The World in an Object Lesson

Visual Pedagogies in Children's Literature Produced for the 1893 Columbian Exposition

by

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Abstract

The World in an Object Lesson addresses the ways in which nineteenth-century reading audiences of the United States were taught to make sense of the visual stimulus of world's fairs. The Object Lesson was one visual method which was both promoted and critiqued in the material culture of the 1890's. The Object Lesson attempted to teach students how to create knowledge from closely viewing the physical world, believing that the creation of empirical knowledge could only come from the employment of the senses. Critiques of the Object Lesson reacted against its habit of stereotyping the people it examined, using emotion and imagination as methods of visual engagement. Viewing methods that used emotion and imagination taught reading audiences to look for the sake of pleasure rather than knowledge. Through methods of formal and historical analysis, I engage in a visual and material examination of Tudor Jenks' *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls* (1893) and Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* (1895). I study how their image and text combinations promoted or critiqued the Object Lesson and how it came to stereotype the people and cultures it examined. I argue that while the Object Lesson encouraged students to arrive at pre-ordained answers rather than create new knowledge, the best employment of the Object Lesson and the Conceiving Faculty lies in their combination.

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Eye Culture: An Introduction

For American visitors and consumers, Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition could be a three-dimensional encyclopedia or heaven incarnate. In this project, I am mostly concerned with the ways that people came to make sense of the diverse sights and experiences that existed at the fair. To limit my scope I decided to use two books that focus on Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. Tudor Jenks' *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls* (1893) and Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* (1895) provide the two contrasting case studies that form the basis of my two chapters. These material objects differ in how they develop visual lessons from the people and attractions at the Chicago fair.

The World's Columbian Exposition opened on May 1, 1893 as a utopian White City on the formerly desolate marshlands of the Lake Michigan shore.[1] The fair marked the four-hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus' arrival in the Americas. The Chicago fair was commonly referred to as the White City for its temporary pavilions faced with white plaster and for one of the first extensive displays of public electrical lighting. The Chicago fair had numerous pavilions including those of the fine art galleries, agriculture, and mining buildings where a combination of national, state, and corporate displays presented the materials and technologies of the world. The fair also introduced evolutionary concepts of race to the roughly twenty-five million visitors who attended the fair. While Western nations were generally displayed in the main exhibition halls, African, Asian, and Near-East exhibitors were more commonly found on the Midway. Officially classified under the Department of Ethnology, the Midway provided a scientifically-sanctioned view of the subaltern as child-like, not sophisticated

[1] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1984), 39.

enough to display its culture in the properly sanctioned buildings. Throughout the fair, visitors were routinely taught to see the world through displays of cultural and evolutionary hierarchies.

Although roughly twenty-five million visitors attended the 1893 exposition before its closing in October, the fair would continue to live on in the ink and paper of printed materials that re-imagined the fair.[2] Jenks' *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls* and Burnett's *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* are emblematic of the different visual methods they advocate for. In chapter one, Jenks' book is chosen as a case study into how the supposedly empirical Object Lesson could be taught to readers using the exhibits of the fair.[3] The second chapter details how the text and illustrations in Burnett's book sought to provide an alternative to the imperialistic and typifying practices commonly found in the discourses of world's fairs. This project situates the material and cultural object of the book within visual culture, being both the product and the producer of visuality. I examine the degree to which the site of the book perpetuates and responds to the visual teaching methods of the Object Lesson.

Theories of the Object Lesson were contemporary educational methods taught during the publishing of these two books. Throughout both chapters, the Object Lesson informs my discussion on the type of vision that exists within each book. The Object Lesson became most popular as an educational method in the last decades of the nineteenth century. This context is important when considering the shifting models of vision in the second half of the century. At this time, the rigid separation between the inner mind of the observer and the outer visual world began to break down. Previously, theories of vision existed as a Cartesian model based upon the camera obscura, where what existed in the world entered into the darkened mind of the observer

[2] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 40.
[3] The terms "Object Lesson" and "Conceiving Faculty" are deliberately capitalized in this thesis. This highlights each term as a different visual method but also draws attention to how contentious each definition is.

by way of the eye.[4] Historian Jonathan Crary has detailed how in the nineteenth century, the analysis of vision changed from the object examined to humanity's physiological conditions.[5] With this shift, the phenomena seen by the eye could no longer be separated from the functioning of the body.[6] Human knowledge had become intertwined with human nature. Education theorist Alexander Bain (1818-1903) who was a proponent of the Object Lesson, attempts to shape these now malleable physiological functions of human vision by having them adhere to a viewing method. Bain's work is one example of how the changes in understandings of sight allowed it to be taught as a method rather than given as a pre-existing, mechanical condition. The Object Lesson emphasizes a direct sensorial engagement with visual and material objects in order to heighten the knowledge and observational skills of its students.[7] This was in opposition to the more abstract, rote, repetitive, and grammar-based education of most nineteenth-century classrooms.

The educational reforms proposed by Object Lesson theorists and practitioners were contrary to much of the existing curriculum in late nineteenth-century U.S. education. The established curriculum in the United States was often vocational or grammar-based rather than visual, using methods of memorization and recitation to teach.[8] Education primarily focused upon spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic with only some schools offering lessons in geography or history.[9] The classroom was also considered to be a place fit for moral and

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[4] Jonathan Crary, "Techniques of the Observer," *October* 45 (1988): 6.
[5] Crary, "Techniques of the Observer," 6.
[6] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: Pantheon, 1970), 319.
[7] Meredith A. Bak, "Democracy and Discipline: Object Lessons and the Stereoscope in American Education, 1870-1920," *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 10:2 (2012): 156.
[8] Paul Theobald, "Country School Curriculum and Governance: The One-Room School Experience in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest," *American Journal of Education* 101 (1993): 121.
[9] Joseph Watras, "The Idea of Infancy and Nineteenth-Century American Education," *American Educational History Journal* 39 (2012): 55.

religious instruction. Instructors attempted to build the character of their students, teaching them the perceived racial abilities of U.S. citizens and the socio-economic stations in life.[10] The Object Lesson helped to change understandings of pedagogy in the classroom. Previously, students memorized information and recited it, proving their knowledge to an instructor. The Object Lesson still had students arrive at a preordained answer but it put the method of learning in the student's hands and eyes. The Object Lesson was opposed to older methods of straightforward memorization, teaching students to produce knowledge on their own terms.

The Object Lesson's execution differed between nations, educational theorists, and classrooms. Swiss educational reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) laid much of the groundwork for later versions of the Object Lesson.[11] Pestalozzi opened a school in Yverdon, Switzerland from 1805 to 1825, enrolling students from across Europe to teach them the Pestalozzian system.[12] Pestalozzi taught through practice, observation, and the direct employment of sight and touch. The following quote summarizes the Pestalozzian system and the foundations of the Object Lesson:

> [At Yverdon] the children were not given the products of learning but were guided to find them for themselves. They were taught to use their own eyes and hands and minds. Exercises in language and arithmetic were in the first instance related to objects and circumstances in their environment before being applied to literature and pure mathematics, and geographical understanding was first aroused on walks and through making models before maps were used.[13]

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[10] Theobald, "Country School Curriculum and Governance," 121-122.
[11] "Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich," in *Funk & Wagnallis New World Encyclopedia* (Chicago: World Book Inc., 2016), 1.
[12] "Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich," 1.
[13] Kate Silber, *Pestalozzi: The Man and His Work* (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), 207.

It is important to note that the first students introduced to an Object Lesson method were prevented from seeing representations like maps but encouraged to have first-hand experience with the object or scene to be studied. The Object Lesson was not a form of knowledge in itself but a method from which knowledge could be gathered. Rather than teaching students facts and figures, the Object Lesson provided the student with a method to follow in order to produce knowledge for themselves.

Alexander Bain's *Education as a Science* (1879) follows in the same methodological path set by Pestalozzi but expands upon the methods and theories of the Object Lesson. Bain was a prominent English educationalist who had a close literary relationship with John Stuart Mill.[14] Together, they admired the Positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte and shared in their distrust of metaphysical explanations, favouring physiological evidence. In the 1870's, Bain laid out three steps for the teaching of the Object Lesson in schools. The first step involved bringing concrete examples into the classroom in the same manner as Pestalozzi.[15] Students would refine their observational abilities by classifying what they perceived, and eventually they would learn language acquisition by associating written words with their concrete examples. At the most general level, the Object Lesson for Bain, "begins upon things familiar to the pupils, and enlarges the conceptions of these, by filling in unnoticed qualities."[16] Often times, students are presented with familiar objects but are encouraged to alter their study of the object through a change in perspective. To change how they look at an object, students might be encouraged to study a single physical property of an object, its lustre for example. Practical science in the form

[14] "Alexander Bain," in *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6th Edition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016), 1.
[15] Bak, "Democracy and Discipline," 156.
[16] Alexander Bain, *Education as a Science* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1890), 247.

of the Object Lesson was a method in which "the knowledge is selected and arranged purely with reference to the object in view."[17]

Bain also proposed another step in the Object Lesson pedagogy through what he called the Conceiving Faculty. The Conceiving Faculty is essentially the student's employment of imagination. Through text and images, the student is prompted to imagine people, places, and things from real life.[18] Imagination is also inherently emotional for Bain and results in sympathy when the student imagines the subjectivity of another person. Bain's concerns over the employment of the Conceiving Faculty originate from the bias of emotions produced during imagination. He was also concerned that students might participate in the Conceiving Faculty for enjoyment, never being directed towards a lesson concerning tangible objects. Bain saw imagination as another tool for focusing the attention and vision of the student towards the lesson or object at hand. The Conceiving Faculty will be important in the second chapter for examining the use of imagination in Burnett's *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*.

In the United States, Adonijah Welch (1821-1889) served as a United States senator and as head of the Iowa State Agricultural College.[19] He also wrote the book, *Object Lessons*, which was published in 1862 and remained in print throughout the 1890's.[20] Welch's book is less about theorizing how the Object Lesson should be executed than it is concerned with providing instructors with examples of how to execute various Object Lessons. Welch even provided a transcript for a conversation between a teacher and his students as an example of how the Object

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[17] Ned A. Shearer, "Alexander Bain and the Classification of Knowledge," *Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences* 10 (1974): 72.
[18] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 216.
[19] Hamilton Cravens. "Welch, Adonijah Strong," *American National Biography Online*, http://www.anb.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/articles/09/09-00787.html.
[20] Bak, "Democracy and Discipline," 156.

Lesson could be taught in the classroom. The book contains many sample Object Lessons to be used by teachers that range from the features of the face to figures of mathematical planes. At the end of the book, Welch recommends a number of objects to be used in future lessons including pieces of chalk, coffee, and even cream of tartar. The 1862 edition of Welch's book includes a quote by Pestalozzi stating, "Observation is the absolute basis of all knowledge. The first object, then in education, must be to lead a child to observe with accuracy; the second, to express with correctness the result of his observations."[21] This quote demonstrates the Object Lesson's belief in vision as an empirical method from which the student learns factual information. The Object Lesson's methods were also occasionally met with resistance, such as when Welch was criticized for having students at his agricultural college study plant specimens using microscopes rather than teaching them the business aspects of agriculture.[22] Welch and Bain are similar in that they were both proponents of the Object Lesson as a positivist and scientific method.

My choice to examine the Object Lesson as it relates to visual and material culture originates from its contemporaneity with world's fairs and its prevalence in educational materials. The Object Lesson method that explicitly focused on decoding the visual world roughly coincides with the rise of world's fairs. The highly visual nature of world's fairs presented objects that were rhetorical in the lessons they attempted to teach viewers. World's fairs were not responsible for the Object Lesson, but the method was perfectly suited to such intense visual encounters. The Object Lesson was also a pervasive teaching method and could be found in many commonly printed materials. One such example is *Baby's Object Lesson Book* (1879), which teaches very young children to make sense of their visual world, introducing them

[21] Adonijah Strong Welch, *Object Lessons: Prepared for Teachers of Primary Schools and Primary Classes* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr Publishers, 1862), i.
[22] Hamilton Cravens. "Welch, Adonijah Strong," *American National Biography Online*, http://www.anb.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/articles/09/09-00787.html.

to such things as umbrellas, the appearance of Indigenous peoples, and the poor.[23] Neither *The Century World's Fair Book* nor *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* explicitly mentions the Object Lesson but it becomes apparent that Bain's methods are suggested by the text and image combinations of both books. The 1893 fair was used by authors and image-makers as an ideal place to demonstrate lessons concerning the use of visual methods to make sense of the people and objects of the world.

I have chosen to focus upon Bain's theories of the Object Lesson for clarity in my approach to the material object and for Bain's extensive and broadly applicable writings on the Object Lesson. Rather than switching between Pestalozzi, Bain, Welch, and others, I primarily focus upon Bain's writings. This allows a greater familiarity with a single author and his ideas. Bain's writings are more theoretical than practical, formulating the Object Lesson and explaining the outcomes of different lessons rather than instructing teachers on how to execute a specific lesson. Bain's writings are broad, diverse, and detailed, encompassing the work of many other Object Lesson authors. Bain covers the same topics as Welch but Welch's work is not as comprehensive as Bain's. Welch's book complements Bain's in that it offers practical examples rather than discussing the theories behind the method.

In focusing upon the form of the book, specifically the image and text combinations, I also refer to the work and language of Roland Barthes. His theories on the analysis of textual and pictorial sources will help me to examine how the theories of the Object Lesson play out within each book. In his 1977 essay "Rhetoric of the Image," Barthes examined how non-coded, coded, and textual messages become embedded in image and text combinations. Non-coded or literal

[23] *Baby's Object Lesson Book* (Boston: D. Lothrop & Company, 1879), 1.

messages are signs that are taken for granted since they appear to require no prior knowledge to decode them. Looking at a landscape photograph, for example, signs such as trees, grass, or sky are examples of non-coded messages. Coded or connoted messages require some form of cultural knowledge to be decoded, such as acknowledging the history of Romantic landscape images. The linguistic message, or text, can be more easily separated from the denoted (non-coded) and connoted (coded) messages. Linguistic messages may be present with images in the form of captions, advertisements, or art gallery panels. The linguistic message has two possible functions, anchoring and relay. Images are polysemous; they contain innumerable possible connotations and the function of the anchoring text is to fix the meaning against the anxiety of uncertain signs. The anchoring text replies to the question: *what is it?*[24] According to Barthes, the relay text is less common, as the image and text work in cooperation for meaning to be realized at a higher level. There is a back-and-forth examination of the signs in the text and image to parse out meaning. Jenks' *Century* book primarily uses anchoring text to limit the possible connotations of its images for didactic purposes. The book is filled with pictures that are accompanied by narrative text or a caption that describes how the images relate to the rest of the book. Usually, the captions in the book operate as the anchoring text, as in the caption "The Agricultural Pavilion" placed below a photograph of a building.

For Barthes, an image contains both denoted and connoted messages. In theory, the denoted message would be free from cultural knowledge and represent what can be understood by all from perception alone. The photograph seems to be well suited to depicting the literal or denoted message since it presents "a message without a code."[25] The photograph appears to have

[24] Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image-Music-Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 36.
[25] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 39.

no cultural code since it seems to only require the use of perceptual knowledge of everyday life to be understood.[26] While photographs might appear to make an immediate copy of what the camera is pointed at, human intervention and cultural rules govern the image-making process. The photograph only *seems* to be exactly what it depicts. The photograph is reliant on several different human and technological processes in its transformation from light to image. A photograph is never just "trees," but results from a process where light creates a chemical reaction that is culturally decoded as "trees." Instead, we might say that photographs present a message without a code because their creation and cultural decoding have become commonplace and nearly invisible. Refusing to accept that photographs are natural or non-coded will allow the pictures in the Jenks' book to be studied as material objects containing cultural information.

This cultural information is present in the connoted or symbolic messages of each book's pictures. Images contain both the literal message (what they depict) and the connoted message, which relies on the viewer's different kinds of practical, national, cultural, or aesthetic knowledge.[27] The meaning created during the decoding of the connoted message will be different depending on the culture and education of each viewer. For example, during Barthes' study of the Panzani pasta advertisement, he understands the connoted message of "still-life painting" because he has knowledge of the genres of art. The Object Lesson did not just pass-on knowledge about how to decode images but it helped viewers to recognize acts of deciphering. The Object Lesson taught students to recognize the act of looking, setting them up for a more successful decoding process. For Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, recognizing the act of perception was the first step towards rendering an artwork or object comprehendible.[28] However, the Object

[26] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 43.
[27] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 46.
[28] Pierre Bourdieu, "Outline of a Sociological Theory of Art Perception," in *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Randal Johnson. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 1.

Lesson method also brought with it cultural baggage nearly inseparable from how students were taught to look, altering their findings.

An examination of the history of literature at the end of the nineteenth century will be useful in providing some context for the chosen works and will help to explain their formal choices. The moralistic tale dominated literature for young people during the years before the nineteenth century.[29] By the 1740's and 1750's authors were already experimenting with teaching behavioural and ethical lessons.[30] The moral tale was often successful because its narratives allowed characters and readers to learn from the mistakes of others rather than through their own chastisement. Examples of learning from mistakes are plentiful in Jenks' *Century* book; for example Phillip takes the intramural railway around the fair only to end up where he started, teaching a lesson in knowing directions and reading signs. Nineteenth-century children's books often emphasized lessons more than story. They were preachy and moralistic with one-dimensional characters until writers such as Louisa May Alcott created characters whose actions, feelings, and experiences were more relatable. The moral tale was largely critiqued during the nineteenth century for its inability to teach goodness, forcing it to change its format to remain relevant.[31] Instruction and the teaching of acceptable behaviours remained an important part of children's literature throughout the nineteenth century. For example, the traits of the Christian gentleman were used to create stock characters meant to be emulated in their behaviour. The gentleman's values of self-control, courtesy, sincerity, and service to others were idealized and consumed by middle-class readers.

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[29] Michael O. Tunnell and James S. Jacobs, "The Origins and History of American Children's Literature," *The Reading Teacher* 67 (2013): 81.
[30] M. O. Grenby, "Moral and Instructive Children's Literature," *British Library*, accessed November 20, 2016, https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/moral-and-instructive-childrens-literature#authorBlock1
[31] Grenby, "Moral and Instructive Children's Literature."

Illustrations within books are used to convey information to the reader and help to create an aesthetically engaging object. Often cited as the first children's picture book, Comenius' *Orbis Pictus* (1657) used images to help define the meanings of accompanying words.[32] The use of pictures became commonplace within children's books because of a rise in popularity of illustrated texts, rather than catering to younger audiences. Historian of Victorian literature Perry Nodelman suggests that the word "illustration," defined as "visual matter used to clarify or decorate a text," has two purposes in children's literature.[33] Images can be used to provide additional information that adds to the meaning of the text, or they may be interesting and pleasurable in their own right. These purposes are often combined in the two books studied in this thesis, which is typical of other late nineteenth-century books. For example, Walter Crane combined contemporary politics and the Aesthetic print tradition in his books.[34] A similar concern for aesthetic value and issues of art and imperialism are prevalent in my case studies.

Chapter One examines the Object Lesson in relation to three visual lessons present within Tudor Jenks' *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls*. The chapter argues that the Object Lesson encouraged its user to re-affirm existing and accepted knowledge concerning the examined object rather than create new knowledge. The panoptic view from the Midway's Ferris wheel, for example, encourages viewers to establish distance from the object they wish to examine. This distance permits an illusory control over the people, places, and exhibits seen from above. The book also publishes a number of original photographs of the exhibitors on the Midway. The image and text combinations concerning the people and objects exhibited there

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[32] Perry Nodelman, *Words about Pictures: The Narrative Art of Children's Picture Books* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1988) 2.
[33] Nodelman, *Words about Pictures,* 3.
[34] Andrea Korda, "Learning from 'Good Pictures': Walter Crane's Picture Books and Visual Literacy," *Word & Image* 32, no. 4 (October 2016): 329.

devolve into a series of simplified types. The photograph also presents a unique challenge for the Object Lesson, as it was viewed as a truthful document rather than as a constructed object. The chapter ends with an analysis of the two forms of illustrations present in the book. The images and text encourage readers to accept established knowledge concerning the hierarchies of form and subject in art. Jenks also offers an intriguing instance where the Object Lesson is used to critique much of his previous writing about the exhibition of cultures at the fair.

In Chapter Two, Burnett's *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* serves as a contrasting example to how the Object Lesson was taught in Jenks' book. This chapter examines Bain's definition of the Conceiving Faculty in relation to imagination and aesthetic vision in Burnett's cover and title page, the Midway of the fair, and the style of the book's illustrations. The book's cover and title page are examined for signifying the book's themes of an Anglo-American, Christian struggle. These images stand apart from the book's other illustrations due to their imaginative combination of iconographic elements to connote the narrative's themes. Burnett's book is examined in opposition to Jenks' due to her critique of the Object Lesson observer. The character of Aunt Matilda is depicted as a walking caricature of the empirical observer who looks for knowledge rather than pleasure. The book's illustrations are not out of place in the larger genre of Victorian book illustration. The drawings use visual clues to convey meta-textual information similar to the illustrations of George Du Maurier (1834-1896). These clues and visual connections confront readers with the type of vision promoted by the book. The chapter ends with an examination of how imagination and the Conceiving Faculty ultimately comes to support the Object Lesson.

The thesis concludes with an examination of the benefits and faults of both the Object Lesson and the Conceiving Faculty, considering how each method was promoted in their

respective books. I examine how the Object Lesson came to be misused in Jenks' book but how, when used appropriately, could become a valuable visual tool. I also examine how the use of emotion and sympathy was integral to the Conceiving Faculty. The allowance of emotion could help to rectify some of the ethical issues faced by the Object Lesson and empirical vision. I conclude by considering the possibility of a visual method that combines the most useful practices of both methods.

Chapter One: Rhetorics of the Object Lesson

The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls begins with young Harry Blake being invited into his tutor's study. His tutor, Mr. Douglass, tells Harry that he has news from his absent father concerning last-minute tickets to the World's Columbian Exposition. The tutor believes that the fair will be a worthwhile experience for the boys. "'I'm glad to go,' the tutor said. 'It seems to me that a visit to the Fair is worth more than all the studying here you boys could do in twice the time you'll spend there.'"[1] This passage emphasizes a new-found importance with experiential and visual learning promoted by authors such as Alexander Bain and Adonijah Welch.[2] The book describes the fictional adventures of Harry, his cousin Phillip, and their tutor Mr. Douglass as they visit the sights of the 1893 Exposition in Chicago. In this chapter, I begin by introducing the book through an examination of its author, reception, characters, and narrative structure. The material of the book is then studied using Barthes' "Rhetoric of the Image," examining how picture and text emphasize the visual discrimination skills of the Object Lesson. I argue that the Object Lesson as it is enacted through panoptic vision, photographs of the Midway, and forms of drawing did not actually help readers create new knowledge for themselves, but rather, established the subjectivity of the observer and reproduced cultural pre-conceptions associated with the object of vision.

The *Century* book teaches the cultural codes of looking that align with the educational theories of the Object Lesson. The teachings of the Object Lesson promoted visual literacy by instructing young readers and viewers to mediate and learn from their visual surroundings. By

[1] Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls* (New York: The Century Co., 1893), 2.
[2] Meredith A. Bak, "Democracy and Discipline: Object Lessons and the Stereoscope in American Education, 1870-1920," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 10 (2012): 156

following the pedagogy of the Object Lesson, the book encourages readers to create a distinction between themselves as subjects and the object of their study. The Object Lesson requires an impartial observer as much as it needs an object of study. When considering how a specific subject/object relationship is necessitated by this method of study, I refer to James D. Marshall's definition of the subject. For him, the subject is a person tied to another by control and dependence while being connected to one's own identity through self-knowledge.[3] The Object Lesson encourages dependence on a visual method with steps to enact while attempting to refine one's own physical and mental faculties. Utilizing the Object Lesson creates a hierarchy of importance where anything that can be seen is turned into a specimen for the viewer's knowledge and benefit. This examination of the *Century* book is a case-study in how books as material and visual objects attempted to teach their readers the cultural codes of looking and thereby the cultural attitudes concerning the object of vision.

Tudor Jenks, the author of *The Century World's Fair Book* was born in 1857 in Brooklyn, New York, and studied law before beginning his career in writing.[4] He specialized in young adult fiction and fantasy books, but also published poems, dramas, non-fiction biography, and history books. Jenks also served as an associate editor for the popular children's magazine *St. Nicholas*. Like the *Century* book, *St. Nicholas* was aimed at children and parents alike. Parents reading *St. Nick* were encouraged to digest the selections of art, literature, history, and poetry deemed appropriate by the editors and stimulate their own children with the same attitudes.[5] Jenks' book can be read in a similar manner, offering interest to all while providing a

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[3] James D. Marshall, "Foucault and Educational Research," in *Foucault and Education: Disciplines and Knowledge* ed. Stephen J. Ball (London: Routledge, 1990), 14.
[4] American Council of Learned Societies, *Dictionary of American Biography Vol. 10* (New York: Scribner, 1964), 53.
[5] Susan R. Gannon, "'The Best Magazine for Children of all Ages': Cross-Editing *St. Nicholas Magazine* (1873-1905)" *Children's Literature* 25 (1997): 159.

pedagogical example to parents. According to the *Dictionary of American Biography*, "[Jenks'] aim was to teach history, literature, and popular science, and with them patriotism."[6] He also had pronounced educational theories, choosing to educate his three daughters privately rather than send them to public school. Tudor Jenks was also an artist proficient in many artistic mediums. His chief recreation was drawing and painting, having filled his house with many sketchbooks and artworks. He was also proficient in his knowledge and use of photography for he later published a book titled *Photography for Young People* in 1908. This handbook on photography includes topics ranging from the basics of determining the correct exposure to a camera buyer's guide. Within the *Century* book, writing credit is given to Jenks, but credit for the photos and drawings is given to the fictional boys; the book was published, "With off-hand sketches by Harry and snap-shots by Phillip."[7] The sketches within the book are even signed with a small "HB" monogram as the signature of their creator, the fictional Harry Blake. In addition to writing the narrative, Jenks was likely involved in the creation of the book's drawings and photographs due to his knowledge of the mediums.

The *Century* book was well received with critics admiring its narrative, visuals, and characters. The Chicago fair closed at the end of October 1893 and the *New York Times* received the *Century* book for review on November 13, 1893.[8] Jenks was undoubtedly composing the book while the fair was open and still on the minds of Americans. Available in time for the holidays, the *New York Times* recommended it as a Christmas gift that year. The book is not so much critically reviewed, as described as, "…a clear review of the Chicago exhibition, told in the realistic adventures of two boys who preserved many mementos of their visit, as admission

[6] American Council of Learned Societies, *Dictionary of American Biography Vol. 10,* 53.
[7] Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book*, iii.
[8] "Books Received," *New York Times*, November 13, 1893, 3.

tickets, primitive sketches, and other details…"[9] The book does indeed reproduce the paraphernalia of the boys' journey through items such as ticket stubs, but it also depicts nearly three-hundred other images. Reproduced paintings, prints, amateur and professional photographs, maps, drawings, and sketches are all used to depict the fair and represent the narrative. The *New York Times* also remarked upon the nature of the protagonists: "They are bright, interesting boys and their pleasant tattle runs through a text which is instructive and ever amusing."[10] For its contemporary audience, the book combined pleasure and instruction in an entertaining format. The review also remarks upon the encyclopedia-like survey of the fair through a variety of different visual mediums and subjects. The book came with a price tag of one dollar and fifty cents due to its large size and its illustrations. In comparison, unillustrated books received by the *New York Times* cost one dollar and a folio of popular etchings and photographs also from the Century Company was priced at ten dollars.[11] The stories and exemplary behaviour of Harry and Phillip made for an enjoyable book, and the presence of its illustrations and reproduction of the fair made it a valuable material commodity.

The *Century* book's commercial viability was also due to its promotion of moralistic lessons common to many young adult books of the time. Beverly Lyon Clark researches audience taste in the late nineteenth century and argues that books were unlikely to sell unless they promoted some form of ideal behaviour.[12] A book's success relied on having characters and subjects that were suitable for children, attempting to nourish an aspiration for the ideal. Reading audiences both young and old expected the characters, narrative, and subject matter to instill

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[9] "Christmas Books and Others," *New York Times*, November 26, 1893, 23.
[10] "Christmas Books and Others," 23.
[11] "Books Received," *New York Times*, November 13, 1893, 3.
[12] Beverly Lyon Clark, *Kiddie Lit: The Cultural Construction of Children's Literature in America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 23.

positive attributes and promote admirable behaviour. These emulative characters came in many forms. Clark gives the examples of the Christian gentleman, the self-made man, the masculine primitive, and the newly emerging social–economic elite.[13] Harry and his cousin Phillip are idealized in a way that most closely resembles the values of Clark's Christian gentleman. Thus, the book establishes these characters as worthy of emulation through their values and behaviours. An example of the boys' integrity occurs at an exhibit of gramophones. The fee of one nickel is required to turn on the music player but when a mother and child both listen to the gramophone using the same nickel, Phillip remarks, "I don't know whether that's quite honest."[14] The main characters in Jenks' book display popular moral values and serve as role models for young readers. The characters and their practices, visual or otherwise, serve as positive examples for young readers to emulate.

The format of the *Century* book is unlike a novel with a traditional dramatic structure, but more closely resembles a travel diary that recounts the characters' fictional experiences at the fair. Each of the nineteen chapters covers the sights, stories, and experiences of Harry, Phillip, and Mr. Douglass as they visit the different exhibits and buildings. In addition to describing the sights of the fair. The book recalls the experiences and conversations had between the main characters as well as the many interesting people they encounter. Stories are related from one character to another throughout the book as a way for the reader to also learn of the adventures of each character. The book focuses on the realities of the fair, of the hunger, sore feet, and mental exhaustion faced by the average fair-goer. The narrative does not follow the dramatic structure of exposition, rising action, climax, and resolution, and the characters do not attempt to overcome

[13] Clark, *Kiddie Lit,* 22.
[14] Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book*, 122.

any obstacle. After their trip to the fair is over, the boys do not have their world-view altered, despite their varied experiences. The boys leave the fair in a bittersweet mood and the final chapter titled “Mr. Douglass has a Remarkable Experience” recounts the tutor’s dream as he falls asleep on the train ride home. The dream acts as an amusing and fantastic summary of all the sights at the fair with the Ferris wheel leaving its place on the Midway and rolling across the fairgrounds to see all the exhibits one last time.

Re-Orienting Vision: Eyes above Ground

The greenish-beige printed boards of the book’s cover reproduce an illustration stretching from the front, across the spine, and to the back so that when the book is fully opened, it presents a bird’s eye view of the fair (figure 1.1). The fully opened cover illustration, possibly sketched by Mr. Jenks himself, measures thirty-nine by twenty-five centimetres. The extended cover depicts the Ferris wheel closest to the viewer’s position, acting as a transitional device to connect the front image of the Court of Honour with the Midway Plaisance on the back. The design of the book’s cover introduces the theme of panoptic vision, which is associated with new technologies at the fair such as rooftop vistas, hot air balloons, and the Ferris wheel. This mode of vision seems to lay out the entire world for the viewer’s consumption, turning the landscape and the cultures upon it into an object of vision and education.

Book covers from the nineteenth century were designed as eye-catching visual images that could attract potential consumers and hint at the contents of the book. Cover images of this time took advantage of technological innovations to embellish a book’s cover, creating a

physically attractive product that could appeal to the widest possible audience.[15] The cover of Jenks' book contains a panoramic illustration stretching from the Court of Honor on the front cover to the Midway Plaisance on the back. The official fair and the Court of Honor are the first images readers engage with given their prominence on the front cover. The image places readers in the air next to the Ferris wheel, looking down towards the sketched figures walking the paths in front of the fair's buildings. As the cover is fully extended, the Court of Honor is placed in opposition to the Midway on the back cover. Whereas the Court of Honor is organized along straight axes around the basin, the Midway image appears more ludic with no discernable order in the organization of its people and buildings. An imaginary vista is created where Oriental minarets can be seen alongside the Administration and Agriculture buildings, united through the visual power of panoptic vision.

On the back cover, the Midway's "captive balloon" ascends away from the fair as if cut from its mooring. Images of balloons and Ferris wheels did not only signify popular amusements but the ability to consume the landscape in a manner few people could previously. The representation of a balloon on Jenks' cover, as in Édouard Manet's 1867 painting *A View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, hints at a consumption of the landscape not accessible from the ground (figure 1.2). T.J. Clark's analysis of Manet's painting and the word "spectacle" in his essay "The View from Notre-Dame" helps to define what it meant for a viewer to consume a landscape. Manet's figures on the hill in the foreground, the hot air balloon, and the viewer of the painting all look at the city of Paris as a spectacle. The spectacle of the city "…points to the ways in which the city (and social life in general) was presented as a unity in the later nineteenth

[15] Betsy Butler describes how the steam-driven printing press ensured mass-produced identical copies in "'There Ain't Anything in This World That Sells a Book Like a Pretty Cover': Nineteenth-Century Publishers' Bookbindings in Library Collections," *Art Documentation* 29 (2010): 23.

century, as a separate something made to be looked at—an image, a pantomime, a panorama."[16] All of the subjects mentioned stand apart (or imagine themselves so) from the object of vision, the fair, and the city, which has been made into a unified visual text.

While Manet represented the balloon overlooking Paris, Nadar's photographs gave the viewer the experience of looking down upon the same city. The eye above ground had the ability to reveal the order of the world. In his photographs from the 1860's, Nadar combined the recording power of the photograph with the aerial view of the hot air balloon as a means of gaining new understandings of the familiar city of Paris (figure 1.3). Ferris wheels and balloons in the nineteenth century did not only connote novel amusements but were consistently associated with a new form of vision that could reveal more about the logic of the world. Jenks' cover incorporates elements of both Manet's painting and Nadar's photographs. Jenks depicts the hot air balloon floating above the fair, representing popular viewing experiences. The cover is also similar to Nadar's photographs, with its hovering viewpoint inviting viewers to look down upon the fair's people and exhibits. The Ferris wheel and the hot air balloon offered a new way of experiencing the fair through the panoptic perspective.

Panoptic vision is historically specific and represents a link between vision and power represented in what Michel Foucault called the "sovereign gaze," or the eye of power.[17] My use of the term "panoptic" to describe the all-encompassing, bird's eye view present in Jenks' book recalls the connection between vision and power over what is seen. The people and exhibits on the ground exist as if they were in a panopticon. They are examined but cannot see their

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[16] T.J. Clark, "The View from Notre-Dame," in *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader,* ed. Vanessa R. Schwartz et al. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 190.
[17] Alan Wallach, "Making a Picture of the View from Mount Holyoke," *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts* 66 (1990): 37.

examiners. They are the object of information, not the subject of communication.[18] The book's depiction of the panoptic view is examined through teaching imperial modes of appropriating the landscape.

George Washington Gale Ferris Jr. designed the most remarkable viewpoint of the fair. In the Midway section of the book, the characters enter the wheel and "… up they flew, as if in a balloon."[19] The mechanical marvel of the Ferris wheel afforded new opportunities to teach young readers about vision. In line with the Object Lesson's mandate to have the student bring out unnoticed qualities from familiar objects, the Ferris wheel provided a way to see new qualities of the world through a change in perception. When Harry and Phillip actually ride the wheel, the narrative text emphasizes the wheel's ability to create distance from the object that is viewed. The fair, the lake, and the city reside in the distance, the Midway turns into a long white road dotted with "puppet sight-seers," and old Vienna dwindles into a toy village. The textual images of the shrinking fair emphasize the Object Lesson's method of showing the pupil unnoticed qualities of the world through a change in perception. The Object Lesson in its basic form starts with the familiar and changes the student's conception of it by repositioning the viewer to bring out unnoticed details. Jenks' depiction of the landscape around the Midway uses the panoptic viewpoint to create distance between the viewer and the world in order to transform the landscape and its cultures into objects.[20]

The *Century* book employs Bain's rules when instructing young readers how to consume landscapes. For Bain, cultivating an aesthetic disposition to search out landscapes was the result

[18] Michel Foucault, "Panopticism," in *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader,* ed. Vanessa R. Schwartz et al. (New York: Routledge, 2004), 75.
[19] Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book*, 74.
[20] Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1989): 229.

of two conditions. The first is a happy frame of mind, "…as when we are introduced to landscape glories, in the freshness of youth, and in the exhilaration of holidays."[21] By associating pleasurable feelings with looking at landscapes, their appreciation becomes pleasurable. The *Century* book was both amusing and instructive to its initial audience, and the boys take-in the landscape in a pleasurable setting, on holidays at the fair modelling how to appreciate a landscape for the readers of the book. Bain's second circumstance for appreciating a landscape is the student being shown where and how to direct his or her attention by a more accomplished instructor. The book plays the role of the instructor by directing vision outward to the horizon and downwards to the world below. The minarets and towers on either side of the image act as a framing device, forcing the eye to the centre of the picture while the walking path leads the eye towards the horizon in the very centre of the image. Buildings become smaller and hazier the farther they get from the viewer's position, emphasizing visual distance and the capabilities of an eye in a high place. The book does not simply encourage readers to look out to the horizon and to see what there is to see, but to engage in visual discrimination as an active process, teaching them the visual and cultural codes associated with the horizon, imperialism, and the Orient.

Phillip takes "several [photographic] views" looking east and west in order to depict the cultures associated with each direction (figure 1.4). The photographs are placed together so that the reader may also scan the horizontal axis, as if examining the horizon for himself. The two captions, "From the Ferris Wheel – Looking East" and "From the Ferris Wheel – Looking West," identify both where the viewer is situated and the direction of vision, but do not identify the objects of vision (figures 1.5 and 1.6). The captions are not overtly limiting of the image's messages in their use of anchoring text. The image looking east depicts the Eastern section of the

[21] Bain, *Education as a* Science, 427.

Midway, and upon closer inspection, the minarets of Cairo Street and the Moorish Palace are visible. A walking path full of fair-goers splits the rows of buildings down the center of the image. The image is composed to draw the viewer's eye towards the horizon and create the sense of the landscape stretching out before the viewer. Layers of representation exist in this photograph as it connotes an already re-presented Orient. The fair with its representations of exotic locales and "Moorish Palaces" was not the Orient itself, but rather attempted to connote or recall an imaginary picture of the Near-East.[22] These representations were made to emulate real places, such as the streets of Cairo with Egyptian actors and camel rides, but these representations remained distinguishable from the reality of fair-goers.[23] The fair turned culture into a commodifiable object experienced by visitors, and Jenks turned that commodified culture into a commodified book that could be owned and manipulated. Turning culture into an object also establishes a place for a viewer of that object. Jenks does this by putting the reader into the eyes of Phillip, seeing through his camera to consume the sights for themselves. For viewing situations such as looking at a landscape, the Object Lesson attempted to transform people into impartial observers who were reliant on its methods. However, these supposedly impartial subjects and visual methods were rooted in their own cultural knowledge.[24] The panoptic view of the Ferris wheel was a convenient visual tool to establish the physical and mental distance between subject and object required for the Object Lesson.

In the visual culture of the late nineteenth century, the image of the horizon became a promising and idealistic place that connected the viewer to promised lands of distant colonies.[25]

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[22] For evidence of Near-East exhibitors contesting their Orientalist representation at world's fairs see: Zeynep Çelik, "Speaking Back to Orientalist Discourse," in *Empires of Vision: A Reader* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 395-414.
[23] Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," 223.
[24] Marshall, "Foucault and Educational Research," 14.
[25] Stephan Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium* (New York: Zone Books, 1997), 18.

The viewer of the horizon could see the barrier between the dull and bleak everyday reality and a place of limitless possibilities that resided just beyond the line of sight.[26] This form of expansionist thinking is present in the photographs by connoting the East, the West, the horizon, and the colonial nations associated with each direction. "From the Ferris Wheel – Looking East" and "Looking West" combine world geography with directional looking. From the perspective of the Unites States, the Near East or the Orient resides in the East and to look at its representation on the Midway, the boys look eastward. The images and their captions connect the east and west directions of the Midway to their geographical and colonial counterparts.

By presenting a photographic view that looks east, the book connects visual power with interest in the colonies of North Africa. The textual signifier of "Moorish Palace" present in the photograph does not connote any specific group of North Africans. The term "Moor" was a catch-all term to describe the former inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula or North Africans in general. On the other side of the street, the minarets of the popular Cairo Street attraction are visible. In 1893, occupied by the British and with ever-present interest from the French, Egypt was a centre of attention and fascination for Westerners.[27] Cairo Street was one of the fair's most popular exhibits and existed in various forms in future expositions. The panoptic view, situated in the American ingenuity of the Ferris wheel, looks eastward and downward onto the represented Orient with its palaces and mosques, to understand and control it.

While standing in the Ferris wheel, Phillip shifts his camera to the west (figure 1.6). From the United States, looking west connotes a new-found interest in the colonial prospects of the Pacific. In 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner declared the American frontier closed, and the nation

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[26] Oettermann, *The Panorama: History of a Mass Medium*, 18.
[27] Afaf Lufti Al-Sayyid Marsot, *A History of Egypt: From the Arab Conquest to the Present,* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 92.

turned its expansionist sights outside of the continent. Also in 1893, the United States government overthrew Queen Lili'uokalani of Hawaii and established a provisional government on the road to illegal annexation of the islands.[28] The first immediately recognizable building in the "looking west" image is an enclosed panorama of The Hawaiian Volcano Kilauea, with a U.S. flag flying above it. Beyond the Hawaiian panorama and further to the west lies the Chinese Tea House, Village, and Theatre. As viewers of Jenks' photograph look farther west, they also see nations that are situated farther west in actual geography. Much like Phillip's photographs and the view of the reader, the United States continued to turn its colonial gaze farther west. By 1898 the nation was involved in the Spanish-American war, which offered a new American frontier in the imperial prospects of the Philippine islands.[29] These photographs connote expansionist hope by combining the horizon with new colonial prospects stretching from Hawaii in the west to North Africa in the east.

When the boys' vision is directed both outwards and down, "the whole region was mapped out about them;" this panoptic view of heightened visibility appears to reveal the world to the viewer.[30] Increasingly, viewers of the late nineteenth century were permitted to view aspects of their geography in ways which turned them into a knowable spectacle. Tours of previously private places like sewers or slaughterhouses, the presence of real or painted panoramas, and the ability to view surroundings from above conferred an illusory controlling vision over one's environment.[31] Nothing seems hidden in the privileged panoptic position, the

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[28] Julius W. Pratt, "The Hawaiian Revolution: A Re-Interpretation," *Pacific Historical Review* 1 (1932): 273.
[29] Sarah J. Moore, *Empire on Display: San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915,* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 16.
[30] Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book*, 72.
[31] Tony Bennet, "The Exhibitionary Complex," in *Representing the Nation: A Reader,* ed. David Boswell et al. (London: Routledge, 1999), 338.

world's geography and order is revealed to the viewer.[32] Jenks' book emphasizes the panoptic view's power by referring to how the world seemed to be mapped out in front of the boys. Suddenly, the landscape reveals its order and inhabitants to the viewer with a new sense of possession. By connecting the dominant viewpoint with connotations of expansion to the east and west, Jenks' book establishes not only the desirability of pursuing the panoptic position, but its ability to possess the world's cultures. The height of the viewers allows them to see the structure of the fair and the arrangements of people, buildings, and exhibits, combining the functions of spectacle and surveillance. The elevated viewpoint encourages a mode of vision where the fair as a microcosm of the world is made knowable.

The *Century* book encourages readers and spectators to view the world from a distance. This distance both reveals details not knowable from the ground and shrinks the world into a consumable spectacle. The text and images that describe the appearance of the panoptic view connote vast distances, tiny people, and exhibits which shrink to become toy villages. When their cultural connotations and textual anchors are combined, the book encourages distanced viewing in order to create the subject of a viewer, a person separated from what they see but reliant on the cultural methods that make them see. Viewing the world from a distance has two benefits to the Object Lesson pedagogy: the viewer expands upon his or her knowledge of the familiar by viewing it in an unfamiliar way and this distance makes the subject/object relationship between the viewer and the world more apparent. For Bain, knowledge about objects could come from finding "…uses that lie outside the scope of familiar observation."[33] Distance from the fair and the world provided the characters with a new method of observation to have the fair's logic

[32] Wallach, "Making a Picture of the View from Mount Holyoke," 38.
[33] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 250.

revealed to them. In order for the Object Lesson to function, the world must be created as an object to be studied. The fair does this in its own right, but the added distance from riding the Ferris wheel moves the viewer to a position that seems even more separate from the world. The creation of the viewer's subjectivity has the second function of also creating what they look at as an object. The people and cultures of that object become a spectacle which exists for the knowledge of those who consume the book as a material representation.

Outlined in Light and Shade: Creating Empirical Documents

As the boys prepared to enter the Midway Plaisance for the first time, "…they rode comfortably along [in rolling chairs] through the parting crowd, Philip carrying his Kodak upon his knees, ready for business."[34] The representations of the "natives" in the Midway section of the book are created almost exclusively through Phillip's photographs rather than sketches or drawings. These photographs are intimate in terms of how prominently they feature the human subject. The examination of photographs in this section is in direct response to their exclusive use in documenting the ethnographic displays of the Javanese Village on the Midway. This use of photography complements both the book's and the Object Lesson's attempt to confirm the observable as fact.[35] The photograph also (falsely) presents itself as observable fact, as a message without a code.[36] The idea of cameras depicting reality can be critiqued in numerous ways, from the cultural constructions that determine how photographs are taken and valued (framing, exposure, contrast) to the chemical processes that mediate the physical world. Even though the

[34] Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book*, 56.
[35] Bak, "Democracy and Discipline," 147.
[36] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 36.

photograph may appear to be literal, it is coded in numerous ways. The camera could provide students with empirical evidence of the subordinate position of colonial subjects when compared to the United States.[37] This section argues that photography worked in conjunction with the Object Lesson, purporting to be an empirical visual document through which students were taught to (re)produce existing knowledge concerning cultural hierarchies.

The photographs found in the *Century* book's depiction of the Midway utilize the properties of photography to confirm the place of Western culture at the top of the cultural hierarchy. Christopher Herbert, a specialist in Victorian literature, summarizes the nineteenth-century creation of a cultural hierarchy, which is essential to understanding the purpose of the Chicago Midway and its photographic reproductions, as follows:

> In its overt language… evolutionary anthropology deploys much standardized rhetoric of cultural hierarchies, of superior and inferior, 'high' and 'low' societies, of 'savagery' set in polar contrast to that better social condition called 'civilization.' As a key element of this schema, it confidently asserts the ability of scientific rationality to reveal 'truth' and decries by contrast the ignorance, superstition, and stupidity of 'savage' or 'primitive' peoples…[38]

The *Century* book as an educational and commercial object seems to provide this truthful depiction of the fair while appealing to "…the shop-window spectacle of the exotic."[39] The photograph, the imperial viewpoint, and the Object Lesson were often tied to the same visual object for both commercial consumption and didactic purposes. Meredith A. Bak has researched

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[37] Tony Bennet, "The Exhibitionary Complex," 353.
[38] Christopher Herbert, "Epilogue: Ethnography and Evolution," *Victorian Studies* 41 (1998): 488.
[39] Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel, and Visual Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 19.

the use of stereoscopes in classrooms as tools to provide seemingly concrete examples of cultural progress. In conjunction with the Object Lesson, stereoscopic views were employed to educate children concerning the attributes of cultural types. Bak uses the example of a stereoscopic photograph of tortilla making in El Salvador, which was produced by the Keystone View Company in 1920 (figure 1.7).[40] Using the stereoscope as a type of simulacrum that made the picture real, the Keystone Company also supplied educational material along with the photographs which used captions inviting students to witness the "primitive way of preparing corn for the table." Photographs such as the image of tortilla making had their connotations anchored by combining them with the textual signifier of "primitive." Together with the Object Lesson's emphasis on using sight to confirm facts, photographic pedagogical materials could be used to teach students about the supposed inferior behaviours and appearances of other cultures.

The photograph worked within a larger culture of Orientalism, controlling knowledge about other cultures and positioning them as inferior to the Westerner.[41] Both the Chicago fair and Jenks' book were responsible for providing viewers with doctored visions of the exotic Other that could be taken as fact. In addition, the appearance and behaviour of those who travelled to the U.S. to be exhibited were used as a synecdoche to describe the appearance and attitudes of all others like them. This section examines the use of photographs and text in documenting the exotic cultures of the Midway for the purpose of educating readers. The *Century* book's photographs and description of the Midway visually confirm the subaltern's uncivilized position and respond to a Victorian-era demand for exotic travel photography.

[40] Bak, "Democracy and Discipline," 152.
[41] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 42.

Before entering the Midway Plaisance, Phillip secured a little card on a string which permitted him to take pictures of the people and sights in the Midway with a four-by-five Kodak camera. He paid two dollars for this privilege and "felt bound to use up his roll of forty-eight exposures."[42] Phillip's camera could produce larger and finer images than the more portable Kodak no.1 which had been introduced only a few years earlier. The Kodak no. 1 and its round exposures put an easy to use camera in the hands of common Americans, including Harry Blake. In his 1908 guide *Photography for Young People*, Jenks suggests amateur photographers choose the "quarter plate" camera, which had a plate size of 3 ¼ x 3 ¼ inches. The quarter plate camera produced images the same size as its plate and Jenks notes that highly desirable negatives may be enlarged afterwards.[43] The photographer who created the photographs for Jenks' book probably used a camera of similar quality. Jenks or a photographer for the *Century* book attended the Midway Plaisance to take photographs of its exhibits to accompany the story.

The characters, having become exhausted from the walking and sight-seeing of previous visits to the grounds, entered the Midway in a rolling chair because "… they understood that it was a wise economy to save bodily tire when eyes and brain were so busy."[44] The boys rode their chair directly into the Javanese Village. The various racial villages and exhibits on the Midway were the primary locations where evolutionary concepts of race were introduced to the roughly twenty-five million visitors who attended the fair.[45] While Western nations were displayed in the main exhibition halls, African, Asian, Polynesian, and Near-East exhibitors were mostly relegated to the Midway Plaisance. Officially classified under the Department of

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[42] Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book*, 57.
[43] Tudor Jenks, *Photography for Young People* (New York: Frederick A. Stores Company, 1908), 36.
[44] Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book*, 59.
[45] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1984), 39.

Ethnology, the Midway hosted an ad hoc arrangement of popular "lowbrow" amusements such as freak shows, mechanical rides, and exotic dancers.[46] Over the course of world's fairs, the midways started as separate amusement zones but eventually came to exhibit the themes of Western nationalist progress present in the official zones of each fair. Throughout the Columbian Exposition, visitors were routinely taught to see the world through displays of cultural and evolutionary hierarchies. In *Picturing Empire,* James R. Ryan defines imperialism as "a pervasive set of cultural attitudes towards the rest of the world informed to varying degrees by militarism, patriotism, a belief in racial superiority and loyalty to a 'civilizing mission.'"[47] Phillip's photographs and the text that accompanies them do not seek to present an impartial view of the cultures on the Midway, but rather, employ the visual discrimination of the Object Lesson to create imperialistic documents, confirming the lesser place of the subaltern.

The Javanese Village is the first exhibit where Harry and Phillip interact with the people, music, and inventions of a non-Western culture. The book's text controls the reader's understanding of these interactions so that the subaltern is understood to be primitive and unsophisticated. As the boys walk through the Javanese Village, they hear "…a queer musical, liquid pounding," coming from a water-wheel made of bamboo with no other purpose than to make music; they describe it as "a primitive music box."[48] The photograph of this musical device is reproduced on the preceding page with the caption "The Water-Wheel in the Javanese Village" (figure 1.8). Much like the Keystone Company's stereographic image of "primitive" corn making in El Salvador, Jenks uses the textual signifier of primitive to anchor the image of the water-

[46] Roger Benjamin, "Colonial Panoramania," in *Empires of Vision: A Reader,* ed. Martin Jay and Sumathi Ramaswamy (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 112.
[47] James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 12-13.
[48] Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book*, 60.

wheel firmly in the category of the amusingly unsophisticated. This anchoring text helps readers to choose "the correct level of perception" when faced with unfamiliar signs.[49] The text describes how the water-wheel worked: a wheel strikes bits of wood which produce musical notes but to Phillip it had "no other purpose than to make noise." Western artworks such as paintings are not derided in the book for having little functional value, and American inventions like the Ferris wheel are not disparaged for having only the function of moving people up and down. Inventions from the United States are wonderful feats of engineering, however in Phillip's eyes, Javanese inventions are bothersome noise-makers. The inventions and products of the Javanese and Americans, based on highly selective presentations of both cultures, are used as evidence to support hierarchical relations between races. The textual anchor of "primitive" could be used to direct a student's knowledge of foreign cultures, encouraging them to choose the imperialistic level of perception.

Jenks' book does not account for the coding of photographs as subjective documents created by people. The photograph of the water-wheel is over-exposed so that the instrument is blown-out and few of its details can be discerned. The water-wheel is also placed in the bottom corner of the composition, rather than in the centre, which would provide a clearer image of how the device works. The focus of the photograph is instead on the viewers who glance at the water-wheel or quickly walk past the instrument. The caption explains that the photograph depicts the water-wheel, but the majority of the composition depicts fair-goers, distant buildings, trees, and sky. The portion of the photograph devoted to the water-wheel is uninteresting and displays very little information about how the device worked. If the book were simply presenting empirical evidence in the form of the photograph, and if the photograph was decoded with the Object

[49] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 39.

Lesson, then the water-wheel would be understood as a strange and unfamiliar instrument. The Object Lesson places undue faith in the photograph as an objective visual record. If students understood the photograph as a literal depiction, they could not account for the human involvement in its production. The boring, strange, and uninteresting photograph of the water-wheel is decoded as such by the student of the Object Lesson.

The water-wheel is an example from Jenks' book where any attempt at an objective form of visual pedagogy has broken down and the cultural beliefs of the book's producers become visible. Usually, the Object Lesson begins with a familiar object; Bain uses the examples of coal or glass that are to be read as "object-texts" and expanded upon to teach broader lessons in science or history.[50] Jenks, however, fails to introduce readers to something they are already familiar with, water for instance, and elaborate on its properties to explain the water-wheel's function. Even without the book providing a didactic lesson about the object, the textual and pictorial information concerning the water-wheel is insufficient for readers to understand it for themselves. The book creates a subject/object relationship where the unsophisticated water-wheel is made strange and unknowable to the supposedly more civilized viewer. Presenting the young reader with an inadequate view of the water-wheel, in that the photograph is poorly cropped, not properly exposed, and given a poor description, has already created meaning in advance.

The *Century* book limits the possible connotations of its photographs through formal properties and textual anchors. The linguistic messages associated with the water-wheel, queer, odd, noisy (not musical), and primitive constitute, in Barthes' words, "… a kind of vice which

[50] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 135.

holds the connoted meanings from proliferating…"[51] Beliefs about the empiricism of observation, which are considered untainted by culture, end up re-enforcing the cultural beliefs of the book's producers. The purportedly objective and scientific photograph that could capture the physical appearance of objects and their people was commonly believed to hold the key to the moral constitution of the depicted culture.[52] The photographs used both in the book and in the wider colonial project had the ability to reinforce scientific knowledge by hierarchizing people and objects based upon their physical appearance. When the student of the Object Lesson examines the photograph of the water-wheel and it looks "queer," he or she will likely believe that Javanese culture in general is odd and primitive. Because of the value placed on observation as fact, the young readers of the *Century* book see visual information that confirms the Javanese as sitting in a less developed place in modernity. The visual characteristics of both cultural objects and their creators could be studied as evidence of that culture's sophistication. Indigenous people from all over the world attended the Chicago fair as exhibits unto themselves, where their appearance alongside their cultural objects revealed the effectiveness of the imperial mission.

The Chicago fair and its ethnographic practices sought to create a hierarchy of the races and nations of the world based upon their observable characteristics and attitudes. All races were supposed to be represented, either in-person with native garb or through photographs, drawings, or objects connected with every phase of human life.[53] Types were needed in order to create a broad and evolutionary definition of the world supported by ethnography. The typological display was a common method of presenting objects in nineteenth-century visual culture. The

[51] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 39.
[52] Ryan, *Picturing Empire,* 180.
[53] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 55.

typological display evolved out of experimentation, observation, and verification of the scientific model to render the relationships between objects and people stable.[54] Theories of physiognomy studied a person's physical features to determine their inner character, creating types out of the ethnicities of the world and placing them in a hierarchy.[55] Physiognomy inevitably positioned the Anglo-Saxon male at the pinnacle of intellectual, moral, and physical development.[56] Physiognomy's use was both scientific and amateur, extremely subjective but supposedly made objective through measuring and documenting. Physiognomy was important for creating subjects valued less for their uniqueness than for their ability to stand for other specimens of the same type along a developmental sequence. This form of display presents itself as a microcosm of the world, with all things known being physically represented. Photography could play a vital role in the documentation and ordering of races along the evolutionary hierarchy. Jenks' book connects the physical appearance of the racial subject with the presumed truthfulness of photography to describe the characteristics associated with each racial type.

The narratives and pictures in the chapter about the Midway encourage the documentation of foreign people for their characteristics as racial types. The book's lessons about photographic practice were connected to the camera's supposed ability to depict the moral character of the subject by documenting "unusual" physical characteristics in its subjects. Both the Object Lesson and methods for the classification of racial types were legitimized through scientific methods of close observation and analysis of observable properties. Systems of human classification were often based upon observable characteristics such as skin colour, height, and

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[54] Tony Bennett, *Critical Trajectories: Culture, Society, Intellectuals* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007) 112.
[55] Sharrona Pearl, *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 24.
[56] Ryan, *Picturing Empire,* 147.

the shape of the head and facial features.[57] The Object Lesson shares methodological similarities with physiognomy in how both theories privilege the observation of hidden properties and compare physical features between specimens. Physiognomist Sir Arthur Galton (1822-1911) used the documentary power of the photograph to attempt to make a group's shared physical properties into a concrete type. Galton combined multiple individual portraits, usually of criminals, by removing their individuality to create a single generalized image that was meant to highlight a group's shared physiognomic markers.[58] The Object Lesson operated similarly to physiognomic practices by using observable evidence to reveal truths about the people being observed. The *Century* book enforces racial types through the depictions and attitudes of the subjects on the Midway.

The language of photography and the documentation of the racial type continually frame the exhibits on the Midway. As Phillip visits the exhibit of the Javanese Village, he remarks that it was a bright and clear day, where "everything was plainly outlined by sharp contrasts of light and shade."[59] The camera is turned toward the people exhibited on the Midway, and the book describes how best to document the racial types on display there. The documentation of the racial type consisted of describing the physical features of the subject (and thereby its disposition) and its occupation. The Javanese type in the text is constructed as follows, "…the men wore turbans of figured cotton, a tight-fitting jacket, and then, above their trousers, a short skirt or apron that hung about halfway down the thigh."[60] The Javanese man on page sixty-one (figure 1.9) fits this description. The accompanying body text here functions less like a traditional anchor and more like Barthes' relay, where picture and text complement one-another and meaning is realized in

[57] Ryan, *Picturing Empire*, 147.
[58] Pearl, *About Faces*, 24.
[59] Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book*, 57.
[60] Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book*, 60-61.

the combination of the two messages. The text provides additional confirmation of what the typical Javanese man wears by identifying all articles of clothing. The text and image work in tandem by providing the observable fact that Javanese men appear different from Anglo males.

Jenks typifies the behaviours of the racial Other using the supposed empirical and observable properties of the camera. The candid photograph of the Javanese man "lazily sunning himself" is an example of how racial types were often created through both the appearance and the occupation of the subject. Individual indigenous people were usually photographed because they were seen as a suitable specimen to represent their entire race.[61] The Javanese man and the accompanying caption create the racial type through depicting the occupation, or lack thereof, of the subject. The caption "He was Lazily Sunning Himself" acts as an anchor for limiting the possible signifieds of the image and directing the reader towards a meaning chosen in advance. The man in the image could be involved in any manner of activities but the text limits the reader to understand that the man is engaging in an unproductive act of pleasure. Images of the lazy or ignoble Oriental were commonly used in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to represent the dispositions of an entire race. The image of the Javanese man connects laziness with the race, not with the behaviours of a specific named individual. Jenks' images recall photographs such as Fils, Tournier, and Drier's 1858 stereoscopic photograph *Orientaals Tafereel* (Oriental Scene) depicting Oriental men lounging and smoking (figure 1.10). Photographs stretching back to the middle of the century attempted to typify life in the Near East as disreputable by connecting those characteristics to Oriental races rather than individuals.[62] The idle man depicted in Jenks' book was part of a photographic tradition in depicting Asians as averse to work. The caption "He

[61] Ryan, *Picturing Empire,* 199.
[62] Ryan, *Picturing Empire,* 198.

was Lazily Sunning Himself" directs the reader to believe that the Javanese are lazy. He is lazy because he is not active – he does not have an occupation. This lack of activity was often forced upon the foreign peoples hired to perform at the fair. Indigenous groups were brought to the fair to inhabit their re-created traditional dwellings and engage in cultural practices intending to mimic "normal" indigenous life.[63] Ironically, the Javanese man was already employed in the occupation of playing himself.

Teaching through observation and treating the visual as empirical could not account for the simulacrum that the Midway presented. The people at the fair and those who viewed its representations through the Object Lesson assumed a false equivalence between the sign (the photograph) and the real.[64] The Midway and photographs of it depict a microcosmic reality of the world that had little relation to reality since the people and objects exhibited were carefully curated to confirm ideas of cultural evolution. The Midway imagined itself as a true and objective depiction of the cultures exhibited there despite being a simulation of those cultures. The "layers" of representation at the fair and in the books come into play here as the Object Lesson fails to recognize them. The first layer exists as the Javanese people participate in their own culture at home in Java. The second layer sees them transported across the world to Chicago to be displayed in a manner suitable to the fair's lessons about human progress. A third and more limited view of this cultural representation is then created when a photographer makes images of the Javanese people, restricting the possible meanings decoded from examining them.

The Object Lesson cannot account for those layers through which people and cultures were continually re-presented because it assumes that what is seen is true. The supposed realism

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[63] Paige Raibmon, "Theatres of Contact: The Kwakwaka'wakw Meet Colonialism in British Columbia and at the Chicago World's Fair," *The Canadian Historical Review* 81 (2000): 159.
[64] Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* (Ann Arbour MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1994), 6.

of such displays on the Midway turned strange civilizations into an object the viewer could see or read about but from which they were set apart in their status as visitors.[65] The issue for those who taught visual discrimination is that representations, created images of a distant reality, could not be criticized. If a Javanese man was seen acting lazy in a photo or in-person, the Javanese were lazy people. The Object Lesson was not able to account for the play acting and representations of culture that world's fairs served up to Western spectators. Dissonance is created when the viewer is taught that what is seen is true but what they see is really a fabrication. The Object Lesson as a visual discrimination method did not help students or readers to create new knowledge, rather, it confirmed the falsehoods and stereotypes of the fair through the naiveté of taking vision as fact. The case of the Javanese Village illustrates how the execution of the Object Lesson did not exist in a cultural vacuum but was reliant upon the cultural knowledge of its user. The Object Lesson did not produce new knowledge, but was instead another method used to repeat Western understandings of a cultural hierarchy.

[65] Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," 223.

Decoding the Ethic of the Drawing

As the boys experience the sights of the fair it is Phillip who takes photographic "views," and it is Harry who makes sketches of the amusing sights and people they encounter. The *Century* book contains two styles of drawings that differ in their formal properties and in the seriousness of their subject matter. Most of Harry's drawings are small "off-hand sketches" or caricatures used to depict amusing situations. Usually they are simple line drawings that illustrate humorous encounters between people in the narrative. An example of this drawing style is the sketch of a man walking past a distorting mirror (figure 1.11). The other form of drawing in the book is more technically refined, used to depict exhibits such as animals or the unexaggerated appearance of fair-goers (figure 1.12). These more detailed drawings are larger and exemplify a finer handling of the formal properties of drawing. In the course of examining how Jenks' book treats drawings in opposition to photographs, I begin by examining Harry's more detailed drawings from the Wild Animal Show through Barthes' three levels at which drawings are coded. Harry's two styles of drawing are then compared while examining the last level of coding where the drawing style itself contains meaning. I examine how the decoding of the two different types of drawings reinforces hierarchies concerning artistic styles and subjects.

The *Century* book emphasizes the more refined culture of drawing in a similar manner to Bain's theory of art cultivation. Drawing from life was an important skill to Bain and the Object Lesson as a concrete method for creating the discerning art lover. For Bain, "art cultivation" meant guiding and purifying the subject's taste or art sensibility. Art cultivation could be achieved through viewing or creating art that instilled the positive effects of symmetry, order, proportion, rhythm, and simple design, subsequently reinforced by the ideal classroom

environment.[66] Bain recognized that many people who appreciate art are not artists themselves but nonetheless believed that practicing art is the most straightforward way to create an art sensibility in the subject. Drawing has the ability to refine the mind and body by promoting natural retentiveness, more delicate senses, and enhanced concentration induced by pleasurable emotion.[67] The *Century* book attempts to teach its readers the cultural codes for basic art appreciation and, according to the Object Lesson, refine their minds and bodies in the process. Bain understood that an appreciation for art came from having knowledge about how it is created. Having an understanding of how an artist uses line or composition is the beginning of learning the cultural codes that make deciphering art possible.[68]

If photographs appear to translate only literal information without human interference, then drawing, even when seemingly literal, is an example of a more subjective coding process. For Barthes, drawings are coded on three levels, the first is that reproducing an object through drawing requires following a set of rules for transposition.[69] These rules for transposition are cultural rules that determine how the artist should transfer the appearance of a three-dimensional object to a two-dimensional surface. The drawings in the *Century* book provide positive examples of these traditionally-valued codes of transposition: line, light, the depiction of three-dimensional space, and composition. There is no universal method for image reproduction and so the *Century* book teaches readers Western cultural codes of drawing as a method of art cultivation. The image of the tiger Harry sketches at the Wild Animal Show provides a positive example of the rules of drawing (figure 1.12). The image exemplifies almost all of the primary

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[66] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 97.
[67] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 425-426.
[68] Pierre Bourdieu, "Outline of a Sociological Theory of Art Perception," in *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 1.
[69] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 43.

formal aspects in creating a proper drawing. The varying line weights and concentration of lines create the illusion of different textures of fur. The figure is also well composed on the page with the head turned in profile and placed according to the rule of thirds, at the intersection of two grid lines. The drawing is also accomplished for its use of light and dark, or contrast, to create visual interest. Pure black and white exist in the image, along with several subtle gradations of greys in between. The drawing of the tiger is also depicted in a manner so that it seems to occupy a three-dimensional space. The animal's body is proportionally accurate, with foreshortened legs and head that seems to recede into space. Attention is paid to the size and shape of body parts and facial features, creating a realistic drawing rather than an exaggerated one.

Object Lesson theorists promoted similar styles of drawing found in the Wild Animal Show section for its ability to train the senses and increase the natural power of discrimination.[70] Readers were taught to associate the act of drawing with traditional rules of transposition by examining examples of the proper use of formal properties. For Bain, properly executed drawings could refine physical capacities and heighten the powers of observation. Bain writes that when students draw from life, "…the form and perspective of the original must be attended to."[71] The result of the student following the rules of transposition is the acquisition of physical refinements in the hand. This mechanical skill is also a foundation for observational training by storing in the mind the knowledge of visible objects. Drawing and observation also "…compels the child to observe just what is necessary to the end and no more."[72]

[70] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 170.
[71] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 172.
[72] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 171.

The second way in which images are coded with meaning is through distinguishing between the significant and the insignificant.[73] During the act of drawing, the artist will choose to include or exclude elements that he or she sees. The artist may also choose to direct the viewer's attention to certain elements of the drawing by intervening in the subject, a feat more difficult to achieve in photography. The drawing of a lion on page eighty-one (figure 1.13) is another example from the Wild Animal Show in which what the artist believed was significant is obvious. The total composition of the lion, placed within the text, does not depict the full animal. The artist instead chose to depict only the head and upper body. The cropping of the image and the lion's mane directs attention to the face in the centre of the image. The face is also given the most attention in terms of detail and finish whereas the legs and mane become simple textures as they move away from the face. There is no sense of environment or background in the image. The artist has chosen to remove background details he believes to be unimportant, instead focusing on the single subject of the lion's face. The artist has rendered the facial features as the most interesting aspect of the animal. Specifically, the eyes are rendered with the pupil far back in the eye, emphasized by small circular lines extending to the eye's gleaming surface. There is also attention paid to the muscles and brows above the eyes, creating a more accurate and interesting image. The depiction of the nose also draws attention because of its contrast in texture with the fur of the body. The tones in the nose are more delicately blended than in the fur, creating the appearance of a smoother surface. The more careful detailing in the facial features as opposed to the legs helps to create a focal point in the image, creating distinction between the important and unimportant. The focus on depicting a single subject in the case of the face falls in line with the Object Lesson's method of removing extraneous detail to focus only on the key

[73] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 43.

properties of a single object. In the context of the Object Lesson this serves the purpose of teaching readers to distinguish between the important and the unimportant, of foreground and background. Viewers are encouraged to limit and exclude information that is not relevant to their study by blocking out extraneous details. This vision of exclusion benefits both the appreciation of art and the functioning of the Object Lesson by reinforcing the subject/object relationship through examining a single isolated specimen.

The last level of cultural coding in drawing occurs in the act of drawing itself. In drawing, Barthes states, that "… the relationship between the [denoted and connoted] messages is profoundly modified: it is no longer the relationship between a nature and a culture (as with the photograph) but that between two cultures."[74] The signs in a photograph seem natural whereas drawings more explicitly represent different cultures or styles to be decoded by the culture of the observer. The animal sketches in Jenks' book represent a form of cultural production that must interact with and be decoded by the culture of the viewer. The culture of drawing connoted from the animal sketches becomes more obvious when examined against the simpler and more numerous "off-hand sketches" produced by Harry, such as the man walking past a distorting mirror (figure 1.11).

This drawing does not exhibit many of the traditionally valued formal properties of Western academic art. In terms of the traditional values of line, composition, light, and space, this drawing is less refined than the animal drawings. The line weight in the drawing hardly changes except for a few thinner lines in the background to denote shadow. Contour line is used almost exclusively to define form and the interior of the figure is left blank. The composition is

[74] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 43.

fairly simple, with the two main elements of the man and the mirror placed diagonally opposite from each other to activate the small, rectangular image. The drawing contains only black and white tones due to the nature of the pen drawing with no evidence of subtler grays. The only suggestion of space in the image originates from the overlapping of forms, otherwise all of the elements seem to reside on a shallow two-dimensional plane. Like the animal drawings, the artist does distinguish between the significant and insignificant by leaving out representations of the surrounding area to put visual focus on the man and the mirror. Because of their exaggerated handling of form, the off-hand sketches represent a different culture or style of drawing than the animal drawings.

Encoded within both styles of drawing are different cultural connotations. The animal show drawings represent a culture that values a more representational image and artistic complexity in the handling of form. For educators and authors, art sensibilities directly aided in education and acted as a moral power to refine the thoughts of young pupils.[75] The off-hand sketches demonstrate a drawing style associated with caricature rather than with fine art. The distorting mirror drawing creates an amusing narrative by exaggerating its handling of form, a practice common to caricature. The image contrasts the tall, upright gentleman with his distorted reflection, a squat man with shoulders up to his ears. The man in the mirror looks back at his original, creating a narrative where the familiar image of the self is re-produced to be strange and unfamiliar. The drawings from the animal show lack similar narrative elements but choose to faithfully represent the features of each animal through artistic prowess. Those drawings connote

[75] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 96.

different aspects of the animal through their rendering of fur, whiskers, nose, mouth, eyes, and muscles; they also connote artistic skill in the execution of formal properties.

Based upon the formal properties of the drawings and their reproduction in the book, Jenks promotes the hierarchies of art advocated for by Bain. Concerning the cultivation of an appreciation for art Bain writes, "The cultivation of taste further implies discrimination and judgement of effects; it warns us against being pleased with certain things, on the ground that to be so pleased … interferes with the highest enjoyment of art…"[76] In terms of the Object Lesson, the animal drawings can sustain a more in-depth analysis of their formal properties whereas Harry's sketches rely less on artistic sophistication than the immediate pleasure of their comical narratives. Bain's emphasis on artistic judgement and warnings against pleasure reproduces a dichotomy of taste studied by Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. The dominant or cultured class values the chaste and the austere as a mark of transcendence over the emotional, irrational, or immediate satisfaction of desires of the mass audience.[77] Both Bain and Jenks' book participate in the promotion of hierarchies of subject and style by emphasizing the qualities of traditionally refined drawings.

Jenks also establishes artistic hierarchies in his book through the placement and prominence given to the drawings on the page. The difference in how the book treats the reproduction of traditional drawings versus Harry's sketches is most obvious in the layout that features the distorting mirror image (figure 1.14). The illustration of the man on the left is drawn in a style similar to the animals and is large, centrally placed, and featured on a page entirely to itself. The sketch of the distorting mirror is small and sublimated to the text, squeezed into one

[76] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 428.
[77] Marjorie Garson, *Moral Taste: Aesthetics, Subjectivity and Social Power in the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 28-29.

corner of the page's layout. On other pages where artworks from the fair are reproduced, such as page 135 which depicts Carl Marr's *The Flagellants,* artworks are reproduced on an entire page unto themselves like the more refined drawings (figure 1.15). The book's artistic hierarchies are reflected in the size, placement, type, and pleasure associated with the reproduced images.

The style of drawing in the animal show section promotes a form of "art cultivation" due to its opposition with the caricature style of the off-hand sketches. The drawings in the book encourage Bain's art cultivation through teaching the cultural codes associated with art and attempting to influence the moral and educational refinement of its readers. The book teaches readers about basic artistic codes by comparing simple caricatures with more detailed images to emphasize the formal qualities of serious art. These drawings are also evidence of the book's cultural attitudes towards art, where the animal drawings promote an academic and traditional style in comparison to the small, amusing, and simple off-hand sketches. One stated purpose of the Object Lesson was to mature the observing faculties of the subject, helping him or her to discriminate between "nice shades of colour" by drawing attention towards them.[78] Drawing attention to the nicer shades in the animal drawings reproduces cultural hierarchies associated with artistic styles. Bain emphasizes discriminating between degrees of drawing in order to have students reproduce value judgements concerning artistic styles. The Object Lesson did not necessarily help students produce new knowledge for themselves by interrogating the world around them, but taught them to discriminate based upon established artistic or even cultural hierarchies when faced with new visual phenomena.

[78] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 132.

In rare cases, Jenks does hint at the ability of the Object Lesson to be used in a relatively objective manner to see through cultural stereotypes. The images and text in Jenks' book rarely treat visual phenomena critically and without reproducing cultural hierarchies. The distorting mirror drawing is one example where Jenks hints that representations are distortions of reality, as the man's image in the mirror barely resembles his actual figure. The most obvious example of critical looking in the book comes from the Object Lesson of a Guyanese sandal. In this textual lesson, close examination inverts the boys' cultural preconceptions. As the Object Lesson begins with the familiar and then, through careful observation, brings out unnoticed qualities, it could be used to learn more about unfamiliar objects and cultures. After visiting the Midway, the boys and their tutor Mr. Douglass visit the Agricultural Building where the tutor remarks:

> [Fair-goers] cannot help picking up clearer ideas of the world and its inhabitants as they go through these buildings… We thus get rid of many a foolish mental picture. We cease to imagine that all the Chinese are continually flying kites and smoking opium, or that all Spaniards are eternally strumming guitars in the sunshine.[79]

Immediately following this discussion, the tutor points to an odd looking Guyanese sandal with numerous leather straps attached to it. The boys believe this to be strange at first, but when the tutor encourages the boys to think about the use of the many straps, they come to the conclusion that the sandal's odd appearance results from its ingenious design. They conclude that the extra straps could be used to repair the sandal if the first strap breaks; having the extras attached to the sandal was the easiest way to carry them.

[79] Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book*, 143.

This Object Lesson plays out almost exactly like Adonijah Welch's lesson about the eye. In his lesson, students were asked about the function of the eye and begin by reciting the obvious function of sight. When encouraged further by the teacher, they also find that eyelids and lashes have less obvious but just as important functions for seeing, keeping dust out of the eyes for example.[80] Students of the Object Lesson start with the obvious (an odd sandal) and are encouraged by their instructor to find non-obvious and practical uses for the object. As an Object Lesson, the sandal seems to subvert the typifying of races as strange or unintelligent. There is no photograph or illustration of the Guyanese sandal but its discussion raises questions about Jenks' earlier construction of racial types and the degree to which they were created for personal or commercial purposes.

This considerate display of other cultures does not exist in other areas of the book. Even though the photographing of racial types was declining as a serious anthropological method in 1893, the ethnographic picturesque was still in high demand.[81] These images were still very popular in printed material such as illustrated journals and stereoscopic views used for teaching children about the cultures of the world. Ethnographic photographs of the exotic other were also consumed as a method of armchair travel in the Victorian age.[82] The presence of the typifying and "exotic" images in Jenks' book could satisfy popular market demands for in-situ photos of the fair and the public's taste for images of the exotic other. The audience for the book would expect photographs of exotic sights having purchased a book about the World's fair. Jenks likely captured and included the photographs of the racial other to appeal to the book-consuming audience. Consciously or not, Jenks creates images that fall in line with common practices of

[80] Adonijah Strong Welch, *Object Lessons: Prepared for Teachers of Primary Schools and Primary Classes* (New York: A. S. Barnes & Burr Publishers, 1862), 14.
[81] Ryan, *Picturing Empire,* 181.
[82] Osborne, *Travelling Light,* 57.

representing the racial other. However, he hints at the subversive abilities of the Object Lesson in a single instance of its employment.

Jenks presents the typified view of the subaltern only to subsequently hint at the ability of close looking to dismantle it. When the tutor, Mr. Douglass speaks about looking at other cultures, he says that it gets rid of the foolish mental pictures that exist in our minds.[83] The example of the sandal certainly seems to do this, and it raises questions about how readers decoded the other typified representations in the book. However, both the case of the sandal and Welch's lesson on the eye use objects that are physically present. I have demonstrated the faults of the Object Lesson pedagogy when it is stretched to examine representations. In the form of text, photographs, and drawings, representations were inadequately decoded using the Object Lesson. Although the Object Lesson could not account for the layers of representation found in an image, it does seem to work well with an object that is physically present. The example of the sandal might also lull readers into believing that the Object Lesson always produces truthful results. Putting total faith in the Object Lesson's method would only continue to take vision at face value.

Tudor Jenks' *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls* functions like an amusing encyclopedia of the fair, using visual materials to teach cultural lessons. It offers numerous forms of visuals with which to engage, including a panoptic cover design, photographs, refined drawings, and off-hand sketches. Through these visuals, the book also attempts to teach the practices of visual discrimination, of how to take a familiar sight and examine it from new perspectives to gain information. The book attempts to teach the method of

[83] Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book*, 143.

visual discrimination as an objective practice for readers to gain knowledge from the book and sights around them. However, the Object Lesson did not help students create new knowledge for themselves as intended, but rather encouraged them to reproduce the accepted cultural codes of looking. Partly, this comes from the Object Lesson's treatment of the visual as fact. The visual method it used did not account for the creation of representations, assuming that the fair and its visual representations – both drawings and photographs – were objective documents. The Object Lesson also encouraged students to reproduce cultural beliefs due to its ties to the pseudo-scientific methods of physiognomy. The photograph, the drawing, and the eye acted in tandem, claiming to produce truthful documents and empirical evidence despite being clouded by the "science" of social evolution. The Object Lesson could be both dangerous and emancipatory. It could be complicit within contemporary ethnographic claims of racial superiority or it could help its users to look past those very beliefs.

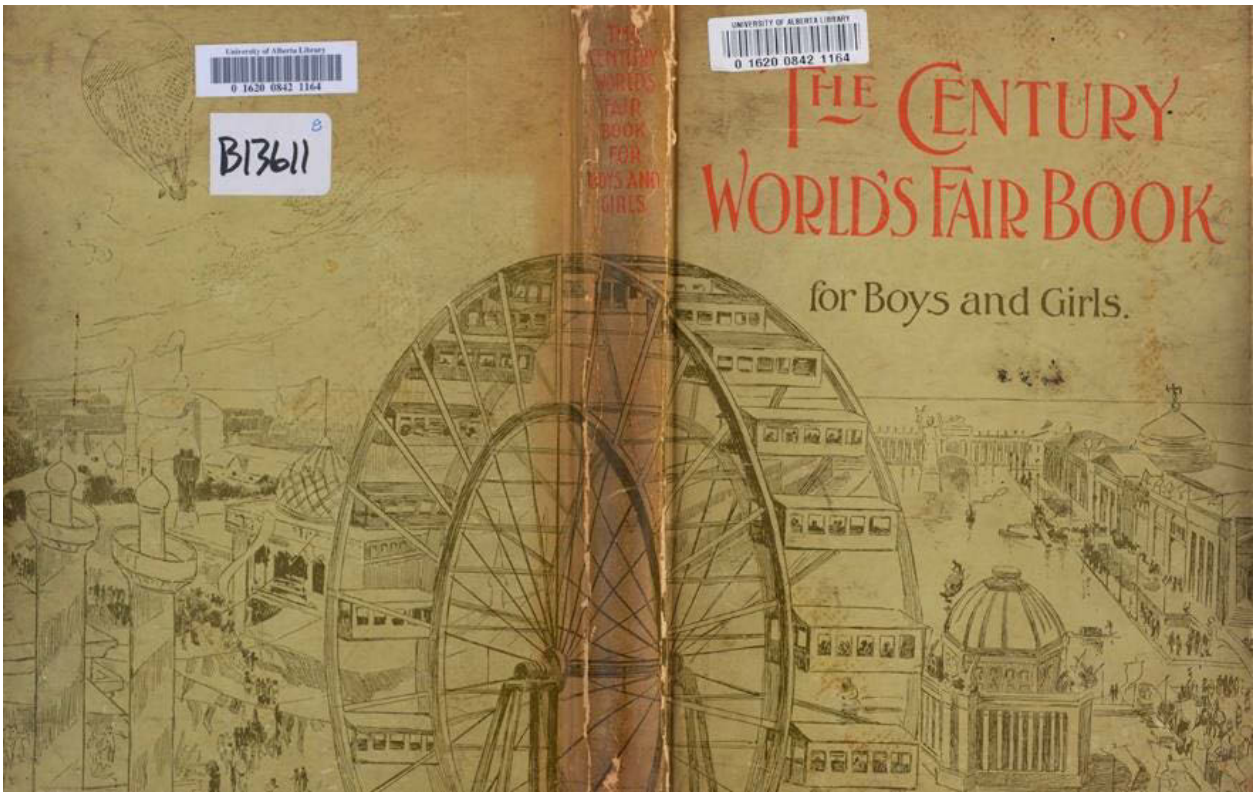
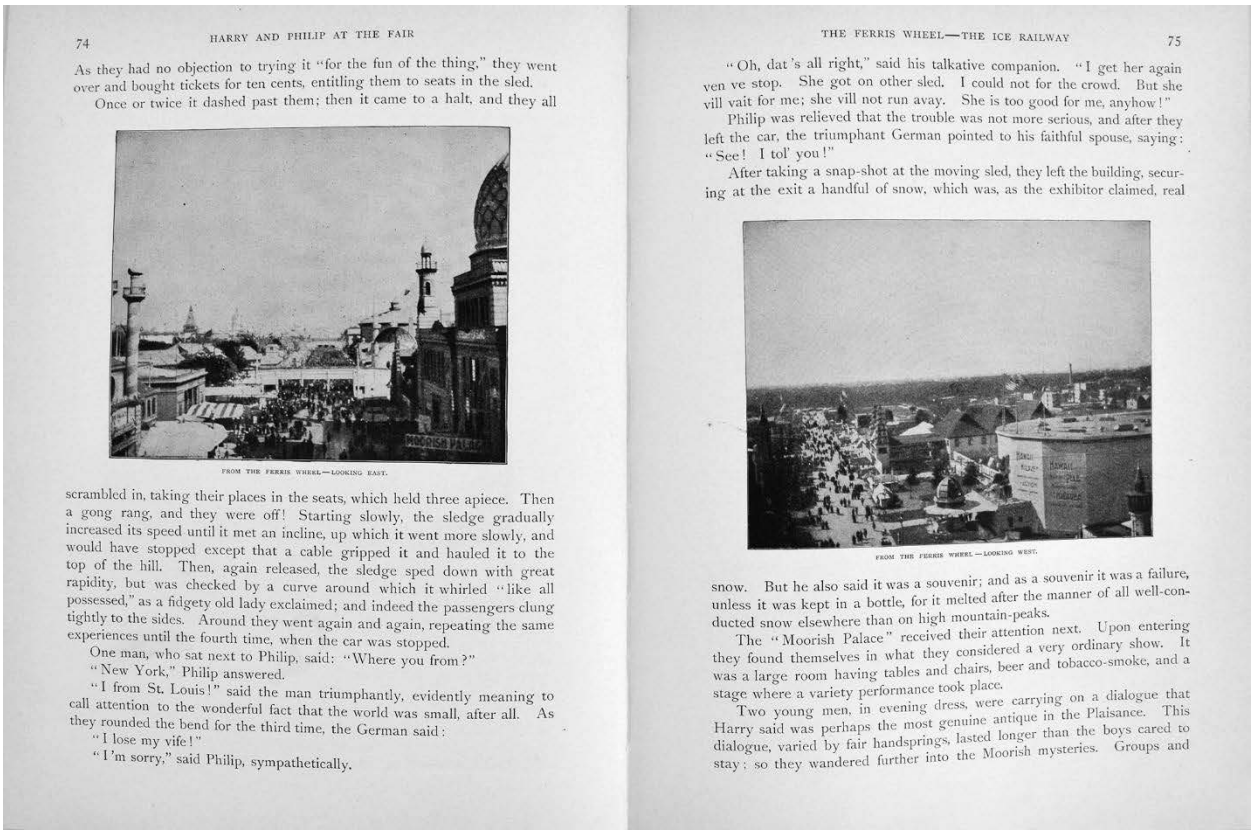


Fig. 1.1 Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls.* New York: The Century Company, 1893, cover.

Fig. 1.2 Édouard Manet, *A View of the 1867 Exposition Universelle*, 1867, oil on canvas, Oslo, Norway, National Museum of Art, Architecture, and Design.

Fig. 1.3 Nadar, *Aerial View of the Quartier de l'Etoile*, 1860, albumen print, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, France. Available from: ARTstor, http://www.artstor.org (accessed June 19. 2017).



74 HARRY AND PHILIP AT THE FAIR

As they had no objection to trying it "for the fun of the thing," they went over and bought tickets for ten cents, entitling them to seats in the sled.

Once or twice it dashed past them; then it came to a halt, and they all

FROM THE FERRIS WHEEL — LOOKING EAST.

scrambled in, taking their places in the seats, which held three apiece. Then a gong rang, and they were off! Starting slowly, the sledge gradually increased its speed until it met an incline, up which it went more slowly, and would have stopped except that a cable gripped it and hauled it to the top of the hill. Then, again released, the sledge sped down with great rapidity, but was checked by a curve around which it whirled "like all possessed," as a fidgety old lady exclaimed; and indeed the passengers clung tightly to the sides. Around they went again and again, repeating the same experiences until the fourth time, when the car was stopped.

One man, who sat next to Philip, said: "Where you from?"

"New York," Philip answered.

"I from St. Louis!" said the man triumphantly, evidently meaning to call attention to the wonderful fact that the world was small, after all. As they rounded the bend for the third time, the German said:

"I lose my vife!"

"I'm sorry," said Philip, sympathetically.

THE FERRIS WHEEL—THE ICE RAILWAY 75

"Oh, dat 's all right," said his talkative companion. "I get her again ven ve stop. She got on other sled. I could not for the crowd. But she vill vait for me; she vill not run avay. She is too good for me, anyhow!"

Philip was relieved that the trouble was not more serious, and after they left the car, the triumphant German pointed to his faithful spouse, saying: "See! I tol' you!"

After taking a snap-shot at the moving sled, they left the building, securing at the exit a handful of snow, which was, as the exhibitor claimed, real

FROM THE FERRIS WHEEL — LOOKING WEST.

snow. But he also said it was a souvenir; and as a souvenir it was a failure, unless it was kept in a bottle, for it melted after the manner of all well-conducted snow elsewhere than on high mountain-peaks.

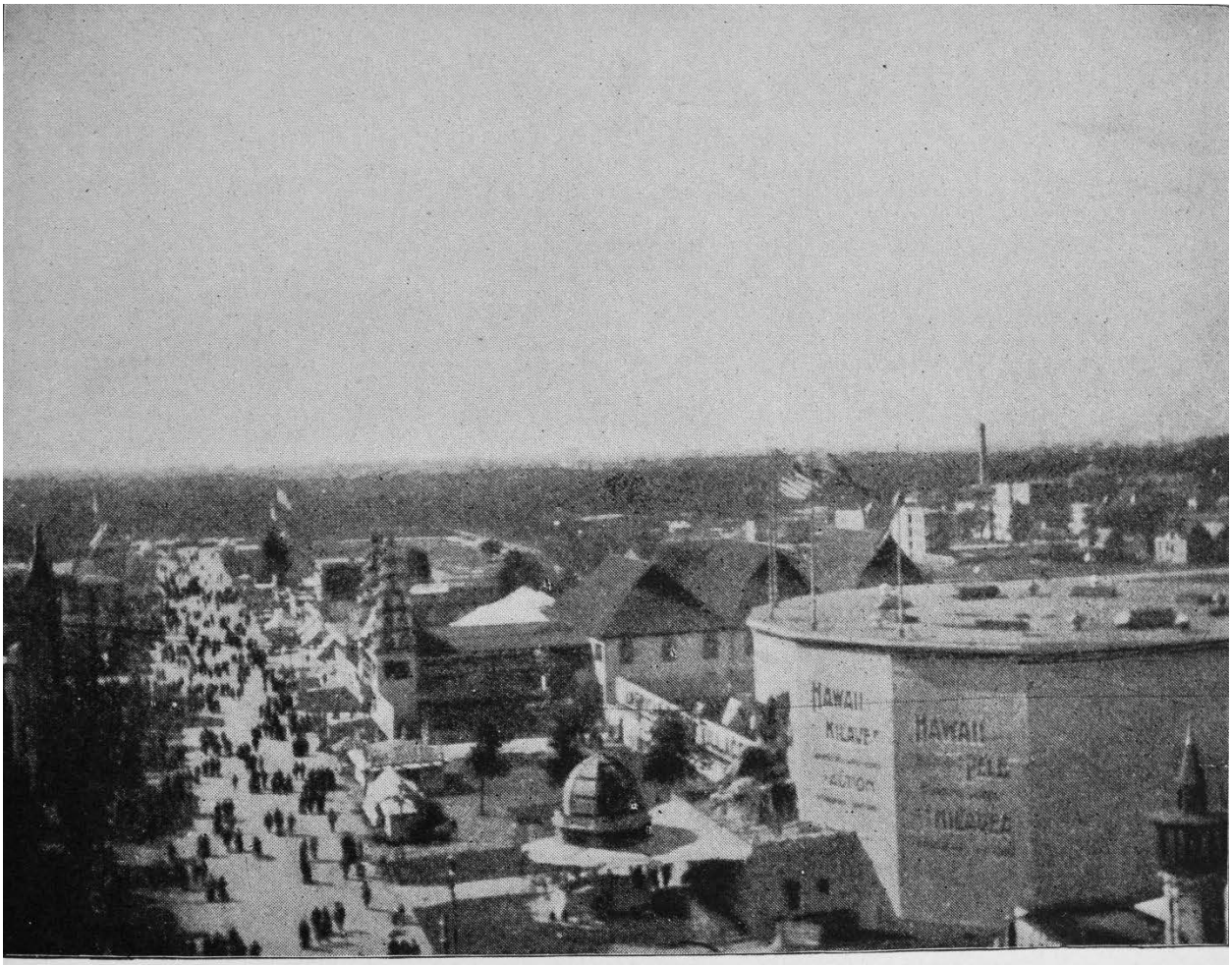
The "Moorish Palace" received their attention next. Upon entering they found themselves in what they considered a very ordinary show. It was a large room having tables and chairs, beer and tobacco-smoke, and a stage where a variety performance took place.

Two young men, in evening dress, were carrying on a dialogue that Harry said was perhaps the most genuine antique in the Plaisance. This dialogue, varied by fair handsprings, lasted longer than the boys cared to stay; so they wandered further into the Moorish mysteries. Groups and

Fig. 1.4 Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls.* New York: The Century Company, 1893, 74-75.

FROM THE FERRIS WHEEL — LOOKING EAST.

Fig. 1.5 Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls.* New York: The Century Company, 1893, 74.



FROM THE FERRIS WHEEL — LOOKING WEST.

Fig. 1.6 Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls.* New York: The Century Company, 1893, 75.

Fig. 1.7 Keystone View Company, *Tortilla Making, Salvador,* 1920. Stereographic Photograph, Washington D.C.: Division of Cultural History Lantern Slide and Stereographs Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Washington D.C.

THE WATER-WHEEL IN THE JAVANESE VILLAGE.

Fig. 1.8 Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls.* New York: The Century Company, 1893, 58.

Fig. 1.9 Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls.* New York: The Century Company, 1893, 61.

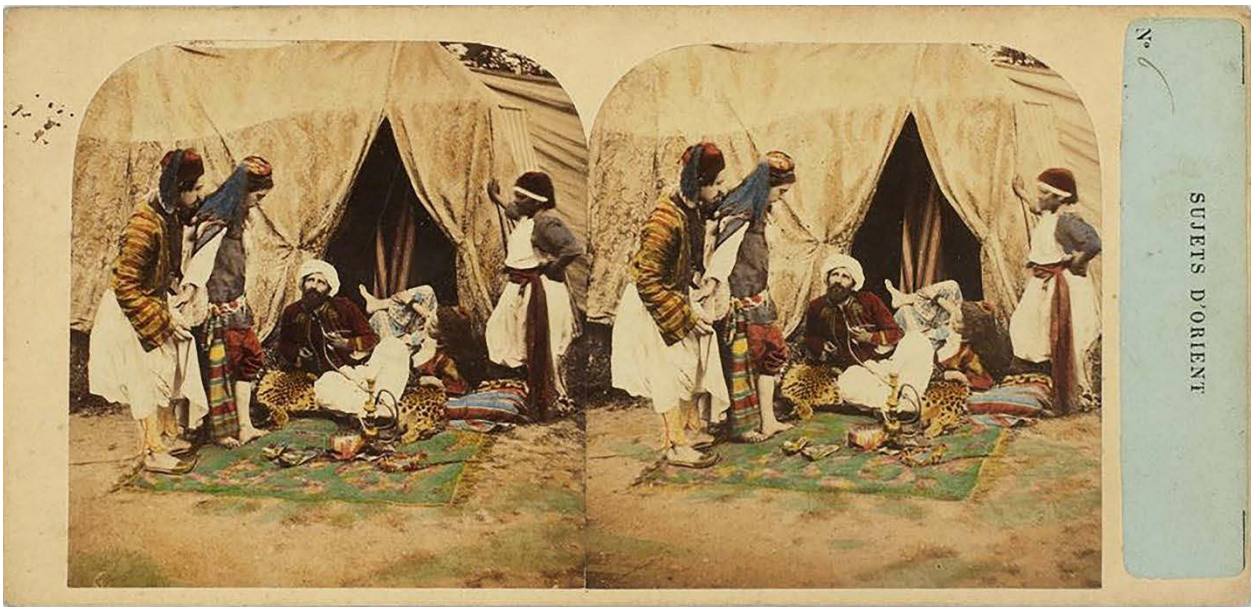


Fig. 1.10 Furne Fils & H. Tournier & Drier, *Orientaals Tafereel (Oriental Scene)*, 1858, Hand-coloured albumen silver print, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Available from: ARTstor, http://www.artstor.org (accessed March 16. 2017).

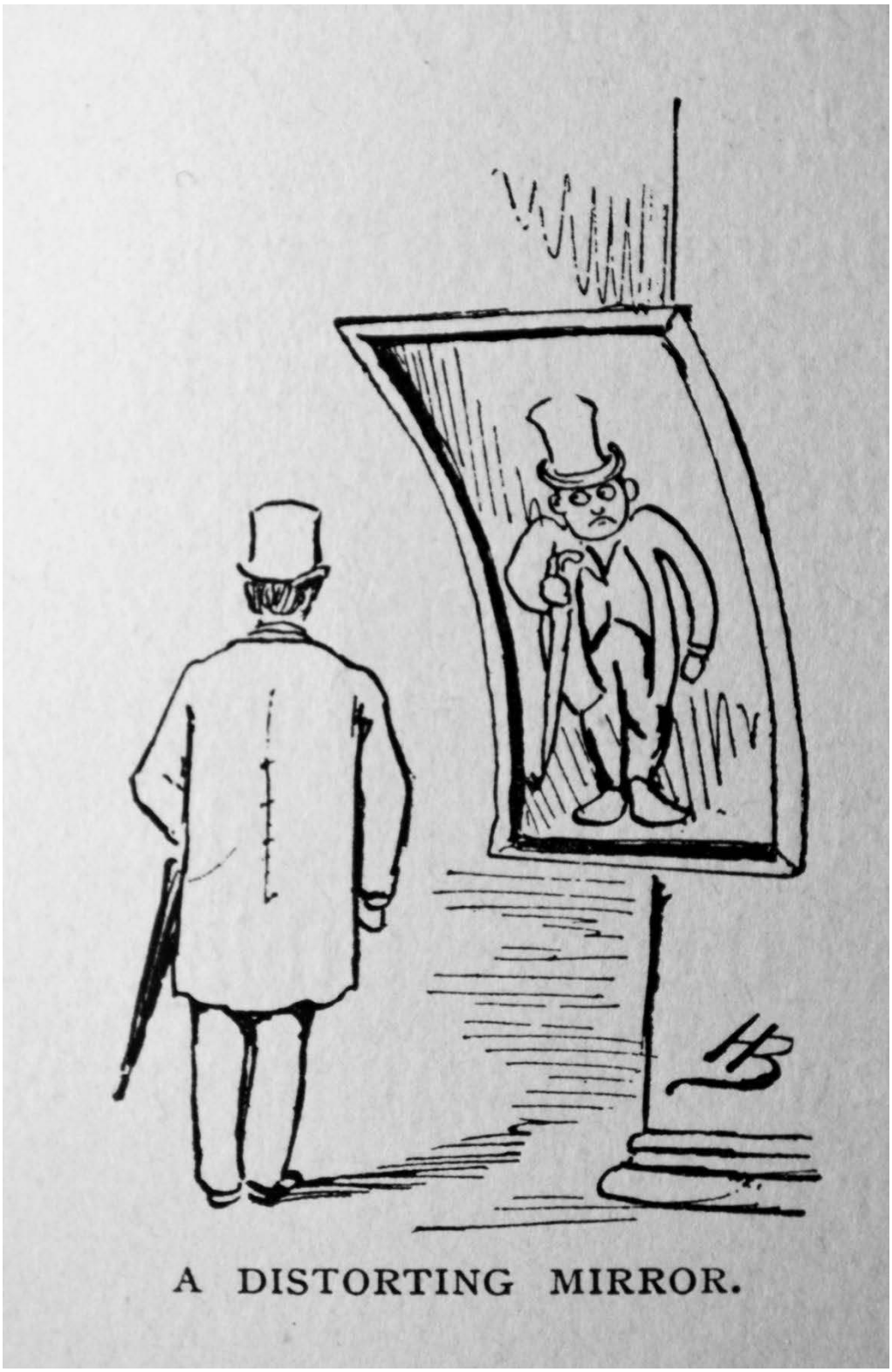


Fig. 1.11 Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls.* New York: The Century Company, 1893, 113.

Fig. 1.12 Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls.* New York: The Century Company, 1893, 80.

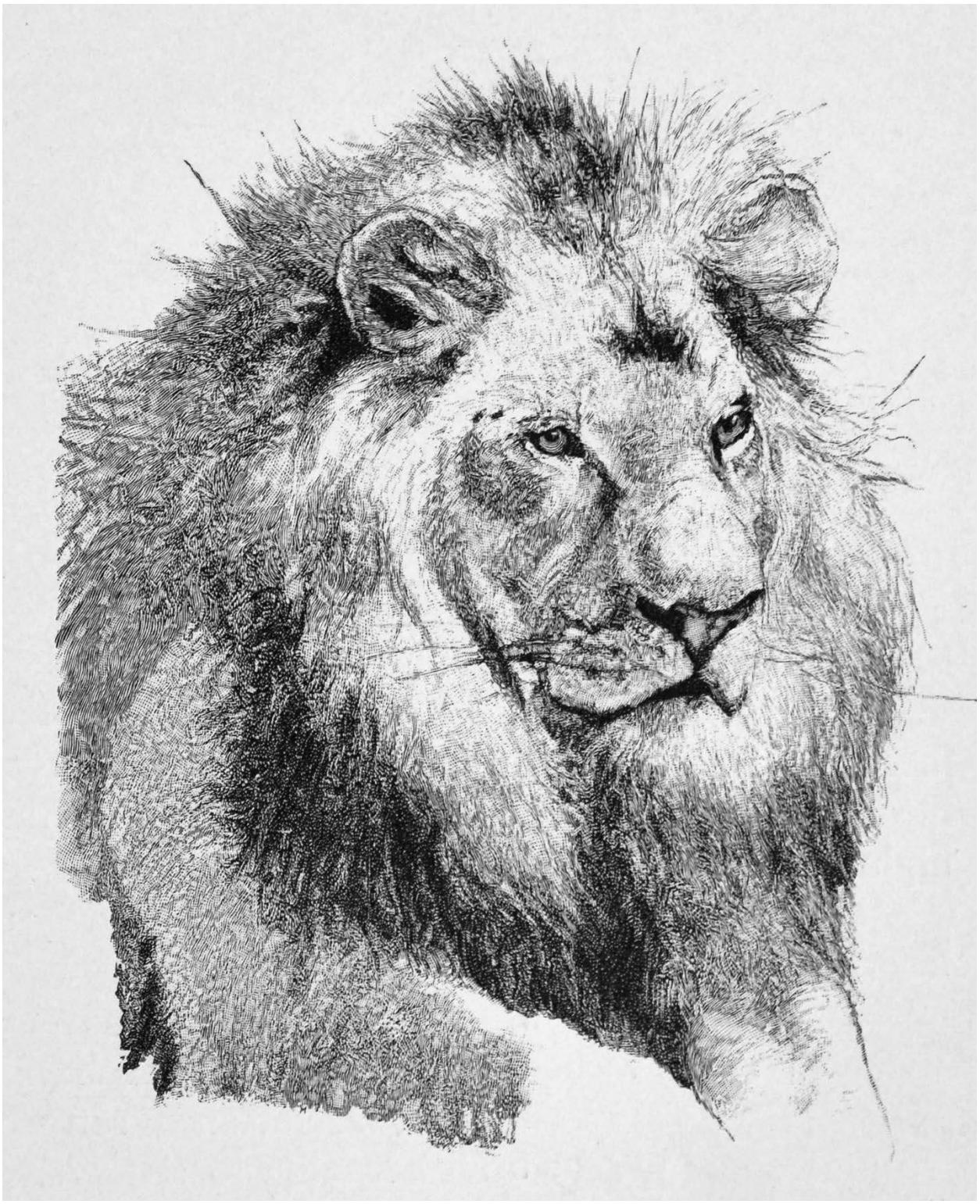
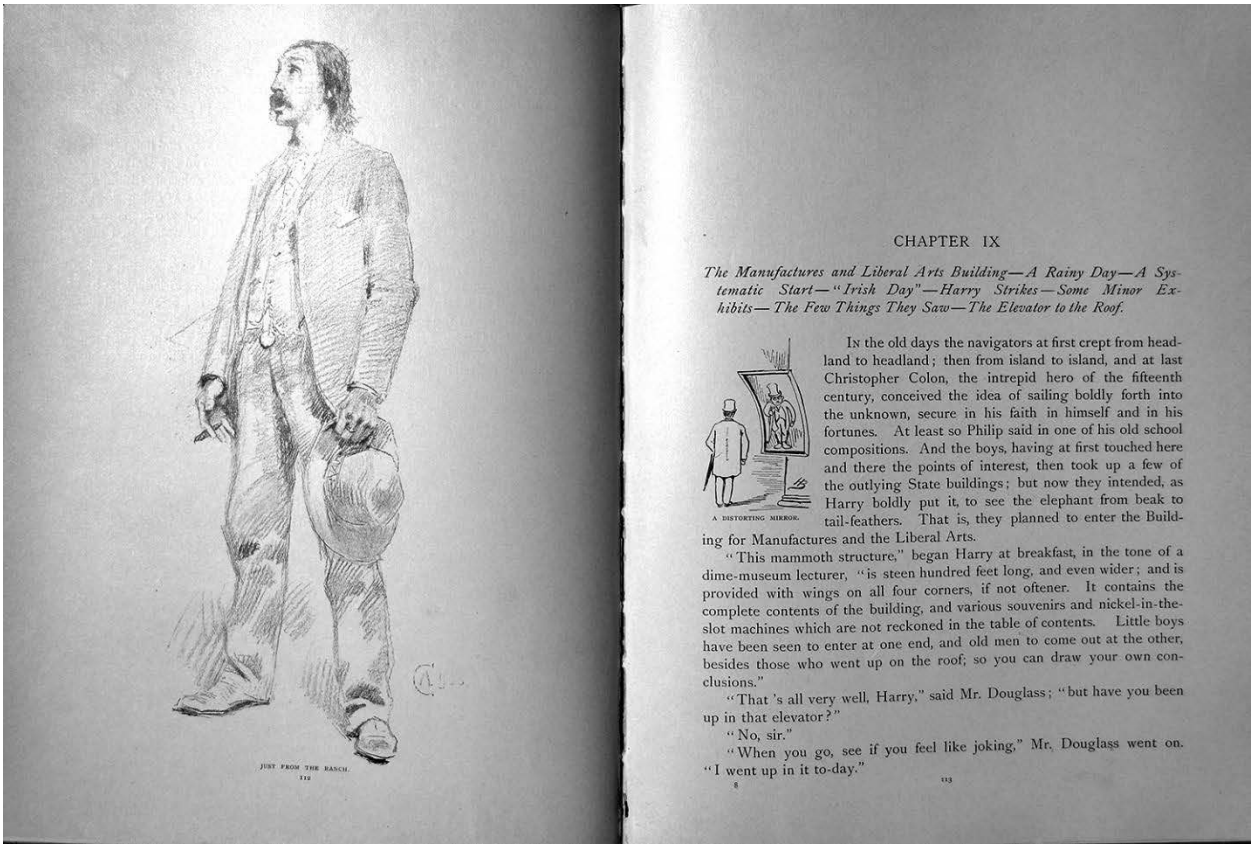


Fig. 1.13 Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls.* New York: The Century Company, 1893, 81.



JUST FROM THE RANCH.

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CHAPTER IX

The Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building—A Rainy Day—A Systematic Start—"Irish Day"—Harry Strikes—Some Minor Exhibits—The Few Things They Saw—The Elevator to the Roof.

A DISTORTING MIRROR.

In the old days the navigators at first crept from headland to headland; then from island to island, and at last Christopher Colon, the intrepid hero of the fifteenth century, conceived the idea of sailing boldly forth into the unknown, secure in his faith in himself and in his fortunes. At least so Philip said in one of his old school compositions. And the boys, having at first touched here and there the points of interest, then took up a few of the outlying State buildings; but now they intended, as Harry boldly put it, to see the elephant from beak to tail-feathers. That is, they planned to enter the Building for Manufactures and the Liberal Arts.

"This mammoth structure," began Harry at breakfast, in the tone of a dime-museum lecturer, "is steen hundred feet long, and even wider; and is provided with wings on all four corners, if not oftener. It contains the complete contents of the building, and various souvenirs and nickel-in-the-slot machines which are not reckoned in the table of contents. Little boys have been seen to enter at one end, and old men to come out at the other, besides those who went up on the roof; so you can draw your own conclusions."

"That 's all very well, Harry," said Mr. Douglass; "but have you been up in that elevator?"

"No, sir."

"When you go, see if you feel like joking," Mr. Douglass went on. "I went up in it to-day."

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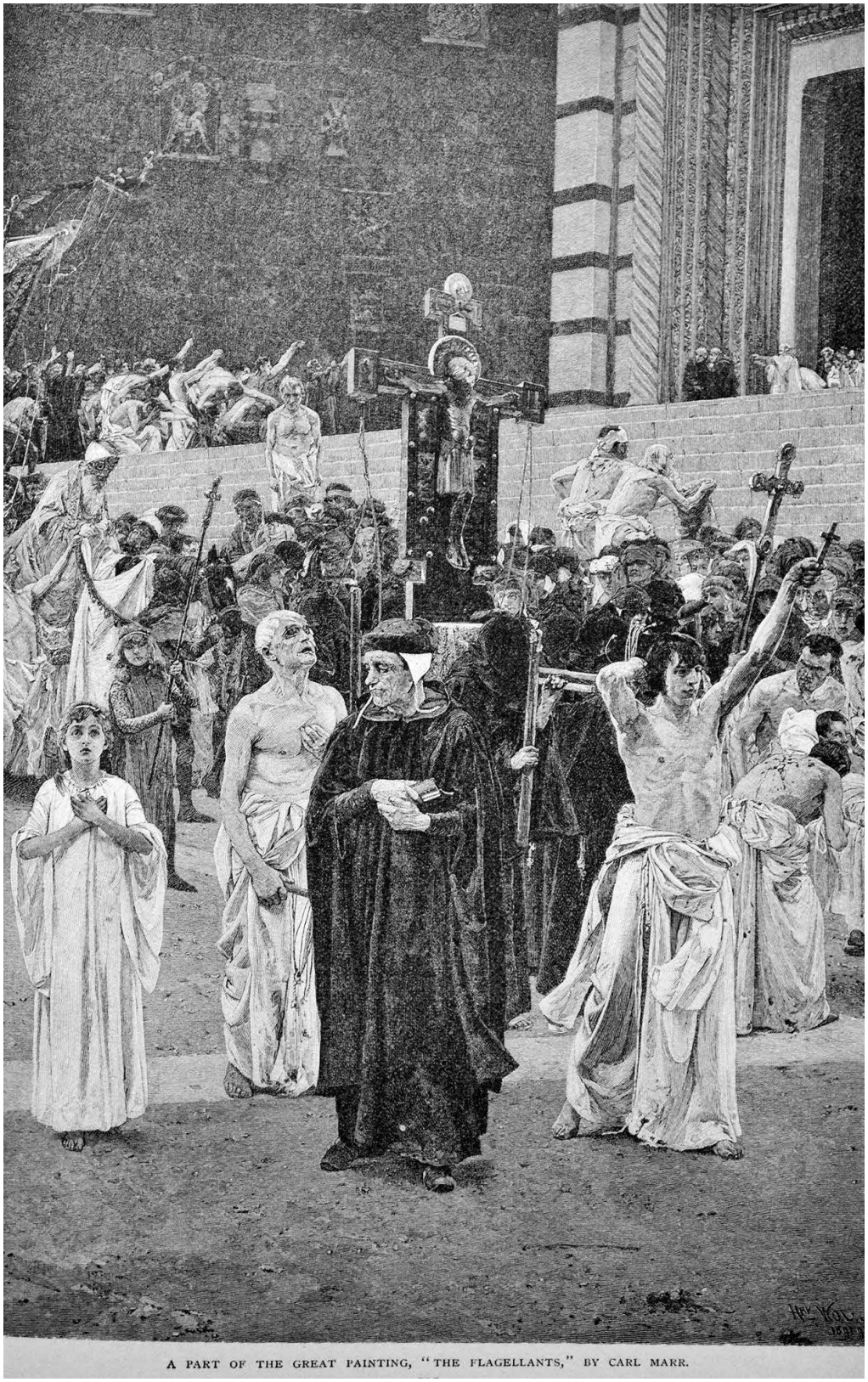
Fig. 1.14 Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls.* New York: The Century Company, 1893, 112-113.



A PART OF THE GREAT PAINTING, "THE FLAGELLANTS," BY CARL MARR.

Fig. 1.15 Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls*. New York: The Century Company, 1893, 135.

Chapter Two: The Conceiving Faculty

As the twin protagonists of Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* (1895) imagine journeying to the Chicago fair, "It was Meg whose imagination was the stronger and it is true that it was always she who made pictures in words and told stories. But Robin was always as ready to enter into the spirit of her imaginings…"[1] Meg is able to create "pictures in words" for two audiences, her brother Robin and the readers of the book. The novel is focused upon promoting the imaginative possibilities of the reader through Burnett's descriptive prose. The format of Burnett's book is like many other Victorian-era novels, containing only twelve illustrations in its nearly two-hundred pages. There are much fewer illustrations in Burnett's book compared with Jenks', hinting at a difference in how readers visually engage with each text. Jenks' book emphasizes studying photographs and drawings that picture the narrative whereas Burnett allows readers to fill in the visual gaps of the book for themselves. In light of Burnett's focus on imagination, I examine how her book reflects aspects of Alexander Bain's Conceiving Faculty in its cover illustrations, the way the characters look at the exhibits, and its illustration style. Each of these teaches a complimentary visual approach to the Object Lesson. I introduce Burnett's book by way of its author, illustrator, narrative arc, and reception. Roland Barthes' "Rhetoric of the Image" continues to provide a method to decode the text and image combinations within. I argue that Burnett's description of an Aesthetic, sympathetic, and ethical form of vision is exemplified by the Conceiving Faculty, offering a different approach to the Object Lesson.

[1] Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress: A Story of the City Beautiful* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1895) 53.

Bain defines the Conceiving Faculty as, "[realizing] a picture of what we have not seen; the usual medium of presentation being language, with or without the aid of pictorial sketches."[2] The Conceiving Faculty can be imagined as a method that builds upon the Object Lesson. These two methods take successive approaches to teaching similar lessons about the objects and people of the world. While the Object Lesson teaches from tangible material objects, the Conceiving Faculty seeks to impress the sights of the world through the evocation of emotions as a result of imagination.[3] For Bain, these two pedagogical paths begin in different places but result in similar teachings. The Conceiving Faculty is only beneficial when it contributes to the student's "stock of useful conceptions" or experience of things from real life.[4] The Conceiving Faculty converges with the Object Lesson by promoting similar end goals. Like the Object Lesson, the Conceiving Faculty encourages students to re-examine objects in new ways to supposedly create knowledge and experience of the people and places of the world. The Conceiving Faculty builds upon some of the methods of the Object Lesson by asking students to extrapolate and imagine based on the signs of image and language. As visual teaching methods, the Object Lesson and Conceiving Faculty use different methods but are similar in their intent to encourage observation and develop knowledge about objects, people, and places.

For Bain, imagination and the Conceiving Faculty are connected to sympathy and the sharing of feelings for others. Bain praises the Conceiving Faculty for encouraging "ardour in any pursuit" as without imagination there "can be no genuine morality, no profound feeling of other men's sorrows…"[5] Bain also writes, "To enter into or conceive other people's feelings is an exercise in Sympathy… and is also a means to our enjoyment of history, poetry, and

[2] Alexander Bain, *Education as a Science* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1890), 124-125.
[3] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 216.
[4] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 216-217.
[5] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 124.

romance."[6] The Conceiving Faculty differs from the Object Lesson because it utilizes imagination, a key element in sympathizing and understanding the place of other people. Bain believes that the student's emotional and sympathetic response to imagining should be directed towards situations from real life if the Conceiving Faculty is to teach the student something new. The detriment of imagination for Bain is that it is strongly bound to individual bias and has the ability to produce extravagant emotions without any knowledge of the world being imparted. In Burnett's book, the imagination required by the reader produces emotions that are not directed towards a particular lesson but are enjoyed for their own sake.

In this chapter, I will consider how the twins' use of the Conceiving Faculty as a form of enjoyment is related to the tenets of the Aesthetic movement. Aestheticism in the late-nineteenth century was less of a focused movement than it was a loose collection of similar-minded individuals.[7] Aesthetes proclaimed the importance of beauty in art and life, claiming to reject utilitarianism and social or political causes. The notion that aesthetes created and appreciated art purely for its own sake has been seriously questioned. The evocation of beauty or art for art's sake requires some attention to the ways artists or critics have used the concept to solidify class, gender, or political positions.[8] By the 1890's, Aestheticism was experiencing a passing of the torch from older figures such as William Morris, Frederic Leighton, and Edward Burne-Jones, to emerging artists such as Aubrey Beardsley.[9] The writings of Walter Pater (1839-1894), from the 1870's and 80's, were also acknowledged as a major stylistic model for authors of the period.[10] Pater insisted upon the primacy of experience and the importance of the aesthetic response, much

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[6] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 125.
[7] Stephen Calloway, "The Search for a New Beauty," in *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860-1900*, ed. Stephen Calloway and Lynn Federle Orr (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), 11.
[8] Elizabeth Prettejohn, *Beauty & Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 9-10.
[9] Calloway, "The Search for a New Beauty," 21-22.
[10] Calloway, "The Search for a New Beauty," 22.

like Burnett does in her book. Synaesthesia and the interplay of sight with other senses was a cultural fascination in the 1890's, recalling the intersection of poetry, music, and painting.[11] The primacy of sensual perception was a focus of 1890's Aestheticism and is found throughout Burnett's novel. These Aesthetic beliefs and practices relate to how the Conceiving Faculty is used by the characters in Burnett's book. Primarily, the twins view the world for enjoyment rather than for a moral or social purpose. The manner in which the twins engage with the sights of the fair also follows ethical Aesthetic beliefs inspired by the writings of John Ruskin (1819-1900). Authors such as Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-1889) wrote about Ruskin's promotion of the innocence of the child's eye in appreciating form and for the combination of close-looking with imagination.[12] The welcoming of beauty and emotion in Burnett's book aligns it with the similar beliefs of the Aesthetic movement. In contrast, the Object Lesson affiliates itself with the scientific method, searching for knowledge rather than beauty.

Frances Hodgson Burnett, born in 1849 in Manchester, England, was an émigré to the United States. In 1865, she settled near Knoxville, Tennessee, but for the rest of her life she continued to divide her time between the United States and England. She received high praise for her many novels, the most well-known of which were *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886) and *The Secret Garden* (1911). *Fauntleroy* was a favourite of Louisa May Alcott, who remarked that it would "do the old as much good as the young."[13] *Fauntleroy* provided Burnett with a taste of popular success and sparked a frenzy for Fauntleroy merchandise, such as playing cards and candy.[14] Burnett's novels existed in a context where "rags to riches" stories were extremely

[11] Calloway, "The Search for a New Beauty," 22.
[12] Tomoko Eguchi, *Ethical Aestheticism in the Early Works of Henry James: The Shadow of John Ruskin* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 4-5.
[13] Beverly Lyon Clark, *Kiddie Lit: The Cultural Construction of Children's Literature in America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 18.
[14] Clark, *Kiddie Lit*, 18.

popular. Horatio Alger's *Ragged Dick* (1868) is a popular example of this trope. The titular character begins life as a bootblack but is determined to succeed in life. Burnett found success in writing for many audiences and received praise for her writing from critics and academics alike. However, as divides between young and adult literature and highbrow and lowbrow books widened in the twentieth century, it became popular for reviewers to chastise Burnett's apparent sentimentality. Her biographer wrote in 1929 that "Her novels had all the characteristics of mid-nineteenth-century feminine fiction; over-emotionalism, sentiment even to sentimentality, ultra-romanticism; but her sense of the dramatic… begot sympathy and interest in her readers."[15] During her life, Burnett's novels were usually very well-received. However, as the tastes of reading audiences changed, her style of writing fell out of favour.

Two Little Pilgrims' Progress contains illustrations by the popular artist Reginald Birch (1846 – 1943), who like Burnett, was an English immigrant to the United States. He moved to the United States as a teenager but spent a considerable amount of time working as an illustrator in Europe. He was a painter, watercolourist, and illustrator known for his drawings in such periodicals as *Saint Nicholas, Harper's Weekly*, *Scribner's*, and *Life*.[16] He illustrated no less than two hundred literary works, producing images for books by both Tudor Jenks and Burnett, creating the famous depictions of Fauntleroy.[17] There was some degree of admiration and demand for Birch's illustrations, and *Reginald Birch - His Book* was published in 1939 as a compilation of his most admired illustrations. This book takes a nostalgic tone, emphasizing

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[15] American Council of Learned Societies, *Dictionary of American Biography Vol. 3* (New York: Scribner, 1964), 298.
[16] "Birch, Reginald Bathurst." in *Benezit Dictionary of British Graphic Artists and Illustrators*, ed. Stephen Bury (Oxford,UK: Oxford University Press, 2012), http://www.oxfordreference.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/view/10.1093/acref/9780199923052.001.0001/acref-9780199923052-e-309.
[17] Elisabeth B. Hamilton, *Reginald Birch - His Book,* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939), xv.

Birch's influence on the "Golden Age" of American illustration and the generations of young reading Americans who consumed his images.

An 1895 *New York Times* review of *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* admired Burnett's contribution to the book and cared little for Birch's. The article remarks that her previous books had been widely read and "…now comes another, as clear and simple, as interesting and touching, as the best of them."[18] The reviewer summarizes the plot of the novel by describing the pilgrims, orphaned twins Meg and Robin who are aged twelve. They love books and have been living for four years with their Aunt Matilda on her farm in Illinois. The children are not ill-treated but their minds are neglected under their aunt's care. Meg has a vivid imagination whereas Robin, a boy, has a brain for business. One of their few possessions is a copy of John Bunyan's 1678 book *The Pilgrims' Progress from this World, to That Which is to Come*, an allegorical tale of the Christian life. This book, one of the most widely read in the nineteenth century, follows a character known as Christian on his journey towards the Celestial City (heaven). Meg and Robin hear of a City Beautiful to be built on the shores of Lake Michigan, and their knowledge of Bunyan's story and his arrival at the Celestial City guides their trip to the Columbian Exposition.

Throughout Meg and Robin's travels they continually find themselves in the presence of a man named John Holt. Holt is a wealthy but lonesome widower. The climax of the novel occurs when Holt informs the children and their guardian Aunt Matilda that he would like to adopt the children and provide them an education that will foster their curiosity. The majority of the novel describes the twins' travelling to the fair and their experiences at the exposition. The

[18] Anonymous, "Mrs. Burnett's New Story," *New York Times*, October 19, 1895, 3.

narrative ends with the orphans under the care of a man who nurtures their desire to learn and grow. Considering the similarities between the twins' journey and that of Bunyan's Christian, the Chicago fair equates to heaven and John Holt is a Christ-like figure who takes the neglected children into his care. The review of the book is glowing in its reception of Burnett's tale, writing that "Burnett's command of pathos is extraordinary."[19] The reviewer however was less appreciative of Birch's illustrations, simply writing that "[his] pictures do not help the reader," taking issue with slight changes in the appearance of the characters throughout the novel.

Burnett's novel functions like a fairy-tale, combining fantastic elements imagined by the characters with the real world they find themselves in. The twins of *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* have previously imagined Christian's Celestial City but now they can visit it in the form of the Chicago exposition. Burnett's book mixes the genres of realism and fairy-tales by combining a realistic setting with fantastical elements.[20] The overall structure of the novel resembles a fairy-tale, with the twins venturing to an extraordinary setting to find a resolution to their neglected state. The book marries the fairy-tale with realism by describing the people, places, and experiences of their journey without idealizing contemporary life. Burnett describes the cramped and noisy conditions of train travel, the twins' hunger due to poverty, and even the differing accents of those at the fair. Meg informs her brother and the reader of Burnett's intent saying, "We need not *pretend* it is a fairy story… It *is* a fairy story, but it is real."[21] The role of imagination helps the characters to more fully experience the fair and circumvent their lack of knowledge in a very real world.

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[19] Anonymous, "Mrs. Burnett's New Story," *New York Times*, October 19, 1895, 3.
[20] Asayesh, Maryam Ebadi & Arargüç, Mehmet Fikret, "Magical Realism and its European Essence," *Journal of History, Culture and Art Research* 6, no. 2 (March 2017): 26.
[21] Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress,* 97.

Sympathy for the Pilgrim

This section examines how the first images encountered by the reader operate in the context of nineteenth-century cover design to signify the book's American themes. The linguistic, denoted, and connoted messages of the cover and title page are examined for their role in hinting at the book's themes and providing a marketable image to make the book a desirable commodity. These images are also examined for their similarity with the messages of the fair, especially in conceiving of progress as a willed national activity towards a utopian goal.[22] The cover image alone makes many complex connections between the pilgrimage of those on the Mayflower, the pilgrimages of devout Medieval Christians, and the pilgrimage of Bunyan's Christian. I examine how the cover images of the book combine the themes of the characters' journey to the fair with those of religious and national progress. Through the reader's emotion and pathos, the images examined in this section establish the book's Anglo-American perspective.

The image printed on the blue-green cloth of the first edition of *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* uses artistic mediums, styles, and subject matter not found within the book to create a marketable object (figure 2.1). The cover is centrally aligned with the title, which is embossed in gold at the top of the composition. In the centre, a flattened, monochromatic depiction of the book's twin pilgrims is framed by the cover's negative space. This small, central image contains many iconographical references to pilgrimages throughout history. The children are dressed like Mayflower pilgrims arriving on the shores of the United States; they also display pilgrim's staves and scallop shells from the Camino de Santiago in Spain. The message of John Bunyan's pilgrim

[22] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1984), 46.

protagonist Christian is simultaneously connoted by the book's title. Behind the twins, a flattened pattern of vines begins to unfurl around them. At the bottom, an embossed gold ribbon separates the subtitle and author from a second line of scallop shells. The cover image is one of only two images that does not literally depict events from the pages of the novel. Because of this, it more explicitly engages with the Conceiving Faculty and the process of picturing. My use of the term "picturing" is specific and originates from Horst Dölvers' essay "Depiction vs. Picturing."[23] Depiction is a mimetic invitation to remember what has already been said, while picturing may entice readers to look beyond the plain recognisability of an image to find new significations for it.

The cover image's departure from depiction may be attributed to the fact that Victorian-era book covers rarely reproduced images from within the book since their duplication would seem redundant to readers. Instead, the cloth book bindings of the nineteenth century often used abstract patterns and stylized design elements to evoke an impression of the novel's contents.[24] The title of the book at the top and the gold ribbon on the bottom are embossed in gold into the cloth cover. Gold was often used in cover designs as a marketing technique to make the book appear elaborate and eye-catching. The gold material also reflects more light than the green cloth, helping it to catch a reader's attention. The embossed letters and ribbon could also help the book to stand out on a shelf. Books are tactile objects that are repeatedly handled and the ridges of embossment help Burnett's book to distinguish itself from other contemporary books like Jenks'. Book covers attempted to appear elegant, and depicted vague scenes that could appeal to the widest possible audience. The central image on the cover is intriguing because it offers little

[23] Horst Dölvers, "Depiction vs. Picturing: Subversive illustrations in a Victorian picture-book," *Word & Image* 7 (1991): 210.
[24] Frances Willis, "Innovative Cover Design: An Exploration of 19th- and Early 20th-Century Publishers' Cloth Bindings," *Art Libraries Journal* 38 (2013): 7.

context for why they characters are dressed as they are, what are running from, or where they are. The two characters are surrounded by a pattern of vines loosely suggesting earlier imagery by English Arts & Crafts designer William Morris.

The entire cover, and especially its typeface and layout, connotes an Arts & Crafts aesthetic. The Arts & Crafts Movement developed out of the British Isles in the second half of the nineteenth century and was popular in industrialized nations such as the United States.[25] The artists in the movement rejected the machine-made object and instead embraced traditional processes and unpretentious design in the decorative arts. According with this style, the typeface of the title has a hand-drawn quality in opposition to machine-made perfection. This is most obvious in the three "S's" in the lower-right of the title. The serifs on both ends of each letter vary in their angle and length. The width of each letterform is also different. The letters in the word PROGRESS also shrink and move upwards as they move to the right. The two "R's" on the right, above and below each other, are different sizes. The typeface on the cover with its serifs that go both directions and with little distinction between thick and thin strokes resembles the old-style Roman typefaces used by Arts & Crafts designers.[26] The imprecision of the typeface lends a hand-drawn or handmade quality to the book, which is also present in other Arts & Crafts designs.

The cover design and layout for *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* takes the Arts & Crafts position of disdaining decoration for its own sake. In discussing the appearance of Victorian book covers, American author John T. Winterich described them as "prettied up with filigree,

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[25] Alan Crawford. "Arts and Crafts Movement." *Grove Art Online*. *Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed August 2, 2017, http://www.oxfordartonline.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/subscriber/article/grove/art/T004452.

[26] Susan Otis Thompson, *American Book Design and William Morris* (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1977), 4.

scrollwork, curlicues, scrimshaw, doodads… drowned in gilt, or attired, like Joseph, in coats of many colours."[27] The exuberance of many Victorian cover designs can partly be attributed to the rise of advertising and the desire for a design that could scream above the rest. The design of Burnett's cover is much subtler than Winterich's description. The cover is mostly monochromatic in its use of teal, with gold to highlight only the title and small ribbon. The designer was unafraid of using a large amount of negative space to frame the central composition, a distinct difference from a cover such as Jenks'. Another strategy used to catch the eye in Victorian design was the use of many different typefaces of differing sizes. Burnett's cover uses only a single typeface, however, establishing a design hierarchy through a bold font and capital letters. The cover follows some tenets of Arts & Crafts design when it comes to its typefaces and layout, mainly in its use of an imperfect typeface referencing the handmade and a design that refuses superfluous ornament.

Turning to the cover's subject matter, the first connoted message is that of the Anglo pilgrim's struggle to settle a hostile land. The boy and girl on the cover of Burnett's book, presumably its main characters, are dressed like Mayflower pilgrims in the new land of America. Popular visual materials of the time, such as the 1876 Currier & Ives lithograph depicting the arrival of pilgrims in 1620 (figure 2.2), depicted the arrival of the pilgrims to America in similar dress. The male characters in both images have similar large, white collars, felt hats, doublets, and stockings. The female character on the book cover also has a coif or head covering similar to the women in the lithograph. The cover design of Burnett's book establishes a visual connection between the journey of her characters and the arrival of the pilgrims to America. The narrative of Burnett's book also has her pilgrims seeking the Chicago fair where the four-hundredth

[27] Thompson, *American Book Design and William Morris*, 3.

anniversary of Columbus' arrival in the Americas was commemorated. Both the cover design and the narrative connote the struggle of early pilgrims. The presence of thorns on the vines catching the girl's dress and the tendril that wraps itself around the boy suggest the dangerous surroundings the characters find themselves in. Recalling Bain's connection between imagination and sympathy, seeing and imagining the children caught in the threatening wilderness is to sympathize with them and their struggles. In this way, the book cover establishes an Anglo-centric perspective from which the narrative is told.

The repeated use of scallop shells and pilgrim staves on the cover of Burnett's book connotes another message related to pilgrimages and the pilgrim. In the late Middle Ages, a tradition of Christian pilgrims wearing the signs of their journey began with scallop shells acquired by those who journeyed along the Camino de Santiago in Spain.[28] Scallop shells were sold to pilgrims as they walked the roughly eight-hundred kilometer Camino de Santiago to the shrine of Saint James at the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. Scallop shells symbolize the apostle James, who was a fisherman before following Jesus and whose relics could be found inside Santiago de Compostela. The long staves that the children carry reinforce this connotation of a holy pilgrimage. It was common for Medieval pilgrims to carry walking sticks with *ampullae* or flasks tied to them to bring home holy water or oil from the site they visited. Similar to the use of Mayflower dress and the journey of Christian, the iconography of Medieval pilgrims signifies struggle and ardour in reaching a holy destination.

Connoted messages of Christianity also come from the vine that surrounds the pilgrims on the cover. The use of vines in the design of Burnett's book is similar to that of book designs

[28] Jennifer Lee, "Material and Meaning in Lead Pilgrims' Signs," *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 2 (2009): 153.

published by artists associated with the Arts & Crafts Movement such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *The House of Life*. In this instance, the vine envelops the text in a sea of layered foliage (figure 2.3). The designers of Arts & Crafts books often looked back to Medieval and early Renaissance manuscript design to decorate their pages. Burnett's book is no different. The designer of her book seems to have taken cues from Arts & Crafts designers who emulated Medieval or Renaissance book designs. A comparable example is a capital from Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung's illuminated manuscript of *Le Roman de la Rose* (figure 2.4). Both Burnett's cover and the capital make use of a patterned ivy vine identified by its thorns and three-pointed leaves.

Vines in illuminated manuscripts often had multiple connoted meanings related to both Antiquity and Christianity. Evergreen plants like ivy connoted protection or immortality.[29] The evergreen ivy vine was also the winter equivalent to the summer grape vine. Both grape and ivy vines were symbolic of the Roman god Bacchus and the blood of Jesus Christ.[30] In Northern Europe, ivy retained its pre-Christian connotations of a mid-winter contest between light and dark. The ivy vine's connotation of the blood of Christ, his struggle during crucifixion, and of the struggle between light and dark provides additional meaning relevant to the book's narrative.

The ivy pattern on the cover connotes some of the Christian themes within the story. The book's narrative is a loose re-telling of Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in which Christian struggles to find salvation in the Celestial City. The young twins find their salvation at the Chicago fair after their struggle to reach the exposition. The theme of salvation through struggle is present in the stories of Christ, Bunyan, and Burnett. The presence of ivy recalling salvation in

[29] Celia Fisher, "Flowers and Plants, the Living Iconography," in *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography,* ed. Colum Hourihane (New York: Routledge, 2017), 454.
[30] Fisher, "Flowers and Plants, the Living Iconography," 454.

Christ helps to connote the salvation of the twins at the fair when they reach their heavenly destination. Although subtle, the vine motif helps to draw parallels between heavenly salvation and national prosperity. The ivy design would be a two-dimensional and symmetrical composition if it were not for one tendril that begins to wrap itself around the boy's waist. This vine could reinforce the struggle of light against dark that ivy connoted. The characters fight against emotional and intellectual neglect (darkness) towards the fulfillment and light of the fair. At the beginning of the narrative, the characters Meg and Robin find themselves living in a barn, emotionally abandoned by their guardian Aunt Matilda. By the end of the novel they have progressed by attending the fair and finding a new guardian who nurtures their intellectual development.

The cover image is distinct from the images of the interior because of its use of Arts & Crafts imagery. Through material medium and subject-matter, the book's cover image distinguishes itself from the illustrations of the interior. Barthes wrote that the manner in which an image is created, or its style, will have repercussions for how it is decoded.[31] The flattened, linear, and monochromatic plant motifs of the Arts & Crafts style began to appear in U.S. book designs in the late nineteenth century. New Englander Bertram Goodhue was an early adopter of an Arts & Crafts style of book design in the United States. His page layouts for Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *The House of Life* (1894) were well received by Arts & Crafts critics (figure 2.3).[32] Reviewers claimed that his designs, "strongly suggest Mr. Morris' work in their general appearance" and that, "the borders, in feeling with the poems, are exceedingly good."[33] The designer of Burnett's book took cues from contemporary Arts & Crafts designs, which had

[31] Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image-Music-Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 43.
[32] Thompson, *American Book Design and William Morris*, 42.
[33] Thompson, *American Book Design and William Morris*, 44-45.

begun to be incorporated into book designs in the United States. Burnett's book imitates the flattened and patterned vine motif of the Arts & Crafts style but is not associated with the fine book publishing of that movement. Burnett's book is a mass-produced and marketable commodity that makes visual references to the revival of fine publishing connoted by the Arts & Crafts aesthetic. Burnett's book likely used this contemporary and popular visual style for perceived prestige and economic gain. *Pilgrims' Progress* is not a finely crafted object but one produced mechanically, associating itself with trends that might raise the object's artistic and economic value.

Arts & Crafts artists in the United States were just as concerned with reforming industrial production and incorporating traditional simplicity into their designs as their British counter parts.[34] Book designers were more willing to sell their products on an industrial scale, combining Morris' visual influence with large-scale production. The Roberts Brothers of Boston were the first to print the book designs of Morris in the United States, producing a photographic facsimile of Morris' *The Story of the Glittering Plain* in 1891 to mixed reception.[35] Over the next two years, Morris-inspired books were increasingly sought after by the book buying public. The publishers of Burnett's book, Charles Scribner's Sons of New York, were early adopters of the William Morris book design aesthetic with its dense motifs of floral patterns. The fact that the design of Burnett's book borrows from an aesthetic style for popular appeal is not surprising but it accounts for the distinct differences between the book's cover image and its illustrations. The cover of Burnett's book appeals to the book-buying public by participating in contemporary

[34] Crawford. "Arts and Crafts Movement."
[35] Thompson, *American Book Design and William Morris*, 30.

artistic trends. These aesthetic choices have repercussions for the connoted messages of the cover, reinforcing its emphasis on sympathy, the imagination, Christianity, and nationalism.

The cover's design emphasizes the process of picturing and the use of the Conceiving Faculty to sympathize with the object of vision. The process of picturing is an active process undertaken by readers to assimilate images into understood sign systems, similar to Barthes' understanding of how images are decoded by the viewer. The scallop shells and vines are not only meant to be understood in terms of what they denote but are also decoded by readers, creating new connoted messages relating to religion and nation. This process of picturing and decoding also relates to the intended audience of the book. These national and religious themes intended for Western audiences require an understanding of those cultures to produce sympathy for the characters. Bain linked sympathy and imagination when he stated that sympathy involves imagining the feelings of others.[36] The cover of Burnett's book assembles an image based in the imagination to create characters that can be identified and sympathized with by the book's contemporary audience.

The manner in which the cover creates sympathy for the pilgrims helps to establish the novel's perspective from the point of view of the United States. Christina Henderson engages in a close examination of how this perspective is established in her 2014 essay "A Fairy Tale of American Progress." In the essay, Henderson makes the case for *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* as a story of American exceptionalism. She first points to the Cinderella trope of a rags to riches tale where Meg and Robin begin as neglected orphans and seek their fortune at the Columbian Exposition. The fair commemorating Columbus' arrival in the Americas offered all of the

[36] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 125.

cultures and treasures of the world to the twin pilgrims. Much of the plot rests on the identification of Meg and Robin as Americans. The twins encounter various people and trials that test their moral fibre, testifying to their character as ideal citizens of the United States.[37] Meg and Robin are also idealized Americans because of their strong work ethic. The characters' embodiment of supposedly American characteristics such as a rigorous work ethic opens up the world to be inspected through their arrival at the fair. The book connects positive domestic virtues and the United States' ability to establish an imperial presence abroad.

The title page of the book is more similar to the cover than to the book's other illustrations in that it is not a literal depiction of the text. Like the cover, the title page depicts the characters in pilgrim dress (figure 2.5). The image contains the same connotations of struggle, with the depiction of ragged pilgrim outfits and the inclusion of thistles growing around the characters. In this image, thistles replace the cover's patterned ivy as an aesthetic pattern representing thorny struggle. In Christian iconography, the thistle was associated with Christ's crown of thorns; in paintings of saints like John the Baptist, they also spoke of hardship and suffering.[38] The thistle would also be revived as a visual motif by Arts & Crafts designers such as William Morris. The title page appeals to the viewer from the United States as the characters overcome their current circumstances and look towards the fair as a heavenly paradise. The main difference between the cover image and the title page is that the image inside of the book depicts the fair as the obvious destination of the pilgrimage and offers it as a place to escape the pilgrims' thorny situation. A well-manicured path leads the pilgrims directly to the fair with its emanating rays of light. The title page also establishes visual conventions through pose and gaze

[37] Henderson, "A Fairy Tale of American Progress" 110.
[38] Fisher, "Flowers and Plants, the Living Iconography," 460.

where the viewer is invited to look *with* rather than *at* the characters, following their gaze and pointed gesture towards the fair. The Conceiving Faculty establishes sympathy with the characters as the reader-viewer is invited to look in the same direction as the characters, towards progress and the Chicago exposition.

The cover design and title page of *Pilgrims' Progress* took into account marketable trends in contemporary book design while suggesting that readers view the book's images from an Anglo perspective. The use of an Arts & Crafts aesthetic helped to create a desirable product at the time of its production. The book's visual association with the Arts & Crafts style was an appropriation of that movement by a corporate publisher to create a more desirable object. The messages connoted through pilgrim costumes, scallop shells, and thorny vines establish an American version of the Christian European pilgrimage. Instead of journeying to Santiago de Compostela or Christian's Celestial City, the pilgrims of this tale journey to a celebration of wealth, industry, and prosperity in the United States. The reader of both text and image is invited to identify with the characters as they journey towards salvation in the White City.

"Following a Plough Down a Furrow": Caricaturing the Empirical Viewer

As Meg and Robin enter the fair's Midway Plaisance, Aunt Matilda, a boring and serious woman who cares "for nothing but crops and new threshing machines and fertilizers" rejoins the twins.[39] In the Midway section of the novel, Aunt Matilda acts as a foil to the sympathetic and aesthetic looking done by the protagonists. The descriptions of how Aunt Matilda engages with the exotic sights of the Midway acts as a negative example of empirical looking. The manner in which a viewer might follow Bain's Object Lesson method is parodied through her behaviour. She engages with the Midway by "… [Striding] through the curious places rather as if she were following a plough down a furrow. She looked at Samoan beauties, Arab chiefs, and Persian Jersey Lilies with unmovedly scrutinizing eyes… as if it were a matter of business."[40] She also examines, "…Lapland villages, Cannibal huts, and Moorish palaces. She tramped about, and inspected them all with a sharp, unenthusiastic eye."[41] Part of the book's discouragement of empirical looking originates from Aunt Matilda's neglectful character as the book's antagonist. Aunt Matilda's sharp and unenthusiastic eye relates to the demands of objective vision where the subject distances herself from the object examined. Nineteenth-century empiricists aimed to see like machines and blind their own inner feelings towards the object of vision.[42] Aunt Matilda walks and looks at the sights of the Midway as if it were a laborious routine. Her actions are contrasted with descriptions of how the children interact with, and appreciate, the sights on the Midway. I argue that this contrast between the visual methods of the twins and those of Aunt Matilda promotes the children's methods as the more innocent, amusing, and ethical.

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[39] Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*, 3.
[40] Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*, 181.
[41] Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*, 181.
[42] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 140.

The Midway section of the novel has the twins fully engaged in an aesthetic form of vision. Because of the book's Christian and moral themes that stem from its connection to Bunyan's *Pilgrims' Progress,* the visual mode of the twins seems informed by the ethical Aestheticism of John Ruskin. In *Beauty and Belief: Aesthetics and Religion in Victorian Literature,* Hilary Fraser discusses how poet Gerard Manley Hopkins expanded upon John Ruskin's writings on perception and the innocence of the eye. Hopkins explains that "when the innocent eye of the uneducated or of children is spoken of in art it is understood that their sense is correct, that is that they are free from fallacies implying some education…"[43] Charles Baudelaire shares a similar attitude about children, vision, and knowledge. He believed that the child had a given understanding of relations between the physical world and the higher truths underlying it.[44] This is also found in Burnett's writings. Although the children are uneducated, they appreciate the beauty and enjoy the Midway much more than the serious and educated Aunt Matilda. The book also teaches that the Aesthetic appreciation of beauty for its own sake is enjoyable for the viewer. The children amuse themselves by engaging with sights about which they have little knowledge. Their untrained minds and engagement with beauty for its own sake, for example, comes into play during their visit to the art galleries:

> They knew little of pictures, they knew nothing of statuary, but they went from room to room, throbbing with enjoyment… As they passed from picture to picture, each took turns at building up explanations. Some of them might have been at once surprising and instructive to the artist concerned, but some were very vivid, and all

[43] Hilary Fraser, *Beauty and Belief: Aesthetics and Religion in Victorian Literature,* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 71.
[44] Jonathan Fineberg, *The Innocent Eye: Children's Art and the Modern Artist* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 5.

> were full of young directness and clear sight, and the fresh imagining and coloring of the unworn mind.[45]

It is this same visual attitude of the untrained mind having a greater appreciation for beauty than the worn, adult mind that is brought out again in the Midway section. Aunt Matilda's visual discrimination is the foil against which the twins' aesthetic attitude plays out.

The description of Aunt Matilda's experience at the Midway is also accompanied by a sketch by Birch (figure 2.6). This illustration is similar to the others in the book since it uses a direct quote from the narrative as its caption. The caption serves two functions. It acts, in Barthes' terminology, as an anchor by directing the viewer towards a message chosen in advance and it connects the illustration back to the moment in the story where Aunt Matilda visits the Midway. The caption, "It's a queer sight' she said to John Holt," limits the connotations of the image in numerous ways. On one level, it indicates that Aunt Matilda is the one who looks and speaks and whose perspective as readers and viewers we are asked to consider. The indication of which character acts is important for conveying meaning in the picture. If the caption were only "It's a queer sight," the image might be examined from the point of view of any of the characters, including the Egyptians. Indicating that it is Aunt Matilda who speaks to the other characters establishes who is doing the act of looking and what she is looking at. When readers consider the perspective of Aunt Matilda, the people they look at are limited by the anchorage of a "queer sight." This might seem out of place in a novel about appreciating all visual encounters but Aunt Matilda has already been established as a flawed character. The audience is meant to

[45] Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*, 100-103.

identify with the twins and be wary of Aunt Matilda's behaviours due to her neglectful nature. The caption aligns empirical vision with Aunt Matilda and her neglectful behaviour.

The caption's message that Aunt Matilda views the people of the Midway as strange, is also reflected in the image. John Holt and the two children are linked by their proximity and physical connection as they watch the exchange between Aunt Matilda and the Egyptian take place. Like other illustrations in the book, the viewer's visual attention is directed around the picture using the gaze of the characters. The twins and John Holt turn their backs to the viewer, their eyes hidden but with heads turned towards Aunt Matilda. Their gaze focuses attention upon Aunt Matilda who is framed in the centre of the image. She literally looks down upon the approaching Egyptian. She also crosses her body with her arm, firmly planting her umbrella in the ground to physically separate her from the approaching figure. The image is hardly kind to Aunt Matilda with her severe and tight-lipped face. The disdain for Aunt Matilda's form of vision is reflected in how she is represented. She stands apart from John Holt and the twins as she confronts the "queer" sight head-on, not engaging with the person but studying him with a shrewd look. Aunt Matilda is depicted as a character who misses the point of the Midway, treating it as a series of sights to scrutinize rather than enjoying the exhibits.

The visual methods of Aunt Matilda and the twins are symbolic of two ways in which the Midway could be decoded by viewers. Concerning the Columbian exposition's Midway, historian of world's fairs Robert Rydell writes that it was "a bauble with which Americans might amuse themselves and a standard against which they might measure their achievements."[46] The young protagonists engage with the baubles of the Midway, its popular sensorial experiences. As

[46] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 64.

Rydell suggests, the Midway was as much about providing popular amusements as it was for making the differences between the civilized and un-civilized visible in the products, buildings, and people it displayed. The amusing spectacle also concealed a message concerning the advancement of American culture made visible through comparison. Aunt Matilda dismisses the baubles and is caricatured for measuring the achievements of the cultural Other against those of the United States. Aunt Matilda does not recognize the sensorial amusements of the Midway as such but treats them as displays to be learned from.

When Aunt Matilda and the twins ride the Ferris wheel, their different methods of interacting with the Midway materialize again. For Meg was "…lifted from earth and poised above in the clear air… thrilled with a strange, exultant feeling of being a bird, and it had seemed to her that, with a moment's flutter of wings, she could soar higher and higher…"[47] Aunt Matilda has a different experience. When "she ascended, as it were… with a grim air of determination… Aunt Matilda looked down with cool interest. 'Pretty big power this,' she said to John Holt. 'I guess it's made one man's fortune.'"[48] Meg's knowledge of the wheel and its creator is limited, but she enjoys the sensory experience for its own sake. Meg also uses her imagination for empathy, imagining the feeling of being a bird. Aunt Matilda remarks on the experience with "cool interest" and reduces the experience to a matter of money, discussing Ferris' fortune rather than enjoying the unique sensation and sights of the ride. Similarly in Jenks' book, the tutor, much like Aunt Matilda, remarks that Mr. Ferris is a young American who will continue to do wonderful things, creating a lesson, from the amusing wheel.[49] Empirical viewers like Aunt Matilda turn amusement into an opportunity for knowledge and profit. This is in opposition to

[47] Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*, 181.
[48] Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*, 181.
[49] Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls* (New York: The Century Co., 1893), 73.

the children who engage with the Ferris wheel for imaginative and empathetic enjoyment. The book is clear in promoting the aesthetic methods of the children over the reductive study of Aunt Matilda by emphasizing each character's enjoyment at the fair.

In contrast to how Aunt Matilda consumes the Midway, John Holt discusses the Midway with the children stating, "We will hobnob with Bedouins and Japanese and Turks, and shake hands with Amazons and Indians; we'll ride on camels and go to the Chinese Theatre."[50] John Holt and the children are different from Aunt Matilda because they participate and physically engage with the people and amusements on the Midway rather than establishing a subject/object relationship to study them. Compared to the Object Lesson, the Conceiving Faculty is more accepting of emotion as a method of directing attention. In this way, John Holt and the children re-focus their excitement with the fair towards people and places from real life, learning about them rather than studying them from afar. Bain writes that, "The basis of the conceptive faculty is necessarily experience of things; of scenes, human dwellings… living beings—men, animals, plants…"[51] The wider the experience of the student the more developed their observational skills and according to Bain, this experience cannot be developed artificially. John Holt takes over care of the children because he sees the world as they do, participating in it with enthusiasm rather than observing and studying it from a distance.

The exhibits of the Midway that John Holt describes are not discussed as representations of a nation but rather, they *are* that nation. Despite criticizing Aunt Matilda's mode of vision, Burnett's book presents simplified depictions of the cultures on the Midway. The non-white exhibitors are valued not so much for their uniqueness as for their ability to stand for the

[50] Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*, 155.
[51] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 217.

barbarous type, as an exotic representative of their entire culture.[52] Holt also remarks that seeing all of these foreign nations together in one place saves travel expenses, as if seeing the displays at the fair were akin to actually travelling to those nations.[53] In this manner, Burnett's book is similar to Jenks' in not being able to recognize the layers of representation present at the fair. Neither book interrogates the constructed cultural representations on the Midway although both seem to hint at the possibility of doing so, Jenks through his example of the Guyanese sandal and Burnett through her criticism of the disengaged viewer lacking in sympathy. Although Holt might not recognize the layers of representation on the Midway, his method of engagement with exotic people is not to record and study them as in Jenks' book but to engage by shaking hands and participating in cultural activities. Although the Westerner and the subaltern could not meet on equal ground at the Midway, Burnett advocates for an engagement with the people displayed there not as specimens to be studied and photographed but as people to meet. Burnett also offers a satirical take on the methods of studying the subaltern offered by empirical observers.

Burnett uses Aunt Matilda's characteristics to form her critique of empirical observers and their role in the imperialist discourse. In describing how Aunt Matilda observes the exhibitors of the Midway, Burnett writes, "She looked at the men and women, and their strange costumes, plainly thinking them rather mad."[54] Aunt Matilda's engagement with the Midway exists in opposition to that of the twins, seeing non-Western practices as only odd or ineffective. If the reader is meant to sympathize with the practices of the protagonists and see Aunt Matilda as the antagonist for neglecting them, then her beliefs concerning the "mad" and "queer" exhibitors are meant to be criticized. If Aunt Matilda is the opposite of the book's version of an

[52] Tony Bennett, *Critical Trajectories: Culture, Society, Intellectuals* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007) 112.
[53] Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*, 181.
[54] Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*, 180.

ideal observer, then her disdain for the people on the Midway is also not ideal. In her essay on Burnett's book, Henderson argues that "Burnett strove to resist the racist attitudes that often accompanied this expansionist discourse… [creating] an alternate model of exploration based on an appreciation of other cultures…"[55] The critique of imperialist looking is apparent in the book's depiction of Aunt Matilda as a representative of object-based viewing practices. One main difference between the attitudes of Aunt Matilda and the children is their appreciation of other cultures. The children and John Holt see the value in engaging with other cultures whereas Aunt Matilda does not. Burnett's version of the ideal observer is one who places enjoyment and discovery above knowledge and value judgements.

The events on the Midway depict a struggle between competing ideologies of vision. There is friction between a mode of vision that uses conception, emotion, and appreciation of beauty to create an enjoyable experience and a mode that is disinterested in what it sees, attempting to create impartial knowledge. For Burnett, the conceptive mode has the ability to exist outside of the racist or typifying results of empirical vision. The competition between these methods is most obvious in the way that Aunt Matilda's disinterested vision is depicted alongside the aesthetic enjoyment of the twins. Burnett critiques the viewing practices associated with the Object Lesson that only seek to produce knowledge rather than an enjoyable experience. Through her critique of empirical observation, she also distances the book from stereotypical attitudes associated with the cultural Other. Like Jenks, Burnett fails to criticize the constructed-ness of the Midway's representation of subaltern cultures, but hints at the ability to look past

[55] Henderson, "A Fairy Tale of American Progress" 111.

imperial modes of vision. The imaginative and aesthetic visual attitude established by the twins also appears in the form of the book, in its style of drawing and method of picturing the text.\

Drawing Connections

The drawings examined in Jenks' book were considered in terms of their opposition to the photographs that were also printed in the book. However, Burnett's book is a more typical novel, with only twelve illustrations to depict a few chosen scenes. This section examines the significance of the Conceiving Faculty in *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* as it concerns the culture or style of Reginald Birch's drawings. As in chapter one, the drawings are examined according to Barthes' three levels at which drawings become coded. In using this method, I examine how the illustrator conforms to a Victorian illustration style. Birch chose to focus on depicting the main characters, encouraging readers to engage with the Conceiving Faculty in the same manner as Meg and Robin. Like the characters, readers become emotionally invested in the material they look at, connecting to the characters and setting through their imagination. Learning through emotional engagement and imagination coincides with Bain's Conceiving Faculty and is affected by the three levels of coding in the drawings. This analysis also considers the differences between Burnett's and Jenks' books. Jenks' book relies on pictures to put readers into the heads and eyes of Harry and Phillip, learning from the objects at the fair. Birch illustrates scenes from the text with an emphasis on aesthetic and emotional engagement to encourage the reader to re-examine important visual details.[56]

[56] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 217. One of Bain's good effects of the Conceiving Faculty is having students re-examine familiar visuals through the new method, heightening observational skills.

According to Barthes, the first level at which drawings become coded is through the rules of transposition. There is no essential nature to the pictorial copy since drawings follow a set of historically and culturally constructed rules.[57] Book illustrations of the late-nineteenth century had their own set of visual rules, which publishers and readers came to expect. Birch's illustrations are often defined by the common visual language and tropes of Victorian book illustrations. In their essay on the function of serialized book illustrations, Mary Elizabeth Leighton and Lisa Surridge define some of the tropes common to illustrated fiction of the Victorian period: atmospheric turbulence, loose hair, light-coloured garments, an unchaperoned young woman, a hesitance to illustrate major events, boundary crossing, nocturnal activity, and the use of white space to create ghostly effects.[58] Birch's illustrations often conform to these tropes. For example, "Meg Looked Rather Like a Little Witch" portrays a dynamic outdoor scene where wind catches the flames of a fire, creating the dynamic atmosphere and light common to the book illustrations of the time (figure 2.7). The female character with long hair and a white dress engages in the nocturnal activity of preparing a fire. Even the unusual appearance of her face, created through dynamic lighting, is remarked upon in the caption.

Although Birch's illustrations share many of the same visual tropes found in Victorian book illustration, they also share artistic similarities with British Aestheticism. John Singer Sargent's *Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose* (1886) could also be described by Leighton and Surridge's list of tropes (figure 2.8). Birch's image of Meg preparing the fire resembles the two children dressed in white with black stockings in Sargent's painting. Sargent indicated his awareness of the Aesthetic Movement with carefully arrayed lilies and roses to produce a two-dimensional,

[57] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 43.
[58] Mary Elizabeth Leighton and Lisa Surridge, "The Plot Thickens: Toward a Narratological Analysis of Illustrated Serial Fiction in the 1860s," *Victorian Studies* 51(2008): 69-71.

decorative effect.[59] The flowers are flattened onto the surface of the canvas and arranged much like one of William Morris' wallpaper designs. Sargent was especially attentive to the colours that were produced when different light sources intermingled. His attention to the effects of light and colour can be seen in the reflections of the orange light of the lanterns off the faces of the children in the dim light of sunset. Sargent was also careful to paint only at dusk in the summer and fall so that the ambient lighting would remain consistent.[60]

Birch's images, especially "Meg Looked Rather like a Little Witch," compares well with Sargent and British Aestheticism. In both works, children are surrounded by and dissolve into a flattened yet encompassing floral backdrop. Although Birch's images are monochromatic, they share Sargent's attention to the handling of dynamic lighting on the faces and clothes of the characters. Meg's unfamiliar appearance is due to the interplay of specific lighting conditions, the lack of sunlight and the lighting from below of the campfire. Birch's manner of transposing his subjects onto the page assimilates elements of Victorian illustration with British Aestheticism's appreciation of natural beauty for its own sake. Birch's similarities to aesthetic art complement the twin's methods of aesthetic looking for enjoyment rather than education.

Birch's use of the rules of transposition for Victorian book illustration and aesthetic art promote the Conceiving Faculty by re-focusing attention on the details of his images. Referring to the Conceiving Faculty, Bain wrote that it is to "incidents from real life that the advantage in this respect most decidedly belongs."[61] Birch also chose to utilize a more realistic style in depicting his characters and settings, aiding the Conceiving Faculty in the manner that Bain

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[59] Albert Boime, "Sargent in Paris and London: A Portrait of the Artist as Dorian Gray," in *John Singer Sargent*, ed. Patricia Hills (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1986), 100.
[60] Anne L. Helmreich, "John Singer Sargent, *Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose,* and the Condition of Modernism in England, 1887," *Victorian Studies* 45 (2003): 437.
[61] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 216.

proposes. The pairing of the Victorian book illustration and the caption "Meg Looked Rather like a Little Witch" prompts the viewer to re-examine what they have already seen. In examining the relationship between image and text, Birch's captions act more like Barthes' relay text where there is a complimentary relationship between text and image, and meaning is realized when the two are combined.[62] The caption encourages readers to look back at what they might have missed in the image, what they "slur over," according to Bain. This is because rather than a straightforward depiction, Birch's illustrations picture more than they depict.[63] Picturing entices the reader to detach the image from plain recognisability and imaginatively integrate words with pictures in new and interesting ways. The caption encourages the reader to view and study the appearance of characters by using the partial caption "Meg Looked Like." Meg is not depicted as a witch but the viewer must work to imagine the dynamic lighting illuminating her face from below to create a more witch-like appearance. The gap between what the caption describes and what exists in the picture encourages a process of mental re-organization of the signifiers in the image and text.[64] The imaginative visual work encouraged by Burnett's captions is made more obvious in comparison with Jenks' book and the anchoring text used to label what existed in each image.

Barthes' second level at which meaning enters the drawing is in the distinction between the significant and the insignificant. Drawings cannot reproduce everything the artist sees so he or she must make decisions concerning what to include in the image. In opposition to photographs, drawings can intervene in their subject, choosing what to include and what to

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[62] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 41.
[63] Dölvers, "Depiction vs. Picturing: Subversive illustrations in a Victorian picture-book," 210.
[64] Richard M. Berrong shows how literary illustrations can be an art unto themselves, reacting to the literary art to produce new understandings of the novel in "When Art and Literature Unite: Illustrations that create a new art form," *Word & Image* 23 (2007): 372.

exclude.[65] One of Birch's first decisions when illustrating the novel was to choose which scenes to depict from the book. As the book's primary setting was the Chicago fair, Birch could have illustrated many of the sights from the exposition, much like Jenks. Instead, Birch chose to focus on the characters, their appearance, emotions, and interactions with the other characters of the story. Out of the twelve total illustrations in the book, only three make reference to easily recognizable locations within the fair: the Court of Honor, the Midway's Cairo Street, and the artificial lagoon (figure 2.9). However, these settings are often roughly sketched and relegated to the background. Birch chose to exclude the many exhibits at the fair, focusing instead on the appearance of characters as they participate in the Conceiving Faculty.

Birch's images also make distinctions between the significant and insignificant through modelling and attention to detail. "Meg Looked Rather Like a Little Witch" establishes the characters, especially the figure of Meg, as the most significant elements of the image. The contrast of white clothes against the dark backdrop and a face modelled in light and shadow makes Meg's appearance stand apart from the dark, two-dimensional hatching marks that compose the background. The remainder of the image is largely insignificant as it devolves into a shallow, abstracted scene rendered with rougher and rougher hatching. The image contains little variation in the representation of foreground to background, making it appear to take place on a single plane. The choice to focus on the appearance of the characters has the effect of producing a sympathetic response on the part of the reader. In the image with the camp fire, only the two characters stand apart from their roughly sketched backdrop. As Robin's body, drawn with

[65] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 43.

abundant hatching, blends into the roughly sketched ground, Meg's appearance remains as the primary point of interest.

A similar example comes later in the book, when Meg and Robin have reached the Venetian gondolas of the fair's lagoon (figure 2.9). They find a gondolier and, saying they can imagine themselves anywhere in the world, imagine that they are in Venice. Rather than illustrating an imagined Venice, Birch depicts what an observer at the fair would see if he or she looked at the twins. The characters and the boat that they travel in contrast against the more lightly modelled background, making them appear closer to the viewer. The characters are the most prominent aspect of the illustration and as readers look at Meg and Robin, their gaze is directed out of the frame, attempting to find what the characters look at. By drawing attention to the character's appearance, especially Meg's pose with her head resting on her hand to connote deep thought, Birch encourages the reader to identify with Meg, to think and imagine with her, imagining the fair as if it really were Venice.

Meg's pose on the gondola is almost a direct copy of her pose in an earlier illustration, from the first part of the book. Here, Birch depicts Meg imagining the fair as it is described to her by Robin (figure 2.10). Birch uses this pose of deep thought as an intra-textual device to connect the visuals and plot events in the book. At the farm, they are pictured in the reality of their surroundings. As Robin describes the fair, Meg rests her head in her hand and stares out of the frame, creating her own mental image of the fair's appearance. In both illustrations, the viewer looks at Meg as she participates in mental conceiving, imagining the fair and, later, imagining Venice. The reader of the book does not see the fair or Venice as Meg imagines them but must conceive of those places along with her. Birch as an illustrator makes the decision to code the characters and their appearance as the most significant elements of his images. The

combination of Burnett's sympathetic characters and Birch's focus on them allows the viewer to imagine and sympathize with Meg and Robin. This encourages readers to make connections within the text and focus on observation.

The last way that drawings are coded is in the act of drawing itself. The manner in which the literal information is drawn has repercussions for the connoted messages.[66] The style or culture of the drawing is decoded differently depending upon the culture of the viewer. Birch's choice of drawing style is inevitably connected to other forms of visual culture with their own connotations. This style of drawing is then received by readers with differing amounts of visual knowledge. Birch's naturalistic picturing of the text is stylistically similar to earlier Victorian illustrators. The *New York Times* writer who reviewed *Two Little Pilgrim's Progress* in 1895 claimed that Meg had been depicted with "du Maurier legs, and pretty shoes."[67] This slight jab at the familiarity of such female representations references the illustrator George Du Maurier (1834-1896), who sometimes depicted his figures with slender, black stockings (figure 2.11). The reviewer points out the stylistic similarities between Birch and the visual style of Victorian fiction that Du Maurier often employed. Although Birch's images might seem relatively formulaic when compared to other Victorian-era illustrations, their form complements the themes of the book, rewarding the conception and the visual investment of the reader.

Considering Barthes' final level of coding, I examine how the drawing style of Victorian illustrations, used by Birch, could connote a self-reflexivity in how his images reference visuality. These pictures encouraged audiences to be active visual participants rather than passive consumers of images. Birch illustrated his novel much like Du Maurier, making readers aware of

[66] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 43.
[67] Anonymous, "Mrs. Burnett's New Story," *New York Times*, October 19, 1895, 3.

the form of vision in which they were participating. Leighton and Surridge examine how visuality and visual decoding were underlying themes in Du Maurier's illustrated novels. In 1863, Du Maurier illustrated *Eleanor's Victory*, which might be an unremarkable piece of sensation fiction if it were not for its themes of visual interpretation (figure 2.12).[68] Sensation fiction was popular in the Victorian period for its criminal and gothic themes, sometimes requiring readers to piece together hidden visual clues to discover the identity of a criminal. The importance of minute details in Du Maurier's images is similar to that of the Pre-Raphaelites, many of which Du Maurier knew personally.[69] Like the printed work of the Pre-Raphaelites, Birch's and Du Maurier's images do not prescribe a hierarchy of viewing patterns but encourages an on-going imaginative engagement with the image.[70] *Eleanor's Victory* is self-reflexive because its text and image can be studied to determine clues. Birch uses Du Maurier's illustration style to similarly connote the self-aware visual participation of the reader.

Even though the reviewer of Birch's pictures criticized their similarity to Du Maurier's, their shared methods of inter-textuality allowed readers to engage with their novels in a manner more in line with conception. Recalling the style of sensation fiction could highlight the participation of the reader in the actions of the characters. In *Eleanor's Victory*, the viewer of Du Maurier's work must become an adept visual interpreter to work alongside Eleanor to decode the clues. Readers of sensation fiction were given a sophisticated position where they were expected

[68] Leighton and Surridge, "The Plot Thickens," 72.
[69] Paul Goldman, *Victorian Illustration: The Pre-Raphaelites, the Idyllic School and the High Victorians* (Aldershot, UK: Scolar Press, 1996), 116.
[70] Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, *Poetry, Pictures, and Popular Publishing: The Illustrated Gift Book and Victorian Visual Culture 1855-1875* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2011), 42.

to "…grasp a complex interplay of realist detail and sensation events."[71] Astute readers of Burnett's book might catch on to the inter-textual clues encoded within Birch's images.

The inter-textuality used by Du Maurier is referenced by Birch in his choice of subjects and the manner he chose to depict them. "'Everything in the World,' said Robin" uses a specific pose and gesture to tell the reader that Meg is imagining the appearance of the Chicago fair as it is described to her by Robin. The reader also creates some form of mental picture along with Meg, occupying a similar mental state. When the twins arrive at the fair, its appearance is finally given to the reader. Meg's posture from the "Now we are in Venice" image uses the same pose with her head placed in the centre of the composition, right hand supporting her head, and eyes wide-open to the point of exaggeration all to connote the act of imagination. This time, the characters have arrived at the destination they previously imagined and so they create a new destination, Venice. Birch uses visual repetition to call attention to the form of visual engagement the reader participates in. When Birch repeats the same pose, a keen observer will not only recognize that the pose has already been used but will also realize that the two images are thematically linked. The first image has Meg and the reader told of the appearance of the fair while the second image shows that what was once only imagined has been made real.

The images are self-reflexive in that they make it obvious that both the characters and reader create mental pictures from verbal and written texts. Meg and the reader are in a similar situation at the beginning of the book, only told of the fair's appearance, but later realize that their imagined image of the fair has been made real. The example of Meg's pose of imagination highlights the viewer's participation in the Conceiving Faculty, realizing a picture of what has

[71] Leighton and Surridge, "The Plot Thickens," 75.

not been seen with the aid of text and image. Illustrating the pose of someone imagining rather than simply representing what they imagine confronts the reader with a character who also participates in the act of imagination. The manner in which Birch has chosen to depict his subjects promotes the use of the Conceiving Faculty.

Birch's manner of drawing constitutes a connoted message in itself, that of the meta-textual visual engagement that was not uncommon to Victorian illustration. Birch also follows the rules of transposition of Victorian illustration while pulling visual cues from British Aestheticism. He depicts dramatic scenes of unchaperoned characters with dynamic lighting, flowing hair, windswept dresses, and of course, Du Maurier legs. Birch's accordance with the Victorian illustration style and the decision to focus on the depiction of characters is a message in itself. It recalls the visual work required by the reader to decode and make meaning from the text. Although it is not a detective novel, *Two Little Pilgrim's Progress* also has readers participate in the same actions as its main characters. Instead of searching for clues, the reader of Burnett's book is encouraged to participate in the Conceiving Faculty, creating pictures of things not seen, just as the characters do. However, the book does not always encourage imagination for its own sake. Just as Bain believes that the Conceiving Faculty works best when serving the Object Lesson, Burnett's book also directs the reader towards incidents from real life.[72]

Despite the use of imagination and aesthetic looking privileged by Burnett, the book occasionally asks the reader to examine objects that are actually present, much like the Object Lesson. Bain believed that the Conceiving Faculty was most effective when it was directed towards incidents from real life rather than those of pure fantasy.[73] For him, the Conceiving

[72] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 216-217.
[73] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 216.

Faculty was an effective teaching method when it became more like the Object Lesson, encouraging observation of things that are usually over-looked.[74] Bain also writes that the basis of the Conceiving Faculty is concerned with giving the student experiences of the people, cities, and living beings of the world. Burnett's book with its emphasis on aesthetic and conceptive vision, occasionally turns its back on those methods to provide Object Lesson-like scenarios from real life that fit the educational goals of Bain's Conceiving Faculty.

Throughout the written narrative and the book's illustrations, readers are occasionally encouraged to turn their attention away from beauty and study the appearance of other people to determine their character. This reversal of method is similar to Jenks' lesson about the sandal and the more neutral execution of the Object Lesson. Both books establish a perspective towards the sights of the fair only to contradict their position in some smaller part of the book. The Object Lesson of the sandal provided evidence against the established imperial perspective. For Burnett as well, the use of physiognomy is akin to objective vision, using vision to produce knowledge that contradicts the previously amused and conceptive looking of the twins.

In rare cases, Burnett's book details how the main characters examine the posture, outward appearance, and facial characteristics of others to determine their character. There are a few instances described in text and image where the twins participate in this type of vision. One such case involves examining the face of a German woman to determine her trustworthiness. I have chosen to focus on a later event depicted in "Well Jem!" where the twins analyze the appearance of a country couple (figure 2.13). The sympathy and emotional responses established by the book have the ability to assist the Object Lesson by having viewers participate in the same

[74] Bain, *Education as a Science*, 217.

form of vision as the main characters. The type of physiognomic looking in which the main characters participate stands out as distinctively similar to the Object Lesson. If the Object Lesson takes an unfamiliar object and examines it from different perspectives to reveal hidden qualities, the twins look at people in the same manner, studying them to reveal their hidden dispositions.

Just as Bain believes that extravagant emotions stirred up by stories are useless unless directed towards something concrete, the emotional sympathy for the twin protagonists is directed towards practical physiognomic methods. The twins are children attempting to make their way in an adult world. Along the way, they encounter strangers who seem helpful and genuine, and they look analytically to determine the strangers' intent. Jenks' book participated in physiognomic practices through the use of photography, attempting to make intellectual difference visible. The visual signifiers of bodily difference were used as justification for the lower position of the subaltern in the evolutionary hierarchy. Burnett also emphasizes the study of personal appearance in determining a stranger's personality. Burnett's use of physiognomy was part of a much larger tradition in nineteenth-century visual and textual sources.

Physiognomy is the belief that individual personality traits are revealed in the shape and features of the face and bodily structure.[75] The presence of this type of vision in Burnett's book is examined as the penultimate stage of Bain's cultivation of the Conceiving Faculty. In this stage, the emotion and sympathy of imagination is re-directed towards the experience of things, of the people and places that exist in the real world. Burnett directs sympathy, emotion, and

[75] Rhonda Boshears and Harry Whitaker, "Phrenology and Physiognomy in Victorian Literature," *Progress in Brain Research* 205 (2013): 88.

imagination back to the concretely visual. The sympathy with the characters becomes co-opted to teach visual lessons concerning the study and categorization of personal appearance.

When Meg and Robin are at the fair they decide to refrain from spending their money on food in order to use it to enter all of the buildings, some of which are not free. Instead of eating dinner, they have a picnic with the scraps that they brought from home and as they are doing so, they spot a "young country pair, plain and awkward… Their clothes were common and their faces were tanned, as if from working out of doors," who are eating ham, chicken, and cake out of a basket.[76] The country pair notice the children staring and go over to offer the twins some of their food. The two protagonists then find themselves in a situation where in order to accept food from strangers, they must discern their character from facial and bodily appearance.

The text that describes the country couple acts as an anchor, guiding the reader through the messages of its accompanying image. Certain textual messages complement the image by providing information more easily told to readers, guiding their reading of the faces, posture, and bodily appearance of the country couple. The text uses signifiers such as "plain, common, tanned, countrified, and awkward" to describe the couple's appearance. In terms of behaviour they are described as "enjoying themselves immensely" and "good natured."[77] These signifiers combined with the couple's appearance and actions, ensure the creation of the poor but well-intentioned country type. This non-specific, country type is not concerned with the behaviours of an individual, but rather with creating a stock character to represent all others of the same category. The detailed descriptions of characters and faces was a standard of Victorian-era fiction in a time where everything that could be revealed about someone was found in their

[76] Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*, 109.
[77] Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress*, 109-110.

face.[78] In this way, the narrative text acts like Barthes' anchoring text since it attempts to fix the image's message against a multitude of different meanings.[79]

One example of how the narrative text acts as an anchor is in the description of the couple's faces. The textual signifier of a tanned face is more easily described in text than it can be executed in Birch's method of illustration. The faces of the couple in "Well, Jem!" are certainly darker than other characters but the lines drawn across the face to denote a tan might also be decoded by the reader as shadow. The text is useful in combination with the image to make its messages certain, providing a textual and visual record of the country-folk type.

"Well Jem!" also uses gaze and pose to further define the country couple's character. Readers encounter the fair through Meg and Robin and in examining this illustration, they look to them as an entry-point into the world of the novel. However, the two protagonists refuse the viewer's look. They sit at the edge of the image, Robin with his back turned to the viewer and Meg looking up at the approaching figures, directing visual attention towards the faces of the country couple. The direction of the viewer's gaze is further manipulated by the country woman, who turns her head to look at her husband. The viewer's gaze might finally rest on his profile to examine its features. The country couple stands tall, displaying their bodies and faces in three-quarter profile. The image reinforces the connoted messages found in the narrative text concerning the idea that personality can be read on the faces and bodies of others. The man's awkwardness can be read through his posture, with hands behind his back and bent knees. In contrast, a gentleman such as John Holt is tall and formal in his posture (figure 2.14). The country man also bears a slight smile on his face, which attests to his good nature. Clothes such

[78] Mary C. Cowling, "The Artist as Anthropologist in Mid-Victorian England: Frith's *Derby Day*, the *Railway Station* and the New Science of Mankind," *Art History* 6 no. 4 (December 1983): 461.
[79] Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," 39.

as the man's Western bow tie and the shading marks meant to denote a tan signify his status as a common country person. Studying the country couple's appearance proves to be successful for the twins. The couple's smiles and good nature leads them to believe that they may safely accept food from these strangers, receiving fried chicken, cake, biscuits, and ham. To both the characters and the reader this proves the effectiveness of detailed looking in creating useful knowledge for the viewer.

Burnett's use of physiognomic practices in her book might originate from the pervasiveness of physiognomy in the Victorian period. Victorian-era philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer writes about physiognomy in *Dialogue on Religion*, stating, "That the outer man is a picture of the inner, and the face an expression and revelation of the whole character, is a presumption likely enough in itself, and therefore a safe one to go by…"[80] This is the attitude employed by Meg and Robin as they study those who they encounter. A quick examination of the face is used to provoke trust or distrust in the individual they study.

When *Two Little Pilgrim's Progress'* was published, physiognomy was commonly used to divide people into hierarchies and types in order to quickly discern their class or temperament. Burnett's use of physiognomy could be for pedagogical reasons, teaching readers how to discern friendly strangers from hostile ones. In this way, Burnett's novel corresponds with Bain's emphasis on directing students to experience things from the real world. Writing of the urban destitute, the beggars, and pickpockets in *London Labour and the Poor*, Henry Mayhew argued in 1851 that "in each of the classes of the above-mentioned, there is a greater development of the animal than of the intellectual or moral nature of man, and that they are all more or less

[80] Arthur Schopenhauer, "On Physiognomy," in *Religion: A Dialogue and Other Essays,* ed. T. Bailey Saunders (London: George Allen & Unwin Limited, 1915), 75.

distinguished for their high cheek-bones and protruding jaws."[81] Mayhew's intention was to see past the surface of the crowd to create a type for the destitute who tried to hide among the urban populace. Much like the Object Lesson, a physiognomy of distinction examines an outward appearance to reveal the characteristics of the person hidden beneath the surface. Burnett's writings accomplished a similar feat by providing readers with a description of the country type and connecting it to a single form of behaviour.

This focus on the visual analysis of the face was quite possibly linked to the growth of the city in the late-nineteenth century. Increasing suspicion of others made the quick evaluation of a stranger a necessary skill.[82] Identifying the face of a deviant could mean a great deal for the city-based survival of nineteenth-century audiences. This skill is reinforced in Burnett's book when Meg and Robin accept food from the country couple. At first, the twins are suspicious but after their study of the couple is complete they determine that the country couple is a friendly type rather than a deviant one. Physiognomy pocket books provided accessible descriptions that warned the public against "the salient angles of the nose, the projection and sharpness of the chin," facial characteristics thought to indicate an individual's crafty character.[83] Class boundaries were established by identifying the countryman in opposition to the city-dweller. The former was described by priest and professor Charles Kinsley as composed, silent, and listless whereas the man of the city was eager, observant, and often brilliant.[84] The country woman in Birch's illustration has round rather than sharp features; her face is full and her nose is small. Her eyes are large and open, with her eyebrows pointed up to connote pleading or concern. Small

[81] Sharrona Pearl, *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 29.
[82] Pearl, *About Faces,* 38.
[83] Pearl, *About Faces,* 39.
[84] Cowling, "The Artist as Anthropologist in Mid-Victorian England," 468.

eyes and pointed features were usually part of the criminal type so the country woman's appearance attests to her good nature. Birch's pictures of people conveyed information concerning their gestures or appearance that the text could not. In doing so, Birch provided visual depictions of the good-natured type for readers to study and learn from.

In Burnett's text and Birch's pictures, faces and outward appearances are read as indicators of an inner constitution in conjunction with Bain's more strict development of the Conceiving Faculty. Bain believed that the Conceiving Faculty was most useful when it re-directed emotional excitement back towards the concrete and the real, aiding the Object Lesson. This section on the study of outward appearance details how Burnett also re-directed imagination back towards the concrete to teach lessons applicable to everyday life. The text builds emotion and sympathy with the characters to aid in the execution of another route to the Object Lesson by focusing attention back towards the concrete. In general, Burnett sought to resist the commonly typifying or imperialist discourse that often surrounded world's fairs. She emphasizes the twin's method of looking as amusing and ethical, in contrast to the empirical looking of Aunt Matilda. In cases such as the encounter with the country couple, the visual methods of the protagonists revert back to the Object Lesson. With the country couple, the Conceiving Faculty is turned towards a situation from real life to create an object lesson. Burnett and Birch take the body as their familiar physical example to expand upon and reveal a person's hidden disposition. The book presents readers with a contradiction. On the one hand, Burnett is critical of the typifying practices that empirical vision produced. However, Burnett also engages with the same empirical viewing practices through her use of physiognomy. The examination of the country couple tries to put a positive spin on practices of stereotyping since the twins only encounter good-natured strangers. However, even positive representations and caricatures of a single group could be

simplistic and patronizing.[85] The books by Jenks and Burnett are similar in that they both privilege a certain form of vision only to later use a technique that seems to contradict the established method.

[85] Pearl, *About Faces,* 107.

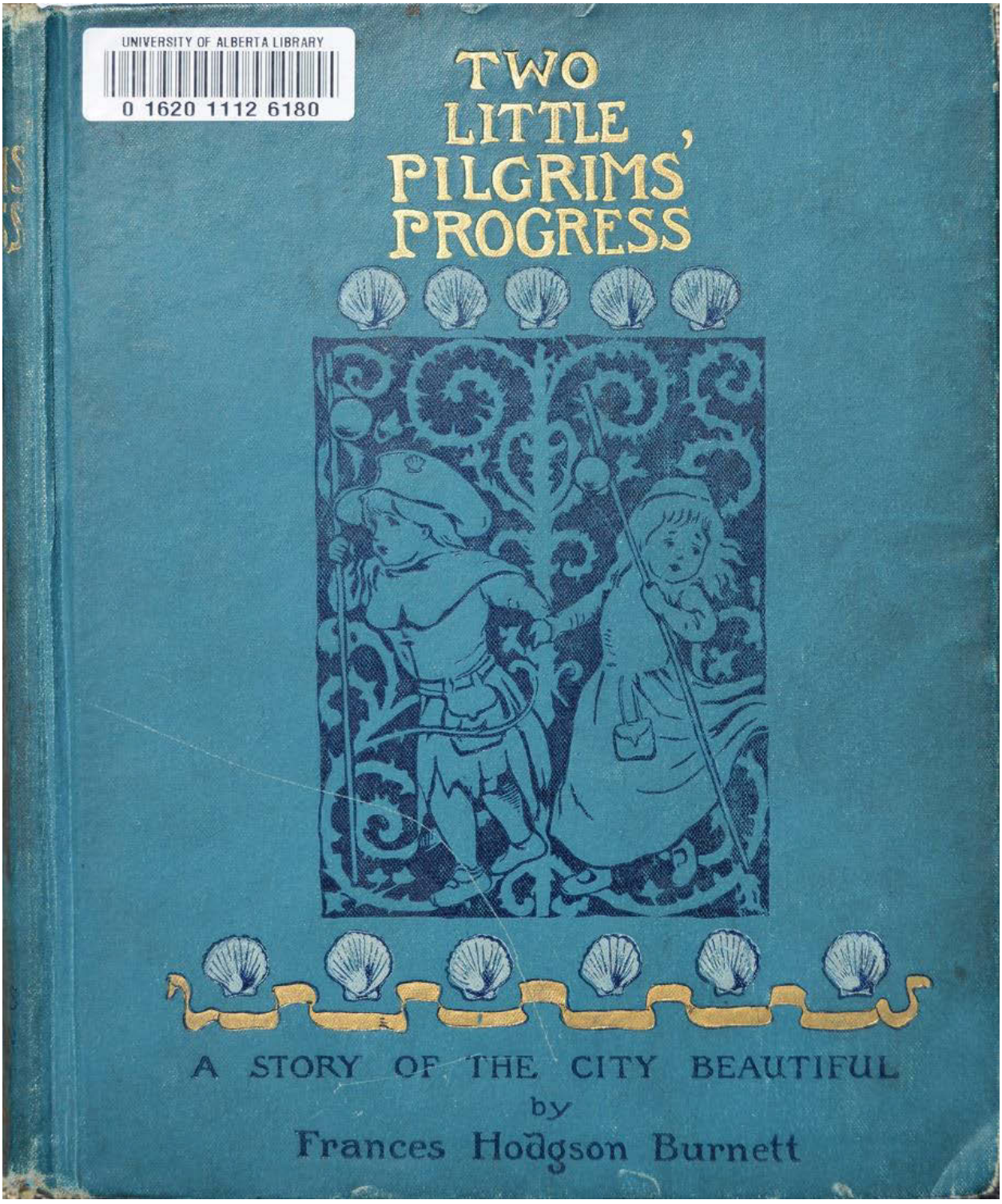

Fig. 2.1 Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress: A Story of the City Beautiful.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895, cover.

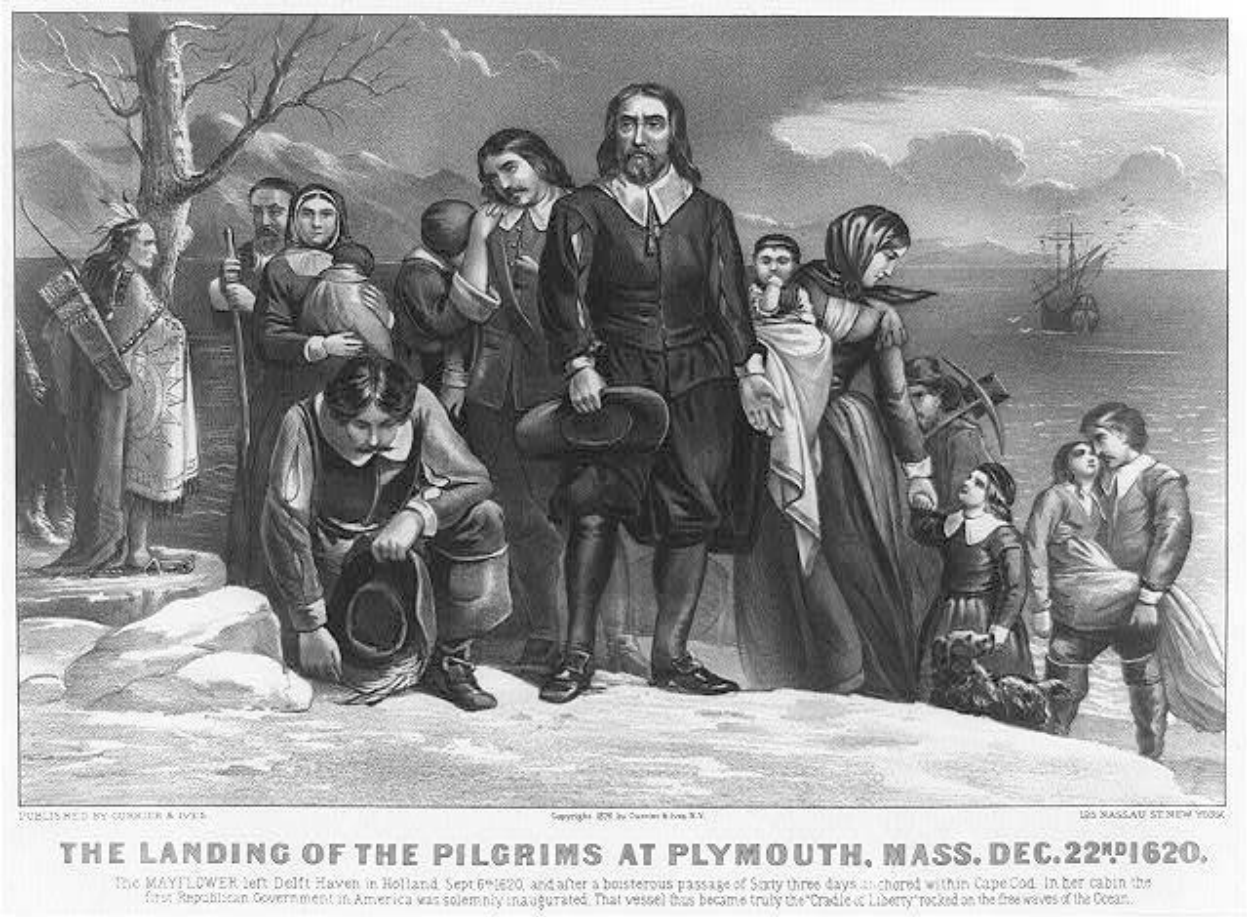

Fig. 2.2 Currier & Ives, *The Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, Mass. Dec. 22nd 1620.* New York: Currier & Ives, c. 1876.

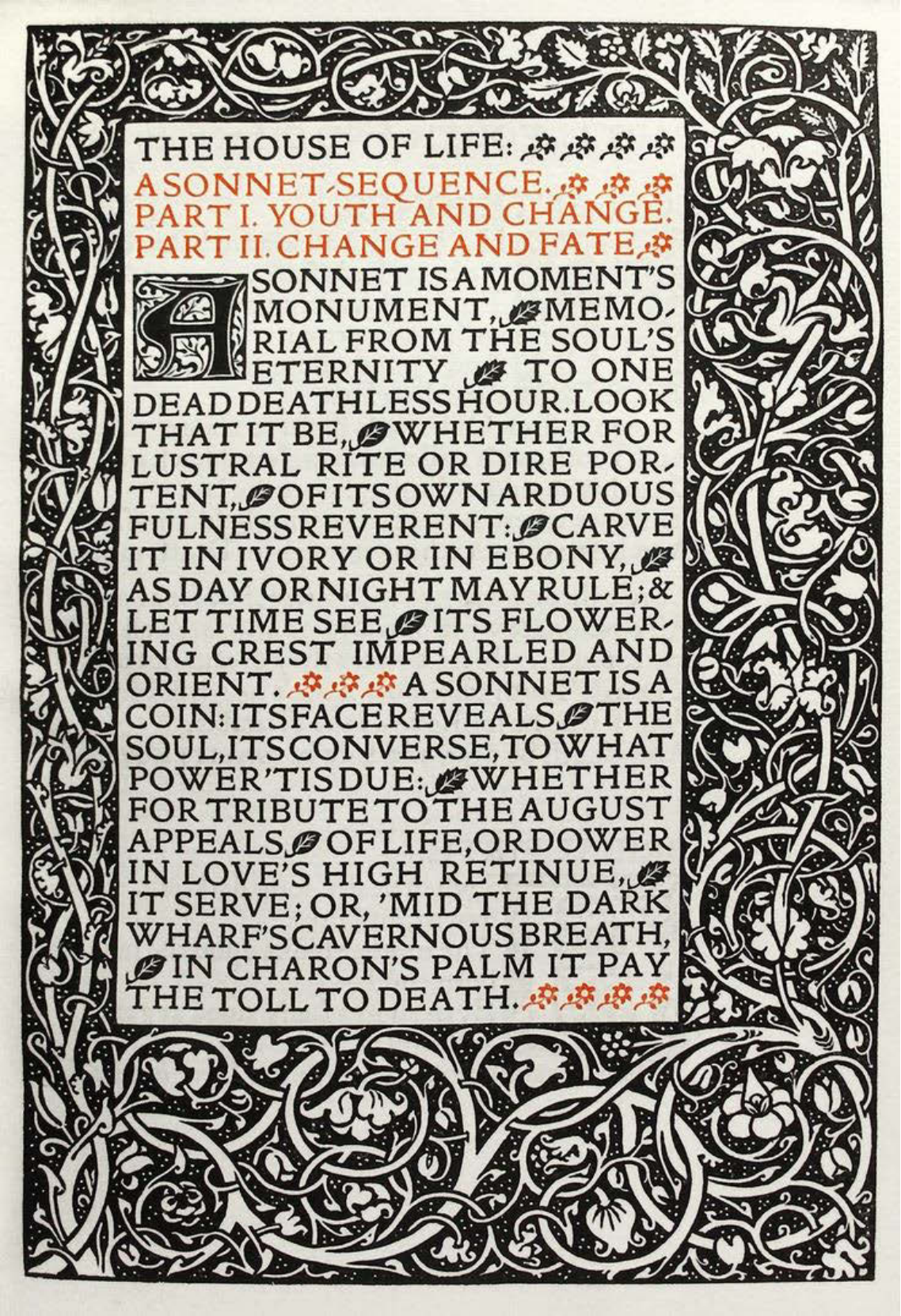

Fig. 2.3 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *The House of Life.* Boston: Copeland & Day, 1894.

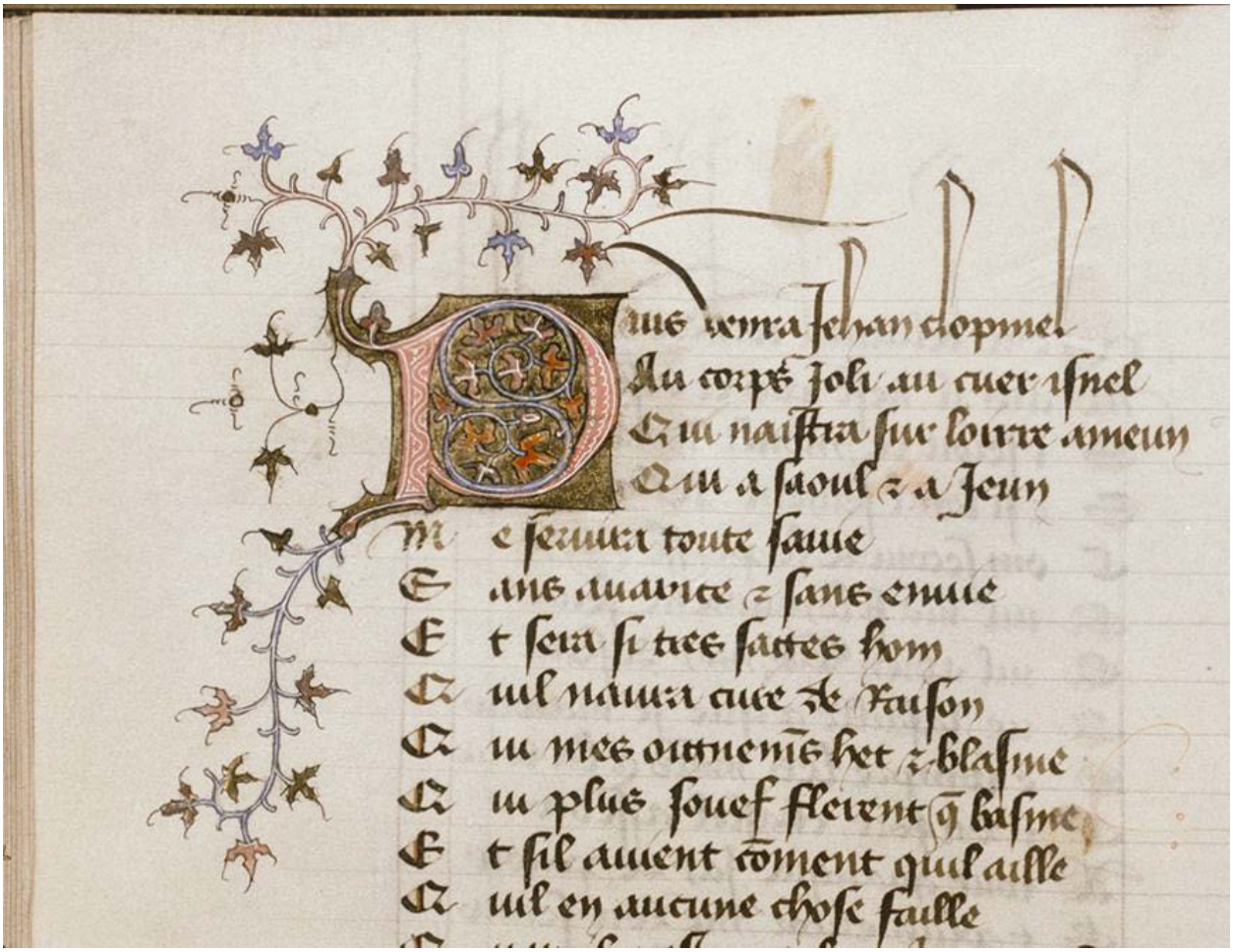

Fig. 2.4 Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meung, *Le Roman de la Rose (detail).* Bodleian Library, Oxford UK: c. 1400, parchment.

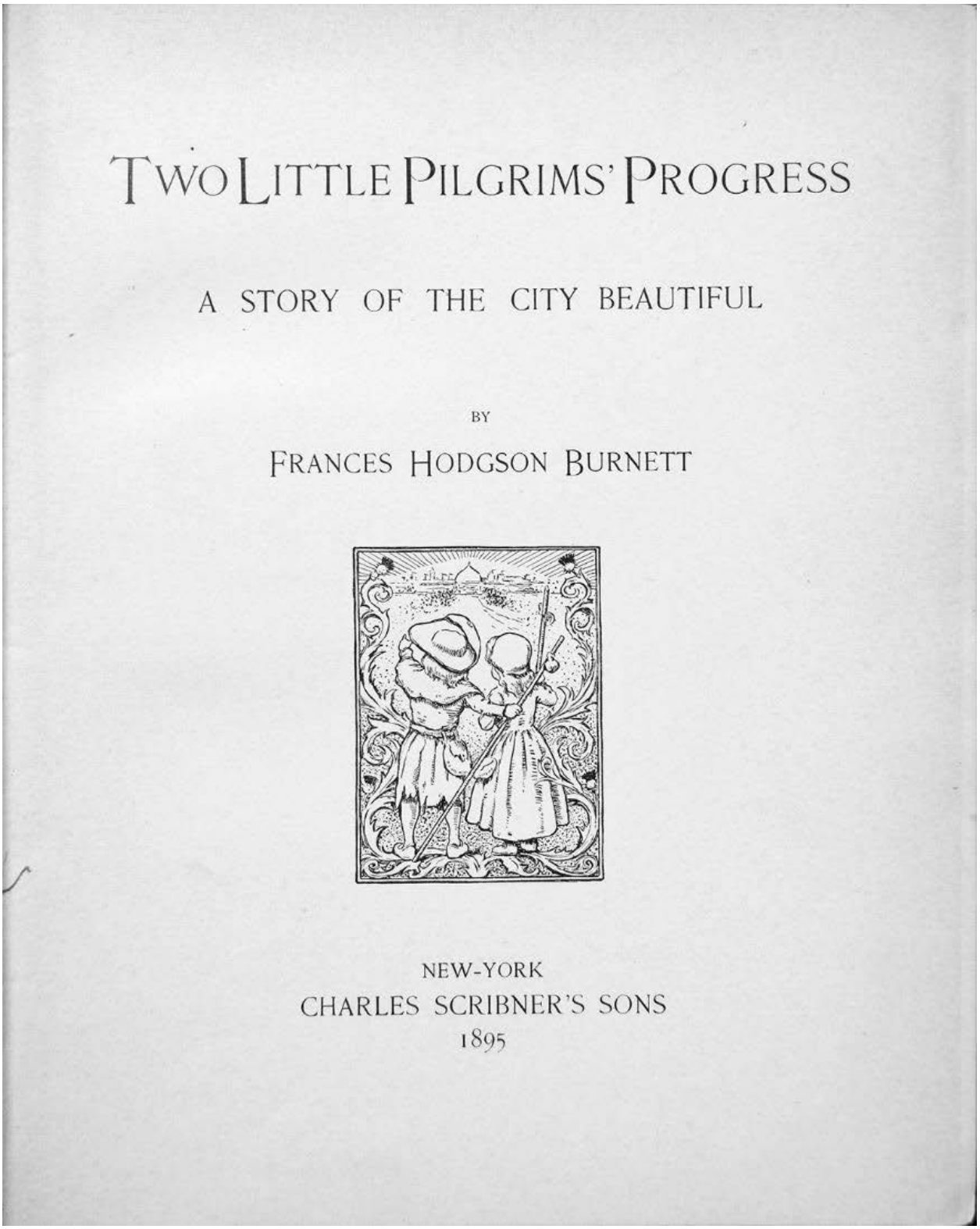

Fig. 2.5 Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress: A Story of the City Beautiful.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895, title page.

Fig. 2.6 Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress: A Story of the City Beautiful.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895, 179.

Fig. 2.7 Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress: A Story of the City Beautiful.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895, 61.

Fig. 2.8 John Singer Sargent, *Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose,* 1886, oil on canvas, London, England, Tate Britain.

Fig. 2.9 Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress: A Story of the City Beautiful.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895, 101.

Fig. 2.10 Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress: A Story of the City Beautiful.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895, 13.

Fig. 2.11 George Du Maurier, *Two Children in the Snow*, c. 1834-1896, pen and black ink over graphite with scratching-out on wove paper, Washington D.C., The National Gallery of Art.

Fig. 2.12 Mary Elizabeth Braddon, *Eleanor's Victory*. *Once a Week* 8.201 (2 May 1863): 519.

Fig. 2.13 Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress: A Story of the City Beautiful.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895, 111.

Fig. 2.14 Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress: A Story of the City Beautiful.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895, 143.

Towards a Conclusion

Before the mid-nineteenth century, vision was conceived of in a mechanical and Cartesian model where the outside world entered the mind of the observer like a camera obscura. The study of vision then shifted from the properties of light and optical transmission to the physiology of the body.[1] As understandings of vision changed to take into account the physiological functionings of the body, vision could be manipulated or taught much like other bodily mechanics. The Object Lesson partakes in these attempts to improve the body by teaching students methods for directing their vision.

The Object Lesson as a method of visual interrogation defined itself in opposition to older pedagogical methods such as memorization and repetition, which attempted to fill up the student's mind with knowledge.[2] The Object Lesson was an important development in education because it did not require the rote memorization of facts but produced a set of guidelines for students to follow as they saw, comprehended, and expressed the results of their findings. These guidelines seemed to provide students with an objective visual tool. The Object Lesson likely became popular as a pedagogical method because it taught students to internalize the logic of the scientific method and could support tenuous scientific beliefs concerning race and class. Objective modes of vision could be used to illustrate the visual and supposed ontological differences between races in the justification of practices such as racial segregation.[3] I focus on the Object Lesson and how it was taught through visual culture to examine how audiences were trained in the cultural codes of looking in the visual environment of the fair. The lesson of the

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[1] Jonathan Crary, "Techniques of the Observer," *October* 45 (1988): 5.
[2] Meredith A. Bak, "Democracy and Discipline: Object Lessons and the Stereoscope in American Education, 1870-1920," *Early Popular Visual Culture*, 10:2 (2012): 156.
[3] Sean Ross Meehan, *Mediating American Autobiography: Photography in Emerson, Thoreau, Douglass, and Whitman* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008), 150-152.

Object Lesson was usually pre-determined, teaching students to internalize commonly held cultural attitudes. The evidence of this is found in Jenks' *Century* book where the author and image-makers reinforced established knowledge about races, types, and cultures rather than interrogating the accepted knowledge of their time.

In Jenks' book, the cover and accompanying photographs from the Ferris wheel teach a lesson in how altering one's viewpoint can reveal new information about the world. A change in altitude teaches the reader the value of establishing the subject/object relationship through distance and a new perspective. The physical distance of the wheel also permitted viewers an illusory control over their surroundings, including the Near-East and Pacific cultural displays. The depictions of the subaltern on the Midway created an interesting problem for the student of the Object Lesson. The book presents the foreign exhibitors as types who are representative of their race through their appearance and actions. Because the Object Lesson assumes that vision is empirical, photographs are treated as empirical documents rather than as representations. The Object Lesson was not able to account for the layers of representation present on the Midway. By not acknowledging that the fair and Jenks' photographs were rhetorical in their display of other cultures, the book repeats the same hierarchical themes of the fair. The Midway as a scientific display, the photograph, and the Object Lesson supposedly reveal objective information, but they are never interrogated for the type of knowledge they produce. Jenks' book also offers a number of fine drawings supposedly sketched from life which could hone visual discrimination skills and both physical and mental faculties. Through the juxtaposition of the fine drawings with the smaller off-hand sketches, the drawings serve as a lesson in artistic hierarchies. By valuing the serious and illusionistic style over the amusing and exaggerated one, the book urges readers to discriminate between styles of art. The book does not present the two

artistic styles equally but displays them according to established values in the artistic tradition. The Object Lesson does not examine the methods of re-presentation on the Midway, in the photograph, or in the drawing. Instead, it only examines what is contained within the image and consequently teaches readers to reproduce established cultural knowledge concerning the object in question.

Frances Hodgson Burnett's *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* is similar to Jenks' book in that it is also an account of young people journeying to the Chicago fair. However, Burnett's book is a novel complete with a dramatic structure of conflict and resolution that Jenks' *Century World's Fair Book* does not possess. Burnett's book relies less on using illustrations to picture the narrative than Jenks' more encyclopaedic approach to the fair. In contrast to Jenks' book, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* promotes a visual mode more in line with Bain's Conceiving Faculty by building experiences of the world through imagination and sympathy. The cover and its accompanying title page ask readers to inhabit a perspective tied to the United States. This perspective is situated in a history of Christian, Anglo-American struggle that mirrors the struggle of the book's protagonists. Like Jenks' book, *Two Little Pilgrims' Progress* teaches the codes of looking with the Conceiving Faculty which seem to be opposed to the Object Lesson but eventually come to complement it. The book parallels Bain's writings by re-directing imagination to lessons from objects that are actually present.

Burnett's book is critical of the serious and disinterested observer who finds no joy or interest in what she looks at. The section of the book which takes place on the Midway is the most obvious example where Burnett interrogates the ways in which people learn from the sights and people encountered there. Aunt Matilda becomes a caricature of the empirical and uninterested viewer embodying the Object Lesson. On the Midway, the book uses Aunt

Matilda's Object Lesson-like account of the Midway as a foil to the experiential vision of the twins and John Holt. The twins are enamoured with the many cultures to be encountered there whereas Matilda sees no use for the odd practices of the people there. Through Aunt Matilda's attitude towards the Near-East exhibitors and their "mad" ways, Burnett offers a critique of object-based learning as an enforcer of stereotypes. The Midway becomes the site where competing ideologies of vision confront one another. One method appreciates enjoyment and beauty while the other privileges facts and knowledge.

Burnett's book also differs from Jenks' in that the illustrations are created by a single well-known illustrator. Birch's style of drawing, which was inspired by the illustrations in Victorian fiction, could encourage readers to engage with the book as an intra-textual visual encounter. Illustrators such as Du Maurier had audiences engage in the same type of investigative looking as the main characters of serialized Victorian novels. Birch accomplished a similar feat with his illustrations by having the reader sympathize and participate in the Conceiving Faculty alongside the characters. By viewing images of imagination taking place, the reader is confronted with the fact that they participated in the same form of vision as the characters. Although Jenks' book also encourages readers to view the fair in the same manner as its characters, the arrangement of its images is more haphazard. It is concerned with delivering information to its readers, not with having them engage with the pages of the book as object lessons in themselves.

Burnett attempts to create a narrative which presents an alternative visual mode for engaging with the fair that is based in the appreciation of beauty and difference. The book's illustrations also attempt to direct readers towards using the Conceiving Faculty as they stir emotional excitement and sympathy. According to Bain, the Conceiving Faculty was a

successive step in the Object Lesson. Wild emotions and imaginings could be stirred but they were useless unless directed towards an educational experience from daily life. Burnett seems to contradict the privileged visual method of her book by allowing her characters to occasionally participate in Object Lesson-based practices. Sympathy for the characters is directed towards an everyday visual encounter which resembles the practices of empirical vision. Contrary to most of her book, Burnett has the protagonists engage in the visual discrimination of strangers, resulting in a stereotypical portrayal of the people they examine.

The supposedly scientific and empirical mode of vision that legitimated the cultural hierarchies at the fair were used by the ethnologists who organized the displays and by the fair-goers who decoded them. Jenks and Burnett both employ the practice of physiognomy to help readers understand the fair. Exhibits at the Midway could be decoded with the same scientifically-sanctioned methods which established its cultural hierarchies in the first place. Empirical methods of vision assumed that the barbaric state of the exhibited people was observable in their features, actions, and cultural products. A correspondent from the Midway for *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly* wrote of the African Dahomeyans that, "Sixty-nine of them are here in all their barbaric ugliness."[4] This reporter's statement provides a straightforward example of how the subaltern's uncivilized position in the modern world could be visually decoded just by looking at the people themselves. The same attitude is found in Jenks' book. His depiction of the people and cultures on the Midway are meant to create a type out of their features and behaviours. Even Burnett's book, which seeks to promote a more ethical experience with the fair, was not entirely free from the assumed connection between appearance and inner character. Burnett's book attempts to stay away from stereotyping the cultural Other, but to some degree

[4] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 66.

still participates in promoting the examination of physical features to reveal an inner disposition. Both books participate in educating readers on the use of visual discrimination to reproduce national and cultural hierarchies.

The use of the Object Lesson through visual and textual sources taught readers to find truthful results despite the biases of their method and perspective. On the one hand, the Object Lesson's stated purpose was to encourage students to interrogate what they see to gain information from it of their own accord. This alone provides a useful method for gathering information from the world; Jenks' example of the sandal is proof that the Object Lesson could work as intended. However, the Object Lesson was tied to many contemporary beliefs concerning anthropology, empiricism, and photography that made it difficult for viewers to come to any conclusion that was not already supported by those same beliefs. Jenks presented the Object Lesson as an empirical mode of vision despite it being used to teach readers the cultural codes associated with the object of vision.

In its application to photographs and the study of people, the Object Lesson continued to stereotype the cultural Other. As an example, the photograph of the Javanese man "lazily sunning himself" from Jenks' book simply repeats stereotypes of the subaltern as a type averse to work.[5] For someone using the Object Lesson, the man's laziness would be clear as day. The man is seen behaving in a lazy way, therefor he is lazy. The camera and the eye, both supposedly objective tools, could clearly see that the man was not participating in a productive activity. However, the man was an actor, forced to play himself. The Object Lesson failed to account for other forms of information not easily decoded by the camera or the eye. The lack of critical

[5] Tudor Jenks, *The Century World's Fair Book for Boys and Girls* (New York: The Century Co., 1893), 61.

examination of representations allowed the Object Lesson to actually remain uncritical, reproducing harmful stereotypes for many years.

Yet, both books also seem to be critical of the empirical mode of vision. Jenks uses the example of the Guyanese sandal as an example of how the Object Lesson can be used to interrogate cultural stereotypes. Burnett writes the character of Aunt Matilda as a walking caricature of empirical viewers, finding no use for the fair's amusements and other cultures. The example of the sandal seems to be the best example of a pure version of the Object Lesson, since it examines an object that is actually present. However, this example continues to pose problems for readers of the book. Readers never examine an object that is actually present, apart from the material book itself. The book's readers only encounter representations through photographs and drawings, in which the Object Lesson begins to break down. Another issue with the lesson of the sandal is that viewers might be lulled into believing that executing the Object Lesson always produces objective findings. Viewers might be tempted to equate the example of the sandal with the examination of the water-wheel image, assuming the Object Lesson always produces accurate results.

Burnett's book attempts to provide an alternative to critical and empirical vision through the imaginative methods employed by the twin protagonists. The twins routinely appreciate beauty and amusement for their own sake, as when they marvel at the experience of riding the Ferris wheel. The book does not attempt to turn these experiences into lessons that teach cultural attitudes but promotes the idea that the Conceiving Faculty can be enjoyable or even ethical. Burnett's attempt to resist the racist language associated with the imperialism surrounding

world's fairs is apparent in the differences between Aunt Matilda and the children.[6] The twins want to see and experience the world rather than make value judgements about its people and objects. The way the twins see the world is founded upon an appreciation of beauty and difference. Burnett makes a commendable effort at attempting to provide a method for engaging with the senses of the fair that is not based on criticizing the cultures exhibited there.

Despite its criticism of empirical viewers, Burnett's book still participates in the imperial discourse surrounding world's fairs. Thematically, the book portrays the fair as a sacred destination for nineteenth-century pilgrims. The book also participates in physiognomic practices by determining the attitude of strangers through a study of their physical features. The results from this form of judgement create a simplified but optimistic image of foreigners and rural Americans. The twins' enjoyment of the Midway also falls into the same trap as Jenks' book by not remarking upon the fair as a representation but taking it at face value, assuming that it accurately represents the world. Burnett does not critique imperial representation at the fair outright but attempts to counter imperial methods of looking.

In comparing Jenks and the Object Lesson with Burnett and the Conceiving Faculty, the best use of these methods seems to lie in their combination. The Object Lesson does possess some redeeming qualities. For example, the Object Lesson's methods could be taught to any student to make sense of unfamiliar sights without the need of an instructor. One of its best qualities is making the student aware of a shift in perception, of the ability to look in different manners for different results. The Object Lesson differs from everyday vision in its minute scale and close looking. Rather than simply identifying an object, Bain encouraged students to look

[6] Henderson, "A Fairy Tale of American Progress" 127.

closely and carefully at a specimen's different properties to study its material make-up. I find the Object Lesson's methods to be quite similar to the close-looking required for visual analysis when studying the history of visual culture. For this reason, the Object Lesson worked quite well with minerals, plants, or sandals but its problems begin with the creation of a subject/object relationship.

Creating mental distance and blinding inner emotion towards a mineral sample is different than using that same method to study another human. Studying the people of the Midway with the Object Lesson not only reproduced the rhetoric of cultural hierarchies but it lowered the status of living people to the likes of inorganic specimens. The Object Lesson lacks a sympathetic appreciation of the object it studies. However, Bain also believed that emotion and imagination were integral to producing moral responses through imagining the position of the Other. An Object Lesson that attempts to blind inner emotion also ignores sympathy. The Conceiving Faculty's methods could benefit the Object Lesson by bringing emotion into the study of objects and people, adding an ethical aspect to the Object Lesson by emphasizing rather than burying emotional responses. By becoming more like the Conceiving Faculty, it could sympathize with what it examined, helping to prevent the objectification of the people it viewed. The Conceiving Faculty's sympathy with the object of vision could help to counter the emotional and ethical hole in the Object Lesson. Although it attempted to blind emotion towards the object of vision, it was that same lack of emotional investment which made the Object Lesson perilous.

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