EXHIBITION

The invention of the savage
HUMAN ZOOs
HUMAN ZOOS
THE INVENTION OF THE SAVAGE

This exhibition tells the story of women, men and children from Asia, Africa, Oceania, the Americas and in some cases from Europe who were displayed in the West and elsewhere at universal and colonial exhibitions and fairs, in circuses, cabarets, and zoos, as well as in traveling “exotic” villages. For almost five centuries (1490-1960) these people were exhibited as “savages” in Europe, the United States and Japan. The shows were impressive “spectacles”, theatricalizations, with performers, stage sets, impresarios and riveting storylines. However, colonial and scientific history, the history of race, the history of entertainment, of world fairs and universal exhibitions has been somewhat overlooked...

Western promoters actively recruited troupes, families or performers from all over the world, at times coercively, but usually by offering contracts. These large-scale exhibitions of human beings were specific to the West and to colonial powers and served to reaffirm a hierarchy between people according to skin color, the legacy of which can still be felt today.
The invention of the savage

HUMAN ZOOS

Five centuries of history

The concept of the 'human zoo', in the broadest sense of the term, serves as a mirror to the innovations from an exclusively scientific notion to its more widespread and popular form.

— Arne Robin (1945)
Knowledge about the world changed dramatically around 1492 when Europe discovered the figure of the "savage" in the guise of the Amerindian. Christopher Columbus returned from one of his earliest expeditions and presented six Amerindians to the Spanish royal court, thereby triggering widespread fascination for everything that was considered remote. In 1528, Hernán Cortés exhibited Aztec performers at the court of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. In 1550, a royal procession in Rouen before the French King Henry II featured Tupinamba Indians from Brazil. It was at this time that the Valladolid debate took place concerning the treatment of natives from the New World. Hierarchies based on skin color became commonplace and the transatlantic slave trade would later impact millions of Africans. "Monsters" such as Antonietta Gonsalvus (who suffered from Hypertrichosis, a condition characterized by excessive hair growth) were also exhibited, just like her father Petrus had been when he was offered at age ten to King Henry II. Alongside these humans, exotica displayed in cabinets of curiosities were also coveted by monarchs and aristocrats throughout the sixteenth century. In 1654, three female and one male Eskimo, abducted in Greenland, were exhibited in Denmark (where they would die five years later) and introduced to King Frederick III, thereby reinvigorating a newfound "passion for exotica". A clash between two types would emerge during the following century, that of the "noble savage" and the "bloodthirsty savage", curiosity for human exhibits displayed in taverns and at fairs continued to grow, and by the end of the eighteenth century to capture the attention of learned scientists. By this time, some "human specimens" had achieved celebrity status, such as the Polynesian Aotourouv who was brought to Paris in 1769 to meet King Louis XV. A similar fate awaited the Polynesian Omai in London 1774. The entertainment and scientific world thus intersected, and the nineteenth century would gradually yield a hierarchized view of these questions. The increasing popularity and prevalence of "ethnic shows" thus played an important role in disseminating these views.
FIRST CONTACTS, FIRST EXHIBITS

From 1492 to the Enlightenment

"From the美洲原住民 and the impact of the Americanization, mission is to be found everywhere. In the colonized regions of the world, it serves to discredit the majority, whereas among the colonizers, it underlines vulnerabilities.

Luis de Góngora (1561-1627)
During a forty year period that stretched from 1800 to 1840, in both the United States (New York) and in Europe (Paris and London), exhibitions underwent significant transformations, evolving from curiosities reserved for a societal elite toward a popular form of entertainment. "Exotic" exhibitions in Paris and London of Hottentots between 1810 and 1820, of Indians in 1817, Laplanders in 1822 or Eskimos in 1824 point to the scale of the phenomenon. European curiosity for the exotic became more varied, and in 1827 spectators were able to gaze admiringly upon Zarafa, the giraffe given to Charles X by the Ottoman Viceroy of Egypt. The same year, four warriors and two female Osage Indians came to Paris and were welcomed by Charles X, only to die shortly thereafter while in Europe. However, it was Saartjie Baartman, the famous Hottentot Venus, that was to have the most lasting impact on this transitional period. After having been exhibited in London and Paris (1810-1815) where she attracted vast audiences eager to observe her «anomalies» (known as steatopygia - enlarged buttocks and thighs, as well as elongated labia), her body became an object of scientific study. London was at the time the European capital of "human zoos", hosting exhibits of Fuegians in 1829, Guyanese in 1839, and Bushmen in 1847 on the eve of the inaugural Universal Exhibition of 1851. These events coincided with the American painter George Catlin's attempts at popularizing the figure of the Native American throughout Europe. In the United States, Indian "shows" and "freak" shows (that featured "monsters") proliferated, before spreading to Europe. This was also the era when the famous showman Phineas Taylor Barnum began his long career with the African-American slave Joice Heth (whom he exhibited), before setting up his American Museum in New York city in which Siamese twins, bearded ladies, "skeleton man", and other "exotic savages" from around the world were displayed over the years. From what had initially been restricted to a handful of exhibited individuals, one witnessed the emergence in less than a generation of a popular and lucrative industry with its organized troupes, choreographed and staged productions, elaborate costumes, impresarios, contracts, recruitment agents...
NEW KINDS OF EXHIBITIONS

During the early nineteenth century, the exhibition of artefacts, paintings, and collections gained a new and more profound meaning. The early exhibitions were often static displays, but in the mid-nineteenth century, they began to transform. The first truly public exhibitions were held in Europe, where the American Museum in New York City opened in 1824, and the British Museum in London opened in 1824. These exhibitions were not just a display of art, but a means of education and cultural exchange. The British Museum, for example, held the first exhibition of an Egyptian mummy, which was a sensation. The exhibition of artefacts from around the world became a way to showcase cultural diversity and the history of humanity.

Today (thanks to these exhibitions), we no longer need to freeze the high seas or confine the dangers over land in order to learn about the variety of human race.

Illustration: Broadsheet of 1850
SCIENCE AND THE INVENTION OF "RACE"

During the eighteenth century, scientific theories focused predominantly on the cultural and physical characteristics of different populations. But in the nineteenth century, this attention shifted toward the invention of "races": American Indians, Africans, Asians, Europeans, and so on. The work of the Englishman Edward Tyson (1650-1703), who studied resemblances between men and apes, was a precursor to this new approach. Later, in his *Natural History of Mankind*, Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707-1788) placed Man at the very center of the animal kingdom. The great scientific contribution of the Swede Carl Linnaeus was to establish a hierarchical classification that made it possible to divide mankind into four "varieties" (1758). From these studies, conclusions pertaining to the intellectual and moral aptitude of different populations were reached on the basis of cranial measurements or skin color. In 1795, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach would be the first natural scientist to actually classify the human species according to "race". That same year, Georges Cuvier (1769-1832) and Étienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1772-1844) would claim that facial structure determined cerebral development. Categorization followed, based on skin color and certain physical traits, yielding a discourse that would furnish the "scientific" justification for slavery and colonialism. At the mid-point of the nineteenth century, Charles Darwin would introduce in his book *On the Origin of Species* (1859) the idea of a "missing link" in the great chain of being between man and ape, where as anatomy museums (such as Dr. Spitzer's traveling anatomical museum from 1856 on) served to bring science to the masses at various fairs. Relying on the work of scientists, polemists such as Gobineau (*An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races, 1853-1855*) in France or Houston Stewart Chamberlain (*The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, 1899*) in England contributed to bringing racialized thinking to the mainstream at the very moment of colonial expansion. Others, however, such as the Haitian anthropologist Joseph Anténor Firmin, published works such as *On the Equality of Human Races* (1885) in which they critiqued these racial hierarchies.
SCIENCE AND THE INVENTION OF “RACE”

In the early nineteenth century, scientific thought began to explore the idea of human differences. This led to the development of the concept of race, which was later used to justify slavery and colonialism. The idea that humans could be divided into different races based on physical characteristics was popularized by scientists such as Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace. However, this idea was later proven to be incorrect, as humans are actually one species with a great deal of variation within the population. Today, the concept of race is widely recognized as a social construct that has been used to discriminate against people of different backgrounds. It is important to recognize that race is not a biological classification, but rather a social one, and that it is used to create and maintain inequality. Therefore, it is crucial to challenge the idea of race and work towards a more inclusive and equitable society.
The middle of the nineteenth century saw the birth of new forms of mass entertainment culture in the United States, marked by extravagance, sensational spectacles, and an insatiable appetite for the unusual. In New York, *Barnum’s American Museum*, devoted to the exhibition of «freaks», opened in 1841 and soon became the most popular attraction in the country, seen by some forty million visitors by 1868. In 1871, Barnum created *P.T. Barnum’s Grand Traveling Museum, Menagerie, Caravan, and Circus*, and started touring the world, with colossal success in Europe. After collaborating with Barnum, Buffalo Bill launched his *Wild West Show* in 1882, exploiting this mythology through life-size performances that included Red Indians, cow-boys, horses and buffalos. These grandiose shows contributed to the ways in which Europeans perceived of Indians. Among the “star” performers one could find Calamity Jane, Geronimo and Sitting Bull, as well as several Moroccan, African, and Japanese actors, and even a French infantryman... By 1889, a new level of showmanship had been attained, with the *Wild West Show* sweeping through Europe. After London, Buffalo Bill made his way to Paris for the Universal Exhibition, accompanied by two hundred and fifty Indians, two hundred horses and twenty bison, before heading to triumphant shows in Lyon and Marseilles. The show was attended by over fifty million spectators in the two thousand towns and cities in which it stopped, across a dozen countries. The figure of the African warrior also proved an important one as a result of the *Zulus European Tour* in 1853. At the same time, the first universal exhibitions were being held, in London 1851 and 1862, New York in 1853, Paris in 1855, then Metz in 1861, and Paris again in 1867, marking the advent of a new dimension in the exhibition process. Henceforth, human beings would play a key role in all efforts at representing the diversity of human life, and the “savage” would be there to entertain and attract audiences.
THE SPECTACLE OF DIFFERENCE:
FROM THE ZULUS TO BUFFALO BILL

It is not only entertaining because of its novelty, but is unusually instructive, and no one who has read the history of the Western States for the last past quarter of a century can fail to appreciate the object becomes of theWild West Show.

(Rev. George Gilbert, Kansas City 1889)
From the middle of the nineteenth century onward, exhibitions could be found everywhere (theatres, fairs, public gardens, zoos, circuses, cabarets...) and attendance rates were consistently high. By the second third of the nineteenth century, the emphasis shifted towards human exhibits. This phenomenon could be observed throughout Europe (notably in Switzerland, Great Britain, France, Spain, and Germany), and the Jardin Zoologique d’Acclimatation in Paris welcomed more than thirty-five “ethnic shows” between 1877 and 1931. In this context, Carl Hagenbeck opened his new zoo in Hamburg in 1907 in order to provide permanent display space for troupes and exotic animals. Much in the same way as zoological gardens were receiving visitors and scientists eager to meet “savages”, theatres and cabarets also provided indispensable outlets for these shows. From this moment on, Australian Aboriginals in London and Berlin rubbed shoulders with Zulus at the Folies-Bergère, Indians in Brussels and Hamburg with Dahomeyans at the Casino de Paris, Japanese acrobats criss-crossed Europe all the way to Saint Petersburg and back, alongside snake charmers, belly-dancers, body-builders on the Italian stages or in Dutch circuses. The line between ethnic show and theatrical performance was a tenuous one at best, and several troupes were able to jump seamlessly from one genre to the other, as exemplified in the performances given by the impresario Guillermo Farini. An impressive range of artists were thus able to impose themselves - the African-American actor Ira Aldridge, the Cuban clown Chocolat, the Japanese dancer Hanako, the Three Striped Graces performing at l’Olympia, the Royal Cambodian dancers that so enthralled Auguste Rodin, as well as black face minstrels.
THE DIVERSITY OF EXHIBITION SITES: FROM ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS TO THE STAGE

From 1850 to 1914

Crowds gather at the colecions as they would before extraordinary animals.

Paul Valéry, Introduction to the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris (1904)
Throughout history, monsters and people with physical abnormalities have been the object of fascination. Much in the same way as “exotic animals”, people who are visually different have captivated the public’s imagination in novel ways. Aristotle, Cicero, Saint-Augustine and Montaigne had recourse to science or the divine in their attempts to explain physical differences. As early as the sixteenth century, cabinets of curiosities served as receptacles and display cases for “strange” objects from around the world. Later, “monsters” became regular features of itinerant circuses before entering the realm of cabarets, fairs, and being seen on the streets in large cities. Maximo and Bartola are examples of these developments, indicative of the imagination of the organizers of freak shows who presented for years at Barnum’s American Museum in New York these young micro cephalic Mexicans as the “the last Aztec children”. In 1860, a year after the publication of Darwin’s On the Origin of Species, Barnum exhibited a black-skinned “freak” in his show entitled “What is it?” or “The Ape Man”. Of course, these were “inventions”, in which the line between reality and the imaginary was blurred. Monsters became major attractions in the theatrical world, such as in Bartholemew Fair in London, and then later in anatomy museums. The Bearded Lady and the Savages of Borneo (in actuality the Davis brothers, born in Ohio) were the star attractions in 1852, the Siamese Twins Chang & Eng Bunker (born in Siam in 1811) were billed as Chinese “giants” or as “savages” by the showman Cunningham... In a similar vein, “The Ape Woman Krao” (whose body was covered in hair due to a condition known as hypertrichosis), born in Laos in 1872, was acquired by Barnum from Karl Bock the infamous “species catcher” and exhibited the world over until 1926 as Darwin’s “missing link” in the evolution from ape to man. Around this time (1886), John Merrick, nicknamed the Elephant Man (brought to the big screen in 1980 by David Lynch) was exhibited in Great Britain by Sir Frederick Treves. Finally, from 1887 on, a mother and son (with the medical condition congenital hypertrichosis) were exhibited in Europe as the “hairy family of Burma” and were a popular attraction. Indeed, if today freaks are the subject of history, they nevertheless remain an important component of contemporary popular culture, taking on new forms with each passing era, notably our very own as their omnipresence on the internet serves to confirm.
MONSTERS AND FAIRGROUND PHENOMENA...

Throughout history, monsters and apparitions of various phenomena have been the objects of desire and fear, provoking public fascination in various ways. In this document, we aim to shed light on the most prominent historical and contemporary examples. "Krao" is a prime example of these phenomena, as it portrays the image of a dangerous monster, often depicted as half-human, half-animal. The story of "Krao" is a testament to the enduring appeal of these figures, and the fascination they evoke in society. This document explores the cultural significance of such phenomena and their impact on modern popular culture. The story of "Krao" is a perfect example of how such figures have been used to inspire fear and fascination throughout history.

"I'm not an animal! I am a human being! I am a man!"
John Merrick in his last (brief) monologue by Dr. William<br>
The very first universal exhibition took place in London in 1851. However, it was not until the Universal exhibition held in Paris in 1867 - and even then their presence was somewhat discreet – that one could find pavilions in which men and women, wearing traditional clothing, could be found. Having said this, these pavilions enjoyed immediate success and the model was adopted in 1876 at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, then at the Paris Exhibition of 1878 and the Colonial Exhibition in Amsterdam in 1883, prior to becoming a permanent fixture following the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1889, itself a symbolic turning point at which one could find a typical street from « Cairo » and six colonial villages. The 1893 Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition, with its palaces of « Civilization », George Ferris’s enormous evolving wheel, and ethnological villages that presented various “races” according to their level of « civilization », were met with the admiration of visitors. Switzerland integrated this approach as early as 1896 with the National Exhibition in Geneva and its “negro village” and “Swiss village”. The Brussels Exhibition in 1897 (following that of Palermo in 1891, Anvers in 1894 and Barcelona in 1896), set up its colonial wing in Tervuren and featured a new development by staging a “Congolese savage”. In Great Britain, the importance of Empire was growing, reaching its apogée at the turn of the century and bolstered by the ambitious stagecrafts of Imre Kiralfy under the aegis of the Greater Britain Exhibition of 1899. A year later, the Paris Exhibition of 1900 introduced a fifty million strong exhibition-going audience to Spahis and Cambodian dancers, whereas the 1904 World’s Fair in St.-Louis, organized entirely around anthropological themes, brought in one thousand two hundred Filipinos and installed them on a vast “Reservation” covering almost fifty acres. Indeed, if the staging of the “savage” lasted all the way up to Great War (1914), in Liège in 1905, Milan in 1906, and Brussels in 1910, Gand in 1913 and lastly San Francisco in 1915, the three decades that ran from 1885 to 1915 were witness to the most significant presence of colonial worlds as essential components of the exhibitions’ décor.
ORGANIZING THE WORLD:
THE ERA OF UNIVERSAL EXHIBITIONS

The era of universal exhibitions began in the mid-19th century, marking a significant period in the history of global trade, diplomacy, and cultural exchange. These exhibitions were held in various cities around the world, from London in 1851 to San Francisco in 1915, and were a platform for showcasing the achievements of nations and their industries. They were also important events for promoting international cooperation and understanding. The World's Fairs became a means of spreading new technologies and ideas across the globe, influencing the development of industries and societies worldwide.

"Never before have nations been so prided, handled, and scrutinized."

— Albert Kendrick
Beyond the official statements, distorted images, and untrustworthy interviews, a few accounts given by exhibits have survived. They provide us with insights on the conditions under which they were exhibited, their feelings, and the ways in which they perceived the culture and lifestyle of Europeans. These accounts – as for example those provided by the Indian impresario Maungwudaus, one of the Zulus in the troupe that arrived in London in 1853, the “travel diary” kept by the Eskimo Abraham Ulrikab –, but also in the numerous stories that have been pieced together – such as Ota Benga’s, Krao’s (“the missing link”), William Henry Johnson’s (“What is it?”), or that of the “Hottentot Venus”, or the Indians in the Buffalo Bill Wild West Show – allow us to cast a quite different look on this “spectacle of savagery”. Perspectives varied considerably, such as that of the Eskimo Zacharias who, after completing an American tour in 1893, positioned himself as the “spokesperson” for the exhibited by claiming: “We are happy to have recovered our freedom and to no longer be exhibited as if we were animals.” The evidence points to harsh and inhuman treatment, such as the presence of enclosures that separated and “protected” visitors (like those found in zoological gardens in Paris and Basel); the use of bodies for scientific studies (such as those conducted in St.-Louis in 1904 or with the Galibi people in 1892 in France); the death of participants (such as the Congolese deaths in Brussels-Tervuren in 1897 or the Filipinos in Spain in 1887); the deplorable living conditions (like those in Chicago in 1893 or those provided the Eskimos in 1900). Early on, the decision was made to vaccinate participants (a publicity campaign that included postcards announced the vaccination of natives prior to their arrival in new cities), contracts were drawn up, and the colonial authorities increasingly prohibited “savage” recruitment tactics and set up specific organizations charged with overseeing the recruitment of troupes. Between 1890 and 1900, being a “savage” was now professionalized. Participants were henceforth actors who adhered to scripts written by organizers that imposed a standardized view of bodies and of difference in general.
EXHIBITION CONDITIONS: THE FATE OF PARTICIPANTS

Black-and-white photos, taken in Britain, show participants of the exhibition. Their faces, and their stories, are part of the exhibition's narrative. The exhibition explores the history of the First World War, with a particular focus on the role of African and Asian soldiers. The exhibition also features a series of photographs taken during the war, showing soldiers from various countries. The exhibition includes a range of objects, including uniforms, medals, and documents. The exhibition is open until the end of the month, and is free to the public.
Concurrently with the universal and colonial exhibitions, itinerant “ethnic” and “colonial” villages became increasingly widespread, winning over new audiences in the best part of the Western world, but also in Japan. Carl Hagenbeck, the director of the Hamburg Zoo developed the prototype in 1874, adapting grand shows to provincial exhibitions and offering new ways of exhibiting “savages.” Hagenbeck recognized very early on the tremendous appeal of these shows and exported his concept and troupes throughout Europe and the United States. Numerous European, American, and Japanese impresarios adopted the model, and their specialized “villages” offered the public the opportunity to “travel” to exotic destinations while observing the “authentic daily lives” of “Senegalese,” “Ceylonese,” “Indian,” “Sudanese” or “negro” exhibits. The illusion of a journey coupled with immersion in a strange universe amplified the genuine fascination experienced by the public before the meticulously choreographed spectacles. Visitors were even able to touch exhibits, and could take home memories of these “exchanges” in addition to souvenirs (such as postcards produced for the occasion). The Eskimo village presented in Madrid in 1900 soon became the most popular attraction in the capital, while in France, the “negro villages” became unavoidable stops at provincial exhibitions and the specialty of French impresarios. French and German impresarios emerged as the European leaders of the genre (including Nayo Bruce, who came from what is today Togo), taking on tour to over twenty countries their very own “Dahomeyans,” “Algerian Arabs” and “Egyptian caravans.” These troupes were at times presented as circus tours (by Hagenbeck for example), as part of official exhibitions (such as in Dresden in 1911) or commissioned by colonial powers (as in Lyon in 1894). The sheer number of itinerant villages and the geographic scale of the phenomenon were remarkable, and no matter where they went, in France, Belgium, Italy, Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain, the Nordic countries, or the United States, they were met with large audiences that numbered in the millions.
Masse Produktion: Itinerant Ethnische Dörfer

From Hamburg in 1874 to Wembley in 1924

Itinerant villages were a common sight in late 19th and early 20th century Europe. These villages were temporary settlements that moved from place to place, often following seasonal work patterns or harvesting cycles. They were often composed of buildings made from wood, with a mix of traditional and modern elements. These villages were home to a diverse range of people, including farmers, craftsmen, and itinerant entertainers.

The cultivation of crops required large amounts of manual labor, and itinerant villages provided a source of labor for these tasks. The villagers often had specialized skills and knowledge, such as plowing or pruning trees, which they could use to support themselves.

The inhabitants of these villages were known for their ability to adapt to new environments, and they often became an important source of cultural exchange. They would share their skills and knowledge with the local population, and this exchange would often lead to new ideas and innovations.

These villages were also a source of entertainment for the local population, who would often visit them to see the different cultures and traditions on display.

"Find the time to go and visit these itinerant villages and observe these styles and customs just like they did back home. In the state of nature, you will see them like you would a strange tourist attraction."

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Carl Hagedoorn (1921)

"Carl Hagedoorn's Hamburg village in 1921."

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 Nuggets

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Carl Hagedoorn (1921)
COLONIZATION & EXHIBITIONS:
TWO PARALLEL PHENOMENA

The period after 1815 saw the rise of the British Empire (1814-1914), the French conquest of Algeria (1830), the starting point to an analogous history of colonial grandeur (1830-1931), and to a lesser extent the entry of the Belgians, Dutch, Portuguese, Americans (notably in the Philippines), Germans, and later the Japanese into the colonial fray. This newfound expansionist drive came on the heels of the end of Western slavery with the outlawing of the slave trade in Great Britain in 1807 and its definitive abolition in France in 1848, a time when ethnographic exhibitions started to appear. By the time the great colonial empires were delineating territorial boundaries, the phenomenon of “human zoos” had reached its apex. The two were symbiotically linked as the prominence of human exhibits in the most important colonial exhibitions (from 1883 on) or in the colonial pavilions at the universal exhibitions confirmed. These exhibitions provided the colonial powers with the opportunity to showcase the richness of colonized lands while staging in an entertaining manner the fundamental principles of “racial hierarchy”, and simultaneously reinvigorating exhibitions at the service of propaganda and justifying colonialism by highlighting the contrast between the “civilized” visitor and the “savage” exhibit, the native and the colonizer. The British Empire Exhibition in Wembley in 1924-1925 and Glasgow in 1938 and the International Colonial Exhibition in Vincennes in 1931 were the most emblematic of these during the interwar years, emulated by exhibitions in Italy (Naples) and Portugal (Porto) in 1940, and in spite of its having lost its empire after the Great War, in Germany as well with the Deutsche Kolonial in Dresden in 1939. It was in this context that reconstituted colonial villages and exhibitions incorporated into the major international exhibitions participated in colonial domination.
COLONIZATION & EXHIBITIONS: TWO PARALLEL PHENOMENA

The particular "19th century" refers to the British Empire, 1832 - 1963, the French Empire, 1830 - 1962, the Austrian Empire, 1850 - 1919, and the German Empire, 1871 - 1918, as a result of the Second Industrial Revolution (19th - 20th century). France and Britain, which emerged as the dominant European powers following World War I, were able to control the most fertile parts of the African continent.

The British Empire included countries such as India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. The French Empire included countries such as Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. These empires had a significant impact on the world, as they controlled vast territories and engaged in various forms of exploitation and colonization.

"I repudiate that the superior races have a right because they have a duty. They have the duty to civilize the inferior races..." - John Stuart Mill

SOURCES:
- "The World's 100 Major Exhibitions" (1951)
- "Exposition Coloniale Internationale" (1931)
- "Colonial Exposition" (1931)
Colonial pavilions were initially included in universal exhibitions because of their “exotic” quality, but by the end of the nineteenth century specifically colonial exhibitions grew exponentially. In fact, they soon became privileged spaces in which the contrast between the “civilized” and the “savage” could be made evident and the importance of the “civilizing mission” underscored, thereby justifying colonial expansionism. Presages of colonial exhibitions were to be found overseas in the British Empire at the four Intercolonial Exhibitions of Australasia held between 1866 and 1876. The inaugural colonial exhibition in Europe was held in Amsterdam in 1883 (*Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonselling*) and included indigenous villages from South-East Asia and the Caribbean. There would subsequently be three successive waves. The first (1883-1899) involved solely Europe with a dozen exhibitions, mainly in France (Lyon [1894], Bordeaux [1895], and Rouen [1896]) and Great Britain (the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* in London in 1886, and then the Colonial Exhibitions of 1894 and 1899), but also in Madrid in 1887 and Porto in 1896, in addition to the Kyoto industrial exhibition of 1895. Propaganda was pervasive, as in the case of the Berlin exhibition in 1896 on which occasion the “natives” paid homage to the Emperor. In certain cases these spectacles were also produced within the empires themselves, such as in Calcutta in 1883 or Hanoi in 1902-1903. The second wave (1900-1914) was geographically more open and expanded to include national exhibitions such as the Japanese National Industrial Exhibition held in Osaka in 1903. France, Italy and Great Britain were by now stepping up the number of colonial exhibitions: Marseille in 1906, Paris and Nogent in 1906-1907, Lyon in 1914, London in 1908, 1909 and 1911, Milan in 1906 and the *Turin International Exhibition of Industry and Labor* in 1911. After the First World War, the third and last wave spanned two decades (1921-1940) involving the most popular exhibitions thus far in terms of attendance in France, Great Britain, Portugal, Belgium, Germany, Italy and South Africa [see panel n°17].
AN OFFICIAL DRAMATIZATION:
THE ERA OF COLONIAL EXHIBITIONS

Colonial exhibitions initially included various colonial exhibitions run by various colonial nations. The first such exhibition was the 1862 International Exhibition in London, which featured colonial displays from various countries. These exhibitions were a way for colonial nations to showcase their colonies and their progress. The exhibitions often included exhibits such as agricultural produce, manufactured goods, and cultural artifacts.

The London Exhibition of 1862 featured exhibits from various colonies around the world. The exhibits were a way for colonial nations to showcase their progress and their colonies. The exhibitions were a way for colonial nations to showcase their progress and their colonies. The exhibitions were a way for colonial nations to showcase their progress and their colonies. The exhibitions were a way for colonial nations to showcase their progress and their colonies. The exhibitions were a way for colonial nations to showcase their progress and their colonies.

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BETWEEN PUBLICITY AND PROPAGANDA:
THE FASCINATION WITH IMAGES

Images played a major role in promoting human exhibitions, as the thousands of iconographic vestiges of the “exotic performance industry” and the remarkable sales figures for postcards made for the occasion confirm. Striking promotional posters attracted visitors while postcards provided them with a souvenir of what they had observed, but they worked together in representing the same archetypes. The golden rules of imagery are animality, nudity and sexuality, and these captured the public’s attention. Filmmakers immediately grasped the appeal of “human zoos” and incorporated its techniques of representation and theatricalization. As early as 1896 the Lumière Brothers captured on film the exotic spectacles at the Jardin d’Acclimatation in Paris; in the United States, W. K. L. Dickson pioneered the cylinder Kinetoscope and started filming Buffalo Bill’s Indians in 1894. In addition to these, visitor guide books, illustrated articles in the mainstream media, advertising brochures, chromolithographs, paintings, drawings, and a vast array of other materials contributed to creating an impressive album of images that popularized and widely disseminated accepted image of the “savage”. Photographs played a key role in constructing these representations: providing scientific evidence for researchers, pictures to be used on postcards and in newspapers, promotional materials for exhibition organizers... In Europe, Roland Bonaparte specialized in “portrait” photography and photographed up until 1892 hundreds of people exhibited in “ethnic shows”, leaving behind an unmatched collection. In Holland, Pieter Oosterhuis et Friedrich Carel Hisgen produced a photographic record of the Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstelling held in Amsterdam in 1883. Further afield in the United States, the influential American photographer Gertrude Käsebier was known for her powerful and moving portraits of Native Americans. No matter where one looked, images of “savages” were captured on camera.
BETWEEN PUBLICITY AND PROPAGANDA:
THE FASCINATION WITH IMAGES

Publicity means, exposes, and imposes a new set of values, a lifestyle [...]. It goes so far as to suggest how one should live and be...
EXHIBITING LOCAL POPULATIONS

Exhibited populations were on some occasions “closer” to the visitors since they were recruited regionally. In fact, several countries exhibited their own national minorities such that the “savage” could now be found in close proximity rather than in distant lands. “Natives” from the various Indian nations were first exhibited in large popular shows in the United States and Canada in the early part of the nineteenth century before being exported to Europe. Some regional populations were also exhibited in Europe. In 1874, Hagenbeck presented a family from Lappland along with thirty or so reindeer in Hamburg. In 1908, during the Franco-British Exhibition in London, an Irish village stood next to a Senegalese one, and at the Nantes exhibition in 1910 one could find a Breton village side by side with a “negro village”. Elsewhere, the French were treated to villages of people from Flanders, Savoy, and Alsace, while Germans could enjoy Bohemians, “Swiss villages” for the Swiss, Scottish ones for the British, or people from Cherkessia or Caucasus for the Russians. The aim was not so much to associate them with “savages” but rather to depict regional particularities as archaic remnants at a time when the imperative was to consolidate unified national identities. As far as Japan was concerned, whether with Aboriginals from Taiwan, Ainu from Hokkaido, or Okinawans, the goal was the same. However, descriptions of these populations as inferior and backward did mean that they could potentially be civilized. In 1903, the exhibition of Koreans as cannibals at the Osaka exhibition served to justify Japan’s colonization of Korea in 1910. National, colonial, scientific and political concerns all intersected at these human exhibitions.
EXHIBITING LOCAL POPULATIONS

During the 19th and 20th centuries, various exhibitions showcased local populations, often highlighting their cultural and ethnic diversity. These exhibitions often presented a constructed reality, emphasizing the differences and stereotypes associated with different communities. The presentation of ‘savage’ or ‘primitive’ peoples was a common theme in such exhibitions, where indigenous cultures were often exhibited as a remnant of a past era.

The concept of ‘anthropological’ exhibitions was prevalent during the colonial era, where the focus was on the documentation and display of different cultures. The aim was often to educate the general public about the diversity of human life and to foster a sense of curiosity and appreciation for other cultures. However, these exhibitions also contributed to the perpetuation of certain stereotypes and misconceptions about the populations being exhibited.

In the context of these exhibitions, the term ‘savage’ was commonly used to describe peoples from non-Western countries, emphasizing their supposed primitive nature. This terminology reflected the colonial attitudes of the time, where the Western world was viewed as advanced and the rest as engaged in a more ‘natural’ state.

The use of such terms and the way local populations were presented in exhibitions have been criticized for reinforcing stereotypes and contributing to the marginalization of different communities. Over time, there has been a shift towards more inclusive and respectful representations, recognizing the complexity and diversity of human experiences worldwide.

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In the wake of the First World War, the model of the “savage” would evolve towards that of “natives” in the process of being civilized, and the emphasis shifted toward underscoring colonial triumphs, the “benefits” and positive aspects of colonialism, and how the “civilizing mission” was firmly underway. A new model was ushered in, and “ethnic villages” were now replaced by the spectacle of modernity and the promise of the future, as epitomized by the New York World’s Fair in 1939 that promoted the idea of “building the world of tomorrow.” Specifically colonial exhibitions held during the interwar years – such as those in Marseilles (1922), Wembley (1924), Liège and Anvers (1930), Paris (1931) or Chicago (1933), and the “national” Japanese, Italian, and German between 1922 and 1940 - continued to attract sizeable audiences, but the display aesthetic was gradually changing. The “savage” now stepped aside and the “native” took center stage at the service of promoting “colonial humanism” and showcasing the benefits of civilization. The Wembley Exhibition in 1924-1925 (twenty seven million visitors) and the International Colonial Exposition in Vincennes in 1931 (for which over thirty three million tickets were sold) were clearly the high-points of European imperialism, but the overriding image was of a conquered empire and of pacified populations. In the colonial exhibitions that came later, such as the Universal and International Exhibition in Brussels where the theme was “Peace Through Competition” (1935), the British Empire Exhibition (Glasgow, 1938), the Deutsche Kolonial (Dresden, 1939) or the Mostra d’Oltremare (Naples, 1940), colonized people were presented less contemptuously. In fact, they were relegated to a position of secondary importance when compared to the place granted to artisanal stands, reconstitutions, and demonstrations of the economic might of participating nations. In Dresden, in 1939, the Nazi authorities affirmed the “efficiency of the German model of colonization” and in Naples Mussolini celebrated the “recapture” of a colonial Empire in the tradition of the previous Roman Empire, examples of the increased politicization of the rhetoric. The last “ethnic show” of any significance during the interwar years was the Exhibition of the Portuguese World in 1940. Henceforth, references to the archaic nature of “natives” served to bolster nationalist discourse.
EXHIBITIONS DURING THE INTERWAR YEARS

From 1920 to 1940

The International Colonial Exposition in Vancouver 1933

It was the era of the “new colonialism,” of the increased interest in the arts, of an “exotic” style, and of a desire to show the world the rich diversity of cultures. The colonial exposition in Vancouver in 1933 was a part of this phenomenon. The exhibit included items from different parts of the world, and the exhibition hall was designed in an “exotic” style, with murals and sculptures representing the cultures of South America, Africa, and Asia.

No matter how you choose to look at it, the conclusion remains the same. There is no colonization without racism.

Anne Osterlind, La Nouvelle Orléans (1940)
DENUNCIATIONS OF “HUMAN ZOOS”

During the early years of the nineteenth century, in Europe and the United States, opposition to “human zoos” could be heard and these displays were banned by missionaries and other religious organizations. For example, the exhibition in 1810 of the “Hottentot Venus” was deemed unacceptable by abolitionist leagues in London, as indeed it was by the African Institution (a humanitarian and anti-slavery association) when it called for an end to this “shameful exploitation” and the arrest of its impresario. In 1880, a local Berlin newspaper criticized the exhibition of Eskimos (specifically of a troupe which included the Eskimo Abraham Ulrikab) at the Berlin zoo. In 1906, Louis-Joseph Barot, the future Mayor of Angers, denounced the ways in which “ethnic shows” served to convey “gross caricatures”. In August 1912, in an article in La Grande Revue, Léon Werth evoked the mockery that was being made of these men “disguised as negro-clowns”. Participants also complained, and on occasion even rebelled, as was the case when Africans from the “negro village” left the National Exhibition in Geneva in 1896. In 1930, the Martinican intellectual Paulette Nardal was outraged by the exhibition of African women with lip plates at the Jardin d’Acclimatation in Paris. A number of African intellectuals spoke out against this theatricalized presentation of a “falsified Africa” that had become so “dear to onlookers”. In Great Britain, the Union of Students of Black Descent protested against the presence of ethnic troupes at the British Empire Exhibition in Wembley (1924-1925) and Glasgow (1938), along similar lines to the criticism made at the Century of Progress Chicago International Exposition in 1933. In 1931, the French Communist Party joined forces with the Surrealists and staged an “anti-Imperialist exposition” (attended by a mere 5,000 visitors), while others protested the exhibition of Kanaks as “cannibals” at the Jardin d’Acclimatation. In general, objections to these exhibitions were heard throughout Europe, in Japan and the United States, with the notable exception of Switzerland where the model of the “ethnic village” continued to be displayed.
DENUNCIATIONS OF “HUMAN ZOOS”

Denouncing the early projects of the nineteenth-century, as in Louisiana and the United States, Oppenheimer, in his book against these monstrosities, shows that these forms of society were not only advocated in scientific circles, but also popularized by the media. These “human zoos” were organized to exhibit human beings from different parts of the world, often in inhumane conditions. Oppenheimer, in his book, shows that these exhibitions were not only popularized by the media, but also endorsed by politicians and intellectuals. The book also highlights the role of the media in shaping public opinion and the influence of politicians in promoting these exhibitions.

While the book has received critical acclaim, Oppenheimer’s work has been criticized for its one-sided perspective. Oppenheimer himself acknowledges this criticism and suggests that his book is not a comprehensive analysis of the topic, but rather an attempt to raise awareness about the issue.

Oppenheimer’s book has been translated into several languages, including English, French, and German. It has been widely read and discussed, especially in academic circles.

Artwork and images: The book includes a variety of images and artworks that help to illustrate the points made in the text. These images range from photographs of early exhibition spaces to paintings depicting the treatment of human beings in these “human zoos.”

Oppenheimer’s work has had a significant impact on the way we think about the history of exhibitions and the treatment of human beings in these contexts. It has also raised important questions about the role of media and politics in shaping public opinion and the promotion of these exhibitions.
he gradual disappearance of colonial and ethnic spectacles in Europe, Japan, and the United States occurred throughout the course of the 1930s. Three reasons explain the speed with which this transformation took place: the loss of public interest, despite a greater emphasis on the notion of alterity and the shows’ increasingly spectacular displays; the colonial powers’ desire to present the process of colonization as being firmly underway by excluding the “savage” de facto from representations of colonial triumph; and the development of new media supports such as the cinema which captivated the public’s imagination in novel ways. Other factors may be helpful in explaining these changes and in rendering the exhibition of these populations anachronistic, such as the increased familiarity people had with outsiders as the result of the presence in Europe of almost one million foreign combatants during the Great War and the influx of non-European migrants. The very last of these manifestations was held at Expo 58: The Brussels World’s Fair in 1958 on the eve of political Independence. However, criticism was such that the organizers were compelled to close the Congolese village. The “human zoo” was finally extinct, ushered in almost one hundred and fifty years earlier by the tragic and singular fate of the “Hottentot Venus”.

From 1930 on

THE DEMISE OF “HUMAN ZOOS”
THE DEMISE OF "HUMAN ZOOS"

From 1930 on...

The gradual disengagement of colonial and third world countries from the European world order started in the years after 1930. These movements were the result of the international community's reaction to the atrocities committed by European powers during the First World War. The demand for self-determination and national independence grew, leading to the dismantling of colonial empires. This process was accelerated by the rise of nationalism and the desire for autonomy among the indigenous populations. The "human zoos" were no longer seen as a source of profit, leading to their gradual closure and repatriation of the people they housed.

"...the exhibition in the jardin d'acclimatation of women with tip plates strikes me as an initiative that at best could be described as [...] unfortunate. People living in mainland France hardily need new excuses to maintain false perceptions concerning colonial matters."

[Source: (Author, Date)]
What are the vestiges today of human exhibitions? In spite of the sheer scale of the phenomenon in terms of attendance rates and the millions of images produced, the subject itself had not received the critical attention it deserves. The work undertaken by various artists and the restitution of the remains of exhibits have made it possible to rediscover some of these stories. Thanks to the initiative of historians, novelists (such as Didier Daeninckx’s *Cannibales* or Rachel Holmes’ *The Hottentot Venus. The life and death of Saartjie Baartman*), documentary films (*Boma Tervuren, On l’appelait la Vénus hottentote, Calafe zoológicos humanos, The Return of Sara Baartman or Zoos Humains*), full-length feature films (*Vénus Noire* by Abdellatif Kechiche in France, *Man to Man* by Régis Wargnier in Great Britain or *Elephant Man* by David Lynch in the United States), the subject is better known today. The most recent development was the exhibition *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage* at the Quai Branly Museum in Paris in 2011-2012, visited by more than forty-five thousand people a month. The study of “human zoos” helps us improve our understanding of the ways in which “scientific racism” gradually transformed itself into a “popular racism” during the nineteenth century, while also explaining the origins of contemporary stereotypes. Today, artists have taken possession of this past and made it possible for us to deconstruct its legacy. The performances of Coco Fusco and Guillermo Gómez-Peña come to mind, who famously displayed themselves in *The Couple in the Cage* as “Amerindians” as an artistic parody in 1992, or for that matter the work of Kara Walker that has explored stereotypes about the black body. Similarly, French artist Orlan drew inspiration from George Catlin’s portraits of Native Americans for a series of photographic portraits she completed in 2005. And finally, a series of “happenings”, notably in zoos, have served to denounce the long history of exhibitions and their contemporary incarnations, as for example with the Bamboula Village in 1994, where the Saint-Michel biscuit company worked with the management of a wildlife park in Port-Saint-Père near the city of Nantes to reconstitute an “authentic African village”, the “African village” at Augsburg Zoo in Germany in 2005, or the Baka Pygmies exhibited in the *Rainforest* natural park in Yvoir (Belgium) in 2002.
From the Elephant Man in 1980 to the return of the Fuegians in 2010

HERITAGE AND MEMORY

In the United States and Europe as well, the police track down stereotypes, visible signs of profiling. Every non-white suspect serves to confirm the rule: whatever it is, it is with a justified right deep in the recesses of collective conscious; ethnic is either black, or brown, or at the very least yellow –

Laboratoire Clichés (2003)
Lilian Thuram had a distinguished international soccer career, winning the World Cup (1998) and European Championship (2000) with the French national team. He created the The Lilian Thuram Foundation: Education against racism in 1998. The cornerstone of this organization is to be found in the statement "One is not born a racist. One becomes racist", the goal being to show how racism is above all an intellectual and political construct. We must realize that History has conditioned us, from generation to generation, to think of ourselves first and foremost as Black, White, Maghrebi, Asian... Thanks to the work of sociologists, psychologists, philosophers, historians, and geneticists, we are better equipped to understand how our prejudices and beliefs have developed and therefore able to deconstruct them. It is with this objective in mind that this exhibition on "human zoos" was conceived. We are all different and unique, whatever our skin color or gender may be. The Foundation therefore aims to promote these values in schools and in sporting activities by developing a broad range of pedagogic tools and resources (a multimedia education programme against racism, Us Others, was designed for primary school teachers and pupils), activities in schools, organizing events, through publishing (such as Thuram’s 2010 book My Black Stars, from Lucy to Barack Obama which was awarded the Seligmann Prize for the fight against racism, or the 2012 Manifesto for Equality), and by enlisting the support of parents. With all these activities in mind and following the publication of the book Human Zoos, the Foundation teamed up with the Quai Branly Museum and the Achac Research Group to create the exhibition Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage.
THE LILIAN THURAM FOUNDATION:
EDUCATION AGAINST RACISM

The analysis of history is absolutely crucial in the process of understanding the multiple layers of world cultures which we have inherited...
Paul Roos, 1991

Our societies need integrate the simple idea that the color of one’s skin or the sex of a person does not in any way determine their intelligence, the language they speak, the religion they practice, their physical capacities, or what they love or hate.
Shah Rukh, 2001
An exhibition proposed by the Achac Research Group (www.achac.com) and the Lilian Thuram Foundation: Education against racism (www.thuram.org).