894; "Personal Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 31, 1894; CMIE, *Official Guide*, 122–24.

> constantly arising in the greater or less scale between the Government and its red wards.[561]

A few weeks before the opening of the CMIE, the *San Francisco Call* reported that Charles Philander Jordan "may conclude to go in with White Cloud in the management of the Indian Village at the Midwinter Fair, and in case he concludes to do so he will bring out a band of Sioux from the agency [Rosebud Sioux]."[562] Evidently, he was sick for the start of his Midwinter Fair tenure in San Francisco. On January 31, 1894, the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported, "Colonel C. P. Jordan, the post trader at Rosebud and white chief of the Sioux who arrived here about a week ago, has been quite unwell and confined to his room for several days."[563]

In March and April, newspaper reports indicate that Jordan arranged for a large contingent to participate in Buck Taylor's Wild West Show that opened at the Haight Street Grounds at Stanyan and Waller Streets, near Golden Gate Park, on April 5, 1894.[564] It does not appear to have been connected to the fair. The *San Francisco Call* announced:

> The services of the Indians [Sioux] have been secured by special consent of Commissioner Browning of the Department if Indian Affairs, and it was through the special interposition of Colonel C. P. Jordan, who has rendered such distinguished services to the Government during the past twenty-five years. Through the confidence reposed in him the party has been allowed to

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[561] "Sioux White Chief."

[562] "Around the Corridors," *San Francisco Call*, January 19, 1894.

[563] "Personal Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle.*

[564] "Buck Taylor's Show," *San Francisco Call*, April 22, 1894.

> leave the reservation, and during the coming week Colonel Jordan will return with the balance that will be required at the big show.[565]

Newspaper notices advertised a "realistic production of frontier life, by over 100 performers, including a band of Sioux Indians, the great warriors, and cowboys, Mexicans, rough riders, crack shots" and "over 100 horses and a herd of buffaloes [*sic*]."[566] The organizer was "Buck Taylor, Late Lieutenant and Master of Ceremonies for Buffalo Bill."[567] The show included "a race between cowboys, Mexicans and Indians on ponies . . . a vivid illustration of an attack on an early emigrant train by Indians and its defense by frontiersmen . . . [an] attack on the overland stage, driven by old Bill Blackmore, and the repulse by scouts and cowboys . . . [and] a genuine buffalo hunt by Buck Taylor and Indians."[568]

Special mention of the exhibition of a valuable beaded dress by Mrs. Stand-and-Look-Back (Spotted Woman, a daughter of Sitting Bull) was mentioned with "the estimated value of $1000." It was trimmed with five hundred elk teeth, "which are almost as precious as rubies and diamonds, and, in fact, more so among the Sioux."[569]

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[565] "The Wildest Yet," *San Francisco Call*, March 24, 1894.

[566] Respectively, "Amusements," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), April 6, 1894; and "Amusements," *San Francisco Call*, April 16, 1894.

[567] "Amusements," *San Francisco Call*, April 16, 1894

[568] "Wild West Show," *San Francisco Call*, April 6, 1894. Bill Blackmore is identified as "one of the last of the old-time stage drivers . . . who formerly worked for Ben Holiday of the Overland Stage Company; see "Bill Can't Beat the Races," *The Examiner* (San Francisco), April 13, 1894.

[569] "The Wildest Yet," *San Francisco Call.*

After the San Francisco Exposition, Jordan moved on to the state of Georgia, "taking with him a number of the Indians from . . . [the Rosebud Indian] reservation" for the "American Indian village" at the Atlanta Cotton States International Exposition where he was given an exclusive concession.[570]

Julia Walks First Jordan/Winyan-hoaka (Oglala Lakota, 1859/circa 1860–1913)

Winyan-hoaka, also known as Julia Walks First, was the wife of Charles Philander Jordan. She was a niece of Oglala Lakota chief Maȟpíya Lúta Red Cloud (1822–1909) and cousin of Brule Lakota chief Spotted Tail (circa 1823–81).[571] Various sources state that Winyan-hoaka and Jordan were married in 1878 or 1879 and had nine or ten children.[572] Her obituary notes her devotion as a mother and member of the Episcopal church[573] and states:

> On December 11, 1878, [Charles Jordan] was united in marriage to Julia Walks First, one of the prominent and respected Indian maidens of that time. To this union nine children were born: Charles Collins, Edwin Evard, William Ward, Mary Julia, John David, David Jefferson, Evard Cody, Collins Custer and Ella Adeline. But three of these children survive him, William Ward Jordan now living at Rosebud Agency, Mary Julia who is now

[570] "Noted Frontiersman Passed Away," *Mellette County Pioneer*, January 11, 1924.

[571] Thomas Powers, *The Killing of Crazy Horse* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 166n474.

[572] "Mrs. C. P. Jordan Dead," *Mellette County Pioneer*, January 10, 1913; "Noted Frontiersman Passed Away," *Mellette County Pioneer.*

[573] "Mrs. C. P. Jordan Dead."

> Mrs. Alex Bordeaux, Jr., of White River, and Evard Cody, who lives here at Wood.[574]

Winyan-hoaka traveled with her husband to the 1893 Chicago world's fair and made beadwork and other items to be exhibited at Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show.[575] She was considered an expert in beadwork, and an article about her husband's death also notes that he had gathered a "remarkable and valuable collection of Indian beadwork."[576] Her presence in San Francisco for the CMIE does not appear to have been reported.

John Marks (Pony Jack/Pawnee Jack)

It can be deduced based on reports about the management of Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village that "Pawnee Jack" and "Pony Jack" are the same person, John Marks. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported, "Pony Jack, a noted Indian scout, will also be on hand today. He will accompany the new arrivals. He was connected with Custer's calvary [*sic*], and won fame in Indian warfare."[577]

In May 1894 it was reported that "Pony Jack, who has a reputation in Wyoming as a frontiersman and scout, has purchased rights to the White Cloud Indian Village, and is giving an entertainment daily with assistance of Apache

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[574] "Noted Frontiersman Passed Away," *Mellette County Pioneer.*

[575] Greene and Thornton, *The Year the Stars Fell*, 65.

[576] "Noted Frontiersman Passed Away," *Mellette County Pioneer.*

[577] "Will Please Young Folks, *San Francisco Chronicle.*

George, the champion lasso-thrower, and a crowd of Modoc Indians from the lava beds."[578] (see **Apache George**, above.)

Pawnee Jack is mentioned in the *San Francisco Call* in July 1894:

> He Charges an Actor With Relieving Him of His Savings
>
> John Marks, better known as Pawnee Jack, swore out a warrant in Judge Low's court yesterday for the arrest of Guy Durell, a variety actor, on the charge of grand larceny. Pawnee Jack came to the Midwinter Fair with Dr. White Cloud and his Sioux Indians. He is an ideal frontiersman, and besides acting as spieler delighted the spectators with some fancy shooting. After Dr. White Cloud shook the dust of the fair from his feet Jack assumed the management of the concession and the responsibility of paying the Indians and sending them back to their reservation. Although business was not by any means brisk be managed to save about $135. He accepted an engagement to do his fancy shooting in a variety theater on Howard street, and after the engagement was concluded he invited some of the other performers and hangers-on to dinner. He pulled out the sack containing the $135 to pay for the dinner and put it back in his coat pocket. Durell was one of the crowd that partook of his hospitality. They all left the restaurant and went to the theater. Jack, when he went on the stage to do his shooting, left his coat containing the sack in his dressing-room, and when he returned the sack had disappeared. Durell was in the dressing-room when he left, but had also disappeared when he returned, and he has not seen him since. Jack therefore believes that Durell took his money.[579]

[578] "Pony Jack," *San Francisco Chronicle.*

[579] "Pawnee Jack's Loss," *San Francisco Call*, July 13, 1894.

Mud-in-the-Face (Mayo)

Mud-in-the Face was a participant in the Arizona Village who performed the "Deer-and-Rabbit" dance.[580] The *Overland Monthly* reported, "This Man belongs to the Mayo tribe in Mexico."[581]

Simon Pokagon (Potawatomi, 1830–1899)

The CMIE *Official Guide* indicates that Simon Pokagon was a part of Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village, "Then, too, is the aged Poque Lagen, who it is claimed, was one of the signers of the document which deeded away the land on which the city of Chicago now stands."[582] He was leader of the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi, an activist and writer. His book *The Red Man's Rebuke* chronicled the invasion of "pale-faced strangers" and the "cyclone of civilization [that] rolled westward."[583] Pokagon printed this booklet and his other writings on white birch bark as a political statement to honor what he called a "most remarkable tree" that provided essential materials for daily life and, at the time of his speech, was "like the red man . . . vanishing from our forests."[584] David R. M. Beck relates that Pokagon's

[580] Eames, "Wild and Woolly."

[581] Eames, "Wild and Woolly."

[582] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 124.

[583] Simon Pokagon, *The Red Man's Rebuke* (Hartford, MI: C. H. Engle, 1893), 4, https://doi.org/10.5479/sil.484162.39088007997927.

[584] Pokagon, *Red Man's Rebuke,* "By the Author"; also see Blaire Topash-Caldwell, "The Birch-Bark Booklets of Simon Pokagon," *Michigan History Magazine* 102, no. 4 (July/August 2018): 50–54.

motive for participation in the Chicago world's fair was to bring attention to the outstanding debt owed to the Potawatomi for their lands sold in 1833.[585]

Rain-in-Face

Rain-in-Face is identified by Isaiah West Taber in a CMIE photograph.

Chief Maȟpíya Lúta Red Cloud (1822–1909)

Chief Maȟpíya Lúta Red Cloud was a leader of the Oglala Lakota whom Charles Jordan knew for many years. The CMIE *Official Guide* indicates that he was a part of Dr. White Cloud's American Indian Village and characterized Red Cloud and others as "men famous in their nation for their cunning and blood-thirstiness. . . . 'Red Cloud' reputed one of the wisest and bravest chiefs of all, as crafty and treacherous an old fox as ever lived."[586]

Sparrow Legs (Yaqui)

Sparrow Legs was a participant in the Arizona Village who performed the "Deer-and-Rabbit" dance.[587]

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[585] David R. M. Beck, "Fair Representation? American Indians and the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition," World History Connected, October 2016, https://worldhistoryconnected.press.uillinois.edu/13.3/forum_01_beck.html.

[586] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 123.

[587] Eames, "Wild and Woolly."

Dr. White Cloud

The *Official Guide* details that Dr. White Cloud "is not an Indian, as might be supposed, but was born of white parents, on the Red River, Texas. When less than three years of age he was stolen by Indians and carried out of the country. His parents sought him in vain, and for nearly thirty years he was held captive."[588] He only "gained his release" during the Battle of the Little Bighorn.[589] The *Guide* further notes, "He is a graduate of three medical colleges, is a linguist, has traveled a great deal and adds to his other accomplishments that of marvelous marksmanship."[590]

Based on extant information and photographic images showing a strong resemblance between the two, it has been surmised that Charles Philander Jordan (see **"Colonel" Charles Philander Jordan** above) was also known as Dr. White Cloud.[591] Jordan was referred to in the press as the "white chief of the Sioux."[592] However, both were present in San Francisco at the time of the Midwinter Fair, and the *San Francisco Call* reported in January 1894:

> C. P. Jordan, an old-time licensed trader among the Rosebud Sioux Indians and other tribes in the Northwest, is at the New Western. He is an old friend of "Buffalo Bill" and is, with him, among the few Indian traders of the past in whom the Government officials have had implicit trust. Mr. Jordan may

[588] CMIE, *Official Guide*, 124.

[589] CMIE, *Official Guide*. 124.

[590] CMIE, *Official Guide*; 124.

[591] Greene and Thornton, *The Year the Stars Fell*, 65; personal communication with Russell Thornton, March 15, 2022.

[592] "Sioux White Chief," *San Francisco Chronicle*; "Personal Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle*; and CMIE, *Official Guide*, 122–24.

> conclude to go in with White Cloud in the management of the Indian village at the Midwinter Fair and in case he concludes to do so he will bring out a band of Sioux from the agency mentioned above.[593]

For the fair in San Francisco, the *San Francisco Call* reported that the CMIE "executive comm [executive committee] gave Dr. White Cloud an exclusive concession for his Indians last fall." A sub-concession for "an Arizona Indian Show" was run by Frank Dobs.[594] Participants of the "Indian Village" are mentioned in the press but some just by cultural group and not by name. For example, in March the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported, "An accession to the population in White Cloud's hamlet is expected today. It will consist of Navajos and Apaches. No members of these tribes are now on the grounds."[595]

During the fair, Dr. White Cloud was accused of withholding payment to the participants. It was reported:

> Dr. White Cloud, who has an Indian show at the Midwinter fair, has gotten into trouble and is now under arrest. The following dispatch will explain it: Dr. White Cloud who owns the Indian village at the midwinter fair was arrested this afternoon charged with opening a letter addressed to one of the Indians. It appears that White Cloud owes the Indians $50 each. Some of them recently left and returned to Arizona. White Cloud intercepted a letter written by one of the Indians who returned to Arizona—Weekly Citizen, Arizona.[596]

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[593] "Around the Corridors," *San Francisco Call*.

[594] "White Cloud Off," *San Francisco Call*, May 8, 1894.

[595] "Will Please Young Folks," *San Francisco Chronicle*.

[596] "Mary and Ellen," *Richmond* (IN) *Item*, April 12, 1894; see also "Francesca Dying," *San Francisco Call*.

An article in the *Los Angeles Herald* adds additional details: "Some of them recently left, and returned to the reservation in Arizona. White Cloud told those who remained that he had paid the Indians before they left. Frank Joe wrote to Arizona asking whether this was true. A letter came today saying that it was not true. This is the letter Dr. White Cloud opened."[597]

On April 7, 1894, *The Examiner* reported:

> Manager Dobs of the Arizona Indian Village is having fun with Dr. White Cloud, who has been conducting the so-called Sioux Indian Village at the Fair. Their camps adjoin and White Cloud had a contract with Dobs whereby the former received 20 percent of the latter's receipts. Last Sunday, however, White Cloud's Washoes struck for their pay and some of them returned to their wickiups in the Nevada sagebrush. This was embarrassing, but White Cloud took some comfort in the fact that he could still draw a fifth of the gate receipts at the Arizona camp. So, he sat down on a bench outside and proceeded to draw it. Dobs himself was laboring under the difficulties of a panicky money market, but that did not deter him from taking heroic measures to outwit the Sitting White Cloud. Yesterday the Arizona village was free to all comers, and White Cloud's dividends went out like the electric lights at 11 o'clock.[598]

Later in April 1894, Dr. White Cloud published a letter in the *Richmond Item* of Richmond, Indiana, in an attempt to set the record straight about any wrongdoing on his part and clear his name in his "home city." He wrote:

> There is another Indian village on the Midwinter Fair grounds known as the "Arizona Indian Village." That combination did owe considerable money to their people but the mixing of my name with their complications is inexcusable. The "American Indian Village" has made a success and is not losing any money. I have a proposition under consideration which will

[597] "Dr. White Cloud Arrested," *Los Angeles Herald*, March 29, 1894.

[598] "Fair All Around," *The Examiner*.

probably result in the transfer of the American Indian concession here and at Antwerp to a syndicate. By this transfer my partners and myself expect to realize handsomely on our investment.[599]

[599] "Dr. White Cloud," *Richmond* (IN) *Item*, April 26, 1894.

APPENDIX B

OCEANIC VISUAL CULTURE BEYOND THE MIDWAY AT THE CALIFORNIA MIDWINTER INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION IN SAN FRANCISCO IN 1894

Surplus funds from the CMIE Exposition were used to form a museum with a collection of "treasures and curios for the entertainment and instruction of the people of California."[600] Michael de Young purchased items and encouraged others to do so as well. The new Memorial Museum—which the *Chronicle* referred to as the "Park Museum" for its location in the city's Golden Gate Park—opened on March 23, 1895.[601] It was hoped that a lasting legacy of the Exposition in the form of a museum would also enhance the reputation of the city and invite tourism. As the *Chronicle* reported, "Hitherto San Francisco has been subjected to the reproach that though she is cordial in her invitations to people to visit her, she has little to show them when they get here. . . . This museum is intended to be something better than a spectacle. It has a distinct angle toward scientific and art education."[602] Works found their place in a museum that took inspiration from the great museums found in cities on the US

[600] "The Park Museum," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 6, 1897. Portions of this appendix were previously published in Christina Hellmich,"San Francisco's de Young Museum and Gauguin's Encounter with Maori Art," in *Gauguin: A Spiritual Journey* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 2018) or presented at the International Expositions: Looking to the Past, Seeing the Future online symposium, hosted by the Institute for the Study of International Expositions, March 24–25, 2022.

[601] "The Park Museum."

[602] "The Park Museum."

East Coast—institutions with global collections, albeit within a framework of American settler cultural hegemony.

When the museum was inaugurated, thousands of works were shown and listed in the *Guide to the Halls and Galleries of the Memorial Museum Purchased with Surplus Proceeds from the California Midwinter International Exposition by the Executive Committee*.[603]

About 150 works of visual culture from the Exposition remain part of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco collections today, including European decorative arts and paintings, and Native American, African, and Oceanic art and cultural objects. During project research concerning the remaining corpus of CMIE works in the permanent collection, with a specific focus on the Oceanic visual culture, it was evident and surprising that, with the exception of a few objects, the Midwinter Fair pieces from Oceania had no connection to the Hawaiian Village or Samoan Village/ South Sea Islanders exhibitions. Endeavoring to research the object histories of individual works shown within the framework of the international displays in the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building facilitates an expanded understanding of what visitors saw at the CMIE and how these works are meaningful and relevant to artists, curators, communities, and audiences today.

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[603] California Midwinter International Exposition (CMIE), *Guide to the Halls and Galleries of the Memorial Museum Purchased with Surplus Proceeds from the California Midwinter International Exposition by the Executive Committee, Inaugurated and Presented March 23, 1895*. San Francisco: H.S. Crocker Company, 1895.

Pieces were displayed at the Expo as commodities representative of art and cultural production in their colonies or country of origin. These were taken, traded, or sold out of the place of their creation, exhibited at the fair, and then sold to de Young and his supporters for the new museum. Each move in this nineteenth-century transference could further the loss of cultural connection—histories that we seek to restore if we are to understand the relevance of museum collections in the present.

* * *

Figure B1: Northern New Ireland artist. Tatanua-style mask, 19th century. New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. California Midwinter International Exposition, through M. H. DeYoung. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 5516.

At the time of accessioning, this mask from New Ireland (fig. B1) was misattributed as originating from "Solomon Islands" in the register: "Mask," "Ceremonial, carved wood," "Solomon Islands." A striking Tatanua-style mask associated with elaborate Malangan memorial ceremonies, it now exists disassociated from its maker, wearer,

and community. This dilemma reduces it to a type rather than a specific mask with a unique identity, as it would have been known.

* * *

Figure B2: Massim artist. Figure, 19th century. Papua New Guinea, possibly Trobriand Islands. California Midwinter International Exposition, through M. H. DeYoung. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 2157.1

Loops of delicate lines of incised triangles encircle the chest and arms of this now enigmatic female figure (fig. B2)—its original use and significance elusive in the present. Larger triangular designs extend below the simply rendered but expressive eyes. Perhaps the pose is dynamic and she is in motion. At the time of its registration, this figure was recorded simply as: "Idol," "Female," "New Guinea." One of only a small number of freestanding figural sculptures known from the Massim-style region in Milne Bay, Papua New Guinea, this is a rare historic work. Scholar Harry Beran highlighted the importance of this figure because it was not carved for sale.[604] It had a function within the community at a time when demand spurred the creation of

[604] Personal communication, 2012

carvings for outsiders—like lime spatulas—that often characterize how we see Massim art, with their exuberant surface decorations and swirling designs. Missionization in the region began in 1891 and impacted religious practices, including the only known use of these figures for protective rituals. A dozen Massim pieces, probably meant to be representative of the distinctive carving in the region when displayed at the Exposition, are still in the collection today.

* * *

Figure B3: Kiribati (Gilbert Islands) artist. *Te tanga* (Armor-cuirass with neck guard), 19th century. Republic of Kiribati. California Midwinter International Exposition, through M. H. DeYoung. Purchased from Nathan Joseph, San Francisco. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 2214.

This extraordinary *te tanga* (cuirass with a neck guard)—a piece of armor worn during hand-to-hand combat—was originally part of an ensemble that would have included a helmet, arm coverings, and leg armor (fig. B3). Expertly fashioned from coconut fiber sennit with lozenge design embellishments of human hair, at the fair it might have served to exemplify Britain's colonial pursuits and its new colony in the Pacific Ocean—the Gilbert Islands atolls—acquired just two years before the

Exposition. When the British arrived in 1892, they banned armor, and pieces were destroyed and dispersed from communities. No nineteenth-century armor is extant in Kiribati today, and a revival of the form in 2019 relied on researching pieces held by museums in New Zealand.[605] The armor was recorded as: "Armor," "Kings Mills Islands, South Pacific," "Very rare," an indication of the colonial legacy and name of "Kings Mills Islands" for the Gilbert Islands, now part of the nation of Kiribati.

Newspaper reports about the arrival of Harry Jay Moors and his troupe in San Francisco mentions men (there were possibly women as well) hailing from the Gilbert Islands.[606] One image by Isaiah West Taber (fig. B4) shows three participants with very long shark-tooth spears (possibly *teunun*), distinctive of the Gilbert Islands (Kiribati).[607] However, no Kiribati armor of coconut fiber is visible in any official CMIE photographs of the group.

[605] See Daren Kamali, "Fighting Fibres: Kiribati Armour and Museum Collections" (book review), *Journal of Pacific History* 54, no. 3 (2019): 435–37.

[606] "More Illusions," *The Examiner*, April 14, 1894; "From the South Seas," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 9, 1894; "All Wanted to Come," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 9, 1894.

[607] G. M. Murdoch, "Gilbert Islands Weapons and Armour," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 32, no. 127 (September 1923): 174–75.

Figure B4: Isaiah West Taber (1830–1912), "South Sea Islanders in Native Dance. Cal. Mid. Inter. Exp. 1894." San Francisco Public Library, Marilyn Blaisdell Collection, Album #49.

* * *

Figure B5: Māori artist, New Zealand, Ngāti Porou or Whakanui. Canoe prow (*tauihu*), 19th century. California Midwinter International Exposition. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 5524

Figure B6: Māori artist, New Zealand, Māori, Ngāti Porou. Stern ornament (*taurapa*), ca. 1830–1850. California Midwinter International Exposition. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 5525.

Among the founding collections from the Exposition is an important group of Māori wood carvings. For several decades leading up to the 1890s, the Colony of New Zealand had sent objects to be exhibited at several world expositions, including those in Vienna in 1873, Philadelphia in 1876, London in 1886, and Paris in 1889. Displays organized by prominent settlers, sometimes with Māori input, included natural history specimens, commercial products, Māori houses and architectural carvings, art, ethnological objects, and, in some cases, performers.

Figure B7 (left): Māori artist, New Zealand, Ngāti Tarāwhai style, ca. late 19th century. Gable figure (*tekoteko*). Midwinter International Exposition, through M. H. de Young. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 5523.

Figure B8 (right): Māori artist, New Zealand, Ngāti Porou, ca. 1880. Gable figure (*tekoteko*) of Ko Tüwhakairiora. California Midwinter International Exposition, through M. H. de Young. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 5522. See also figures B9–12.

Beyond the spectacle of the Midway, these extraordinary works were the spoils of colonial conquest. They exemplified Māori art as part of a rich heritage waning with the decline in the Māori population—as the culture was presented outside of New Zealand in the political milieu of the world expositions. The quality of the selected pieces, as well as the association of several with important figures in Māori history, enhanced their desirability for the collection.

Among the pieces de Young selected for the Museum are impressive carved figures (figs. B7 and B8) as well as canoe elements that would represent Māori culture. The "ornamental prow of a New Zealand war canoe" (fig. B5) was recorded

as, “Carved Figure,” “Dragon’s Head of large war canoe,” “New Zealand.” It was noted as an addition to the museum in the official report of the Exposition, detailing the “Interesting collections secured at the Exposition by Director-General de Young.” An elaborately carved mid-nineteenth-century canoe sternpost was also purchased for the museum (fig. B6). Very large Māori war canoes were appointed with prow and stern carvings. Mark Kopua of Toi Māori Aotearoa has interpreted the carvings for us. The protruding tongue on the prow’s main figure seen in figure B5 signifies a challenge to other approaching canoes. The composition of the prow and all its carvings represents the cosmos. Symbolizing the division of the world, a horizontal platform extends from the back of the main figure and is carved with images of the gods who reside above the earth and in the air, which is represented by openwork spirals. Other gods are depicted below the surface of the earth.

The vertical element of the sternpost (fig. B6) symbolizes the division of the world, similar to the horizontal platform on the canoe prow. The spirals in the openwork section represent wind, and all the shapes in between are gods and demigods. The main figure positioned at the bottom of the post represents Kiwa, the god of the Pacific Ocean. Beneath the Kiwa figure is the figure of a *manaia*, a spirit form that merges bird and man. The small finger-like carvings on the top of the post represent a rainbow. Carvings like these provided spiritual protection and a connection to the ancestors linking the earthly and spiritual realms. The prow shows extensive weathering, perhaps from sand on a beach where it sat after removal from a canoe and was no longer used. Objects like this one that had reached the end of their

cultural lives were perhaps more readily obtained by agents, but this is speculation about this prow until we recover more about its history.

The new acquisitions for the museum were recorded by hand in a master ledger book listing all of its collection objects. The entries for two carved standing figures (figs. B7 and B8), recorded just a few days before the official opening of the museum, are the same and brief: "Idol of carved wood, New Zealand."

The first Māori image (fig. B7) still has many questions surrounding its use, with the possibility that it is a hybrid carving made for Exposition display. The flat head and hook you see at the top, perhaps for hanging it in some way, are not easily explained. It is currently catalogued as a *tekoteko*, or gable figure, but might not be an architectural carving at all. A little-known fact about the carving and its mid-century appropriation is that beginning in 1955, a representation of the figure was appropriated by Victor Bergeron (Trader Vic) as the iconic tiki logo used on menus, cocktail napkins, and stemware for his South Seas–themed restaurant chain. This is perhaps the ultimate seizure in its colonial life.

Figures B9 (left), B10 (center), and B11 (right): Alternative views of figure B8, Gable figure (*tekoteko*).

The *tekoteko* figure, or gable image (fig. B8; alternative views seen in figs. B9–11) for the top of a Māori meeting house, representing the renowned ancestor Tüwhakairiora, has experienced a contrasting object journey related to its interpretation. *Tekoteko* figures representing founding ancestors sit atop the apex of meeting houses (*wharenui*). The wood flange extension below the figure that would secure it in position confirms its original use (see fig. B10).

The name "Kotu Whaka Iriora" is incised on the chest of this figure (see figs. B8 and B9), identifying it as a representation of the famous Ngāti Porou ancestor Tüwhakairiora. He is depicted in a war dance posture, or *haka*. His full-face tattoo has been carved with incised lines. Abalone shell eyes and strips of hair have been added to the carving. Tüwhakairiora lived eleven to thirteen generations ago and was

referred to as "the wind-compelling cormorant of Te Ataajura (his mother) and the solitary one of Ngatihau (his father)."[608] A dramatic account of his quest for revenge for the death of his grandfather in the seventeenth century was published by the Reverend Mohi Turei in 1911.[609] Tüwhakairiora became a leader of all the peoples of the northeast coast of North Island, New Zealand.

We also know his story from his descendants and members of the Māori arts organization Toi Māori Aotearora who visit the museum and consult with us about interpretation of the image. This historical figure remains connected to the present through familial and community connections. While the points of departure and provenance for this figure and other Oceanic works from the Exposition—without connections to the Midway—are still largely unknown and remain problematic from this perspective, rebuilding cultural connections offers new chapters in the trajectory of their object histories and new potentialities of meaning.

[608] Mohi Turei, "Tu-whakairi-ora," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 77 (March 1911), 17–34. Reprinted in translation in *Te Ao Hou: The Maori Magazine* 39 (June 1962): 21–24, 43, http://teaohou.natlib.govt.nz/journals/teaohou/image/Mao39TeA/Mao39TeA021.html.

[609] Turei, "Tu-whakairi-ora."

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