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**OTTOMAN PARTICIPATION IN
WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION (CHICAGO-1893)***

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The second half of nineteenth-century had been the age of global unification around industrial capitalism. Exceeding the frontiers of industrialized European countries, capitalism was no more a regional mode of production but the name of a world-economy system.

The founding fathers of capitalism were dreaming of a permanently developing industrial economy which was preceded by the formation of "different and rival nations" with same type of institutions, economy and beliefs¹. Due to the new invented tools of communication and transportation, this standardization process did not need a long span of time. Following each other, the non-European societies around the world converted into the "faith of progress" in the name of "civilization".

The combination of a large number of independent nations and an expanding area of international jurisdiction produced many occasions of communication between the representatives of many and widely separated states for joint discussion and action². "Universal co-operation" was the watchword which discursively stands for positive action, for the development of concrete facts in human life corresponding to the actual needs of the new economic and social order. For this purpose, adequate

* I owe thanks to Prof. Selim Deringil who drew my attention to the subject and made invaluable comments on the draft of this paper.

¹ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital 1848-1875*, Abacus 1995, 84.

² Norman L. Hill, *The Public International Conference*, Stanford University, California 1929, 3-4.

institutions were created to take the international action out of the field of resolutions and to make it a part of the realities of human life³.

International conferences and congresses about industry and commerce, agriculture, unification of monetary system and custom tariffs, telegraph, postal service, electricity, chemistry, public health, penitentiary administration etc., had been the milestones of the emerging international community with the common language of modernism⁴.

Known in Britain as *Great Exhibitions*, in France as *Expositions Universelles* and in America as *World's Fairs*, the great international exhibitions played also an important role in creation of the new international stage. In Hobsbawm's terms, they were "giant rituals of self-congratulation where the era of capitalism's global victory was initiated and punctuated"⁵. Under the guidance of these latter three, this genre became a self-perpetuating phenomenon in the second half of 19th century. For the capitalist industry, it was more a device for the enhancement of trade and the promotion of new technology. The contemporary empires, on the other hand, used it as a display of their political stability and power to confront the rumors about their legitimacy⁶.

³ Paul S. Reinsch, *Public International Unions*, Boston and London 1911, 3.

⁴ For general characteristics of these international meetings, M. Dore, *Congrès Internationaux*, Paris 1923; R. G. Gruber, *Internationale Staatenkongresse und Konferenzen*, Berlin 1911 ; E. Hunt, *Conferences, Committees, Conventions*, New York and London 1925. A list of congresses and conferences held between 1826 and 1907, can be found in S. E. Baldwin's article in *American Journal of International Law*, I, (Appendix, 808-829), also useful are Gerard J. Mangone's, *A Short History of International Organization*, New York-Toronto-London 1954, 93-97 and N. L. Hill, *The Public International Conference*, 229-231.

Although these international conferences seem to found "an unified family of nations", one of the most significant features of the methods used in the conferences of public unions was the frequent disregard of the theory of state equality. Nominal adherence to the doctrine that each state shall have one vote was often maintained. But a stipulation of this sort does not always exclude the possibility of actual inequality, Reinsch, *Public International Unions*, 134-135.

⁵ Hobsbawm, *The Age of Capital*, 47.

⁶ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, Manchester 1988, 2. The French were the first to establish an ongoing policy for the holdings of industrial and craft produce. The board of directors of the first national industrial exhibition held in Paris in 1797, sanctioned it in the hope that a good show would not only dispose of stored goods but also make the French public see that their industry was still intact and capable of competing

The first international exhibition was organized in 1851. In fact, from a remarkably early date in fact, exhibitions of art and industry of some size had been held in England, albeit in a far more modest way. These were organized by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, founded in 1754 and known after 1847 as the 'Royal Society of Arts'. In 1760, the Society expanded its own brief and decided to make a display of the arts, crafts and inventions it considered worthy. Being mainly born out of curious dilettantism, paintings, sculptures, architectural models, pumps, plough-shares and weaving looms were displayed there together under the communal heading of 'inventions', for the edification of the membership and the enlightenment of farmers, manufacturers and businessmen. Into Victoria's reign the scope of English exhibitions was widened by the Mechanics Institutes. Inspired by the example of the Royal Society but concerned mainly with the leisure and education of the working classes, the Mechanics Institutes began to stage large displays of art and industry in English towns in 1820's. These periodic exhibitions emphasized scientific inventions and mechanical devices, often miniaturized for display purposes.⁷

Following the Manchester-1837, English exhibitions had acquired a leading status among other European examples. An English entrepreneur Henry Cole went a step further and advanced these into the international arena. During his visit to the 1849 exhibition in Paris, he took up the unrealized French idea of a great international exhibition and returned home as the potential main organizer of the "Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations", which was held then triumphantly in Hyde Park during the summer of 1851. It became the largest exhibition so far held

internationally, 3-4; *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions 1851-1988* (ed. by John Findling), New York-Connecticut-London, xvi. Between 1797 and 1849 ten national exhibitions were held, as the size and scope was increasing progressively in each new one. The opposition of French manufacturers towards foreign participation in their national expositions, was one of the key factors why the first international exhibition was held in British capital but not on the continent, "Sergi ve Panayirlar", *Arkitekt*, 8(1937), 228.

⁷ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 8-9; *Historical Dictionary ...*, xvii. There were a number of contemporary exhibitions all over the Europe where the French model was the one generally followed. Among those, Munich-1818, Ghent-1820, Stockholm-1823, Haarlem-1825, Dublin-1826, Madrid-1827, Moscow-1829, St. Petersburg-1829 and Brussels-1830 shall be mentioned. The most dramatic and impressive of these non-French exhibition was however the "All German Exhibition 1844" in Berlin.

anywhere. Of the nations invited officially to take part through there, thirty four accepted⁸.

Being the pioneer of its genre, The Great Exhibition gave root to the four exhibiting categories later to become standard, "Manufactures, Machinery, Raw Materials and Fine Arts", and provided the model for space allocation. The Crystal Palace, the main building as it called, was the architectural centerpiece of this event -an iron and glass monument that served for a time as the model for exhibition halls. Half the floor area was given over to Britain and her Empire and half to other participating countries and empires⁹. In fact, the Great Exhibition seems to be an invented modern ritual which was designed for the celebration of British centrality in emerging industrial world.

London-1851 was the messenger of a tradition. Till 1893, Paris, New York, Dublin, Vienna, Philadelphia, Sydney, Melbourne, Amsterdam, Boston, Calcutta, Antwerp, Edinburgh, Barcelona and Glasgow succeeded the British capital in becoming the " world's center " although for a few months¹⁰.

The participation of Ottoman Empire in Great International Exhibitions prior to 1893

For the Ottoman Empire, the Great International Exhibitions were only wide-scale international organizations of commercial and socio-cultural ends, but also opportunities to display her actual presence as a member of the "civilized world"¹¹.

In nineteenth-century, Ottoman State was no more threatening Europe as an offensive military power, but rather trying to defend herself against external interventions threatening her existence and legitimacy. Following

⁸ Greenhalgh, 11.

⁹ Greenhalgh, 12.

¹⁰ For a list of industrial fairs in nineteenth and twentieth centuries, *Historical Dictionary*.

¹¹ Rifat Önsöy argues that the Ottoman Empire's purpose in displaying herself was to show European Great Powers that the reform promises of Restoration (Tanzimat) and Reform (Islahat) Edicts were being realized in agriculture, industry and fine arts, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Katıldığı Uluslararası Sergiler ve Sergi-i Umûmî-i Osmânî (1863 İstanbul Sergisi) , *Belleten*, 185 (Jan.1983), 206.

the Karlowitz Treaty in 1699, Ottoman rulers have concentrated themselves on the careful observation of power struggles in Europe and the establishing principles of modern diplomacy. For the late Ottoman bureaucrats the only way of surviving in this new world was to be an equal partner of the European Council of States founded on the ground of international jurisprudence¹².

Beside various international conferences and congresses, Ottoman Empire was represented also in many of international exhibitions, either by an official committee or private efforts of Ottoman entrepreneurs. She was among the participating states (nations) participating in London-1851¹³, and afterwards in Paris-1855¹⁴ and in London-1862¹⁵.

In the second Parisian *Exposition Universelle* in 1867, Ottoman participation has occurred in a broader form than the previous three

¹² Selim Deringil, "II. Mahmud'un Dış Siyâseti ve Osmanlı Diplomasisi", in *Sultan II. Mahmud ve Reformları Semineri Bildirileri*, İstanbul 1990, 61.

¹³ *Vak'a-nüvis Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi Tarihi*, v. IX, (ed. by Münir Aktepe), İstanbul 1984, 49. The late Ottoman chronicler Ahmed Lûtfî (1817-1907) celebrated the Great Exhibition in London as an important opportunity for international exchange of goods. However, he was not happy with the level of Ottoman industry which seemed to be far away from competing with European products of high quality but low cost. Ahmed Lûtfî was indeed a contemporary eye-witness of Ottoman peripheral role in world-capitalist system and international exhibitions: "Umûm sergilerden maksad-ı 'aslı olan te'atî-yi ma'lûmât ve mer'iyât bizce beyne'l-isneyn olamadı. Biz yalnız iyi fenâ nemiz var ise meydâna koyup öğrettik. Avrupalı'nın sergiye vaz'ettikleri âsâr-ı sinâ'iyye ve acıbesinden bir şey telâkki edemeyüp yalnız onların yaptıkları şeyleri mubâya'a ile hâzır paralarımızı fedâ eyledik. For a list of displayed products in Ottoman Pavilion in London, Önsoy, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Katıldığı ...", 196-197, and for the prizes Ottoman participators have acquired there, *ibid*, 198-199.

¹⁴ For a list of goods displayed in Ottoman Pavilion and the acquired prizes, Önsoy, *ibid*, 200-204.

¹⁵ In an official proposal presented to the Sultan before this exhibition it was emphasized that each participation in such an exhibition was a charge on the state and suggested therefore not to take part in London-1862. However, "as this might cause doubts on the Ottoman progress in agriculture, industry and fine arts among foreign countries", it was argued that the best way of act would be to send even this time samples of Ottoman agricultural and industrial products and mining, R. Önsoy, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Sanayii ve Sanayileşme Politikası*, Ankara 1988, 67.

Ottoman State and over 400 Ottoman entrepreneurs participated in London-1862 and 83 of them have acquired prizes, Kadri, "Tarih-i sergi ber vech-i 'umûmî", *Mecmûa-ı Fünûn*, v.I no.9 (1279/ 1863), 391. For a list of displayed Ottoman goods and the acquired prizes, R. Önsoy, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Katıldığı ...", 203-206.

international exhibitions, as Sultan Abdülaziz visited this exhibition with a suite of Ottoman princes and officials¹⁶. The cause of this very first peaceful presence of an Ottoman Sultan in European terrain seems to be not only the curiosity for such an international organization, but also an attempt to establish a new alliance between France, England and Ottoman Empire as it was once formed in the Crimean War. During the prize ceremony of the exposition at *Palais d'Industrie*, Abdülaziz, the Honouree Guest of *Exposition Universelle-1867*, sat next to Emperor Napeleon III and Empress Eugiene, as English, French and Saxon heirs to the throne, were sitting at his right hand side next to the Egyptian Khedive Ismail Pasha and Ottoman princes. He hold here a short speech and distributed prizes while the imperial Ottoman march was played by the official band of exhibition¹⁷.

What made that exhibition extraordinary in the whole Ottoman experience of international exhibitions was not only the presence of the Sultan, but also the amount of Ottoman participators. Among 52,200 exhibitors, Ottoman Empire hold the third place after France and England with her 4946 participators¹⁸. They displayed their goods both in *Palais du Champ de Mars*, the main exposition building, and in Ottoman quarter in the south-eastern part of the exposition park in front of the main hall. This "Ottoman village", designed by a self-trained French architecture named Leon Parvilleé in collaboration with the Italian architect Barborini, was

¹⁶ The three Ottoman princes visiting Paris with the Sultan were his son Yusuf İzzeddin and his nephews Murad and Abdülhamid (following Abdülaziz, the latter two ascended the throne as Murad V and Abdulhamid II). The celebrated Ottoman bureaucrat Fuad Pasha, at that time minister of foreign affairs, was also in the imperial suit as the minister of foreign affairs. For the list of official Ottoman visitors of Paris-1867, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archive, hereafter BOA), *Hâriciye Mütenevvi'a*, 486/ 13.

¹⁷ Ali Kemâli Aksüt, *Sultan Aziz'in Mısır ve Avrupa Seyahati*, Istanbul 1944, 123-124. Abdülaziz left France in June, 11 and visited Britain where he met Queen Victoria in Windsor, *ibid*, 158. Afterwards, he was welcomed by Belgian King Leopold II in Liege and Prussian King in Koblenz on his travel to Vienna, *ibid*, 180-182. For a contemporary interpretation of Abdulaziz's travel, *Ahmed Lûtfî Efendi Tarihi*, XI, ed. by Münir Aktepe, Ankara 1989, 107-116.

¹⁸ Semra Germaner, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Uluslararası Sergilere Katılımı ve Kültürel Sonuçları", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 95 (Oct. 1991), 36. For further information about Ottoman display in Paris 1867, Salaheddin Bey, *La Turquie a l'Exposition Universelle de 1867*, Paris 1867 (Salaheddin Bey was the Ottoman commissioner in Paris 1867).

composed of three buildings - a mosque, a residential structure called the "Pavillon du Bosphore", and a bath- around a loosely defined space. Complementing main buildings, an Ottoman coffee-house present there with its traditional water-pipe and oriental dressed waiters, called a great attention. In the center of this "orientalized space", there was a fountain built in the traditional Ottoman fashion¹⁹. The Ottoman quarter in Paris 1867 became a model for "Ottoman villages" in coming international exhibitions thereafter, as well as in Chicago- 1893.

After London and Paris, another important European capital, Vienna, has also hosted a Great International Exhibition. *Die Weltausstellung*, as it was called, was inaugurated in May, 1873 in Prater Park along Danube. Ottoman State was represented there by sections in the main exhibition buildings, and also by a private quarter neighboring Egypt and Russia in the "East" section of the Prater Park²⁰. Picturesque landscaping brought Ottoman and Egyptian pavilions once again into relation as in Paris-1867 and created an "Islamic village" on the periphery of the fairgrounds.

Ottoman quarter in Prater Park, designed by architect Montani Efendi, was consisting of seven small structures: A main pavilion carefully duplicating the Sultan Ahmed Fountain in the center of Main Hall and Palace of Fine Arts; a high domed pavilion, "the Sultan's Treasury" where samples of imperial jewelry were displayed; a residential structure based on the Yali Kiosk in Istanbul and reminiscent of the Pavillion du Bosphore of 1867; a bath, along the lines of Parvilleé's bath in 1867; a cafe and a small two-floor building with a bazaar on the first floor and residential apartments on the

¹⁹ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, Berkeley-London-Los Angeles 1992, 60 and 96; Aksüt, *Sultan Aziz'in Mısır ve Avrupa Seyahati*, 133. The Italian architect Barborini was resident in Istanbul. Leon Parvilleé, the assistant of him had also designed the building of Ottoman National Exhibition(1863) in Istanbul, Germaner, *ibid*. Among Ottoman goods displayed in Paris, there were carpets, coffee sets, embroidered silk and broadcloth covers, Aksüt, *Sultan Aziz'in Mısır ve Avrupa Seyahati*, 133.

²⁰ Germaner, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Uluslararası Sergilere Katılımı ...", 38. An innovation utilized by Viennese fair organizers was the systematic allocation of space in the main exhibition hall. According to Mercator's projections, the participating countries were arranged from east to west in their natural geographical proximity to each other, with Austria at the center and largest amount of space, Leila Sirk, "Die Weltausstellung Wien 1873", in *Historical Dictionary* ..., 49.

second²¹. In the categories "Art, Good Taste, Co-operation and Merit, and Progress", Ottoman Empire was in the twelfth place just over the USA with the medals and awards she acquired²².

The last Great International Exhibition prior to Chicago-1893 where the Ottoman Empire was represented by an official committee and pavilion, was the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia (1876)²³. In many of the Great International Exhibitions following Philadelphia like Paris-1878, Amsterdam-1883, Calcutta-1883-84 and Paris-1889, Ottoman existence was composed of state-controlled private Ottoman entrepreneurs.

The World's Columbian Exposition and Ottoman State

I. The official organization

Though the homeland of Great International Exhibitions was the European continent, it took not so much time that these modern rituals began to be Americanized.

²¹ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 63 and Germaner, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Uluslararası Sergilere Katılımı ...", 38.

²² Sirk, "Die Weltausstellung Wien 1873", 52.

²³ During the official discussions about the size of Ottoman participation in Chicago-1893, the Ministry of Commerce reported to the Grand Vizierate (May, 5 1891) that the state expended 750,000 Ottoman gürush for the exhibition of Ottoman agricultural and industrial products in Philadelphia Exposition, BOA, *İrade-Meclis-i Mahsus*, no. 5194. In late 1877, some of the goods which were not sold in Philadelphia, were brought back to Istanbul. It was decided, that some of the durable ones shall be stored somewhere for sending them to other exhibitions in the future, BOA, *Cavit Baysun Terekesinden Satın Alınan Evrak*, 2/15.

Philadelphia-1876 was not the first American exposition where we met Ottoman entrepreneurs. Ottoman State was officially invited by the US Government also to New York 1853-54. As there was not so much time for related preparations, the Sublime Porte had planned to participate in this exhibition with the goods displayed before in London-1851 or with those brought from Istanbul and the surrounding towns like Edirne and Bursa, BOA, *İrade-Meclis-i Vâlâ*, 9631. In spite of repeated writings of US Secretary of State February and March 1853 that the President of USA would welcome Ottoman ships in New York harbour with an official ceremony and the US Government was ready to supply the necessary provision and repairs of Ottoman ships without a cost (BOA, *İrade-Hariciye*, 4731), Ottoman State seems not to be able to perform this organization. However, there were Ottoman citizens like a certain Mihail who displayed Ottoman agricultural products in New York and was awarded by Ottoman State for his private enterprise, *İrade-Hariciye*, 8807.

The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 was anticipated by three international exhibitions in New York(1853-54), Philadelphia (1876) and Boston(1883-84) and by two International Cotton Expositions, one in Atlanta(1881) and the other in New Orleans (1884-85). As these were important milestones in the establishment of an exhibition-tradition in USA, Chicago-1893 was signifying the real peak of international exhibitions held in USA.

As many of the Great International Exhibitions were organized referring to the anniversary of an important historical event, the organizers of the Chicago Exposition have chosen Columbus' discovery of America in 1493. The exposition was planned to happen in 1893, the 400th anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America, and named as "World's Columbian Exposition"²⁴.

In the long list of states invited by the US Government to take part in this international organization, there was also Ottoman Empire. In Feb. 19, 1891 American Embassy in Istanbul presented the proclamation of invitation of President Benjamin Harrison (dated Dec. 24, 1890), the related Congress Act (dated Apr. 25, 1890) and a letter detailing regulations and instructions for foreign exhibitors, to Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Like many other "nations on the earth", Ottoman Empire was invited to take part in the commemoration of an event that is "pre-eminent in human-history, and of lasting interest to mankind", and sending such exhibits to the World's Columbian Exposition as will most fitly and fully illustrate her resources, her manufactures and "her progress in civilization"²⁵. Passed in early March by the Ministry Foreign Affairs, the exhibition papers were examined first at the Ministry of Commerce and then at the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture. In its statement of March 17, 1891, the board of the latter has argued that the cost of an official participation might be high for the state treasury. Therefore, it would be better to encourage private merchants to participate on their own behalf.

²⁴ For the organization process of this exposition, R. Reid Badger, "Chicago 1893 World's Columbian Exposition", in *Historical Dictionary...*, 122-127.

²⁵ For the presidential proclamation and other material presented to Ottoman State, BOA, *İrade-Meclis-i Mahsus*, 5194.

Referring to the presented proposal of Ministry of Commerce and Public Works, the issue was discussed in Ottoman Council of Ministers in May 31, 1891. According to Ottoman ministers, the participation would be useful for increasing the trade amount between USA and Ottoman Empire. But, the estimated cost of 750,000 gurush shall be paid by participating Ottoman merchants, not by the imperial treasury. Like in previous international exhibitions, it was suggested to establish a commission from members of the Chamber of Commerce, to determine the goods to be displayed, the way of their transport to Chicago and the necessary budget for this²⁶. This suggestion was accepted by the Sultan in June 6, 1891 who remarked that the selection must be done carefully as "Americans are known to be people hard to please"²⁷.

It seems to take one year that the commission got contact with a private company in Istanbul for the construction of Ottoman pavilion and an Ottoman Village in Chicago. The project, presented to the commission by the architect Robert Louis representing the Company of Sadullah Sihâmî, included also the duplication of the Fountain and the Egyptian Obelisk at Hippodrome(Sultanahmed) and the construction of a bazaar, mosque and a theatre, all inside of the "Ottoman Village", as it was called by the Sadullah Company.

According to the contract of 13 articles, prepared by the Ottoman exhibition commission under the direction of Ottoman Minister of Commerce Tevfik Hasan Pasha, the estimated cost of the pavilion and was 2000 gurush. The Ottoman Bazaar would compose of identical shops of 20 m² which could be hired by Ottoman merchants all the exhibition long at a cost of 200 Liras. Merchants who would like to display their products in the special building constructed inside of Ottoman Village, had to pay 80 Francs/ m² for places close to walls and 40 Francs/ m² for those in the middle. Of the daily profit in Ottoman Village, %5 would be paid to the exhibition-administration, %5 to Ottoman exhibition-commission and %10 to Sihami Sadullah Co.²⁸.

²⁶ BOA, *Meclis-i Viikela Mazbataları* (hereafter MV), 64/ 76.

²⁷ BOA, *İrade- Meclis-i Mahsus*, 5194.

²⁸ BOA, *Yıldız-Sadâret Hususî Marûzât* (hereafter Y.A-Hus), 58/33. "Ticâret ve nâfi'a nezâretiyle Dersa'âdet'te mütemekkin es-Sihâmî Sadullah Kumpanyası beyninde

In addition to this contract, Ottoman exhibition-commission prepared a regulation of 32 articles to be announced to Ottoman public by newspapers in Istanbul and provinces²⁹. Here, it was proclaimed, that Ottoman State would participate in Chicago World's Columbian Exposition-1893 and Ottoman subjects were allowed to display their products either in official Ottoman display-building or in special spaces they could hire in Ottoman Bazaar or construct themselves in thematic buildings of World's Columbian Exposition.

As the costs of transportation and insurance would belong to participating individuals, the government tried to encourage them through the abolition of export and import duties for the commodities brought from Ottoman lands to Chicago Exposition. This latter was actually not a special regulation for this exhibition but issued at almost every participation in a Great International Exhibition. US government did the same for exhibitors from all over the world³⁰.

The commission announced in its regulation that Ottoman State would also have its official display, a selection of goods among those presented to the commission by their manufacturers or owners. All Ottoman exhibitors who would demand a private space in Chicago or want to construct their own showroom in the thematic buildings of the Columbian World's Exposition, had to present their projects to official Ottoman commissioners to World's Exhibition who would officially represent Ottoman State in Chicago-1893.

The contract and announcement of the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works was presented in May 19, 1892 to the Council of Ministers and approved at the discussion of May 24. It was time to work now, for

mun'akıd mukâvelenâmedir (The contract signed between Ottoman Ministry of Commerce and Public Works and the Sihami Sadullah Co. in Istanbul).

²⁹ "Meşhere iştirak arzusunda bulunan tüccâr ve san'atkârân-ı osmâniyyeye mahsûs ta'lîmât (The regulation for Ottoman merchants and artisans who want to participate in the exhibition), *ibid* .

³⁰ However, in the Ottoman exhibition-paper printed in Chicago during the exposition, the custom regulations in USA was criticized as the main defect of the World's Columbian Exposition. It was emphasized that the customs were too high in compare to other international exhibitions prior to Chicago-1893. The complexity of official procedure might have caused delays in the transportation of foreign goods to Chicago, too, *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, 3 (1 August 1893), 26.

Ottoman commissioner-general İbrahim Hakkı³¹ and commissioner Ahmed Fahri³². In August 1892, these two Ottoman officials were in Chicago, for the first time in their lives.

II. The boundaries of Ottoman private enterprise

Following the official announcement of the exhibition-commission, Ottoman merchants started to present their projects.

One of them was the so called "Ottoman Hippodrome", prepared by a certain Radji from Acre. In his proposal, presented in October 12, 1892, Radji suggested to construct an Ottoman Hippodrome in Chicago where he would display the world-known Arab horses and dromedaries with their skilled riders from Arab tribes. Founding a so called "Hamidian Company"

³¹ İbrahim Hakkı Bey, born in 1863 in Istanbul, was the son of Sakızlı Mehmed Remzi Efendi, the president of the Council of Istanbul Municipality. After his graduation of the School of Civil Service (Mekteb-i Mülkiye) with the highest grade, he started to work in 1882 in the bureau of foreign correspondence (tahrirat-ı hariciyye kalemi). He worked there eleven months and was appointed to be the imperial dragoman (mabeyn mütercimliği). Beside his service in the palace, from 1889 on he taught history, law and political economy in the School of Law (Mekteb-i Hukuk) and in the Hamidian School of Commerce. When the German Emperor Wilhelm II visited Istanbul in 1889, İ. Hakkı was charged with accompanying the Emperor. Thereafter, he was sent with special missions to Italy and Greece. In August 1892 when he was appointed to be the Ottoman commissioner in World's Columbian Exposition, he was accompanying the Siamese Prince in Istanbul.

In the second constitutional period, İ.Hakkı Pasha was appointed many times to be minister, as well as prime minister between 1909-1911, "İbrahim Hakkı Bey", Musavver *Şikago Sergisi/ The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, 1 (1 June 1893), 14 and İbnülemin M.K. İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, vol. 4, Istanbul 1982(3rd ed.), 1763.

³² Fahri Bey was born in Nevşehir in 1873. He graduated the School of Orphans (Dartüşsafaka) in 1881 with the highest grade and was employed then as a scribe in the Ministry of Telegraph. To be educated about electricity, Fahri Bey was sent in 1883 to Paris and attended there the School of Telegraph-Engineering. After his return to Istanbul in 1885, he started to work as a telegraph engineer. Synchronically, he was also appointed to be the director of the re-founded translation bureau at the ministry mentioned. Before two months of his appointment as İ. Hakkı Bey's assistant, Fahri Bey has represented Ottoman State in the International Congress for Postal Union Vienna-1891, "Fahri Bey Efendi", Musavver *Şikago Sergisi/ The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, 2 (1 July 1893), 21-22. After his days in Chicago, Fahri Bey visited US for a second time in 1897, as Ottoman delegate at the International Post Congress in Washington, BOA, *Y.A-Hus.*, 372/4.

(Shirket-i Hamidiyye) to this end, he was asking the government for a special permission to export the animals from the Beirut harbor to Chicago.

Radji's "Program of the Ottoman Hippodrome in Chicago Exposition" was consisting of six articles. According to this, there would be forty Arab horses and six dromedaries, adorned in Arabian fashion. Selected tribal Arabs who are skilled riders, would be disciplined and instructed to perform lance and sword games on the top of their horses. Wearing silk clothes in Arabian fashion, these horsemen would carry Ottoman and American flags in their hands. The so called "Ottoman Hippodrome" would be a wooden building of 200 m. length and 80m.width, with Arabian towers in front.

The government accepted Radji's program and appointed two Ottoman military officials to help the instruction of tribal Arab riders in Chicago. Like all the cost of this project, the salaries of these officials shall be paid by Radji himself³³.

Radji from Acre was not the unique Ottoman entrepreneur willing to take part in the World's Columbian Exposition. In March 1893, just before the official inauguration of the exposition, a merchant from Gemlik, Ali Beyzade Nuri suggested to display the models of old Janissary soldiers which are exhibited in the School of Industry and the contemporary Ottoman military uniforms side by side. He proposed to leave %10 of his profit to the government, in particular to the Imperial House for Poor in Istanbul (Darülaceze).

Though İbrahim Hakkı Bey accepted this suggestion and passed it to the Council of Ministers, the latter confronted it with some scepticism. Arguing that the display of Janissary models in such a World Exposition might cause various speculations, Ottoman ministers refused the project³⁴.

Upon this decision, Ali Beyzâde Nuri wrote another letter to Ottoman commissioner-general. He stated that the Sublime Porte did not accept his project not to provoke among Christian Europeans the "old image" of Ottomans, which is symbolized with the combatant Janissaries. However, Nuri added, the fact that Ottoman nation has actually reached to the level of

³³ BOA, *İrâde-Hususî* (hereafter Ir.Hus.), Ra 1310 141.

³⁴ BOA, *MV*, 74/ 56.

"European civilization", can be easily observed by Western people looking at the modern uniforms of Ottoman military and civil officials. By displaying the old and new Ottoman uniforms side by side, the aim of his project was to show American public the material progress realized under the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. The Ottoman merchant added that he was not able to understand why the Sublime Porte did not allow him to display Janissary models in Chicago whereas pictures of Ottoman Janissaries are available in all around the Europe and the Janissary models in the School of Industry can be seen by all European tourists in Istanbul. In this context, he also pointed out the Illustrated History of Janissaries written by Cevad Pasha, the Ottoman prime minister at that time³⁵.

Though İ. Hakkı Bey wrote a second letter to Sublime Porte supporting Nuri's arguments, the decision did not change³⁶. For the new image of "Modern Ottoman Empire", it seems, that the exotic Arabian horses and dromedaries were in, but the symbols of pre-modern Ottoman military success were out!³⁷

As the suggestions of these two entrepreneurs was about displaying, a third Ottoman private enterprise was about reporting the display to Ottoman public. An Ottoman Lebanese (Christian Maroonite) journalist, Suleiman al-Bustani, proposed to publish an Ottoman exhibition-paper in Chicago. It would report, as al-Bustani explained in his petition to the Sublime Porte, important facts in World's Columbian Exposition and specially those about

³⁵ BOA, Yıldız-Mütenevvi Marûzât (hereafter Y.Mtv.), 76/36. Cevad Pasha's history of Janissaries was published as the first volume of his History of Ottoman Army (Tarih-i Askeri-i Osmani, Istanbul 1297-1299/ 1882). It covered the foundation story of the Janissary troops, their numbers in different periods, their weapons and clothing, way of life and finally the abolition of this institution. This work was translated partially into French and published in France together with an album of pictures of Janissary clothes and weapons (*Etat militaire Ottoman depuis la fondation de l'Empire jusqu'a nos jours*, Paris 1882). The second and third volumes of Cevad Pasha's *Tarih* which cover the modernization process in Ottoman army during the reign of Mahmud II and his son Abdülmedjid, were not published, Abdülkadir Özcan, "Cevad Paşa , *Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi (hereafter DİA)*, v. 7, 430-431.

³⁶ BOA, YA- Hus., 272/21.

³⁷ For the "image obsession of late Ottoman bureaucrats, Selim Deringil, "II. Abdülhamid Döneminde Osmanlı Dış İlişkilerinde "İmaj" Saplantısı", in Sultan II. Abdülhamid ve Devri Semineri (27-29 May, 1992) Bildiriler, Istanbul 1994, 149-162 and idem, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire*, London-New York 1999, 135-149.

Ottomans. On the condition, that it would be published under the control of Ottoman commissioner-general İ. Hakkı Bey, the government accepted his suggestion in February 9, 1893³⁸.

III. An Ottoman adventurer on the way to Chicago

Great International Exhibitions attracted thousands of people all around the world. Like money and goods did also men moved globally, or at least it seems to be so.

Among these were also Ottoman citizens who visited European and American expositions as tourists, without any official or commercial end. One of them was Sadullah Pasha, the Ottoman ambassador in Berlin who visited *Exposition Universelle-1878* in Paris during his travel in Europe³⁹. For him, the Parisian Exposition was "the showroom of contemporary human knowledge". Therefore, he remarked, those who want to see the

³⁸ BOA, *İr. Hus.*, B 1310 59. This paper was called as "Musavver Şikago Sergisi/ The Chicago Fair Illustrated" and published four times (June 1, July 1, August 1 and October 15). A complete collection is available in the National Library (Ankara).

In the first volume, the aim of the paper was explained as "bringing the exhibition to the home of those who could not go to Chicago. It was emphasized also that Ottoman dailies in Istanbul were quoting French papers about the Ottoman presence in Chicago whereas the Chicago Fair Illustrated would enlighten Ottoman public through first-hand observations as an eye-witness in Chicago, *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, 1(June 1893), 2. For the bibliography of articles published in this paper, M. Bülent Varlık, "Musavver Şikago Sergisi (1893) - ABD'nde İlk Türkçe Süreli Yayın", *Kebikeç*, 1 (1995), 39-42. There was also a general exhibition-paper, the Daily Columbian, published by the publication department of World's Columbian Exposition, Badger, "Chicago 1893 World's Columbian Exposition", 131.

In the second constitutional period (1908-1912), Suleiman al-Bustani was among the Beirut-delegates in the parliament. Then, he became minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Forestry-Mines in the cabinet of Said Halim Pasha (1913-1914), Ali Şakir Ergin, "Bustânî, Süleyman b. Hattâr", *DİA*, v.6, 474-475.

³⁹ "Berlin Mektubu", in *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, v. II (1865-1876), ed. by M.Kaplan- I.Enginün- B.Emil, Istanbul 1978, 649. Sadullah Pasha was not the unique Ottoman diplomat in Europe attending Parisian Exposition. Şakir Pasha (St. Petersburg), Aleko Pasha (Vienna), Mulas Pasha (London) and the celebrated Ottoman poet Abdülhak Hâmid (assistant secretary, Paris), were also there, *Abdülhak Hâmid'in Hatıraları*, ed. by İnci Enginün, Istanbul 1994, 119.

essential indications of a "big age of progress of humanity and civilization", should visit the Parisian Exposition⁴⁰.

After eleven years, another Ottoman, Halid Ziya (Uşaklıgil), was in Paris to witness the fourth *Exposition Universelle*. Like many of his contemporary countrymen, visiting Europe, especially Paris, and seeing such a World's Exposition was also for Halid Ziya a lovely dream.

40 " Bugünkü gün Paris sergisi maarif-i asrıyyenin teşhir-gâhı olduğundan memâlik-i mütemeddinenin her cihetinden, her sınıf halk sanatın ve ilmen mensub olduğu kısma müteallik tahkikatı icra için, fevc fevc sergiyi temâşaya gelmekte ve malumat-ı sabıkalarına munzamm olan tahkikat üzerine yerli ve ecnebi erbab-ı hibre sergi dairesinde akd-i meclis-i mübahese etmekte oldukları halde, bizim dünyadan haberimiz yokmuş gibi muamelelerimize hayret elverir !

Kadınlarımız evlerine kapandıkları gibi, erkeklerimiz dahi memleketlerine kapandıklarından, cemiyat-ı beşeriyyenin ahval-i terakkiyatından o derece gaflet üzereyiz ki, etrafımızı muhit olan akvam günden güne ilerlemekte ve bu sâyede manen ve maddeten bize galebe etmekte oldukları halde, biz yine dört el ile cehil ve taassuba sarılıp ondan ümid-i necat ediyoruz.

Hülâsa-i kelâm insâniyet ve medeniyetin ne büyük bir devr-i terakkisinde bulunduğumuzun delâil-i mülzîmesini görmek isteyenler Paris Sergisi'ni seyr etmeledir.", *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, 649-650. According to Sadullah Pasha, all the beauties displayed in this exposition owed their existence to the domination of "liberty" in the countries they were produced:

" Ey züvvar-ı hoş-yâr ! Nazar-rûba-yı hayretin olan bu kemalat bütün hürriyet eseridir. Akvam ve milel bu sâyede karîn-i saadettir. Hürriyet olmayınca emniyet olmaz. Emniyet olmayınca say olmaz, sayılmayınca servet olmaz, servet olmayınca saadet olmaz ! (in fact, this was a liberal re-formulation of Ottoman circle of justice).

Ey seyyah-ı sahib-i itibar ! Ağâh ol ki, burası nazar-ı ehl-i hakikate göre teşhir-gâh-ı masnuat değil, belki dârü'l-ımtihan-ı mevzuattır; meşhudun olacak asar-ı nefise kanun-ı hürriyete tâbi memalikin mahsul-ı terakkiyatıdır. Merdudun olacak asar-ı hasisa zencir-i esarete mübtela memalikin mecul-i tedenniyyatıdır, 638.

It is remarkable to note that Sadullah Pasha's description of the Parisian Exposition was very identical to the discourse of the Ottoman exhibition paper in Chicago. In an article called "Sergiye bazar diyenlere karşı (Against those who call the exhibition as a market) , it was emphasized that such exhibitions mustn't be seen as markets though they promote commercial relations. One should note that international exhibitions play an important role in the exchange of ideas of different nations. The paper glorified the exhibitions as fields of competition which would promote the progress of mankind : " Sergiler terakkiyat-ı insaniyyeyi temin maksadıyla insanların vasıl olduğu dereceyi mütalaa ederek kudret-i beşeriyyenin hangi mertebe-i hüner ve maarifete ne kadar müstenid-i terakki olduğunu tedkik için açılmış müsabaka meydanıdır.", *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, 2 (1 July 1893), 18.

He and his uncle Sadık Bey decided together to make their first travel to Europe. Utilizing one of the best contemporary tourist guides, the Joanne volumes, they made a travel plan. For them, Paris 1889 was a magic event with its exposition palaces, machinery building, Oriental pavilions and Cairo streets. In order to share his desire with his countrymen, Halid Ziya wrote several letters and articles to Istanbul and Izmir dailies⁴¹.

The World's Columbian Exhibition was welcomed by the Ottoman public with the same excitement like the Parisian Expositions mentioned above. Various newspapers started to publish articles and news upon the exhibition preparations before two years of its official inauguration⁴².

Ubeydullah Efendi, an active member of the Young Turc movement opposing the reign of Abdülhamid, was one of the Ottomans interested in these publications. Looking for the "greatness", as in his own terms, he decided to visit the World's Columbian Exposition hoping to find it there. What he needed to reach America, was a sum of fifty Ottoman Gold Liras and to free himself from the pursuit of Hamidian secret service. After providing the money, Ubeydullah looked for somebody to accompany him during his long travel to Chicago. He told to the celebrated pan-Islamist intellectual Sheikh Jamaladdin Afghani and Iranian Kajar Prince Sheikh el-Reis, who were resident in Istanbul at that time, about the coming exposition and explained them that all the important scholars and philosophers who see America as a field of competition, would meet in Chicago. Though Ubeydullah invited specially Afghani to come with him to see the exhibition, the latter was content with nominating Ubeydullah as his deputy at this international stage⁴³.

One day in April 1893, Ubeydullah left Ottoman capital on the deck of the French ship Paquet. The only thing accompanying him, was an old umbrella in his hand.

⁴¹ Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, v. III, Istanbul 1936, 19-23.

⁴² Orhan Koloğlu, "*Türk'le Amerikalı'nın Tanışmasının 200. Yılı-(II)*", *Tarih ve Toplum*, 168 (Aug. 1997), 44-46.

⁴³ *Sıra Dışı Bir Jön Türk Ubeydullah Efendi'nin Hatıraları*, ed. by Ahmet Turan Alkan, Istanbul 1997 (2nd ed.), 116-117 (The memoirs of Ubeydullah Efendi was originally published by Resimli Gazete in 1925).

After six days, Ubeydullah reached Marseille, the first station during his travel. He took there the train to Paris and therefrom a ship to London. Three days after his arrival in London, Ubeydullah was sitting at a breakfast beside Abdülhak Hâmid, the masterful Ottoman poet employed at that time in Ottoman embassy in London. He stayed in London three days and left for Liverpool where he would take the steamer Germanic (White Star Company) to America⁴⁴.

Like many Ottomans, Ubeydullah's foreign language was also French. Though nobody among the crew could speak French, Ubeydullah with his Ottoman fez on his head, attracted the interest of some passengers to whom he spoke in French. Among these, one was important for him. Anne Mason, an English lady of the age twenty-five, had been Ubeydullah's partner during his long journey to Chicago⁴⁵.

An anecdote, Ubeydullah mentioned in his memoirs concerning his days on Germanic, is significant for our understanding of the late Ottoman attitude towards modern western civilization. According to his own explanation, a joint program was organized in Germanic where all the passengers hold a speech in their national tongue. When the head of the organization invited Ubeydullah to come to the stage, his answer was noteworthy; he refused to hold a speech arguing that "the Turks do not belong to the world of civilization" and it would be inappropriate to speak in a language they can not understand. This refusal was not accepted by the present auditorium and Ubeydullah hold there a Turkish speech which was translated by Mrs. Mason from its written French version to English:

"Ladies and Gentlemen,

I'm an Asian Turc. I'm a member of a nation which is seen by the civilized nations as one of the underdeveloped nations. I can not say that the civilized nations are wrong in their consideration, as we are in a very backward situation than them, concerning general knowledge and industry.

⁴⁴ *Sıradışı Bir Jön Türk ...*, 118.

⁴⁵ *ibid*, 120-121. Though he was no more alone in his adventure, Ubeydullah thought in a harbour at South Ireland of abandoning his travel and returning to England, because of the difficulties in the Atlantic Ocean. However, his desire to see Columbian Exposition seems to have prevented him doing this.

Travelling and residing in England and France, I had been aware of various aspects of modern civilization. It is not too difficult to have those elements of modern civilization related with international relations and diplomacy, also in our country. However, my observations made me a little bit doubtful whether the involvement of my underdeveloped country into this civilization would really be something to wish... "46.

After a couple of days, Atlantic was over. The New York harbour welcomed also the "Asian Turc", among thousands of men and goods pulled by World's Columbian Exposition. In New York, he sent a telegraph message to Suleiman al-Bustani and made him aware that he was on the way to Chicago. A last train trip of thirty hours, brought Ubeydullah to the final destination of his travel⁴⁷. He was welcomed here by the cousin of Suleiman al-Bustani who took him to a hotel near to the exhibition place. The day after, Ubeydullah visited al-Bustani in his office where he was trying to print an Ottoman exhibition paper together with a compositor and letters brought from Istanbul. Ubeydullah asked him whether he had a writer for his paper and presented himself for this job. After taking the permission of Ottoman commissioner-general in Chicago, al-Bustani employed him as the unique correspondent of the Chicago Fair Illustrated with a salary of fifty Ottoman Liras for each volume. Being employed in Chicago, the Ottoman adventurer could hire a chamber in the north of the city, thanks to the help of an Ottoman Jew⁴⁸.

With his job and home in Chicago, Ubeydullah was no more an adventurer on the way, but the mediator between World Columbian Exposition and Ottoman public.

IV. The policy of display

The official inauguration of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago was announced to be on May 1, 1893. Like the other forty-three

⁴⁶ *ibid*, 147-148.

⁴⁷ *ibid*, 165.

⁴⁸ *ibid*, 174-177.

national commissioners⁴⁹, İbrahim Hakkı and his assistant Ahmed Fahri were also working in Chicago to complete the organization of the official and private displays of their country.

The Exposition was centred on the Jackson Park, in the south-east of the city. Participating nations could display their commodities in the thematic exhibition buildings, each assigned to a special subject like stock, leather, forestry, mining, agriculture, horticulture, machinery, electricity, manufactures & literal arts, fine arts, electricity, and transportation, as well as in their own national pavilions planned and constructed on their own behalf⁵⁰.

As mentioned above, a private company in Istanbul was paid by Ottoman State to construct the official Ottoman Pavilion and an Ottoman Village including shops, a theatre and a mosque.

The Ottoman Pavilion, a wooden building with two domes, was located on the southern part of the Jackson Park, just opposite the Fishery Building. Its neighbors were the Pavilion of Venezuela on the east and that of Brazil on the west. Its exterior was covered with Beirut-made wood carvings called "mashrabiyya", in an Oriental fashion. For the interior decoration, Ottoman commissioners had made an agreement with a French designer working in Chicago who has drawn a panorama of Istanbul on the inside of the domes. The four doors, those on the eastern and western sides were planned to remain closed, were covered with the red broadcloth of the Fez factory (Feshane) in Istanbul. On this red surface were the white crescent and star of the Ottoman flag. Through the systematically planted flower arrangements, the same design was also reproduced in the garden of the pavilion. İbrahim Hakkı, who described the outlook of the Ottoman pavilion in his report of July 4, 1893 to the Ministry of Commerce and

⁴⁹ There were eighty-six nations participating in Chicago-1893, however only forty-three of them were represented by official commissioners. Of these, thirty-eight were independent states and six were colonies, "Sergi, *Musavver Şikago Sergisi/ The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, 1 (1 June 1893), 6.

⁵⁰ The states which have a national building in Chicago were those following: USA, Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Austria, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Canada, Brazil, Venezuela, Colombia, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Haiti, New North Galia, Ceylon, Japan and Ottoman Empire, *Musavver Şikago Sergisi/ The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, 1, 7.

Public Works, argued that this building differed fundamentally from other cement-plastered national buildings in the exhibition⁵¹.

Enlightened by eighty electrical lamps, it hosted various commodities brought from Ottoman provinces. They were displayed in glass show-cases of star- and crescent-form, as well as in glass pyramids and on the shelves.

At the south of the central star-shaped case, there were the torpedoes produced in imperial dockyard, between the coffee of Yemen and salt samples sent by Public Debt Administration. North of them, the fire-engine produced by the Ministry of Navigation was displayed between the soaps of Crete and samples of minerals sent by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. In the central star-shaped case, there were the products of Imperial Textile Factory in Hereke, Damascus-made sticks and similar hand-made work, silver ornaments produced in Kosovo and Trabzon, as well as golden, silver and other precious adornments designed by the imperial jeweler Chubukchuan. Around this central, there were twelve peripheral small show-cases in which mechanic instruments like telegraph and electricity instruments of the Ministry of Telegraph were exhibited beside samples of agricultural products like wool, mohair, cotton, raw and cocoon-silk, rice and opium. In between, cigarettes of worked up-trees, match boxes, Syrian guns and pearl inlaid commodities might have represented the

⁵¹ BOA, *Y.A.- Hus.*, 278/44. In fact, this statement of İ. Hakkı was shared by a contemporary American observer, too: "The Turkish building is a small but unique edifice, typical in the style of architecture and with oriental decorations. Its plan is an imitation of the Fountain erected by Sultan Ahmed III opposite the Bab-i Houmayun in Istanbul, Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair*, Chicago-San Francisco 1893, 909 (electronically available at <http://columbus.gl.iit.edu/bookfair/ch25.html>).

In the construction of the Ottoman Pavilion, some Ottoman Armenian merchants residing in Chicago, seem to have played important roles. Karabet Muradian was the decorator of Ottoman exhibition-commission. He made the decoration of the office building. Ohannes Jushmanian, the business-partner of Muradian, worked in Chicago as the secretary of the Ottoman exhibition-commission. Ottoman commissioner-general İbrahim Hakki suggested in his proposal of July 4, 1893 to the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works, to award these two persons with the Ottoman imperial signs. As a result of this, Muradian and Jushmanian have each acquired a Medjidi Nishanı of 5th grade and the Medal of Industry whereas a certain Masdikian was awarded with a Medjidi Nishanı of 5th grade, BOA, *İrade-Taltifât* (hereafter İr. Tal.), S 1311 36.

Ottoman traditional industry⁵². Entering into the Pavilion from the southern door, one could see two small showcases on the right and another one on the left. Various fabrics of wool and cotton for clothing and upholstery were put in the first showcase, together with the textiles and broadcloths produced by the Imperial Feshane. On its left, there were carpets and rugs from Izmir and Diyarbekir, as well as tables and other pearl inlaid works which were produced in Damascus and Beirut.

In the third showcase, on the right of the northern door, the display was composed of silk textures, clothes for tables and beds, towels and other embroidered fabrics brought from Beirut, Damascus, Edirne, Bursa, Mamuretu'l-'aziz, Istanbul and some other provinces. And in the fourth, there were various silk-made and silver-threaded textiles.

Between first and fourth showcases, the model of an Ottoman cruiser was calling attention in front of the non-used northern gate. Sent by the Ministry of Navigation, this model and the lead tubes standing near to the southern gate, were in fact symbols of Ottoman modernity like the electricity instruments of the Ministry of Telegraph mentioned above.

In front of another not-used gate between the second and third showcases, there were Syrian adorned cupboards with samples of various cereals and grain on each side. Uniforms of Ottoman fire-brigade and navy were also displayed in these cases, next to local dresses from various Ottoman provinces. In front of these show-cases, selected photographs on the tables were displaying the official image of Ottoman Empire, created by the efforts of photographers like Abdullah Brothers, Gulmez Brothers, Colonel Ali Riza Bey (Ministry of War)⁵³.

⁵² BOA, Y.A.- Hus., 278/44.

⁵³ *ibid*. In August 1892, Photographer Gulmez and his brothers asked the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works for the permission of taking pictures of imperial mosques and some other panoramic views in Istanbul. Though Abdülhamid II's private photographers, Abdullah Brothers, were charged before with the same duty, the requested permission was given to Gülmez Brothers. As far as it was explained in an Ottoman document, the government planned to make a counterattack against the efforts of those photographers "who were taking the pictures of some *ugly and inappropriate views* in Ottoman Empire and selling then these in Europe to despise Ottoman country and Muslim people", BOA, *İr. Hus.*, M 1310 123. This was not the first time that Abdullah Brothers have displayed their photographs in an international exposition. Some of their earlier photographs were exhibited in Paris-1867, including

In north of the Pavilion, back of the main building were quarters of Ottoman commissioners, with offices, a coffee-room and a domed reception hall. The ceiling of this latter was adorned in the Arabian style and draped with gaily-colored silks whereas its walls were covered with the fabrics produced in the Imperial Factory in Hereke, the doors with wool-made blankets of Tripoli and windows with Balkan curtains. On the central carpet, there were Damascus-made tables, as well as a library and a desk sent by the Ministry of Navigation. All these, together with Arabian drawings, embroidered praying rugs and metal plates of Damascus hung on the walls of the office, made Ottoman office building an "exotic space" where people were sitting on divans of old Ottoman fashion⁵⁴.

Ottoman commissioner-general in Chicago was happy with the official pavilion of his state. In his above mentioned report, he argued that although the Ottoman Pavilion in the exhibition was a small building, it offered the opportunity to display samples of about 3000 different commodities with which Ottoman State acquired an important place among the "civilized states". He emphasized that Ottoman State in the exhibition had without doubt a secondary status compared to Germany, France, England, USA and Belgium which have spent hundred thousands or even millions of Liras in order to display their goods in all of the exhibition-buildings. İbrahim Hakkı has pointed out that though a competition in industrial progress with such countries was out of question, Ottoman embroidered cloths and silks, samples of fine-arts and some other hand-made works could not be found in the displays of the latter.

On the other hand, compared to the "other states", as Ottoman commissioner-general called them in his report, Ottoman State seems to present a more equal performance. He mentioned in this context the example of Spain which had six or seven times larger space in the Building of Manufactures but only half of the Ottoman commodities. As many states displayed various samples of the same item, the variety of Ottoman commodities were superior to many of the participating nations. From his point of view, Ottoman State understood "the real spirit of the exhibition"

a portrait of Abdülaziz, Engin Özendes, *Abdullah Frères : Osmanlı Sarayının Fotoğrafçıları*, İstanbul 1998, 42-43.

⁵⁴ BOA, Y.A. - *Hus.*, 278/44; *The Book of the Fair*, 909-910.

and did not fall into "useless pomp". As Americans and even Europeans have not presupposed machinery-production in Ottoman Empire, the electrical instruments of Ottoman telegraph office, torpedoes and some similar items sent by the Ministry of Navigation and the products of the Imperial Factory in Hereke called a great attention⁵⁵.

For İbrahim Hakkı and the government he represents, participating in such an exposition was an indirect declaration of "Ottoman co-existence in the modern world"⁵⁶. With a very limited budget of 7500 Liras⁵⁷, they tried

⁵⁵ BOA, *ibid*. The same argument was also defended in the Ottoman exhibition paper, *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, 2 (July 1893), 24.

⁵⁶ As S. Deringil formulates, "the presentation of the Ottoman Empire as the leader of the Islamic world, yet a modern member of the civilized community of nations , was one of the two main elements of "Ottoman Fair's policy or policy of display . In a world ruled by giants such as Britain, France, and Germany, Ottoman Empire was inevitably relegated to the position of an "also ran . The very fact that Ottomans felt that they had to make this running, and spent money they did not have, on - being there - shows that, for the Ottomans, this was far from being just gesture, Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876-1909*, 154.

⁵⁷ In his writing of May 17, 1893, İbrahim Hakkı demanded from the Sublime Porte an extra-budget of 2500 Liras and the unpaid balance of the exhibition budget, as 7500 Liras seem not to suffice for exhibition expenditures. He stated that an amount of 3460 Liras has already been sent and there remained a balance of 2500 Liras to be transferred by Ottoman State to Chicago. Of the money expended, 400 Liras were used for the travelling expenses of the commissioner-general and commissioner, 30 Liras for agricultural maps, 500 Liras for the transported commodities and 426 Liras for his salary. To the designer who decorated interior of the Ottoman Pavillion, \$ 400 were paid. The showcases cost \$ 2000 whereas \$ 700 were expended for their decoration. In addition to these, Ottoman commissioners need \$ 1100 to pay the cost of electricity, \$ 2100 for the construction by an American architect, \$ 1000 to buy the rest of showcases, and finally a sum of \$ 1000 for the organization of two receptions, the first on the opening day, "as Russian, French, English and German commissioners have already prepared such a reception and the second in the so called -Ottoman Empire day during the exhibition - (this latter was organized in Turkish Village in August 31, *The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, 4-5-6, 33). İbrahim Hakkı emphasized also that in such an exhibition where "all the civilised nations and contemporary states are represented and even very small governments devoted much to show themselves , the protection of the Ottoman honor is an important and necessary thing to be regarded: "...mîlel-i mütemeddinenin ve düvel-i mevcûdenin hepsinin iştirâk eyledikleri böyle ve hatta Malaka cezâiresinde Cevher Emâreti ve yâhud Amerika-yı Vusta Cemâhiri gibi gâyet küçük ve bazen ismi mechûl hükümetlerin göze görünmek için büyücek fedâkarlıklar ihtiyâr ettikleri böyle bir meşher-i 'umûmîde saltanat-ı seniyyenin şeref ve haysiyetini her cihetle muhafaza ehemm ve elzem olmağla her dürlü ihtimâlâta karşı hâzır bulunulması içâb-ı maslahattandır "

to display this "co-existence" as far as it could be possible. On the opening day, the 26th of June, 1893, this was visually announced to hundreds of foreign and state commissioners, fair officials and invited guests at a reception in Ottoman Pavilion. A luncheon was served in "Turkish fashion", except that champagne took the place of coffee. By the music of the Second Regiment Band of Chicago, Ottoman officials wearing Prince Albert coats, black trousers, neatly fitting gloves, and a red-black tasseled fez on the head, welcomed their guests in a "traditional civilized" manner. As Ottoman Pavilion was the theme of general comment, the opening-reception was declared to be one of the most pleasant receptions ever held in the exposition⁵⁸.

Besides to the display in the national pavilion, a carpet company in Izmir informed Ottoman officials that they want to construct a special place in the Building of Manufactures to exhibit Ottoman goods. The representative of the Dardania Company in Chicago, Marshal Field, offered the Ottoman commissioner Fahri Bey to fund the necessary amount for an Ottoman showcase in this building in return of having a part there for Dardania's products. In fact, similar suggestions have been made for a long time by several Ottoman merchants, some of whom preferred then to display their goods in the new established Persian showcase in the Building of Manufactures rather than in the Ottoman Bazaar on Midway Plaisance. Things have changed at this case, as Ottoman commissioner-general decided to accept the proposal of Mr. Field. However, his statement of purpose for this acceptance was legitimate and meaningful enough from the point of Ottoman policy of display: "In a building where even Bulgarians had their own place, Ottoman Empire should have its own, too"⁵⁹.

(For a contemporary description of other foreign exhibits, *The Book of the Fair*, 885-920).

After İ. Hakkı repeated his offer in his writing of May 21, the Council of Ministers decided in its session of June 5, 1893, to add an extra amount of \$ 1100 to the exhibition budget, BOA, *İrâde-Nâfi'a* (hereafter İr. Naf.), Za 1310 23.

⁵⁸ *The Book of the Fair*, 909-910.

⁵⁹ BOA, *Y.A.- Hus.*, 275/3 (From İbrahim Hakkı Bey to the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works, May 7, 1893). Ottoman State was not happy with the existence of a separate place allocated to the Bulgarian Principality, a semi-independent part of the Ottoman Empire at that time, in the Building of Manufactures. Though Fahri Bey and Ottoman ambassador in Washington, Alexandre Mavroyani (*Y.A.- Hus.*, 277/ 88), have tried to prevent this before the inauguration, the exhibition administration

The official participation of Ottoman Empire was not limited with the pavilion and exposition buildings. In some of the international congresses, organized within the World's Columbian Exposition, Ottoman Empire was also represented⁶⁰. In the World's Congress of Representative Women⁶¹, Esmeralda Cervantes, a Spanish lady who had spent a long time in Istanbul, made a presentation about the instruction of Ottoman women. She proposed, as a member of the jury on Ottoman Empire, the presidential board of the Women's Congress to send a thanks-letter to Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid

ignored this demand. İbrahim Hakkı explained the situation to the Sublime Porte that it was a common procedure in Great International Exhibitions to assign colonies like Ceylon, India, Australia and Jamaica separate exhibits. He emphasized also that Bulgaria was represented in the exposition through an unofficial commissioner who was not authorized to participate in official ceremonies and receptions. Furthermore, he added, Bulgarian works being displayed there, were nothing else than those exhibited in their National Exposition of Industry and Agriculture in Plovdiv, organized in 1892, *ibid* (This pro-Ottoman view is not shared however by a contemporary American observer of the Building of Manufactures who compared both exhibits in following lines: "...Somewhat in contrast are the exhibits of Turkey and Bulgaria, the former consisting of a single display of oriental rugs, while the latter has furnished well selected specimens, not only her manufactures, but of her agriculture and her national costumes, hand-made textiles, silk, embroidered carpet with 500 square feet, tall candles and wood carvings, *Book of the Fair*, 218-219) Like the existence of a separate Bulgarian display in World's Columbian Exposition, the way of Ottoman participation in Bulgarian Plovdiv Exposition has then caused a diplomatic question, too, Mahir Aydın, "Filibe Sergisi", *Bellekten*, LVIII/ 223 (Dec. 1994), 662-663.

It might be noticed here, that Ottoman Empire was also represented in the Building of Transportation through the efforts of Fahri Bey, where the boats sent by the Ministry of Navigation, were planned to be exhibited, BOA, *Y.A.-Hus.*, 275/3.

⁶⁰ The American embassy in Istanbul had invited Ottoman State to all congresses organized within the Exposition. Thereupon, the Ministry of Commerce and Public Works suggested to send delegates to congresses on science and philosophy, medicine, surgery, engineering and agriculture instead of those concerning moral reform, education and governments in which Ottoman State could be represented through the presence of the Ottoman commissioner in Chicago. However, the Council of Ministers refused even this offer in its session of August 2, 1892 because of the high cost, BOA, *MV*, 70/70.

⁶¹ International women-congresses and woman's buildings in exhibitions were not inventions of Chicago 1893. Paris 1878 hosted the "International Congress on the Rights of Women (Arthur Chandler, "*Paris 1878 Exposition Universelle*", *Historical Dictionary...*, 66) whereas in Paris-1889, there was a Women's Works Congress, Joy H.Hall, "*Paris 1889*", *ibid*, 114. In Philadelphia 1876, for the first time a Woman's Building was constructed to display women's products and inventions, Alfred Heller, "*Centennial International Exhibition Philadelphia 1876*", *ibid*, 60.

for the interest he paid to instruction of Ottoman girls⁶². May Wright Sewall, the American chairwoman of the Women's Congress and the advisory council consisting of more than 800 women representing 27 countries, and the vice-president Mrs. Salazar have written thanks-letters on August 16, 1893 to His Majesty Sultan Abdulhamid for his contribution to the progress of education in Ottoman Empire in general and to the instruction of women in particular. These were presented in September 24 to Ottoman commissioner-general in Chicago, together with another of July 24, 1893 signed by many delegates of the congress⁶³.

It was not only Esmeralda Cervantes who contributed to the image of "modern Ottoman woman in modern Ottoman Empire". Fatma Aliye, the daughter of the celebrated Ottoman bureaucrat and intellectual Ahmed Cevdet Pasha and disciple of late Ottoman polymath Ahmed Midhat, was a well-educated Ottoman female writer who was familiar both with oriental and occidental cultures. The World's Columbian Exposition Woman's Library sent her a letter (August 10, 1893) saying that she may join the Woman's Library Catalogue if she would send her biography and books. Fatma Aliye welcomed this offer and sent her book named "Moslem Women/ Nisvan-ı İslam" to Chicago and called a great attention there⁶⁴. Besides her books, the

⁶² BOA, *Y.A.- Hus.*, 279/36. Written originally in French, Cervantes' article was translated into English by Seraphim Efendi, an Ottoman Armenian employee in Ottoman Pavilion, and was printed in Chicago, *ibid*. As Mrs. Cervantes arrived Chicago in June 14 after the official end of the congress (May 22), a special meeting was organised for her presentation in July 1893, BOA, *Y.A.- Hus.*, 301/ 101 (The letter of Esmeralda Cervantes to His Majesty Sultan Abdulhamid).

⁶³ For these letters, BOA, *Y.A.- Hus.*, 301/101.

⁶⁴ Mübaccel Kızıltan, "Öncü Bir Kadın Yazar: Fatma Aliye Hanım", *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 14 (1990): Fahir İz Armağanı-I, 293-294. Fatma Aliye's main motivation in writing this book was to inform Western women about the "realities of Ottoman family life, the Imperial Harem, concubines, the practice of polygamy in Ottoman society and dressing of Muslim women. *Nisvan-ı İslam* was translated by Russian orientalist Olga de Labedeff (*Les Femmes Musulmanes*, Paris, no date) and by Nazima Roukie (*Les Musulmanes Contemporaines*, Paris 1894) into French. Fatma Aliye had mentioned that her book was translated in America also into English, Fatma Aliye Hanım, *Muhâdarât*, ed. by Emel Aşa, Istanbul 1996, 9; E.Aşa, "Fatma Aliye Hanım", *DİA*, v. 12, 261-262.

Woman's Building also hosted dresses of Ottoman women which were sent by Ottoman government⁶⁵.

As his daughter represented Muslim women in Women Congress with her books, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha championed Islam in the so called World's Parliament of Religions⁶⁶ with an essay he sent to Chicago. Invited by the former American ambassador in Tehran who was charged by the chairman of the congress to find the answer of a very popular orientalist debate of nineteenth-century, - Does Islam oppose progress or not ? -, Cevdet Pasha become a honorary delegate of the congress. Trying to prove that Islam is not incommensurable with progress and modern civilization, he wrote a long essay⁶⁷. As Cevdet Pasha was not able to visit Chicago, another scholarly figure from Istanbul was there. George Washburn, president of Robert College in Istanbul, presented a treatise on the points of contact and contrast between Christianity and Islam⁶⁸. Finally, a certain Sersa Viele – an American lady living in Paris- addressed the Parliament glorifying the virtues of Islam and Ottoman Chaliphate⁶⁹.

However, the Sublime Porte's interest in this Parliament, seems to have concentrated on non-participating figures rather than essays and

⁶⁵ *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, v.4-5-6 (15 Oct. 1893), 38. Mrs. Palmer, the director of Woman's section in Chicago-1893, was awarded in 1895 by Ottoman State with the Imperial Sign of Compassion of the second order (Şefkat Nişan-ı Hümayunu), BOA, *Ir. Tal.*, Ca 1313 9.

⁶⁶ This organization was preceded by the Catholic Congress and followed by denominational and missionary congresses, with those of the evangelical alliance and other associations and brotherhoods, *The Book of Fair*, 948. Among all of the Christian sects and Hebrews, men of religion from India, Japan and China were also participating there who were expected to explain how much there was in common between the doctrines of Christianity and those of Brahmanism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Shintoism, 949.

⁶⁷ BOA, *Yıldız Esas Evrak*, 31/ 27; 6/ 27/ 79. Unfortunately, I was not able to find a copy of this essay mentioned in Ottoman documents.

⁶⁸ *The Book of the Fair*, 952.

⁶⁹ The author sent a copy of her pamphlet, which was published also in French, to Ahmed Midhat Efendi who have published then an article in his daily *Tercüman-i Hakikat* an article praising Viele's work. Thereupon, the American lady sent a thanks-letter to A.Midhat who presented this latter to the Palace together with her pamphlet. Ahmed Midhat described this work as covering the modern history of Muslim countries, especially the relationship of Britain and Muslim people in India. She also mentioned some aspects of Ottoman modernization like reforms in education, army, fine arts and public works, BOA, *Y. Mtv.* 102/103.

treatises presented. One year before the congress, Ottoman embassy in London informed Istanbul that Mr. Gladstone, the bitter enemy of Ottoman Chaliphate, would not take part in this organization though he was invited. The same was relevant, it was remarked, for Seyyid Ali who couldn't leave his office in Calcutta⁷⁰.

V. Exhibited cultures

Great International Exhibitions hosted not only the display of commodities but also that of people and their culture.

The actual presence of peoples of empire at exhibitions goes back to 1851, when representatives of most nations of the British Empire were constantly in attendance at the Crystal Palace. The first time people could properly be called part of the exhibit though was in 1867, at the Paris *Exposition Universelle*, when various North African exhibits were presented as *tableaux-vivants*. In Philadelphia-1876 the novel success of the Paris show was capitalized on by the installation of Chinese, Arabic and Japanese craftsmen in facilities on the site and the creation of a Turkish Bazaar and Cafe. After this the genre blossomed. In Paris-1878, an Algerian Bazaar and a Cairo Street formed the core of extensive peopled displays on North African and Arabic themes. From the early 1880's the British set up Ceylonese and Indian tea-houses with Asian waiters in their own and foreign exhibitions. It was the Paris-1889 however which inaugurated the practice in a more specific sense, whereby colonial peoples were not brought to serve as exotic vendors, waiters and servants, but simply to be looked at⁷¹.

In Chicago, the "Midway Plaisance", a 1.5-2 km. long and 300 m. wide street at the north-western end of the Jackson Park, was designed as such an "anthropological display". There were representatives of many ethnicities who were expected to show their natural lives and domestic arts, thus affording to the observer "an opportunity to study these barbarous, civilized, and semi-civilized communities, without the necessity for

⁷⁰ BOA, *Y.Miv.*, 60/96. From the Ottoman Embassy in London to the Sublime Porte, March 12, 1892.

⁷¹ Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 85-86.

travelling or for sojourning in their midst"⁷². As it was underlined in the official discourse of the expositors, this "varied and ethnological collection" was an organic mean of instruction. In fact, it was the invention of the "other" as the object, to create a self-pride at home in an age of destructive progressivism.

Like Paris-1867, Vienna-1873 and Philadelphia-1876, Ottoman culture was also reproduced in Chicago through an Ottoman village which included a bazaar, a mosque, a theatre, a fountain and a coffeehouse which have spread over a spacious area and arranged in attractive style by Robert Levy, its concessionaire, representing the firm of Sadullah Sihami Co.⁷³

⁷² *The Book of the Fair*, 973.

⁷³ With American-made Moorish Palace on the left and Panaroma of Bernese Alps on the right, this "Turkish Village", as it was called by Americans, was constructed just on the opposite of the German village. In addition to the Turkish Village, there were also two Ottoman restaurants on both side of the Midway Plaisance's entrance. Among other exhibits of Midway Plaisance there were a Lapon village, French-made Dahomey village, Austrian village and a model of old Viennese coffeehouse, American Indian (Sioux) village, Chinese village and teahouse, the panorama of the Volcano in Hawaii, Russian mountains, Algerian and Tunisian village, Persian pavilion, the panorama of Pompeii ruins, streets of Cairo with their belly dancers, Egyptian Temple, Dutch settlement, Dutch-made Java village, Japanese Bazaar, Roman House, Bulgarian curiosities, Hungarian coffee and orpheum, the models of Eiffel Tower and St. Peter's Church, Irish village and the exhibit of Irish industries, California Ostrich Farm, the showcase of Venice Murano Co., and the exhibit of International Dress and Costume Company consisting of girls wearing costumes of various nations. In addition to these national exhibits, Midway hosted also pure entertainment sites like the Captive Balloon, the Ferris Wheel, the Brazilian Concert Hall where dances were performed by natives from the interior of Brazil, an ice-railway, balloon rides, the Hogenbeck's Zoological Arena displaying trained animals, and the World's Congress of Beauty, *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, v.1, 7 and 16; *ibid.*, v. 4-5-6, 37-39; *The Book of Fair*, 856; Ubeydullah Efendi'nin Amerika Hatıraları, 218; For Midway in general, *A History of World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1897*, 77-80 (available at <http://users.vnet.net/schulman/Columbian/columbian.html>) As the earlier exhibitions sought to escape reality through "the myth of progress", within the American World's fairs this was replaced by the creation of a fantasy land consisting of entertainment like those sites mentioned in Midway Plaisance, Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 47. In fact, this was the beginning of a capitalized entertainment industry in USA and then in the whole world.

Ottoman mosque, a small fabrication of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul⁷⁴, was inaugurated before three days of the official opening day of the exposition (April 28, 1893), gathering all Moslems in Chicago for the performance of Friday-prayer⁷⁵. Every Moslem who comes to this mosque for daily prayers was in fact an evidence of the leadership of Ottoman Chaliphate over the various Moslem states and societies on the earth⁷⁶.

Next to the mosque on the left end of the Village, there were two streets designed in the old Ottoman manner with traditional houses of Istanbul. The first floors of these, hosted shops like sherbet-seller, carpenter, dried fruit-seller and a store for Damascus-made goods. The covered bazaar was just on the right of them, in the middle of Ottoman Village⁷⁷. It hosted forty booths including those like candy-seller, tobacco-seller, restaurants, and jeweller which could be found in bazaars of every Ottoman town.

Excluding Chubukchuan, the Armenian jeweler of Sultan Abdulhamid II, many of the exhibitors in Ottoman Bazaar were of Arabic origin⁷⁸. One

⁷⁴ The construction of a mosque in Chicago was prescribed in the sixth article of the contract between Ottoman State and Sadullah Sihâmî Co. . The mentioned article was saying that a mosque would be built on the area assigned to Ottoman State. This mosque would serve Moslems present in the exposition and might also be visited by non-Moslems if Ottoman commissioners allow them to do so, BOA, *Y.A.-Hus.*, 58/33.

⁷⁵ "They came from all directions, advancing in long procession some 3,000 strong, headed by a military band. Though accompanied by native musicians sounding their shrill pipes and discordant drums, and by a contingent of Turks in gorgeous uniforms over whom floated the crimson banner of the porte, the majority of the participants were of the Caucasian race. Attired in scarlet fezes embroidered with the crescent, they were popularly known as the shriners, and officially as the -Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine-, an official organization which flourished in Turkey many years before it gained a foothold in the United States, the majority of those who took part in the exercises being members of the Medina temple of Chicago, *The Book of the Fair*, 856. In fact, Ottoman mosque was not unique in the exposition area. In Cairo Streets, there was also a mosque, the substantial counterpart of that of the Sultan Kaid Bey in Cairo, *The Book of the Fair*, 865.

⁷⁶ *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, v. 1, 16.

⁷⁷ There was also another bazaar in the Algerian-Tunisian Village which was however a colonial display, part of the French exhibit, *The Book of the Fair*, 877.

⁷⁸ *Ubeydullah Efendi'nin Amerika Hatıraları*, 219; *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, v.4-5-6, 38-39. Some of these Arab merchants in Ottoman Bazaar were probably those Ottoman citizens who had emigrated to USA in the second half of nineteenth-century. For the Ottoman emigration to America and the

of these was a Syrian merchant selling pearl-inlaid products. Another Syrian who was a jeweler, displayed his silverware. A certain Jusuf from Beirut exhibited cigarettes made of Ottoman tobacco whereas two Syrian entrepreneurs preferred to display "oriental panoramas". The first, prepared by a certain İskender Efendi, was named as the "Oriental Panorama" which included photographs of Hagia Sophia, Hamidian Mosque in Istanbul, Palace of Yıldız, Galata-bridge, the reception of German Emperor in Ottoman capital, the imperial gate of Ministry of War, Palace of Dolmabahçe, a quarter in Shehzadebashi in Istanbul, the street of Tophane in Istanbul, Mesdjid-i Aksa in Jerusalem, the ruins of ancient sites in Balbek and Tedmür and some picturesque views of Ottoman Syria. The other, called "A Quick Panoramic Trip in Oriental Sites", sponsored by the company of İhkvan-i Kufa, displayed to visitors the living of tribal Arabs in return of half Frank⁸⁰. Next to these small shops, there were larger stores of Sadullah Sihâmî Co. where silks, tapestries, embroideries, filigree work, brass ware and ancient arms and relics were offered for sale. The largest of these buildings was a candy factory and salesroom, selling Rahat-al-Lokoom⁸¹. The same company owned also a carpet- store outside of the Ottoman Bazaar.

Another exotic oriental display in Ottoman Village was the Pavilion of Damascus. Adorned with mosaic-work and engravings, it was constructed on the eastern end of Ottoman Village. On one of its two floors, there was a tribal Arab tent where black and white Arab men of Ibn Rashid and Nadjid tribes and tribal Arab women were displaying their own way of life⁸².

Restaurants were grouped in the neighborhood, the cafe, proper supplying the genuine Mocha coffee, and offering the visitor a huge water pipe. While thus engaged, s/he was listening to the native band.⁸³

amount of Arabic emigrants, Kemal Karpat, "The Ottoman Emigration to America 1860-1914", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 17 (1985), 175-209.

80 *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, v. 4-5-6, 39 and *Ubeydullah Efendi'nin Hatıraları*, 219.

81 *The Book of the Fair*, 857.

82 *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, 38. The daily life of a Beduin camp was also displayed in the so called Cairo Streets with camel drives and shows of swordsmen depicting the wild desert-life, *Book of the Fair*, 877.

83 *The Book of the Fair*, 857.

In front of all these buildings described above, in the midst of Ottoman Village, there were two ancient monuments, one a wooden replica of the Egyptian obelisk and another representing the Serpentine Column on the Hippodrome in Istanbul. Probably it had been added because the Egyptian displays, as well as the Tunisian and Algerian pavilions included material on ancient history⁸⁴.

Theatres were also a widespread phenomenon in World's Columbian Exposition. Besides those of Chinese, Egyptian, Persian, Indian, and Javanese, Sadullah Sihami Co. constructed in Ottoman Village an Ottoman theatre hosting 2500 spectators. Directed by a Christian Arab, Butros Antonius from Beirut, it employed 65 actors and actresses and presented shows in Arabic with a simultaneous English translation. The favorite performance was "A Wedding in Damascus", in which, after all misunderstandings have been settled and the wedding festivities were actually in progress, the women appeared in a series of dance. As it was prescribed in the seventh article of the contract between Sadullah Sihami Co. and Ottoman State, a special attention was paid to Islamic dressing of women and national customs whereas in other theatres "immoral women" were on the stage⁸⁵.

The theatre of Butros Antonius was not the unique Ottoman entertainment in Midway Plaisance. On the right hand of the entrance, an Ottoman Hippodrome constructed by the Hamidian Company of Radji of Acre, was welcoming visitors. Here, 120 Arab horsemen were presenting an "oriental show", racing on their forty horses and ninety dromedaries, as well as dancing, feasting and displaying wedding ceremonies⁸⁶. Like the Lapon sledge, Dahomese wild fighting-games, dances of Brazilians, Algerian sword-games, Persian mallet-games and Egyptian processions of camels and donkeys, the so called Ottoman Hippodrome seems to have been a part of

⁸⁴ Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 85. In "Cairo Streets, an oriental site in Midway Plaisance, there was a duplication of the ancient temple of Luxor and two obelisks, *The Book of the Fair*, 868.

⁸⁵ *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, 39; *The Book of the Fair*, 857. After the fire in the cold storage building in July 10, Ottoman theater donated % 10 of its daily profit, namely 190 Franks, to the families of victims. In addition to that, Ottoman Village gave 1600 Franks, % 5 of its three-day profit, *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, v.3 (Aug. 1893), 32.

⁸⁶ *ibid*, 38; *A History of the World's Columbian Exposition*, 77-80.

this exotic fantasy land amusing "people of civilization" by showing "the life of wild east".

As conclusion

The World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 was closed on October 30. Leaving some of the displayed goods - as a remembrance of participation - in USA⁸⁷, Ottoman officials and private entrepreneurs were returning home with the medals and warrants they acquired⁸⁸.

It seems that for Ottoman private entrepreneurs, the Columbian Exposition was an international market where they could make a little bit money. Ottoman Arabs of Beirut, reside in United States or having close relationships with capitalist western world, were well aware of the West European/North American image of "the Orient" and had therefore preferred

⁸⁷ After the end of the exhibition, it was decided by American officials to establish a museum as a permanent memoir of the World's Columbian Exposition. Upon the suggestion of Ottoman commission in Chicago, the Sublime Porte accepted to leave some of the displayed goods there. Concerning the samples of Ottoman mining, agricultural products and manufactures, another demand came from the University of Pennsylvania. The Ottoman Council of Ministers decided that the goods in question are not very precious and saw these demands as an opportunity to save Ottoman State from the transportation cost, BOA, Y.A. - Hus., 282/ 54 and *Ir. Hus.*, R 1311 54.

⁸⁸ The works of Mihran Dikran Chubukchian, the imperial jeweller, were displayed in Ottoman Village, in the Building of Manufactures and also in the Woman's Building. His products, especially the golden duplicate of the Fountain of Sultan Ahmed III in Istanbul, aroused keen interest in Chicago. Chubukchian had acquired 45 medals, BOA, *Y.Mtv.*, 103/15(It was emphasized in the official correspondence that the medals Chubukchian acquired, proclaimed the "big progress in the Ottoman jewelry during the reign of Abdülhamid II to whole world). Another Ottoman, who was awarded by the exhibition commission, was the Jusuf of Beirut who had displayed native cigarettes in Ottoman Village and the Pavilion. He had acquired two medals, *Musavver Şikago Sergisi / The Chicago Fair Illustrated*, v.4-5-6, 39. The pictures of Osman Hamdi Bey which were displayed in the Building of Fine Arts, were also welcomed in Chicago like it had been the case in Paris-1889, Germaner, 39. In addition to these individuals, the Ministry of Navigation had obtained two medals for boats displayed in the Building of Transportation, BOA, Y.A.-Hus., 282/10.

In bestowing its awards, the Columbian Exposition seems to have differed in some respects from most of its predecessors. First of all, they were non-competitive; it should be indicated some independent and essential excellence in the article displayed, denoting improvement in the condition of the art in which it represents. All the exposition medals were to be made of bronze and all had to be alike. At Chicago, the percentage of those who were awarded was 36, the lowest recorded in Great Exhibitions ever. 21,000 exhibitors have received 23,577 awards, as many were represented in more than a single group, *The Book of the Fair*, 964-965.

to display the traditional medieval culture of Damascus with tribal Arabs in their tents or on their horses and panoramic views of their "exotic" lands. They were not unhappy to sell traditional hand-made works or carpets in "the Age of Industry".

Things were different for Ottoman State. From the official point of view, every international organization including World's Fairs and in particular World's Columbian Exposition, was a new circumstance where Ottoman "progress in modernity" could be displayed once again to the whole "civilized world". Like in many of the previous exhibitions, the main elements of Ottoman display were a mosque, a fountain, a covered bazaar and coffee-houses. Within this "Muslim and Oriental" framework, Ottoman bureaucrats were specially proud of their torpedoes, telegraph machines, electricity instruments and world-famous textiles rather than their traditional handiworks, agricultural products and minerals which were the major commodities displayed in Ottoman Pavilion.

In fact, the official and the private Ottoman perception of the World's Expositions had a common intellectual background. Ottoman government and merchants, they both wanted to be a member of the modern world. The Ottoman participation in the World's Columbian Exposition, a blueprint of modern America, was a demonstration of this will. However, it displayed once again that Ottomans had at the international stage only a peripheral role to play.

Appendix

Imperial Self-Portrait: Ottoman Empire in Photographs

In January 1891, Abdulhamid II has decided to send some gifts to the National Library of United States, including photographic albums, official year-books, post-stamps, and collections of law and regulations.

Abdullah Brothers, the imperial photographers, were appointed to take pictures of imperial domains⁸⁹. Contained in fifty-one albums, 1,819 pictures which are preserved today in the Prints and Pictures Division of the Library of Congress, should be the photographs mentioned in Ottoman documents.

In fact, the collection represents an official propaganda effort, designed to present the domain the Sultan in a progressive light with pictures of Ottoman Empire in different categories⁹⁰. The first of these included panoramic views of Ottoman capital showing monumental imperial mosques, palaces, fortresses, and fountains. Byzantine monuments and ancient Egyptian obelisks on Hippodrome (Sultanahmed) were also included in the official picture of Istanbul. Costumes and clocks of early Sultans and selected pieces of Ottoman calligraphy were displaying Ottoman classic culture. Old canons, early weapons and models of Janissaries were not absent as representatives of old Ottoman military tradition.

The material evidence of Ottoman modernization was portrayed by a second category of photographs. Civil and military schools inaugurated during the Hamidian period in Istanbul, Anatolia, Balkans and Arabic provinces, were reproduced in the photographs with their male and female students standing in front of their "modern schools". Scenes of the School for blind and deaf children and the Imperial Medical Academy were significant to depict that things have started to change in the Empire. Governmental buildings like ministries, arsenals, railroad stations, telegraph

⁸⁹ BOA, *Y.A-Hus.*, 244/67 and *Y.Mtv.*, 54/8. For their efforts to take pictures of Tophane (The Imperial Artillery in Istanbul) and of military equipments, officials, schools and students, *Y.Mtv.*, 70/67. E. Özendes mentions that Abdullah Brothers were charged with this work on Feb. 11, 1891. The government has paid them 19540 guruh for their service, *Abdullah Frères: Osmanlı Sarayının Fotoğrafçıları*, Istanbul 1998, 180-181.

⁹⁰ William Allen, "Analyses of Abdul-Hamid's Gift Albums", *Journal of Turkish Studies* 12(1998), 33. This volume contains the list of the photographs included in the collection (pp.213-255), and a selection of some remarkable samples.

offices, police stations, hospitals, the Imperial Fez Factory, as well as Ottoman navy and its staff were figures of Ottoman progress in these photographs. This image of a modern state was complemented with the picture of a modern dynasty. Imperial yachts and horses on photographs, were parts of the latter.

A fourth category of nineteenth-century Ottoman photography is not notably absent from the collection sent to America. Exotic images of "Harem girls" and pictures of traditional, "backward" occupations and skill-images familiar to nineteenth-century armchair travelers. Indeed, the scenes of modernization might well be thought of as a conscious antidote to the effects of such exotic images. The same firms that produced many of these popular, if misleading, images that made their way to Europe and America, and helped to form the Western vision of Turkey, also produced the more conventional photographs sent by the Sultan⁹¹.

⁹¹ Allen, 34 and note 53 above.