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Introduction. Positioning Women into the World's Fairs, 1876-1937

Myriam BOUSSAHBA-BRAVARD and Rebecca ROGERS

World's fairs in the age of exhibitions were sites of spectacular displays that highlighted technology and nations' claims to agricultural and industrial productivity.¹ Thousands of contemporaries travelled from near and far to admire the Crystal Palace (London, 1851), the Eiffel tower (Paris, 1889), the Ferris wheel (Chicago, 1893) or Le Corbusier's *Pavillon des temps modernes* (Paris, 1937). Colonial fairs, or colonial exhibits within world's fairs, similarly allowed visitors to discover exotic architectural and material displays, frequently featuring indigenous people engaged in artisanal or artistic work. Over five million visitors admired the Indian court and the Jaipur Gate at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in South Kensington in 1886. Three years later for the centennial celebrations of the French revolution, the rue du Caire presented a fantasy of "Old Cairo" along the Esplanade des Invalides in Paris. "Native villages" were present in all of the major exhibitions, combining real-life enactments of artisanal work or more sensuous representations of indigenous dancers, singers or musicians.² For spectators, exhibitions brought the world home; for organizers, all the world was a fair. Fairs offered the industrialized powers the opportunity to celebrate the material fruits of prosperity while demonstrating through comparison "the steps of progress of civilization and its arts," as museum administrator G. Brown Goode announced in his contribution to the organization of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.³

The emergence of mass politics, the spread of Empire and the triumph of nationalism all found expression within the fairs. As public rituals of celebration, international exhibitions transposed national ceremonies and civic bonds between citizens onto an international stage envisioning the possibility of a common future.⁴ At the exhibition, individual consumption on the one hand and harmonious economic competition between nations on the other hand offered a narrative transcending division. To put it differently, the international exposition promoted the peaceful spatial coexistence of countries "at their best." The disciplined environment of the fair emphasized commonalities and good cheer; it displayed differences as diversity for the onlooker's general advancement of knowledge, but also amusement. Fair organizers channeled and soft-pedaled the rivalries and the tensions [page1] of the era. Re-staging national ceremonies for "the entire world" to see, nations invited official national delegations, but also customers and citizens from elsewhere to share in a sort of civic fraternal contract, in place for the duration of the exhibition.⁵ Women were, of course, part of the "imagined fair community," but they entered the stage differently and on terms that were often not of their making.⁶

Walter Benjamin famously described world exhibitions as "places of pilgrimage to the commodity fetish" following the lead of contemporaries such as historian Hippolyte Taine who described Europe "off to view the merchandise" in 1855. For Benjamin, "World exhibitions glorify the exchange value of the commodity. They create a framework in which its use value recedes into the background. They open a phantasmagoria which a person enters in order to be distracted."⁷ At the same time exhibition spaces mimicked fantasized collective "interiors," off itinerary-alleys, allowing visitors to bathe in a domestic illusion shared by thousands.⁸ Women

figured prominently amongst the pilgrims who explored these interiors, seeking distraction, as spectators or consumers, swooning before the marvels on display. For the French socialist Auguste Blanqui attending the Crystal Palace exhibition in London in 1851, these female spectators were a disturbing presence in the “male” world of industry: “Women are in the majority here [...] They are tireless. They eat like ogres at all the refreshment stands. The detestable fashion of crinolines and even of panniers [...] gives them a fantastic volume that daily reduces the free space left for circulation. Our unhappy stars must try hard not to get caught in the orbit of these immense planets that crowd like distant suns, cold and unknown to astronomy, in the world of the exhibitions.”⁹ By the turn of the century, the world’s fairs targeted women spectators with a vengeance as mass culture, scientific innovation and art collecting joined hands.¹⁰ Advertisements and displays all made clear that the fruits of modern technology were available to women and men alike, while recognizing that women—Blanqui’s “immense planets”—often held the purse strings allowing these fruits to enter the home.¹¹

Women entered the fairgrounds as consumers, but also as members of Ladies’ committees, workers, professionals, philanthropists or feminists. If women’s role within exhibits was rarely in the public eye outside of woman’s buildings, there is ample iconographic evidence of their presence as workers. When the painter John Lavery documented the Queen’s visit to the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1888, he produced a series of fifty small oils with women in evidence, producing coca or painting pots.¹² Women’s work within exhibitions was more than decorative, however, and their attendance often reflected more than a desire to consume or a search for rational recreation. Like men, women from all social classes came to fairs to learn, to exchange, to admire and, for some, potentially, to change the world.

Travelling often long distances, both men and women also flocked to encounters organized around these events, most notably scientific and [page2] international conferences that addressed problems of the time.¹³ Social scientists and urban planners convened at conferences held in exhibition cities to discuss social reform and urban design. Philanthropists exchanged their know-how and discovered how others sought to combat the threats of modern life. Pedagogues and school reformers drew inspiration from their foreign colleagues by attending congresses and visiting fairs. By the 1930s, it had become standard practice to use the site of the exhibition to unite professionals from all specters of modern life. Women were a part of this movement; they spoke about their initiatives, produced reports, assembled statistics, and offered testimonies. Travelling to exhibitions, spending weeks and even months far from home, women contributed to the mainstream press and periodicals but also participated in scholarly conversations and scientific writing in new and often unprecedented ways. Perhaps most significantly feminists recognized the potential world’s fairs offered to weave transnational connections and build international support for their claims for equality. Women’s rights congresses organized alongside the universal exhibitions allowed women to organize as women to promote their recognition as full-fledged participants in the modern world on display.

Lasting over several months, these “portals to the world” were spaces where people from all walks of life and from all nationalities convened to gawk, to dream, to spend, and to learn. The all-encompassing nature of these “fleeting cities”¹⁴ offer scholars rich material to envision how individuals, groups and nations sought to present themselves to “the world,” as well as an opportunity to reflect on the effects of such displays for those involved. Taking into account

the evanescent nature of the fairs combined with their time and space specificities, how did their organization and the interactions they generated affect women? What opportunities did these exhibitions create for women beyond the realm of consumption, as workers, artists, educators, moral reformers, feminists...? How did women use the international nature of these encounters and how do these usages change over time? What impact did exhibitionary politics have for women collectively as well as individually? How does a focus on women open new vistas both for women's history and the history of world's fairs?

Women's History, Gender History and the World's Fairs

In 2010, feminist scholars Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn published an edited volume, *Gendering the Fair*, which represents what might be described as an older sister's companion to our volume. Their introduction, "World's Fairs in Feminist Historical Perspective," offers a very useful analysis of scholarship.¹⁵ They show that interest in the subject stretches back to the early years of women's history in the 1970s. Art historians, in particular, were in the vanguard and American scholars on American fairs dominated the early scholarly production, particularly around the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia (1876) and the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. [page3] Highlighting women's presence in the fairs, these studies, like many at the time, emphasized female accomplishment in what had been treated unquestioningly as a man's world, then and now. The development of gender, race and post-colonial perspectives in the 1990s and 2000s, introduced more complex analyses of the gendered, racial and imperial ideologies that structured both the organization of fairs and the fair-going experience. Their volume brought together a diverse group of scholars in architecture and design, literature and art history, visual and performance studies, religious studies, public history, labor history and women's history highlighting the extent to which fairs provide material for innovative interdisciplinary discussions. The volume's three-pronged focus – on national identity formation, on women's activism and on the visual and spatial dimensions of fairgoers' experiences – argues for the importance of introducing gender scholarship into our understanding of how these events helped shape Western representations of modernity.

Boisseau and Markwyn's volume, like our own, builds on a body of relatively scattered publications that have yet to move women from the margins of scholarship on the fairs. Cited by other gender historians, these articles and often-unpublished dissertations have entered conversations that remain relatively circumscribed to women's and gender historians within English-speaking circles. Jeanne Madeline Weimann's, *The Fair Woman* (1981), is a fine example of one such publication, extensively cited when scholars address the Woman's Building in Chicago, but rarely considered essential reading for an understanding of the "fair phenomenon."¹⁶ Indeed, the relatively amateur nature of the publication and its absence from major European libraries explains that this detailed monograph about women and the 1893 World Columbian Exhibition did not promote greater visibility about the subject. In 1988 British art historian Paul Greenhalgh's classic analysis, *Ephemeral vistas*, devoted a chapter to "Women: exhibited and exhibiting" without knowing Weimann's book. For Greenhalgh, "International exhibitions were one of the first and most effective cultural arenas in which women expressed their misgivings with established patriarchy."¹⁷ These misgivings acquired shape, he argued, through the construction of specific women's sections, through efforts to promote women's work, and through the activism of women who attended or participated in the fairs as engaged

housewives, organizers, and artists. The synthesis offered in this chapter failed to generate more ambitious attempts to think about “exhibiting women” over a range of fairs and countries, until *Gendering the Fair*, but it did highlight the existence of women who through their presence contested the gender ideologies of their time.

Since Greenhalgh’s book, women and gender historians have argued persuasively that exhibitions represented an important public space where bourgeois women exerted new forms of agency as consumers of the products of modern technology, most notably those that shaped the home environment. Women’s taste fashioned not only the home, but also the industries [page4] that provided goods and services for the home. Using gender as a category of analysis, scholars have shown how household goods figured prominently within Halls of Manufacturing, while Ladies’ Courts or women’s sections drew specific attention to the role of women in producing both domestic and industrial arts.¹⁸ Although the industrial age is generally associated with heavy machinery and steam engines, the exhibitions also featured a wide range of industrial arts that included women’s handicraft or objects conceived for women’s use. And by the end of the nineteenth century entire exhibitions were devoted to such objects, such as the 1888 Exhibition of Women’s Industries and Centenary Fair in Sydney or the 1892 Exhibition of the Arts of Women in Paris.¹⁹

Interest in women consumers and women producers has resulted in a spate of publications on specific exhibitions, particularly in the United States (Philadelphia in 1876; Chicago in 1893, Saint-Louis in 1904), which have drawn attention to the gendered workings of the economy and the ways gendered ideologies underwrote the organization of fairs.²⁰ In this vein, Maria Grever and Berteke Waaldijk’s study of the Dutch National Exhibition of Women’s Labor in 1898 (first published in Dutch in 1998) stands out as they bring together into a single analytic focus the issue of women’s work, its representation, and the ways the exhibition experience contributed to moving women into the public sphere.²¹ Perhaps most interesting, in terms of future evolutions in the field, their book included a chapter, “Colonialism on display,” that showed the ways women spoke about gender relations in the colonies. Although no similar study exists for an international exhibition, Grever and Waaldijk’s approach anticipates the sorts of conversation this volume seeks to generate through its interest in women’s work, culture, and the political uses of the fair experience.

The Gendered Politics of the Exhibition Space

In recent years, the field of “exposition studies” has grown massively as Alexander C.T. Geppert has recently shown.²² The third edition of the bibliography he helped to coordinate lists 1868 references covering expositions from 24 countries: 60% of this literature was published since 1990. Geppert explains this interest in exhibitions as the result of the various theoretical “turns”—linguistic, pictorial/iconic and spatial—which have led a wide range of disciplines to explore the extensive archival and printed material generated within these spaces of modernity. World’s fairs offer multiple perspectives with which to analyze the underlying power dynamics that undergird what many have come to describe as an “exhibitionary complex” in the wake of Tony Bennett.²³ And yet, despite the plethora of studies that investigate how class and race fashioned

the material and ideological workings of fairs, gender remains an underrepresented category in exposition studies.

From the outset, women participated in universal exhibitions, as artists, writers, educators, artisans or workers, and of course spectators. [page5] While women did not figure among the organizers of international exhibitions until the 20th century, their material and written achievements filled showcases, decorated wall space, won prizes and attracted attention within the exhibitions. Undoubtedly, this presence became more marked over time, and more pointedly acknowledged, as feminist movements developed within the Western World and specific spaces dedicated to women's achievements emerged. Still, there was no linear development as the different chapters in this volume attest. The construction of woman's buildings certainly drew specific attention to the "fair sex," but the fortunes of such buildings waxed and waned, while women continued to make their presence felt in general exhibits, as well as in women's congresses that asserted female politics in the wider sense of the term.

The first woman's building within a World Exhibition was the *Pavillon der Frauenarbeiten* (Pavilion of Women's Work) in Vienna in 1873.²⁴ A couple, Rudolf von Etelberger and his wife Jeanette, were the driving force behind this initiative in a concern to revive the applied arts production. Exhibited within a simple wood-frame building, feminine handiwork shared space with that of material from "The History of invention." Three years later the Woman's building at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia marked however a new feminist awareness of how exhibitions might challenge women's subordinate status within societies, particularly since the fourth annual conference of the [American] Association for the Advancement of Women took place at the same time. Still, historians agree that the crowning demonstration of women's contribution to modern nation building was achieved with the Woman's Building at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893.²⁵ Seven years later in 1900, the exhibition in Paris similarly boasted a *Palais de la femme*, but it did not attract nearly the same amount of attention as the American building. Privately funded, it was not an official building within the French exhibit. It embodied "the separatist" option that had been debated for many years within the women's movement. In structural terms, it exemplified the difficulty encountered by women: they had to fight to exist and be financed on the official site thus reaching mainstream status; this is why the 1893 Chicago fair was such an achievement for female activists of all kinds who believed it was a turning point. In Paris, however, they had to make do with a reduced and less financed existence on the margins of the exhibition, which, despite their aspirations, became emblematic of their secondary and marginal existence. Activists thus learned that Chicago had not been an international turning point, rather a one-off achievement.

Not surprisingly, the Woman's Building within the Chicago World's Fair figures prominently in the chapters of this volume. The gender and racial politics that led to the creation of a Board of Lady Managers under the direction of the socialite Bertha Potter Palmer has attracted gender historians, since Weimann's pioneering study. This study brought attention, in particular, to an extensive and easily accessible archival deposit within the Chicago Historical Society. *The Fair Woman* also brought to life a rich cast [page6] of characters and an equally rich range of objects within the young architect Sophie Hayden's much remarked upon Woman's Building. European aristocrats rubbed shoulders with the American nouveaux riches, African Americans demanded representation as did Mormon women from the territory of Utah, who had been

disenfranchised in 1887. In Chicago, there is ample evidence of women's desire to exhibit, be talked about and admired. There is also ample evidence that women of all nationalities used the fair to promote their cause that was already identified as female internationalism of a kind.²⁶ Although claims for suffrage were rarely on display within world's fairs, these sites and the associated congresses offered women opportunities to group together and acquire confidence, challenging through their organized presence alone their exclusion from mainstream politics at home and from mainstream exhibitionary culture at the exposition.

In 1894, a year after the Chicago World's Fair, a relatively unknown feminist, Marie Pégard, took the floor to present a report to the French National Congress for the Decorative Arts in Paris. This report, entitled "The Influence of Woman on the Artistic Movement of our Country," summarized results that she had collected as Secretary of the French Women's committee to the 1893 Fair. This experience coordinating the French contribution to the Woman's Building in Chicago had revealed the important contribution women made to all walks of economic life. The building itself, she argued, "Grouped women in a common solidarity. It brought to light their qualities and their contribution to universal work. It gave them a clear sense of their personal worth; the recognition of what has been accomplished will give them the courage to demand resolutely their fair share in human society."²⁷ The World's Fair had created or boosted a sense of self-esteem, allowing women to see their own worth, creating forms of solidarity, and authorizing forms of activism that World's Fair would bear fruit in many countries in the years to come. Behind the glitter and the fun, the had provoked a form of gendered consciousness that is the subject of this volume

Peeking into the Volume

Four sections structure the organization of the volume that highlight the ways women participated in world's fairs: through the experience of exhibition as artists or collectors, through the promotion of professional goals or achievements, through the staging of their own marginality, or through speaking up for women's cause. We asked the authors to focus on the *process* of exhibition, tracing the obstacles women faced before exhibitions, their experience of the events themselves, and the effects of participation both in the short or longer term. The perspective throughout is to emphasize how women, individually or collectively, used these spaces as a means to make a statement. International exhibitions were arenas for Nations and Empires to square off against each other in political, economic or cultural terms and. But they were sites as well for all sorts of transnational conversations and interactions.²⁸ [page7] Both perspectives inform the chapters that make up this volume: the exhibitions entailed competition, domination and silencing, as well as dialogue and mutual improvement for both men *and* women. Tracing the changing nature of women's engagement in these exhibitions brings to light the significance of transnational encounters in the forging of modern female subjectivities.

Paris and Chicago figure very prominently in what follows, as the sites of exhibitions where women sought to showcase their talents and productions to an international audience from the mid-nineteenth century until the eve of World War II. The different chapters of this volume

investigate the ways women from all over the world participated in exhibition spaces and how their achievements were represented, talked about and remembered. Tracing the range of female experiences over sixty years, this volume brings together a diverse group of scholars who through their different national and disciplinary perspectives shed light on the variety of ways women engaged in these exhibitions as workers, artists, philanthropists, collectors, visitors or feminists. Tracing women's involvement in exhibitions over time and space, the essays in this volume show how women deliberately used the politics of spectacle without, however, always mastering the effects of their representation.

Part I/ Exhibiting Women: Collectors, Artists and Students

Part 1 of this volume draws attention to the world of art within the exhibitions of the pre-World War II period. It focuses on fairs as spaces where women exhibited their talent, contributed to the production of art and learned about art as a business that could secure a livelihood. In particular, it traces the presence of women collectors, students, and artists exploring the ways they used exhibitions to further both individual and collective agendas. Even if most exhibitions reproduced a consensus about women's roles in society, more radical aspirations were occasionally visible in the way exhibition spaces were invested and knowledge contested. Women, like men, made strategic use of these spaces to acquire celebrity. Recently, Wanda Corn has highlighted the way the Chicago Woman's Building itself, its architecture, its murals, its sculptures and its paintings represented a visual history of women while offering new opportunities for contemporary women artists.²⁹ The diachronic examination of the messages women sought to convey in the exhibitions, as well as the evolution in the representation of women's artistic work reveal the uneven path women trod during these years as they sought professional and economic recognition for their "work," while contesting the label of amateur that clung tenaciously to their activities. As national situations changed, the international stage enacted within world's fair offered moments of fame, or more modest recognition. This is an issue to which Siân Reynold returns in the final chapter of this volume. [page8]

Within this section three art historians adopt a socio-cultural approach to tease out the ways women in the art world seized the opportunities offered within world's fairs. French scholar Julie Verlaine uses the private archives of women art collectors to show how international exhibitions contributed to the emergence and development of art collecting among Western women between 1876 and 1937. The analysis of a series of individual trajectories reveals how women, such as the American Sarah Poulterer Harrison or the Frenchwoman Nélie Jacquemart, used international exhibitions to acquire expertise as well as recognition as collectors, most notably in the area of non-Western art. These spaces gave women collectors access to world markets and encouraged forms of sociability within women's clubs and associations that decisively influenced the evolution of their practices and their notoriety in their national market. The transnational perspective that emerges from focusing on an international exhibition highlights the heuristic possibilities of such studies. For women with the economic means to circulate internationally, the venue of the fair offered a way to move beyond the constraints experienced within a national context.

Mexican art historian Ursula Estrada's examination of the **first women students at Mexico's National School of Fine Arts** raises questions about the relationship between professional art education for women, access to artistic spaces which were considered traditionally male, and the challenges women experienced pursuing a career in the arts. In this chapter the author addresses these by following a number of Mexican women artists whose works were included in the Mexican section at the Woman's Building in the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. A second issue explored in this chapter is the role of these students as agents of the construction of a Mexican identity within this international setting. Under the supervision of the renowned artist José María Velasco, women art students were encouraged to depict subjects that represented contemporary and modern Mexican identity. The chapter concludes with a close reading of a self-portrait by one of these students, Carlotta Camacho. In *The Huntress*, Camacho took advantage of the international venue to challenge contemporary gender identities, presenting herself in male attire within a heroic national and historic landscape.

The biographical approach that allows both Verlaine and Estrada to demonstrate in fine detail the experiences and effects of participation within exhibitions takes center stage in American Linda Kim's chapter that traces the individual careers of two American women, the sculptor Bessier Potter who used the actress Maud Adams as a model to produce a life-size gold statue entitled "The American Girl" for the 1900 Paris International Exposition. Here the author emphasizes the complicated strategy used by these women as they sought to promote their careers while respecting the constraints of American womanhood as it was constructed at the time. Unlike the figure of *La Parisienne* whose majestic presence atop the Porte Binet graced [page9] the entrance to the exhibition, "The American Girl" avoided the metaphoric and the universal, in an effort to reflect what the American press described as an "up-to-date" girl. Relegated to the carnivalesque attractions of the Palais de l'Optique, the sculpture failed to garner much attention. Writing to her mother, Potter unhappily described the setting: "The entire room is painted yellow, the worst color possible for the [gold] figure. Then to make it as bad as possible they have put large placards all around the pedestal, telling all about it—it says that I was paid six thousand dollars for the work and that Maude Adams was paid twelve thousand dollars [...]." Kim concludes that the anticipated cultural work of the "American Girl" failed to operate in this international context and within that site; she became a crass representation of the Fair's commercialism and a forceful reminder of the difficulties women encountered controlling their own representation.

Part 2/Promoting Women: Professionals, Workers and Organizers

This section shifts attention from the world of art to that of manual, professional and intellectual work. It is particularly concerned to show how exhibitions provided a space for public recognition amongst very different categories of workers. Although none of the chapters explicitly deals with this issue, exhibitions were also places where women worked, as paid laborers within cafés and restaurants, as skilled craftswomen, or as dancers within the indigenous shows that figured so prominently in many expositions, or as voluntary workers within the Red Cross.³⁰ Education exhibits paid tribute to teachers, but far more commonly to the manual work produced within technical or vocational schools.³¹ For women, exhibitions represented a space where they could proclaim the value of women's work. This indeed was at the heart of the Chicago Woman's Building where Bertha Potter Palmer asked the different national Ladies' committees to present evidence of women's intellectual and material labor for the 1893 World's

Fair. This section gives a glimpse of how women responded to the opportunities within exhibitions, seeking recognition for the products that they produced, seeking strategies to bolster their professional status, or seeking to acquire a public voice as intellectuals in an array of international congresses.

Portuguese historian Teresa Pinto examines the exhibits of girls' work attending public "industrial" work schools. The examination of school archives in combination with the reports from exhibitions highlight the contradictions of women's presence in these events that sought symbolically to celebrate the economic and industrial strength of the nation through the presentation of work done by girl apprentices. In 1908 in the National Centennial Exhibition organized in Rio de Janeiro, the work produced by girls outnumbered that done by boys in these schools, and yet the published reports made no mention of them, unlike earlier reports. As definitions of what constituted "industrial" changed at the end of the century in Portugal, [page 10] so too did representations of industrial training. This chapter raises the important issue of women's erasure from the historical record by tracing evidence of their participation over time and it brings into the conversation a country seldom presented in English language books about the fairs.³²

American Gwen Jordan's chapter addresses the ways women lawyers united nationally and transnationally within the 1893 World Columbian Exposition. She brings to light a three-tiered strategy that sought to challenge their domination within the legal profession. The first involved women lawyers working with other women professionals to advance women's position within the learned professions and to garner support for their law reform campaigns to secure full emancipation and equality for all women. The second venue involved women lawyers working within the International Congress of Women to use the social capital of its Council to create new transnational coalitions of power and influence for women. The third venue involved women lawyers infiltrating the male dominated Congress on Jurisprudence and Law Reform to highlight women's legal interests and establish their place within the legal profession. Jordan concludes this strategy modeled the approach women law activists followed throughout the twentieth century.

In the final chapter of this section, American Anne Epstein explores two Frenchwomen and two of the many congresses held in connection with the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1900: Anna Lampérière (1854-?) and Jeanne Weill (a.k.a. Dick May, 1859-1925), each of whom played a central role in planning, publicizing and organizing a major international congress focused on the broad theme of what they both termed "social education" at the 1900 Exhibition: Lampérière, the Congrès de l'éducation sociale (Social Education Congress) and Weill, the Congrès international de l'enseignement des sciences sociales (International Congress on Social Science Teaching). Neither woman self-defined as a feminist, nor were their congresses specifically devoted to women's cause. Comparing and contrasting the two congresses and the words and activities of the women as revealed in archival documents, personal correspondence and published sources from the period, the chapter posits the advent of a new public role for French women at the turn of the twentieth century, that of the intellectual organizer. Though still drawing on the traditional gender order, in a new political setting this role also reflected the rise of a new kind of womanly expertise and the general restructuring of public space by gender during a period when women's participation in civil society and the professions

continued to expand and diversify. And universal expositions offered a critical opportunity for women to affirm this role.

Part 3/ Staging Otherness: Women on and From the Margins

Certainly, femininity was on display in 1900 where visitors entered the fair through the monumental Porte Binet crowned by a towering woman, *La Parisienne*. [page11] This third section addresses the way race and empire structured the conversations in which women engaged within international, universal, and colonial exhibitions. As Boisseau and Markwyn argued in *Gendering the Fair*, feminist scholars from the 1970s on have studied the racial discrimination amongst African American women within “The White City” (Chicago).³³ Against this backdrop of scholarship, cultural historians have increasingly highlighted how race and sexuality framed the (re)representation of women both in the fairs and the entertainment zone juxtaposing fairs. Just as the critical examination of race generated histories that revealed the “limits of sisterhood,” postcolonial approaches drew attention to the hierarchies of empire on display at the fairs.³⁴ Scholars of the British and Dutch empire have shown how white women, in particular, used exhibitions to acquire a voice and to claim a specific place for their conception of imperial (white) womanhood.³⁵ Alongside representations of imperial housecraft, existed more flamboyant representations of the sensuous and exotic indigenous woman, a topic that has long interested anthropologists and cultural and art historians. Here the focus shifts to the aesthetic representation of these women and the ways their performances responded to western visual codes. Exhibitions had their racial, imperial and gendered codes, which varied depending on both time and location, as the chapters in this section reveal. Nowhere was this more apparent than in Chicago (1893) where African American women spoke up to protest their invisibility in the World’s Fair.³⁶ While exhibitions inevitably reflected the social, gender and racial hierarchies of their time, some women used these transnational and trans-imperial spaces to challenge these hierarchies. In Australia, for example, settler women used women’s sections to promote forms of gender equality absent in European settings, or even in other British colonies, such as India.³⁷

International exhibitions emerged as showcases of “modernity” and “progress,” but also as windows onto the foreign, the different, the unexpected and the spectacular, as Christiane Demeulenaere-Douyère shows in her chapter. Virtually all of the exhibitions included a display of a native village or villages in which men and women purportedly revealed their daily lives while foreign musicians and dancers cluttered the scene. Women played an increasingly important role within this simulated exotic universe that often bore little relationship to existing social realities. Javanese dancers, Amazons from Dahomey, Egyptian belly dancers or the Algerian Ouled Nail were offered in display to avid public eyes. But unlike Western women who used international exhibitions as tribunes for their claims and as privileged locations for collective organization, these women rarely chose to be present. This chapter explores the codes that regulated these ethnic shows. Designed less to teach than to distract, these dream shows offered the public a fantasized reality. Within this context, “exotic” women performed roles that conformed to the representations held by the general public. As mediators of distant and mysterious cultures, they incarnated both fantasized fears [page12] and ambiguous sexual desires. Their presence ultimately reveals more about the characteristics of the Western public gaze and says little about the aspirations of these women.

Claudine Raynaud's chapter gives voice to the aspirations of marginalized women, in this instance that of the anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells who protested to ensure that African Americans represent themselves and not be misrepresented or/and underrepresented. Her pamphlet in the summer of 1893, *The Reason Why the Colored American is not in the World's Columbian Exposition*, encouraged activists to boycott the Fair. It illuminates in particular the violence of race and gender relations in the United States at the time of the exhibition, in the context of competing struggles for suffrage and citizenship and unprecedented racial brutality in the South. The boycott led to the presence during the World's Congress of Representative Women (15-21 May 1893) of six renowned African American women. Raynaud explores issues of representation in the organization of the event, as well as the interventions of Fannie Barrier Williams, Anna Julia Cooper Fannie Jackson Coppin, Hattie Quinn Brown, Sarah Jane Woodson Early, and Frances Harper. Using the concept of intersectionality, she analyzes how Wells and Cooper mobilized the issue of lynching to denounce a series of racist murders. The chapter sheds light, in particular on how these black women speakers, divided by class, religious sentiment, regional interests, and political leanings, remembered slavery, and paved the way for the black feminism of the twentieth century.

James Keating juxtaposes two other categories of marginal women present in international exhibitions of the 1890s and 1900s: Australian Margaret Windeyer's experiences with the achievements of another soon-to-be enfranchised group of outsiders at the Exposition, Utah's Mormon women. Emerging from isolation to acclaim at the World's Congress of Representative Women, these women confounded their fellow delegates' prejudices. Triumphant in Chicago, Mormons assimilated into the American feminist firmament. National acceptance provided a platform for international collaboration. Over the decade following the World's Columbian Exposition, the Utahns who excelled in Chicago rose to international prominence. By contrast, rather than heralding a new cosmopolitanism, Windeyer's tour constituted the apogee of early Australian feminist internationalism. Using 1893 as a starting point, the chapter traces New South Wales and Utah women's participation in the international women's movement, contending that structural inequalities hindered Australian women's involvement in cross-border endeavors. Combined, Australia's distance from the international feminism's Atlantic nexus, and the vexatious question of "national" representation for the federating Australian colonies, put New South Welshwomen at a disadvantage. Whereas Utah delegates received generous support to attend future international congresses and exhibitions from the Territory's secular and religious authorities—who co-opted women's encounters in an attempt to extinguish the "Mormon stigma"—the New South Wales government [page 13] questioned women's value as colonial boosters. Read alongside one another, Margaret Windeyer and her Utahn counterparts' commitment to engage with women outside colonial and state borders, and the uneven fruits of their vision, offer an intriguing case study of the dynamics of early transnational feminist organizing at the periphery.

Part 4/ Mobilizing women: national, international, and transnational feminism(s)

Although a number of the early chapters address the issue of women mobilizing to promote women's causes (Gwen Jordan's chapter on women lawyers; Claudine Raynaud's chapter on

African American Women; James Keating's chapter on Australian and Mormon women), this final section focuses squarely on the relationship between exhibitions and feminist organizing. The Women's claims for visibility within exhibitions emerged alongside the organization of both an American and European feminist movement. In 1878, French feminists organized the first International congress for the rights of women alongside the Parisian exhibition. With this congress, gender politics entered the arena. The much commented upon Woman's Building at the Chicago World's Fair (1893) represented a highpoint in women's collective efforts to use the language of exhibitions to vaunt their contribution to the social and moral economy of their respective nations. The convening in 1893 of the *World's Congress of Representative Women* highlights how the exhibitions nourished the ambitions of an emerging women's internationalism. The 1890s was a transitional decade as the International Women's Council (1888-today) extended its audience through the multiplication of national branches, thanks in part to the contacts and conversations developed within the context of world's fairs. As women's internationalism increasingly turned toward the issue of suffrage—creation of the International Alliance of Women's Suffrage in 1904—it invested other locations. International exhibitions remained sites for the display of women's collective national and international experiences in the inter-war period but the messages and the politics of these displays became more ambiguous. The chapters in this section highlight the absence of a linear chronology when considering feminist organizing in relation to world's fairs, while revealing as well how national, international and transnational organizing varied, depending on the specific context and the period. Depression-era politics in 1930s France did not feed the same aspirations for unity, solidarity, and economic equality as those expressed by the American organizers of the Women's World's Fairs in the 1920s.

Specialist in the history of European feminisms, American Karen Offen's chapter describes the building of a Franco-American women's network in the late nineteenth century. Feminists from both sides of the Atlantic deliberately used the Universal Expositions of 1889 in Paris, the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893, and the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900 [page14] as venues to promote the formation of an International Council of Women (ICW) and, ultimately, to foster an affiliated French national council. Biography and personal contacts played a huge role in the building of this network. The chapter traces the international activism of the American feminist May Wright Sewall who became the ICW's workhorse and acting president until 1893 and served as vice-president from 1893 to 1899. Crossing and re-crossing the Atlantic, Sewall successfully encouraged her French contacts to send displays on the status of women to the 1893 fair in Chicago. The Franco-American collaboration continued through the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900, when the French women initiated two congresses and a privately funded Palais des Femmes. Sewall, now the president (1899-1904) of the ICW, spent the summer in Paris hosting a series of conferences on "internationalism" at the American pavilion and cheerleading the ultimately successful gestation (April 1901) of the Conseil national des femmes françaises (National Council of Frenchwomen).

In the following chapter, the American gender and cultural history specialist Tracey Jean Boisseau parses the different international or transnational strategies used by women activists in the context of international fairs. Despite their almost wholesale intentional exclusion from exhibition administrations, women seeking to collaborate across national borders seized the unprecedented opportunities that these events represented as best they could—sometimes carving out space and messaging within expositions, sometimes staging protests and counter-

exhibits, and, most rarely of all, organizing exhibitions independently from men. How these mass events brought to the fore a specifically feminist transnational consciousness that both participated in and resisted masculinist as well as colonialist brands of internationalism, has rarely been acknowledged. This essay seeks to demonstrate how central the staging of a world's fair and international exhibition were to the rise of transnational feminism, while at the same time observing the limits and compromises that the unrelenting nationalist format of world's fairs and exhibitions imposed on the sort of feminism that generally was ventilated within these venues. As a point of comparison, the final section of this essay offers a glimpse of an imagined, and highly idealized, transnational community of women as workers that was presented at an autonomous and uniquely woman-centered set of worlds' fairs held in Chicago in the 1920s.

In the closing chapter of this volume, the British historian Siân Reynolds characterizes the Paris International Exhibition of 1937 as one of contradictions, and controversy, held in the shadow of economic depression and the threat of a European war. The inter-war period had seen progress in women's rights elsewhere, and even in France, despite the continuing refusal of the suffrage, women were far more active at many levels in social and political life than in 1914. Far from representing a highpoint in women's political engagement with the fair experience, however, Reynold's analysis emphasizes the conservative mindset of the virtually all-male overall organizing committees that represented women chiefly as consumers, *[page 15]* especially of France's traditional goods, like fashion. Compared with 1900, enthusiasm for feminism, for example, is very hard to find. Still, while women were certainly in a minority among sectional committee members, some well-known women in established careers were employed as designers, consultants and decorators across the board, and were represented in artistic exhibitions. And while it is true that the chief focus of the "women's pavilion," entitled "Femme, enfant et famille" (Woman, Child and Family) was women's caring role in the family, the detail and planning of this pavilion represented the unprecedented cooperation between the Popular Front Health Ministry, under Henri Sellier, and various women's associations. Its aim was to promote public health and the social services, harnessing the energy of women previously working in voluntary or private women's groups, and anticipating the future welfare state. To that extent, it was forward-looking. Nevertheless, as an index of the status of women in France, the 1937 Exhibition failed to fulfill the promise of earlier world's fairs.

Reclaiming Women for the History of World's Fairs

This volume, like the fairs themselves, offers what might be considered a potpourri of essays on women's relationship to the world's fairs. Building on existing scholarship, it argues for the importance of bringing women and gender more directly into the dynamic field of exposition studies. It also seeks to introduce new voices into these studies dialoguing and exchanging across disciplinary and national historiographies. All of these essays originated in a conference in Paris, the heart of the universal exhibitions during the time period under consideration. And yet anglophone and francophone scholarship on the fairs rarely interact directly. Despite the ostensibly international character of our academic worlds, linguistic barriers are perhaps greater today than in 1893, at least if one considers the linguistic strategies of the feminist internationalists who staged the World's Congress of Representative Women. Bringing together in one volume insights from specialists of Mexico, Australia and Portugal, as well as from a range of specialists of the United States and France, this book seeks to pursue the sort-of dialogues

initiated within earlier world's fairs, bringing to the fore the rich variety of accents and the varied modes of intervention that women used within these settings. Inevitably, there are gaps that reflect both happenstance and the impossibly broad purview of the volume. No single chapter addresses Britain, despite the importance of London as the site of the initial Universal Exhibitions in 1851 and 1862, and the importance of British suffragism for the international organizing of women.³⁸ And no chapter deals with Belgium, Germany, Austria or Italy, countries that organized and were present at these events. Still, in the years under consideration, from 1876 until 1937, France and the United States were unquestionably major powers in these international events, justifying this volume's interest in considering women's roles and representation at French and American fairs. *[page 16]*

Although the 1893 World Columbian Exposition figures prominently in this volume, our aim from the outset was to encourage studies that considered the dynamics over time of women's involvement in the fairs. Six out of the twelve chapters address more than one fair bringing to light the importance of context in understanding what women were able to achieve through their exhibits, their organizing or their encounters. Not surprisingly, no single story emerges from this confrontation of experiences. Women's work did not necessarily gain in visibility from fair to fair, nor did greater gender equality necessarily follow from feminist interventions within fairs. Our volume does show, however, that women's presence at the fairs were potentially transformative experiences, professionally or personally, individually or collectively. During the years under examination, fairs opened opportunities for women that neither historians of women and gender nor specialists of fairs have yet explored systematically. Most obviously, the volume suggests the potential a focus on women offers to the development of international, global or transnational perspectives within the field of exposition studies. And it suggests the need to include within such perspectives the experiences and actions of *all* categories of women, including—of course—women marked by geographic, political, national, social, racial or age-related marginality.³⁹ Our hope, however, is that this volume will spark a great deal more conversations. Unlike many studies, this volume has not focused much on consumption or phantasmagoria. Rather we sought to bring to light women as actors, producing goods and measuring the degree of their advancement. While we would like to see more studies along this vein, we recognize the potential the subject “woman” holds for rich new perspectives in the currently booming area of the history of emotions. And there is undoubtedly much work that could be done on the cultural effects of women spectators' gaze. At the 1934 Portuguese Colonial Exhibition, female visitors confessed to having been enthralled by the naked bodies of African men. Women, like men, experienced the fairs sensually and evocatively.⁴⁰

A final series of reflections concern the years we have dealt with—1876 to 1937—and their usefulness for framing these studies in women's and gender history. Historians debate the precise parameters of the “golden age” of exhibitions. Does the First World War, the end of the 1930s, or the early 1960s mark an end? In choosing to begin with the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876 in Philadelphia and to close in 1937 with the International Exposition of Arts and Techniques in Modern Life in Paris, we have in effect chosen a median timeframe that speaks to issues of importance for the study of women in these years (access to economic markets, new professional opportunities, transformed status as citizens, etc.). These sixty years were marked by profound change in general (including a world war), change that contemporaries acknowledged, feared or admired and that was given some form of material reality within the

exhibitions. Fairs offered, as well, a narrative to make sense of change, albeit an unstable narrative [page17] that opened room for contestation and debate within a pacified arena. Notions of “progress” and “modernity” underwrote the organization of fairs as secular modes of inquiry and analysis achieved new authority.⁴¹ Scientific data and elites provided “new” normative thoughts about the organization of industry, society, and the home with wide-ranging implications for what it meant to be “modern.” Women were an integral part of the fair narrative, but they also participated in the writing of the narrative although acknowledgement of their contribution was uneven and often ephemeral. Uncovering these often-silenced narratives brings to light how gendered the triumphant history of modernity was, and opens vistas for further exploration of the ways women as a category engaged with modern life within that quintessential modern space—the world’s fair.

¹ The scholarship on world’s fairs is far too extensive to list here. In 2006, the University of California at Fresno in collaboration with the Freie Universität Berlin published an on-line bibliography that remains an indispensable starting point for research. Alexander C.T. Geppert, Jean Coffey and Tammy Lau, *International Exhibitions, Expositions Universelles and World’s Fairs, 1851-2005. A Bibliography* <http://www.geschkult.fu-berlin.de/e/fmi/astrofuturismus/publikationen/Geppert_Expo_bibliography_3ed.pdf> (27 January 2017). A recent French blog also contains references to world and trade fairs. <<http://www.nundinotopia.com/bibliographie>> (2 February 2017). The terminology referring to world’s fairs varies according to the national context and the period. We use these expressions interchangeably except when referring to the name of a specific exhibition.

² Peter H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Dana S. Hale, *Races on Display: French Representations of Colonized Peoples, 1886-1940* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008); Guido Abbatista, “Humans on Display: Reflecting on National Identity and the Enduring Practice of Living Human Exhibitions,” in *Moving Bodies displaying Nations National Cultures, Race and Gender in World Expositions Nineteenth to Twenty-first Century* (Trieste: EUT Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2014), 241-272.

³ Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s a Fair. Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), quotation, 45.

⁴ Martha C. Nussbaum, *Political Emotions. Why Love Matters for Justice* (Cambridge, MA & London, UK: the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 1, 5-6. Yohan Arifin, “Les expositions universelles comme communautés émotionnelles imaginées,” special issue “Les expositions internationales, mises en scène de la modernité,” *Relations Internationales* 164 (2016): 10-11.

⁵ Carol Pateman, “The Fraternal Social Contract,” in *Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives*, ed. J. Keane (London: Verso Books, 1988), 101-128.

⁶ In 1851 seasons' admission to the Crystal Palace Exhibition varied according to sex and by age: ladies only paid £2 2s compared to gentleman's £3 3s ; children under 13 were half price. Jeffrey Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851. A Nation on Display*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 144. [page18]

⁷ Walter Benjamin, "Paris, The Capital of the Nineteenth Century" (exposé of 1935), *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge & London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 7.

⁸ Ibid, 8-9: "The private individual, who in the office has to deal with reality, needs the domestic interior to sustain him in his illusions.[...] The interior is not just the universe but also the etui of the private individual."

⁹ Adolphi Blanqui, *Lettres sur l'Exposition universelle de Londres* (Paris: Capelle, 1851), 89-90, cited in Whitney Walton, *France at the Crystal Palace. Bourgeois Taste and Artisan Manufacture in the 19th Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 66.

¹⁰ Walter Benjamin describes the art collector as a prophetic interior designer, an early avatar of the writer of the future that will transfigure catalogues, especially of novelties/ *nouveautés*, into art. Benjamin, "Paris," 9 and 11.

¹¹ Rosalind H. Williams, *Dream Worlds: Mass Consumption in Late Nineteenth-Century France* [1982] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Victoria de Grazia and Ellen Furlough, ed, *The Sex of Things. Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

¹² See "The Dutch Cocoa House," 1888, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh or "Woman Painting a Pot," 1888, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow. The Kelvingrove building was erected for the 1901 Glasgow International Exhibition and was one of the first public buildings to be lit by electricity.

¹³ Anne Rasmussen, "Les congrès internationaux liés aux Expositions universelles de Paris (1867-1900)," *Mil Neuf cent, Les congrès, lieux de l'échange intellectuel 1850-1914* 7, no. 1 (1989): 23-44.

¹⁴ Alexander Geppert, *Fleeting cities, Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-siècle Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

¹⁵ Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn, "World's Fairs in Feminist Historical Perspective," in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*, ed. Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 1-16.

¹⁶ Jeanne Madeline Weimann, *The Fair Women* (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1981). The Cover adds a subtitle which does not appear in bibliographic references: *The Story of the Woman's Building. World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893.*

¹⁷ Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 174- 197.

¹⁸ See Mary Frances Cordato, "Representing the Expansion of Woman's Sphere: Women's Work and Culture at the World's Fairs of 1876, 1893, and 1904" (PhD diss. New York University, 1989); Renate Dohmen, "A Fraught Challenge to the Status Quo: The 1883-4 Calcutta International Exhibition,

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¹⁹ Martha Sear, “‘Common neutral Ground’ Feminizing the public sphere at two nineteenth-century Australian exhibitions” in *Seize the Day: Exhibitions, Australia and the World*, ed. Kate Darian-Smith et al (Melbourne: Monash University Press, ebook, 2008), 14.1–14.16; Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

²⁰ Whitney Walton, *France at the Crystal Palace: Bourgeois Taste and Artisan Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). [page19]

²¹ Maria Grever and Berteke Waaldijk, *Transforming the Public Sphere: The Dutch National Exhibition of Women’s Labor in 1898* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

²² See, especially, his introduction, Alexander C. T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in fin-de-siècle Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 1-15; 10.

²³ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum. History, Theory, Politics* (New York & London: Routledge, 1995). For a national history perspective, see the chapter “The Universal Exhibition” in Giles Waterfield, *The People’s Galleries, Art Museums and Exhibitions in Britain, 1800-1914* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2015), 87-119.

²⁴ Pepchinski argues 60% of the World Exhibitions occurring between 1873 and 1915 contained a Woman’s Building. For what follows, see Mary Pepchinski, “The Woman’s Building and the World Exhibitions: Exhibition Architecture and Conflicting Feminine Ideals at European and American World Exhibitions, 1873-1915.”<<http://www.cloud-cuckoo.net/openarchive/wolke/eng/Subjects/001/Pepchinski/pepchinski.htm>> (15 July 2016); This was reworked in the following article “Woman’s Buildings at European and American World’s Fairs, 1893–1939” in *Gendering the Fair*, ed. Boisseau and Markwyn, 189-207.

²⁵ Weimann, *The Fair Women*; Boisseau and Markwyn, *Gendering the Fair*.

²⁶ Myriam Boussahba-Bravard, “L’autopromotion des femmes à la Foire internationale de Chicago (1893) : identités, représentations et structuration politique,” special issue “Les expositions internationales, mises en scène de la modernité,” *Relations internationales* 164 (2016): 41-58.

²⁷ Union centrale des arts décoratifs, Le *Congrès des arts décoratifs. Comptes rendus sténographiques* (Paris: Palais de l’Industrie, 1894), 221. Pégard’s report to the Congress and her activism in the years that followed would lead to women’s admission to the École des arts décoratifs and to their more systematic inclusion in the numerous art fairs that occurred at the turn of the century.

²⁸ For a stimulating analysis of national responses to fairs see Bernhard Rieger, “Envisioning the Future: British and German reactions to the Paris World’s Fair in 1900,” in *Meanings of Modernity. Britain from the late Victorian Era to World War II*, ed. Martin Daunton and Bernhard Rieger (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 145-164. The transnational or global turn has generated a number of important studies on a range of topics. On Education, see Martin Lawn, ed, *Modelling the Future: Exhibitions and the materiality of education* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2009). Unfortunately, women’s experiences are rarely foregrounded in these studies.

²⁹ Wanda Corn, *Women Building History. Public Art at the 1893 Columbian Exposition* with contributions by Charlene Garfinkle, Annelise K. Madsen (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). Peter Greenhalgh has tables of women artists for the Parisian exhibitions of 1855, 1867, 1878, 1889, 1900. He estimates that within these exhibitions women represented under 5 percent of the total throughout the period. Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 191-193.

³⁰ Corinne Belliard gave a talk about Red Cross women's work during exhibitions at the conference "Les femmes dans les expositions internationales et universelles (1878-1937). Actrices et objets des savoirs", organized in Paris from 23-24 October 2014).

³¹ Joy Land has shown the ways the women teachers of the Alliance Israélite Universelle showcased the manual work done within their schools in North Africa: "Corresponding Lives: Women Educators of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU)* School for Girls in the City of Tunis, 1882-1914," (PhD Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 2006). Electronic publication of dissertation, <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/6dr950wk>. Land presented a talk about AIU schools in Tunis and world's fairs at the conference indicated above. [page 20]

³² See, as well, Isabel Morais, "'Little Black Rose' at the 1934 Exposição Colonial Portuguesa," in *Gendering the Fair*, ed. Boisseau and Markwyn, 19-36.

³³ Boisseau and Markwyn, "World's Fairs," 3-6.

³⁴ Karen J. Blair, "The Limits of Sisterhood: The Woman's Building in Seattle, 1908-1921," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 8, no.1 (1984): 45-52; Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*. See the recent collection Abbattista, ed, *Moving Bodies* and especially the following chapters Abbatista, "Humans on Display," Elisabetta Bini, "'Drawing a Color Line': 'The American Negro Exhibit' at the 1900 Paris Exposition," 39-65; Elisabetta Vezzosi, "The International Strategy of African American Women at the Columbian Exposition and its Legacy: Pan-Africanism, Decolonization and Human Rights," 67-88.

³⁵ Martha Sear, "Fair Women's World's: Feminism and World's Fairs 1876–1908," in *Identity and Universality/Identité et Universalité*, ed Volker Barth (Paris: Bureau International des Expositions, 2002), 19–36. Grever and Waaldijk, *Transforming the Public Sphere*.

³⁶ Ida B.Wells *The Reason Why the Colored American is not in the World's Columbian Exposition, The Afro American's Contribution to Columbian Literature*. From the reprint of the 1982 edition, Robert W. Rydell ed. (Urbana & Chicago, Il: Illinois University Press, 1999).

³⁷ See Renate Dohmen's talk from 2014 "'Victoria's Fair Daughters,' Leisure and Empire: The Ladies' Court at International Exhibitions in Australia and India," <http://www.univ-paris-diderot.fr/Mediatheque/spip.php?article473> (1 February 2017).

³⁸ See Myriam Boussahba-Bravard, ed., "Introduction," in *Suffrage Outside Suffragism. Women's Vote in Britain, 1880-1914* (Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1-31, for a definition of suffragism and Boussahba-Bravard, "L'autopromotion des femmes" for its transnational importance.

³⁹ For a perspective that focuses on the issue of geographic marginality within fairs, see Marta Filipova, ed., *Cultures of International Exhibitions, Great Exhibitions in the Margins*, ed. Marta Filipova (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

⁴⁰ Patricia Ferras de Matos, “Power and Identity: the exhibitions of human beings in the Portuguese great exhibitions,” *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 21, vol.2 (2014): 202-218.

⁴¹ For a stimulating comparative analysis of historical understandings of modernity, see Bernhard Rieger and Martin Daunton, “Introduction,” in *Meanings of Modernity. Britain from the late Victorian Era to World War II*, ed. Martin Daunton and Bernhard Rieger (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 1-21.

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