

## Networked Simultaneities in the Time of the Great Exhibitions: Media and the 1914 Oslo Centenary Jubilee Exhibition

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In media-historical research, the experience of mediated simultaneity is primarily seen as a function of the much-discussed ability of certain media to impart a sense of vicarious presence. This article argues that mediated simultaneity also vitally depends on the physical movement of people, objects, and information along networks of transport. In the case of the Great Exhibitions of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, technologies of transport and media representation went together to allow the Great Exhibition crowds a sense of simultaneity with the event. The article's conceptual discussions are illustrated with the case of the Centenary Jubilee Exhibition, held in Oslo in 1914. Analysis is based on document and print material from the exhibition and on its comprehensive newspaper coverage.

*Keywords: Great Exhibitions, world's fairs, simultaneity, media event, network, crowd communication*

The Great Exhibitions (also variously called Universal Exhibitions or World's Fairs) were pervasively mediated events. They were also events of crowd communication on an unprecedented scale. These two aspects of the exhibitions provide mutually supplementary avenues to understanding simultaneity, a key theme of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the heyday of the Great Exhibitions. Major exhibitions are still held today roughly following the same template: They draw great crowds and significant media coverage, particularly in major Asian economies (Greenhalgh, 2011). Still, the scale and societal impact of the Great Exhibitions reached its apex in the era of Western industrialization and colonization. The exhibitions came to symbolize this era in many respects: They were symbols of progress and enlightenment, of commodity capitalism and a certain Western impulse to encompass, order, and dominate the world (e.g., Bennett, 1988; Greenhalgh, 1988; Mitchell, 1989; Rydell, 1984). Although often world encompassing in their rhetoric, they routinely also served nationalist purposes and ideologies (e.g., Böger, 2010; Brenna, 1995; Rudeng, 1995).

The Great Exhibitions were in the vanguard of that time's culture and entertainment industries. The media aspects of the exhibitions have been much discussed by historians of culture, ideas, and the

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media (seminally, Benjamin, 1992; Simmel, 1991; see also, e.g., Ekström, Jülich, & Snickars, 2006; Geppert, 2013; Gunning, 1994; Schwartz, 1998). A number of studies have demonstrated the pervasive presence of media in them. As examples of the latest and most advanced technology, the media were themselves on display. Cinemas, photographic ateliers, news and other print presses, telephone and wire centers would routinely be part of the exhibition grounds. The entertainment sections of the exhibitions, which grew steadily in importance over time, in themselves constitute a key chapter in the early history of the entertainment industries. The Great Exhibitions were historical media events in the sense that the workings of media were so central to them that they can scarcely be imagined without the media (e.g., Bösch, 2010; cf. Dayan & Katz, 1992; for a conceptual discussion, see Ytreberg, 2016). Media regularly played an integral part in mobilizing support for the exhibitions and were crucial to spreading information about their attractions and how to attend; periodical media covered the exhibitions intensely, providing arenas both for publicity and discussion about the exhibitions' qualities and significance. Also, media preserved information and representations of the exhibitions, enabling their societal and historical impact. A realization of the extent and impact of mediation in the history of the exhibitions has probably played a part in leading some researchers to characterize this kind of exhibition as itself being a medium (e.g., Brenna, 2002) or a mass medium (e.g., Geppert, 2013).

As for the crowds, the exhibitions' record numbers of visitors are well established. These were events of crowd gathering and crowd communication on a massive scale. The largest ever exhibition was Paris 1900, with almost 51 million registered visitors (Findling, 1990). These great crowds, or "masses," were a major intellectual preoccupation of the time (e.g., Le Bon, 1996; Tarde, 2011). Because of a perceived inherent unstableness and irrationality, such crowds were seen to need disciplining, to have their energies usefully and responsibly channeled. Such a channeling became a major concern for exhibition administrators both in ideological and logistical terms. Alexander Geppert (2013) has made the point that these crowds needed not just to be controlled at any given spot where they gathered but just as much to be moved around in a systematic and orderly fashion—to, from, and within the exhibition.

The experience of mediated simultaneity was a key feature of these exhibitions. Via ongoing media representations of the unfolding event, publics were formed out of the crowds as they were socially mobilized to take a position in support of enlightenment, progress, and national pride (see the discussion of publics in Dayan, 2001). This article argues that mediated simultaneity was a function not only of media's much-discussed ability to impart a sense of vicarious presence in these exhibitions, however. Just as much, the experience of simultaneity was predicated on the physical movement and attendant social interaction of people. The networks in question consisted of technologies that shaped people's social relations (Harvard & Lundell, 2010; Kittler, 1990). They enabled communication in the sense of "organized movement and action," as suggested by Jonathan Sterne (2006, p. 118). These networks allowed exhibition crowds to experience various forms of physical and mediated presence at the event when and as it happened. They also made possible a simultaneous dissemination of the event nationally and internationally. In addition to the media technologies themselves, this networking vitally included technologies of modern transport such as regular nationwide train and steamship services. As for institutions, these involved the political, cultural, and economic elites in close cooperation with the exhibition organizers. In this article, a network is primarily seen as an organized and socially ordered means of moving people through space with the concerted use of technologies and institutions.

The ambition of the article is partly to bring together different conceptions of technologically facilitated simultaneity and to provide a concrete illustration of how such an approach may be fruitful with the case of the Centenary Jubilee Exhibition, held at the Frogner district in Oslo (then Kristiania) in 1914 (see also Ytreberg, 2014a). This exhibition was much smaller in scale than the largest and best known Great Exhibitions—such as the 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition in London, the Philadelphia 1876 Centennial Exposition, the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and the Paris Expositions Universelles in 1887, 1889, and 1900. The Oslo exhibition belonged to a family of Nordic exhibitions (Copenhagen in 1888, Stockholm in 1897) that were regional in scope, in contrast to the global thrust of the major European and American exhibitions. This article deals mainly with features of the Oslo exhibition that were shared with those major exhibitions and that relied on the exhibition template they provided.

In terms of empirical material, the article's discussions of the 1914 Oslo Centenary Jubilee Exhibition is based on three main types of sources: a two-volume report from the exhibition (Brinchmann, 1923); the comprehensive newspaper coverage of the report, including the exhibition's own dedicated newspaper (*Utstillingsavisen*, 1914); and a variety of document materials from the exhibition housed in Norwegian museums and collections. The analysis of newspapers is based on newspaper coverage gathered under the auspices of the fair's Press and Advertising Committee (Mohr, 1900–1916). This material comprises 72 volumes, each consisting of approximately 100 pages of clippings. Its advantage lies in being comprehensively and systematically gathered; a possible limitation is that the material may overrepresent sympathetic coverage. The limitations chiefly concern certain political topics, such as town planning and financing, rather than issues directly related to simultaneity and its representation. Supplementary empirical material, including catalogues, exhibition guides and other printed material, and photographs and film footage, has been accessed from the Norwegian National Library, Oslo City Museum, the Norwegian National Archives, and the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History. For a more exhaustive, book-length account, see Ytreberg (2014a).

### **Theories of Simultaneity and Networks of Transport**

A host of conceptualizations exists to account for what happened to the sense of temporality as media technologies made possible new and drastic reorderings of space and time during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A common starting point has been the way media such as film, the telegraph, and the printing press enabled communication over great distances, causing a converging or compressing of time and space. The process involved a "distanciation" of people from their physical times and places and at the same time made possible their connection with other people who were physically distant (Giddens, 1990; Harvey, 1991). John B. Thompson (1995) has spoken of the late 19th and the early 20th centuries as a time of "despatialized simultaneity." His argument about the relationship between locality (being physically lodged in a certain time and place) and simultaneity is fairly typical of the research literature: Simultaneity displaces locally based experience, and the link between communication and locality is made representative of "earlier historical periods" before temporal delays in communication were "virtually eliminated" by telegraphs and telephones (Thompson, 1995, p. 32). The result is a society where media make possible a sense of "meanwhile" that unifies national communities across the empty, linear clock time of modernity (Anderson, 1983).

A seminal discussion on the historical nature of simultaneity has been provided by Stephen Kern, who writes about simultaneity as “the ability to experience many events at the same time” (1983, p. 67). He heads off the discussion of simultaneity in *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* with the *Titanic* disaster in 1912, which was profoundly shaped by the technology of telegraphy. When the ship collided with an iceberg, emergency wire signals were sent out. They were picked up by boats and on land, causing a series of rescue actions to be taken simultaneously with the boat sinking. The wireless is perhaps the most striking example of a media technology of the time that afforded a radically expanded sense of simultaneity. Alongside, Kern puts the telephone, the press, and film—the last for its ability to represent the simultaneous with montages, double exposures, and cuts.

Kern brings together the affordances of then-new media technologies with contemporary philosophical and artistic discourses about simultaneity: Hugo Münsterberg’s claim that cinema conveys the effect of “being simultaneously here and there” (cited in Kern, 1983, p. 71); the use of cinema-influenced montages in James Joyce’s literature; the near-obsession with simultaneity evidenced in vitalist, cubist, and futurist art. The resulting experience Kern calls a “thickened present,” where the moment expands to include the subject’s temporal protensions and retensions, in addition to the intersubjective experience of events together with great numbers of other physically distant subjects (Kern, 1983). Kern’s theories of simultaneity have become a standard point of reference for understanding temporality in media of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For instance, William Uricchio (2004) has developed Kern’s notion of simultaneity with respect to film, while Stephanie Marriott (2007) uses it as a reference in discussing television’s later forms of instantaneity, where the times of mediated production, distribution, and reception exactly coincide.

These contributions retain Kern’s focus on simultaneity over distance as something modern media uniquely provide, something available only through them. However, Kern does not discuss some interesting mediation aspects of early 20th century media events such as the *Titanic* disaster that concern the networks of transporting people, objects, and information. Wire emergency calls from the *Titanic* were picked up and redistributed along the wire as news by the Associated Press. These were picked up by newspapers, which printed and distributed the news the day after the sinking. Newspaper editors then dispatched journalists by telephone to follow up and report further ongoing coverage. It is worth noting that these transportation networks involved not only mediated information but also moments of crowd and interpersonal communication, as when the rescue ship *Carpathia* came to New York, was greeted by a crowd, and was literally boarded by journalists who were out to secure interviews and rights to amateur photographs taken by survivors (Bösch, 2008). Also worth noting are the ways that the networks that carried information about the *Titanic* disaster were at the same time networks of transporting people to and from the ship.

A number of media-historical contributions of the latter years have pointed to the close-knit relationship between communication, mediation, and transport. Armand Mattelart (1996) has demonstrated how closely interlinked the transport of symbolic messages and of people were in the period of industrialization. On a more general theoretical level, David Morley (2011) has argued for the enduring importance of material networks of communication—what he calls the transport of people, commodities, and information. Such networks allow a material mobility that involves cables, wires, and storage spaces—

even if this is not easy to see when the media produce powerful effects of presence and immediacy across space, as broadcasting and digital media do. Media are key enablers for such networks. In the premodern era, the medium of letters, for instance, facilitated communication over distances. Starting in the late 19th century, media such as the telephone and telegraph took over in ways that facilitated the sense of simultaneity over distance. John Durham Peters (2015) has written in a broad sense about the logistical and infrastructural function of media—with *media* including such technologies as clocks and calendars.

Transport networks are materially based but also profoundly social in the sense that they involve the organization of groups, crowds, and publics in the name of collective and societal enterprises. Major events such as the Great Exhibitions introduced a record scale to the physical gathering and movement of crowds to their designated sites for celebrating the progress and world dominance of Western nations. News of the exhibition event and information on how to attend it had to be distributed to audiences who could then be made collective participants in the event by means of physical transport. Upon arrival at the site of the event, these visitors needed to be moved around the site and made to interact with the fair in ways desirable to the organizers. Again, media helped to make this possible—and at the same time, media were used to control the agglomerations and movements of visitors and their articulation as publics in support of progress and national pride.

The period of industrialization greatly expanded not just the range of media platforms available for communicating about an event but also the facility for transporting record numbers of people over great distances. Thus, the major societal events of the day regularly became sites that accommodated crowds of record size and that were set up specifically for the purposes of mediation. Crowd events such as revolutions, coronations, and jubilees also increasingly involved a combination of great crowds and intensive coverage in newspapers, magazines, journals, and various other forms of popular media such as advertisements, posters, postcards, caricatures, popular songs, and picture albums. As for the Great Exhibitions, some research contributions have homed in on the media environments that attracted the crowds and provided them with information for cultural and civic uplift as well as entertainments and strong sensory stimuli (e.g., Geppert, 2013). Ekström, Jülich, Lundgren, and Wisselgren (2011) have argued persuasively that the active and pervasive participation of audiences during the exhibitions had important consequences beyond the events themselves. These exhibitions invited media participation not just on a broad basis but also in the witnessing of others participating. Their arenas for combining mediated and direct crowd communication were a training ground for becoming modern citizens in a society marked on the one hand by more democratic forms of publicness and on the other by private entertainment and leisure consumption.

### **Networks and the 1914 Oslo Exhibition**

With an estimated 1.5 million visitors and 2.7 million unique visits over five months to 214 fair buildings housing some 5,000 exhibitors, the Oslo Centenary Jubilee Exhibition was dwarfed by the great European and U.S. fairs (Brinchmann, 1923). It had a comparably vast scale relative to the nation that hosted it, however, because Norway at that time had only some 2.4 million inhabitants. No major Norwegian event lasting more than a few days has attracted equally large crowds before or since. Moreover, virtually all the visitors to the Oslo Exhibition were Norwegian. Initial ambitions were to make

the exhibition Nordic, but Denmark and Sweden had already held fairs in their capitals and were not so eager to now follow the lead of a marginal former colony. The focus of planning gradually shifted toward a fair commemorating the 100-year jubilee of the Norwegian constitution and the separation from Denmark in 1814.

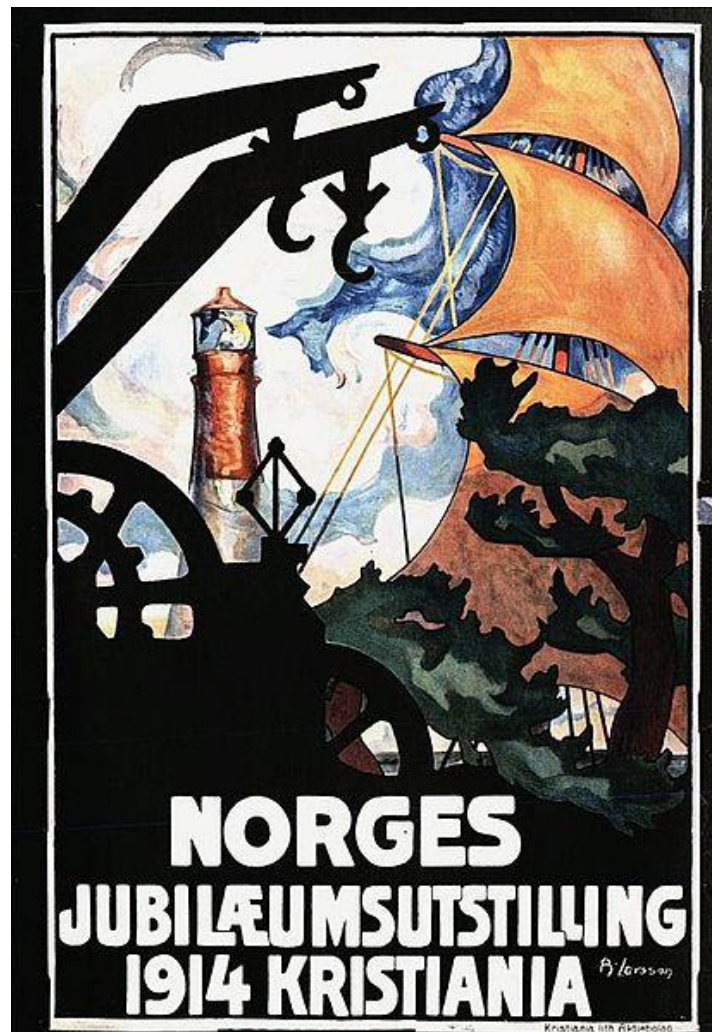
Thus a pointedly nationalistic theme was applied to the more international template of the world exhibitions. The director of the Oslo Exhibition, Torolf Prytz, claimed in a public statement that the fair was not made primarily to impress or attract other nations but to "demonstrate our ableness to our own people" (Prytz, 1912, p. 13; all quotations from the Norwegian have been translated by this article's author). It is crucial to bear in mind that the exhibition commemorated the centenary jubilee of Norway's liberation from political union with Denmark and that it took place only nine years after Norway gained national independence from Sweden. Norwegian national sentiment at this time was very much about signaling self-sufficiency and independence from other nations. The Oslo exhibition became a main arena for the symbolic playing out of such sentiments.

The successful establishment of a national arena depended on media with national distribution, and in 1914 these included newspapers in particular. The "pre-construction" of the event, as Susann Trabert (2010) has termed it, took place in the Norwegian media already in 1908, when Oslo's association of leading tradesmen and industrialists first published their plans for an exhibition (see the detailed account in Brinchmann, 1923, Vol. 1; Simonnæs, 2003). The plans would take on a final direction when state support for a constitutional jubilee theme was secured in 1912. At this point, the Press and Advertising Committee was established, under a central administration, alongside a number of other key logistical and organizational units, a good two years ahead of the actual opening of the exhibition. From this point on, information would go out from the central Oslo hub. The committee's motto was encapsulated thus by its director, T. A. Heiberg: "Our catchword was that in 1914, all Norwegian roads lead to the Jubilee Fair" (cited in Brinchmann, 1923, p. 276).

This information helped establish two kinds of networks with national reach. One was the exhibitor network. A nationwide system of local committees would advertise exhibitor space at the venue, evaluate would-be exhibitors, and then work with them under the oversight of the central Oslo administration. The network of transportation between Oslo and these local nodes around the land of course handled the movements of exhibits themselves. This was mainly done using trains, which also transported the exhibitors themselves to the Oslo venue. Exhibit transportation and construction at the venue were subject to detailed procedures formulated by and dictated from the central Oslo hub. This vitally involved print-mediated information at the early announcing stage and extensive telegraph communication back and forth between exhibitors, local selection committees, and the central Oslo administration.

The second network was the visitors' network, where information on how to attend went from the central exhibitors out via media, and visitors came back via trains and ships. The information campaign aimed at visitors was intensive and concerted. It included a campaign of advertisements in newspapers and journals and a poster campaign that ensured the official poster for the exhibition was hung in every train station and every coastal steamer destination in the country (Figure 1). Being a prospective visitor,

then, was partly a matter of accessing mediated information and partly of knowing that the same information was being simultaneously received and acted on by countless other Norwegians. The possibility of acting on it had been set in place at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, with the introduction of railway and coastal steamer infrastructure connecting the urban centers of southern and central Norway and many of the peripheral areas in between. From the whole of the most densely populated areas around Oslo and from regional urban centers such as Trondheim and Bergen, the exhibition could be reached in a day's journey or so.



**Figure 1.** *The official exhibition poster.  
Courtesy of the Norwegian National Library.*

The price of the trip was made affordable for broad sections of the people by a whole slew of subsidies. Fuelled by the idea of the fair as a celebration of Norwegian national unity, trades associations, industrialists, and government provided subsidies for travel, accommodations, and fair tickets. Thus a wide section of the Norwegian public outside of Oslo was introduced to modern tourism, making their debuts as tourists taking weekend or week-long trips on trains and ships to and from the exhibition.

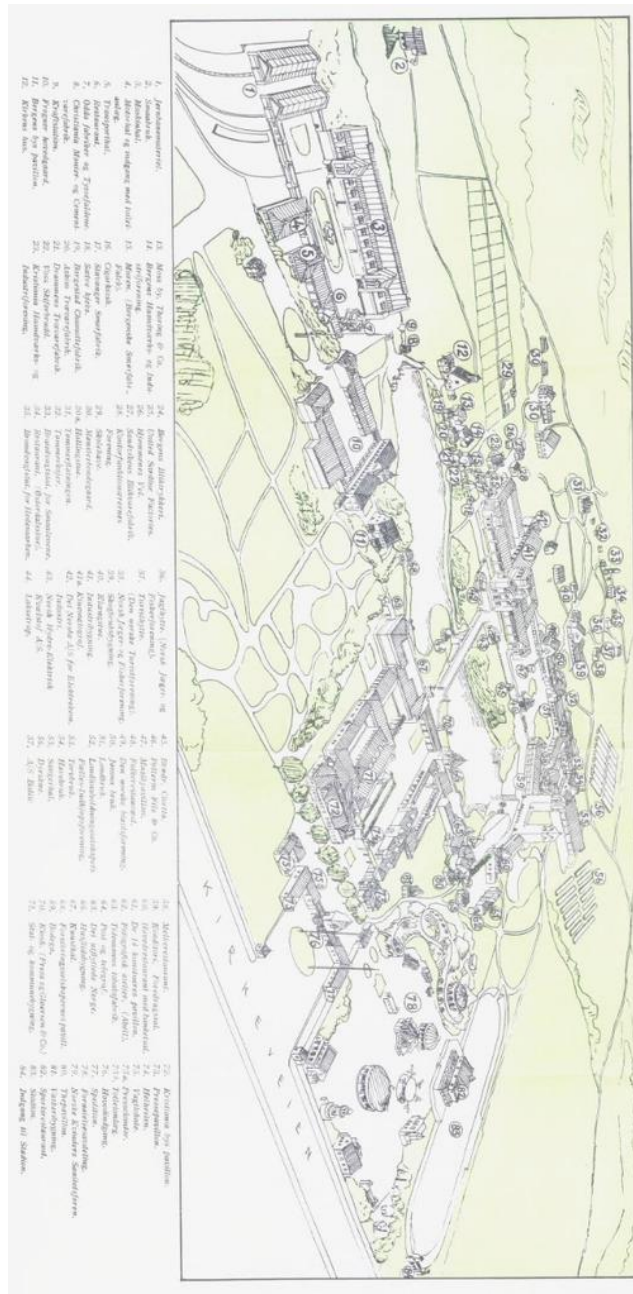
### **Crowd Movements Within the Exhibition**

The Oslo Centenary Jubilee Exhibition was held on the outskirts of the city, in a 54,000-square-meter area that is now central Oslo's largest park. It attracted daily crowds of tens of thousands people, going up to sizes of somewhere between 100,000 and 150,000 people on the opening and closing days (Brinchmann, 1923). In these circumstances, the effective channeling of crowds, and the need to ensure order and propriety, weighed on the exhibition's administrators. The price of admission—particularly for partout cards—was significant enough to ensure that the middle and upper classes would be overrepresented. At the same time, subsidies ensured that the fair also attracted significant numbers of working class visitors. This was a matter of making good on the exhibitors' claim to unify the nation. In his speech on the opening day, the minister for trade emphasized the fair's need to "attract interest in all walks of society" ("*Aapningshøitideligheten i Sangerhallen*" 1914, unpaginated) The fair would be a space where different classes and sections of society gathered. Given the large crowds that resulted, order was not just a matter of preventing clogging and confusion but also of controlling possible social tensions.

The practical work of disciplining the crowd (in the sense of channeling their physical movement and general behavior in ways consistent with the exhibition's aims) was a matter partly of exhibition design and partly of its mediated representations. The fairground walkways were constructed as an ellipse enclosing several small lakes. Entering the grounds from the main entrance, one passed along a main promenade leading to this ellipse. The promenade was surrounded by buildings with exhibitions with a predominantly serious and high-culture emphasis, such as the State and Municipalities Building, the City of Oslo Pavilion, and the Arts Building. The entrance to the exhibition's entertainment section was also from this main promenade and close to the main entrance. Thus access was made easy also for those who merely wanted entertainment; the exhibition administrators needed their ticket revenue and the boost to legitimacy that their numbers would provide. However, the ideology of the fair was very much about promoting its teaching moments and enlightenment opportunities.

Hence the main guide to the grounds, which was published by the Advertising and Press Committee and sold in great numbers, recommended a route that took the visitor down the promenade and around the ellipse (*Norges Jubileumsutstilling*, 1914; see Figure 2). It introduced the serious and high-culture attractions first, only gradually revealing the fair's possibilities for relaxation, eating, and finally entertainment. The guide included an overview map, which can be seen as a visualization of a visitors' network for transporting oneself through the exhibition. Here, the central ellipse around the two adjacent lakes and the central promenade linking it to the main entrance are laid out in the map's center. At the bottom is a numbering system for the various attractions and buildings. As in the guide text, the numbering suggests a sequence that privileges the legitimate, serious attractions and places the entertainment grounds as a last addition to an ideal visit.





**Figure 2. Map of the exhibition grounds, from the authorized exhibition guide. Courtesy of the Norwegian National Library.**

Whereas orderliness, geometrical layouts, and a generally clean white look dominated the architecture and exterior design of the serious parts of the fair, the entertainment grounds were allowed to be sprawling and loud. Here, undisciplined movements and behaviors were tolerated, to a degree. The serving of alcohol was restricted to prevent breaches of propriety, and bodily energies were channeled toward what the entertainment section's director called "harmless" attractions, such as roller coasters, halls of mirrors, and variety theater (cited in *"Frogner som fast forlystelsesetablissement"*, 1914). This was a version of what Peter Bailey has termed "rational recreation"—a view of entertainment as ideally being "safety valves for the mind . . . means for its pleasurable, profitable, and healthful exertion," in the words of one of its Victorian proponents (cited in Bailey, 1978, p. 37).



**Figure 3. Official postcard, main entrance of the Oslo Exhibition.  
Courtesy of the Norwegian National Library.**

The control over crowds was partly a matter of disciplining their movements and partly of using the visitors to promote an ideal image of the exhibition in the exhibitors' ongoing communication with distant others. The exhibition featured a number of media technologies for this purpose. Functioning telephone and telegraph units were set up, doubling as exhibits and actual opportunities for communicating simultaneously with absent others throughout Norway. Also, postcards with motifs from the exhibition were sold in large quantities and distributed via the exhibition's post office. In this "golden age of the postcard" (Rogan, 2005), distribution was so efficient that postcard messages could function as a key technology for ritual and cultural communication across distances. Since picture postcards could be

sent and received in urban areas within the space of only hours, such postcards from the exhibition were frequently used for coordinating travel schedules and making appointments to meet. In other words, they were integral parts of the transport networks to, from, and within the fair. At the same time, their motifs from the Oslo exhibition presented an idealized version of it. The postcards featured photographs from the exhibition organizers in which the crowds were largely absent while sleek white facades and Norwegian flags were forefronted in an ideal representation of Norwegian modernity (see Figure 3).

The use of such postcards and other technologies for staying in touch with others outside of the exhibition demonstrates how networks can create an ongoing sense of simultaneity between those present at the exhibition and those they are in contact with. And it demonstrates how a national public arises from these processes, created around the shared social experience of pride in a liberated and progressing Norway.

### **Synchronizing Crowds in the Exhibition Opening**

The media event of the Oslo Jubilee Exhibition was highly extended not just spatially but also temporally, to include several years of lead-in to the five-month opening period. An aftermath period of roughly a year could be added to the timeline, when the exhibition's legacy was discussed and the fate of its buildings and grounds debated in periodical media. As is often the case in these types of complex planned events, in effect it consisted of a series of subevents placed in a cumulative order. The subevent that came closest to being the exhibition's moment of climax was perhaps the opening, when two crowds were synchronized around the opening ceremonies in the sense of being temporally aligned and ordered (Jordheim, 2014). One was the gathering crowd of would-be visitors that filled the streets by the entrance to the exhibition on the opening day, May 15, 1914; the other was the crowd invited to the opening ceremony.

Again, the discipline of physical movement was central to the effect of simultaneity in the following subevent (see the accounts in, e.g., "En hurtigtur gjennom det hele," 1914; "Jubilæumsutstillingens første dag," 1914; "Norges Jubilæumsutstilling," 1914). The moment of opening was set for the arrival of the Norwegian king and his family, which happened immediately before 11:00 p.m. As his horse-drawn coach entered the exhibition, the crowds at the entrance were held back, allowing the coach to pass undisturbed through the fairgrounds to the Singers' Hall. Here, an audience of some 3,000 invited people waited, including the better parts of Norway's political, economic, and cultural elite. The elite status of this crowd stood in contrast to the much larger crowd of regular visitors waiting outside the main entrance. As the king entered the Singers' Hall, all 3,000 invited guests rose to greet him. At the same time, the message went back to the main entrance that the nonelite crowds could be let in, which happened approximately at 11:15 p.m., while the ceremony in the Singers' Hall was still going on. In other words, a synchronization of these two crowds took place that spoke both of the ways the fair was made available to both groups simultaneously and of the very unequal terms on which availability was granted. At the moment of opening, at 11:00 p.m., the body of the king served as the center of attention. Copresent around him was the crowd of the privileged, surrounded by the larger crowd of visitors funneled into the grounds by guards and police. This outside crowd (in both a geographical and a status sense) was able to know about the elite crowd in the Singers' Hall from the intense advance media coverage, and

from comprehensive program information distributed by the Committee for Advertising and the Press. In other words, a mediated synchronization of crowds took place that was not just about their physical placing and movement but also about their knowledge of experiencing the opening simultaneously, via media, in the name of national progress.

The opening ceremony in the Singers' Hall consisted of speeches by the king and various dignitaries, the first performance of a dedicated cantata, and finally the collective singing of the national anthem. This served as the collective end point of the ceremony, as the king's entrance had constituted the opening moment. The ceremony was comprehensively covered by the media, and the opening ceremony was quite consciously planned with media coverage in mind. The Committee for Advertising and the Press issued 200 press accreditations in advance. The opening and ceremony were the leading first features in the national newspapers the following day. They were also photographed and filmed. The photographs were widely distributed in newspapers and a range of other popular print media; the film was shown in cinemas around the country while the exhibition was still open. These became key components of a vicarious experience of the exhibition, run for a nationwide "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983) simultaneously with the running of the exhibition itself.

For the most part, media coverage of subevents such as the opening ceremony was neutral or positively inflected. A humorous and occasionally ironic tone did creep into some newspaper reports, however. The Danish newspaper *Politiken* wrote of the moment when the Norwegian national anthem was sung: "In this moment some scaffolding up in the gallery toppled, 8 photographers and a film cameraman fell through a glass roof, and cannon shots were heard over the fjord from afar. The Norwegian Jubilee Exhibition was opened!" (cited in "Den nordiske Presse om Utstillingen," 1914). No other sources report that this unlikely thing actually happened; in all likelihood, it is a humorous fiction. As such, it may speak to a certain Danish distancing from a ceremony that is heavily marked by Norwegian nationalism. However, it also seems to comment on what the journalist conceived of as a striking degree of in-your-face media coverage and media presence in the ceremony. And in the context of this article, it speaks to the logistical challenges physical movement also posed for the media professionals seeking vantage points that would allow cameras to capture the event as it happened.

### **A National Relay: Fair News**

A key mediated representation of the Oslo exhibition was its dedicated newspaper, *Utstillingsavisen* ( or "Fair News," 1914) (see Figure 4). This was published in two editions per day for the five-month duration of the fair. It was produced on a rotary press in one of the rooms of the exhibition's Press Pavilion, prominently placed along the main promenade. The machinery of the modern rotary press was part of the attraction for visitors, as was witnessing the process of printing itself. In other words, *Utstillingsavisen* was both a featured part of the exhibition and a media representation of it. Like the telephone and telegraph exhibits, it provides a further example of close interlinking of the networked movement of people and information, direct crowd experience of the exhibition, and the experience of its mediated representations.

*Utstillingsavisen* had a monopoly on presenting information on the host of arrangements, meetings, and events that were happening continually at the exhibition. The newspaper also carried advertisements for the exhibitors and news reports on various goings-on at the exhibition. It functioned as a supplement and an augmentation of the experience of being directly present in the crowds. *Utstillingsavisen* could be obtained for free at the exhibition grounds and used as a guide to the day's concerts, temporary exhibition hours, meeting times, and locales of various associations. In addition to these tools for physical navigation, the newspaper also contained more general features and news about the exhibition and news content that was not necessarily connected to it. Hence, *Utstillingsavisen* was also made to be taken away to be read outside of the immediate context of the fairgrounds. As such it facilitated a sense of simultaneity with the exhibition, a possibility for experiencing it medially, for instance, in one's home kilometers or miles away while it was going on.

A much wider distribution was also secured in the production arrangement for *Utstillingsavisen*, which was highly unusual. A host of already established Norwegian newspapers, both with national and regional reaches, took turns of two weeks each producing the paper. Since the production capacity of these newspapers was strained by taking on the production of one more newspaper, there was usually a significant overlap of material published in the original newspaper and the *Utstillingsavisen* version. As a result of the need to share content, the readership of the original newspaper was told about the exhibition, and the exhibition visitors were told about the regional or national collective that the original newspaper spoke to. In both cases, this reading experience happened simultaneously with the unfolding of the exhibition itself. For those who read *Utstillingsavisen* across several editions, the result was what one might call a virtual relay across the nation, one that symbolically linked the exhibition with part after part of Norway.

Again, the result of this virtual relay was to establish a connection with the exhibition event in Oslo and its simultaneous mediation. A national public reading periodical media was built simultaneously with the unfolding of the fair itself. Occasionally, sectional politics would appear in the *Utstillingsavisen* editions: the West Counties editions agitated for language reform, a longstanding regional cause, and North Norwegian editions agitated for better railroads in the north. As for the coverage of this virtual relay itself, the tone of *Utstillingsavisen* was either straightforwardly informational or celebratory, in the spirit of furthering national pride. As the exhibition administrators stated with some self-satisfaction in their final report: "One thing is for sure: Never has one single newspaper better represented the entire country" (Brinchmann, 1913, p. 205).

Dagbladets uke.

# Utstillingsavisen

Med det daglige program

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Nr. 1 (middagsutgave)      Utkommer 2 gange daglig i utstillingstiden.      Fredag 15. mai

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**Paa utstillingen serveres kun**  
**P. A. LARSEN: VINE | H. POULSEN & Co.s VINE**

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## KANTATE

### VED AAPNINGSFESTEN 15. MAI 1914.

Kantatens musik av hr. CHR. SINDING    Tekst av hr. NILS ETT VOGT

Medvirkende ved Kantatens opførelse:

**Solist:** Fru BORGHILD LANGAARD    **Kor:** Cælebrødersengen, Dagsarbejdernes Studenterforening, Handels- og Industriarbejdernes Sangforening, Høstens Korforening, Kristiania Handelsarbejdernes Sangforening, Kristiania Lærerevnes Blad- og Musikforening.

**ORKESTER:** Musikforeningens Orkester.

**KOR**  
**H**UNDREDE Aars Vaarfrø  
 med Kampfred og Lærni!  
 Fra Nord Maalte Vindens,  
 som Siden var varm.  
 Den aaslet sigt på Langsøder,  
 Den kaldte stert på Eivind.  
 Der steg saa mange av dem,  
 lange Fjerd og i Borden.

**H**UNDREDE Aars Vaarfrø  
 med Hæring og Føll!  
 Fra Syd Maalte Sølens,  
 naar Vindens var kold.  
 Den postet strengt paa Langsøder,  
 den løste sigt paa Eivind.  
 Der sank saa mange av dem,  
 og liges den nævner.

Saa mange, som stogtes,  
 som skild og stund —  
 For alle er jo Vaarst.  
 Den skæer med sig!  
 Den var et vakkert Vaarfrø  
 i Sol og Kilde Vind.  
 Om Natten kom Sjærens,  
 End var vi dem skæns.

**SOLO**  
 Brand Hæit, i høie Sjærens, brand over vor Gaard.  
 De stogtes er blæst en nær i Løkvindens staa.  
 Hvad nægtet vi evend og løst for villet,  
 sauset av os det i Ølms av Eders Hæit.

**REKAPTIV**  
 Op kom de til Edersold,  
 og Mæket det stød ned,  
 som i Hæit de kaldte  
 en Sol.  
 Hæit hændt den stert,  
 her løst den løst —

Og det var Aastandredet Sol.

De vandled, spogtes,  
 en spog de turte —  
 Naagt syntes hver Døgt med et,  
 i Mæket, som hille,  
 de laaned og maadede —

For Frihet og Mennekesvæit!

Et Tidens tæng,  
 just de kedes Sange  
 av Magt og skildig Rjål.  
 De nævtes, De vilde  
 Og siden? . . . Hvor stillet!

Naar vinder en Sone vi kelt!

Naar vinder vil Sange vi helt!

**KOR**  
 Kvi Norderlig efter,  
 Naar, Naar, Naar, Naar.  
 Og dug som av Kræfter  
 et Gjør sig, Solt!  
 Som Væket paa Vaarst  
 i Hæit og i Lærni!

Sigt Solt! O, sigt i hende Solt!

**SOLO**  
 Siden var hant!

**KOR**  
 Haar var Aastandredet spog Sol,  
 det brøfede Lærni,  
 og han steg over Landet, det skildede Land,  
 med Lyttende nævntes stert.

Sinæst av Haar og Sinæst av Tro  
 med Kraft til at nævte og varet!  
 Og Nægt det var et Edersvæit Born,  
 som han i hans sigende Aarst.

Nægt, som skild og varet, det var,  
 han kaldte det vakkert blæst Lærni . . .  
 Og nævnt et Henrik Wærgelands Naar,  
 da hæit i Lærni vi var Hæit.

Nævnt et Henrik Wærgelands Naar,  
 da hæit sterte Gæst og Pæst.  
 Vi løst i Skynd og Ringesvæit  
 en Lærni som av vakkert Vaarst.

Fær i Mæket han nævnte skær,  
 skær han hant som spogtes til Tæll.  
 O Lærni? . . . Av spog, det Hæitvæit,  
 det Hæitvæit Hæit, fra av Bæit.

**SOLO**  
 Men skær et Hæitvæit.  
 Den skæer med sig!  
 Og skær var til Dæit  
 som skær og dit.  
 Hvor Siden kom Sinæst  
 til nævntes Eivind,  
 det er det hant, av Kæit  
 og Væit og nævnt.

**REKAPTIV**  
 Hæit Fær i Mæket, han nævntes skær,  
 det skær just den Væit, som av Eivindens hær.  
 Vi nævntes den skær i alle de skær,  
 til Skæit var varet og Siden var var.  
 Hæit i alle skær, skær hant over en hær  
 en Lærni og nævnt.

Naar nævnt, som var nævnt . . . Av skæit, i Skæit,  
 et hant av skær og hant i hær med Skæit.

Et nævnt, arbeitvæit, hantet Tog —  
 Og det var var Væit, av nævnt av hær,  
 av Fæitvæit Tæit, av Fæitvæit Hæit  
 det skildede Land.

Skær av vi i Kæitvæit Hæitvæit Skæit,  
 det hær av til Skæitvæit Hæitvæit hær er!  
 Vi saa over Skæit og skæitvæit Fæit.  
 Vi saa, og vi saa . . . For en hæitvæit Kæitvæit!  
 Og gær, og hær av en Lærni av Hæit  
 og Lærni og hær.

Kæitvæit av Skæitvæit hær i hærvæit Hæit,  
 da hær av av hær med Eivindvæit hær.  
 Det hær av i Fæitvæit hærvæit og hær  
 og hær av i hærvæit og Fæitvæit hær.  
 Kæitvæit hær av i hærvæit hær  
 hær hær av i hær.

Hæit over hær dagvæit Hæitvæit av Skæit,  
 hær hær væit hærvæit hær hær  
 Skær ind i sig skær! Det er Fæitvæit hær!  
 Og væit av hær, av hær væit av hær!  
 Det er, og det er, av det, hær av hær,  
 vil skær av hær.

Ma Fæit, av hær Fæit, hær av det hær av hær  
 — hær av hær av hær av hær av hær —  
 og hær av av hærvæit hærvæit hær  
 av hærvæit hær, av hærvæit hær —  
 hær over hær hær av Skæit, i hær hær  
 hær skæit av hær.

Vi hær av hær, og vi hær av i Skæit,  
 vi hær av av hær av hær av hær av hær,  
 et væitvæit, arbeitvæit, hærvæit Tog  
 av hær og hærvæit Væit. — Og skær  
 Skæit nævnt var væit og hær, hær,  
 hær var hær dog skær!

Væit skær, av Fæitvæit hærvæit hær  
 vi hær av hær av hær av hær av hær,  
 i hærvæit hærvæit hærvæit hær,  
 Og hær av hær, av hær av hær, —  
 Det hær av til Skæit, i hærvæit hær  
 hær av hær dog er!

Saa nævnt i hær! — Men Fæit hær skær,  
 hær væit av hær. Og hær hær, som vi hær!  
 Til hær av hær av hær av hær av hær!  
 I hær, var hær, av det hær, som hær!  
 Til hær av hær av hær av hær av hær  
 og Fæitvæit hær!

**SOLO MED KOR.**  
 O, Eivind det hær i hær Skæit  
 og Fæit, hær hær. Det er hær, hær  
 med Skæit av hær over hær Tak.  
 Det skær i hær!

Figure 4. Utstillingsavisen, first edition. Courtesy of the Norwegian National Library.

### Visions of an Exhibition

Several issues connected with the mediation and networking of exhibition crowds were interestingly articulated when author and journalist Sven Elvestad wrote about his visit to the Oslo exhibition. It is no coincidence that it appeared two days after the fair opened, on May 17, which is Norway's National Constitution Day. The visionary and celebratory register of Elvestad's text is easier to understand with this date of printing in mind. Elvestad starts his reports in a conventionally journalistic mold, relating some facts about the fair and its opening. As he starts to relate his own entrance onto the fairgrounds, the register shifts into the realms of the subjective and the imaginary:

For one's inner eye passes, as in a vision, the entire genesis of the exhibition, from the first budding plans that emerge as a banner in front . . . And then forth comes the multitude of the whole procession: The ideas, interconnecting and mixing, transforming until they unite in one firm beat. From the ideas then spring the labor that brings ideas to their realization, I see a multitude of hacks and spades, stone is laid upon stone, columns rise and the trees of these lands are hidden, bit by bit, by the ever growing towers. (Elvestad, 1914, para. 2–3)

This procession of the workers and planners fades away in front of Elvestad—as he describes it in the newspaper article—and is replaced by a second procession. Here, people from all of Norway come walking: fishermen from the north coasts, peasants from the dales of central Norway, and Norwegian seafarers from all over the world. After conjuring up the sights and sounds of this second procession, Elvestad concludes:

I realize how one breath must have given life to all of this, one thought that has lain behind it all. That thought is everywhere around us Norwegians these days, the thought that we as a people possess qualities that deserve to find their rightful place among the other nations. (Elvestad, 1914, para. 6)

On the day of national celebration, then, Elvestad envisioned Norway as this moving and united multitude of people, sensations, ideas, and deeds. Clearly this is a display of nationalist ideology and fervor on behalf of the Norwegian nation's independent future as it is about to be fulfilled. In this article's context, the main points are these: Elvestad's vision took the form of a relay of crowds in physical movement through the exhibition. This vision was itself a media product, a text in a major newspaper. And the procession, people moving in rhythm to the beat of the nation, could be seen as a metaphorical representation of the networks that brought together the exhibition and the nation.

Elvestad's text may also help to remind us of some qualities of mediated simultaneity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that might easily get overlooked in a time when we have become used to the instantaneity of production, distribution, and reception that is afforded by broadcasting and digital streaming media. First, the sense of simultaneity with the Oslo exhibition unfolded over a period of several years, and it built up gradually, as particularly the periodical print media enabled an interest and identification in the continuance of the exhibition around the nation. Other major events from around this

time provide examples of how a dearth of information about dramatic actions and happenings would fuel the media audience's sense of simultaneous involvement, such as in the case of the 1912 sinking of the *Titanic* (Bösch, 2008) and the 1911 race for the South Pole between Roald Amundsen and Robert Falcon Scott (Ytreberg, 2014b). The sense of mediated simultaneity with these events fed on wide intervals of time and space, sometimes attenuated and sometimes information rich. And it fed on and enhanced the experience of being part in a crowd.

The Oslo Centenary Jubilee Exhibition belongs in a category of planned events saturated with all of the media representations made possible by the industrial revolution. Some of these media afforded elements of instantaneity (such as the telephone and telegraph), some of periodicity (such as the press and picture postcards), some of comprehensive temporal reordering and juxtaposition (such as film). The resulting temporalities of a large exhibition of the early 20th century are, strictly speaking, too rich and complex to be encompassed by any one concept. Still, the concept of mediated simultaneity may take us at least some of the way, provided we add to it the dimensions of networked transport.

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