Man in His World, Children in Theirs: Material Culture at Expo '67

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Abstract

The many material and nonmaterial artifacts from Montreal's Expo '67 exhibit varying concepts of childhood. In a series of short essays, I use individual artifacts as a means to study child-adult relationships. First, I research the depictions of children in film, song, and images. The paper then looks at objects such as postcards, passports, and other ephemeral objects created for Expo that were aimed towards children. The third part looks at spaces designed for children. These include the Children's Creative Centre, La Ronde, the Youth Pavilion, and Children's World.

These "artifacts" viewed together elicit reoccurring themes. They include nationalism, the resource and potentiality of children, commodification and display of children, the myth of universal childhood, the boundary between child and adult, the islanding of children, and children's agency. The conglomeration of artifacts in this paper will suggest a multifaceted view of children at Montreal's Expo and describe the experience and cultural landscape of this specific time and place.

Sommarie

Les nombreux objets matériels et immatériels laissés par l'Expo 67 de Montréal exposent diverses conceptions de l'enfance. Dans une série de courts essais, j'utilise des objets individuels comme un moyen d'étude des relations enfant-adulte. D'abord, je recherche les représentations des enfants dans le cinéma, la chanson, et image. J'examine ensuite les objets tels que les cartes postales, les passeports et d'autres articles éphémères créés pour l'Expo et conçus principalement pour les enfants. Ceux-ci incluent le Centre de la Créativité, la Ronde, le Pavillon de la Jeunesse, et le Monde des Enfants.

Ces "objets," regardés comme un ensemble, éveillent des thèmes récurrents, comme le nationalisme, la ressource et la potentialité de l'enfant, sa marchandisation et son étalage, le mythe de l'enfant universel, la limite entre l'enfant et l'adulte, l'isolation et l'action de l'enfant. La collection d'objets présentés dans ce document suggère une vue à multiples facettes des enfants à l'Expo 67 de Montréal et décrit l'expérience et le paysage culturel de son temps et de son endroit.

Helga Zeiher, "Children's Islanding in Space and Time: The Impact of Spatial Differentiation on Children's Ways of Shaping Social Life." In Childhood in Europe: Approaches, Trends, Findings, Rethinking Childhood, V. 15. Bois-Reymond, Manuela du, Heinz Sünker, and Heinz-Hermann Krüger eds. (New York: Peter Lang, 2001); John Gillis, "Epilogue: The Islanding of Children – Reshaping the Mythical Landscapes of Childhood" in Designing Modern Childhoods: History, Space, and the Material Culture of Children. Gutman, Marta and Coninck-Smith, Ning de, ed. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2008).

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Quotes

"Research is the pith of human activity, out of research emerges change." Pierre Dupuy, Commission General of Expo '67 and Ambassador to France ²

"Artifacts are thrust into the world. They have the power to stabilize life. ... We no more notice the things that we habitually use than we do our own hands and feet when they are functioning."

"Valued artifacts must be maintained by human discourse."

"World's fairs can be seen as one of a series of mammoth rituals in which all sorts of power relations, both existing and wished for, are being expressed. ... In this contest all sorts of symbols are employed, and there are blatant efforts to manufacture tradition to impose legitimacy."⁵

"...[prisoners] by being combined and generalized ... attained a level at which the formation of knowledge and power regularly reinforce one another in a circular process. ... Is it surprising that prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which resemble prisons?"

"The rights of children [are] the last frontier in the fight for freedom for us all, a consideration of their needs [is] the last territory to be won back from the age old tyranny of patriarchy and the casual brutality of its domination."

² Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, Terre des Hommes\ Man and His World. (Montreal: Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World's Expo, 1967), 13.

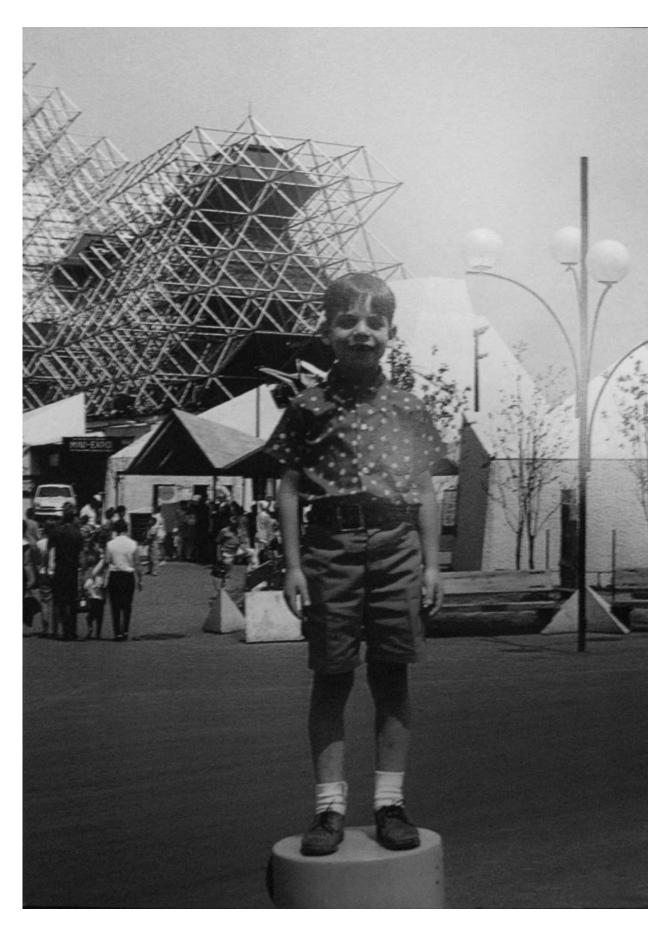
³ Yi-Fu Tuan, "The Significance of the Artifact." Geographical Review, Vol. 70, No. 4 (Oct., 1980), pp. 462-472, 463. (explaining Hannah Arendt)

⁴ Ibid., 466.

⁵ Gary R. Miedema, For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-making of Canada in the 1960s, (Montreal: McGIll-Queens University Press, 2005), 117. (quoting Rydell and Gwinn, Fair Representations, 4.)

⁶ Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punishment. (New York: Vintage Books (Random House), 1977; 1995), 224, 228.

⁷ Rosalind Miles, The Children we Deserve: Love and Hate in the Making of Family, (London: Harper Collins, 1994).



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Figure 1 (previous): Boy posing on bollard at La Ronde from postcard of Canadian Centre for Architecture's (CCA) exhibit, "Expo '67: Not Just a Souvenir" March 31-September 11, 2005

"Suddenly, the world is not so monolithic, white, Catholic, and middle class: there are people of every colour wearing surprising clothes and amazing hairstyles. They seem to understand each other, they discuss and laugh in languages that are rather more like song than speech in my ear. ... I do not tell my parents everything when I return. I've never heard about Utopia, this is simply my life unfolding and I'm getting excited."

Introduction: Welcome to Expo

This is not a history of Expo '67, 9 not a history of World Exhibitions, 10 not a history of Expo's architecture, 11 not a photo essay, 12 not a look at native repression at Expo, 13 not a long-term memory study using Expo, 14 and certainly not an account of religious attitudes at Canada's Centennial. 15 These are all in themselves good topics, but this thesis is an exploration of adult-child relationships at Expo '67. 16 These relationships are, at times, methods of controlling power. As Michel Foucault points out, knowledge and power are inextricably linked. In this paper, adult-child relationships are studied through material culture.

Expo '67 in Montreal was the coming of age party at Canada's centennial celebrations. ¹⁷ It almost did not happen. Canada bid to host the 1967 international exhibition in 1959, but lost to Moscow. Moscow had to pulled out in March of 1962 and Montreal bid again. In August, Montreal was awarded the chance to host the world. Expo was to be a universal or international exhibition of the first-category; it was the first in North America. The previous World's Fairs were unsanctioned and were not official international exhibitions. ¹⁸ The original theme, used when Montreal initially bid for the world's exhibition,

⁸ Daniel Roy, "The Human Factor" in Blackflash, Special Issue: Expose 67 22, no. 2 (2004), 23. (age 14 at Expo)

⁹ Yves Jasmin, La petite histoire d'Expo 67 : l'Expo 67 comme vous ne l'avez jamais vue. (Montréal: Québec/Amérique, 1997); Robert Fulford, Remember Expo. McCelland et Stewart Limitee, 1968.

¹⁰ Erik Mattie, World's Fairs. (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998); Anna Jackson, Expo: International Exhibitions 1851-2010. London: V&A Publishing, 2008.

Alain Marcoux, Expo' 67, vitrine de l'expressionnisme formel en architecture: investigations sur son contenu, son contexte et son impact. (Montréal: Universite du Québec à Montréal, 2007); I. Kalin, Expo' 67; Survey of Building Materials, Systems and Techniques used at the Universal International Exhibition of 1967, Montreal, Canada. (Ottawa: Materials Branch, Dept. of Industry, Trade and Commerce (Queen's Printer), 1969). Marcoux argues that it began a new "montrealness" in architecture. Clearly, this is contrary to Bruno Zevi's assertion that Expo (and current architecture) was possibly regression. The essay Zevi, Bruno. "Architecture 1967: Progress or Regression?," In Man and His World: The Normanda Lectures, ed. Helen S. Hogg et al. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1968. beautifully describes the movement from Borromini onward and ends with an optimistic hope that Habitat '67 will sustain.

¹² Dixion, Meredith. "Expo '67: Slide Collection ... A Photographic Journey through Expo '67." McGill University, http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/expo-67/ <accessed October-August, 2010>; National Capital FreeNet, "Expo 67 in Montreal: A photo collection about Canada's Centennial Celebration!" http://expo67.ncf.ca/ <accessed October-November, 2010> F. M. Morrison, Olenka Demianchuk and Corporation Canadian Broadcasting. Expo 67 Back to the Future. (Toronto: CBC Home Video: Distributed by Morningstar Entertainment Inc., 2004).

¹³ Randal Arthur Rogers, Man and His World: An Indian, A Secretary and A Queer Child. (Montreal, Quebec: Concordia, August 1999); Randal Arthur Rogers, "A Perfectly Spaced-out Nation: The Canada Complex at Expo '67" in Blackflash, Special Issue: Exposé 67 22, no. 2 (2004): 12-15. Also Kröller, Eva-Maire. "Expo '67 : Canada's Camelot?" Canadian Literature, no. 152-53 (1997): 36-51. – along with a great analysis of women at Expo. & French at Expo. Additionally, when I refer to Expo I am referring to Expo '67. When I write about world exhibitions and world's fairs, I am writing about the genre itself. However, many of the themes within Expo are themes one can find in many world exhibitions. The word, Expo itself denotes a proximity to French culture.

David Anderson and Viviane Gosselin, "Private and public memories of Expo 67: a case study of recollections of Montreal's World's Fair, 40 years after the event." Museum and Society 6, no. 1 (March 2008): 1-21.

¹⁵ Miedema.

Additionally the majority of the adult views depicted are those of white men. The notable exception is Cornelia Hahn Oberlander.

¹⁷ Kröller, 36. Quoting Robert Shaw said that Canada, "reached maturity after 100 vigorous years"; Morrison "It was the coming of age no one will forget."; Fulford, Remember Expo, 27 "magnificent birthday party."

¹⁸ Such as Philadelphia 1876, Chicago 1893 & 1933, Buffalo 1901, St Louis 1904, San Diego 1914-15, San Francisco 1915 & 1939-40, New York 1939 & 1964

was "Man in the City: Heritage, Housing, Transportation." Eight months later, when Prime Minister Lester Pearson was elected in April 1963, it was changed on to "Man and His World." The theme was inspired by the book, *Man and His World*, by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry. 20

The people of Montreal, lead by Mayor Jean Drapeau, were united by this compressed schedule and produced, arguably, one of the most influential Exhibitions of all time. Drapeau is credited with convincing anglophones and francophones to work together for the common goal of Expo. Additionally, he wanted to transform Montreal to "the Paris of the New World." Concurrently, Montreal undertook many physical changes. Changes included closing the Lachine Canal to freight transport and preserving the old port by prohibiting construction of a new expressway. In addition to Drapeau and Pearson, other essential politicians were Pierre Dupuy the Commision General of Expo, Roland Michener the Canadian Governor General, and Daniel Johnson the Québec Premier. People who shaped the public's opinion included Yves Jasmine, the marketing director, and Robert Fulford, an Expo reporter for the *Toronto Star* wrote extensively during and after the event.

Expo was large. The Expo site was comprised of islands in the St. Lawrence River. It covered over 900 acres of land. St. Helen's Island extended into the small existing island of La Ronde. Notre-Dame Island was altered and given Venice-like canals. Also the peninsula Cité du Havre held pavilions. Pedestrian bridges and a monorail system were constructed to connect the islands. Likewise, vehicular bridges were augmented and Montreal's subway was built to connect Montreal to the Expo Site. Canada's interstate system connected Canadians to Expo and fifteen-international airlines welcomed the rest of the world. Some visitors even came by ship. Expo officially operated from April 21st to October 27th of 1967, but visitors still flocked years later to see the pavilions' remains. Most pavilions were altered in use, deconstructed (early 1980s), or moved. Montreal, a city of 2.6 million at the time, hosted over fifty-million people. More than anyone expected. There were sixty-one nations represented in thirty-seven pavilions, nine theme pavilions, seven province and state pavilions, and twenty-six private pavilions. These pavilions can be seen as individual large artifacts or as a collection of artifacts. Expo's site plan was heavily designed so that pavilions interacted with each other. Expo was the first international exhibitions to construct dedicated theme pavilions. Expo is still among one of the largest international exhibitions.

Benjamin Portis and Christine Dufresne, Civic Visions, World's Fairs, (CCA, 1993), 27. Portis is vague about this and seems to imply it was a little mysterious. In contrast according to Dupuy, it was changed on November 13, 1962 before Pearson. Pierre Dupuy, "Man and His World" in Expo 67, Man and His World, Official Guide = Terre Des Hommes: Guide Official. (Montreal: Ville de Montreal, 1968), 35.

²⁰ Saint-Exupéry, 65

²¹ Mattie, 228.

²² André Jansson, "Encapsulations :The Porduction of Future Gazeat Montreal's Expo '67" Space and Culture 10, no. 4 (November 2007); 424;

²³ Ibio

²⁴ Portis, 27.

²⁵ Advertisement in Life magazine, Special Issue: Tomorrow Soars in at the Fair Expo '67 vol 62, no 17. April 28th 1967.

²⁶ Most notably, the Metro system, La Ronde, Habitat '67 (now an apartment building), the U.S.A. Pavilion is now a museum, and the French Pavilion is now a Casino.

²⁷ The Yugoslavia Pavilion was later relocated to become part of the Provincial Seamen's Museum in Grand Bank, Newfoundland.

²⁸ These numbers do not include the structures I am studying. Many structures on site were not considered pavilions

²⁹ Marcouv

³⁰ Meidema, 132.

³¹ Ibid., 228

Additionally, Expo changed the way Canadians thought about the world and each other. Expo was a space of diversity. However, Expo emphasized what humanity had in common, not how we differed. "... [G]overnment planners pushed for the recognition of diversity, they did so not for the sake of diversity itself but for the strengthening of national unity." Expo's "leap into the future" was an attempt at a futuristic Utopia; simultaneously, it was also a space of difference (heterotopia). This is true, as well, in the multiple representations of children within Expo. These artifacts examined together in this thesis deconstruct the myth of a universal child. Childhood, the myth, transcends postmodern themes of time, culture, and gender. Childhood [is] in some timeless zone, standing as it were to the side of the mainstream (that is adult) history and culture. Childhood in the 1960s was "so uniform and the temporal and spatial islanding of age groups [was] so complete" that it transcended differences in economic classes, while differences in race and gender remained.

This thesis begins by exploring methodological approaches in children's material culture. These methods are applied to "artifacts" from Expo. The term is used loosely because I use study diverse materials. These materials cover a large range spanning films, songs, texts, souvenirs, and spaces. Each section focuses on an object; and may be read independently. Memory is also studied. Expo was a landscape of experiences, or experience-scape. I document some of these experiences through memories; I draw data from four personal interviews, articles, and online message boards. The conclusions presented here are based on my artifact meditations. I encourage others to use Expo to form their own interpretations, because "Expo '67 became famous for providing lenses, frames, and perspectives though which to read images [and other artifacts] in several different ways."

I am an outsider to this subject: I am not Canadian and I am not a child of the late 1960s. Expo changed the face of Montreal and though most of the structures are gone, it remains sharp in many people's memories. I was however, like you, and like the people who belong to the voices you will "hear" in this argument, a child. We have our memories of childhood tucked away for a rainy day. The things we remember have meaning and shape lives. ⁴² I am asking you to dry off your memories and see how the places of our childhood have transformed and altered us.

Meidema, 114-136. "At Expo, as in the Centennial Celebrations, a federal corporation sought to present an image of Canada that erased a British-French and Christian past and that highlighted an include and pureliation present and future."

³³ Miedema, 206. He writes in terms of religion, but a similar concept was part of the International Photography Exhibit, and seems to work here.

Tom Prideaux, "Architecture's Leap into the Future." In Life magazine, Special Issue: Tomorrow Soars in at the Fair Expo '67 vol 62, no 17. April 28th 1967, 33.

³⁵ André Jansson, "Encapsulations: The Production of a Future Gaze at Montreal's Expo 67" Space and Culture. Vol. 10; No. 4, November 2007. 418-436.

³⁶ Castañeda, Claudia, Figurations: Child, Bodies, Worlds, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 146.

³⁷ Alison James and Alan Prout, "Re-presenting Childhood: Time and Transition in the Study of Childhood," in Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood, Alison James and Alan Prout eds. (London: Falmer, 1990), 220. (parenthesis original)

³⁸ Gillis, "Epilogue," 322.

³⁹ Jansson, "Encapsulations," 421. Furthermore, Jansson calls Expo a place that was designed to provoke spatial memories.

⁴⁰ In most cases, I use their evidence, memories, to construct theories of my own.

⁴¹ Kröller, 39

⁴² Frigga Haug, "Chapter one: Memory-work" in Female Sexualization: a collective work of memory. Frigga Haug, et al. eds. (New York: Verso, 1983, 1999)

"Material culture is culture made material; it is the inner wit at work in the world. Beginning necessarily with things, but not ending with them, the study of material culture uses objects to approach human thought and action."

0.0 Perspectives on Children's Material Culture

Material culture is one way to study marginalized people.⁴⁴ Children are not the privileged, literate, elite whose story is history, and whose tastes are culture. Devotees of material culture agree that artifacts communicate. If this is true, we need to understand what is being communicated.⁴⁵ The following essays compare authors' methods. These methods I explore in subsequent chapters to study various "artifacts" from Montreal's Expo '67. Issues of framing the artifact, intention or audience of the artifact, and agency of the owner versus agency of the artifact will be discussed.

The starting point and the method thereafter, arguably, are methodology. The choice of method reflects the epistemological position of the researcher. "Material culture" is elusive, in that there is no single correct method. The term is cross-disciplinary with its roots in anthropology. ⁴⁶ Many disciplines use similar methods; and these methods can be called material culture. ⁴⁷ In Canada, material culture emerged under the name material history. ⁴⁸ It is not clearly a discipline, field, or method. ⁴⁹ The artifact is the starting or entry point. Instead of starting with culture and seeing how it manifests physically, material culture inverts this order. ⁵⁰ Stephen Riggins suggests objects serve as "entry points" to describe a personal narrative. ⁵¹ Thomas Schlereth writes that material culture is "a mode of inquiry primarily (but not exclusively) focused upon a type of evidence." ⁵² This evidence is the artifacts, and we use these artifacts to interpret culture.

Authors have attempted to define a material culture method. To name a few there is Jules Prown's three-step method: description, deduction, and speculation, ⁵³ E. McClung Fleming's four steps: identification, evaluation, cultural analysis,

⁴³ Henry Glassie, Material Culture. (Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999) 41.

⁴⁴ Henry Glassie, "Studying Material Culture Today." In Living in a Material World: Canadian and American Approaches to Material Culture. Gerald Pocius, ed. (St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic research, memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991), 261.

⁴⁵ Dell Upton, "Form and User: Style, Mode, and the Artifact," 158. "if we presume communication, we must ask what is being communicated"

Gerald Pocius, "Researching Artifacts in Canada: Institutional Power and Levels of Dialogue" in Ibid., 248. "Historians read Braudel; anthropologists read Trigger; folklorists read Glassie; geographers read Kniffen; art historians read Gowans; yet. what must still become the norm is that all artifact researchers become familiar with all such theorists. In many respects, then, material culture studies in Canadian universities remain multidisciplinary, rather than having become interdisciplinary." & Thomas J. Schlereth, "Material Culture or Material Life: Discipline or Field? Theory or Method" in Ibid., 231-235.

Henry Glassie, "Structure and Functionalism, Folklore and the Artifact." Semiotica VII, no. 4 (1973); 313-51, 318. continues, ""... to take an example from modern American research on material culture, difficulties in communication between architectural historians, folklorists, and cultural geographers exist because, while all might be studying traditional architecture, their studies start at different points. The architectural historian, using an analogy from art history, centers on a specific building, which causes his [or her] compositional move to be a consideration of the building's elements, his [or her] relational move to be a comparison with other buildings of the same sort. The folklorist, using an analogy from folktale scholarship, centers on an abstraction of form — the type — so that his [or her] compositional move is a consideration of whole buildings which are examples of the type, and his [or her] relational move is an analysis of the type's role in culture. The cultural geographer, using an analogy from physical geography, centers on a distributional pattern so that his [or her] compositional move is an identification of architectural attributes which exhibit spatial patterning and his [or her] relational move is a comparison of different distributions."

⁴⁸ Schlereth, 231-235

⁴⁹ Ibid., 234

Glassie, Material Culture, 41. "Material culture is culture made material; it is the inner wit at work in the world. Beginning necessarily with things, but not ending with them, the study of material culture uses objects to approach human thought and action."

⁵¹ Stephen Riggin, "Field Work in the Living Room: An Autoethnographic Essay" in *The Socialness of Things: Essays on the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, Stephen H. Riggins, ed. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruver. 1994). 109.

⁵² Schlereth, 235. (parenthesis original)

Jules D. Prown. "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture 1-19. Theory and Method." Winterthur Portfolio, 17(1), 1982.

interpretation,⁵⁴ and Robert Elliot's five-step method: material, construction, function, provenance, and value.⁵⁵ In this thesis, I am not formulaic in my method; methods vary depending on the artifacts. Similarly, Schlereth is not concerned with process but purpose; he writes, "... it is a claim to view material culture as a process whereby we attempt to see through objects (not just the objects themselves) to the cultural meaning to which they relate or which they might mediate."

For this paper, my entry points are varied. While attempting to capture the experience landscape of children at Expo, I use more than one type of artifact. The artifacts become entry points. Each section starts at a different entry point to studying children at Expo. Each entry point is a separate viewpoint; and in writing, the artifacts in this thesis have varied voices. Donna Haraway suggests that we cannot remove our own situatedness (or positionality in the world);⁵⁷ and I do not pretend that I have. Harawary's former student, Claudia Castañeda similarly writes that we cannot remove our adult privilege.⁵⁸ Alternately, by investigating many artifacts along with memories we can begin to capture facets of experience pertaining to a single event. These facets, or messages, combine to convey not a single view of childhood, but rather a rich mosaic.

0.1 Framing the Comparison

The artifact can be almost anything. Methods describe how a researcher makes comparisons between artifacts.

Gerald Pocius divides these comparisons into genre versus region. Researchers who compare the primary artifact to similar ones in terms of function and type use a genre comparison. Those who compare the primary artifact to those within a specific geographic location are focused on region. Primarily I have chosen to compare artifacts related to Expo, which at first glance would seem to engage both genre and region; however, Expo compresses space and represented diverse regions from around the world.

Another approach is Henry Glassie's method of comparing or framing artifacts. Artifacts can be contextualized in three ways. Personally framing an artifact is doing so within one's own culture (including one's family and personal narrative). Conceptually framing involves researching historical and cultural meanings for the object. Physically or behaviorally contextualizing the artifact emphasizes the senses and the body. 60 Initially, in this thesis, I describe film, songs, image, and souvenirs through conceptual framing. Later I analyze spaces through both conceptual and behavioral. The behavioral

⁵⁴ E. McClung Fleming, "Artifact Study: A Proposed Model." Winterthur Portfolio. 9:153-173, 1974.

⁵⁵ Robert S. Elliot, "Towards a Material History Methodology." Material History Bulletin 22 (1985); 31-40.

⁵⁶ Schlereth, 240.

Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: the Science Question in Feminism and the Partial Privilege of Partial Perspective" in Feminist Studies 14, No. 3 (Autumn, 1988): 575-599, 583. "The moral is simple: only partial perspectives promise objective vision. All Western cultural narratives about objectivity are allegories of the ideologies governing the relations of what we call mind and body, distance and responsibility. Feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object. It allows us to become answerable for what we learn how to see"

⁵⁸ Castañeda, 142-43. "Even within largely effective attempts to represent children as agentic social actors, the child is simultaneously erased or occupied by the author's figuration of the child as a theoretical resource, as a space or form through which the (adult) subject re-forms itself."

⁵⁹ Pocius, 243.

⁶⁰ Glassie, "Studying Material Culture Today," 256 & 260.

analysis comes from texts and image; at times, I am able to supplement with memories of the space. I use personal framing infrequently and it is clearly marked. The following examples are by no means exhaustive of the research that has been and continues, but they are representative of current issues. In an attempt to explore how researchers frame their comparison, I have grouped the examples by Glassie's divisions.

The first example employs Glassie's personal framing. The authors, Jacqueline Reid-Walsh and Claudia Mitchell start with dolls to map Canadian girlhood historically. They pay methodological homage to Frigga Haug's "Memory-work." Haug writes "... anything and everything remembered constitutes a relevant trace – precisely because it is remembered – for the formation of identity. Glassie warns us that this type of framing can lead to "misreading" the artifact, and we are unable to "connect things correctly. Memories and individual histories of artifacts, or artifact's provenance, are supplemental to the artifact. These personal histories may or may not be representative of mass culture and should have some quantifiable support. Reid-Walsh and Mitchell establish that the doll has significance in future careers by the quantity of similar memories in their research. Yet, with their snowballing method, I would argue that the participants were in similar socio-ecconomic position as the authors.

An example using conceptual framing examines images representing childhood. Francois Marc Gagnon tracks the representation of white versus First Nations children. White children, he argues, are depicted primarily as subjects in religious art, while First Nations children are depicted as savages in secular art created by explorers and missionaries. The white child is a knowing subject and is facing the viewer. The indigenous child turns away from the viewer. Similarly, but this time through narrative Anne McGillivry uses conceptual framing. She explains that girls in narratives have an internalized space of fantasy, the labyrinth, and are called to make a self-sacrificing act in order to be freed (imperfect transformation or coming of age). In contrast the boys in children's narratives are conquering and exploring, such as Peter Pan. Arguably, this is not behaviorally framing because we culturally interpret narratives.

Lastly, some researchers use behavioral framing. Elizabeth A. Gagen focuses on Judith Butler's idea of performativity as displayed in Cambridge playgrounds from the early twentieth century. Playgrounds transformed flexible children into good citizens. However, what constitutes a good citizen is gendered. Girls stayed with the younger children, helping to supervise through their roles as "little mothers" and did domestic tasks like sewing and cleaning, whereas boys

⁶¹ Jacqueline Reid-Walsh and Claudia Mitchell, "Mapping a Canadian Girlhood Historically through Dolls and Doll-Play" in *Depicting Canada's Children*, Loren Lerner, ed. (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009).

⁶² Haug, 50.

⁶³ Glassie, "Studying Material Culture Today," 257. "Satisfactory world views and moral codes are derived from limited individual experience. Thinking begins and often ends in the personal context." lbid., 261.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 259

⁶⁵ Francois Marc Gagnon, "Iconography of the child in early Quebec art" in Depicting Canada's Children. Loren Lerner, ed. (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009).

Anne McGillivry, "Girls and Goblins: an imperfect transformation in Outside Over There, Labyrinth, and Pan's Labyrinth" in Imagining the Child Symposium, (Montreal, Quebec, March 2010).

Elizabeth Gagen, "Playing the Part: Performing gender in America's playgrounds." in Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning. Sarah L. Holloway and Gill Valentine, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2000).

learned team skills through baseball. Abigail Van Slyck also primarily uses behaviorism in her book *Manufactured Wilderness*. At summer camps, Native American symbolism was used to describe a romantic ideal of wilderness (or the untamed west). Using archival documents, like architectural drawings, camp advertisements, and campers' memoirs, she discerns gender, class, and race differences. Similarly, both authors focus on the functions of space. In contrast, Gagen has ridged definitions, and Van Slyck has fluid definitions, for what constitutes "activity arenas." Artifact framing can reveal the researcher's intentions; likewise, artifacts reveal intentions.

0.2 Artifact Intentions

"We surround ourselves with objects that we collect, purchase, inherit, or make ourselves; and we use these things to define who and what we are. We often judge others by their belongings, and measure a people and its well-being by the goods that it collectively owns. In short, we define our lives by our possessions, By seeking an understanding of this material world, we gain insight into a society's fundamental values and beliefs."

In this section, I explore whose intentions (the maker / designer, the child, or the parent) are revealed from artifacts. The designer has an intended audience. The child or parent may or may not accept this intention and create his or her own identity. In the above quote, Pocius states that the choice of possession indicates an aspect of our own identities.⁷¹

Additionally, if we "radically alter" an object within a composition we create a unique individual identity.⁷²

Matterial objects define their intended audience. Inderpal Grewal describes an international marketing strategy for Mattel's Barbie. The article traces the artifact, primarily through advertisements, and reveals how the doll was accepted into another culture. Yet, this translation does not alter or challenge Mattel's hegemonic goals; the translation makes these goals appear to be universal. Grewal acknowledges that normative Barbie messages may be subverted by child's play. This subversive use of the artifact detaches the intended meaning from the everyday meaning. Glassie, as well, recognizes the creative role of users. Users should be studied through their creative use of the object, primarily through its use within composition, recreation, and alteration. It think this subversive play could be added as one of Glassie's "use becomes

³⁸ Abigail A. Van Slyck, A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1960. (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2006).

⁶⁹ Ibid., xxxi. Refers to Cromley, Elizabeth C. "Transforming the food axis: Houses, Tools, Modes of analysis." Material History Review 44 (Fall 1996): 8-22, 9.

⁷⁰ Pocius, back cover.

⁷¹ So does Tuan, 472. ""...our fragile sense of self needs support, and this we get by having and possessing things because, to a large degree, we are what we have and possess."

⁷² Glassie, "Studying Material Culture Today," 264. "Use becomes creation as objects are altered radically. And use becomes creation when objects become parts of objects, when the context becomes a composition."

⁷³ Inderpal Grewal, "Traveling Barbie: Indian Transnationalities and the Global Consumer" in *Transnational America: feminisms, diasporas, neoliberalisms*. Inderpal Grewal, ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

⁷⁴ Ibid., 99-100.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 101

⁷⁶ Glassie, "Studying Material Culture Today," 263. "When we watch consumers behave. we are watching the use of industrial objects. but "use" is a creative act that employs the creative act of another, as driving uses the car. as the basketmaker uses an axe, as the shopper uses money."

⁷⁷ Ibid., 263-264.

creative" examples.⁷⁸ This subversive play allows children to point out contradictions in society. Susan Willis writes, "children recognize the contradictions adults take for granted because they are not yet fully inscribed in capitalism either as the producers or reproducers of the system."⁷⁹

In children's artifacts there is not just one consumer, but two, both parent and child have some role in the purchase. Kathy Merlock Jackson describes another Mattel product, Chatty Cathy, she shows how television advertisements during children's shows contributed to the popularity of toys. The design of the toy had more to do with how it appeared on television than children's everyday play. Additionally, with the unpopular introduction of Cathy's smarter older-sister, Charmin' Chatty, Merlock explains that children preferred the original manifestation of a dumb, imperfect companion. In this instance, children read the clues in the designer's and advertiser's intentions and it seems that they were cognizant of this message.

For Glassie, the artifact's intention is a more accurate portrayal of the maker. He writes, "try as we might to construct users out of artifacts, artifacts are about their creators." To me, the artifact is a manifestation of multiple identities. There is a blend of maker and user. Dell Upton writes that we should, "see the object as a mediator between creator and perceiver." Contrary to Glassie who thinks the maker is the most important, Upton insists that "the maker is perhaps the least important figure in the maker-object-user triad." Yet, both see the artifact as the mediator. In this context, I define this triad as (maker / designer, artifact agency, and child / parent). An artifact's agency I will discuss further in the next section.

0.3 Agency and Artifacts

"We learn it from other people, who teach us to see certain relationships in our social and physical surroundings. Consequently, the symbolic process is a reciprocal one: we look for the relationships we expect and we find them because we put them there."

According to Glassie, artifacts communicate similarly to language. ⁸⁷ Ed Hall writes "in growing up people learn literally thousands of spatial clues, all of which have their own meaning in their own context." ⁸⁸ Upton in the quote above feels

79 Susan Willis, "Gender as Commodity," in A Primer for Daily Life. Susan Willis, ed. (New York: Routledge, 1991), 26.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 264

⁸⁰ Kathy Merlock Jackson, "Targeting Baby-Boom Children as Consumers: Mattel Uses Television to Sell Talking Dolls." in Images of the Child. Harry Eiss, ed. (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Press, 1994).

⁸¹ Ibid., 194. Charmin' Chatty said 120 phrases.

⁸² Glassie, "Studying Material Culture Today," 263. "... the only person we can learn much about is the one who made it."

⁸³ Upton, "Form and User," 158

⁸⁴ I would add that Glassie at different points in his career changed his view on this subject.

⁸⁵ Upton, "Form and User," 166.

⁸⁶ Dell, "Form and User," 162.

⁸⁷ Glassie, "Studying Material Culture Today," 255. "The artifact is as direct an expression, as true to the mind, as dear to the soul, as language, and, what is more, it bodes forth feelings, thoughts, and experiences elusive to language."

⁸⁸ Ed Hall, The Silent Language, (Greenwich, CT: Fawecett Publications, Inc, 1959), 148

that artifacts communicate based on symbols and that these symbols are replicated. ⁸⁹ I agree with Upton that reading artifacts is an internal system. We learn to look for symbols just as designers learn to put symbols into the objects. Upton infers that this is a learned ability, whereas Glassie thinks it is innate. Perhaps for Glassie it was always apparent to him. I prefer the term spatial intelligence that Leon Van Schanik uses, yet it separates image and space. ⁹⁰ Hall writes that intelligence is marked by the person's ability to edit information and communicate, ⁹¹ and then we are back to the beginning with Glassie's metaphor to language. Arguably, a person has to have this facility it, to understand it.

Loren Lerner suggests that artifacts communicate social ideas that merely reflect society and do not undergo mediation from the individual maker. ⁹² Makers and designers, like artists, may be the last to understand their objects. However, these artifacts still convey meaning through this language of design. This is the agency of the object. I prefer Alfred Gell's definition of agency in his book, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory.* "An agent is one who 'causes events to happen' in their vicinity." ⁹³ He claims art, and more importantly in this context "things," can elicit this agency. The following authors position themselves along this continuum.

Annmarie Adams et al. compare the architectural intentions to the perceptions of the children at the SickKids hospital in Toronto. They learn that children are quite astute at reading space. In this example, we see that the architectural space is communicating its intentions to the children and that the space is a mediator. At least one child asked, "Who was the hospital designed for, children, parents or staff?" This question of for whom was raised by the children themselves. Are toy stores in a hospital really geared towards children who may not possess instruments of finance? Upton states it is style, which conveys communication cues to the users. Yet, unintended architectural items like bars in the atrium gave messages to children. The space, perhaps, is exhibiting its own agency.

Claudia Mitchell's "Provocative Images of Childhood by Children," explains Photovoice projects. The process is central to the project. The children are empowering themselves through videos, photos, and films. However, what is created from these projects is taken out of context when people view these from around the world. In contrast to documenting the sick kids' descriptions, there is no story behind these disturbing images, only the product. Thus, the images when viewed around

⁸⁹ Dell Upton, 'Material Culture Studies: A Symposium.' Material Culture. 17(2/3):85-87, 1985, 85. "All [artifacts] are part of the symbolic process that continuously recreates the world by imposing meaning and order on it."

Leon Van Schanik, Spatial intelligence: New Futures for Architecture, (Great Britain: John Wiley and Sons, 2008), 011. "And slowly we handed over to those who surveyed and observed, and to their descendants, the business of being conscious about all of this so that we could relegate our spatial awareness to the humdrum – the unselfconscious background to what seems to us the most pressing matters of everyday competition and survival."

⁹¹ Ed Hall, Beyond Culture, (New York: Anchor Books, 1976), 87.

⁹² Loren Lerner, "Introduction," in, Depicting Canada's Children, Edited Loren Lerner, ed. (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009), xvi,

Alfred Gell, Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 16. I think material culture still has much to learn from art history. I would also suggest John Berger's book Ways of Seeing and Jean Baudrillard's chapter "The Object and Its Destiny" in Fatal Strategies, which also theorize on the issues of subject / object and agency in more fluid terms.

⁹⁴ A.Adams, et al. "Kids in the Atrium: Comparing Architectural Intentions and Children's Experiences in a Pediatric Hospital Lobby." Social Science & Medicine 70, no. 5 (2010): 658-67.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 665

⁹⁶ Upton, "Form and User," 160,

⁹⁷ Claudia Mitchell, "Provocative Images of Childhood by Children: On the study of Children's Photographic, Cinematic, and other Visual Images" in Imagining the Child Symposium, (Montreal, Quebec, March 2010).

the world are seen out of context and take on an agency all their own. Mitchell compares this to Sherry Ferrell Racette's "Haunting," the images are more powerful taken out of context. ⁹⁸ "Collectively [the photos] provide a visual history of children's experiences over four generations, alternatively serving to promote, mask, conceal and reveal the realities that lay beyond the doors. ⁹⁹ The images looked like progress, but a more informed observer notices the dissension and small acts of agency the children expose in these images. In other words, the photos reveal or conceal depending on your point of view.

"The study of children and material culture straddles past and present. It is unique in having direct access to children who lived in the past through the study of their corporeal and material remains. Yet, understandings of children and childhood past are inevitably embedded within modern, Western contemporary discourse. Rather than simply replicating this discourse in studies of other communities, we need to analyse its nature and be aware of the extent to which it affects interpretations."

The artifact must be contextualized. Glassie writes, "as parts of sets, all objects exist in context. There is no such thing as an object out of context. There are objects in the right context, in which they beam meanings from others, or in the wrong context, in which their power to instruct is diminished through weak or improper association, ..." Yet, as the above quote from Joanna Sofaer Derevenski mentions, the material culture of childhood is unique in that it is simultaneously timeless and time dependent. We should understand the singular difficulties of children as subject. As I mentioned, what is important to me is making a marginalized group central to knowledge production. By highlighting the material culture of children, it brings them to the center. However, Derevenski warns that children cannot be similarly treated as other marginalized groups because a person's inclusion in this group is transitory.

In this thesis, I describe multiple artifacts within the same context. My context is a very specific period and place, yet this place metaphorically extended across the world. Each artifact conveys something slightly different to me. As well, each artifact dictates a different method to frame. It will be in this compilation of artifacts, in a gestalt way, that the experience-scape will be portrayed. Each situates Expo slightly differently, and through these multiple entry points, we will gain a more pluralistic view.

Eilers, 16

Sherry Farrell Racette, "Haunted: First Nations Children in Residential School Photography" in *Depicting Canada's Children* Loren Lemer, ed. (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009). Additionally, I find this argument similar to G.W. Sebald. He writes that images "are haunting fragments of a once familiar past that have been preserved in time and space and have thus become alienated from the self, emerging out of "nothing" as it were (Emigrants, 23; Austerlitz, 77)." In his case, he takes images and constructs stories around them.

⁹⁹ Farrell Racette, 279

Joanna Sofaer Derevenski, "Material Culture Shock: Confronting Expectations in the Material Culture of Children" in Children and Material Culture, Joanna Sofaer Derevenski, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2000), 12.

¹⁰¹ Glassie, "Studying Material Culture Today," 256.



Figure 2: child on an adult's shoulders unimpressed by the blow up of Marilyn Monroe

from Robert Fulford's Portrait de L'Expo, pg 57.

THE THEME IS MAN











Figure 3: "The Theme is Man" article

from Star Weekly. Special Issue: Expo '67. 11 February 1967, pg 13.

1.0 Childhood in Media: Man and His World, Children and Theirs

Today the theme "Man and His World" may seem antiquated and patriarchal, ¹⁰² but probably not more than any theme from its time. Expo, with the symbolic power of its media, ¹⁰³ was attempting to shift mass society's view from a consumerist to a modern-humanistic construction of society. ¹⁰⁴ Brussel's exhibition of 1958 was also humanistic, whereas the New York's World's Fair was commercially driven. ¹⁰⁵ Some argue that historically Expo was the turning point between modernism and postmodernism. ¹⁰⁶ A direct French phrase may not be so patriarchal, but I am focusing on the English version. ¹⁰⁷ The theme concerns the relationship of man ¹⁰⁸ and the world, or culture and nature. ¹⁰⁹ The Quebec pavilion interpreted the theme as, "The relationship of Man to nature." ¹¹⁰ Is it that man controls and possesses nature, or, that we can only understand the world through the frame of man. What I characterize as control of nature can also be interpreted, as Gabrielle Roy said "faith in progress," which she cites as a major component of Expo's theme. ¹¹¹

Man's world, or Man's view of the world, unifies the participants' experience. Roy describes Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's inspiration for the theme; and it reveals a longing for a shared experience among human beings. World's fairs in general "engender collective experiences, influenced urban planning, and shaped local memories and aspirations." These collective experiences reinforce a single, universal experience. Nonetheless, I claim there is not a universal experience of children at Expo. Probably then, we can say there are multiple views, most likely more than his, her, and children's worlds.

"The Theme is Man," (figure 3) man's world opposed to an unmediated view of the world. In this thesis, I privilege the marginal standpoint of children (figure 2). As the thesis title suggests, I am interested in their world. Like First Nations peoples, women's and children's views are not the default view generally depicted in this type of mass-consumable media.

107 "Terre des Hommes" may be more literally translated as the ground of men. "Man and His World" would be L'homme et son monde.

¹⁰² I make this assertion, but Kröller agrees. This is just one of her many points Kröller draws her conclusion primarily based on interpreting Saint-Exupéry's text, Man and His World that was written years before and republished by Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World's Fair. However, I provide more examples and a longer discussion then either author.

André Jansson, "Communication Clinics: Expo 67 and the Symbolic Power of Fixing Flows." in Strange Spaces: explorations into mediated obscurity André Jansson and Amanda Lagerkvist, eds. (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2009), 260. "The symbolic power of the media rests not only upon their infrastructural position as generators of deterritorializing information circuits, and their insistence on this development as essential for societal development at large."

¹⁰⁴ Pierre Dupuy, "Message from Commission General." In Expo 67: April 28-October 27, 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Official Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre

¹⁰⁵ Mattie, 228; Schuppli, Susan. "Expo 67: Take Two." Special Issue: Exposé 67 22, 2 (2004): 6-11, 7. Fulford, Remember Expo. 11-12.

¹⁰⁶ Anderson, 2.

The word man in this paper is generally lowercase. According to the Oxford English Dictionary online, one should use the capitalized version when referring to Man as all human beings. My point, however, in this essay, is to discuss the ambiguous nature of Expo's theme.

http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00300790?query_type=word&queryword=Man&first=1&max_to_show=10&sort_type=alpha&search_id=5krW-MIJ3WY-5663&result_place=3 <accessed August 2010>

¹⁰⁹ Fulford, Remember Expo, 12.

¹¹⁰ Expo 67: April 28-October 27, 1967. Guide Official. With special section on the Cenntenial Events = Expo '67: 28 Avril – 27 Octobre 1967. Guide Officiel. Montreal, 1967, 159. (after this cited as Expo '67 Official Guide, the other "Official" Guide was released a year later called: Expo 67, Man and His World, Official Guide. Montréal, 1968)

¹¹¹ Fulford, Remember Expo, 12.

¹¹² Gabrielle Roy, "Introduction" in Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, Man and his World / Terres des Hommes, (Montreal and Toronto: McLaren, Morris and Todd: Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Expo Ottawa, 1967), 22. "In truth, being made aware of our own solitude can give us insight into the solitude of others. It can even cause us to gravitate towards one another as if to lessen our distress. Without this inevitable solitude, would there be any fusion at all, any tenderness between human beings."

¹¹³ Neil Harris, "American Fairs and Civic Identity," in Civic visions, world's fairs. Benjamin Portis and Christine Dufresne, ed. (CCA, 1993), 7.

¹¹⁴ Rogers, Man and His World.

This theme, "Man and His World," allows the inclusion of all topics. It allows anyone and everything to be part of Expo, or the potential to be represented within Expo as long as it is filtered through man's gaze.

The theme, "Man and His World," was subdivided into sixteen parts. These sub-themes are depicted in detail.

They mainly start with man and use the preposition "in," the conjunction "and," and the article "the." Thus, here are outlined three distinct relationships man has with respect to the world. One such theme pavilion was "Man his Planet and Space," which is an illusion to the Space Race. At this point man has not yet conquered, or rather, explored space. The theme is ambiguous whether it is yet his space. These sub-themes focus on masculine traits such as production, creation, and exploration. One sub-theme was "Man the Producer – resources for manipulator." In this theme, there is contempt for nature. Nature is resource; nature is ours for the taking. The identity of man is dependent upon possession. "Man feels himself to be the possessor of all things, the unquestionable conqueror, and master of all of nature as if he had created it himself."

The major theme for "The International Exhibition of Photography: Camera as Witness" was structured into five subthemes in order "to make [a] coherent visual statement." They are "his environment, his nature, his problems, his work, his joys and hopes." The camera or witness, apparently, is male. The photographic content ranges considerably, from natural landscapes to starving children to elderly men playing chess in a park. This range is the underlying concept, "this theme does not imply one premise or a single process, but rather the countless facets of human life and endeavour." Bill Bantey, the Expo columnist for *The Montreal Star*, describes the exhibition as "man engaged in new forms of co-operation that transcend class and race, views him exploring new frontiers of learning: surveys his conflicts, violence, love, suffering, and labor." The theme denotes and celebrates the diversity of the world. While Bantey is optimistic, I do not view these images of suffering mixed in with luxury as human co-operation.

The Hospitality pavilion, the theme "Woman and Her World," denotes that woman is not the same as man. This pavilion is described as, "an unusual show called 'woman and her world" in which beauty and imagination come together! The charming hostesses of Expo '67 are revived in the guise of a sight-and-sound production." Woman is indeed unusual and they are easily revived by guises (read: I am unusual and I am easily restored by pretense).

Saint-Exupéry. The sixteen sub-themes are: man the creator, cont. sculpture, Industrial Design, Photography, Man the Producer – resources for manipulator, Man in controlled, Progress, Man the explorer – Man his planet and space, Man and life, Man and the oceans, Man and the polar regions, Man the provider, Man and his health, Man in the community, and Habitat '67. Please note that the "Man in Control" theme pavilion gave out stamps that had a playful question mark after the theme. And Weekly Star. Special Issue: Expo '67. Toronto: February 11, 1967, 26. featured the article

¹¹⁶ Saint-Exupéry

¹¹⁷ Ibio

¹¹⁸ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "Who is Man? The Perennial answer of Islam." in Man and His World: The Noranda Lectures. Helen S. Hogg, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 62.

¹¹⁹ International exhibition of photography: the camera as witness. (Montréal: the southam printing company limited, 1967). book designer: Paul Arthur + associates ltd, 2.

¹²⁰ Ibio

¹²¹ Bill Bantey, Bill Bantey's Expo 67. (Montreal: The Gazette Printing Company), 1967, 50.

¹²² Expo 67, Man and His World Official Guide, 1968. 53.

The logo, design by Julien Hébert, ¹²³ represents love and couples around the world, ¹²⁴ "...men-around the globe," ¹²⁵ or it could infer people of any age or orientation. ¹²⁶ Additionally it could be a sign of utopia. ¹²⁷ Usually, "the white masculine subject ... defaults to subject position of the "human," and this is certainly the case with Expo." ¹²⁸ Thus while the logo may be ambiguous, it is still a reelection of the default condition, the white male. Yet, a private pavilion dedicated to a woman's magazine was ambiguous. The Chatelaine Pavilion's theme, "Man at Home," demonstrates that woman is indeed included. ¹²⁹

Lastly, "Children's World" is the world possessed by several individuals, a world shared, expressing that children are all situated similarly. My thesis title is ambiguous since I leave out the word "world," implying either "Children in Their World" or "Children in Their Worlds." I hope the reader deconstructs the myth of a universal childhood, and believes there are children and their 'hoods.

123 Mattie, 229.

¹²⁴ Ibi

¹²⁵ Star Weekly, 4.

Morrison. The teacher says, "Children I have drawn the Expo symbol. It consists of sixteen stick-like figures with arms upraised and they are in a circular formation indicating men joining hands around the world."

¹²⁷ Kröller, 44. Kröller suggests that Expo's symbol was interpreted as a peace sign and may have established Expo as an "endorsement of world peace." Conversely, I wonder if there are some undertones from the ancient symbol of Neronic Cross or Stipe; recently its meaning has been altered with its inclusion into the peace sign. Although within the composition, the broken, upside-down cross is still present in Expo's logo. This is, perhaps, a sign or marker of Quebec's ongoing secularization.

¹²⁸ Schuppli, 7; Kröller, 41. agrees, "While Calder's "Man" and Saint-Exupery's "Terre des homes" nominally included both men and women, the emphasis was clearly on the male portion of humanity, and Saint-Exupery's vision of a legendary race of supermen contained a strong tinge of misogyny."

Rogers, Man in His World, 55. He concludes that at the Chatelaine model home the children's bedrooms were clearly gendered, while the adults were more ambiguous. "...one sees inscribed in the Chatelaine Home, as well as in the pages of Chatelaine Magazine, a rigid division of genders for children to guard against the possibility of sex-role ambiguity and its result - homosexuality."

Additionally, Expo '67: Official Guide, 192. writes that the lawn is designed to be vacuumed rather than ever be cut.



Eilers, 21

1.1 Children in Films: A Labyrinth's View of Children

Films at Expo had a huge impact on viewers. Hundreds of films were shown at Expo many of which were world premiers. Locations showing films included the Expo-Theater, Automotive Stadium, and the Labyrinth Pavilion. Outside the grounds, Place des Arts featured live performances. In this section, I focus on films made specifically for Expo. These were not traditional feature films, but experimental with both technology and themes. However, while experimenting with these new "... anti-hegemonic modes of representation – the fractured points of view provided by multi-screen threatres and mixed media[,] ... left many of the traditional hierarchies intact: [such as]... a world conquered by man. These films are not clear on children's relationship with the world. The relationship of Man and nature, and thus, children to nature was a dominant theme. The films represent children in a myriad of ways, from savages to cultured human beings.

Several films displayed the relationship between Man and nature tying into Expo's overarching theme. The Telephone Pavilion had room for 1500 people, nine screens, and a 360-degree film entitled, "Canada 67." This film was produced by the Walt Disney Corporation; strangely, it featured a natural world absent of adults or children. Man was not only exploring earth, but also altering it in the films, *Earth is Man's Home* and *Polar Life* at the Man the Explorer Pavilion.

The film, *Labyrinth*, "...is a trip through the essential part of Man's World... the imagination, the uncharted country of nightmares and daydreams. ... It's perhaps the only theme pavilion which doesn't take progress for granted, and insists on taking a personal view of Man." The Labyrinth Pavilion was near the main entrance at Cité du Havre. The building had three sequential chambers and used dark twisting ramps to disorient visitors. The patrons waited in line for up to seven hours to gain a spot in the 720-seat auditorium to see a forty-five minute film. Tpically, 7,500 people saw the films per day. The Labyrinth, "intended to bring the viewer intimate insight into the fundamental significance of Man and His World" by one man's internal journey through developmental stages. "Young people enjoyed the movie more than older people who were often somber after thinking about their advancing age. Children found the movie confusing, yet hardly anyone really understood what it was all about." The pavilion and film worked together to create a total film immersion.

¹³⁰ Expo '67: Official Guide, 227

¹³¹ Fulford, Remember Expo, 63. "All expo movies – fifty-five had them [movies] – used rarely seen or brand-new techniques to involve audiences at an extra-sensory level..."

¹³² Kröller, 38.

¹³³ Stanton, Jeffery. "Experimental Multi-Screen Cinema" http://www.westland.net/expo67/map-docs/cinema.htm accessed June 8, 2010>

¹³⁴ Sean Kelly and Ronald Wareham, Expo inside out!: a 48-page critical, selective (& unauthorized) guide to Montreal's Expo 67. Third printing. Omiscope Magazine, 22. (elipses original)

¹³⁵ Whitney, 6

¹³⁶ Shatnoff, 3

¹³⁷ Expo '67: Official Guide, 57.

Whitney, 11; Michael Windover, "Lost in the Labyrinth" in Blackflash, Special Issue: Exposé 67 22, no. 2 (2004), 18. These stages were based on Canadian psychologist Northrop Frye's seven stages of life.

¹³⁹ Stanton, Jeffery. "Experimental Multi-Screen Cinema" http://www.westland.net/expo67/map-docs/cinema.htm accessed June 8, 2010

¹⁴⁰ Whitney, 11. "A union of the latest developments in cinema technique with the arts of architecture." (Quoting the National Film Board of Canada. Feasibility Study on Labyrinth. 1964.)

producers were given control over the final architectural design. ¹⁴¹ A film critic notes this compelling relationship, "... certainly [Labyrinth] could not be called a "movie," but multiple-dimension films, multi-screen, multi-image, multi-media light and sound experiences culminating in the most ambitious architectural-film relationship of all, Labyrinth." ¹⁴² The design worked with the film to "simulate literal space."

The film also was titled *Labyrinth*. ¹⁴⁴ It was claimed to be the most ambitious film at its time. ¹⁴⁵ It was a thirty-five millimeter film shown on five screens simultaneously to form a cruciform pattern. This pattern prepares the viewer to be exposed to some religious truth. ¹⁴⁶ This film was the climax at the third and final chamber. The two previous chambers used patrons' position as a way to induce feelings of vertigo. The National Film Board commissioned the director, Roman Kroiter, to emphasize the sub-theme "Man the Hero." *Labyrinth* used footage that was already in the National Film Board archives. ¹⁴⁷

"You[, the hero,] are no longer just a splendid animal at play. You come from a long line of working-men, and if all things are not possible, you are not yet prepared to admit it." Many categories of peoples are represented, from wild to tame. Instead of showing children in all these roles, the children are shown with refined culture. Youth and childhood are constructs of more developed cultures. The movie begins with contrasting hot indigenous landscapes with cold snowy cities. The first part depicts the rough side of nature showing native culture rituals such as bathing, hunting, and drumming. We see a close up of a woman consumed with thought; then, there is a shift to a serene rural environment and the soundtrack is transformed from atmospheric sounds to music. Young boys are seen in a rural landscape posing for the camera and girls are taught ballet. In this film, children are seen as part of culture.

There were other films at Expo depicting children. A film named, *A Time to Play*, was shown on three screens at the United States Pavilion. It showed prescriptive and rehearsed performances by children. One critic writes, "Somehow, too, I got the impression that *A Time to Play* should be advertising something, perhaps milk." The movie may have been advertising the United States' way of life in its depiction of leisure. At times, the children show their natural aggressive tendencies even while under the gaze of adults. "The U.S. Movie prodded adult consciousness with multi-screen demonstration of how North American children's games reflect their parents' aggressive world" to reveal that we cannot escape replication of society – even its ills.

141 Whitney, 17

142 Shatnoff, 2.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 9. Shatnoff is referring to the first chamber, but one can apply the comment to all chambers.

¹⁴⁴ Kroitor, Roman, Hugh O'Connor, Colin Low, Tom Daly, Desmond Dew, and Canada National Film Board of. In the Labyrinth. [Montreal]: National Film Board of Canada, 2007.http://www.voutube.com/watch?v=J1BT1xt6vg8 <accessed June 8, 2010>

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 6

¹⁴⁶ Windover, 18.

¹⁴⁷ Whitney, 18.

¹⁴⁸ Whitney, Appendix A. Original voice over in Chamber I at pavilion.

¹⁴⁹ Director: Art Kane

¹⁵⁰ Shatnoff, 4.

¹⁵¹ Fulford, Remember Expo, 67

The twenty-minute film *We are Young*¹⁵² was shown on six screens at the Canadian Pacfico-Cominco Pavilion, which sat 600 people. In it, teenagers are not yet adults. The teen years are presented as extensions of childhood. Children are shown riding horses followed by boys riding horses competing against teens riding a Jeep. The boys are shown growing up without problems. The movie switches focuses to two teenage girls. These young women move to a city and try working and living like adults. However, these girls never progress. They have difficulty being functional adults in a city. By this, it hints that they are stuck as grown children, never developing past a certain point. One guidebook explains that while "all the critical cliché's apply here [in *We are Young*]: creative, colorful, exciting, moving.[,] ... we discover, [teens] are just as nice as everybody else, only better looking." Teens are adult's better-looking selves. They have the "speed" and "energy" adults wish they still had.

These films describe youth as something irrepressibly different from adulthood. Teens are not yet adults as much as they try. Children are a part of the developed world. However, they retain childlike qualities. These films show childlike qualities as between culture and nature. Castañeda explains that the child is viewed as scientific resource because he or she is representative of "human nature before culture." Similarly, in these films children are not fully indoctrinated in culture. Through these films' multiple portrayals of childhood, they relay that childhood and teenhood is not fixed but sliding towards culture and adultness. Labyrinths are commonly used as a metaphor for a child's journey to adulthood. There are many ways to get to adulthood. Just as the films depicted multiple ways of seeing childhood, they similarly conveyed through new media that multiple viewpoints could cohabit. The article entitled, "Expo '67: A Multiple Vision" refers to multiple screens and viewpoints, additionally, there were multiple representations of children. This multiplicity within a utopian vision, which we say in the themes, is also reflected in film, "A viewer simultaneously absorbs contrasts in time and location, ... yet that very simultaneity unifies these contrasts and shows them to be paradoxical."

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¹⁵² Cinematographers: Francis Thompson and Alexander Hammid

¹⁵³ Kelly, 9-10

¹⁵⁴ Shatnoff, 5.

¹⁵⁵ Castañeda, 162.

¹⁵⁶ Shatnoff, 6. "We work on both levels easily and so quickly we are hardly conscious of it, But if, instead of related parts of an action, different events are juxtaposed, the presentation of content becomes cubistic."; Fulford, Remember Expo, 60. "What cubism was to painting before the First World War, Expo Cinema was to movies. Just as Cubism forced the viewer to see the same object from several angles at once, so Expo cinema asked us to comprehend at the same time two, five, seven or even fifteen separate moving pictures."

¹⁵⁷ Shatnoff, 11.

Lyrics of "A Place to Stand"

Lyrics of "Ca-na-da" also known as the Centennial Song

"CA-NA-DA

One little, Two little, Three little Canadians.

Now we are Twenty Million

CA-NA-DA

Four little, Five little, Six little Provinces

Proud and free

Now we are ten and the Territories Sea to Sea

(refrain)

Canada we love thee

Canada proud and free

North, East South, West

There will be Happy Times

Church Bells will Ring, Ring, Ring

It's the One Hundredth Anniversary of

Confederation

Everybody, Sing Together

Canada."158

"Give us a place to stand And a place to grow

And call this land Ontario.

A place to live

For you and me

With hopes as high

As the tallest tree.

Give us a land of lakes

and a land of snow

And we will build Ontario A place to stand, a place to grow

Ontari-ari-ari-o!

From western hills,

To northern shores.

To Niagara Falls,

Where the waters roar.

Give us a land of peace,

Where the free winds blow.

And we will build Ontario A place to stand, a place to grow

Ontari-ari-ari-o!" 159

¹⁵⁸ Bobby Gimby, "Ca-na-da." Performed by the Young Canada Singers, conductors Raymond Berthiaume (English) and Laurie Bower (French). Composed by Ben McPeek. recorded at Hallmark Recording Studios in Toronto for the Centennial Commission by Quality Records Ltd. In 1971, Gimby donated all royalties to the Boy Scouts of Canada

¹⁵⁹ Richard Morris (English) and Larry Trudel (French), "A Place to Stand, A Place to Grow." Dolores Claman composed. Arc and RCA Victor labels

1.2 Children in Song: "Ca-na-da" as "A Place to Grow"

"... embedded within these assumptions [meaning the myth of childhood] is a conceptualization of the child as a potentially rather than an actuality, a becoming rather than a being: an entity in the making... a child is by definition not yet that which it alone has the capacity to become. It is in this unique capacity, in this potential, I suggest, that the child's availability – and so too its value as a cultural resource – lies." 160

Expo songs used concepts from nature, such as resource and potentiality, to characterize children. The above quote written by Castañeda is the inspiration for this analysis of songs at Expo. "Preview '67," the promotional movie for Expo, was released in the spring of 1966. It featured the song "Ca-na-da" by Bobby Gimby, which sold over 270,000 copies and 75,000 prints of sheet music. Although, the song, "Hey Friend, Say Friend" composed by Stepane Venne was the official theme song, many people remember Gimby's more vividly.

The song "Ca-na-da" relays messages about expansion and growth. The words display pride in Canadian growth; one-hundred years after its union, Canada has expanded to the west coast and has increased in population to two million. The recording "Ca-na-da" is sung by children; their hope-filled voices are ignorant of the country's past challenges and struggles. Arguably, this makes it (the song or the country) seem campy and silly. This Song was intended to unite Canadians during the centennial. ¹⁶²

The inclusion of lyrics and sheet music in the Centennial Song's album was "in the hope that Canadians of all ages from coast-to-coast will play and sing-a-long in this tribute to the Anniversary of the Confederation." Songs united Canadians, including those who could not come to Montreal, by national broadcasts on television and by lessons at school. Likewise, Expo united Canadians. At the closing ceremonies, Lester Pearson declared, "[Canadians] have discovered that we do have a quality and character of our own." Additionally, "Expo changed the meaning of the word 'Canada," from a poorly defined, "twenty million people just trying to get by," to a Canada that was fun, modern, and vibrant. As well, the provinces had not yet formed a cohesive group. Provinces were Canada's arguing children. In this family, Quebec was the odd or "queer child" according to Randall Roger.

¹⁶⁰ Castañeda, 1.

¹⁶¹ Frank Rasky, "All together now - everybody sing CA-NA-DA" The Canadian, June 10, 1967. http://expo67.ncf.ca/expo_gimby.html <accessed June 2010>

¹⁶² Back Cover of album. http://expo67.ncf.ca/expo_gimby.html <accessed June 2010>

¹⁶³ Back Cover of album. http://expo67.ncf.ca/expo_gimby.html <accessed June 2010>

^{164 &}lt;a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4vE17TazlvM&NR=1">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4vE17TazlvM&NR=1 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4vE17TazlvM&NR=1 https://watch.w

¹⁶⁵ Morrison. DVD extras show closing day ceremonies

¹⁶⁶ Fulford, Remember Expo, 27; Meidema, 114-136. "At Expo, as in the Centennial Celebrations, a federal corporation sought to present an image of Canada that erased a British-French and Christian past and that highlighted an inclusive and pluralistic present and future." Miedema, xx; Additionally, Kröller, 37 writes that critics at the Brussel's World Fair of 1958 saw Canada as "boring, melancholic or unimaginative. ...[and] simply serious."

¹⁶⁷ Morrison

¹⁶⁸ Rogers, Man in His World

divided. Canada had grown up, Expo was the "magnificent birthday party," and its citizens were left with the gift of nationalistic pride.

For children who were not allowed to go, "Expo exists for [them] only in the[ir] imagination[s], [Expo] ... passed directly from desired future to grieved past, with an empty zone between." These songs and other media depictions were the closest they got. One absent child now feels, "I completely missed out on Expo '67 ... Fortunately, because of the internet, photos, articles, books, DVDs, etc, I am able to live vicariously the experience." Other children were not yet born; however, today they experience the event vicariously. A woman writes that "I was two years too late! But I have a Expo 67 view master reel set and guide book.... long live the Ontario song! (give us a place to stand)"

The award-winning¹⁷³ movie *A Place to Stand*¹⁷⁴ showed the great geographic variety of Ontario with few words. Christopher Chapman, the director and cinematographer, claims that "to remember a single sequence is difficult, but having seen it you'd always have the sneaking belief that Ontario really is Eden." The movie, and thus Eden's, soundtrack was the song "A Place to Stand, A Place to Grow." While it does not provoke the same level of mirth as a kitsch version of "Ca-na-da" sung by present-day adults, this popular song impacts how people feel forty years later. Similar to other representations of childhood, "A Place to Stand" characterizes children with immanence, potentiality, and becomingness. This "potentiality is made and remade in particular sites." Here "sites" mean figurations of children or the allegorical myth of childhood.

Castañeda also asserts that children are a "cultural resource." The that children's potentiality is like a natural resource site. Authors, like Alena M. Buis, have suggested that children are seen similarly to raw material. Childhood and sites of natural resources both have the capacity for potential.

The song, "A Place to Stand, a Place to Grow," played at the Ontario Pavilion. This pavilion "portray[ed] Ontario through a child's eyes." Its "highly imaginative and entertaining ... character [reflects the] dynamic outlook of the province." Likewise, the song is upbeat, and optimistic. The words equate growing with consumption of the land. The land, like children, is resource, and perhaps "resources for [man the] manipulator." The children in this song grow up. Children,

¹⁶⁹ Fulford, Remember Expo, 27. (Quoted from Scala magazine, Frankfurt); Anderson, 51-55; Kröller, 36. Quoting Robert Shaw said that Canada, "reached maturity after 100 vigorous years"; Morrison "It was the coming of age no one will forget."

¹⁷⁰ Robin Metcalfe, "You are There," in Blackflash, Special Issue: Expose 67 22, no. 2 (2004): 26. (age 13 at Expo); My advisor, Annmarie Adams, was among children unable to go.

¹⁷¹ http://www.facebook.com/#//group.php?gid=2315922460&ref=ts <accessed June 2010> Username: "Stephen M. Desjardins" wrote on March 15, 2009.

¹⁷² http://www.facebook.com/#l/group.php?gid=2315922460&ref=ts <accessed June 2010> Username: "Terry Brown" wrote on November 6, 2008

¹⁷³ Fulford, Remember Expo, 69 it won Outstanding Expo Film; Morrison. It won an Osca

¹⁷⁴ Christopher Chapman. A Place to Stand [Ontario]: Technicolor the Ontario Pavilion, 1967. premiered on April 28, 1967 16 min. duration

¹⁷⁵ Fulford, remember 69

¹⁷⁶ Leslie Scrivener, "Forty years on, a song retains its standing." Toronto: The Star, April 22, 2007. http://www.thestar.com/printArticle/205867 <accessed June 2010> 50,000 copies were sold.

¹⁷⁷ Castañeda, 2

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.,

¹⁷⁹ Alena M. Buis, "The Raw Materials of Empire Building: Depicting Canada's Home Children," in *Depicting Canada's Children*, Loren Lerner, ed. (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009).

¹⁸⁰ Morris.

¹⁸¹ Expo '67: Official Guide, 158.

¹⁸² Ibid

¹⁸³ Saint-Exupéry. "Man the Producer – resources for manipulator." Was one of the sub-themes discussed earlier.

women, and men sing the refrain in parts or musical rounds. Their voices are replaced by men's and women's voices while their ideals remain the same. In the song there is a sense of entitlement; this entitlement bestows the resource that is nature from one generation to the next. Again, Castañeda reminds us "children are adults in the making ... children of today are citizens of tomorrow." Additionally, similar to the young women in *We are Young*, women in this song are represented as between children and men. The song would be different if women's voices replaced girls, and men's replaced boys.

In these songs, both children and land were highly valued by Canadians. In Ontario's song land is a potential site to grow. "Ca-na-da" conquers land from the First Nations people in order to grow in population. Children and nature are both potential resources. According to Susan Schuppli so are native bodies. She writes that "colonial exhibitions... displayed the native body as yet another primary source extracted from nature (Africa) to be molded, shaped, and to use." Additionally, she claims that their children were seen as potential laborers. Expo's The Indians of Canada Pavilion while critical of white paternalism represented First Nations children as "disadvantaged." Similarly, to First Nation children, Canadian children were seen as resource. This is not to say that seeing children in this way is necessarily harmful as resources are highly prized commodities. Lastly, learning the centennial song at school may have, like Expo, "merely [been] a manipulative form of indoctrination designed to train people to uncomplaining accept." In the properties of the

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¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Schuppli, 8.

¹⁸⁶ Schuppli, 9.

¹⁸⁷ Douglas Coupland, Blackflash, Special Issue: Expose 67 22, no. 2 (2004): 24. (age 5 at Expo) "we were paranoid, I'd say Expo 67 was merely a manipulative form of indoctrination designed to train people to uncomplaining accept the thousands of malls soon to bombard their neighbourhoods."

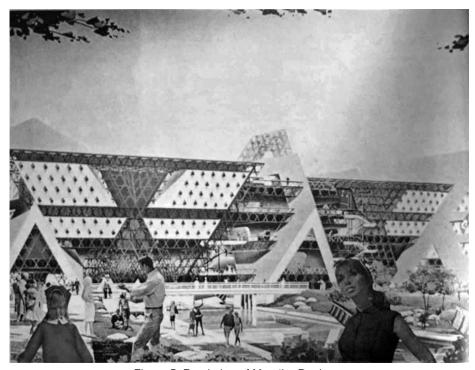


Figure 5: Rendering of Man the Producer

from L'album de l'Expo, pg 4; Star weekly, cover;

Official souvenir book, back page. (CCA, T752 1967 (ID:86-B13428)); Expo '67: Official Guide, pg 58.

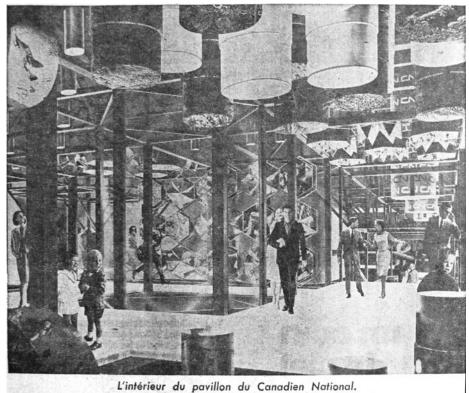


Figure 6: Interior rendering of Canadian National Railroad (C.N.R.) Pavilion

from Voici la Terre des Hommes : un guide pour ceux qui seront au rendez-vous de l'Expo 67, pg 17.

(CCA, T752 (ID:92-B239))

1.3 Children in Image: Children and Adults in Perspective

Architectural renderings and models are important visualization devices. They communicate the finished result to the public to gain public support. Expo is no exception. "In the beginning Expo was 10 percent engineering and 90 percent marketing." These models and renderings were shown in guides, magazines, television spots, and advertisements. If we look closely, we can see the country's or company's desires for self-representation. Subsequently, this essay reveals how people within renderings are characterized. In these renderings, children are routinely depicted next to adults.

Children are smaller, accompanied by (many times holding hands with) an adult, and not facing the camera. These three criteria depicting children are telling of how architects view children in their work. Children are smaller people, are dependent upon older, and are not yet subjects. In the majority of mass-reproduced renderings, one cannot know child from adult or visa versa without the presence of both. As many researchers note, the child-adult relationship is key to understanding how our society divides and separates these categories. Possibly, these superficial depictions of children do not highlight their differences, but make childhood universal and affirm that children are viewed as extensions of their parents.

The renderings of Man the Producer (figure 5) and The Canadian National Railroad Pavilion (figure 6) introduce a host of topics. The designer has photo-collaged in people from magazines. This is a rare instance where people become knowing subjects within the architect's representation. Ironically, at Man the Producer a woman occupies the foreground. Similar to Gagnon's argument, the adults are facing the camera and the children are looking at their adult companions or at the pavilion. Perhaps these knowing subjects made them so popular. These images were reproduced in multiple sources, such as souvenir books, popular magazines, and guidebooks.

Clothes are important too. At Man the Producer the clothes are identifiably from the 1960s. In the other renderings, clothes are timeless. The major exception being the C.N.R. Pavilion rendering (figure 6) that shows a woman dressed from the 1950s with high waists and heels. Viewers were to associate this company with the not-so-distant past. Additionally the people are much more dressed up here. Men are is suits; in contrast, at Man the Producer the man in the foreground is wearing a open-collared button down shirt with the sleeves rolled up and tan twill pants. People at Man the Producer are relaxed. At the C.N.R. Pavilion they are in a rush to be somewhere, except for the children. They are laughing and gawking at the sight.

Rarely, children are represented unaccompanied, except at the C.N.R. Pavilion (figure 14) and the Operations Control Center. ¹⁹¹ At the Operations Control Center, a space presumably for adults, three children are shown as secondary

¹⁸⁸ Morrison

¹⁸⁹ Claudia Mitchell and Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, Researching Children's Popular Culture: The Cultural Spaces of Childhood, (New York: Routledge, 2002), 2.

¹⁹⁰ Katz

¹⁹¹ Expo 67: Official Guide, 254.

subjects. They appear to be by themselves. This may have been true at Expo. Many children were allowed to roam independently given either the boundary of La Ronde or that of one of the geographically bounded islands. ¹⁹² In addition, renderings of structures within La Ronde show many more children than adults; this suggests that not all these children's parents are nearby. The degree of freedom relied upon your age and sex. ¹⁹³ The popularity of images were of the theme pavilions such as Man in the Producer (figure 7) and Man the Explorer ¹⁹⁴ may reflect a more accurate picture of reality contrary to those of the remaining renderings.

¹⁹² Participant #4. Correspondence via email by author. July 30, 2010. (female, age 10 at Expo)

Participant #4. Correspondence via email by author. July 30, 2010. (female, age 10 at Expo) "Most of the time the younger kids stayed in a group with the adults, the teens (all boys) could go off on their own. One cousin was about 13 and a few times he took us smaller kids and we did stuff separate from the adults,"; http://www.facebook.com/#l/group.php?gid=2315922460&ref=ts <accessed June 2010> Username: "Anna Hofmann Powell" wrote on March 1, 2009. "I was 11 years old and we would set off from the Boy Scout pavilion and meet back there at the end of the day. My mother gave us each \$1 for the day and off we went our separate ways. I remember waiting in lines forever and when it... would get too hot, I would ride in the trains."

Gladstone, backcover; Metcalfe, 27; Expo 67: Official Guide, 46; Collectible, CCA, T752.L2 E91 1963



Figure 7: Photograph of earthware teapot and wooden cups from the U.S.S.R. pavilion from Participant #4. Photographed July 22, 2010, used with permission

"I got a few souvenirs. My "prize possession" is a wooden container thing I got at the USSR pavilion [figure 7]. It has a small tea set inside. I still have it--it is on my dresser. I also have a small gilt elephant container from the India Pavilion. Each member of my immediate family got the Expo "leaf" button, but I think only one has survived."

¹⁹⁵ Participant #4. Interview via email by author. July 30, 2010. (female, age 10 at Expo) (quotations original); Expo '67: Official Guide, 226. "The young set will pull for the wonderful earthenware toys brought to Expo from Dymkovo in the U.S.S.R. These toys have won a host of prizes at international exhibitions."

2.0 Children's Souvenirs: Representations of Place

Souvenirs, like the wooden tea set from the U.S.S.R. pavilion (figure 7), became take-away items that held memories of each pavilion. These memories correspond to space and the representation of countries within the compressed space of the Saint Lawrence River. The collapse of space at Expo was made possible through the power of symbolic culture, the technology of travel, and communication. "The compression of time and space presented in these contexts [world's exhibitions] contribute to defamiliarizing visitors from their everyday sense of orientation, requiring them to learn new ways of looking at, and interacting with the exhibition architecture." For this and other reasons, Expo became a magical and unique experience-scape. The following memory of an eleven-year old girl alludes to the compression of space and the defamiliarization of the future, where visitors could no longer interpret the architecture.

"The world as a model global village, clean and presentable, appeared easily accessible. Roads ready and waiting lead everywhere, while I, grasping my passport like a key, eagerly waited my turn to journey into each nation's miniature version of itself, looking back, I wonder where were the people prescient enough to read this theme park of the future as an ad for social and environmental ruination." ¹⁹⁸

Visitors, much like the girl above, say they were inspired to travel because of Expo. For her the key unlocked the world and the possibility of travel. For many children, Expo was their first introduction to other countries, and in their adult lives, they also rushed to get their real passports stamped. Those traveling to Expo were inspired to relocate. A German man recounts that it was his inspiration to immigrate, Expo was like a trip around the world.... we decided at Expo we'd like to immigrate to Canada... and that's what we did. Additionally this event was a catalyst for life-change events. A college student decided to change her career path, I remember standing in the bright light, and thinking I am in the wrong field, I am going to go to film school. I owe that to one day at Expo. Some cite Expo as inspiration to become designers. A teen in his final year of high school said that at his ten-year college reunion (from his architecture degree), many were still speaking about Expo. In addition, a ten-year old said, "most of us were used to "suburbs architecture" It was a shock. It influenced the way we designed chairs, furniture I bet tons of design students were really inspired by this. Expo affected people's lives in numerous ways.

¹⁹⁶ Ylva Habel, "Female Spectorial Gaze" in Strange Spaces: Explorations into Mediated Obsqurity, André Jansson and Amanda Lagerkvist, eds. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 123

¹⁹⁷ Jansson, "Encapsulations."

¹⁹⁸ Brydon, Anne. "Lookin' Good" Blackflash, Special Issue: Expose 67 22, no. 2 (2004): 22. (age 11 at Expo).

Morrison – Interview "the idea we'd go to all these places and get stamps, well most of us had never been to all these places. And loved all those places and said i'm gonna go to all those places in the world. So you see in the late 60s and early 70s students going off to Europe backpacking and so on. To actually see the places that they first may have been introduced to when they went to Expo '67"

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid. Courtney Mills interview

Participant #3. Interviewed by author. Montreal, QC, May 26, 2010 (male, age 16 at Expo)

²⁰³ Anderson, 52. Quoting "(Participant # 42, 10-year boy. Francophone from Montreal.)"; Anderson, 53. The authors write that the "creative bug" of design and architecture were listed 4 times by anglo-and franophones of 25 participants.

Expo remains a significant event in people's lives. "I was five years old when I went to Expo '67, and for some reason that's become a significant claim in my life." Comically, but truthfully, in popular media almost forty-years later a husband reassures his wife that her life is complete by saying, "Oh honey, her life cannot compete with yours. You've got three kids, a TV tray from Expo '67, and you're married to king sting [meaning himself]." In addition, of course, Montreal newspapers are still churning out a story or two about Expo every year.

Exotic places and countries were brought to Canada and Canadians. One man mentions that waiting in line was not so bad, because you could talk to people in line and learn about exotic cultures. These exotic visitors contribute to Expo's Magic. A hostess at Expo, recollects that, "you felt like the whole world had an appointment with you. In your own living room, in your own backyard. You were happy to see them there. I felt an immense sense of pride. And magic was there. This demonstrates that the birthday party called Expo was not only about showing off Canada to the world, but about bringing the world to Canada's backyard. Almost a third of the visitors were from Montreal. A reporter for the *Montreal Star* wrote, that pretty well sums up the magic of Expo to Montrealers. It belongs to us. Not to "us" as a city, a province, or even all of Canada, but to each one of us personally. And it makes us proud to think that way. Expo became theirs. Although born too late one woman declares, "I love MY Expo 67."

Expo used the guise of education to help market its souvenirs. It collapsed the space between countries into islands within the Saint Lawrence. Items such as spinning games, 213 coasters, 214 bottle caps, 215 ashtrays, 216 and television trays 217 represented pavilions as separate pieces to collect. Contrary to how children saw these items, which is discussed in the following section, many of these items represented countries as equal. Much of this research is indebted to the Canadian Centre or Architecture's 2005 exhibit, "Not just a Souvenir" whose graphic (figure 1) has greatly shaped this thesis. Through the examination of theme parks, Gary Cross and John Walton suggest in their book, *The Playful Crowd*, that there was a move towards the representation of place and education. These place representations were iconic of real places such as Paris' Eiffel Tower, or imagined places like Disney's Main Street U.S.A. that depicts an ideal small-town. While Expo used education as the backbone of its marketing, it used very little in terms of these place representations (iconic and imagined)

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²⁰⁴ Christopher Lefler, "The People Tree: A Portrait of Photography: A Portrait of Photography in 1967," Blackflash special Issue: Expose 67 22, no. 2 (2004): 29.

²⁰⁵ Nastuk, Matthew. "She Used to Be My Girl." In The Simpsons, edited by Tlm Long, 20min. U.S.A.: 20th Century Fox, 05 December 2004. Production code FABF22.

²⁰⁶ Check the Gazette website

²⁰⁷ Morrison

²⁰⁸ Gladstone, Gerald. L'album de l'Expo. Montréal : La Presse, 1967.

²⁰⁹ Morrison. Interviewing Colette Locus

²¹⁰ General report on the 1967 World Exhibition / presented by the Canadian Corporation for the 1967 World Exhibition, Montreal, Canada. Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1969. (27 percent)

²¹¹ Jansson, "Communication Clinics," 242. (original in *Montreal Star.* by Fred Edge)

²¹² http://www.facebook.com/#l/group.php?gid=2315922460&ref=ts <accessed June 2010> Username: "Terry Brown" wrote on November 6, 2008. (Capitalizing MY is not original)

²¹³ Ephemeral, CCA, T752.L1 1963 (box 1 of 3) All the national pavilions

²¹⁴ Collectible, CCA T752 ID:92-F45 (box 1 of 2) All the national pavilions

²¹⁵ Ibid. (box 2 of 2) Probably the largest variety. National, theme and commercial pavilions. Plus structures from La Ronde.

²¹⁶ Collectable, CCA, T752.L2 .E9 1963. These focused only on Quebec and the US pavilions

²¹⁷ Collectible, CCA, Call No.: T752.L2 E91 1963. (boxes 1-4). These focus on Canada and theme pavilions

²¹⁸ Gary S. Cross and John K. Walton. The Playful Crowd: Pleasure Places in the Twentieth Century. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005)

and allowed countries to represent their unique cultures through self-auditing.

Countries' Expo pavilions were self-auditing. They only exposed their best fronts, so "Canada never looked so good before. We'd like to live in that country, wherever it is,"219 and may or may not have been accurate representations. The Ceylon Pavilion served tea. The Australian pavilion featured a "Kangaroo enclosure." The United States Pavilion was popular for its display of pop or mass culture. Similarly, in this world of fairs, corporations were treated like countries. As stated in the introduction, this consumerism was perhaps less pervasive than at New York's 1964 World's Fair. Twenty-seven percent of the pavilions were company sponsored in New York, compared to ten percent in Montreal. Each artificial construction of place became the visitor's iconic representation of that country. This idea is political and is echoed in the following statement by Fulford:

"A world's fair in the 1960s is a place to display images as well as facts. No one building can tell you all about a society, but it can tell you how a people – or their leaders – want their society to appear. ... Expo was not, perhaps, always an accurate reflection of Man and His World. Bent on image building, the peoples presented themselves as they'd like others to see them."

One example of a country's failed ability to self-audit is the United States Pavilion. However, this process made neither citizens nor politicians happy. One citizen is quoted as saying, "please change the U.S. pavilion at Expo '67. It is utterly terrible. Is the U.S. known for... Raggedy Ann dolls and Hollywood? We are known for our great power and scientific knowledge." Politicians were also disappointed, "[A g]overnor ... denounced it: "It was pretty on the outside, ... but full of trivia on the inside. When you go through it on the minirail all you see is blown-up pictures of Hollywood actors and actresses. I was bitterly disappointed." In addition, the U.S. was known for shopping. The world's longest escalator made the interior, designed by the Cambridge Seven, feel like "an especially dramatic shopping mall." As earlier described in A Time to Play the U.S. was seen as selling something, perhaps its mass-culture lifestyle.

The representation of consumerism and Hollywood may reveal the lack of other content in United States' culture.

Perhaps, the other countries saw beyond the content itself and understood the ideal put forth in the concept of mass culture.

The U.S.S.R. was critical of this view of culture. One newspaper called Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome the "frivolous American bubble."

Expo marketing, lead by Yves Jasmin, knew this rivalry too well and the United States' ad campaigns

220 Morrison

²¹⁹ Kelly, 8.

²²¹ Kalin, 135.

²²² Mattie, 228.

²²³ My own calculation. I'm not counting private pavilions run by organizations.

²²⁴ Fulford, Remember Expo, 105-106

Jack Masey and Conway Lloyd Morgan. Cold War confrontations: US exhibitions and their role in the cultural Cold War. (Baden, Switzerland: Lars Müller, 2008). (quoted from Letter to NY Daily News); Jonathan Massey, "Buckminster Fuller's Cybernetic Pastoral: the United States Pavilion at Expo 67," The Journal of Architecture 4, 11 (2006): 463-483.

²²⁶ Fulford, Remember Expo, 41 (George Romney of Michigan); Kröller, 37 (quoting Fulford)

²²⁷ Massey, 479.

²²⁸ Fulford, Remember Expo, 26

exploited the Cold War to generate tourists.²²⁹ Although Expo organizers encouraged this rivalry, they "made a deliberate point that their event would not be a showcase for what they described as 'cold technology'."²³⁰ Despite displeasing citizens and politicians of the United States, this pavilion was quite popular with tourists and became one of the most iconic structures of the fair being the "most admired, discussed, and depicted."²³¹ Additionally, I would say Moshie Safdie's Habitation '67 was close second.²³²

While there are separate pavilions for different nations, the areas for children are condensed and not individually separated. There were, of course, exceptions, the Vienna Kindergarten Pavilion and the Children's Creative Centre at the Canadian Pavilion, but there were no nationalistic restrictions for these children. Although one could assume that since children became the objects of display, their behavior reflected visitors' views of these places. The universal child is what is communicated. Children were a separate category. The universal child, assumed to be a white male, continues to be an issue. From my research, it is hard to determine exactly how many non-white children attended Expo. I did not see many in photographs, what I did see was many female children. Therefore, childhood had its own culture different from country representations.

In the subsequent sections, I look at souvenirs or "debris from another world." The agency of Expo artifacts dictates to the spectator what is important to remember. These objects instill the concept that each pavilion represented a very different place within a compressed space. As we see in the opening quote, children link artifacts to memories, and both are displayed prominently still today. Memory is concretized by artifacts; "direct experience seems less real than reconstituted ones. Artifacts can appear to have greater substance and personality than do live human beings." Memory assists in identity creation and childhood memories shape our personalities. Studying artifacts and their associated memories discloses that people actively use items to reconstitute memory. For some, artifacts such as the tea set (figure 7) and photos trigger a forgotten memory. These artifacts work as memory aids when reliving the experience of Expo.

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Morrison – Interview. "Look what the Russians are building, just 40 miles from the U.S.A. As an American, you should look into it." This type of advertising and New York City's Macy's department store's touring model of Expo was crucial in getting the United States audience interested in visiting Expo. This pavilion was cited as one of the first to see in my personal interview with a young United States citizen girl at the time.

²³⁰ Matie, 228

²³¹ Jansson "Encapsulations." 418

²³² Zevi. Habitat '67 is the building that will last like the Eiffel Tower, the iconic of the Exhibition at large; Pierre Berton, 1967: The Last Good Year. (Toronto: Double Day Canada Limited, 1997), 265.

²³³ Castañeda, 42; Lacy Hosey, "Hidden Lines: Gender, Race, and the Body in Graphic Standards." Journal of Architectural Education. November 2001, vol 55 no. 2. 101-112.

²³⁴ Lefler, 29

Tuan, 464. Additionally, asserts that photographs have less power to reify memory than literary sources. Tuan defines reify as to recall memory but also confirm that the memory is real (470).

³⁶ Ibid., 469; Gillis, "Epilogue," 318.

Participant #4. Correspondence via email by author. July 30, 2010. female, age 10 at Expo) "Before I started writing this, I thought I had pretty strong memories. But then I looked at some photos and read some web pages and I had a lot of "wow....I forgot about THAT."

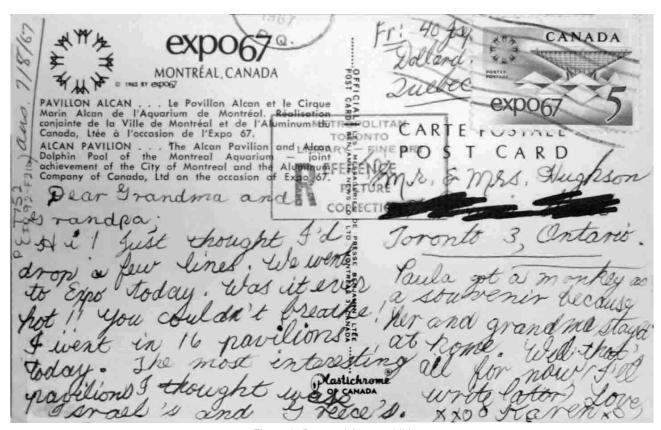


Figure 8: Postcard from a child

from CCA's archives. 43 postcards T752 (ID:92-F210)

"Dear Grandma and Grandpa;

Hi! I just thought I'd drop a few lines. We went to Expo today. Was it ever hot!! You couldn't breathe! I went in 16 pavilions today. The most interesting pavilions I thought were Israel's and Greece's. Paula got a monkey as a souvenir because her and grandma stayed at home. Well that's all for now. I'll write later. Love,

xxoo Karen xo"

2.1 Postcards from Children: Collecting Memory

"Postcards are striking examples of how mass-produced objects are appropriated and personalized, as each scribbled or beautifully cursive mark on the surface of the purchased item is the inscription of subjectivity, and a way of anchoring that object to a distinct time and place. ... Postcards are literally set in motion: addressed and mailed, they describe trajectories between people and through social space; as 'moving images' of a kind they were therefore part of a dynamic visual culture of the period."

Postcards, perhaps, are overlooked in material culture research despite their popularity starting at the turn of the 20th century. They are easily consumable mass produced images. Postcards are both cheap souvenirs and quick communication media. Postcards are snippets of memories as they occurred. Despite the absence of children depicted in these postcards, they play a large role as cultural artifacts influencing memory and how one constructs place in memory. The postcards tell us what was important to these individuals at the time. Most Expo postcard writers were aware of their surroundings.

Appendix A is an accumulation of postcards from Expo. These postcards were eleven by nine centimeters and produced by Plastichrome. This company produced over one-hundred different designs featuring Expo themes. Many feature architectural models. There are also designs that show the completed structures and site before Expo was open to visitors. The images show very few people at the site and are described as "general views" on the reverse side of the postcard. Proportionally, the fronts are landscapes except for a few exceptions, such as the postcard depicting Ethiopia. The landscapes are either aerials or taken above the average person's height; this makes them convey a sense of ownership of the space. The sparseness of people sends this message of ownership and conquest as well. The postcards must have seemed to be a stark contrast to the crowded conditions as Ed notes (Appendix A-5). This reinforces the theme "Man and His World" as characterizing our possession and influence over the fair grounds. Unique to the postcards, and the following ephemeral items, is that Expo was egalitarian - everyone could afford a small bit of it. These items make all of Expo available for mass consumption. Postcards make travel seem possible. It is within reach of the person sending it to you, and beckons you to come as well (Appendix A-3). This was in part a marketing strategy, David Anderson and Gosselin, Viviane argue that "visitors' agency continued in the way visitors remembered and shared their experience of Expo with others."

Johanna Sloan's argument is very similar to mine. She writes, "Thus the hybridized space [similar to Soja's Thirdspace] of these postcards stages a productive encounter between the sublimity of nature and the promises of a modern, technological world, between interior and exterior realms, between collective life and subjective experience." Although she does not analyze the messages inscribed on the postcards. These postcards from Expo express more than what is in the visual images. The handwritten messages add meaning as well. I attempted to determine the age of the person writing the

²³⁸ Johanna Sloan, "Modern Moon Rising" in Strange Spaces: Explorations into Mediated Obscurity. André Jansson and Amanda Lagerkvist, eds. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2009), 283.

²³⁹ Anderson, 50

²⁴⁰ Sloan, 293.

postcard by looking at handwriting, the person(s) addressed (if addressed as a family relative), content, and grammar. Ideally, the postcards are a chain between two people, but these are just fragments of conversations the nuances of which are lost. There is a snippet of two young women teasing one another, contrasting communism and short skirts (see Appendix A-4). 241 Perhaps, with Peter's postcard he is fueling the rivalry between Toronto and Montreal (see Appendix A-1).

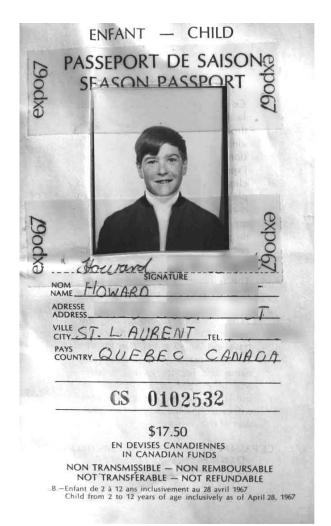
These postcards, or P.C.s as one writer abbreviates (Appendix A-3), are communicating the salient qualities of Expo to someone not there. Many also tell a story linking the photo on the postcard to something they saw. Karen, however, does not do this. She thinks Greece and Israel's pavilions were the most interesting, yet she decides to send a postcard of the Alcan Dolphin Pavilion (figure 8), which she says nothing about. Steven ranks the pavilions too; he declares that the U.S.S.R. is his favorite to his friend in Connecticut (Appendix A-2). These messages demonstrate that children were interested in ranking the pavilions. They order the pavilions as if Expo was a competition between nations. They did not see all Pavilions, and thus countries equally. On the other hand, in souvenirs such as spin dials, bottle caps, and coasters there is equality among nations. Nations are represented as non-hierarchial; each was given the same amount of space. These postcards reveal that visitors' conceptions were not influenced by these souvenirs, but by the politics that underpinned the architectural spaces and cultural exhibits. Karen and others declare which pavilions are their favorites (figure 8) and tell their friends, contrary to depictions in souvenirs, that at Expo not all pavilions are equal.

These postcards reveal the importance of seeing as many pavilions as possible and the collection of souvenirs. Both aspects I write about more in the following sections. Recent interpretations of Expo, such as Blackflash's 2004 issue featuring Expo, 242 have recognized the importance of these postcards. On the back cover of the issue, there are four postcards with scenes from the island as it was in 2004. The scenes show St Helen's island with most of the pavilions removed. They are blank and have perforations so that you can easily send one. As Johanna Sloan suggests, postcard souvenirs are "set in motion" and travel through time. 243 The postcards from Expo are the past communicating to the present.

See also "Miniskirts Mix with Tradition at Britain's Bold Entry for Expo." Globe and Mail. 22 April 1967. 11.

²⁴² Susan Shuppil, "Former Expo 67 Site (2003)" Blackflash Special Issue: Exposé 67 22, 2 (2004): backcover

²⁴³



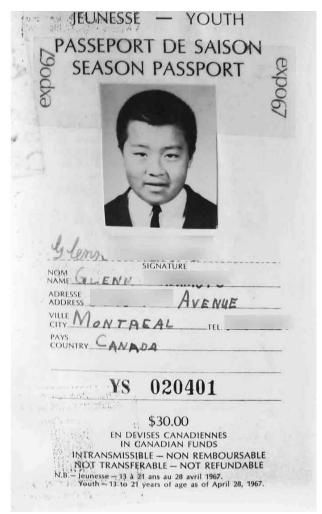


Figure 9 & 10: Passports

from CCA T752 1967 (ID:91-B2866), and author's personal collection

(sensitive information has been removed)

"For me, a geeky eleven-year-old from a Toronto suburb, Expo '67 was initially all about stamps ... My two visits to Expo '67 started out as scavenger hunts, with the objective of acquiring as many pavilion stamps as possible ... By the end of the five days at Expo, I began to realize that there was more to the experience than just stamps and much, much more to the world than my parents' house and garden in suburban Toronto."

²⁴⁴ Tom Pinos, "Memories" Blackflash Special Issue: Exposé 67 22, 2 (2004): 45. (age 11 at Expo)

2.2 Child to Youth Passports: Varying Degrees of Culture

There were three passports and three different types of people. Children, youth, and adult passports were red, white, and blue respectively. Even people who did not have passports used other things, such as Guidebooks, as passports. Tickets that looked like passports were an idea initiated for Expo '67; and the passports continue today, with the release of Shanghai passports. Yves Jasmin, who worked on marketing for Expo, comments that, "the passports were an extraordinary work. ...

The attraction of a permanent passport that encouraged people to use it many times, to visit Expo often, to collect autographs and pavilions' stamps, to visit all places, to spend time at the location and to keep the passport as a souvenir of the Expo."

The passports encouraged children aged nine or ten to collect.²⁴⁶ The site of Expo became, much like a scavenger hunt, an area for children to collect souvenirs and other ephemeral artifacts. For children, Expo was a game of collecting experiences. One parent recalls that, "my kids loved it. They went down almost every other day and had their passports stamped eventually at every single venue that was giving a stamp."²⁴⁷ Passports also worked as memory aids, "I could name every pavilion there. It was one of the most fascinating experiences in my life. I loved it, loved it, loved it."²⁴⁸ These aids remained preserved by the "... hundreds of people have their passports tucked away."

In this section, I compare two passports. The first is a youth passport owned by Glenn (figure 9) who lived in Montreal. The second is a child's passport used by Howard (figure 10) from St. Laurent, Quebec. The passport creators designated people under two as not needing a passport, between two and twelve as being a child, between thirteen and twenty-one as a youth, and over twenty-one as an adult. The children's passport at 15.00 was substantially less expensive compared to 30.00 for a youth and 35.00 for an adult. This price, relative to the purchase price for weekly tickets, made purchasing a passport only financially sound when attending Expo for three or more weeks.

The most striking difference between the passports is that Howard did not see as many pavilions as Glenn.

Additionally, Howard sometimes received stamps two or three times for the same pavilion. Initially, I assumed the "game" of collecting stamps would be enough for a child to run through every pavilion, just to get the stamp. In actuality, the youth is more entertained by this game. I infer that the varying degrees of fondness for this collecting relates to the person's indoctrination into culture. The Howard and Glen are at different stages of becoming a fully cultured adult. The virtue of collecting is not innate, but a learned value.

In addition to the process Expo stamps and passports dictate, the stamps are fascinating. Almost all of the stamps have the pavilion's name as text and sometimes the theme. The Canadian Broadcasting Company is an exception to this;

²⁴⁵ Jasmin, 248. (my translation)

²⁴⁶ Cindi Katz, "Childhood as Spectacle: Relays of Anxiety and the Refiguration of the Child." Cultural Geographies 15 (2008): 5-17; Castañeda.

²⁴⁷ Morrison

ttp://www.facebook.com/#//group.php?gid=2315922460&ref=ts <accessed June 2010> Username: "Sally Lynn Harris" wrote on October 17, 2009. (age 9 at Expo)

²⁴⁹ Morrison

²⁵⁰ Expo '67: Official Guide.

they assumed everyone knew their logo. Some countries, such as Australia, Canada, Japan, Monaco, and Switzerland featured the date and time of visit. If every pavilion had incorporated the date and time, it would be possible to track a visitor's path through the site. The countries all knew a stamp would be needed at their pavilions. Some provided not a stamp or seal with ink, but a stamp more similar to a sticker or postage stamp. This miscommunication was largely with countries such as Barbados, Ethiopia, and Guyana who gave these more expensive tokens. Stamping reinforced this intended metaphor for travel and helped to create individual identities for each country or pavilion.

Some visitors used other souvenirs to collect stamps. My personal copy of the *Official Guide* was used similarly to a passport. Stamps placed on top of the French descriptions of the pavilions. This mediates a different experience than the people who used their passports. The owner most likely had a passport. He or she must have visited Expo very frequently to see the range of pavilions stamped in this guidebook. Moreover, this individual even listed the ships and pavilions on the back cover whose descriptions failed to make it into the *Expo 67: Official Guide*. From the flowery handwriting, I would suspect this is a young girl, not unlike Karen's handwriting in the previous section. Stamping the guidebook is a more mediated and focused method to explore the Expo site than stamping the passport. Additionally, by stamping the guidebook it is far easier to tell which pavilions were omitted from the visitor's experience.



Figure 11: Hostesses with M. Roger D. Landry from Yves Jasmin's *Le Petit Historie D'Expo '67*, pg 119.



Figure 12: Woman in front of The People Tree, oblivious of her soundings, her experience is mediated through the guidebook. from *Architecture and sculpture in Canada: Canadian Government Pavilion.* (CCA archives T752 1967 (ID:86-B5126))

"For visiting our exhibition, the ideal would be to do so accompanied by one of our hostesses; this however, is unfortunately not possible. ... But this guide that we have put together is – minus a smile – as precious a companion; first during the visit, and then recalling what will have been understood and admired." ²⁵¹

2.3 Women and Children, Guides and Guidebooks: Explorations on the Mediation of the Other

For many tourists, memories are mediated by guides and guidebooks. The beautiful hostesses' guiding crowds remains a strong memory. Other spectators, like the woman in figure 11, depended heavily on guidebooks, in which "... the mediation of language is what opens us to the space and time of the Other." The Other, traditionally meaning a marginalized group, in this photographed is reversed. Subsequently, I study the sections of guidebooks that were intended for marginalized groups, in this case women and children, and analyze the language that was mediated by the non-marginalized, in this instance men. In essence, this woman has access to the space and time of men.

Hostess positions were prestigious summer jobs for young women in college, as advertised they "must be between 20 and 35, physically fit, intelligent, attractive, neat and pleasant, of good character, Canadian citizen ... and preferably single." These were smart women; they were required to attend college or to have finished college. "Some 250 attractive hostesses and guides are available to welcome, direct, and escort visitors. They wear smart and distinctive uniforms specially designed for Expo. In addition, 30 male guides are on duty. This is in addition to the guide and hostess services provided by individual pavilions. Obtaining a position, presumably, was highly dependent on the young woman's beauty; Pearson said in opening day ceremonies that, "there are fifteen hundred hostesses on the site. Everywhere you turn your head there is beauty." After a woman got the position, the scrutiny did not end; one hostess remembers, "... the training was very intensive. We had three weeks of training from nine in the morning till six at night. We had makeup training, for example in the sixties, the eyeliner was important; it was a very thick line around here. And we had to apply it."

Guidebooks used antiquated language and stereotypical, binary depictions with little social commentary. Of course, these were products of their time. Robert Fulford writes, "his and her sculptures from France. ... symbolize passive female; the motor-driven clanking machines represented active male." Under the best and worst places, there was a category for "girl watching," but no equivalent for boy watching. In guidebook literature, children are sometimes referred to as "the young set," "junior family members," and all are referred to with the masculine pronoun.

In guidebooks there are separate sections for women and children. "When subjects researched were of interest to

Eilers, 44

²⁵¹ Dupuy, "Message from Comission General," 1.

²⁵² André Nusselder. Interface Fantasy: A Lacanian Cyborg Ontology. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009), 62

²⁵³ Anderson, 48-49. Relay's memories of the Other in terms of different cultures / countries

²⁵⁴ Kröller, 42. (newspaper advertisement titled: "Expo Seeks 225 Billingual Canadian Women." Globe and Mail.)

²⁵⁵ Expo '67: Official Guide, 77.

²⁵⁶ Morrison. Extras include speech on opening day ceremonies.

²⁵⁷ Morrison. Interview with Colette Locus

²⁵⁸ Fulford, Remember Expo, 124.

²⁵⁹ Kelly, 46

women (children, fashion, shopping, etc.), women did the research."²⁶⁰Apparently, they were not smart enough to do the writing. There are no separate suggestions for men, so we must assume that the remaining guide is for them. This reinforces the existing concept of otherness for these groups. The magazine features a whole section "With Children in Mind: Pavilions and places you both can enjoy."²⁶¹ The conclusion suggests that while your children will be busy enjoying, you can take a break. The adult's enjoyment is the break. La Ronde is "a peaceful respite for parents" and at the Garden of the Stars Theatre the "seats are comfortable [and] ... you can smoke a cigarette." 262

Many promotional materials focus on money. They ask directly, at ""WHAT PRICE EXPO? Expo is for free. Expo costs a fortune. Expo is really very reasonable. All true. After you've bought your passport the best things, as in life, are free. ... Now, if you will be so kind as to direct us to debtor's prison." The article implies that at Expo you can spend a lot or be thrifty. These articles are geared towards women. Women are seen as the family member responsible for budget and who dictates activities for the family. Even the vacation becomes work for the mother. Most guides give descriptions of pavilions, prices, and attractions at the pavilion. Chatelaine magazine mapped out "10-dollar-a-day" itineraries for visiting Expo, but this is hardly an accomplishment; according to Life Magazine, the average visitor spent five-dollars a day. 264 The guide, Expo Inside Out, suggests bringing lunch and only buying one meal. 265 It also presents many day-guides for various types of groups. Such groups are a family, two couples, or four adults. This guide tries to alleviate this work by providing plans for a day at Expo. If no one made a plan, "the Expo visitor spends half his [or her] time in cues, a quarter actually looking at things, and the other quarter getting from place to place." Often visitors remembered these long lines. In the following quote, a woman recalls that her whole family drove from Wisconsin. Expo was a family affair and planned months in advance with the help of guidebooks. The magazines' focus on affordable accommodations and travel were also a large part of this family's concerns. Contrary to the magazines' expectations, in this case much of the planning was done by men in the family.

"I remember in the late winter that year--February or March--there was a big planning session at my house. The table was full of maps and guide books and my dad and uncle plotted the course for us to take. We lived in Wisconsin and planned to drive there in two cars and camp out along the way."268

260

261

Ibid., 22

Ibid., 3.

²⁶²

Life magazine, Special Issue: Tomorrow Soars in at the Fair Expo '67 vol 62, no 17. April 28th 1967

Kelly; Participant #4. Correspondence via email by author. July 30, 2010. (female, age 10 at Expo) 265

²⁶⁶ Morrison

Morrison. Interviewee (young male at Expo) said he didn't mind because of other cultures; Postcards in Appendix A-5 & A-6; Stanton, Jeffery. "Experimental Multi-Screen Cinema" <http://www.westland.net/expo67/map-docs/cinema.htm> <accessed June 8. 2010> "The lines for this movie [Labvrinth] were often tow, three, even four hours long. And those who exited the Labyrinth often came up to those waiting patiently in line and reassured them that the wait was worth it."

Participant #4. Correspondence via email by author. July 30, 2010. (female, age 10 at Expo)

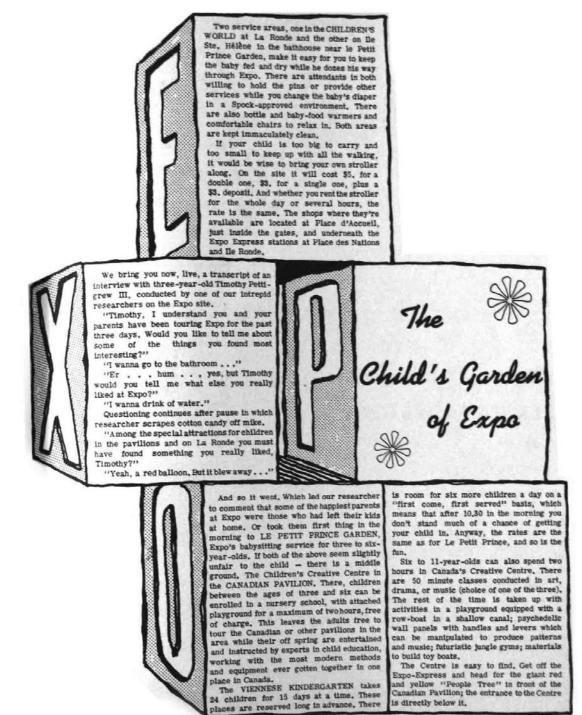


Figure 13: Article "The Children's Garden of Expo" from Sean Kelly Ronald s Wareham's *Expo Inside Out*!, pg 23.

23

As well as guides and guidebooks mediating experiences, one's physical body also plays a role. Ylva Habel describes a female newspaper columnists biggest obstacle at the Stockholm Exhibition. The obstacle is her own female body, which chronically and comically get in the way. The exhibition was not designed for her. A person's body informs the mediation of space. The Commission on the Status of Women started in the spring of '66, and its creation was in preparation for the world attention Canada would receive during Expo. Expo held out a promise for an optimistic world in which politics, economics, and culture converged in strange, even novel, ways to propose a more integrated vision on the future.

There was one place, which was for women at the Stockholm Exhibition 1897– the Idun lounge. Here women could powder their noises and attend to other such inconveniences of their bodies and be ready again for their gender performance among the men.²⁷² At Stockholm this location was clearly marked, at Expo, these places were not so clearly delineated. "Expo '67, avoiding, where it can, words altogether, has funneled more energy into systematized non-verbal communication than any enterprise in the previous history of the world." These non-verbal communications contributed to a number of men and women walking into the wrong restrooms. These mistakes were contributed to the graphic language of the restroom signs designed by Paul Arthur, the editor of *Canadian Art*. Hence, signage had to be redesigned.²⁷⁴

Children, like women, are very dependent on bodily needs. The previous article (figure 13) is a typical in this type of literature and reveals many ways children are viewed in society. Many bodily concerns are noted, such as diaper changing. This is the first "problem" noted and apparently is on every mother's mind. Changing stations occur much less frequently than normal toilets, indicating that the Expo site was not for very young children, "keep the baby fed and dry while he dozes his way through Expo." This statement regards the baby as a problematic accessory and that the baby will not be interested in seeing Expo. The two stations, both on Saint Helen's Island, are characterized as bright, white, clean, and comfortable "service" areas. Yet, these areas are taboo spaces. There are "attendants" who help in a Spock-approved environment.

Benjamin Spock was a popular child-rearing expert at this time, and the mention of him denotes that the writer is like-minded and views motherhood as an art that can be perfected through a scientific method. This method treats all children similarly, despite the individual child's socio-economic position and individual learning style. Neglecting individual children's unique conditions perhaps reinforces the myth of a universal childhood.

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²⁶⁹ Habe

Arscott, Jane. Approaching 40: The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada Athabasca University, published online: http://auspace.athabascau.ca:8080/dspace/handle/2149/2583

²⁷¹ Schuppli, 6.

²⁷² Habel 134

²⁷³ Fulford, Remember Expo, 95. (quoting Hugh Kenner)

²⁷⁴ Fulford, Remember Expo, 55; Kröller.

Spock, Benjamin, and Steven Parker. Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care. New York: Pocket Books, 1946; 2004. There are eight editions. I have not thoroughly read Spock's primary document, only interpretations of it such as Johnson, Diane. "My Blue Heaven." The New York review of books. 45, no. 12 (1998): 15. (http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1998/jul/16/my-blue-heaven/) Spock became influential around 1946; additionally, she sites may changes in different versions of the book regarding inclusive language; and Annmarie Adams, "The Eichier Home: Intention and Experience in Postwar Suburbia," in Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, vol. 5, Gender, Class, and Shelter, Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Higgins, ed. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995.

For children, food was a big part of Expo. Of course, like other bodily concerns this need had to be met. The author of the article, "The Children's Garden of Expo," interviews a child. He is presented as a mindless individual whose main concerns are physical. Contrary to the article, the memory of "bo-bo balls" suggests food could be a unique experience at Expo. Trying different foods can be quite interesting. As one woman recalls she was a young girl at Expo and she remembers drinking tea out of a glass, which seemed odd to her then, but now as an adult, she routinely does so and recalls Expo. 277

Secondary concerns for Timothy were events and things that are not unique and special to Expo – a red balloon. My father, to this day, reminds me of our trip to Chicago as the time I lost my balloon. My memory of a unique event and place is summarized by an adult to something I could do anywhere, yet I remember the buildings my balloon vanished behind.

Additionally memories of Expo can be place specific, "I remember the Thai[land] pavilion had a red carpeting outside of it and when it was raining, the color was running and making a red river on the sidewalk."

In contrast to the article's representation of Timothy's memories, I would like to assert that children's memories of Expo can be place specific. Memories such as Timothy's are mediated by the adult author. Timothy's filtered memory is placeless and thus describes a universal experience. In reality, children have many memories that are place specific and are not characteristically universal. Consider, "if every child had only placeless memories of lost balloons, why would a parent bother to bring them to Expo?"

The article's author suggests, "some of the happiest parents at Expo were those who left their kids at home" and then gives the reader suggestions for childcare within Expo. However, if one feels guilty putting their child in this place, they can compromise and put them at the Children's Creative Centre, or I would add if the child is a bit older, La Ronde. To the author, the Children's Creative Centre is the right choice; it is free and the only site that the author describes how to locate. When people talk about Expo, where they most frequently went is largely determined by their age or development at the time. If the article's purpose was to prohibit children from exploring freely with their parents, it certainly makes its point. In marketing, Expo is a place for the whole family. However, upon further inspection many sites are not considered child-friendly.

It is not so much that children would not enjoy most of Expo; it is that the adults do not want the children intruding. This brings us quite poignantly to John Gillis' concept of islanding. I discuss this more in the next chapter. For now, we have discovered that many adults view children as needing and desiring very different things than their parents. However, as we have previously studied through passports and postcards, children did not stay in what I characterize as children's spaces.

Participant #4. Correspondence via email by author. July 30, 2010. (female, age 10 at Expo) "The one that everyone [the extended family traveled with] liked was something called "bo-bo balls" which was similar to hush puppies. I think we had that a few times. I remember having a confection called a "haystack" which was a big pile of sweetened coconut."

²⁷⁷ Morrison

²⁷⁸ Participant #4. Correspondence via email by author. July 30, 2010. (female, age 10 at Expo)

²⁷⁹ Cross, conclusion, wrote that Coney Island was not for children

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Zeiher.

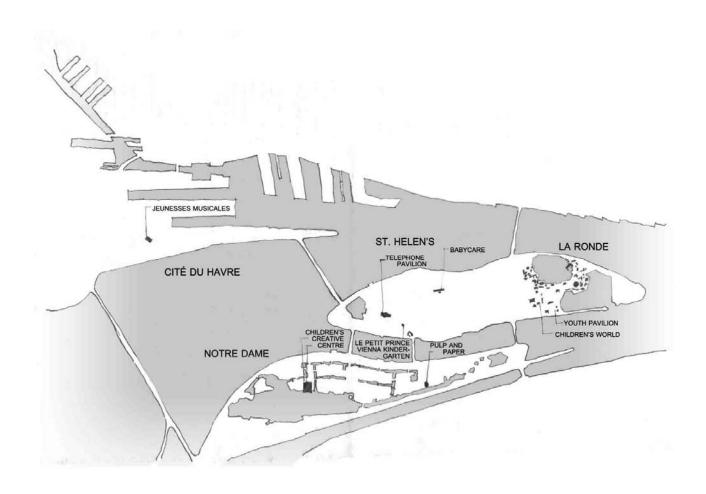


Figure 14: Islands of childhood

map redrawn by author highlighting children's spaces

from I. Kalin's Expo '67: Survey of Building Materials, Systems and Techniques used at the Universal International Exhibition of 1967, pg xv.

3.0 Children in their Place: Memories and Islands

"Islands may no longer be the material prizes they once were, but islands of the mind continue to be extraordinarily valuable symbolic resources, a treasure trove of images through which the West understands itself and its relations with the larger world... Islands stand for loss, but also recovery."

Imagination and memory, John Gillis suggests, depend on space as metaphor. The Expo grounds as they exist today both suggest memory and imagination, past and future. Some structures on the island were built before Expo and were preserved, other structures were temporary, and some were built for Expo and continue to remain. The remains remind people of what is lost. Geographically estranged from the city of Montreal, the now defunct Expo grounds function as a kind of non-space that can point to the past and future simultaneously. An example of this is my personal experience with my mother. My mother had visited the Expo site in the summer of 1968 after Expo was officially over. At this point the site was mostly intact. When I walked her through the site in fall 2009, we came out of the Metro stop and she remembered the service buildings that were there, not the Metro stop that remains.

This Metro stop shaped children's experiences of the place. A boy at the time from Montreal recalled to me that this was the first time he had ridden a subway. He relayed to me the experience of emerging, rising from the ground, into the bustling center of Expo.²⁸⁹ Additionally a ten-year old girl recalled, "I was really conscious we were going under water to get to the island. I was quite anxious. It's quite something when you think about it, travelling in a train underwater."²⁹⁰ The Metro is strategically placed on St Helen's Island. When you approach Expo you are confronted with service, when you leave, you say goodbye and see the U.S.A. pavilion as you descend the escalators. This was also the place to rent one of seven hundred pedicabs strollers.²⁹¹ Logically, because people arriving by car would most likely bring one, those traveling by Metro would need a stroller. Transport to the Expo site was a question I generally asked in interviews, and I believe has shaped the experience of children.

Besides Saint Helen's being a physical island, it also works like Gillis' memory islands. ²⁹² They became a separate world. "[T]he Expo islands feel like a wonderland, a separate world where the troubles of life were left behind and where the

John R. Gillis, Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 3.

²⁸³ Ibi

Such as the St. Helen's Island Pavilion. Which was originally designed as a Casino. The Catholic Church did not approve so the city of Montreal used the structure to support the Jacque-Cartier Bridge and store salt. "The Jacques Cartier Bridge" http://www.pjcci.ca/english/pdf/JCARTIERINTERNET.pdf.pdf <accessed May 2010>

²⁸⁵ The Yugoslavia Pavilion was later relocated to become part of the Provincial Seamen's Museum in Grand Bank. Newfoundland

²⁸⁶ Most notably, the Metro system, La Ronde, Habitat '67 (now an apartment building), the U.S.A. Pavilion is now a museum, and the French Pavilion is now a Casino.

²⁸⁷ Schuppli, 6

²⁸⁸ Kathleen Eilers crandall. Interview by author. Montreal, QC, November 21, 2009. (age 25 at Expo)

²⁸⁹ Participant #1. Interview by author. Montreal, QC, November 18, 2009. (male, age 11 at Expo)

²⁹⁰ Anderson, 48. "(Participant #28, 10-year old female, Anglophone, living in Ontario, visiting with parents. Visited Expo for one week. Today: Quebec resident)"

²⁹¹ Expo 67, Man and His World, 55.

²⁹² Gillis, Islands of the Mind.

mind could be set free to dream."²⁹³ For most, Expo was separated from the daily routine. Very few visit the island every day, when you do, it looses its mystique.²⁹⁴ "The less they [islands] are occupied, the more they preoccupy the modern imagination."²⁹⁵ Additionally, many young people could not get enough of Expo and would return day after day during the entire season.

As Helga Zeiher suggests,²⁹⁷ and John Gillis²⁹⁸ expresses more poetically, children's spaces were metaphoric islands whose seas were only navigable by adults. Despite this, not all children were relegated into these spaces. Presently, I describe other places that appealed to children, and remain in their adult consciousness. Although most of these places were not specifically for children, they certainly appealed to their sensibilities and became memorable.

The Bell Telephone Pavilion is a place children seem to remember. There children "learned that in the future you would be able to SEE the person you were talking to on the phone! WOW!" The interior's four exhibition spaces were designed by Bartell, Inc. There were logic and memory games, and an "Enchanted Forest" where children saw and spoke to Disney characters while sitting on toadstools (and parents could listen in). The pavilion presented new technologies such as call-forwarding and picture phones; these are the aspects people remember most. At the Telephone Pavilion, children became consumers in their own right, wanting and desiring for themselves.

Many other spaces appealed to children. Paper trees made, "Pulp and Paper never look ... sexier." The People Tree outside the Canadian Pavilion, designed by Mairuth Sarfield and Lorrain Monk, featured portraits of Canadians hung on orange, translucent panels. Children related to the people in the portraits, "I can recall standing there at The People Tree that evening – this was where my idea of Canada came from; this was what it looked like to me. It was something that I was somehow a part of. I was sure that I was in one of those photographs. I actually looked for people I knew."

At the Ontario Pavilion, over-sized granite blocks became seating. The over-sized lollipops in front of the New York State Pavilion became scenery in play. Dolls appealed to children at the mirror of man pavilion. The colors and reproduction of a day, from sunrise to sunset, at the Kaleidoscope Pavilion sparked imagination. The Boy Scout Pavilion was an enlarged tent that sold handicrafts. The Boy Scouts on duty were available to assist handicapped individuals.

296 Roy, 23. (age 14 at Expo)

298 Gillis, "Epilogue,

²⁹³ Miedema, 116; Gladstone, 40. "the magic islands, [and] he discovers a whole new world. ... [H]e escapes the stress ... and harsh realities of everyday life. And yet, this new discovery is not an escape."

²⁹⁴ Participant #2. Interview by author. Montreal, QC. Febryary 4, 2010. (male, too young for Expo, La Ronde staff)

²⁹⁵ Miedema, 165.

²⁹⁷ Zeihe

²⁹⁹ Participant #4. Correspondence via email by author. July 30, 2010. (female, age 10 at Expo) (Capitalizations original)

³⁰⁰ Katz, 12; Clarke, Alison. "Coming of Age in Suburbia: Gifting the Consumer Child." In Designing conscious of hurting the gift-giver's feelings.

³⁰¹ Brydon, 22. (age 11 at Expo) (removed –ed from look.)

³⁰² Lefler, 29. (age 5 at Expo).

³⁰³ Robert Fulford, Portrait de L'Expo. (McCelland et Stewart Limittee, 1968), PG

³⁰⁴ Expo 67, Man and His World, 69.

³⁰⁵ Expo 67, Man and His World,, 83.

enlarged spiraling structure at Air Canada and the whimsical form at the Polymer Pavilion were enchanting emblems for children. Architectural form provided interest for the "younger set." A more banal area was near the Expo Express station Place D'accueil. This was a place for lost children. There were 24,234 children lost and found at Expo. Robert Fulford says this is a place for lost children and adults, whereas other authors only note that this service is for lost children.

These experiences allude to the fact that contrary to the guidebooks that provided separate sections and seem to dictate separate areas for women and children, ³⁰⁹ children were not islanded or ghettoized into certain areas. As suggested by the guidebooks, these spaces were designed for children so they would not permeate the entirety of the exhibition.

Children remember both pavilions and special places designed for children. This three-year old boy recalls many places not designed for children such as "...a telephone where you could see the person talking on the other end of the line. I also remember the big glass USA pavillion [sic] and entering it through a monorail-type vehicle." However there are exceptions, such as this memory from a teenage boy, La Ronde was the place to be, "...there wasn't any fun in the pavilions; the fun was in La Ronde. ... I always ended up in La Ronde" In subsequent sections, I will describe the Children's Creative Center, La Ronde, the Youth Pavilion, and Children's World. While I have just described how children were not islanded, but enjoyed many aspects of Expo, these next examples are spaces designed specifically for children.

³⁰⁶ Expo '67: Official Guide. Repeted several imes as one of many terms for children

³⁰⁷ Jasmine, 98

³⁰⁸ Fulford, Remember Expo, 53; Expo '67: Official Guide, beginning; Kelly (out only lost children)

³⁰⁹ In the previous section, I explain these special areas in guidebooks suggested dropping your child into a space I define as a children's space (or an island for children). I took one such article entitled: "The Children's Garden of Expo" from Kelly.

³¹⁰ http://www.facebook.com/#l/group.php?gid=2315922460&ref=ts <accessed June 2010> Username: "Andrew-Mia Marttinen" wrote on November 13, 2008.

³¹¹ Participant #3. Interviewed by author. Montreal, QC, May 26, 2010. (male, age 16 at Expo)



Figure 15: Perspective of the Children's Creative Centre from CCA. digital archives (ID: ARCH252724)

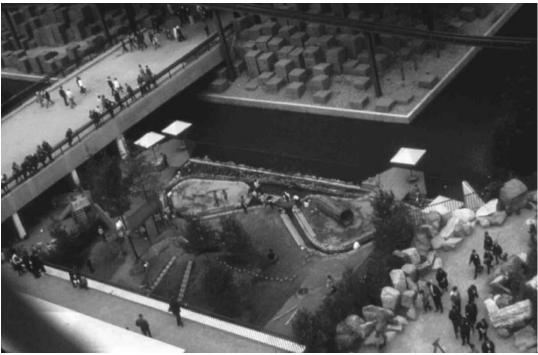


Figure 16: Aerial view of the Children's Creative Centre

from "Cornelia Hahn Oberlander, landscape architect, C.M., LL.D. (Hon). FCSLA. BCSLA, FASLA" [electronic resource]: selected works 1953-1995" images compiled by James R. Taylor, remastered by M Munirul Haque. Guelph Ontario 2000

3.1 Children's Creative Centre: Children Uncensored?

The Children's Creative Centre was part of the Canadian Pavilion. The Canadian Pavilion was the largest of all pavilions at over eleven acres and dominated Notre-Dame Island. There were many pieces to this site. The Katimavik or inverted pyramid, which is probably the most recognizable landmark, was almost as large as the Gyrotron, but there was also an art centre, a band shell, a revolving theater, the People Tree, snack bars, kiosks, a sanctuary, and the Children's Creative Centre. Within the Children's Creative Centre was a nursery, and art, music, and drama studios that faced an outdoor adventure playground. The Creative Centre was tucked away at the boundary of the site near the Ontario pavilion. You could see it from the monorail. The nursery accepted three to six-year olds and the main center took children up to eleven-years old. This was a free service and you could leave your child there for a maximum of two hours. Approximately thirty-thousand children visited this space.

"Haptic perceptions are called up in Oberland's landscapes. The sense of touch, smell, and hearing are engaged, as are balance and movement. From her first designs, including the Children's playground she created for Expo '67 ... Oberlander allows for knowing through the integration of many senses, an idea that challenges the North American dependence on visual spatial perception. Haptic perception also refers importantly to the memory of previous experiences."

The designer of the Creative Centre, Cornelia Hahn Oberlander, later became "the grande dame of landscape architecture in Canada." She was born in Germany, but moved to New York with her mother, when her father, an engineer, passed away. Her mother, Beate Hahn, was a storybook writer who was fascinated with Friedrich Froebel and Rudolph Steiner. At the age of four, Cornelia tended her own small garden, with the help of her mother who loved horticulture. Cornelia Hahn Oberlander met her husband at Harvard Graduate School of architecture and moved to Vancouver where they designed their own home and raised three children. She has designed over seventy playgrounds in California and she was one of the founding members of the National Task Force on Play. Although she has worked with such famous architects as James Rose, Louis Kahn, Arthur Erickson, and Moshe Safdie, the Children's Creative Centre is considered by some to be her most influential project. The Creative Centre was designed as a prototype for a small urban park, or "vest-pocket park." These urban parks were meant to be a natural, restful counterpoint to city life.

³¹² Kalin, 8-12.

³¹³ Expo '67 Official Guide, 89.

³¹⁴ Charles A. Birnbaum, Stephanie S. Foell, and Foundation Cultural Landscape, Shaping the American Landscape: New Profiles from the Pioneers of American Landscape Design Project. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 227.

³¹⁵ Connealia Hahn Oberlander, "Corpeal Experience: A Haptic Way of Knowing" in Journal of Architectural Education 54, no. 1 (Sept 2001): 4.

³¹⁶ Lisa Rochon, Up North: Where Canada's Architecture Meets the Land. (Toronto, Ont.: Key Porter Books, 2005), 219.

³¹⁷ Birnbaum, 226.

³¹⁸ Rochon, 223

³¹⁹ Birnbaum, 227

³²⁰ Cornelia Hahn Oberlander. "Creative Play Spaces" Journal of Canadian Landscape Architects. 1966. http://www.corneliaoberlander.ca/#/articles-1956-1989/4527095102 <accessed July 2010>

The space, as clearly shown in figure 16, has a viewing gallery on three sides, and the remaining side is viewable from the monorail. The three studio spaces and nursery were at grade level underneath the platform in the foreground. The three studio spaces had "50 minute classes conducted in art, drama, or music (choice of one of the three)." To the left of the image, there are columns holding the pedestrian bridge. This space extends and is about another third of the outdoor area, which is denoted on the plan as a dashed overhead line intersecting the nursery area. In this more sheltered area were artistic and quiet activities such as the manipulative wall and the music "screens." These "psychedelic wall panels with handles and levers ... can be manipulated to produce patterns and music" were designed by artist Gordon Smith. This sheltered area was meant to be a refuge for children when it rained. The physical activities in the open space, which are more visible to the adults in the gallery, included activities such as building boats, riding boats through a canal, climbing a tree-fort, panning for "gold," playing in sand, climbing three hillocks, and discovering a secret tunnel. 223 Children were allowed to roam the site freely and participate in these various activities. Oberlander designed this space, like many other projects, to be non-prescriptive. One critic notes of her work that she "delights in allowing for the unpredictable wanderings of the individual. Resisting the prescriptive dogma of much public space, the landscapes ...invite a visitor to experience unusual trajectories, wandering up and over knolls and across a site on a diagonal."

The architect's perspective (figure 15) is full of whimsy. The tall trees in the rendering are not unlike the tall redwood forests on the west coast where Oberlander had practiced. In actuality, these trees never were as big as they are depicted and the imagined tree-house resembled a raised platform on stilts. These small trees never got the chance to grow; the space was demolished after Expo. For Oberlander, "a tree represents the continuity of history and permanence, for it requires generations to grow up and grow old." Similarly, we might say that this playground prototype was not given enough time to see if it affected change.

In this rendering, the adults watching on platforms are clearly visible, and were indeed part of the design. The viewing gallery was most likely a safety feature, so parents could quickly check in on their children. Today, this type of space reads more like a voyeuristic spot. However, safety was not as large an issue as it is today, and at Expo, there were no cases of permanently lost children thanks to electronic ticker board displaying the names. The observers were not only the children's parents and caretakers; director H. Polly Hill encouraged educators to come and observe the studio classes through a one-way screen. As we will see again at Children's World, children are displayed quite frequently. Another example is Dr. Karl Schwanzer's Vienna Kindergarten, where "an observation deck allows visitors and parents to admire [all the different

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³²¹ Kelly, 23.

³²² Ibi

³²³ Hahn Oberlander, "Creative Play Spaces."

³²⁴ Rochon, 221-222

limhaum, 19. (quoting "Where architecture meets the trees" article in Urban Green Tech 13 (Spring 1994): Tokyo, Japan. Presented Smith College Feb 29, 1992.)

³²⁶ Jasmine, 98

³²⁷ Hahn Oberlander "Creative Play Spaces."

activities] ... It's very instructive for adults." ³²⁸ In these instances, children are an unknowing display for others.

In contrast, Oberlander asserts that privacy in such places is important; she writes, "playgrounds should encourage absorption in activity and unconscious concentration. They ought to provide seclusion from disturbing or diverting influences, afford a release from everyday pressures and give to the child at play the possibility of a make-believe world." This may not have been possible in a space that had so many places for spectators. However, children may not have felt this watching eye, but loved being in the space. A father writes that, "despite having taken the children through La Ronde on that date and subsequent occasions, as well as to a variety of other exhibits, my children have kept on referring back to their two hours at that Centre, when they insisted as best they could that they be allowed to stay longer, which was impossible." Perhaps the review in Expo Inside Out was correct in recommending this venue over other children's spaces.

Jasmine, 344. (my translation)

Hahn Oberlander, "Space for Creative Play"

Clement Noel Beauchamp, Unpublished "letter to the editor," November 2, 1967. http://www.corneliaoberlander.ca/#/articles-1956-1989/4527095102 <accessed July 2010> Additionally, note the use of "the children" today I would expect a father to write "my children." It reveals a certain level of detachment from a marginalized group



Figure 17: Children wading in front of Gerald Gladstone's sculpture at entry to La Ronde from Robert Fulford's *Portrait de L' Expo*, pg 120.



Figure 18: Sign at Place D'accueil from Robert Fulford's *Portrait de L'Expo*, pg 54.

"I do remember I liked all the colors of the structures in La Ronde. We usually spent the last part of the day there, the adults would sit and us kids could go off and do whatever we wanted to." 331

3.2 Action Time at La Ronde: Separate the Children and give them Bright Colored Blocks

La Ronde was clearly one of the main attractions at Expo. ³³² It was designed to be a different space. It used techniques such as physical location, entrance features, and aesthetics to denote its separate status from the rest of the Exhibition. It was designed to be a permanent structure with the clear intention of remaining an amusement park long after the rest of Expo had been deconstructed and dismantled. ³³³ Similar to the Vienna Kindergarten, ³³⁴ the shops, games, and restaurants that line the streets of La Ronde were inspired by children's building blocks. "[John] Baker used his son's building blocks as a leitmotif and blew them up to a gigantic scale" and they were painted ten different "florescent paint colors." ³³⁵ In the title, children are linked to bright colored blocks; I do not believe that this is an unquestionable truth.

La Ronde was to be competitive with the best amusement parks of the time. "Expo '67's La Ronde amusement park was built to rival the best of its kind in Europe" and the lead designer traveled to Denmark's Tivoli gardens, to Germany's Europa Park, and to California's Disney World. Edouard Fiset, Expo's head designer, wanted La Ronde to exceed Disneyland. Walt Disney, although invited, never visited Expo. As an honor there is a pedestrian street named for him in La Ronde. Fulford asserts that while, Disney might be known as the happiest place on earth, Expo, by meticulous design, was a happy place to be."

La Ronde created a site of action with few areas to relax and reflect. La Ronde was a place of movement, and its theme "action time" captures this spirit. "[I]t swings[, it is]. ... a unique blending of entertainment, thrilling rides, good eating, night life and boutiques from the four corners of the earth[, and it] ... is dedicated to the diversion and delight of man."

Children like moving objects is one assumption Robert Fullford made when describing the exhibit entitled "Children's World" in the Czechoslovakian Pavilion.

A Ronde was open until 2:30 a.m.

Some restaurants also stayed open. Additionally, the activities within spaces at La Ronde

³³¹ Participant #4. Correspondence via email by author. July 30, 2010. (female, age 10 at Expo)

³³² The multi-disciplinary design team of La Ronde included Joe Baker and Andrew Hoffman, both architects, Norman Slater, an industrial designer and lighting specialist, Francois Dallegret, a special effects designer, and Leonard Levitan.

³³³ Radoslav Zuk. Interview by author. Montreal, QC, December 2, 2009; Mattie, 226.

³³⁴ Karl Schwanzer, Karl Schwanzer: Ordnen, Planen, Gestalten, Formen, Bauen; Katalog 1978, (Wien: Museum des 20.Jahrhundert, 1978), 49. (exhibition catalogue, CCA, ID:85-B25657)

³³⁵ Sharon D. Veerman, Plywood at Expo '67.(Vancouver: Plywood Manufacturers of British Columbia, 1967?), 22.

³³⁶ I attribute this thought to my former professor, Julie Eizenberg (Koning Eizenberg Architects), who said this in Fall 2005 while explaining the design of the Children's Museum in Pittsburgh. It is also in her book, Architecture Isn't Just for Special Occasions. New York: Random House, 2006.

³³⁷ Miedema, 115

³³⁸ Ibid; Jasmin, 388. Andrew Hoffman lead designer. (I am assuming Munich in these texts mean Europa Park)

³³⁹ Expo '67: Official Guide, 343.

³⁴⁰ Fulford, Remember Expo, 51.

³⁴¹ Expo '67, Man and His World, 161.

³⁴² Fulford, Remember Expo.

³⁴³ Expo '67, Man and His World, 45.

changed during the course of the day, and catered to different audiences depending on the hour. As one can see at the Garden of the Stars, "La Ronde's theatre has a children's pantomime during the day. At 5 p.m. it becomes a discotheque for teen-agers. Later, after 8 p.m., it's an adult-only spot."

La Ronde was "just plain fun," it was not to be educational like the remainder of Expo. The authors of *Expo Inside Out* explain that children do not like education, "educational as all get out, but kids find something to like, anyhow." Instead, La Ronde was "dedicated solely to the diversion and delight of Man, without the more ponderous undertones of Man and His World apparent in other exhibition sectors." Although separated from the rest of the Expo site, there was much to do in La Ronde. In the subsequent text, I will study the Youth Pavilion, and Children's World within La Ronde. These two spaces catered to different crowds. La Ronde was foremost designed and coordinated by Andrew Hoffman, so the designers of these sub-areas were responsible largely for the concepts and drawings, but did not oversee construction. 348

La Ronde, perhaps seems like a small part of Expo, but it took up more than a tenth of the site's space. Meanwhile, it occupied a mere thirteen pages in the three-hundred and fifty-page guide. Almost half of Expo's visitors went to La Ronde. While it's true that almost all of Expo 67 is fun, the authors of the *Official Guide* say that, La Ronde is especially the fun center of the exhibition. Additionally there was ferry, gondola, hovercraft, and skyride transport available, and La Ronde had its own entry portal at Place D'Accueil (figure 18).

La Ronde is separated from the rest of the Expo site in numerous ways. La Ronde was designed as a permanent amusement park, whereas the majority of the Expo pavilions are gone, La Ronde has slowly transformed, but traces remain to retrieve visitors' memories. La Ronde is distinctly separated by the Jacques Cartier Bridge. In addition, the area today called the Jean Drapeau Park separated the two areas. It is a pause between the exhibitions and the amusement. This pause further accentuates this separation of activities.

This isolation between La Ronde and the rest of the park is replicated within La Ronde as well. The rendering in figure 25 emphasizes that each area was designed in isolation; each area by different architects and was put together and coordinated in the end. The sites for each design were mostly rectilinear, separated by pedestrian streets. Additionally the

347 Expo '67: Official Guide, 243.

Expo inside and out, 15... continues "There's a night-club revue with all the trappings – show-girls, scanty costumes, second-rate comedians – and four bars to ensure the enjoyment of the

³⁴⁵ Veerman, 22. "Expo '67 is calculated to broaden man's horizons and stimulate his mind, but it will have its lighter moments of just plain fun. ... called La Ronde'

³⁴⁶ Kelly 19

³⁴⁸ Radoslav Zuk. Interview by author. Montreal, QC, December 2, 2010.

³⁴⁹ Expo '67: Official Guide, 243. (135 / 1,000 acres)

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid. 22.5 million visitors

³⁵² Ibid., 243

³⁵³ Jasmin, 69

different areas functioned as separate theme parks.

Another way "the galaxy" of La Ronde is separated is by the entry. At the entrance, there is Gerald Gladstone's sculpture Orbital No. 2 (figure 17), which remains today. This sculpture became a ritual site. Contrary to the tradition of washing ones hands and feet when entering a house, at La Ronde you washed your feet upon leaving. " ... It [this statue] was fondly called 'the articoke' ... [It] was the work of art with which people became most involved. It was a convenient place to bathe aching feet." La Ronde was dirty and visitors washed their feet to symbolically return to the land of civilized society and rules of the exhibition spaces on the island.

La Ronde's status as a separate space of action, not didactic like the themes at the rest of Expo, suggests that action should be a detached from learning. While your children may be all right at the exhibitions for a while, they will probably need a wiggle break. Children remember that, "a part of each day was spent of course at La Ronde." In addition to physical resting as perhaps the guidebooks suggested, I argue that it was restful in that it offered a break from mental activity. Additionally, its separate status may imply that it is a liminal space where everything goes.

Expo '67: Official Guide, 243

³⁵⁵ Fulford, Remember Expo, 120.

³⁵⁶ Participant #4. Correspondence via email by author. July 30, 2010. (female, age 10 at Expo)

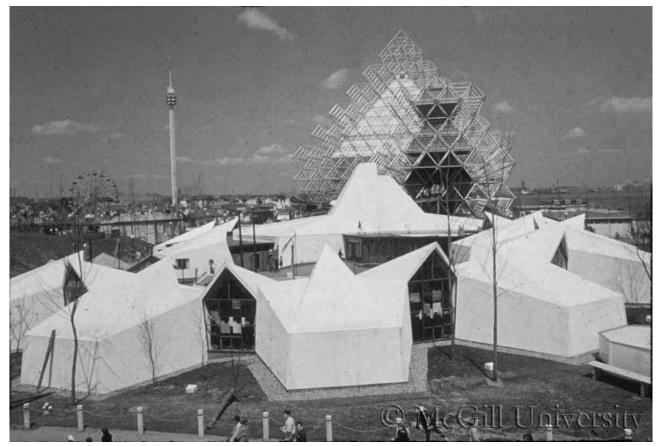


Figure 19: Photograph of the Youth Pavilion

from Meredith Dixion's "Expo '67: Slide Collection ... A Photographic Journey through Expo '67." McGill University, http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/expo-67/search/slideDetails.php?id=469 <accessed May 2010>

"I snuck [sic] backstage at expo, I think it was the youth pavilion or gardens or something, if you could call it that ... Concert never really got going, too many people and the bands were all pretty laizzez-faire [sic] in their attitudes to do much to fast. I was 16, visiting Montreal with family to see Expo for the summer and disallusioned [sic] with the middleclass world I came from. I left there for Vancouver BC and decided to be a hippie and here now 40 years later I am just that, still, and play in band that does Dead and Garcia Band music."

http://www.dead.net/show/august-6-1967-0 <accessed July 6> username: "Bodieman" (later identified as Bodie MacNeil) wrote on July 9th, 2007.

3.3 The Youth Pavilion: Unstructured Excitement

Within La Ronde was the Youth Pavilion. It was located between the Gyrotron and Children's World close to the entrance. No one quite knew the purpose of the Youth Pavilion. Like the depictions of teenagers in other parts at Expo, such as the film *We are Young*, this pavilion did not have a clear concept of is purpose. "The lack of a definite program at the beginning was responsible for functional failures during actual operation." This is hardly the fault of designers, Ouellet, Reeves, and Alain, but more reflective of the overall society. Ontario, "for its Teen Scene display ... piled up a chaotic collage – a gleaming mess of auto parts, sports gear, musical instruments that were all once used by teenagers. The pavilion had zip and style." The Youth Pavilion was also chaotic. All these activities were free and one could get tickets an hour before.

The Youth Pavilion was "dedicated to the aims and desires of youth," shared by thirty-three organizations, and had a multitude of different types of activities that the ten-million visitors enjoyed within its 18,000 square feet. There were over three-hundred films, theater shows, variety shows, visual arts (creation), music, sports, and lectures. Additionally it had a snack cafe. One minute teens would be playing a pick up game, next attending a lecture, and then present at a concert. No one knew what to expect in this space. However, these activities hardly competed with the water shows at Dancing Waters, Timber Shows at Dolphin Lake, "transparency projections" at Laterna Magika, Dolphin shows at the Alcan Pavilion, and shows at the Garden of the Stars. Children, as well as teens, are depicted as needing variety; as suggested in a later chapter, this is a reoccurring theme.

As the extended quote on the previous page, activities were not structured. Activities allowed for interaction between guests and visitors, not just in this example, but also in hands-on creative arts, sport activities, and participatory question and answer sessions at lectures. The Youth Pavilion had "performers and ... artists[,] ... young amateurs, semi-professionals or professionals from around the world. It is a continuous experiment.." 367

The aesthetic choices of the structure made the pavilion feel flexible and temporary. Because of budget constraints, the structure was made cheaply. The white plywood roof and white stucco showed wear and tear quickly. The irregular trapezoidal shaped structures were connected to create an inner courtyard with a bandstand in which the majority of activities

359 Kalin, 283

³⁵⁸ Kalin, 283.

³⁶⁰ Fulford, Remember Expo, 109.

³⁶¹ Kelly. 46

⁶² Kalin, 283

³⁶³ Expo '67: Official Guide, 246. (lists the organizations)

³⁶⁴ Kalin, 283.

³⁶⁵ Jasmine, 391; Expo '67: Official Guide, 246.

³⁶⁶ Kelly, 12. formerly at the New York's World Fair and Niagara Falls

³⁶⁷ Kelly, 246.

³⁶⁸ Kalin, 283

took place. The dance hall was a larger, similarly connected structure near the Gyrotron side, but additionally featured a series of wooden clad doors into the courtyard. The dance hall announced itself on the site with a tall sweep in its form. Although these forms were all connected and used similar language, the building seemed like an informal placement of tentlike structures. Because this courtyard was semi-private and one had to be actually in the space to observe the events, there was a sense of community. As the guidebook suggests this was intended, the "Atmosphere: it's way out, because you're in! And when you play the game, the fellow next to you is not a stranger anymore, because he has come a long way to do the same, and to meet you." Strangers became community, and a person could spend all day in the space being entertained by various activities throughout the day. Since no one knew what to expect, there is a sense of potentiality. This very multipurpose space was full of possibility, and so were the youth it held.



Figure 20: Children's World taken by Bill Cotter

from National Capital FreeNet, "Expo 67 in Montreal: A photo collection about Canada's Centennial Celebration!" http://expo67.ncf.ca/expo_laronde_p2.html <accessed May 2010>



Figure 21: Children's World same view as it is today from photograph taken by the author February 4, 2010.

4.0 Lessons from Children's World

Children's World was designed by John Schreiber and Radoslav Zuk. In Kalin's book, *Expo '67 : Survey of Building Materials, Systems and Techniques,* he is critical of Schreiber and Zuk's work; he writes that, "the manner in which the project was handled (a split of responsibility and authority), made it difficult if not impossible to control the final outcome of the complex." This split seems logically managed. Zuk says that he was in charge of the overall design, while Schreiber studied and designed details within the project. This was a switch in traditional office hierarchies. Zuk was a former student of Schreiber. Their relationship was strong, and Schreiber thought Zuk was a talented young designer. So when Schreiber's emerging office received the commission for Children's World he called Zuk, who was on the west coast at this point, to come and assist with the design. The site strategy for Children's World came from the requirement to accommodate a large pylon that was needed to support the sky ride. The skyride, modeled after ski-lifts, was both a transport and amusement ride. Children's World was for children aged nine and under and was among the most reasonable priced places within La Ronde. Many activities were free in Children's World, such as playing with sand and climbing structures in the Central Hollow.

Schreiber was born in Poland. After attending the University of Glasgow, he traveled to Britain and later Montreal. He was a professor for over thirty years at McGill University and helped create the garden around the architecture school. He was compassionate and considered eccentric; he read and watched TV little, but loved listening to the CBC radio. The Gazette's Furthermore, he was playful, thinking up unique details. When his Solominium project was awarded The Gazette's Lemon award, Schreiber's comical response was to open the Citron Gallery at the ground floor of this building.

As discussed previously, in the title "Children's World" there is some relationship between culture and nature. The design of Children's World might reveal its definition of the word "child." Society's definition is not a static one. The definition is dependent, in part, on nature. "Description is a form of ontological politics; it makes a claim to the real." The word's association with physical aspects, to some, validates its definition. Yet, culture actively constructs and changes who is considered to be a child. It is the political struggle of these two forces, ontology and culture, which we face when choosing our own definitions for the word "child." Subsequently, I compare this idea with metamorphosis of the entranceway into Children's World.

³⁷⁰ Kalin, 249.

³⁷¹ Radoslav Zuk, Interview by author, Montreal, QC, December 2, 2010.

³⁷² Radoslav Zuk. Interview by author. Montreal, QC, December 2, 2010.

³⁷³ Expo '67, Man and His World, 184; Kelly.

³⁷⁴ Ed Struzik, "Solar Collector: John Schreiber fills buildings with sunlight and junk." Harrowsmith: 89.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 91. Schreiber is quoted as saying "... there is too much of a clear-cut division between work and play. People today work for money so that they can play. I instead, putter and play, and sometimes people pay me for it."

³⁷⁶ The Solominium is considered to be a sustainable apartment building. The name is a play of the words "Solar" and "Condominium". It is located at the Corner of St. Matheiu and René-Lévesque in downtown Montreal.

³⁷⁷ The word "child" is a societal construct. Similar to categories such as gender and race.

³⁷⁸ Castañeda, 142.

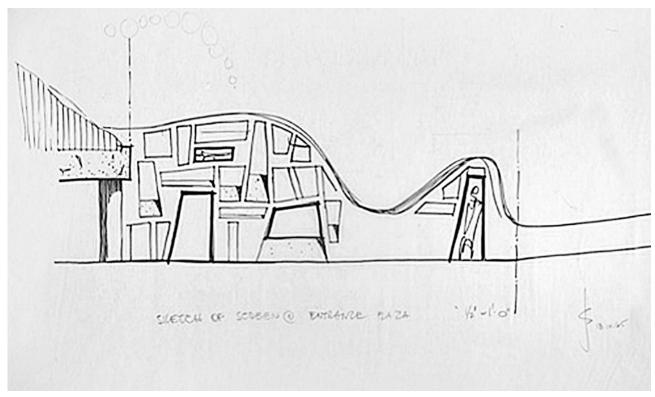


Figure 22: Concept sketch from CAC archives. (ID: 6505 1965-66; folder 1 of 3)

"Sculpture to live with. Whether in park or pavilion all Expo's sculpture was for people to experience not just gaze upon, and much of it – like Peter Sager's splinter-free creation of wood at La Ronde's Children's World – came alive when it was in use" 379

Art, according to Zuk, was an important part of Children's World. 380 Just as at La Ronde where the sculpture by Gerald Gladstone became a symbol of entrance, so did the monumental wall at Children's World. This entranceway no longer exists. The concept sketch (figure 22) is a marker sketch on trace paper drawn in July of 1965 by Schreiber. The sketch is reminiscent of Le Corbusier's famous wall at the Chapel of Nôtre Dame du Haut in Ronchamp; however, these sloped apertures did not make it into the final project.

The scale person in this sketch is located in the only passageway designed large enough for a grown adult. The other passageways were designed for children to climb through. Originally, at Expo, this entrance spatially conveyed a fluid definition of "child" through natural, physical restrictions. In its present condition, Children's World relies on cultural and textual tools to define "child." Today, with the absence of this monumental entranceway, there are posted signs in front of each ride stating the minimum heights for children. 381 According to the writers of the Expo 67: Official Guide, Children's World was for four to nine year old children. This shift from a spatial demarcation to a purely textual one is an interesting communication signifier shift and perhaps echoes a societal shift. As Eva-Maire Kröller points out, Expo relied heavily on visual language so that it transcended language boundaries. 382 The threshold into Children's World used spatial language.

The change from a physical manifestation of these height restrictions to a text-based system influences the space. For one thing, not everyone can read. Today in a world where children are not allowed their spatial freedom, this makes sense. An adult will be escorting them between islands of childhood. 383 Adults are at the head of the lines letting the correct number of children into the ride area and checking their heights. Of course, height might be the easiest method to judge children at a glance, but why not age or weight. Like many children, I desperately waited in anticipation for the summer I would be tall enough to ride the roller coasters. It became a rite of passage. Likewise, as previously discussed many children were not transported between children's spaces at Expo, but were allowed to freely roam the island of Expo.

Schreiber was married late in life and was child-less; although considered by friends to be "family-oriented" he would most likely have a very different view of childhood than Hahn Oberlander who had three children. Yet, there are many similarities in their designs. I do not know if their family-life had an impact of their designs per say, but it is difficult to design without one's personal experiences and subjectivity. Similarly, Castañeda writes about childhood researchers, that "... working from one's own (adult) subjectivity to make claims about the child is fundamentally compromised by the fact that the child has been so consistently constituted as the adult's pre-subjective other." 384

Radoslav Zuk, Interview by author, Montreal, QC, December 2, 2010. 380

Site visit. February 4, 2010. 381

Castañeda, 152. (parenthesis original); Castañeda, 142-43

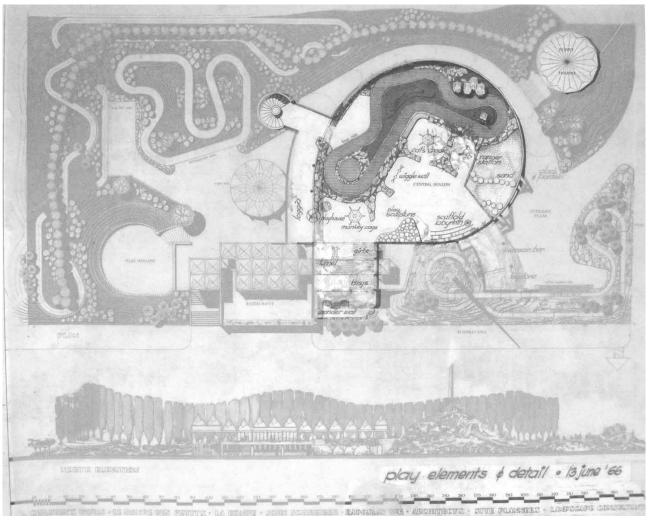


Figure 23: Plan of Children's World

from CAC archives. (ID: 6505 1965-66; folder 1 of 3)

"And unless he's [sic] a manic-depressive or just plain blasé, any child under 10 is bound to enjoy one or more of them [activities]. There are miniature cars, modern and antique, scale-model Viking ships which tour a small canal, and a child-size caboose which even goes through a tunnel. The merry-go-round is outclassed by the antique carrousel ... Free entertainment is in the playground where there's lots of sand to dig in and several climbing, hanging head-down kinds of equipment. Puppet shows (25 cents) are presented at 11, 2, 4, and 6 p.m. There is a dairy bar, a restaurant, and a toy shop which stocks standard department store items. Downstairs under the restaurant, there's a baby-care centre equipped with diaper changing tables, comfortable chairs, and bottle-warmers."

4.1 Lesson One: Children need Variety, Don't Limit their Potential

The title is a comical myth, or perhaps an unquestioned truth. Limitless potential is what is communicated through many structures and descriptions of children's spaces. Although, one critic wrote that Children's World did not provide enough variety, "the name of the project [Children's World] was inaccurate; it was not a children's world. It was too stereo-typed a complex with few elements of surprise and revelation for the child." Variety can suggest potentiality. While children have many options for interaction, adults merely stand and watch. Children have potential and adults do not. There are few activities for adults besides watching; and their site use is very prescriptive. One, activity provided for adults was drinking. The restaurant on site La Brasserie served snacks, ice cream, and beer. In Children's World, the children become display or entertainment for adults, who meanwhile eat, drink, and stare. The adults have limited interaction with the children, watching from afar. As Oberlander said of her work, she avoids scripted behaviors. Yet it seems in these spaces prescribed use is only avoided for children. The adults do not have much choice, or for that matter, potential.

Schreiber and Zuk used landscape and grading to negotiate these elements and provide a clear strategy for site circulation – at least for adults. You would enter the site from the right, and be faced with the entrance pavilion that also doubled as a toy shop and baby "service" area. You would then walk to your right past the monumental wall, up a long circular ramp, which defined the space of the Central Hollow. At the top was the restaurant area; you could then walk down steps to the east and exit onto a pedestrian street named Disney. It is no surprise that John Schreiber, trained as an architect and landscape architect, used grading to his advantage in this project.

The plan in figure 23 highlights the separation between circulation and the central play space, or the adults from the children. The central hollow space is at grade with the beginning of the ramp, but as one reaches the top of the ramp, you look down onto the central hollow. On the plan, the area where the word loggia is written is underneath the ramp. This plan also shows the girls' and boys' tunnels, which are under the restaurant. Additionally, there was a shortcut into the play space using the spiral stairs. However, this stairway faced away from the Central Hollow and required journeying through a dark tunnel to get to Central Hollow. This was provided primarily for staff. All these site strategies discouraged parents from entering the Central Hollow.

Children's circulation is much less prescribed or choreographed. This play sculpture does not prohibit, but discourages adults from going into the central space. Thus, this central area becomes a place for children. Children were free to travel from the top of the ramp down a colorful snake to the Central Hollow. Because of this, children were encouraged to continue playing after eating at the restaurant, whereas adults were meant to exit the site down the stairs or walk back down

³⁸⁶ Kalin, 249

³⁸⁷ Expo '67, Man and His World, 77.

³⁸⁸ Expo '67: Official Guide, 220, 217.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 220.

the ramp.

Variety, as I suggested at the start, can be seen as potentiality. Children's World provided one of the richest accumulations of rides. Additionally, activities can be spatially ordered or chaotic. A visitor to this space would find the train ride Old '99, the Electric Flivver ride, Parasol Carousel, "water journey in a tub," the Play or Central Hollow, Cat's Cradle, the Wiggle wall, the Scaffold Labyrinth, the Monkey Cage, the Puppet Theater (with four different shows), and Pumpkin Hill. These rides are chaotically contained in the site, so that rides do not have clear boundaries. Conversely, at La Ronde areas are well organized and separated by pedestrian streets. As well as these fanciful terms for rides, they were based on children's fables. So was the other Children's World at the Czechoslovakian Pavilion. While initially Children's World featured "traditional" fairy-tales, now the space uses characters from a popular French cartoon.

These names describe a parallel "mythical landscape." ³⁹⁴ Gillis describes these landscapes as "similar... to physical geography but [they have] the virtue of being invulnerable to both temporal and spatial changes that are constantly transforming the real world." ³⁹⁵ Van Slyck suggests that this terminology may alter children's perceptions of the space. ³⁹⁶ Similarly, Deborah Phillips suggests that the use of recognizable stories such as fairy-tales can change "the 'empty space' and alien territory of the theme park [in to a] pleasurable and familiar" space. ³⁹⁷ This is not to say that this phenomena is true only for children, I believe naming spaces can alter adult's perceptions as well. In this way, spaces that used fanciful names, such as Children's World, create an alternate reality or world for children. As well this reality is full of potential.

³⁹⁰ Radoslav Zuk, Interview by author, Montreal, QC, December 2, 2010.

³⁹¹ Expo '67, Man and His World, 184.

³⁹² Fulford, Remember Expo, 86; Expo '67: Official Guide, 245. "Tales from mother goose are brought to life, and other favorite fairytale characters are there."

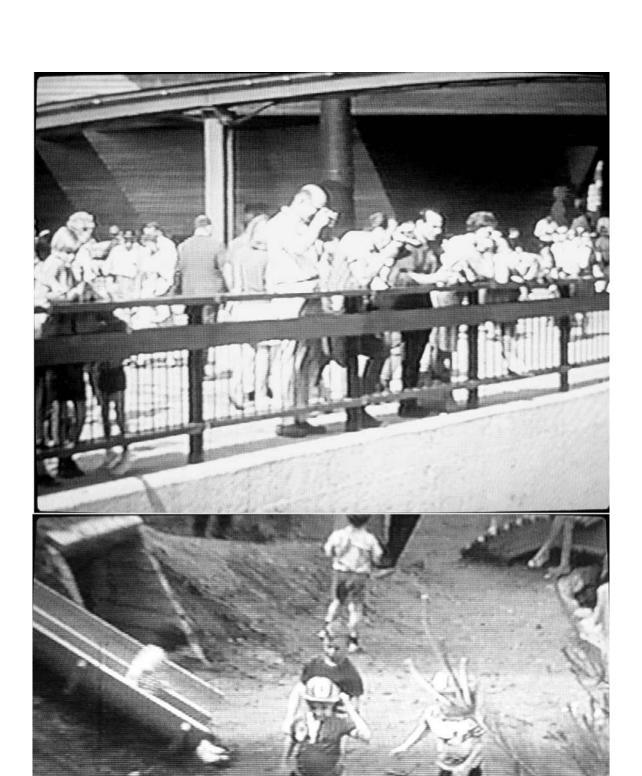
³⁹³ Participant #2. Interview by author. Montreal, QC. Febryary 4, 2010. (male, too young for Expo, La Ronde staff)

³⁹⁴ Gillis, "Epilogue," 317

³⁹⁵ Ibid

³⁹⁶ Abigail Van Sylck, "Camp Ahmet" in Lerner, Loren, ed. Depicting Canada's Children, (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009), 49.

³⁹⁷ Deborah Phillips, "Narrativised spaces: the Functions of Story in Theme Parks," in Leisure / Tourism Geographies, David Crouch, ed. (London: Routledge, 1999), 91.



Eilers, 71

4.2 Lesson Two: Children need to be on Display, Subject and Object

"Similar to the ways that ontological experimentation spawned crowd-pleasing spectacles, the subjugated native body also provided a form of public entertainment as onlookers gazed in awe at the seemingly strange "creatures." ³⁹⁸

The site of Children's World sets up a binary condition as illustrated by figure 24 from the movie, *Expo '67 Revivez les Moments Exaltants*. The children are watched by adults, and likely, they can feel this gaze regulating their behaviors. In this place children act similarly to the representation in the film *A Time to Play*, children are actors rehearsing what they believe their re their future roles. Play can be seen as a preparation for "real life," many times play assists in children's socialization and this type of play is encouraged by adults in communities like school, home, and church. 399

The site circulation also works to display and commodify the children themselves. Similarly to Children's World, they become display in the exhibit "Kid Size." Additionally cats become display in Brian Jungen's "Habitat '04: Cats Radiant City." I compare these intentionally. Castañeda suggests that categorically we have far too strict a division between child and animal. Theoretically, I consider what if we did compare playgrounds to zoos. Is it not possible that some people subjectify children similarly to animals? At Children's World and the Children's Creative Center children are display objects and have not yet developed their own subject-hood.

Additionally, Casteneda explains many theorists', such as Deluze, Guattari, Lyotard, and Foucault, views on children in terms of subject-object relations. I prefer her interpretations of Foucault. She writes that he defines childhood as an "uninhabitable space that realizes the philosophical subject and its thinking in a transformative guise." As well, "... to be a subject, according to Foucault, one must necessarily undergo a continual process of subjection." If understood correctly, this definition implies that childhood is a condition or a process (subjectification) that anyone can inhabit. Additionally, childhood is a transitory state, becomingness, or potentiality. This subjectification process is that it is a constant shifting of power. The power is contained within the subject-object relationship. In this theory, at times children are objects upon which impressions

³⁹⁸ Schuppli, 8.

³⁹⁹ Stephen Richer, "Sex-Role Socialization and Early Schooling." Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology 16, no. 2 (1979): 195-14.

⁴⁰⁰ Abigail A. Van Slyck, "Kid Size: The Material World of Childhood: An Exhibition Review." Winterthur Portfolio 39, no. 1 (2004): 69-77.

⁴⁰¹ Cynthia Hammond, "Habitats for Animots: An Exploration of Habitat 67 and Brain Jungen's "Habitat 04: Cats Radiant City" Blackflash, Special Issue: Exposé 67 22, no. 2 (2004): 33.

⁴⁰² Castañeda, 49.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 145

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Katz, 7.

are put. Likewise, at times, adults are objects that children put their beliefs on. I see this relationship of subject-objects as one that can flip at any time. For example, by putting children on display the spaces assist in making children objects until children become cognizant of this watching, and in turn, the adults become audience for children. As Foucault says this is a process. The child, as display-object, becomes a curiosity as a zoo animal or cat might.

Another interpretation of children is that they can also be viewed, as Cindi Katz suggests, as an ornament for the parent, like a fashion accessory. The parents, such as those shown in figure 24, are proud and are photographing, presumably, their own children at play. Children can be seen as an advertisement for parent's consumption, as an icon of their perfect family life or childhood. Children are a value, an investment, and represent embedded work. Like resources, they are an investment in the future, and the nation. These spaces commodify childhood and represent it as a universally consumable product. Conversely, imagine the privacy granted at the Youth Pavilion. Children, as they develop, are given increasingly more spatial privacy. In this way, they are less and less objects, but become subjects.

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⁴⁰⁶ Ibid; Castañeda, 146.

¹⁰⁷ If it helps, while reading Nancy Chordow, The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978). by, I received the impression in her description of Freud that infants (before 6 months) do not understand the difference between self and other. Similar I think is subject and object.

⁴⁰⁸ Katz, 5-17.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid

⁴¹⁰ labor investment – the child will produce for the farm, a return investment – the child will return the favor and look after them one day, or a capital investment – the child will produce more in his or her lifetime because of the advantages the parents gave them (like special classes and increased parent involvement

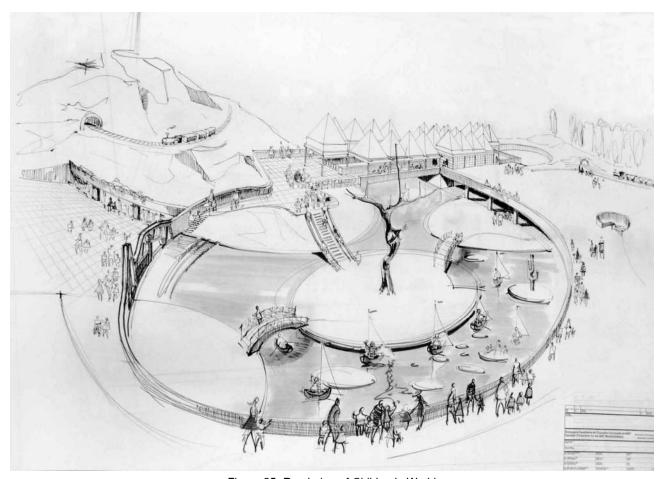


Figure 25: Rendering of Children's World from CAC archives. (ID: 6505 1965-66; folder 1 of 3)

"Nostalgia is the desire to re-create something that has never existed before, to return to some place we've never been and to reclaim a lost object we never possessed."

⁴¹¹ Henry Jenkins, *The Children's Culture Reader.* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 4.

4.4 Lesson Four: Childhood is an Uninhabitable Place

Childhood, representing the constructed myth of a universal child, is an uninhabitable space. This myth is in a space created by both children and adults. In children's structures, such as the ones described in this paper, we see that separation of parent and child allows the adult to reaffirm this myth, and perhaps recall an altered, nostalgic view of their own childhood. Figure 25 depicts the separation of child and adult and reveals itself as only a representation. Spatially, the tree in the center island could not support the bridge on the other side. The design of children's spaces support a myth, an improvable facet in our cultural repertoire.

"... between utopias and these quite other sites, these heterotopias, there might be a sort of mixed, joint experience, which would be the mirror. The mirror is, after all, a utopia, since it is a placeless place. In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent: such is the utopia of the mirror."

The children's spaces at Expo are mirror spaces. The above quote is from Foucault's "Of other Spaces," which was posthumously published. It is short and difficult to understand. In Expo's spaces for children, there is a separation between children and adults. I ponder the nature of this threshold. It is uninhabitable and unreal; it is a place of ideas (both imagination and memory). The mirror maybe a misleading metaphor, as in these spaces, or at least these at Expo, the threshold or edge is not distinct, but blurred. Here childhood relative to child is a farce. Childhood is constructed from nostalgic notions and thus has an ethereal or unreal status, similar to Foucault's mirror space. The threshold seems to separate child and adult. The physical separation augments the mirror status. If the adults were close to the children, hearing them, the nostalgia could not take hold of the adult's minds. Thus, what is on display is not the child, but childhood. Foucault is fascinated with subject-object relations. Read the following description as if you are a parent surveying your own child at Children's World or another space. At once, the parent sees the present child and his or her past childhood memory superimposed.

"From the standpoint of the mirror I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there. Starting from this gaze that is, as it were, directed towards me, from the ground of this virtual space that is on the other side of the glass, I come back towards myself; ... this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there."

Perhaps Expo was a heterotopia; rather than utopia. Foucault is confused exactly constitutes the difference. He defines heterotopias as spaces, "which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real

⁴¹² Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, "Of Other Spaces" Diacritics 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1986): 24.

⁴¹³ Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 24.

sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted." ⁴¹⁴ We saw at the beginning that the theme, "Man and His World," is inclusive and exhaustive of all of society. Additionally, he writes in the third principle that, "heterotopia is capable of juxaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible." ⁴¹⁵ This is the phenomena of the compressing of spaces on St. Helen's Island in the previous section on Children's Souvenirs.

Many authors have attempted to interpret Foucault's article. One instance is Edward W. Soja's *Thirdspace: Journey's to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. ⁴¹⁶ To Soja every theory is neatly packaged to say the same thing.

Likewise, I could make broad comparison montages from Jean Baudrillard's Hypertely ⁴¹⁷ to Guy Debord's spectacle. ⁴¹⁸ The spectacle lacks the power-struggle of surveillance in Expo's examples. ⁴¹⁹ These are all uninhabitable places, but that is about all they have in common. Additionally, Henry Urbach, a queer space theorist, has written on heterotopias. He asks the question, "How exactly do they [heterotopias] challenge normative spatial arrangements?" In this case, does the site of Expo challenge typical views of children and childhood?

Gillis' idea of memory islands is also an uninhabitable space. Neither adult nor child occupies the idealized site of childhood. As he points out, "The islanding of children must be considered a creation of adults, a response to their own needs rather than to those of children." Between islands, children can only navigate with help from adults. Not only has the idea of island shaped the way we think, but also spaces of amusement end up on islands. Expo is no exception. At times, it did rain at Expo; tild created dry memory islands that help to "preserve a pristine, enduring image of childhood, the bedrock of adult's sense of who they are. People ... want to return."

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⁴¹⁴ Foucault, "Of other spaces," 24

⁴¹⁵ Foucault, 25

⁴¹⁶ Edward W. Soja, Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places. (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996), 145-162.

⁴¹⁷ Jean Baudrillard and Jim Fleming. Fatal Strategies. (New York: Semiotext(e), 1983; 1990).

⁴¹⁸ Debord, Guy, Society of the Spectacle, Detroit: Black & Red. 1967: 1983.

⁴¹⁹ Soja, 150. (quoting Derek Gregory

⁴²⁰ Urbach, Henry 'Writing architectural heterotopia', The Journal of Architecture 3, no. 4 (1998): 349

⁴²¹ Gillis, Islands of the Mind.

⁴²² Gillis, "Epilogue," 317.

⁴²³ Gilis, Islands of the Mind, 157-158

⁴²⁴ Expo '67 Revivez les Moments Exaltants. [St-Laurent, Quebec]: Imavision 21, 1997. (4 videocassettes, 480 min). End of volume 3, "bloopers of expo" in the rain for closing credits

⁴²⁵ Gillis, 158

Conclusion: The Space of Material Culture, the Material Culture of Space

"... we are able to approach the past from an intellectual standpoint. Recognizing that the past is slipping to oblivion, we wish to rescue what we can. In the process we not only can reclaim the people and the culture of an earlier time but also enlarge and enrich our general conception of the world – and thereby, inevitably, though perhaps unintentionally, a sense of ourselves."

One of my axioms as a researcher is the idea that space controls behavior. The above quote by Tuan is an allusion to Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*. Thus, it is important to understand what messages are hidden in the artifacts of children's spaces. As the title suggests, I am attempting to use methodology of material culture and artifact study to research space. Part of my argument, is that spaces should be studied as material culture. André Jansson suggests that we should, "think of spatial arrangements as texts." I use similar approach to artifacts and texts. Children do not understand that it is the space that is making them feel a certain way, so there is no way for them to understand and remedy the situation. 430

The thesis began with an introduction to the methodology of material culture with a special emphasis on children, which highlighted some of the key issues in this research. Many of the issues in subsequent chapters depend on the thoughts of the authors featured in the literature. The review, I hope is very important in framing the entire thesis. The comparison section is thoughts on how I would frame artifacts. Curiously, at the beginning I frame them pretty simply, such as other films or songs at Expo. As pages are turned, artifacts get larger and larger. I compare entire spaces such as the Children's Creative Centre; and then these spaces to each other. Finally, I compare the entire site of Expo and relate it to heterotopias. The intention of artifacts is revealed in discussions of guidebooks that women and children are not the audience. Later, I allude to the uninhabitable space of childhood that it is neither solely for child nor for adult. The relation between the two is important; and both become the audience who would like to view this idealized (from the adult point of view) childhood and (from the child point of view) adulthood. Children and Adults have expectations that they place on the other. The agency of artifacts is linked to adult's conceptions of childhood through representations of it. Childhood is a natural resource, it is potentiality, and it is before culture. Later we see artifacts' agencies in spaces that inform our prescriptive behaviors.

The thesis concludes with theoretical resources' definitions of children and childhood. The remainder of the work is a hybrid between the two. I encourage the thought that the writing and ideas have become more and more complex over the course of this work. The theory is purposefully introduced towards the end. In cases like the Children's Creative Centre a

⁴²⁶ Tuan, 472.

⁴²⁷ Foucault, Michel. Discipline and Punishment. (New York: Vintage Books (Random House), 1977; 1995).

²⁸ Katharine Ames and Martinez and Kenneth L., ed. The Material Culture of Gender, the Gender of Material Culture. (London: University Press of New England, 1997). A wordplay of this title.

⁴²⁹ Jansson, "Encapsulations," 420

Day, Christopher, and Anita Midbjer. Environment and Children: Passive Lessons from the Everyday Environment. Amsterdam; London: Architectural, 2007. Day describes the group of children ages six to eleven as being particularly interesting to study because they relate to their environment through their senses and do not yet distinguish the otherness of the environment, or its impact on their feelings.

reader will hopefully accept my points. Later, if reading further, he or she will understand that the point of voyeurism (and surveillance) is crucial in a theoretical context. Another although less apparent example is the song, "A Place to Stand" although the song starts with children, the voices evolve. This alludes to the fragile and fluid boundary of what socially constitutes a child, which is later explained further in the threshold at Children's World. Intentionally, I included aspects pertaining to teens and youths because of this unclear boundary. Additionally, the sense of entitlement I write about relates to children as extensions of their parents. This in turn, might be seen as parent agency or representation of parents in the future. I think, like artifacts, we design or train children, whether we know what we are doing or not. In most all of the artifact essays explore Upton's "maker-object-user triad." It is in the discrepancy between maker and user that we locate the artifact's agency. The three chapters emphasize different categories of artifacts. The fourth chapter is a case study of looking at multiple scales within the same artifact. Media is not even ephemeral in that it does not exist; it is not tangible at all. Yet, I have attempted to treat them as artifacts.

In the first chapter, I begin by studying the themes and sub-themes of Expo. These relay that Expo was to capture a man's perspective. In addition, that Man in this instance meant man. I ask, where are women's and children's views of the world? These themes also have much to say about our relationship to nature. In the following sections, I describe representations of children in film, songs, and image. Similar to the themes, in films, the relationship between child and nature is explored. Children are depicted in multiple ways, much like the multiple paths in a Labyrinth. These films used multi-screen technology to represent children on a continuum between nature and culture. A part of nature is its resources. In song, I show that children are a potential site to harvest such resources. In song and film, the child is an unknown variable with presumed potentiality. As we see later (Section 4.1) this is translated into space through the abundance of various activities. Lastly, in image popular marketing images children are seen by architects as dependant upon adults whereas the most popular marketing images may be closer to depicting reality that children are independent.

This brings us to chapter two, which starts by discussing souvenirs as being key components to recall memories. Additionally these souvenirs reflect that people view the compressed site of Expo as a grouping of souvenirs, in this case structures such as pavilions. The space of the world is compressed into the islands of Expo. I say this collapse of space is caused by communication, travel, and symbolic cultural representation. As we see in the final section, this is one characteristic attributed to Foucault's Heterotopia. One such, cultural symbol, is examined through the U.S. Pavilion. Then, it is onto postcards. These items allow communication of major Expo features. Primarily the postcards are from children, written during Expo. In the other chapters, child memories are seen through the added lens, or baggage, of adulthood. The following section is devoted to Passports. Passports relayed the idea of travel. Additionally they are key tools to turn Expo into the

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⁴³² Upton, "Form and User," 166.

scavenger hunt. In this extremely small study, two passports are compared. In this case Glen the youth plays more by the rules of collecting one stamp of every type, while Howard's passports shows a more fluid use of the site. The last section speaks about how artifacts, such as guidebooks, could shape our understanding of events and spaces. Lastly, bodily needs may dictate our site use.

These bodily sites may determine where groups gather or self-initiated ghettoization. Soja calls this "geohistory of otherness" and for Gillis this is one of many ideas within "islanding." This is what the third chapter explains. It begins optimistically with evidence that not all children are ghettoized into their own, specially designed, areas. Many memories of children recount other spaces. Additionally, I describe the corporal experience of arrivals to Expo's island which made it seem like a whole new world. Now we move to a critical look at these spaces with "children in mind." At the Children's Creative Centre, children were more visible doing activities that are gendered as male. The classroom spaces and interactive art spaces are sheltered from rain and view. Additionally, adults are privileged with viewing down upon childhood from a safe distance. This separation, only by sight not sound, helps with the myth of childhood and adulthood. All the spaces explore the idea of potentiality; additionally, the essay on La Ronde explores the unquestioned myth that children like bright colored objects. At the Youth Pavilion, as seen in *We are Young* (1.1), program designers believe teens to be lively and unfocused. Yet, as seen in the passport usage some are focused enough to experience every facet at Expo.

The last chapter is, in part, a kind of conclusion. Through the one space of Children's World we see same themes repeated that are in the other three spaces designed for children and in other artifacts. The themes include variety as potentiality and the use of Gillis and other's "mythical landscapes," subject/object surveillance seen through Castañeda's reading of Foucault, and the mirror space the uninhabitable place between subject/object which in these buildings perpetuates the myth of childhood. I have many regrets. In terms of order, I thought children's creative centre should be later, but in terms of moving around the site of Expo it made sense to look outside La Ronde. La Ronde was one big child space with many smaller within. I was hoping to compare literature review examples more closely to artifacts, perhaps scattering throughout. I also intended to tell the history of Expo through its artifacts, which I did in part, but not to my expectations. Furthermore, I hope it was fun, lively, and informative. We, as designers, put our(child)selves into our designs. I think of writing like design, it starts loose and sketchy and becomes more refined. This process is similar to Castañeda's becomingness; the child, and for that matter adult as well, are continually in process.

433 Soja, 154

⁴³⁴ Kelly, 22

Appendix A: Postcards from Expo.

Appendix A-1: <43> postcards : col. ; 10 x 15 cm. CCA Call No.:T752 (ID:92-F210)

"Aunt Margaret + Uncle Lucien, There are a lot of interesting things in Montreal so I'm told I haven't seen very many Peter Lanes Albert Anthony Wheeler"

Appendix A-2: postcards: col.; 10 x 15 cm. CCA Call No.:T752 (ID:92-F210)

"Dear Paul, On the front of this card is the best pavilion at the fair, the pavilion of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic. I like Expo very much see you when I come back. Your friend, Steven"

Appendix A-3:<43> postcards : col. ; 10 x 15 cm. CCA Call No.:T752 (ID:92-F210)

"Was happy to receive your P.C. of the Ontario Pavilion at Expo. I hope you will come to see us soon so you will see as many things at Expo as possible. Love, Jackie, xxx"

Appendix A-4: <43> postcards: col.; 10 x 15 cm. CCA Call No.:T752 (ID:92-F210)

"Comrade Bozarthovitch, This place is great! You could wear your mini-dress & fit right in. The fair is just fantastic talk to you soon. Love Carolyn"

Appendix A-5:

http://cgi.ebay.ca/Expo-67-Montreal-Canada-

Postcard_W0QQitemZ400053929333QQcmdZViewItemQQptZLH_DefaultDomain_0?hash=item5d25128575

<accessed 23 March 2010>

"Dear Aunt Jenny and all, How are you? Everything is GREAT up here. I am having a great time. The fair is fabulous but is CROWDED. You can't see anything unless you stand on huge lines! We are on our way to much now to see some more.

Love Ed [P.S.] I bought a huge rocket + lots of firecrackers."

Appendix A-6: http://cgi.ebay.ca/ws/eBayISAPI.dll?ViewItem&item=180537083333&ssPageName=ADME:B:SS:CA:1123

"Hi, One day down at Expo, There are lots of people and lines we have spent time waiting in line. Food always speeds us up and away we go again. So far we haven't been too impressed. We are staying with a lovely couple who have 3 children + Haven't had any trouble on the trip. Bill & Silvia"

Appendix A-7: http://cgi.ebay.ca/ws/eBayISAPI.dll?ViewItem&item=180537083333&ssPageName=ADME:B:SS:CA:1123

"Dear Grandma, The marvelous Dutch Pavilion is first on our list of things to see today, I wish we could take you along. Montreal is a lovely city. Expo great fun. Much love, Barbara"

Appendix A-8: http://cgi.ebay.ca/ws/eBayISAPI.dll?ViewItem&item=180537083333&ssPageName=ADME:B:SS:CA:1123

"Dear Lois: Wish you could have gone with me on this tour. My room-mate is an old maid school teacher of [indecipeherable word] decent from Minnesota. She slipped and fell yesterday and wasn't able to get out to the fair today. She is an odd person. I'll have to tell you of her when I return. The whole trip has been worth while. Love, Linda Letesh"

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